

Dublin Builder, 1st November 1960, 363.

Alterations and additions, made in 1860, including an apsidal chancel, and tower with spire.

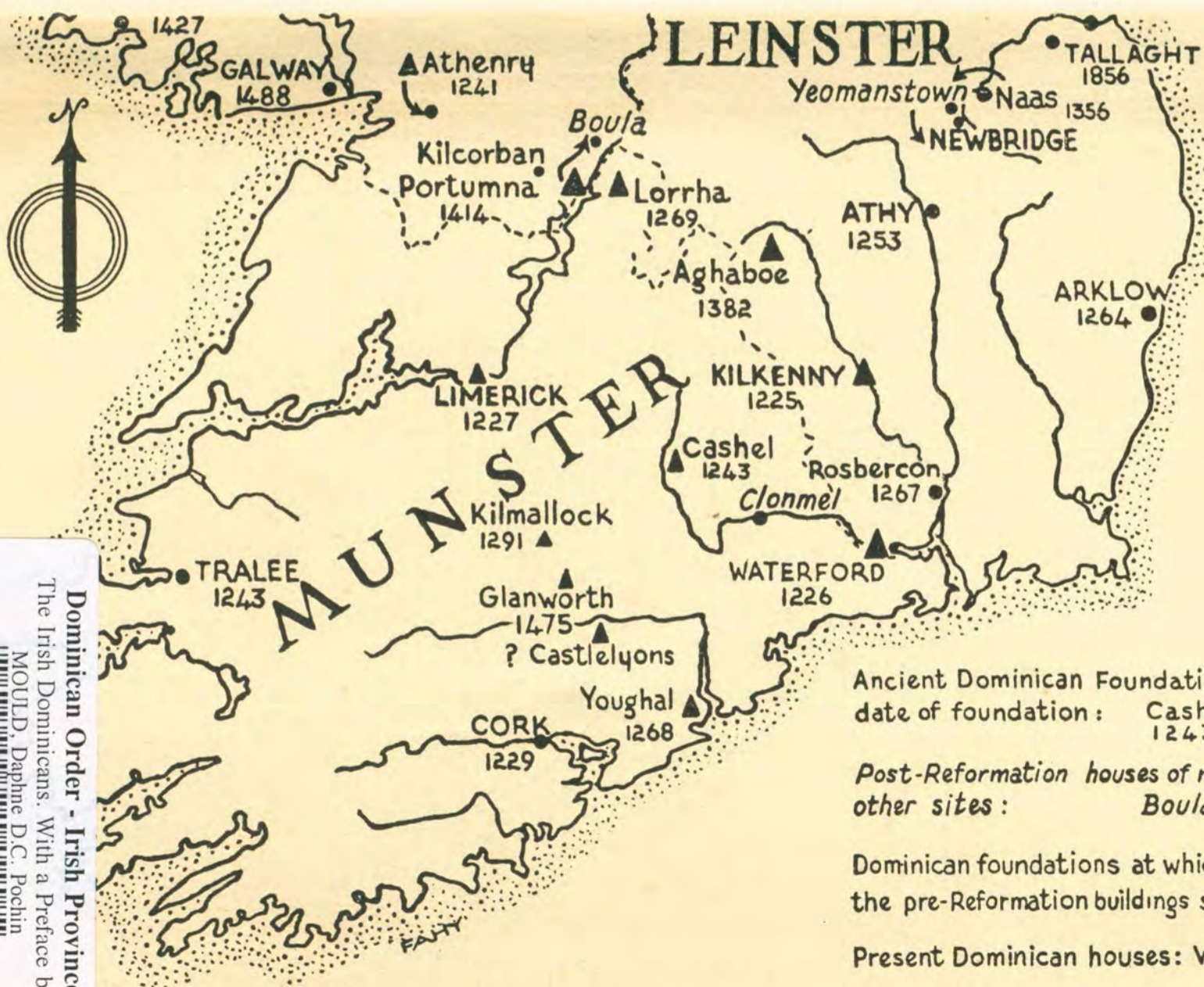
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p. 56

J.J. MCCARTHY AND THE GOTHIC REVIVAL IN IRELAND

DOMINICAN

IN IRELAND



Ancient Dominican Foundations with date of foundation: Cashel 1243

Post-Reformation houses of refuge and other sites: Boula

Dominican foundations at which part of the pre-Reformation buildings survive: ▲

Present Dominican houses: WATERFORD 1226

Dominican Order - Irish Province

The Irish Dominicans. With a Preface b...

MOULD, Daphne D.C. Poehin



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THE IRISH DOMINICANS



Rev. Fintan J. Campbell, O.P.

By the same author :

THE ROADS FROM THE ISLES

WEST OVER SEA

SCOTLAND OF THE SAINTS

IRELAND OF THE SAINTS

THE ROCK OF TRUTH

IRISH PILGRIMAGE

THE MOUNTAINS OF IRELAND

THE CELTIC SAINTS : OUR HERITAGE





1. *Saint Dominic.* 1170-1221

THE IRISH DOMINICANS

*The Friars Preachers in the history of
Catholic Ireland*



By
DAPHNE D. POCHIN MOULD

T.O.S.D. B.Sc., Ph.D.

Rev. Fintan J. Campbell, O.P.

With Preface by
MOST REV. FR. M. BROWNE, O.P., S.T.M.,
Master General

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Dedication

DOMINIC

O lumen Ecclesiae, doctor veritatis,
Rosa patientiae, ebur castitatis,
Aquam sapientiae propinasti gratis :
Praedicator gratiae nos junge beatis

PREFACE

IT is with emotion and with deep gratitude to the gifted author that I pen these words of preface to her history of the Dominican Province of Ireland. She gives us something which has been long desired. Showing us the place which the Dominican Order has occupied in the history of our country, her work will also be an illustration of the perennial values enshrined in the Order's Constitutions. These latter put at the base of all else the group of ideas contained in the motto, *contemplata aliis tradere*, that is to say, to give to others through the apostolate of preaching the fruits of our own interior life. To promote the fulness of the latter they prescribe the conventual life with all its observances, especially the choral ones. In view of the apostolate itself, they impose a programme, and even a life, of sacred study of the most ample nature. If the needs of the apostolate or of the sacred studies so require, there can be in particular cases partial dispensation from observances. The Dominican Order conceives that each one of its convents should be a small university of the word of God in all its forms, not indeed in the purely academic sense of the word, but in an apostolic sense. Before the great upheaval of the sixteenth century there were in Ireland more than forty convents of Preaching Friars. To-day there are not so many, but, through God's special blessing, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes, the tradition of the Order's presence, of its conventual life, of its dedication to sacred study, and of its apostolic work has been maintained. Miss Pochin Mould will tell us how it has all happened.

J. Michael Browne A
Master General

S. Sabina, Rome
18-1-1957

FOREWORD

DOMINIC of the Rosary O'Daly ended his contemporary account of the Cromwellian persecutions with a plea that in the future some Irish Dominican would tell in full the story which he had only been able to sketch in brief. Three hundred years later I find myself in something of the same position, for full and detailed studies of each period of Irish Dominican history still remain to be made. Yet the general shape and outline of the story is clear and, in telling it, I may help to point the way to further studies in its details.

But, as this book sets out to be no more than a summary of Dominican history in Ireland, it has not been possible to go into the details of the careers of individual Dominicans, nor to do more than indicate the extent of Irish Dominican activities overseas. Further, in the attempt to reduce seven hundred years, not only of Dominican but of Irish, history to a readable length, it has been necessary to generalise and possibly to oversimplify certain of the issues involved. Like Dominic O'Daly, I look to the Irish sons of St. Dominic "to complete what I have left unaccomplished, nay, barely touched."

D. D. C. POCHIN MOULD.

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VERITAS

THE westmost point of Europe is Sleat Head, where the Atlantic waves break in white sprays on high and broken cliffs, where the language of the men who work the small fields amongst the rocks and sail their currachs on the unquiet seas, is Irish, and where Mount Brandon, with its memories of St. Brendan and the Celtic monks, looks out two ways; across the limitless expanse of ocean, and inland, to the mountains and the fields of Ireland. And Ireland's history likewise is partly turned in upon the land itself and partly turned outwards across the seas, to the British Islands, to Europe and to the New World.

This book is a history of the Order of Preachers, the Dominicans, in Ireland and it spans a period of rather more than 700 years. At the beginning of that period, Ireland seemed the very end and edge of the Western World. True, there were the legends of St. Brendan, of landfalls made across the mysterious sea; but only later, with Columbus' voyage, would Ireland see herself no longer as the last outpost of Europe, but as the European country nearest to the Americas. And with that, the transatlantic routes were added to the roads traversed by Irishmen and Irish Dominicans.

When this story of the Dominicans in Ireland begins, and indeed for most of its 700 years, a horse at the gallop and a ship under full sail were the fastest ways man or news could travel. Yet as it arrives at the present day, the sound barrier is broken and the transatlantic air liners touch down at Shannon. It seems another world from the arrival of the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, in the Kenmare River, in the little sailing ship, "St. Peter," with its gilded figure head, from the black friars on foot on the roads of mediaeval Ireland, from the entries in the 18th century account books of the Irish Dominicans, "for Shooing ye black horse five pence" (Esker Account book, March 3, 1722).

It has been no peaceful 700 years of Irish history either. At the beginning, it saw the wave of Anglo-Norman conquest and domination reach flood tide, and the country's most western

coasts, and then its ebb and the resurgence of a Gaelic culture and a Gaelic way of life. It saw the Reformation and the Tudor reconquest of Ireland, it saw the hopes and the intrigues of the Confederate wars, the bloody violence of the Cromwellian troops, the long grinding persecution of the Faith by the Penal laws. It saw the rising of 1798, the Famine years, death, emigration, depression, and then new hope in the death of brave men in 1916; finally, the establishment of the Irish Republic.

For all that long period of time, the Order of Preachers has been at work in Ireland and at work on the same task, that of making known the truth. So long indeed the time, so great the changes, both politically and in the world of scientific discovery and technology, that it seems almost incredible that the Dominicans who sailed into Dublin in 1224, when Sleu Head was the end of the known world in the West, should have been preaching the same truth as the modern Dominican stepping onto the air liner at Shannon. But yet this is the key to this tangled hank of Irish and Dominican history; that through all its twists and turns, the vocation of the Preachers has been, and is, to know and to make known the truth, to stand as champions of the Catholic Faith and true lights of the world.

Yet this is the Christian revelation, the crossing of eternity with time, the bringing of the truth about God, about man, about the meaning and purpose of life, into the ever-changing flux and shift of history and events. It comes as a blaze of light in a dark world, a star to guide men home; sunrise after night. Because she is concerned with the eternal and unchanging truth, with God, the Catholic Church is always contemporary; involved in history and yet set apart from time. So then, this Order of Preachers, founded long ago by St. Dominic to defend the truth, is always involved in events and yet, by its very purpose and vocation, turned toward eternity. Of Dominic himself it was said that he spoke only to God or of God; he was in love with Truth itself: the purpose of this book is to follow the Dominican Order and St. Dominic's ideas in their passage across the checkered courses of Irish history.



2. *The De Burgo Chalice*
1494



II

ORDER OF PREACHERS

THE man himself was possessed of a quite unusual charm, of a dynamic drive tempered with a certain gaiety and sense of mischief; an infectious sort of sanctity that inspired not merely love but emulation. To look at, he was of medium height, slender, with fair to reddish hair; his eyes and his hands, the latter described by a contemporary as beautiful and tapering, seem to have always attracted immediate attention. He had a clear and musical voice, he loved the Church's liturgy and chant, and walked the roads of Europe singing as often as not, the "Veni Creator" and the "Ave Maris Stella." He combined a regime of extreme austerity with the sort of temperament that, after the devil had appeared to him as an ape, would not merely relate the whole to the Dominican nuns but mimic the ape. I do not know but that when the man was dying and spoke to the friars gathered round him of his carefully guarded virginity that there was not the same spark of wit mingled with the humility when he added "but I must admit that I have taken more pleasure in conversation with young women than I have with old."

This was the man that Protestant legend has represented as a sinister inquisitor, bent on the truth's suppression. This is the man whose influence and prayers and inspiration are active yet, the founder of the Order of Preachers, creator of an enduring instrument for the defence of truth. In Ireland, St. Dominic's influence would not merely be confined to his own Order, but overspill into a widespread popular devotion and affection.

Dominic Guzman had been born at Calaroga in Spain in the year 1170. His upbringing was academic and clerical, he studied at the university of Palencia and became a canon of Osma, a town some twenty miles from Calaroga. From his earliest years the young Spaniard seems to have been preoccupied with God; he had the great good fortune of a devout Catholic home (both his mother and his brother Mannes have been beatified), and it is against a background of prayer and study that we should see the 35 year old sub-prior of Osma's cathedral chapter drawn into the vortex of Catholic affairs.

The time was a critical one for the Church, a period when the old rural order of things was giving place to one more urban : towns had sprung up and were growing rapidly, and, with their growth, came also the new and special problems of city life, the appearance of a questioning, restless city mentality. The Catholic Church was faced not merely with a need for reform of abuses but also with the demand and the challenge of the new spiritual needs of the people. It was recognised that one of the crying needs of the day was a well educated clergy, who not only knew Catholic doctrine but could expound and defend it. The Third Lateran Council of 1179 had set out on a programme of reform, to curb excessive clerical pomp and circumstance and the like abuses, to try and raise the level of clerical learning by each bishop setting up a free school for clerics and poor scholars in his cathedral city. It also initiated action against the heresies that were spreading amongst the Catholics of Europe. Yet it was one thing to see what needed to be done and another to find a means of bringing the desired result about.

Meantime, in southern France and northern Italy, the new anti-Catholic movements were gaining power and influence. There were two main lines of heretical thought, one based upon the laymen's desire for a better Christian life and moving slowly away from the Catholic Faith as it developed its own sort of lay spirituality and a strong anti-clerical tendency ; the other, a metaphysical system in its own right and in complete opposition to Catholicism, the age-old theory of a dualism in creation, that spirit was good and made by God, matter evil and the devil's handiwork.

One Peter Waldo of Lyons seems to have originated the first of these two movements, the Waldenses. He was a rich merchant who around 1176, gave up all he had and, like St. Francis, embarked upon a life of poverty and penance. But without proper instruction and control, the movement drifted rather than deliberately moved, out of the Faith. The Albigenses, or Cathari, on the other hand, proposed a positive faith in opposition, a faith moreover of considerable attraction, for though the movement's leaders were committed, in view of the evil nature of matter, to a life of extraordinary austerity, the mass of believers could continue to pursue their ordinary way of life until at the point of death they received the religion's sacrament, the *con-*

solamentum, which initiated the ordinary Believer into the elect company of the Perfect. Since the heresy was in direct opposition to the Church, it also encouraged the seizure and loot of the Church's property; the situation was such that a crusade against the Albigenses was begun in 1209.

Dominic had come into contact with the heresy before that time, in the casual way in which God's providence operates; in the course of accompanying Bishop Diego on an official journey, a business matter of arranging a marriage between King Alfonso IX of Castile's son Ferdinand, and the daughter of a certain "Lord of the Marches." The upshot was to bring both Diego and Dominic into the work of combating heresy.

There were certain obvious lines of attack. Part of the charm of the heretical leaders was their extreme austerity and poverty, which stood out in stark contrast to the wealth and rich living of many Churchmen: even the Cistercian monks who had been asked to take part in preaching against the heresy, travelled and lived in considerable comfort. Then too, the Catholic missionary needed to have a good academic training and the best possible knowledge of the Faith, together with the ability to preach and defend the truth he knew. There was a need for university trained preachers, not merely to enlighten the ignorant evangelicism of the Waldenses, but to counter the Cathar philosophy of Being with the Catholic one.

Dominic's reaction, as he began to work among the heretics, was first to demonstrate in himself that all the good that there was in the heretic leaders was to be found, and more too, in the orthodox Catholic. He adopted a life of poverty and of asceticism and penance that out-matched that of the Cathar leaders; countered their arguments by preaching and defending truth. Other men were engaged with him in the same work, and out of this particular need and particular heresy grew the idea and then the reality of the Order of Preachers, the Dominicans. It was the idea of a body of men who would combine the monastic life of prayer and contemplation, penance and silence, with that of the preacher and apostle and university teacher; a group moreover organised on an international scale, based on Rome and loyalty to the Pope, tied neither to place nor country.

St. Francis, whom Dominic met and loved, had meantime been working on somewhat similar lines. Like Peter Waldo,

Francis was captivated by the beauty of poverty, but unlike Peter Waldo, Francis was a saint and his followers became part of the new and seemingly revolutionary development of Catholic religious life, the new sort of monk called a friar.

In point of fact, the preaching friars of Dominic and the begging friars of Francis, were not as novel as they seemed. St. Martin of Tours had been both a monk and the apostle of France, and the Celtic monks of Ireland and Wales and Scotland had followed the same path; men whose monastic life and prayer was the springboard and support of their work of preaching over the countries of the known world. But the Celtic monastic organisation had given place to the Benedictine and the Cistercian, to the idea of the monk who lived all his life in the one monastery and within which he found the entire sphere of his activity and work. Now, unconsciously, Dominic and Francis were reviving the life of Irish saints like Columbanus and Colmcille, ascetic, learned, apostolic.

Mere technical knowledge is not enough. The effective preacher of the truth is the man who lives close to God, whose teaching is the overflow of his own contemplation. Dominic himself was described as giving his days to men and his nights to God, and if we see the night-long prayers, the few hours' sleep of the saint, simply as austerity and penance, we miss the whole point; the day's activities required essentially that much of prayer for their support.

Further, this combination of the contemplative and active lives, is one not only of difficulty but of great perfection when successfully brought about; it is indeed a close following of Our Lord's own life and preaching. As the Dominican St. Thomas Aquinas points out, although absolutely speaking the contemplative life is "more perfect than the active life, because the latter is taken up with bodily actions: yet that form of active life in which a man, by preaching and teaching, delivers to others the fruits of his contemplation, is more perfect than the life that stops short at contemplation, because such a life is built on an abundance of contemplation, and consequently such was the life chosen by Christ."

Dominic's new Order of Preachers received Papal approbation and confirmation at the end of 1216. St. Francis had received verbal approval (from Innocent III) for his Franciscan Order in

1210; the final version of St. Francis' Rule was approved by Honorius III in 1223. Unlike Francis, who, while he realised his ideals very clearly, did not lay down a detailed legislation by which they were to be brought into being, Dominic had a very clear idea both of ends and of the means to attain them. So much so, that the organisation of the Dominicans was completed in all essentials during the saint's lifetime—at the Chapters of 1216 and 1220—and in such perfection of detail as to make the Preachers the "type" Order of the new religious movements in the Church, a model on which the other Orders of friars could base their own legislation and organisation. The Carmelites, for example, in adapting their original eremitical life to Western conditions, followed the pattern of the Dominican Constitutions very closely.

The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 which, like the Third Lateran Council, had been concerned with measures for the Church's reform and welfare and had once more urged on the bishops the need for good preaching and for the foundation of a lectureship in theology in their cathedral cities, had also legislated against the foundation of a multiplicity of new religious Orders. A new religious foundation must adopt one of the already existing monastic rules. Dominic then, who had been one of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Osma, adopted for the new Order of Preachers the Rule of St. Augustine. This ancient text, which goes back to St. Augustine and the saint's own experience of monastic community life in the years immediately following his conversion, was not, of course, in any way adequate as a complete rule for the Preachers. To it, then, was added a series of Constitutions, outlining the new Order's objectives and the means by which they were to be brought about.

Having been a canon of Osma, Dominic naturally founded an Order of Canons. Early documents speak of the "Canonical Order, which according to God and to the Rule of St. Augustine and to the Institution of the Friars Preachers." In the middle of the 13th century the term "canon" was replaced by that of "cleric" but without changing the friars' essential status. This was something different from the older idea of Benedict: the Benedictine monk was not necessarily a priest and in the early Benedictine communities there would only be a few of the monks who were also priests. Dominic, however, was intent on a learned Order of Preachers; men who were priests and with the best

possible academic training at their back. That meant that the organisation of the new Order could be really democratic. Democracy has become a meaningless slogan and panacea; it is as well to remember that the conditions under which real democracy can operate are very limited. As Sir Reginald Coupland pointed out in his study of Welsh and Scottish Nationalism: "the operative principle of democracy is majority rule, and majority rule can only work successfully in a society which is so homogeneous, which shares the same traditions and standards and purposes to such an extent, that a minority can acquiesce in the decisions of the majority." These conditions were to be realised in the Dominican Order.

The old unit of monasticism had been the abbey, independent, autonomous; though in point of fact many of the Celtic monasteries had been grouped in dependence on the principal house of a series of foundations made by some individual saint. The new Dominican organisation was built of the individual units formed by each convent, but they were no longer sufficient unto themselves but part of a supra-national organisation. Each Dominican house elected its prior; all the houses of convenient regional units formed a Province and were governed by a Provincial who was elected at the Provincial Chapter, which was composed of the priors of all the houses, together with another delegate from each house specially elected for the purpose. The whole Order was in turn controlled by a Master General,* elected at the General Chapters by the Provincials and two delegates from each Province—again elected specially. This system, which remains the organisation of the Dominicans, was something very novel when first brought into being, though to-day the idea seems familiar enough to us.

Again, a danger in democracy is that a swing in voting may result in sudden and continual changes. To check this and maintain the Order's stability, the Chapter *Generalissimum* of Paris in 1228 ruled that, in order to make any alteration in the Constitutions, the consent of three successive General Chapters must be obtained. Further, these General Chapters would not consist of the same individuals, but would follow their own

* The Master General was originally elected for life. He now holds office for 12 years; Provincials for 4 and Priors for 3.

sequence, the first being composed of provincial priors, and the next two of representatives (*definitors*) from each Province.

The basis and the support of the Dominican apostolate is a life of regular monastic observance, the choral recitation of the Divine Office, silence, austerity, with the long monastic fast from September 14th until Easter. But the place of manual labour in the life of the older Orders was replaced by study. Each convent was to have its school of theology, and in point of fact, the Dominicans eventually fulfilled the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils' schemes for local theological schools, which very few of the bishops seem to have succeeded in bringing into being.

There was also set up a graded series of houses for further studies, the larger priories forming *studia solemnia*, and then, at the top of the series, at selected university centres, were *studia generalia*. The first of the latter houses of general study was Paris, which was formally erected as such in 1228, and whose university had already been selected by Dominic as the centre of the young Order's intellectual life. It is well to remember that university life as such was not much older than the Dominican organisation; the university of Paris was founded only in 1205.

An international Order, whose friars moved freely from one country to another, needed also a unified liturgy. At the time of the foundation of the Order, there were many local liturgical variations to be found in the different countries of Europe. Together with the varying liturgical formulae were also varying local calendars of saints. Obviously, to try and use each local variant as a friar moved from one part of the world to another, would result in hopeless confusion, and very early in the Order's history, probably in St. Dominic's own time, a unified liturgical use, and soon after a calendar, was adopted for the whole Order. The rite chosen was that in use in the Roman basilicas with some additional variations and some abbreviations and rearrangements to make it suitable for the friars' use. Dominic himself had a great love of the Catholic liturgy; whenever he could he preferred to celebrate a High Mass rather than a Low Mass, and he is recorded as padding back and forth from one side of the choir to the other, urging the friars to chant the Office with more energy and devotion:—"Fortiter, fratres, fortiter." On the other hand, it was laid down that the Divine Office was to be recited

breviter et succinte, so that its length would not encroach on the time needed by the friars for study.

It is probable then that the distinctive Dominican rite and calendar goes back to Dominic's own time. There was a revision made later by a committee of four friars, each from a different Province, and this was followed by a final revision by Humbert of Romans, elected Master General in 1254. Humbert's revision was finished and approved by 1256 and received papal approbation from Clement IV, July 7, 1267.

Like the Franciscians, the Dominicans were mendicants and vowed to poverty. Yet for them, unlike the Franciscans, poverty was a means rather than an end. At the Order's first beginnings, and in face of the need to meet the challenge of the poverty professed by the heretics, they not only begged what they needed but were only to collect sufficient food for the single day. Later, the General Chapter of 1239 modified the legislation on poverty so that they could accept a year's supply of food and wine, and there were also successive modifications about the style of the monastic buildings and church, and the ownership of any sort of property, so that by 1475 they were able to accept properties and receive rents from them.

The organisation brought into being by St. Dominic was a very flexible one. Against the programme laid down by the Constitutions was the power of granting dispensations from any particular observance that might stand in the way of study or the apostolate. Dominic himself must have thought of his friars as living in fairly large communities, with all the support of monastic observance at their back, but in point of fact, as the Order's history in Ireland shows, all that could be left behind and the friars scattered into the mountains and the bogs, yet still the Order would survive and continue to attract some of the best men in the country.

Both St. Francis and St. Dominic founded not only a First Order of men, but a Second Order of women. The Dominican nuns go back to the community of women converted from heresy which St. Dominic had established at Prouille in 1207; the Dominican nuns in fact ante-date in their foundation the Dominican friars. St. Francis, too, found means to control and direct the 13th century layman's longing for perfection and eager search for spiritual direction, by the formation of the Third

Order. The traditional account tells how his preaching in one city made all the inhabitants wish to leave their homes and join the Franciscan Order. Francis told them that they could become Franciscans but were to go back to their homes and their work and live according to the Franciscan ideal there. In this way, a Third Order of lay men and women, belonging to an Order of friars but remaining in the world and taking the Order's spirit and apostolate into everyday life, came into being. The Dominicans soon followed suit with a Dominican Third Order, the first official Rule of which goes back to 1285.

The Dominican Order, once organised and approved, spread with enormous rapidity. On August 15, 1217, Dominic had gathered just 16 friars round him, and he had the courage and the foresight to scatter them abroad on that day. "Hoarded, the grain rots," said he, and some were sent off to Paris, for it was essential for the Order to capture the intellectual centres of Europe, to come first to study and then to teach in the universities, and to attract vocations from the university students and professors. Others, at this dispersion, went to Spain. What might appear to have been an unjustified risk in scattering these few friars, resulted in the immediate growth of the Order. When Dominic died in 1221 there were about 60 convents of men and 4 of women, and the Order was divided into 8 Provinces. Four more Provinces were added at the General Chapter of 1228. It is estimated that the Dominicans numbered around 7,000 in 1256, and 10,000 by the century's end. There were probably about 12,000 of them in 1337. The General Chapter of 1221 decided to send a mission to England and a little party of Dominicans arrived there that same year, immediately making foundations in London, and in Oxford, the university centre. Three years later, in 1224, the Preachers crossed the Irish Channel and made foundations in the Irish cities of Dublin and Drogheda.

III

THE IRISH VICARIATE

THE country in which the little party of presumably English Dominicans arrived in 1224 was one very different from any of the others in which the Order had been so far established. It was a country with a very old civilisation and a very old culture, one that reached back far beyond the birth of Christ, leaving for monument a trail of gleaming gold ornaments scattered over the prehistoric trade routes of Europe. It was a country in which learning and the arts were high in the people's estimation; a country never reached by the tide of Roman conquest; a country whose reception of the Catholic Faith had gone forward quickly, bloodlessly, with a sort of eager enthusiasm of the race for truth. A land that had bred saints, scholars, apostles, helped bring back the Faith to Europe, drawn crowds of foreign students to its schools. About the Catholic Faith of the Irish there was a lyric quality, a desire most passionate for truth and God that found expression in vivid forms of prayer, in penance and in an apostolate that ranged the roads of the known world.

Yet this small island on the edge of Europe was never closely knit into a strong political unity. Its civilisation was a rural one, of scattered homesteads and farms, grouped into small units under a local lord, and with a final somewhat tenuous attachment to a High King, the Ard Rí. It had no cities, and the business of trade was done at great fairs held at various centres. Only when the Northmen began their raids and then their settlements, were towns founded in Ireland, at the ports on which the Vikings seized, places like Dublin, Waterford and Limerick.

The Northmen did not conquer Ireland, nor succeed in the destruction of Irish civilisation, but they founded and settled in the towns and made them centres of a life and outlook different from the rest of the country. And when in 1170 came the Anglo-Norman invasion and over-running of the country, the towns would become the centres and strongholds of the invader and the invader's way of life.

From 1170 to the establishment of the Free State in 1922,

Irish history is a tangled web of racial and religious conflict, and of opportunities lost for a final peaceful settlement. There was a chance at the very start of the Anglo-Norman attack that the country might have reached compromise and assimilation of the incomer. The Anglo-Norman barons were striking each for his own hand; they had no strong sense of nationality and were capable of "going native" on the lands they seized. It was not so much the English State and the English King capturing Ireland, as the capture of large parcels of territory by individuals. Of the Irish lords who remained in possession of land, many were willing at first to become feudal subjects of the English King, but it was soon to be discovered that Irishmen were not to be admitted to the rights in law enjoyed by the English. Even when an Irish land owner got a royal grant to confirm his possessions, it was only held to last the man's own lifetime, unlike the hereditary rights of the Anglo-Normans. It is said that some of the English openly declared they held it no more sin to kill an Irishman than to kill a dog.

Conflict between the two races was then inevitable, a conflict that extended into the Church, over whose appointments and revenues the English naturally wished to keep control. With the Reformation, the racial conflict took on a new character, a struggle between a Catholic Ireland and a Protestant England. But throughout the story, the pattern is no simple one, the colours blend and intermingle, the English of the east coasts, the Pale, with their loyalty to England; the Irish who intermarried with them and were of English sympathy; the Irish whose loyalty was to Ireland; the English who had become "more Irish than the Irish." These conflicting loyalties and parties, living mingled over the face of Ireland, meant that it was almost impossible to build a strong and united Irish party and army to repel the invader by the strong hand and maintain a permanent free government of Ireland.

But the ancient Gaelic culture of the country was immensely strong; its roots were in the very rocks and fields as it seemed. Children caught its spirit and its thought in the first words they learned, for one of the great defences of the Irish against assimilation to English culture was their language, the Gaelic tongue that is one of the oldest languages in Europe. It is only to-day, with the widespread loss of the language and with the pressure

of a cosmopolitan commercial civilisation, that the Irish are in real danger of losing their individuality.

The first attack of the Anglo-Normans met with great success, and moved across the country until, with the conquest of Connacht by Richard de Burgo in 1235, the incomers were building cities like Galway and Sligo on the western coasts of the country. But this situation did not last. There was a steady resurgence of Irish culture and a pushing back of the English to the area round Dublin, the Pale. Families like the de Burgos, the Desmond Fitzgeralds and the Butlers identified themselves with the land in which they had settled. Others had gone back to England, and in yet other cases the line of male succession had died out. The revival of Gaelic culture reached its peak in the 16th century and then the Tudors were to set about the country's reconquest once more.

The famous Statutes of Kilkenny of 1366, of course, indicate the way in which the English were trying to maintain themselves and to fight the Irish way of life. They ordered that the English should not adopt Irish customs, marry Irish girls, put their children out to foster parents, as was the ancient Irish custom, use Irish (Brehon) law, entertain Irish bards. In English controlled districts, Irishmen are to be excluded from cathedrals, abbeys and other benefices in the Church. The English are to ride in the English, not the Irish, fashion and if they speak Irish they are to forfeit their lands until they undertake to speak English. The preamble to the Act complains rather plaintively of the situation which it seeks to remedy:—

“Whereas at the conquest of the land of Ireland and for a long time after, the English of the said land used the English language, mode of riding and apparel, and were governed and ruled, and their subjects called Betaghs, by the English law, in which time God and Holy Church, and their franchises according to their conditions, were maintained, and they themselves lived, in subjection; now many English of the said land, forsaking the English language, fashion, mode of riding, laws and usages, live and govern themselves according to the manners, fashion, and language of the Irish enemies, and have also made divers marriages and alliances between themselves and the Irish enemies aforesaid; whereby the said land and the liege people thereof, the English language, the allegiance due to our Lord the King and the English laws there, are put in subjection and decayed.”

It was into this country of conflict between two races and two civilisations, that the two great mendicant Orders, Dominican

and Franciscan, arrived and began to spread through the country in the wake of the flood tide of Anglo-Norman success. Maurice Fitzgerald seems to have been the man responsible for bringing the Order of Preachers to Dublin in 1224; in Drogheda, their patron was Luke Netterville, the Archbishop of Armagh. None of the names of these first Dominicans in Ireland have been preserved, but it seems highly probable they would be all Englishmen. Their next foundations took the friars southward, to Kilkenny in 1225 and Waterford in 1226, following the important line of land and water travel from Dublin to the south, first along the western foothills of the Wicklow mountains and then along the River Barrow. The Franciscans followed the same route in the reverse direction, beginning with a foundation at Youghal in 1231 or 1232.

The Dominicans' next move was in 1227, to the old city founded by the Northmen on the Shannon's mouth, Limerick. They made a foundation in Cork in 1229 and moved inland to the central plains, with a foundation at Mullingar in 1237. They followed in the wake of De Burgo's conquest of Connacht, and Meyler de Bermingham, settling himself in his new gotten lands, brought the Friars Preachers to Athenry in 1241. Hugh de Lacy built a castle for himself at Sligo in 1245 and the Dominican priory followed in 1252. In the West, too, was Strade, founded the same year as Sligo by Stephen d'Exeter, acting apparently on the suggestion of his wife, Basilia de Bermingham. In the area of Killala bay, the "Welshmen of Tirawley" were to settle themselves, and to have a Dominican foundation at Rathfran established in 1274.

By the end of the 13th century, the Preachers were widely spread over the country, with foundations, in addition to those already listed, at Cashel and Tralee (both in 1243), Newtownards and Coleraine (both in 1244), Roscommon (1253), Athy (1253 or '57), Trim (1263), Arklow (1264), Rosbercon (opposite the present town of New Ross, 1267), Youghal (1268), Lorrha (1269), Derry (1274) and Kilmallock (1291).

Only some of these houses owed their foundation to Anglo-Norman lords. Others were the work of Irish patrons; it was an O'Donnell who brought the Dominicans to Derry, Felim O'Connor founded Roscommon, and the Irish king of Munster, Donough Carbreagh O'Brien, is claimed as a founder of Limerick. But

others of the foundations, like Kilmallock, were made solely on the friars' own initiative.

Obviously then, although both the Dominicans and Franciscans had entered the country as Anglo-Normans, they were well received by both nations and at work all over the country. But the nationalist division could not be kept out of the two Orders, there was an element of strain between the friars of the "Irish nation" and those of the "English nation." And whilst the Franciscans were fortunate enough to organise Ireland as a separate Province from the very start, the Irish Dominicans remained a part of the English Province.

The General Chapter of 1221, in determining on the foundation of an English Province, included in the territory to be penetrated the separate countries of Ireland and Scotland. The two latter came to form Vicariates within the English Province; Scotland became a separate Province in 1481. With its Scottish and Irish sub-divisions, the English Province was the largest in the Order, and its numbers in 1303 have been estimated at about 3,000 men divided amongst 88 houses. It is almost impossible to make an accurate estimate of the numbers of the Irish Dominicans in this period, so little detail has survived of the daily life and the members of individual houses. Plea Roll records from 1380, however, mention 29 friars in the Dominican house in Dublin, but they may not have been its total strength, nor all have belonged to it. It is probable however that the larger houses would have some 30 friars, others, like Sligo, about 20, and the smallest 10 or 15. Estimates of the numbers of Dominicans in Ireland between 1300 and 1500 can range from 500 up to 1,000.

At the beginning, it is possible that the Dominicans in Ireland had a certain amount of "Home Rule," but at the General Chapter held in London in 1314, their status and government was exactly defined. The text of the letter of the Master General, Berengarius of Landorra, to the Irish Dominicans has survived, as it was later quoted in the Bull of Boniface IX, *Sacrae Religionis*, 21 Feb., 1400. This all but sets up Ireland as an independent unit, but subject to an over-riding English control: it has indeed been suggested that the original intention was to make Ireland independent, and that the English control was an amendment to the first plan.

The priors of each Dominican house, together with an elected

delegate from every house, and the preachers-general, were to meet and to select three men whose names would be submitted to the English Provincial, who was then to pick one of the three as Vicar of Ireland. This Vicar had virtually the powers of a Provincial, but he could be removed from his office by the English Provincial, and the English Provincial chapter would continue to nominate visitors for Ireland. Ireland would be represented at the English provincial chapters by two priors or preachers-general, and the Vicar was to attend every fourth year in person. Further, the Irish Vicariate had the right to send two students to Oxford, two to Cambridge, two to London, and a third in addition to the two already permitted, to Paris. Students could also be sent to other university centres, in the proportion allowed by the Constitutions. In England, the Irish students were to be accorded the privileges of foreigners.

The Irish Vicariate was also given the right to send two delegates to the General Chapter.

Under these circumstances, it is hard to see what part a "mere Irish" Dominican could have in the general international life of the Order. Not until the present day has there been an Irish Master General, and no mediaeval Irish friar followed in John Scotus Eriugena's trail and brilliantly upheld the Irish intellectual tradition at a Continental university. The Irish Dominicans were under ultimate English control and veto, and divided amongst themselves into men of Irish and English origin.

The history of the Dominican Order as a whole then; the brilliance of the 13th century, the controversy over the introduction of Aristotelian methods and philosophy to Christian speculation, the work of St. Thomas Aquinas, all this passes Ireland by. So also, except for the attacks of Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh from 1346 to 1360, was the country largely by-passed by the prolonged and bitter controversy between the mendicants and the seculars, for the foundation and spread of the Orders of friars was, naturally enough in a way, opposed by many of the secular clergy who saw in the new form of apostolate an encroachment on their rights, privileges and income.

Students from the Irish Vicariate went in a trickle to the English and Continental universities. In Ireland itself, there were at least two *Studia Solemnia*, Dublin and Athenry, and it

appears that Athenry was staffed by "English bachelors" down to the 15th century. But there was no Irish university.

An attempt was made to establish a university in Ireland. The scheme seems to have been originated at the Council of Vienne, which was attended by the English Archbishop of Armagh, John Lech. Although the latter had not yet been in Ireland in all probability, the petition for the setting up of a university in Dublin had obviously been drafted by somebody who knew Irish conditions. Yet it is noticeable that the scheme looked not to the Irish, but to the Pale, and the old Norse links of Dublin, and points out not merely that there was no university in Ireland, but neither was there one in Scotland, the Isle of Man or Norway. Accordingly, a university was established by a Papal Bull dated July 13, 1312. However, it was not formally opened and in being until 1320 (a few weeks after the final defeat of Edward Bruce's invasion, during which the Dominicans of Dublin had pulled down their monastery on the Bruce's approach to the city, and used the stones to strengthen the town walls). The organisation of the university was apparently on the lines of that at Oxford; its legislation indicates that both the Dominicans and the Franciscans already had schools of theology in the town. The courses at the university were to be mainly in theology and canon law. To start off the new organisation, four men, who had already completed their studies elsewhere, received the Master's degree in sacred theology. They were William de Hardits, O.P.; Henry Cogry, O.F.M.; the Dean of St. Patrick's cathedral and Edmund of Caermarthen, O.P., later to become bishop of Ardfert. With this official opening and graduation ceremony, the history of Dublin's university comes to an end and nothing further is heard of it.

Again, in 1465, at a Parliament held in Drogheda, the Earl of Desmond tried to get a university set up at Drogheda; "inasmuch as the land of Ireland has no university in it" and in which "may be made bachelors, masters and doctors in all sciences, as at Oxford." Again, nothing came of this, though Desmond did succeed in founding a college, of the All Souls type, in Youghal. This was begun the year before the Drogheda scheme, the foundation date being Dec. 27, 1464, and it maintained some sort of an existence until the fall of the house of Desmond at the end of the 16th century.



4. *Church and Priory of Kilmallock*

5. *Kilmallock. Priory Ruins and Church from the North-West*





6. *The Gospel*



**HIGH MASS
DOMINICAN RITE**

7. *Preparation of the Chalice*



8. Lorrha. Choir Windows

9. Lorrha. Interior of Church





10. Portunna.
The Cloisters



11. Sligo.
*Tower and
Choir Windows*

For the Irish friars of an Order dedicated to study as a means for the salvation of souls, the prospects of higher learning were not bright in their native country. One Dominican has left a record of literary ability, Geoffrey of Waterford, but he was not a native Irishman. He died in all probability in France in 1300, and is the only known representative of Hiberno-French literature in the Middle Ages. It is possible he knew Irish, as well as Latin and French. He lived for some time in Paris. His work is represented by a series of translations into French; the *Secreta Sanctorum*, the history of Eutropius and the romance of Dares Phrygius—the source of the mediaeval Romance of Troy. Geoffrey doubted the current ascription of the *Secreta Sanctorum* to Aristotle; his translation is a very free one and is important in the history of agriculture in France on account of the inclusion of some of the friar's own observations on the cultivation of vines. Geoffrey's French version of the *Secreta* was translated into English c.1423 by an Anglo-Irish individual of the name of James or John Yonge. Another Irish Dominican writer was Philip of Slane, who became bishop of Cork in 1321 and who made an abridgement of Giraldus Cambrensis' *Topographia Hiberniae*. He dedicated this work to Pope John XXII. It also exists in a 14th century Provençal translation.

From the beginning of their coming to Ireland, numbers of Dominicans were appointed to Irish bishoprics. In the first century of Irish Dominican history, at least eight and probably nine (Christinus of Ardfert is likely Latinised Irish *Maol Chriost* or *Gilla Chriost*) were Irishmen and indicate the strength of Irish influence in the Order at that time. But in the 14th century, only one name is Irish, Nicholas Ileyan of Kilmacduagh, out of a list of 15 Dominican bishops in the country. In point of fact, in the 14th and 15th centuries, bishops were being appointed by Papal provision and not by the older plan of putting forward a candidate chosen by free election, and the road was, as a result, open to intrigues of all sorts in the Papal court favouring the appointment of Englishmen to Irish sees.

Not all these Englishmen were anti-Irish. When, for example, at Kilkenny in 1310, a law was made to forbid monasteries situated inside the Pale to receive Irish postulants, Walter Jorz, an English Dominican and the third of the Order to be

appointed to the see of Armagh, intervened with such success as to get the new ruling repealed within four months.

Two very eminent English Dominicans were appointed to Dublin during the 13th century ; neither of them ever coming to Ireland. John Darlington, the first of these two men, was an authority on Sacred Scripture, confessor and adviser of king Henry III, and served on the committee which, in the Provisions of Oxford, formulated a plan of reform for the English State and began, in principle, the work of breaking the personal absolutism of the king. Later, Darlington was one of the official collectors of the Crusade money in England, an arduous and unrewarding work. This kept him occupied when he was appointed to Dublin in 1279, to which he intended to set out after he resigned the collectorship in 1283. However he fell ill and died before he could cross the Irish Channel. William Hotham, a Yorkshireman, has been regarded by some authorities as the greatest of the English Dominicans of his time. He was twice Provincial of England and died when returning from a mission as ambassador to the Pope. He was famous throughout the Order and liked by all. His first bishopric was Llandaff in Wales, which he did not want to accept, being as he said " almost ignorant of the language of the diocese." Then in 1296, came the appointment to the see of Dublin, but Hotham, engaged on his diplomatic mission, died (in 1298), before he could visit Ireland.

The first Irish Dominican to become a bishop was David MacKelly, so usually called. His real name according to the Annals of Connacht, 1253, appears to have been Fitzpatrick : " David Mac Ceallaigh ui Giolla Padraic." This Irishman resigned the deanship of Cashel to join the Dominican Order, around the year 1230. He became bishop of Cloyne in 1237, archbishop of Cashel from 1238 until his death in 1253. Settled in his cathedral on the Rock of Cashel, he determined to bring the Dominicans to the city, and established a priory on the level flats below the Rock, where the shell of the Dominican church is still to be seen.

In 1245, MacKelly was appointed Protector of the Dominican Order in Ireland, an office which involved maintaining the friars' rights against possible encroachments by the secular clergy and the bishops. In 1252, he got a condemnation from Pope Innocent IV of the customs of the English in Munster which discriminated

against the Irish, as for example, in a case of theft, accepting the word of an Englishman as a witness, but not of an Irishman.

The first Dominican to be appointed to the see of Armagh was probably an Italian, and seemingly Ireland's only personal and direct link with St. Dominic. This friar was Reginald, who was Archbishop of Armagh from 1247 to 1256. He seems to have been a very likeable individual, who could make friends with any nationality. He seems to have had one friend in the Irish Dominican, Patrick O'Scanlan, whom he recommended for the see of Raphoe and left as his Vicar in Armagh when he went on a journey to Rome. Reginald never returned from that trip, dying in Italy.

Reginald was one of St. Dominic's early companions, and he is the source of a story in the *Vitae Fratrum* (a collection of traditions, miracles and the like, of the early days of the Friars Preachers, collected as a result of the decree of the General Chapter of 1256 for the collection and preservation of material for the early history of the Order). In this Reginald tells that one day in Bologna the friars had only two loaves to feed their large community there. Dominic, being appealed to, broke up the two loaves and told the server to go round putting two or three pieces on each table in the refectory. At the end of one round, there was still plenty left, and so again on the second and third rounds. In the event, there was plenty for all of them, and some left over. Reginald, described in the *Vitae Fratrum* as a "deeply religious man," was present on this occasion and gives therefore an eye-witness account of the miracle.

IV

DOMINICAN LIFE IN MEDIAEVAL IRELAND

IT is scarcely possible to travel any distance in Ireland without seeing one or other of the ruined friaries, those of the Franciscans with their tall graceful towers, those of the Dominicans with lower and squarer ones. In many cases these buildings were in use or attempted use long after the Reformation; the Cromwellian persecutions were the final ruin of some of them, in other cases the friars continued at least to live alongside the old buildings. At Urlar, for example, in Mayo, the last friar, who died in 1846, lived in a cottage alongside the ruin and sometimes said Mass in the shell of the church. Only one of the mediaeval Dominican churches has been restored to Catholic use and is in the Order's possession, the Black Abbey in Kilkenny.

And so, in beginning an account of the mediaeval priories, their buildings and their life, it is well to stress that they do not stand for something cut off short at the Reformation. Dominican life continues in modern Ireland; only its buildings and their location have changed. In England the position is different. There the complete suppression of the monasteries could be attained in a few years, the religious Orders extirpated and a clean break made with the past. In Ireland there was no such sudden break and the friars continued as best they could at least to work in the vicinity of their old buildings. The title was also maintained, the friars being affiliated to the old foundations like Newtownards or Carlingford or Trim, even if the places where they were then living were some distance off. Only in 1913, was this system of affiliation to particular houses finally replaced by affiliation to Provinces as a whole.

The places in which the Irish Dominicans settled are very varied. Nearly always they built on a site outside the city walls. Town gates were shut early, and it was more convenient to be outside the walls. At Waterford, however, they were inside the walls; the shell of their church, with the mouldings of its windows in imported Caen stone, still standing hemmed in by buildings on all sides, at Limerick likewise, the city wall running alongside their property. Only one wall of the Limerick church remains,

inside the garden of the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy. In Dublin, the original St. Saviour's Priory was on the site of the Four Courts. The Cork house, founded by Philip Barry (an individual of Welsh origin) was placed on one of the marshy islets outside the actual town, St. Marie's of the Isle. In 1317, the Cork friars were granted a Charter by Sir Roger de Mortimer and his council, by which the custody of the city gates nearest their priory was to be committed to the mayor, bailiffs and other trusty men, free passage to and from the city being granted to the friars, and for their sake, to other good citizens.

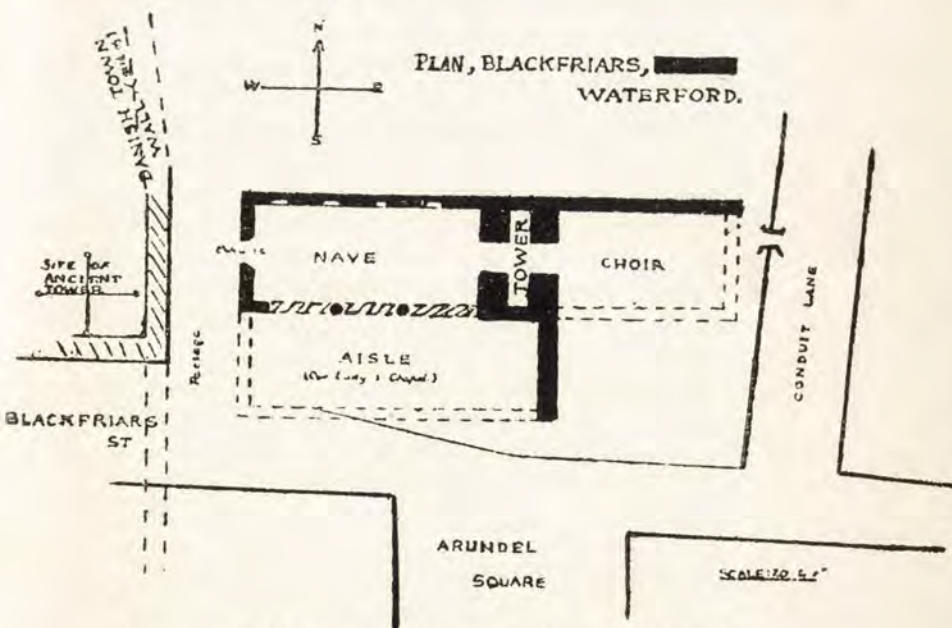


Fig. 1. Plan of the mediaeval Dominican Church in Waterford

Coleraine, the "Abbey of the Bann," lay on the river's bank opposite the main settlement: Carlingford was on the shore of the narrow steep sided fiord of Carlingford Lough, Slieve Foy at its back and an outlook across the sea to the Mourne Mountains. Rathfrán was on Killala Bay, a long inlet, with the tide running out over flats of sand and mud, backed by runs of shingle and hummocky meadow land. Ballindoon, castle-wise, was perched on the edge of a cliff of limestone, overlooking shimmering Lough Arrow: Burrishoole lay amongst the drumlins on

the shores of Clew Bay, Croagh Patrick rising across that broad inlet of the western shore, a cone of white quartzite, set off by the bright sea below it. Tombeola was in the very heart of Connemara, in a patchwork of sea inlet, moor and freshwater lake; Athenry on the level, windswept stony plains to the immediate east of Galway. Strade lay amongst vividly green little hillocks, close to the ford on a river; Portumna was on the head of Lough Derg of the Shannon, the river that forms both a highway and a barrier up the centre of the country. Lorrha was close alongside the site of an older and very famous Celtic monastery, that of St. Ruadan of Lorrha. St. Maelruain of Tallaght's name suggests he may have come from Lorrha or had some devotion to Ruadan, a curious link between Dominican Lorrha and modern Dominican Tallaght.

As has already been noted, whilst some of these foundations owed their origin to an Irish or Anglo-Norman patron; others were entirely due to the friars' own initiative. Even in cases where some individual is named as a founder, he may not have done more than have given the friars permission to settle on his land. The way in which one foundation came about, that of Kilmallock, is a good illustration of the way the friars seem to have gone about at least some of their foundations.

The Dominican priory of Kilmallock is, to-day, one of the best preserved of the mediaeval Dominican buildings, the walls of both church and convent still standing, and the graceful tower, partly shattered by lightning, exceptional in its Franciscan outlines amongst the normal Irish Dominican towers. The priory is placed on a level meadow across the river from the little town of Kilmallock, which can still show one of its ancient gates, a castle, and the collegiate church of St. Peter and Paul, with an early round tower incorporated into it. In 1300, this Anglo-Norman town had four streets, 27 burgages on the main street, a provost, and at least three Irishmen were to be found amongst its chief burgesses.

When the Dominicans came to Kilmallock in 1291 they proceeded to do business with one of the town's burgesses, John Bluet, and, having got from him a plot of land, immediately built some sort of a house for themselves. Seven weeks later, a party sent from the bishop of Limerick descended on the friars, and pulled down their building. This seems to have been in all

likelihood a purely internal Irish quarrel, and outside of the main stream of secular/mendicant controversy. Whatever the bishop's reasons, the friars complained to the king, the case being tried before a jury of 12 burgesses (all of whom bore Anglo-Norman names) at Cashel on Dec. 31, 1291. The jury vindicated the Dominicans' right to the Kilmallock property :

" who upon their oath say that the friars had by grant of the King, so far as he could grant, purchased in Kilmallock of John Bluet, senior burgess of that vill, a piece of land ; that having remained in seisin of it for seven weeks, they were by order of Gerald, bishop of Limerick, ejected therefrom, and their houses levelled by Raymond the dean, Robert Blund the archdeacon, Simon Fitz John, canon of Limerick, Thomas Ketyng, Walter de Caherhussoc, Walter de la Roche, chaplain, William Leynach, chaplain, Gregory, chaplain, Roger Young, chaplain, Walter Cook, seneschal of the bishop of Limerick, John Dullard, John Caher, Geoffrey de Caher, Richard le Blund, cousins of the archdeacon aforesaid, Alan Gyllefides, Raymond de Crouter, cousin of the dean aforesaid, Henry Bagg le boscher, and Geoffrey the doctor. They further say that this piece of land owes no rent or service to the bishop as lord of the see and that the residence there of the friars would not tend to the prejudice of the King, the lord of the fee, or any other person."

So the friars were confirmed in the possession of their meadow across the river, and eventually built the magnificent church that still stands there in ruin. It is interesting to note that when Fr. Bartholomew Russell, O.P. (who died in 1890) visited the ruins of Kilmallock, he met a man, middle-aged to elderly, whose grandmother had died at the age of 105 and had recalled part of the church roofed and in use as a chapel, served by the friars. This would mean that Mass was last said in the church around 1780. Later, in 1832, both the bishop of Limerick and the Kilmallock people were favourable to a plan of Fr. Edward MacCarthy, O.P., to establish himself in Kilmallock, but nothing seems to have come of this plan. In such fashion does the history of the mediaeval buildings of the Dominicans overlap almost into our own day.

Dominican building got off to a slow start in Ireland. Apparently, during their first years in the country, the friars occupied existing buildings which they were given or obtained for themselves. In Dublin, the Four Courts site had earlier, in *c.* 1218, been given by Audoen Brun and Richard de Bedeford to the Canons Regular of Holy Trinity for a chapel of St. Saviour.

It seems the Canons handed over their rights in the site to the Dominicans when they arrived in Dublin. The latter eventually built a church there, but this first Dominican St. Saviour's was not finished until 1238. Similarly in Waterford, where the friars made a foundation in 1226, two years after that in Dublin, only in 1235 does a document appear in which the King approves the Waterford citizens' "proposal to construct an edifice for the Dominicans, in a vacant space under the walls of their city, in which anciently existed a small tower." The Kilmallock evidence indicates a very quickly erected set of buildings, perhaps in timber framed mud and wattle.

The Dominican Constitutions had, from the start, laid down carefully the sort of building the priory and church should be. The Order was pledged to poverty, and the original regulations intended that this poverty should be expressed in the kind of house and church, and its fittings, which the friars built. Dominic himself is reported coming back to Bologna to find extensive work in progress to raise the height of the walls of the friars' living quarters: "Do you want to give up poverty so soon and build great palaces?" said he. "At least you might have waited until I was dead."

Accordingly, the earliest extant version of the Constitutions puts a limit of 30 ft. on the church walls, 12 ft. on the single storied convent, but 20 ft. if there was a loft. In 1239, the regulations forbid the use of gold and silver except for chalices, or of precious stones, statues, illumination of books in gold. The windows were to be glazed with plain glass, and the church only to have one bell. In 1245, came a warning not to let the church become cluttered up with tombs: in 1250 burials were forbidden in Dominican churches. The rules were enforced and priors with a mania for building punished for their excesses. But in the course of time, the original rigid line of poverty had to be abandoned, and a change begins to appear around 1240. The controversy with the secular clergy meant that the friars might be denied the use of existing churches, and needed large buildings of their own in which to preach to the people. Increase in the number of friars, the need for sufficient space in which they could live and study, meant that the priories had to be constructed on more generous lines. Paintings and statues and coloured glass were needed in the new large churches for the instruction of

the people and to attract them to the friars' services and preaching. Legislation on building therefore had to be modified in order to meet the needs of the contemporary apostolate.

In Ireland, the friars' churches and convents are not, in point of fact, ever very elaborate buildings. In most cases, only the church has survived, but at Sligo, Kilmallock and Portumna there are extensive remains of the conventual buildings as well. At Rathfrán, the Board of Works in 1929 and 1930 not only did preservative work on the church, but excavated the priory foundations, which extend some 170 feet to the north of the church, and marked the ground plan so exposed by a series of low walls. In general, the priory lay to the north of the church, but this was not universal. At Strade, it was on the south side of the church, and so also at Urlar, where the priory was between the church and the shores of the lake, a snug and sunny position.

The lay-out of the conventual buildings follows a more or less uniform pattern, which is sufficiently indicated by the plans of the remains at Sligo and Kilmallock (ref. figs. 2, 3, 4). Unlike the older religious Orders, in which the cloisters were used for study and other activities, those of the friars were simply intended as passages and a covered walk, and are accordingly narrow and often rather dark. At Sligo there are sudden and unexpected bursts of carving on the cloister arcades with little heads sculptured here and there.

The *Vitae Fratrum* includes a good story of how St. Dominic, prowling round the convent during the night, fell in with the devil also engaged in the same way. "Why are you prowling here?" asked the saint. "I do so," said the devil, "on account of the profits I reap thereby." "And what do you gain in the dormitory, may I ask?" said St. Dominic. "I keep the brethren from enjoying their rest, and then tempt them not to rise for matins, and when this does not work, I send them foul dreams and illusions." The couple moved on to the choir of the church, where the devil said he made the friars come to Office late and leave early, and tempted them with distractions. In the refectory, he claimed, "Who is there who does not either eat more or less than he should?" When brought to the parlour he chuckled with glee: "Ho, ho, this is my spot, this is the place for laughter and folly and idle talk." But when they came to the chapter house the devil tried to make off: "I loathe this place, for I

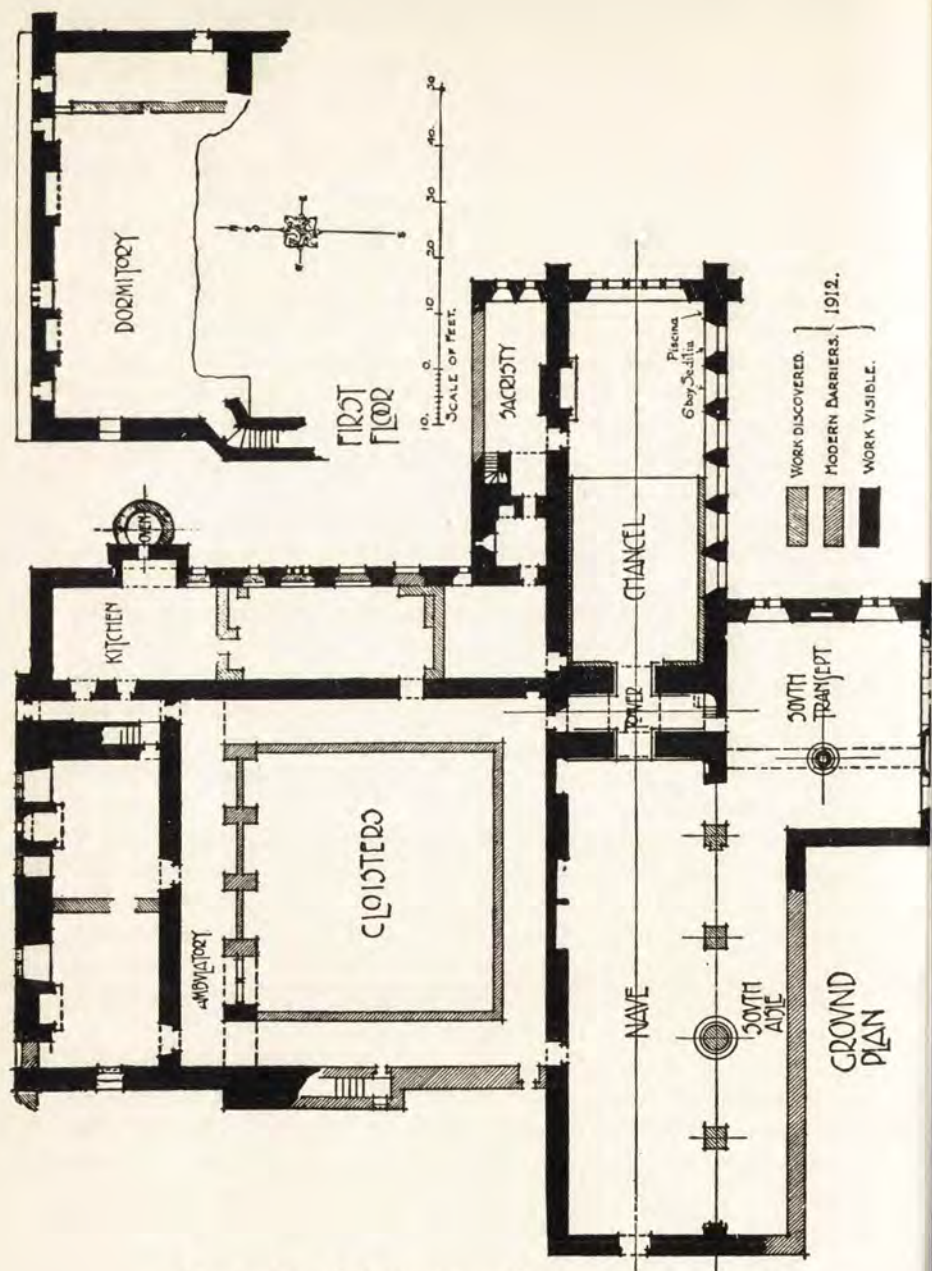


Fig. 2. Plan of the Dominican Church and Priory, Kilmallock
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland)

lose here whatever I may have gained elsewhere, since the brethren are here told of their faults, correct one another, do penance, and are absolved."

It is interesting to recall that the broken sleep involved in the midnight rising to chant Matins and Lauds was held to be one of the Order's greatest austerities, even by mediaeval men who were more inclined to night vigils than the modern generation. In Ireland, there is a record, in the *Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry* of the gift from the Berminghams of a tenement at a nominal rent of a shilling a year, in order to provide the friars with candles for the midnight office (Item concesserunt ad candelas matutinalis officii census unius tenementi in Athnary quod vocatur tenamenti Rogeri Worloc videlicet unum solidum annuatim).

The basic plan of the friars' churches was a long, narrow rectangle, divided into choir and nave by a stone screen. Such a church survives in an excellent state of preservation at Lorrha; the choir lit by a fine series of double lancets on the south wall. The people in the nave were, on the other hand, very poorly supplied with windows and light. The base of the stone screen is still to be seen there. At Rathfran, the choir occupied nearly the whole of the church, and the nave is represented only by a small space at the west end. It has been suggested that this is an indication of a sparse population in the area. On the other hand, many of the people may have attended Mass in Teampall Muire, St Mary's church, just across the way from the priory, a chapel and burial ground which probably go back to a Celtic foundation. Later the Rathfran friars made more room for the general public by building a separate aisle-like chapel, with a beautiful decorated Gothic window over its altar, along the south side of the church wall.

The addition of a transept and aisle was a common procedure. The transept, usually on the south side of the church, because the convent buildings precluded expansion to the north, provided space for more altars at which the increasing numbers of friars could say Mass. An aisle, separated by a line of graceful pillars, such as still survive at Newtownards, provided almost double the room for the congregation in the nave. At Roscommon, only the bases of these pillars between aisle and nave remain; at Kilmallock only their foundations. Towers too came to be added,

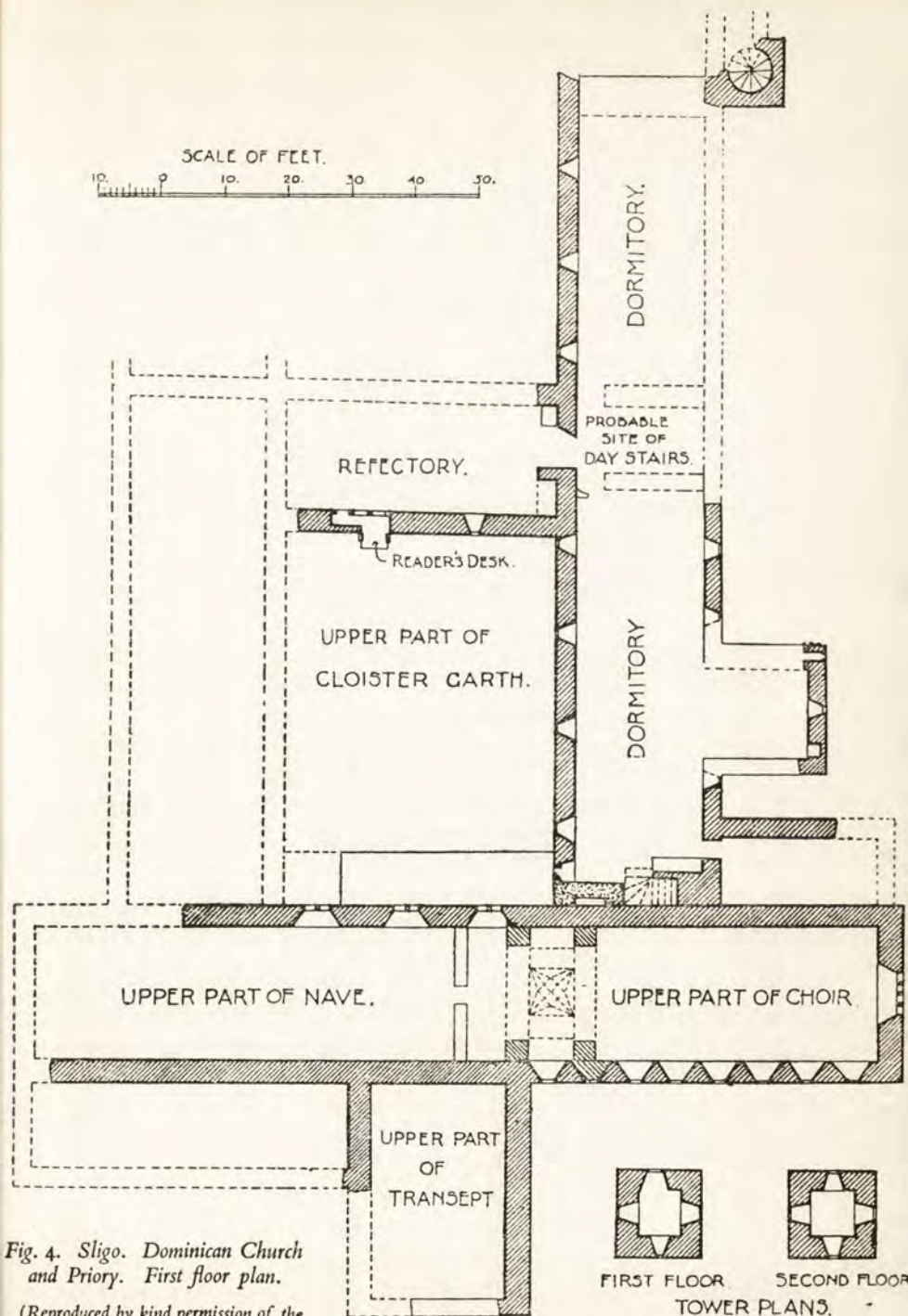
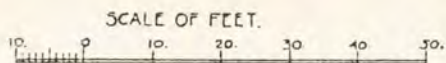


Fig. 4. Sligo. Dominican Church and Priory. First floor plan.

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Board of Public Works, Dublin)

apparently from the middle of the 14th century onwards. They were built between nave and choir and supported on massive and substantial stone arches. The churches seem to have been roofed with wooden shingles; the steep pitch of these roofs is often to be seen marked on the sides of the tower. However, it was light enough to obviate the need for any buttressing of the church walls, such as is to be seen on the great Gothic cathedrals.

Between the friars in the choir and the people in the nave was a substantial screen. When a tower was built, the arches supporting it would form the screen. At Ballindoon, the church is almost intact and the tower springs from a massive base, composed at ground level of a central arch through to the choir with on either hand two alcoves to contain side altars. Above these, is a stone floor, from which spring a further series of arches supporting the tower; a central archway penetrating both walls, east and west, and two flanking arches which only penetrate the west wall, facing down into the nave. One imagines a crucifix placed in the central arch, and as a door leads from the choir, up a flight of now ruinous stairs, and through a finely arched little entry onto the upper floor, that it may also have served as a pulpit from which to preach.

At Tulsk, almost all that remains is the base of the tower, which rose, rather unusually, from a double arch with a central pillar. Sligo had an elaborate 14th century stone rood screen. Some attempt has now been made to restore its outlines with concrete arches to complete the surviving pieces of stone work.

The people in the nave accordingly, saw little of the liturgy carried out in the choir by the friars. In fact, at the Chapter of 1240, it was laid down that the choir should be so constructed that the friars could enter without being seen by the people. The same Chapter also ruled that there should be windows which could be opened in the screen, so that the people could see "the Elevation of the Body of Christ." It is interesting to recall that the Dominican rite did not adopt the elevation of the Chalice until the second half of the 16th century. The custom of the celebrant standing with arms outstretched in the form of the cross, immediately after the Consecration, is however very ancient, a borrowing from the Ambrosian rite.

Nor did the Dominicans give a blessing after Mass, unless it was the custom of the country and expected by the people.

The now universal custom of a blessing after the *Ite, missa est*, was something that came late into the Dominican rite.

It is also interesting to recall that the mediaeval reverence to the reserved Blessed Sacrament was a low bow and not a genuflection. The ancient attitude for public prayer was to stand, kneeling implied something rather more penitential. Accordingly, it was not until the General Chapter of 1569, that the Dominicans were instructed to add a genuflection to the low bow they had always made to the Blessed Sacrament in their churches. But not until 1602, did the Sacred Congregation of Rites rule that all the faithful should genuflect before the Blessed Sacrament.

Then, as now, the most colourful part of the Dominican liturgy was Compline, ending with the doors of the rood screen being flung open and the friars moving slowly in procession down the nave, amongst the people, singing the *Salve Regina*. The tradition of the origin of this procession was that in the very year Dominic died, 1221, a certain friar at Bologna was so tormented by an evil spirit as to upset the whole community. It was decided to begin the singing of the *Salve Regina* after Compline to gain Our Lady's help in dealing with this diabolical infestation. Not only was the plan successful, but the idea of the procession was so attractive as to spread rapidly all over the Order.

This Dominican form of Compline was linked too with the friars' apostolate to the people. Whilst the monks had laid special emphasis on Lauds and Vespers and carried out their liturgy with special solemnity; the Dominicans, concerned for the ordinary people who could not attend these parts of the Divine Office, made Compline into a popular evening devotion, something the people coming home from work could attend and appreciate. The *Vitae Fratrum* contains numerous stories not only of the friars' own intense devotion to Compline but of that of the ordinary people as well.

If the friars first introduced the Compline procession to the people, the people later repaid the debt, for it seems it was from the custom adopted by the members of the Rosary Confraternities, of singing litanies of Our Lady, that the friars took the idea of adding the singing of the Litany of Our Lady to the procession on Saturdays. This attractive custom was already widespread when it was made obligatory on the whole Order in 1615.

The friars' churches must have been the centre of much

colourful activity and popular devotion. Just as the Irish people had gone on pilgrimage to the churches of their own Irish saints, so now they added pilgrimages to churches of the friars in honour of St. Dominic. The latter's day would be celebrated with all solemnity and draw a crowd of pilgrims from far and wide. Indeed, so deep was the devotion to the saint, that these Irish *patterns* (a term derived from patron, the patron saint's day) in honour of St. Dominic went on in spite of persecution, and one, at Urlar, has been revived by the efforts of the parish clergy and is celebrated each year with Mass at the abbey ruins, followed by sports. The priory might have a well dedicated to St. Dominic, just as other Irish wells were dedicated to Irish saints. In the 18th century, St. Dominic's well at Glanworth was still famous for cures. In addition to Urlar, there were pilgrimages until recent times to the Dominican ruins at Ballindoon, Burrishoole, Glanworth and Rathfran; as well as a big gathering on St. Dominic's day at Boula where the friars remained in possession until 1899, and at Esker on the feast of the Epiphany, where there is a special and curious devotion to the water blessed on that day—taken from St. Dominic's well—a custom still kept up by the Redemptorist Fathers of Esker.

At Lorrha, there is evidence of a widespread devotion to that most charming of inquisitors and one of the great heroes of the first generations of Dominicans, St. Peter Martyr. Lorrha was dedicated to him. The Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum* record some of the Irish miracles attributed to his intercession. One, which took place actually in Lorrha, concerned the cure of an ulcerated leg with water which had been blessed with a relic of St. Peter. The miracle put the whole district in a stir, and the people insisted on going with the clergy, to sing a *Te Deum* in the church: presumably the Dominican one. (Lorrha had no fewer than three churches, the parish church on St. Ruadan's old site, the Dominican and the Augustinian.)

At many of the Dominican churches there would have been some special shrine of a much loved and venerated statue, which would also be the object of popular devotion and pilgrimage. When the Order got possession of the chapel of Kilcorban for the Brothers and Sisters of the Third Order, they also got the ancient wooden statue of Our Lady which was probably carved around



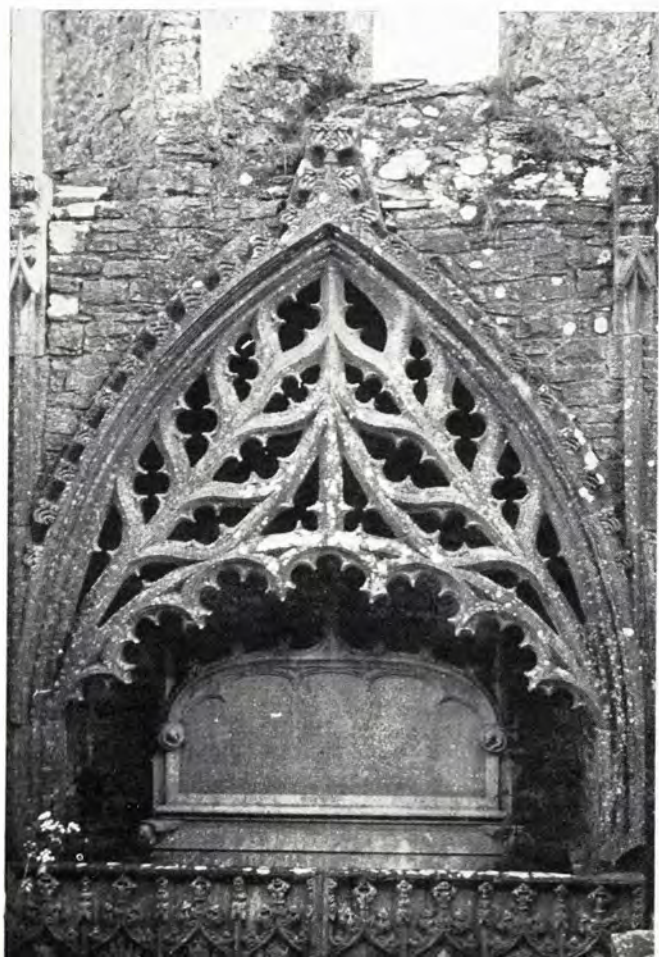
12. Roscommon. *The Church*

13. Roscommon. *Tomb of Felim O'Connor*





14. *Strade.*
From the North-East



15. *Strade.*
Tomb in North
Wall of Choir



16. *The Black Abbey, Kilkenny, and the Priory Garden*



17. *Carlingford. Ruins of Dominican Church*



18. *Taking Holy Water*



19. *In the Sacristy*

the time of St. Malachy, and which remained an object of popular devotion into the 19th century. But the most famous of the surviving early Dominican statues is the little ivory plaque of Our Lady and Child, known as Our Lady of Graces, which was originally in the Dominican church in Youghal. It is now in the Dominican church in Cork and is still the centre of popular devotion, with an annual triduum in its honour, ending with the carrying of the little ivory plaque in its ancient shrine round the church in procession.

Our Lady of Graces of Youghal is a small French ivory carving, whose date is put around 1300. Originally painted and gilt, it is now much worn. Leaving aside the more legendary versions of the way the ivory came to Youghal, the most probable story seems to be that it belonged to the Maurice O'Carroll who was Archbishop of Cashel from 1303 to 1316. He died in the Dominicans' house at Youghal and was buried there with the little image which he is said to have worn round his neck. Later on, the friars fell on evil times and were in many difficulties: in a dream they were told by Our Lady to recover the ivory from the Archbishop's tomb, and all would then go well with them. This they did, and the little image became the centre of so great a devotion and so many miracles were attributed to Our Lady's intercession, that the name of the Youghal priory was changed from that of Holy Cross to Our Lady of Graces.

In a report on Ireland in the *Acta* of the General Chapter of 1644, Our Lady of Graces of Youghal is coupled with another wonder-working image of Our Lady belonging to the Tralee Dominicans. No trace of this has survived, but it may well, like the Youghal statuette, have been the centre of mediaeval devotion and pilgrimage. Other Dominican statues, presumably old, which were destroyed by the Protestants, include one at Coleraine of Our Lady and one of St. Dominic in Cork. Both were highly venerated by the people.

As the legislation concerning poverty was modified in the course of time, the friars were able to own properties other than their actual church and priory. The case of the tenement property to supply them with candles for Matins is a case in point; in Kilkenny there were rather similar grants for the supply of the bread and wine for the Mass. The first was in 1353, when the Corporation gave the friars the rent of two houses for this pur-

pose ; again in 1394 Thomas Holbeyn and others gave them a tenement for the same intention.

They also owned a certain amount of land ; Athenry had at least 500 acres. In the inventories made when the friars' properties were seized and inventoried at the Reformation there are mentions of orchards at some of the priories—Kilkenny, Mullingar, Cashel, Athy and Trim. There were valuable woods on some of the friars' lands. The friars of Limerick in 1370 were able to sell the citizens 1,500 ash trees to help in the reconstruction work after the Irish invasion of the city the year before. The Athenry friars had a sizable herd of cows, for Thomas de Bermingham (died 1500) gave them 18 milch cows, while Richard de Burgo (died 1536) gave them a herd of 60 head.

The friars also owned mills and fishing rights. The latter were specially important for an Order whose Constitutions laid down a perpetual abstinence from meat. So there are records of Dominican ownership of salmon weirs in Cork, Limerick, Tralee, Rosbercon and Sligo. The lake of Urlar, by which the priory was sited, was full of fish according to O'Heyne's account published in 1706 ; whilst Fr. Bartholomew Russell collected the rather attractive little bit of folklore at Burrishoole that when shoals of fish came into Clew Bay, the priory bells rang " of themselves " to alert not merely the friars but all the neighbourhood to go out fishing.

The ruined Dominican churches scattered over Ireland show a series of progressive additions and modifications. The special glories of Kilmallock are the east window of the choir, of 5 narrow lancets, and the south window, in Gothic tracery, of the later transept. Modern taste will probably prefer the simplicity and beauty of line of the earlier lancets, but when the friars were doing alterations and reconstructions in their churches, they often replaced the older lancets with the contemporary windows decorated in Gothic style. Cashel, for example, was accidentally burned in 1480 and the church rebuilt by the Archbishop, John Cantwell. It seems likely that whilst the wooden shingles on the roof would make a fine blaze in a fire, the walls might well be left substantially unharmed. So, at Cashel, the east window of three lancets was replaced by a smaller one of complicated Gothic tracery, and the same done at the west end, where a large window of simple design was filled in and pierced by a new one

smaller and more elaborate. The south window of the transept at the Black Abbey replaced earlier lancets; so also the original three lancets can be seen filled in round the west window of Roscommon church.

Destructive fires were not always the result of accidents. Longford was caught up in one of the local Irish conflicts: it lay in the debatable lands between the territories of the O'Neills and the O'Donnells, and both the church and the priory were destroyed. Accordingly, Martin V granted an indulgence to all the faithful who contributed to the restoration work. This indulgence was dated March 15, 1429, and was renewed by Eugenius IV in 1433, and again in 1438. Apparently the destruction was so complete that the friars had had to leave the place and shift for themselves elsewhere until the reconstruction could be put in hands.

The Order's attempt to keep its churches clear of tombs could not be persisted in, and there still survive some very elaborate monuments in Irish Dominican churches. At Roscommon, is the famous tomb of Felim O'Connor, king of Connacht and founder of the priory. At present it consists of a recumbent figure of the king rested on the top of a recessed altar tomb on the north wall of the chancel, its front depicting a row of galloglasses, the Scottish islanders employed by the Irish as mercenary troops. The Four Masters record Felim's death in these words:—

1265. Felim, son of Cathal Croiderg O'Connor, the defender and supporter of his province, and of his friends on every side, the expeller and plunderer of his foes, a man full of hospitality, prowess and renown; the exalter of the clerical orders and men of science; a worthy materies of a king of Ireland for his nobility, personal shape, heroism, wisdom, clemency and truth, died after the victory of Extreme Unction and Penance in the Monastery of the Dominican Friars at Roscommon which he himself had granted to God and that Order.

Now the galloglasses are 15th century work, and the figure of O'Connor does not fit exactly on top of them, so it would seem that the latter has been placed, at some late date, on somebody else's monument. It has been suggested that the galloglasses belong to the tomb of Teige O'Connor who died in 1464.

In Sligo, on the north wall of the nave of the church, is a similar altar tomb of the O'Craians or O'Creans, a family of Irish merchant princes resident in Sligo town. The Sligo tomb

is very complete, consisting of an altar recessed into the wall, above which is an arch of elaborate Gothic tracery. The stone front of the altar tomb is divided into panels on which are carved a series of figures; the Crucifixion, with on either side figures probably intended for Our Lady and St. John. The other panels show a Dominican friar, an archbishop, a crowned figure with a sword, a figure in a long gown with a staff with pear-shaped end—who may be St. James; another figure with a key, probably St. Peter, and St. Michael the archangel.

Strade has a very fine altar tomb of the same sort on the north wall of the chancel. Here the figures on the panels of the front of the tomb consist of three figures thought to be the Three Magi, a crowned figure standing next to a kneeling figure, a bishop and St. Peter and St. Paul. The base of the Gothic tracery springs on one side from the figure of a little dog very much like that usually shown alongside St. Dominic.

In Strade too, the chancel arch springs from two carved figures, the pious pelican on the north wall, and an eagle on the south. Elsewhere, as may still be seen in Kilmallock and Sligo, arches might rise from a carved human head.

Only in Sligo has the elaborately carved stone high altar survived intact. But in Strade, a carved panel is thought to have formed the front of the altar. It shows Our Lady seated and holding the dead Christ in her arms. On one side, a woman with long hair may be St. Mary Magdalen, the man on the other side may be St. John.

Fig. 5. Strade. Our Lady with the dead Christ in her arms



Today we see only the weather bleached stones ; to visualise these places as they were originally it is necessary to think of plaster and paint on the walls, coloured glass in the windows, statues of wood or of stone, incense rising in a blue column in a shaft of soft Irish sunlight. Some of the colour can be recaptured from the sole surviving detailed record of benefactions and the like of a mediaeval Dominican priory, the *Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry*.^{*} This document, now in the British Museum, seems to have been compiled in 1619 by the Athenry Dominicans from older documents and records for the use of Sir James Ware. It includes an account of the founder, of the various items given the friars by the Berminghams and other benefactors, of the work done in the reconstruction of the church after a fire in 1423, and of the dates of the deaths of some of the friars and various outstanding personalities.

Athenry, once one of the most important and wealthy of Dominican foundations, today consists of a battered church, the tower of which (standing in 1792) has fallen. The priory buildings, incorporated in a barracks during the 18th century, are also gone. It was the place of burial of many important families and there are still monuments and grave slabs of every date from its foundation onwards, except for the interval, 1730-80, when it was in use as a barracks. At least some of its carved stonework was carried off to a neighbouring house to serve as garden ornaments.

So then, from the *Regestum*, comes a picture of light and colour to replace the matted grass and uneven ground, littered with tombs, of the present ruin in Athenry. Here for instance is the entry about Edmund Lynch, who died in 1462. This good man not only showered presents on the friars, being responsible for an altar on the north wall, glazing some of the windows, and giving two chalices, a missal, pontifical, and two complete sets of vestments, one in variegated colours and the other blue, embroidered with silver flowers and foliage, but also kept open house for the friars whenever their business took them into Galway town where he lived. The *Regestum* records :—

Item Edmundus Lynche venerabilis et bonae famae burgensis villae de Galuy fuit intimus amicus et magnus benefactor monasterii

^{*} The text is published in *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. I, 1912, pp. 201-221.

et conventus praedicatorum villae de Athnary in tantum quod omnes et singulos fratres de conventu praedicto ad villam de Galuy causa quacumque accedentes honorifice in suo hospicio reficere consueverat et inde cum gratiarum actione recedebant. Item fecit fabricari nova reparatione aram muralem existentem ex opposito columnarum dicti monasterii ex parte Boreali cum omnibus fenestris ibidem sculptis et vitratis in suis propriis expensis. Item dedit eidem monasterio duo paria ornamentorum preciosorum videlicet duas capas duas casulas cum earum tunicis, amictis, albis, stolis et manipulis quorum parium unum exstitit diversis ac variis coloribus decoratum videlicet rubei, flavei, viridis, albei, assuari, nigrique coloris contextus quod visui intuitum est delectabile pro quo sexdecim marcas auri purissimi solverat. Et aliud est assurii coloris et floribus foliisque argenteis contextum. Item ipsi monasterio duos calices aureos cum duabus patenis deauratis dedit. Item ipsi monasterio dedit missale et pontificum pro quibus dedit sex marcas, et multa alia bona contulit dicto conventui in vita sua, et praeventus morte in villa Galway sepultus in tumba sua quam sibi et suis fabricari fecit in capella Beatae Virginis in Ecclesia parochiali ipsius villae de Galway anno Domini 1462.

This was the kind of relationship that could exist between the friars and a wealthy Galway merchant. The founder and his descendants, the Berminghams, also continued to make many gifts, and several individuals might join together on one piece of work in the church. So Mac a Wallayd de Bermingham builds the Lady chapel up to the base of the windows, and then Wyllyn Walys (whose death is recorded 1343) completes the work. Walys also built the bell tower up to the level of the top of the church wall, and then James Lynch made himself responsible for its completion, giving 40 marks for this purpose.

Many people helped too in the building of the priory itself. Arthur mac Gallyly is recorded as the builder of the infirmary; the guest house was the work of Dermot O'Trarasay and his wife, Margaret Ni Lorayne, whilst Florence MacFlynn, archbishop of Tuam (died 1256), built a "house of scholars," presumably the building for the friars' theological school. It would make too long a list to detail all the benefactions of this sort, but other gifts included statues of Our Lady, St. Dominic and St. John, chalices, missals (which the *Regestum* indicates were done by professional copyists for the friars, such work often being commissioned by the various benefactors of the house) and a gradual (given by Joan O'Kelly together with a gold pyx). There was also, in the later days of the priory, a memorial window to Fr. Maurice O'Mochain Moral, who was a leader of the

Raymundine Reform in Ireland. This window had figures of St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Catherine of Siena, the latter saint being of special interest, as Raymund of Capua, originator of the Reform, had been her confessor, and as the introduction of the Reform to Ireland had also resulted in a new development of Dominican Third Order activity.

Other gifts were for the friars' own maintenance and daily life; land, cattle, food, clothing. Sylina Lynch, the wife of Thomas Hoburchyon, a burgess of Galway, used to give the friars a pipe of wine and a pipe of fish at the beginning of Advent and again in Lent. Every year, for a period of 22 years, Nicholas Godsun gave twenty-three of the Athenry friars a new English cloak, whilst his wife presented them with a new habit, also of English cloth. Meantime the Berminghams, at the Chapter of 1482 (which is claimed to have brought a crowd of 280 friars), entertained the Dominicans with a banquet and did the same at the 1491 Chapter in Athenry. On the first occasion, the Bermingham hospitality is carefully noted as having consisted of two meals on the one day! On the second occasion, they also presented each of the priors with twenty pence. The same Thomas and his wife, Anabla Bermingham, also gave three silver marks towards the construction of the organ in the church, as well as repairing the rooms of the "English bachelors" of theology.

And so the gifts range from that of William Butler who, after the fire, went to Flanders and brought back a picture of the death and burial of Our Lady by the apostles—presumably a painting of one of the legends of the empty tomb and the Assumption—to the very domestic items included among the donations of Thomas Bovanter and his wife Christina Lynch. For the entry about Thomas says he gave £20, a missal, a chalice "*et cratem ferream videlicet rostyng hibernice et dedit eis alium bonum jocale videlicet cacabum Anglice chytyl hibernice kery . . .*"—in other words, a gridiron and a big Irish cauldron to hang over the fire. It is interesting to find the writer noting the Irish word *kery* (in modern spelling *coire*) in this old record, for a striking feature of the 18th century account books of Esker, the continuation of Dominican Athenry, is the absence of such Irish terms in any number.

Feeding the friars seems to have been a common form of

charity. Nicholas Godsun, as well as giving the cloaks and habits, used to invite four friars to dinner in Lent and two during the rest of the year. John le Decer, Mayor of Dublin, in 1308 had the whole community of St. Saviour's priory to dine with him every Friday, and, in a period of shortage and famine, imported 3 ship-loads of grain from France, one of which he distributed himself, one went to the Castle garrison, the third being divided between the Dominicans and Augustinians. St. Saviour's, in return, added a prayer for the well-being of Dublin to their liturgy.

As well as gifts from private individuals, the friars in the royal cities, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick and Drogheda, were, from the late 13th and early 14th century onwards, given some money by the king. It did not amount to a great deal; Edward I, for example, in 1285 increased his yearly gift to the Limerick Dominicans by 10 marks. The latter was to be entirely for Limerick, his original annual alms of 25 marks being divided amongst the other four priories concerned. Later, in 1399, the Limerick friars were granted an annual pension of 30 marks. Dublin and Drogheda seem to have continued to receive alms from the king until the Reformation. The friars seem to have been poor enough to have been occasionally forced to try and get the money paid to them in advance of the due dates. But the royal alms were not to be greatly depended on, and, if difficulties intervened in England, might be left unpaid for years. It is doubtful whether the friars succeeded in laying hands on all the arrears that were eventually due to them.

In addition to the gifts they might receive from their friends and the resources of their own properties, the friars also went out questing on begging trips. Each house had an area in which it had the right to quest. In some parts of Ireland, the Orders of friars still go round visiting house to house on quest, but, whilst they now usually collect only money, the older quests were in kind, corn, wool and butter. A last relic of the wool quest seems to be the custom in the parishes of Oranmore and Craughwell of the farmers each year giving a fleece to the Galway Franciscans. Normally it was a lay brother who went out to beg in the mediaeval period; preachers and confessors were ordered not to go, for fear lest they be thought to be striking for their own hand in their activities. There was a danger in sending the wrong man out on quest, and Humbert of Romans lays down high standards for

the quester; ability to judge his man, say the right thing and not annoy people with too persistent badgering. Nor should he come back and boast of his success to the rest of the community. This begging, which goes back to St. Francis and St. Dominic—the latter is said to have once at least received an alms of bread on his knees—continued in Ireland in spite of Penal laws and persecutions, and I myself spoke to an old man, aged 94 in 1956, who in his youth had gone out with a lay brother and a pony and cart questing oats for the Dominicans of Boula. This must represent about the last occasion of Dominican questing for gifts in kind in Ireland.

Another activity of the friars was the collection and forwarding of money for the Crusade, and there are extant records of the various amounts gathered by some of the Irish Dominican houses. In 1266, Roscommon collected 92 marks and Sligo 17 shillings and ten pence: each confining their collection to their own limitations or normal district of questing. The figures reflect the varying resources of the different districts.

The Dominicans preached the Crusade as well as gathering the contributions for it. Whatever may have been the actual results of the Crusade, both those that actually set out, and those planned that never materialised; the idea itself shows the intensity of mediaeval belief in the reality of the Incarnation, a sense of the primacy of God, a love of Our Lord that would set out to regain, or at least gain access to, the places which He had known, and where He had been born of Mary and died on the cross.

Crusade preaching was in fact considered of sufficient importance for Humbert of Romans in his treatise on preaching to give it a special section to itself, "*Tractatus de praedicatione contra Saracenos infideles et paganos.*"

Preaching in general was, of course, the friars' work, and it is well not to lose sight of it amongst the surviving details of other items of daily life, which form, as it were, the background to the vocation of the Dominicans. In modern times, when Dominican preaching can take so many forms and people are equally accessible to film and radio and the written word, it is necessary to make an effort to recall also that when the Order was first founded, and for centuries afterwards, its apostolate of preaching meant preaching in its most restricted form—talking to a crowd. The ordinary man could not read, and instruction and new ideas

had all to be conveyed to him by the spoken word. That meant, for the greater part of this country, the Irish language. The Chapter of 1236 had instructed the friars to learn the languages of neighbouring districts, and it is rather interesting to find an English Dominican, who was recommended to the Pope for the office of papal penitentiary by the English king in 1320, being described as a good linguist. This particular friar, John Wrotham, was said to know French, Irish, Welsh and Scots. The General Chapter of 1254 laid down that the priors should arrange sermons in the vernacular for the lay brothers on the days they received Holy Communion.

In Ireland, the friars not only used Irish, but were the object of official irritation at their so doing. So a document about Irish affairs of *c.* 1282-1288 complains that Irishmen were being chosen as bishops to maintain their language and that the Franciscans and Dominicans were very active in supporting the use of the native tongue. The complaint was that an Irish bishop would, of course, preach against the English king and fill the Irish church with Irishmen.

Further, the Franciscan bishop of Kildare, Nicholas Cusack, denounced in 1299, "friars who in the Irish language spread the seed of rebellion." Evidently the Anglo-Irish felt that the Irish race and the Irish language were a constant danger to their security. The Archbishop of Cashel, about the year 1300, tried to stop political preaching by the Orders of friars, and in the Bruce invasion, the king, Edward II, set on foot some enquiries about the numbers of Irish friars in the English areas, as they might be a source of danger. This racial hatred and linguistic division in Ireland must have complicated the ordinary preaching apostolate of the Dominicans.

There are many surviving collections of mediaeval sermons from various countries of Europe, and it is possible to gain some impression of what they were like. Some were directed to learned assemblies, but those to the people were to individuals mostly unable to read, and therefore much better fitted to attend to and retain the spoken word. The mediaeval sermon tended to be rather long, rich in scriptural allusions and symbols, with a scholastic framework at the back of it, and, to keep interest alive and drive home the lesson, enlivened with little stories. There were books of such stories for the use of preachers, the collections

of *exempla*, some of which still survive. For the scriptural references, the friars had to hand the biblical concordances; a Dominican invention these, first prepared under the direction of Hugh of St. Cher and a group of Dominican scholars in Paris c. 1230.

In Lent, it was the custom to have a sermon every day, and any preacher of ability had a set of discourses for the whole period. The custom seems to have begun in the 14th century and become universal in the 15th.

In Ireland there is no record of the Dominicans having to preach against heresy, except for one rather indefinite reference to an area in Donegal, in which it was said the people paid worship to idols and married their own kinsfolk. The Pope wrote to the Irish Dominican Vicar Provincial in 1256 to ask him to send two Dominicans to help the Dominican bishop of Raphoe, Patrick O'Scanlan, to deal with them. Nothing more is heard of them, whatever they were, and the situation must have been cleared up in some fashion fairly quickly.

The mediaeval Irish Dominican must then have been chiefly concerned with the exposition of the Faith to the people, the watch-dog of the flock, keeping guard over it and giving tongue with loud barks of preaching. So St. Gregory the Great (died 604) interpreted the use of the word "dog" in many texts of Scripture, and if some mediaeval frescoes show the Orders as black and white dogs protecting the sheep from the attacks of wolves, it is to this symbolic use of "dog" for preacher, and not to any play on the word Dominican that they refer. The Order's rightful title is the Order of Preachers (and Humbert of Romans resented the use of any of the other by-names it had acquired), and the "*Domini canes*" pun is a modern invention by an age which has lost its sense of the symbolic interpretation of scripture.

THE REFORM OF RAYMUND OF CAPUA

ALMOST inevitably the great enthusiasm and fervour of the new Orders of friars spent itself and was followed by a period of decline. Matters were complicated by the Black Death, which struck Europe in 1347 and continued to rage unchecked through '48 and '49, and also by the general course of events in the history of the Church, the residence of the Popes at Avignon, "the Avignon Captivity," which made the Church appear a French thing, and then, after the Pope did return to Rome, the Schism which lasted from 1378 to 1417.

It is estimated that the Black Death killed a quarter or even a third of the people of Europe. It must have had a particularly terrifying effect in a monastic house, striking suddenly and swiftly, and leaving the survivors not only shaken but perhaps too few in number to continue to carry out the liturgy and the ordinary round of work. In 1348, on March 6, for example, the death of 8 Dominicans is recorded in Kilkenny, probably a substantial proportion of the community there.

Even so, modern research is tending against the over-stressing of the importance of the Black Death, and pointing out that a decline in population had already set in before the disease struck. It did involve, however, a too hasty recruiting of new members to fill the gaps in the depleted monasteries. Later the Schism added to the difficulties. Not only did the various European countries range themselves in support of the rival Popes, but the Orders of friars underwent a similar cleavage. Regular observance was not advanced by the Popes trying to placate and increase their following by granting numerous favours and dispensations. At this distance of time, it seems not too difficult to decide which side was in the right over the first disputed election that brought about the Schism, which the real Pope and which not; but at the actual time, the situation seems to have been hedged about with such confusion that the best intentioned and most saintly individuals could find themselves ranged on opposite sides.

Yet it was actually during the period of the Schism that Blessed Raymund of Capua began a Reform within the Dominican Order, an undertaking so successful and widespread in its results that he has been called the Second Founder of the Dominicans.

Raymund had been the confessor of St. Catherine of Siena (1347-1380). That remarkable woman was a Dominican Tertiary, a mystic and a saint; like most mystics and saints a practical person who loudly denounced the evils of the time, the need for reform in the Church, and whose activities influenced the general course of history. It was she who persuaded the Pope to return to Rome and leave Avignon, and the way in which she was able to carry out her various missions (she was for instance asked by the Florentines to go as their representative to the Pope) suggests that the 14th century was not so exclusively a man's world as we may be inclined to imagine.

Raymund, from his contact with Catherine, had taken up her ideas for reform and revival, and when, in the May following the April of Catherine's death, he was elected Master General of the Urbanist part of the Order, he began a work of reform which he was to continue until his death in 1399, and which would later affect the whole of the Order.

Raymund's idea was to establish a house of strict observance in each Province, with the idea that its example would eventually spread to all. This plan seems to have been originally suggested by another Dominican, the saintly Conrad of Prussia, and it was he who begun the first house of regular observance with 30 volunteers at Colmar, in Alsace, in 1389. Conrad and Blessed John Dominici were indeed the two great supporters of Raymund of Capua in his work. The Colmar experiment was a success and accordingly the Reform was introduced to all the Dominican Provinces under Raymund's control in the following year, 1390. It received Papal approval from Boniface IX, on 9 January, 1391, in a Bull, *Is quae Religionis Conservationem*.

Raymund's encyclical letter of 1 November, 1390, establishing the Reform everywhere, obliged each Provincial to start, within a year, a house of regular observance composed of at least 12 friars, all of whom were to be volunteers. Raymund laid special stress on the liturgy, the chanting of the Divine Office in choir, and the celebration of High Mass, both of which seem to have been greatly neglected. Earlier, in 1376, the Master General, Elias

of Toulouse, had complained that friars who did carry out the ceremonies properly were pointed out as odd and singular individuals.

The plan was that, as the Reform spread, the reformed houses would be transferred from the control of their Provincials to that of a Vicar-General for each particular group. In Germany this reformed group eventually assimilated the whole Province. After the end of the Schism, the General Chapter at Metz in 1421 reimposed on the whole Order the obligation of each Province to have at least one house of regular observance. Slowly at first, then more rapidly, such houses were established all through the 15th century and eventually those priories which had not adopted the reform died out as a result of St. Pius V's direction to the 1569 General Chapter to forbid them to receive any more novices.

Dominic's ideal and legislation were from the first so clearly laid down that it was possible to carry out so far reaching a reform within the Order and by means of its ordinary democratic methods of government. A very similar movement for reform in the Franciscan Order resulted in the formation of a separate branch of Observant Franciscans. But in both Orders, the reception of the Reform in Ireland and England follows a very similar pattern. In the Gaelic areas of Ireland, the Dominican reformed observance is accepted by existing houses and new foundations appear in a sudden spate. The Franciscan Observants are also welcomed and make many foundations, among them Muckross and Quinn, whose buildings still survive in great completeness to this day. In both Orders too there is a great increase in Third Order activity. But in England, the English Dominicans refused the Reform altogether, and the Franciscan Observants had a hard task to establish themselves there at all. But it is noteworthy that of the few religious who did resist the Reformation and suffer martyrdom on that account, a group came from the English Observant Franciscans.

It seems to be a characteristic of the English race to be suspicious of foreigners, whilst the Irish are much more internationally-minded. This seems to have been the atmosphere in which the English cut themselves off from the new life and spirit stirring in the great international Orders. The story begins some time before Raymund of Capua's time, and is linked with

the increasing sense of nationalism and the dislike of foreigners engendered by the French wars. Foreign students at Oxford might be spies, and in 1369 the king ordered their expulsion, a decree which was at first resisted by the Dominican house in that town. This was a matter of concern to Irish Dominican students, and later it would seem Athenry was their only hope for higher studies, for legislation of the General Chapter of 1426 about Dominican education ruled that Irish friars could not be received in English houses unless they would share the English expenses, and that no more than two students were to be accepted at Oxford and Cambridge. Furthermore, the English Parliament brought in legislation against Irish students in 1442.

Elias Raymond of Toulouse, Master General from 1368 to 1380, had also attempted to bring about a move for reform in the Dominican Order before Raymund of Capua's period of office. He seems to have been a rather dominant personality and his French nationality was, moreover, not likely to endear him to the English. The English friars were always very close to the English king. Dominicans were chosen for a continuous 144 years as confessors by the English kings. The House of Lancaster turned to the Carmelites for this office, but Henry IV and VI both went back to the Dominicans. Dominicans were employed at the court and on the king's business, and their tendency would therefore be to support the king's policy. Accordingly, when Elias Raymond held a visitation of the English Province in 1372 and as a result tried to bring about reform there and also to separate Ireland from English control, he was resisted. In 1374, Edward III forbade any of the visitators of the Master General to make any changes in the discipline of the English Province or to punish English friars unjustly. He also forbade once more the reception of foreign students at Oxford. In this policy, he seems to have had the English friars' support, and they refused to receive the Master General's representative, Stephen Coulyng, and got the unfortunate man arrested and imprisoned. Elias Raymond reacted by removing from office the English Provincial, Thomas Rushook, his Irish Vicar, John of Leicester, as well as a dozen priors and other trouble makers. His action was approved by the General Chapter at Carcassonne in 1378. The same Chapter gave final approval to the separation of Ireland from the English Province and to the creation of an independent Irish Dominican

Province. To add to the complexity of the situation, Elias Raymond took the Clementine side in the Schism, whilst England followed Urban VI. The two halves of the Dominican Order each held General Chapters in 1380, the Clementine half keeping Elias Raymond in office as Master General, and the Urbanite portion electing Raymund of Capua.

As has been already indicated, in order to make any change in Dominican legislation, the alteration must be approved by three successive General Chapters. The legislation for the erection of a separate Irish Province was introduced at the Chapter held in Florence in 1374, again approved in 1376 and given final approbation at Carcassonne in 1378. This last Chapter was held before the Schism had divided the Order and was therefore perfectly legal and binding on all the friars. The English Dominicans however at once set about undoing its work. With Elias Raymond supporting Clement, the deposed English Provincial appealed to Urban so successfully that he and his Irish Vicar were both reinstated and all the proceedings of the Carcassonne Chapter so far as they applied to England and Ireland revoked. This Papal judgment in favour of the English Dominicans is dated 25 August, 1379. Later King Richard II appealed to Boniface IX to confirm the ruling and make it permanent, which was done in the Bull *Ex injuncto nobis desuper* of 20 February, 1397. This Papal Bull cut clean across all Dominican legislation, and is an example of what could be dragged out of a Pope by his supporters during the Schism. It meant that only the Pope could revoke the Irish legislation, and that the Dominican General Chapters, the proper authority in the matter, were powerless to remedy the situation in the future. Ireland indeed seems to have felt uneasy about even its existing rights, and accordingly asked Boniface to confirm the charter of Berengarius of Landorra, which he did in *Sacrae Religionis*, 21 February, 1400.

The evidence suggests that the movement to make Ireland a separate Province had the support not merely of Irish Dominicans but of Anglo-Irish ones as well. When the reinstated John of Leicester went to Dublin on visitation there was enough Anglo-Irish opposition to lead to a fight in the Dublin priory between John's supporters and his opponents—who seem to have been backed by some of the Dublin citizens. This was in 1380, and the subsequent legal proceedings relating to the friars, and their



20. Newtownards. *Arches between Nave and Aisle*

21. Rathfrán. *The Church from the South-East*





22. *Burrishoole. Looking into the Nave from the Transept*

23. *Dominican Church, Cashel*





24. Kilmallock. E. window of Choir



25. Portumna. E. window of Choir

26. Kilmallock. S. window of Transept



27. Sligo. E. window of Choir





28. Rathfran. E. window of Aisle



29. Portumna. S. window of Transept

30. Cashel. E. window of Choir

31. Clonshanville. E. window of Choir



Dublin supporters' attempt to refuse admittance to the priory to the Irish Vicar, are all concerned with individuals bearing English or Anglo-Irish names.

Raymund of Capua set himself to introduce the Reform to England, but, like Elias of Toulouse, without success. In 1390, he named William de Barleton as his Vicar to start a house of regular observance in Newcastle under Lyme, and Nicholas Hil to do the same in Drogheda. But once more he met the opposition of the English king, and the plan came to nothing.

But in the west of Ireland at least, the revival of Irish life and culture had brought about a different spirit, and, with Athenry as a sort of pivotal key point, the Irish Dominicans began to adopt the Raymundine reform. Two new foundations of Reformed Observance, Portumna and Longford, were made early in the 15th century, and others quickly followed. The 14th century had seen a sudden drop in Dominican foundations compared with the previous spate in the 13th century; the 15th century shows a great increase of Dominican activity once more, with new foundations at Portumna, Longford, Tombeola, Urlar, Tulsk, Burrishoole, Galway, Clunymeaghan, Glanworth and possibly Castlelyons.* Ballindoon followed early in the 16th century. It is noteworthy that many of these foundations were made in the country, and a similar rural tendency is to be seen in the new Franciscan foundations of reformed observance: no flight from the towns this, but a reflection of the fact that the Irish population, then as now, lived scattered over the countryside. In going into the country, the friars were identifying themselves more and more closely with the Irish people and Irish life.

Portumna was the first of the new foundations of the Reform. Its extensive ruins lie on the pleasant level meadows, backed by wooded parkland, at the head of Lough Derg on the Shannon. The Shannon waterway had always been important in Irish history and its line is marked by many famous Celtic Church sites, like the island of Inis Cealtra on Lough Derg itself and, higher upstream, Clonmacnoise. Clonmacnoise itself would

* Castlelyons: O'Heyne says documentary evidence of a Dominican foundation here existed in James II's time. The Carmelites were there from 1309. A very extensive ruin of a priory, and part of the tower of a second, survive at Castlelyons, so it is probable that O'Heyne is correct in claiming a Dominican foundation as well as that of the Carmelites.

reflect the new life in Irish Dominican and Franciscan life, for Dean Odo's new doorway in the Cathedral there, inserted somewhere around 1460, shows on either side of St. Patrick, the figures of St. Dominic and St. Francis. The implication is that the friars were thought of as carrying on the work of Patrick in Ireland.

The Portumna site had already a chapel on it, when the Dominicans gained possession. It belonged to the Cistercians of Dunbrody, in Wexford. It seems that the Cistercians could get little good out of their chapel in Irish territory, nor even keep a hold of it, and that the local Irish family of O'Madden got possession and gave it to the Dominicans. The Dominicans, to guard against a possible claim for its return by the Cistercians, were careful to get all the necessary permissions and licences for the foundation both from the local Bishop and from the Pope. The place was already dedicated to Our Lady, and it is as the chapel of the "Annunciation of St. Mary" that the first reference is made to it, in a Papal indulgence dated 24 November, 1414. Later, the friars added to the dedication and it became the church and priory of St. Mary and St. Peter and St. Paul. It is likely then that the 1414 document followed almost immediately on the Dominicans getting the site, and before they had fully established themselves there. The indulgence, granted to the faithful who gave alms or other assistance to the friars in the building of the church and priory, was only for ten years. The Dominicans got a renewal in 1426 and at the same time a full confirmation of their rights at Portumna.

It is evident that Athenry was connected with Portumna, for Athenry was also dedicated to St. Peter and Paul. All the building activity, gifts and so on recorded in the Athenry *Regestum* following the fire of 1423 and the reconstruction of the church, link up with the new activity and life in the West. The good Edmund Lynch of Galway, who died in 1462 and had so often entertained the Athenry friars in his town house, must have been one of many Galway citizens equally favourable to the friars. Not surprising then to find at the end of the century, in 1488, a Dominican community being established in Galway "at the desire of the citizens."

The second new house of reformed observance was in O'Farrell territory at Longford. The site is at the end of the town on a

slight rise of ground where now stands the Protestant church. The first mention of the Dominican foundation comes in 1424, when the Irish bishop of Ardagh, Cornelius O'Farrell, was buried there. Later, when the buildings, as already noted, were destroyed in one of the local Irish conflicts, the Papal indulgence, dated 15 March, 1429, for those who helped in the restoration work, indicates that it was a house of regular observance, and also suggests that its building may not even have been fully completed when it was so badly damaged in the fighting.

It seems likely that during the winter of 1426-7, a party of Irish Dominicans were in Rome, forwarding the work of revival for Ireland. There are a number of Papal documents relating to Ireland, all issued during this short period of time. The documents include the indulgence and confirmation for Portumna, authority for two more new foundations granted to William Rycdymer and Richard Golber and other friars of Athenry (13 January, 1427) and an official copy of the Third Order rule (10 October, 1426).

The granting of the request of the Irish brothers and sisters of the Dominican Third Order for an official copy of the Tertiary rule, which itself had been revised and given Papal approval in 1405, shows that the Irish people themselves were being caught up in the new spirit of revival amongst the friars. Further evidence of this appears in 1446 when, on 15 March, Eugenius IV approved the grant of the chapel of Kilcorban by the bishop of Clonfert to the brothers and sisters of the Third Order of Penance of St. Dominic living in that place.

Kilcorban lies not very far from Portumna, on the Athenry side, where the land begins to rise gently from the low-lying flat country beside the Shannon. It was an ancient chapel, and already had its much venerated wooden Madonna; the Dominican and Athenry-Portumna interest in the place is represented by some of the later wooden statues of the chapel, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of St. Catherine of Alexandria. There was a widespread mediaeval cult of the latter saint—Killybegs in Co. Donegal has a still frequented holy well under her invocation—but the Dominicans had a special interest in St. Catherine and named her as a Protectress of the Order. The Kilcorban St. Catherine is carved in oak. The saint's hand rests on a sword of 15th century pattern and her cloak is fastened by an Irish ring and pin brooch.

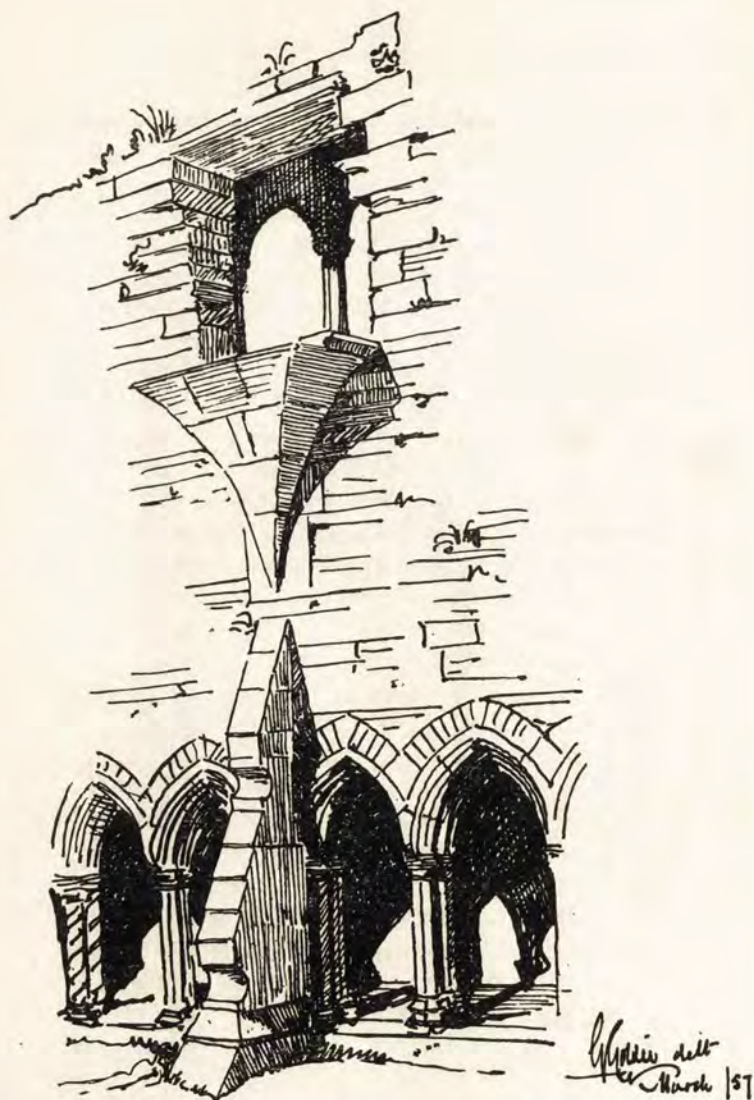


Fig. 6. In the Cloisters, Sligo



Fig. 7. The Tower, Sligo

One is reminded of the memorial window in Athenry with its stained glass showing St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Catherine of Siena, the Protectress of the whole Order, and the great saint of the Third Order.

Nothing more is recorded about Kilcorban. It is possible there may have been a Tertiary community there, perhaps of priests attached to the chapel. At the same time, the Franciscan Tertiaries were also becoming very active in Ireland, and often formed themselves in communities. The massive pile of Rosserk on the shores of Killala bay, not far from Dominican Rathfran, belonged to a community of Franciscan Tertiaries. Rosserk is first mentioned in 1441, but the first Franciscan community of such Regular Tertiaries seems to have been that established at Killeenbrenan, near Shrulle, in 1428 or perhaps a year or two earlier. But there is no record of the setting up of communities of Dominican Tertiaries in this fashion, unless it was a group of this sort at Kilcorban.

Two of the other 15th century Dominican foundations are of special interest. In both cases, the friars seem to have settled themselves in the Irish countryside without realising the need to get Papal approval for their new priory.* A little group made such a foundation in the diocese of Tuam, shifting after a couple of years to Urlar, about 6 miles due north of Ballyhaunis and 8 miles to the north-east of Knock. They built beside one of the many little lakes of that country of low green gravel ridges separated by level, heathery bogland. In 1434, they got their unofficial position rectified and the necessary Papal approval for Urlar.

At Burrishoole, the friars, led by Rory O'Mearan, had already constructed wooden hutments, had begun to work the land and start regular observance, with the Mass and the Divine Office, before they realised the necessity to ask Rome's permission. They got official authorisation from the Pope in 1486. The Burrishoole site, on one of the many inlets of Clew Bay with a sheltered little harbourage close by, was given the friars by

* The same thing seems to have happened at Glanworth, Co. Cork. Ref. Calendar of Entries in the Papal Register relating to Great Britain and Ireland. 1471-1484. H.M.S.O., 1955, p. 433. Papal approval of foundation at Glanworth, 17 April, 1475.

Richard de Burgo, Lord MacWilliam Oughter. He himself joined the community in 1469. It has been suggested that Thomas de Burgo was Richard's son, and Thomas and his wife Grainne u Mhaille were the donors of the oldest surviving Dominican chalice, the De Burgo chalice of 1494, which belongs to Burrishoole priory. Now in the National Museum, the chalice is a thing of clean lines and extraordinary grace. A paten, apparently belonging to the chalice, is now lost sight of, though a facsimile fortunately survives. The workmanship of the chalice is so like that of the Ballylongford processional cross (also in the National Museum in Dublin) that they may both be from the hand of the same Irish artist, *per manu Corneli*, as is inscribed on the cross.

All this new activity in the Dominican Order in the west of Ireland was drawing the Irish friars further and further away from the English Province. Since the idea was to group the reformed houses under their own Vicar, it also meant that some separation was to be looked for. It seems likely that that great gathering of 280 friars, not counting their servants and other hangers-on, which took place in Athenry in 1482 and was so generously entertained by the Berminghams, was a meeting to discuss the future of Dominican Ireland. Two years later, Irish representatives at the General Chapter of 1484 petitioned for an Irish Province to be set up, and Maurice O'Mochain Moralis, O.P., Master of Theology, and of an ancient Irish family of Connacht, was appointed the first Provincial. On 10 November, 1484, he was furthermore given authority to reform the houses of Coleraine, Drogheda and Cork, and any others at his own discretion. Now it is curious that the English representatives did not there and then challenge the setting up of the Irish Province, seeing that legally the General Chapter could not act with regard to Ireland without getting the Papal Bull of 1397 revoked. However, it was not until 1491 that England objected on the grounds of the Bull, and the life of the newly founded Irish Province had to be brought to an end. Maurice O'Mochain was asked to continue as Vicar, but refused.

The position, reflected in the surviving documents of the Registers of the Dominican Masters General, then becomes complex and difficult to unravel. There are recorded, in rapid succession, a series of Vicars and a series of rapidly changing

areas of their jurisdiction. There seem to have been two Vicars throughout, one for the Anglo-Irish or English Pale section of the Province, the other for the Irish part of the country. But as the Raymundine reform spread into some of the houses in the English Pale area, it was necessary to find a Vicar to govern this new little group. So, from 1505, Ireland seems to have had three Dominican superiors, the Vicar in Ireland of the English Provincial, the Vicar General of the reformed houses in the English part of the country, and the Vicar General of the "Irish nation."

Meantime, in spite of his resignation, Maurice O'Mochain was in 1493 ordered by the Master General to continue as Vicar and to proceed with the Reform. If he reformed houses in the English area, he was to do it in such a way as not to swamp the Anglo-Irish there with Irish friars. Maurice seems to have introduced the Reform to Youghal, Cork and Limerick, an indication of how the friars in the Anglo-Irish towns were joining in with the native Irish Dominicans. But Drogheda seems not to have been willing to adopt the Reform, since at the Reformation its buildings were reported in a state of disrepair which seems an indication of the priory being already in decline.

A curious incident in the history of the Reform in the Anglo-Irish towns was the move to link them up with the Reformed Congregation of Holland. Cork, Limerick and Youghal seem to have initiated the plan and the Vicar General of the Reformed Congregation of the Netherlands, John de Bauffremes, was sent to Ireland to investigate the position. However, the move for a link with the Netherlands did not materialise and, in 1505, John Quinn became the Vicar of the Reformed houses.

By the time that Thomas de Vio, later Cardinal Cajetan, became Master General, and set himself to try and disentangle the Irish situation, the reformed houses of the Anglo-Irish towns seem to have grouped themselves with the Irish houses. The General Chapter of 1518 recognised only two groups in Ireland; that attached to the English Province and the Congregation of the Reform. Outside the Reform, there seems to have been little activity; in fact the Order had to request that a Vicar be instituted for Ireland in 1524, as this had not been done. In contrast, at Athenry, there was another great gathering, with 360 friars reported attending the Provincial Chapter there, and

once more the Berminghams, Miler and his wife Onora were, exercising Irish hospitality.*

And then, as the Annals of the Four Masters record :—

" A heresy and a new error (sprang up) in England, through pride, vainglory, avarice and lust, and through many strange sciences, so that the men of England went into opposition to the Pope and to Rome. They at the same time adopted various opinions, and (among others) the old law of Moses, in imitation of the Jewish people ; and they stiled the king the Chief Head of the Church of God in his own kingdom. New laws and statutes were enacted by the King and Council according to their own will. They destroyed the Orders to whom worldly possessions were allowed, namely the Monks, Canons, Nuns, Brethren of the Cross, and the four poor Orders, i.e. the Orders of the Minors, Preachers, Carmelites and Augustinians ; and the lordships and livings of all these were taken up for the King. They broke down the Monasteries and sold their roofs, and bells, so that from Aran of the Saints to the Muir nIocht (English Channel) there was not one monastery that was not broken and shattered, with the exception of a few in Ireland, of which the English took no notice or heed. They afterwards burned the images, shrines and relics of the saints of Ireland and England ; they likewise burned the celebrated image of Mary at Trim, which used to perform wonders and miracles, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the crippled, and persons affected with all kinds of diseases : and (they also burned) the staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin, performing miracles, from the time of St. Patrick down to that time, and had been in the hands of Christ when he was among men. They also appointed archbishops and sub-bishops for themselves ; and though great was the persecution of the Roman Emperors against the Church, scarcely had there ever come so great a persecution from Rome as this ; so that it is impossible to narrate or tell its description, unless it should be narrated by one who saw it."

In England, the English Dominicans were dispersed and their churches and convents seized. Henry VIII's action broke the long disputed link between the English and the Irish Dominicans, and, in 1536, Pope Paul III formally established the Dominican Province of Ireland.

* From the Athenry *Regestum*. " Item capitulo provinciali nostri ordinis celebrato apud Athnary anno Domini 1524 dicti Milerus et Anoria dederunt conventui cumulum magnum in subsidium expensarum et bina vice cum magna solemnitate omnes Fratres refecerunt quorum numerus erat tricenti sexaginta fratres famulis et aliis non computatis."

At this time, the numbers of Dominicans in Ireland may have reached 1,500.

VI

THE TUDOR RECONQUEST

EVEN if the religious change had never taken place, it is certain that the powerful centralised government of Tudor England would have set about the reconquest of Ireland and the destruction of Irish culture and the Irish way of life. The fact that whilst England was now Protestant, Ireland remained Catholic, added fresh bitterness to the old struggle and turned the ancient racial conflict into a religious war. It meant also that the attack upon the Faith would tend to bring the Anglo-Irish, who remained loyal to it, closer to the native Irish themselves; it would begin to form a more integrated sense of Irish nationality. Irishmen abroad, exiles or soldiers of fortune or students in the Continental colleges and seminaries, felt a new unity and comradeship among themselves in the mere fact of coming from the same western island.

The first Reformation Parliament in Dublin of 1536 was forced, against the opposition of the Anglo-Irish, to pass the new religious legislation, making Henry the Head of the Church and dissolving the monasteries. As English power was limited to the Pale area, the religious houses outside it were able to continue to exist in spite of the new laws.

Whether or not Pope Adrian IV ever did grant Ireland to the king of England, it is certain that at this time the Irish regarded Ireland as a Papal fief, and that Henry's heresy forfeited his hold over the country. The ill-fated rising of Silken Thomas seems to have been linked with this belief; and later on, in 1540, Henry was advised to take the title of king of Ireland since "the Irish have a foolish opinion that the bishop of Rome is king of Ireland." The Dublin Parliament of 1541 conferred the new title on Henry and officially constituted the Kingdom of Ireland, a political unit that would last till 1800.

Edward VI's short reign, from 1547 to 1553, was followed by that of Mary (1553-1558) and the brief Catholic Restoration. Politically, the latter meant no change in English policy in Ireland. It was under Mary that the first of the long continued series of

English "plantations" were made; the planting of the counties of Offaly and Leix and their renaming these as King's County and Queen's County. The English plan was further commemorated in two placenames, Philipstown and Maryborough, which were to be the garrison towns in the scheme.

Finally, under Elizabeth (1558-1603), the complete reconquest of Ireland was effected, and at the end of the century the old Gaelic culture, which at its beginning had existed over most of the country, was shattered. When the great victories of Hugh O'Neill and Red Hugh O'Donnell came to nothing and final defeat with the fall of Kinsale on 24 December, 1601, Gaelic Ireland as a fully organised social unit and Gaelic civilisation were swept away. The Flight of the Earls in 1607 seemed a symbol of the end of an era.

The Elizabethan wars brought about enormous destruction and misery. The whole of Munster was devastated by 1583; its plantation began in 1586. After Kinsale, Mountjoy could report that he saw 3,000 people dead from famine in Tyrone.

The religious nature of the struggle also meant that England now saw Ireland as a weakness in her defence against the Catholic powers of the Continent. Spanish troops indeed were engaged in Ireland at this time on a small scale, at Dún an Óir, on the Dingle peninsula in 1580, where the garrison was ruthlessly butchered, and also at Kinsale. The English Government issued instructions that crews wrecked on the Irish coasts from the defeated Armada of 1588 should all be killed, and this order was in fact carried out in some districts, though in Ulster the Irish chiefs sheltered those Spaniards who managed to get ashore.

It seems very probable that had England not become a Protestant power, the heresy might have been fairly quickly destroyed, or at least much more successfully contained. It is necessary then to see in outline what the quarrel was about, before considering its effects upon the Irish Dominicans.

Henry VIII led the English Church into schism for no better reason than that he was tired of Queen Catherine and desired Anne. At another period of history the matter might have ended there; a temporary schism followed by a reconciliation with Rome when the king's passion had burned itself out and Anne's head had fallen. But the break came at a moment when the

Protestant heresy was becoming a power in Europe, and after the methods of modern Communism, laying hold of key positions and key men. Furthermore, the seizure of the abbey lands meant that the new owners, a numerous class, had a vested interest in Protestantism. Modern research into English Reformation history has shown how slow a process was the complete conversion of the whole nation to the new belief; a lengthy period of police work, penal legislation and virulent propaganda was needed before the whole country became really Protestant and anti-Catholic. In relation to this slow uphill work in England, Ireland stood as a spark to tinder, where Catholic success could undo all that had been accomplished across the Irish Channel.

Henry's work did not end with making himself head of the English Church and breaking with Rome, nor with the dissolution of the monasteries. He at once began to issue directives on Church doctrine and to begin the building up of a corpus of heretical doctrine binding in law on the English people. Edward VI's reign brought a much more marked shift to an extreme Protestantism; with the final Elizabethan settlement, some sort of a compromise was arrived at—a Protestant Church that retained some trappings of Catholicism, a hierarchy of archbishops and bishops, a liturgy partly (though by no means entirely) based on Catholic forms of prayer.

Under Henry VIII, the Acts of Parliament and Government propaganda began the work of making an "official" version of history, the refrain of which was the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority. This is the first point of attack; a theory that the early Church in England acknowledged no such Papal supremacy and that, in reality, king and parliament were supreme over both the nation's spiritual and temporal affairs. When the new prayer book was issued, it contained the old Catholic litany of the saints, with the names of Our Lady, the angels and the saints cut out, but with the addition of the petition: "From all sedicion and pryvie conspiracie, from the tyrannye of the Bysshop of Rome, and al hys detestable enormities, from al false doctryne and heresy, from hardnes of hearte, and contempte of thy worde and commaundment. Good Lord, deliver us."

Rome's authority was usurped and to acknowledge it became a treason to the State. And this, in addition to everything else, like Luther's doctrine of the futility of good works, gave special

force to the attack upon the religious Orders, especially to those internationally-organised, Rome-based weapons against heresy, the friars and the newly-founded Jesuits. To the English Government, a friar bound in obedience to a foreign superior was a potential traitor and a menace to the peace of the country; when Catholic Emancipation came in 1829, the religious Orders were carefully excluded from its provisions. In fact, it was only in 1926 that Elizabeth's Act of 1559 dissolving the Marian monasteries, which described the monastic life as a thing "repugnant to the usage of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ," was finally removed from the Statute Book.

Catholic life is centred on the Mass, and it was the Mass and depending therefrom, the priesthood, that was the second great focal point of Protestant attack. The fact of transubstantiation was denied and therefore the possibility of the existence of a priesthood able to offer sacrifice to God for the welfare of the living and the dead.

These two points, the Pope and the Mass, are the centres of attack, but there is also an attack upon Our Lady, the saints and devotion to them, and an iconoclastic rage against not only things of Catholic use and beauty—pictures and statues and crucifixes and the like—but against learning, a destruction of libraries and books, a closing of schools that depended on Catholic bequests, the English university colleges only just escaping seizure.

Among the forces ranged against the new religion was the Order of Preachers, with its own characteristics of loyalty to the Pope, devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and to Our Lady. In Ireland, the Dominican apostolate had to take on a new form, that of the wild geese flying out over the troubled seas. The reconquest of Ireland meant that young Irishmen with a Dominican vocation had to cross the seas to the Continent for their training and education. With some brief interludes, the regular undisturbed life of the mediaeval priory came to an end, and the wild geese came back to work amongst a maze of steadily increasing Penal legislation which set out to make it politically, socially and economically impossible to be a Catholic.

The suppression of the monasteries in Ireland decreed at the first Reformation parliament in Dublin only affected those in which English law could be enforced at the time—the

Rev. Fintan J. Campbell, O.F.

J.J. MCCARTHY AND THE GOTHIC REVIVAL IN IRELAND

p. 18

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL
Offices: 183, Gt. Brunswick Street,
April 25th, 1863.

Sir, - In your notice of the Oratorio in St. Saviour's Church yesterday, I find you describe that "splendid church" as "perhaps the chef d'oeuvre of the lamented Pugin, its designer." While I feel extremely flattered by any work of mine being mistaken for the "chef d'oeuvre" of so consummate a master of ecclesiastical architecture as my lamented friend, I must remind you of the truth of your often repeated statement, that the design, in every, even the minutest, detail, is due to one of your own countrymen, my "unlamented" self.

J.J. McCarthy, R.H.A.,
Architect of St. Saviour's Church

Pale area. The property belonging to the Dominican houses in these towns was carefully inventoried when it was seized. St. Saviour's in Dublin was surrendered in 1539 and the sale of its goods and chattels, including bells and church plate, realised £28 8s. 8d. The priory itself was granted to Sir Thomas Cusacke for an annual rent of 8s. 5d. Irish money. Youghal went first of all to a certain William Walshe in 1543, and later on, under Elizabeth, to Sir Walter Raleigh (in 1585-6, for an annual rent of £12 19s. 6d.). Athy surrendered in 1539 and the following year the site, together with its mill at Tulloghnorre, was leased to Martin Pelles for 21 years at a rent of 40s. Arklow was seized the same year as Athy, its first tenant the next year being Edmund Duffy; it passed to the ownership of John Travers of Dublin in 1544. James White of Waterford got the site of Blackfriars there; the property surrendered by the Dominican prior, William Martin, in 1540 being quite extensive, "a church, chancel and belfry, a chapel called Our Lady's Chapel, a cemetery, close, dormitory, chapel house, library and hall, with two cellars beneath same, a kitchen and bakehouse, a chamber called the little hall, the two cellars beneath it, a chamber called the doctor's chamber, and a cellar adjoined to the same, a chamber called the Baron's hall with three cellars beneath it."

But in the west, conditions were rather more difficult for the new regime. There is an official memorandum about Athenry, 7 July, 1541: "In consideration that the monasterie or house of ffruars of Athenrie is situated amongst the Irishry and that by the dissolution thereof, our saide sovereign lord shoulde have lyttle or no profit, and being not surveyed by any of the king's commissioners, by reason the same so standeth amongst dissobeysence. And for that also that Adam Coppynger, now custos of the same, intendeth to be respondent for the keeping of divine service and mayntenance of good hospitalitie there, it is condiscended and agreed by the Lorde Deputie and others of the kyng's mooste honorable consaill, whose names be thereto subscribed, that the saide house of ffruars shall stand without dissolucion. And that the said Adam Coppynger and his combrethren, changing their habit and wedes of a ffruar into a secular habit, shall have and continue the name of custos of that place or house, until suche tyme as our saide sovraigne lorde the kyng's majesty shall determine the contrary."

This was in answer to a petition against their suppression by the friars.

The Marian restoration was greeted with delight and rejoicing by the Irish. John Bale, Protestant bishop of Ossory, and an ex-Carmelite, tells how the moment Mary was proclaimed Queen, the people of Kilkenny went wild with joy and "blasphemously resumed again the whole Papism or heap of superstitions of the Bishop of Rome; to the utter contempt of Christ and His Holy Word, of the King and Council of England, and of all ecclesiastical and politic order, without either statute nor yet proclamation." Crowds in Kilkenny "mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously, all the town over, with Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, and the rest of the Latin litany: they chattered it, they chanted it, with great noise and devotion."

A petition from the Youghal Dominicans in 1557 has been preserved, in which Queen Mary was asked to have the Cork Dominicans' priory, at present in the possession of two merchants, restored to them. The friars had apparently already recovered and repaired their Youghal house.*

All this was reversed under Elizabeth and, as the wars swept over the country, the Dominican priories hitherto intact were involved in the general destruction. There is definite record of the total destruction of Derry, where 32 friars were killed, one man alone escaping, and of Coleraine, where Fr. MacFerge and 20 other Dominicans were martyred. Similar unrecorded things may have been done elsewhere. It is certain that there were at least 38 Dominican foundations in Ireland at the start of the Reformation, and that by the end of Elizabeth's reign, the Dominicans still remaining in Ireland had been reduced to a very small number. The rest were dead or in exile. Yet they were not so decimated as to lack the capacity for a quick revival, as the Order claimed 43 Irish houses and 600 friars in 1646.

It was, of course, dangerous to wear the Dominican habit, and some 16th century references to "apostate" Dominicans simply refer to their wearing of secular dress. When Peter Wall, O.P., was made bishop of Clonmacnoise in 1556, the Brief of his appointment also absolved him from all censures incurred by his apostasy; in other words, not wearing the habit. Further, a letter of the

* *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. III, p. 7.

Irish Provincial, Fr. Thaddeus O'Duane, to the Master General, dated 1 August, 1593, asks for faculties to absolve the friars who had been forced by the necessities of the time to go about in disguise and thereby incur excommunication.

The letter also asks the Master General to appoint Thaddeus as Provincial; the ordinary Provincial Chapter could not meet under the circumstances, and Thaddeus had been named as Vicar Provincial by Fr. Eugene MacTugan, the previous Provincial now dead.* Thaddeus O'Duane had held office as Provincial for a period before MacTugan and seems to have been at the head of the Irish Dominicans for most of Elizabeth's reign.

Another document, dated 1627 and probably prepared by the Dominican Provincial at that time, outlines the friars' life during the reconquest of Ireland. It says that they lived dispersed and scattered about the country, staying with various lay Catholics. It was about 1613, when priests began to come back from Spain in some numbers, that they began to take over their convents once more.†

Sligo however managed to evade the law for a certain time. The friars had a powerful supporter in O'Connor Sligo, who presented so crafty a petition about the burial place of his ancestors to Queen Elizabeth that she granted his request, saying she was "well contented that the howse of the Fryerie of Sligo, whearin, he sayth, the sepulture of his ancestors hayth bene, shal be so preserved, as the Friars thear, being converted to secular prestes, the same Howse may remayne and contynue, as well for the sepulture of his posteritie, as for the mayntenance of prayer and service of God." The Dominicans were able to continue undisturbed in Sligo until 1595, when George Bingham arrived and began an attack on the castle held by O'Donnell. He used the priory as a base for some of his siege operations and pulled down the roodscreen to construct engines for the attack on the castle. Perhaps the hoard of coins, whose dates range from 1461 to 1526, found in 1954 in a leather bag in the Prior's room in the old priory, were lost at this time.

The dispersed and persecuted friars were working and living amongst a friendly population, a vital necessity for survival in such an attack as they had to face. Indications of the general

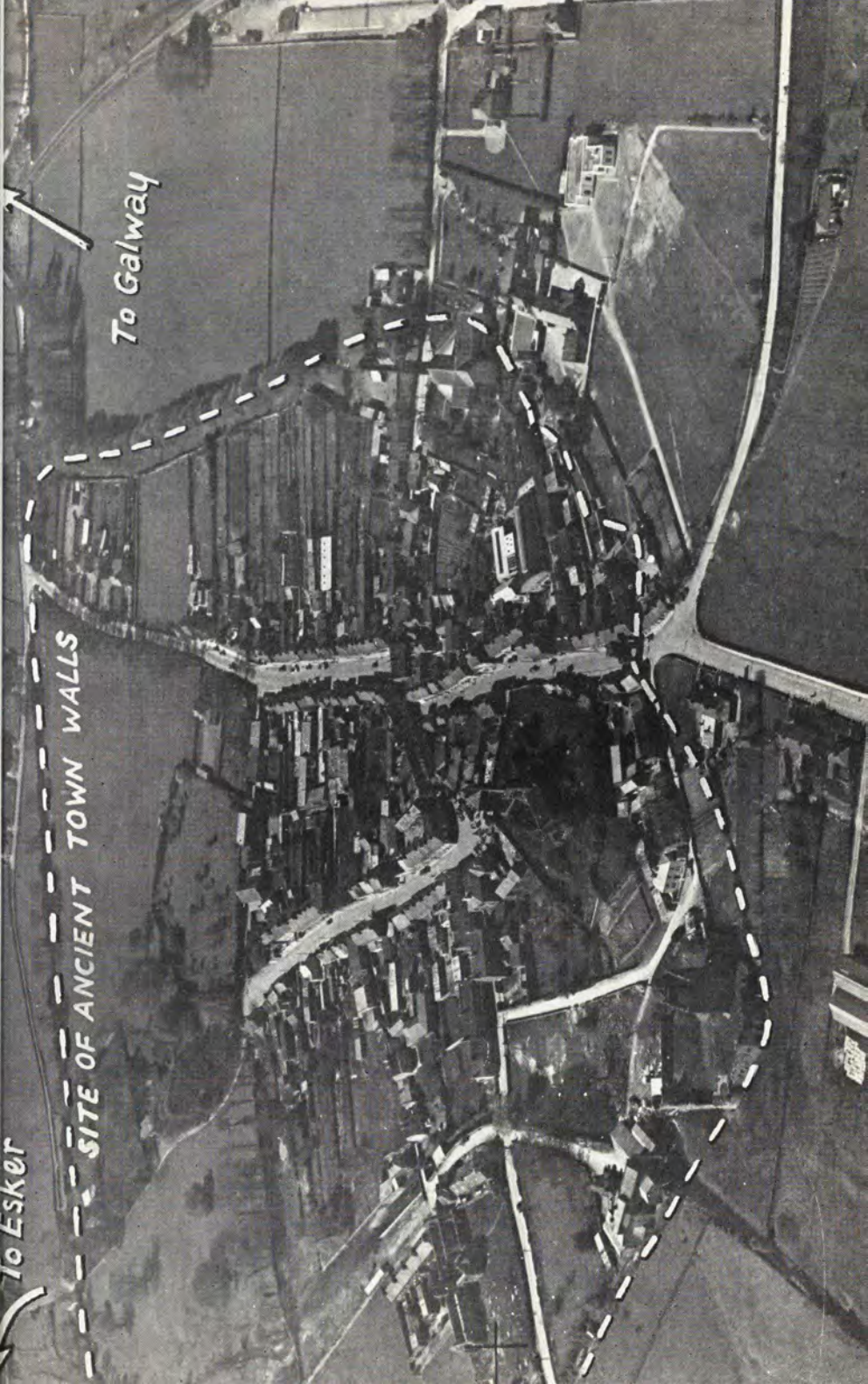
* Appendix 9 for full text of this letter.

† *Spicilegium Ossoriense*. Vol. I. pp. 156-161.

To Esker

SITE OF ANCIENT TOWN WALLS

To Galway





33. Seal of Burrishoole Priory



34. Strade. The Pious Pelican



35. The Kilcorban Madonna
(Height 3 feet)



36. *Tombeola and the Connemara coast from Errisbegⁱ*

37. *Urlar. West front of Church and Urlar Lake*





38. Urlar Pattern. Hearing Confessions

40. Urlar Pattern. Mass at the Ruins



39. St. Dominic's Well. Glanworth

41. St. Dominic's Well. Burrishoole



background and of popular support for the Dominicans come in particular from the lives of two individuals, both of whom died for the Faith. These two were Honoria (Nora) de Burgo, of the Third Order, and Sir John Burke, of the Rosary Confraternity.

Nora Burke lived to be well over a hundred and her life spans some of the most eventful years of Irish history. She was born in 1549, when Edward VI was on the throne of a strongly Protestant England. Her father was probably Richard an Iarainn de Burgo of the Furnace iron works close to the priory of Burrishoole. As a young child, she had known of the restoration of Catholicism under Queen Mary, but it was in the first years of Elizabeth's reign that Fr. Thaddeus O'Duane, during his first term as Provincial, received Honoria into the Third Order of St. Dominic. She was then aged 14. She continued to live quietly at Burrishoole, following the Third Order rule, until her martyrdom in 1653. But for the one outstanding saint who suffers death for the Faith, and whose death is recorded, there were in all likelihood a great many others whose existence goes unrecorded. We do not know how many Dominican Tertiaries there were in Ireland under Elizabeth, but Honoria de Burgo suggests that there may well have been quite a number, and the happenings in Cork in 1578 indicate a deep personal devotion to St. Dominic amongst the Irish people.

That year, 1578, St. Dominic's statue was publicly burned, the Protestant bishop, Matthew Sheyne, himself putting light to the bonfire. The report of Lord Justice Drury and Sir Edward Fyton to the Privy Council says :—

“ Understanding of a notable idol or image of St. Sunday, or St. Dominick,† whereunto great offerings were made by night every Sunday and Holiday, because time served not to stay for the searching of it out, we left commission with the Bishop, the mayor and other discreet persons, to enquire and search for the same, who within two days after our departure laboured so diligently, though it were carefully shifted out of the way, as they found it and burnt it at the High Cross openly, the Bishop himself putting fire thereunto, not without great lamenting of the people.”

Devotion to St. Dominic among the people, a scatter of Tertiaries, and in 1593 there appears the first record of the Rosary

† St. Sunday or St. Dominick. Obviously from a confusion between *Dominic* and *Dominica* (Sunday). Sunday's Well, a common holy well name of which there is also an example in Cork, however, derives from dedication to *Rí an Domhnaigh*—the Lord of Sunday.

Confraternity in Ireland, when the Dominican Master General Beccaria gave the Dominican bishop of Clonfert, Thaddeus Farrell, permission to establish confraternities in his diocese, either by himself or by the Dominican Fathers. In 1606, the Rosary Confraternity can claim a martyr in Sir John Burke of Brittas.

Preaching the Rosary was to become the great feature of the Dominican apostolate among the people, so that the Irish called them the "Fathers of the Rosary," of the *Paidrín Pairteach*, the prayer of parts. It seems at times as though this slender string of beads alone stood between the ordinary Irishman and the attack on his Faith by the massive and sustained efforts of his Protestant rulers.

Counting prayers on strings of beads is an ancient and widespread custom. Our very word "bead" derives from this fact; it originally meant a prayer and was later transferred to the counters used for numbering off prayers. In Ireland, there was a special love amongst the Celtic monks for the recitation of the Three Fifties, *na trí coicat*, the 150 psalms. For those who could not read and did not know the psalms by heart, there arose the custom of saying 150 "Our Fathers," and later, the Psalter of Mary, the 150 "Hail Marys."

The Rosary introduces a new feature to the old custom of saying a number of short prayers and counting them off on a string of beads, in that it adds meditation on a series of mysteries over and above the actual saying of the prayers. Traditionally, this new idea is ascribed to St. Dominic. It is quite possible that it does go back to his time, and that he began it as a method of preaching, to speak about a particular article of the Faith and then to ask the crowd to think over what had been said whilst they recited some prayers. If St. Dominic did originate the Rosary in this manner, it was peculiarly apt for the heresy with which he had to deal, stressing Our Lady, the reality of the Incarnation, and therefore the reality of the sacraments, the use of material things as a channel of grace, as against the Cathar heresy which denied these realities and claimed all matter to be evil and the devil's handiwork.

The Dominican Rosary Confraternities, however, do not go back nearly so far. They seem to have been started by Alan de la Roche, who was one of the leaders in the Reform begun by Raymund of

Capua. He founded what seems to have been the first Confraternity at Douai in 1470. Alan said he was merely reviving an ancient Dominican devotion which had become neglected. The Rosary and the Confraternities had an immediate appeal and spread rapidly, the Order meantime being careful to safeguard their monopoly in the setting up of such Confraternities. A series of Papal documents first of all grants privileges and indulgences to the Confraternities more or less individually or in groups; a full setting out of their rights and privileges and of the Dominican Order's sole right to establish such Confraternities, comes in Pope Pius V's Bull, *Inter desiderabilia*, of 29 June, 1569. Two years later, the Battle of Lepanto was won on the first Sunday of October, 1571. Pius V ordered the anniversary, 7 October, to be commemorated as the Feast of Our Lady of Victory, but his successor, Gregory XIII, pointing out that the first Sunday of October was, during the battle, being observed as usual by the Rosary Confraternities as a special day of prayer (the Confraternity celebrates the first Sunday of each month with a procession and by its members receiving Holy Communion), established the Feast of the Holy Rosary, since the Confraternities and their prayers must have largely helped to success at Lepanto. The celebration of this feast was first of all confined to churches with a chapel or altar of Our Lady of the Rosary, but was extended to the universal church in 1716.

It is perhaps significant that the Carmelite Brown Scapular, now almost as universal a Catholic devotion as the Rosary, follows an almost identical pattern in its development. Just as the Rosary looks back to a supposed appearance of Our Lady to St. Dominic, so the Carmelite scapular harks back to an account of an apparition of Our Lady to St. Simon Stock (in England, in 1251). We then hear nothing very much of either Rosary or Carmelite scapular devotion almost until Counter-Reformation times. Then, early on in the 16th century, there is a rapid spread of scapular devotion among the people by the Carmelites, and the setting up of scapular Confraternities. These eventually came to Ireland, and have taken such root that the normal custom of the country is burial in the brown Carmelite habit as well as the wearing of the brown scapular in life.

The scapular stands for consecration to Mary, for Our Lady throwing her cloak protectively over her clients. The Rosary

stands for prayer to Mary and through Mary, for the whole Catholic conception of the communion of saints as against the Protestant idea of the human soul alone with God, and deprived of any help from the angels and the saints.

The Rosary contains in its meditation an outline of the gospel and of Catholic teaching thereon; its background of prayers provides a means of grace to bring understanding of these truths, its very simplicity (at the worst, the prayers can be counted on the fingers) making it extremely difficult to take it away even from a hard pressed and persecuted people.

Before the Reformation came, English women were reported as wearing long Rosaries swinging from their belts.* It became a sort of symbol of the Faith, reappearing in public under Mary, and being sought for and destroyed with other "objects of Popish superstition" under Elizabeth.

The Reformers were indeed right to be afraid of the Rosary and to hate it. The stress upon Our Lady and the Incarnation led on to the Mass, the key citadel of their attack, and deeper, more mysterious, was the bitterness of their hatred of Our Lady, because she was so closely involved with the Church, a type or figure of the Church in herself. For example, an Irish homily in the *Leabhar Breac* tells how the Three Magi stand for all people and that their finding of the Child in the lap of His mother signifies the finding by the faithful of Christ in the Church.

It is against that background that Brittas Castle stands, nowadays in quiet fields beside a slow moving stream, but in October, 1606, the scene of a large gathering of the Rosary Confraternity for their First Sunday Mass and Communion. Their host, Sir John Burke, had already been in prison for the Faith on charges of trying to restore religion immediately on Elizabeth's death, which the Irish had hoped James would allow them to do. There he had devoted his time to prayer, saying the Divine Office, the Rosary and reading and meditating. He was already friendly with the Dominicans, and when he was released, was received into the Rosary Confraternity by Fr. Edmund Halaghan, O.P.

* Wearing of Rosary beads by the Dominican Fathers. This custom seems to date from the 15th century and Alan de la Roche's Rosary preaching. Dominican lay brothers however always carried a string of beads slung on their belts, on which to count the Pater Nosters they recited at the Canonical hours.

The gathering at Brittas was known of and a troop led by a Captain Miller was sent to arrest Sir John. The crowd gathered for the Mass fled; Sir John, the priest and some others held out in the strong tower of the castle. Eventually they decided to abandon the place and try and escape into the open country. The priest got completely clear but Sir John was tracked down, arrested, brought back to Limerick and hanged.*

* The actual indictment on which Sir John was tried is printed in *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. VI, 1917, pp. 80-82.

VII

ROSS MAGEOGHEGAN

THE story of the rapid revival and restoration of the Dominican Order in Ireland after the Elizabethan persecutions is linked with the name of Ross Mageoghegan, but Ross's own career is, as it were, a kind of symbol of the new influences that were coming to bear on Ireland and fire Irish youth with fresh courage and inspiration. The effect of the Reformation was to isolate England from the Continent, cut her off from its intellectual life and the new spiritual renaissance of the Counter-Reformation. But for Ireland, the effect was reversed; already, in Elizabeth's time, Thaddeus O'Duane realised that future Irish Dominicans would have to go abroad to be trained and an appeal had been made to the Spanish Dominicans to receive them. By 1597, the experiment had worked so well that the Irish Dominicans studying in Spain were given permission to appoint a vicar to govern the little group. The next logical step was, of course, the setting up of special Irish Dominican houses abroad, at Lisbon in 1615, and at Louvain, in Belgium, another great centre of the temporary exiles, in 1624.

It is perhaps too easy to record merely the dates and facts, and yet not advert to the kind of world these Irish wild geese, breaking the law as they went, flew into, and what kind of an effect it had on them. It was against the law to slip out of an Irish port in a small sailing ship to go and study on the Continent; equally against the law to come back if you were a priest intending to work among the Irish Catholics. Official English propaganda was trying to form a public opinion in which the word "Papist" would be equivalent with "traitor"; the anti-Catholic legislation was carefully framed so that the religious persecution could appear in the Courts as a matter of high treason. But to glance at the records of the Irish Dominican martyrs alone of the Confederate wars and the Cromwellian persecution, or at the history of men like Ross Mageoghegan, is to realise something of what it was that was being attacked. Not the Faith alone, but learning, culture, the

fine flowering of European civilisation : these were men of extraordinary brilliance who would have made their mark in any age.

One of the as yet not fully explored, yet vital portions of Irish Dominican history, is the study of the influences, religious, intellectual and cultural, which moulded 17th century Irish youth abroad, and were then carried back into Ireland. Ross Mageoghegan arrived in Lisbon in 1599* and went on to Salamanca in 1600 ; into a Spain still riding the crest of the wave of the great spiritual and intellectual revival which followed the final reconquest of the whole country in 1492. In the Basque country, in 1491, had been born one Inigo de Loyola, the future St. Ignatius, founder of the Jesuits. St. Teresa of Avila was born in 1515 and died in 1582, two years after Sir Nicholas Malby, making war against the Irish chiefs of Mayo, had seized and fortified the Dominican priory of Burrishoole, an occasion when the Dominican Tertiary, Honoria de Burgo, escaped by hiding in a vault of the church and remaining in concealment there for about a week without anything to eat. St. John of the Cross's dates are 1542 to 1592, and whilst he and Teresa would chart the heights of the ascent of Mount Carmel, of the spiritual life, they did not stand alone, but formed a part of a great body of contemporary Spanish mystics and mystical writers. The Discalced Carmelite reform was part of the current of the times, of the Counter-Reformation in the spiritual life.

Spain too had a great intellectual revival. Her universities saw a resurgence that seemed almost to parallel the 13th century in scholarship, and the Dominicans were among the leaders of this new academic life. There was fresh literary activity too, perhaps one should recall Cervantes (1547-1615) and "Don Quixote."

The New World was still a rather new discovery. Some of the friars, Dominican and Franciscan, had been among the few supporters and believers in Columbus before he set sail for the West. Ireland had a sort of legend that his ship had called at Galway and that an Irishman had joined the crew. Certainly there was a Dominican on the ship that sighted Trinidad, in the West Indies, 31 July, 1498 ; the islands with which Irish Dominicans would later be closely connected.

*The dating of the early part of Ross's life is problematical. Other calculations put his arrival in Lisbon as early as 1593.

It was a world of discovery, and of Catholic attempts to spread the truth in the wake of the discoverers ; the Jesuit, St. Francis Xavier, going eastward, and the Dominican, St. Louis Bertrand (1526-1581), going west, to the South Americas. In fact, during the 17th century, and following in the track of the Spanish and Portuguese conquests, the Dominicans more than made up for their losses to Protestantism and reached their greatest numerical extension, the Order being estimated to have then had about 25,000 members.

It was into this tradition and this culture that the Irish wild geese flew to prepare themselves for their apostolate in their own country.

Ross Mageoghegan's family belonged to Westmeath and its immediate history was a tangled one, with some members on the Irish and some on the English side. Ross himself was born at Cloneygowan Castle in Offaly, a stronghold of the O'Dempseys, probably in the year 1580. Ross's father was, it appears likely, already dead when the baby was born : he had been murdered by his brother Brian. Ross's mother, Aegidia, however, survived many more years, a careful woman, adding bit by bit to the family lands and property. Her son began his education at Fertullagh with a Catholic teacher called Humphrey Walsh, continued it in Clonmel and then at the age of 17 began studying for the priesthood with a Fr. John Power. After two years, he left Ireland for Lisbon and, arriving there in 1599, studied for five months with the Jesuits in that city, going on to Salamanca the next year. He seems to have been at the university of Salamanca for a number of years and to have been ordained during this period. Next he went to the university of Coimbra and distinguished himself greatly in the public disputations held in the Dominican schools there. The contact with the Dominicans ripened into a vocation and he entered the priory of la Penna di Francia, taking the name of Rochus de Sancta Cruce. When his novitiate was over, he returned to his philosophical and theological studies, showing such brilliance that the Order sent him back to Salamanca around the year 1607 for a course of higher study there. At Salamanca he remained some eight years, studying and preaching, probably gaining his Doctorate there. In 1615, the Master General was looking for a suitable man to send to Ireland to restore and revive the hard-pressed Irish Province. It is not

surprising that the choice fell on Ross Mageoghegan, who was called to Madrid, made Vicar-Provincial of Ireland, the Master General's own special personal delegate to that country, and sent back to begin his new work with a small and carefully chosen band of Irish Dominicans.

Meantime in Ireland, the accession of James I in 1603 had raised great hopes amongst Catholics that they might expect some toleration. In fact, they went so far as to try and seize the Catholic churches in Protestant hands in the cities and restore Catholic worship in them. A Dominican was involved in this move in Waterford, as also in Kilkenny where "Fr. Edward Raughter, a Dominican friar, assisted by some in the town, came to the Black Friars, then used as a session house, and breaking the doors pulled down the benches and seats of justice, building an altar in place of them, and commanded one Bishop, dwelling in part of the abbey, to deliver him the keys of his house, who was to take possession of the whole abbey in the name and right of the friars, his brethren." (Fynes Moryson.)

Their hopes were shortlived. The Deputy, Mountjoy, at once set about ending the restoration of Catholicism, meeting a good deal of opposition, both in Waterford and in Cork; the latter city being, so he said, the most insolent of all. Mountjoy and the Government's policy were summed up in the former's own comment "on the boldness of the towns and corporations, who out of their own heads had set up the public exercise of the Popish worship." He added that if they did not desist from the public breach of his Majesty's laws in the celebration of the Mass, he would consider them fit to be prosecuted with the avenging sword of his Majesty's forces.

There followed the Gunpowder plot, which seems to have been most carefully nursed by the Government in order to involve as many Catholics as possible and justify further persecution in the public eye; and then the imposition of the oath of allegiance, which the Pope ruled could not be taken by Catholics (which meant they could not hold any public position for which the oath was an essential condition). James' own views seem to be summed up in the remarks he made to the Star Chamber in 1616, the year after Ross had been selected to return to Ireland as Vicar-Provincial. The king said:—

"I confess I am loth to hang a priest only for religion's sake and for saying Mass ; but if he refuse to take the oath of allegiance (which let the Pope and all the devils in hell say what they will, yet as you will find by my book is merely civil), these that so refuse the oath, and are polypragmatic recusants, I leave them to the law. It is no persecution but good justice, and those priests also that out of my grace and mercy have been let out of prison and banished (ref. the Edicts of Banishment, 1605-1614) upon condition not to return, ask me no questions touching these ; quit me of them, and let me not hear of them. To these I join those that break prison, for such priests as the prison will not hold, it is a plain sign nothing will hold but the halter."

Richard Bermingham, O.P., seems to have been one of the priests that James mentions as having been let out of prison and banished by the king's great mercy. This Irishman had entered the Order in Spain, returning after twenty years there to work in Ireland. He and another Dominican were captured and imprisoned in Dublin for a long time. Eventually they and about a hundred other priests similarly imprisoned were released and banished out of the country through the intervention of the Spanish Ambassador in London, who busied himself on their behalf. Returning to Spain, Fr. Bermingham prepared an account of the conditions under which Catholics were living in Ireland in 1619, and presented this to the king of Spain, Philip III.*

He tells how every Catholic must pay 12d. if he does not attend the Protestant service—held in his own violated church building, how jurymen who do not find against a Catholic will themselves be prosecuted, how no one may go abroad for his education without leave from the Viceroy and the Privy Council, how it is high treason to say the Pope is head of the Church, how a priest in prison is given no food but is entirely dependent on alms to buy it for himself (a Turkish pirate, says Fr. Richard, would be much better off in an Irish jail—he would be entitled to bed and board). Sea captains, under forfeit of ship and cargo, and, at the Lord Deputy's discretion, life imprisonment or bail not to repeat the offence, are not to take students out of Ireland or carry priests back to the country. Convents of nuns are forbidden. The stone altars in the Catholic churches have been broken up and Catholics forced to contribute to the new Protestant plenishings for Protestant services. A priest is not to attend a dying

* A Memorial Presented to the King of Spain on behalf of the Irish Catholics 1619. Published in *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. VI, 1917, pp. 27-54.

Catholic, nor may Catholic burials take place. Wayside crosses are forbidden. The Protestants have seized the monastic buildings, used some as quarries for buildings, some as private houses, some as law courts in which priests are condemned to death. They use the churches as stables.

All Government officials are English or Scots heretics, and the plantation of Ireland with Scottish Protestants is intended to create discord between the Irish and the Scots, once so friendly, and both to prevent the Scots joining with the Irish against the king, and to unite the Scots with the English against the Irish. Any government official can freely extort money from Catholics or otherwise persecute them, and if they complain, a charge is fabricated against them and they lose all they possessed. It is forbidden to sell Catholic books. Irish Catholics who send money to maintain students in Catholic colleges abroad, especially those of Spain, will suffer the confiscation of their property.

It is not merely an attack on the Church, but upon the whole intellectual life through the Church; an attempt to prevent an Irishman receiving any education that is not Protestant or having any contact with European thought.

Meantime, Ross Mageoghegan had returned to Ireland and was trying to restore Dominican life there. The 1627 report on the Irish Dominicans,* probably from Ross, tells how the friars, after living privately with Catholic families, began to gather together once more, as the priests came back from Spain. Soon 12 Dominican houses were re-established, 8 in the towns, 4 in the country. Ross did not always have an easy job getting some of the friars who were living as chaplains or as parish priests back to their monasteries, and one at least lodged information against him and got a party of soldiers looking for the Vicar-Provincial.

In the towns, it was not possible to regain possession of the old monastic buildings, and the restored Dominican convents there were in houses the friars either rented or bought. But it was possible to return to some of the old foundations in the country.

Urlar was the first house to be restored by Ross. There it was possible to go back to the old building and to add on fresh stone built accommodation for the friars, for Urlar was to become a

* *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol I, pp. 156-161.

vital centre for the Irish Dominicans. Amongst the bogs of Mayo, broken country of lake and hillock, with distant views of the Mayo mountains, it was in Catholic country and though the object of official knowledge and survey (an Inquisition of 1608 notes that the Prior had 12 acres arable land, another of 1610, adds a further 24 acres in the barony of Ballyhaunis) the friars were able to retain possession. The site was actually granted to Lord Dillon about 1612, but the family were Catholic and let the Dominicans remain. Here Ross began to receive novices for the Order and spent some two years there himself engaged in training them. When their novitiate was over, they were sent on to Spain or Belgium. Galway was a port for Spain and Ross started another novitiate there. Fr. Daniel O'Crean had already begun to receive some novices in Galway in 1608, when the Galway community re-established themselves in a rented house in the town, but Ross put the arrangements on a more definite footing, and by 1629, Galway had a community of about a dozen.

Both the town and priory of Athenry had suffered severely in the wars at the end of the 16th century, the whole town being burned in 1597. Accordingly, Ross and some other Dominican fathers petitioned Ulick Burke, the earl of Clanrickard, for a site on which to re-establish the priory of Athenry. They were given a site at Brosk, some miles from the town and not far from Esker, on the esker-crossed level plains east of Galway, and there they built a small house and began to receive novices. Courses in theology and philosophy were eventually begun there. But the Dominicans also appear to have been maintaining themselves in the town of Athenry as well as at Brosk.

Ross's restoration seems to have gone on quickly. By 1622, the friars were back in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Kilkenny, as well as Galway and Urlar. Ross himself made Dublin his headquarters. There were about eight friars living in a rented house in Cooke Street. At the end of Ross's provincialate, Mullingar seems to have had the largest community—over 20 friars.

Recovery went on steadily, Sligo and Lorrha and, later on, Tralee and Kilmallock were restored and it seems probable that Ross also restored Roscommon. Athy was re-established sometime in the early 1630's, and Drogheda at some unspecified year: it is known that the Dominicans started the Rosary Con-

fraternity in the town before 1621, but were not resident in the area until some time afterwards.

Enforcement of the anti-Catholic laws was never completely effected, and the official activity against Catholics varied considerably from time to time. Ross's restoration seems to have begun in a fairly quiet interlude.

His 1627 report on the first 12 houses says that in eight the prior was canonically elected, in four, a vicar was appointed. Some of them maintained strict observance, meat was never eaten except in the case of the sick, and the whole of the Divine Office was recited in choir. Novices were received in seven of the twelve houses. The habit was worn indoors, though they could only show themselves outside in secular dress. There were then over 100 Dominicans in Ireland, 50 novices and professed friars in Spain and another 20 in Louvain, France and Italy.

At the Lisbon General Chapter of 1618, Ireland had already recovered enough from the near extinction of the Dominicans under Elizabeth to be restored to the status of a "congregatio" and, at the 1622 Milan General Chapter, to regain its position as a Province, Ross Mageoghegan becoming its Provincial. This same Milan Chapter, which was attended by Ross, concerned itself with Irish affairs; each Continental Dominican house was to keep two places for Irish students, and Ross was given powers both to bring back Irish friars from the Continent to Ireland and to restrain them from flying the country at the first breath of fresh persecution. Irishmen abroad were not always too willing to come back to face persecution in their own country!

As a tangible reminder of Ross Mageoghegan's work and the revival of the Dominicans in Ireland, there survive some small items of great interest. From the Sligo house comes a pyx made in 1629, and at the very time of Ross's first years in Ireland, a shrine dated 1617 for the statuette of Our Lady of Graces of Youghal, in which the little ivory is still kept. The shrine was the gift of Honora Geraldine, and shows the temper of the Irish people two years before Fr. Richard Bermingham's report of conditions in 1619.

The famous statue of Our Lady of Coleraine, however, perished perhaps about this time. In September, 1611, the Protestant bishop of Derry ordered the statue, which belonged to the Dominicans, to be burned, but the two men who laid hands on it are both said

to have dropped dead, and subsequent attempts with fire and gunpowder also to have had no effect. To crown all, the bishop himself died suddenly in the midst of his alarm at the failure of the attack on the statue. Whether these are legends or not, the bishop's sudden death is certain, as Sir Arthur Chichester, in a letter of 17 September, spoke of the sudden death of the bishop, "on the 10th inst. suddenly, being well at 7 o'clock evening and dead at 8."

Meantime on the Continent the Irish Dominican colleges were being set up. It was, of course, part of the general plan of Counter-Reformation action both for England and Ireland. Douai had been founded in 1568 for English secular priests and in ten years had trained 77 for the mission in England. The first moves for an Irish Dominican house in Louvain seem to have been made in 1613, when the Archbishop of Armagh, Peter Lombard, petitioned Philip III of Spain to endow a foundation for the Irish friars. Nothing however materialised from this, and only when Fr. Richard Bermingham returned into exile, was anything done. Fr. Richard, after prolonged negotiations, obtained a 6 years' lease of a property in Louvain in 1624. It consisted of a church and a house, the St. Niklaashof on Mont Caesar, and had belonged to the Knights of Malta. It lay on the north side of the city of Louvain. The friars, however, did not remain there for more than two years, shifting to a different house near St. George's chapel where they remained for thirty years. Then came another move, to the final location of the Louvain Irish Dominican priory, near the Wijngaard Poort, later known as the Brussels Gate. This last house was taken possession of in 1655 and fitted up for the friars by three brothers of the name of Joyce from Galway.

The first rector of the Louvain house was Oliver Burke, who was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Kilmacduagh in 1627. Ross Mageoghegan himself was forced to fly Ireland in that year, and seems to have stayed in Louvain on his arrival; he was probably superior there until his appointment to the bishopric of Kildare in 1629. Earlier, in 1627, Ross's petition to have the Louvain house established as a novitiate was granted.

The college seems often to have experienced considerable difficulty in finding enough money to support itself. It received some assistance from Propaganda, and some from Philip IV of

Spain, from whom, in 1626, the Archduchess Isabella, governor of Belgium, obtained an annual pension of 1,200 florins. In 1648, Propaganda was giving an annual 320 crowns on condition that four missionaries would be sent every six years to Ireland; in 1697, there was a grant from the same source of 520 crowns for the support of ten refugee friars. Indeed, the life of the Irish Dominicans on the Continent followed the usual pattern of refugee and exile life in all ages, a recurrent anxiety over money and a tendency to form cliques. Ireland retained a strong sense of regional loyalty to the four provinces of Leinster, Munster, Ulster and Connacht, and the exiles on the Continent were very conscious of the province from which they had come. Accordingly there is the peculiarly Irish phenomenon of a custom of appointing Dominicans from each of the four provinces to different offices in turn, and of bitterness if it was thought that one group was getting more than its fair share. Irish Provincials were appointed in rotation in this fashion until about 1800.

But there was a sense of wider horizons as well. Isabella granted the request of the Rector of the University in Louvain, 18 December, 1626, issuing letters patent for the Irish foundation and the Papal permission for a privileged altar. The Rector's application had included the sentence: "We give our testimony even more willingly, that thus we may appear to make some return to the Irish nation, from which in olden times Belgium, our country, received the first heralds of the Holy Gospel and the Catholic Faith." Belgium had not forgotten the missionaries from the Celtic monasteries, and would now try to make some return to the men of the country from which they had come.

The Dominicans built a church at the new site by the Wijn-gaard Poort which was finished in 1666 and consecrated by the bishop of Ferns, Nicholas French. Earlier, in 1659, the college was incorporated in the university of Louvain. In 1720, it became the Archivum of the Irish Province: with the result that when the country was invaded by the French in 1795, all the stored records were lost.

Although a Brief of foundation for the Irish Dominican house in Lisbon had been granted by Pope Paul in 1615, it was not until considerably later that it actually began to function as a college. Whilst Louvain was brought into being by the efforts of a Connachtman, Fr. Richard Bermingham, Lisbon is linked

with Kerry-born Daniel O'Daly, Fr. Dominic of the Rosary. He was born in Kerry *c.* 1595, and came of a line of famous bards. He went to Spain to enter the Dominican Order and before he went back to Ireland spent some time teaching philosophy and theology at Bordeaux. Then he was back in Ireland on the mission ; at the age of 29 appointed superior of Holy Cross in Louvain. But he did not remain there long, for going on business to the king of Spain, found the latter so favourably disposed, that O'Daly decided the time was ripe to press ahead with the Lisbon foundation. Two fathers only were living there; O'Daly got a small house in the town and began to gather together some students from Ireland. In 1634, the house was officially recognised as a college and Daniel O'Daly became its first rector. He was also responsible for establishing a convent for Irish Dominican nuns, at Belem near Lisbon, in 1639. This is the first occasion in which Irish Dominican nuns make an appearance in history, as there is no record of any convents of Dominican nuns in Ireland in pre-Reformation times, nor indeed of Franciscan nuns either.

As at Louvain, there was a move to a larger property when the crowds of refugees from the Cromwellian persecutions began to arrive. O'Daly negotiated the foundation of the much larger college of Corpo Santo in 1659, and, in an effort to finance it, accepted the bishopric of Coimbra for himself. He had earlier refused the offer of several other bishoprics. In the event, he died in 1662 before he could be consecrated bishop.

Fr. Dominic of the Rosary O'Daly was an outstanding example of what sort of a person a 17th century Irish Dominican with a European outlook and experience was like. He was a writer and at the back of him, generations of Irish bardic poets. In that tradition, he compiled a history of the Geraldines of Munster who had been great benefactors of the Tralee Dominicans, and he also wrote an account of the persecutions of the Catholics under Cromwell. These were published in Lisbon in 1655. He was a good religious, but able to move in the Court circles of Europe and conduct delicate diplomatic negotiations. He was Portuguese ambassador to France for a year from 1655, living quietly in the Dominican priory but at the same time keeping up his official position, even to the extent of giving Paris a fire-work display to mark the coronation of Alfonso VI. O'Heyne



42

Pectoral Cross of Terence Albert O'Brien, O.P.



43



44

Tubular Cross on Rosary Beads on the Statue of Our Lady of Limerick



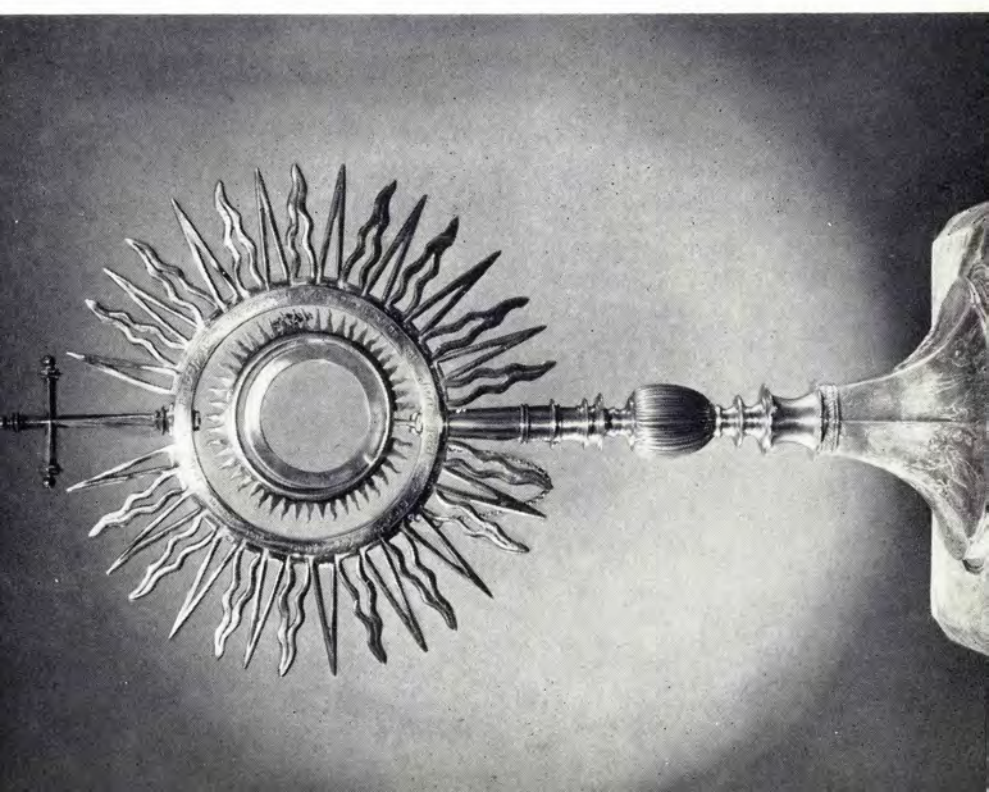
45



46. *Our Lady of Graces of Youghal in its 1617 Silver gilt Shrine*
Opposite Page

47. *Monstrance made for Dominicans of Cork in 1669.*

48. *The Youghal Chalice of 1632.*





in his book of 1706 says that O'Daly was "considered an oracle by the king, the ministers and the people of Portugal."

Of such mettle were the wild geese that the captains of little ships took at their great risk out of Ireland. Some were captured by pirates on the high seas, and were taken prisoners by the Moors. Some of them, of high intellectual ability, carved out positions for themselves at the famous universities on the Continent. Among the latter group are the names of James Arthur, John Baptist Hackett and Dominic Lynch. Dominic Lynch is said to have written a complete course in theology, but the ship carrying it to France for publication sank, and the MS. was lost. The pedigree* of this Dominican father has been preserved, for when he was appointed Regent of the college of St. Thomas Aquinas in Seville in 1674, he had to prove that he was of good birth and social standing. Accordingly a commission went off to Galway to enquire into the Lynch ancestry there, with entirely satisfactory results.

Ross Mageoghegan, who had left Ireland in 1627, returned, as bishop of Kildare, early in 1630, having been consecrated in either September or October, 1629. The conditions of the period are indicated by the fact that Kildare had been nearly 70 years without a bishop of its own, being governed during that time by vicars appointed by the Archbishop of Dublin. Ross seems to have brought the same energy to his new diocese that he had earlier showed in his Dominican restoration. He toured through the 28 parishes every year, preaching, administering the sacrament of confirmation, and so on; he tried to get better places in which Mass could be said, most of the churches being in Protestant hands; he introduced teachers for the training of clerical students before they were sent abroad; he pledged his library and sold his best horse to get money for the poor. At the same time, he was also involved in a bitter controversy between the secular clergy and the regulars, which broke out in the 1630's. Tension between the two groups seems to be a permanent feature of the Church's history, and a healthy rivalry is probably all to the good. But, in Ireland, conditions of disorganisation and poverty helped to bring out the worst side of the old rivalry.

* "The pedigree of Doctor Dominick Lynch, Regent of the Colledge of St. Thomas of Aquin in the city of Seville, A.D. 1674." *Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, Vol. I. Dublin, 1846, pp. 44-90.

The trouble in the 1630's centred on the fact that, due to a shortage of secular clergy, the regulars had taken charge of parishes. Later, they could not be induced to give the parishes up again, and were said to be difficult to control, and also to be propagating heretical ideas. Papal intervention, and a commission, in 1631 in Dublin, of which Ross was a member, cleared the regulars of the charges brought against them, but some Irish bishops continued to oppose them and kept up the quarrel until a Papal condemnation of the friars' detractors in 1633.

As a bishop, Ross Mageoghegan is said to have continued to wear his Dominican habit and to be exact in following the Dominican rule. He spent some four hours daily in prayer, and was a man of ascetic habits, usually sleeping on the ground. He died on the feast of Corpus Christi, 1644, having been infirm and paralysed for a considerable time. He is buried either in Kildare or Multyfarnham; alternative accounts of his burial exist, and there seems no means of finally deciding which is the correct version.

VIII

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL AND THE CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY

CHARLES I came to the throne in 1625 and, with a Catholic Queen, prospects seemed brighter for Catholics generally. Ireland was indeed promised concessions both with regard to the religious question and to the continued confiscations of land, but these "Graces" were never implemented, in spite of the fact that they were used as a lever to extract a sum of £120,000. This was to be paid over a period of three years, and a Parliament to confirm the bargain was promised but never assembled. Protestant pressure on the king was strong, and in 1629 there was a proclamation that the re-established friaries and convents should be dissolved, and it seems that some fifteen religious houses were actually seized for the king.

The plantation of Ulster had begun under James I in the years 1608-10, and other plantations were attempted in areas considered dangerously Irish; parts of Wexford and Carlow, Longford and Leitrim. All this was done in what was officially a time of peace. The rich and fertile farmlands around Strangford Lough and the old Dominican foundation at Newtownards seem to have been virtually a devastated area when the Scottish Montgomerys came over in the early 1600's. It is said that in this part of the country "thirty cabins could not be found, nor any stone walls, but ruined roofless buildings, a few vaults at Grey Abbey (a Cistercian foundation not far from Newtownards), and a stump of an old castle at Newtownards."

The question of land and race was in fact always present to complicate the question of religious toleration. Irish towns were still staunchly Catholic, but living their own life, almost city states, and remote from the Gaelic countryside in outlook. Palesmen and Anglo-Irish were among the Catholic party likewise, giving many outstanding men to the Church and the religious Orders; yet always with a twist of loyalty to England rather than to Ireland. English Catholics were more conscious of Irishmen

as Irish than as fellow Catholics. The secret instructions given to the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, when he was sent to the Irish Confederates in 1645, included the warning that :—

The Nuncio " must be on his guard against the many English Catholics at the Court, whose zeal for the Faith is not ardent enough to hear with pleasure of the victories gained in its cause by the Irish ; on account of the natural and undying hatred which exists between the two nations, the English always desiring to keep the Irish under their yoke, on account of their being useful in carrying out the decrees, and strengthening the authority of the government."

Rinuccini, after the failure of his mission and the Confederate rising, reported that the cleavage between the Irish and the English and Anglo-Irish parts of the country even extended to personal appearance ; the two groups looked different, one from the other, and their minds worked on different lines. Whilst the " Old Irish " (Irish and Anglo-Norman settlers) had not accepted the seized monastic lands, the " New Irish " had done so, and this was a further complication, for they feared that a full Catholic restoration would deprive them of their property, and even though the Nuncio had powers to confirm them in their holdings, they claimed this would involve them in trouble with the government because to accept such confirmation from Rome would be said to be treason in that it acknowledged the competence of a foreign power in Ireland outside the king's authority. They had also a touch of the national feeling of England and thought that Roman concessions were not to be depended upon.

It is against this background that the complex shifts and changes of the Confederate forces are to be followed, the cross-currents and intrigues that were the wreck of their fortunes.

Something of the temper of the times prior to the first rising of October, 1641, can be judged from the extraordinary case of an Irish Dominican who was executed in London for high treason in November, 1633. Both trial and execution aroused great public interest and were fully reported abroad in the dispatches sent from England by the various embassies. Arthur Mageoghegan had lived nearly all his life as a Dominican in Spain, and was for some time censor of books at the port of Lisbon. During this period, an English ship came in with a Dutch prize, the latter was declared forfeit on account of a treaty then existing between England and Spain, but Fr. Mageoghegan

got it released on condition of the English sending the next Dutch ship captured in its stead. This condition was not fulfilled and when the Dominican was sent to Ireland to look for vocations for the Dominican Order, he decided to go via London to try and contact the defaulting captain. The captain at once betrayed him to the authorities and he was arrested and put on trial for high treason. Apparently, in the course of his work as censor, he had looked over the English ship for heretical books and got into conversation with a Calvinist on board. Two merchants came forward as witnesses that the Dominican had been heard to say it was no sin to kill the king. Fr. Mageoghegan said that he had been arguing with the Calvinist about free will and Calvin's denial of it, and that in pointing out the futility of the idea had said that if there was no such thing as free will, then it were no sin to kill the king. But this defence was not accepted and he was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn. The Queen's petition to have the case re-investigated came too late to save him, though in point of fact the verdict was reversed, and the quartered body of the victim was buried and not exposed over the city gates.*

The Irish rising began on 23 October, 1641; a plan to seize Dublin Castle failed through treachery, but Ulster rose under Sir Felim O'Neill and many of the planters settled there were killed. In a week from the first attacks, the Irish were in control of eight counties and of parts of others. While Palesmen and Ulstermen joined forces, the English government determined to crush the rising and Charles I was forced into a declaration that he would never consent to the toleration of Catholicism in Ireland.

In stark outline, the course of the rising proceeded thus. King and Parliament called in Scottish forces to help suppress the Irish in April of 1642; they landed at Carrickfergus and were joined by the Ulster Scots. In August of the same year, Charles was at war with the English Parliament. In Ireland, Murrough O'Brien (Earl of Inchiquin), Sir Charles Coote and Roger Boyle (Lord Broghill) were leading Parliamentary forces, whilst Charles had named Ormond his Lord Lieutenant. Meantime, the Catholic

* A detailed account of Fr. Mageoghegan's case is given by Reginald Walsh, O.P., *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1894, pp. 885-916.

hierarchy had declared the Irish rising a just war, and the Confederation of Kilkenny was formed at Kilkenny 24 October, 1642. It stood for the restoration of the Catholic Faith, but was also royalist, and here began the dissensions that were to be the ruin of the movement. What sort of an agreement could be made with Charles through Ormond; was the Confederation to stand for a complete freedom in religious matters, or only, as many Anglo-Irish held, for permission for the private practice of religion, more or less at the will of the king? The strength of the Confederate armies lay in unity between O'Neill's Ulstermen and the Anglo-Irish, and the two could not agree. Military successes were not followed up, and opportunity after opportunity let slip.

Rome rather slowly and cautiously sent a Papal Nuncio to the Confederate forces, John Baptist Rinuccini, the archbishop of Fermo in Italy. The brief of his appointment as Nuncio is dated 15 March, 1645, but he was a long time on the road to Ireland and did not arrive until October, 1645. The Nuncio saw clearly that only a firm and united stand for full religious liberty would bring any final and satisfactory settlement in Ireland. He therefore opposed the terms offered on the king's behalf by the shifty Ormond, the "Ormond Peace." But many of the Confederates thought these terms satisfactory and accepted them; they were ratified by the Supreme Council at Kilkenny in 1646 on 4 August. Both the Irish clergy and the Nuncio opposed them, excommunicated those who supported the peace, and brought about the revocation of the acceptance. Ormond, meantime, was quietly sounding the English Parliament, to whom he finally agreed to surrender Dublin, saying he would rather give it to English than to Irish rebels. This was in 1647, the same year that Inchiquin and his armies were ravaging Munster. The Confederates were losing ground, but there was another switch of sides when Inchiquin decided to declare for the king. The Nuncio again opposed any union with this man who had been engaged in massacring Irish Catholics and destroying their churches only a few weeks before. Again, those who accepted the truce were faced with excommunication. (The Nuncio's censures were the subject of prolonged debate and controversy both in Ireland and out of it, and the final settlement of the question and lifting of all censures did not come about until 1698.)

Ormond was back on the royal side, returning in September,

1648 to Cork, saying he had come to resume the royal command for the preservation of the Protestant religion, but giving out also that he brought secret assurances to the Catholics. Many of these followed him, and opposition to the Nuncio increased; eventually a second peace treaty (without concessions to the Catholics) was signed 17 January, 1649, and the Confederation was dissolved without having attained any of its objectives. The Nuncio sailed from Galway on 25 February of the same year, and Cromwell arrived in Dublin on 15 August, 1649.

It is said that in the ten years of war of the Confederate and Cromwellian period, about five-sixths of the population of Ireland perished or left the country. About half a million people remained and a fresh period of plantation began in the devastated land. It meant the end of the old Catholic aristocracy, for, in spite of all previous confiscations, two-thirds of the land had been in the hands of Catholics up to 1640. The power which had been based upon this ownership was now broken.

In the same way, the Order of Preachers gathered strength during the Catholic revival of Confederate times, and then lost heavily in the persecutions that followed. The General Chapter at Rome in 1656 claimed 43 Dominican foundations and 600 friars in 1646, but reported that hardly a quarter of that number remained alive in Ireland and abroad ten years later. It is to be remembered that these 600 Dominicans were chiefly dependent for their support upon the immediate generosity of the Irish people; they had lost all their old properties and endowments, and the revival begun by Ross Mageoghegan was something only possible in a land still devoted to the Catholic Faith. In the early decades of the 17th century, the Deputy Chichester had felt it was a hopeless task to eradicate the Faith from Ireland, saying he did not know "how this attachment to the faith could be so deeply rooted in the hearts of the Irish, unless it was that the very soil was infected and the air tainted with popery, for they obstinately preferred it to everything else, to allegiance to the king, to respect to his ministers, to the care of their own posterity, and to all their hopes and prospects."

Tangible evidence remains of this deep seated devotion. From the 17th century survive a great number of old chalices, many of them were given to the Order of Preachers, and are still

in Dominican possession. A beautiful 1632 chalice given to the Youghal Dominicans is still in daily use in the Dominican church in Cork, on the altar of Our Lady of Graces of Youghal, for whom it was donated. There is a spate of such chalices for the years 1630 to 1650, and those that have survived must represent only a minority of the total. It is significant of the extent of the early persecutions and iconoclasm that hardly any old Irish chalices date back beyond this period of 17th century Catholic recovery. Seizure and destruction must have been very thorough.

The chalices are also evidences of the skill of contemporary Irish craftsmen, as is also the little Galway-made pyx which belonged to Fr. Gregory O'Farrell, elected Provincial of the Dominicans, 1646, with its restrained yet delicate designs. The bases of the chalices are ornamented with a series of engravings round the foot : the Crucifixion and the emblems of the passion, Our Lady and the saints. A chalice given to the Cork Dominicans by Fr. William John Connor and Gerard Gould—of the Third Order of St. Francis, and dated 1641—has St. Dominic and the dog with the torch in its mouth, as well as St. Francis receiving the stigmata, shown by the figure of the Crucified above the saint with lines descending from the wounds to Francis. It also has Our Lady encircled by a five-decade Rosary beads. A 1632 chalice belonging to the Lorrha priory shows St. Thomas Aquinas, holding a pen in his right hand and a monstrance in his left, he looks toward a dove which is flying to his mouth. This same Lorrha chalice shows Our Lady ringed by Rosary beads, and is a reminder of how Rosary-conscious the country had become.

From this time date the beautiful old Irish Rosary beads with their individually made silver tubular crosses. They often show Spanish influence, a further indication of the close links between Spain and Ireland ; that they are often called " Galway " Rosaries seems to be connected with the fact that Spanish ships came into that port and brought the amber used for many of these beads. Not only Galway, but Limerick, Cork, Waterford and Kinsale, together with Dublin, are known to have been centres of Rosary manufacture : all except Kinsale had Dominican houses in them, by the way. Part of the Dominicans' work was to spread Rosary devotion and set up Rosary Confraternities. There is evidence that many of the country districts had, by the early 17th century,

following the Elizabethan wars, been left with very little Catholic instruction and ministrations, and the religious of the various Orders coming back from the Continent would find plenty to do there. The Rosary, a method of prayer, a means of contemplation, and a summary of instruction in the Gospel and the principal truths of the Catholic Faith, was the ideal instrument to put into the people's hands; something to which they could cling under future persecutions, and which would help them to hold to the Faith and remember its truths when formal instruction was taken from them, and their priests hunted.

Just as St. Dominic had countered the Cathar heretics with the truths of the Incarnation and Mary's motherhood of God, the Spanish-trained Irish friars would meet the Puritan attack with the same basic weapon: Mary, who alone has destroyed all heresies, as the liturgy puts it. (*Gaude, Maria Virgo, cunctas haereses sola interemisti in universo mundo.*)

Linked with the Dominican Rosary apostolate are the statues of Our Lady, brought into Ireland from the Continent at this period and still in Dominican possession and publicly venerated. Waterford has the little 17th century Spanish statuette of Our Lady and Child, only 14 inches high. Much larger are the Rosary Madonnas; Our Lady of Galway in the Dominican church in the Claddagh, the almost identical statue belonging to the Dominican nuns in Galway and Our Lady of Limerick, still the centre of much devotion in Limerick city and the surrounding countryside. Only to the latter does a history belong, for it was given in 1640 to the Limerick friars by Patrick Sarsfield as an act of reparation for the execution of Sir John Burke of Brittas by Sarsfield's uncle. It is probably of Flemish workmanship; the Galway statues, however, are thought to be Italian. A fine example of a "Galway" Rosary now hangs on the Limerick statue. The Sarsfields also gave the Limerick friars a chalice in 1640, and this too is still in St. Saviour's priory in the city.

Starting a little later than this spate of gifts to the friars, there is a sudden increase in the numbers of Dominicans who suffer death for the Faith, first in the Confederate wars, then those of Cromwell and the resultant persecution. A Dominican, the prior of Naas, was caught up in the fighting in the very start of the rising of 1641, and charged before Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase with preaching against the

English religion and seducing the people from their allegiance. Fr. Peter O'Higgins pleaded that he was innocent of the charges brought against him and had, in fact, saved many of the English from the fury of the Irish. He was imprisoned and tortured in Dublin, but informed that he would be set free if he renounced the Faith. It is fairly clear that Fr. Arthur Mageoghegan had suffered in London, not for seditious words but because he was a Catholic priest; the government however always tried hard to cover the religious persecution with a political charge. Fr. Peter O'Higgins was to be hanged for seducing the people from allegiance to the king, in other words for treasonable activities in a non-religious field. The offer of freedom if he renounced the Faith gave the prior of Naas an opportunity to show the government's real motives. He asked for the offer in writing, and it was given to him on the scaffold before a great crowd, many of whom were Protestant and anxious to see a Catholic renounce his Faith. Peter O'Higgins held up the document and spoke to the people, telling them how he had been imprisoned "for seducing people from their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, King Charles I, but today I am condemned to die, solely because I am a Catholic. . . . Now I call God and man to witness that of my own free will I spurn their offer, and that for the Catholic Faith I gladly lay down my life." Fr. Peter O'Higgins' name is one of those on the Process for the Beatification of the Irish martyrs.

Another name on that list is that of Terence Albert O'Brien, O.P., who was one of the leading figures of the whole period. Terence O'Brien joined the Dominican Order in Limerick, taking the name of Albert in religion. He studied in Spain, at the famous school of theology in Toledo, in the 1620's; after he returned to Ireland he was twice prior of Limerick and once of Lorrha, before his election as Provincial at the Chapter held in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, in 1643. Next year, 1644, he was in Rome at the General Chapter there. What sort of a person he was is perhaps indicated by the Master General's permission to allow him to have for his own use a whole set of books, including a history of the General Councils of the Church, the works of St. Thomas, and of Cajetan. At the conclusion of the General Chapter, Terence and some of the other Irish fathers received the degree of Master in Theology. It is evident that the men

who were working for the Faith in Ireland had a high standard of academic training at their backs. Irish facilities for education were in their minds, and this General Chapter, as well as making a first list of the Irish Dominicans who had died for the Faith, also legislated for the setting up of *Studia Generalia* in Dublin, Limerick, Cashel, Athenry and Coleraine. Limerick, according to Terence O'Brien's plans, was to become a Papal university and it seems that such an institution actually flourished, with Fr. Gregory O'Farrell of the Longford Dominicans, as its Rector. He succeeded Terence Albert as Provincial in 1646; the pyx mentioned above was his and is now preserved by the Franciscans at Multyfarnham.

Another matter before the General Chapter was that of the wearing of the white Dominican scapular by the faithful. Irish Catholics who wore the scapular were given the privilege of sharing in the Order's spiritual goods. This is a separate Dominican apostolate to the laity, distinct both from the Third Order, and the Confraternities of the Rosary and the Holy Name. Reception to the Scapular is kept distinct in the 18th century list of receptions to the Third Order, scapular and Confraternities, belonging to the Cork priory. Fr. Terence, bringing the matter forward at the Rome Chapter, sheds further light on the Irish people's relation to the friars at this time and on their devotion to St. Dominic and his Order. It links up with the chalices and the statues, as well as with the Rosary apostolate and with the scatter of Tertiaries: whose existence is indicated by known martyrs as far apart as Burrishoole and Cashel.

Irishwomen seem to have been feeling a strong attraction to the Order, and the 1644 Rome Chapter approved the foundation of the first house of Irish Dominican nuns in Galway. A convent had been founded, by the efforts of Dominic O'Daly, at Lisbon, as has already been noted, but there was a need for a foundation in Ireland as well. It must have been first mooted in the early 1640's, as the Kilkenny Provincial Chapter considered the foundation before it was taken to the General Chapter the next year. The old Profession Book of the Galway nuns is still in their possession, and the first leaf records the foundation thus:—

"The Order of the Nuns of our Holy Fr. St. Dominick, was founded, in ye town of Gallway, in the yeare of our Lord, 1644, and were banished in the year 1651. In ye year 1686, Sis Mary Lynch

of St. Thomas, and Sis Julian Nolan of St. Paul, yet lived, in the Convent of ye Incarnation Bilbao, and during their banishment were commanded by obedience to come to this towne of Gallway and by the authority of there prelates they did receive the following sisters."

After the General Chapter, Terence O'Brien made his way back to Ireland via Lisbon, to make a visitation of the Irish Dominicans there. The bishop of Emly was old and ill, and at Lisbon Fr. Terence learned of the Pope's intention to appoint him coadjutor. However, the Pope's death on 29 July delayed matters for nearly another three years.

Meantime the Dominicans in Ireland had recovered a number of their old mediaeval buildings and were living in them. They were back on the old sites at places like Longford, Burrishoole, Sligo and Kilmallock, as well as in Kilkenny, Athy and Limerick, to mention only a few of the houses regained. But Sligo was once more the object of attack and was burned out. In 1642, a party of soldiers under Sir Frederick Hamilton came into Sligo from Manorhamilton and sacked the town. Their report tells how :—

"With horse and foote we fell on a great many good houses full of people near the bridge, and burned and destroyed them all. At the south-west end of the towne we crossed the river, which brought us close to the Friary, burned the superstitious trumperies of the Masse and many things given for safety to the Fryars. . . The Fryars themselves were also burnt, and two of them running out were killed in their habits."

When the Nuncio arrived in the Kenmare River in the autumn of 1645, he made a circuitous journey to Kilkenny, going via Macroom, Kilmallock, Limerick and Cashel. At Kilmallock he was received by the Dominicans in the priory there. Three years later, in 1648, this house too was the object of attack. Standing outside the town walls, it was thought to be easy prey by a party of marauding troops and one stormy night they broke in with intent to round up all the friars. However, all but two escaped. Gerald Geraldine, and the lay brother David Fox, were caught kneeling before the high altar in the church, with their Rosaries round their necks, and struck down by the sword where they knelt.

The Nuncio's first impressions of Irish Catholic life were unfavourable. He felt there was a catacomb mentality and a

lack of liturgical ceremony; the bishops ordained priests in private houses secretly, the regulars had got into the way of living as private chaplains to the bigger Catholic families, going without their habits and receiving good stipends: as missionaries they had, said the Nuncio, faculties and powers which exceeded even his own. The loss of the Catholic churches had produced a kind of sour grapes argument, that it was not necessary to have such buildings, as the Jews had long done without a temple and Christ had instituted the Mass in a private house. The people all wished to have Mass said in their own homes. This love for the Mass in the house remains a feature of Irish Catholicism; the country districts keep up a rotation of "Stations," with a great spring-cleaning and celebration in the house whose turn it is to have the Mass. Rinuccini, however, was somewhat shocked to find that instead of the Blessed Sacrament being carried to the sick "even the lowest artisan wishes in sickness to hear Mass at his bedside; but often to our great scandal, on the very table from which the altar cloth has been just removed, playing cards or glasses of beer together with the food for the dinner are at once laid." Later on, Rinuccini seems to have come to a better understanding of Irish conditions, and altered the tone of his reports, saying almost the exact reverse of his first unfavourable reports. He did exert himself to try and bring about a liturgical revival, and to show the Irish people what Catholic ceremonial ought to be like. In December, 1646, he ordained priests in the Black Abbey in Kilkenny as a part of the plan for the restoration of full Catholic observance.

Fr. Terence O'Brien seems to have made a great impression on the Nuncio. Recommending him once more as coadjutor to the ailing bishop of Emly, Rinuccini, writing to Cardinal Pamphili on 31 December, 1645, said that "Friar Terence, Provincial of the Dominicans, is a man of prudence and sagacity, has been in Italy, and is so expert in the management of Church affairs that happy results might be expected from his care." The Dominican Provincial is again included in a list of recommendations for bishoprics made in August, 1646, in which the Nuncio remarked: "I do not think that in these nominations the proportion of Regulars is too great; and indeed we cannot make it less as the nobles join the Regulars more frequently than any other Order." Terence's appointment to Emly however did not materialise until the March of 1647; he was consecrated

bishop by the Nuncio in the following April, either in Kilkenny Cathedral or in the Dominican Black Abbey there. By that time, the old bishop was dead.

1647 saw Inchiquin, Murrough O'Brien, capture and sack Cashel. Inchiquin's methods of campaign got him the byname of "Murrough of the Burnings"; he came of Gaelic stock but was strongly Protestant for most of his life. However, he is said to have died a good Catholic (1674).

The capture and massacre of Cashel took place on 14 September. People and priests had crowded into the cathedral on the Rock for safety and sanctuary. Murrough's soldiers killed some three thousand there, and finished up by parading through the streets of the little town dressed up in the priests' vestments they had looted, carrying and making mock of a statue of Our Lady they had seized and calling on all they met to come to Mass.

Among those on the Rock was a Cork Dominican, Richard Barry, then prior of the Cashel house. O'Heyne's account of his martyrdom says that Fr. Barry had prudently sent away all the other friars from Cashel before the attack, and that he was the only one of the clergy on the Rock to be captured wearing his religious habit. Perhaps that attracted the soldiers for, instead of killing him outright, they first challenged him to put off his habit. Holding up a crucifix in one hand and a Rosary in the other, he refused, saying that the Dominican habit stood for the garment of Jesus Christ and His Passion; it was the standard under which the Christian conflict was fought. "On saying this he was seized and bound to a stake, and while they were preparing the faggots was exposed to the insults of the cruel soldiers. The pile having been set on fire he was slowly tortured from head to foot for about two hours, yet from the midst of the flames, did not cease to recommend his own soul and the faithful people to God. Being at last transfixed with a sword, he died on the fifteenth of September." (O'Heyne, *Epilogus Chronologicus*.)

Apparently the body was left lying with the other dead, and as things quietened down, a woman, a Dominican Tertiary, slipped quietly up onto the Rock and searched amongst the corpses for the Dominican prior. When she found the body, she notified the surviving clergy and it was solemnly carried down to the Dominican church and a *Te Deum* sung before Fr. Richard's

burial just to the north of the church wall. The actual site was long marked by a lime tree, but when this decayed, the place was lost sight of. It would seem to be immediately between the still standing church and the first houses of the new housing estate alongside.

A second Tertiary of St. Dominic, Margaret of Cashel, was killed. This old lady of 70, when the attack began, set off to warn her confessor of the danger, but fell in with a party of soldiers who struck her down with their swords.

The next year, the attack on Athy by General Preston's forces brought a story of a vision of St. Dominic, which is perhaps another indication of Irish devotion to the saint. The saintly prior of Athy, Fr. Thomas Bermingham, when the artillery was trained on the priory, called the friars and the defending forces into the chapel for prayer, next planting a wooden cross on the top of the church tower. He told them: "Your cause is just. God is obliged to help and assist you, and I assure you as a religious man, your adversaries will not win the place at this time." Attempts to hit the cross failed and the attackers were finally beaten back. It is said that on 15 September, the feast of St. Dominic of Soriano, the saint, in answer to the prior's prayers, appeared over the Athy convent, and was seen not only by the defenders but by the attackers also. If the latter saw and identified such a vision, it looks as if St. Dominic was then a well-known saint to Irish people.

The Dominican revival was not merely a matter of a return to old foundations, but included some new locations as well. Clonmel was one of these. It may have been originally an outlying chapel belonging to the Cashel house, but in Confederate times it had the status of a priory. Several of the Clonmel Dominicans suffered martyrdom. The first to die in that fashion was James O'Reilly, who was taken by some Cromwellian troops as he was travelling from Waterford to Clonmel. Some accounts say that he was reading his Office at the time of capture, others that he was saying the Rosary. O'Heyne describes him as "a learned theologian, eloquent preacher and distinguished poet." He was not the only Dominican poet of the time; the most famous was Patrick Hackett (Pádraigín Haicéad, 1600-1654). He was a native of Cashel and has been claimed as one of the finest Irish poets of

the 17th century. His verse expresses the hopes of the Confederates and of Ireland in "My country is in arms by the side of God" (*Éirghe mo Dhúithche le Dia*) and the later (1646) "Ireland, wake!" (*Músail do mhisneach a Bhanba*). He died in exile in Louvain involved in a bitter quarrel with the Dominican Master General and some of the other friars, a dispute partly originating from Hackett's political views and partly from disappointment at not being appointed Rector of the Irish Dominican college in Louvain; a typical tragedy of exile life.

The division in the Confederate counsels about the Ormond peace terms, and the Nuncio's strong stand against them and his censures, brought a corresponding division in most of the religious Orders. However, the Dominicans, with one or two exceptions, and all the members of the not very long established Capuchin mission to Ireland, stood firmly by the Nuncio. Out of 25 bishops, 17 were on Rinuccini's side; the excommunication once more high lighted the division between "old" and "new" Irish.

For a time, the Irish towns who accepted the peace terms were placed under an Interdict; in his report telling how it was taken off the various towns, the Nuncio said of Kilkenny that it was ended there as a favour for its strict observance by the Dominican, Franciscan and Capuchin fathers. The majority of the Franciscans and Augustinians seem to have followed the Nuncio, but he was opposed by most of the Jesuits and the Discalced Carmelites.

Rinuccini seems to have acquired a great sense of Irish tradition and of Ireland's place in the world. An unfulfilled ambition of his was the recapture of the famous island of Lough Derg, St. Patrick's Purgatory, from the Protestants, and its restoration. And when he went to Galway, from which he eventually sailed away, he says how "there was something in the very site of Galway which allured me, placed as it is on the farthest shore of Ireland, that is at the very edge of the old world. I flattered myself that while I laboured and strove there for the Catholic religion I should make it serve both as an outwork to Europe and an invitation to America."

In Galway, in 1647, the Nuncio gave the Dominican nuns formal apostolic approval of their foundation there. He asked them to pray for the rooting out of the Protestant heresy:—



50

The Gregory O'Farrell Pyx, c. 1600



51



52. *Stone carving of a Dominican, Sligo*



53. *Penal figure in oak of St. Dominic, Kilkenny*



*Ancient Irish Statue of Our Lady
(Dominican Nuns, Galway)*

*17th Century Rosary Madonna
(Dominican Nuns, Galway)*

54. Ancient Wooden Madonnas

*Our Lady of Limerick
(Not to same scale) 4½ feet high*



55. *The Mass Rock
in Kildohane wood,
Castlemaine, where
Fr. Moriarty
was arrested*



56. *1651 Chalice
of Father Thaddeus
Moriarty, O.P.*



57. Trim, Donec. Headstone of Francis Lynagh, O.P.

59. Ahenry, Esker. The first site at Esker



58. Neurtowards, Money Scalp. Site of Dominican House

60. Longford, Kilcommec. "The Convent"



HOUSES OF REFUGE

"We, therefore, turning to the good God, hope, that through His boundless mercy, His anger may be averted from Us by your pious prayers and good works. We ought by united intercession to implore His help, that His Divine Majesty may be propitiated and that He may grant the Catholic armies victory over their enemies and drive out the pernicious poison of the heretics from this Kingdom. We exhort you, who are separated from the world and are living under the Holy Rule of the Blessed Dominic, that you should be forever faithful to this devotional practice, namely: once in the month to receive the Holy Eucharist and recite one Rosary in honour of the Blessed Virgin, for this intention."

The Galway nuns still say this monthly Rosary, "for the extirpation of heresy and the spread of the Catholic Faith throughout Ireland."

When Rinuccini finally left Galway in February of 1649, he said that "the triumph of my departure when I was accompanied to the ship by the tears and lamentations of the people was greater than when I disembarked three years ago; now, a minister, beggared and persecuted, then, one from whom they hoped for supplies of all kinds."

The Irish struggle was now a matter of resistance to Cromwell. That individual's promises of religious toleration were not to be extended to Catholics. Meeting at Clonmacnoise in December of 1649, 19 of the Irish bishops, including Terence Albert O'Brien, solemnly warned the people that they could hope for nothing from the terms Cromwell offered them.

"We hereby declare as a most certain truth that the enemy's resolution is to extirpate the Catholic religion, as is manifested by Cromwell's letter of October 1649. His words are: 'You mention liberty of religion. I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience you mean liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it better to use plain dealing and let you know where the Parliament has power it will not be allowed.'"

IX

THE CROMWELLIAN PERSECUTION

FR. DANIEL O'DALY (Dominic of the Rosary) writing immediately after the Cromwellian conquest, included in his account of the persecutions (published 1655) a panegyric of the lost glories of Ireland. Once, he said, "our empire was bounded by the ocean, our fame by the stars," but now it had been made a crime to be an Irishman and a Catholic; "you were subjected to every contumely if you spoke the vernacular language," to be a Catholic was to be called a traitor, and to be a native, a rebel. "Your birth made them spit upon you. Your religion made them crucify you."

Cromwell, who was in Ireland from August, 1649, to May, 1650, struck with a savage violence. In September he captured Drogheda and massacred ruthlessly some 3,500 people, soldiers and civilians. Wexford's turn was next; other cities surrendered for fear of a like fate. Among those killed at Drogheda were Dominic Dillon, the prior of Urlar, and Richard Oveton (Ovington), subprior of Athy, then acting as chaplain to the Catholic soldiers. These two were dragged out in front of the army and beheaded, "out of hatred to their religious state and the Catholic Faith" (O'Heyne).

The Cromwellian policy was aimed at a complete military conquest of Ireland, coupled with an anti-Catholic propaganda, which in particular worked up the earlier killings of the Ulster settlers, and exaggerated their extent. After the military defeat, the Irish soldiers were encouraged to leave the country to take service in France or Spain, and some 30,000 went abroad. Of the ordinary people, numbers were shipped as slaves to the West Indies; the official records record the shipping under Cromwell of 6,400 Irish in this fashion. Subsequent years seem to have added considerably to the number, the total being estimated at sixty to one hundred thousand. Catholic priests were among them, and included the Dominican prior of Glanworth in Co. Cork, David Roche. He was transported to the Barbados, caught saying Mass for his fellow exiles, and killed in 1653.

The Cromwellian Act of Settlement of 1652 legislated for a fresh plantation of the devastated and depopulated country. It brought in a number of Cromwell's followers to take possession of the confiscated estates; only Clare and Connacht were reserved to the Irish. The ordinary Irish people were not, however, disturbed, as they were needed as labourers by the new owners. The towns were also planted, and the Catholic hold on them broken. In December of 1649, in Cork, it is said that the signal for all Catholics to leave the town was given by three cannon shots; any Catholic thereafter found within the walls would be put to death. It is perhaps due particularly to the plantations, and to the staunch, hard Protestantism of the settlers and their descendants, that the hated memory of Cromwell is burned so deeply into Irish souls. It is significant that when the restoration of the monarchy came in 1660, the Irish Royalists had no part in it, and Charles II was proclaimed by the old leaders of the Cromwellian forces, who decided for the change in government. Accordingly, Charles II favoured the Protestant leaders in Ireland, and men like Coote and Broghill received peerages.

The city of Limerick was not intimidated by the example of Drogheda and held out against the Parliamentary forces. Cromwell had left his son-in-law, Ireton, in command in Ireland, and it was he who laid siege to the city in the summer of 1651. Fr. Terence Albert O'Brien was one of those in Limerick at the time, and urged the defenders on to fresh effort to such a degree that Ireton is said to have offered him £40,000 and a safe conduct out of the country, if he would desert his work. Inside the city, the people faced not only the ordinary effects of a siege but the terror of plague as well. The wounded soldiers were placed in a separate hospital, near the Dominican priory, to try and isolate them from the general infection, but it eventually penetrated there too. A Dominican father, Thaddeus O'Caholy, who was working among the wounded soldiers, caught the disease and died. Fr. John William Geraldine, O.P., who heard Fr. O'Caholy's confession and brought him the last sacraments, also contracted the plague, and died; so also his brother, Fr. Gerald Geraldine, O.P., who ministered to the dying Fr. John.

Daniel O'Daly says that a vision of Our Lady, St. Dominic and St. Francis was seen over Limerick during the siege. They

appeared in the sky over the city with five other heavenly beings, moving first from St. Mary's church to the Dominican church, and then to the Franciscan one, which was outside the walls. It was taken as a symbol of leave-taking of the Catholic churches and of coming disaster. It is said to have been seen by people working in the fields outside the city, and again points, since they claimed to identify Dominic and Francis, to popular devotion to these saints and their Orders.

Limerick was eventually forced to surrender on 29 October, 1651. The bishop of Emly, Terence Albert O'Brien, was captured and brought in chains to Ireton, who condemned him to death. He was hanged two days later, on the vigil of All Saints. He told the crowd: "Do not weep for me, but pray that I may remain firm and unshaken while suffering this cruel martyrdom." The soldiers set on the dead body with their musket butts and beat it out of all recognition; the head, put on one of the towers of King John's Castle, is said to have remained long incorrupt, with fresh blood dripping from it. Ireton himself died shortly afterwards; his death was looked on as a judgement for the execution and he is said to have exclaimed, "Would that I had never seen that Papist bishop even from a distance."

Others of the Limerick Dominicans were also executed at the same time. Fr. James Woulf was hanged, Fr. John O'Quillan caught and killed there and then by the soldiers. John O'Quillan was a man of considerable talents, learned and ascetic, and with an intense devotion to Our Lady. He is said to have always risen at midnight to recite the Divine Office, and also that of Our Lady, kneeling while he said both of them.

The plague was running through the whole country in the wake of the fighting, and claimed other victims among the priests who went to assist the sick. Fr. Donald O'Brien, O.P., died in this fashion in Co. Clare, hearing confessions of plague cases, so also Fr. Gerald Bagot, O.P., who died from the same cause outside Limerick. The prior of Waterford, Fr. Michael O'Clery, was among those who answered the bishop of Waterford's call for volunteers to work among the sick people and likewise succumbed to the disease.

In late 1651 or perhaps early in 1652, two very eminent Longford Dominicans were martyred. They were related to each other and came of the noble O'Farrell line; they were both Masters of

Theology, famous preachers, and both had been postulated for bishoprics. They must have been captured later than 10 November, 1651, when Fr. Laurence O'Farrell was at a gathering of clergy at Jamestown. He and Fr. Bernard O'Farrell were alone in the Longford priory, the other friars having fled, and were captured very early in the morning. The soldiers set upon Fr. Bernard and wounded him in some twenty-four places. However, he was not immediately killed, but survived long enough to receive the last sacraments. Fr. Laurence they held prisoner and condemned to be hanged next day. The execution was put off for three days, as a result of various friends' intercession with the commander of the soldiers. Fr. Laurence upbraided his friends for trying to deprive him of the martyr's crown. He spent the three days in prayer and penance, and then was again condemned, and this time hanged. An account of 1677, compiled by the Vicar Apostolic of Ardagh and 17 priests, says that "while hanging there, taking both hands from beneath his scapular, he held up the crucifix and the Rosary to the great admiration of the people as a sign and symbol of the Faith and of the Passion." It is to be remembered that the method of hanging was then, not a sudden neck-breaking drop, but a slow strangulation.

All priests, under pain of death, were ordered on 6 January, 1653, to leave Ireland within 20 days. Those who fell in with a priest and failed to report him to the authorities were also to be severely punished. A curious exception to the general persecution was made by Sir Charles Coote in favour of Fr. Daniel O'Crean (O'Credigan) of Sligo, Provincial, 1631-1634. He was captured at Ballymote Castle, and was so old and infirm in appearance that Coote sent him safely back to end his days in Sligo, with an order that every house in the town should subscribe fourpence a year for his maintenance. In Sligo he continued to wear his Dominican habit and O'Heyne says that "the non-Catholics, instead of objecting, rather admired the fortitude and constancy of the decrepit old man. Being one day in the market place, some of the Catholic citizens presented a petty Protestant preacher to him, telling him that he was Fr. O'Crean's intimate friend, Fr. O'Mulkerin, the Jesuit. After embracing him he immediately withdrew, declaring that he had the odour of heresy about him; so that the Catholics, and even the minister himself, were struck with wonder." Fr. O'Crean died in 1655.

It seems likely that Urlar managed to survive through the persecutions and was never abandoned. Eleven Dominicans met there in 1654 to hold a provincial chapter.

Burrishoole, on the other hand, was attacked in 1653 and taken. Fr. Felix O'Connor included an account of its last days in a letter dated at Brussels, 17 May, 1653.* Fr. O'Connor belonged to the Sligo priory but had been lately prior of Kilkenny. Exempted from quarter on that city's surrender to Cromwell, he went to Mayo and Burrishoole, where he was at once elected prior. With some friars and a party of soldiers, he twice resisted an attack on the priory by the Cromwellian soldiers; the third assault was however successful. He and a small boy made their escape in a little dug-out canoe to Clare Island. The West coast islands were then the refuge both of Irish soldiers and of priests, but they were soon taken by the Cromwellians, and Fr. O'Connor with many others sent into exile. Later, in 1657, these same islands were used as safe prisons for the many priests who had been captured, and who were kept there living in miserable conditions in makeshift cabins.

Nora Burke or Honoria de Burgo was still alive when Fr. Felix came to Burrishoole. There was a second Dominican Tertiary living with her, a much younger woman called Honoria Magaen. When the attack developed, these two set off through the hummocky drumlin ridges that surround the priory and the sea shore, and made their way towards the mountains, seeking refuge on Saints' Island, on the first of the two lakes cradled between the drumlin hillocks and the rise of the mountains behind them.

Apparently they were traced, for a party of soldiers followed them there, seized and stripped them, and throwing the two women into their boat, made back to the shore. Three of Honoria de Burgo's ribs were broken by their violence in throwing her into the boat. Landed, the two Tertiaries seem to have escaped once more. Honoria Magaen, fearing for her chastity, fled into a wood (the same woods that provided fuel for the iron works of Honoria de Burgo's father, and now remembered in the place name Furnace) and hid herself in the trunk of a hollow tree. There she was found dead from exposure. Honoria de Burgo

* *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. I, pp. 398-400.

was carried by her maid to the Dominican church and left before the altar of Our Lady, where she was shortly afterwards found dead, though in a kneeling position. It seems probable that the two women were killed before the priory was captured. The latter was, it seems likely, attacked on 15 February.

Daniel O'Daly was not merely being rhetorical in writing of the far flung fame of the Irish. Honoria Magaen, standing in the trunk of the tree in a Mayo wood, was painted as one of the figures of Dominican saints in the cloisters of the Dominican house at Taormina in Sicily. These frescoes were painted shortly after 1656. It is said there existed a very full account of these two Dominican Tertiaries, but all trace of it is now lost.

Fr. Felix O'Conor* eventually came back to Ireland and was several times prior of Sligo, and once of Roscommon. He was a man who had made a brilliant course of studies in Spain and, during his Continental exile, was prior of Louvain. He used to preach during Advent and Lent to the exiled Irish troops, and according to O'Heyne "all the temporal gain he derived from it (the preaching to the soldiers) he gave to his convent (Louvain), burdened at that time by a multitude of exiles." He also travelled to Madrid to get ratification of the pension Philip IV granted to Louvain, and to Rome, to get money from Propaganda for the support of four students on the understanding that they would, when their Louvain studies were over, return immediately to the Irish mission.

The Dominican nuns in Galway, as already indicated, fled to Spain where they were scattered amongst various Dominican convents there. It is possible that the Dominican father who escaped with them from Galway was not Fr. Gregory O'Farrell, as O'Heyne says, but Fr. Gregory French. Meantime, when the Cromwellian forces were first menacing Galway in 1651, the citizens decided to pull down the Dominican church for fear it should be used as a base of attack on the city, standing as it did just without the walls. Before they did this demolition, a carefully drawn up agreement between the friars and the Galway citizens recorded the details of the building and promised its complete restoration at the town's expense, and, says O'Heyne,

* He is on the list of Irish martyrs—dying in prison. His death is mentioned in Fr. Patrick McDonagh's *Report on Sligo*, Appendix XI.

"had peace and victory been attained, they would certainly have done it, for they were both very pious and very wealthy, their great riches arising from the large seaborne commerce by which this place grew to be more important than the other ports of the kingdom." This old contract is still preserved in the Dominican Archives in Tullaght. The Galway nuns were, of course, recruited from among the daughters of these Connacht merchant princes.

There are two interesting little bits of Dominican tradition and folklore relating to this period. One, which is a tradition of the people of Esker, is that when the Cromwellians came into Athenry, the friars in the old priory fled in haste out to Brosk and Esker, where they had earlier established themselves. In the haste of their flight, the little pet dog of the monastery was left behind. Lying hid at a place called Glenascoill, the Dominicans were rejoiced to see, on the next day, the little dog coming to rejoin them. In its mouth, it carried a Ritual, open at the page giving the blessing of holy water. They took this as a sign to bless the water taken from St. Dominic's Well under the round gravelly mound called St. Dominic's Hill, just above Esker, and commanding a spacious outlook over all the surrounding countryside. The custom which grew up, and is still continued by the Redemptorist Fathers, is to bless the water taken from St. Dominic's Well on the Feast of the Epiphany, using the ordinary formula for the blessing of holy water. The people, who come in crowds, then take it home to sprinkle on their cattle and their lands. It seems that the Feast of the Epiphany was originally one of the special days on which the sacrament of baptism was administered, and that this Epiphany blessing of water is cognate with the "Easter water" of Holy Saturday, with its blessing of the font. The Esker custom seems to be unique in Ireland and is very popular with the people, who come from considerable distances round about. There is no devotion to the well itself, a powerful spring which supplies the Redemptorists' needs, only to the water baled out and blessed. The crowds coming for the water and the Epiphany Mass also expect a special sermon on that day as part of the general celebration.

At Limerick, the tradition is that a young priest ran into the church to remove all the sacred vessels and hide them before the Cromwellians entered the city. As he was rushing out with

his arms full, a voice, from the statue of Our Lady of Limerick, called after him, "Are you forgetting your Mary?" He turned back and was surprised to find how light the statue was to lift down, and then that it was hollow and formed an ideal hiding place for the Sarsfield chalice. In fact, these wooden statues seem to have been made hollow at this period to serve as hiding holes for valuables. Statue and chalices were hidden in safety somewhere and recovered when persecution was over. Tradition says they were buried but this seems unlikely in the case of a wooden figure.

In spite of the prospect of death, exile or slavery in the West Indies, some of the Dominican fathers remained in Ireland to minister to the people during the Cromwellian regime. One of those who was caught and executed was Thaddeus Moriarty, and, unlike so many of the Irish martyrs, the details of his history are fairly well known. Moreover the Kerry people, up to modern times, have kept alive devotion to his memory.

Tadhg (Teige, Thaddeus) Moriarty was a native of Castledrum, on the Dingle peninsula, the long headland that forms the west-most point of Europe. His father is said to have been the chief of the local clan of Moriartys. Attracted to the Dominican Order—the Tralee priory is placed at the head of the Dingle peninsula—he made his studies in Spain, first at Toledo, where his name is included in a 1627 list of students there, and then at the Irish college in Lisbon. He gained the degree of Master of Theology, but it is further said of him that he was so much given to prayer, that, like St. Thomas, it was felt that whatever he knew was not gained so much by study as given from God. He came back to work in Ireland, and was a definitor at the Provincial Chapter in Kilkenny in 1643 which elected Terence Albert O'Brien Provincial.

He himself became prior of Tralee and in 1651, in the very heat of the Cromwellian fighting, Charles Sughrue gave the friars a chalice. This chalice, which is still preserved in the Tralee priory of Holy Cross, is inscribed:—

"Orate p(ro) Carolo Sughrue qui me fieri fecit p(ro) Conventu Traliensi—Priore fre Thadeo O'Moriarty, 1651."

The chalice is a small graceful object in silver, unscrewing into two halves for transport. The foot has engravings of the Crucifixion, Our Lady encircled with stars and St. Dominic

with his torch-bearing dog. It is still used at Mass on special occasions. It is likely that it was regularly used by the Tralee friars and Thaddeus on the Mass Rock in Kilclohane Wood between Castlemaine and Milltown. The tradition is that, Holy Cross in Tralee being in ruins, the Dominicans moved to Castlemaine, an important strategic centre and road junction in those days, and lived there pretending to be traders. Castlemaine is not far from Tralee by the old road which goes straight as an arrow over the high ridge of the Slieve Mish mountains. Behind the little town, the land rises in a low ridge, wooded then, and now re-afforested in a State scheme. A large flat topped block of sandstone in this wood served for an altar and was the regular venue for Mass. The place is still marked and remembered, and the older generation, now dying out, used often to go there to pray.

By some means, the authorities got word of this Mass centre on the hillside, and, on the Feast of the Assumption, 1653, fell on the assembled congregation, arresting the celebrant, Fr. Thaddeus, and, so says tradition, at the same time, the famous Kerry poet, Pierce Ferriter, who was serving at the Mass, and was Fr. Moriarty's brother-in-law.

The Dominican was led off to prison in Ross Castle, the stronghold on the shores of the lakes of Killarney. It is likely that he may have been taken from Milltown to the nearest shore of Lough Leane (the lower and largest of the Killarney lakes) and there taken in a boat from Lakeview across to Ross Castle. On the overland part of the journey, the Dominican became so weak that a soldier cut him a stick from a hedgerow tree to help him to walk. This stick was long preserved as a relic of a saint by the Kerry people. It passed into the possession of Dr. David Moriarty, bishop of Kerry, 1854-78, but was unfortunately lost on his death, as apparently its value and origin were not known to those who had to deal with the late bishop's effects.

In Ross Castle, Fr. Thaddeus was brought before the governor, Nelson, and condemned to death, being hanged with several others, including Pierce Ferriter, in Killarney on 15 October, 1653. Between his capture and this date, he was kept in prison in the massive dungeons of Ross Castle and severely beaten there. Asking for a priest for the Last Sacraments he was refused, but there is a local tradition that another Dominican friar in the area

was suddenly inspired to walk boldly into the Castle. Almost miraculously he gained access to Fr. Thaddeus, and got clear again.

Fr. Daniel O'Daly probably knew young Thaddeus as a student at Lisbon. Two years after the latter's martyrdom, he wrote this account of it:—

“Captured by the heretics (who for a long time previous had known him by reputation), never did a bride go more joyfully to her nuptials than he went to prison, nor was a hungry man more anxious for a banquet than he was for the gibbet. On hearing that he was sentenced to die, he pressed and kissed the hands of the messenger who brought the news and distributed money among his jailors and the soldiers who were to lead him to the gallows. Before being hanged, he lifted the minds of the Catholics who were standing around, with a beautiful discourse on the excellence of the Roman Catholic religion, the inconstancy of human life, the uncertainty of the hour of death, and of martyrdom as the most secure road to Heaven. What filled the minds of the onlookers with wonder and admiration was his countenance after life was extinct. Though wan and emaciated in appearance, owing to his long detention in prison, it seemed to be transfigured after death and even to emit rays of light, so that the very executioners confessed that it was like the face of an angel.

He indeed gave a singular example of humility and patience during his life and was never known to be angry. He showed such patience during his sufferings in prison, that the heretics said he was a fool, for he despised life so much, that when he was stripped and flogged he patiently bore it all and did not even give the slightest sign that he felt pain at all, being led just like a lamb to the slaughter. He answered all the questions put to him by the judge, with so much freedom and candour, that even his enemies confessed that he knew not how to tell a lie. When the judge asked him why he did not obey the edict of the government, he answered that he was bound rather to obey God, and those who held God's place in his regard who had commanded him to exercise his priestly functions. The judge was warned by his wife to have nothing to do with the blood of this innocent man, but his answer was that he was compelled to shed it, as otherwise he would expose himself to danger.”

Killarney then was an ill-favoured collection of cabins; the gallows was erected on a little gravelly hillock, now all carted away for building purposes. It was afterwards called Martyrs' Hill; the site is in the market square opposite the modern Franciscan church.

“Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit,” murmured

IRISH TIMES

OLD DUBLIN

4-11-77

Sir, — Another part of old Dublin is being demolished as the large bulldozer and weight-swinging crane make progress through Little Denmark Street and Chapel Lane.

In 1782 the Dominican Fathers built a fine church and priory on this site, where in 1800 eight Dominican Fathers formed the community.

This site was later occupied by an orphanage and national school but when the orphanage was transferred to Dominick Street the building with additions functioned as boys' and girls' national schools. There was nothing magnificent, ornate or beautiful about old St. Saviour's but it was appreciated for its various functions in its time. There will be no reunions of pupils and teachers, but perhaps there may be nostalgic thoughts in the hearts of many who pass that way.

Like the present St. Saviour's Priory it was likely a centre of hospitality for priests passing through Dublin. The orphanage offered a home, security and training to many boys in its years. The school gave a much-needed education and formation that was gratefully appreciated.

These few lines are a small tribute to those people of the past. "The old order changeth yielding place to new . . ."—Yours, etc.,

F. J. CAMBELL.

Providence,
Butterfield Avenue,
Templeogue,
Dublin 14.

Moriarty as the noose tightened. He died for no other reason than he was a priest and a religious. Even the Protestants were forced into admiration and the remark, "If ever a papist was a martyr, he certainly should be accounted an outstanding one."

RESTORATION, REVOLUTION, EXILE

“MY justice I must afford to you all, but my favour must be given to my Protestant subjects.” So Charles II informed the Irish, and it forms the keynote of his reign, the kind of toleration that results from non-enforcement of the laws, but can break into violent persecution, as it did in the Popish Plot scare of 1678. Some attempts were made to resolve the land question, and to right some of the wrongs of the Cromwellian plantations, but the claims of the dispossessed were never fully considered or met. The elected Irish Parliament of 1661 was a Protestant assembly by virtue of the oath of supremacy imposed on its members. The country was in fact being shaped into a land whose rulers belonged to a Protestant Anglican ascendancy, owning most of the land and holding the power, but whose population was Catholic. In 1672, out of 12 million profitable acres, it was estimated that the Catholics owned only $3\frac{1}{2}$ million, though they numbered some 800,000 as against 300,000 Protestants.

The complete breaking of Catholic power and political influence did not, however, become complete until the “Glorious Revolution” and the coming of King William of Orange.

Under the restored monarchy, therefore, the Dominicans began to return to their old centres and to resume what sort of religious life they could. The flavour of the period is perhaps best conveyed by Fr. John O’Heyne’s *Epilogus Chronologicus*, written in exile in Louvain and printed there in 1706. It is the story of Dominican life never very far removed from persecution of some sort or other, always with a threat in the offing. It is an old man writing of the friars he knew and remembered, quoting from the official accounts of the Cromwellian martyrs and then relating what he knew himself; his own life, and what he had been told by others. O’Heyne belonged to the priory of Athenry, had studied at Salamanca and taught philosophy in France. His own account tells us that “as master of students, second and first regent, he taught at intervals in the college of Holy Cross at Louvain,

where he was vicar for a year. On his first return to Ireland, by command of Father William Burke, the provincial, he taught a large school, until he was obliged by the violence of the persecution (the Popish Plot) to hide and be the companion for a year of the bishop of Elphin. Thereupon, as he was specially sought after by the Protestants, he was compelled to fly from the kingdom. On finishing his term of regency at Louvain, he returned home a second time, and remained there for eight years evangelising the people, and was prior of Urlar. Finally exiled with the rest of the religious Orders (1698), after the various mishaps of distressful exile, he is living in Louvain at Holy Cross, in the sixtieth year of his age and the fortieth of his profession."

It was not merely a life under a Protestant ascendancy, it was also a life cut across by its own disputes and difficulties. There was the famous "Remonstrance" of the Franciscan, Peter Walsh, and of Richard Bellings. This document of 1661 set out to resolve the questions relating to the king's supremacy, the Pope's power to release subjects from their allegiance, and the like: it appears that Peter Walsh was in point of fact in the Government's pay and confidence. It was, in 1665, formally condemned by the Irish bishops and by Rome, but it was the sort of document the times produced, which some Catholics thought they could legitimately accept, and it was therefore a bone of contention for years and a source of weakness in the Irish Church. The Government seem to have been keeping a wary eye on the Dominicans, as known loyal supporters of the Pope, and opponents of the Remonstrance and all it stood for, for they compiled a list of Dominican priors, so far as they could find them out, around the year 1665. Furthermore, an intercepted letter of Fr. John O'Hart, O.P., who was Provincial at this period, and who was summoned to appear and then arrested, says, "The reason I was sent for and none else is that they intend to make me an example to terrify all the superiors of Ireland that they might condescend to Peter Walsh his remonstrance. They beginn with me that in regard of our Order excepting one they cannot gett any to signe or as much as to flatter with Peter Walsh and that wee have been all obedient to the Nuncio which is most odious."

According to O'Heyne, Fr. Hart, after studying in Spain, had taught classics both to regular and secular clerical students at

Burrishoole, then was lector of philosophy at Athenry, and finally professor of theology at Kilkenny during Confederate times. After the Restoration, Fr. Hart himself sent the "Remon-stance" to be examined by the universities of Salamanca and Alcalá. Accordingly, he was eventually arrested and imprisoned in Dublin jail for a year and a half, finally being liberated on bail. The twists and chances of 17th century life come alive, as O'Heyne goes on to relate how this learned professor, released from the squalor of an Irish prison, and who was "distinguished for his charming manners," "went personally to quest through the villages, and even through difficult mountainous tracts, giving a spiritual return by preaching and hearing confessions in the district of his own native convent (Sligo), in which, fortified by the Blessed Eucharist and extreme unction, he closed his life about 1672." He was, goes on O'Heyne, "a most diligent student of the antiquities of our country, and if I had his notes at hand, I should be able to give greater satisfaction to all the readers of these slender annotations." It is an extraordinary and many-sided life, and not in any way unusual among the Irish Dominicans of the time—a combination of academic life on the Continent with an equally effective apostolate amongst the Irish people, the whole based on the individual's own personal relationship to God and to Our Lady (O'Heyne is fond of noting how devoted particular fathers were to the Rosary). It was a life cut across by the dangers of the times and, unexpectedly, as in Fr. O'Hart's case, by some private little hobby, such as his exploring and noting the details of Irish ruins.

Another dispute arose in Ulster at this time between the Dominicans and the Franciscans. The plantation of north-eastern Ireland had been extensive, and the Dominicans had been forced out of their houses there and were unable to return for a long period. The Franciscans, on the other hand, had remained in and about that part of the country. With the Restoration, the Dominicans wished to return to Carlingford, Newtownards and also to a house at a place called Gola near Enniskillen. The Franciscans opposed this move, and the Dominicans' right to quest in the surrounding country: they felt that they alone had borne the burden of the time of persecution, and that the peoples' alms would, anyway, be insufficient for both Orders. That such a dispute could arise shows how complete the destruction of

documents, charters and the like, had been. Evidence, such as there was, was collected, and the case brought before Blessed Oliver Plunket, the Archbishop of Armagh, who decided in favour of the Dominicans' claims in 1671.* Gola was not, in point of fact, a mediaeval foundation. It seems it was given to the Dominicans just before the Confederate war, but they were then unable to take any action about it. However, in 1660 or thereafter, they took possession and built a house, where they were, in Blessed Oliver's time, receiving novices from, says O'Heyne, "the best families in the county, thus gaining to the Order the friendship of the gentry and the people."

The novitiate and school of Athenry, still at the new site well away from the town, at Brosk, was also restarted. The school had increased greatly by 1678, and drew crowds of students from all over the country. They lived in little wooden huts, scattered in colonies amongst the woods and esker ridges of the country, each group with its own tutor. They gathered every day in a clearing in the woods for their studies, the day's work always being concluded with the recitation of the Rosary.

In some places, like Urlar, it was possible to regain the old Dominican buildings, but elsewhere the new pattern of Dominican life was emerging, which would continue all through the next century, the "house of refuge" continuing the life of the old foundation on a new site, or the rented house in the city in place of the gracious mediaeval priory. In Sligo, the friars seem to have kept some hold on the old buildings, for the prior, describing the convent's affairs in a report written in exile in 1703, says that he "did nothing for my own privatt interest to ye prejudice or ruine of them ould walls but all for the comon good & interest of ye cont. according our Laws and Constitutions."

In Dublin, just before the Popish Plot outbreak of persecution, the Dominicans were able to open a public chapel, and to carry out the liturgy with a certain amount of ceremony. The ordinations laid down for the Dublin priory indicate that the litany of Our Lady was to be recited before Mass, that there was to be a sermon on the Rosary on the first Sunday of every month as

* Blessed Oliver's Decree in favour of the Dominicans is printed in *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. II, p. 212.

Expenses July 1732

3:	By Cash pd for Lamb	0 0 7
4:	By Cash pd for mutton	0 0 10
	By Cash pd for milk	0 1 11
	By Cash pd for Butter	0 0 1
5:	By Cash pd (Dinner of) Labourers	0 0 3
	By Cash pd for mutton	0 1 6
	By Cash pd for Butter	0 0 2
	By Cash pd aboy went to Shop	0 1 1
6:	By Cash pd for half pound of Eggs and Butter	0 1 3
	By Cash pd for wine in Mr. O'Brien's time	0 11 10
8:	By Cash pd for Butter and Eggs	0 0 8
	By Cash pd for mutton	0 1 7
9:	By Cash pd for to of washwoman	0 0 6
10:	By Cash pd for a beam for of his last	0 0 10
	By Cash pd for calf	0 2 6
11:	By Cash pd for Soap	0 0 8
	By Cash pd for mutton	0 1 1
12:	By Cash pd for Broomed and Butter	0 0 3
	By Cash pd of washwoman	0 0 5
13:	By Cash pd for Beans and potatoes	0 0 3
	By Cash pd for mutton	0 0 8
	By Cash pd for milk	0 1 1
14:	By Cash pd for Butter	0 0 5
17:	By Cash pd for mutton	0 1 2
	By Cash pd for Butter	0 0 3
	By Cash pd for Cleaning of garden	0 0 10
18:	By Cash pd for Butter	0 0 2
19:	By Cash pd for malt	0 17 9
	By Cash pd for asparagus	0 0 2
	By Cash pd for Butter	0 0 2
	By Cash pd for a head and pluck	0 0 1

December 1735

1. Paid Bro ^r Charles when going to Legg	50 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 2 ⁰
2. P ^d M ^r Kelsington for a pair of shoes for Dr ^r du Lys	0 ⁰ 2 ⁰ 8 ⁰
3. P ^d for a bushell of wheat	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 4 ⁰
6. P ^d for sugar and broomes	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 3 ⁰
7. P ^d for fish	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 5 ⁰
9. P ^d for J ^r Custum of Corn from our Limitation	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 4 ⁰
11. P ^d for 2 bushells of wheat and Earnest former	0 ⁰ 12 ⁰ 7 ⁰
12. P ^d for J ^r hire of two horses	0 ⁰ 2 ⁰ 2 ⁰
12. P ^d for broage for Johnny	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 8 ⁰
13. P ^d for Dillish and butter milk	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 4 ⁰
18. P ^d for puckets and barley for J ^r fish	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 2 ⁰
19. P ^d for wheat	1 ⁰ 4 ⁰ 0 ⁰
23. P ^d of glasser for work done in J ^r Chapple	0 ⁰ 2 ⁰ 4 ⁰
24. P ^d for a Carcase of beef	1 ⁰ 10 ⁰ 3 ⁰
25. P ^d for publick taxes	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 6 ⁰
26. P ^d for fish	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 4 ⁰
26. P ^d for Loughlen for himself and J ^r Custum of Ship	0 ⁰ 1 ⁰ 3 ⁰
28. P ^d for pepper and mustard	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 1 ⁰
28. P ^d for fish	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 1 ⁰
27. P ^d J ^r millard for their Xtmas box	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 4 ⁰
29. P ^d for Eggs	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 7 ⁰
30. P ^d J ^r Major Serjants for their Xtmas box	0 ⁰ 1 ⁰ 1 ⁰
31. P ^d J ^r Church Clarke for their Xtmas box	0 ⁰ 0 ⁰ 6 ⁰

£ 47 1

well as on the principal festivals and the Sundays of Lent and Advent; and on all Sundays and festivals, the Rosary, Vespers and Compline were to be publicly recited at 2 p.m. Everywhere the friars were setting up the Dominican confraternities of the Rosary and of the Holy Name. In Tallaght Archives is a small and battered little book bound in black, which comes from the Athenry/Esker priory and is a register of the Rosary Confraternity of that house. It also includes the names of a few priests, with the lay people received, and of some Third Order sisters. The Register begins in 1676, but includes an earlier extract from a 1668 book. The little book itself was bought in Limerick in the year 1676 by Fr. John Burke FitzRedmond and cost 2/-.

Profit from land or investments could only be received by the friars under legal subterfuges, and the Sligo report tells how money left to the priory was given to a friendly landowner to buy another parcel of land, as though for himself, from which he would pay the annual interest due to the friars. Difficulties and loss, as in the Sligo case, could easily result from this sort of arrangement: the landowner might fall under a cloud and be dispossessed; if he or the trustees who acted for the Dominicans chose, as the Sligo prior said, "to play the cheat," there was no legal means of getting redress.

With the Shaftesbury-Titus Oates plot of 1678, both England and Ireland were roused to a high pitch of anti-Catholic frenzy. All the years of propaganda about Catholic plots and papist traitors now found expression in the invention of the wonderful plot. Blessed Oliver Plunket was judicially murdered in the name of the Plot, and its effects reached even into the remote corners of Ireland. The Athenry school at Brosk had to be closed down for the time being. The prior of Sligo, Fr. Felix O'Connor, died in prison in the town jail in 1679, and "there was such a cruel & rigorous persecution in those days yt none of ye fathers of our convent (Sligo) cud assist him nor come neere him nor gett any satisfactory accounts of our goods and effects att ye time." (*Report on the Convent of Sligo*, 1703. Printed in full as Appendix XI.)

The career of the bishop of Elphin, Dr. Dominic Burke, O.P., runs the full gamut of all these sudden changes. As Fr. O'Heyne was with him during the Popish Plot persecution, he is able to give a detailed account of Dominic Burke's adventurous life.

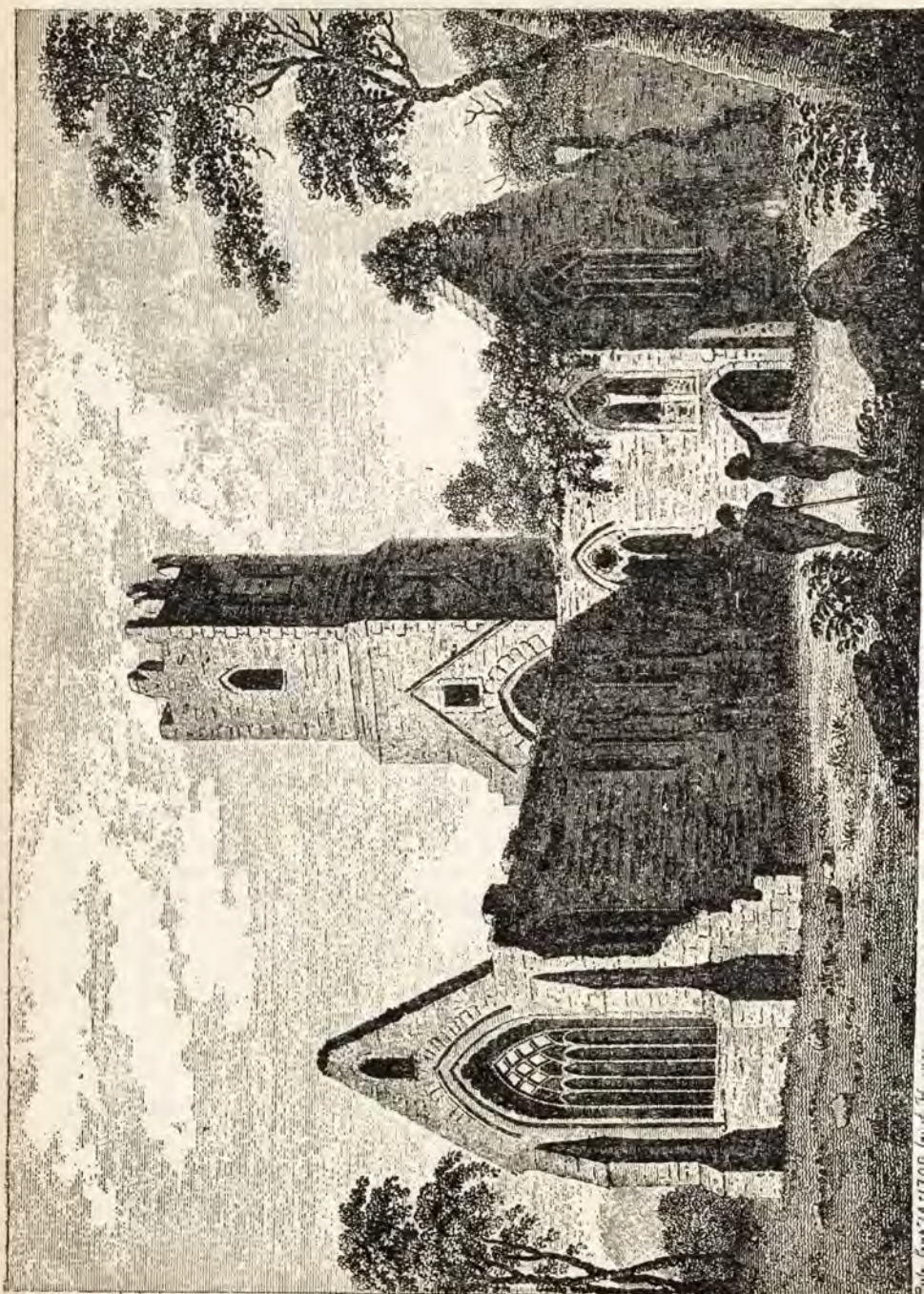


Fig. 8. Athenry Dominican Church in 1792. (From Grose's "Antiquities of Ireland")

He was born *c.* 1629 and during the Confederate Wars, in *c.* 1648, entered the Order of Preachers at Athenry. He then set out to begin his studies in Spain, but the ship was intercepted by an English vessel and he was brought back and imprisoned in Kinsale. Kinsale lies on one of the long narrow sea inlets of the Cork coast, where the tide runs well out, leaving an expanse of greenish-brown mud. Young Dominic managed to escape by climbing the prison wall and breaking his fall by bounding into this mud. For two days he lay hid in a wood, with nothing to eat and afraid even to go down to the water's edge to wash the mud off. Then he ventured up to the house of a Catholic gentleman called Roche, who took him in, fed and clothed him and supplied him with money, finally sending him home to his mother. She tried to persuade him to remain at home, but he refused and successfully sailed from Galway to Spain. He spent six years in the Dominican convent of Holy Cross at Segovia, and then, as the Cromwellian persecution was still continuing in Ireland, went to Italy, where he remained 16 years, and was successively master of novices at Venice, Milan and Bosco. He was a definitor at the General Chapter of 1670. Then in 1671, Pope Clement X appointed him to the see of Elphin, and he immediately returned to Ireland to take up his new work there.

O'Heyne, his companion at the time, goes on:—

"It can hardly be related how severely he suffered in the horrid persecution, raised in 1680 against all Catholics in England and Ireland without distinction. Two hundred pounds sterling were offered by the Lord-Lieutenant and the Privy Council of the kingdom, as a premium for whoever would capture him; so that he ordinarily journeyed by night during this persecution. For four months he lay so closely hid in a solitary house that he did not even once take a step outside the door; but on the approach of Maundy Thursday, on which he had to consecrate the holy oils, he forthwith started on a journey of forty miles, travelling always by night. I was his sole companion all that year, until the arrest of Dr. Oliver Plunkett, the archbishop of Armagh, who from the prison in Dublin used often to send warnings to the bishop of Elphin regarding the means proposed from time to time in the Cabinet and the Privy Council for his capture. The bishop was thus greatly aided in eluding their ambuscades and bloody hands, into which had he fallen, he would have met the same fate as befell the primate the following year."

The bishop had, of course, no formal income, as all the official church revenues went to the Protestant bishop, and O'Heyne

says that rather than be dependent and a burden on the clergy, he rented and successfully worked a large farm on the estate of his near relative, William Burke, the earl of Clanrickard. Naturally enough, he was a staunch supporter of the religious Orders against their detractors. After the defeat of James II, the bishop lived in exile on the Continent, where he did good work in making known the conditions under which Irish Catholics were living, and also in getting the censures of Rinuccini finally lifted. O'Heyne says he had great devotion to Our Lady, and always recited the entire Rosary every day, in addition to the Divine Office. Sometimes he said the whole Rosary twice in the day. He died in Louvain in 1704.

Under these conditions, the Irish Dominicans still needed to look to Europe as a base for their apostolate in Ireland. The Spanish Province had, in fact, complained of the great numbers of Irish friars who had come seeking refuge during and after the Cromwellian persecutions. In addition to their colleges at Louvain and Lisbon, the Irish Dominicans were now given the church and convent of St. Sixtus together with the church and convent of St. Clement in Rome, taking possession on 20 August, 1677. Early in the 19th century, the friars ceased to live in the San Sisto house, but both it and San Clemente remain in Irish possession. The latter building is of great historic interest, for excavations have revealed below the present basilica, first, the still more ancient church of St. Clement and, lower still, a temple of Mithras.

With the accession of James II in 1685, new hope came for Irish Catholics and a new policy. It seems in fact that the king might well have kept his throne had he proceeded more cautiously and avoided alienating the feelings of his Protestant subjects to such an extent. The immediate effect was a move to restore to Catholics their rights as British subjects, and the Dominicans naturally benefited by this short-lived period of freedom.

It was once more possible to wear the Dominican habit, at least inside the priory buildings. De Burgo records in his *Hibernia Dominicana* (1762) that there were old people still living in Lorrha who remembered the holding of the Provincial Chapter in 1688 and who saw about a hundred and fifty friars assembled there, all in their white habits. Possibly the number is exaggerated, but it is likely there was a big crowd, for the meeting included

public disputations in theology and philosophy, as well as the actual Chapter meetings. Obviously the friars hoped for a long spell of peace, and began to plan for the education and training of young Irish Dominicans in their own country instead of sending them abroad. They petitioned the Master General:—"Now that the winter of persecution has passed and the blossoms have begun to appear in our land, the time has come to plant new vines so that blossoms may be multiplied. Accordingly we urgently beg your Paternity to approve our convent of Galway as a Studium Generale."

A couple of years earlier, in 1686, the two elderly nuns, Julia Nolan (then aged 75) and Mary Lynch, had been brought back from Spain to Galway. They obtained a house there in which to revive the Dominican foundation and between their return and 1698 received 14 young Irishwomen to the habit.

The year the nuns came back, John Kirwan was elected Mayor of Galway, the first Catholic to hold that office for thirty years. In 1683, he and his wife Mary gave the Dominicans a silver crown for the statue of Our Lady. The crown is still preserved in the Galway priory. Other items of great interest survive even from the earlier period of toleration under Charles II, before the Popish Plot scare developed. The Cork priory still owns the monstrance and silver crucifix made for its use in 1669; the monstrance has, among other engravings on its base, the only known picture of the old cathedral of St. Finbarr in Cork, showing the ancient round tower which was incorporated in the structure.

At Athenry, the friars had managed to filter back into the town itself and regain possession of the old priory. They seem to have done this as early as 1681, for in that year Ormond wrote to the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam:—

"We being given to understand that there is erecting in the Abbey of Athenry a monument or tombe for one Bourke titular Bishopp of Elphin (this is Dr. Dominic Burke, O'Heyne's friend) with inscriptions thereon of his severall titles and dignities, you are to cause enquiry to be made and if you soe find, a stop is to be put to the work."

That was on 3 June. On 28th of the same month, Ormond wrote in answer to the archbishop's reply:—

"We finde by your Lordshipps letters there is already not onely a monument but an altar very stately erected of marble and stone in the Quire of the said Abbey, and whereas the magistrates have neglected etc. you are to cause the said monument if offensive to Protestants, to be taken down."

In Dublin, under James II, the friars managed to regain possession of their old St. Saviour's buildings, but gave these up to the king for the holding of Parliament there, and went back to Cooke Street once more. In Cork, they entertained the king after his arrival in Ireland in the spring of 1689.

The recovery and restoration was very short lived. William of Orange was invited to take possession of the English throne, and arrived in that country 5 November, 1688. James fled to France, but came back to Ireland, landing at Kinsale on 12 March of 1689, and was received as the lawful king. The Jacobite war began with the siege of Derry (it is said that the walls of Derry are partly built with stones from the Dominican church and priory) and ended with the siege of Limerick. That city's capitulation on 3 October, 1691, marked the end of a long era of Irish history and culture; it was the final blow that completely broke the power of the Catholics. The subsequent Penal laws against Catholicism were meant to make the military success an enduring reality, and to complete the destruction both of Gaelic culture and of the Irish people's knowledge of eternal truth.

The struggle between James and William for the English throne seems to have been regarded with mixed feelings by Catholics on the Continent. By no means all were in favour of James, and Vienna celebrated the Battle of the Boyne with a solemn *Te Deum*.

The Treaty of Limerick included clauses safeguarding Catholics and aimed at securing some measure of toleration for the practice of the Faith. But these clauses were carefully disregarded. Exclusion of Catholics from Parliament and other official positions came in 1692. The framing of the Penal code began in 1695. Finally in 1697 came "An Act for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction and all Regulars of the Popish clergy out of the kingdom." They were to be gone by the first of May, 1698. To stay on meant, if caught, imprisonment and then transportation; to return, to be convicted as a traitor. The Catholics were, of course, identified as the mainsprings of the

recent war and therefore, by their very nature, to be regarded as always inclined to treason and conspiracy. Yet not only Catholics were affected by the new laws. The official religion was Anglican, and the Penal code also struck at the numerous body of Presbyterians living in Ireland. A minority rule in religious affairs was therefore brought into being, injuring not only Catholics, but many Protestants who had looked for toleration under the new government.

The power of the government was strong enough and far reaching enough to force most Catholic bishops and religious out of the country, at least for some years. Some, however, managed to remain behind in hiding. A new and profitable occupation of priest hunting and catching becomes a part of Irish life.

During the actual war, James II seems to have got to know and to respect the Irish Dominicans. It is certain that some of them served as chaplains to the Jacobite troops. A letter written by the king,* commending the Irish friars and asking the Master General to continue to do all he could for them, still survives.

The Dominican nuns in Galway were also included in the general round-up of religious. They were forced to give up their house in Galway, but they did not leave the area, seeking refuge elsewhere, and sometimes living dispersed among their various friends. Fr. John O'Heyne describes in great detail the first dispersal of the nuns and their personal reactions; he himself was in the district at the time and tells how "after the community of our Galway fathers had gone to France about the twentieth of May, there was no one to minister to these daughters of ours, still remaining under strict enclosure to the very last day allowed by Parliament before the dispersion and abolition of all religious communities. These sisters of ours were left without Mass on a certain Sunday; and the fact being spread beyond the town through the country parts where I was then preaching and hearing confessions (for in that year the parish priests began to hear the confessions of the people earlier than usual on account of the dearth of priests), compassionating the lamentable lot of my sisters, I at once came and ministered to them from the tenth of April till the seventeenth of June, when I embarked on board ship with 126 other religious." Later on,

* Printed in *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol I, 1912, pp. 312-3.

two Dominicans ventured back to Galway, Fr. Gregory French and Fr. Nicholas Blake, and worked amongst the Galway people and ministered to the nuns, disguised as Aran Island fishermen.

The long account (Appendix XI) by the Prior of Sligo is probably typical of the situation at the other priories. He tells how they lost everything but their chalices and some personal belongings in the Jacobite war, and of his own desperate attempts to get possession of property which was, in fact, rightly theirs, and to raise funds to take the friars abroad and save them from immediate starvation on arrival in Europe. Permission had been given for the sale of chalices in this difficult time. It was also necessary to try and leave things in such a state that, as times improved, the friars would be able to return to their old foundations and recover such property and movables as could be secured against the future.

In Galway, there is record of the Dominicans leaving some of their goods and chattels with a Mr. Valentine Browne, who gave the following receipt for them :—

JESUS, MARIA

To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, I Vallentine Browne, of Gallwey, Merchant, sendeth greeteing. Know you that I the sd Vallentine hath received into my custody and keeping, to be kept as safe as my owne orary of my owne goods or property, the severall goods following : videlicet, elleven casulas, one canopy, two red dalmaticas, two cappas whereof one white and the other redd, two smale frontales, ten ould silke scarves, six bursas, five pallas, five vellums, sevrall smale coatts for ye Image of Jesus, two silke coatts for to make antependiums of sadd coloure, thirteen towells, four albs, two peir of beads, two singing books, four antependiums, five corporalls, one alter stone, one girdle, ten amicts, one smale chest wherein are the silver plate of the convent, videlicet, ten silver chalices, whereof four are gilted wh gould, one silver ciborium, one silver remonstrance, a silver crown for the Image of our blessed Lady, two smale silver ampullas, and one smale silver crowne, one smale box containeing bills and bonds and other papers belonging to the convent, a big brass ringeing bell belonging to the chaple and a brandiron, from and by the hands and delivery of Gregory french FitzRedmond, by the consent, assent and approbation of the Society or Community of the Dominicans fryers of our blessed Lady's Chappell in the West of Gallwey, whereof the sd Fr. Gregory french is prior att present . . . as witness my hand this fifth day of April, 1698.

Memorandum it is the reall intent and meaning of the above nam'd Vallentine Browne, and so declares at the possession heerof, that he will keepe all the above goods for the use of the above Frs. pryceors and community the best of his power, skill and caring and deliver them also at any tyme demanded.

Vallentine Browne.

Present { James Browne,
Augustin Browne.

The inventory may include some items belonging to the nuns as well as that of the friars. Valentine Browne seems to have kept his trust faithfully and the Galway priory retains the largest group of old Dominican chalices of all the Irish houses, in addition to the silver crown. The statue of Our Lady must also have been hidden up somewhere and recovered again later on ; and the same must have been done with the other famous statues still in Dominican hands.

Ten years later, 1708, a ship carrying a Catholic bishop and a missionary from China named John Donato Mezzafalle, put in to Galway Bay and subsequently touched at other Irish ports. The Catholics on board were not allowed ashore, but those on land came, against the opposition of the English, out to the ship to receive the bishop's blessing. The missionary from China was immensely impressed with the way the Irish were keeping the Faith ; how they observed all the fasts and abstinences—even the ancient Rogation day one—and refused to take meat from their masters' tables on those days. Speaking to the visitors to the ship, he gained an impression of what sort of Catholic life existed in towns like Galway, the way people like Valentine Browne lived. They all went, he reports, outside the city walls for Sunday Mass, for the Mass was not permitted in the cities, and " they remain also for Vespers, which are sung by the laity on account of the small number of clergy : however within the city itself several persons have secretly their chapels where Mass is privately said, especially on Christmas night, when the gates of the city being closed the people cannot go forth to the country parts, and they thus expose themselves to the risk of losing everything they have, should they happen to be discovered."*

No account of 17th century Irish Dominican life would be

* *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. II, p. 395.

complete without some mention of the Scottish Mission. Scotland through all this century was very poorly supplied with priests, and this seems to be the immediate cause of the decline of Catholicism in the Highlands and Islands. The figures for the whole country are striking; only 6 or 8 priests in Scotland in 1621, 15 in 1654, 26 in 1675 and 37 in 1698—the highest number in the whole century. The Highlands and Islands were, like Ireland, insulated against Protestant doctrines to a considerable extent by virtue of their language, but equally it was hard to get Gaelic-speaking priests who were also willing to face the rigours and hardships of work in those parts. Ireland was the obvious source, and the brunt of the work fell on the Irish Franciscans, but the Irish Dominicans were also represented.

16 September, 1633, Propaganda approved Fr. Dominic de Burgo, O.P., and three companions for the Scottish mission and granted each of them an annual allowance of 30 scudi. Then, on 25 June, 1635, Propaganda approved four Irish Dominicans for the mission—possibly the same individuals as in 1633. They were to go to Gaelic-speaking parts of the Highlands where the Franciscans were not working, and each would get 30 scudi a year for three years. There was also discussion with the Master General about appointing a prefect for their mission and faculties for the missionaries were to be got from the Holy Office. In 1647, five Irish Dominican volunteers for Scotland were not accepted for the work as other priests had lately been chosen for the mission. In 1669, three Dominicans are reported in Scotland. One of them died in prison in 1671. He was Fr. Patrick Primrose, an Irish Dominican who volunteered for Scotland in 1656 and worked in the Banff district. His release from prison had actually been ordered, but he died before he could be freed. Several of his letters to the Master General have survived and he was, in point of fact, the Vicar in charge of the Dominicans working in Scotland. The cross erected on the Dominican's grave annoyed the Scottish Privy Council, who wrote to the Sheriffs in 1672: "Whereas we are informed that there is a superstitious monument erected upon the grave of the late Mr. Patrick Primrose, priest, in S. Peter's Chapel, in the parish of Botarie, we authorize you to cause demolish the same."

A chalice belonging to the Dominicans in Scotland has however been preserved in Morar. It is inscribed "Ad usum Pr. Fr.

Vincentii Mariani, Missvii Scot. Ord. Praedic. Anno 1658." He was one of the two working under Patrick Primrose, the third was Fr. George Fanning.

Two or three Irish Dominicans also worked in England during this period, and from 1668 to 1681 (when the English destroyed and abandoned the city), the Irish Province had charge of the Dominican convent in Tangiers in Africa. There is also a whole history to be studied concerning those Irish Dominicans who were taken prisoner by the Moors on the high seas between Ireland and the Continent. O'Heyne tells, for example, of the brother of Fr. Ambrose O'Garvan, O.P., who was captured going to Spain for his studies. Sold as a slave to an African chief, he was offered the chief's daughter in marriage if he would abandon the Faith. The girl indeed loved him, but the Irishman refused all offers. "Though the chief treated him badly and frequently scourged him, he could not overcome the novice's fortitude, so at last he gave him to a Turkish pasha, with whom he remained ever true to his faith and his religious vows. I do not know," concludes O'Heyne, "if he is still living, because since the siege of Vienna I have heard nothing about him. May Jesus Christ grant him grace to persevere to the end!"

THE FURTHER GROWTH OF POPERY

THE eighteenth century witnessed an enormous change in the mood of men's minds, both governors and governed, in Ireland. It began in Queen Anne's reign (1702-1714) with further anti-Catholic legislation and her "Acts to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery." It ended with the Rising of 1798, and with the Act of Union of 1800. At the beginning of the century, Catholicism was regarded as something very real and dangerous; at the end, among the intellectuals at least, the ideas of the French Revolution were rife, and only to pick up the books of travel and antiquities, which were fast coming into vogue, is to discover a new attitude to the Faith, an attitude of scorn and pity. Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland* came out in two volumes in the early 1790's. Ruins have become picturesque, the relics of a quaint mediaeval past, and the iconoclastic zeal of a believing Protestantism is replaced by complaints of the vandalism of the landowner who pulled down parts of the Dominican priory at Aghaboe to build a wall round his demesne.

The effects of the Act banishing Catholic bishops and the regular clergy were not long lasting. They soon began to filter back into the country. Anne tried to prevent this movement of priests from the Continent back to Ireland by an Act forbidding any more to enter the country after 1 January, 1709. Earlier, in 1704, the royal assent had been given to the "Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery"; later came an "Act for explaining and amending an Act entitled An Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery." The first Act was intended, among other things, to gain Catholic children for Protestantism. They might not be sent abroad for their education, nor could a Catholic be the legal guardian of a child under 21. Inheritance and the ownership of land by Catholics was also controlled. The "Gavelkind act" meant that a Catholic's land would be divided up amongst all his children. If, however, the eldest conformed, he could inherit the whole estate. Many "conversions" to Protestantism came about in order to safeguard the family land.

The 1704 Act tried to stop all the ancient Irish pilgrimages and to destroy the high crosses and other monuments which still stood as witness to the country's Catholic past and were objects of popular devotion. "All magistrates are required to demolish all crosses, pictures and inscriptions that are anywhere set up and are occasions of any popish superstition."

1704 saw also the registration of all the Catholic clergy. The Government wished to be informed of "the number of such dangerous persons as still reside amongst us." Some 1,089 priests registered themselves at the official centres, this probably represented the majority. The two bishops in Ireland at the time, those of Cashel and Dromore, registered themselves as parish priests, and it is likely that the regulars working in the country adopted the same disguise of their real position.

The simple registration was followed up in Anne's second Act to explain the first one, with a demand that all priests were to take the Oath of Abjuration before 25 March, 1710. This oath of loyalty to the Hanoverian line was worded in such terms that very few of the Catholic clergy could accept it.

Their refusal put them outside the law once more.

Yet these Penal laws, designed to destroy the Faith and to disable those who professed it from any participation in the life of the country, did not have the desired effect; 1731 found the Government sufficiently worried by the increase in popery in Ireland to carry out a census and enquiry into the number of known priests, religious and monasteries and nunneries. These "Reports on the State of Popery" of 1731 are not quite complete as they do not include the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe, nor all the parishes in the other dioceses, but the Reports as they stand list 892 Mass Houses (in addition to huts, sheds and movable altars, of which above 100 are returned), 54 private chapels, 1,445 priests, 51 friaries, 254 friars, 9 nunneries and 549 popish schools.

This was the time from which an Ulster tradition tells of an ordination taking place in a field at harvest time, under the pretence of cutting and binding stooks of corn. But one reason why the laws did not succeed in their purpose, was that even the magistrates and other officials were not above being Catholic themselves or being friendly with Catholics. Galway seems to

have been a particularly black spot. The 1731 Report on the search in the Dominican priory reads well enough :—

“ They also searched the friary in the west suburbs, called the Dominican friary, wherein is a large chapel, with a gallery, some forms, and an altar piece, defaced ; in which said reputed friary, there are ten chambers and eight beds, wherein, they believe, the friars belonging to the said friary, usually lay, but could find none of them. That it is a very old friary, but some repairs lately made in it.”

So far, so good, but the aforesaid friary’s account book still survives, and has the entry :—

“ For claret to treat ye Sherifs in their search, ye 11th. 2s. 2d.”

Stratford Eyre, made governor of Galway in 1746, knew all about the Corporation’s doings and lectured them accordingly :—

“ Now gentlemen, that you are here in your corporate capacity, I must recommend to you to disperse those wrestless popish ecclesiastics. Let me not meet them in every corner of the streets where I walk as I have done. No sham searches, Mr. Sheriffs as to my knowledge you have lately made. Your Birds were flown, but they left you cakes and wine to entertain yourselves withall.”

For the first part of the century however, the intention, at least, was strict enforcement of the Penal laws. It did begin to slacken, however, with the passage of time, and men like De Burgo, the author of *Hibernia Dominicana* (1762), remembered how the priest-catcher’s status had changed, and how the crowds grew bold enough to jeer at him openly. But the country lay more or less pacified ; the Scottish Rising of the ’45 brought no ripple of life.

But later, with the example of the French Revolution and the ideas behind it, a new Irish national feeling began to appear. Violence was fostered both by laws against religion and by the land situation, which started off the various outbreaks by an exasperated people, like that of the Whiteboys. Wolfe Tone was no Catholic, nor did he originally intend a Rising, but to improve conditions by the ordinary constitutional means.

The first legal relief came to Catholics in 1776 by the “ Act for the Relief of His Majesty’s Subjects Professing the Popish Religion,” but attempts to bring about a real and complete

Relief Act failed though many Penal statutes against Catholics were repealed at this period. 1796 brought a savage Insurrection Act, and the country was policed by troops whose own commanders admitted their indiscipline and brutality. The 1798 Rising was the almost inevitable result.

The attitude of the Catholic bishops seems to us curious, in their support of the Government and their condemnation of the Rising, as also of the agrarian outrages. But they were in a very difficult position. They had, by a century of passive submission to the Penal code, earned, as they thought, the right to be regarded as loyal subjects. Any support of an armed attempt to gain justice would put Catholics back where they were before, as automatic traitors and instigators of rebellion. Moreover, the Rising was fired with the ideas of the French Revolution and the bishops saw in its success a real danger to the Catholic Faith in Ireland.

Whilst the bishops and secular clergy maintained an attitude of loyalty to the ruling monarchy in England, the Dominicans, with their closer Continental links, were much slower to relinquish Jacobite hopes, and in fact, the publication of *Hibernia Dominicana* raised some little storm in its author's outspoken attitude on political matters.

Quite apart from any political difference in outlook, there was during the 18th century, and continuing on well into the 19th, a revival of the old jealousy between the secular and regular clergy. About the middle of the 18th century, it centred on the Confraternities and the rights in them reserved to the friars. In Dublin at this time the Dominicans were involved in a bitter dispute with the Archbishop over the Dominican Confraternities, holding of processions and the like in connection with them. The trouble eventually brought about a Brief, dated 30 September, 1748, from Benedict XIV, addressed to the Irish Archbishops and bishops and revoking previous concessions made to the secular clergy to start confraternities of the Holy Name. It must be remembered that the little offerings of money from the members of the Dominican Confraternities were a mainstay of the friars' income. One suspects that poverty and competition for the scanty alms of the faithful was at the back of these troubles between regulars and seculars.

Indeed, the Catholic history of the period is one of mean streets and backyard courts, of the bare essentials of the Faith preserved ;

the Mass at the rock on the hillside, in a barn, a thatched chapel. It is an age expressed in the stark simplicity of the "Penal crosses," the Irish-made crucifixes with their almost Byzantine figures, stiff, symbolical, and the roughly cut emblems of the Passion round them. It is an age without any of the colour of Catholic life, the black and white of the Dominican habit is never seen, only a man in ordinary clothes riding a little pony, song and liturgical splendour are gone; only the Mass and the Rosary beads remain.

Against that background of poverty, of alms given to support their priests, when the hard pressed people had already paid their dues to a Protestant clergy and to a Protestant landlord, was, of course, all the elegance of 18th century life, the spacious mansions, the grace and the fashion of the Ascendancy. A few in Ireland lived very well indeed. At the end of the century, a French emigré, De La Tocnaye, went on a walking tour through the country, recording his impressions. His racy account recalls how the effort had been made to rid the towns of Catholics, and how at Bandon:—"It was said that the inhabitants had decreed that no Catholic could spend a night there. All I can say about the subject is that nine-tenths of the inhabitants must have been great cowards." And in the same vein of gaiety and urbanity, he gives a glimpse of what the Protestant ascendancy and establishment meant; the opposite side of the picture to the friars and the seculars of Dublin worrying each other over the people's halfpennies brought in by Confraternities.

"The bishopric of Derry is one of the best of Ireland. They say it is worth £12,000 per annum. Oh, what a lovely thing it is to be an Anglican bishop or minister! They are the spoiled children of fortune, rich as bankers, enjoying good wine, good cheer, and pretty women, and all that for their benediction. God bless them! Oh, if I could one day wear the *philibeg* of black satin—how much better than being exiled that would be!"

(A FRENCHMAN'S WALK THROUGH IRELAND. 1796-7.)

The edict to leave the country in 1698 was not universally obeyed. Five friars stayed in hiding at Urlar, and at Athenry, three, two of whom had official permission to remain on account of their age and infirmity. The third was Fr. Anthony MacHugo, and there was, in addition, a laybrother who remained. Perhaps the chief hiding place was, paradoxically, Dublin. The countryside



65. Ruins of
Dominican Chapel,
Pound Street, Sligo



66. Entry to the
Chapel and old
Priory, Sligo

Rev. Jintan J. Campbell, O.P.

DOMINICAN PRIORY, TALLAGHT, CO. DUBLIN

In 1863 it was announced that a Dominican Priory was to be built at Tallaght, according to plans and specifications by McCarthy. Only one wing was erected. It is three storeys high, with pointed Gothic windows on the ground floor. The roof line is broken by three large chimney stacks, and barge boarded dormer windows like some of Pugin's at Maynooth. The material is limestone. A church, and additions to the Priory, were made to the designs of G.C. Ashlin about 1884.

Dublin Builder, 1st December 1863, 197;
Irish Builder, 1st August 1884, 232.



67. *Yeomanstown. Ruins of Dominican Chapel at the Naas House of Refuge*

68. *Boula. The Church and the House inhabited by the Friars*

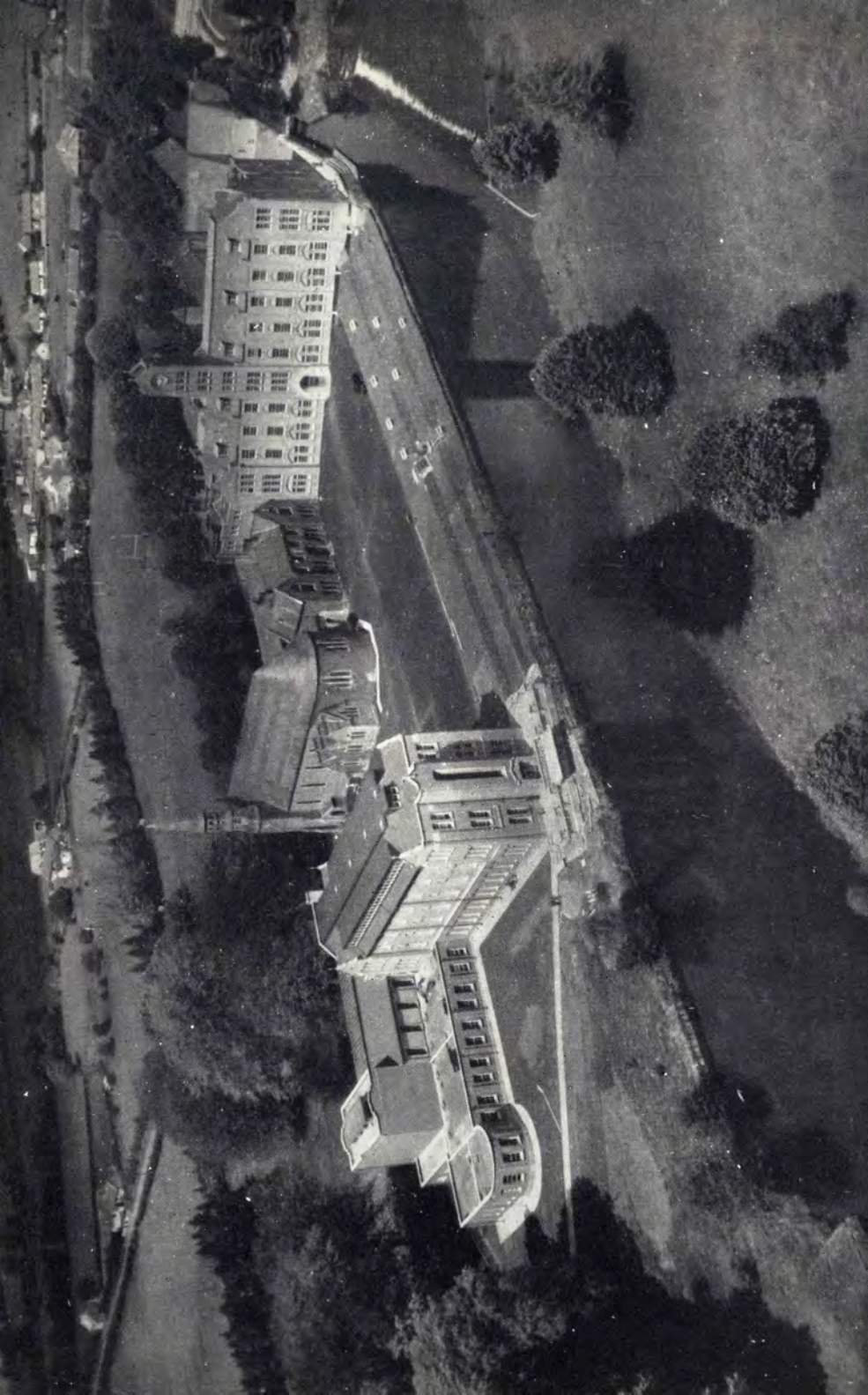




69. *Burrishoole. Lough Furnace and its islands to which Honoria de Burgo and Honoria Magaen fled*



70. *Fresco of Honoria Magaen, Taormina, Sicily*



was too open and too easily observed, the back streets of the capital might conceal anything. It is stated in reports to Rome made c. 1704 by the Provincial, Fr. Ambrose O'Connor, that no fewer than 80 or 90 friars had remained in the country or immediately returned to it. The relative safety of Dublin was pointed out to Propaganda on the occasion of the latter complaining of the Irish bishops leaving their dioceses during searches and outbreaks of persecution.

There was a definite scale of rewards laid down in the years following the general exile. The capture of a bishop brought one £50, of a vicar general or a dean, £20, whilst Jesuits, friars and monks were only worth £10. The list of the Irish martyrs ends with dates from this early 18th century period of deaths in the dirt and squalor of the Irish jails.

Captain William Rowan was paid £13 5s. od. for the taking of Fr. Felix MacDowell, O.P. Fr. Felix had studied in Valladolid and occupied the chair of philosophy in the Dominican priory in Sardinia. Moved to Rome, he was one of the first Irish community to take possession of San Sisto and San Clemente. He was prior there in 1680, his holiness and fervour greatly promoting regular observance. He was back in Ireland later as a missionary apostolic, and in 1689 served as a chaplain to one of the regiments in James II's army. After the latter's defeat, Fr. Felix went back to the Continent, later attempting to return to Ireland. He was caught on landing in Dublin and imprisoned in the notorious "Black Dog" jail, where he died after less than two years' confinement, February 3, 1707.

The last on the list of Irish Dominican martyrs to die in this fashion is Fr. Dominic MacEgan, of the Tralee priory. He also had made his studies in Spain and was arrested on his return to Ireland. The search at the ports seems to have been very thorough, and the best chance of getting into the country without being caught was to use the lonely inlets of the West Cork and Kerry coasts—a favourite port of entry for smuggled goods. MacEgan was taken in 1702, the informer getting £11 os. 1½d. Though in prison, he was elected prior of Tralee the following year. It is evidence of how persecution was slackening in rigour, as well as of the venality of the jailers, that Fr. MacEgan was able to say Mass daily, and that not only the prisoners but people from outside, could assist. He is said to have done much good among

his fellow prisoners. He died in 1713, still caged in Dublin jail. Typical of the current legal approach to persecution of Catholics is a list of regular priests who had been convicted as such, which was compiled October 12, 1703, and presented to Parliament shortly afterwards. It includes Dominic MacEgan's name:—

"Search being made among the Pleas of the Crowne in her Majestye's Court of Chiefe Place, Irelande, I find that John Keatinge (O.P.) was in Michaelmas Terme, 1699, convicted of being a ffryer; and that in Hillary Term, 1700, John Kelly (OFM) alias Purcell, was likewise convicted of being a ffryer, and that in Michaelmas Terme, 1701, Edward Chamberlain was likewise convicted of being a Jesuite and that in Easter Term, 1702, Dominic Alias Constantine Egan (O.P.) was likewise convicted of being a ffryer, all which persons were committed to the gaole of Newgate, there to remain without Bayle of Mainprize until they should be transported."

But in spite of the penalties for being a friar, the Dominicans began to come back into Ireland and begin life there again, either in rented houses in the towns, or on small holdings in the country in the vicinity of their old foundations. The reception of novices might be concealed under the guise of employing servant lads or apprentices. As late as the death of Dr. Laurence Richardson, O.P., bishop of Kilmore, the legal formula in the bishop's will to leave money for boys entering the Order, was this:—

"I bequeath to my execrs. herein after named sixty pounds to be employed in putting six young persons apprentices to such business as they may live by—four of the county Cavan to be pitched upon by Mr. Patrick Masterton of Cavan, Mr. Anthony Smith of Laragh, and Mr. John McComick of Bailyborough; and two of the County Leitrim to be pitched upon by Mr. Charles Clancy of Dartree and Mr. James Martin of Templeport."

The Dominicans made an immediate effort to re-establish themselves at the important centre of Athenry. The two old priests were dead, and only Fr. MacHugo survived. The Irish Provincial, Fr. O'Connor, came back to Ireland in 1701, and made Fr. MacHugo prior of Athenry, so that the title would not be allowed to lapse. However, it was not until 1707, that more Dominicans came back to Athenry from Spain and looked about for a new home there. The Clanrickard family were no longer able to help them, and eventually they got a little bit of waste ground between two lakes from Mr. Denis Daly of Carrumakelly. One of the lakes is now silted up, but the other is still to

be seen. The place is not far from the earlier house of refuge at Brosk and is close under the gravel mound of St. Dominic's Hill. An esker ridge runs alongside, providing a plot of dry land where the friars built themselves a little cabin. The site is now marked by a little thicket of hazel scrub beside a field. Under the trees are traces of old walling. The friars began to receive novices at this place, but an accidental fire in 1715 or 1716 decided them to move, not very far away, but on to a much drier and better bit of land:—Esker na pay—the esker ridge of the cows. Two esker ridges here run over the level country; the boggy soil below them is workable land, where the friars could grow some crops and vegetables for themselves.

At Portumna, they moved away from the town, out to a place called Buaile, or Boula, a mile or so from the town. *Buaile* is an Irish term equivalent to the Scottish *shieling*, the summer pastures to which the cattle used to be taken each year. I was told that the original Dominican site at Boula was hidden away on the far side of the little stream, and that later on, as things became easier, they shifted to the place where the church still remains. Stratford Eyre, at the nearby mansion of Eyrecourt, knew of these friars and reported in 1732, in a letter to the Primate, "The fryers of Portumna live two miles I believe from the Abby at Bouly which they rent from Redmond Dolphin a Convert."

At Roscommon, the Preachers lived a long way from their old foundation, at a round hump of a hill rising from the lowlands, and named Mary Hill. They seem to have moved from one place to another in this area, probably in the beginning concealing themselves among the bogs west of the hill at Faartan. Later they shifted well up the slopes of Mary Hill, where the Dominican connection is still attested by the name of the new national school there, Talamh na mBrathair, Friary Land school. The Dominicans had a little chapel and cabin, beside a well, some short distance down the road to the north of the school. I spoke to the farmer who with his father had cleared the last of the walls away to improve his fields. The friars were here from perhaps 1738 to 1788, when tradition tells of their landlord, Burke of Glinsk, making some dishonourable proposal to the Prior's sister, which necessitated a move to a different district. But they did not go far off, perhaps to Creggs, then Gortnadeeve, and finally Fuerty (1806—1872).

In Sligo, they made one last attempt to use the old priory. It is said that when they came back into the town after the exile, they repaired the chancel roof and put up a temporary shelter near the rood screen. Not long afterwards a certain merchant of the name of Corkran was using the priory as a quarry for building stone. Eventually the prior got this stopped, but they could not retain the old buildings for themselves. They took a little house in what is now Connolly Street, but was then called Pound Street, and said Mass in a stable at the back. In 1763, they were able to build a chapel in the yard beside the stable, and this continued in use till their move to their present site in Sligo in the mid-19th century.

In Dublin, the old Cook Street chapel had been handed over to the secular clergy in 1698. After Queen Anne's death, the Dominicans began to look for another place for a chapel. Fr. Stephen MacEgan had returned from his studies in Spain in 1708, and had been working as a curate in the city. It was he who converted a house in Bridge Street, or rather not in Bridge Street but in a court at the end of a lane leading off it, into a chapel.

This was the typical arrangement at the time. Catholic chapels might not front onto the street, where they would have roused Protestant anger by the very sight of them, so they were placed in yards and courts off the main streets. The Dominican chapel in Dublin built in this fashion is no longer to be seen, but Sligo remains as it was: the little house squeezed in the row where the friars lived, with its low dark rooms; the archway into the yard, the walls of the old stable and two sides of the later chapel. Sligo has therefore the whole succession—mediaeval priory, Penal chapel and priory and the modern Dominican church and priory.

In Cork, the Dominicans came to live in Friary Lane, off Shandon Street, about 1721. The 1731 enquiry into the state of popery reported a chapel built "about the latter end of his Majesty's reign. The number of friars is confined to eight, whose business it is, I hear, to instruct the youth in the principles of the Popish religion, and to lecture in Philosophy to those that are capable and disposed that way." The old book in which receptions to the Confraternities, Dominican scapular and Third Order were recorded, still survives. It also includes the names of

those who entered the Order in Cork, the first Profession being in 1722. The book itself ante-dates the exile, for it has a line or two of accounts of 1690.

Scenically, the Mourne Mountain houses of refuge of the friars of Newtownards are perhaps the most attractive. The Dominicans first picked on a site beside the deep cleft of the Burren River and just on the edge of the town of Castlewellan. No trace remains of their house there, but the foundations are remembered by the older people as they were only cleared away in the agricultural drive of the two World Wars. Distantly, one looks to the blue expanse of the Irish Channel beyond Newcastle, and across the river, to Slieve Donard, and the whole exciting range of the Mourne peaks. The friars seem to have chosen this Burren river site on their first return to the district in Oliver Plunket's time, when the dispute with the Franciscans took place. But in the 18th century they moved from it to another spot, on the side of a little hill on the edge of the Mourne foothills. The second site is in the townland of Moneyscalp (*Muine sceilp*, shrubbery of the chasm), and the Dominicans' house is said to have been on the site of the barn belonging to the present tenant, Mr. Grant. His hearthstone was their doorstone, and has always been carefully preserved since the friars left. Two sites, one on Mr. Grant's land and one on that of the adjacent farm of the MacCrickards, are pointed out as the Mass rocks used by the friars; one or the other according to the way the wind was blowing. The MacCrickards' grandfather (b. 1786, died 1877) served Mass for the last of the friars at these rocks. It is said that they were forced to go from Moneyscalp because the landlord raised the rent excessively, but as the said landlord was an excellent Catholic and has left an otherwise untarnished name in the country, this tradition seems a little improbable. More likely the place was simply abandoned, with many others, owing to the fall in the numbers of friars around the end of the century and the beginning of the next. One or two Dominicans worked as parish priests in the district after the Moneyscalp house was given up. When the people went to hear Mass at the Mass rocks on the Mourne mountains, it is said they used to take wisps of straw and grass with them to kneel on in the damp ground.

One of the most important houses, so far as the future would be concerned, was Naas. From the Eustace family, whose ancestors

had been the founders of the original convent, under the invocation of St. Eustace, the Dominicans got a little holding at Yeomanstown at some date prior to 1731. The foundations of the little chapel beside the River Liffey can still be made out. An attempt to move back into Naas around 1750 failed; then one of the community, Fr. Reynolds, built himself a little cabin on another part of the course of the Liffey, the modern Newbridge. He lived there from c. 1756, till he died in 1773, and was succeeded by a Fr. Daly, who was Prior of Naas in 1770. Sometime between that date and 1777, the friars made the decision to abandon Naas and its house of refuge at Yeomanstown altogether, and to transfer St. Eustace's priory to Newbridge. From the original mud cabin there would eventually develop the extensive buildings of the modern Dominican secondary school.



Fig. 9. Newbridge. The First House

Thomas de Burgo, author of *Hibernia Dominicana* and bishop of Ossory, 1759-1776, visited many of these Penal houses of refuge, as well as the old mediaeval ruins, around the middle of the century. He records in his book the condition of the old ruins.

Some have remained unchanged since his time; others, like Arklow, where De Burgo saw the walls of church and priory standing almost complete, have now not a stone on a stone remaining. He probably experienced one of the last raids on a Catholic chapel when he himself just escaped arrest by a last moment change with another priest of the times of the Masses the two were to say. The Dominican caught was transported to America. That was in 1744, in a last burst of active persecution triggered off by fears of a Jacobite rising. Chapels were closed and the people gathered where they could for Mass. The collapse of a floor in a loft in some slum street in Dublin, and the death and injury done to the congregation, shocked public opinion to such an extent that permission was given for all the public chape's to reopen on St. Patrick's Day, 1745. They were not again closed by the government.

No Provincial Chapter met in Ireland after the exile until 1720. The Franciscans, on the other hand, in spite of the danger attending assemblies of this sort, had continued to hold Chapters, and in fact, some of the Dominicans felt that the interval had been unnecessarily prolonged. There was another gap in the holding of regular Chapters, for a short period around the 1798 Rising, when the friars considered that such a meeting would be contrary to the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation forbidding gatherings of more than five people. The Mullingar and Drogheda friars, however, disagreed with the general view and held a Chapter on their own. They elected Fr. James Connolly as Provincial, as against Rome's appointment of Fr. Patrick Gibbons as Vicar. The whole affair, which generated considerable heat and controversy at the time, died down after about a year, but seems to have finished off the custom of electing Provincials in turn from each of the provinces of Ireland.

Administrative difficulties, in fact, must have been considerable at this time. One must also remember the slow means of communication and the time letters, especially foreign letters, might take to arrive.

The Province suffered a further blow when it was decided, in 1750, that all Novitiates in Ireland should be closed, as conditions in the country were such that the young men could not receive a proper training. This was probably only too true but, as the Dominicans pointed out, novices received in Ireland would get a

far harder training, and one more suitable for their future work in the country, than in the comparative comfort of regular observance abroad. Appeals were made in 1751, 1761 and 1767 to get the order rescinded, but the decree was not modified until 1769 and not published until 1773. The Orders were then given a quota for three year periods—Franciscans 36, Dominicans 30, Augustinians 18 and Carmelites 12, but no Dominican novices were received under this new scheme until 1775. The difficulty about a young man entering the Order abroad was that he and his family must raise the money to get him there and take the chance that he might in fact have no vocation: a much more expensive and troublesome experiment than if he could be received in his own country.

The end of the century too saw all the Irish clergy faced with the problem of the Continental anti-clerical revolutionary movements closing down seminaries and colleges. For the secular clergy, Maynooth was established in 1795, but the regulars were unable to start similar houses of study for themselves in Ireland.

Lisbon was destroyed by the great earthquake of 1755. Four Dominicans were killed. However, rebuilding was quickly set on foot, money collected and, by 1770, when De Burgo visited Lisbon, the church had been completed and the college nearly so. He himself dedicated the church, October 13, 1770. The numbers of friars had gone down however—20 or 30 from Fr. Daniel O'Daly's time up to the earthquake; in 1795, 18, and a more rapid decline thereafter, following the French occupation of 1807 and then the suppression of religious houses in 1833. Yet neither the Lisbon college nor the nuns' convent was ever actually suppressed during all these troublous times.

Louvain was caught up in the French Revolution and destroyed. There were 32 in the Dominican community in 1756 and nearly 50 in 1767. The fruitfulness of its work is indicated by the result of an enquiry made in 1763, which found that nearly every year the college had sent a friar to work in Ireland, whilst others had gone to England, Scotland and America.

The Irish community left the house on the second entry of the French forces into the town in 1794. As caretakers, they left behind five Belgian lay brothers and it is possible that the prior, Fr. Cassidy, also remained. The brothers were expelled on July 30, 1797, and the next year the buildings were put up for sale.

The whole was demolished completely in 1799 and 1800, and the site is now built over. Not only did the Louvain college lose all its funds, but also all the Irish archives deposited there for safety. What happened is told in a letter, dated February 10, 1834, from Fr. John Kennelly to Fr. B. Russell:—

“When the French were approaching closely towards Louvain, and that we determined to quit the convent, we packed up about 200 of the choicest of the books, and gave them in trust to a gentleman, that we considered a friend and benefactor to the convent. His name I at present forget, but I know he lived not far from the convent. After peace was concluded on the Continent, the then Provincial commissioned Fr. Taylor (commonly called Abbé Taylor) of the Order, who was then going from Ireland to Rome, and was to travel through Belgium to enquire about these books. The answer he received from our supposed friend was, that the books were seized and taken away by the French, as being convent property.”

In Rome, the San Clemente community numbered about 20 during the years 1677 to 1766. In 1773, the then prior, Fr. John Thomas Troy, later to be Archbishop of Dublin, petitioned the Pope for help for restoration work in San Clemente and stated that the funds were then only able to support 17 religious. It is interesting to note that at that time the Dominican student who preached in English was entitled to an extra dish at dinner, but that the man who preached in Irish got two extra dishes. But once again, the entry of the French into Rome, in 1798, made even the survival of the place precarious. The Irish fathers in fact managed to keep the property intact, but it meant the end for the time being of its usefulness as a religious house. The prior, Fr. John Connolly, wrote, September 11, 1802, to Fr. Roche in Cork, urging the need of an Irish novitiate:—

“Pray are our confreres in Ireland endeavoring to establish a Novitiate and Studies there. If this cannot be done, I fear our Order will soon finish in Ireland, whereas Lisbon is at present the only study we have on the Continent. All the convents our Order has in Piemonte, Lombardy, Bologna, Ferrerese and La Romagna, are suppressed. The Fryers thereof are pensioned by their respective governments and obliged to dress in black like the Secular Clergy.”

Fr. Connolly however saved San Clemente by getting permission from the Republic to open the church and, as he reported, by serving “the public in it, as chaplain and confessor, without any emolument, I have saved it from destruction, as also the

convent and library. When the organ and the best of the furniture of the convent were to be sold by the Republic, I bought them at a very low rate." (Letter to the bishop of Meath, Dr. Plunket.)

The end of the 18th century therefore saw a considerable drop in the number of Dominicans in Ireland. The communities of five, six, or more that De Burgo had recorded in the middle of the century, in the scattered "houses of refuge" about the country, were down to twos and threes. All through the century, the shortage of secular priests had been relieved by the regulars working as parish priests, and this resulted in a still further dispersion and scattering. The modern Irish Dominican used to regular observance and community life is perhaps hard put to it to understand the loneliness and the hardship of these solitary friars, living up to the Dominican ideal as best they could, but with no hope that in their own lives, they would ever see better days. Their graves are scattered through the burial grounds of Ireland, hidden in the tangle of long grass and nettles, mostly forgotten or lost sight of, sometimes unexpectedly discovered in a bout of churchyard cleaning up. In the ruined chapel at Monsea, outside Nenagh, it is possible to pull back the grass and read the slab recording: "*Hic jacet Reverendus Joannis Magrath Dominicanus Pastor de Lorrha et Dura qui ab hac Vita migravit quinta Die Februarii 1780.*" The last of the Longford Dominicans, whose old "house of refuge" at Kilcommoc still stands, half-ruined, is buried in Tashinny graveyard: "Here are interred the remains of the Rev. Bryan Keenan of the Order of Preachers and PP of Kilcommock who departed this life—Sept. 1817, aged 88 years."

The history of the Dominican nuns in the 18th century shows a similar pattern to that of the fathers: of resistance to persecution and growth, but at the end of the century, a falling off in numbers as the long drag and dead weight of penal legislation began to take a slow effect.

The government found it very difficult to deal with the nuns in Galway. They were dispersed on several occasions; but, as Samuel Eyre wrote to Secretary Dawson in the May of 1714, reporting one of these dispersals, "now I am informed that they are gathering againe and that by the advice of severall popish lawyers who tell them there is no law against their assembling and that if they be dispersed one day they may assemble againe."

Some of the dispersed nuns went abroad, some to start a fresh foundation in Dublin. But back in Galway, others gathered together again and the 1731 enquiry into the state of popery records a search of their house, in which they were running a school. In the first half of the 18th century, there were up to 40 nuns in the Galway community, but then a decline sets in—31 in 1756; 18 in 1767, and even fewer by the end of the century.

Meantime, twelve of the Galway nuns arrived in Dublin in 1717. They arrived in March and Fr. Stephen MacEgan, O.P., helped to settle them into a house in Fisher's Lane. They moved out of this in September of the same year to another property in Channel Row, where they remained until 1808. It was then actually outside the town, in the suburbs, and in 1719, they opened a boarding school there. They dressed in ordinary clothes and posed as a family.

Others of the nuns dispersed in Galway included two nieces of the martyred Blessed Oliver Plunket. Catherine and Mary Plunket were both natives of Drogheda, who had joined the Order in Galway. Catherine went to Belgium in 1717. In 1722, Stephen MacEgan, who was now Provincial, petitioned Dr. MacMahon, the Archbishop of Armagh, to allow the Dominican nuns to make a foundation in that diocese. Dr. MacMahon agreed and set himself to help the nuns as far as he could. Catherine Plunket was brought back from Brussels and made first prioress of the new Drogheda foundation. The community started life in a mud cabin on the banks of the Boyne, and one of the Dominican fathers in the area is said to have come across the river in a little boat to say Mass for them very early in the morning. This stage did not last long, for after a year or so, they rented a house in Dyer Street for 25 guineas a year. They had already had a school for poor children; the new three storied house enabled them to add a boarding school to their commitments.

It was here that Catherine Plunket confronted an official who came looking for popish nuns and suspected that the "Ladies of Dyer Street" might be such. These 18th century Dominican nuns were drawn from some of the best families in the country, and Catherine had no difficulty in facing the man with so much style and elegance as to quite overwhelm him. When he put his question, were there any nuns in the establishment?, the lady's

hauteur knew no bounds. "Sir," said she, "I assure you that the ladies of this establishment are as much nuns as I am."

It is the proud boast of the Galway nuns that never through all their troubles and changes of fortune have they given up the recitation of the Divine Office, nor even sought a dispensation from it. Of Siena Convent, in Drogheda, in its early days, there is a tradition that the nuns used to resume the habit in the evening, and by candlelight, with closed shutters, recite the Office.

During the first half of the 18th century, there was also a convent of Dominican nuns in Waterford, but apparently it did not manage to continue for any length of time. It is doubtful when it originated, and it has been suggested, on no very substantial grounds, that it was an old foundation, 17th century or earlier. The Dominican fathers continued to work in Waterford, but they had no chapel of their own there after the mid-18th century.

Irish girls also continued to go abroad to join the Order. In 1723, a Provincial Council meeting held in Dublin petitioned the Master General to prevent too many Portuguese ladies being received in the Lisbon convent of Bom Sucesso. Already they were outnumbering the Irish, and it was feared that it might become entirely Portuguese; an eventuality which did not, in fact, materialise.

If one wishes to know what sort of people these nuns were, the Galway convent preserves some of their handiwork; suggestive in its colour, vitality and imagination of strong and attractive personalities. There is for example a 17th century chasuble worked by the sisters, obviously influenced by their contact with and exile in Spain. It shows on one side the Taking Down from the Cross, and on the other the instruments of the Passion. The coloured silks have retained all their freshness, though the metallic gold and silver thread has tarnished. The design is striking, yet rich in detail. The Kirwan family, who gave the crown for Our Lady's statue, are apparently represented by a chalice veil, worked by Bridget Kirwan in 1683. The nuns were not then back in Galway, but it is suggested that the worker of the veil—a floral design dotted with little birds—may have joined the community when they did return. A Sister Catherine Kirwan was the second to make profession in the re-established Galway convent.

Most magnificent of all is Margaret of the Rosary Joyce's antependium, the traditional picture of St. Dominic receiving

the Rosary, encircled by a design of vivid colours and pulsating life, composed of animals and plants from the Old Testament. The stags are particularly lively and attractive beasts. The artist was professed in 1702 and Prioress of the community 1712-1716 and again 1722-1725. The antependium itself bears the date May 5, 1726. It is an extraordinary witness to Irish Catholic life under the Penal Laws and during a time of spasmodic persecution.

The Galway nuns have still in daily use a silver Host box inscribed: "John Lynch of Burdox his wife and posterity who made a present to both his sisters Bridget and Ann Lynch of this Hoast Box. 1733." The makers' initials, M. F., stand for Mark French or Mark Fallon, who were partners and the nephews of the famous Galway silver smith, Richard Joyce. The latter, whose trademark is an anchor, was one of the many who had been captured at sea by an Algerine ship. He spent 14 years in captivity in Morocco, and, as his master was a goldsmith, learned that trade to perfection. William III negotiated for the freeing of all British subjects so held as slaves, and Joyce then returned to Galway, in spite of the offer of the goldsmith's daughter in marriage and half his property if he stayed. His nephews were partners in his highly successful Irish business, to which they eventually succeeded.

But the most precious treasure of the Dominican nuns of this time was the head of the martyred Oliver Plunket, which the Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. MacMahon, gave to the Drogheda sisters. It remained in their possession until the beatification of the martyr, when it was moved to St. Peter's church in the main street of Drogheda (1921).

XII

DOMINICAN LIFE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IRELAND

1744. September 26. Pd the Tinker for mending a skillet and tinning the saucepan 10d.

(Esker Account Books).

THE point and purpose of the Dominican Order is preaching and the salvation of souls ; the making known of truth. We are fortunate in having a series of account books from the 18th century Dominican houses, which give an intimate picture of their daily life ; yet it is essential not to be so fascinated by their details as to fail to realise that the entries are all means to an end, to read the brownish ink of the Galway books :—

1736. Dec. 9 Cash pd for tobacco to give those who give us potatoes 1d.
1737. Jan. 3. Incense and butter 1/8.

and forget what all this meant to the Irish people. Cross-cutting the poverty and the struggle to keep going, are the words of Isaias, "how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings and that preacheth peace : of him that showeth forth good, that preacheth salvation." "We are frequently infested with strolling Fryars and Regulars, who say Mass from parish to parish as they pass, in ye open fields or in mountains, and gather great numbers of people about them" (Report on the State of Popery, 1731. Diocese of Derry). "One monastery with two Fryars in it in the Parish of Kilmegan, near the Mourn Mountains. There are but four schools and five Mass houses ; but they say Mass upon mountains or in private houses" (*Ibid.* Down and Connor, in reference to the house of refuge of Newtownards priory).

The Esker account books begin in 1721 ; the Galway ones in 1727. From Drogheda survives a summary of accounts for 1721-26, and an account book from 1771. Sligo has a book beginning in 1790. But perhaps one should begin with the work that the strolling friars did, and here again we are fortunate in that one of them, Fr. Dominic Brullaghan (Bradley), O.P., of the

Coleraine priory, wrote a little book on the subject. His *Opusculum de Missione* (Louvain 1736, 2nd edition Metz 1747) divides the year's work into halves. In the summer time, Easter to October :—

“After the fast and prayer of Lent proceed about Low Sunday to a particular diocese, and having received the necessary faculties and the blessing of the superior you are to go from parish to parish, village to village and when necessary from house to house to teach them what is necessary for salvation. Rise early, say your office and hear confessions. About nine or half-past, having prepared the altar and blessed the water, begin to teach the catechism and continue at this work until twelve o'clock if necessary. Begin Mass at twelve, and having said the Epistle resume the catechism until the poor people who are travelling long distances arrive, lest they should be disappointed at losing Mass. When all have gathered begin the Gospel and finish the Mass. Having concluded with an exhortation, if there are any who wish to confess hear them patiently . . . and place their spiritual good before your own corporal refecton. Furthermore if any ignorant or shy people need and ask for individual instruction, give it.”

In winter time, the apostolate still went on. From October to February, the plan was this :—

“From the Feast of All Saints until Christmas or the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin gather together every night not only boys and girls but others as well to the house in which you are staying and teach Christian doctrine until half past nine, beginning with the more advanced. Teach them how to pray and how to examine their consciences and how to do everything for the glory of God. Conclude with the recitation in the native language of the Litany and other prayers. Bless them and send them away.”

Fr. Brullaghan knew this life at first hand, and has left an almost legendary reputation of the work of An Brathair Bán in the country round Derry and Coleraine. (The nickname, the White Friar, may refer to the Dominican habit, more likely to fair hair.) He was the author too of a book about the Lough Derg Pilgrimage, and was as well one of the handful of 18th century Irish Dominicans working in Scotland from time to time. To his favourite niece Nancy O'Brollocain, who lived in the townland of Beagh near Swatragh, the friar left his pyx. Nancy had married a farmer called Francis Quin and the Dominican used to spend his holidays with them, according to the family tradition. The little pyx, minus its lid, has been handed down in the same family

and is now in the possession of Mr. Francis Bradley of Port Stewart (1956). He describes the pyx as oblong, less than 3 inches long and scarcely 2 at its widest part, "made of yellow metal and lined inside with a dark brown substance, very glossy, the work of an artist." It has neither name nor date on it.

The country through which the friars preached was also the country through which they quested for alms, the questing district being known as the "limitation." The quest, Mass offerings, occasional gifts and the Sunday collection (averaging 2/6 in the little thatched Galway chapel) were all they had on which to subsist. In the Galway-Esker country, which is good sheep land, the wool quest was of great importance. In 1728 (October 18), the sale of "a stone of woll" brought the Esker friars 6s. Esker, being out in the country, had a farm and the benefit of the sale of its produce. Here are some extracts from the Esker receipts, which show some of the sources of the income of the Order of Preacher —

1721. Aug. 4. In the Chapple. 11/4½ (an extra effort for St. Dominic's day).
1722. Mar. 1. To pray for old Mr. Bayly's soul a pistol 18/6.
1727. May 23. for a hefer £1 13.
for a bullock £1 8.
1728. Oct. 18. a stone of woll 6s.
20. fifteen sheep £1 6 3.
1729. Jan. 2. For a Cow hide 4/6.
Sept. 1. Neddy's begging in Loughrea 9/-.
1747. June 1. 2 calves £2 5 6.
Aug. 30. Red. at Craughwell Chappel begging money by Fr. Martin Burke 7/-.

(The list then continues for a number of other chapels in the area at which the friars had the right to beg. It is said that this custom of collecting at the chapel door on certain days originated the now universal Irish practice of taking up the Sunday collection at the church door.)

1749. June 22. Received for the Bay colt sold at the fair of Turlough £3. 2.
1754. Oct. 27. Red. from Fr. Thady Daly's beg at Oranmore 14/4.
and so on, for other places at which they quested.
1755. March 14. for potatoes 3/11.



72. *St. Mary's Dominican Church, Cork.*



73. *The Priory, St. Saviour's, Dublin*



74. *Facade of St. Saviour's,
Dominick Street, Dublin*



75. *The Blessing of Galway Bay*



76. *The Blessing of the Nets*



As well as questing for gifts of wool, the friars collected oats, both threshed out and in sheaves, and butter. The Sligo book brings out the oat quest very clearly. In autumn, when the corn was cut and standing in stooks in the fields, the "stook quest" took place. The friars hired a horse and cart and then men to thresh out the grain, so that it could be marketed. Here are some details from Sligo:—

1792. Nov.	2.	For Whiskey for Threshers	1/1
	3.	3 Threshers 2 days	3/3
	7.	Horse & car wages 3 days	6/6
	10.	2 Threshers 2 days at 8d.	2/8
	1	do. 1 do.	-/8
		For Whiskey	-/10½
		For Rum on selling the oats	-/6½
15.	Recd.	for oats, 5 bar. v g ll at 5/6.	£1 11.6

In October of 1799, the Sligo friars paid Michael Gallagher 3/4 for four days collecting stooks at 10d. a day. The quest for the threshed grain in spring also meant employing a man and a horse and cart:—

1798. April 4. To a Man and Horse collecting Oats. 4 days, 6/6

At Boula, which the friars only gave up in 1899, the oat quest went on up to the end or nearly up to the end. Michael Horan, who worked for the friars, told me (1956) how he and the lay brother had one day in spring come to a poor but very neat cabin. It was getting dusk and they went in. It was clean and tidy, a fine fire on the hearth, the bed alongside, and the cattle tied at the opposite wall. The lay brother asked the man of the house for alms, six-pence surely, or some oats. He said he had nothing to give. It was a very bad season, and all that was in the house was the little small stock of oats for seed, all of which he would need. The Dominican went on begging, and eventually the man went to his kist and gave them some of his seed oats. Then the lay brother thanked him. "It is not to me you are giving this," said he, "or the Dominicans, but to God, and there will be a blessing on it." The next year, they were again on quest and passing the same house. Out ran the owner and nearly fell on their necks. Of what little seed he had left after giving to them, he had had such a crop as he had never seen before nor expected to see again.

Summer time in Ireland was butter-making time. It was preserved in kegs with salt. The friars went out and begged some of this likewise. The Sligo butter quest went on during part of the 19th century. Fr. Goodman wrote to Fr. B. Russell on August 5, 1836 :—

“ Tomorrow I go out to quest. God help me. I have purchased a horse or nearly so. So I shall start mounted like DEATH in the Apocalypse but mine shall be a mission of Gr(e)ase, or next door to it (of butter).”

If the results were good, Fr. Goodman hoped to spend part of his share on a holiday in Cork in September.

The friars, at this time, could not observe the poverty laid down in the Dominican Constitutions, but had each to have his own income and do as best he could on it. It meant, in fact, hardship as against the poverty that would have existed under regular observance of the rule. Old age could not be cared for by the resources of the Order as a whole, but must be provided for by each individual. The little that any Dominican had might, on his death, be claimed by his relatives ; the Order had no rights in law. When Fr. Reynolds died at Newbridge, the little cabin he had there, his three acres of land and the sum of 49½ guineas were claimed by his nephew, and the Dominicans were forced to cede part of this property to the claimant, though they managed to hold on to the Newbridge site.

Some wills of individual friars survive. Patrick Bartley of Esker, July 10, 1802 : “ I desire to be buried in the Abbey of Athenry ” . . . “ If I die Parish Priest of Carrabane, I recommend it to my executor to distribute my linnen & cloaths among the poorest of my Parishioners.” Another will, dated July 9, 1802, of Fr. Edmund Burke, also of Esker, gives a glimpse of the dress of the end of the 18th century. The property of this Dominican included a mare and riding furniture, a silver watch and a silver snuff box, a pair of silver shoe buckles and a pair of silver knee buckles, a silver stock buckle. This was, of course, the ordinary civilian wear of the time.

The early part of the 18th century was a time in which many things which we now buy complete were bought as raw material and the rest of the work done by the customer. From the Esker books come the following items :—

1721. Oct. 7. To ye* weaver for weaveing a pice of flannin and a piece for blanketts 3s.

1722. June 10. for weaveing two peare of blanquets 2/5

August 5. for buttons for bro Edmond's vest 2½d.

Nov. 24. for 2 bandels of linnen to make bags for ye chalices 7d.

1724. Nove. 20. Whelan for making 3 prs of broges 9d.

1746. July 20. for making Nedy's stockings 6d.

There is a vague suggestion in the Galway entry of May 7, 1736, "Pd for Serge to make a Habitt for Bro. Charles 3/11½", that, in spite of the danger of so doing, the friars may have sometimes worn the Dominican habit.

Keeping in with the official authorities, so that they would be kept forewarned of official intentions, was part of daily life. The claret to assist the Sheriffs in their search for friars was not a lone effort. The Galway Dominicans regularly, at Christmas and on St. Dominic's day, tipped "ye Mayor's sargeants" 1/1 (this sum was quite considerable in those days—the regular amount of a Mass offering). At Drogheda, the friars, in the 1720's, kept on the right side of the aldermen by inviting them to dinner.

St. Dominic's day was always celebrated in very festive fashion, and friends and benefactors invited in. In 1735, the Galway book records for this occasion:—

Pd. for foule for St. Dom day. 3/7

124 lbs of beef. 12/6

for a gose 8d

2 servants qt brought us two muttons† 1½

18 pound of butter 3/9

eggs and milk 3d

beggars 1/2

Cathy, pennes sister for her labour 2/8½

James Common for bakeing 1/1

Not only was there a good spread of food for St. Dominic's day, but a sufficient supply of drink as well. At Esker, in 1733, punch was on the menu, as the friars bought specially a quarter

* ye is and always has been, pronounced *the*. The y is really Middle English þ.

† A mutton is a common name in the older Irish speech for a sheep, as in Mutton Island.

pound of loaf sugar for 3d. and the necessary currants, nutmeg, cloves and allspice. They also bought

18 bottles of Clarett 16/6

6 bottles of Mountain 6/2

a gallon of brandy 4/-

"Mountain" is not "Mountain dew" but "Mountain wine," a variety of Malaga wine, so named because the grapes from which it is made were grown in mountain country.

Normally living was much plainer. Like other people, they brewed their own ale, and Esker, September 6, 1747, paid £1 1s. 8d. for a brewing keeve, a large barrel. Due to the conditions under which they lived, the abstinence from meat laid down in the Constitutions could not be maintained, and they bought quite an amount of beef and mutton, as well as using chickens and ducks. It looks as though the Galway friars had the right to graze some sheep on Mutton Island in Galway Bay, not very far out from their priory. The account books record suggestively :—

1732. 8. Nov. Cash for a boatman for carrying a Mutton 6½d

9. Nov. Cash for a butcher for a killing a Mutton 1½d

Galway, of course, being on the sea, could get fish easily enough and the Esker friars came to that town to buy it, as well. In the March of 1726, the Esker fathers paid 3s. for 2 lings in Galway and 2/- for two salt cods. Sligo, also a seaport, records in the 1790's the purchase of salmon, flukes, codfish, eels, cockles, scallops and mussels.

At Esker, the garden was regularly sown with vegetables. On the first of March, 1724, for example, they paid 10d. for "700 cabadge plants." On the 23rd of the same month they bought supplies of seed for the spring sowing: "3 oz. onion seed 2/3; 3 oz. carrott seed 2/3; ¼ oz. lettice -/8; ¼ oz. purslin -/8 (apparently parsnips); ¼ oz. reddish -/1½d. and 1 oz. leek -/9."

Now and then the entries are detailed enough to show how some of the food was prepared and to prompt one to try out the recipe. Here are the necessary data from Drogheda for the pickling of a salmon.

1775. March 21. Pickling a salmon.
 to $\frac{1}{2}$ an oz. of mace 9d
 to $\frac{1}{2}$ an oz. of white pepper 4d
 to $\frac{1}{2}$ an oz. of cloves 9d
 to Ginger 1d
 to $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon of vinegar 1/2
 22. to the Cook who pickeld ye Salmon 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d
 to Punch for Mr. Dowd. who Gave ye Salmon 9d

The customs of contemporary Ireland also show up clearly in these old books. Esker, May, 1747, "Paid the Servnt who went with the Cattle to the mountain 1/6." This refers to sending the priory cows up to the summer pastures—the rough grazing that is always called "mountain" in Ireland even when quite low lying. This is a widespread custom, booleying in Ireland, going to the shielings in Scotland, to the alps in Switzerland.

There are solemn occasions too, as when the Esker book, October 23, 1722, records: "Given to ye Fathers yh assisted at ye office and sayed Mass ye day of ye burrial of my Lord of Clanrickard being six in number £1 12s 6d."

More homely is the wake of Fr. Kirwan, the Galway books noting the pipes and tobacco bought for the occasion. (Tobacco and (for the ladies) snuff is still handed round at Irish wakes in country districts.) Esker paid a shilling for the pipes for Father Charles' wake in February, 1750; two years earlier, on March 9, 1748, they paid out 8/8 "for four Gallons whisky spent at Fr. Dom Ffrench's burial." When Fr. O'Neill died in Drogheda:—

1774. 14. June To ale for those who watched the corpse 6d
 To cheese for ye same 6d
 15. To ale for those who carried doan the Corpse 6d
 2 July To wine for Mr. O'Neill's funeral 4/-
 4 July To snuff at Mr. O'Neill's funeral 4d

The Order's affairs are also recorded. From Esker:—

1724. July 9. Pd Old Burke for a letter he gott from Flanders for an affair of the house 2/-

"Old Burke" was one of the Esker friars, presumably so-called to distinguish him from others of this very common Connacht name. Letters in those times had to be paid for by the recipient. The Esker items go on:—

1726. May 26. For ye Prior's expenses in Dublin for Four Days he was kept by his Superior, mor than his allowance as promised him by ye Community at his departure. 8/-
1730. April 30. to ye Prior and his Companion for their expenses to ye Chapter £3

The Galway chapel was thatched and there are frequent entries relating to the thatcher's work in the early pages of the account book. Then in 1732, a slater and tiles appear, so it would seem the expensive and troublesome thatch was done away with. Whitewashing the Galway chapel cost 1/1 in the August of 1738. Esker put down paving round their church door in 1756 and this also cost 1/1. Sligo paid this amount in July, 1790, "To 2 days diging Chapel floor": a reminder of mud-floored Irish buildings.

Between July, 1752, and February, 1756, the Esker friars were engaged in rebuilding their house. The total cost of the new house was £34 2s. 2d. The entries are very detailed; it seems to have been a timber-framed house with a thatched roof. Timber and wattles were carted from Carrigeen Wood, near Headford, and also from a Mr. Aalwood's wood. Brickmakers, masons and thatchers were all employed on the work. Later on, at Newbridge, Fr. Reynolds' successor, Fr. Eugene Donnelly, built a larger mud-walled house to replace the original cabin. This house cost £109 3s. and was finished in 1773.

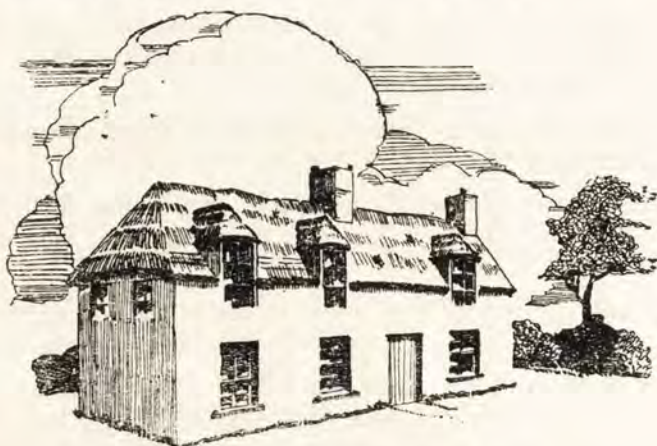


Fig. 10. Newbridge. *The Second House*

There are also, of course, many items about the repair and upkeep of the friars' houses. Some of them seem to conceal forgotten but intimate stories of daily life, as when the Drogheda book notes :—

1773. Sept. 18. To a Chimney piece for the Prior's Room in lieu of the parlour one. 2/6

Wages were low. From Esker : " Cate Burke Our Servt. hired to us this 9th day of June 1749 for 3 pounds per annum. Mary Cloonan hired for a year and is to have five shillings a quarter and a pair of pomps. June 26 1750."

Even so, the fathers seem to have got in arrears in paying. Esker has, for example :—

1722. Nov. 19. Sara Burke £1.—. ½d. for six years wages.

They were, in fact, under a continual financial strain. In 1723 the situation was so bad that Esker sold eight of their chalices. The inscriptions were duly entered in the account books before the chalices were sent off to be melted down, and it is worth noting them, for they are part of the story of Athenry and Esker and of the gifts of Irish people to the Order of Preachers :—

1. Me fieri fecit R:R: Fr: Tho: de Burgo Henrici pro suo Conventu originali Athenriensi anno Dñe 1695.
2. Rodericus ô Hingin (or ? Skingin) Plebanus Dunamanesis hunc Calicem fieri fecit Conventui Athenriensi Priore. Fre Humberto Delfino 1640.
3. Orate pro Anima Joannis Moylerii de Burgo qui me fieri fecit anno Dni 1639.
4. Orate pro Anima Myleri Burke et Honore Kelly ejus uxoris qui me fieri fecerunt pro Conventu Athenriensi S. Ord. Praed.
5. Orate pro Anima Dni Jacobi Davock qui paulo ante obitum me legavit Conventui Sti. Dmi Athenriensis 1660.
6. Dna Elizabeta Buttler Commitissa me fieri fecit pro Aña sua et sui Mariti Richardi Defuncti Comitiss de Clanrickard et Conventui de Athenrii dedicavit 10 die Augusti anno Dñi 1667.

7. P. Gulielmus Calananus sacerdos Donavit Conventui. Ord Praed de Athenrii Orate pro eo. 1634
8. Honorabilis et devota mulier Onoria de Burgo Richardinorum commitissa in refrigerium animae suae me fieri fecit.

Two years later, in 1725, Esker was given a chalice by Brother John of St. Thomas. This chalice is now in the Galway priory. It is inscribed :—

Año Dñi 1725. Hunc Calicem reliquit frater Johannes de Sancto Thoma in perpetuam sui memoriam conventui Athenriensi VT OES Q ILLV ESPECIAT Po EO DEV DPECENTE (i.e. ut omnes qui illum inspiciant pro eo Deum deprecantur).

At the end of the 18th century, when Urlar was down to one or two friars, it looks as though their chalice may have had to be pawned. This acknowledgement exists :—

"I the Undernamed do acknowledge to have recd. a Chalice and pattent Belonging to the Convent of Orlare. On the Chalice is the following Inscription. 'Pray for Edmd Burke Parish Priest of Killeran and family—who Bought me for the Honor of God and Use of the Convent of Orlare 1732.' I do Bind myself and Heirs to return said Chalice and pattent on Being ordered by the R.C. Bishops of Achonry or to pay nine pds Two Shills Sterg for the same. Given under my hand this 2nd Feb. 1797.

Dominick Phillips."

Present. John French.

However the chalice came back to Urlar, and the last friar, Fr. Patrick Sharkey, who died 1846, used it when he said Mass in the ruins of the old church. The chalice is now in Ballaghaderreen Cathedral.

In pre-Reformation days, it was common for laymen to wish to retire to a monastery in their old age and there spend their last days in quiet. Purchase of such a right, by giving a substantial sum of money or lands, had the technical term, *corrody*, applied to it. What is extraordinary to find in Ireland in Penal times is that people still thought of going to lodge with the friars. Mixed up with items about the students and novices of Esker is, for example, this :—

"Mr. Chrstr. Fallon came to Esker the latter end of May 1778 and the community agreed the 1st of June to his living with them paying £25 a year for his room, firing, diet and lodging, grass and hay for his horse, but he is to find his oats."

Again, at Esker, April 19, 1783 :—

"Mr. Meade, Mercht of Dublin, has been, we hope, inspir'd by the Holy Ghost to live abstracted from the cares of the world, and to settle himself for the remainder of his days in our society. He having proposed from his own free will to pay down £500 pounds for and in consideration of our contracting with him to find him decently during his natural life in meat, drink and lodging and one weekly Mass, whilst the house subsists; We likewise most earnestly recommend to our successors in this house to behave to him with that respect and gratitude which he so justly deserves both from ys and from them; and in case they shd not fulfil (which God forbid) this our charge to them, it shall be in his power to withdraw from them the sum of £350 which he paid in ready cash. The remaining £150 which he paid for the Tabernacle, Candlesticks, Silver Lamp, Turible and three pieces of paint being dedicated to God cannot be recalled."

The Dominican nuns used to take in "parlour boarders" in addition to the boarding school pupils. In Drogheda, the fathers seem to have had a party for the school children as part of the St. Dominic's day celebrations. In 1782, they paid 7/10½ "To Tea & Sugar for ye Boarding School Misses" on this occasion.

Detailed account books have also survived showing the daily life and expenses of the nuns. The Channel Row convent in its early days is careful to refer to the sisters as Mrs. and to the community as the family, to avoid showing too clearly what they were.

During much of the 18th century the Channel Row chapel seems to have been the only place in Dublin where the ceremonies of the Church could be properly carried out. Three Dominicans were there consecrated bishops; Colman O'Shaughnessy (Ossory) in 1736, Laurence Richardson (Kilmore) in 1737 and Peter Killikelly (Kilmacduagh) in 1744. In the Drogheda nuns' chapel, in 1759, the Primate consecrated Thomas de Burgo, O.P., for Ossory and Philip O'Reilly for Raphoe.

The Dublin chapel of the Dominican nuns is said to have been beautifully kept. An Inventory of their property in 1726 says they had 11 sets of Vestments and "one Blew set." It is

likely the blue vestments are another indication of the link with Spain, for blue vestments are used in that country. For the wealthier Catholics, the Channel Row chapel was the place in which the Church's funeral rites could be fully carried out. There was good singing on more cheerful occasions too, and it seems more or less certain that it was here, on Christmas Day, 1748, that *Adeste Fideles* was first sung. Both words and tune are in a collection of MS. music given to the convent by its first prioress, Mary Bellew. In fact, so famous did the place become for its music that even Protestants used to attend to hear it.

The nuns' work in running schools, both for pupils who could pay and for the very poor, was a most vital necessity at a time when the laws forbade Catholic education of any sort, and tried hard to gain the youth of Ireland. "Charter schools," with a fully Protestant plan of instruction and conversion, were begun in 1733 for poor children. The Catholics had to instruct the children as they could, where they could. The hedge school became a familiar feature of the country.

The friars were engaged in this work too. Their Cork school has already been noticed. In 1741, Fr. John Byrne, O.P., was trying to get the Master General to move him to Dublin, where apparently the Dublin friars were not keen to receive him. He told the Master General that in Kilkenny he had been teaching the youth in the humanities, philosophy and theology, with so much success that the Protestant bishop had him despoiled of all his goods and forced him to leave the town. There is a tradition of a large school at Urlar. At Donore too, the house of refuge for Trim, a school was opened *c.* 1760. Donore also was a place to which many of the secular clergy were wont to retire in their old age and enter the Order.

Of the Donore site, to which the friars came in the early 18th century (it was rented to them by a Protestant, Mr. Ashe), only some old apple trees, a bit of walling and the broken headstone of Fr. Francis Lynagh remain. Francis Lynagh died in 1750, and he was one of those who had been a secular priest before he joined the Dominican Order. At nearby Killyon graveyard is a commemorative slab listing a number of the Donore fathers.

In 1798, the Donore house was attacked when the bishop of Meath, in the course of a diocesan visitation, was staying there. He wrote to Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, who had roundly

excommunicated the 1798 men, and in a letter dated December 17, 1798,* Dr. Plunket tells how :—

“ At Donore, on the visitation day, or rather the subsequent night, an attempt was made by armed ruffians to get into the house, no doubt to rob it. They knew I was there, and said, ‘ I ought not to preach against liberty ’ (that is, against the Rising). The gentlemen (the Dominicans) within were determined to defend the garrison. Of this the robbers were convinced and after a boisterous parley of half an hour departed, regretting ‘ that they had not got my *benediction*.’ I was not altogether at my ease during the interval : fatigue, however, or laziness prevailed over my fears ; I did not stir from my bed. This unpleasant visit was paid on the 17th October after midnight. It was generally believed at Donore that we would all have been robbed had the villains got into the house.”

* *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. III, p. 601.

XIII

THE OUTLAWED REVIVAL

IT is probably true that the nearest the gates of Hell have so far come to prevailing against the Church was at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. For part of that time, Rome was invaded, the Pope a prisoner, everywhere monasteries were suppressed, and, when the clergy were not actually persecuted, attempts were made to build up national churches and to throw off papal control. The sceptical rationalist mood was everywhere; it affected Catholics themselves so that there was danger from both within and without the Church. And whilst Catholics were scattered in distant countries, they were not organised as yet: the Church was still a European entity and its destruction in Europe could not then, as it could now, be counter-balanced by its continuing strength in the New World.

The religious Orders came very near to extinction. In Europe, the Dominican recovery is linked with the names of Lacordaire and Jandel, the restoration of the Order dating from the latter's appointment as Vicar General in 1850. In Ireland, however, the revival began rather earlier and was the work of Irish Dominicans, the outstanding figures being the brothers Russell, Bartholomew and Patrick. After the Tallaght property had been bought and an Irish Dominican novitiate established there in 1856, a letter of Fr. B. Russell indicates something of what Dominican life in Ireland had been in the first half of the century. He reports that the novices are "strictly observant of the Rule and Constitutions of Our Order, of which we all were left in blissful ignorance—we were brought up as a kind of secular priests. But God did for some of us what our Novitiate and College did not do or pretend to do." (December 5, 1856.)

That is an overstatement of the case, for no matter how low the number of Irish Dominicans fell, the Order seems to have always retained the power to attract some of the most talented men in Ireland. The two Russells are a case in point: earlier, men like Dr. Troy, who became Archbishop of Dublin, and Luke Concanen—who became the first bishop of New York—would have been outstanding at any period for their ability and learning.

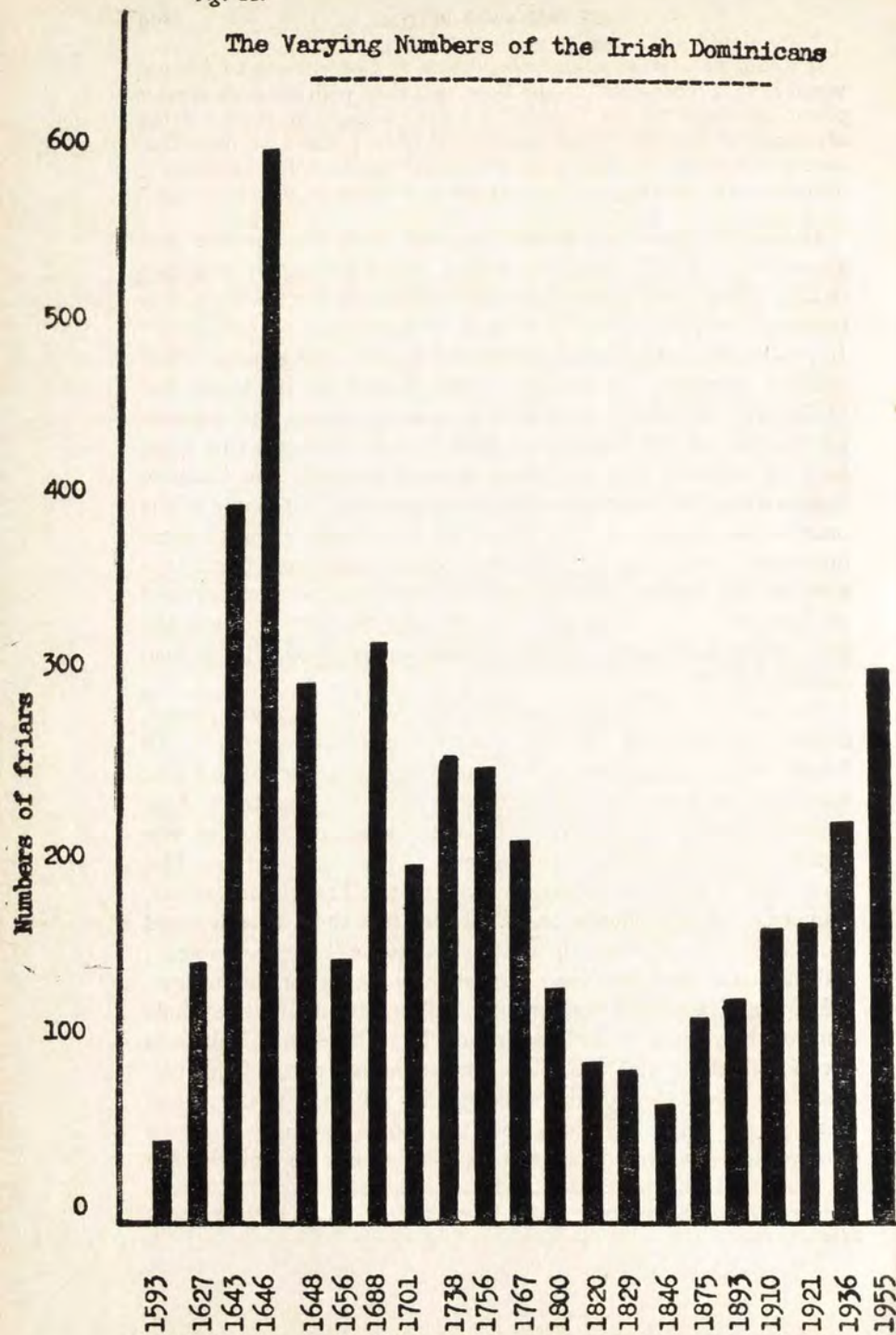
There are two vital dates in the history of 19th century Ireland; Catholic Emancipation in 1829, and the Famine years of 1845 to '47. At the same time, in spite of famine and Coercion Acts, there was a steadily growing sense of Irish nationality, a new interest in Irish history and the Irish past, a revival of the study of the Irish language.

Catholic relief and emancipation had been discussed long enough before it was brought about by the efforts of Daniel O'Connell. It was promised to follow on the Act of Union of 1800, but failed to materialise. The Government seems to have wanted to try and bring the Church under some sort of official control, in return for ending the Penal laws against it. Accordingly, suggestions were made that the appointment of Catholic bishops should be subject to the English Government's veto, and that, from the same source, the Catholic clergy would receive some sort of official pension and support. This was the time of the 1798 Rising, and the Irish bishops felt unable to reject outright these proposals, for fear of being branded as rebels once again. The project went to Rome, and the opinion of Fr. Luke Concanen, O.P., was sought on it by the Roman authorities. In his comments, he says that if a pension was given, the Irish would regard their clergy as guilty mercenaries, sold to a foreign power. The plan was rejected, and the Government came no nearer to legislating for Catholic emancipation. If that came about, it hoped that it would first be able to exclude the Regular clergy from its effects, and official correspondence of this time shows how much the Orders were feared and hated. For example, the well-informed Sir John Hippesley, who was in Rome as a sort of confidential agent of the English Government, studying Catholic organisation to see what arrangements could be made between the Church and the State in England, wrote to Lord Hobart, January 12, 1799:—

“And now a word about Friars. Dr. Troy is himself a Dominican and, as such, owes implicit obedience to the General of his Order residing in Spain. His agent in Rome, Fr. Concanen, a Dominican also, was ever at warfare with the agents of the *secular* prelates of Ireland: and Fallon told me yesterday that he hoped that agent (Concanen himself) would soon be appointed a Bishop in Ireland, as there was a vacancy. At Rome, I had repeated conferences with the Pope's Ministers on the subject of Bishops—Friars: the records of Propaganda proving the eternal squabbles and annoyances resulting from Friars, when employed in the episcopacy, or on foreign mission.

Fig. II.

The Varying Numbers of the Irish Dominicans



It would be a most salutary regulation if Government in Ireland would have it represented to the Pope that they wish no more *regular* priests appointed to the Catholic prelacy, thinking it more for the advantage of Ireland that all priests, whether prelates or parochial, should be secular. The Friars should be *dispossessed* as fast as possible, of their cures, *allowed pensions*, but not to officiate as parish priests."

Daniel O'Connell set about his great work by rejecting any appeal to force and using the means that were legally available to him. His view was that "the altar of liberty totters when it is cemented only with blood, when it is supported by carcasses." In point of fact, the second problem of Ireland, the gaining of her political freedom, did require to be backed up by force, but O'Connell's methods were based on making known and organising the will of the majority of Irish people. Hitherto this great body of ordinary folk had been ignored even by the Catholic organisations for bringing about emancipation: "It is one of the main achievements of O'Connell first to have realised their importance and then to have set about organising them into a democratic machine that aroused the attention and admiration of all Europe . . . O'Connell can be said to have injected the first really substantial dose of democracy into the British constitution."*

But when the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 was passed, it carefully excluded the religious Orders from its effects. All Jesuits and other regulars in Ireland were to register themselves; additional religious were forbidden to enter the country and no novices were to be received. To enter a religious Order was legally a misdemeanour; the novice to be banished for life. Answering a worried enquiry by one of the Franciscan fathers, Daniel O'Connell (March 18, 1829) said that the law as it stood could never be enforced; it was such as to be "unexecutable"; and the friars need then have no fear in planning for the future.

Yet technically the religious were still outlawed, and the whole story of the revival of the Dominicans in 19th century Ireland is one of something that was really against the law of the land. Ireland was free before these laws against religious Orders were taken off the English Statute Book in 1926. Apparently only one attempt was ever made in the English courts to enforce the

* Felim O Briain, O.F.M. Daniel O'Connell. *A Centenary Evaluation*. May 15, 1947.

legislation against religious Orders, and that as late as 1902. The magistrate however, refused the summons and his decision was upheld by the High Court. But earlier, two legacies of £500 bequeathed to the Cork Dominicans for the improvement of their church and the education of two Dominican students, were successfully challenged, and set aside (January 13, 1864). This decision was confirmed by the Master of the Rolls on 4th of November in the same year. The Cork people reacted strongly with protest meetings and a collection on behalf of the friars, but the law remained unchanged, though the passage of years brought about less and less inclination to enforce its observance.

The end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century found the Dominicans, fathers and nuns, declining in numbers, though already some Tertiary chapters, which would play an important part in the lay apostolate, were appearing up and down the country. A survey of the Dominican houses at the time shows the friars well established in their little chapels in the bigger towns, but relinquishing their hold on their country outposts. The last friars were gone from Rathfran, on Killala Bay, before the French landing there of 1798. Burrishoole's history ends with a local tradition of a Friar Horan at the beginning of the 19th century, a mysterious person of whom nothing else has yet been traced in Dominican records. In the present Catholic church at Strade, a marble tablet commemorates the parish priests, beginning with V. Rev. Fr. Clarke, O.P., died 1837, the last of the Strade Dominicans. At Urlar, the prior in 1800 was Fr. Dominic Kelly, and the continuous Dominican history of the house ended with the death of Fr. Luke Leyden *c.* 1833. Then in *c.* 1838, Fr. Patrick Sharkey came back to Urlar—he had received the habit at Esker in 1824 and studied in Spain. Originally affiliated to Clonshanville, he had been transferred to Urlar. He died young, in 1846, leaving behind a number of traditions of a colourful and independent personality, and also of a power of curing insanity—for which he seems to have been sought by Protestants as well as Catholics. With his death, the Dominican history of Urlar ends.

The Mourne Mountains house at Moneyscalp was also given up, and the story of the Newtownards friars ends with their scattering as parish priests through the district. One of these men was Fr. Burns, who was buried in the ruined chapel at the old



79. *Cantors at Lectern*



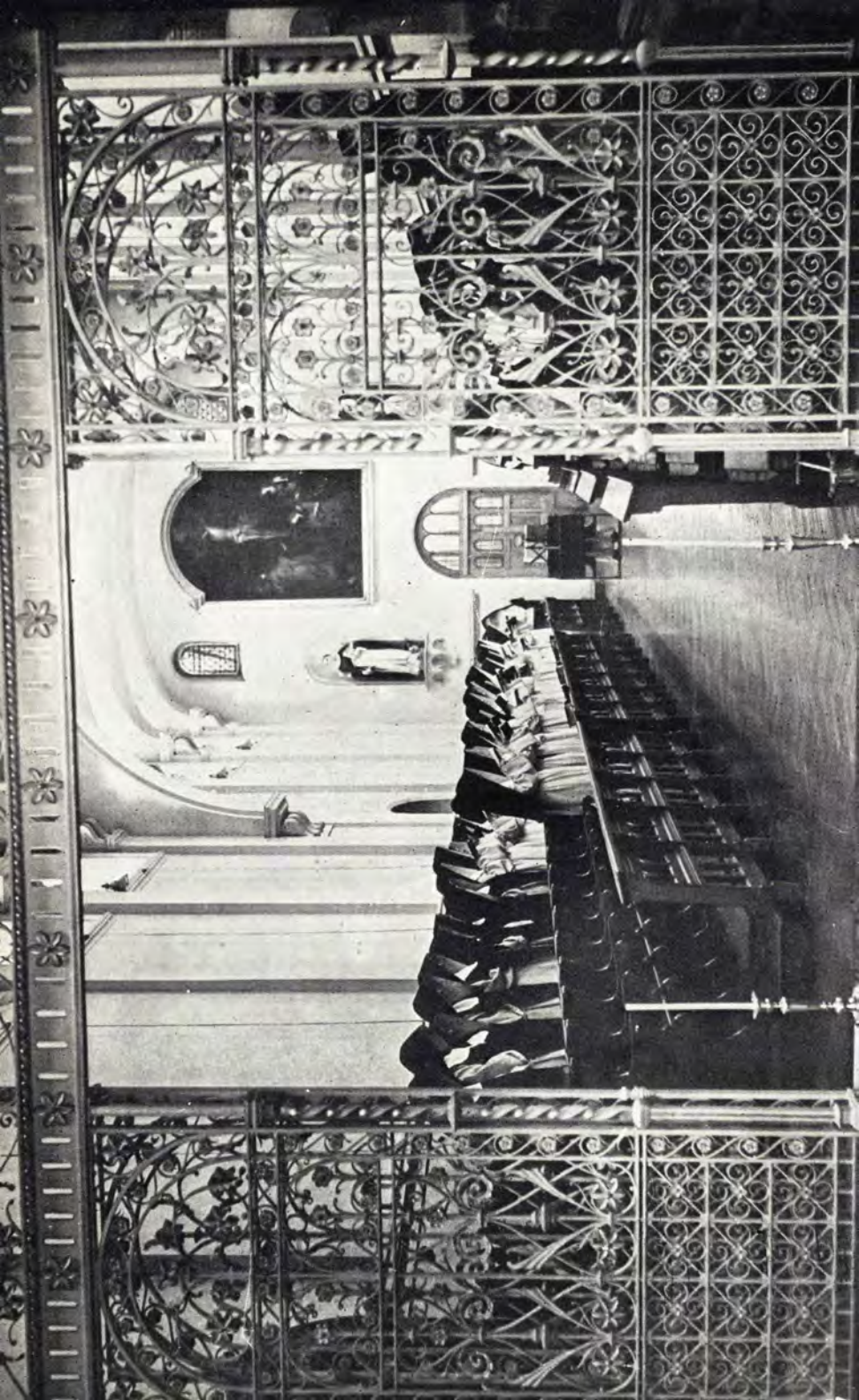
80. *At the Organ*



81. *The Church, Tallaght*

82. *St. Maelruain's Tree, Tallaght*





graveyard of Kilcoo, though a search in 1956 found no trace of a headstone. It did however reveal a Dominican influence in the area, in the headstone of Dominick Rushe of Cross, who died in 1829. The popularity of the name Dominic in Ireland is linked with the friars: at Burrishoole, Dominic is still a popular name on that side of Clew Bay, whilst across the water on the south shore, round the old Augustinian foundation of Murrisk, many boys are still christened Austin.

Kilmallock was probably abandoned about 1790; the last Dominican affiliated to Derry died about the same time, and the last friars of Coleraine in the first decade of the 19th century.

Elsewhere the Order was gaining ground. The Carlingford friars, after the restoration under Oliver Plunket, had first of all haunted the Cooley peninsula, working in the vicinity of their ruined priory. Then they moved to the Dundalk district, working around Kilcurly and Haggardstown. An account of this period was taken down from the friars' old servant Christina Rogan. She died in 1876, and her grandfather and father had both worked for the Dominicans—the grandfather at Carlingford. No Catholic chapel was allowed in Dundalk until 1750. Christina told how the friars had "no house or home. They slept and drank and ate wherever they got it; it was by the side of the ditches they used to say Mass."

To reach the Dundalk area from the Carlingford peninsula, the little group of Dominicans sailed across Dundalk Bay. There was a great welcome waiting for them from a big crowd gathered on the strand where they landed.

The way in which they eventually came to have a church in Dundalk is said to have been this. Clanbrassil (Lord James Hamilton) saw a crowd and asked what they were doing just outside his park wall. He was told they were hearing Mass. He sent for the priest, Fr. Dominic Thomas, O.P., who came somewhat reluctantly, wondering what was wanted. Clanbrassil was friendly: "Have you no better place than the side of a ditch to pray? You have been too long hunted and slaughtered. Go home, you shall not be harmed." Fr. Thomas explained he had no home to go to. Clanbrassil pointed out an old linen factory nearby and then gave it to the friars. They settled there and made some sort of a chapel out of it. The present Dominican church and priory is still on the same site, and in the church wall is a slab

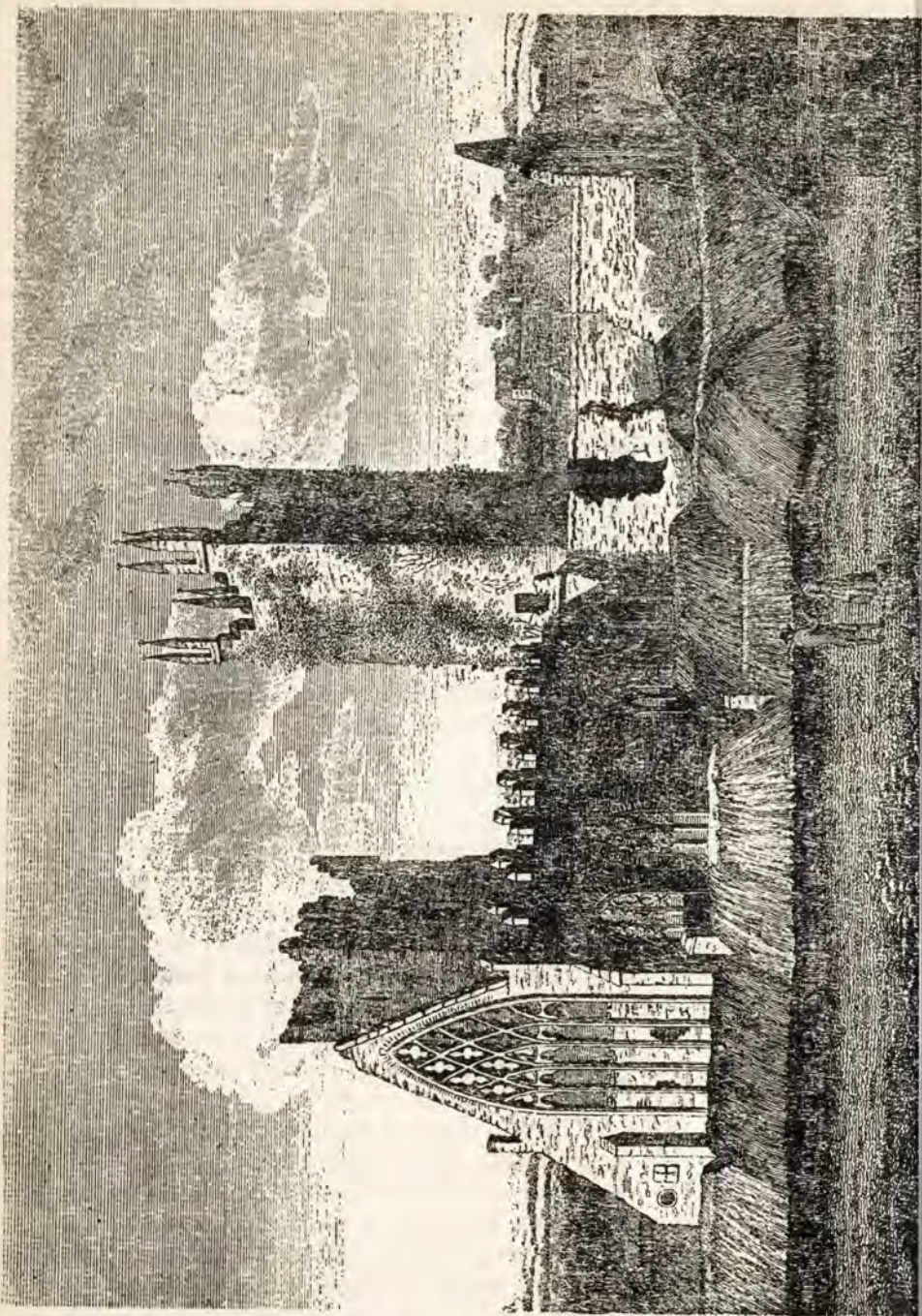


Fig. 12. The Black Abbey, Kilkenny in 1792, before the restoration (From Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*)

from the first chapel with the inscription: "This Chapel was built in the year 1777 by the Rev. Dominick Thomas, Prior of Carlingford and preacher general in honour of the glorious Mother of Jesus and her adopted Son St. Dominic." There is also preserved in the priory a chalice dated 1721, made for the Dominicans of Carlingford, and some old oil stocks, one of which has the monogram of Fr. Dominick Thomas on it. In 1833, the friars opened a National School, for 17 years the only free Catholic school of this sort in the town. They still manage the adjacent National Schools, now housed in fine new buildings.

Trouble between the bishops and the regulars continued on into the 19th century, and found its most notable expression in the difficulties the Dominicans encountered in restoring the Black Abbey in Kilkenny. This trouble, which seems quite independent of the Government's dislike of the regulars, continued for a long time. As early as 1750, Dr. Richardson, the Dominican bishop of Kilmore, had said that some of the Irish bishops seemed to wish to destroy the religious Orders, attacking them with "greater fury than did Queen Elizabeth." In 1815, the Sacred Congregation sent a circular letter to the Irish Archbishops saying that the Pope, Pius VII, directs that the "regulars of every Order in Ireland shall be restored to the full and peaceable possession of all their rights, exemptions and privileges." Apparently some of the bishops had tried to stop the regulars saying public Masses, preaching or collecting at the church doors—thus depriving them of all their main sources of livelihood. Others tried to stop the building or repairing of the chapels belonging to the Orders. Only reluctantly would the bishops give regulars faculties for hearing confessions, and trouble over getting faculties for an extra priest to hear confessions is part of the 19th century history of several Irish Dominican houses.

At Kilkenny then, the old abbey church stood in ruins with thatched cabins clustered round its walls like swallows' nests. In 1775, Fr. Michael Vincent Meade, one of the Dominicans working as a curate in Kilkenny, managed to rent the place for £4 a year. By 1778, the friars had put a roof on it, and pulled down the old choir to build a little house for themselves. But their announcement that they intended to open the restored building as a Catholic chapel met with long continued opposition from the bishop. On his side it may be noted that the Black

Abbey is close up against the cathedral and that the bishop probably thought there was neither room nor financial support for yet another chapel in the town. Moreover, the original approach to him seems to have been made somewhat undiplomatically. The dispute went on, and when the transept was opened by Father Gavin in 1814 for use as a public chapel, he and the other Dominicans were all suspended by the bishop as a result. Peace was eventually restored, and with the completion of work on the nave in 1866, the Black Abbey was as fully reconstructed and returned to its original use as was possible. It is the only mediaeval priory church still in Dominican hands and use.

The start of the revival of Dominican life in Ireland, however, really begins with the building of the new church in Cork on the Sand Quay (now Pope's Quay). This project was due to the energy and drive of Fr. Bartholomew Russell. A little deputation of the regular clergy of Cork had gone to protest at their exclusion from the proposed Emancipation, but all in vain. So they quietly registered themselves and then determined to take all lawful means to make themselves secure. For the Dominicans, the little chapel in Dominick Street was threatened by the removal of the Butter Market—the hub of business life of that part of Cork—and also the removal of numbers of the better off people from the area. That meant a drop in the friars' income; further, the chapel was too small to accommodate crowds of poor people, many of whom had to stand in the yard outside in all weathers, unable to watch the Mass or hear the preacher. Against a move were the facts that the Dominicans had no money, that commerce had deserted the city, two new Catholic chapels were already planned, poverty was increasing alarmingly and cholera was rife.

In these circumstances, the Cork Dominicans began to look for a site for a new church, and after a veritable Odyssey of looking at different spots and meeting all sorts of difficulties, came back to the one they had first thought of, a range of ruinous houses on Pope's Quay. The foundation stone of the new church was laid 1832 and the solemn dedication took place on October 20, 1839. Writing to Fr. B. Russell's brother, Patrick, then in Lisbon, Fr. John Crowe said of the dedication "nothing of the kind in the known history of our National Church had created such interest." Many Protestants were among the crowds attending the ceremonies.

The image of Our Lady of Graces of Youghal was not brought back finally to the new church and priory until September 14, 1851, and Fr. B. Russell noted how "since then St. Marys has not been without help in its necessities."* In the same diary, he records the first reappearance of the Dominican habit in a Cork pulpit since James II's time, when he preached on St. Dominic on August 10, 1851. On Rosary Sunday of the same year he preached in the habit in Dublin, and on November 2nd in Limerick—to the Christian Brothers. But the first public singing of Compline did not take place in Cork until the first Sunday of Lent of 1854. It is a grim commentary on the life of the times that the fathers were dispensed at that time from the Monday and Wednesday abstinence on account of the cholera in the country. Some information from the previous year, 1853, shows that the Sunday collections in Cork ran at £4 5s. od. a week and that the priory only supplied the friars with the meat and bread used at dinner; they had to find their own clothes and breakfast out of an annual allowance of £26 10s. od.

Across these years falls the dark shadow of the Famine, leaving death, fever and emigration in its wake. Throughout the Famine years there was plenty of food in Ireland—for those who could buy it. Energetic relief measures by the Government could have prevented most of the tragedy. They were not taken.

The potato undoubtedly has its political angle, for it is an instrument of pauperisation. Large crops can be grown on little land and it is possible to subsist on almost nothing else but a diet of potatoes. That was the way the rapidly increasing population of Ireland were living, and the reason, owing to their extreme poverty, why the failure of one crop among many food crops brought death in its train. Men like Fr. Tom Burke lived through the Famine Years, saw the dead and dying in the streets, and Protestant efforts to gain adherents with promises of food. In one of his sermons, he told how one lady had gone with careful zeal on Good Friday with a basket of bread and meat to a family known to be starving. They were in the last stages of collapse, but the Faith was still strong and they refused to break the

* The Ursuline nuns had been temporarily looking after the ivory for the Dominicans. But it was not permanently exposed for public veneration until 1895.

Church's laws of abstinence. The lady went away, and presumably the family died shortly afterwards.

It is likely that the Famine was the reason why the friars abandoned their ancient Athenry and Esker foundation. They had begun a school for poor children there in 1826 and now planned a secondary school as well for better off boys. It was officially opened on August 4, 1847, and might well have prospered but for the disaster of the Famine. It closed after a few years' existence, its numbers being down to seven pupils and two paid masters. Esker then seems to have declined steadily and was finally handed over to the bishop of the diocese in 1895. It was sold to the Redemptorists in 1901; their extensive buildings now replace all those of the Dominicans, only the little church remaining more or less as it was before the friars left.

Boula was given up shortly after Esker, in 1899, and the 1890's and 1900's show a period of depression in Irish Dominican life, emphasised by the leaving of these two old foundations of Athenry and Portumna. That depression, following the high hopes of the 1850's and the foundation of Tallaght, may well have also been due to the Famine; that the men who should at that time have formed the youthful and energetic backbone of the Order were in fact the dead children of the Famine Years, or among the Irish emigrants in America and Great Britain.

The new Dominican church in Sligo was finished in 1847 and dedicated on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1848, shortly after its completion, and therefore in the midst of the Famine. Sligo, too, had a history of trouble between regulars and seculars. The Dominicans had, at the beginning of the 19th century, claimed their rights in the burials in the old abbey. There was a scandalous interlude when Fr. Patrick Burke, who later became bishop of Elphin and was then the administrator of St. John's parish in Sligo, used to meet funeral processions and try to make a collection. A Dominican friar too took up his stance opposite, and did likewise. Some people gave to one, some to the other, some to both. Eventually, when Dr. Burke became a bishop, he settled the problem by ruling that the secular clergy take the collection but that the friars would get a quarter of it, no matter whether the burial took place in the abbey or in another Sligo graveyard.

In Sligo, daily Mass for the general public was first introduced

by the Dominicans, by Fr. Thomas Hibbits. He had entered the Order at Esker in 1823, studied in Lisbon, and had been at Galway and Boula before coming to Sligo in 1834. He was prior several times, and it is not recorded when exactly he instituted the daily Mass.

The old Pound Street chapel was getting much out of repair, and the Sligo friars, Fr. Hibbits being prior, and with him in the dark little house, Frs. Michael McEvoy and Bernard Goodman, got a lease of a new site and began to build at once, taking up a weekly collection to pay for the work. Times were so bad that, to supplement their funds, Fr. Goodman went off on a begging tour through Ireland and then to the Irish exiles in England and Scotland. The bishop opposed the new site and church and thought they should continue where they were, but eventually gave way. He was ill at the time of the dedication, which was performed by Dr. Daniel O'Connor, O.S.A., formerly vicar-apostolic of Madras. The Dominicans continued to live in Pound Street until the new priory was built beside the new church in 1865.

To recall the life of the backyard Catholic chapels like that in Pound Street, it is worth looking at the Sligo account books again. The collection at Easter, 1845, amounted to £28 17s. 8½d., and this was shared, £9 each between the three friars. Of what was left, the houseman got 7/6, the kitchenmaid 3/-, Patt Kane, who stood at the chapel door taking the money, 10/- and the leader of the orchestra, 10/- likewise. The cramped space enclosed by the surviving walls of the old chapel was obviously once crowded with people. More room was gained by a gallery; perhaps the orchestra had a corner of it. One wonders too who put the 2d. worth of bad copper into the plate, which the accounts carefully record.

The Tertiaries seem to have been very active in Sligo at this time. After the move to the new church, the records for 1855 note that men and women Tertiaries were the teachers of the Catechism classes, which averaged from two to three hundred children.

With the purchase of the Tallaght property in 1855, the long needed central Irish novitiate and house of studies was at last founded. Tallaght had a long and checkered history behind it, going back to St. Maelruain's foundation of a monastery and church there in 769. From this Celtic foundation survive a whole group of early Irish books, the Stowe Missal, the Martyrologies

of Oengus and of Tallaght, as well as the Rule of Tallaght. A tree in the Dominican grounds is known as Maelruain's tree; it is a large walnut, blown down in the night of the big wind of 1839 but continuing to flourish prostrate, and sending down suckers wherever in contact with the ground. It appears very improbable that it is as old as is alleged and there is moreover the further question of when the walnut was introduced into Ireland.

The money for the Tallaght property was raised by selling nearly all of that belonging to the Irish Dominican college of Corpo Santo in Lisbon. At Tallaght was a private house in which the friars settled themselves and a barn which they used as a church. It was, of course, still against the law to receive novices and the friars still needed to be circumspect. In a letter to his brother Patt, dated February 15, 1856, Fr. Bartholomew Russell says he had discussed matters with Dr. Cullen, the Archbishop of Dublin, and they had decided against showing themselves for what they were by wearing the tonsure. "His Grace thinks it more prudent not to make any outward parade of our state, at the present time, so wickedly disposed are the Protestants of these countries just now . . . Within our enclosure, let us carry out every enactment of our laws to the letter, but outside our policy is to be modest and unremarked for singularity of any kind."

Fr. Tom Burke (1830-1883), the most famous Irish Dominican preacher of his time, was appointed the first Master of Novices. It is pleasant to recall that this Galway boy had, in the old Irish way, been fostered out in the countryside near Galway, at Oranmore and grown up knowing only Irish in his first years. He had already, even before he was ordained, been Novice Master at Woodchester, helping in the restoration of the English Dominican Province, which was just then beginning.

The first group of novices were received into the Order on the Feast of the Purification, 1856. "For the last forty years I have lived but for one thing—it is now accomplished," Fr. B. Russell told his brother. Next year, when the "first fruits" made their professions, Fr. B. Russell has come quite a way from the beginning he made when he appeared dressed as a friar in the Cork pulpit in 1851 for, in detailing the ceremonies for the occasion, he is preening himself on the fact that there will be thirty Domini-

cans present, all in their habits. Irish Catholic life was beginning to recover some of its colour and diversity, even though to the present day it is still shadowed by the Penal days in its apparent lack of interest in the liturgy and concentration on the bare essentials of the Mass and the Rosary.

Meantime, the old preaching apostolate of the wandering friar had been given a new form, the concentrated preaching and hearing of confessions in particular districts of the Mission. The idea was pioneered by the Fathers of the Institute of Charity. The first Missions in Ireland were given by Frs. Gentili and Furlong and begun in 1848. The Dominicans joined in the work of giving Missions in 1854. Seven Dominicans conducted a Mission in Tralee from 1st to 30th September of that year, and Fr. B. Russell notes that there was a "remarkable attendance of Protestants in spite of warnings from Pulpit and House visits." For a mission at nearby Crumlin in 1856, the Tallaght novices came to form the choir. But the most remarkable of these early Dominican Missions was that at Killarney in the summer of 1857, conducted by Frs. B. Russell, Folan, O'Carroll, Conway, Murphy, Meadth and Williard. It drew enormous crowds and everyone, from the bishop down, was delighted. The friars came to the cathedral at 5.30 a.m. for Prime and twenty minutes meditation. Except for meals and an hour's recreation, they spent the day either in the confessional or the pulpit—till 9 p.m. in the evening. "Not a respectable person among the gentlemen of the town and country but was reconciled by the Sacraments," Fr. Russell wrote to his brother. At the Mission's end, with the planting of the Mission Cross and the renewal of baptismal vows, there was a crowd of five or six thousand, all with lighted candles. But the best was still to come.

Fr. Russell tells how "During the night, the eve of our departure, I was called between midnight and 1 o'clock to listen to the crowds in the street 'waking' us and saying the Rosary with a loud voice." The Dominicans were, the next day, escorted by so large and excited a crowd, headed by the bishop and the clergy and the gentlemen of the district, that the train was delayed for a quarter of an hour and the police unable to force a passage for the friars. "The wailing of the people mixed with their blessings was most affecting—it was the genuine wild Irish caoine," Fr. Russell wrote to Patt Russell.

With such interest in the Dominicans in Kerry, the restoration of the Tralee priory followed in 1861, on the invitation of the bishop of Kerry, Dr. Moriarty. At the other end of the country, a Dominican mission in Newry in the May of 1870 resulted in a popular demand for the friars to settle in the town. The Newry foundation was made in 1871 as a result.

It would be tedious to detail how, at the other Dominican houses, new building and rebuilding was going ahead. In Dublin, the friars had left the old Bridge Street chapel for a new site in Denmark Street in 1782; now they moved again, to Dominick Street where the first stone of the present St. Saviour's was blessed in 1852 and the church completed in 1861. In Waterford, where the friars still worked, but had neither priory nor church, the official restoration of the Order came about in 1867, the new Dominican church there opened in 1876, and the priory buildings were completed in 1880.

Meantime, though the secondary school at Esker had failed, Newbridge moved into the gap. The little country house of the friars gained in importance when the cavalry barracks were established nearby in 1816, and the town of Newbridge began to come into existence as a result. The friars began work on their first church there in 1819. Then, on March 1, 1852, just as the Esker school closed down, Newbridge opened the College of St. Thomas Aquinas. After a year, it had some 50 boys and this number was maintained till about 1870, when it was decided to restrict entry to those who wished to become Dominicans. This plan was continued for twenty-five years and then the school was once more thrown open to all and the numbers began to rise once again to over a hundred by the early 1900's.

Parallel with the revival among the friars is the really extraordinary story of the recovery and diaspora of the Irish Dominican nuns. The two daughter houses of Galway followed two different lines of development, Siena Convent in Drogheda moving steadily towards the purely contemplative life and Channel Row, later Cabra, in Dublin, to the active life and to foundations throughout the New World.

There was a very marked decline in the numbers of nuns when the more active period of persecution was over but when the dead weight of the Penal laws was beginning to take effect. In Galway, there were only 8 or 9 sisters in 1826 and by 1841 when the

Provincial authorised them to resume the wearing of the habit, only 6, of whom one was a novice. However, they decided to leave their house in the town of Galway itself and move to the city's outskirts at Taylor's Hill, where they could have a proper community life and enclosure. They made this move in 1854 and began to think of starting a boarding school as a means of maintaining themselves. They were so few that nuns were brought from Drogheda to help them make a beginning. The school opened in 1858 and has continued ever since.

Drogheda too, had a hard task to survive. The nuns had moved in 1796 to their present home, once the site of the old pre-Reformation hospital and priory of St. Lawrence. The place had been bought for them by Fr. T. Netterville, O.P., in 1792 and the construction of the new conventual buildings had taken four years. Ten sisters and 22 girl boarders took possession, but they were soon faced with serious financial difficulties and a fall in the number of pupils as other lay Catholic schools were opened elsewhere. In 1815, they were dispensed from the recitation of the Divine Office so as to try and give them more time for teaching. They added a day school and a school for poor children, but failed to gain more vocations, and by 1829 there were only 3 choir sisters. In 1830, the first year after emancipation, they gained a postulant, the first, presumably, since they had come to Drogheda, who was actually able to be received to the Dominican habit. Both the school and the convent began to recover their numbers and with this recovery came a move toward stricter enclosure and a return to the full Dominican life with the Divine Office. Père Jandel came on visitation to Ireland twice, in 1851 and 1863, and on the latter occasion gave the Drogheda nuns permission to return to the recitation of the Divine Office. Later the nuns closed their school in 1921, and the next year, the Master General came on visitation and ruled that they become a Second Order house with full observance, solemn vows and grille—though their new constitutions were not actually promulgated until 1930.

The Dublin house followed an entirely different line of development. The lease of the Channel Row house expired in 1808 and as the landlord would not renew, they took a house in Clontarf. They began to wear the habit again there, as is indicated in the account books by an increase in the cost of laundry from around

1811. They started a school there but it failed, and the nuns were left to live on what they got from their parlour boarders and the produce of two fields, which they rented. In 1819, they shifted again to Cabra and at once began a school for the poor children of the district. They still found life very difficult, and in 1832, as Siena had done before them, got permission to replace the Divine Office with the Office of Our Lady, and also got the convent placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese. This new plan, of Cabra and its offshoots being under the local Ordinary's control and not that of the Dominican Order, and of their recitation of the Little Office according to the Roman Rite, eventually led to a somewhat acrimonious dispute about the status of these nuns, whether they forfeited their true Dominican character by so doing. Eventually an Apostolic Brief from the Pope decided in the nuns' favour in 1903. Not till 1930, however, did the dispensation from the Divine Office end.

Meantime, in 1835, at Cabra, the boarding school was reopened and the next year came the first hiving-off of sisters. They started a new foundation in Lower Mount Street in Dublin in 1836—moving out to their present house at Sion Hill, Blackrock, in 1840. From Sion Hill, foundations were made at Port Elizabeth (1867); Dunedin (1870), the mother house in New Zealand and also of the Western Australian convents; Eccles Street, Dublin (1882) and Muckcross Park, Dublin (1900). From Cabra, nuns went off to Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin, in 1847, and from that foundation to others in Australia in 1867 and Wicklow in Ireland in 1870. Bom Sucesso in Portugal was almost dying out at this time and was resuscitated by sisters from Cabra in 1860. The same year, a party from Cabra went to New Orleans, in the U.S.A. From Cabra too, foundations were made in Cape Town in 1863, Adelaide in 1868 and Belfast in 1870. From all these foundations, others have been made, so that from the original Cabra nuns there sprang a world-wide network of their successors. Originally, each offshoot was an independent unit but they are now grouped into one Congregation of Irish Dominican nuns. The Lisbon convent of Bom Sucesso was made part of this Congregation in 1955. The teaching and other activities of the nuns are very diverse, perhaps the most specialised work being that with deaf and dumb children. Their school for the Deaf and Dumb at Cabra, which was begun in 1846, was the first

Catholic institution of this sort in Ireland—previously only Protestant homes existed for handicapped Irish children and these were also engaged in proselytising activities.

Carrying the Dominican influence through many parts of Ireland where there were neither friars nor nuns was the Third Order. The 19th century was one of great Tertiary activity and influence. There were many Chapters, independent of any Dominican house, in the Irish Midlands; the local parish priest being the director. One important Chapter was that of Durrow of Colmille, founded *c.* 1780. Some of the Tertiaries lived in community and conducted schools. One such group at Fairview in Dublin early in the 19th century had a school, chapel and chaplain. Emigration following the Famine drained off many of the most active Tertiaries, and it seems that the Chapters not associated with Dominican priories declined and eventually died out round the end of the century, in the same period of depression already noted among the friars.

Cogan's *History of the Diocese of Meath* (1867) describes one of these Midland Chapters—in Milltown in Meath. "About 1837 the Third Order of St. Dominic was formed into a Chapter here. They number at present nearly 200 of both sexes, under a Master (the parish priest), a Prior, a Sub-Prior, a Prioress and Sub-Prioress. They meet on the first Sunday of every month, when their conduct is most carefully examined, and the least breach of discipline strictly checked. The good example of the brotherhood and sisterhood, permeating all classes of society, produces, according to all testimonies, an incalculable amount of good. They have processions on certain festival days round the beautiful cemetery, habited in the dress of the Order, and accompanied by appropriate and neatly dressed banners."

The reminiscences of James Duggan (1836-1893) give a more intimate picture of these Third Order Chapters. James belonged to the Durrow Chapter for twenty years, thereafter becoming a Dominican lay brother. He tells how, in an area of 12 to 20 miles in Westmeath, Longford, Offaly and Roscommon, there were from twelve to sixteen Chapters, some with a membership of a hundred. Soon after the friars began to wear the habit again, the Tertiaries followed suit, and he tells how they appeared in the habit at their meetings or when the Provincial came to visit them, when they

met him in procession, perhaps 200 in all, and on one occasion led by a brother playing the flute.

Brothers and sisters held their meetings in common and though the sisters had their own prioress and other officials, they felt that they were dictated to by the men to a certain extent, especially in the matter of clothes. In daily life, the men wore ordinary clothes but used only a restricted range of colours, and they did not think the women ought to wear bright ribbons and gay bonnets! They wanted them to wear black clothes of simple design: one Chapter even tried to introduce a rule to forbid crinolines!

The period of postulancy was of several years, and there was another lengthy period before profession. On Sundays, the Durrow Tertiaries often came many miles, fasting, in order to receive Communion. They would spend four or five hours in church and give catechetical instruction to the children before or after Mass.

James Duggan said that "it would be looked upon as a sacrilege if a Tertiary brother had any part in ordinary amusement and gaiety." Pat Mangan, a Tertiary who died in 1881, and was a carpenter by trade, slept on boards and rose at 4 a.m. for prayer and meditation. A well informed man, he used to conduct a free night school for boys during the winter months.

Another Tertiary at Durrow, Bryan Keegan, organised a wake society of men and boys, who would sit in the house of the dead individual, reciting the Office of the Dead in English. Bryan died in 1881 at the age of 93. The Milltown Tertiaries also used to go to wakes to say the Office and this continued within the memory of the present older generation.

Another Tertiary, Ann O'Keeffe, a Cork girl who had lived in great poverty, keeping herself by needlework, died literally in the odour of sanctity in 1864. Not only did her body remain flexible but there was so pervading a perfume that the undertaker asked where were the flowers. Many people ascribed favours to her intercession both during her life and after her death. She used to go to Mass in the Dominican church in Cork and to remark on the numbers of the holy people there, "as if the city had been culled."

An edition of the Rule of the Dominican Third Order, published in Dublin in the 1840's, whilst more or less the same as the

present Rule, adds Advent and all Fridays to the list of obligatory fast days, and recommends if possible the restriction of the use of meat to Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. It also adds the information that a vow of perpetual chastity was universally made in Ireland and added to the formula of profession. Though not of obligation, the idea that a Tertiary should remain single was also held by the Franciscan Tertiaries, and some eyebrows were raised in Galway when Fr. Tom Burke's mother married. She was a member of the Franciscan Third Order.

Attached to the Dominican churches were, of course, the usual Confraternities of the Holy Name and the Rosary; the apostolate of the Rosary was maintained. O'Heyne's reiteration of the devotion of particular fathers of the 17th century to the Rosary recurs: "There goes Fr. Burke with his stick and his Rosary", the Tallaght friars used to say in the great preacher's last years. Recitation of the Rosary in Irish was started at St. Saviour's in Dublin on Hallowe'en of 1898 and then continued weekly, a sign of the new interest in the country's language.

Devotion to Our Lady of Limerick continued strong. Brother Dominic Doyle, who died in March, 1902, and had been attached to the Limerick priory more or less as a lay brother though he was actually a Tertiary, left an account of 19th century traditions about the statue. Brother Doyle was a delicate young man, who died young, aged about 26; he is still remembered by some old people in Limerick. Writing to Fr. John Ryan, O.P., in 1897, Bro. Doyle, having related the traditions of the statue in Cromwellian times, goes on:—

"We hear that Margaret Tracy who was born in 1800 and was the first public Tertiary who got the Habit in our chapel in Fish Lane when only 16 years old, she positively declares that when she was a little girl, 14 or 15 years, she had a great devotion to this Statue and one day while praying before it she began to talk up to the statue, complaining in her child-like way, and asked the statue why it was that there were grand devotions in the Franciscan Church and none in hers. A voice coming from the statue said, 'The time will come when there will be.' This was about the Feast of the Portiuncula.

"There was an old woman engaged washing about Our Blessed Lady's altar when she heard a voice saying, 'The alms box, the alms box.' She took no notice of it until a couple of days after the brother went to open the collection box, when he found the contents had been extracted. This was at the reconstruction of the Church in 1870.

"You can say with certainty that it has been known that the features of the Statue were numerous times seen to change. I shall never forget when I was a little boy here serving Mass, we used to go to say the Rosary during the month of May on the Blessed Virgin's altar, and young Cahill, one of the altar boys, said he was sure he saw her lips moving as if joining in the Rosary.

"Do you not know that when a young girl wants a new dress, she comes to Our Lady of Limerick for it. This has come under my notice several times. In fact, they say if you want any favour, go to Our Lady of Limerick, and you shall get it."

The Marian Year of 1954 brought a sort of culmination to this Limerick devotion to Our Lady and her ancient statue, when the gifts of gold and jewels made by the people were wrought into new crowns, designed by Fr. Aengus Buckley, O.P., for both Mother and Child, and the solemn crowning of the statue took place.

XIV

CONCLUSION : THE IRISH DOMINICANS

IN concluding this brief survey of seven hundred years of Irish and Dominican history, of Catholic life on this small island circled by the sea, it is needful to recall the Irish tradition of adventurous wandering. The Celtic monks, calling themselves "island soldiers" and "exiles for the love of Christ," gave Europeans the impression that a sort of wanderlust was bred in their very nature. Emigration, forced or chosen, has remained a part of Irish history; Irishmen scattered over the world and among them Irish Dominicans. There is a sort of prophetic quality about Fr. Dominic of the Rosary O'Daly's lament of 1655, "our empire was bounded by the ocean"; in the way in which subsequent waves of Irish emigration have taken the Irish and their outlook on life, to the ends of the earth. Matthew Paris, the 13th century English chronicler, sneering at the new Order of Preachers, complained that "they have the world for their cell, and the ocean for their cloister," and indeed this was the intention of the friars. The history of the Irish Dominicans abroad falls both within the Dominican and the Irish tradition. It is only possible here to indicate some of its main directions.

In the Americas, Irish Dominicans arrived in the West Indies among those shipped by Cromwell as slaves. Later, several Irish Dominicans were working in this part of the world in the 18th century, and the connection was maintained by individuals until, in 1895, the French Dominicans handed over the Trinidad mission to the Irish Province. This West Indian Mission, which covers the islands of Trinidad and Tobago, works among a people of many different nationalities and origins. The islands' population is around the half million, a third being Catholics. Meantime, from the two Irish Dominicans of 1895, the number of Irish Fathers working in Trinidad has risen to fifty in 1956. The Archbishop of Port of Spain, Trinidad, Dr. Finbar Ryan, and his two predecessors, Drs. Flood and Dowling, likewise are from the Irish Province. But the work of this important Mission cannot be adequately summarised here; it requires a volume to itself.



Fig. 13. THE IRISH MISSION OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
 Map on top left shows Trinidad's position in respect of the mainland of South America, as well as its geographical relation to the islands which now form the new State of West Indies, and of which Trinidad is the capital.

On the American continent, the first Catholic bishop of New York was the Irish Dominican, Richard Luke Concanen (1747-1810) a native of Co. Roscommon. He had had a long and distinguished career in Rome before being chosen as first bishop of New York in 1808. The political and military situation in Europe was such, however, that he never succeeded in reaching America and died in Naples, just as he had managed to find a ship for the States.*

* V. R. Hughes, O.P. *Richard Luke Concanen*, O.P. Freiburg, 1926.

Another Irish Dominican, John Connolly, succeeded him in the see of New York. When this Irishman arrived in New York in 1815, after a voyage of 67 days from Dublin, he found three Jesuits and one Dominican to minister to about 13,000 Catholics, of whom he estimated 11,000 to be Irish or of Irish descent. He reported that nearly all the churches in the United States at this time had been built and were being maintained by the Irish.

Other Irish friars played a lone pioneering hand, as witness the almost incredible career of Fr. Anthony Dominic Fahy (1805-1871),* a Loughrea boy who entered the Dominican Order at Esker, and later was to labour, first of all in the Ohio district of the U.S.A., and then among the Irish settlers in the Argentine, from 1844 until his death in the yellow fever epidemic of 1871. In the early days of his Argentine mission, before he was able to get more priests to help him, this Galway friar is said to have regularly ridden from forty to sixty miles a day to visit the Irish in the country districts.

North Africa had a long-standing link with the Irish Province, through those who were captured at sea by the Moors. In South Africa, the Irish Dominican, Patrick Raymund Griffith, was appointed the first Vicar Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope in 1837. Before he left Ireland, he preached in Drogheda, the Sunday before sailing, and told his audience that there was then only one priest in the Cape to minister to all the Catholics there. Later on, he petitioned to have the Vicariate divided into three, and this was done in 1851, Dr. Griffith retaining the Western Province.

John Thomas Hynes, O.P., arrived in British Guiana as Apostolic Missionary in 1826. Later on, in 1838, this Irishman was appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Lastaria of Zante and Cephalonia. Corfu and the adjacent islands were a British Protectorate and it was thought that, as a British subject, Hynes would have right of entry. Bishop Lastaria was infirm and lived away from his diocese and, in reality, the Irish friar had complete control of the area. However, the Ionian Assembly ruled jointly with Great Britain and refused to admit the Dominican. "I had no adequate idea," he wrote (1839), "of the extent to which a Protestant Commissioner

* James M. Ussher. *Father Fahy, Irish Missionary in Argentina*. Buenos Aires, 1951.

and a Greek Government could push their intolerance and injustice. The whole proceedings had been planned the moment they heard of my consecration and they have been known to laugh at the notion of Rome attempting to impose upon them a Bishop without having previously asked and obtained their permission." Later on, in 1843, he was made Administrator Apostolic of Demerara (British Guiana), and then Vicar Apostolic in 1846.

In Australia, Irish Dominicans were among the convicts shipped to that country. Two Irish friars were sentenced to transportation in 1798, though there seems to have been no basis for the charges against them. One died before the ship sailed, but the other seems to have arrived in Australia. More official Dominican representation begins in 1831, when Christopher Vincent Dowling, O.P., a Dublin man, was appointed chaplain to the colony. But not until 1898 was it possible to make a Dominican foundation in Australia. That year, one was made in Adelaide, and from then on there has been increasing Irish Dominican activity both in Australia and, latterly, in New Zealand. In 1951, it was possible to erect a separate Dominican Province of Australia and New Zealand, but it still is largely manned by Irish friars.

In Europe, it is a curious commentary on Irish and English history, that the Irish managed to keep uninterrupted possession of San Clemente in Rome and Corpo Santo in Lisbon by the fact of their British nationality, and the claim that the two houses were British property. In Rome, the determined action of Fr. Joseph Mullooly (born in Lanesborough, Co. Longford, 1812) saved San Clemente in 1848; it is also said that, as a result, the Irishman was, in point of fact, arrested and taken off to be shot, but rescued at the last moment by the intervention of the British Ambassador. Fr. Mullooly was also responsible for the excavation and study of the ancient basilica of St. Clement below the present church.

Back in Ireland, recent history is dominated by the effects of two World Wars and of Ireland's own struggle for freedom; of independence gained by the Treaty of 1922, but with the still unsolved problem of Partition.

At Tallaght, the growth of the Irish Province has been marked by extensive building, replacing the first little house in which the friars lived in 1856. In 1936, the old house found a new use as St. Joseph's Retreat House. The same year, the Novitiate

was separated from the House of Studies at Tallaght, and established at St. Mary's in Cork.

Roughly a hundred years from the purchase of Tallaght, and the subsequent rebuilding and new building at the different Dominican foundations, there has been another burst of construction and reconstruction through Dominican Ireland. At Newbridge (1955) a whole new wing was added to the school buildings, a very far cry indeed from the first mud cabin on the river bank there. The increasing need for retreats for lay people had brought about the replacement of the old retreat house at Tallaght with an entirely new building (1956) and also the purchase of the Ennismore property on the heights of Cork in 1952. Meantime, the Dominicans' own activities range from the old and traditional custom of blessing Galway Bay (from a sailing boat, a Galway hooker, on the Sunday following the Feast of the Assumption) to the new and streamlined apostolate of the Rosary Crusade in the Dublin factories. Among the Irish people, Blessed Martin de Porres has become something of a popular pet saint, and you may find his statue, not only on sale at the ancient penitential island of Lough Derg, but left as a votive offering beside some of the country's holy wells. Dominican preaching too seems to be the chief source of the present day Irish devotion to Our Lady of Fatima.

The last hundred years have, in fact, witnessed a remarkable recovery and restoration of Irish Dominican life. From Tallaght's foundation dates the return to regular observance, so long interrupted by the Penal laws and persecution. Today the comparatively new apostolates of preaching Missions and Retreats mingle with the continuing older ones like the preaching of the Rosary and the work of establishing the Rosary Confraternity wherever possible. Irish Dominicans, too, are to be found as students and lecturers, not only at Irish universities but at Continental centres, maintaining the traditional Irish links with Europe. The Irish houses of San Clemente in Rome and Corpo Santo in Lisbon, the Trinidad mission, each with its own long and checkered history, form the modern focal points of the roads along which Irishmen seem always to have been drawn, to Spain, and Portugal, to Italy, to the Americas.

In 1955, Most Rev. Fr. Michael Browne was elected Master General of the Dominican Order—the first Irish successor

of St. Dominic. That is almost a symbol, not only of the new position of the Irish Dominicans, but of Ireland herself, finding in the freedom she has at last won new opportunities to influence world affairs as well as liberty to be herself. True, she is in danger of being swamped by alien cultures and ideas, but she is still the west-most point of Europe, looking out across the seas to America and eastward to the menace of Communist heresy. The Irish Dominicans, mingling the two traditions of the international Order of Preachers and of Ireland itself, are likewise faced with new opportunities, new forms of error, new needs. At their back, an unbroken seven hundred years of life in Ireland, of attack and defence, but still with the same objective as the first Anglo-Norman friars sailing into Dublin Bay: the making known of truth.

APPENDICES

I

THE IRISH DOMINICAN MARTYRS

Names in capital letters are those included in the official process for the beatification of the Irish Martyrs. In this list there are 98 Dominican names: 1 Bishop, 85 priests (one of whom, however, was possibly a student), 8 lay brothers, 3 women Tertiaries and one layman, a member of the Rosary Confraternity.

Page references given are to De Burgo's *Hibernia Dominicana* and to Fr. Ambrose Coleman's edition of O'Heyne's *Irish Dominicans*; the figures in brackets being the page references to Fr. Coleman's appendix to this book.

Fr. MACFERGE (Ferris) and 20 FRIARS of the priory of Coleraine.

Put to death during Elizabeth's reign.

The 32 FRIARS OF THE PRIORY OF DERRY, slain during Elizabeth's reign.

1602. The drowning of the monks. O'Heyne says that 2 friars and 7 novices of the Dominican Order were included in a party of religious promised a safe conduct out of the country, but thrown overboard after being embarked on a man-of-war at Scatterry Island. Fr. Coleman denies this story entirely. O'Heyne 101, (62). There is however nothing improbable in the traditional story given by O'Heyne, and there is certain evidence of similar drownings being carried out at other times. For example, in 1642, when the Lord Justices (Parsons & Borlase) and the Privy Council were dissuaded by Ormond and others from hanging 20 priests, they put them on ships bound for France, telling the captains that they might drown them if they liked when they reached the open sea.

1606. SIR JOHN BURKE of Brittas. Member of the Rosary Confraternity. Hanged in Limerick. De Burgo 565, 600.

1607. JOHN O'LUIN (O'LYNN). Hanged in Derry.

1608. DONOUGH O'LUIN (O'LYNN), Prior of Derry. Hanged in Derry. His brother William, also a Dominican, had been executed a short time before. O'Heyne 5 (7). De Burgo 559.

1614 WILLIAM MACGOLLEN (McGIOLLA CHOINNE) of Coleraine.

1633. Arthur MacGeoghegan. Executed in London. De Burgo 559. See also Reginald Walsh, O.P., in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1894, pp. 885-916.
1641. PETER O'HIGGINS, Prior of Naas. Hanged in Dublin. De Burgo 561. O'Heyne 51 (40).
1641. Peter Higgin of Dublin. De Burgo claims this as a different individual from Fr. Peter O'Higgins of Naas, but Fr. Reginald Walsh, O.P., held that there was only one of them. De Burgo 561.
1642. CORMAC MACEGAN, lay brother. Hanged. De Burgo 563.
1642. RAYMUND KEOGHY, of the priory of Roscommon. Hanged. De Burgo 562. O'Heyne 265.
1642. Raymund Keoghe. Lay brother. Claimed by De Burgo as a different individual from Fr. Raymund Keoghy. De Burgo 563.
1647. JOHN O'FLAVERTY (O'LAVERTY) of Coleraine. Thrown into a river and stoned to death. De Burgo 574. O'Heyne 13 (12).
- 1647. RICHARD BARRY of Cork, prior of Cashel, tortured and slain there. At the capture of the Rock of Cashel some 3,000 people were killed. De Burgo 563. O'Heyne 67.
1647. MARGARET OF CASHEL, Tertiary of St. Dominic. Captured and slain by a party of soldiers whilst trying to warn her confessor at the taking of the Rock of Cashel.
1648. GERALD FITZGERALD, a student, and DAVID FOX, lay brother, of Kilmallock, slain in the church there. De Burgo 565.
1648. DONALD O'NEAGHTEN, lay brother of Roscommon priory. Slain. O'Heyne 265. De Burgo 566.
1648. JAMES O'REILLY, preacher and poet, laboured at Waterford, slain at Clonmel. De Burgo 566. O'Heyne 109.
1649. DOMINIC DILLON, Prior of Urlar. Beheaded at Drogheda. De Burgo 566. O'Heyne 229.
1649. RICHARD OVETON, subprior of Athy. Beheaded at Drogheda with Dominic Dillon. De Burgo 566. O'Heyne 229 (97).
1649. STEPHEN PETIT of Mullingar. Slain in Ballinacurra in 1649 or 1642 whilst hearing the confession of a soldier. De Burgo 562.
1649. PETER COSTELLO and WILLIAM LYNCH, both of Strade. Put to death. De Burgo 569.
1650. MYLER (MILES) MACGRATH (Michael of the Rosary), educated at Lisbon, where he was Vicar and Procurator. Hanged at Clonmel. O'Heyne 109. De Burgo 566.
1651. TERENCE ALBERT O'BRIEN, educated in Spain, Prior of Limerick, Bishop of Emly 1649. Hanged at Limerick. De Burgo 567. O'Heyne 81 (60).

1651. JAMES WOUOLF of Limerick, where he was hanged. O'Heyne 85. De Burgo 568.
1651. LAURENCE and BERNARD O'FARRELL, put to death at Longford, where the latter was prior. De Burgo 569. O'Heyne 51.
1651. AMBROSE AENEAS O'CAHILL of Cork. Slain by a troop of soldiers. O'Heyne 65. De Burgo 567.
1651. EDMUND O'BEIRNE of Roscommon. Captured by some soldiers of the garrison of Jamestown near Carrick-on-Shannon and beheaded by them. O'Heyne 265 (109). De Burgo 572.
1651. VINCENT GERARD DILLON of Athenry, vicar of Lisbon. Died in prison at York, having been captured at the battle of York when serving as chaplain to the royal army. O'Heyne 191 (87). De Burgo 569.
1651. JAMES MORAN and DONATUS NIGER (Black or Duff) lay brothers, and Richard Hovedon, all of Athenry. O'Heyne 191. De Burgo 570.
- 1651 WILLIAM O'CONNOR of Clonmel. Slain. De Burgo 569.
- 1651 THOMAS O'HIGGIN. Hanged in Clonmel. De Burgo 569.
1651. Stephen Petit of Athenry. De Burgo, 568, claims this man as a different person from the one of the same name killed in 1642 or '49.
1651. John Collins of Limerick. De Burgo, 568, rather improbably claims him as a different person from :—
1652. JOHN O'CUILLEN or O'QUILLAN of Athenry. Slain at Limerick. De Burgo 572. O'Heyne 191 (88).
1653. DAVID ROCHE, Prior of Glanworth. Transported to the Barbados and murdered there when caught saying Mass for the other Irish exiles. De Burgo 571.
1653. BERNARD O'KELLY, lay brother of Roscommon. Hanged at Galway. De Burgo 573. O'Heyne 265.
1653. THADDAEUS MORIARTY, doctor of theology and Prior of Tralee. Hanged in Killarney. De Burgo 573. O'Heyne 111 (66).
1653. HUGH MACGOILL (MACGILL). Novice master at Rathfran. Killed at Waterford. O'Heyne 227. De Burgo 574.
1653. HONORIA DE BURGO and HONORIA MAGAEN, Tertiaries of St. Dominic. Died of exposure at Burrishoole. De Burgo 572. O'Heyne (92).
1656. James O'Reilly of Coleraine. Killed by the Cromwellian soldiers. O'Heyne 13. De Burgo, 574, who points out that this is a different person from the James O'Reilly killed at Clonmel in 1648.
1657. John O'Laighlin, Prior of Derry. Imprisoned, strangled and beheaded. O'Heyne 5. De Burgo 574.

- 1665. RAYMUND O'MOORE of Dublin. Studied in Spain and at Lisbon. Died in Newgate prison in Dublin. De Burgo 575. O'Heyne 29.
- 1679. FELIX O'CONNOR. Studied in Spain, prior of Louvain and then Sligo. Died in Sligo jail. O'Heyne (102). De Burgo 580.
- 1702. John O'Morrogh (Murphy). Several times prior of Cork. Died in prison after four years' confinement. O'Heyne 69.
- 1703. JOHN KEATING. Spent some time at Louvain. Died Newgate prison, Dublin.
- 1704. CLEMENT O'CALLAGHAN (O'COLGAN) of Derry. Studied in Spain, visited France, and taught in Rome. Died in Derry jail. O'Heyne 5. De Burgo 584.
- 1707. DANIEL MACDONNELL of Urlar. Died in Galway jail. De Burgo 586.
- 1707. RANDAL FELIX MACDOWELL of Tusk. Educated at Valladolid, taught in Sardinia. Died in prison in Dublin. De Burgo 586.
- 1713. DOMINIC MACEGAN of Tralee. Studied in Spain. Died in Dublin jail. De Burgo 587.

II

THE IRISH DOMINICAN BISHOPS

(Including Dominicans of other nationalities appointed to Irish sees, and Irish Dominicans appointed to foreign sees. The names are placed in alphabetical order for each century.)

- Christian. Ardfert 1253-1255/56
- John Darlington (de Derlington). Dublin 1279-1284
- William Hotham. Dublin 1296-1298
- David MacKelly. Cloyne 1237-1238
- Cashel 1238-1253
- Marianus O'Donnover. Elphin 1296-1297
- Maurice O'Connor. Elphin 1266-1284
- John O'Lee (O'Laidigh). Killala 1253-1275
- Carbry O'Scoba. Raphoe 1266-1274
- Alan O'Sullivan. Cloyne 1240-1246
- Lismore 1246-1253
- Patrick O'Scanlan. Raphoe 1253-1261
- Armagh 1260-1270
- Reginald. Armagh 1247-1256

- William Andrews. Achonry 1373-1380
Meath 1380-1385
- John Aubry. Ardagh 1374-1394
- John de Eglescliff. Down & Connor 1322-1323 (when transferred to Llandaff)
- John Deping. Lismore 1397-1400
- Edmund of Caermarthen or Karmadyn. Ardfert 1331 (wrongly appointed owing to an erroneous report of the death of the bishop of Ardfert).
- Henry. Clonmacnoise 1337-1366
- Nicholas Ileyan. Kilmacduagh 1397-1399
- Roland Joyce (de Jorz). Armagh 1313-1321
- Walter Joyce (de Jorz). Armagh 1307-1311
- Henry Nony. Ardagh 1392 (wrongly appointed)
- Simon O'Curran. Kilfenora 1300-1303
- Philip of Slane. Cork 1321-1325/6
- Robert Read. Lismore 1394-1395 (when appointed to Carlisle)
- Thomas Rushook. Kilmore 1389-1393
- John Babynge. Tuam 1409-1430
- Richard Belmer. Achonry 1424-?
- Thomas Bird. Waterford and Lismore 1438 (wrongly appointed)
- James Blakedon. Achonry 1442-1448 (then appointed to Bangor)
- Oliver Cantwell. Ossory 1487-1526
- Walter de Leycester. Ross 1431-?
- Geoffrey Hereford. Kildare 1447-1464
- Adam Lyons. Ardagh 1400-1416
- Richard MacBrien. Elphin 1492-1499
- Nicholas O'Daly. Achonry 1436-1448
- Nicholas O'Flanagan. Elphin 1458-?
- Thomas O'Kelly. Ardfert c. 1403-1405
Clonfert 1405-1438
Tuam 1438-1440/1
- John Payn. Meath 1483-1506
- Richard Roscom or Bokum. Leighlin 1400-1413
- Simon. Connor 1458 (wrongly appointed)
- Denis White. Glendalough 1481-?
- Richard Wolsey. Down and Connor 1451 (wrongly appointed)
- John Coyn/Quinn. Limerick 1524-1555?
- Francis de Cordoba. Glendalough 1500-?
- Maurice Doran. Leighlin 1524-1525
- Cormac O'Coyne. Achonry 1556-1561

Andrew O'Crean (Xerea). Elphin 1562-1594
 Thaddeus O'Farrell. Clonfert 1587-1602
 Eugene O'Flanagan. Achonry 1508
 Eugene O'Hart. Achonry 1562-1603
 Denis O'Moore. Clonfert 1509-1534
 Quintin O'Quigley (Cogly). Dromore 1536-1538/9
 Peter Wall. Clonmacnoise 1556-1568

Dominic Burke. Elphin 1671-1704
 Oliver Darcey. Dromore 1647-1662 (?)
 Edmund Dempsey. Leighlin 1642-1658
 Ross Mageoghegan. Kildare 1629-1644
 Dominic Maguire. Armagh 1684-1707
 Thaddeus (Mac)Keogh. Clonfert 1671-1687
 Terence Albert O'Brien. Emly 1647-1651
 Dominic Daniel O'Daly. Coimbra. 1662

John Brett. Killala 1743-1748
 Elphin 1748-1756
 Patrick Brullaghan. Derry 1751-1752
 Thomas de Burgo. Ossory 1759-1776
 Peter Killikelly. Kilmacduagh 1744-1783
 Kilmacduagh & Kilfenora 1750-1783
 Ambrose McDermott. Elphin 1707-1717
 Michael McDonagh. Kilmore 1728-1746
 Stephen MacEgan. Clonmacnoise 1725-1729
 Meath 1729-1756
 Michael Peter McMahan. Killaloe 1765-1807
 Dominic O'Daly. Achonry 1725-1735
 Ambrose O'Connor. Ardagh 1711
 Colman O'Shaughnessy. Ossory 1736-1748
 Laurence Richardson. Kilmore 1747-1753
 John Thomas Troy. Ossory 1776-1786
 Dublin 1786-1823

James Joseph Carbery. Hamilton, Canada 1883-1887
 Richard Luke Concanen. New York 1808-1810
 John Connolly. New York 1814-1825
 Patrick Vincent Flood. Coadjutor, Port of Spain 1887-1889
 5th Archbishop, Port of Spain. 1889-1907
 Edmund French. Kilmacduagh, Kilfenora & Galway 1825-1830
 Kilmacduagh & Kilfenora 1825-1852

- Patrick Raymund Griffith. Vicar Apostolic, Cape of Good Hope
1837-1851
Vicar Apostolic of Western Province
1851-1862
- Thomas Raymund Hyland. Coadjutor, Port of Spain 1882-1884
- John Thomas Hynes. Bishop of Leros. Coadjutor, Zante-Cephalonia
1838-9 Adm. Apost. Demerara 1843-1846 Vicar Apost.
Demerara 1846-1857 (resigned)
- John Pius Leahy. Coadjutor, Dromore 1854-1860
Dromore 1860-1890
- Thomas Alphonsus O'Callaghan. Coadjutor, Cork 1884-1886
Cork 1886-1916
- William O'Carroll. Coadjutor, Port of Spain 1874-1880
- Francis Joseph O'Finan. Killala 1835-1837 (resigned)
- John Pius Dowling. Apost. Adm., Port of Spain 1907-1909
6th Archbishop, Port of Spain 1909-1940
- Finbar Ryan. Coadjutor, Port of Spain 1937-1940
7th Archbishop, Port of Spain 1940-
- Robert William Spence. Adelaide, Australia 1914-1934

III

LIST OF THE PROVINCIALS OF THE IRISH PROVINCE FROM 1536

- David (?) Browne. 1536-1550
- Thaddeus O'Duane. -1563-
- Eugene MacTugan. -1593
- Thaddeus O'Duane. 1594 (as Vicar)
1597 (as Vicar)
1600
- Daniel O'Crean (Credigan). 1600-1603
- Thaddeus O'Duane. 1604-1608
- Roland Burke. 1608-1612
- Thomas Quirke. 1612-1616
- Ross Mageoghegan. 1616-1622 (as Vicar Provincial)
1622-1627 (as Provincial)
- Nicholas D. Lynch. 1627-1631

Daniel O'Crean (Credigan) jun. 1631-1634

Edmund Dempsey. 1634-1638

James Hurley. 1638-1640 (?)

(?) Dominic Burke as Vicar Provl. 1641

(?) Dominic Nugent as Vicar Provl. 1642

(?) Anthony de Rosario as Vicar Provl. 1642

Terence Albert O'Brien. 1643-1646

Gregory O'Farrell. 1646-1650

William Burke. 1650-1659

John Harte. 1659-1668

Dominic Kelly, jun. 1669 (March to August)

Constantine O'Keeffe. 1669-1674

William Burke, jun. 1674-1682

Thaddeus O'Daly. 1682-1684

John Browne. 1684-1688

Gelasius McMahon. 1688-1694

Patrick Marshall. 1694-1700

Ambrose O'Connor. 1700-1709

Hugh Callanan. 1709-1717

Antoninus McGuire. 1717-1721

Stephen McEgan. 1721-1726

Colman O'Shaughnessy. 1726-1730

John O'Brien. 1730-1734

Bernard McHenry. 1734-1738

John Fottrell. 1738-1742

Peter Killikelly. 1742-1745

Michael Hoare. 1745-1749

Bernard McHenry. 1749-1753

Michael Shanley. 1753-1757

Thomas Plunkett. 1757-1761

Michael Hoare. 1761-1765

Thomas L. Netterville. 1765-1769

John Netterville. 1769-1773

Martin French. 1773-1777

Patrick Bray. 1777-1781

Thomas L. Netterville. 1781-1785

Thomas Dalton. 1785-1789

John Dolphin. 1789-1793

John G. Nugent. 1793-1797

Patrick Gibbons. 1798-1801 (As Vicar Genl.)

John O'Connor. 1801-1803

Bernard Mullany. 1804-1808

George H. Mohan. 1808-1812

- Patrick V. Gibbons. 1812-1816
 Francis O'Shaughnessy. 1816-1820
 John Kennelly. 1820-1824
 1824 (Oct)-1825 (Feb.) (Vicar Provl.)
 John Fallon. 1825-Jan. 1826
 Patrick Moore. 1826-1828 (Vicar Genl.)
 Andrew Fitzgerald. 1828-1832
 Peter D. Smith. 1832-1836
 William J. McDonnell. 1836-1840
 William V. Harold. 1840-1844
 Patrick Dunne. 1844-1848
 John Pius Leahy. 1848-1852
 Bartholomew Russell. 1852-1856
 Robert A. White. 1856-1860
 Bernard J. D. Goodman. 1860-1864
 Bartholomew Russell. 1864-1868
 Robert A. White. 1868-1872
 Thomas P. Conway. 1872-1876
 James J. Carbery. 1876-1880
 John T. Towers. 1880-1888
 Thomas J. Smyth. 1888-1892
 Cors. H. Condon. 1892-1896
 Louis Hickey. 1896-1904
 John C. Lyons. 1904-1908
 Michael O'Kane. 1908-1912
 Louis M. Ryan. 1912-1916
 James P. Dowling. 1916-1921
 Finbar Ryan. 1921-1926
 Humbert Donegan. 1926-1930
 Finbar Ryan. 1930-1934
 William J. Stephens. 1934-1938
 Mannes Cussen. 1938-1946
 Dominic Geelan. 1946-1949
 Thomas E. Garde. 1949-

A LIST OF THE SURVIVING IRISH DOMINICAN CHALICES PRIOR TO THE YEAR 1700

(Abbreviations. Buckley: J. J. Buckley, *Some Irish Altar Plate*, Dublin, 1943. *J.R.S.A.I.*: *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*.

1494. Thomas de Burgo et Graunia Ni Malle me fieri fecerunt Anno Domini MCCCCLXXXIV. The De Burgo chalice from the Dominican priory of Burrishoole, now in the National Museum, Dublin. Buckley p. 14.
- c. 1500. Calix portabilis Conventus Praedicatorum de Roscoman quem fieri fecit Magistar Hubuertus O Conchobair ejusdem Ordinis. Maynooth museum.
1595. Chalice now in Tralee given by the Galway Dominicans at the restoration of the former foundation. Round a medallion with Our Lady and Child, the date 1595 and Monstra te esse Matr. Monstra te esse filium. In modern lettering:—S. Crucis Restauratae Traliens Ord Praed ex. Dono S. Mariae Galv. ejusd Ord.
1631. Ex dono Anasta Madden pro Fratribus. Predic. Residentibus Waterf. anno Domini 1631. Dominican priory, Waterford. Buckley p. 53.
1632. Pertinet at Conventum Deiparae Gratiarum de Yeoghall 1632. Dominican priory, Cork. Buckley p. 54.
1632. Orate pro Anima Redi Patris frs Mauriti Graven et Caroli Hogan qui me pr conventu de Lorrha fieri fecerit Ano 1632. Under the foot:—Richd. Roche Fabrick Orate, and Very Red. Doctor Slevin Vic. Gen. Ardagh 1832. Mohill, Co. Leitrim. Buckley p. 54.
1634. Juana french me fieri fecit pro ussu filii sui Patris fratris Gregorii french ordinis Praedicatorum año Dñi 1634.
Dominican priory, Galway. Buckley p. 60. The Dominican Fathers in Galway possess 12 ancient chalices of 17th and 18th century dates, a full list is to be found in *J.R.S.A.I.* Vol. XLIX, pp. 187–188.
1635. Orate pro anima Dorothea Anslo alias Mulloy quae me fieri fecit septima die Aprilis Anno Domini 1635 pro conventu Portumnensi. Renovata sum an. 1821. Dominicans, Tallaght.
1636. Jacovus Kiranus Sacerdos Me: F: F. 1636. Dominicans, Sligo.
1636. Connals. Farraile et Rofa Garmley me fieri fecerñt ad usum ff pdictorũ Conveñ Roscomon Año D. 1636. Dominicans, Sligo. Buckley p. 66.

1638. Fr. Ramvndvs Morie Ordinis Predicatorum me fieri fecit 1638. (Fr. Raymund Moore's chalice.) Bishop of Kerry. Buckley p. 73.
1639. Orate pro Mauritio Gibbon filio Comitiss Albi Dom : Callaghanus. o. Callaghan et Juana Butler uxor eius fieri fecerunt pro conventu Killocensi ord. s. praed. e. priore fr̃ Henrico. ves. io. Tho. Burgat reqst. in pace 1639. Dominicans, Limerick. Buckley p. 76.
- c. 1639 when Henry Burgatt was prior of Kilmallock. Orate pro aabus Dni Joannis Burgat et Dnae Genelae ffant qui me fieri fecerunt filio fratribus Henrico V.C: 5 io Thomae Burgat ord: praed: Drum chapel, Co. Tipperary. Buckley p. 207.
- c. 1639. Orate pro Animabus Dni Joannis Burgatt et Dnae Genetae . . . qui me fieri fecerunt pro filio suo fratri Henrico Ord. Praed. Thos Burgatt. Irishtown parish church, Dublin.
1639. Frater Antonius Kenedy ad usum conventus lohrensensis me fieri fecit Año Dñi 1639. Dominicans, Galway. Buckley p. 77.
- 1639 Orate pro animabus Patricii Bodkin et Mariae French qui dicaverunt hunc calicem divae Virgini 1639. Dominicans, Galway.
1640. Calix Doñi inebrians qui preclarus est. Orate pro Aibus Thadei Duluhunty et Evelinae Meagher uxoris eius q me fieri fecerunt año domini 1640. Dominicans, Tallaght.
1640. Orate pro animabus Domini Thadei Kelly et Uxoris eius Sily Shaghinishy qui fieri fecerunt. An. 1640. Dominicans, Tallaght.
1640. Orate pro animabus Patritii Sarsfeld et Elenorae White qui hunc calicem fieri fecerunt. Spectat ad Con. Sti Salvatoris Lims. O.P., Dominicans, Limerick.
1640. Frater Dominicus Connor, prior Conventus Derensis Ordinis Predictorum me fieri fecit. Anno 1640. St. Columb's College, Derry. Buckley p. 83.
1640. Orate pro Donato Halorain et Uxore eius Sara Halorain qui donaverunt hunc calicem conventui B. Mariae Galvien. Ord. Praed. 1640. Dominicans, Galway.
1641. Patre Gulielmo Joannis Connor fr Gerardus Gould Terty. Ord. S. Francisci me fieri fecit, pro Con. Ord. praedicatorum Corcagiae anno 1641. Dominicans, Cork.
1641. R.P. fr̃ Joanes Gillaboy me fieri curavit pro contu Straden ord praed 1641. Dominicans, Tallaght.
1644. D. Marcus Joyce et Ana Bodken conjux eius me fieri fecerunt. Ano Dom. 1644. East Maitland, New South Wales. The chalice was brought to Australia and used by Fr. Christopher Vincent Dowling, O.P. (who died in 1873).
1645. Orate pro anima Fr. Ambrosii Madden Ordinis Praedicatorum

- qui me fieri fecit pro conventu Sancti Petri Martyrii Portumna. anno Domini 1645. Holy Cross College, Worcester, Massachusetts, U.S.A. Buckley p. 89.
1645. Orate pro anima D. Catharinae Archer Thomae quae hunc Calicem Ordini Praedicatorum Kilkenniae dedicavit 27 Martii 1645. Ex donis R.A.P. Netterville Proles Pro. Hib. O.P. Monialibus S.C.Pont. 1784. Sienna Convent, Drogheda.
1651. Orato p(ro) Caralo Sughrue qui me fieri fecit p(ro) Conventu Traliensi-Priore fre Thadeo O'Moriarty, 1651. Dominicans, Tralee. Buckley p. 97.
1652. Frater Dominicus Meagh me fieri fecit anno Domini 1652 o die 3 Aprilis. St. Mary's parish, Limerick.
1666. Pray for the soul of John Hart, Master of Sacred Scripture and a member of the Dominican Order who had me made for the Convent of Sligo in 1666. With a paten inscribed John Hart. Chalice and paten property of Mr. Bartley, Drumfin, Ballymote, Co. Sligo. On loan to Sligo Museum.
1669. Ora pro Thomas Fitzgerald et uxore ejus Cescilia Archard qui me fieri fecerunt Ano 1660. Sienna Convent, Drogheda.
1671. Orate pro anima Dni Edmondi Nangle qui curavit me fieri pro Conventu Longfordiensi Ano Domini 1671. Clough parish church, nr. Ballymahon.
1671. Orate pro aña Mariae Linch quae me fu fecit pro aña filii sui Thomae Browne defuncti 1671. Dominicans, Galway.
1674. R.D. Gerdg Stack p.m. me legavit Rd Do Michili Sinnick Ao 1751. R.I.R. Ora pro Dno Cornelio Mighane qui me fieri fecit anno Dni 1674. Dominicans, Cork. Buckley p. 110.
1682. Pray for Father Thomas Burke, 1682. Probably of Galway manufacture and ? O.P. Lent by Fr. Ambrose Coleman, O.P., to National Museum, Dublin. Buckley p. 115.
1685. Orate pro Dno. Gulielmo Cahill qui me fieri fecit. Anno: Do: 1685. Dominicans Dublin.

Undated, ancient chalices.

- 2nd half 17th century. Thomas Ronayne. Dom. Con. Athy. Buckley p. 191.
- c. 1680. Chalice, probably of Parisian manufacture in Dominican Convent, Cabra. No inscription. Buckley p. 192.
- c. 1645. Pertinet ad Monasterium Jesu Mariae Galviae. Dominican Convent, Galway.
- Composite chalice of 17th and 18th cent. dates. Dominican Convent, Galway. Pray for Agnes Browne 1640 (an inscription added later). Pertinet ad Monast. Jesu et Mariae, O.P., Galviae.
- Bowl of chalice c. 1715.

Stem & knop c. 1650.

Foot c. 1690.

Buckley p. 198. The chalices of Penal days unscrewed into their component sections for ease of transport and hiding, and it appears that in this case they were eventually wrongly re-assembled.

P: Fr: Raymu. dus Morus pro Conv. to. de Mollenger Ord: nis.

[Fr. Raymund Moore died 1665.]

R. d. catoru. me fieri fecit. Dominicans, Dublin.

V

ANCIENT STATUES AND OTHER MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS PRIOR TO 1700

The Kilcorban Madonna and associated figures. The Kilcorban Madonna is the oldest surviving Irish carving in wood of the Enthroned Madonna, and is thought to date from the time of St. Malachy. Kilcorban chapel was granted to the Brothers and Sisters of the Third Order of St. Dominic in 1446. From this Dominican period would seem to date the other wooden figures from Kilcorban, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Catherine of Alexandria, 2 Crucifixial figures and Our Lady and St. John. Catriona Macleod: *J.R.S.A.I.* Vols. 75 (pp. 167-182, pp. 195-203), 77 (pp. 53-62). O'Heyne/Coleman, p. 171, 259 (87). These figures are at present on loan to the National Museum, Dublin.

Our Lady of Graces of Youghal. A small ivory carving of Our Lady and Child, now much worn but probably originally painted and gilded. Dates from c. 1300 and is of French workmanship. Now enclosed in a silver gilt shrine, dated 1617. Inscribed: Orate pro anima Onoriae filiae Jacobi de Geraldinis qae me fieri fecit. Ref. Urban G. Flanagan, O.P., in *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, vols. LV and LVI. Originally preserved in the Dominican church in Youghal, now in the Dominican church in Cork.

15th century alabaster representation of the Trinity. Found walled up in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny. *J.R.S.A.I.* Vol. 77, pp. 53-62. In the Dominican church, Kilkenny.

- Our Lady of Limerick. A wooden Rosary Madonna given to the Limerick Dominicans by Patrick Sarsfield in 1640 in reparation for the execution of Sir John Burke of Brittas by Sarsfield's uncle. *J.R.S.A.I.* Vol. 77, p. 121-133. In the Dominican church, Limerick.
- Our Lady of Waterford. A 17th century Spanish statuette of Our Lady and Child, 14 inches high. *J.R.S.A.I.* Vol. 77, pp. 121-133. In the Dominican church, Waterford.
- Our Lady of Galway. A 17th century Italian baroque carving in wood of Our Lady and Child. *J.R.S.A.I.* Vol. 77, pp. 121-133. In the Dominican church, Galway.
- A second Rosary Madonna, almost identical with Our Lady of Galway, is preserved in the Dominican convent, Taylor's Hill, Galway. The nuns there also preserve a second ancient wooden statue of Our Lady and Child, thought to be of Irish workmanship and to have been copied from a 17th century Continental model during Penal times. *J.R.S.A.I.* Vol. 77, pp. 121-133.
- St. Dominic. An Irish carving in oak of St. Dominic, probably also executed during Penal days. *J.R.S.A.I.* Vol. 77, pp. 121-133. The only surviving wooden figure of St. Dominic in Ireland. In the Dominican church, Kilkenny.
- c. 1600. Pyx of Galway workmanship c. 1600. Inscribed Frai Gregorio Ferail and M.M. Fr. Gregory Farrell was Provincial of the Irish Dominicans from 1646 to 1650. He died near Longford and it is possible that the pyx passed to the Longford Dominicans who then gave it to Michael McDonagh, O.P., when he became bishop of Kilmore in 1728. The pyx was dug up in Cavan, and is now preserved by the Franciscans at Multyfarnham.
1629. Pyx. Base dated 1629. Inscribed : x A x D x fr: Magoinus Hugonis : de: collracule : ordinis pdicatorũ : conventiu : ñro : Sligoensi : me donuit. Collracule or Coolreçuill is a townland in the parish of Kilmacteighe, Co. Sligo, diocese of Achonry. Dominicans, Sligo.
- c. 1647. Pectoral cross of Terence Albert O'Brien, O.P., bishop of Emly. Dominicans, Limerick.
1669. Monstrance. Pater frater Richardus Kent Ordinis Predicatorum me fieri fecit pro conventu Corcagiensi, anno Domini 1669. Dominicans, Cork.
1669. Silver crucifix. Pater frater Joannes Ryegan Ordinis Praedicatorum me fieri fecit pro conventu Corcagiensi. Anno Domini 1669. Dominicans, Cork.
1683. Silver crown for the statue of Our Lady. Pray for John Kirowan and his wife Mary Kirowan 1683. Dominicans, Galway.

1644. Church bell made for the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, to which it has now been restored, after a long period of service as the market bell in Dunlavin. *Est Conventus S. Domici. Anno 1644.*

The Dominican nuns in Galway preserve some early examples of vestments, etc. worked by the nuns: notably an antependium of 1726 showing the giving of the Rosary to St. Dominic, a 17th century chasuble showing the Taking down from the Cross and the instruments of the Passion, and a chalice veil bearing the date 1683.

The 1666 John Hart chalice and paten, preserved by Mr. Bartley, are kept in a wooden Mass box with a set of dark purple vestments, a breviary, Roman missal, bog oak crucifix dated 1752, aspergillus, altar stone, 2 theological works published in 1593 and 1594, the Odes of Horace. The bell and the cincture belonging to the set of vestments are now missing. There is nothing to indicate whether any of these other items belonged originally to John Hart or any other Dominican, though it is possible that some of them may have done.

Silver oil stocks from the 18th century are preserved in the Dominican churches in Dundalk and Galway. Galway also has some old silver cruets for the wine and water at Mass.

Seals of some individual Dominicans and of the Dominican priories also survive. The National Museum has a 13th century brass seal of the Preaching Friars of Dublin. Other examples include the seals of Ballindoon and Burrishoole.

VI

IRISH DOMINICANS ABROAD

The careers, and even the names and dates, of those Irish Dominicans who worked in England, Scotland and the New World during the 17th and 18th centuries, are difficult to study and list completely. The following names therefore can only be regarded as a starting point for further research.

ENGLAND (chiefly in London)

Luke Armour (Venetian embassy chapel, d. London 1764): James Arthur (Chapel Royal & Somerset House, 1665-71): James Brennan

(in England from *c.* 1723, d. London 1748): James Butler (Portuguese chapel, 1721-46 or '8): Hugh Callanan (1671-72—in Queen Catherine's establishment): Dominic Delaney (from *c.* 1728 Austrian chapel, later Portuguese chapel. d. 1763 in London): James Dillon (1759 Neapolitan chapel, 1763 Portuguese, 1769 returned to Ireland): Patrick Donnellan (d. Richmond, Surrey, 1794): James Dowdall (1727 described as an Irish vagabond friar, 1724-27 Spanish chapel): James Fallon (London agent of Dr. Troy, Spanish Place church, d. *c.* 1792): Patrick Farrell (from *c.* 1727, Venetian embassy chaplain in 1761, d. 1764): James Thomas French (1773 left Lisbon for Sardinian chapel, London: 1782 in Galway): Patrick Gormley (London 1684-1708, d. before 1722): Dominic Kelly (1676 Portuguese embassy): Thaddeus Keogh (with the Marquess of Clanrickard, chaplain to the Queen 1669): Anthony McDermott (Salisbury mission Aug. 1830, Merthyr Tydfil later and then Berwick on Tweed, d. 1835): Patrick Matthews (1676): Thomas Moore (1759 Spanish embassy, 1762 Venetian, d. London 1778): James Moran (London, at least from 1737-54): Andrew Morris (1758-59): Terence O'Connell (in 1669 had been 28 yrs. in London): Cornelius O'Heyne (affiliated English province 1673, d. London 1685): John Baptist O'Sullivan (Chapel Royal 1685): Stephen Joseph Taylor (Neapolitan embassy 1770).

SCOTLAND

Dominic Bragen (Rome till 1767, then on Scot. Mission, in Glenlivet 1768-72, when his health broke down and he returned to Ireland where he d. 1777): Dominic Brullaghan (occasional visits to Scotland from N. Ireland in 18th cent.): Peter Cloan (1701-18, Glengarry and Lochaber): Dominic Colgan (1740-1746 when he fled with the Prince: later apparently novice master in Rome): Dominic Cornyn (left Rome 1760/1: the 1765 Chapter offered to send men to Scotland and in 1767 Cornyn was in that country. In the 1789 Chapter, Cornyn is postulated to be P.G. Newtownards, and said to be aged 50, professed 33 yrs., 26 yrs. on the mission): Christopher Dillon (*c.* 1716): George Fanning (? 1663-1678 Barra, d. Arisaig): Albert Hope (Shenval mission 1771-73): Bernard McHenry (*c.* 1726): Vincent Marianus (1658—date on his chalice in Morar): Patrick Primrose (1668-71): Michael Ryan or O'Mulrairie (Glengarry 1729-31, ? O.P.): Matthias Wynne (S. Uist. 1766-70, Scot. mainland till 1774 when returned to Ireland).

U.S.A.

Michael Nicholas Burke (1780-1800): Anthony Caffrey (returned to Ireland *c.* 1808): Thomas Carberry (1815-22 in U.S.A., d. 1829): Francis A. Fleming (1789-93): Christopher V. Keating (1789-95: d. CC, Delvin, Co. Meath, 1802): Bartholomew A. McMahon (1799-

1800): Dominic May (1794, d. on arrival in U.S.A.): William V. O'Brien (1789-93): John O'Connell (1786-89, when he went to Rome): John Philip Mark O'Reilly (New York 1829 till his death 1854): John D. Urquhart (U.S.A 1836-1844: Wellington, Ontario, Canada 1855-57 when he died).

ARGENTINE

Edmund Burke (1815-26): Anthony Fahy (1843-71).

WEST INDIES

Dominic Allen (Santa Cruz 1760, d. by 1761): Thomas Byrne (1734 Chapter said then 10 yrs back, "many years" in West Indies): Hugh Conway (West Indies, back in Ireland 1781, d. by 1793): Nicholas H. Crump (Antigua until 1760, Montserrat in 1763 and '71, d. by 1777): Patrick Dalton (in Rome to 1760, d. by 1777): Dominic Thomas Devenish (a convert. 1761 Lisbon to Santa Cruz, 1764 to Grenada, still living in 1777): Anthony Duan (Santa Cruz 1772-83 when returned to Ireland): James Flynn (Santa Cruz. In Youghal 1756, d. by 1765): Vincent Gavan (Fottrell papers list him in West Indies in 1738): Hyacinth Kennedy (to Santa Cruz 1758, d. by 1765): Vincent Lonergane (West Indies before 1742): Dominic Lynch (West Indies from 1735, when the Provincial gave him permission to go to the American islands. Montserrat in 1760—said to be then no longer able to work, d. before 1771): Michael McDonogh (De Burgo: *Hib. Dom.* p. 387, student in Rome 1729, died a missionary in America 1734): Denis Magrath (d. French West Indies before 1738): Ambrose O'Connor (d. before 1742 in West Indies): Dominic O'Kelly (West Indies before 1740).

VII

THE VARYING NUMBERS OF THE IRISH DOMINICANS

The diagram, page 198, shows the varying numbers of the Irish Dominicans, the total including those at home and overseas, students and lay brothers but not novices. The material from which the totals are calculated is often incomplete, and the real sum total may sometimes be slightly greater than that shown.

1593. 48. (four communities) Letter of Fr. Thaddeus O'Duane to the Master General.

1627. 148. Report of Irish Provincial to Propaganda. *Spic Oss. I.*, p. 156. (80 priests, 64 students, 4 lay brothers, the lay brothers, 50 of the priests and 31 of the students being in Ireland).
1643. 400. Report to Rome of Charles Invernizi. *Arch. Hib.* Vol. 6, p. 123.
1646. 600. (? half of these students and lay brothers.) Acta Gen. Chap. 1656.
1648. 300 or more. *Comm. Rin.* Vol. 3, pp. 558-9 (Oct. 19. 1648.)
1656. 150. Acta Gen. Chap. 1656. Cf. *Arch. Hib.* Vol XV, p. 31-33 noting in Ireland in 1658, 48 O.P.'s in Ireland, 8 having left Spain for Ireland, 28 in Louvain, 2 in Barbados and 2 in Inisboffin (these last four being prisoners).
1688. 321. *Registum Provinciae 1683-1711*. Including 37 students in Ireland and 15 lay brothers. Numbers overseas estimated.
1701. c. 200 priests. 80 in Ireland and 24 in Louvain. Report of Ambrose O'Connor in 1704 but in reference to 1701.
1738. Estimated at 260, including the numbers in the Fottrel papers (86 in Connacht, 33 Leinster, 23 Munster, 29 Ulster but making no mention of Naas, Tralee or Youghal). 16 in Rome.
1756. 253. 6 in London, 3 West Indies. 184 in Ireland, 26 Louvain, 21 Lisbon, 13 Rome. (De Burgo, *Hib. Dom.*)
1767. 212. Based chiefly on the Nettekville Catalogus. 151 in Ireland, 31 Louvain, 11 Rome, c. 8 Lisbon, 3+ Scotland, 6+ West Indies, 2+ London.
1800. 131. 100 in Ireland, 2 bishops, 1 Canada, 5 America, 5 Rome, 1+ London, 15+ Lisbon, 2 Italy.
1820. 90. 66 in Ireland, 2 bishops, 14 Lisbon, 5+ Rome, 2 U.S.A., 1 Argentine.
1829. 85. 59 in Ireland incl. 1 bishop, 9 Lisbon, 8 Rome, 1 Perugia, 1 Toulouse, 1 ? Madrid, 4 U.S.A., 1 France, 1 Brit. Guiana.
1846. 67. 40 in Ireland (*Catholic Directory*), 2 Australia, 8 Italy, ? 10 Lisbon, 2 U.S.A., 1 Argentine, 2 England, 2 S. Africa.
1875. 114. 56 in Ireland (inc. 1 bishop), 19 students, 25 lay brothers and lay-brother Tertians, 1 West Indies, 1 U.S.A., ? 2 Lisbon, ? 10 Rome.
1893. 125. 70 in Ireland (inc. 1 bishop), 28 lay brothers, 9 students, 7 Lisbon, 10 Rome, 1 West Indies.
1910. 164. 73 in Ireland (inc. 1 bishop), 32 lay brothers, 14 students, 18 West Indies, 6 Australia, 6 Lisbon, 15 Rome.
1921. 169. 77 in Ireland, 19 students, 31 lay brothers, 7 Australia (inc. 1 bishop), 15 West Indies (inc. 1 bishop), 6 Lisbon, 14 Rome.
1936. 221.
1955. 308.

THE STATUS OF THE IRISH DOMINICANS PRIOR TO THE REFORMATION

The letter of Berengarius de Landora, Master General, written to the Irish Vicariate of the English Dominican Province after the General Chapter held in London in 1314, and confirmed by Pope Boniface IX, Dec. 21, 1400.

In Christo Iesu sibi charissimis Prioribus, Superioribus, caeterisque Fratribus Ordinis Praedicatorum in Hibernia constitutis, Frater Berengarius Fratrum eiusdem Ordinis servus inutilis, augmentum continuum gratiae salutaris.

Novit vestrae dilectionis affectus, quod ad instar Praedecessorum Nostrorum gratiam intendens facere specialem, de voluntate, et ordinatione Diffinitorum Generalis Capituli Londini celebrati anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo decimo quarto vobis duxi concedendum, quod Priores Conventuales Hiberniae et Praedicatores Generales, et Socii Priorum a singulis Conventibus ad hoc ipsum electi, nominent tres Fratres de vestra natione ad regendum idoneos, et Provincialis Angliae teneatur unum praeficere ex eisdem in Vicarium Hiberniae, qui Prioris Provincialis in omnibus, nisi quando idem Provincialis in Hibernia personaliter praesens fuerit, plenam super vos habeat potestatem, et ubicumque inter vos in Hibernia teneat primum locum, cuius potestas non expirat, Priore Provinciali mortuo vel amoto; ipse quoque Vicarius singulis annis in uno Conventu dictae terrae Capitulum valeat convocare tenendum cum Quatuor Fratribus ad hoc secundum formam Capituli assignatis, qui plenam habeant potestatem ipsius excessus audiendi, et corrigendi, et ipsum, si necesse fuerit, usque ad Provinciale Capitulum suspendendi; idem insuper cum praefatis quatuor Fratribus excessus Priorum, et aliorum Fratrum ad suum Capitulum convenientium, et alibi in terris Hiberniae existentium audiat, corrigat, et emendet, nec alicui liceat facere protestationes, aut culparum reservationes ab eo contra suas ordinationes. Ipse insuper cum quatuor Fratribus memoratis in Capitulo habeat potestatem Lectores creandi, et ipsos ad disputandum licentiandi, et in illo Capitulo duo de Prioribus, vel Praedicatoribus Generalibus eligi debent, qui ad Capitulum Provinciale vadent pro omnibus, et ad idem Provinciale Capitulum acta deferant Capituli supradicti. Ipse tamen, qui vobis praest, veniat ad Provinciale Capitulum cum socio electo in illo Capitulo de quarto anno in quartum. Declaramus autem, quod Fratres Hiberniae possint interdum cedere iuri suo, quod habent in Capitulo Provinciali Angliae et in

electione Provincialis eiusdem Provinciae, et remanere propter pericula maris, et aliis de causis iustis, exceptis illis duobus Fratribus, qui ad memoratum Provinciale Capitulum sunt mittendi, ut superius est expressum. Volumus autem ut supradictus Prior Provincialis absolvi eum, qui vobis, praeest, ut utilitas et necessitas requisierit, habeat potestatem, et quod in Capitulo Provinciali Angliae Visitatores vobis annuatim mittat, sicut fuit hactenus consuetum. Caeterum cupiens dispendiis occurrere et periculis obviare, de memoratorum Diffinitorum Capituli Generalis, consilio, beneplacito et assensu, volo et ordino, quod si vester Vicarius aliquo casu exierit Hiberniam, de Consilio Discretorum unum de vestra natione nominare, ac sumere valeat, qui usque ad suum regressum vices gerat Provincialis, quas ipse gesserat, dum in Hibernia remanebat; et si in Hibernia praesens esset et in infirmitate, vel alio iusto impedimento, et legitimo detineretur, ut non posset ad secundum Provinciale Capitulum in Hibernia tenendum personaliter se conferre, de consilio Discretorum unum nominare, ac sumere possit, qui auctoritate Provincialis in Capitulo vices gerat, quas vices, si praesens fuisset, gessisset. Quod si memoratum Vivarium mori, vel amoveri contigerit, servetur forma in Constitutionibus tradita de Vicario Provinciali mortuo, vel amoto, quousque vobis provisum fuerit de Vicario secundum formam vobis superius traditam. Ad haec concedo de memoratorum consilio Diffinitorum et assensu, quod duos Studentes libere habeatis in Conventu Monasterii Oxon. et duos aequae libere in Conventu Cantabrigiae et tertium Studentem Parisiis pro rata terrae vestrae, ac duos Studentes Londin, alios vero Studentes habeatis in aliis Studiis Generalibus secundum ratam terrae vestrae supradictae. In Studiis vero particularibus Philosophiae Angliae aliqui vestrum apti de Hibernia assignentur. Quod si Fratres Angliae pro suis Studentibus in huiusmodi Studiis contribuant pro causa debita, et urgente, Vicarius Hiberniae pro Fratribus terrae suae contribuat inibi collocatis. Si vero Fratres Angliae non contribuant in studiis Philosophiae supradictis, vos ad huiusmodi contributione penitus desistatis. Potestatem autem mittendi hos Studentes ad Studia Generalia, et eos revocandi pro praedictae terrae rata, Vicario Hiberniae cum suis Diffinitoribus coniuncto de praedictorum Diffinitorum consilio, et assensu, vobis concedo. Item de praedictorum Diffinitorum consilio, et assensu, vobis concedo, quod ad contributionem pro Diffinitore Capituli Generalis, vel Socio, aut Provinciali, et Socio in anno Provincialium aut pro confirmatione Prioris Provincialis nullo modo teneamini sed solum pro Electoribus Magistri et vocatis ad Consilium, aut pro causa Monasterii in terra Roman, mota, seu imposterum movenda, si contingat, et etiam Cantabrigiae, si causa consimilis oriat, ad quas contributiones una cum contributionibus, si quae per Magistrum imponi

contingat Ordini in communi, teneamini iuxta ratum, terrae vestrae contingentem. Item concedo, quod Studentes in Anglia possint alienigenarum gaudere privilegiis, et quod possint Capitulis Provincialibus interesse, et quod quilibet Conventus Angliae et Valliae, Fratres vestros, expectantes passagium super mare, sicut suos teneantur recipere. Item cum legata communia Angliae in nullo teneant Fratres Hiberniae, concedo vobis, quod ad suffragia Angliae non teneamini, praeter ea, quae pro Rege et Regina et liberis eorundem fuerint gratiose. Item concedo de memoratorum Diffinitorum consilio et assensu, quod Vicarius, et Diffinitores sui Capituli in Hibernia possint restituere suos Poenitentes secundum formam restitutionis de restituendis Poenitentibus iuxta morem consuetum. Item volo de praedictorum Diffinitorum consilio et assensu, quod aliqui Fratres terrae vestrae apti, iudicio Discretorum, promoveantur ad gradus Baccalauriae et Magistratus, pensatis sufficientia et meritis personarum. Porro cum in actis Capituli Generalis Parisiis celebrati anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo sexto fuerit ordinatum, quod at Provincialem librorum volumina Fratris decedentis pertineant, volo et ordino, quod libri huiusmodi non ad Provinciam Angliae, sed ad Vicarium terrae Vestrae pertineant. Item concedo vobis de praedictorum Diffinitorum consilio et assensu, quod duos Fratres terrae vestrae mittere possitis ad Capitulum Generale, cum vobis videbitur expedire, pro vestrae terrae tuitone, et aliis vestris libertatibus conservandis. In quorum omnium testimonium, sigillum Nostrum, una cum sigillis Diffinitorum, qui affuerunt, duxi praesentibus apponendum. Datum Londini anno, quo supra, in nostro, ut dictum est, Capitulo Generali.

[Text as given by De Burgo in *Hibernia Dominicana*, pp. 49-50]

IX

A LETTER FROM ELIZABETHAN IRELAND

Fr. Thaddeus O'Duane writes to the Dominican Master General in 1593:—

Reverendissimo Magistro Generali Ordinis Praedicatorum, aut in ejus absentia suo Reverendo Patri Vicario Generali in Romana Curia. Supra Minervam.

Reverendissimo sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum Magistro Generali salutem et Obedientiam.

Quamquam (Vigilantissime Pastor) Regni nostri Hiberniae Professores Praedicatorum Ordinis, grassante persecutionis sevitia, hoc evo pestilento, variis generibus mortis pene perierunt, eosque adeo quod pauci remanent, quam (?) quatuor tantum monasteria vix gubernare

valent ; tandem Haereticorum prevalitudine, Reginae Angliae Auctoritate, et fortitudine impinguati et precincti, non potuimus, ab Annis multis in unum congregare, tum propter furoris persecutorum insidias, tum etiam propter locorum inopiam ac viarum discrimina variarum, ut pro competenti pastore conveniremus. Et quia, neque per nos, neque per interpositas personas pro oportuno (ob hoc) remedio non potuimus Vestrae Paternitati Illustrissimae nostrarum miseriarum Angustias demonstrare. Maxime, cum Reverendus noster Pater Provincialis (bone memorie) frater Eugenius Machugan, sibi hñae vitae termino aporinquant, dispersae gregis hujus provinciae, curam, nobis imposuit, et delegavit, licet huic sarcinae plurimum insufficiens. Quare propriis omissis, fraternae commodis vacare presumens, Charitateque communem preferre utilitatem, et in regimine deservire necessitatibus, habito Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Domino Jacobo Tuamensi Archiepiscopo, insignis simo viro, pro re publica, et catholica fide, tuenda, mihi, in verum tabellarium et fidelissimum propalatorem, salva eius (per omnia) Revendissima Dominatione omnia et singula quae erga nos in ista afflicta, et desolata Hibernia, ipsius Illustrissimi Domini ac discretionis Vestrae Dignissimae Paternitati, enucleanda (plenus) (?) committo. Sed quia illa auctoritas, sive potestas, iure expirat. Vestram idcirco vigilantissimam pastoralis sollicitudinem humiliter imploro, ut spiritali nostrae succurrat, et nobis aliquam dignam personam de nostro Ordine eligere, et confirmare in provincialem provinciae nostrae Hibernie, ac illi auctoritatem dare absolvendi omnes apostates nostrae religionis, qui per plures annos, extra suae professionis insignia, permanent excommunicati, quum ex sacrorum Canonum mandato, tenemini, tales ad sui Ordinis caulas reducere, ne animarum suarum, evidentius, dampnatione incurrunt, et religionis salus, pereat disciplina. Ceterum, quidam, Diocaeseum nostrae Provinciae, presertim . . . Dunensis et Connorensis Episcopi. Videntes nostram dispersionem, Privilegia exemptoria nostrae libertatis, totis viribus, infringere, ac deformare conantur, ut nos, et amena loca nostra ad ipsorum valeant trahere subjectionem. Ne ergo Ordo noster tantum auguriatur contra suae libertatis privilegia, temeraria in justitiae violentia, Obnixius rogo, quatenus Vestra Reverendissima Paternitas Sanctissimum Dominum Papam nostrum intercedendo consulere velit. Ut ex inhaustibili thesauro Divinae gratiae, cujus minister est, et pauperum dispensator, nos et loca nostra tam reformatorum, quam non Reformatorum tali dissuetudine, ac gravamine, gratia suae providentiae, exonerare dignetur. Demum placeat Vestrae Illustrissimae Paternitati quod fratres Ordinis nostri in Hibernia non reformati non habeant amplius sibi eligere Vicarium, sed subjaceant et obediant Patri Provinciali Nostrae Provinciae. Commendo me gravissimo meo patri Patri Sixto Fabri Lucensis, in cujus conspectu

steti per dies aliquot pro negotio nostrae provinciae in tempore felicitis recordationis sanctissimi Domini nostri Pii, Gregorii XIII. Deus optimus Maximus praeservet Vestram Illustrissimam Paternitatem ad annos incertos. Ex conventu nostro de Cubraham primo Augusti 1593.

Vester humilis in omnibus ad mortem ac fid . . .

Frater Thadeus O'Duane

Conventus Iligensis Ordinis . .

Prior ac Reverendi patris provincialis . .

Vicarius licet in . .

[Text from R. P. Mortier, O.P. *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*. Vol. VII. Paris 1914, p. 115.]

X

THE SINGING VOICE

From the poetry of Patrick Hackett, O.P.

[ΠΑΡΑΙΣΙΗ ΗΛΙΘΕΩ, Ο.Ρ. "ΙΑΡ ΤΙΟΝΝΣΗΝΑΪ ΤΟΝ ΕΟΣΑΪ ΣΟ ΝΑ
ΗΕΙΡΕΔΩΝ 1641"]

éirge mo dúitche le dia

Éirge mo búiúce le Dia,
 a mosclaó le Mac Mairia,
 seac na ndíonn bus daingean di
 daingean ós cionn na críci.

Θείῃ σου μητρί το ἡνάοι Διῖ
 βιοῦσά το ἐὺν βέας το ἡμάλαιρ,
 ὁ οἷο ἀν ἐατὰ τὰ ἐὺν
 το ἐρίο βέατὰ τὰ ἐμβιοῦσῶ.

1s mō as fada ofōso ōanba
so scuing nouaibsiḡ noanarōa,
atā 1 mbruinnēalailb broioe
fa truinnēallailb treamloioe.

'S nác raib tair ná ciorrbad crom
 ná ainbreac leir ná leatrom,
 's nár b'féidir cumáns i gcuing
 o'fuláns éigin nár fuluing.

Act an tan nár saoiléad sonn
 ó iomaó b'fioc is b'forlonn,
 mar gur éalma an moó nár mair,
 cor as banba n-a buaraig.

Do fíoir oia fonn fuinir;
 do síl dá súil trócuirig,
 ar suaisniú goimig na sceall
 's ar uaisliú oirir éireann.

Óar congbad bós n-a mbeatair
 do síol seilbe Saoireadair
 meic coisair fítre go rinn,
 crítre an cosnaim 's an coisill.

Go b'fíortar riú, do ráit breaig,
 o'aitbeodad glóire Saoirdeal,
 tar seal ainolige an fine,
 tairngire a b'fear b'ráistíne.

Óir go dtig istead go groud
 o'inis Saoirdeal ar seallsoo
 roigne an cuire éaoin san coir—
 a naomh uile 'sa héarloim.

Fác ór mosclad marcraó fáil,
 fác a dtionóil do tógbáil,
 dár scléirne fa scát an scor;
 fác na héirge ní huabhor.

Act roctain do rún cóibe
 go rot uactrac urcóide,
 lomlán do gléimh gránna
 do déimh a noigbála.

Gur las fianh ulaó go fían,
 maraon le gríobairí Sailian,
 caor ilreadta corcra cóir—
 sompla as inleanta o'donfóir.

Anois ós éirge don fonn
 oligró sac neac san neamfonn,
 ar bhuir fa teann ar a dtreáó,
 a cúir 's a céann do coiméat.

CAITFRO FÍR ÉIREANN UILE
Ó AICME GO HAONOUINE,
I 'DÉIR MBREIC NA MBINNCEANN SLIM,
GLEIC N-A TIMCEALL NÓ TUITIM.

MÁ'S ROCTAIN ARÍS ANALL
DON DROING UACBÁSAIS EACETRANN,
A NEART DÁ RIA I NGLÉIRE GLINN,
NÍ BÍD ÉIRE N-A HÉIRINN.

TRÍDSIN TOIRNEAD GAC NOUINE
O'FOIRNIB LEASA LAOGUIRE
SAN TSLAODÁN CAILE SAN CILL
LAODÁN A AIRE AR ÉIRINN.

NÍ HEAGAL DÓIB NÁMA ANOS
IS CEANA FÉIN SUR FOLLOS
A SAMAIL O'FÁL CIA DO CUIR—
A LÁM AG DÍD SAN DEABUÍD.

DO RÍOGRAD ÉIREANN UILE
TRÁT NÓ CORÓCE A SCOSMUILE,
A SCREIDEAM A SCLU 'S A SCÁIL
IS DÚ A DTEIBEAD NÓ A DCOGBÁIL.

"ÓS SO SUAS MUN SEASAM SO,
BÍOD GO TROM O'AITBHOR ORMSA,"
AR BFAÍD DÚINN, SÍD DÓIS, DO CAN,
"MÁ'S DÓIS SÚIL LENA SEASAM."

DÍD LEÓ 'S A MBÍODDA SAN BRÍG;
AN CÓIR ACA O'ÉIS IMÁNÍM;
CRÉAD AÉT TURUS TREÁN TUILE
A SÉAN FURUS IORGUILE?

APSTAL SAORDEAL Ó DO GEALL
NAC BÍAD CORÓCE GO COITCEANN,
AR FUD MÁCAR FLOINN IS LIR,
BÁDAD AR COING AN CREIDIM.

'S Ó DO COMAIL DÁ CLOINN FÉIN
FEAD A SÍCE GO SOILÉIR,
FEAD A SCOGAD BÍOD Ó BROID
DÍON A PÓBAIL AR PÁDROIS.

A DTEASTAIS O'MNEALL Ó'N FÓIR
ADÁ I MEANMAIN AN MÓRSLÓIS—
DO DÍE CACA A NGLÍOM 'S A NGL—
'S AR FÍOR CACA NA SCURAD.

Síť re'roile 1 réiřteac uis,
 řéill o'uaćtaránaib eóluis,
 sás na bporlann řcruařo oo ćor
 řo mbuařo řcomlann is řcoscor.

má leantair le řiannaib řáil
 a smaćť a řceart 's a řcongábail,
 ćeim oailře ní oleaćť oon řéim,
 reaćť an Coimřeař řa coimřéir.

MY COUNTRY RISES ON THE SIDE OF GOD

(When this war in Ireland began, 1641)

Translation by Fr. A. Valkenburg, O.P.

God be with my country in her rising, the Son of Mary rouse her.
 Besides the strongholds on her hills, may Angels guard her
 shores.

It is time, I think, for the spouse of Art to arouse herself and change
 her way of life ; from the hardship of the hour to arouse herself
 to Life.

For many long years Banba has endured the galling yoke of the
 foreigner ; dark clouds of misery encompassed her.

No humiliation, no suffering was spared her ; hers, every injustice and
 deceit that is the lot of the helpless and the weak.

But she was bred to heroic living. So, despite great suffering and when
 least expected Banba stirred in captive's chains.

God kept the Western Land in mind ; upon her persecuted Church
 and leaders He shed tears of pity.

Accordingly, of the royal race who ruled the land, He preserved worthy
 sons, brave in battle and valiant in defence.

That in them might be fulfilled the words of prophecy : after the years
 of oppression glory shall be Ireland's once again.

May this prophecy of her holy patrons be verified without delay for
 Ireland and her brave sons.

Not in overweening pride do the soldiers of Ireland take arms ; they
 gather their forces for the preservation of our priesthood.

For when a disreputable and envenomed gang unable to contain themselves strove to vent their rage upon the Church

Then the gallant Ulster hero with his followers of Tyrone kindled the all-consuming fire of justice ; an example not to be ignored by any nation.

Now that the country is in arms, it behoves each one of you to act manfully ; your life and property are at stake.

Every Irishman and every rank in this fair land of gentle hills must rally around her now, or fall.

If the ruthless foreign foe gain the upper hand once more and wreak their will, then Ireland will cease to be Ireland.

Not one person of the Irish race will escape their vengeance ; not a woman in the church to pray for Ireland's need.

But they need not fear any enemy, now that it is clear God's hand is in this struggle. None but He can defend so well.

Now strikes the hour for all the noble houses of Ireland : their survival or their overthrow is in the balance, likewise their religion and their fair fame.

The prophet's words to us : " Unless these stand their ground now, then though you reproach me, as sure as fate they will not stand another day."

With God on our side the enemy is powerless ; right soothes anxiety ; to what shall be compared our battle line, if not to the sweep of the flood tide ?

Because Ireland's Apostle promised that never in the land of Flann and Lir would the Faith be overthrown.

And since throughout their years of peace he kept his word, it is certain that in their peril Patrick will keep his people.

What is lacking of munitions is more than balanced by the fighting spirit of our forces ; their dash and bravery, and the right for which they fight make up for lack of allies.

Unity in arms and submission to wise authority, these are essential for final success in hard-wrought engagements.

If in mercy, justice and discipline—God's law, if in this the Irish soldiers are faithful, then victory will crown their arms.

XI

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE TIMES

A REPORT FROM SLIGO IN 1703

After the general exile of 1698, the Prior of Sligo, Fr. Patrick McDonagh, O.P., wrote a report on the property belonging to the priory of Sligo and the state in which it had been left when the friars were driven out. Written in Bilbao in 1703, it provides a vivid commentary on the life of the Irish Dominicans at the end of the 17th century.

The original of this letter appears to be lost. The following text is taken from copies extant in Tallaght and Sligo Archives:—

"Whereas men are mortall & noe man can glory of to-morrow nor promise himselfe years months or days & specially a man of my age & distempers, I found it both necessary & convenient to send ye an exact account of ye goods and effects of ye convent of Sligoe yt. you & ye. Rest of the Fathers of said Convent may for the future know ye. state & condition of said effects & goods if God were pleased to give them liberty to goe and revoke and recall ye. decree yt. banished us & moreover to manifest to those yt. lives as alsoe to posterity that as long as I had the management of ye. concerne of said Convent, I did nothing for my own privatt interest to ye. prejudice or ruine of them ould walls but all for the comon good & interest of ye. cont. according our Laws and Constitutions with mutual consent of ye. Fathers and according ye. circumstances of ye. times and necessity of ye. community.

Itt is known yt. ye. three hundred pound yt. ye. Rev Father Theodorus Conall left to our Convent was settled by ye. Bishop of Clonfeart fa Thady Keogh & by ye. R. Fa. Felix O'Connor in the hands of Mr. Nicholas French of Abort in ye. county of Gallway to buy soe many hundred acres of land hardby his owne estate for ye. use of ye. convent & to conceale this from ye. Government. Mr. Hugh Keogh of Sgiathbaile in ye. county of Roscomon brother to ye. aforementioned Bishop

was elected trustee to manage this bussness with fidelity & justice & yt. all might be well assured and in form of Law there was a deede of mortgage in full force of Law drawn between Mr. Nicholas Ffrench & Mr. Hugh Keogh and their heirs executrs. administors. & assignees by virtue of yt. deed Mr. Hugh had power to sell sett farme and dispose of said Lands as alsoe to recover receive & distraine & manage itt in all wayes as if itt were his owne proper estate and was to have yearly 30 shills. & 30 masses for his trust by ye. fas, of sd. convt. Mr. Hugh Keogh did oblige himselfe and his heirs by a publicke instrument to maintain our interest and right in said Lands during the being of said mortgage and to pay and . . . to ye. Priore of Sligoe or his assignees ye. sume of 30 pound ster. yearly in two different Gales wch. was accomplished by him & his heire with all fidelity until ye. warrs of Ireland.

Fa Michaiill O'Coñor being Priore of Sligoe tooke up twenty pound of our Principall in King James raigne & immediately after his death fa Gregory Nellus being Priore tooke uppe 30 pound and to my knowledge these 50 pound were spent and applied for the repairing and building of ye. cont. soe yt. ye. rent was reduced by this to five & twenty pound. Since ye. heate of ye. warrs of Irland we did not receive a peny of this rent until wee were banished in ye. year 1698. And this for reason. Mr. Nicholas French was most unjustly without right or reason deprived of his estate goods & chattles after ye. surrender of Limerick and reduced to extreame necessity. And Mr. Coll Keogh sone & Lawfull heire to Mr Hugh Keogh being our trustee and obliged by oure agreement to maintain our right & challenge oure interest being under a cloude & reduced by ye. warrs to poverty, wud not appeare or show his face in any court to gett us Justice. Nay immediately after ye. surrender of Limerick he began to play ye. cheate and betray trust as he did by taking upp twenty pound of oure Principall to redeeme his present necessity wthout our consent or advise, tho. I attribute ye. fault more to Mr. Nicholas French junior who payed him the said sume knowing he was only a trustee and yt. he cud nott lawfully touch ye. Principall without ye. convt.'s consent of which he has given since an account to ye. Just Judge.

It is certaine yt. ye. Fryers of Sligoe lost all their goods and effects by ye. unhappie warrs of Irland onely their challices and ornaments and were very poore and tho. they came to a head in ye. country they lived in a mean condition having butt from ye. hand to ye. mouth by reason wee cud benefit nothing by our mortgage & ye. country & oure benefactors were reduced and charity was very coulde in ye. hearte of Christians and when wee were forced to breake house and home by ye. act of Parliament and Leave ye. Kingdome our small effects cud nott pay our rent & debts.

There was a generall Licence given by ye Provll (?) of Ireland to

every Priore to dispose of ye. goods & chalices of every Convt. wth. ye. mutuall consent of his conventualls as he thought more expedient & convenient for ye. present necessity and for ye. future.

The fathers of ye. convt. of Sligoe having noe other effects nor 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 Lawfull before God and ye. world to make use of them than to perish in a foraigne country nott knoweing to what parte of ye. universe wud they be turned to nor what reception wud they gett amongst strangers.

It is most sure when ye. V. R. fa. M. fr. Felix O'Coñor was Priore of Sligoe ye. convt. had fiftheene silver chalices and three Pixis. The said fa died a prisoner in Sligoe in ye. heate of ye. Shaftesberry plott ye. yeare 1679. There was such a cruel & rigorous persecution in those days yt. none of ye. fathers of our convent cud assist him nor come neere him nor gett any satisfactory accounts of our goods and effects att ye. time.

I was immediately elected Priore after his death but ye. rigour of ye. persecution was soe great yt. wee cud nott settle ourselves for some years after nor know partly what effects we had. When ye. persecution ceased and wee settled ourselves I made an Inventory of our goods and effects. I found we had but seven Chalices in our possession. I made a narrow search & a straight inquiry after these chalices. I found a Chalice in ye. hands of John Duany merchant in Sligoe wth. a note under fa Felix O'Conor's hand in Lew of money. I redeemed ti presently. I found out another to be in fr Owen Mihans hands in lew of money he was then actually Parish Priest of Sligoe. I did endeavour to redeeme ye. same butt he did pawn ye. said chalice for more money than the convent owed him to John Bane Breanagh and with faire excuses he did putt me off untill he died. And John Bane sould ye. chalice to fa James O'Conall Parish Priest of Balisadere with an obligation & condition yt. ye. cont. of Sligoe cud redeeme itt.

There was another Chalice found in ye. hands of a Quaker in ye. raigne of King James in Dublin and by ye. inscription itt was knowne to belong to ye. cont. of Sligoe and ye. Quaker was brought before ye. Law and challenged for ye. Chalice and deposed yt. a woman in Sligoe sould him ye. said chalice for such a sume of money we had advice from Dublin of ye. matter & wee sumoned ye woman (wch. was Owen O'Mihan's mother) before a Roman Catholicke Justice of Peace & she deposed uppon oath yt. ye. said Chalice was given to her sone fa. Own O'Mihain in lew of a considerable sume of money by fa. Dominick O'Conor or fa. Felix O'Conor severall years agoe but he concealed ye. said Chalice from us in life & death.

Fa Felix O'Conor gave fa Con McDonogh when he was made Prior

of Ballinduine out of charity and kindness ye. use of a vestment and a Silver Chalice. Fa. Con gave ye. said Vestment & Chalice to fa. Loughlan Brehon in lew of money and he did never redeeme them neither wud the Priest uppon any account deliver them untill he wud be paid of his money tho we did challenge legally both ye. Vestment & ye. Chalice.

Fa Michaiill Hart tooke a Vestment & a silver chalice yt. was uppon the altar in Sligoe by force from bro. Pattrick MaGerahty in ye. latter end of ye. Shaftesberry plott and did pawne them for money in ye. hands of a Protestant and wee cud nott by any way oblidge him to redeeme or restore back ye. vestment or Chalice. Fa Michaiill Hart brought a Vestment & Chalice to France att ye. surrender of Limerick soe that we had only ten chalices when peace was concluded in Irland.

These ten chalices were disposed of as followeth.

There was a very handsome chalice left in Charles Harris custody wch. was made for ye. cont. by ye. R. fa. M. fra John Harte with his inscription. It is true he gave us a little small silver chalice yt. was very oulde and broken to our present use by way of exchange untill we wud returne from our banishment. There is a large chalice and a Pixis left in ye. custody of fa Denish Kieragain Parish Priest of Sligoe in lew of forty shills. Fa Luke Lydan left a vestment and chalice in ye. hands of fa. Brian King yt. was coadjutor to his brother fa. Danul Lydan in ye. Parish of Drumcliffe in Lew of 50 shills. or thereabouts.

There was another chalice and a great Pixis left in ye. hands of ye. nuns of ye. Order in Gallway in Lew of money.

There was a vestment and a Chalice left in ye. hands of Mr. Bartly O'Maly in Sligoe in consideration of debts ye. cont. owed him since before ye. warrs.

There was another Chalice given to Mr. Nicholas Lynch Fitz Ambrose in satisfaction of money he gave to Fa Gregory Nellus in Gallway when he was Prior of Sligoe but ye. sume. was lesse than ye. weight of ye. chalice butt he paid the overplus. When I had Licence to dispose of ye. effects of ye. cont. for ye. fryers use & necessity I found itt an obligation on conscience to pay our lawfull debts.

There is a good large chalice in ye. hands of fa Gregory Nellus in Ireland. And I left two finde chalices and a remonstrance with rich ornaments & utensills belonging to ye. altar deposited in ye. hands of Mr. Nicholas Lynch Fitz Ambrose in Gallway. I have here a little small chalice and a very small Pixis in my custody for cont. of Sligoe yt. fa Thos. Haran had.

Itt is certaine before we agreed to dispose of our chalices I tooke all ye. means possible to gett a sume of money from our trustee Mr. Coll Keogh uppon ye. account of our mortgage to put ourselves in a way to leave ye. kingdome : but all was in vain for he seeing wee must of

necessity forsake ye. Kingdome he did expect to make a booty of our interest & have itt at his own disposition. To this purpose I gave him a meeting in ye. county of Gallway much aboute ye. April 98 and another in ye. county of Roscoman desiring him the deede and our papers for I did resolve to take ye. deede out of his hands by civil ways for feare of ye. worse and tho he appeared according his promise when he understood I did resolve to take ye. deede out of his hands he rund away with ye. deede and never saw a sight of him since. By this disceitful and vile action he discovered his mind and to hinder any Assigne he might have for ye. future after consulting and considering ye. matter seriously with ye. fathers I sould all our interest to Councillor Terence McDonogh in Gallway before we were confined and gave him a deede of our interest in full form of Law signed sealed and delivered by myself and ye. rest of ye. fathers and received money as itt was agreed for ye. said interest in ye. presence of good wittnesses both Roman Catholicks and Protestants (All this was pro forma for I repayed the money backe to prevent Mr. Keogh's proceedings).

God knows what toile trouble and labour I tooke to leave this business in good order and to assure itt to posterity. As I mentioned formerly as long as Mr. Ffrench was out of ye. possession of his estate we benefited nothing by our mortgage and at our leaving ye. kingdome considering our greate necessity and ye. mean condition of Mr. Ffrench in satisfaction of ye. arrears and gave him under my hand an instrument for ye. said sume and I divided the money equally between ye. fathers of wch. verily they had need.

I did consider yt. itt was nott lawful in conscience to oblige ye. honest gentleman to pay us our interest during the time he was out of ye. possession of ye. estate. Whereas our trustee Mr. Coll Keogh might legally and lawfully challenge our interest and recover yearly ye. benefit of our mortgage of him yt. had Mr. Ffrench's estate being hereunto obliged both in conscience and by ye. law according our agreement.

The year 1698 wch. was ye. year of our transmigration Mr. Nicholas Oge Ffrench recovered his estate and got peaceable possession of ye. same and is obliged yearly since yt. time to pay ye. sume of 25 pds. ster. which in this year of our Lord 1703 makes a considerable sume of money.

Fa Thomas Harnan a sone of Sligoe who died in this Hospitium of Bilbao ye. 22 of July 1701 who in his life was a very honest civil religious man—died like a religious man with a deal of resignation to ye. Will of God assined in his perfect sense and understanding if itt were convenient he had a desire to leave some small monument to his cont. if after his funerall expenses and ye. rest of his obligations there was any of his small effects left. Wch. I did punctually fulfill & accomplish. I got him burried as honourably as any religious man

was in Bilbao these many years and after paying for his funerall expences and all his obligations and after I caused one hundred masses to be celebrated for his soule of all yt. remained of his effects I caused a very handsome chalice to be made for the cont. of Sligoe's use with this inscription—Ora te pro añā R P fr Thomas Haran qui me fieri fecit pro contu. Sanctae Crucis Sligoensis—I have the chalice actually in my custody.

I left a finde crucifixe in ye. hands of Madam Elenor Ruairke Councilr Macdonogh's lady. Another crucifixe in Mrs Malys custody another in Mrs Agnes Ffrench's custody and another in fa. Teige Higgin Parish Priest of Ballymote's custody as also have a dozen of books. ye. library of ye. cont. was lost in ye. warrs only what I had in my custody. I did order these and what other odd books were found to be delivered to fa. Richard Cluaine Parish Priest of Killoshin in ye. barony of Seyney to be kept for ye. cont. of Sligoe.

I left in Mr. Jasper Brett's custody an English Bible with annotations. Itt is a Roman Catholic translation. I send him also a little box I had where were two or three books and some Irish sermons and severall papers aboute ye. meaning of our limitations and districts wch. may be very necessary for posterity.

This is ye true account of ye. state and condition of ye. goods & effects of ye. convt. of Sligoe.

As witnesse my hand ye. 30th day of
June 1703 († in Bilbao) fr. Patrick McDonogh

XII

THE BLESSING OF GALWAY BAY

Text of the blessing of boats, nets and of the sea, as used by the Dominican Fathers in the annual blessing of Galway Bay. It comes from a collection made by Very Rev. Bernardo Sannig Ord.S.Franc. (Reformer), "*Collectio sive apparatus absolutionum Benedictionum* etc." Bassani, 1825.

LX. BENEDICTIO NOVAE NAVIS

V. Adjutorium nostrum, etc.

V. Dominus vobiscum, etc.

OREMUS

Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et benedic Navem istam Dextera tua Sancta, et omnes, qui in ea vehentur, sicut dignatus es benedicere Arcam Noe ambulantem in Diluvio; porrigere ei Domine

dexteram tuam, sicut porrexisti B. Petro ambulanti super mare ; et mitte Sanctum Angelum tuum de Caelis, qui liberet, et custodiat eam semper a periculis universis cum omnibus, quae in ea erunt ; et famulos tuos, repulsis adversitatibus, portu semper optabili, cursuque tranquillo tuearis, transactisque, ac recte perfectis negotiis omnibus, iterato tempore ad propria cum omni gaudio revocare digneris. Qui vivis, etc.

(Aspergat Navem aqua benedicta)

LXIII. BENEDICTIO RETIS

V. Adjutorium nostrum, etc.

V. Dominus vobiscum, etc.

OREMUS

Quaesumus, Pater Omnipotens, aeternae Deus, ut mittere digneris benedictionem tuam sanctam in istud Rete, quod benedicimus in Sancto tuo nomine, et Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et Spiritus Sancti, quemadmodum benedicere dignatus es Sanctorum Apostolorum tuorum Rete, cum dixisti eis ; Mittite in dexteram navigii Rete, et invenietis, impletumque est multitudine Piscium ; ita nos non propter nostra merita, sed propter tuam clementiam, adjuvare digneris tua gratia, ut de tuis donis tibi semper gratias agamus, qui es Benedictus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

(Aspergatur aqua benedicta)

LXII. BENEDICTIO PRO COPOISA PISCATIONE

V. Adjutorium nostrum, etc.

V. Dominus vobiscum, etc.

PSALMUS 8

Domine Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra. Quoniam elevata est magnificentia tua super caelos.

Ex ore infantium, et lactentium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos ; ut destruas inimicum, et ultorem.

Quoniam videbo caelos tuos, opera digitorum tuorum, lunam et stellas, quae tu fundasti.

Quid est homo, quod memor es ejus ? aut filius hominis, quoniam visitas eum ?

Minuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis, gloria et honore coronasti eum : et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum.

Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus, oves et boves universas : insuper, et pecora campi.

Volucres caeli, et pisces maris, qui perambulant semitas maris.

Domine Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra. Gloria Patri, etc.

V. Domine, exaudi orationem meam, etc.

V. Dominus vobiscum, etc.

OREMUS

Magnifica, quaesumus, Domine Deus, super nos misericordiam tuam; et sicut multiplicasti quinque panes, et duos pisces in deserto, ex quibus satiasti turbam quinque milla hominum, ita nunc potentissima, ac providentissima Benedictione multiplicare dignare ad usus humanos, cunctos Pisces, qui ex hac aqua generantur, ut tua liberalitate refecti tibi gratias agere, et nomen tuum perpetuo laudare valeamus. Per Dominum nostrum, etc.

V. Dominus vobiscum, etc.

Sequentia S. Evangelii secundum Joannem. Ch. XXI, 1-14.

R. Gloria tibi, Domine.

Dicatur Canticum, Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino, etc., et Psalmus 148, Laudate Dominum de caelis: Laudate eum in excelsis, etc.; per totum et postea Evangelium Lucae, ut sequitur:

V. Dominus vobiscum, etc.

Sequentia S. Evangelii secundum Lucam. Ch. V. 1-7.

R. Gloria tibi, Domine.

OREMUS

Deus, cujus providentia in sui dispositione non fallitur, a quo bona cuncta procedunt, sine quo nihil est validum, te supplices exoramus, ut Benedicendo benedicas rore tuae gratiae Caelestis hanc Aquam, ut commode ad usus fidelium tuorum multitudinem Piscium ex ea extrahentes, te summum Rectorem; Gubernatorem, et dispensatorem agnoscant, diligant, et venerentur. Rogamus etiam te, Domine, labores manuum servorum tuorum ne despicias, sed tua Sanctissima benedictione ab eis cuncta noxia submoveas, et omnia eis bona profutura concedas, Per Dominum nostrum, etc.

Dicatur Antiphona, Beata Mater, et Canticum, Magnificat. Et dum dicitur, aspergatur latitudo Piscationis, prout fieri poterit, aqua benedicta, et postea repetatur Antiphona, Beata Mater, et intacta Virgo gloriosa, Regina mundi, intercede pro nobis ad Dominum.

V. Ora pro nobis, Sancta Dei Genitrix.

R. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

OREMUS

Deus qui Virginalem aulam Beatae Mariae, in qua habitares, eligere dignatus es, da quaesumus, ut sua nos defensione munitos, jucundos facias suae interesse commemorationi. Qui vivis, et regnas, etc.

Benedictio Dei Omnipotentis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, descendat super Aquam, super haec Retia, super nos omnes, et maneat semper. Amen.

(iterum aspergatur, etc.)

XIII

IRISH DOMINICAN FOUNDATIONS

Existing houses in CAPITALS : houses of refuge in *italics*. Date of foundation, dedication, note of existing mediaeval ruins, pilgrimages to the site (patterns), last friars to work in the area of now extinct foundations.

Aghaboe, Co. Leix. 1382, St. Canice. Ivy grown ruin of church ; some windows erected as a "romantic folly" in the drive at Heywood, Ballinakill, Leix. Last Dominican to work in the area, Patrick Keely c. 1780.

Arklow. 1264, Holy Cross. Ambrose O'Connor d. 1757, P.P. Glendalough, lived at Castlecavan, Wicklow. James Murray d. 1767.

Athenry. 1241, St. Peter and Paul. Ruin of mediaeval church in Athenry. *Esker*—given up 1895, the last Dominicans resident there being Anthony Blake (d. 1898) and Eustace Murphy (d. 1910). The Esker Dominicans' chapel now incorporated in the Redemptorist college. Pattern on feast of Epiphany for blessed water from St. Dominic's Well. Our Lady's Well, outside Athenry in the Esker direction, also still visited, and may have Dominican connections.

ATHY. 1253 or '57, St. Dominic. Protestant church tower said to be built with stones from the mediaeval priory. A Georgian house near the graveyard is pointed out as the Dominicans' residence prior to their move to the present house, and a turf shed alongside is said to have been a Mass chapel.

Ballindoon. 1507, St. Mary. Very perfect shell of church with a striking tower with saddle-back roofs. Dominicans later had a cabin in a bog at Friarstown and another was P.P. Highwood. Dominic Burke, d. within the 1st decade of the 19th century. St. Dominic's well below the church, and the pattern there still remembered.

- Burrishoole. 1486, St. Mary, but in unofficial existence for a considerable period before apostolic approval for the foundation obtained. A very perfectly preserved church and fragmentary remains of the priory. St. Dominic's well (still visited) on a ridge above. Anthony Caffrey d. 1811, the last Dominican known certainly to have worked in the district, but there are local traditions of a still later Friar Horan. There was a big pattern here in the 19th century on August 4th.
- Carlingford. 1305, St. Malachy. *Haggardstown & Kilcurly*. DUNDALK. Ruin of mediaeval church and priory in Carlingford.
- Cashel. 1243, St. Dominic. Ruin of mediaeval church below Rock of Cashel. Michael Kavanagh, d. in Limerick 1826. John Conway d. 1866. Thomas Cantwell d. 1839.
- Castlelyons. Documents proving an ancient Dominican foundation here said to have been in existence in James II's time, when the friars returned to Castlelyons. Two ruins, a very complete one of a friary church and convent, the other part of the tower of a friary church. The 1808 Chapter: Patrick Lonergan (d. 1819) to be P.G. Castlelyons.
- Cavan. Claimed as an ancient Dominican foundation in Confederate times; 5 Dominicans were working in parishes in the area in 1767, but they had all left the area by 1780, when Bernard Brady of Cavan came back to Ireland from Louvain and is to be found working, not in the Cavan area, but in the diocese of Dromore. The last friars in the Cavan district seem to have been: Patrick Sheridan, d. before 1785, Patrick Bacon, aged 60 in 1767, Thomas Fitzsimons aged 53 in the same year and P.P. Drumslane (to the E. of Cavan town), Dominic McKiernan, Patrick Kiernan of Drogheda, who d. before 1804; Andrew Smith, probably the same as Patrick Smith, also dead before 1804 and who was chaplain to a family in the area. Anthony Foy, C.C., Naul, Co. Dublin 1799 was also affiliated to Cavan, and James O'Reilly was received at Louvain for this house in 1767. The last Dominican to have any Cavan links seems to have been Rochus McCabe, d. 1824, P.P. Naul 1799—1820 when he retired to Balbriggan. He is listed in 1800 as Prior of Cavan.
- Clonmel. Perhaps originally an outstation of Cashel. The Dominicans had a house here in Confederate times but were ejected by 1660.
- Clonshanville, Co. Roscommon. 14th cent. Holy Cross. Ruin of choir and tower. Pattern on St. Dominic's day in the 18th cent. Dominic Cuniff and John Daly—alive in 1800 but d. by 1804.
- Clounymeaghan. 1488, St. Dominic. Remains of a rather roughly built church and fragments of the convent in the graveyard near Bunnanadden.

- Coleraine. 1244, St. Mary. Thomas Traynor and Patrick McHenry, both dead by 1804.
- CORK. 1229, St. Mary.
- Derry. 1274, St. Dominic. Valendine O'Donnell and Henry Donnelly, both d. by 1793. In 1801, Peter Crudden aged 35 postulated P.G. Derry and may have lived thereabouts. In 1829, Daniel Conwell aged 58 and P.P. Donoughmore, Co. Tyrone, said he was a Dominican but had lost all contact with the Order for 29 years.
- DROGHEDA. 1224, St. Mary Magdalen. The tower alone survives of the mediaeval church. At the foot of Mill Lane is the house occupied by the friars at the end of the 18th cent. before the move to their present location. They also worked in the parishes round Drogheda during penal times.
- DUBLIN. 1224, St. Saviour. Original priory on the site of the Four Courts. Later in Cook Street till 1698, from early 18th cent. in Bridge Street, moving c. 1782 to Denmark Street, finally to present position in Dominick Street, where the church was completed 1861.
- DUNDALK (see Carlingford).
- GALWAY. 1488, St. Mary.
- Glanworth. 1475, Holy Cross. Shell of church. St. Dominic's well on the riverside below, much frequented at least till early 19th cent. John Walsh, William Quirke d. by 1804; Thomas O'Donnell d. by 1789. John G. Nugent, P.P., Mitchelstown, d. by 1815.
- Gola (near Enniskillen). According to O'Heyne the Dominicans first settled here in 1660. James McMahon d. by 1804. Joseph McKay d. by 1815 but apparently worked in Cork. Thomas Mohan d. by 1804 and George Mohan d. by 1817. C.C.'s in Co. Monaghan.
- KILKENNY. 1225, Holy Trinity. "The Black Abbey." The only mediaeval Dominican church in Dominican hands and restored to Catholic use.
- Kilmallock. 1291, St. Saviour. Very perfect remains of church and priory. Paul Slattery d. 1787. Anthony James Duane, d. 1815, working in Kilmallock 1788-'90.
- LIMERICK. 1227, St. Saviour. A wall of the mediaeval church and some carved stones in the grounds of the Convent of Mercy. Walls also stand of the Dominican chapel in Fish Lane, in use 1780-1815.
- Longford. c. 1420, St. Brigit. *Kilcommoc*—of which the ruin of the house still stands. The last Dominican to live in Kilcommoc, Bryan Keenan d. 1817. The last to work in the district, Denis

- Scally, C.C., Carrickedmund, Ardagh 1817-1842; John O'Connor, P.P., Drumlish 1768-98, d. nr. Lanesborough 1836.
- Lorrha. 1269, St. Peter Martyr. Very perfect mediaeval church. Antonine Biggs d. c. 1805. Alexander Thomas Fitzgerald d. 1833—who left Lorrha in 1815 for the U.S.A., returning to Ireland c. 1830, dying in Kilkenny.
- Mullingar. 1237, St. Mary. Laurence Fitzgerald, P.P., Mullingar, d. 1797; 1808 Chapter lists James Hope as prior of Mullingar—he was C.C. Mullingar and d. 1819. Also of Mullingar at this time, John Walker d. c. 1820; Laurence Fottrell d. 1808, Thomas McKeon, Adm. Dysart (nr. Mullingar) d. c. 1825 and Patrick Halligan, C.C. Clara 1797, resigned 1821, d. by 1825.
- Naas—*Yeomanstown*—NEWBRIDGE. 1356, St. Eustace. Traces of the foundations of the Penal days chapel at Yeomanstown beside the R. Liffey.
- NEWRY. 1871, St. Catherine.
- Newtownards—*Burren* ($\frac{1}{4}$ m. S. Castlewellan R.C. Church)—*Money-scalp* ($\frac{1}{2}$ m. E. X rds at E. end Lough Island Reavy). 1244, St. Columba. The shell of the Dominican church survives in Newtownards, with a fine series of arches between nave and aisle. At Burren, nothing remains to mark the site; at Moneyscalp a barn is on the site of the friars' house, their doorstep is preserved in the front of the hearth of the adjacent farmhouse, Mass rock sites on either side of this spot are still pointed out. Dominic Cornyn, P.G. Newtownards 1789, aged 50, had been working in Scotland, d. 1797-1804. Peter Patrick Rice, Prior Newtownards 1799/1800, d. before 1804. Fr. Burns (Byrnes) d. c. 1817 aged 74 or 75 and buried in the old graveyard of Kilcoo. Fr. Burns lived mainly near Burrenreagh, the Moneyscalp house having been given up some time before.
- Portumna—*Boula*. 1414, St. Mary and SS. Peter & Paul. Extensive remains of church and priory in Portumna. At Boula, the Georgian house in which the friars lived until they left in 1899, and also their church, now a chapel of ease for the district. In 1899, the Boula community consisted of Thomas G. Hughes (d. 1906), Reginald Corbett, and a lay brother Antoninus Monahan. There used to be a great gathering at Boula on St. Dominic's day, and a special Mass is still celebrated in the church there on August 4th.
- Rathfran. 1274, Holy Cross. The church is still very complete; the foundations of the priory were excavated and clearly marked by low walls by the Board of Works in 1930. A pattern on St. Dominic's day up to early 19th cent. In 1756, there were

five friars living in a cottage at nearby *Mullaghmacroiste*. Denis Meagher d. between 1785 and 1789. John Barrett (prob. the same as Thomas B. who took the oath Aug. 1779). John Blake, titular prior in 1779 but apparently resident Strade—d. 1786/7.

Rosbercon (New Ross). 1267, St. Mary. James Heynes P.P. Glenmore & Slieveroe, d. 1776. Dominic Quirke, worked at Slieveroe at least occasionally 1776–84; d. c. 1804 at Thomastown.

Roscommon. 1253, St. Mary. Ruins of the church and elaborate tomb of Felim O'Connor. *Mary Hill*—various sites occupied by the Dominicans: probably Faartan (ante 1720), Kilbegnet (1731), Mount Mary (Friary land) (? 1738–88), Creggs (? 1788–91), Gortnadeeve (? 1792–1806), Castlecoote and Fuerty (1806–1872). The 1682 Roscommon Chapter was held at Athleague. Michael Keen d. 1834 in Sligo. Charles Mullins d. c. 1834, ? in Sligo. Bartholomew Kielty d. 1830, P.P. Athleague. Bartholomew H. Keher d. 1872, P.P. Athleague and Fuerty and apparently alone there after 1830. Prior Roscommon from 1829. The Roscommon community's affairs were finally wound up in 1844.

SLIGO. 1252, Holy Cross. Well preserved ruins of church and priory. The walls of the Pound Street chapel (Connolly Street) also still stand, and the adjacent house in which the Dominicans lived from 1783 until they moved to their present priory in 1865.

Strade. 1252, Holy Cross. Ruin of church with very fine stone carvings. In 1779, Thomas McNicholas was prior and building a house elsewhere with the intention of leasing Strade. His nephew William was with him. Timothy Fitzmaurice d. 1833. Edward Clarke, P.P. Strade, d. 1837.

TALLAGHT. 1856, St. Mary.

Thomastown. Claimed as an ancient Dominican foundation, may have been an outstation of Kilkenny. Probably owing to the two Dominican bishops of Ossory, the Dominicans obtained a house and a thatched chapel in Thomastown at the end of the 18th cent. Francis Vincent Ennis from 1788 to his death in 1816; John Gogarty 1788–97, when he went on to Athy, Dominic Quirke c. 1786, and Daniel (?) McGrath c. 1816–c. 1830—when he was suspended and the chapel closed for good. Patrick Lawless, d. 1846, was the last O.P. affiliated to Thomastown but seems to have always lived at Boula, where he died.

Tombeola. 1427, St. Patrick. Apparently abandoned in the 1770's. The last friars include Thomas Mageoghegan d. 1778 apparently

at Galway, Luke Coen d. 1785-89, in Portumna 1767, Dominic Magrath d. before 1781 and John Tully d. before 1781.

TRALEE. 1243, Holy Cross. Pillars from the cloister arcades and some mediaeval tombstones preserved in the present priory garden. Mass rock of Thaddeus Moriarty and the Castlemaine Dominican house of refuge in Kilclohane Wood between Castlemaine and Milltown. Before the restoration of the Tralee house in 1861, the Dominicans had died out in the area. From c. 1740-c. 1800, they lived at Knockanure between Athea and Listowel. Gerald Stack, d. by 1812 and titular prior of Youghal. Daniel Keane, prior of Tralee in 1793 Chapter d. between 1808 and 1812. Bartholomew Shine, P.P. Brosna, d. 1827. Shine's grave in Brosna is still venerated.

Trim, 1263, St. Mary. *Donore*—where Fr. Francis Lynagh's tombstone survives and a foundation of a wall of the Dominican buildings there. Fr. Lynagh d. 1750. At Killyon graveyard nearby is a commemorative slab recording the names of a number of the Donore Dominicans in the 18th cent. The last Trim (Donore) friars seem to be Patrick Hart, P.P., Rathmoylan, d. 1797, George Fleming, P.P., Rathmoylan d. 1800, Michael Egan d. 1826—chaplain to a family at Summerhill, Laurence Shaw, P.P., Ballivor d. 1833.

Tulsk. 1448, St. Patrick. Fragmentary remains of the choir and base of the tower.

Urlar. 1434, but in existence some years before. St. Thomas. Ruins of church and priory beside the lake. Luke Leyden d. by 1833. Patrick Sharkey from c. 1838 to his death in 1846. The pattern on St. Dominic's day has been revived.

WATERFORD. 1226, St. Saviour. The mediaeval Blackfriars church survives as a rather battered ruin with a fine tower.

Youghal. 1268, Holy Cross, but later changed to Our Lady of Graces. The gable end of the choir and one buttress still stand in the graveyard north of the town. Gerald Stack d. by 1812 was the last titular prior but lived in Kerry. James Cunningham, d. between 1785 and 89, also belonged to Youghal. He was in Louvain in 1777, when he presided over a thesis.

XIV

SOURCES AND REFERENCES

Much of the material for the present work has come from the Dominican Provincial Archives in Tallaght. Archives material has in addition been examined in Cork, Drogheda and Sligo. The ruins

of the ancient Dominican foundations have also been personally examined. A second source has been the encyclopaedic knowledge of Fr. Luke Taheney, O.P., made freely available to the writer. He is also the compiler of the critical list of Irish Dominican Provincials, and of the varying numbers of the Irish friars.

It would perhaps be invidious to name any selection of the many people who have helped with information at the various Dominican sites throughout the country. But a special word of thanks must be given to Fr. Norbert Murray, O.P., for assistance in the Sligo area ; to Fr. Bernard Mooney, P.P., Saval, for unearthing fresh information about the Newtownards Dominicans and personally conducting the writer to the various sites ; and to the Redemptorist Fathers of Esker, both for a great deal of local Dominican history and for showing all the early Dominican sites in spite of rain and wet grass.

Unpublished material has also been made available by Fr. U. Flanagan, O.P., Fr. H. Peel, O.P., and Fr. Patrick Brophy (Carlow), as well as by the Dominican nuns in Galway and in Drogheda.

The printed sources of Irish Dominican history are rather scattered. The Irish Diocesan histories usually contain useful Dominican material relating to their own districts. Fairly frequent Dominican references occur in various learned publications, e.g. in the *Archivium Hibernicum*, in the three volumes of documents relating to the Irish Church compiled by Cardinal Moran in his *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, and in the various works relating to the Confederate Wars and Rinuccini. Of more specifically Dominican interest, the following may be noted, but are in no sense intended to be an exhaustive list :—

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