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THE IRISH DOMINICAN PROVINCE UNDER APPOINTED SUPERIORS (1698-1721)

BY
HUGH FENNING O.P.

INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES

The period chosen as the subject of this article was a time of crisis for the Irish Dominican province, a period which opened with the exile of almost all its members and closed with the celebration at Dublin of the first elective provincial chapter of the 18th century. The history of those years is, accordingly, a story of disruption, dispersal, survival, and eventual restoration. While the exile of 1698 was neither the first nor the most severe suffered by Irish religious, it was far more thorough, far more complete, than the partially effective exiles of the 17th century. It was also to be the last persecution of the regular clergy carried out by the Irish government. One would like to know how their enforced exile affected the Irish Dominicans, what befell the exiles on the continent, how various convents were maintained or restored in Ireland, how fresh recruits were received and trained. These and other possible questions are, however, only touched upon incidentally in the present study. What follows is primarily an account of the four provincials who directed the recovery of the province. One will find in it whatever is known of their careers and activities, but questions of law and jurisdiction occupy the centre of the stage. The year 1721 has been chosen as the *terminus ad quem*, not because it marks the dawn of toleration, but because it marks the end of the Master General's immediate control over the naming of provincials and over the three foreign colleges of the province.

Since periods of crisis are rarely easy to document, it is not surprising that only two or three letters survive of all those presumably written by the provincials during these twenty-three years. Save for the *Liber Provinciae*, a register of visitations and appointments covering the years 1683-1717, and the house-chronicle of Athenry, few contemporary

documents have been preserved in Ireland¹. Among the existing literary sources the most revealing are probably the unpublished historical writings of Fr. Edmund Burke (1665-1739)². His *Dissertatio* and the much shorter *Brevis Notitia* appear to have been intended for the public. His notebook or Journal, however, (from which the two works mentioned appear to have been compiled), contains far more detailed and much less guarded comment on the internal affairs of the province. In John O'Heyne's *Epilogus Chronologicus* (1706) we have an historical source which is on the one hand utterly free from any trace of Edmund Burke's party spirit, and which on the other is devoted to an aspect of provincial history on which Burke scarcely touched³. O'Heyne contented himself with naming and describing every Irish member of the Order whom he had ever met or heard of: his book in consequence, though scarcely a history, remains our best source of information on the sufferings of the friars during the Jacobite War (1689-1691) and their later dispersal on the continent. Although later writers such as Thomas Burke (1762) and Dr. Pochin Mould (1957) have touched upon this period⁴, the only detailed studies are those made at the beginning of this century by Fr. Reginald Walsh. We have several articles from his pen on Irish Dominicans who suffered imprisonment or transportation

¹ Neither of these records has been published. They are preserved in the provincial archives at St. Mary's Priory, Tallaght, Co. Dublin, hereafter referred to as TA.

² Fr. Edmund Burke's career is briefly sketched by Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, Kilkenny 1762, 548-550. His *Journal* (now AGOP XIII. 156) contains copies of documents extracted from the now lost archives of Holy Cross College, Louvain, as well as several Latin narratives of his own composition on the history of the Province. AGOP XIII. 157 (a collection of Irish documents ranging in date from 1669 to 1795) contains two of his other works: one is the *Dissertatio* or *Dissertatiuncula de origine, antiquitate, et progressu Provinciae Hiberniae Ord. Praed.*, written on both sides of 27 leaves and divided into 64 numbered paragraphs; the other is an unfinished copy of his *Brevis Notitia Provinciae Hiberniae ab anno 1600 ad 1736 inclusive*. Finally, there is a single page of narrative in Burke's hand, perhaps an intended addition to the *Dissertatio*, in AGOP XIV. PP part 1, 389. Hereafter these writings will be cited only by their titles: *Journal*, *Dissertatio*, and *Brevis Notitia*.

³ John O'Heyne, *Epilogus Chronologicus*, Louvain 1706, an extremely rare work: there is a copy in the provincial archives and another in the British Museum. A second edition, accompanied by an English translation, was published by Fr. Ambrose Coleman at Dundalk in 1902. All references in this article are to the second edition, cited simply as O'Heyne.

⁴ Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 152-164, 528-530. Daphne Pochin Mould, *The Irish Dominicans*, Dublin 1957, 150-177.

in the years under consideration here ⁵. The burning of the Public Record Office in Dublin (1922), from which most of his information had been derived, has given his articles permanent value.

Among the purely archival sources, the most consistently useful and important is Series IV of the Master General's archives, in which one finds the minutes of the Generals' letters to their Irish subjects. These registers were not always well kept, and some (particularly for the French provinces) appear to have been lost ⁶, but those which remain are indispensable for the history of the Irish province during this period. They are particularly useful for the history of the three colleges (Louvain, Rome, and Lisbon) which from 1694 to 1721 were under the General's immediate direction. They are particularly disappointing in that they contain virtually no trace of Fr. Cloche's correspondence with the Irish provincials after 1710. The archives of Propaganda Fide contain some relevant original letters, notably apropos of the attempt to depose the provincial in 1713, but by far the greater part of the material found there refers either to the College of Louvain or to applications made for faculties or money by Irish priests of San Sisto in Rome. For some reason, perhaps the return of calm to the Irish mission, there is scarcely one reference to Irish Dominicans in the archives of Propaganda between 1715 and 1720. The series *Nunziatura di Fiandra* in the Vatican Archives, ably calendared by Fr. Cathaldus Giblin, O.F.M., can hardly be said to fill this lacuna, but it does contain some very informative documents and has been particularly useful in explaining the diplomatic background to the exile of 1698 ⁷.

THE SETTING OF THE STAGE, 1685-1691

During the brief effective reign (1685-89) of James II, the first Catholic ruler of England and Ireland since Mary Tudor, the Province enjoyed its first period of calm for many decades and availed of the

⁵ R. Walsh, *Glimpses of the Penal Times*, published in fifteen numbered installments in the pages of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 20 (1906), 22 (1907), 25 (1909), 26 (1909), 27 (1910), 28 (1910), 29 (1911), 30 (1911).

⁶ Only two volumes covering the years 1698-1721 concern the French provinces: IV. 186, spanning the period 1692-1719, is mostly composed of letters to people outside the order; IV. 202, ranging from 1711 to 1731, contains more letters to Dominicans but cannot compare for fullness or regularity with the contemporary Italian and Spanish registers. Since most of the Irish exiles of 1698 seem to have gone first to France, it is unfortunate that the volumes of Series IV dealing with the French provinces should have been badly kept or later lost.

⁷ C. Giblin, O.F.M., *Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the Collection*

opportunity to set its house in order. Long abandoned convents were restored, the habit was publicly worn, and the provincials exerted themselves to improve religious discipline among their subjects. Unfortunately, the war in Ireland (1689-91) between James II and William of Orange disrupted much of what the friars had laboriously achieved under royal protection in the preceding four years. As the war progressed, always in William's favour, the Dominicans seem to have successively abandoned their poor convents everywhere outside Connacht. In August 1689 the Protestants of Ulster, where William's army landed, took control of Derry and Enniskillen and proclaimed him as their king. In the following summer the chief battle of the war was fought near Drogheda on the Boyne. Victory there gave William possession of Drogheda, Dublin, Kilkenny, Waterford, and Cork, in each of which there were Dominican communities before his arrival. Meanwhile, though James had fled to France, his army remained substantially intact in Connacht. After further battles at Athlone and Aughrim, the war closed in 1691 with a siege of two days at Galway and another of two months at Limerick. On the conclusion of the siege of Limerick the soldiers of the Irish army, 14,000 strong, were permitted to sail for France where they enlisted in the army of Louis XIV. William's success ensured the subsequent domination of the Protestant minority over Irish affairs and thus laid the political basis, not only for the exile of the religious in 1698, but for all the imminent penal laws against the Catholics which were to remain on the statute books until 1829⁸.

There is no need to imagine the effect of this three-year war on the Dominican province: one can read of it in the pages of O'Heyne. Although that author nowhere addresses himself specifically to the subject, for his method remains consistently biographical, one can reconstruct the scene from his *obiter dicta*. After the battle of the Boyne and the immediate surrender of Drogheda, Frs. James Teeling and Constantine

Nunziatura di Fiandra, Vatican Archives, Part 3, Vols. 81-101, *Collectanea Hibernica*, No. 4 (Dublin 1961); Part 4, Vols. 102-122, *Collectanea Hibernica*, No. 5 (Dublin 1962).

⁸ The main lines of the political struggle are discussed by G. N. Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, Oxford 1947, 290-311. The most recent study on the penal laws in their relation to the Catholic church has been written by Maureen Wall, *The Penal Laws, 1691-1760, Church and State from the Treaty of Limerick to the accession of George III*, (Irish History Series, No. 1) Dublin 1961. Both these works have bibliographies on their subjects.

MacDonogh of that community made their way to Limerick⁹. At Dublin, Fr. James Fullam 'was obliged to leave the country'¹⁰. From Kilkenny, occupied by the Williamites, Fr. Raggett fled west to Athenry¹¹ and Fr. Thomas Brennan to Portumna¹². Another refugee from Leinster received at Athenry was an old priest from the convent of Athy whose name O'Heyne could not recall¹³. On the taking of Cork, Fr. Peter O'Garvan left for Portugal, bringing the altar-plate of the convent with him¹⁴. When Galway surrendered, the ex-provincial Fr. John Browne with several other religious spent more than four months in prison¹⁵. Fr. Gerald Gibbon, having accidentally encountered a detachment of the Protestant army near Listowel, was killed by them without ceremony¹⁶. After the battle of Aughrim, Fr. Richard O'Madden of Portumna died of hunger and exposure after a fortnight spent hiding in a bog until William's army should have passed¹⁷. Besides these O'Heyne speaks of eleven others, many of them army chaplains, who left for France on the fall of Limerick in 1691. Undoubtedly the war reduced the number of Dominicans working in Ireland, broke up such struggling convents as had existed outside Connacht, and disrupted the normal organization of the province. O'Heyne mentions one whose return to Ireland after his studies was prevented by the war¹⁸, and another who, having been assigned to Sligo as a *lector*, found it impossible to teach and left again with James' army for France¹⁹.

Leaving to one side the losses, destruction and inconveniences just described, one could say that the war undermined the stability of the

⁹ O'Heyne, 21, 251.

¹⁰ O'Heyne, 29.

¹¹ O'Heyne, 33.

¹² O'Heyne, 33. Both Fr. Brennan and Fr. Raggett died within a year of leaving Kilkenny.

¹³ O'Heyne, 49.

¹⁴ O'Heyne, 71. The plate of the convent was deposited for many years at St. Malo before being brought back to Cork where it is still preserved. It is described by Margaret MacAuliffe, *The Dominicans in Cork*, Cork 1939, 25-26. It appears from AGOP IV. 217, pp. 19-20, that Fr. O'Garvan was more properly called Louis and that the plate taken by him from Cork consisted of four silver chalices, a silver crucifix, a silver monstrance, and a silver ciborium.

¹⁵ O'Heyne, 145.

¹⁶ O'Heyne, 99.

¹⁷ O'Heyne, 211.

¹⁸ Ambrose O'Garvan, detained at La Rochelle. O'Heyne, 77.

¹⁹ Michael O'Hara. O'Heyne, 253.

Dominican province in two ways. William's victory laid the cornerstone of an enduring political structure hostile to its very existence, and at the same time permanently impoverished the wealthy Catholics on whom it relied heavily for its support. Something will later be said of the political situation: the economic aspect of the question may be dealt with here. The biggest obstacle to the recovery of the Province after 1691 was that the war was followed by the confiscation of the estates of all who had taken arms against William. The proportion of land in Catholic hands fell in fact from 22% in 1688 to 14% in 1703²⁰. Thus the friars lost many of their best benefactors and protectors, and lost besides whatever money or land had been administered for them by Catholics ruined in the war. The following passage in reference to the convent of Sligo exemplifies this economic difficulty. It occurs in a report of 1703 written in exile by Patrick MacDonogh, formerly prior of the convent²¹.

'It is certain that the friars of Sligoe lost all their goods and effects in the unhappie warrs of Irland onely their challices and ornaments and were very poore, and though they came to a head in the country, they lived in a mean condition having butt from the hand to the mouth by reason wee cud benefit nothing by our mortgage, and the country and oure benefactors were reduced and charity was very coulde in the hearte of Christians, and when wee were forced to breake house and home by the act of Parliament and leave the Kingdome, our small effects cud not pay our rents and debts.'

PATRICK MARSHALL, 1694-1699

Among the Dominicans who fled from Ireland after the fall of Limerick was the provincial himself, Fr. Gelasius Matthews, more commonly called MacMahon. He set off through France to Rome, leaving Fr. Patrick Marshall of Kilkenny as vicar-provincial behind him²². Since Fr. MacMahon's term of office was to finish in the following summer, Fr. Marshall convened a provincial chapter at Dublin by which he was himself elected provincial of Ireland on 23 August 1692.

Fr. Marshall, a son of the Leinster convent of Kilkenny, had studied at Vittoria in Spain, and after working in England for many years, was active in Leinster from at least as early as 1683²³. O'Heyne would

²⁰ J. G. Simms, *The Williamite Confiscation in Ireland, 1690-1703*, (Studies in Irish History, Vol. 7), London 1956, 195-196.

²¹ Published by D. Mould, *The Irish Dominicans*, 254-259.

²² Edmund Burke, *Journal*, 132.

²³ O'Heyne, 37-39. Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 528-529.

have it that he was twice prior of Kilkenny: we are more certain of his priorships in Waterford (1683, 1685) and Athy (1688-1689)²⁴. During the same period he occasionally resided in Dublin and held the important posts of Provincial Procurator (1685, 1688) and Visitator for Leinster (1685-1688)²⁵. In 1687 he was named an army chaplain in addition to his other duties²⁶. Perhaps he owed his appointment as vicar-provincial not so much to his high standing on the mission as to the system of alternation whereby the provincials were elected in turn from the four civil provinces (Ulster, Leinster, Connacht, and Munster). Mac-Mahon, knowing that his successor would be chosen from among the Dominicans of Leinster, may have wished by making Marshall vicar-provincial to indicate his suitability for higher office. Though Fr. Marshall may have had the requisite qualities, few Irish provincials can have been as unfortunate as he in the circumstances of their government. His term was to open with a serious misunderstanding and to end, soon after the general exile, to the evident relief of the Master General.

As we have said, Fr. Patrick Marshall was elected provincial in August 1692. However, a month before the election, quite unknown to the capitular Fathers, the Master General had continued Fr. Mac-Mahon in office for a further two years²⁷. On 21 February 1693, Fr. Henry de Guzman, Vicar General of the Order, wrote to Ireland declaring that the acts of the chapter of 1692 were null²⁸. Fr. Marshall's election was thus quashed 'in order to prevent a schism in the province', and all were commanded to accept Fr. Gelasius MacMahon as the legitimate provincial. The latter, however, remaining at Louvain, and the postal services between Ireland and the continent being unreliable, Fr. Marshall had already ruled as provincial-elect for two years when, in the autumn of 1694, he first received word of the cassation. Edmund Burke records that though Fr. MacMahon sent the letter of cassation to Fr. Marshall in good time, the latter denied ever having

²⁴ TA, Liber Provinciae.

²⁵ TA, Liber Provinciae.

²⁶ TA, Liber Provinciae.

²⁷ On 5 July 1692, *ex autoritate apostolica*, and on the recommendation of Cardinal Altieri. AGOP IV. 182, p. 134.

²⁸ There is a full official copy in a small fascicule of loose leaves (pp. 16-17) now to be found in AGOP IV. 182, but with its own independent pagination. There is also a copy by Edmund Burke, Journal, 83-86.

received it until he was shown a second copy by Fr. Thomas Burke, prior of Athenry, at the provincial chapter of 1694²⁹.

With the expiration of Fr. MacMahon's six-year term of office on 5 July 1694, the opportunity presented itself for putting matters on a clearer and completely legal footing. It was an opportunity ignored. Without first informing the priests in Ireland of his intention, the Master General obtained papal permission (dated 14 August) to appoint Fr. Marshall as provincial for a four-year period and sent him his patents of office on the 20th of the same month³⁰. Four days later the Vicar-General wrote to inform Fr. Hyacinth Grace, then vicar-provincial, that Fr. MacMahon's term of office had expired. Lacking either the text or the official minute of de Guzman's letter, it is hard to understand why he did not refer to the fact that a provincial had just been appointed³¹. The arrival of his letter in Ireland before the news of Fr. Marshall's appointment led the vicar-provincial to call a chapter in Dublin at which Fr. Patrick Marshall was needlessly, but fortunately, elected provincial. Since the action of the General correctly anticipated in this case the wishes of the province, there was now no longer any difficulty: Fr. Patrick Marshall was undoubtedly the lawful provincial. That much had been achieved, but the province felt somewhat dissatisfied with the General's recourse to the Holy See for the re-appointment of Fr. MacMahon. Since this resentment was to underly all subsequent relations between Fr. Cloche and his Irish subjects, the letter (11 Oct 1694) in which the definitors requested the confirmation of Marshall's

²⁹ Edmund Burke, *Journal*, 86-87. See also *Dissertatio*, XLI.

³⁰ 20 August 1694. *AGOP* IV. 182, p. 178.

³¹ This letter is referred to in the original sealed scrutiny, dated Dublin 11 Oct 1694, declaring the election of Patrick Marshall as provincial. *AGOP* XIII. 157. 'Vacante Provincialatu nostrae Provinciae Hiberniae post expletum biennium R.A. P.F. Gelasii Matthaei S. Theologiae Magistri, instituti prioris provincialis huius nostrae Provinciae Hiberniae per Litteras Apostolicas datas mense Julio anno D. 1692, ut nobis intimatum fuit per R.A.P.F. Henricum de Guzman S.T.M. tunc Vicarium Generalem totius Ordinis die vigesima quarta Augusti Anno 1694...'. The document was signed by the three longest-professed priors in the province: Dominic Davett of Coleraine, Peter O'Neill of Carlingford, and Bartholomew Heyne of Portumna. Marshall was elected on 10 Oct 1694 by 23 out of 32 votes: eight votes went to Constantine Garvan and one to Thomas Burke. Edmund Burke refers to the fact that the votes of Connacht went to Fr. Garvan of Glanworth in Munster. *Dissertatio*, XLV.

election may be quoted here³². Had they known that the provincial of their choice was already provincial, *ex concessione apostolica*, whether elected by them or not, they would have had still greater reason to complain.

‘Quare ne nos sine capite tanquam oves errantes diutius maneamus, humillime rogamus R.P. Vestram quatenus hanc nostram electionem probare et confirmare dignetur, et ut in posterum omnis confusionis ansa removeatur. Imploramus R.P.V. ut pro sua erga nos paterna providentia huiusmodi Brevia a Sede Apostolica manantia, intuitu cuiuslibet ex nostris fratribus, ibidem vel alibi pro dictis Brevibus contra pacem huius afflictæ Patriæ sollicitantis, impediatis...’

LOSS OF JURISDICTION OVER THE FOREIGN COLLEGES, 1694

On beginning his legal provincialate in October 1694, Fr. Marshall was immediately faced with a serious controversy which further threatened the relations between the province and the Master General, relations already sufficiently strained by the confusion surrounding his own accession to office. The subject of debate — his jurisdiction over the foreign colleges — was not one with which the new provincial was already intimate: his background was not academic. But he was determined to preserve the rights of the province so far as in him lay: ‘none shall be more forward to defende the rights and priviledges granted by Supreme authority to the Fathers of this Province then I shall; soe if they be lost, that fault shall not be left att my doores’³³.

To a great extent we are dependent on the manuscript writings of Edmund Burke for the details of the jurisdiction dispute³⁴. His version is that some member of the province hostile to Gelasius MacMahon pointed out to Fr. Cloche that according to Fontana (citing the General Chapters of 1650 and 1656) the Irish Colleges on the continent should have been immediately subject, not to the Irish provincial but to the General. In May 1694, just as MacMahon’s provincialate was

³² AGOP XIII. 157. The definitors were Dominic Dogherty, Thomas Nangle, Peter Ryan, and Bartholomew Heyne. Fr. Ambrose Fitzgerald acted as secretary of the chapter.

³³ Marshall to Edmund Burke, Dublin 29 Nov 1694. From the copy in Burke’s Journal, 87.

³⁴ Journal, 87-121. Dissertatio, XLII. The appeal by the members of Holy Cross, Louvain, to the Internuncio in Brussels (30 Mar 1695) is documented in the archives of Propaganda Fide (hereafter APF), SC Collegi Vari, Collegi Olandesi ed Irlandesi di Lovanio (1622-1802), Vol. I, 130-134, 139-147.

in its final weeks, the General Chapter at the Minerva in Rome confirmed the legislation of 1650 subjecting the Irish Colleges at Louvain and Lisbon, with the nuns' monastery at Lisbon, to the immediate jurisdiction of the Master General³⁵. Another ordination directed the General to supervise the affairs of San Sisto, the Irish College in Rome, which had already been removed from the provincial's jurisdiction on 4 April 1693³⁶. The Irish representative at the chapter, Fr. Ambrose MacDermott a penitentiary of Santa Maria Maggiore, complained immediately afterwards that the first ordination *pro provincia Hiberniae* (the ordination on the colleges) in the manuscript acts of the chapter, had been added to the text by the secretary, and that the question of jurisdiction over the colleges at Louvain and Lisbon had not so much as been raised, much less decided, at the chapter³⁷. Armed with attestations to this effect from the provincials of England, Lower Germany, Bohemia, and the Roman province, he approached Cardinal Ferrari, Master of the Sacred Palace, by whose intervention the printing of the chapter acts was delayed for twelve years. The text, still containing the 'intruded' ordination, was finally published in 1706 with the acts of the chapter held at Bologna in that year³⁸. If this story of Edmund Burke's be true, it goes far towards explaining why the Irish, particularly at Louvain where Burke was teaching, resented the ordination of the Chapter. There are many extant documents regarding the appeal made by the staff at Louvain under the leadership of Gelasius MacMahon against the General's re-assumption of immediate jurisdiction. They carried the matter over the General's head to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. But we must turn rather to Patrick Marshall's participation in the dispute. He wished to protect the rights of the province, but still agreed with his advisers in Ireland that prudence dictated complete submission to Fr. Cloche. Burke says that Marshall, not knowing the dubious origin of the ordination, took it without question

³⁵ Acta Capitulorum Generalium O.P. (ed. Reichert), MOPH XIII, 256-331. The section *pro Provincia Hiberniae* is on 314-316. Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, XLVI.

³⁶ AGOP IV. 182, p. 138.

³⁷ Burke, *Dissertatio*, XLVII.

³⁸ Burke's story is true at least in regard to the delay in the publication of the chapter acts. The acts of 1694, as they appeared in 1706, were preceded by a letter from Fr. Cloche explaining the reasons for the delay: chief among them had been the need to coordinate various parts of the acts, lest they should give rise to dissension. Acta Capitulorum Generalium, VIII, 257-258.

as the declared will of the General Chapter. Fortunately, Edmund Burke wrote into his journal a copy of the letter in which Fr. Marshall expressed his considered view on the jurisdiction dispute to his predecessor. Fr. MacMahon, then resident at Holy Cross Louvain (of which he had once been prior), was inclined to favour the priests of the College in their resistance to the ordination³⁹.

Eximius fr. Gelasius Matthaei and the rest of the Rev. Fathers in Louvain and elsewhere,

I proposed to all the Fathers of the province about appealeing, or the prosecution of the appellation and to stand out in the defence of our Collidges in partibus Ultramarinis against our Generall; but none of them would be of the opinion, but all yields to the Generall and the last Generall Chapter: they taking seriously to consideration the Inconveniencies that may attend such proceedings against our Generall, which may incense him against us and our Province and may ruine our Students in their Studies abroad, besides severall other inconveniencies. Besides this, Master Browne⁴⁰ sayes that you never had your recourse to him from Lovaine, but in defiance of him that you recurred always to the Generall dureing his time, and Master William Bourke⁴¹ sayes almost the same, that in his time you recurred to the Generall very often. Therefore they give their opinion that the Generall ought not to be opposed as to this matter, and in a juncture of time that the Province can scarce lay out a farthing for postage or anything else. The following words are their opinion in this manner: *Infrascriptis censeo nos non debere litigare contra Generalem nostrum de jurisdictione supradictorum Collegiorum, sed nos ordinationi ultimi Capituli Generalis et Generali inhaerere submittere.*

Testamur quod copia haec sit vera.

fr. Petrus Rothe, prior Dublinensis.

fr. Joannes ffanyn.

fr. Petrus Archer.

fr. Ambrosius Moony, supprior.

fr. Patritius Marshall humilis prior provincialis per Hiberniam sic censeo.

I declare my opinion is this, that I would oppose the Generall *viribus et posse* had I knowen had he any intention to alienate those Collidges to any other use but for the Irish Dominicans⁴², and I do not consent but on this consid-

fr. Joannes Browne.

fr. Gulielmus de Burgo, S.T.M.

ita censeo.

fr. Anthonius Rothe.

³⁹ Edmund Burke, Journal, 88-89.

⁴⁰ John Browne, provincial of Ireland 1684-1688.

⁴¹ William Burke junior, Provincial of Ireland 1674-1682.

⁴² The staff of Holy Cross, Louvain, presumably feared that the province would lose its foreign colleges completely, as the Augustinians had in Rome and the Discalced Carmelites were later to do in Louvain itself.

eration. But I have such trust and confidence in the Generall's goodnesse towards us, that he designs noe such thing against us. Neither do I doubt of his liberality, but that on a submissive supplication from the Provinciaall and the Province that he will restore us againe to them, which supplication I shall remitt to you a week hence to be forwarded to him and in the name of the province.

Yours, Patrick Marshall.

Copia vera.

This interesting letter was presumably sent on the same date (18 July 1695) as the formal mandate of submission which accompanied it and which follows immediately after in Edmund Burke's journal. That document, likewise signed by the provincial, ordered the members of the foreign colleges, particularly those at Louvain, to obey the General's wishes⁴³. Edmund Burke devotes several pages of criticism to these two letters, holding forth against what he styles Marshall's *tergiversationes et contradictiones*: he was, after all, one of the leaders of the spirited attack from Louvain against Fr. Cloche. But there is no need, in this context, to pursue the matter further. Suffice it to say that from 1694 until after Cloche's death (26 February 1720) the colleges at Louvain, Rome, and Lisbon were under his immediate jurisdiction. The Irish provincials could not, without the General's beneplacitum, carry out visitation, appoint officials, or even assign subjects to them⁴⁴. In fairness to Fr. Cloche one must add that he fully realised most of Fr. Marshalls' expectations: the colleges were not alienated from the province, and the General devoted the greatest attention to their welfare.

THE EVE OF THE EXILE, 1695-1698

From what has been said of the Jacobite war and the difficulties created for the regular clergy by William's complete success, one can imagine how difficult it was for Fr. Marshall to re-organize the province after 1692. The day was drawing near when all the religious would be forced to leave the country; each passing year put fresh obstacles in the path of reconstruction, as the Protestant minority grew slowly more conscious of its power; but still a certain restoration was achieved and

⁴³ Edmund Burke, Journal, 89-91.

⁴⁴ For Burke's criticism see Journal, 91-96. Such a commission, a more ample one than was granted to later provincials, was given to Fr. Marshall on 8 June 1695, authorizing him to appoint officials in Louvain, to assign subjects to the College, and to remove them from it. AGOP IV. 182, p. 234.

it is important to note those elements in the organization of the province which enabled it to survive the almost complete exclusion of its members from the country.

In the first place, the province was long inured to persecution. As Fr. Coleman wrote by way of comment on O'Heyne's matter-of-fact style: 'O'Heyne and his contemporaries were so used to persecution from childhood, that it had become a second nature to them: its various new phases and developments, including imprisonment and exile, being taken by them as a matter of course, just as the accidents of war are regarded by veteran soldiers inured to long campaigns'⁴⁵. From 1540, when the Irish government first adopted the Protestant faith, the province had seldom enjoyed anything more than toleration from the rulers of the country. More than a hundred of its members had died violent deaths for their faith. The organization of the province adapted itself in the course of time to meet the ever-present danger of full-scale persecution. At home, the various convents carried out their work when and as the actual situation permitted. Abroad, the province had colleges at Louvain, Lisbon, and Rome for the training of its clerics; a hospice at Bilbao for those coming or going to Spain, and procurators to manage its affairs in London, Paris, and Madrid. The nuns had monasteries at Galway in Ireland and on the outskirts of Lisbon. In the year 1695, despite the loss of those who left the country in 1691, and despite crippling financial difficulties, there were still 170 priests of the province in Ireland, actually or nominally attached to thirty-six convents⁴⁶. Of these priests seventy-five were in Connacht, forty-four in Leinster, thirty-two in Munster, and nineteen in Ulster. Thus on the eve of the exile the province was strongest in the west, to which Cromwell had banished the Catholics in 1650, and weakest in the north, where Presbyterians of Scots origin had been long entrenched. When the blow fell in 1698 and these priests were forced to leave Ireland, they were not completely without resources on the continent. The three colleges maintained their work by providing fresh missionaries, acted as clearing houses for the exiles, and proved to be so many strategically placed bases of operation for the friars and their provincials.

It is agreed that had William of Orange been able to enforce his

⁴⁵ O'Heyne, xi.

⁴⁶ Calculated from the data supplied by TA, *Liber Provinciae*, a record kept by the Irish provincials from 1683 to 1711ca. 1695 is the latest year for which the members of all the communities are listed.

views on Ireland in the years following the war, the position both of the Catholic majority and of the Dissenters would have been tolerable ⁴⁷. As it happened, the landowning Protestant minority, representing one-tenth of the population, took control of the parliament and of the country. When therefore a French victory on the continent no longer threatened to affect the Irish scene, the first clause of the hard-won treaty of Limerick (guaranteeing freedom of religion) was set aside and in summer 1697 the Dublin parliament began to frame 'An Act for Suppressing all Fryerys, Monasterys, Nunneryes, etc.' ⁴⁸. The act ordered everyone exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all members of the regular clergy, to leave the kingdom before the 1st of May 1698. Should any remain they were to suffer imprisonment and transportation, while those returning after such transportation were to be held guilty of high treason. The third section of the act forbade the entry of regulars and those exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction into the country 'from and after the 29th of December 1697' under pain of twelve months' imprisonment and subsequent transportation. Thus the only priests who could remain in, or enter, Ireland after the dates fixed by parliament were members of the diocesan clergy below the rank of dean. It was hoped that, lacking bishops to ordain new candidates, the secular clergy itself would cease to exist within a few decades.

Since the text of this act was available from 1697 (when it was printed by Andrew Crooke at Dublin) ⁴⁹ the bishops, vicars-general, and regular clergy had some months to put their affairs in order before leaving the country. We know something of the decisions reached early in 1698 by the Franciscan definitory: they decided to obey the decree of expulsion, to furnish their exiles with letters of obedience, to bring their novices to the continent, and to petition the government to exempt their old and infirm friars from the effects of the act ⁵⁰. Likewise we have a few documents listing the goods of some Franciscan and Augustinian convents on the eve of the exile ⁵¹. Information of a similar

⁴⁷ W. P. Burke, *Irish Priests in the Penal Times*, Waterford 1914, 110 ff. This is the principal work on the sufferings of the clergy under the penal code.

⁴⁸ The text of the relevant sections has been published by W. P. Burke, *Irish priests*, 118.

⁴⁹ There is a Latin copy of this pamphlet in APF, SC Irlanda 7, ff. 141-155.

⁵⁰ *Liber Lovaniensis*, ed. C. Giblin, Dublin 1956, 225. Here there is a report on the definitory meeting held at Dublin on 15 Feb 1697 (presumably old style).

⁵¹ B. Egan O.F.M., *Inventory of articles belonging to the Friary of Donegal*, 1698, published from Archivio di Stato (Roma) in *Franciscan Donegal*, ed. Terence

kind in regard to the Dominicans is not so readily available. The two most interesting items, already published by Dr. Pochin Mould, are an inventory of the goods of the convent of Galway which (5 April 1698) were entrusted to Valentine Browne, a merchant, and the report of 1703 on the convent of Sligo already cited⁵². In the course of this long document Fr. Patrick MacDonogh refers to an order issued by the provincial just before the exile, authorizing the priors of convents to sell their property so as not to leave for the continent completely penniless.

'There was a generall Licence given by the Provincial of Ireland to every Priore to dispose of the goods and chalices of every convent with the mutuall consent of his conventualls as he thought more expedient and convenient for the present and for the future.

The fathers of the convent of Sligo having noe other effects or worldly means butt their chalices, they agreed unanimously to dispose of some of their Chalices to redeeme their present necessity: and found it more proper and lawful before God and the world to make use of them than to perish in a foraigne country nott knoweing to what part of the universe wud they be turned to, nor what reception wud they get among strangers.'

The ten chalices were disposed of in various ways — some left in safe hands, some sold to pay debts, some pawned, and some brought by the friars to the continent.

ATTEMPTS TO AVERT THE EXILE, 1697-1698

From as early as the summer of 1697 Mgr Orazio Spada, the internuncio at Brussels, did his utmost to avert the exile by diplomatic means. The peace-conference of Ryswick was then in progress, and Spada continually urged the Catholic representatives to intercede with William of Orange for the Irish regular clergy. The diplomat who collaborated most cheerfully with the internuncio, both during and after the conference, was Count Auersperg, the Emperor's envoy to the Prince of Orange. Earnest interventions were also made by Francis Bernard de Quiros, the Spanish ambassador, the Duke Elector of Bavaria, Count von Kaunitz, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, the Count

O'Donnell, O.F.M., *Ros Nuala* 1952, 113-117. Other inventories referring to the Franciscan friary of Kilconnell and to an Augustinian priory in Co. Galway may be read in W. P. Burke, *Irish priests*, 129-130.

⁵² D. Pochin Mould, *The Irish Dominicans*, 152-153, 254-259.

de Tirlemont, and the Prince and Princess de Vaudémont⁵³. Louis XIV's treatment of the Huguenots prevented the effective intervention of the French representatives. Two Irish religious, the Dominican Laurence O'Farrell (chaplain to Kaunitz) and an Augustinian named Dowdall, exerted what little influence they could at Ryswick to help their Irish brethren⁵⁴.

Towards the end of 1697 Ambrose Fitzgerald, procurator for the Irish province at London, wrote to Edmund Burke at Louvain about the Act of expulsion, enclosing a printed copy of the decree. Under the leadership of Dominic Burke, the exiled Dominican bishop of Elphin, the leading Irish priests at Louvain decided to send Latin copies of the decree to whosoever might be able to prevent its execution. Edmund Burke thus describes their contribution to the work of the diplomats⁵⁵.

⁵³ Our chief source on the interventions of these representatives is the Nunziatura di Fiandra series in the Vatican archives, the Irish documents in which have been calendared by Cathaldus Giblin in *Collectanea Hibernica*. All subsequent references are to this calendar, itself virtually a translation of the originals: e.g. Coll. Hib. No. 4 (1961) 118.

⁵⁴ Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, XLVIII. Another Dominican named Thomas Naghten was active at Madrid on behalf of the Irish Catholics in the summer of 1699. At the time of the exile he was a lector at S. Sisto in Rome. APF, SOCG 531, f. 216^r. On 18 Feb 1699 he was named Preacher General for the convent of Dublin. AGOP IV. 182, p. 367. On 23 Jul 1699 he wrote from the hospice (alla Passione) at Madrid to a cardinal in Rome (probably the Prefect of Propaganda) describing his diplomatic work on the cardinal's behalf. APF, SC Irlanda 5, f. 618^r. There is also a letter (17 Sept 1699) from the Nuncio at Madrid to a cardinal (Barberini?) relating how he had helped Fr. Naghten to approach the King on behalf of the Irish Catholics. Fr. Naghten then wanted to go to Holland to reason with William of Orange. *Ibidem*, f. 698^{rv}. In March 1700 he was forbidden to enter Rome, and in the following month ordered to the Irish mission by the General. AGOP IV. 182, pp. 382-383; 194, f. 79^r. Another Dominican diplomat of the period was Anthony Carroll, recommended by Clement XI to King John V of Portugal as a spokesman for the Irish Catholics in 1709. Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 158, 587. AGOP IV. 166, p. 115.

⁵⁵ *Journal*, 140. *Dissertatio*, LII. On bishop Dominic Burke see Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 496-499, where there are some additional details on this episode. The two Irish secular priests mentioned in the extract cited above were John Sullivan, rector of the Irish Pastoral College, and Francis Martin, a professor of theology at the University. Fr. Giblin's catalogue or calendar of the Nunziatura di Fiandra provides much information on both of them. Thomas Burke lists the titles of the two Louvain pamphlets (*Hibernia Dominicana*, 545-546) in a manner which leads one to suspect that he never actually saw a copy of either. A. Papillon merely copies Burke: *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, editio altera,

'Illustrissimus fr. Dominicus de Burgo, Athenriensis, episcopus Elphinensis, Lovanii tunc exul, congregavit Eximios Joannem Sulevan, Martin, et praecipuos Dominicanos et Franciscanos Hibernos ibidem degentes. Comuni consensu resolutum fuit Decretum illud in Latinum transferre cum praefatione nostra ad Principes Orthodoxos, illudque imprimere et per orbem spargere Catholicum, quod factum est. Nam ad omnes Principes, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, etc., exemplaria per publicum cursorem sub coopertura missa sunt. Insuper libellum supplicem gravamina Hiberniae nervose exprimentem, cum praecipuis Decreti punctis ad SS. Dom. Innocentium XII et eximios Cardinales, Nuncio Apostolico Bruxellis ego ipse missus tradidi Romam transmittendum.'

The effect of this and of other interventions by the Irish on the continent was that the Pope alerted the Nuncios to the threatened danger, and the latter did what they could to prevent it. William and his English officials were, however, far too able to be deflected from their policies by the diplomatic offensive launched against them. A series of half-truths, polite evasions, and assurances, left the Internuncio at Brussels under the impression that his efforts were succeeding until the exile actually took place. On 16 September 1697 Blathwayt, the English Secretary of State, stated in a letter to Count Auersperg that the act against the religious contained nothing new, that it was only what 'some of the secular clergy had always wished for', but that nothing would be done which could give the Allies the least cause for offence⁵⁶. In October William told the Duke Elector of Bavaria that he was obliged to fall in with the wishes of the Irish parliament, and that strong measures

Fasciculus XII, 1934, 36-37. There are, however, in the archives of Propaganda Fide, two pamphlets which (though anonymous, undated, and lacking any indication of the place in which they were printed) fully correspond to Edmund Burke's description. The first is entitled: ACTA / Pro Expulsione / PAPISTARUM / Fungentium / aliqua Ecclesiastica jurisdictione, & / Regularium omnium Papistici / Cleri ex Regno Iberniae. / Dublinii impressa per ANDREAM / CROOK Typographum Excell.mae suae / Majestatis in monte CORK / prope vicum vulgo dictum / COPPER ALLEY 1697. / ACCEDIT / Praefatio ad Lectorem Orthodoxum / CUI SUBNEXA EST / FORMULA / JURAMENTI / DUPLICIS. 12mo. 22 numbered pages. White cardboard cover. APF, SC Irlanda 7, ff. 141-155.

The second has a shorter title: Ad Sanctiss. D. N. / INNOCENTIUM / PAPAN XII / Libellus Supplex / Ecclesiasticorum Hibernorum / Exulum / Nec obscurorum, nec paucorum / De praesenti A catholicorum Molimine / AD / CATHOLICAM RELIGIONEM / In Hibernia extirpandam. / Anno M.DC.XCVII. The date here is part of the title. 12mo. 12 unnumbered leaves. Red and gold paper cover. APF, SC Irlanda 8, ff. 533-544.

⁵⁶ Coll. Hib., No. 4 (1961) 58-60. Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, XLIX and L.

were required to curb 'the turbulent spirit' of the regular clergy⁵⁷. The Prince and Princess de Vaudémont, who visited King William in November and spoke to him on behalf of the Irish Catholics, were answered (according to the Internuncio) 'in very general terms'⁵⁸. In Edmund Burke's more dramatic account of the meeting, when the Princess pleaded for the Irish with tears in her eyes, William answered, 'Madam, you know I am attached to the Catholics. Why then do you believe that I would permit them to be oppressed or disturbed?'⁵⁹ During December 1697 Mgr Spada passed on to Rome the bland assurance of 'a certain English minister' that the laws would not be enforced, or that they would be used only to make the Catholics more submissive, or that (should they be found too difficult or troublesome to enforce) no effort would be made to execute them⁶⁰.

Mgr Spada placed so much confidence in these encouraging comments, and so little in what Irish religious told him, that he assured Dr. Dominic Burke at Louvain, and even the Pope himself, that the act expelling the bishops and regulars would be revoked. Edmund Burke claims to have seen the original letter in which Spada addressed the bishop of Elphin: 'Illustrissime Domine, laeta vobis significo nuntia, revocata esse Decreta Parlamenti Hiberniae contra Episcopos et Regulares'⁶¹. This, seemingly, was in May 1698 when about seven hundred Irish religious were already on the seas bound for France and Spain⁶². Innocent XII continued to regard the decree as a dead letter until he found one of the exiles, Joseph Power, O.D.C., at his very feet⁶³.

⁵⁷ Coll. Hib., No. 4 (1961) 62.

⁵⁸ Op. cit., 64.

⁵⁹ Dissertatio, XLVIII.

⁶⁰ Coll. Hib., No. 4 (1961) 64.

⁶¹ Dissertatio, LI. In this paragraph I have followed Edmund Burke rather than the Nunziatura di Fiandra which, unfortunately, lacks all letters from Spada between 17 Jan and 2 May 1698. It does, however, contain an optimistic letter dated 23 May (some weeks after the exile had begun) which helps to support Burke's thesis that the Internuncio was lulled into a sense of false security. Coll. Hib. No. 4 (1961) 65-66.

⁶² W. P. Burke, *Irish priests*, 132-133, citing a letter from Mary of Modena, James II's queen. 'All the regular priests of the Irish mission numbering about 700 have been already hunted out of that country. There are just now near 400 of them in France; the others are in Spain and Portugal or in Flanders and Italy. I have seen several of them and they have touched me deeply. They tell us of events in that country which make the heart bleed, and if this continues, to all appearance our holy religion will be uprooted in that kingdom'.

⁶³ Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, LI.

' Sanctissimus Innocentius XII, totus laetus et securus de notitia revocationis Decretorum a suo Nuntio accepta, Agenti pro Hibernis apud Suam Sanctitatem exilium repraesentanti dicere solebat, *Consolare, consolare, nos scimus melius quid in vestrum favorem actum sit*, nec exules in Galliam appulisse credidit donec P. Josephus Power, Carmelita Discalceatus ex Loghrea, prostratus ad ipsius pedes, factum probavit dicens se unum esse ex multis qui expulsi venerunt in Galliam. Quo audito pius Papa lacrymatus ait, *Fui deceptus per Nuntium, ut ipse deceptus fuit*. Sic decipietur semper, qui dictis Protestantium contra Catholicos fidem praebebunt.'

THE EXILE OF 1698

Thus, as the 1st of May 1698, the date fixed for the exodus, drew near the efforts of the diplomats to avert the blow had completely failed. In many previous crises the Irish regulars had been able to go to earth and avoid similar decrees of banishment: this time only a few escaped the net. In December 1697 the magistrates and Protestant clergy were instructed that all ecclesiastics 'were to be compelled to enter into bonds to appear before the Council in Dublin when required'⁶⁴. In February 1698 the collectors and surveyors of the revenue districts received orders to send in the name and address of every priest in their respective areas⁶⁵. The government, which never before had had such a thorough report on the Catholic clergy, could now arrest every priest in Ireland when it pleased. If, however, the regulars decided to obey the decree, it was not from fear of arrest⁶⁶. They felt that resistance

⁶⁴ W. P. Burke, *Irish priests*, 119.

⁶⁵ W. P. Burke, *Irish priests*, 119-120. The only such report to have survived is that for the diocese of Dublin, published by W. P. Burke, *op. cit.*, 120-127, though the same author discovered a digest of the returns from the revenue districts, printed *op. cit.*, 127-128. The Dublin report has recently been more carefully edited by William M. O'Riordan, *A List of the Priests, Secular and Regular, of the diocese of Dublin, in the year 1697*, in *Reportorium Novum*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Dublin 1955) 140-153. See p. 141 for the names of the Dominicans living in Cook Street, Dublin: Thomas [i.e. Patrick] Marshall, James ffanin, James Eagan, and Christopher Farrell.

⁶⁶ Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, LIII. 'Nonnulli, circumstantias ignorantes, culpant exules ecclesiasticos, quod tam prompte discesserint et tanto in numero. Verum non ignavia sed prudentia et Gubernii astutia in causa fuit. Gubernium enim observavit quod nulla severitate Episcopos ac Regulares eoque ex Hibernia extirpare potuerit, quamvis carceribus perpetuis aut morte ipsa plurimos torqueri diligenter satagerit; idque tribuit zelo ecclesiasticorum et protectioni populi Catholici; unde utrique remediis efficacioribus obviare studuit.

Zelum mitigandum speravit Gubernium tolerando quosdam Parochos qui

might cause the government to banish the diocesan clergy too, and they did not wish to cause the ruin of any Catholic family, since laypeople were liable within the terms of the same Act of parliament to heavy fines and even the confiscation of all their goods were they to be found sheltering a bishop or religious⁶⁷. Only a few of the regular clergy elected to remain in Ireland and brave the consequences: the rest set out for the appointed ports of embarkation to be carried at government expense into perpetual exile.

Some left before, some after, the date appointed. O'Heyne relates that the Dominican community in Galway sailed about the 20th of March⁶⁸, while the author himself embarked from the same city in company with one hundred and twenty-six religious on the 17th of June⁶⁹. In those last few months he had attended to the nuns of Galway whose cloister had been broken open and who were forced to wear lay clothes. Following O'Heyne's advice they decided to remain in Ireland. Some few details regarding the voyage of the Dominicans have come down to us. There is, for instance, a letter from the archbishop of Tuam describing the pitiful condition of the exiled priests he had seen on a boat bound for Brest from Galway: the writer mentions two members of the province, Lazarus Lynch and Henry Dolphin, who were among them⁷⁰. On 15 July the Nuncio at Lisbon reported the arrival there on a small and unseaworthy ship of six Irish Dominicans who were dressed as soldiers and so came ashore without money or possessions of any kind. On presenting themselves to the Nuncio, after their Irish brethren at *Corpo Santo* had dressed them properly, they gave him a

Catholicis inservirent, et insuper id abunde sufficere ut sic persuaderet confaederatis principibus orthodoxis, quos nollet irritatos si severius contra Catholicos ageret. Deinde ad obviandum protectioni Catholicorum in Hibernia, statuit ne ullus exulum a Catholico reciperetur hospitio, aut panis buccellam sub poena confiscationis bonorum ac criminis laesae majestatis, illi porrigeretur, aliudve patrocinium etiam minimum. Episcopi ergo et Regulares passim mito consilio resolverant abire, ne fideles destituerentur omni alimonia spirituali parochorum paucorum registratorum ad vitam; et insuper ne Catholici laici (sibi subveniendo contra legem) penitus destruerentur bonis et libertate privati: unde charitative et prudenter exulari se permiserant, sperantes reditum et proprii veri Regis restaurationem'.

⁶⁷ See section 4 of 9 William III, Cap. 26, quoted by W. P. Burke, *Irish priests*, 118.

⁶⁸ O'Heyne, 159. Coleman accidentally translates 'May' for 'Martii'.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁰ 29 April 1698. A copy of a letter written from Flanders to Bonaventure Burke, O.F.M., in Rome. Vatican Archives, Fondo Albani 168, f. 12^v.

Portuguese copy of the Act of parliament of which they were the victims ⁷¹. John Dominic Sibury, the agent for Propaganda Fide at Cadiz, wrote on 2 October to the secretary of the Congregation from Porto Santa Maria, to say that there were various exiles in the ports of his area who wished to remain there so as to take the first opportunity of returning to Ireland, but that the local guardians and priors were reluctant to shelter them ⁷². It has not proved possible to chart precisely the movements of the exiles, but some sort of pattern can be discerned in O'Heyne's biographical notes and the registers of the Master General. Those who did not go to the Irish colleges or the hospice at Bilbao seem to have concentrated themselves in the southern ports of Spain, in the Atlantic ports of France, and in the neighbourhood of Paris. Few went to Italy, and most of those who did went there a year or two after the exile. None seems to have ventured in Italy any farther south than Naples.

The majority were brought to French ports such as Nantes, St. Malo, and Dunkirk, whence they made their way to Paris. By January 1699 there were about four hundred Irish religious in the French capital: of these one hundred and eighteen were Dominicans ⁷³. No list of their names has as yet come to light, but we do know that the provincial, Fr. Patrick Marshall, was there on 20 July 1698 when he signed a common letter with the Augustinian and Franciscan superiors, informing the Cardinal Secretary of State of the exile and asking the Pope

⁷¹ Lisbon 15 July 1698. Dominic Pasqui to Cardinal Spada. 'essendo in questi giorni pervenuti qua sei Religiosi professi dell'Ordine di S. Domenico in abito di soldato sopra un piccolo e mal sicuro bastimento, sprovvisti affatto di tutto i bisognevoli. Ha in questa citta quella nazione un convento dell'istesso Ordine dove sono stati accolti con speranza di soccorso dell'insigne pietà e beneficenza della Maestà del Re. Mi hanno i detti Religiosi mostrata la copia dell'Atto del Parlamento nel lingua Portogese che nell'idioma Italiano'. The Nuncio enclosed these copies (not found) for the cardinal's benefit. Vatican Archives, S.S. Portogallo 54, f. 269^{rv}.

⁷² 2 Oct. 1698. 'Mi sono acuditi vari religiosi missionarii stati cacciati da Irlanda et Inghilterra per quanto si trovano esuli ricusandoli il ricetto li Guardiani e Priors delli Conventi di loro religioni in questi Porti ove desidererebbero di stare per esser piu pronti all'Occasioni se loro offerissero il poter restituirsi alle loro missione e mi hanno incaricato di doverne dare a VV. EE. questo motivo', APF, SOCG 532, f. 132^{rv}. The reply of the Congregation (decided upon, 26 Jan 1699, No. 5) was 'Commendetur Generalibus'. APF, Atti 69, f. 23^{rv}.

⁷³ This is inferred from the account (17 Jan 1699) of the alms given to them on behalf of the Pope, published from the Vatican Archives by P. F. Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Second Series, Dublin, 1878, 347.

to help them ⁷⁴. Humbert Delphin of Athenry was also in Paris at the time, trying to place some novices he had brought with him into exile ⁷⁵.

‘ Being exiled with the rest of the religious of all the Orders, he came to Nantes accompanied by four simple novices. While searching for a place of novitiate for these young men, who were still three months off the full year of probation, he suffered many hardships, tramping up and down Paris on foot until he had placed them in the General Novitiate in the suburb of Saint Germain. He stayed with them, instructing them in the way of virtue, until their profession, and then came to Louvain to the college of Holy Cross where he was welcomed by all.’

The same college of Holy Cross, the nearest national haven for most of the exiles, did not know how to find room or food for all the members of the province who flocked to it. On 8 June 1698 the prior had written to the Internuncio explaining their plight: in the previous week six exiles had come to the door while others, including the provincial, were expected from day to day ⁷⁶. The friars were then living two in a room, but that was no hardship compared with the situation of the Irish Franciscans at Prague two years later. There it was a case of three in each cell, while others had no bed at all, and each had to be content with dry bread and raw beer for his daily diet ⁷⁷. Leaving Paris, Fr. Marshall

⁷⁴ Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense* II, 341-342.

⁷⁵ O’Heyne, 189-191. The names of the four novices (who had been clothed on 27 August 1697) are given in the Athenry house-chronicle (provincial archives) f. 11^v: Dominic Daly, Martin Dolphin, John Burke, and Anthony McHooge.

⁷⁶ 8 June 1698. Thomas Barry, prior, and other officials of Holy Cross, to the Internuncio. ‘ Nec fundum nec redditus, nec mendicationis sive Questae subsidia habuimus; tum etiam ex frequenti Religiosorum numero ad nos quotidie adventante; nam nuperimme spatio sex vel octo dierum advenerunt sex, et multo plures simul cum ipso Provinciali expectantur... iis alendis media deficient, nec scimus quo eos dimittamus aut quomodo, tam enim ipsi sunt tenues ac teneri et expensarum vacua, Gallorum provinciae novis indies adventantibus ita occupatae, ut difficile inveniamus qualiter de iis disponere possimus, deque aliis ad nos brevi venturis. Praeterquam quod domus antea adeo fuerit repleta, ut in parvis cubiculis duplicare debuerimus Religiosos’. APF, SOCG 531, f. 47-48^r. This was sent by the Internuncio to Propaganda on 13 June: Mgr Spada wrote again to the same effect on 30 August. Coll. Hib., No. 4 (1961) 68-69. Despite these crushing difficulties, Fr. Barry wished to receive novices in the college. This Fr. Cloche absolutely refused to permit on the grounds that there was no reason *multiplicare gentem* when they had not enough to eat as it was. AGOP IV. 192, p. 285 under date 16 June 1699.

⁷⁷ Franciscan Library Killiney, Prague Transcripts, 533. Prague 15 Feb 1700. Department of Accounts to the Bohemian Exchequer.

set out for Louvain towards the end of July 1698 and made Holy Cross his headquarters for the following year. By 6 September he had met the Internuncio to whom he described 'the new conspiracies which the Irish parliament had set on foot against the Catholics' ⁷⁸. He had, of course, already begun to correspond with the Master General, but unfortunately the only part of this correspondence to survive is the summaries of Fr. Cloche's answers in the registers of the General.

FR. MARSHALL AS VICAR-GENERAL OF IRELAND

SEPTEMBER 1698-JULY 1699

Either shortly before leaving Ireland, or else as soon as he set foot on the continent, Fr. Marshall wrote informing the General of the exile. Fr. Cloche's reply (24 May 1698) expressed his paternal sympathy and promised that circular letters would be sent to the neighbouring provincials asking them charitably to receive the exiles, 'since they were suffering for the Catholic faith which hitherto they had so strenuously defended in Ireland' ⁷⁹. Cloche was as good as his word. One letter, presumably to the provincials of France and the Low Countries, was despatched on 28 June ⁸⁰: a second was sent on 24 August to the provincials of Spain, asking them not only to welcome the exiles, but also to send to Rome the names of such as reached their provinces ⁸¹.

On reaching Louvain Fr. Marshall wrote once more, expressing his hopes that, on the intervention of the Catholic ambassadors at London, both regulars and bishops would soon be permitted to return. He also appears to have requested his own continuation in office, since Fr. Cloche in his reply (16 August) stated his intention of applying for it to the Holy See ⁸². The elective chapter planned for the summer of 1698 had, of course, to be abandoned, and Marshall's term of office expired immediately after the exile, probably on 14 August, the date of his appointment four years before. However, instead of applying

⁷⁸ Coll. Hib., No. 4 (1961) 69-70.

⁷⁹ AGOP IV. 192, p. 240.

⁸⁰ AGOP IV. 192, p. 249. There is no indication as to whom this letter was addressed.

⁸¹ To the provincials of Spain, Aragon, Portugal, and Andalusia. AGOP IV. 194, f. 26^v. No such list of names has been found in AGOP XIII. The provincial chapter of Bethica (9 May 1699) recommended the exiles to the priors of its convents. AGOP XIII 23575 (Absolutiones et Revocationes, No. 3) p. 5.

⁸² AGOP IV. 192, p. 255.

to the Holy See the General contented himself with naming Fr. Marshall Vicar-General of the province on 6 September 1698 for one year only ⁸³.

In these early months after the exile, Fr. Marshall gave much thought to the province's college at Rome. He wished to send down either Fr. Antoninus Sall or Fr. James Coghlan as Regent of studies, besides appointing a special Procurator there for the province. No doubt he recognized the limited capacity of Holy Cross to support the influx of penniless exiles with which it was burdened, and saw the need to provide another centre where Irish students could be trained. Fr. Cloche, however, insisted that he alone could assign subjects to SS. Sixtus and Clement, that there was no *studium* there and hence no need for professors, and that the college was too heavily indebted for the erection of a *studium* to be contemplated. He had spoken to Cardinal Spada, the Secretary of State, about an Irish procurator and had found his Eminence in agreement with himself that such an appointment would be undesirable ⁸⁴.

The views of the General further diverged from those of his Vicar on the alternation of offices among the members of the four nations (Ulster, Leinster, Connacht, and Munster) of which the province was composed. At the close of 1697 when the Irish provincial council asked Fr. Cloche to authorize the practice, he declined giving an immediate decision: the matter could be fully discussed at the General Chapter it was proposed to hold in 1699 and he would then make no difficulty about acceding to their wishes ⁸⁵. On reaching Louvain Fr. Marshall repeated the petition. Not alone was the request firmly refused (30 August 1698), but the Vicar-General was later (11 October) sharply rebuked for making appointments calculated to create discord between the members of the different nations ⁸⁶. It is interesting to note on this point that Fr. Cloche also opposed the system of alternation in Malta and in the South American province *de Novo Regno* ⁸⁷, believing that

⁸³ P. Patritius Marshall instituitur per unum duntaxat annum Vicarius Generalis ita ut hoc munus a termino sui Provincialatus computando subeat. AGOP IV. 182, p. 362.

⁸⁴ AGOP IV. 192, pp. 255 (16 Aug 1698), 258 (30 Aug 1698), 262 (27 Sept 1698). These are, of course, the dates of the General's replies from which the contents of Fr. Marshall's letters can be inferred.

⁸⁵ 18 Jan 1698. Cloche to the Fathers of the Irish Province. AGOP IV. 192, p. 229. The proposed general chapter did not take place until 1706.

⁸⁶ AGOP IV. 192, p. 258, 264.

⁸⁷ On Malta see S. L. Forte, Prior of Valletta and Vicar of Malta, AFP, XXXIV, 1964, 294-295. For the province *de Novo Regno* see AGOP IV. 194, f. 101.

it did not necessarily result in the appointment of the best candidates for office. From his reply to Fr. Marshall (30 August) it would also appear that he felt the system opened the way to resentment and recrimination. Ironically, the whole purpose of the system, laboriously achieved during the 17th century, had been precisely to keep the peace by assuring the exact equality of the four nations.

‘Cum nos potius pacificam animorum reunionem in vestra Provincia, quam eorum dissipationem paterne meditemur, ideo nec possumus nec volumus petita officiorum diversitati iuxta plagas vestras condescendere, sed unice optamus ut non attentis plagarum partialitatibus, iuxta subjectorum capacitatem et officiorum condignam distributionem unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis cordi sumatis...

Valeat et animarum concordiam iuxta aequam distributionem nobiscum promovere satagat’⁸⁸.

This advice seems to have been lost on Fr. Marshall, for he continued to make appointments as he wished: what these appointments were we do not know, save that one was that of a Vicar-Provincial, presumably in Ireland. The General’s subsequent letters of 11 and 18 October 1698 reached a crescendo of indignation and the correspondence abruptly ceased⁸⁹. If Fr. Marshall wrote again no trace of a reply can now be found in the registers. He continued to act as Vicar-General of the province until a new provincial was named in the following July. Shortly after he left for London and there worked as a missionary for many years. He died in 1725⁹⁰.

⁸⁸ AGOP IV. 192, p. 258. Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, LIV.

⁸⁹ 11 Oct 1698. P. Vicario Generali Hiberniae... Non sine iusta indignatione percepimus V. Paternitatem nobis inconsultis praesumpsisse instituere aliquem Vicarium Provinciale, cum tamen pro conservanda inter fratres vestros religiosa pace minime expedire resciamus. Serio itaque tibi praecipimus, ut indilate isthanc institutionem, et alias similes a te factas revoces, partialitatesque Plagarum quoad Ordinis munia in vestra Provincia neutiquam foveas. Siquidem per huiusmodi non nisi dissidia, ad quae alias vestri Nationales proni sunt, fomentares, qui tamen vigore tui muneris ad ea praecavenda peculiariter obligaris. AGOP IV. 192, p. 264.

18 Oct 1698. Iterato sub iusta nostra indignatione serio praecipimus ut omnes, quas minus prudenter facis institutiones, modo, quam primum revoces. AGOP IV. 192, p. 264.

⁹⁰ Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 528. Fr. Marshall did not forget the convent of Waterford of which he had once been prior, for there is a chalice bearing the inscription: ‘Conv. Waterford O.P., Fr. Patrick Marshale, D.D., 1721’, listed by J. J. Buckley, *Some Irish Altar Plate*, Dublin 1943, 147.

PATRICK MACDONOGH (12 July 1699)

As Fr. Marshall's term of office was drawing to a close, the Master General appointed Patrick MacDonogh, P.G., of Sligo, as provincial on the recommendation of some Irish priests made through the Spanish *socius*⁹¹. This was the Fr. MacDonogh whose report on the convent of Sligo has been quoted more than once above and who, at the time of his appointment, was living in exile at Bilbao. O'Heyne devotes a long passage to his praise, especially to praise of his humility, relating that MacDonogh could not be persuaded to accept the provincialate⁹². He was constantly in poor health and perhaps felt the approach of death which was to claim him at Bilbao in 1705.

AMBROSE O'CONNOR, 1700-1709

In naming a replacement for Fr. MacDonogh, the Master General respected the system of alternation by choosing another priest of Connacht on 24 January 1700⁹³. The new provincial was Fr. Ambrose O'Connor, S.T.P., a son of the convent of Sligo, and procurator for the Irish province at the court of Madrid, in which capacity he had been in correspondence with Fr. Cloche and his predecessor for more than twenty years⁹⁴.

Fr. O'Connor did not immediately quit the hospice 'della Passione', his normal place of residence, on receiving word of the appointment: as late as 29 April he wrote thence to the General outlining his ideas on the province. To this Fr. Cloche replied that he approved O'Connor's plans and would transmit them to Fr. John O'Brien, S.T.M., who was then about to leave for Ireland and could help the provincial

⁹¹ For some reason he is styled Denis in the official note of his appointment. 12 Jul 1699. A.R.P. Patritius Denis, P.G. Instituitur Provincialis pro Provincia Hiberniae ad commendationem quam fecerunt quidam Patres eiusdem Provinciae per P. Mag. Socium Hispaniae. AGOP IV. 182, p. 372. The appointment is also mentioned by Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, LIV.

⁹² O'Heyne, 249-251.

⁹³ P. Praesentatus Ambrosius O'Conor instituitur provincialis modo acephalae provinciae Hiberniae. Monetur tamen ut Procuratoris munus, quo a tempore fuit Madriti perfunctus, nulli interim conferat. AGOP IV. 182, p. 380.

⁹⁴ O'Heyne, 253, and Appendix (ed. A. Coleman), 103-104. Th. Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 500, 529, 546.

by implementing his plans there ⁹⁵. This harmony of view, noticeable at the very beginning of the correspondence, continued undisturbed for the following nine years and enabled O'Connor to succeed even where Patrick Marshall had failed. Admittedly the new provincial was warned in July not to interfere with the affairs of the two Irish communities at Lisbon ⁹⁶, but when he went later in 1700 to Louvain Fr. Cloche not only permitted him to carry out a visitation of Holy Cross, but warmly endorsed the ordinations laid down by the provincial for the good of the college ⁹⁷. The text of the ordinations has not survived, but we do have the names of those in the community at Louvain at the time of the visitation, 28 January 1701 ⁹⁸.

Until the autumn of the same year, Fr. O'Connor seems to have remained in or near Louvain, busying himself in the reorganization of the province and preparing for his own return to Ireland. Much of his efforts were devoted to raising money: his experience as procurator was here turned to advantage as he tracked and claimed the goods left by deceased members of the province such as Bernard O'Connor who died, probably in Guatemala, about this time ⁹⁹. Edmund Burke refers to 'the immense sums' acquired by the provincial at Madrid and spent by him in Ireland or during his frequent journeys ¹⁰⁰. Another aspect of Fr. O'Connor's activity in 1701 was his assignation of fresh missionaries to Ireland. By letters dated at Brussels on 12 February, Fathers John MacMahon and John Keown were sent to the Ulster convent of Gola: on 3 August Fr. Edmund Shiel was similarly assigned to his native convent of Derry ¹⁰¹. During the same period the General

⁹⁵ Probably John O'Brien the elder, though there is no other reason to believe he went to Ireland at this time. Fr. Cloche's letter was dated 30 May 1700. AGOP IV. 194, f. 79^r.

⁹⁶ 24 July 1700. P. Provinciali Hiberniae. Mandatur ne suam jurisdictionem in utrumque fratrum et sororum Conventum Ulissiponensem usurpet. AGOP IV. 192, p. 329.

⁹⁷ Cloche to O'Connor, 19 Feb 1701. AGOP IV. 192, p. 350.

Cloche to Regens Primarius, Holy Cross. 5 Mar 1701. Respondetur et significatur quod Prior Provincialis nil possit mutare circa factam moderatorum institutionem, debent tamen ipsi parere ipsius ordinationibus circa chori et mensae sequelam statutis. AGOP IV. 192, p. 351.

⁹⁸ TA, Liber Provinciae. There were thirty-two in the community at this time.

⁹⁹ Cloche to O'Connor, 15 Oct 1701. AGOP IV. 192, p. 366. On 11 May 1689 this Fr. Bernard O'Connor was made S.T. Praesentatus at the request of the province of St. Vincent of Chiapa and Guatemala. AGOP IV. 176^{**}, f. 2^r.

¹⁰⁰ Journal, 132.

¹⁰¹ TA, Liber Provinciae, f. 38^r. Note that all three were sent to Ulster.

consented to the re-opening of the *studium* in San Sisto at Rome and gave orders that two or three professed novices were to come from Louvain to begin philosophy there¹⁰². Whether this concession was due to an improvement in the finances of San Sisto, or to a change of heart on the part of Fr. Cloche, Fr. Ambrose O'Connor deserves some credit for achieving without difficulty what his predecessor had been rebuked for suggesting. Henceforth the Irish province had a third centre of education for its clerics and a few more teaching posts for its lectors.

THE HOSPICE OF ST. ANTHONY IN FAVEROLLES, 1701-1703

Before describing Fr. O'Connor's first visit to Ireland something should be said about the attempted foundation of a hospice near Soissons for the use of the province: if not actually the work of the provincial, the scheme was at least set on foot under his supervision. The leading spirit of the enterprise was Fr. Hugh Callanan, a priest long resident in Paris, whom we shall meet again as provincial of Ireland. Sometime during 1701, Callanan prevailed on the Duc d'Orleans, brother of Louis XIV, to make a foundation for the Irish exiles in the hospice or hermitage of St. Anthony in the parish of Faverolles near Villers-Cotterêts in the diocese of Soissons. On 20 September 1701 Fr. Dominic McGenis, the provincial procurator in Paris, was appointed Rector of the hospice, presumably by Fr. Ambrose O'Connor; but that is the first and last we hear of Fr. McGenis' participation in the affair¹⁰³. The only other Irishman known to have been involved in the foundation was Fr. Edmund MacEgan who accompanied Fr. O'Heyne into exile and lived for more than two years in the convent of Gonesse near Paris before going on to Faverolles: the old man died soon after

¹⁰² The re-opening of the *studium* is first mentioned in the registers under date 19 Feb 1701 where Fr. Sall's removal to San Sisto is touched upon. On 28 May permission was given for three novices to come as students of philosophy to Rome from Louvain: their lector was to be Humbert Burke. On 15 October, one of the three having died, Fr. Cloche said it would be sufficient to send two. AGOP IV. 192, pp. 350, 356-7, 361, 366-7.

¹⁰³ TA, Liber Provinciae, f. 38^r. However, this entry may possibly mean only that Fr. McGenis was sent the letters appointing another. '20 Septembris 1701 missa est ad R.P.F. Dominicum McGenis institutio Rectoris pro Hospitio Sancti Antonii prope Parisios in Gallia, qui quidem Pater est Procurator provinciae Hiberniae per Galliam.' On McGenis see O'Heyne, 21. On 12 Sept 1705 Fr. McGenis was appointed procurator for the province at Madrid. AGOP IV. 166, p. 91.

and was buried by the Norbertine canons in Villers-Cotterêts on 1 October 1702¹⁰⁴. Various difficulties, mentioned but unspecified by Thomas Burke, prevented the province from ever taking secure possession of the hermitage¹⁰⁵. Fr. Callanan, however, must have continued his efforts into 1703, for Fr. Cloche wrote twice to the bishop of Soissons during that year: first (on 20 February) to ask his help for the struggling establishment, and later (on 30 October) to thank him for his assistance¹⁰⁶.

VISITATION IN IRELAND, 1701-1703

Although the provincial had applied for missionary faculties to Propaganda as early as April 1701, it was not until October or November that he set out for Ireland with some of his subjects¹⁰⁷. Their route brought them through England where Fr. O'Connor was imprisoned but soon made an ingenious escape¹⁰⁸. Although Edmund Burke's writings agree with the Athenry house-chronicle in saying that the provincial reached Ireland in 1701, there is no definite trace of his movements until 8 August 1702 when he carried out visitation in the 'con-

¹⁰⁴ O'Heyne, 213-15.

¹⁰⁵ *Hibernia Dominicana*, 450-451. 'vix aut ne vix quidem ob nonnullas difficultates reipsa possessum'.

¹⁰⁶ 20 Feb 1703. Mons. l'evêque de Soissons. Il prie sa grandeur de protéger l'établissement que M. le Duc d'Orléans a fait des Religieux de l'Ordre dans l'Ermitage de S. Antoine paroisse de Faveroles auprès de Villerscotrets et qu'il y envoie le R.P.M. Callanan docteur de Paris Irlandois pour estre vicaire des Religieux de cette nation. AGOP IV. 186, f. 108^v.

30 Oct. 1703. Mons. l'evêque de Soissons. La charité que V. G. exerce envers les Irlandois de mon Ordre, m'oblige à vous en rendre Grâces. Le soin que vous avez pris de remettre le soin de cet hermitage au P. M. Cunnanan [sic] deerois qu'il sera fort attentif à seconder les bonnes intentions de V.G. AGOP IV. 186, f. 111^r.

¹⁰⁷ Propaganda considered his request 'pro litteris patentibus et facultatibus Missionarii Apostolici' on 5 April 1701, and directed him to apply to the Inter-nuncio at Brussels. APF, Atti 71, f. 81^v-82^r. There is nothing of interest in the original undated petition, save that O'Connor asserted that he was now about 'to expose his life' by returning to Ireland. APF, SOCG 538, f. 316^r. On 7 May 1701, Fr. Cloche left it to himself to decide 'an stante persecutione intrare debeat in Hiberniam'. AGOP IV. 192, p. 355. A more definite ruling followed on 22 October: 'insinuatur quod deberet aliorum religiosorum Provinciales imitari et Hiberniam intrare'. *ibid.* p. 367.

¹⁰⁸ Edmund Burke, *Brevis Notitia*, p. 3. 'inde per Angliam (ubi captus et incarceratus et rara arte liberatus) transiit in Hiberniam'.

vent' of Roscommon¹⁰⁹. For the following eighteen months he appears to have remained on the mission, visiting what few hidden communities survived, carrying out formal visitation, appointing priors so that novices could legally be received (Cardinal Ferrari and the General had both advised him on this score), and calling home more of his subjects from the continent¹¹⁰. He was still engaged in this work on 21 July 1703 when Fr. Cloche prolonged his provincialate by four years, *ex commissione Pontificis*¹¹¹. From the report to the Pope made after his return from Ireland it appears that on Fr. O'Connor's arrival on the mission he found there about ninety of his subjects: five of these had been in prison for four years, and the others were liable to the same fate if discovered¹¹². The provincial himself was tracked from place to place, so one can readily understand why the surviving communities were almost exclusively in Connacht, the most Catholic of the four provinces, and why Fr. O'Connor rarely strayed outside it¹¹³. Since most of our information on his activities and movements comes from the Liber Provinciae — an old register which the provincial appears to have recovered and used — the details can most conveniently be arranged in chronological order, as in the following plan.

f. 27^r. 8 Aug 1702. Roscommon (Connacht). Nomina fratrum... in actuali visitatione.

Dominic O'Connor, John Breckan, Hugh Flaherty, Dominic Hannen, Michael Wealsh, Thomas Burke.

Dominic O'Connor elected and confirmed as prior. John Breckan appointed subprior.

f. 28^r. 4 Sept 1702. Burrishoole (Connacht).

James Niellus assigned to the convent.

¹⁰⁹ The Athenry house-chronicle, part of which may have been written by Edmund Burke himself, is preserved in the provincial archives (TA). Perhaps the provincial reached Ireland between January and 25 March 1702, which would have been reckoned as part of 1701 according to the 'old style' then in use in Ireland.

¹¹⁰ Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, LIV; *Journal*, 132.

¹¹¹ 21 July 1703. P. Praesentatus Ambrosius O'Conor continuatur ex Commissione Pontificis ad aliud quadriennium in munere provincialatus. AGOP IV. 182, p. 419.

¹¹² Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 546. This report is more fully discussed below.

¹¹³ The provincial refers, in the report just mentioned, to the manner in which he was pursued. 'quae et quanta ipse fuerit interea perpeusus, quoties ad carceres quaesitus, quam presse saepius insecutus, referre consulto omittit'.

- 15 Sept 1702. Burrishoole (Connacht). Sub Ambrosio O'Connor Provinciali.
Patrick Wealsh, James Cullen, James Niellus.
Patrick Wealsh appointed prior: was permitted to receive novices that same year.
- f. 28^r. 16 Sept 1702. Strade (Connacht). Nomina fratrum.
James Cullen, Anthony Hynagan, James Nicholas, Raymund Henagan, Cormac Corcrane.
James Cullen [of Burrishoole] appointed prior.
- f. 27^v. 18 Sept 1702. Portumna (Connacht). Sub Ambrosio Connor provinciali. Nomina fratrum.
Christopher Wealsh, James Wale, Thomas Maddin, Peter Anglon, Bernard Connor.
Christopher Wealsh appointed prior on the 19th.
20 Sept 1702. Galway (Connacht). Nomina fratrum in actuali visitatione provincialis.
Gregory French, Nicholas Blacke. Peter Kinnily, laybrother.
Gregory French appointed prior.
— 1702. Galway (Connacht). Nomina Monialium Galviensi anno 1702.
Mary of St. Thomas Lynch, prioress. Agnes of St. John Evangelist, subprioress. Catherine of St. Mary Kirwan, Bridget of St. Ignatius Lynch, mistress of novices. Anne of St. Thomas Lynch, vicaress. Elina of St. Bernard Lynaugh, Catherine of Jesus Blake, Eleanor of the Holy Trinity Blake, Mary Lynch of St. Thomas, Mary Joyce of the Holy Rosary, Elizabeth of St. Joseph Darcy, Margaret Darcy of St. Martin, Mary Bedlow of Jesus. All professed.
- f. 38^v. 3 Oct 1702. Carlingford (Ulster).
Bernard Berne appointed prior. Peter Mathews appointed subprior.
3 Oct 1702. Newtownards (Ulster).
Edmund Berne appointed vicar-in-capite.
- f. 28^r. 4 Oct 1702. Ballindoon (Connacht).
Bernard MacDermottroe appointed prior.
- f. 38^v. 5 Oct 1702. Derry (Ulster).
Dominic Davett appointed prior.
5 Oct 1702. Coleraine (Ulster).
Dominic Burlahan appointed prior.
- f. 27^r. 7 Oct 1702. Roscommon (Connacht).
Dominic O'Connor, prior, permitted to receive novices.
- f. 28^v. 10 Feb 1703. Roscommon (Connacht).
William Burke and Dominic McGuire made their profession.
- f. 27^v. 22 Feb 1703. Galway (Connacht).
Sister Bridget Lynch appointed prioress.

- f. 28^v. 10 Mar 1703. Roscommon (Connacht).
Dimissorial letters made out for William Burke to receive all sacred orders.
- f. 27^v. 15 Aug 1703. Athenry (Connacht). *Nomina fratrum*.
Anthony Hugo, Raymund Kenny. Barnabas Gosky, laybrother.
Anthony Hugo appointed prior.
- f. 28^r. 18 Aug 1703. Urlare (Connacht). *In actuali visitatione sub Ambrosio O'Connor provinciali*.
Peter Costello, Richard MacMorishroe, Edmund MacMorishroe,
John McDaniel, Raymund Costello.
Peter Costello appointed prior.
— 1703. Sligo (Connacht). *Nomina fratrum*.
Gregory Nellus, Anthony Hartt, Thomas Gara, Patrick Conor incarcerated, Miler Philips.
- f. 28^v. 7 Sept 1703. Clonshanville (Connacht). *Nomina fratrum*.
Dominic MacDermottroe. Appointed prior.
- f. 28^r. — 1703. Ballindoon (Connacht). *Nomina fratrum*.
Bernard McDermottroe, Thomas Rutledge.
- f. 28^v. 10 Oct 1703. R.P.F. *Dominicus Connor creatus et institutus fuit Vicarius Provincialis huius Regni discedente ad ultra marinas partes R.A.P.F. Ambrosio O'Connor, S.T.P., huius provinciae pro tunc Provinciali die 10 Octobris 1703.*
- f. 65^v. 18 Oct 1703. Limerick (Munster).
Dominic Carroll appointed prior.
18 Oct 1703. Tralee (Munster).
Dominic Egan appointed prior.

Omitting the two novices professed at Roscommon in February 1703 the total number of friars named in this record is only forty-six: since Fr. O'Connor found about ninety in Ireland there must have been as many more again scattered through the country. O'Heyne speaks of several who remained at home despite the exile but whose names do not occur for this period in the *Liber Provinciae*. Significantly, most of these belonged to Limerick and Derry and therefore outside the province of Connacht with which the provincial was most concerned. In all probability there were then no Dominican communities or *nuclei* in the other three provinces, and such priests as were to be found there lived as best they could alone. Even granting that Connacht was a Catholic area it is surprising that the provincial should have found there no less than nine communities, however rudimentary. As appears from the entries quoted above, Fr. O'Connor appointed superiors for four convents in Ulster: he was perhaps also responsible

for the appointment of two priors in Munster made a week after his nomination of Dominic O'Connor as Vicar-Provincial. While there is no trace of any attempt to name priors in Leinster, one cannot definitely state that no such appointment was made: there is some reason to believe that an entire page is lacking from the section of the *Liber Provinciae* devoted to that province.

Apart altogether from being provincial, Fr. Ambrose O'Connor was also one of James III's secret agents, a fact which may help to explain why there are long periods in his career during which he simply disappears from view. One such period occurs between his departure from Ireland in October 1703 and May 1704 when he wrote to the Master General from Brussels reporting on his visitation. Once again, our knowledge of his letter is unfortunately indirect, so that we know only that it concerned the staffing of Holy Cross, Louvain and requested Fr. Cloche to assign three more missionaries to Ireland. The General replied on 17 June 1704 enclosing the required patents for Fathers Thomas Clemens, Thomas Fitzgerald, and John Baptist O'Shiels: the assignments were drawn up *in simplici forma* lest the usual elaborate formula should compromise the priests were the documents to be found in their possession¹¹⁴. In the same month Fr. O'Connor carried out another visitation of Holy Cross. While praising his zeal for doing so, Fr. Cloche took the opportunity to insist that he could visit the college only as the General's commissary, not as provincial, repeating once more that the Irish colleges at Lisbon and Louvain were under his own immediate jurisdiction¹¹⁵.

While at Louvain the provincial wrote and published a letter to Clement XI describing the sufferings of the Catholics in Ireland, a

¹¹⁴ Fr. Cloche's letter also provides more details on the development of the studium in San Sisto. 'Tuas de 17 Maii Bruxellis datas accepimus ex quibus perjudicunde didicimus quanta bona perfeceris in Patria tua. Ut porro aequissimo tuo desiderio obsecundemus Patentes hodie mittimus RR. PP. Thomae Clemens, Thomae Fitzgerald, et J. B. O'Schiels ut in Hiberniam profisci valeant sacro missionum muneris operam daturi. In simplici quidem forma voluimus exprimi patentes ne si in ampliori fuissent expressae, et ipsis et Religioni posset obesse. Patrem Delphini hic studentem libenter Lovanium mitemus Philosophiae lectorem, sed ne desertum evadat hic studium Romanum, de certo transmittendis huc duobus ex vestris capacioribus studentibus theologis certiores fieri optamus.' AGOP IV. 166, p. 259.

¹¹⁵ Cloche to O'Connor, 1 July 1704. AGOP IV. 166, p. 261. Fr. Cloche on this occasion expressed his willingness to follow the provincial's suggestions in regard to the Rectorship of the college at Lisbon.

letter devoted for the greater part to a list of the new penal laws ¹¹⁶. It is in this report that he made passing reference to his own subjects on the mission.

'A quadriennio quippe et ultra, Provincialis licet immeritus institutus Orator ex Hispania per Belgium et Angliam in Hiberniam properavit, ibidemque sibi subditos (numero nonaginta circiter) per Regnum hinc inde dispersos, et non sine fructu occulte evangelizantes invisit atque ad contumelias, aliaque quantumvis aspera pro nomine Jesu laete patienda pro viribus animavit. Quae et quanta ipse fuerit interea perpessus, quoties ad carceres quaesitus, quam presse saepius insecutus, referre consulto omittit et servus licet inutilis Altissimo consecrat' ¹¹⁷.

TWO HISTORIANS OF THE PROVINCE, 1706

Not least among the many good qualities of Fr. Antoninus Cloche was his concern for the history of the Order, a concern to which he gave practical expression through the General Chapter of 1694 by commanding all provincials to have the history of their provinces written within a year and to send the finished works immediately to the Master General ¹¹⁸. The troubled state of the Irish province, the exile of 1698, and the delay in the convocation of the following General Chapter, doubtlessly played their part in preventing the province from responding immediately to the General's appeal. But as it grew certain that a Chapter would be held at Bologna in 1706, Fr. Ambrose O'Connor addressed himself to the question. The result of his initiative more than compensates for the fact that his report to the General on 17 May 1704 cannot be found and that he should have spoken so briefly of his visit to Ireland in his printed letter to the Pope. Following exactly the prescriptions of the General Chapter he chose John O'Heyne as 'chronologus provinciae' and instructed him to write what he knew 'as a testimony'

¹¹⁶ Ad SS. Dominum Clementem Papam XI Libellus Supplex de Praesenti Hiberniae sub A catholico jugo statu. MDCCIV. There is a copy of the pamphlet in the Vatican Archives, Fondo Albani 164, ff. 125-132. Apart from the printed work, two manuscript copies survive: one *loc. cit.*, ff. 133-136, the other in the archives of San Clemente, Rome (SCAR), Codex II, Vol. 1, ff. 81-84. There is some reason to believe that the work appeared in 1705 and that its date (1704) should be read as part of the title. On the one hand, it refers to his appointment as provincial 'more than four years ago'; on the other he therein styles himself a Master of Theology, to which rank he was raised only in July 1705. AGOP IV. 166, p. 85.

¹¹⁷ The passage occurs on p. 6 of the printed work.

¹¹⁸ Acta Capitulum Generalium, (ed. Reichert), MOPH XIII, 289.

to all the members of the province, living and dead¹¹⁹. Since O'Heyne based most of his first chapter on a letter written to him from Paris on 26 February 1706 by Dominic Maguire, the exiled Dominican archbishop of Armagh, the appointment was probably made in 1704 or 1705. The volume was printed at Louvain in 1706, perhaps the very year in which the writing of it had been begun¹²⁰.

True, the book contained only forty-eight or forty-nine pages (for some copies lacked the final page), O'Heyne's Latin and literary style were equally unpolished, his sources few and unreliable. On these and other grounds Echard severely criticized it¹²¹. But for all its shortcomings it is historically invaluable, largely because the author had the wisdom to devote most of his attention to what he could speak of with certainty — the members of the province he had met and lived with during a long and varied career. O'Heyne had studied at Salamanca, had taught in France and Louvain, was twice a missionary in Ireland where he had been Master of Novices in Drogheda and prior of Urlar. He had known severe persecution during the Titus Oates' Plot and had gone into exile from Galway in 1698. The parts of his book dealing with people or events prior to 1660 are naturally unsatisfactory, based as they were on a few general histories and oral tradition, but when he speaks of those he had known, and in particular of the Dominicans of his native Connacht, his every word has great historical value. No less than two hundred and fifty Irish Dominicans are named, and most of them described, in O'Heyne's forty-nine pages. The fact that he wrote at a time when so many of these priests were refugees in every corner of western Europe doubled the importance of his work. For this some of the credit must go to Fr. Ambrose O'Connor who commissioned him to do it.

¹¹⁹ The appointment is mentioned on the original title-page of the finished volume. 'nunc autem instituto Chronologo suae Provinciae per mandatum Eximii P. M. Fr. Ambrosii O'Conor, Provincialis peridigni praefatae Provinciae'. O'Heyne, 1. In speaking of Dominic Lynch, the great theologian of Seville, the author throws more light on the object of his work: 'et hic insinuo non ex aliquo privato affectu amicabili aut patrio, sed ut testimonium, secundum mandatum mihi impositum a meo praesenti provinciali, P. M. Fr. Ambrosio O'Conor'. O'Heyne, 148. That the volume was intended for the Master General may be seen from the author's comment on John O'Brien, S.T.M. 'Bonus vir est, et notior Reverendissimo P. Magistro nostro Generali praesenti, quam ut ego extendam calamum in eius encomia'. O'Heyne, 74-76.

¹²⁰ The archbishop's letter is mentioned in O'Heyne, 7, 9, 11.

¹²¹ Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores Ord. Praed.*, Paris 1721, 791.

Not content with the exhaustive directions issued by the Chapter of 1694, Fr. Cloche followed them up by circular letters calling on individual friars to write the history of their own convents. One such letter came into the hands of Fr. Michael MacQuillan, an Irish member of the province of Paris and then subprior at Rouen¹²². Fr. MacQuillan immediately set to work and wrote a 'Catalogus Conventuum quos olim habuerunt Fratres Praedicatorum in provincia Ultoniae'. Most of this four-page manuscript, which Fr. MacQuillan signed at Rouen on 15 April 1706, is devoted to the author's native convent of Coleraine; there is a good section on Derry, but the other three convents are scarcely touched upon at all. Unlike O'Heyne he attempted the impossible task of establishing the antiquity of these foundations and identifying their founders, so that his composition lacks the qualities which made O'Heyne's work a success. Nonetheless MacQuillan's effort has the merit of preserving the local Ulster traditions of his day, particularly those referring to the mass-martyrdom of Dominicans in Elizabethan times.

MORE MISSIONARIES FOR IRELAND, 1705

There are few traces of Fr. O'Connor's activities during 1705. It is however to be presumed that he spent at least the first half of that year at Madrid, for O'Heyne says that after his return from Ireland to Louvain he made his way through France to Madrid and was living there in 1706 when O'Heyne was writing about him¹²³. On 4 July 1705 he was promoted to the rank of Master of Theology 'at the request of the province', and on 22 August the General praised his zeal on learning

¹²² On this Fr. MacQuillan, called Peter by O'Heyne, see O'Heyne, 13; Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 548; and especially Quétif-Echard, *Scriptores O.P.*, II, 787. His *Catalogus Conventuum Ultoniae*, now AGOP XIV E, pp. 655-658, is signed by him as 's. theologiae professor et supprior conventus Rothomagensis'. The opening lines of the work reveal the writer's motive. 'Quamprimum legi literas Reverendissimi Patris nostri Magistri Generalis quibus singulis injunxit ut historiam suorum conventuum exscriberent atque Romam mitterent, summam adhibui diligentiam ad investiganda ea quae non solum ad conventum meum spectant sed etiam quae ad alios qui sunt aut olim fuerunt in praefata Hiberniae parte quae mihi natale solum est'.

¹²³ O'Heyne, 253. One may note a letter sent to him on 2 May 1705 by Fr. Cloche. 'Intimatur ob vi Magistrorum numerum non convenire multiplicari hunc gradum, praecipue cum provincia sit valde desolata. Item jubetur hortari PP. suae nationis ad repatriandum, et subeundum munus missionis apostolicae'. AGOP IV. 166, p. 282.

that he wished to return with some fresh missionaries to Ireland¹²⁴. We know that his Vicar-Provincial, Dominic O'Connor, died that summer on the 24th of June, a fact which made his immediate return advisable, but there is no other evidence for a second visit to the mission at this time¹²⁵.

Whether or not he went himself to Ireland, Fr. O'Connor certainly made every effort to urge others to do so. After returning from his first visitation he distributed a printed circular letter to the scattered members of the province, relating the position of the Order in Ireland and urging them to return as soon as possible. Once again the original document is lacking, but one can discern its contents in the following petition of November 1705 made to Propaganda by Fr. Peter MacDermott, prior of San Sisto, to whom the provincial had made a special appeal. It was written in support of three young priests (James Fiaghny, Peter Cluan, and John Gusman or Gildea), all apparently sons of the convent of Sligo to which the provincial himself belonged, who had studied at San Sisto since January 1699 and now asked for missionary faculties, religious books in English, and money for their journey to Ireland¹²⁶. The prior's petition is also interesting for its comments on the poverty of the community and on the financial assistance given to it by the Pope, Cardinal Ferrari, and the Master General.

' Il P. Priore di S. Sisto e S. Clemente dell'Ordine de Predicatori e natione Ibernese Oratore Umilissimo riverentemente espone all'EE. VV. come il suo Provinciale havendo visitato tutti li suoi Religiosi dispersi in vari luoghi del Regno, che ascendono al numero di ottanta, non senza frutto di quelle afflitte Anime, trovò nel giro che fece del Regno grandissimo bisogno di Operarii, per quanto detto Provinciale scrisse una Lettera circolare a tutti li suoi Religiosi dispersi in varie Provincie, si in Italia, Spagna, e Francia, et in particolare all'Oratore, acciò li mandasse da questo Convento alcuni Re-

¹²⁴ The note of his promotion is in AGOP IV. 166, p. 85. The letter of 22 Aug 1705 is as follows. *Laudatur ipsius zelus, quo exardescit in missiones cum nonnullis secum ducendis in patriam apostolicis, et in hunc finem parum conducturum P. French...* AGOP IV. 166, p. 288.

¹²⁵ The obituary notice of Fr. Dominic O'Connor is in TA, Liber Provinciae, f. 29^v. Edmund Burke speaks of three visits made to Ireland by the provincial: 'tertio ivit et rediit in Patriam'. *Dissertatio*, LIV. We are certain of two visits, 1702-3 and 1708, but a third cannot be documented save for the above suggestion in the General's registers.

¹²⁶ The prior's petition is only one of a group on the same subject now to be found in APF, SOCG 553, ff. 121-134. The reference to it is *loc. cit.*, f. 121^r. For the decision of Propaganda see Atti 75, f. 346-347.

ligiosi di buoni costumi, et in dottrina sufficientissimi, che hanno finito li loro studii, i quali volentieri intraprenderanno quel disastroso viaggio per servizio di Dio, e consolatione di quell'Anime. Ma essendo l'entrata di questo Convento così tenue per il numero di Religiosi residenti in quello, anzi è tanto tenue, che se non fosse sovvenuto dalla somma carità di Nostro Signore, e dell'Emo. Sr. Cardinale Ferrari, e del P. Rmo. Generale di detta Religione, sarebbe impossibile di poter sussistere. Ricorre dunque l'Oratore alla somma pietà dell'EE. VV. humilmente supplicandole d'ordinare qualche sussidio per il viatico de sudetti tre Padri. Che della gratia etc. Quas Deus etc'.

THE GENERAL CHAPTER AT BOLOGNA, 1706

Although the General Chapter of 1694 had decreed the holding of the next Chapter at Toulouse in 1697, no such chapter took place until 1706. At various times during the intervening years Fr. Cloche had high hopes of holding it in the near future, and on one such occasion (1 January 1701) wrote to inform Fr. Ambrose O'Connor that the Irish province, in view of its sufferings, was dispensed from sending a Definitor and Socius to the General Chapter¹²⁷. Five years later, however, the General changed his mind and wrote to the provincial to say that Fr. Patrick Plunkett of the Minerva could be named definitor after receiving the necessary dispensation. A dispensation was required, for the holding of the provincial chapter of 1698 had been prevented by the exile and the brethren had had no subsequent opportunity of meeting, even to elect a definitor. Fr. O'Connor, encouraged by Edmund Burke, accordingly made a formal petition to the General, a papal brief was obtained, and Fr. Patrick Plunkett went to Bologna in May 1706 as *diffinitor provinciae Hiberniae*, taking Anthony Carroll of Lorrha as his socius¹²⁸.

This is our first introduction to a man who, although only a theologian of the Casanatensian library, had considerable influence over the Master General and played the obscure but important part of unoff-

¹²⁷ AGOP IV. 192, p. 348.

¹²⁸ This is stated on the authority of Edmund Burke, Journal, 133. 'Hic [Patricius Plunkett] anno 1706 per Breve Apostolicum ad petitionem R.A.P. Magistri Ambrosii O'Conor Provincialis in Capitulo Generali Bononiensi Diffinitor extitit: cum enim instaret Capitulum Generale, scripsit Reverendissimus ad Provincialem, ut Plunkettum nominaret Diffinitorem, quod Provincialis (me etiam instigante) fecit; quia non dubitavimus illum pro Provincia nostra acturum prout conveniebat'. Burke then goes on to mention Plunkett's associates, including Carroll his socius at Bologna.

icial socius to Fr. Cloche on matters concerning the Irish province. For this we have, apart from other evidence, the unfriendly testimony of Edmund Burke: 'gratos aures Reverendissimi ut voluit habuit et replevit'¹²⁹. Thomas Burke, who unlike his namesake knew Plunkett personally, paints a more pleasant picture in which Plunkett is revealed as a man of profound learning, elegant in speech and extremely polished in manner¹³⁰. We know little of his early life save that he was born in Leinster, made profession for the Connacht convent of Roscommon, and went to France for his studies. Mercier has traced him to Nantes in 1689 and to St. Jacques in Paris in 1693¹³¹. At Paris he became a Doctor of the Sorbonne and lived on friendly terms with a fellow-Irishman named Hugh Callanan, later to be provincial of Ireland. In 1700 he was appointed theologian of the newly founded Casanatensian library, a post he held until his death in 1728¹³².

Although Plunkett and Carroll were the only official Irish representatives at Bologna, they were joined there by other members of the province who came in a private capacity. Among them were Hugh Callanan of Lorrha, Anthony Maguire of Gola, and others still whose names have not been recorded¹³³. As can be seen, none of the group

¹²⁹ Edmund Burke, *Journal*, 133.

¹³⁰ *Hibernia Dominicana*, 548. In this interesting notice, Thomas Burke asserts that Plunkett wrote several works under assumed names.

¹³¹ J. Toravel has begun to make available the notes on French Dominicans left by Clodoald Mercier T.O.P. (1893-1942) in the archives of the Master General. For details on Fr. Patrick Plunkett see J. Toravel, *Nomenclature des religieux de la Congrégation de Bretagne aux XVII^{ème} et XVIII^{ème} siècles*, Angers 1964, 128; this is a typed, not a printed, work.

¹³² A. Guglielmotti, *Catalogo dei Bibliotecari, Cattedratici, e Teologi del Collegio Casanatense*, Rome 1860, 28-37.

¹³³ 'Assumpsit Plunkettus sibi socium Magistrum Antonium Carroll Lohrensem Momoniensem, virum (ut ferunt) apprime probum; Callananus (cui Plunkettus a juventute devinctus erat notusque Parisiis), Maguire Ultoniensis et alii ex Lagenia, Momonia, et Ultonia tunc exules, occasionem nacti, clanculo (inisciis et inconsultis Magistro Provinciale et omnibus Conaciensibus), subscripserunt supplicationi de aequalitate Provinciarum Hiberniae in Capitulo stabilienda. Ideo Magister Antonius Maguire et Magister Kennedy ex Lohra, Bononiam propriis expensis accesserant...

Erant in Chateau-Thierry, monasterio in Gallia, aliqui Hiberni e nostris in exilio, monialium capellani. Magister Calananus privatim eos ad subscribendum petitioni praefatae induxit, excepto R.P. fr. Petro Kina Atheniense, viro omnium meritisimo, utpote qui in Hibernia plurimis cum singulari gratia et applausu praedicavit annis, et prior existens Traliensis et de Kilmalog in Momonia, plures recepit, ordinemque in illis Momoniae partibus propagavit. Hunc enim nullatenus voluit con-

was a native of Connacht which at that time had more sons than the other three provinces together. Unknown to the provincial, to Edmund Burke prior of Louvain, or to Peter MacDermott prior in Rome, (all three of whom were of the Connacht party), the Irish group at Bologna petitioned the Chapter to restore the system of alternation in the appointment of provincials and the election of superiors in the foreign colleges. To gain wider support for the measure, Hugh Callanan wrote to some Irish exiles at Château-Thierry, asking them to sign the petition. Among the exiles was Fr. Peter Kina of Athenry who, though the document was not shown to him lest he should reveal its contents, was later able to inform Edmund Burke of what had transpired.

The historical manuscripts of Edmund Burke have much more than this to say against the activities of Plunkett and his friends at Bologna: not all of it is reasonable or convincing. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that Plunkett's work in Bologna represented the first stage in the recovery of the three provinces (Ulster, Leinster, and Munster) hardest hit by the Jacobite war and the exile. Though less numerous than the brethren of Connacht, they were not prepared to submit to the hegemony of Connacht for any longer than was necessary. Besides, the re-introduction of the system of alternation had been requested by the whole Irish province in 1697 and the General had then promised that he would gladly concede it once it had been discussed and approved by the next General Chapter¹³⁴. Why then should Plunkett be blamed for achieving at Bologna what the Fathers of the province had asked for on the eve of the exile, and what Fr. Cloche not long before had indignantly refused to Fr. Patrick Marshall?

The acts of the General Chapter contained nine ordinations *pro provincia Hiberniae*, of which the first two concern the system of alternation¹³⁵. While the offices of provincial and of the superiors of the colleges were to go in turn to members of the four provinces, the students in the colleges were to be freely received no matter what province they came from. In filling professorships, preference was to be given to those educated in the college where the appointment was to be made. The next four rulings concerned the Irish priests and nuns in Lisbon

sultum, ne fraudulenta subscriptio per illum detegeretur. Sic mihi declaravit optimus ille Pater, dum Lovanii Sacram docuerat postea Scripturam ex Provincialis Calanani mandato; ubi denuo obiit circa annum 1716'. Edmund Burke, *Journal*, 133-134.

¹³⁴ The request was probably made in the closing months of 1697, for the General's reply was dated 18 Jan 1698. AGOP IV. 192, p. 229.

¹³⁵ *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, (ed. Reichert), MOPH XIII; 367-368.

and may on that account be attributed to Anthony Carroll who was long familiar with the situation there. The superiors and the nuns' confessors were always to be Irish; the monastery of Bom Successo was to have forty Irish nuns; while Scripture and Apologetics were to be introduced into the curriculum at Corpo Santo. The seventh ordination appealed to all provincials and priors to give a charitable reception to those begging alms for the college at Louvain¹⁸⁶. The two final ordinations promoted various members of the province to the Mastership or Praesentatura in theology. Since Fr. Ambrose O'Connor, not to speak of his predecessor, had asked in vain more than once for such promotions, he had every reason to be pleased with Fr. Plunkett's success in obtaining them¹⁸⁷. Edmund Burke himself was among those promoted on this occasion (becoming Master in theology), a fact which did not prevent him from complaining that the chapter made Masters of Theology 'out of wealthy army chaplains, few of whom had ever mounted either the pulpit or the rostrum' and some of whom were later honest enough to admit that they had not in the least expected such honours¹⁸⁸.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS, 1706-1707

While the capitular fathers were at work in Bologna in 1706, John O'Heyne was busily writing his account of the province. At the end of his short paragraph on Nicholas Blake of Galway, an exiled priest who had returned to Ireland in 1701, he wrote, 'I fear, however, that he is now in prison, because the heretics are going to extraordinary lengths in the pursuit of religious this year'¹⁸⁹. Perhaps because of the unusual severity of the persecution, Fr. Ambrose O'Connor remained at Madrid for the time being. In Ireland the place of Dominic O'Connor his Vicar-Provincial, who died in the summer of 1705, was taken by a certain Fr. Walsh. We owe this detail to Bernard O'Donoghue, Vicar-

¹⁸⁶ Fr. Martin King and Br. Edmund Fitzgerald, a laybrother, carried out an extensive quest for Louvain in the first half of 1706. Their permission to do so, first granted by Fr. Cloche on 19 Dec 1705, was extended to include France and Italy on 14 August 1706. AGOP IV. 166, pp. 93, 98. Note that on the latter date Martin King was called Peter in the register. On 8 Jan 1707 this quest was extended to Germany and entrusted to Fr. John Maghee S.T.P. and Br. Fitzgerald. AGOP IV. 166, p. 102.

¹⁸⁷ These requests were replied to negatively on 15 Oct 1701 (AGOP IV. 192, p. 366), 22 Oct 1701 (IV. 192, p. 367), and 2 May 1705 (IV. 166, p. 282).

¹⁸⁸ Journal, 133.

¹⁸⁹ O'Heyne, 155.

Apostolic of Ardagh, whom Edmund Burke, prior of Louvain, had commissioned to act in some business concerning the province. The relevant sentence occurred in O'Donogher's reply, translated and decoded by Edmund Burke for the benefit of Propaganda Fide: ' quaeque mihi circa tuos commissisti fratres peregi; eorum curam loco Domini Herbert [sic vocant Provincialem nostrum ne innotescat] agit Dominus Welsh, qui cohortem vestrum recrutabit cito ' ¹⁴⁰.

The provincial's residence in Madrid, to which O'Heyne referred in 1706, is also mentioned in a letter of 1707 from Grimaldi, Internuncio in Brussels, to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda in regard to the finances of Holy Cross, Louvain. Propaganda had long been paying a subsidy to the college for the support of four students, a subsidy renewed every three years on the prior making application for it. When Edmund Burke so applied to the Congregation in February 1707, the secretary of Propaganda wrote to Grimaldi to enquire whether the conditions under which the subsidy was granted were being fulfilled ¹⁴¹. Grimaldi apparently asked the superiors of Holy Cross for the relevant information and they, taking advantage of the opportunity, added to their report a strong plea for travelling-expenses for those former students of the college who would long since have gone to Ireland had they been able to afford it. In forwarding this document to Rome (24 March 1707), Grimaldi testified to the poverty of the college, mentioning what strains the exile of 1698 had put on its slender resources and how undesirable it was that the students should have to leave their books to beg. Another effect of their poverty was that Irish priests, assigned by their provincial to the mission, were forced to wander about the Low Countries begging for the price of their passage to Ireland, without in the meantime being able to shelter in their own college at Louvain. Grimaldi consequently gave his full support to the petition made to him by the superiors of Holy Cross on 16 March and asked Propaganda to consider their requests ¹⁴².

¹⁴⁰ O'Donogher's letter to Burke was dated 1 Oct 1706. APF, CP 32, f. 220^r. Unfortunately there were then three Dominicans named Walsh in Ireland — Patrick, Michael, and Christopher — so it is not possible to identify the Vicar-Provincial with certainty.

¹⁴¹ Burke's application to Propaganda was considered on 7 Feb 1707. APF, Atti 77, f. 23; SOCG 557, f. 144-145.

¹⁴² Burke ceased to be prior of Holy Cross about this time, a fact which explains why the petition of 16 March to the Internuncio was not signed by the prior of the college: the latter had not yet taken office. APF, SOCG 558, f. 422-423^r. The Inter-

This document, printed in full below, is basically a plea for money to send missionaries to Ireland and for the continuation of their subsidy from Propaganda: it gives one an insight into the economic problems of the province, cut off by the exile from its normal sources of revenue. The shortage of priests in Ireland was not simply due to the severity of the persecution, or to the reluctance of many to return. There were others who lived outside the country only because they were too poor to return. The petition also testifies to the work of Holy Cross College and tells us something of those who were trained there during this period. It is noteworthy that there were thirty-eight in the Community, about three times as many as in San Sisto, and probably rather more than there were in the college at Lisbon for which no precise figures are available.

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine

Ad Illustrissimae ac Reverendissimae Vestrae Gratiae quaesita candidae ac sincere respondemus ut sequitur.

1° Conventus noster pro Missione institutus, ex Superiorum ordinationibus nullum pro habitu induendo, aut pro studiis recipit, nisi singuli dum fuerint requisiti Missionem subire spondeant; ideoquin Rex Catholicus, Universitas ac Magistratus Lovaniensis nos hic residere permiserunt.

2° Conventus praeter Dei providentiam et fidelium eleemosinas annue non habet nisi 120 scuta Romana quae S. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide benigne concessit pro *sustentatione* (non pro *viatico*) quatuor Religiosorum per quadriennium, qui coram Illustrissimo Internuntio (pro tempore) spondere debent se in Hiberniam, expleto quadriennio studii, conferre; et insuper mille ducentos florenos annue pensionis a Rege Catholico ordinatae; cum tamen solum sexcentos recepit aliquando Conventus, aliquando quadringentas: et non raro nihil, propter temporum penuriam. Igitur Conventus qui de facto triginta octo Religiosos tam Exules a Patria, quam Professores et studentes alit, nullo modo valet *Viaticum* in Hiberniam dare Missionariis.

3° Religiosi illi qui coram Illustrissimo pro tempore Internuntio sese pro Missione praesentabant, protestari solebant se in Hiberniam studiis peractis migraturos, dummodo viaticum necessarium illis subministraretur, ut scire poterunt Eminentissimus Spada, et Illustrissimi Piazza et Bussio¹⁴⁸.

nuncio's letter (24 Mar) to Cardinal Sacripante, Prefect of Propaganda, is now *loc. cit.*, ff. 421, 424. On 23 May 1707, Propaganda took these documents into account and renewed the subsidy, instructing the Internuntio to provide 100 scudi for the missionaries ready to leave for Ireland. APF, Atti 77, ff. 155-157.

¹⁴⁸ These were three former Internuncios in Brussels. Orazio Spada (May 1696-November 1698), Giulio Piazza (December 1690-May 1696), and Giovanni Battista Bussi (November 1698-June 1706). Coll. Hib., No. 1 (1958) 38.

4° Practicatum aliquando vidimus, quod dum aliquis ex nominatis Religiosis magis ad docendum aut regendum conventum credebatur a superioribus proficiuus, quam pro missione; et alii, non specialiter intuitu cardinalitiae pensionis nominati, magis pro missione quam ad alios hic instruendos capaces, inventi sunt; priores apud nos ad tempus remanserant, et eorum loco mittebantur in Hiberniam posteriores: hic enim Conventus plusquam septuaginta dedit Hiberniae Missionarios praeter illos qui expensis S. Congregationis alebantur; inter quos nonnulli fuere Doctores in Theologia, Provinciales, Priores, Concionatores, et Missionarii pro fide zelosi, quorum nomina strenuamque operam recensere prolixum foret.

5° Ab ultima expulsionem Regularium Anno 1696 coepta, solum ex praesentatis coram Illustrissimo pro tempore Internuntio iverunt in Hiberniam R. P. *Dominicus Brulaughan* et R. P. *Ludovicus Synnich* et R. P. *Mathaeus MacNamarra*; primus de facto est Prior titularis *Culraniae* in Provincia Ultoniae; secundus obiit *Bredae* in Holandia an. 1699; tertius ex Hibernia redux cum aliis, alibi (ubi nescimus) manet exul: dicitur tamen quod *Compostellae* in *Hispania* extraneorum in zenodochio agit confessarium.

6° Praesentarunt alii sese coram Illustrissimo Bussio viaticum petentes, spretis periculis repatriare spondentes. Item Superiores huius Conventus libellos supplices in eum finem porrexerunt S. Congregationi mittendos: et tandem an. 1704 Eximius P. M. Provincialis Hiberniae fr. Ambrosius O'Conor ex Hibernia redux, Statum Missionis ibidem, penuriam Missionariorum, et Decreta Parlamenti illius anni Sanctissimo Domino Nostro in libello supplici misit, suppliciter rogans, quatenus Sua Sanctitas imminentibus Nationi malis, et specialiter de viatico Missionariis ire paratis, mature providere dignaretur.

Tandem idem Provincialis eodem anno Litteras Circulares ad suos per alios Regiones dispersos Religiosos misit, illos ad repatriandum invitando et exhortando (ideo enim ex Hibernia venit). Iverunt qui poterunt, ita quod de facto in Hibernia sint plusquam nonaginta Missionarii Dominicani; alii plures ire parati, defectu *viatici* remanere coguntur. Immo sub praeceptis et censuris in Patriam revocasset Provincialis (uti ex Bullis Clementis IX et X necnon ex actis Comitiorum Generalium Ordinis potest) quotquot inveniret Dominicanos Hibernos idoneos etsi aliis Provinciis incorporati, nisi obsesset mediocris Viatici defectus. Unde liquet id unum obstare quominus Hibernia de Missionariis sit provisum; pridem enim cum facilius esset transitus, et gratior apud Catholicos receptio minori erat opus viatico; nunc autem minor est hospitalitas, modica liberalitas, difficilior longe ingressus, etc.

Nomina Religiosorum nostro tempore Illustrissimis Internuntiis praesentatorum.

1. P. Ludovicus Synnich; hic, ut dictum est, obiit *Bredae* in Hiberniam tendens an. 1699.

2. R. P. Mathaeus MacNamarra; hic ex Hibernia redux, manet (ut audimus) confessarius extraneorum in zenodochio *Compostellano* in Hispania.

3. R. P. Petrus Moylen; hic adiit Illustrissimum *Bussium* petens Viaticum, et cum nihil receperit, ivit in Galliam ubi de facto commoratur prope oppidum dictum *Mante*, repatriare anhelans si media recepisset; est Religiosus pius, et ad concionandum aptus.

4. est R. P. Christopherus Connell, S. T. Praesentatus, actualis hic studii Regens Secundarius, pro quo ad missionem ivit (ut scripto declaratum reliquit) R. P. *Dominicus Brulaughan*, anno circiter 1696, ubi adhuc manet fructuosus Missionarius ut dictum est.

Expleto praefatorum quadriennio in Collegio, secuti sunt in dicta obligatione sequentes.

1. R. P. Petrus Conilane; hic obiit Lovanii dum studuit Theologiae.

2. R. P. Petrus MacCollin¹⁴⁴; hic fuit superior, et de facto est in hoc Conventu Syndicus.

3. R. P. Patritius Coghlan, nunc habitat prope *Valencenas*, Cappellanum agens honorabilis familiae.

4. R. P. Joannes Morgan; hic est in Gallia in *Chateau-Thiery*: omnes tres erant et sunt parati si media antea petita sed non obtenta reciperent.

Expleto horum quadriennio, Secuti sunt Sequentes¹⁴⁵.

1. R. P. Jacobus Stapleton; hic habet Provincialis obedientiales pro Hibernia ab anno.

2. R. P. Marcus Lyons, de facto est *Namurci* agens Capellanum Legionis de *Tilly*, ut illa via acquirat media ad repatriandum.

3. R. P. Michael Egan; est hic actualis Studentium Magister.

4. R. P. Hyacinthus Sulevane; hic studens existens, de Consilio Medicorum in Gallias abire coactus est pro sanitate recuperanda; an vivat, an iverit in Hiberniam, aut ubi sit de facto, ignoramus.

Qui de facto sunt in illa obligatione, et nondum expleverunt quadriennium, sunt

¹⁴⁴ On 14 April 1707, Fr. Christopher French O.P. of Holy Cross wrote to Propaganda to complain that Fr. Peter MacCullin and Fr. Christopher Connel S.T.P. had never gone to the Irish mission despite the fact that they had taken the missionary oath. He described the pair as both natives of Ulster, both over forty years of age, and both more than fifteen years living in Holy Cross. APF, SC *Irlanda* 6, f. 256^v.

¹⁴⁵ On 1 August 1699 the Internuncio reported to Rome that these four Dominicans (Lyons, Stapleton, Egan, and Sullivan) had recently come to take the missionary oath before him. At that time, as appears from the same letter, neither Egan nor Sullivan had yet been ordained priests. APF, SC *Irlanda* 5, f. 648^r.

1. R. P. Thomas Fleming, hic vocatus Romam studet ad S. Xistum.
2. R. P. Jacobus Lynham, est hic Lovanii¹⁴⁶.
3. R. P. Stephanus Egan; hic pariter studet Lovanii.
4. R. P. Thomas Connelly; hic pariter de Medicorum Consilio debuit ire in Galliam, et Parisiis ad S. Honoratum studuit.

Illustrissima Vestra Gratia nunc videt Conventum non posse Viaticum subministrare, videt pariter Religiosos ad id paratos; vel eosdem in *Individuo* (si ita requirat Sacra Congregatio) vel ad alios aequae utiles mittendos; percipiet facile quod Conventus periturus sit, si annua illa privetur pensione ac proinde deficiet nostrorum Religiosorum successio; Cum hic potissime induantur et instruuntur nunc Novitii. Superest ergo ut apud S. Congregationem agere non gravetur pro Pensionis continuatione et solutione, et pro Viatico congruo singulis dando; tum enim Superiores nedum illos, sed et alios plures mittere satagent; quo facto nos antea plurimum obligatos, novo titulo devinciet, et pro omnimoda vestra prosperitate Deum O.M. deprecantes subscribimur.

Lovanii 16 Martii 1707.

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine,
 Illustrissimae ac Reverendissimae Gratiae Vestrae,
 Obsequentissimi et addictissimi famuli,
 fr. Joannes Dillon, S.T. Magister.
 fr. Edmundus de Burgo, S.T. Doctor, Regens Primarius, etc.
 fr. Christopherus Connell, S.T. Praes., Supprior.
 fr. Petrus MacCollin, Syndicus.

This petition had the desired effect, for on 23 May 1707 Propaganda not only renewed its subsidy to Holy Cross but permitted the Internuncio to give a hundred scudi to those ready to go to Ireland¹⁴⁷. If any documents illustrating Ambrose O'Connor's activities in Madrid ever come to light, it will probably be found that most of his efforts were directed towards the same pressing problem of financing the restoration of the province. In a passage quoted already, Edmund Burke explicitly refers to the 'immense sums' gathered by him at Madrid and spent during his visits to Ireland¹⁴⁸. He had not, however, to find travelling

¹⁴⁶ On 18 July 1707 the prior and moderators of Holy Cross presented Fathers James Lynham and Stephen MacEgan to the Internuncio for missionary faculties and viaticum. APF, SC *Irlanda* 6, f. 269^r. The document was signed by Michael MacQuillan S.T.P., now prior of Holy Cross.

¹⁴⁷ APF, Atti 77, ff. 155-157. The use to which the Internuncio put this permission may be seen from a letter (15 Nov 1708) from Grimaldi to Paolucci. Coll. Hib. No. 4 (1961) 104-105.

¹⁴⁸ Journal, 132.

expenses for those of his subjects who returned to Ireland from Spain. They automatically received a viatick of one hundred ducats from the Royal Treasury on the completion of their studies¹⁴⁹.

A PROPOSED PROVINCIAL CHAPTER, 1708

The beginning of 1708 brought Fr. Ambrose O'Connor once more to Louvain, eight years after his first appointment as provincial. He wrote from Holy Cross to the General, using Edmund Burke as his secretary, and asked to be relieved of the provincialate¹⁵⁰. He also requested that the college at Lisbon be allowed to clothe novices and that the Fathers of the province might be permitted to elect his successor. Since the Franciscans had already held some provincial chapters at Dublin, the Dominicans did not see why they should not do so too, especially since there were now enough Priors and vocals for the purpose on the mission. The minutes of Fr. Cloche's reply are available: the provincial was continued in office for one year and strictly commanded to hold an elective provincial chapter in June 1709. If he failed to do so, the appointment of a provincial would devolve on the Master General¹⁵¹. However we are not in this case dependent on the General's registers, for Edmund Burke made at least two copies of the letter. The full text is interesting in its own right, but it also serves to show how

¹⁴⁹ Fr. Reginald Walsh found at Simancas a volume recording the names of Irish and English priests who received this generous allowance between 1709 and 1759. A large number of Dominicans figure in those pages, but Fr. Walsh, finding the record defective, was able to note the names of only two occurring before 1729. The reference to the archives of Simancas is *Segretaria de Hacienda*, No. 966; *Via-ticos a Religiosos Irlandeses e Ingleses 1709-1759*. Fr. Walsh's copy of all the Irish names is among his papers in the provincial archives (TA).

¹⁵⁰ 'Initio anni 1708 (octavo provincialatus) scripsit Provincialis O'Conor ad Reverendissimum Cloche quod priores et vocales sufficientes ad eligendum Provinciale in Hibernia fuerint, quod ipse totus lassus libenter videret alterum electum, et quae ipse peregit summarie retulit'. Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, LVII.

'... tandem scripsit ad Reverendissimum (me amanuensem agente) rogans ut eum a provincialatu exonerare dignaretur et Patribus facultatem alterum eligendi concederet, et novitios in Collegio Ulissiponensi recipiendi'. Edmund Burke, *Journal*, 132.

¹⁵¹ P.M. fr. Ambrosius O'Conor jubetur continuare suum provincialatus officium ad alium annum hac conditione apposita, ut in mense Junii anni 1709 infal-libiliter intimet capitulum provinciale electivum. Si secus, sciat jus providendi Provinciae esse devolutum ad Patrem Generalem. 25 Feb 1708. AGOP IV. 166, p. 117.

poorly Fr. Cloche's correspondence with his Irish subjects is represented by the official summaries ¹⁵².

A.R.P. Provincialis salutem.

Quemadmodum ad Capitulum Provinciale electivum PP. Provinciae non amplius convocari queant, harum serie prorogamus tuam Paternitatem Admodum per annum in officio provincialatus, mandantes ut saltem in toto mense Junii 1709 PP. Capitulares ad Capituli Electivi celebrationem infallibiliter, quoad fieri potest, convocet; Nolumus enim Provinciam suo jure eligendi sibi Provincialem diutius privari; si vero toto mense Junii non fieret novi Provincialis electio, declaramus jus instituendi superiorem Provinciae vestrae ad nos devolutum. Porro pergratum nobis est quod P. Magister Provincialis Hispaniarum promiserit pro desolata Provincia vestra recipere ad habitum juvenes, et emissa sacra professione ad studia applicare; debet itaque Paternitas Vestra nullam in hoc pendere moram, sed ut hoc speciali favore frui conari. Poterunt etiam aliqui Candidati si sint, et in Collegio Ulissiponensi recipi et profiteri. Quibus nos et socios assiduis tuis precibus commendatos optamus.

Romae die 25 Februarii 1708.

Conservus tuus in Domino fr. Antoninus Cloche Magister Ordinis.

(a tergo sic scriptum erat) A. R. in Christo Patri Magistro fratri Ambrosio O'Conor Ord. Praed. Priori Provinciali Hiberniae, Franca per Mantova, Lovanium, Magister Ordinis. Asserventur usque ad adventum.

The reference made here to the reception of novices in the province of Spain and the college at Lisbon — a detail omitted from the summary — is of no small importance. So many had died ¹⁵³ in the years immediately after the exile that the reception of novices was more than ever a vital part of provincial policy. Thanks in great measure to the efforts of Fr. O'Connor, novices were now being received not only in Ireland, but at Louvain, Rome, Lisbon, and even in the novitiates of other provinces. But to return to the provincial chapter demanded by the General. Fr. Cloche's command had no sooner been read and pondered by the provincial than he received in the next post another from the same source dated the 3rd of March. In this Fr. O'Connor was

¹⁵² Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, LVII; *Journal*, 144.

¹⁵³ O'Heyne, *passim*. There is a striking example in the Athenry house-chronicle, where thirty-two members of the community are grouped under the heading 'Obierunt ab anno exilii 1698': virtually all of these died abroad before 1724, most of them in the first few years of the exile. TA, Athenry house-chronicle, f. 4^{rv}.

told to continue as provincial *ad tempus Generali bene visum* and to postpone the projected provincial chapter until the times were more settled ¹⁶⁴.

P. M. Ambrosio O'Conor provinciali Hiberniae. Injungitur quatenus suum officium ad tempus Generali bene visum continuet, et celebrationem Capituli Provincialis ad sereniora tempora, quia contra Catholicos renovantur in Hibernia persecutiones, transferat. De juvenibus autem pro susceptione sancti habitus vestiendi sollicitate curet.

As can be seen, the only excuse offered for this extraordinary volte-face was that persecution of the Irish Catholics had broken out anew. Although Edmund Burke fails to provide a copy of this second letter, it would appear from his writings that the General forbade the chapter *sub poena nullitatis*. Burke does, however, impute Fr. Cloche's complete and sudden change of mind to those members of the province, led by Patrick Plunkett, who had obtained the alternation of the provincialate between members of the four provinces at the General Chapter of Bologna. Were this legislation to be applied the next provincial would be from Munster, a province then virtually desolate. Plunkett may have preferred to guarantee a Munster provincial by having one appointed by the General, rather than run the risk that the vocals of Connacht, were a provincial chapter to be held in 1709, would ignore the system of alternation and use their numerical superiority to elect one of their own ¹⁶⁵.

A LULL IN THE PERSECUTION, 1707-MARCH 1708

Whatever one may think of Fr. Cloche's change of mind in regard to the holding of a provincial chapter, there is reason to doubt the force of the excuse he offered for it. So calm had the Irish situation been during 1707 that Rome took the first step in the restoration of the Irish hierarchy by naming no less than five bishops to Irish sees. One of these was Ambrose MacDermott, formerly a penitentiary of St. Mary Major's and now bishop of Elphin. Far from witnessing a new outbreak of persecution, the first months of 1708 seemed to promise more peaceful times for the regular clergy in Ireland.

Since the legal position of the missionaries had undergone no change

¹⁶⁴ AGOP IV. 166, p. 117.

¹⁶⁵ This suggestion is entirely my own, for Edmund Burke says nothing of Plunkett's motives.

during the decade following 1698, nothing has been said in these pages of the gradual construction in those years of the penal code. One should, however, mention the registration in 1704 of all the diocesan priests, if only because some religious, by registering themselves as secular priests, succeeded in securing a certain legal standing. Although the names of the registered priests have been preserved¹⁵⁶, it would not be easy to identify or even number the Dominicans among them. Apparently there were some, for the Internuncio in a letter of 15 November 1708 provided statistics regarding what he called 'non-registered Dominicans': of these there were fifty in Connacht, ten in both Ulster and Leinster, and a few in Munster¹⁵⁷. The non-registered thus totalled about seventy-five, whereas at this date the number of Dominicans on the mission numbered close to a hundred¹⁵⁸. Technically speaking, whether registered or not, all these religious were outlaws, liable on discovery to imprisonment and transportation. Those among them who had already been so transported were liable to the death-sentence as traitors, though such a penalty was never actually inflicted: no religious of this time suffered more than imprisonment for life. It is however precisely in 1707 and the spring of 1708 that one finds the first evidence of what was to become the general policy regarding the regular clergy — the policy of ignoring their presence save when there were fears of a revolution in favour of the Stuarts or an individual religious brought himself to the unfavourable notice of the authorities.

Early in 1708 a Dominican named Peter O'Kenny wrote from Saluzzo in north-eastern Italy to the prior of Holy Cross, Louvain, expressing his desire to return to Ireland. He had a warm reply dated the 20th of February from Edmund Burke to whom the prior had shown the letter and who was overjoyed to hear that his old friend was still alive¹⁵⁹. Burke hastened to assure O'Kenny that there was food

¹⁵⁶ A List of the Names of the Popish Parish Priests throughout the several counties in the kingdom of Ireland, together with their Places of Abode, Age, etc., Dublin, 1705. The pamphlet was reprinted in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1876, 229 ff.

¹⁵⁷ APF, SOCG 565, ff. 73^r-74^r. See also *Coll. Hib. No. 4* (1961) 104-105.

¹⁵⁸ 'plusquam nonaginta' according to the staff of Holy Cross on 16 Mar 1707 APF, SOCG 558, ff. 422-423^r. See above p. 302.

¹⁵⁹ 20 Feb 1708. Burke to O'Kenny. A Latin copy. APF, SOCG 562, f. 174^r. 'Victus et amictus in Hibernia nulli deest Ecclesiastico: in similibus Patria plus nunquam abundavit. Raritas Religiosorum eos chariores reddit: ex Minoritis et nostris plus quam centum eo redierunt a biennio, nec quidquid passi sunt; sed po-

and clothing for every priest in Ireland: never had the country been better provided with such things. The fewness of religious ensured them a warm welcome from the people. Within the previous two years more than a hundred Franciscans and Dominicans had entered Ireland without molestation. In a word, Burke continued, the road was open to anyone who had money for the journey. Those who behaved themselves properly on the mission were not in any danger: they could be discovered only by accident, which had not happened, so far as he knew, to anyone. On receipt of this letter O'Kenny wrote (17 March) to the Prefect of Propaganda, stating the need for missionaries in Ireland and explaining that though the government had not given positive approval to the regular clergy, it turned a blind eye to their activities¹⁶⁰.

With the descent of the French on Scotland in support of James III at precisely the time O'Kenny was writing to Propaganda, government leniency came abruptly to an end. Among the first Dominicans to suffer the consequences was Ambrose MacDermott, bishop of Elphin, who happened to be in London when the revolution in Scotland was attempted¹⁶¹. The bishop had been secretly consecrated in Rome during the previous year and was the first of many Dominicans who were promoted to Irish sees during the 18th century. From that point of view his elevation represents a stage in the recovery both of the Irish church and of its Dominican province. Though many of his letters survive,

pulo discrete benefaciunt. Verbo: habenti viaticum via reputatur aperta, se honeste se in Patria gerenti nihil imminet periculi; nisi noscatur per infortunium, quod actenus nulli (quod sciam) accidit'. Burke added that O'Kenny could live freely at Athenry or Youghal. If he were to come immediately to Louvain he could travel with Mr. William Burke [O.P.?] and perhaps get some assistance from the Inter-nuncio.

¹⁶⁰ APF, SOCG 562, f. 173^{rv}. 'vivono senza ricevere una minima molestia come hanno scritto, non perche sia concessa una positiva licenza, ma li Comandanti Eretici chiudono l'occhio'. O'Kenny asserted that two other members of the province were ready to go with him to Ireland from Saluzzo, provided Propaganda gave them the necessary viatic. The reply of the Congregation (23 Apr 1708) was 'habebitur ratio'. APF, Atti 78, f. 293^{rv}. This Fr. O'Kenny is not to be identified with the Fr. Peter Kenna (prior of Kilmallock and Tralee before the exile) so frequently mentioned by O'Heyne, but with the Peter Kinny who on 31 Mar 1696 was permitted to return to Ireland after finishing his studies at Genoa. AGOP IV. 182, p. 254.

¹⁶¹ R. Walsh, *Glimpses of the Penal Times: Part VIII*, in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 26 (1909) 285-294. This fine article is devoted entirely to the bishop, but drew none of its information from either Propaganda or the Nunziatura di Fiandra.

one must resist the temptation to discuss them here¹⁶². Suffice it to say that he set out for Ireland in company with Fr. Peter MacDermott, a former lector and prior of San Sisto, reached London in January 1708, and was arrested about the end of March or the beginning of April. Though they put up a brave pretence of being Italian musicians, they were plainly told who and what they were, thrust into prison for four months, released on the persistent intervention of the Venetian ambassador, and given eight days to return to Flanders¹⁶³.

THE PROVINCIAL'S VISIT TO IRELAND, 1708

Undeterred by the news of this mishap, Fr. Ambrose O'Connor set off himself for Ireland in the summer of 1708. Of this, probably his third visit, there is no trace either in the registers of the General or in the *Liber Provinciae*. Perhaps this was because the visit was chiefly a political one, undertaken to rally Irish support for the Stuart cause. Since his visit shortly followed the unsuccessful attempt of James III to land in Scotland, he found that the toleration experienced by the Catholics during the previous year had given way to severe repression. The following is part of the account he presented to Mary of Modena, widow of James II, on his safe return¹⁶⁴.

'When I went over to Ireland, the king my master ordered me to inform myself exactly of the state of affairs in that kingdom. I have acquitted myself of that commission to the utmost of my power, as you may see by what follows. Having received orders to sail from Brest, notwithstanding the bad success of the Scottish expedition, I arrived in Ireland on the 7th of May

¹⁶² For those of his letters in Nunziatura di Fiandra see Coll. Hib., No. 4 (1961) and No. 5 (1962). As regards the archives of Propaganda one may note at least two autograph letters of this period. 7 Aug 1708. MacDermott at Brussels to the Cardinals of Propaganda. APF, SC *Irlanda* 7, ff. 27-28. This describes his arrest and imprisonment in London. The other letter was dated at Antwerp on 8 Nov 1708 and was addressed to the Master General. It likewise described his adventure in England, but spoke too of his work in Holland and recommended two Irish Dominicans (FF. Colman O'Shaughnessy of Louvain and Patrick Gormley of London) to Fr. Cloche. APF, SC *Irlanda* 7, ff. 43-44.

¹⁶³ Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, LV.

¹⁶⁴ Nathaniel Hooke, *The Secret History of Hooke's Negotiations in Scotland*, Dublin 1760, 105-111. For the political background see Charles Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement: the first phase, 1688-1716*, London 1948, 124-126. The published Stuart Papers (Historical Mss. Commission) shed no further light on Fr. O'Connor's mission.

of the present year 1708. Having heard the instant I landed that all the lords, clergy and gentlemen of the kingdom had been seized and all their horses carried off, I gave intelligence of that to Lord Clanrickard by the same frigate that brought me to the island. The same day I advanced into the country as far as I could, to have some conversation with the persons to whom I was directed by my instructions to address myself. I forbear to mention the danger I run, of being seized by the enemies of the king, who having discovered that I had landed from a French frigate, pursued me on all sides. After the alarm had continued for a few days, believing myself out of danger, I proceeded to visit the principal persons of the province of Connacht, who are my lords Clanrickard, D—, B—, R—, Sir Uliack Bourk, and Colonel Grene MacDonogh...

From the province of Connacht I crossed the province of Leinster in my way to Dublin, when I saw lord Limerick, who is one of the chief men of that country. At Dublin I found lord F—, D—, and F—, and Colonel MacDonogh. After having discoursed with them on the subject of my journey, they told me that the king my master needed not make the least doubt of their fidelity; that they desired nothing as earnestly as his restoration, and the being put in the way of contributing thereto...

I have employed a gentleman of merit, faithful and zealous, named Denis M'Menors, who knows all the nobility and the state of everything in the counties of Clare, Kerry, Mayo, and Cork; he has given me a list of all those who may be depended upon, and he has assured me that in five counties only, the king could raise in a short time 20,000 men, provided he furnished them with arms, the counties being in the number of those in which there is the greatest number of Roman Catholics. The counties of Roscommon, Sligo, and Leitrim are of the number, full of well-affected Catholics.

I was, besides, careful to inform myself of the means for surprising the city of Galway. A gentleman of the family of the Browne's... has assured me that with 500 well-disciplined men, he would undertake to make himself master of that place, as he knows it perfectly, both within and without... '.

The provincial then went on to describe how the key-town of Athlone on the Shannon could be taken by a force from Galway and Clare. He left Dublin on 11 August and made his way back to the continent through London, where he had an interview with two lords imprisoned in the Tower. Just as Ambrose MacDermott had been imprisoned for being a bishop, so Ambrose O'Connor was hunted for being a Jacobite agent. Apart from his own remarks about the manner in which he was pursued, we have the comments of an anonymous writer, probably Hugh MacMahon, bishop of Clogher, on the same subject. They occur in an undated protest against Fr. O'Connor's alleged attempt to have

himself named bishop of Ardagh¹⁶⁵. When O'Connor went first to Ireland as provincial, according to this writer, he failed to cover his tracks, and was so unremittingly sought by the government that he had to flee to France. On going the 'second' time from France to Ireland he was recognized almost as soon as he landed, for his name and details of his appearance were listed at every port and a great reward was offered for him, alive or dead.

THE LAST YEARS OF FR. AMBROSE O'CONNOR, 1709-1711

With the appointment of his successor on 16 February 1709, Ambrose O'Connor's provincialate came at length to an end. He was, however, accorded the title of provincial by the Nuncio in Paris in a letter written on 25 February¹⁶⁶ to Cardinal Paolucci, Secretary of State: the letter described the visit to Paris paid some time before by the Irish Dominican provincial, recently returned 'from the mission'. O'Connor had revealed to the Nuncio the repressive measures newly employed against the Catholic religion, presenting him a memorial on the subject to be forwarded to the Pope. Though that memorial has not been traced, it appears from the Nuncio's letter to have dwelt at least in part on the oath abjuring the Stuarts now to be demanded even of the registered priests by the Irish parliament¹⁶⁷. O'Connor felt, according to the Nuncio, that either the Emperor or the Venetian government might be able to secure the modification of the proposed law.

In September 1709 the ex-provincial had a letter from Fr. Cloche granting him leave to work in England, 'postquam gloriose finivit provincialatum Hiberniae'¹⁶⁸. By 15 November he had already emerged

¹⁶⁵ The undated protest was signed by 'alcuni zelanti in Fiandra': its purpose was to prevent the appointment of John Verdon to the see of Ferns and of O'Connor to that of Ardagh on the grounds that the candidates were not natives of the respective ecclesiastical provinces. It is interesting for its comments on the unhappy results which in the preceding century followed the appointment of Oliver Plunkett, a Leinsterman, to the primatial see of Armagh. APF, CP 34^a, ff. 265-266.

¹⁶⁶ APF, CP 34^a, f. 268^{rv}.

¹⁶⁷ On the oath of abjuration see W. P. Burke, *Irish priests, 184-186*, and Maureen Wall, *The Penal laws*, 20-21.

¹⁶⁸ AGOP IV. 200, pro Anglia etc., p. 5. All subsequent references to this volume (IV. 200) are to the section 'pro Anglia, pro Germania Inferiori et Hybernia' unless otherwise stated.

from another brief imprisonment in London¹⁶⁹. For the next two years he moved between Dublin and London, as active as ever on behalf of the Irish church in the world of politics and diplomacy. Among the various papers, mostly extracts from his correspondence, illustrating this activity, there is only one item of purely religious interest — a letter written at Dublin on 16 November 1710 denying newspaper reports that the chapels in Ireland were open¹⁷⁰. James III sought his promotion (by letter dated 16 June 1709) to the sees of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise. Fr. O'Connor died soon after at London on 19 February 1711 and was buried in the churchyard of St. James¹⁷¹.

HUGH CALLANAN, 1709-1717

The new provincial, appointed by Fr. Cloche on 16 February 1709, has been mentioned already in connection with the attempted foundation of a hospice near Villers-Cotterêts and as one of Patrick Plunkett's associates at the General Chapter of 1706¹⁷². Though originally

¹⁶⁹ Coll. Hib. No. 4 (1961) 128.

¹⁷⁰ The extract was sent to Propaganda by the Internuncio on 11 Dec 1710. APF, SOCG 575, f. 125^r. Fr. O'Connor declared that, no matter what the newspapers said, the chapels were not open. The items in the papers were invented by Presbyterians who hated Ormonde, recently named Viceroy of Ireland. It would certainly be imprudent for our priests ('nostrates'), he continued, to open chapels now: better to be modest and hope for greater liberty at another time. For the newspaper reports denied by the ex-provincial see Coll. Hib. No. 5 (1962) 30. Another of O'Connor's letters (London, 28 Nov 1709) is in Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, II, 412, and there is a third (London, 8 Jun 1710) in APF, SC *Irlanda* 7, f. 278^{rv}.

¹⁷¹ On his promotion see W. M. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, Vol. I, Rome 1876, 293-294. The king's letter stated that Fr. O'Connor was 55 years old (i.e. in 1709). APF, CP 34a, f. 244. Cardinal Caprara too wrote a warm recommendation of Fr. O'Connor. *ibid.*, f. 241. The date of death is recorded only by Edmund Burke. 'Per annos novem continuatus rexit, et denuo nominatus a Rege Jacobo III ob sua merita Episcopus Ardensis, obiit ante Bullam acceptam Londini 19 Feb 1711'. *Brevis Notitia*, 3. The same date is given in the *Journal*, 137, but there is a change to '20 Feb 1710/11 stili veteris' on another page of the same volume. *Journal*, 121. Hence we can take it that Fr. O'Connor died during the night of 19-20 February 1711, not in 1712 as is given in *Necrologium Provinciae Hiberniae, Fratrum S.O.P.*, Dublin 1953, 5. The detail in regard to the place of burial comes from the single page in Burke's hand already mentioned as occurring in AGOP XIV. PP part 1, 389. 'ante Bullae expeditionem obiit Londini 19 Feb. 1711, sepultusque in coemeterio S. Jacobi'.

¹⁷² See above pp. 286-87, 296-99. For the appointment see AGOP IV. 200, p. 1.

a son of the convent of Lorrha in Munster, Callanan had lived from as early as 1674 in the province of Paris to which he was formally transfiliated in 1680¹⁷³. O'Heyne mentions his imprisonment for a year in England at the time (December 1688) when King James II was forced to vacate the throne: on his release he returned to Paris where he took a doctorate at the Sorbonne¹⁷⁴. Subsequently he became a Master in Theology (1691), prior of Blois, vicar of the hospice near Villers-Cotterêts (1703), and prior of Metz from 1707 probably until the date of his appointment as provincial¹⁷⁵. Edmund Burke and his friends, feeling that the alternation of provincials was an injustice to Connacht (which had as many sons as the other three provinces together) and that the choice of provincial should have been made at a chapter in Ireland, tended to resent the fact that Fr. Cloche should have claimed the right to fill the office by appointment. It did nothing to soothe their feelings when the General's choice fell on a candidate from Munster who on the one hand was a good friend of Patrick Plunkett, the unofficial socius, and on the other had not been in Ireland for close on forty years. Legally speaking, Callanan was not even a member of the province. Nonetheless, the new provincial was a man of high qualities, by no means unworthy of the honour. Long residence abroad had perhaps left him unable or reluctant to face the rigours of the Irish mission, but he did visit it twice during his eight-year term of office and could not on any other score be accused of having neglected his duties.

NEW MISSIONARIES FOR IRELAND, 1709

The number of Dominicans in Ireland does not appear to have increased much, if at all, between Ambrose O'Connor's visit in 1702 (when there were about ninety on the mission) and the beginning of

¹⁷³ On 5 March 1678 Callanan had already been four years a student at St. Jacques in Paris. AGOP IV. 155, f. 166^v. On 28 August 1680 he was permitted to transfiliate to a convent of the Paris province. IV. 156, f. 316^r.

¹⁷⁴ O'Heyne, 119. 'peractis studiis profectus est in Angliam, ubi unius anni carcerem sustinuit, quando noster Rex Jacobus, Deo et Ecclesiae gratus, ejectus est e throno. Inde liberatus, regressus Parisiis doctoris lauream obtinuit in facultate Sorboniensi. Institutus fuit prior Blesensis in Gallia per litteras regias, estque [1706] affiliatus in provincia Parisiensi'.

¹⁷⁵ The Mastership was conferred on 13 January 1691. AGOP IV. 182, p. 100. On 8 November 1707 Cloche wrote to the bishop of Metz, thanking him for helping Fr. Callanan, prior of the convent there. IV. 186, f. 139^r. On 21 March 1708, while

Hugh Callanan's provincialate. Writing to the Internuncio on 6 October 1709, the prior of Holy Cross stated that there were then more than eighty members of the Order in Ireland¹⁷⁶. The arrival of new missionaries between 1702 and 1709 had probably been offset by the death of older priests and the transportation of others, so that the total number remained stable, or slightly dropped, despite reinforcements. The letter to which we owe this statistic is a long and detailed list of those sent to the mission from Louvain over the previous eighteen years which, in its main lines, repeats the contents of the Louvain petition printed in full above. Unfortunately it neglects to note the years in which those it mentions went, or attempted to go, to Ireland. It is, however, interesting for its comments on two priests who had suffered arrest: James Lynham who in 1708 made his way back to Louvain after escaping from prison in Dublin, and an unnamed priest (thought to be Antoninus Kent) who was captured in Waterford and sent to north Africa to be sold as a slave.

After receiving this report the Internuncio discussed it with Fr. Callanan. The provincial, then fresh from his visitation of Holy Cross, felt that only one of those suggested by the prior was really suited to go to Ireland as a missionary. That was Peter MacCullen who, as we know from the prior's letter, was destined for the northern diocese of Clogher of which his kinsman Hugh MacMahon was bishop: the others, in the provincial's opinion, lacked either sufficient maturity or learning. Consequently Fr. Callanan presented a list of his own for the approval of Propaganda Fide. This document, written in the very first year of his provincialate, evidences his concern to increase the number of his subjects in Ireland¹⁷⁷.

Nomina Religiosorum sui Ordinis et Provinciae quos Frater Hugo O'Callanan Sorbonae Doctor ac per Iberniam Ordinis Praedicatorum humilis Prior Provincialis ad missiones dictae Iberniae Provinciae judicat proxime destinandos.

still prior of Metz, he was named Visitor of the convent of Luxembourg. IV. 166, p. 322. He appears to have carried out a visitation in Luxembourg about 1711, during his Irish provincialate. IV. 200, p. 100.

¹⁷⁶ The prior was Michael MacQuillan. There is a copy of this letter in APF, SOCG 570, f. 131^{rv}.

¹⁷⁷ The original document, which is to be dated about 20 November 1709, is now APF, SOCG 570, f. 128^{rv}. Note that the provincial signs his name 'O'Callanan' here.

R.P.F. Edmundus Burk, Magister.	} Quinque priores sunt Lovanii.
R.P.F. Michael Maquilin, Magister.	
R.P.F. Petrus MacCullen.	
R.P.F. Daniel MacEgan.	
R.P.F. Joannes Donnelly.	
R.P.F. Thomas Knavin.	Hic degit prope Bruxellas.
R.P.F. Marcus Lyons.	Est capellanus Legionis Valonicae.
R.P.F. Petrus Kyna.	} Tres immediate praecedentes sunt Castro Sancti Theodorici in Gallia.
R.P.F. Patritius O'Dimane.	
R.P.F. Joannes Morgane.	
R.P.F. Petrus Moylin.	Prope Parisios.
R.P.F. Joannes Coghlane.	Prope Parisios.
R.P.F. Patritius Coghlane.	Prope Valencenas
R.P.F. Jo. Daverin.	In conventu Vienensi in Galliis.
R.P.F. Constantinus O'Garavane.	Ullissyponae in Portugallia.
R.P.F. Thomas Kennedy.	Ullissyponae in Portugallia.
R.P.F. Petrus Ferris.	Nanetis in Gallia.
R.P.F. Thadeus O'Daly.	Bilbaoe in Hispania.
R.P.F. Dominicus Mulfin alias Mulrunafin.	Bilbaoe in Hispania.
R.P.F. Anthonius Kelly.	Bilbaoe in Hispania.

Hos inter nullum vereor futurum qui illud animabus tam salutiferum opus non libenter sit obiturus, modo erit quae ad iter perficiendum et ad alia quae necessaria erunt comparanda media administrentur. Quapropter, humillime rogo Illustrissimam Gratiam Vestram ut dignetur pro avito suo in fidem Catholicum zelo deflendum nimis istius Regni statum intueri, et ibi missionariorum inopiam S. Congregationi aperire. Quo beneficio aeternum Deo inclina est Illustrissima Gratia Vestra et me et derelictum gregem istum, ut pro incolumitate et S. Congregationis et eiusdem Illustrissimae Gratiae Vestrae in utroque homine impensius simus Altissimum deprecaturi.

fr. Hugo O'Callanan, humilis prior provincialis.

This is a more interesting list than those concerning only the college of Holy Cross¹⁷⁸. For one thing, its scope is more broad: Fr. Callanan cast his net very wide by attempting to find recruits at Lisbon, at Bilbao, and in the neighbourhood of Paris. It also appears, from the

¹⁷⁸ Apart from the prior's report (6 October 1709) there is another interesting Louvain document of the same type dated 22 August 1715, or at least sent on that date to Rome by the Internuncio. It lists those sent to Ireland from Holy Cross between 1705 and 1715, adding the names of four students who were then preparing themselves for the mission. APF, SOCG 601, f. 206^r. Those who went in the period 1705-1712 were Andrew Kirwan, Anthony Kent, Peter Ferris, James Stapleton,

history of those he named, that he was trying to force back to Ireland several who had settled down in Europe after their exile in 1698 and others attached to the foreign colleges who had no wish to return home as missionaries though they had long since finished their studies. According to Edmund Burke, who had headed the provincial's list, Fr. Callanan's efforts were not crowned with success, at least so far as Lisbon and Louvain were concerned: 'ibidem diu haerentes repatriare frustra jussit'¹⁷⁹. Yet on the other hand, the college of SS. Sixtus and Clement in Rome was by now sending one or two a year to the mission; the Master General was continually assigning people to Ireland; and it is precisely during the first years of Fr. Callanan's provincialate that one begins to find more frequent traces of Dominican activity outside the province of Connacht¹⁸⁰.

THE VISITATION OF 1711

Since there is no mention in the registers of the General of the visitation carried out by Fr. Callanan at Louvain in the autumn of 1709, it is not clear by whose authority it was done. Fr. Cloche was as firm as ever in claiming immediate jurisdiction over the college, and though Callanan stood high in the General's esteem he was twice rebuked in the summer of 1710 for confirming the election of a new prior at Louvain¹⁸¹. Eventually the provincial was given freedom of action

James Lynham, Stephen Egan, Colman O'Shaughnessy, Anthony MacHugo, Thomas Fleming, Martin King, Edmund Burke, William Burke, and Thomas Burke. Only two (Thomas Kelly and John Baptist Fitzgerald) set out between 1712 and 1715, though John MacGhee and Michael MacEgan had been deputed to do so. The four students (presumably the four in receipt of the Propaganda subsidy) were James Dillon, Hyacinth Watson, Thomas Burke, and Laurence Cusack.

¹⁷⁹ Dissertatio, LVIII.

¹⁸⁰ Two examples must suffice. On 25 October 1710 an attestation in favour of John Verdon, Vicar-General of Armagh, was signed as follows by a prior of Drogheda. 'fr. Patritius Matheus prior conventus ordinis fratrum praedicatorum in villa Pontanensi, qui per 10 annos agens fui Eminentissimi Cardinalis Norfolkciae, et capellanus Regis Jacobi per 20 annos'. APF, CP 34^a, f. 466^{rv}. On 7 August 1713, an attestation declaring that the Franciscan nuns of Dublin had always been subject to their Franciscan provincials and that their confessors required his approbation alone was signed by Peter MacDermott O.P., and three priors from Leinster and Munster: Stephen Egan prior of Dublin, Thomas Burke prior of Waterford, and James Lynham, prior of St. Dominic's, Naas. APF, 34^b, f. 185^r.

¹⁸¹ 12 Jul 1710. P. M. Provincialis Hiberniae. Inculpatur a Reverendissimo quod praesumpserit P. Regentem Lovaniensem Joannem Maghe electum in priorem Lo-

when Fr. Cloche, in November of the same year, appointed him Commissary General both for Louvain and Lisbon¹⁸². One would like to know to what use he put this authority: the General's records throw no light on the point save to suggest that it may have helped the provincial to control the finances of Holy Cross, Louvain. In August 1710 there had been a dispute between Fr. Callanan (then living at Paris) and Michael MacQuillan the out-going prior of the college over money belonging to Fr. Daniel MacEgan — a dispute which required the intervention of Melchior d'Ermite, ex-provincial of Toulouse¹⁸³. The status of Commissary General, acquired by Fr. Callanan three months later, probably put an end to such embarrassments.

More than a year had now passed since the new provincial's appointment and his subjects in Ireland were beginning to grow impatient over Fr. Callanan's absence. There were decisions to be taken, business to be done, which the provincial alone had the necessary authority to settle. In the summer of 1710 the Master General had to issue two special commissions so that priests in Ireland could attend to matters belonging by right to the provincial: Nicholas Blake, ex-prior of Galway, was authorized *in tanta P. M. Provincialis distantia* to confirm the election of the Dominican prioress in that city, while Peter MacDermott was named Vicar General of the Order in Ireland *in continua absentia P. M. Provincialis*¹⁸⁴. Clearly the missionaries of Connacht had informed the General of their needs.

Another son of Connacht, Ambrose MacDermott bishop of Elphin, who by this time had safely reached his diocese, lent his support to the

vaniensem, sine expressa licentia Reverendissimi, confirmare, cum tamen confirmatio Prioris Lovaniensis, sicut et Rectoris Ulissiponensis a solo Reverendissimo immediate dependeat. AGOP IV. 200, p. 17.

30 Aug 1710. P. Praesentatus Joannes Maghee confirmatur in priorem conventus Lovaniensis S. Crucis, et inculpatur P. Provincialis Hiberniae quod ausus sit electum confirmare, cum tamen praefatus conventus, sicut Ulissiponense Collegium et conventus Monialium de Bono Successu, soli Magistro Ordinis immediate subjaceant. AGOP IV. 200, p. 20.

¹⁸² 15 Nov 1710. P. M. Provincialis Hiberniae Instituitur in Commissarium Generalem conventus Hibernorum Lovanii, et duorum conventuum fratrum scilicet et sororum Ulissiponae, eique conventus isti immediate subjiciuntur. AGOP IV. 200, p. 23.

¹⁸³ AGOP IV. 200, pp. 16-18.

¹⁸⁴ Blake's authorization was dated 19 Jul 1710 and MacDermott's appointment on the 2nd of August. AGOP IV. 200, pp. 18, 19.

complaint of his confrères in two letters to the Internuncio¹⁸⁵. On 25 June 1710 he wrote that the Dominicans, lacking a leader, keenly felt the need of direction and encouragement. They knew of Fr. Callanan's appointment, but he chose to remain on the continent rather than come to console them, despite the wish of the Master General that provincials should repair to Ireland immediately after assuming office. They had asked the bishop to bring the matter to the Internuncio's attention. Other religious elected their provincials at home, so if Fr. Callanan did not wish to return he should resign, and the missionaries in Ireland could easily choose a worthy successor from among themselves. The bishop's second letter, written on 30 August 1710, reverted more briefly but with no less force to the same topic: 'let him either come or resign'.

These and other representations both to Propaganda and to Cardinal Imperiali, protector of Ireland, as well as letters to Fr. Cloche himself, seem to have had their effect¹⁸⁶. Fr. Callanan left Paris about the beginning of 1711, and reached London in time to assist at the death-bed

¹⁸⁵ 25 Jun 1710. 'Thomas de Witt' (an assumed name) to Grimaldi. *Quelli del Signore Edmundo Burghesio suo servitore* [the Irish Dominicans] sono senza capo. Questi signori si lamentano assai, avriano un poco piu ordine, et anco piu animo. Sanno *vi e nominato qualcheduno* [the provincial], et anco che sta in quelli Paesi perche non viene a consolarli. Sanno che l'intenzione del Signore *Cloche* che ognuno tale subito fatto deve venire. Mi hanno pregato di toccar questo testo e di avvisare V.S.I. La dimanda e molto ragionevole. Gli altri *marinai* [regulars] di altra sorte fanno bene; fanno loro capi qui, e se quel Signore non vuole venire, dovrebbe lasciare il titolo, e questi Signori si provvederanno nel Paese, dove hanno Persone assai di garbo. From a copy in APF, SC *Irlanda* 7, ff. 288^r-289^r. The code is on f. 291^r. For a calendar of the full text see Coll. Hib., No. 5 (1962) 25-27.

30 Aug 1710 o.s. Ambrose MacDermott to Grimaldi. De religiosi Domenicani posso dire del bene assai; con summa prudenza fanno li fatti loro; si sono lamentati con me che il Provinciale loro resta in quelli Paesi, e non viene a consolarli. In questo hanno mille ragioni. Doveva venire o lasciare il comando. From a copy in APF, CP 34^a, f. 413^{rv}. For a calendar of the full text see Coll. Hib., No. 5 (1962) 28-29.

¹⁸⁶ The best source on these interventions is the letter of Edmund Burke to Cardinal Imperiali, written on 21 August 1713. The full text is published on pp. 327-29. Propaganda acted immediately on receiving the bishop of Elphin's first letter (dated 25 Jun 1710). The secretary showed it to Cardinals Imperiali and Fabroni on 14 August. On the 16th he wrote to Fr. Cloche, quoting from the letter and enquiring what remedies the General proposed to apply. APF, Lettere 99, ff. 295-296^r. Cloche replied on the 18th, saying that he had already taken steps to make up for the provincial's absence, even before the secretary wrote, by naming Peter MacDermott Vicar-General. APF, SC *Irlanda* 7, f. 292.

of Fr. Ambrose O'Connor on 19 February¹⁸⁷. By April he had reached his subjects in Ireland and remained on the mission until the following September. Lacking a report on his work there, we must be content with the following meagre extracts from the *Liber Provinciae*: with one exception they all refer to Connacht¹⁸⁸.

9 June 1711. The provincial accepted the resignation of Peter MacDermott, prior of Roscommon.

Peter MacDermott was appointed prior of Clonshanville and visitator of Dominican convents in the counties of Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon.

Thomas Burke was appointed Master of Novices in his native convent of Roscommon.

(signed) f. Callanan, prior provincial.

5 July 1711. Colman O'Shaughnessy was elected and confirmed prior of Athenry.

Anthony MacHugo junior was appointed prior of Lorrha.

24 July 1711. Anthony MacHugo, P.G., and prior of Portumna, was appointed Vicar General for Connacht.

This is surely not a complete balance-sheet of the provincial's activities during his six months on the mission, but the entries are not sufficiently brief to hide the fact that he was not prepared even to visit all the struggling communities of Connacht. Peter MacDermott, whose commission as Vicar General ceased on Fr. Callanan's arrival, was deputed to visit most of them¹⁸⁹. The only convent outside Connacht mentioned above is the provincial's native convent of Lorrha in north-west Munster, of which Fr. MacHugo, a recent arrival from Louvain, was named prior¹⁹⁰. Fr. Callanan left for France in September, ex-

¹⁸⁷ This is mentioned by Antoninus Maguire in a document dated November 1722. SCAR, Miscellanea (Shelf-number, 22), doc. 37.

¹⁸⁸ TA, *Liber Provinciae*, f. 30^v. The extracts given above are in my translation of the original Latin. Note that the provincial signs his name 'Callanan' without the prefix O.

¹⁸⁹ MacDermott's cessation from office on the provincial's arrival is known from his own statement to that effect in a letter dated c. 24 Sept 1713 to Cardinal Imperiali. APF, CP 34^b, ff. 197-198.

¹⁹⁰ Fr. Anthony MacHugo junior died on 4 April 1713 and was buried in Kilcorban beside Thaddaeus Keogh, the Dominican bishop of Clonfert (d. 1685). TA, Athenry House-Chronicle, f. 12^v. Fr. Anthony MacHugo senior, prior of Portumna, whom Fr. Callanan appointed Vicar-General for Connacht, died two months later (28 Sept 1711) and was buried in Athenry. *ibid.*, f. 12^r.

plaining that after almost forty years abroad he could not eat the rough fare of the missionaries, and left behind him the elder Fr. MacHugo as Vicar General for Connacht.

THE ATTEMPTED FOUNDATIONS AT JÁTIVA, 1712

In the summer of 1705 the English and Dutch fleets made a joint descent on the south-eastern coast of Spain in support of the Austrian claim to the Spanish throne: they were enthusiastically received in the old kingdom of Valencia where the very priests and friars took up arms in the cause of the Archduke Charles. Two years later, after the rebellion had been suppressed, Philip V decisively reasserted his authority over Valencia, singling out the city of Játiva (which had rejected even his offers of pardon) for special punishment. Its inhabitants were exiled from Valencia for life, their goods were confiscated, while the very buildings of the city (the churches alone excepted) were reduced to ashes. Among the victims of the royal anger were the friars and nuns of Játiva belonging to the Dominican province of Aragon¹⁹¹.

Intending that the very name of the city should be forgotten, King Philip ordered a new city called San Felipe to be built on the same site. When word of these developments reached the ears of the Master General, Fr. Cloche wrote on 11 August 1708 to the King asking that his subjects, not all of whom had been disloyal, might be allowed possession of two convents in San Felipe to replace those they had lost in the destruction of Játiva. He repeated the request in May 1711, but with no greater success¹⁹². Seeing that the very friars had taken arms against him, Philip V had no reason to treat the Dominicans any more leniently than he had the other inhabitants. It was at this stage of events, presumably in 1712, that Fr. Edward Fitzgerald, procurator of the Irish province at the court of Madrid, conceived the possibility

¹⁹¹ For the background to these events see Don Juan Valera, *Historia General de España por Don Modesto Lafuente, continuada*, Vol. III, Barcelona 1879, 471-512.

¹⁹² The letter of 11 Aug 1708 is known only from a reference to it in a draft of a later one from Cloche to the King. AGOP XI 13750. It should be, and probably is to be, found in AGOP IV. 196, a register of Spanish letters from 1706-1713, but that volume was for the greater part in fragments when I found it and has since been removed from the archives for repair. There is a full copy of the letter of 30 May 1711 in AGOP IV. 199, f. 54^r.

(by circumventing the province of Aragon) of obtaining two new convents at San Felipe for Irish priests and nuns of the Order¹⁹³.

The procurator's plan is fully set out in an undated petition to the King drawn up, not by Fitzgerald himself, but by some friend who had already spoken to the King about the project¹⁹⁴. The opening paragraphs dwell on the justice of Játiva's destruction, on the priests who has scandalously urged the people to take up arms against their sovereign, and on the way in which the magistrates of San Felipe were helping religious of all Orders to build new convents there, despite the royal commands to the contrary. The petition then refers to the fact that the Irish province had long been in possession of papal bulls and letters from Master Generals calling on the Spanish provinces to put one or two of their foundations at the disposal of its friars and nuns. Now was the time to act on these requests. The other reasons offered in support of Fitzgerald's petition may be given *in extenso*. It will be noticed that the document is merely a copy in French acquired by Fr. Cloche.

Ils resulteroient plusieurs biens de cette permission.

1. Votre Majesté satisferoit a la prière du General qui sans doute ne demanderoit pas qu'on etablit a St. Philippe les moines qui ont été Rebelles a Xativa — ayant lieu d'être content, puisque ce seroit des religieux et des religieuses de son meme Ordre.

2. Le couvent des Religieux serviroit d'azile au pauvres religieux persecutés dans leur pais pour la religion, et de Seminaire pour y elever de nouveaux missionnaires qui seroient d'un grand secours pour les Catholiques d'Yrlande.

3. Comme la nouvelle colonie et en partie composée d'étrangers, un couvent de religieux comme ceuxla, qui parlent plusieurs langues seroient d'un grand secours pour l'administration des sacraments, et d'une grande consolation a ces nouveaux habitans, d'ailleurs il seroit bien composé, car ie connois six ou sept religieux Yrlandois de cet Ordre actuelement en Espagne qui viendroient s'établir a St. Philippe, qui sont de tres dignes sujets par leur

¹⁹³ Fitzgerald appears to have studied in Spain, for he was ordered in December 1707 to proceed to Lisbon and thence to Ireland. *ÁGOP* IV. 166, p. 115. Instead, however, of going to the mission, he was taken onto the staff of Corpo Santo where in April 1709 he was appointed second lector of theology. *IV.* 200, p. 2. In February 1710, being then second Regent, he was promoted to the *Praesentatura* in theology. *IV.* 200, *pro provincia Teutoniae*, p. 23. On 14 Feb 1711 he was made procurator at Madrid. *IV.* 200, p. 31.

¹⁹⁴ This memorial is now in *AGOP* XI. 13750.

piété, leur doctrine, et leur zele pour le service de votre Majesté, et qui seroient tres propres a maintenir la fidelité qui convient a une nouvelle colonie.

4. Le couvent des Religieuses Irlandoises seroit une utile et honorable restraite pour les veuves et les orphelines des officiers de cette nation qui ont perdu la vie au service de V.M. et serviroit a donner une bonne et chretienne education aux filles et habitans de la nouvelle colonie.

Clearly the Irish province would have been glad to possess a convent of its own in Spain — a house which could serve as a retreat for those expelled from Ireland and as a centre of formation for those preparing for the mission. Their hospice at Bilbao on the northern coast was little more than a temporary shelter for those coming and going between Ireland and Spain. Besides, the students of the province, scattered in ones and twos throughout the peninsula, missed the benefits of a common training. Fr. Edward Fitzgerald was thinking too of the nuns of Galway — those nuns whom O'Heyne had advised in 1698 to remain in Ireland, but whose position was becoming more impossible year by year. If a Spanish convent could be found to receive them, the entire Galway community could be transferred from Ireland until conditions there favoured their return.

The King's four-year delay in acceding to the wishes of the General may have encouraged the procurator's hopes in 1712, but his petition was not ultimately successful. The friars of Aragon had powerful friends, the authorities in Valencia were on their side, and the Master General (hearing of Fitzgerald's plan) wrote once more to the King on 12 November 1712 urging the claim of their province¹⁹⁵. In what appears to be a draft of this letter, more detailed even than the full copy entered in the registers, Fr. Cloche set out his reasons why the Irish petition should be rejected. Spanish friars could better serve the people; the Irish could neither afford to build the convents, nor could they provide the great number of priests habitually called from the convent of Játiva to preach missions; the Irish had never before been granted a priory belonging to another province; at Lisbon and Louvain they had merely been permitted to build new convents for themselves¹⁹⁶.

These reasons at length prevailed, so that on 21 August 1714 Fr. Cloche was able to inform the provincial of Aragon that the King had graciously agreed to permit the erection of a Dominican convent for

¹⁹⁵ AGOP IV. 199, f. 93^r.

¹⁹⁶ AGOP XI. 13750.

twelve religious of his province in the new city of San Felipe¹⁹⁷. Fitzgerald's plan had failed, but he was to make yet another attempt to find a Spanish refuge for the nuns of Galway.

CONNACHT CALLS FOR A NEW PROVINCIAL, 1713

One gets the impression from the registers of the General that Fr. Callanan scarcely corresponded with him at all. Between October 1712, when his patents as Commissary General were renewed, and May 1717, when he was informed of the General Chapter it was intended to convene in the following year, Fr. Cloche appears to have written to him twice: once in regard to the new feast of Blessed Ceslaus, and once (on 15 July 1713) to tell him that his provincialate was extended *ex concessione Pontificis* for four years¹⁹⁸. Perhaps the provincial corresponded more frequently with Patrick Plunkett of the Minerva, using him as a trusted intermediary in his relations with the Master General: such a possibility is underlined by the fact that the many members of the province promoted to the Mastership or Preacher Generalship in these years are almost invariably described in the General's registers as having owed their degrees 'to the recommendation of the Provincial and of Master Plunkett'. The first among them was Fr. Edward Fitzgerald, promoted to the Mastership on 7 October 1712, perhaps a mark of Fr. Callanan's gratitude for his work in Spain¹⁹⁹.

The registers do indeed refer to a visitation carried out by Fr. Callanan at Lisbon in 1713, but we would know little even of this were it not that Edmund Burke briefly described the result in his *Dissertatio* on the history of the province: 'Serenissimus Portugalliae Rex edidit decretum quo vetuit ne ille vel alius quicumque sibi non subditus, Col-

¹⁹⁷ AGOP IV. 199, f. 144^v.

¹⁹⁸ 7 Oct 1712. P. M. Provinciali Hiberniae f. Hugoni Callanan. Renovatur Commissio Generalis iuxta folium 23 supra [= first issue on 15 Nov 1710] quia patentis priores fuerunt deperditae. AGOP IV. 200, p. 39.

15 Jul 1713. P. M. Hugoni Callanan Provinciali. Ex concessione Summi Pontificis extenditur provincialatus ad aliud quadriennium, eo quod vocales PP. Hyberni non possint convenire ad celebrandum capitulum. *ibid.*, p. 41.

7 Apr 1714. 'The decree concerning Bl. Ceslaus' feast was sent to him. *ibid.*, p. 44.

8 May 1717. Provincialis Hiberniae. Mittitur epistola Reverendissimi invitatoria ad Capitulum Generale Deffinitorum secundum anno sequenti Romae ad festa Pentecostalia celebrandum. *ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁹⁹ AGOP IV. 200, p. 39.

legium nostrum visitare valeat'²⁰⁰. Though such a decree excluding the provincial may have been issued, it would appear to have followed rather than preceded the visitation²⁰¹. One of his objects in going there had been to urge some of the priests at Lisbon to go to Ireland. Those he chose cannot have been enthusiastic, for we find the General ordering them to the mission in June 1714 under pain of forfeiting both active and passive voice²⁰².

These meagre details would summarize our knowledge of Fr. Callanan's affairs in 1713 were it not that his subjects on the mission appealed both to Cardinal Imperiali and to Propaganda Fide in an attempt to replace him by a provincial elected in Ireland. No less than five interesting letters survive to illustrate the episode; three from Ireland, another from the Regent at San Sisto, and a fifth from Fr. Cloche to Propaganda in defence of the provincial²⁰³. Though the fullest and most detailed of these, written at Athenry by Edmund Burke, will be given in full below, the main elements of the dispute may first be briefly stated for the sake of clarity. Callanan himself had played a leading role in securing the alternation of provincials at the Chapter of 1706, and since he had been appointed provincial in 1709, the time had now come for his place to be taken by someone from Ulster. The persecution had abated somewhat in Ireland, there were enough priors and subjects on the mission to hold a provincial chapter, and it was felt by many (particularly in Connacht) that the General should cease to appoint provincials and let his Irish subjects elect their own superior as the Franciscans had been doing for several years. One gets the impression

²⁰⁰ 15 Dec 1713. Cloche to Luke Hackett, Rector of the Irish college at Lisbon. Nothing can be gleaned from this letter save that the provincial had carried out the visitation of the college, and that the King had subsequently expressed his wishes to the Rector. AGOP IV. 196, under date. The phrase from Edmund Burke quoted above occurs in his *Dissertatio*, LVIII.

²⁰¹ Fr. Cloche expressly referred on 26 Jan 1717 (in a letter to Luke Hackett, Rector at Lisbon) to one of the ordinations made by Fr. Callanan four years previously during his visitation of the monastery of Bom Successo. *Quibus sororibus Lusitanis spirituali earum consolationi provisuri alias jam a nobis factam et in actis visitationis Commissarii et Visitatoris nostri Generalis P.M.F. Hugonis Calanan ante quadriennium fundatam concessionem innovamus alicui suae nationis Confessario S. T. Magistro et non alteri, ex conventu S. P. Dominici Ulissiponensi assumendo semel in mense sacramentaliter confitendi*. AGOP IV. 200, p. 68.

²⁰² 26 Jun 1714. The names of those concerned do not appear. AGOP IV. 200, p. 46.

²⁰³ All five letters are in APF, CP 34^b, ff. 196-205^r.

from these letters that the missionaries were prepared to hold a chapter with or without the General's approval. The only thing preventing them was that since no-one in Ireland knew precisely the date of Fr. Callanan's appointment, they were unsure as to the date on which he would go out of office. Letters to Fr. Cloche in 1712, asking specifically for this information, had gone unanswered. Consequently, were a provincial chapter to be held before that date the General would declare it null, while if it were delayed until afterwards the General could appoint whom he wished on the score that the missionaries had neglected to provide a provincial for themselves.

While pressing for a provincial chapter, the appellants were realistic enough to foresee that Fr. Cloche would make his own appointment, and that he would in all probability continue Fr. Callanan in office as he had continued Fr. O'Connor before him. Consequently, their letters dwelt on the difficulties created in Ireland by the provincial's absence, and on the pressing need of a superior (whether elected or appointed) who would actually come and live among them. Writing to Imperiali on 24 September 1713, Thomas Burke, prior of Waterford, complained of the uselessness of the Vicar-Provincial, an old parish priest, left by Fr. Callanan on his departure in 1711, and stressed how great was their need of direction and encouragement: '*nec superiorem, directorem, visitatorem, aut consolatorem habemus, sed ut milites sine duce, sine consilio, sine regimine confusi*'²⁰⁴. Peter MacDermott, the former Vicar General, likewise explained the position to the Cardinal. He had written more than once to Fr. Cloche on their need for a true leader. The old Vicar-Provincial lived in so remote a place that he could be reached only by express post. And what was worse, there were now twenty professed novices in Connacht alone who could not leave for their studies in Europe unless the provincial authorized their departure²⁰⁵. If Edmund Burke is to be believed, Fr. Callanan had never even written to the priests in Ireland during the two years between

²⁰⁴ 24 Sept 1713. Burke to Imperiali. APF, CP 34^b, ff. 196, 199. The writer mentions that he had come 'here' (to Waterford?) three years previously from Louvain; that it was now time to appoint a superior from Ulster; and that the brethren in Ireland were deceived, not knowing the date of Fr. Callanan's appointment, and hence unable to hold an election.

²⁰⁵ This letter is to be dated about 24 Sept 1713 since it is on paper of the same type and format as the letter of that date from Thomas Burke. APF, CP 34^b, ff. 197-199^v. MacDermott mentions that during his time as Vicar-General he had appointed many priors, instructing them to receive novices.

his departure in September 1711 and 21 August 1713 when the following letter was sent from Athenry to Cardinal Imperiali. For power of thought, precision of detail, inside knowledge of affairs, and clarity of expression, Burke's letter is unsurpassed by any others so far encountered in this period²⁰⁶.

Eminentissime Domine Patrone Colendissime,

A biennio quo huc appuli ruri (mea pro posse munia peragens) dego: unde vobis scribere non adeo facile erat: vigent enim leges contra tales hic latae, licet per intervalla sit tolerabilior executio. Plura nuper scripsi Eminentissimae Vestrae per quemdam amicum de rebus huius Missionis in communi. Nunc autem (quod tunc omisi sperans rerum emendationem) miserimum Fratrum Praedicatorum in hoc Regno statum (a pluribus requisitus) Eminentissimae Vestrae humiliter represento.

Novit, credo, Eminentia Vestra quod Reverendissimus Praedicatorum Generalis (sibi relictus) vir sit integerrimus et profectus filiorum amator; at cohabitant ei (etiam ex Nostratibus) qui bonum huius Missionis prorsus enervant. Hinc instituit Reverendissimus Provinciale Hiberniae P. Hugonem Calanan filium conventus *Metensis* in ditionibus Regis Christianissimi et Doctorem Parisiensem. Hic autem in Gallia annis ferme quadraginta degens, res Hibernicas cordi non habens eas neglexit, nec in Hiberniam venire voluit donec Eminentia Vestra, hac de re informata, dignata fuerat Reverendissimo Generali desuper loqui: tunc enim astute egerunt assistentes Generalis. Persuasum vobis voluerunt quod P. Magister Petrus MacDermot fuerit per Reverendissimum P. Generalem institutus Vicarius Hiberniae in absentia Provincialis, sed institutionem illam tunc tantum missam scimus quando Eminentia Vestra desuper sermonem habuit cum Reverendissimo Generale.

Provincialis autem mense Aprilis 1711 venit in Hiberniam, sed mox mense Septembris proxime sequentis discessit in Galliam, unde nihil ab illo exinde recepimus. Allegabat enim se non posse in Hibernia vivere, quia multis annis fuit in Gallia, delicate nutritus, etc.

Nonnulli ea de re querelas ante Reverendissimum P. Generalem deposuerunt, et incommoda absentiae Provincialis (sub fictis quibusdam praetextibus quod ardua haberet extra Hiberniam negotia peragenda) Reverendissimo Generali significaverunt, rogaveruntque suam Reverendissimam Paternitatem (ferme ab anno) quatenus dignaretur rescribere quando finiret Provincialis ille suum (non enim novimus tempus quo fuit institutus) Provincialatum, ut vocales in Hibernia existentes (qui plures sunt) alium eligerent aliquem hic existentem in rebus Missionis practicum, socium tribulationum, et Catholicis saecularibus gratum. Sed praevaluerunt apud Reverendissimum qui ei assistunt, ut ne quidem minimum dederit Reverendis-

²⁰⁶ APF, CP 34^b, f. 200-201.

simus reponsum (licet certum sit quod litteras illas receperit) eo indubie fine ut vocales hic, ignorantes diem aut tempus quo Provincialis finivit, eligere alium non possint, donec bimestre ab vacantiae pro electione facienda transiret, et sic electio seu institutio, aut continuatio Provincialis devolveretur ad Reverendissimum.

Haec enim illa est astutio. Si enim (inquiunt) vocales eligant, annullabitur electio quia facta antequam dicitur alterum expirasse officio. Si enim non eligant vocales ante tempus praefixum a legibus nostris, tum dicitur quod electio ad Generalem sit devoluta; et sic quodcumque fecerint vocales, electio aut institutio Provincialis ad solum spectabit Reverendissimum. Sic contra miseros vocales utrimque concludunt, qui coram Reverendissimo Generale res pulchre pingunt, et tamen Missionis bonum vendunt aut produnt. Certe, si Magister *Plunquettus*, Cassanatensis Theologus vellet res Missionis cordi assumere, Reverendissimo Generali facile persuaderet, aut liberam vocalibus relinquere electionem, aut saltem aliquem instituere omnibus gratum intra Hiberniam commorantem.

Eminentia Vestra nullo negotio perspicere valet, quantum cadunt animo Dominicani huius Missionis, quando sic suo jure privantur, quando se a superioribus vident derelictos, quando sine Provinciale grato et laboris consorte quisque quod voluerit agat. Quid enim oves sine pastore? Quid pigri sine stimulo? Quomodo finito unius prioratu alter eligetur aut confirmabitur? Quomodo juvenes hic professi, mittentur ad studia extra Regnum? Quomodo animabuntur zelosi Missionarii aut stimulabuntur vecordes? Etc.

Eminentissime Domine, possem coram Deo declarare quod ad haec vobis fiducialiter scribenda, non ullius livore, non ambitione, vel alio interesse ducor, sed solius Dei, Missionis, et Patriae amore: imo declaro quod, quantum ad meam attinet personam, perinde mihi sit quis eligatur Superior cuius obtemperem mandatis. Nam etsi nullus sit Superior, tempus mihi est sciendi quid ut privata persona pro animarum lucro agere debeam. Unde, si sic visum fuerit Eminentiae Vestrae totus contentus sum, ne quidquam hac in re moveat.

Audeo tamen suggerere quod mihi videtur pro communi bono expedire. Unum e duobus punctis poterit (si visum fuerit) Eminentia Vestra efficere; nempe, quod mandata inde mittantur ad P. Magistrum fr. *Petrum MacDermot* (quem Reverendissimus P. Generalis iam antea censuit dignum, et quem ego non vidi ex quo in Hiberniam veni) ad hoc ut vocales convocet ad Provincialis electionem, et ipse praesit libere electioni tempore ab ipso praefigendo; vel quod Reverendissimus P. Generalis aut Sacra Congregatio aliquem hic existentem instituat Provinciale, v.g. Magistrum fr. Joannem Dillon, aut Magistrum Petrum MacDermott, aut Patrem Regentem Dominicum Mulfin (qui omnes tres Romae habitaverunt, fueruntque priores ad S. *Xistum* de Urbe), vel P. Lectorem Colmanum O Shaughnussy Priorem *Athenriensem*, vel P. Dominicum Brulaghan Priorem *Culraniensem* et zelosum missionarium, vel quaecumque alium in rebus nostris expertum. Longa enim nos

docet experientia subditos libentius operari cum Superiorem habent gratum et omni exceptione majorem. Sic (sub correctione) censet bono Missionis rite providendum, sic serio commendat, sic demisse supplicat, qui assidue Deum O. M. pro Vestra incolumitate precatur, et est

Eminentissime Domine,

Eminentiae Vestrae

obsequentissimus et devotissimus famulus,

Athenriae 21 Augusti 1713 fr. Edmundus de Burgo, S.T.M., Ord.Praed.

It could, of course, be objected that this appeal to Rome was an attempt by priests of Connacht to force the holding of a provincial chapter at which, thanks to their superior numbers, they could achieve the election of one of their own as provincial. The three who wrote to Rome — Edmund Burke, Thomas Burke, and Peter MacDermott — were all of that province. Of the five candidates Edmund Burke put forward only one belonged to Ulster from which the next provincial should have been named, and his name was the last of the five. Dominic Dogherty, the only priest in Ulster put forward by Peter MacDermott in a list of five candidates, was in fact a son of Roscommon in Connacht²⁰⁷. One might even suspect the Connacht party of wishing to have Edmund Burke himself named provincial: both Thomas Burke and Peter MacDermott included him among those eligible for the honour. On the other hand, Thomas Burke expressly stated Ulster's rights, while at least three of his first four candidates were from that province. Among them was the name of Anthony Maguire, eventually to be Callanan's successor.

The one great and fatal weakness in these three letters was that they were written a month or two after the General had re-appointed Fr.

²⁰⁷ O'Heyne speaks of a Dominic O'Doherty, a son of Derry, who remained in Ireland despite the exile and in 1706 was prior of that convent. Edmund Burke, however, describes him as a son of Roscommon. O'Heyne, 7; Journal, 135. Perhaps, though a native of Derry, Fr. O'Doherty received the habit at Roscommon as Patrick Plunkett had done, though a native of Leinster.

Peter MacDermott's candidates were John Dillon, S.T.M., Edmund Burke, S.T.M., Colman O'Shaughnessy, S.T.L., Dominic Dogherty, prior of Derry, and Dominic Mulfin, S.T.M. APF, CP 34^b, f. 197^v. Thomas Burke's list began with four from Ulster: Michael MacQuilin, S.T.M., Anthony Maguire, Dominic Dogherty, prior of Derry, Dominic Brullaghan, prior of Coleraine, Edmund Burke, S.T.M., John Dillon, S.T.M., Peter MacDermott, S.T.M., and Dominic Mulfin, S.T.L. APF, CP 34^b, f. 196^r.

Callanan for four years on 15 July 1713²⁰⁸. Thus when they were handed to Cardinal Imperiali by Humbert Burke (also of Connacht), regent of studies at San Sisto, in the closing days of November, it was already too late to prevent Callanan's reappointment, not to speak of holding a provincial chapter²⁰⁹. When Imperiali asked whether the provincial should be deposed, Burke replied that such a step might be excessive: it would suffice if he were ordered by Propaganda to go at once to Ireland and remain there until the end of his term of office. Some days later, however, having talked the matter over with his friends, Burke wrote at length to the Cardinal (1 December 1713) to say he had changed his mind: Fr. Callanan should be deposed and the missionaries allowed to choose one of their number as provincial; the superior of their choice should be commanded never to leave Ireland during his term under pain of removal from office²¹⁰. The reason offered for this advice was that there was little hope that Callanan would ever go to Ireland. In five years he had only gone there once, for as many months, and then only lest he should be deposed by the Congregation. From Ireland he had passed to France and Spain, probably to collect and turn to his own use the money left by Irish friars who died as army chaplains. Leaving Spain he had returned through Portugal to France where he was then living. None of the foreign colleges had received a penny from the provincial: none of them, being immediately under the General, was subject to his control. There was, in consequence, no business to detain him on the continent where his continued presence merely gave bad example to those he ordered to the mission. The rest of Humbert Burke's letter answered such counter-arguments and objections as could be put forward by Callanan's friends.

Cardinal Imperiali, in his capacity as Protector of Ireland, put the matter before the Congregation of Propaganda, entrusting to its secretary the four letters we have just described. Before a decision was reached, Fr. Cloche (who had been asked to state his position in the case) sent in a document justifying his re-appointment of Fr. Hugh Callanan²¹¹. Compared with the masterly indictments composed by Edmund and Humbert Burke, the Master General's defence was a

²⁰⁸ AGOP IV. 200, p. 41. The entry in the registers attributes the re-appointment to the fact that the Irish vocals could not convene for a chapter!

²⁰⁹ This first meeting between Humbert Burke and the cardinal is referred to by the former in a letter of 1 December 1713. APF, CP 34^b, ff. 202-203^v.

²¹⁰ 1 Dec 1713. Humbert Burke to Cardinal Imperiali. APF, CP 34^b, ff. 202-203^v.

²¹¹ APF, CP 34^b, ff. 204-205^r.

colourless and unconvincing thing, devoid of any telling element which the appellants had not anticipated and exposed. It is so poor that Fr. Cloche can scarcely have written it himself. The opening paragraph stated the General's constitutional right to name a provincial whenever a province failed to hold an elective chapter in due time. The General had first named Fr. Callanan provincial because such a chapter had not been held²¹², and later re-appointed him with the Pope's permission on hearing from 'many grave Fathers' that he had done much good for the province. Edmund Burke's description of Fr. Callanan as 'a son of the convent of Metz and a Doctor of the Sorbonne' must have given Propaganda the impression that the provincial of Ireland was a Frenchman of dubious orthodoxy, for the General felt called upon to insist that he was actually Irish by birth and professed in the Irish province. He was, besides, much admired by James III and his royal father, having suffered imprisonment for more than a year in the Tower of London. What one would expect to find, and would like to find, in this defence of the provincial, namely some account of his activities on behalf of the province, was scarcely attempted by the writer. All he has to say of Fr. Callanan's first term is that he was ordered to visit the colleges at Louvain and Lisbon and to search Europe for new missionaries. Since the beginning of his second term Callanan had the General's instructions to visit Ireland, bringing some more religious with him. The claim was made in the two final paragraphs that none of those named for the provincialate in the letters from Ireland was either old or experienced enough for the task, and that in the whole affair the General had followed the advice of wise and disinterested members of the Irish province. The first of these two statements would have been utterly untrue even if Fr. John Dillon had been the only candidate proposed²¹³.

At the foot of Fr. Cloche's letter is a scribbled comment from the secretary of the Congregation, expressing dissatisfaction with the reply: apparently the note was written for the benefit of Cardinal Imperiali:

²¹² One should refer here to Fr. Cloche's letter of 3 Mar 1708, revoking his order of 25 Feb 1708 that the provincial chapter should be held before June 1709. AGOP IV. 166, p. 117. Thus the General forbade the holding of a chapter before June 1709, and appointed Fr. Callanan provincial in February of that year. See above pp. 305-07.

²¹³ Fr. Dillon had been prior in Ireland before the exile, then served in turn as an army chaplain, first regent at Holy Cross, prior of Holy Cross, prior of San Sisto in Rome, and (from 1711) again a missionary in Ireland. A fuller notice of his career is to appear in *Riocht na Midhe*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1968).

Non vedo che il P. Generale risponda al motivo dell'assenza del Provinciale, poco rilevando, che *due* conventi sieno in Fiandra ²¹⁴ essendo la Provincia in Ibernia, ove è maggior bisogno dell'assistenza del Provinciale, il quale non supplisce con una sola visita.

V.S. Illustrissima si compiaccia rimandarmi tutti i fogli unitamente col presente, perché io ne parlerò col P. Procuratore Generale, il quale è piu capace della ragione.

li 19 Gennaio 1714. Ho poi parlato al P. Procuratore Generale, il quale mi ha risposto che il P. Generale rimanda al Provinciale, però stimo bene anche parlarne in Congregazione.

The result of Propaganda's intervention was that Fr. Callanan set out soon afterwards on his second visit to Ireland. In a gesture of conciliation, he named Fr. Edmund Burke Vicar-Provincial, a position he held until 1717 when Fr. Callanan ceased to rule the province ²¹⁵.

THE VISITATION OF 1714

Prior to his departure for Ireland, the provincial paid a visit to the Internuncio at Brussels at the end of April 1714. Mgr. Santini took the opportunity thus presented of conveying a message to the Irish bishops in regard to the recent papal decree *Unigenitus*, and Fr. Callanan agreed to tell the bishops that they should inform the Internuncio of their acceptance of it ²¹⁶. In the unsettled state of the country there was no question of full promulgation, but the Internuncio was anxious to have some definite evidence that the decree had been willingly received. On his return to Brussels, Fr. Callanan was to inform Santini minutely on all aspects of the question. They also spoke of the Dominicans, whose numbers the provincial hoped to increase. He had already persuaded many to set out for the mission and could easily send more

²¹⁴ A slip on the part of the secretary. Of the two formal convents mentioned in the context, one was at Louvain and the other in Lisbon. A third such convent, San Sisto in Rome, was not mentioned because it had not been visited by the provincial.

²¹⁵ Fr. Burke's appointment is mentioned in TA, Athenry House-Chronicle, f. 11^r.

²¹⁶ 3 May 1714. Santini to Sacripante. APF, SC *Irlanda* 7, ff. 352-353. From another letter written by Santini on the same day it appears that they also spoke about Malachy Dulany, bishop of Ossory (1713-1731), and about the fact that he had once been a Capuchin. Callanan knew Dulany and spoke well of him. APF, CP 34^b, f. 364-365.

if only Propaganda would provide them with money to pay for their passage and buy secular clothes. The conversation then turned on the vacant primatial see of Armagh, wherewith Fr. Callanan proposed Fr. Patrick Plunkett of the Minerva as an ideal candidate. He had all the necessary personal qualities, he was of noble birth, while he had a brother sufficiently wealthy to ensure his proper support. Santini dutifully reported all this to Cardinal Sacripante of Propaganda, making no comment of his own save the shrewd one he made to the provincial himself by asking whether Fr. Plunkett was a native of Ulster. Had Fr. Plunkett ever gone to Ulster as archbishop of Armagh he would have been triply unwelcome as a Leinsterman, as a religious, and as a member of the family to which Oliver Plunkett, the martyred Primate (d. 1681), had belonged. Fr. Callanan was not the first to suggest Fr. Patrick Plunkett for this honour. Fr. Cloche, about December 1712, had asked Cardinal de Noailles to use his influence with James III in the same cause: de Noailles had replied on 30 January 1713 saying that the king politely refused to nominate him or anyone else, since he was not then on good terms with the Pope²¹⁷.

Some weeks later, about the 20th of May, Fr. Callanan set off on his visitation²¹⁸. We know of only one thing he did in the course of it, but after hearing so much of the complaints made against him, it is a pleasure to be able to say that the good effects of that sole recorded achievement are still being felt at the present day. Finding the nuns of Galway sheltering with friends, for soldiers had taken over their convent, the provincial persuaded some of them to go to Dublin. Edmund Burke has left a note of the event²¹⁹.

fuerant sub provincialatu Magistri Calanan per gubernium coactae domum deserere et apud amicos habitare per sex ad minus menses. Tunc Provincialis quatuor ex illis Galviensibus Mariam Bellew, Elizabetham Wiver, N[ora] Vaughan et Julianam Brown Dublinum tulit et primam Priorissam

²¹⁷ The cardinal's letter is preserved in AGOP XIII. 157. It is worthy of notice that on 9 Nov 1713, Ambrose MacDermott O.P. wrote to Grimaldi the Internuncio to recommend Hugh MacMahon, bishop of Clogher, for Armagh. APF, CP 34^b, ff. 210-211. MacMahon had already been transferred to Armagh before the bishop wrote. Plunkett was also considered for the see of Dublin in 1724. On that occasion the internuncio Spinelli said he was a good candidate 'but unfortunately a religious'. Brussels, 16 June 1724. APF, SC *Olanda* 9, ff. 280-282.

²¹⁸ Writing on 23 May 1714, the Internuncio referred to the fact that the Dominican provincial had left for Ireland a few days before. Coll. Hib., No. 5 (1962) 81.

²¹⁹ Journal, 146.

creavit, quae viginti recepit moniales et pie obiit 24 Augusti 1726. Unde mirabiliter nunc (sub Wiver) florent. Hinc postea Pontanam missae duae moniales ex familia *Plunket*, una Dublini obiit, altera *Pontanae* Priorissa facta alias recepit quae ibidem cohabitant. Sic ex Galviensi conventu alii duo proderunt.

From the more detailed account given by Thomas Burke in *Hibernia Dominicana*²²⁰ it appears that Fr. Callanan became aware of the problem during his visitation in 1714 and obtained the permission of Edmund Byrne, archbishop of Dublin, to transfer some of the nuns from Galway to the capital. According to this author the first eight nuns (not four, as Edmund Burke wrote) reached Dublin only in March 1717, so that it must have taken three years to arrange the new foundation. Perhaps the four named by Edmund Burke went to Dublin before 1717, to be later joined by the others when everything was ready for the formal erection of the community. During that three-year interval the nuns in Galway were also exploring the possibility of moving their entire community of thirty-nine to the peace and safety of the continent.

The sufferings of the nuns in Galway are vividly described in a letter (30 December 1714) to Fr. Cloche from Fr. Thomas MacDermott, a missionary who had gone from Rome to Ireland a little later than the provincial²²¹. On arriving at Galway he was betrayed by one of the sailors who showed the port officials where he had hidden his papers. After a rigorous examination he was imprisoned for two months and finally transported to Spain in October. During his trial, the magist-

²²⁰ 353-354. Writing in Dublin forty years after the foundation, Thomas Burke had the advantage of being able to use the conventual records and speak to members of that community. See also the anonymous but excellently produced *Annals of the Dominican Convent of St. Mary's, Cabra*, with some account of its origin, 1647-1912, Dublin 1912, 21-23.

²²¹ The original letter, written at San Lucar de Barreda shortly after his ship ran aground on the sands, is preserved in AGOP XIII. 157. Fr. Thomas MacDermott is probably identical with the young man of the same name who received the habit at San Sisto on 25 Feb 1703 and was professed there a year later. SCAR, Book of Receptions and Professions. In Jan 1712 he was a lector at San Sisto and was ordered thence to Ireland in Feb 1714. AGOP IV. 200, pp. 35, 44. He then applied to Propaganda for the money to go to Ireland. APF, Atti 84, f. 28^r; SOCG 591, ff. 148-149. Details of his trial and conviction are in W. P. Burke, *Irish priests*, 415. Shortly after his return to the continent he again applied to Propaganda, and with as little success, for the money to return to the mission. APF, Atti 85, f. 130^v; SOCG 598, f. 70^v.

rates had publicly read (and later published in the newspapers) the documents authorizing him to receive heretics to the faith and even to absolve sins reserved to the Pope. This had the unintended result that crowds flocked to visit him in prison, so that he felt free to boast that he had done more good for souls as a prisoner than other priests who were at liberty but dared not even console the dying. Some of the Dominican nuns of Galway, who came to visit him in gaol, appear to have suggested to him that their community should retire *en bloc* to Spain.

Nos pauvres Religieuses a Gallway sont au desespoir. Elle voudroient trouver quelque endroit pour sortir d'Irland, affin d'y pouvoir servir le bon Dieu comme elle voudraient. Il y en a 39. En tout, elles feroient plaindre les pierres de les voir comme elles sont contre leur gré vestié toujours en secu-lieres, et toujours voyant les officiers et soldats entrer parmi elles pour chercher des prestres ou religieux. Dans le temps de mon emprisonnement a Gallway elles furent dispersés trois fois. Ce seroit un grand act de charité et heroique de leur procurer quelque couvent ou en Espagne ou France. Elles se fient tant en la personne de vostre Reverendissime touchant cet effet.

THE ATTEMPTED FOUNDATION AT MARCHENA, 1715-1718

Not content with putting this suggestion before the General, Fr. Thomas MacDermott also applied to Edward Fitzgerald, the provincial procurator at Madrid. Despite his earlier failure to establish the Irish nuns at Játiva, the latter lost no time in acting on the appeal from the community of Galway. In the early months of 1715 he put the case before Fr. Cloche, explaining what he planned to do in the emergency²²². The nuns had been forced to abandon their religious dress and did not

²²² There are two of Fitzgerald's letters in AGOP XIII. 157. The one referred to here is undated. The other (Madrid, 20 Jan 1715) has nothing to do with the nuns, save for a passing reference to their sufferings. Its main burden was to secure the removal from the Spanish court of a recent arrival, Dominic Dillon, a son of the province of Lombardy, whom Fitzgerald said was mad. The writer also mentioned that the socius of the provincial of Spain was biased against the Irish (though there were only four Irish students in that province) on the grounds that they reported the affairs of the province to the Master General.

Fitzgerald's undated letter contains a description of the convent of Marchena. J'asseur Vostre Rev^{me} que cette la mellieur fondacion, et le mellieur couvent que nous pouvions trouver dans toute l'Espagne. Il a un tres bon cloistre, quelques salles et cinquantes chambres, avec un beau jardin, une eglise, un cour, et tout ce qui est necessaires pour des Religieuses: puisqu'il a couté cent mille escuts a son Excellence le faire batir.

know where to turn to escape the persecution. Since no priest could say Mass for them or hear their confessions, many had gone in disguise to be absolved by Fr. MacDermott while he was in prison. Their plight had touched the heart of the Duchess d'Aveiro, a great benefactress of the Order, who had decided to grant them the convent of Marchena, nine leagues from Seville. This was a new foundation recently built on her family estate for the benefit of poor girls, but since there were only ten such girls in residence, the Duchess (with the approval of her sons, the Dukes de Arcos and de Baños) was prepared to settle them in other Andalusian convents and grant full possession of Marchena to the nuns of Galway. Matters were so far advanced that he expected the nuns to arrive at Cadiz with some young Irish ladies in June.

The sole difficulty, Fitzgerald went on to explain, was that the Cardinal Archbishop of Seville did not look kindly on the idea of dispossessing the ten girls at Marchena to make room for strangers. A letter from the General to the Cardinal, reconfirming the old decrees whereby the procurator was authorized to found a convent for Irish nuns would probably smooth this difficulty over and thereby remove the only obstacle to the happy conclusion of the whole plan. On 7 May 1715 Fr. Cloche wrote accordingly to Cardinal Arias of Seville, though without mentioning the papal permission granted for such a convent in the previous century²²³. Another letter went by the same post to the Duke de Arcos, thanking him for his generosity.

Despite Fitzgerald's earnest efforts over the next few years, the Marchena foundation was never actually made. In January 1716 the General wrote again to encourage the Duke in his pious intentions, and in April 1717 told Fitzgerald how pleased he was that the Duke was establishing the nuns at Marchena²²⁴. The procurator must have felt certain of victory, for in the autumn of 1717 (the year in which the Galway nuns established themselves at Dublin) six of the Galway community arrived in Madrid, expecting to proceed to their new convent²²⁵.

²²³ AGOP IV. 199, f. 160^v. On the question of 17th-century foundations see Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 450. The letter to the Duke de Arcos is noted on AGOP IV. 199, ff. 160^v-161^r.

²²⁴ 5 Jan 1716. Cloche to Duke. AGOP IV. 199, f. 186^r. 20 Apr 1717. Cloche to Fitzgerald. AGOP IV. 200, p. 70.

²²⁵ 9 Nov 1717. Cloche to the Duchess de Arcos at Madrid, thanking her for her kindness to 'la pobres religiosas nostras venidas de Hibernia'. AGOP IV. 199, f. 252^r.

4 Jan 1718. Cloche to the prioress of San Domingo el Real, Madrid. 'Ya tenia

They were hospitably received in the royal convent of St. Dominic, but by January 1718 it was becoming only too clear that there was little hope of their ever obtaining a convent for themselves. In February a conference was held in St. Dominic's at which the Duke explained to the Dominican prior of Atocha, another Spaniard named Fr. Thomas de Zumarraga, and the hapless Fr. Fitzgerald, that he could no longer honour his original offer to the nuns but was willing to make some alternative arrangement: what the new arrangement was does not appear. On hearing this, Fr. Cloche asserted his authority²²⁶. The Duke's proposal was to be accepted; Fr. Fitzgerald was to refrain from doing anything for the nuns save to provide for their support; while the six who had come from Galway were henceforth to be subject to the prior of Atocha alone. The General felt that Fr. Fitzgerald, apart from bungling the whole affair, had put him in an embarrassing position.

So matters dragged on into 1719. The Irish nuns at Madrid were discontented with the treatment they received; their Spanish sisters could not easily pay for their support; Fitzgerald himself, accused of some misdemeanour, was ordered to return to Ireland²²⁷. Only in 1723 do we learn that the charges against him were proved false and that the nuns lost the foundation promised them by the Duke de Arcos because a young Irish associate of Fr. Fitzgerald's had behaved badly at court²²⁸. The six nuns appear to have dispersed into various Spanish convents and there finished out their lives²²⁹.

noticia della gran caridad que han encontrado en esse Monastero las seis Religiosas venidas de Irlanda'. AGOP IV. 199, f. 258^v.

²²⁶ On this conference and the General's subsequent decision there are two long letters in Spanish (both dated 8 Mar 1718). One is to the prior of the convent de Atocha (AGOP IV. 199, f. 268^r) and the other to Fitzgerald (AGOP IV. 200, p. 78).

²²⁷ 3 Jan 1719. Cloche to the prioress of St. Dominic's, Madrid, on the dissatisfaction of the Irish nuns, who could not easily be sent back to Ireland or to another Spanish convent. AGOP IV. 197, ff. 2^v-3^r.

5 Dec 1719. Cloche to the provincial of Spain, saying that Fitzgerald was giving scandal at court and that a new procurator should be named. AGOP IV. 197, f. 33^v.

5 Dec 1719. Cloche to Fitzgerald, ordering him from Madrid to Ireland. AGOP IV. 200, p. 97. This order did not take effect.

²²⁸ AGOP IV. 201, p. 116.

²²⁹ In the book of clothings and professions still preserved by the nuns of Galway there are obituary notices beside some of the names referring to the death in Spain of some of the Galway nuns. Presumably these were of the group who went to Madrid in 1717.

FR. CALLANAN'S LAST YEARS, 1717-1728

A new provincial was appointed on 26 June 1717, some months after the nuns' monastery at Dublin had been finally established. Fr. Callanan probably returned to Metz, the convent of his affiliation. It is not unlikely that he was named prior there in 1723, for he was to be re-appointed to that office in April 1726²³⁰. During 1725 he paid a visit of some months to Rome, returning thence to Paris where in October 1726 he was busily occupied soliciting the help of the Pope, of Cardinal Fleury, and of the Nuncio in Paris regarding the dispute between the Dominicans and Benedictines of Metz²³¹. Thomas Burke, then a young man, saw him on his last Roman visit²³².

Eundem egregium virum, staturā procerum et pulchrum, ipsemet novi Romae in caenobio nostro S. Clementis, quo venerat a Comitibus Generalibus Bononiae anno Jubilaei 1725, ibique moratus est per quatuor circiter menses. Dein in Gallias recta regressus est, pieque obiit Metis in Lotharingia anno 1728.

ANTHONY MAGUIRE, 1717-1721

As the end of Fr. Callanan's second term approached, the missionaries in Ireland prepared themselves once more to attempt an elective provincial chapter. Unfortunately for their plans they were under the impression that Fr. Callanan, having received his letters of appointment at Paris in December 1713, would not go out of office until December

²³⁰ AGOP IV. 202, f. 233^v.

²³¹ See AGOP XIV. Y part 1, ff. 31-35 for two letters in Fr. Callanan's hand bearing on his activity in Paris. One (Paris, 5 Oct 1726) asks the Master General to solicit the help of Cardinal Fleury and of the Nuncio in Paris, and sends the writer's best wishes to Fr. Patrick Plunkett. The other (Paris, 3 Oct 1726) is a petition to the Pope, also in regard to the dispute at Metz. For the basis of the controversy see G. Thiriot, *Recherches sur l'ordre des Dominicains à Metz*, part II, Le 'Relogement' des Bénédictins de St-Arnould dans le couvent des Dominicains à Metz, in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, Jahrgang V, 2, (1893) 108-151. Also Dalmace Saget, *Notice Historique sur le Couvent des Frères-Prêcheurs de Metz*, Liège-Paris, no date, 35-38. Another Irish Dominican, Michael Corcoran, was associated with the convent of Metz at this period. Two letters written by him there to the General have been preserved. One dated 28 Apr 1712 is in AGOP XIII. 153, the other dated 6 Mar 1717 is in AGOP XIII. 392.

²³² *Hibernia Dominicana*, 529.

1717. For that we have the testimony of Edmund Burke²³³. Until fresh evidence comes to light it will remain a mystery how the patents re-appointing Fr. Callanan as provincial, made out at Rome on 15 July 1713, could have taken five months to reach Paris, unless it was that the agitation in that year for Fr. Callanan's deposition delayed their delivery. At all events, when Fr. Cloche appointed Fr. Anthony Maguire provincial on 26 June 1717, Edmund Burke and his followers, thinking that Fr. Callanan's term of office had still six months to run, felt they had been outwitted yet again²³⁴.

While Fr. Cloche admittedly preferred to appoint a new provincial rather than permit an election, the registers do not bear out the accusation that he stole a march on those who objected to his policy. Fr. Callanan had been re-appointed on 15 July 1713. Fr. Maguire was appointed on 26 June 1717 and accepted the provincialate at Douai on 15 July, four years to a day from the re-appointment of his predecessor. There were other elements too in the question which should be put down to the Master General's credit. He respected the alternation of provincials by naming a candidate from Ulster. He urged Fr. Maguire to go to Ireland and devote himself to the mission. Not least, his policy succeeded in preventing the Dominicans of Connacht from dominating the Irish scene, maintained the parity of the four 'provinces', and thus saved the peace and harmony of the mission. How real the danger of conflict was may be judged from an Irish Augustinian report of 1722:

²³³ Aliquot mensibus antequam absolvit Provincialatus octennium Magister Calananus cogitaverunt Provinciae Patres (dum ille finiret) capitulum Provinciale electivum celebrare. Sed praevenit Reverendissimus, agente Plunketto, et institutio Provincialis ad Magistrum Antonium Maguire Ultoniensem missa est Duacum in Belgio, sed cum haec clausula: quod hic Provincialatus tantum inciperet finito officio Magistri Calanani. Patentes Magistri Maguire mense Junii 1717 datae sunt, et Duaci acceptavit die 15 Julii 1717, ideo capitulum electivum Magistri Egani habitum fuit 27 Julii 1721, quia Patres computaverunt non a data litterarum patentium Romae, sed a die qua Magister Maguire Duaci acceptavit. Eodem jure, Provincialatus Magistri Calanani non expiravit ad mensem Decembris 1717, quia mense Decembris 1713 institutionem Parisiis acceptavit. Adeoque omnia acta Provincialis Calanani et eius Vicarii [Edmund Burke, the writer] stabilia fuerunt et valida toto tempore intermedio, saltem donec de institutione et acceptance Magistri Maguire innotuit Provinciae. Journal, 136.

²³⁴ P. M. Antoninus Maguire instituitur a Reverendissimo P. M. Generali post terminatum offitium provincialatus P. M. Hugonis Calanan provincialis Hiberniae, cui praecipue missionis studium et exercitium recommendatur. AGOP IV. 200, p. 71. I have followed O'Heyne and Edmund Burke in calling the provincial Anthony; both Anthony and Antoninus occur in AGOP IV.

most of their priests too belonged to Connacht, and their domination over provincial affairs was bitterly resented by the others ²³⁵.

We know little of Fr. Anthony Maguire's earlier career ²³⁶. All agree in describing him as a son of the Ulster convent of Gola. O'Heyne would have it that he studied in Italy ²³⁷. In 1678 he was assigned to the convent of Rennes in Brittany ²³⁸. From 1687 to 1689 he was provincial procurator in Ireland, resident apparently at Dublin ²³⁹. During the Jacobite war he seems to have become an army chaplain, and since he does not re-appear in the *Liber Provinciae*, probably left for France from Limerick with the Irish troops in 1691 ²⁴⁰. In 1702 he was chaplain to the French regiment 'de Marinis', and in 1706 still an army chaplain in Italy ²⁴¹. Edmund Burke asserts that he was with Patrick Plunkett at the General Chapter of 1706 at Bologna where he played a part in having the alternation of provincials restored ²⁴². There is no further trace of his movements until 15 July 1717 when he accepted the provincialate at Douai.

Fr. Maguire's work on the mission opened with an adventure which served to show that there was more than a little wisdom in his predecessor's reluctance to visit Ireland. Taking the General's advice to heart, he set out for Dublin and was denounced as a missionary before even setting foot on the shore. He was brought to trial, convicted by

²³⁵ Rome, 30 Nov 1722. Fulgentius Butler O.S.A., provincial procurator of Ireland, *De Partialitatibus Provinciae Fratrum Eremitarum S.P.N. Augustini per Hiberniam constitutae, atque conventibus deque gravaminibus eiusdem provinciae ac eorum remediis*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Mss. Bibl. Palatina 7239, fasc. 20. I am indebted to the Rev. Professor F. X. Martin O.S.A., of University College Dublin for putting a copy of this document at my disposal.

²³⁶ Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 157, 161, 529-530.

²³⁷ O'Heyne, 17. *Studuit in Italia, et redux in patriam servivit ut capellanus in exercitu, et cum eodem vivit adhuc in Italia*.

²³⁸ AGOP IV. 156, p. 256.

²³⁹ TA, *Liber Provinciae*.

²⁴⁰ An 'Anthony MacGwyre' is third on the list of chaplains forming part of the 'List of all the men of note that came with King James out of France or that followed him after' published by John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees*, 5th ed., Vol. II, 776. For this reference I am indebted to Fr. Conleth Kearns O.P.

²⁴¹ 8 Jul 1702. P. Antonius Maguier *declaratur legitime factus capellanus campestris Legioni Galliae de Marinis*. AGOP IV. 182, p. 408. On his presence in Italy as a chaplain in 1706 see O'Heyne, 17.

²⁴² See the section on that Chapter above, pp. 296-99. Fr. Maguire was raised to the rank of Master of Theology by the same General Chapter. Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 157.

his own papers and admission of being the Dominican provincial, sentenced to indefinite imprisonment, and lodged in the infamous Blackdog Gaol. Thanks to the intervention of the Catholic ambassadors at London, the sentence was quickly changed to that of transportation and Fr. Maguire was shipped back to the continent; not, however, before he had time to appoint Fr. Stephen MacEgan of Dublin Vicar-Provincial. Such is Edmund Burke's account of the incident ²⁴³.

Thomas Burke puts a slightly different aspect on the story in his *Hibernia Dominicana* by ascribing the provincial's capture (in company with two Jesuits, a Franciscan, and three diocesan priests) to the activities of a Portuguese Jew named Garzia ²⁴⁴. Since Burke put this down as a vivid memory of his Dublin boyhood, he has been followed unquestioningly by such authorities as W. P. Burke ²⁴⁵. More recently, Mr. Kevin MacGrath has proved Thomas Burke mistaken in associating Garzia with Fr. Maguire's arrest. Thanks to a memorandum of the meetings of the Lords Justices, discovered by Mr. MacGrath in Trinity College library, we know that Fr. Anthony Maguire's transportation was ordered on 2 August 1718. Another Dominican named James French, perhaps the provincial's companion, was similarly sentenced on the 16th of August ²⁴⁶. If Edmund Burke were our sole authority on this episode, we would presume that Fr. Maguire reached Ireland within weeks of his appointment, and not a full year later as now appears to have been the case. The date is corroborated by a letter of 18 August 1718 from Santini, Internuncio at Brussels, to the secretary of Propaganda, referring to the 'recent exile of Fr. Maguire, the Franciscan provincial': this can have been none other than our Fr. Maguire, for the then Franciscan provincial was Anthony MacNamara ²⁴⁷.

²⁴³ Praevenit rursus Reverendissimus, et Magistrum Antonium Maguir, Ultoniensem ex Gaula Provincialem instituit per patentes datas in Junio 1717, quas Duaci acceptavit 15 Julii immediate sequentis, et in Hiberniam properavit. Sed proditus ante egressum ex Navi, Dublini captus, carcere de Blackdog mancipatus, per suas patentes et propria confessione in publica curia justitiae convictus est et sententiatus; sed mediantibus Catholicis Londoni legatis, Georgii Regis conniventia in exilium mutata sententia fuit. *Dissertatio*, LIX.

Ante egressum e navi captus Dublini, incarceratus, et tandem in publica curia convictus quod Provincialis Dominicanorum esset, exilio mulctatus est. (Vicarium reliquit P. Magistrum Stephanum MacEgan, sequentem Provincialem). *Journal*, 122.

²⁴⁴ *Hibernia Dominicana*, 160-161.

²⁴⁵ *Irish priests*, 220.

²⁴⁶ Kevin MacGrath, John Garzia, a noted Priest-Catcher and his activities, 1717-23, in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 72 (1949) 494-514.

²⁴⁷ *Mi dice infine che il P. Maguire Provinciale de Padri Recolletti essendo stato*

THE IRISH PROVINCIAL CHAPTER OF AUGUST 1720

After carrying out a visitation at Louvain ²⁴⁸, Fr. Maguire returned to Ireland from France in 1719 under an assumed name and went about his business undisturbed. When he reached Athenry, Fr. Edmund Burke prevailed on him to call an elective chapter so that his successor might be chosen by the province ²⁴⁹. Some of the Fathers went so far as to refuse to recognize him as provincial until he had formally called an elective chapter to be held in June 1721. This Fr. Maguire being quite happy to do, the chapter was duly called ²⁵⁰.

The chapter of 1721 would, therefore, have been the first to mark the recovery of the Irish province had it not been unexpectedly preceded by another in 1720. After a generalate of thirty-four years, Fr. Antoninus Cloche died at Rome on 26 February of that year. On 9 March a letter was sent to the Irish provincial informing him both of the General's death and of the Pope's appointment of Angelus William Molo as Vicar-General of the Order ²⁵¹. A second letter dated the 3rd of August summoned him to the elective General Chapter to be held in Rome at Pentecost 1721 ²⁵². It was, accordingly, necessary for the province to elect two definitors to go with the provincial to Rome and take part in the election of Fr. Cloche's successor. Fr. Maguire must have convened the required provincial chapter before ever receiving the letters of convocation, for the chapter opened at Dublin on the 17th of August and continued to the 21st. Not content with merely electing the

riconosciuto per missionario a avuto l'esilio da tutto il Regno. APF, SOCG 615, f. 298^r. On Fr. MacNamara, O.F.M., see Canice Mooney, *Irish Franciscan Provincials*, in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 56 (1963) 3-11.

²⁴⁸ Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, LIX. There is no trace of the visitation in AGOP IV.

²⁴⁹ Sed anno sequenti rediit, et dum refugium Athenriense visitaret, praevaluit cum eo praefatus Magister Edmundus de Burgo, ut Capitulum successoris electivum indiceret, quod tamen fecit per instrumentum publicum Vocalibus intimandum. Edmund Burke, *Journal*, 122. There is another trace of this visitation in the account books of the nuns of Dublin, signed by Fr. Maguire in 1720. *Annals of the Dominican convent of St. Mary's Cabra*, 32.

²⁵⁰ At ille rursus ex Gallia, visitato Lovaniensi Collegio, in patriam rediit. Illius patentem admittere noluerunt quidam Patres nisi prius in scriptis citaret et convocaret Vocales ad capitulum successoris electivum die 27 Junii 1721, quod prompte fecit. Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, LIX.

²⁵¹ The letter was sent to Holy Cross, Louvain. AGOP IV. 200, p. 99.

²⁵² AGOP IV. 200, p. 101.

definitors, the chapter produced a set of twenty-one ordinations to regulate the running of the province.

The names of the four definitors who signed the acts at Dublin are interesting in their own account. Edmund Burke emerged as definator for Connacht and Stephen MacEgan for Leinster. Both had been Vicar-Proprials in the recent past, the former under Fr. Callanan (1714-1717), the latter under Fr. Maguire (1718-1719). Fr. MacEgan, as prior of Dublin, had helped the nuns of Galway to settle there in 1717 and was to be elected provincial in 1721²⁵³. Peter MacDermott, definator for Munster, had been Vicar-General of the province from August 1710 to April 1711, but it is more interesting to note the weakness of Munster where only seven natives of that province were then working²⁵⁴, and which had to be content with the election of Fr. MacDermott, a son of Connacht, as its representative at the chapter. The Ulster definator was Patrick Diamond, prior of Drogheda. The two Definitors-General elected to attend the General Chapter were Patrick Plunkett of the Minerva²⁵⁵, already in Rome, and Dominic Daly of Athenry who engaged to travel out at his own expense²⁵⁶. The province was clearly in no position to pay for the passage of definitors to Rome. To meet the cost of the provincial's journey, each priest of the province was ordered to say ten Masses for his intentions if asked by him to do so²⁵⁷.

The surviving text of the ordinations made at Dublin in August 1720 is a somewhat unsophisticated document — a mere list under the heading 'Ordinationes Provinciales factae in Capitulo Provinciali Dublinii', signed by the provincial and the four definitors²⁵⁸. They are not even styled *acta*, nor divided properly into *Denuntiationes*,

²⁵³ Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 354.

²⁵⁴ Edmund Burke, *Dissertatio*, LIX. This statistic is also given in the letter from the provincial chapter of 1720 to the General Chapter of 1721, of which there is a copy by E. Burke in his *Journal*, 123-125. The full document is given below, pp. 345-47.

²⁵⁵ Plunkett, previously a definator at Bologna in 1706, was permitted to act in the same capacity in 1721 only by means of a privilege granted to the 'desolate province of Ireland'. AGOP IV. 200, pro provincia Hungarico-Austriaca, p. 75.

²⁵⁶ *Elegerunt diffinitorem Magistrum Patritium Plunkett (quia Romae extitit theologus Cassanatensis)... et electorem seu socium P. F. Dominicum O'Daly Athenriensem... qui propriis expensis ivit Romam.* Edmund Burke, *Journal*, 122.

²⁵⁷ TA, Provincial chapter acts, 1720, ordination 20.

²⁵⁸ The only surviving copy is in the provincial archives, Tallaght, Co. Dublin (TA). For a complete transcript of the document I am indebted to the Rev. Brs. Eugene Flynn and Mark Kehoe.

Declarationes, etc. No words are wasted: each ordination comes quickly to the point. Under the thin disguise of a humble acceptance of papal bulls, the very first ordination mentions the decrees subjecting the foreign colleges to the provincial's jurisdiction. The fourth announces the elective provincial chapter to be held at Dublin on 29 July 1721²⁵⁹. These two rights, control over the colleges and the power to elect a provincial, had been sought by the province for more than twenty years: now that Fr. Cloche had passed away, it was thought the time had come to attempt their recovery. The remaining ordinations were of a disciplinary nature, aimed at restoring conventual life and eliminating the abuses which were the natural offspring of civil persecution. Examiners were appointed to interview candidates for the Order (ord. 13), while the superiors of the foreign colleges were forbidden to receive novices without the provincial's permission (ord. 14). Other laws determined to what convents missionaries should report on arrival (ord. 7, 8), by whom they should be examined before hearing confessions (ord. 6), and what authorization they required before administering the sacraments (ord. 5). No less than five ordinations concerned the financial aspects of missionary work. Money collected on the quest was to be given entirely to the superior of the convent (ord. 17). Inventories listing the goods of each friar were to be kept safely in every house (ord. 15) so that they could be properly divided, according to the norms set out by the chapter (ord. 9, 10) when their owners died. Another ordination (18) determined the minimum amount required as a dowry by those entering the monasteries of Galway and Dublin. The work of restoring the convents in Ireland is evidenced by the chapter's recognition of the full conventual status of Dublin (ord. 19), and by the ordination (16) requiring the provincial to appoint superiors in the then destitute convents of Cavan, Clonmel, Castlelyons, Thomastown, Tulsk, and Tombeola.

From a purely historical viewpoint, the most interesting of all these ordinations is that (11) commanding the superiors of convents to bring to the provincial chapter of 1721 (under penalty of deposition from office) a full list and description of all lands and goods belonging to their priories before the Reformation. The priors at Louvain and Rome,

²⁵⁹ Edmund Burke showed to the Fathers at the Chapter the original letter of 25 Feb 1708 in which Fr. Cloche had commanded the then provincial, Fr. Ambrose O'Connor, 'infallibly' to hold an elective chapter by the end of June 1709. Edmund Burke, *Journal*, 132. See above, p. 306.

and the Rector at Lisbon, were to seek similar information from the exiles, make copies of papal bulls concerning the province, and send their findings to the chapter in a bound volume. All these papers were then to be brought to Holy Cross, Louvain, designated by the chapter of 1720 as the place where the archives of the province should be kept.

Besides making these ordinations, Fr. Maguire and the four definitors wrote the following letter to the Master General (still to be elected) and the Fathers of the General Chapter to be held in 1721²⁶⁰.

Reverendissime Pater Magister Generalis et Venerabile Diffinitorium.

Humillime exponunt Provincialis et Diffinitorium Hiberniae Dublini in Capitulo electivo Diffinitoris Generalis et Socii, quod ab anno sui universalis exilii 1698 usque modo capitulariter (quamvis potuerint ut alii fecerunt Ordines Mendicantium) non convenerint, eo quod semper fuerint praeventi, et de Provinciali ipsis a Reverendissimo provisum fuerit, non sine maximo Provinciae et missionis damno, quamvis Vocalibus in patriam reducibus, iterato declaraverit *se non velle Provinciam amplius suo jure privari*. Gravamina quae interea passi sumus prolixius foret enarrare; ea tamen quae nos intimius angunt per Eximium P. Provincialem nostrum fr. Antoninum Maguire, et per Eximium P. Patritium Plunket a nobis in Diffinitorem nostrum Generalem canonicè electum, vobis suppliciter repraesentari cupimus.

Imprimis, ut nulla ratione se sinat Reverendissimus induci ut nobis ullum praeficiat nisi per nos canonicè electum, virum, scilicet, nostrorum laborum participem, et in nostris rebus expertum; quandoquidem futurae electionis Provincialis capituli dies sit ex nunc juxta leges determinatus.

Item, Collegia ultramarina, Lovaniense, Ulisiponense, et Romanum, sub solius Provincialis Hiberniae jurisdictione (salva semper suprema Reverendissimi autoritate) juxta primaevam eorundem Collegiorum foundationem sint et permaneant. Inde enim Provinciae, missioni, et dictis Collegiis non exiguum acquireretur commodum, Provincia enim vires in ultramarinis partibus delitescens ad se compellet ut in vinea Domini, propter operariorum penuriam pene inculca, strenue ac indefesse laborent, quod aliter frustra operari flebili didiscimus experientia. Constat etiam dicta Collegia primo fundata et instituta fuisse sub jurisdictione Provincialis et Provinciae Hiberniae, et ita acceptata, ut apud *Fontanam* videre est, et sic permansisse ad annum 1650 quo in tribus Regni Britannici Coronis crudelibus rexit *Cromwellus*, qui in tan-

²⁶⁰ This important text appears to survive only in Edmund Burke's copy, Journal, 123-125. In the course of this present article we have had to rely greatly on Burke's recorded opinions, thereby running the risk of falling victim to his party spirit. Not the least important aspect of the letter set out above is that it is a full endorsement of his views on the part of the provincial chapter.

tum saeviit ut plurimi etiam ex nostris (ut patet ex actis Capituli Generalis eiusdem anni) ultimo supplicio pro Deo, pro rege et patria fuerint affecti. Caeteri vero (huius praesertim nationis) bonis, terris aliisque possessionibus spoliati, ut aut domi fame perierint, aut in terra aliena perpetuum subierint exilium. Quo tempore dicta Collegia solius Reverendissimi jurisdictioni subiecta fuerunt, ne exterarum nationum Provinciales (ut praetendebant) dictorum Collegiorum jurisdictionem usurparent, dum nostri religiosi fuere dispersi, aut carceribus mancipati. Cuius rei irrefragabile argumentum sit, quod in prima post dispersionem Congregatione *Urlariae* Magister Provincialis fr. Joannes O Hart cum caeteris ibi congregatis supplicaverint Reverendissimo de Marinis, eadem Collegia jurisdictioni Provincialis submittere, ne praefata Acta anni 1650 decursu temporis in praedictum cederent Provinciae, annuit benigne dictus Reverendissimus per litteras patentes datas Romae quinto idus Junii 1655 et registratas pag. 140. Constat etiam Clementem IX et X postea per bullas Apostolicas (apud S. Xistum in Urbe custoditas) jurisdictioni Provincialis Hiberniae eiusque successorum, omnes conventus, collegia, domos, terras, et bona in exteris Nationibus a nostris acquisita aut acquirenda in perpetuum submississe, quibuscumque in contrarium non obstantibus.

Exponet vobis suo et Provinciae nomine Eximius Magister Provincialis (qui iterato nec ita pridem totam hanc visitavit nationem) messem hic esse multam, operarios vero paucos; imo plures esse conventus omnino desertos, quorum filii se extra patriam alibi recreant, dum suorum conventuum memoria deletur, et fidelis populus spirituali alimonia privatur, maxime in vastissima Momoniae natione, ubi undecem habuimus conventus, nec sint ex nativis fratribus plusquam septem; cum tot graduatos habeant Ulissipone et alibi, viros ad missionis opus vere idoneos ²⁶¹

Quandoquidem in ultimo Capitulo Generali Bononiae celebrato anno 1706 ordinata fuerit quaedam alternatio quoad Provinciales et superiores conventuum et Collegiorum nostrorum Lovanii, Romae, et Ulissipone, quam incompletam adhuc esse comperimus; ideoque enixe supplicamus huius alternationis extensionem ad Regentes, Lectores, aliosque Officiales et Studentes in praefatis conventibus; addentes nos summopere pro Regularis observantiae introductione, pro pietatis incremento, et studiorum promotione, optare ut Collegium nostrum Ulissiponense in Prioratum et conventum erigatur.

Catalogum Personarum quarum labores praemiatos volumus ad Diffinitorem Generalem mittimus ²⁶².

²⁶¹ This phrase confirms the impression given by the General's registers that a large proportion of the staff and students at Lisbon came from the province of Munster.

²⁶² Unless Burke omitted the names in making his private copy, they must have been sent as a separate document. See below p. 349.

Haec sunt, Reverendissime Pater ac ter venerabile Capitulum, quae pro Dei gloria, Ordinis honore, et patriae emolumento repraesentamus. Quae omnia in afflictorum solatium nobis concedere non graventur. Quo facto, humillimos vestros filios devincietis, ut pro Spiritus Sancti in vestro venerabili coetu assistentia, et ter felice novi regimis auspicio incessanter sint oraturi,

Reverendissimae Paternitatis Vestrae et Venerabilis Diffinitorii obsequentissimi filii et clientes,

fr. Edmundus de Burgo, S.T. Magister, diffinitor pro Conacia.

fr. Petrus MacDermot, S.T. Magister, diffinitor pro Momonia.

fr. Patritius Diamond, diffinitor pro Ultonia.

fr. Stephanus MacEgan, Praedicator Generalis, diffinitor pro Lagenia.

fr. Jacobus Cormick, secretarius Capituli.

The province obviously hoped to obtain from the Chapter of 1721 and from the new Master General what Fr. Cloche had long refused to give. Meanwhile there was no change of policy in the Dominican curia. In the summer of 1720, Fr. Maguire incautiously assigned seven novices to study philosophy at Lisbon, only to have the assignments declared invalid by Fr. Molo, Vicar-General of the Order²⁶³. Nor could the provincial carry out visitation of the foreign colleges without a special commission, such as that granted on 9 November 1720 authorizing him to conduct visitation in Holy Cross, Louvain²⁶⁴.

THE GENERAL CHAPTER OF 1721

Among the papers concerning the General Chapter of 1721, still preserved in the archives of the Master General, are the original signed postulations presented by Fathers Maguire, Plunkett, and Daly on behalf of the Irish province²⁶⁵. The document is far shorter than the letter from the provincial chapter transcribed above, partly because

²⁶³ The Vicar-General reassigned these novices to Lisbon on 13 Aug 1720. Their names, sent on request to Rome for purposes of registration, are to be found in the same volume under date 23 Nov 1720: Christopher Fottrell, Ambrose MacDonnell, James Heffernan, John Morris, John Archer, John Barnewall, and Dominic Kennedy. AGOP IV. 200, pp. 101, 103.

Four priests who had finished their studies at Lisbon were assigned to Ireland, also on 23 Nov 1720: John Fitzgerald, Thomas Maddin, Thomas MacCarthy, and Michael Hervan. AGOP IV. 200, p. 104.

²⁶⁴ AGOP IV. 200, p. 103.

²⁶⁵ AGOP III. 56, doc. 19.

it refers neither to the election of a provincial nor to the urgent need for more missionaries in Munster. These were matters which could be better arranged with the new Master General than at the Chapter itself. The postulations do, however, contain one fresh item concerning the nuns of Dublin and Galway.

Postulationes Provinciae Hiberniae ad Reverendissimum Magistrum Generalem et Venerabile Diffinitorium.

Hiberniae Provincia postulat imprimis ut omnes ordinationes in praecedentibus Capitulis factae, et privilegia benigne concessa in favorem provinciae Hiberniae, in praesenti Capitulo Generali confirmantur ²⁶⁶.

2. Postulat ut Collegia ultramarina, Lovaniense, Ulissiponense, et Romanum sub solius Provincialis Hiberniae jurisdictione (salva semper suprema Reverendissimi auctoritate) juxta primaevum praedictorum Collegiorum foundationem, sint et permaneant.

3. Ut ordinatio facta in ultimo Capitulo Generali Bononiae celebrato anno 1706 circa alternationem quoad Provinciales Hiberniae, et superiores conventuum, et collegiorum nostrorum Lovanii, Romae, et Ulissipone, extendatur quoque ad Regentes, Lectores, aliosque officiales et studentes in praefatis Conventibus.

4. Ut conventus Monialium nostrarum, quae in civitatibus Dubliniensi et Galviensi degunt, eligere sibi valeant Priorissas juxta nostras Sacras Constitutiones et leges. Sint incorporati et uniti Ordini nostro, ac Provinciali Hiberniae pro tempore subjecti.

Demum humillime supplicat Reverendissimo Patri Magistro Generali, ut eos ad gradus Magisterii, Praesentaturae, ac Praedicaturae Generalis promovere dignetur quos in actibus Capituli Provincialis huiusmodi gradibus magis dignos esse Provincia judicavit.

fr. Antoninus MacGuire, Provincialis Hiberniae.

fr. Patricius Plonket, Diffinitor Hiberniae.

fr. Dominicus Daly, Elector Hiberniae.

The chapter opened on 31 May, Fr. Augustine Pipia was elected General ²⁶⁷, and the Irish postulations were accepted without demur. In the notes left by the secretary, the word 'placet' is written after

²⁶⁶ Perhaps the right to elect a provincial is indirectly intended here.

²⁶⁷ By 39 votes in a total of 72. AGOP IV. 200, pro provincia Hungarico-Austriaca, pp. 74-75. Hence the story heard by Edmund Burke to the effect that Pipia would not have emerged from the Chapter as Master General but for the three Irish votes, has some basis in fact. In festo Pentecostes electus fuit Magister Ordinis fr. Augustinus Pipia... quod, ut dicitur, non fieret sine trium nostrorum Vocalium suffragiis. Journal, 122.

each of the Irish requests, while the published acts of the General Chapter reproduce the text of the original petition almost verbatim ²⁶⁸.

The attentive reader will have noticed that Fr. Maguire referred, at the foot of the postulations, to those put forward for degrees by the Provincial Chapter. The reference can only be to the chapter of 1720, the acts of which (at least in the surviving copy) do not mention any such postulations. Probably these names were set forth in the letter of the chapter to the next Master General (but omitted in Edmund Burke's private copy) and it is to this capitular letter the postulation presented by Fr. Maguire refers ²⁶⁹. During or shortly after the General Chapter the three Irish representatives gave Fr. Pipia a signed list of all those proposed for promotion by the province. No objection appears to have been raised against any of them, and on 5 July 1721 the patents conferring the various degrees (already granted on 26 June) were given to Fr. Maguire in Rome. Since most of those promoted at this time, and particularly those made Preachers General, appear to have been then working in Ireland, the full list of their names may be of interest ²⁷⁰.

Thomas Morley	S.T.M. by title of teaching.
John Donnelly	S.T.M. by title of teaching.
Stephen [Mac] Egan	S.T.M. by title of preaching.
James MacCormick	S.T.P. by title of teaching.
James Dillon	S.T.P. by title of teaching.
Patrick O'Hart	S.T.P. by title of teaching.
Patrick Gormley	S.T.P. by title of preaching.
Patrick O'Diamond	S.T.P. by title of preaching.
Colman O'Shaughnessy	S.T.P. by title of preaching.
Dominic Mulfin	P.G. for Sligo.
Peter Archer	P.G. for Kilkenny.
Thomas Ferral	P.G. for Longford.
Charles Cassidy	P.G. for Gola.
Dominic Gusman or Gilde	P.G. for Ballindoon.
Patrick Brannan	P.G. for Roscommon.
Peter MacCarthy	P.G. for Cork.
John O'Brien	P.G. for Glanworth.
Dominic Ruan	P.G. for Strade.
William Kenny	P.G. for Galway.
Oliver Davorin	P.G. for Limerick.
John Moran	P.G. for Portumna.

²⁶⁸ Acta Capitulum Generalium, (ed. Reichert), MOPH XIII, 414.

²⁶⁹ Edmund Burke, Journal, 125. See above p. 346.

²⁷⁰ IV. 200, pp. 106-107.

THE ELECTIVE PROVINCIAL CHAPTER OF 1721

Since Fr. Maguire received these patents at Rome on 5 July it is unlikely that he returned to Ireland in time for the provincial chapter scheduled for the end of that month. Indeed, it is clear from the acts of that chapter (signed on the 1st of August 1721) that the definitors were unaware of all that Fr. Maguire and his associates had already done for the province. Stating that the previous chapter of 1720 had failed to postulate any native of Munster, they put forward the names of Peter MacCarthy and Antoninus Kent (the priors of Cork and Cashel) for the Preacher Generalship, though the first of these had already been so promoted at the provincial's request²⁷¹.

That is a minor detail when set beside the real achievement of the chapter — the election of Fr. Stephen MacEgan as provincial of Ireland. His accession to office marked the end of a difficult and troubled era in the history of the Irish province. Henceforth chapters could be regularly held, while provincials elected in Ireland could control the three distant colleges for the benefit of the province they had been founded to serve.

Fr. Anthony Maguire did not long survive the event. We find him in November 1722 drawing up the case of the college at Louvain against the English Dominicans in regard to the *spolia* of Fr. Patrick Grimes, recently deceased at London²⁷². Fr. Maguire himself died at Dublin on 4 July 1724²⁷³. Fr. Patrick Plunkett of the Minerva, who has figured as much as anyone else in this story, followed him to the grave in 1728. By a strange turn of fate his place in the Casanatensian library was taken by Edmund Burke who lived on to 1739, filling his Journal with disgruntled but highly interesting comments on the subsequent history of the Irish province.

²⁷¹ The official copy of the chapter *acta* (1721) is in AGOP XIII. 157. There are other copies in TA.

²⁷² SCAR, Miscellanea (Shelf-number, 22), doc. 37.

²⁷³ Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 530.

APPENDIX

*A List of Dominican Missionaries sent to Ireland by the Masters General
1698-1721.*

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 includes neither priests whose departure for Ireland is mentioned incidentally in the registers, nor those who are known from other sources to have left the continent for the mission during this period. Some details have been added from other documents in order to indicate a missionary's point of departure, or the effectiveness of the assignment he received. All references, unless otherwise stated, are to AGOP IV. The following abbreviations have been used.

APF = Archives of Propaganda Fide.

O'Heyne = John O'Heyne, *Epilogus Chronologicus*, Louvain, 1706.
All references are to the 2nd edition by A. Coleman,
Dundalk, 1902.

SCAR = Archives of San Clemente, Rome.

TA = Provincial archives, St. Mary's Priory, Tallaght, Co.
Dublin, Ireland.

1. 11 Mar 1698. John of St. Rose. From Italy, because he had poor health there. 182, p. 356.
On 26 Apr 1710 an Irish priest of the same name was assigned to the convent of St. Paul, Seville, and on 2 May 1711 to that of Puerto di S. Maria. 176**, Bethica, ff. 33^v, 35^r.
2. 29 Mar 1698. Raymund Sweetman. From the province of Lombardy, to his native convent of Kilkenny. Repeated on 31 May. 182, pp. 357, 359.
On 22 Jun 1698 he was assigned to the convent of Casale Monferrato in the province of Lombardy. 190, Lombardia, f. 76^v. On 13 Sept 1710 he was transfiliated from his original Irish convent to that of Praiano in the Congregazione della Sanità. 191, Congr. Sanitatis, f. 18^r.
3. 26 Apr 1698. Philip MacDowel. From the province of Lombardy. 190, Lombardia, f. 75^r.
On 9 May 1708 he was assigned to the convent of St. Dominic, Soriano, and removed thence to the Irish College of San Sisto in Rome on 29 August. 191, Calabria, ff. 22^v, 23^r.
4. 11 Apr 1699. Thomas Nangle, P.G. From San Sisto in Rome where he had taken refuge after his exile. 182, p. 369. He died in Italy before 1706. O'Heyne, 41.

5. 11 Apr 1699. Thomas Costelloe. From San Sisto in Rome where he had taken refuge after his exile. 182, p. 369. He died at Louvain in 1702. O'Heyne, 229-231.
6. 12 Sept 1699. Peter MacCollin. 182, p. 375.
On 27 Mar 1700 he was assigned to Louvain. 182, p. 383. In 1706 he had been subprior of the Irish College of Holy Cross, Louvain, for three consecutive terms. O'Heyne, 17. In Apr 1707 he was said to have lived in Holy Cross for the past fifteen years. APF, SC *Irlanda* 6, f. 256^{rv}.
7. 12 Sept 1699. Dominic MacMahon. 182, p. 375.
On 27 Mar 1700 he was assigned to Louvain. 182, p. 383. In 1706 he was resident in Holy Cross, Louvain. O'Heyne, 19.
8. 14 Apr 1700. Thomas Naghten, P.G. 182, p. 383.
In May 1700 the General enquired about his work at Madrid. 194, f. 79^f.
9. 4 Sept 1700. James Murphy. 182, p. 390. See nos. 21, 63.
10. 27 Oct 1700. James Collins. From San Sisto, Rome. 182, p. 392.
On 3 Sept 1722 a J.C. witnessed the profession of Albert O'Brien in Cork. TA, Cork Profession and Confraternity book.
11. 27 Oct 1700. Edmund Geraghty. From San Sisto, Rome. 182, p. 392. See no. 16.
12. 30 Oct 1700. Christopher French, S.T.L. 182, p. 392.
In 1706 he was resident in Holy Cross, Louvain. O'Heyne, 153.
13. 9 Apr 1701. James Taaffe. From San Sisto, Rome. 182, p. 396^b.
14. 3 Sept 1701. Oliver Power. 182, p. 400.
15. 2 Feb 1702. James Lacy. To England and Ireland. 182, p. 405^e.
Perhaps the Peter Lacy who in 1706 was serving a hospital at Dinan in Brittany. O'Heyne, 91.
16. 29 Jul 1702. Edmund Geraghty. 182, p. 408. See no. 11.
17. 12 Aug 1702. Patrick MacBrannan, S.T.L. To England and Ireland. 182, p. 409.
In Jan 1704 he was at Bilbao, en route to the mission. 194, f. 214^v. On 9 Jun 1711 he was appointed prior of Roscommon. TA, Liber Provinciae, f. 30^r.
18. 18 Aug 1703. Raymund Burke. From France. 166, p. 234; 182, p. 420. Described in 1706 as having been living in Brittany since the exile. O'Heyne, 205. A priest of this name returned to Athenry from Spain in May 1707 and died (while subprior of Athenry) at Galway on 7 Dec 1711. Another died at Athenry on 26 Jul 1733. TA, Athenry House-Chronicle.
19. 24 Aug 1703. Dominic Flanagan. From Lisbon. 182, p. 421.
20. 24 Aug 1703. Peter Butler. From Lisbon. 182, p. 421.
21. 31 May 1704. James Murphy. 182, pp. 436-437. See nos. 9, 63.
22. 17 Jun 1704. Thomas Clemens. 166, p. 259; 182, p. 439.
23. 17 Jun 1704. Thomas Fitzgerald. *ibidem*.

24. 17 Jun 1704. John Baptist O'Shiels. *ibidem*.
25. 19 Aug 1704. Bernard MacDermott. 182, p. 446.
26. 19 Aug 1704. John MacKeown. 182, p. 446.
A John Keown had been assigned by the provincial to the convent of Gola on 12 Feb 1701. TA, *Liber Provinciae*, f. 38^r.
27. 22 Aug 1705. Raymund Fahy. From Bilbao. 166, p. 288.
28. 9 Jan 1706. Peter Cluan. From San Sisto, Rome. 166, p. 94. See no. 32.
29. 9 Jan 1706. John Gusman. From San Sisto, Rome. 166, p. 94. See no. 33.
30. 20 Feb 1706. Patrick Sarsfield, S.T.P. To his native convent of Limerick. Permitted 'to assist the archbishop in his palace, from which post no inferior authority may remove him'. 166, p. 95. O'Heyne wrote in 1706: 'if he is alive, he is in Spain'. p. 91.
31. 17 Apr 1706. Peter MacCarthy. 166, p. 96.
He was prior of Cork in Aug 1721 when the provincial chapter postulated him for the degree of Preacher General. AGOP XIII 157.
32. 14 Aug 1706. Peter Cluan. To Scotland. 166, p. 98. See no. 28.
33. 14 Aug 1706. John Gusman. To Scotland. 166, p. 98. See no. 29.
This priest, also named Gildea, had a chalice made for the convent of Sligo in 1716. J.J. Buckley, *Some Irish Altar Plate*, Dublin 1943, 136.
34. 28 Aug 1706. John Ryan. 166, p. 99.
On 10 Apr 1706 he had been assigned as a formal student to the convent of St. Peter Martyr, Naples. 191, *Regnum*, f. 30^v.
35. 8 Jan 1707. Antoninus Tiernane. 166, p. 102.
On 22 Feb 1707 Propaganda considered his request for money to buy lay clothes, he being then at San Sisto, Rome. APF, *Atti* 77, f. 43^{rv}.
On 2 Apr 1707 the General named him prior of Sligo. 166, p. 105. He was prior of Clonshanville on 2 Sept 1728. SCAR, *Codex I*, Vol. 4, f. 996.
36. 2 Apr 1707. Thomas Fleming, S.T.L. 166, p. 105.
Mentioned by O'Heyne (227) as a student at San Sisto, Rome, in 1706: but listed among those who went to the mission from Holy Cross, Louvain, between 1705 and 1712. APF, SOCG 601, f. 206^r. On 14 Jan 1710/11 he was made prior of Rathfran. TA, *Liber Provinciae*, f. 29^r.
37. 4 Jun 1707. Ambrose MacDermott, S.T.M. From Rome. 166, p. 108.
Though the register does not indicate it, he had been bishop of Elphin since March.
38. 4 Jun 1707. Peter MacDermott, S.T.M. From Rome. 166, p. 108.
On 9 Jul 1709 he accepted the priorship of Roscommon. TA, *Liber Provinciae*, f. 30^r.
39. 12 Nov 1707. Cornelius Reynolds. From France. 166, p. 113.
See J. Toravel, *Nomenclature des Religieux de la Congrégation de Bretagne*, Angers 1964, for a C.R. who was at Rennes in 1702 and 1711:

- on his return from the South Seas in the latter year he deposited 200 livres in the convent. A priest of the same name was arrested as he tried to land at Youghal in June 1713. W. P. Burke, Irish priests in the penal times, 173.
40. 19 Dec 1707. Edward Fitzgerald, S.T.L. To Ireland via Lisbon. 166, p. 115.
On 6 Apr 1709 he was named second lector of theology in the Irish Dominican College at Lisbon. 200, p. 2. See no. 75.
41. 29 Sept 1708. Bernard O'Berne, S.T.P. 166, p. 135.
On 4 Jan 1698 a priest of this name had been permitted to transfiliate to a convent in the Roman province. 190, Romana, f. 38^r.
42. 6 Oct 1708. Colman O'Shaughnessy, S.T.L. 166, p. 136.
From Holy Cross, Louvain. APF, SOCG 601, f. 206^r.
On 5 Jul 1711 he was elected prior of Athenry. TA, Athenry House-Chronicle, f. 11^r.
43. 10 Aug 1709. Michael MacEgan. From Louvain. 200, p. 4. See no. 62.
44. 1 Sept 1709. James Dillon. From Rome. 200, p. 5.
On 30 Jul 1701 he had been assigned from Holy Cross, Louvain, to study philosophy at San Sisto, Rome. 182, p. 399.
45. 21 Sept 1709. Ambrose O'Connor, S.T.M., ex-provincial. To Great Britain. 200, p. 5.
46. 2 Aug 1710. William Burke. 200, p. 19.
Probably the W.B. professed in the convent of Roscommon on 10 Feb 1703. TA, Liber Provinciae, f. 28^v. Went to the mission from Holy Cross, Louvain. APF, SOCG 601, f. 206^r.
47. 2 Aug 1710. Thomas Burke. 200, p. 19.
From Holy Cross, Louvain. APF, SOCG 601, f. 206^r. On 7 Aug 1713 signed a letter (probably at Dublin) as prior of Waterford. APF, CP 34^b, f. 185^r.
48. 27 Dec 1710. Edmund Burke, S.T.M. 200, p. 25.
On 12 Jul 1710 had been named professor of theology to the Canons Regular of Louvain. 200, p. 17. Arrived at Athenry about summer 1711. APF, CP 34^b, f. 200^r.
49. 14 Mar 1711. Thomas Morley, S.T.L. From Holy Cross, Louvain, with permission to return there to take up the second regency in the College. 200, p. 26.
In Jan 1713 he was named second regent of Holy Cross. 200, p. 40. See no. 67.
50. 3 May 1711. Andrew MacCarthy, P.G. 200, p. 28.
In Apr 1706 had been appointed *lector artium* at San Sisto, Rome, and in July of the same year promised the next vacancy as lector of philosophy at Holy Cross, Louvain. 166, pp. 96-97.
51. 1 Apr 1713. John Scanlon. From San Sisto, Rome. 200, p. 41.

52. 29 Apr 1713. Thomas Kilty. 200, p. 41.
Probably the O'Quilty described by O'Heyne (269) as living at Ancona in 1706. Also the Kiltry who in 1713 was recommended to Propaganda as a missionary by Cardinal Orsini, bishop of Benevento. The Cardinal said Kiltry had been for a long time in the convents of the province of Lombardy, and for some years had been preaching in his own diocese, but now wished to go to Ireland. APF, SOCG 587, f. 338^r.
53. 3 Jun 1713. Bernard Geoghegan. 200, p. 41.
He was appointed by the provincial chapter of 1721 as an examiner of candidates for the Order in the province of Leinster. AGOP XIII 157.
54. 27 Jul 1713. Dominic Daly. 200, p. 42.
Three days before, having finished his studies at San Sisto and at the Minerva, Rome, he applied to Propaganda for money to go to Ireland. APF, Atti 83, ff. 283-284.
In Apr 1714 he was elected prior of Athenry. TA, Athenry House-Chronicle, f. 12^v.
55. 15 Jan 1714. Simon Archbold, S.T.M. 200, p. 44.
On 3 Feb 1714 his election as prior of Holy Cross, Louvain, was confirmed. 200, p. 44.
56. 15 Jan 1714. John MacDonnell, S.T.L. 200, p. 44.
On 16 Jul 1698 he had been assigned from San Sisto, Rome, to the convent of St. Dominic at Civitavecchia. 182, p. 361.
57. 9 Feb 1714. Dominic Kelly, S.T.L. 200, p. 44.
On 5 Sept 1710 he had been made second regent at San Sisto, Rome. 200, p. 22. See no. 84.
58. 9 Feb 1714. Vincent Butler. 200, p. 44.
On 7 Jul 1705 he received the habit at San Sisto, Rome. SCAR, Liber Receptionum.
59. 10 Feb 1714. Thomas Farrell. From San Sisto, Rome. 200, p. 44.
He was appointed by the provincial chapter of 1721 as an examiner of confessors for the province of Leinster. AGOP XIII 157.
60. 10 Feb 1714. Thomas MacDermottroe, S.T.L. From San Sisto, Rome. 200, p. 44.
On 6 Oct 1714 he was ordered to be transported from Galway to the continent. W.P. Burke, Irish priests, 415.
61. 10 Nov 1714. Raymond MacKeige. 200, p. 48.
He received the habit on 24 Oct 1709 in Holy Cross, Louvain, and was professed a year later at San Sisto in Rome. He is referred to in the house-council book of San Sisto as *Edmundus Thadaei*. SCAR, Council-book, f. 52^v; Liber Receptionum. On 11 Jun 1712 he was sent to study at the convent of San Severo, Naples. On 23 Jun 1714 he was given an honorary lectorate and told to do his examination for faculties at the studium generale of Santa Maria dell'Arco, Naples. 191, Aprutina, ff. 22^v, 24^r.

62. 2 Mar 1715. Michael MacEgan, S.T.M. From Louvain, to the province of Munster 'where the harvest is great and the labourers few'. 200, p. 49. See no. 43.
63. 1 Feb 1716. James Murphy. From the convent of Livorno, where he had been living for many years. 200, p. 57. See nos. 9, 21.
64. 19 Sept 1716. Mark Falney. 200, p. 64.
65. 3 Oct 1716. Ambrose Mandeville. From Marseilles: he had written asking to be permitted to go as a missionary to India or China. 200, p. 64.
66. 21 May 1718. James Stapleton. From Louvain, where he was then subprior of Holy Cross. 200, p. 79.
It was said in Mar 1707 that he had been ordered by the provincial a year before from Holy Cross to the mission. APF, SOCG 558, ff. 422-423^r.
67. 21 May 1718. Thomas Morley, S.T.P. From Louvain, where he was then first regent at Holy Cross. 200, p. 79.
He was reinstated as regent in Nov 1718. 200, p. 85. See no. 49.
68. 21 May 1718. James Cormick, S.T.L. From Louvain, where he was then second regent at Holy Cross. 200, p. 79.
In Aug 1720 he was prior of Dublin and secretary of the provincial chapter. TA, Chapter acts.
69. 21 May 1718. Christopher Dillon. From Louvain to Ireland at his own request. 200, p. 79.
In Dec 1728 a Fr. James Christopher Dillon was prior of Dublin. 214, f. 16.
70. 30 Jul 1718. Dominic Burke. From Civitavecchia. 200, p. 81.
On 24 Aug 1716 he had been assigned from Lisbon to San Sisto, Rome. 200, p. 64.
71. 21 Jan 1719. John O'Brien, S.T.L. From the convent of St. Paul, Seville. 200, p. 86.
In Aug 1721 he was appointed by the provincial chapter as an examiner of confessors for Munster. AGOP XIII 157. On 31 Aug 1722 he signed a petition at Cork as professor of theology and vicar-provincial of Munster. APF, SOCG 641, f. 57^r.
72. 11 Mar 1719. Patrick O'Hart, S.T.L. 200, p. 88.
On 19 Aug 1719 he was ordered to leave Holy Cross, Louvain, for Ireland within three days, under pain of suspension. 200, p. 95.
73. 14 Apr 1719. John Donnelly, S.T.M. From San Sisto, Rome. 200, p. 90.
In Aug 1721 he was appointed by the provincial chapter as an examiner both of confessors and of candidates for the Order in the province of Ulster. AGOP XIII 157.
74. 22 Apr 1719. Augustine Burke, S.T.M. He had been a missionary

- in Ireland for twelve years before his exile, and then spent many years in French convents and at Holy Cross, Louvain, where he had been novice-master: now he is sent again to Ireland at his own request. 200, p. 90.
- On 19 Jul 1720 he accepted the priorship of Athenry. TA, Athenry House-Chronicle, f. 13^v.
75. 5 Dec 1719. Edward Fitzgerald, S.T.M., procurator at Madrid. 200, p. 97.
- On 24 Jul 1723 he was reinstated as procurator. 201, p. 116. See no. 40.
76. 29 Jun 1720. Thomas Burke. Having finished his studies at Ancona. 200, p. 100.
- In Feb 1721 he was elected subprior of San Sisto, Rome. SCAR, House-Council book.
77. 29 Jun 1720. Hyacinth Keaghry. Having finished his studies at Ancona. 200, p. 100.
- By 12 Jul 1724 he had become subprior of Athenry. TA, Athenry House-Chronicle, f. 16^v.
78. 17 Aug 1720. John Byrne. A formal student at Bologna: dispensed from six months' study and sent to the mission. 200, p. 101.
- Probably the J.B. whom the provincial chapter of 1725 postulated for the S.T.P., saying that for many years he had taught philosophy and theology in Dublin. AGOP XIII 157.
79. 16 Nov 1720. Michael Shee, S.T.P. From San Sisto, Rome, at his own request. 200, p. 103.
80. 23 Nov 1720. John Fitzgerald. From Lisbon, where he had recently finished his theological studies. 200, p. 104.
- On 3 Sept 1722 a J.F. witnessed the profession of Albert O'Brien in Cork. TA, Cork Profession and Confraternity book.
81. 23 Nov 1720. Thomas Maddin. From Lisbon, where he had recently finished his theological studies. 200, p. 104.
82. 23 Nov 1720. Thomas MacCarthy. From Lisbon, where he had recently finished his theological studies. 200, p. 104.
83. 23 Nov 1720. Michael Hervan. From Lisbon, where he had recently finished his theological studies. 200, p. 104.
84. 29 Mar 1721. Dominic Mary O'Kelly. From the convent of San Romano, Lucca, at his own request. 200, p. 104. See no. 57.
85. 2 Aug 1721. Augustine Vaughan. From Faenza, where he was then a student: permitted, because of poor health, to return to his own country. 200, p. 108.