



**A comparative study of the lives of Church of Ireland and Roman
Catholic clergy in the south-eastern dioceses of Ireland from 1550 to
1650**

by

ÁINE HENSEY, BA

Thesis for the degree of PhD

Department of History

National University of Ireland

Maynooth

Supervisor of Research:

Professor Colm Lennon

Head of Department:

Professor Marian Lyons

May 2012

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements	ii
Abbreviations	iv
Introduction	1
Chapter One:	
‘Tender youths:’ the role of education in the formation and development of the clergy	15
Chapter Two:	60
Material Resources: the critical importance of property and other sources of income in the empowerment of the clergy	
Chapter Three:	138
The clergy in the community	
Chapter Four:	211
Church of Ireland institutional support and organisation	
Chapter Five:	253
Roman Catholic institutional support and organisation	
Conclusion	318
Appendix 1:	334
A database of Roman Catholic priests believed to be working in the south-eastern dioceses between 1557 and 1650	
Bibliography	386

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the support and co-operation of staff in the following research facilities: the Manuscripts Room and Early Printed Books Department of Trinity College, Dublin; the Royal Irish Academy; the Representative Church Body Library; Lambeth Palace Library, London; the county libraries in Carlow, Kilkenny and Wexford; the significant online resources of Waterford County Library; and the Russell and John Paul II libraries in NUI Maynooth. I would like to add a special word of thanks to an tAth Séamus de Bhál, archivist at St Peter's College, Wexford, to Fr David Kelly, archivist of the Irish Augustinians, and to Dr Jason McHugh for generously sharing his research on the Catholic clergy of the Dublin archdiocese in the seventeenth century.

Professor Vincent Comerford, then head of the history department, made me very welcome on my first visit to Maynooth in 2007 and I sincerely appreciated his encouragement and enjoyed his invigorating company in the intervening years. I also wish to thank his successor, Professor Marian Lyons, Professor Raymond Gillespie, Professor Jacqueline Hill, Ann Donoghue, Catherine Heslin and my fellow post-graduate students in the department.

This research was part-funded by the HEA under the PRTL14 Humanities, Technology and Innovation award to An Foras Feasa (NUI Maynooth) and I would like to express my

appreciation to Professor Margaret Kelleher, Dr Jennifer Kelly and all the staff of an Foras Feasa.

Professor Colm Lennon, my thesis supervisor, is not just a wonderful historian but his erudition and enthusiasm for all things early modern are a constant inspiration to all who work with him. I wish to thank him for so generously sharing with me his expertise, understanding and eye for detail during the research and writing of this thesis.

Ba mhaith liom buíochas a ghabháil le mo chairde uilig agus le mo chomhleacaithe in RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta as an tacaíocht a thug said dom le linn tréimhse na h-oibre seo. I also appreciate the support of my family, the Henseys and the McMahons, with a special word of thanks to my fellow historians, Cian McMahon and Deirdre Clemente, who were always ready with transatlantic words of advice and encouragement. I would like to pay tribute to my father, the late Brendan Hensey, who embarked on a somewhat similar voyage in the 1950s and whose professional and personal achievements have always been a source of inspiration to me. Finally, and most importantly, this work would not have been completed without the patience, encouragement and love of my husband, Dermot McMahon. Míle buíochas.

Abbreviations

<i>Ana. Hib.</i>	<i>Analecta Hibernica</i>
<i>Archiv. Hib.</i>	<i>Archivium Hibernicum</i>
<i>Coll. Hib.</i>	<i>Collectanea Hibernica</i>
<i>CSPI</i>	<i>Calendar of State papers relating to Ireland</i> (24 vols, London, 1860-1911).
<i>CSP, Rome</i>	<i>Rigg, J.M (ed.), Calendar of state papers relating to English affairs, preserved principally at Rome in the Vatican archives and library</i> (2 vols, London, 1916), i.
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
RV 1615	‘Royal Visitations 1615’ (T.C.D. MS 808)
RV 1633	‘Royal Visitations 1633’ (T.C.D. MS 2158)
T.C.D.	Trinity College, Dublin.
<i>Wadding papers</i>	Jennings, Brendan (ed.), <i>Wadding papers, 1614-39</i> (IMC, Dublin, 1968).

Introduction

The Treaty of Augsburg, signed by European nations and states in 1555, established the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*, whereby the inhabitants of a country or region were expected to adopt the religion of their ruler. The one notable exception to the long-term fulfillment of this principle was Ireland, where a large majority of the people chose to adhere to the Roman Catholic faith despite the fact that the country was officially ruled by the Protestant British monarchy. Karl Bottigheimer and Ute Lotz-Heumann have challenged this view that Ireland's Reformation experience was unique, pointing to examples within the 'Celtic fringe' of British rule and in continental Europe that replicated many of the conditions found in Ireland that were postulated as causes for the failure of the Reformation here. They remark on the abject poverty of church livings and the continued widespread use of the native languages in Wales and Scotland; Norway is cited as an example of a country, like Ireland, in the process of being subjugated by a powerful neighbour and with no indigenous, independent Reformation movement; and the town of Lemgo, in the territory of Lippe, and Brandenburg are given as two German examples where the population refused to follow their leaders in the abandonment of Lutheranism and the adoption of Calvinism during the 'second Reformation'.¹

The comparisons drawn with the Irish situation are persuasive and help to cast further light on the issues involved, though I believe there remains one basic distinction between these cases and that of Ireland. For a variety of reasons, the Welsh did conform to

¹ K.S. Bottigheimer and Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'The Irish Reformation in European perspective' in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, lxxxix (1998), pp 268-309.

Protestantism, the Scots overwhelmingly adopted Calvinism, Norway became a fundamentally Lutheran country, the citizens of Lemgo succeeded in remaining Lutheran, and Brandenburg became a recognized bi-confessional state. Only in Ireland did the confessional position remain unresolved. The British rulers were unable to enforce their desire for conformity on the population, yet remained unwilling to reach any official compromise.²

While the causes behind this phenomenon are a complex fusion of faith, tradition, politics and power, which have long been debated by historians of the early modern period, there is no doubting the veracity of Brendan Bradshaw's contention that it was 'probably late sixteenth-century British history's most problematic item, as well as the one most fraught with long-term significance'.³ In the years following the Reformation, as the differences between the beliefs and practice of the Protestant and Catholic religions became more sharply defined, it became clear that it would be of little value for the authorities in London and Dublin or Rome and Trent to lay down rules and directives for the propagation of the faith unless they could be implemented at parish level. Wolfgang Rheinhard has identified seven mechanisms for successful confessionalisation, only one of which could conceivably be introduced in isolation from the parochial level of church activity. While Rheinhard's paradigm of confessionalisation has been disputed by historians and theologians since it was conceived in the late 1970s, his classification of

² Ibid.

³ Brendan Bradshaw, 'The English Reformation and identity formation in Ireland and Wales', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British consciousness and identity: the making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), p.72.

these mechanisms does provide a useful starting point for an examination of the role of the parish clergy between 1550 and 1650.⁴

The ‘establishment of *pure doctrine* and its formulation in a confession of faith’ was undoubtedly the responsibility of the upper echelons of church and state authorities but the chain of command, stretching downwards from Westminster and Rome, through archbishops and ordinaries to the parish clergy, needed to be in place to ensure the success of all other aspects of Rheinhard’s thesis. These were: the ‘distribution and enforcement of these new norms; the use of the printing press for propaganda purposes; internalisation of the new norms through education, catechising, sermons and pilgrimages; disciplining the population through visitations and the expulsion of confessional minorities; the control of participation in rites, such as baptism and marriage; and the confessional regulation of language.’⁵

Historians generally agree that the role of the clergy was a critical, though not always a positive, one during this time of religious uncertainty. As the lay population moved slowly towards a defined confessional adherence, they continued to depend on the available clergy to fulfil their ritual devotional needs. But, if the allegiance of the laity was unsure in the early post-Reformation period, then the commitment of their clergy, many of them poorly educated, was similarly unstable. Alexander Devereux, Cistercian abbot of Dunbrody in Wexford, was a high-profile example, but certainly not an

⁴ Ute Lotz-Heumann, ‘The concept of “confessionalization”: a historiographical paradigm in dispute’ in *Memoria y Civilizacion*, iv, (2001), pp 93-114; idem., ‘Confessionalisation in Ireland: periodisation and character, 1534-1649’ in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 29-30.

⁵ Ibid.

exception. At the dissolution of his monastery in 1539, he was appointed Henrician bishop of Ferns, was then allowed to retain his episcopate under the Catholic restoration of Mary and remained in charge of the see under Elizabeth until his death in 1566.⁶

The agents of both Reformation and Counter-Reformation understood that only a body of clergy that was sufficiently educated, resourced and supported, both within their local communities and by the central agencies of church and state, could hope to implement the requirements laid down by the respective reforming authorities. In other words, for confessionalisation to be successful it needed to be accompanied by the professionalisation of the clergy. Ideally, the medieval cleric, described by Aidan Clarke as a ‘peasant among peasants’,⁷ would be replaced by a clergyman who held a university degree, had undergone vocational training, had sufficient means to support himself and was respected and highly regarded within the community that he was appointed to serve. Furthermore, the clergy would form a profession,

a hierarchically organized, but occupationally defined group, which claimed status in society on the basis of the expert services that it offered the commonwealth.⁸

This thesis will examine the degree to which Protestant ministers and Catholic priests in the south-eastern dioceses of Ireland were equipped to implement Rheinhard’s list of requirements: to catechise, educate, preach, impose discipline, punish deviation and perform rites and ceremonies within their parishes. There is no shortage of extant letters

⁶ P.H. Hore, *History of the town and county of Wexford* (6 vols, London, 1911), vi, pp 312-3.

⁷ Aidan Clarke, ‘Varieties of uniformity: the first century of the Church of Ireland’ in W.J. Shiels and Diana Wood (eds), *The churches, Ireland and the Irish: Studies in Church History*, xxv (Oxford, 1989), p.118.

⁸ Rosemary O’Day, *The professions in early modern England* (Harlow, 2000), p.51.

to and from the region's hierarchy, with the bishops of the Church of Ireland, Marmaduke Middleton (Waterford and Lismore), Miler Magrath (Cashel), Thomas Ram (Ferns) and John Horsfall (Ossory), and those of the Roman Catholic church, David Rothe (Ossory), John Roche (Ferns), Thomas Walsh (Cashel) and Patrick Comerford (Waterford and Lismore), among the more prolific ecclesiastical correspondents of the period. While their reports, opinions and actions have been frequently studied and analysed by historians, this work aims to penetrate below the episcopal level to scrutinise the lives and working conditions of the lower clergy of both faiths – vicars, rectors, curates, parish priests, friars and monks.

The south-east was a particularly interesting region as it came under the influence of the anglicised and English-controlled Pale, centred on Dublin, while also retaining strong facets of traditional Gaelic life, thus combining in one area the contrasting social and cultural elements that constituted early modern Irish society. Most of the region covered in this study is contained within the counties of Waterford, Tipperary, Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny and Limerick, which had been shired by King John on his visit to Ireland in 1210 in an early effort to establish sub-provincial administrative units in the parts of Ireland over which he could claim jurisdiction.⁹ However, by the mid-sixteenth century, the area was a curious combination of quasi-independent liberties administered by Old English families, territories controlled by Gaelic clans and autonomous urban conurbations, with the ecclesiastical boundaries often straddling these contrasting communities.

⁹ P.W. Joyce, *A concise history of Ireland* (Dublin, 1909) (www.libraryireland.com) (21 March 2012).

The diocese of Ferns is almost coterminous with Wexford although there were stark distinctions between different parts of the county. Until the plantation of 1610, the northern part was controlled by the Old Irish Kavanaghs and the southern section was a palatinate that had been granted to the earl of Shrewsbury, but reclaimed by the crown in 1537 and thereafter administered by the Old English elite families. Wexford town had been granted an autonomous charter in 1318 and was the country's most important fishing harbour into the early sixteenth century, while the county's second town, New Ross, had been awarded its first charter as a free port during the thirteenth century reign of Edward I.¹⁰

Leighlin covered Carlow and small parts of Kildare, Queen's County and Kilkenny. This area was strongly under the domination of the earls of Kildare until the middle of the sixteenth century, although, like Wexford, large parts of Carlow were controlled by the McMurrugh sept of the Kavanagh clan.¹¹ The county town did not become a borough until 1613.¹²

The third suffragan diocese of the Dublin archiepiscopacy, Ossory, lay mainly in Kilkenny, with a portion of Queen's and King's counties also contained within its boundaries. While Kilkenny was, in theory, an ordinary county subject to the Dublin administration, in reality the Ormond Butlers wielded significant power here. By the time of his death in 1614, the tenth earl, Thomas Butler, owned one third of all the land in the

¹⁰ Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland* (London, 1867) (www.libraryireland.com) (21 March 2012); T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland* (10 vols, Oxford, 1976), iii, p.7.

¹¹ Moody, Martin & Byrne (eds), *New History of Ireland*, iii, pp 6-7.

¹² Lewis, *Topographical dictionary* (www.libraryireland.com) (21 March, 2012).

county.¹³ Kilkenny town enjoyed considerable autonomy, having been granted its first charter during the reign of Edward III in 1327 and being raised to the status of a free city in 1609.¹⁴

Tipperary was an Ormond liberty, with most of the earl of Desmond's confiscated lands there being granted to the Ormonds in 1583.¹⁵ The county was divided ecclesiastically between the dioceses of Cashel, Emly and Lismore. Waterford and Lismore had been united in the fourteenth century and comprised the entire county of Waterford and most of south Tipperary, including the towns of Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir. Cashel and Emly were united by the Church of Ireland in 1568¹⁶ and it was therefore considered necessary to include the latter in this study, despite its geographical position straddling the south-east and mid-western regions. The political and economic composition of the Munster counties underwent considerable change during the period covered, with the establishment of the provincial presidency in 1571 and the plantation of the 1580s. John Perrot was Munster's first president, assisted by a council, justices and a military force while his successors included George Carew and Henry Brouncker.¹⁷ Walter Raleigh, Christopher Hatton and Edward Fitton were among the main beneficiaries of the original plantation in Waterford and Tipperary and the later purchase of Raleigh's lands by Richard Boyle, the first earl of Cork, in 1602, led to the establishment in west Waterford and east Cork of one of the strongest New English colonies outside of the Pale.¹⁸

¹³ Moody, Martin & Byrne (eds), *New History of Ireland*, iii, pp 6-7, iii, p.8; David Edwards, *The Ormond Lordship in county Kilkenny, 1515-1642* (Dublin, 2003), p.15.

¹⁴ Lewis, *Topographical dictionary* (www.libraryireland.com) (21 March, 2012).

¹⁵ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British* (Oxford, 2002), p.128.

¹⁶ 'Reformation, suppression, survival' (www.cashel-emly.ie) (3 December 2007).

¹⁷ Moody, Martin & Byrne (eds), *New History of Ireland*, iii, p.92, p.113.

¹⁸ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 140-2, pp 309-16.

During this period Waterford city was second in importance only to Dublin as a centre of trade and its inland network through the towns of New Ross on the Barrow, Kilkenny and Thomastown on the Nore and Carrick and Clonmel on the Suir, lent a commercial and political cohesion to the region, which was augmented by strong family connections among the urban elites and rural gentry who wielded most of the area's authority and influence.¹⁹ In 1603, Lord Deputy Mountjoy clearly recognised the close connections between the counties covered by this study when he wrote to Chief Secretary Cecil in the aftermath of the 'recusancy revolt':

All or most of the towns in Munster, and Kilkenny and Wexforde in Leinster, have, with some insolence, set up the public exercise of the mass.²⁰

In selecting the dioceses to be included in the scope of this study, a number of other issues were considered. To avoid the possibility of drawing conclusions based on the particular characteristics or influence of one archdiocese or archbishop, it was important to cross archiepiscopal as well as diocesan boundaries. Indeed, in this time of pluralism, it was not unusual to find Protestant clergy appointed to parishes in more than one archdiocese. For example, in 1615, despite being reported 'absent in England,' the Chancellor of Lismore, Absolom Gethin, also held the parishes of Kilbrenyn and Kilmamnan in Cashel and those of Kelles and Ballytarsery in Ossory, in the archdiocese of Dublin.²¹ From a Catholic perspective, there were regular meetings of the hierarchy of

¹⁹ Moody, Martin & Byrne (eds), *New History of Ireland*, iii, p.8.

²⁰ 'Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Cecil', 25 April 1603, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.25.

²¹ RV 1615.

the two archdioceses, including two inter-provincial synods, in 1624 and 1629,²² and the clergy, particularly members of the regular orders, travelled frequently between the two provinces. In general the area comprising the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, Ferns, Leighlin, Ossory, Cashel and Emly constituted a relatively coherent geographical entity that will allow us to propose some answers to the questions posed in this thesis and to make comparisons with the position of the clergy in other parts of the country.

Chapter One will examine the educational options that were available in south-east Ireland from the middle of the sixteenth century and the consequent choices made by parents for their sons. The influence of the grammar schoolmasters who proliferated in the towns of the region will be analysed, both in terms of their confessional inclinations and their role in directing boys towards institutes of further education. The critical importance of the continental universities in the preparation of young men for the Irish Catholic mission will be highlighted and contrasted with the absence, until 1592, of an Irish university to train ministers for the state church.

With the establishment of that state church, all ecclesiastical possessions and income became officially the property of the Protestant ministry, which should have given the Church of Ireland a distinct economic advantage over a dispossessed and homeless Catholic clergy. However, as we shall see in Chapter Two, the combination of impoverished livings, ruined churches and the absence of dwelling houses often left the vicar no better off than the priest. The problem was compounded by the issue of impropriated church property held by Catholic landlords, who could divert the income

²² Alison Forrester, *Catholic synods in Ireland, 1600-1690* (Dublin, 1998), pp 195-6.

from such livings to the upkeep of priests. Also, the very want of material resources could be seen to work to the advantage of Catholicism, as it obliged the priesthood to develop strategies of compromise and pragmatism that would aid its survival. Plans that were proposed, and sometimes implemented, to improve the financial position of the Protestant clergy between 1550 and 1650 will be assessed, as will the difficulties encountered within Catholicism when the prospect arose after the 1641 rebellion that the regular and secular clergy could demand the return of property from the socio-political elite who had provided them with shelter and support for the previous one hundred years.

That shelter and support is the subject of Chapter Three, which examines the position of the clergyman within his local community. How the everyday lives of priests and ministers interconnected with their parishioners, especially with those members of society who wielded social and political influence, will be assessed. In an environment where the financial independence of the clergy was rarely secure, these relationships were crucial to the status of the priest or minister and to his ability to successfully promote his version of the faith among his parishioners.

Chapters Four and Five will investigate the levels of institutional support that the clergy could expect from their superiors, ranging from the local bishop to the provincial prelate, as well as the official state administration in the case of Protestants and the papacy for Catholics. While the principal focus of this thesis is on the lives of the local parish clergy, a significant portion of these chapters will concentrate on the role of the hierarchy in implementing the necessary conditions for the appointment, maintenance and discipline

of their ministers and priests. This will necessitate an assessment of the quality and performance of the bishops of the region. The presence, or absence, of other support mechanisms, such as the availability of printed material for preaching, and guidance in controversial matters of theology and liturgy will be considered, as will the effects of internal tensions within the two confessional groups.

In selecting the period from 1550 to 1650 for this study a number of factors were considered. Because the thesis is presented thematically rather than chronologically, it was considered necessary to choose a timescale lengthy enough to reflect the major confessional changes in the lives of the clergy and those whom they were appointed to serve in the region. A one hundred year timeframe covers three or four generations and allows for the long-term effect of legislation, conflict and reaction to be observed. The 1641 rebellion and its consequences, which culminated in the Cromwellian defeat of the Catholic confederacy, is an obvious finishing date, thus giving a starting point of 1550.

The short reigns of Edward VI and Mary, coupled with their opposing spiritual views, meant that the post-Reformation religious uncertainties that were a feature of the later years of Henry VIII's life continued in Ireland until the accession of Elizabeth and the passing of her Act of Uniformity in 1560. With the practice of Catholicism then outlawed, the following decades were critical in deciding the confessional future of the Irish people. Initially, the influential gentry and urban elite families of the south-east appeared to vacillate and were reportedly willing to attend reformed services while continuing to support and shelter Catholic clergy in their homes. The Church of Ireland

historian, G.V. Jourdan, commented that it was not unusual in the early years of Elizabeth's reign for

the lords and gentry to assist at Mass and then proceed to the parish church for the reformed service.²³

In a letter to chief secretary Cecil from Duncannon fort in Wexford, Sir John Dowdall wrote that in 1568 the people had come 'very orderly to church'²⁴ and James Sherlock, mayor of Waterford in 1580, claimed that 'all the men within Waterford do come every Sunday to Church three or four only excepted'.²⁵ However, Sherlock was also named as one of the merchants of the city who relieved and maintained 'seminaries and massing priests' in 1592.²⁶ Dowdall reported that this practice of *church papistry* had ceased by 1596 when the general population of the region had stopped attending Protestant service²⁷ and Bishops Lyons, in the nearby diocese of Cork, remarked in 1596 that his congregation had shrunk from one thousand to just five in the space of two years.²⁸ Writing about the archdiocese of Dublin, James Murray regards the Baltinglass revolt in 1580 as a watershed and an 'outright rejection of the Reformation.'²⁹ The evidence certainly points to a hardening of the recusant position of the majority of the population of the south-east before the end of the sixteenth century, with consequences for the well-being of the clergy on opposing sides of the confessional rift. The decades from 1570 to

²³ G.V. Jourdan, 'The transitional stage of reform' in W.A. Phillips (ed.), *History of the Church of Ireland from the earliest times to the present day* (4 vols, London, 1934), ii, p.310.

²⁴ 'Letter from Sir John Dowdall to Lord Burghley', 9 March 1596, *CSPI, 1592-6*, pp 587-8.

²⁵ 'James Sherlocke, Mayor, to Walsyngham', 18 Nov 1580, *CSPI, 1574-85*, p.269.

²⁶ 'A memorial of sundry things commanded by her Majesty to be well considered by the Lord Deputy &c', 28 July 1592, in Edmund Hogan (ed.), *The description of Ireland and the state thereof as it is as this present in anno 1598* (Dublin, 1878), p.289.

²⁷ 'Dowdall to Burghley', 9 March 1596, *CSPI, 1592-6*, pp 587-8.

²⁸ G.V. Jourdan, 'The movement towards a doctrinal reformation' in Phillips, *History of the church of Ireland, ii*, p.457.

²⁹ James Murray, *Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland: clerical resistance and political conflict in the diocese of Dublin, 1534-1590* (Cambridge, 2009), p.310.

1600 also witnessed an increasingly clear definition of the clerical divide. Incumbent clergy with Catholic sympathies were regularly deprived of their livings, persecution of priests intensified and, conversely, the first wave of continentally-educated priests returned to Ireland to galvanise the Catholic faithful.

The 'recusancy revolt' of 1603, which followed the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James I to the English throne, was a clear indicator that most people in the towns and cities of the south-east had opted for Catholicism by this date. However, their optimism that the new king would be sympathetic towards the religion of his mother proved to be misplaced, as proclamations and action against the clergy and the practice of the Roman religion continued sporadically throughout his reign.³⁰ Simultaneously, the introduction of English settlers to the region, which led to the gradual erosion of the political and commercial power of the Old English and Old Irish elites, was mirrored by an influx of English-born Protestant clergymen, well-educated and theologically reliable, but ethnically and culturally alienated from the majority of the population.

Through the late 1620s and early 1630s, as Charles I became increasingly dependent on the political goodwill and economic support of his Irish subjects, Catholic fears of persecution receded. Thomas Wentworth, who was appointed lord deputy in 1633 with a strong mandate to carry out reform of the Church of Ireland, believed that it was of little benefit to attempt the conversion of the general population until the temporal position of

³⁰ Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland: making Ireland modern* (Dublin, 2006), pp 38-42.

the Protestant church was sufficiently improved.³¹ This led to a de facto toleration of Catholicism during Wentworth's years in the country and facilitated the reorganisation of the proscribed religion's diocesan and parochial system as well as the re-establishment of many communities of regular orders. One consequence of these developments was that the Catholic church was in a strong position to play a central role in the events of the 1641 rebellion and its aftermath.

As the theological and liturgical differences between Catholicism and Protestantism became more clearly defined in the later decades of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth century, the lives of those who chose to serve as clergymen on either side of the Christian rift diverged. In regions like Ireland, where the two religions struggled against each other for supremacy, the two groups generally operated in adjacent, but almost exclusively parallel, realms. The value of a comparative study, therefore, is to shed light on whether the conditions under which these priests and ministers laboured, and the extent to which they were able to propagate their version of post-Reformation Christian doctrine, affected the eventual outcome of the struggle for 'hearts and minds' in the south-east. The converse question must also be asked: did the majority of the powerful elite in the region, having already opted for Catholicism, consciously create the conditions in which one faction of the clergy would thrive while the other struggled? It is hoped that the contents of this thesis will go some way towards answering those questions.

³¹ 'Lord Deputy Thomas Wentworth to Archbishop Laud,' 31 Jan. 1634, in William Knowler (ed.), *Earl of Strafford's letters and dispatches* (2 vols, Dublin, 1799), i, pp 188-9.

Chapter One

‘Tender youths’: the role of education in the formation and development of the clergy

Conflict, dissent and the struggle to impose or resist new ways of life may have been the central characteristics of political, religious and cultural life in Ireland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but both sides in this confessional and civil divide were in agreement on one subject: the vital importance of education in the preparation of those young men who would become pastors and promoters of their chosen faith. The importance of well-functioning educational establishments for the success of conformity was emphasised by Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, in a letter to the chief secretary, William Cecil, in 1564:

The tender yought of this land placed in ther roume, and brought upe in lerning, will make this land to flourish, happi and twies happi shall the bringers hereof to passe be.¹

The 1570 Act for the erection of free schools in Ireland stated as its aim the education of those

..... whose ignorance in these so high pointes touching their damnation proceedeth only of lack of good bringing up of youth of this realm, either in publique or private schooles, where through good discipline they may be taught to avoid these and other loathsome and horrible errours.²

¹ ‘Bishop Hugh Brady to Cecil,’ 10 Jan. 1564 in E.P. Shirley (ed.), *Original letters and papers in illustration of the history of the church in Ireland during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth* (London, 1851), p.162.

² ‘An Act for the Erection of Free Schooles’, (12 Elizabeth,c.1 [Ire.], 1570), *The Irish statutes, 3 Edward II to the Union* (Dublin, 1885), p.33.

Catholic leaders were equally aware of the importance of putting in place a solid education system that would provide priests for the Irish mission. In describing the renowned sixteenth-century schoolmaster, Peter White, Anthony a Wood wrote of his love of pedagogy, which

..... was then accounted a most excellent Employment in Ireland, by the Catholics; especially for this Reason, that the sons of noblemen and gentlemen might be trained up in their religion, and so keep out Protestancy.³

Writing from Salamanca in 1611, the rector of the Irish college there, Fr Richard Conway, claimed that, of all the wrongdoing perpetrated by the English administration in Ireland,

..... the greatest injury they have done, and one of the serious consequences, was the prohibition of all Catholic schools in our nation (naturally so inclined to learning) with the object of sinking our people to degradation, or filling the universities of England with the children of those who had any means to educate them, where they might become more dependent on heretics, and contaminated with their errors.⁴

This chapter will examine how education was a key factor in the creation and maintenance of clergy to serve both religious communities in the south-eastern counties of Ireland. The options available to parents for the education of their sons, and the choices made by them in this regard, were to prove decisive in the struggle to establish confessional supremacy in the aftermath of the Reformation.

In the early phases of the Reformation, the Church of Ireland, the established church of the country, appeared to be in a position to hold a monopoly on the provision of

³ Anthony a Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1721), i, col 249, no 283.

⁴ 'Letter from Fr Richard Conway', n.d. 1611, translated by William McDonald in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Feb 1874, pp 203-7.

education. The civil authorities were empowered to pass legislation allowing for the establishment and maintenance of whatever schools and colleges they deemed it necessary to provide, in order to supply the country with sufficient numbers of suitably prepared clergy. They could also pass laws and issue proclamations prohibiting Catholic education of any kind and obliging the children of Catholic parents to attend Protestant institutions.

However, as we shall see, a substantial gap developed between government aspirations in the mid-sixteenth century and what actually transpired in the sphere of Irish education during the following one hundred years. As the confessional division between Catholicism and Protestantism began to crystallise in the 1570s, many schools and schoolmasters, in order to consolidate their Catholic ethos, broke their hitherto close connections with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and began to associate themselves with the Counter-Reformation colleges of continental Europe.⁵

Official efforts to promote conformity to the established church through education had begun as early as 1539 when Justice Luttrell laid out plans for an English school in every parish.⁶ The legislation of 1570 provided for a schoolhouse to be built in every diocese, 'at the charge of the whole shire'⁷ and the schoolmaster was to be an 'Englishman, or of the English birth of this realm,' with the lord deputy having power to appoint and remove these teachers. The exceptions to this provision were in the dioceses of Dublin, Meath,

⁵ Timothy Corcoran, *Education systems in Ireland from the close of the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1928), p.xi.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.ix.

⁷ 'Abstract of Bills for parliament, 1569' in M.V. Ronan (ed.), *The Reformation in Ireland under Elizabeth, 1558-1580 (from original sources)* (London, 1930), pp 280-1.

Kildare and Armagh, where the bishops had refused to pass the legislation in parliament until this authority was vested in themselves.⁸

Despite Bishop Thomas Ram's assertion in 1612 that there were, indeed, freeschools in Wexford and Maryborough, in his dioceses of Ferns and Leighlin, the 1615 Visitations show that, in general, the law had been 'very slightly complied with.'⁹ As with the delay in the establishment of a university in Dublin, which will be discussed below, the failure to institute an efficient network of state schools in the second half of the sixteenth century was caused by what Brendan Bradshaw describes as the 'dead weight of vested interests'.¹⁰ This was manifested in a general unwillingness by both recusants and new English settlers to provide the required material support for Protestant schoolmasters, in the form of schoolhouses and stipends. When this was combined with an almost total inability to attract pupils away from the established Catholic masters, the freeschool scheme was doomed and this powerlessness would prove to be an important element in the failure of the established church to create a substantial body of appropriately educated Irish-born clergy.

That little progress in the provision of Protestant schooling had been made by 1604 is reflected in the 'Memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie and establishing of a learned ministrie in Ireland' that were debated by the Council of Ireland in that year. The

⁸ 'An Act for the Ereccion of Free Schooles' (12 Elizabeth, c.1 [Ire.], 1570).

⁹ 'Letter from Bishop Thomas Ram to Lord Deputy and Council, 1 Sept. 1612', (T.C.D., MS 1066, Reeves copy, 1873); Corcoran, *Education systems*, p.ix.

¹⁰ Brendan Bradshaw, 'Sword, word and strategy in the Reformation in Ireland' in *The Historical Journal* xxi, 3, (1978), p. 501.

‘memorials’ reiterated the aspirations of the earlier legislation: to erect a school in every diocese, city and town, with the appointment of ‘fit masters’.¹¹

Further efforts were made to establish schools during the reign of James I, especially in the areas affected by new plantations. In his ‘orders and directions concerning the state of the church of Ireland’ following the Royal Commission of 1622, James instructed that freeschools were to be provided in the plantation areas, including Wexford and King’s county, endowed by a proportion of the lands for the plantations ‘for the placing and appointing of good and sufficient schoolmasters for the said schools.’ Furthermore, he directed that

good choice be made of schoolmasters and ushers, and that none be admitted but such as will take the oath of supremacy, and bring up their scholars in true religion, and that Popish schoolmasters and ushers be altogether suppressed.¹²

While these ‘orders and directions’ appear to have had little lasting impact in 1623, they were used by Lord Deputy Wentworth and Bishop Bramhall to formulate their efforts at reconstruction of the Church of Ireland a decade later, including measures to finally establish a network of freeschools.¹³ Writing to Archbishop Laud in January 1634, Wentworth remarked that

¹¹ ‘Memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie and establishing of a learned ministrie in Ireland’, n.d. 1604, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.241.

¹² ‘Orders and directions concerning the state of the church of Ireland and the possessions thereof, ffreeschools, and other endowments, and landes given to charitable uses, for and concerning other things tending to the advancement of true religion, and maintenance of the clergie in the said Realme in James time, 1623’, (T.C.D., MS 808 , pp 37-9).

¹³ John McCafferty, *The reconstruction of the Church of Ireland : Bishop Bramhall and the Laudian reforms, 1633-1641* (Cambridge, 2007), p.24

The Schools, which might be a Means to season the Youth in Virtue and Religion, [are] either ill provided, ill governed in the most part, or which is worse applied sometimes underhand to the Maintenance of Popish School-Masters.¹⁴

The canons of the Church of Ireland, adopted later that year, included stipulations that no master was to teach without a licence and that

the schoolmasters shall endeavour to train up the children committed to their charge in good learning, civility and piety. They shall teach Latin and the grammar set forth in England by Henry VIII and none other. They shall also teach such other books as shall be allowed and appointed by the bishop..... And also that every archbishop and bishop and other ordinary having ecclesiastical jurisdiction shall, by censures of the church, respectively compel all such as are subject to their jurisdiction which do now teach school, not having testified their consent by subscription as aforesaid, to desist from teaching school.¹⁵

Two years later, in June 1636, Wentworth wrote to the Irish Court of High Commission, emphasising the concern of Convocation that

all Popish Schoolmasters might be suppressed; that Inquiry should be made by fit Commissioners into the Abuses of Free Schools, and to give speedy Order for the Reformation of them.¹⁶

Yet, despite the obvious energy and enthusiasm that the lord deputy brought to the process of reform in the 1630s, the failure of the Church of Ireland and the state to establish a well-functioning system of Protestant education is reflected in a petition of remonstrance presented to Lord Deputy Wandesforde on 17 June, 1640, which included among its grievances the continuing lack of freeschools in 'every diocese'.¹⁷

¹⁴The Lord Deputy to the Lord Primate and the rest of the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes', 31 Jan. 1634 in Knowler, (ed.), *Strafford's letters and dispatches*, i, p.188.

¹⁵ 'The 1634 canons of the Church of Ireland' in Gerald Bray, (ed.), *The Anglican canons, 1529-1947* (Reading, 1998), pp 485-531.

¹⁶ Knowler (ed.), *Strafford's letters and dispatches*, ii, p.7.

¹⁷ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.197.

Simultaneous measures instituted to suppress Catholic education were equally unsuccessful. From the concerns voiced by the Protestant schoolmaster John Shearman in Waterford in 1585¹⁸ to Lord Deputy Wentworth's correspondence in 1633, it is clear that the proliferation of 'popish schoolmasters' was a challenge that continued to trouble those charged with the spread of the established religion. The evidence suggests that Catholic schoolmasters were rarely troubled during the reign of Elizabeth, but that suppression was more common under James I and Charles I.¹⁹ Indeed, it was only with the appointment of Wentworth as lord deputy in 1633 that serious censures were actively pursued, with heavy fines imposed by castle chamber on those found to be running schools.²⁰

The towns of south-east Ireland, both coastal and inland, were central to much of the authority and influence of the region, and it appears that most of the basic education that was available also occurred within their walls. While some children had private tutors in their homes, this appears to have occurred infrequently, and only among the landed gentry, although it is interesting to note that Piers Comyn wrote to the authorities in 1592, claiming that a Catholic schoolmaster named Hussey was kept in Cashel to educate the

¹⁸ 'John Shearman to Archbishop of Armagh', 12 July 1585 in Timothy Corcoran, (ed.), *State Policy in Irish Education* (London, 1916), p.51.

¹⁹ See Corcoran, *Education systems*, p.xi.

²⁰ R. Dudley Edwards, 'Church and state in the Ireland of Micheál Ó Cléirigh in Sylvester O'Brien (ed.), *Measgra Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh* (Dublin, 1944), p. 15.

children of the Protestant Archbishop, Miler Magrath.²¹ Most boys who received an education, especially town-dwellers, attended a grammar school.²²

Schoolteachers were operating in the towns as early as 1557, when Waterford-born Peter White, probably the most celebrated of the sixteenth-century Irish masters, returned from Oxford, where he had lectured in metaphysics,²³ to teach in the grammar school that had been founded in Kilkenny in the 1530s by Piers Roe Butler.²⁴ White was appointed dean of his native diocese of Waterford in 1566, recommended to Deputy Sidney by Bishop Patrick Walsh as

a man very well learned, past degrees in scoles, and of virtuous sober conversation, by whose industry and travail a great part of the youth, both of this country and of Dublin have greatly profited in learning and virtuous education.²⁵

He was dispossessed for non-conformity four years later²⁶ and resumed his career as a teacher, although it is unknown whether he remained in Waterford or returned to

²¹ Lawrence Marron (ed.), 'Documents from the state papers concerning Miler McGrath' in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxi (1958), p. 164.

²² Donal Cregan, 'The social and cultural background of a Counter-Reformation episcopate, 1618-60' in Art Cosgrove and D McCartney, (eds), *Studies in Irish History presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin, 1979), p.106.

²³ Alice Stopford Green, *The making of modern Ireland and its undoing* (London, 1939), p.292.

²⁴ Colm Lennon, 'Pedagogy and reform: the influence of Peter White on Irish scholarship in the Renaissance' in Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (eds), *Ireland and the Renaissance, c. 1540-1660* (Dublin, 2007), pp 43-51.

²⁵ 'Letter from the Bishop of Waterford to Sir Henry Sidney', 15 June 1566 in James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth* (2 vols, Dublin, 1861), i, p.494.

²⁶ Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae: the succession of the prelates and members of the cathedral bodies in Ireland* (5 vols, Dublin, 1848), i, pp 18-19

Kilkenny.²⁷ In 1572, there was a man called Fagan, a graduate of Oxford, described as a schoolmaster in Waterford.²⁸

Whether it was as a result of White's presence or not, Catholic education in Waterford city appears to have had a particularly good reputation, even as early as 1580, when William Burke, youngest son of the earl of Clanricard, one of Connacht's most powerful lords, was reportedly attending school there.²⁹ Wealthy and well-connected Catholics continued to patronise the city's school, or schools. Forty-five years later, in September 1625, Bishop David Rothe wrote to Cardinal Lombard that Sir George Calvert, 'a known and professed catholic', formerly principal secretary to James I, who had bought lands and settled in north Wexford, had left two of his sons in Waterford to be educated at a 'private schoole of humanity'.³⁰

When taking their oaths on enrolment between 1595 and 1619, a number of the students at the Irish college in Salamanca gave information about their early education in Ireland. They mentioned teachers such as Maurice Beggan in Tipperary town, William and James Devereux in Wexford, John Flahy in Waterford, John Power in New Ross, Michael Shee in Kilkenny and John Wale in Clonmel.³¹

²⁷ Lennon, 'Peter White', pp 49-50.

²⁸ Raphael Holinshed and Richard Stanihurst, *Holinshed's Irish chronicle: the historie of Irelande from the first inhabitation thereof unto the year 1509, and continued by Stanihurst till 1547*, ed. Liam Miller and Eileen Power (Dublin, 1979), p.99.

²⁹ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p.93.

³⁰ 'Bishop David Rothe to Archbishop Peter Lombard', 17 Sept. 1625, *Wadding Papers*, p.102

³¹ Denis O'Doherty (ed.), 'Irish students who took the 'oaths' at Salamanca, 1595-1619' in *Archiv. Hib.* ii (1913), pp 1-36.

Unfortunately, unlike Peter White, there is scant information about these men, but there is little doubt that they were Catholics and that they taught the proscribed religion in their schools. John Shearman, the aforementioned Protestant schoolmaster, who was living in Waterford, wrote to the archbishop of Armagh in 1585, explaining that he had left the town because the people were all practising Catholics, did not participate in the rituals of the established church and would not send their children to his school. He claimed that he had thirty children at first, 'but these were sent merely from fear.' When removing their children, the parents claimed that the children were not taught well, but Shearman believed it was because he made them go to church. They were then sent to a 'Papist, who was once a servant' to be taught.³²

This Catholic teacher may have been John Flahy, who is noted in the 1615 Royal Visitation as the only known public schoolmaster in Waterford. It was observed that he did not attend church 'at the tymes of divine service.'³³ On his failure to appear before the visitators when summoned, because he had apparently fled out of the city, the president of Munster was instructed to

supresse him from the exercise of teaching and instruction of youth, for he traynes up schollers to become seminaries beyond the seas and ill affected members.³⁴

The Salamanca oaths list at least fifteen students who were taught by Flahy between 1602 and 1617, including young men from the recognised Old English merchant families of Waterford, such as William and Thomas White, Luke and Thomas Wadding and Robert

³² Corcoran, *State policy in Irish education*, p.51.

³³ RV 1615.

³⁴ Ibid.

Walsh.³⁵ The city's charter was suspended in 1617 because of the failure to elect a mayor who would accept the oath of supremacy but, until then, the corporation had supported Flahy's school with an annual stipend of twenty pounds. The charter was renewed in 1626 and three years later, he wrote to the authorities, petitioning to have this payment reinstated, complaining that the corporation had 'subsidised in an incompetent youth to keep a private school'.³⁶ There is no record of a reply to Flahy's submission but, in 1629, the mayor, William Dobbyn, permitted the Jesuits to open a grammar school in the city, which operated until 1649.³⁷

The Franciscan, Bonaventure Baron, nephew of Luke Wadding, was born in Clonmel in 1610 and received his early education there from 'Saul', probably the Jesuit, James Saul, who lived in the town from at least 1609 until his death in the 1640s.³⁸ Baron continued his schooling in Waterford, at the 'seminary of *Flaccus*',³⁹ which suggests that Flahy was still teaching in the 1620s despite the loss of his corporate stipend.

The only other teacher mentioned by name in the 1615 returns for Waterford and Lismore is John Wale in Clonmel, of whom it was reported, 'license not known. Comes not to

³⁵ 'Salamanca oaths', p.14, pp 23-4.

³⁶ 'Petition of John Flahy, schoolmaster, of Waterford, to the Committee of Irish causes', n.d. 1629, *CSPI*, 1625-32, p.502.

³⁷ Patrick Power, 'The Jesuits in Waterford' in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, xxxvi, no.143 (1947), p. 273.

³⁸ C.P. Meehan, *The rise and fall of the Irish Franciscan monasteries, and memoirs of the Irish hierarchy* (Dublin, 1877), p.291; Hogan, (ed.), *The description*, p.290; George Oliver (ed.), *Collections towards illustrating the biography of the Scotch, English and Irish members of the Society of Jesus* (1863), p.245.

³⁹ Meehan, *Franciscan monasteries*, p.291.

church'.⁴⁰ Wale taught at least four of the Salamanca students, including the White brothers, Thomas and Nicholas, from Clonmel.⁴¹

When listing the 'learned men and authors of Ireland' in 1577, Richard Stanihurst refers to two Devereux brothers in Wexford, the elder being a schoolmaster.⁴² John Lamford and Patrick Hay of Wexford, who took the oaths in Salamanca in 1609 and 1613 respectively, list William Devereux as their teacher, while John Wadding, who enrolled earlier but on an unspecified date, names James Devereux as one of his tutors.⁴³ Sir William Pelham, lord justice from 1578, refers to a schoolmaster named Devereux licensed to teach in Wexford town.⁴⁴ Among his list of Catholic priests operating in the diocese of Ferns in 1612, Ram mentions William Devoroux, 'keeping in Wexford heare and ther at no certain place.'⁴⁵ This is the same priest that the Catholic bishop, John Roche, described in 1632 as being sixty years of age and 'a distinguished preacher, who has laboured for twenty-eight years without reproach in the diocese'.⁴⁶ Of course, we cannot be certain that all these references allude to the same two men, as Devereux was a reasonably common surname in Wexford, but there is no doubting the presence of both teachers and priests of that name in the town.

⁴⁰ RV 1615.

⁴¹ 'Salamanca oaths', p.31.

⁴² *Holinshed's chronicles*, p.98.

⁴³ 'Salamanca oaths', p.9, p.27, 29.

⁴⁴ Pelham Letterbook (Lambeth MS 597 f. 416), cited in R. Dudley Edwards, *Church and state in Tudor Ireland* (Dublin, 1935), p.89.

⁴⁵ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

⁴⁶ 'Bishop John Roche to the Sacred College of Propaganda,' 1 Dec. 1629 in Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, pp 314-5.

As well as attending classes with James Devereux, John Wadding was also taught by Walter French and Nicholas Spinsero in Wexford, and by Philip Keating in New Ross. It was not unusual for young men to attend a number of different masters and to travel some distance from their homes to further their learning.⁴⁷ The Dominican, Richard Caron, who enrolled in Salamanca in 1601, was born in west Kilkenny in 1579 where he began his education locally with Humphrey Powell Walsh, before learning grammar with William McGillaboy and Bernard Quirke in Kilkenny, and finally studying rhetoric and humanities with a man named Hussey.⁴⁸ This was probably the same Hussey mentioned earlier as tutor to the children of Miler McGrath.

In his allegations against McGrath, Patrick Kearnye claimed that the archbishop's wife, Any, the 'mass monger', maintained James Brenagh in a school in Ormond in 1593.⁴⁹ Lord Deputy Chichester included a James Branagh in his list of priests in Tipperary in 1605. He may have been the James Walsh (Breathnach is the Irish version of the surname Walsh or Welsh) who was registered as a student in Louvain in 1563.⁵⁰

Young men were prepared to travel from other towns to attend John Flahy's school in Waterford. Francis Braye from Clonmel, Robert Tighe from Kilkenny and Patrick Dobbin from Thomastown, who took their oaths in Salamanca between 1609 and 1617, all list Flahy as one of their teachers. Michael Browne from Thurles studied with Flahy

⁴⁷ 'Salamanca oaths', p.9.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p.11; Thomas Flynn, *The Irish Dominicans, 1536-1641* (Dublin, 1993), pp 180-1.

⁴⁹ Marron (ed.), 'Documents concerning Miler McGrath', p.157.

⁵⁰ Jeroen Nilis, 'Irish students at Leuven University, 1548-1797 in *Archiv. Hib.*, lx (2006-7), p.36

and also with Michael Shee in Kilkenny.⁵¹ Shee had been a student in Oxford in 1570⁵² and may also have been the student registered as Michael 'Skeeth' from Kilkenny city at the university of Louvain in 1575.⁵³ He is mentioned by William Paule in 1597 as providing shelter for the Jesuit priest, James Archer, in Kilkenny.⁵⁴

Ross McGeoghegan of Co Westmeath, later bishop of Kildare, came to Clonmel to study under Thomas a' Gargia, and to New Ross or Kilkenny to learn with John Power, before leaving for Lisbon and Salamanca.⁵⁵ Most notable perhaps were the students who travelled years earlier to Peter White's school in Kilkenny, including the Waterford men Peter Lombard, later archbishop of Armagh, Thomas White who would become the first rector of the Irish college at Salamanca, and the renowned Oxford and Louvain scholar, Nicholas Comerford.⁵⁶

It is unclear whether all of these teachers were priests, although we do know that William Devereux, James Brenagh and John Power, who may have received an M.A. from the University of Paris in 1587, certainly were. Matthew Roche of New Ross, teacher of Luke Bennett and James Gromel, is almost certainly the same man who was later vicar-apostolic of Leighlin, and whose behaviour was to cause such embarrassment to his

⁵¹ 'Salamanca oaths', pp 25-6, 29, 34.

⁵² Stopford Green, *The making of Ireland*, p.298.

⁵³ Nilis, 'Students at Leuven', p.41.

⁵⁴ 'William Paule to the Lord Justice Loftus', 17 Jan, 1598, *CSPI, 1598-99*, p.15.

⁵⁵ Flynn, *Dominicans*, pp 166-9.

⁵⁶ Lennon, 'Peter White,' pp 43-51.

brother John, the bishop of Ferns.⁵⁷ John Flahy was a layman, married to the daughter of the Church of Ireland bishop of Waterford, Patrick Walsh.⁵⁸

The dissolution of the religious houses and the consequent closure of the attached monastic schools after the Reformation left an educational void that these Catholic schoolmasters, both clerics and laymen, willingly filled, in the absence of immediate action from the newly-established Church of Ireland. The town grammar schools formed an inter-connected network of educational establishments in the south-east, which fed into the continental university system in ever-increasing numbers. The tradition of pedagogy being attached to religious foundations was revived, at least in Wexford, when the Franciscans established a school for the education of local children in their premises in the town in 1625.⁵⁹

In contrast, and despite the establishment's understanding that early education was vital in the effort to win the confessional allegiance of the post-Reformation generations, there is little evidence of success in the establishment of Protestant schools in the south-east after 1550. The few teachers that we do find in the early records for the period appear to have been of poor quality. The earl of Sussex, the lord deputy, writing to Sir William

⁵⁷ L.W. Brockliss and Patrick Ferté, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792 in *Archiv. Hib.*, lviii (2004), pp 7-166; 'Salamanca oaths', p.12, p.28; 'Ram to the Lord Deputy and Council'; P.J. Corish, 'John Roche: An Irish Counter-Reformation Bishop, 1624-1636' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxv (1958), p.18.

⁵⁸ Julian Walton, 'Church, crown and corporation in Waterford' in William Nolan and T.P. Power (eds), *Waterford, history and society* (Dublin, 1992), pp 176-97.

⁵⁹ Fergal Grannell, *The Franciscans in Wexford* (Wexford, 1980), p.21.

Cecil in 1562, remarked that ‘the wyse, fere more the impiety of the licentious professors, than the superstition of the erronouse papists’.⁶⁰

Numerous attempts were made to establish Protestant schools in Kilkenny city between the 1550s and 1640s, the results of which clearly illustrate the difficulties encountered. In 1545, the lord deputy, Anthony St Leger, selected a local man, William Cantwell, to be educated at Oxford, and provided an endowment to set up and fund a school.⁶¹ While Cantwell did indeed attend Oxford,⁶² the earl of Ormond and the bishop of Ossory, John Thonory, seized his property when he left Kilkenny and it is not known if he ever returned.⁶³ In 1552, William Johnson, a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, came to Kilkenny as an endowed schoolmaster, but his later efforts to establish a school to rival Peter White’s ended in failure, as he wrote ‘the sons of the gentry kept loyal to the old ways.’ Johnson was later appointed dean of Kilkenny in 1574 and was regarded as the earl of Ormond’s ‘man of business.’⁶⁴

In a letter complaining about the work of the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, George Ackworth and Robert Garvey, in 1579, Archbishop Adam Loftus describes Robert Gafney, a minister in the diocese of Ossory as ‘very ignorant, utterly devoid of knowledge of God and his religion, not able to performe any duty of a schoolmaster as is

⁶⁰ ‘Earl of Sussex to Sir William Cecil’, 22 July 1562 in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 117-8.

⁶¹ W.G. Neely, *Kilkenny: an urban history, 1391-1843* (Belfast, 1989), p.43.

⁶² Stopford Green, *The making of Ireland*, p.289.

⁶³ ‘Deputy and Council of Ireland to the Council of England’, 4 July 1545 in James Gairdner and R.H. Brodie (eds), *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, Henry VIII* (21 vols, London, 1856), i, pp 545-6.

⁶⁴ Neely, *Kilkenny*, pp 44-7.

pretended, nor any want of such supply in the diocese of Ossory at all.’⁶⁵ The Catholic bishop David Rothe reported in the 1620s that a public master named Pennington kept school in the city but that few attended because he was a Protestant.⁶⁶

In 1634 James Butler, the protestant earl of Ormond, became the patron of a school established in Kilkenny under headmaster John Wytter and funded by the earl’s inappropriate church livings.⁶⁷ Wytter complained that he was unable to oblige the people of Ossory to support his diocesan school ‘because they would rather maintain the Popish schoolmasters to whom they send their children’.⁶⁸ However, this school must have had some measure of success, as it was still operating in 1641, when two more teachers, Hughes and Lemon, a Scot, had been appointed. It was alleged by James Benn that Lemon was attacked by the insurgents in Kilkenny in December of that year.⁶⁹

As mentioned earlier, Bishop Ram claimed to have a free school operating in each of his dioceses by 1612, one in Wexford town for Ferns and the other in Maryborough for Leighlin, both maintained by himself and his clergy. However, he remarked that these schools were ‘to small purpose’, as a priest called Laghlin Oge had preached that any of the people who sent their children there would be excommunicated and ‘should certainly be damned without they did undergoe great penance’.⁷⁰ Alan Ford attributes the

⁶⁵ ‘Archbishop Adam Loftus replies to Garvey’, 6 Jan. 1579 in W.M. Brady (ed.), *State papers concerning the Irish church in the time of Queen Elizabeth* (Dublin, 1868), p.34.

⁶⁶ Neely, *Kilkenny*, p.47.

⁶⁷ Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.292.

⁶⁸ British Library (Harleian MS 4297) in Alan Ford, *The protestant reformation in Ireland, 1596-1641* (Dublin, 1997), pp 223-4.

⁶⁹ Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.292; 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 812, 213r-214v, 3 July 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

⁷⁰ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

relatively high numbers attending the school in Maryborough to the fact that it was a garrison town and plantation centre, with a substantial New English population.⁷¹ Indeed, Helga Hammerstein remarks that the only thriving Protestant school in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth was based in Great Ship St. in Dublin.⁷²

The 1615 Visitation returns recorded that an unnamed teacher in Dungarvan taught ‘by the ordinaries’ license’ and ‘according to his majesty’s laws’.⁷³ Later, in 1639, Richard Goodrich (or Geadnich), vicar of Stradbally, was a schoolmaster in Lismore.⁷⁴ Both of these appointments were likely to have been made possible through the work of Richard Boyle, the first earl of Cork, whose successful plantation of this part of west Waterford will be discussed in Chapter Three.

The returns for the diocese of Cashel in 1615 list John Darling, precentor, Thomas Winter, treasurer, and Thomas Wilson, archdeacon, as teachers. Similarly, the Leighlin returns describe George Hale, precentor, and John Harris, archdeacon, as teachers. However, whether these men were actually engaged in teaching in schools in their dioceses is not clear, and must be open to question, as Absolom Gethin, a minister with livings in Cashel, Ossory and Lismore, is also listed as a teacher, despite being ‘absent in

⁷¹ Ford, *Protestant reformation*, pp 91-2.

⁷² Helga Hammerstein, ‘Aspects of the continental education of Irish students in the reign of Elizabeth I’ in *Historical Studies*, viii (Dublin, 1969), p.140.

⁷³ RV 1615.

⁷⁴ Iain Knox, *Clergy and Parishes of Waterford & Lismore and Ferns* (Dublin, 2008), p.261.

England'.⁷⁵ Elice Meaghe alleged that Ralph Carr, an eighty year-old schoolmaster in Cashel, was among the Protestants murdered in the town in January 1641.⁷⁶

Tadeus Dowlinge, the chancellor of Leighlin, who was also described as a teacher, certainly had a strong interest in Irish pedagogy and culture, though we do not know if he was actively involved in education in the diocese.⁷⁷ Perhaps as a result of the proximity of his home diocese to the Pale, he had attended a freeschool in Dublin, run by Patrick Cusack and possibly the one referred to by Hammerstein above. He studied there for four years before being appointed treasurer of Leighlin and he had been promoted to chancellor by 1591.⁷⁸ He was seventy-one years old in 1615 and had written two books, *The Annals of Ireland* and an Irish grammar. He died in Leighlin in 1628, aged eighty-four.⁷⁹ Barnaby Ashton, an Englishman and minister in Killana in Leighlin, and Andreas Rafter of Ballygawran, Ossory, and Powerstowne, Leighlin, are described as 'teaching school'.⁸⁰

There were two public schoolmasters in Ferns in 1615, Tompson, 'a Master of Art, and of good sufficiency' in Wexford town, and Robert Turner B.A., preaching minister at Kiltarke, also 'of good sufficiency'.⁸¹ In 1634, Richard Tompson, 'schollemaster' of Ferns, probably the same man mentioned by Ram, complained to Dublin Castle that

⁷⁵ RV 1615.

⁷⁶ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 821, 259r-259v, 23 Aug. 1652) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

⁷⁷ RV 1615.

⁷⁸ 'Note for a speech by Thady Dowling, chancellor of Leighlin', 12 March 1602, *CSPI, 1600-03*, p.333.

⁷⁹ Robert MacCarthy, 'The Church of Ireland in Carlow, 1549-2000' in Thomas McGrath (ed.), *Carlow: history and society* (Dublin, 2008), p.333.

⁸⁰ RV 1615.

⁸¹ Ibid.

clergy and impropiators were detaining portions of his stipend from him. It is noteworthy that, while his complaint concerned Catholic landholders, as one would expect, such as Patrick Peppard, he also included the Protestant, Sir Adam Colclough, of Tintern Abbey, among his defaulters.⁸²

In 1607 an 'inquisition' in the dioceses of Cashel and Emly found that, while there were several vicarages granted by Archbishop Miler McGrath to schoolboys, which carried a 'pretence to be granted *studii gratia*', it was clear that there was not a 'schoolmaster in either of those dioceses of Cashel and Emeley to teach scholars authorised by the Archbishop'.⁸³

By the time concerted efforts were eventually made to put a state education system in place, the Catholic schools were well-established as the institutions of choice to which parents in south-east Ireland would send their sons. As Ford remarks, the strength of the Catholic school structure meant that it was very difficult, if not impossible, for new Protestant schools to attract pupils in the numbers that would be required to make a real impact on the future education of clergymen.⁸⁴ Protestant pedagogy in the south-east failed where its Catholic counterpart succeeded so well, in the preparation of young men for the university education that would train them as clergymen. As we shall see, the small number of students from the region, particularly of Old English or Gaelic backgrounds, who attended Trinity College, Dublin, in the first fifty years of its

⁸² Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.279.

⁸³ 'A note of several abuses in the dioceses of Cashell, Emeley, Lysmore and Waterford, discovered as well by examination of incumbents as also by the detection of certain inquisitors upon their oaths returned to interrogatories ministered to them', 4 Aug. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.241.

⁸⁴ Ford, *Protestant reformation*, pp 91-2.

existence, shows that there were few pupils, apart from the recent English settlers, being instructed in the Protestant faith, with a view to their joining the Church of Ireland ministry.⁸⁵

In 1564, Pope Pius V, evidently still optimistic that Elizabeth might revert to Roman Catholicism, issued a bull to the Irish papal nuncio, David Wolfe, and to the Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Creagh, which included a stipulation to provide colleges within Ireland that would act as diocesan seminaries to educate future and existing priests in theology, canon law and classical languages.⁸⁶ However, it was clear that the queen's administration in Ireland would not tolerate such a move, with the result that an alternative approach needed to be found to facilitate the provision of a Catholic clergy for the Irish mission. The role of the continental universities in this regard would become vital.

In arguing that the failure of the Reformation in Ireland was not a foregone conclusion by the end of the sixteenth century, Nicholas Canny remarks that priests trained in Counter-Reformation Catholicism in European universities only became a significant factor in Ireland after the death of Elizabeth.⁸⁷ Jeroen Nilis agrees, stating that Irish students only came to the university of Louvain in 'dribs and drabs' until the early seventeenth

⁸⁵ G.D. Burtchaell, and T.U. Sadleir, (eds.), *Alumni Dublinensis, a register of the students, graduates, professors and provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin, (1593-1860)* (Dublin, 1935).

⁸⁶ 'Bull of Pope Pius the fifth for the erection of universities in Ireland', 31 May 1564 in P.F. Moran (ed.), *Spicilegium Ossoriense, a collection of original letters and papers illustrative of the history of the Irish church from the Reformation to the year 1800* (3 vols, Dublin, 1874), i, pp 32-8.

⁸⁷ Nicholas Canny, 'Why the Reformation failed in Ireland: une question mal posée' in *Journal of ecclesiastical history*, xxx (1979), pp 423-50.

century.⁸⁸ This perception may be accurate, but the English administration clearly considered the move towards continental education to be a considerable threat as early as 1570, when Timothy Corcoran claims that it was causing concern.⁸⁹ Sir William Drury, president of Munster, writing to the queen's secretary of state, Walsingham, in 1577, stated that there were a 'great number of students from Waterford in Louvain, at the charge of their friends and fathers'. He described these students as 'the merest traitors and breeders of treachery that liveth'.⁹⁰ M.V. Ronan gives details of memoranda from the state papers of Elizabeth that give evidence of the recruitment of spies as early as 1564 to gather information about students travelling to Europe, with specific mention of Denis McVard in Waterford, who would give information about those being shipped to Antwerp for transfer to Louvain.⁹¹

This concern was further reflected in the legislation that established Trinity College, Dublin, in 1592,

.... whereby knowledge and civilities might be increased by thinstruction of our people there, whereof many have usually heretofore used to travaille into ffrance, Italy and Spaine to get lernynge in such fforaine universities where they may have been infected with poperie and other ill qualities, and so become evill subietts.⁹²

Whenever it became significant, the burgeoning relationship between Irish Catholicism and European university education found its strongest support in the south-east, helped undoubtedly by the developing trade relationship between the port towns of the region

⁸⁸ Nilis, 'Students at Leuven', p.3.

⁸⁹ Corcoran, *Education systems*, p.x.

⁹⁰ 'Sir William Drury, President of Munster, to Walsingham, the queen's principal private secretary', 16 April 1577 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, pp 22-4.

⁹¹ Ronan (ed.), *Reformation under Elizabeth*, p.113.

⁹² Patent roll (34 Elizabeth, 1592), in Corcoran (ed.), *State policy in Irish education*, p.56.

and the continent, particularly Spain and France, combined with the strong commercial and family associations that connected these towns to their inland neighbours. While accurate statistics are not available, there is considerable evidence to show that young men from the south-east travelled to the continent in significantly larger numbers than their counterparts in other regions of Ireland.

As early as 1580, Irish students were attending the universities at Salamanca, Valladolid and Lisbon, with what Thomas O'Connor describes as an 'episcopal student retinue' forming around the exiled bishop of Ossory, Thomas Strong, in Santiago de Compostela, from 1582. Strong was accompanied by his nephew, Thomas White, and other young men who attended the local university and depended on charitable donations to live.⁹³

Of the first one hundred students to take the oaths on entering the Irish college in Salamanca from 1595, at least forty-six percent were from the south-east and that figure may be considerably higher, as several students did not list their place of birth. More than half of those forty-six students were from Waterford and Lismore.⁹⁴ Both Nilis and Hammerstein contend that most students attending Louvain in the early years of the Irish college there were from Waterford or Kilkenny,⁹⁵ and, according to Patrick Boyle, those attending the Irish seminary at Toulouse were mainly from Munster.⁹⁶

⁹³ Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-1700* (Dublin, 2008), p.96.

⁹⁴ 'Salamanca oaths', pp 1-36.

⁹⁵ Nilis, 'Students at Leuven', p.6; Hammerstein, 'Aspects of continental education', p.143.

⁹⁶ Patrick Boyle, 'The Irish seminary at Toulouse' in *Archiv. Hib.*, i (1912), p.123.

Also, John Bossy claims that the continental colleges could not supply enough priests to make a difference to the quality of the clergy on a nationwide basis before 1641,⁹⁷ which leads us to believe that the south-east was better served than the rest of the country by priests returning from Europe. Bishop John Roche of Ferns reported in 1629 that there were thirty ‘good diocesan priests’ in his diocese, as well as a number of friars.⁹⁸ The question of how many priests returned from their studies to the Irish mission will be addressed more fully later.

This apparent bias in favour of students from the southern part of Ireland became the subject of a dispute between Thomas White, the Jesuit priest and first rector of the Irish college in Salamanca, himself a native of Clonmel, and Hugh O’Neill, Hugh O’Donnell and other northern chiefs in 1602. The chiefs claimed that White favoured students from the Old English families of Munster over Gaelic scholars in his colleges. The background to this dispute was a struggle for the control of the Irish colleges in Spain, which had been mandated by Philip II to the Jesuits, under White. This move was bitterly resented by the Old Irish, but White defended himself by stating that the entry requirements for Salamanca University were too advanced for Ulster and Connacht students, who ‘were neglected in their early training and who were rough in their manners’.⁹⁹ The provincial of the Spanish Jesuits put a somewhat different perspective on the matter when he

⁹⁷ John Bossy, ‘The Counter-Reformation and the people of Catholic Ireland’ in *Historical Studies*, viii (1969), pp 155-69.

⁹⁸ ‘Roche to Propaganda’, 1 December, 1629’ in Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, pp 313-4.

⁹⁹ James O’Boyle, *The Irish colleges on the continent* (Dublin, 1935), p.158.

claimed that a majority of southern students had been accepted because they had ‘presented themselves in greater numbers’.¹⁰⁰

If the truth lies somewhere between these two explanations, it is clear that the young men arriving at the European colleges from the south-east of Ireland came in greater numbers and that they were well prepared for the rigours of a university education. The rector of the University of Salamanca praised the Irish students in 1609, writing that they ‘rendered themselves worthy of the highest estimation’,¹⁰¹ while the students who enrolled in Louvain were entering what Corcoran describes as the ‘severest school of the liberal arts in Europe’.¹⁰² It is interesting to note here that the first rector of Salamanca’s Irish college, Thomas White, and his successors, Richard Conway of New Ross and James Archer of Kilkenny, were all born and received their early education in the south-east, while the Franciscan, Fr Luke Wadding, who founded St Isidore’s Irish College in Rome in 1625, was a native of Waterford.

Students, tutors and academics from the south-east were also to be found in the other colleges in Spain, Portugal, France, the Spanish Netherlands, and as far away as Vielun, in Poland, and Prague. Hammerstein notes that most of the Irish students in Douai were from the Pale and Drogheda, but included among the alumni was John Roche of New Ross, later bishop of Ferns.¹⁰³ Michael Browne of Thurles, mentioned earlier as a pupil of John Flahy in Waterford, studied in Lisbon as well as at Salamanca; Bartholomew

¹⁰⁰ J. Corboy, ‘The Irish college at Salamanca’ in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lxiii (1944), pp 249-50.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.250.

¹⁰² Corcoran, *Education systems*, p.xii.

¹⁰³ Hammerstein, ‘Aspects of continental education’, p.146.

Archer of Kilkenny, later chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria, received an M.A. from Paris in 1628; and Daniel O'Brien of Ferns, also known as Dónal Spáinneach, attended the university at Santiago de Compostela.¹⁰⁴

The extraordinary lengths to which some Catholic young men were prepared to go in order to complete a university education is reflected in the account given by Christopher Roche of Wexford when he was captured in England in January 1592. He claimed to have left Wexford eight years earlier, at the age of twenty-two, taking passage to Bordeaux where he was a porter in the college of Guienne for a year. He then taught Latin at a school near Libourne for six months, followed by eight months of study at Toulouse. Having returned briefly to Toulouse, he then travelled to Paris, where he stayed in 'sundry colleges' for a year and a half. Following three years in Lorraine, he spent brief periods in Spa, Antwerp, Brussels, Douai, St Omer and Calais, before journeying to England in the service of Mr Boswell.¹⁰⁵

It is important to examine the identity and motivation of those young men who undertook that difficult and often hazardous route to a university education. Using surnames as the basis of identifying people's place in Irish society in the early modern period is dangerous. We find Catholic and Protestant clergy with the same names, families from west Connacht and the Pale with similar names, and English and Irish neighbours who also carried the same surnames. Furthermore, the distinction between Old Irish and Old English families had blurred somewhat, due to intermarriage over the centuries since the

¹⁰⁴ Corish, 'John Roche', p.326.

¹⁰⁵ 'Examination of Christopher Roche', 19 Jan. 1592, *CSPI, 1588-92*, pp 455-6.

Norman invasion. However, if we accept a measure of validity in the complaints of Hugh O'Neill, that the students enrolling in the Spanish universities were almost exclusively Old English, and if we examine the lists of students from the south-east attending Salamanca and Louvain, a picture emerges of a group of boys who were the sons of established merchant and professional Old English families, mainly from the towns.

There were, of course, exceptions to this profile, with names such as Ó Cearnaigh from Cashel, Ó Coileáin from Ferns and O'Brien from Kilkenny among the Salamanca students, but the majority of those on the lists of students at Louvain and Salamanca carried the surnames that would be seen on a register of town burgesses. There were James Archer, Nicholas Shee and Peter Langton from Ossory; Richard Sinnott, James Butler and Luke Bennett from Ferns; Thomas Walsh, Thomas Power and Richard Strong from Waterford; and Theobald Stapleton, John Conway and Paul Boyton from Cashel. The fusion of family relationships in the region is reflected in the appearance of names such as White, Wadding and Comerford from a number of different dioceses.¹⁰⁶

In the years before the establishment of Trinity College in Dublin, those parents who wanted their sons to have a university education had no choice but to send them overseas. If we accept Canny's thesis that the majority of the population did not become self-consciously Roman Catholic until at least 1590, then it is difficult to understand why they eschewed Oxford and Cambridge and chose instead to send their children to Catholic universities in Europe in large enough numbers to cause concern to Elizabeth's administration. A significant consideration may have been the English universities'

¹⁰⁶ 'Salamanca oaths', pp 1-36; Nilis, 'Students at Leuven'.

refusal to award degrees to students who were unwilling to take the oath of supremacy in the later decades of the sixteenth century, which would surely indicate at least a burgeoning confessional awareness among the landowners and urban elite families of Ireland.¹⁰⁷ Family and community precedent, and proximity to the ports of the south-east, which had regular traffic to the continent, were evidently also factors.

The influence of schoolteachers may also have been important. For example, if the John Power who taught Luke Bennett, Nicholas Shee and Ross McGeoghegan was indeed the same man who graduated from the University of Paris in 1587, he may have been instrumental in encouraging his pupils to further their education in Europe. Michael Shee in Kilkenny, who probably studied in Louvain, may have been a similar inspiration to his pupils. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, with Irish colleges proliferating across the continent, the pattern was established, and continental education was now the norm for the sons of the recusant Catholic population in the towns of the south-east.

As with their grammar school education in Ireland, it was not unusual for students to attend more than one continental university in the course of their studies. Patterns of specialisation led scholars to take courses in humanities and philosophy at Lisbon or Santiago before moving to Salamanca to study theology. Similarly, in France, students of humanities and philosophy in Rouen would often graduate to Paris to further their theological education. There was also considerable movement between the Irish colleges in Flanders, especially Louvain and Douai.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Norman Jones, *The English Reformation, religion and cultural adaptation* (Oxford, 2002), p.29.

¹⁰⁸ Cregan, 'Counter-Reformation episcopate', p.108.

The scholarly backgrounds of the bishops appointed to the south-eastern dioceses in the first half of the seventeenth century clearly demonstrate the wide variety of paths taken by Irish students to gain qualifications and to prepare for their mission. Described by Corish as a ‘rather unusually gifted body of men.’¹⁰⁹ they attended a broad range of continental universities. David Rothe of Ossory was in Douai and Salamanca; Maurice O’Hurley of Emly in Douai and Bordeaux; John Roche of Ferns in Douai; Thomas Walsh of Cashel in Santiago, Lisbon and Salamanca; Edmund Dempsey of Leighlin in Santiago and Avila; Nicholas French of Ferns in Louvain; and Patrick Comerford of Waterford and Lismore in Bordeaux, Lisbon and Coimbra. Comerford had even travelled as far as the Azores before returning to Ireland and, as Donal Cregan remarks, ‘the Protestant hierarchies of Ireland and England appear insular by comparison’.¹¹⁰

One young Wexford man whose university education did not follow the emerging pattern was William Furlong, whose wealthy parents, Patrick Furlong and Catherine Stafford, had conformed to the state religion and sent their son to Oxford in the early years of the seventeenth century. However, while in England William converted to Catholicism and travelled to Spain, where he joined the Cistercian order. He was back in Wexford by 1609, where he was credited with preaching, performing miracles and re-converting many townspeople, including his own parents.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Corish, ‘John Roche’, p.14.

¹¹⁰ Cregan, ‘Counter-Reformation episcopate’, pp 87-8, 117.

¹¹¹ P.J. Corish, ‘Two Centuries of Catholicism in County Wexford’ in Kevin Whelan and W. Nolan (eds), *Wexford: History and Society* (Dublin, 1987), p.226; Nicholas Furlong, ‘Life in Wexford port, 1600-1800’ in Whelan & Nolan (eds), *Wexford*, p.153.

We do not know if most of the parents who sent their sons to Europe consciously planned the formation of a vibrant clergy, educated in post-Tridentine Catholic theology, who would return to Ireland to ensure that the people remained steadfast in their allegiance to Rome and the Counter-Reformation. Indeed, their purpose may have been considerably more pragmatic. The Englishman Ludowik Bryskett, who served as an official in Ireland in the 1580s, wrote that parents were willing to spend money on their son's education out of 'a desire to make them able to be employed, and a hope to see them raised to credit and dignity in the commonwealth'.¹¹²

But the Irish colleges and their sponsors, including the king of Spain and the pope, were certainly intent on providing priests to minister to Irish Catholics. Each student enrolling in Salamanca was expected to sign an oath, promising to obey the directions of his superiors regarding 'proceeding home to the Irish mission'.¹¹³ Philip III made a grant of £10 to each student, only to be paid when he returned to Ireland.¹¹⁴ A similar oath was taken by students in the Irish seminary in Toulouse,¹¹⁵ and the missionary intent of the Irish college at Douai was illustrated by the emphasis it placed on the teaching of Irish to non-Irish speakers, to enable them to preach wherever they were situated on their return to Ireland.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Ludowick Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civill Life*, ed. Thomas Wright (Northridge, California, 1970) in Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p.32.

¹¹³ O'Boyle, *Irish colleges on the continent*, p.170.

¹¹⁴ Corboy, 'Irish college at Salamanca', p.250.

¹¹⁵ Boyle, 'Irish seminary at Toulouse', pp 122-3.

¹¹⁶ Hammerstein, 'Aspects of continental education', p.147.

Because secrecy was imperative in the conduct of the Irish mission, it is very difficult to assess how successful the colleges were in fulfilling their objective of sending trained priests back to Ireland in significant numbers. There are also considerable discrepancies in the figures advanced by different sources. In his diary, Thomas White claimed that, of the students who enrolled in the first nineteen years of the Irish college in Salamanca, sixty-eight returned to Ireland, and Paul Sherlock, rector in 1631, wrote that the college had sent more than 300 'labourers to the vineyard in Ireland'.¹¹⁷ However, this number must be queried as the Salamanca papers give the names of only 145 students who had even entered the college by 1632.¹¹⁸

Archbishop Matthews of Dublin conducted a nationwide visitation in 1623, and found that there were approximately 800 secular priests, 200 Franciscans and one hundred clerics in other orders in the country at that time. Of these, P.J. Corish estimates that about thirty percent of the secular priests would have been educated on the continent, with a higher proportion among the Franciscans and, by definition, all forty of the Jesuits.¹¹⁹ There were at least eleven named Jesuits in the south-east region by 1609.¹²⁰ Even if we accept that a greater percentage of these 'new' priests were concentrated in the south-east, Sherlock's figures from Salamanca still appear to be exaggerated.

It is interesting to note that White's diary mentions eighty students who joined religious orders while in Salamanca. By joining orders, with the consent of the rector, students

¹¹⁷ O'Boyle, *Irish colleges on the continent*.

¹¹⁸ 'Salamanca oaths', pp 1-36.

¹¹⁹ P.J. Corish, *The Catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Dublin, 1981), p.26.

¹²⁰ Edmund Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana* (Dublin, 1880), pp 211-28.

were freed from their oath to serve as secular priests in Ireland. Of course, many, like the Franciscan Nicholas Marob of Kilkenny, may still have returned to Ireland as Jesuits, Franciscans or Dominicans.¹²¹

St Anthony's Franciscan College was founded in Louvain in 1607, and within ten years of its foundation, it claimed to have sent thirty-one trained Franciscan preachers back to Ireland. By 1630, sixty-three trained preachers had graduated.¹²² Nilis claims that most of the Louvain theologantes came home to 'pastoral ministry in their native dioceses', though he adds that students who took higher theology degrees usually remained in the university or taught in other colleges on the continent.¹²³

An Irish secular college and a Dominican college were founded in Louvain in 1624.¹²⁴ Richard Barry was bursar of this Dominican community in 1626 before his return to Ireland, where he was resident in Waterford in 1627. He was probably the prior of Cashel who was martyred in 1647. Another Dominican, John Fox, who had studied at Bordeaux, was lecturer in philosophy in Louvain in 1626, but was also back in Ireland, as prior of Waterford, the following year.¹²⁵

¹²¹ O'Boyle, *Irish colleges on the continent*, p.160; 'Salamanca oaths', p.7; 'A note of the names of such priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits, together with their relievers and maintainers in the city and county of Kilkenny,' (T.C.D., MS 567). Although dated 1613, this document appears to have been compiled in 1610, as Henry Shee was mayor of Kilkenny in that year.

¹²² C. Mooney, 'The golden age of the Irish Franciscans' in O'Brien (ed.), *Measgra Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh*, p.27.

¹²³ Nilis, 'Students at Leuven', p.6.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹²⁵ Hugh Fenning, 'Irish Dominicans at Louvain before 1700: a biographical register' in *Coll. Hib.*, xliii (2001), pp 112-60.

Despite the scarcity of records, it is still possible to trace the careers of a number of other priests from the region who definitely returned to their home dioceses. These include John White, described by Sir William Drury in 1577 as being ‘worshipped like a God, between Kilkenny and Waterford and Clonmel’, who matriculated in Louvain in 1565. He was a native of Clonmel and related to Peter Lombard.¹²⁶ Another John White, born in Waterford in 1585, studied at Salamanca and Lisbon, joined the Dominican order, and returned to Ireland before 1615.¹²⁷

John Wadding, listed earlier as a student of James Devereux and other teachers in Wexford, was named in ‘a note of the Romish priests in Wexford’ around 1610.¹²⁸ He was later appointed chancellor of Ferns by Bishop John Roche in 1632.¹²⁹ This is probably the same John Wadding who wrote to Fr Richard Conway in Salamanca from Waterford, where he was living in 1606.¹³⁰

Lucas Bennett, a Jesuit from New Ross, who studied with John Flahy in Waterford, took the oaths in Salamanca in 1602 and was certainly back in Ireland by 1607, when he wrote to Richard Conway regarding the persecution of priests in the New Ross district.¹³¹ Miler Mac Craith, also known as ‘Michael of the rosary’, from the parish of Tubrid in Lismore, was professed as a Dominican in Benfica in 1629 and may have been prior of Clonmel

¹²⁶ ‘Drury to Walsingham’ in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, pp 22-4; Nilis, ‘Students at Leuven’, p.36.

¹²⁷ Hugh Fenning, ‘Irish Dominicans at Lisbon before 1700: a biographical register’ in *Coll. Hib.*, xlii (2000), p.64.

¹²⁸ ‘A note of the Romish priests in Wexford’, (T.C.D., MS 567, fo. 11, 42r).

¹²⁹ ‘Bishop John Roche to the Sacred College of Propaganda’, 25 Feb. 1632 in Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.315.

¹³⁰ Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p.206.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, p.211; ‘Salamanca oaths’, p.12.

when he was arrested there in 1650 while attending a dying person. He was subsequently hanged.¹³²

The hazards encountered by priests returning to pastoral duty, even before their arrival in Ireland, are reflected in the experience of another Dominican, Thaddeus Murphy, from Ferns, who had studied in Lisbon and Salamanca. He was captured and imprisoned by pirates during his voyage home in 1619, although he did escape and was working in Ferns in 1626 before his appointment as prior of Kilkenny in 1627.¹³³ In 1588 Peter Meyler, a student from Wexford who had studied in Spain, was captured in Galway on his return to Ireland and hanged, drawn and quartered when he refused the oath of supremacy. Meyler may have been suspected of involvement in political activities associated with the Baltinglass revolt, as his punishment appears unusually harsh for a priest not involved in rebellion during this period. Christopher Roche, also from Wexford, had studied in Louvain and was captured in Bristol on his homeward journey in 1590. He died in prison in London, also having refused to take the oath of supremacy.¹³⁴

Nicholas Marob was the first student to sign the oaths in Salamanca in 1595 and he subsequently joined the Franciscan order. He was named as a friar in Kilkenny in a list of 'sundrie priests and friars' before 1610¹³⁵ and was reported to be staying with James Butler, brother of Lord Mountgarret, at Duiske Abbey in 1610. He may also have been the Franciscan, named as William Marob, who did 'commonly say Mass within St

¹³² Fenning, 'Irish Dominicans at Lisbon', p.41.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Corish, 'Two Centuries', p.224.

¹³⁵ P.F. Moran, 'The bishops of Ossory' in *Ossory Archaeological Society transactions*, ii (1880-3), p.267; 'Salamanca oaths', p.7.

Francis' abbey' in Kilkenny in the same period.¹³⁶ Marob was evidently from a well-to-do family in the city, as the inventory of his possessions on arrival in Salamanca includes two blankets, four shirts, four leggings of Irish frieze, four breeches, two of hide and one each of cloth and linen, three pairs of shoes, fourteen collars, one belt, one cloak of Irish frieze, one cap, one doublet and tunic, some quill pens and a copy of Suarez's grammar.¹³⁷ Thomas Howraghan and Thomas O'Brien, also students from the diocese of Ossory in Salamanca, were probably the Thomas Houghan who was maintained by Mr John Roch Fitz Pierce, alderman of Kilkenny, and the Fr O'Brien described as a Jesuit and preacher, who was living in the house of Richard O'Shea, also in Kilkenny.¹³⁸

The conspicuous presence of returning students from Europe is reflected in a letter written by David Kearney, archbishop of Cashel, in November, 1606, about the persecution of Catholics:

We attend to their wants in every way we can, and in this we have received great help from those who came this year from the college of Salamanca, who, with their virtue, zeal, and learning, labour with marked fruit, encouraging the weak, and exhorting the brave and valorous soldiers of Christ. They are divided among the places requiring their aid most.¹³⁹

Those priests who did return to Ireland encountered varying degrees of difficulty and persecution in fulfilling their ministry. In 1610 James I had issued a proclamation forbidding the travelling abroad of the children of gentlemen for educational purposes¹⁴⁰ and David Kearney wrote to the superiors of the Irish colleges in Spain in 1612 regarding the 'cruel edicts [that] have been published against the Catholics, and particularly against

¹³⁶ 'Names of priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny.'

¹³⁷ 'Salamanca oaths', p.7.

¹³⁸ Ibid, p.12, 19; 'Names of priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

¹³⁹ Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p.207.

¹⁴⁰ Colm Lennon, *The lords of Dublin in the age of Reformation* (Dublin, 1989), p.196.

the alumni of the foreign seminaries, their parents, relatives, and friends, as also against all such as contribute to their education.’¹⁴¹ How Catholic clergy and the Catholic community in general contended with these difficulties will be dealt with in detail in Chapter Three.

Some attempts were made to establish Catholic foundations of further education within Ireland during the relatively peaceful and tolerant years of the 1620s. Luke Archer, vicar-general of Ossory, established a Cistercian novitiate in Kilkenny in 1621, as well as a seminary for secular priests. Within eleven years, this seminary is reputed to have produced enough clergy to serve every parish in the diocese. Archer moved his novitiate to Holy Cross in 1637.¹⁴²

Between 1625 and 1628, Fr Francis Matthews opened a Franciscan school for the study of humanities in Wexford, and schools of philosophy in Cashel and Kilkenny. Later, in the changed circumstances of 1645, the Franciscans also appointed two lectors of humanities to teach in Enniscorthy and two lectors of philosophy in Kilkenny.¹⁴³ The Jesuits, who had opened a grammar school in Kilkenny by 1635, established a novitiate in the city in 1645. The founder was John Young, who wrote in 1647 that he had charge of eleven novices, including four priests, six scholastics and one temporal coadjutor. The advance of Cromwell’s forces prompted Young to move his college to Galway in 1649

¹⁴¹ ‘Letter from Archbishop of Cashel, some fathers of the society and other grave persons, this year, 1612, to the superiors of the Irish seminaries in Spain’ in Moran (ed.), *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i, p.120.

¹⁴² Michael Comerford, *Collections relating to Kildare and Leighlin* (3 vols, Dublin, 1883), i, pp 60-1.

¹⁴³ Mooney, ‘Golden age of the Franciscans’, p.24.

and he reluctantly sent his students abroad the following year.¹⁴⁴ Despite these efforts to establish an indigenous system to train clergy, the majority of students for the priesthood continued to travel to the continent during the seventeenth century.

The delay in establishing a university in Ireland contributed to the success of this model of continental education, which, in turn, adversely affected the potential of Trinity College, when it was eventually founded in 1592, to significantly influence the confessional future of Ireland. Plans to erect a university in Dublin were in place as early as 1547, when the Church of Ireland archbishop of Dublin, George Browne, who evidently understood the importance of education in the promotion of the Reformation, wrote to Edward VI, suggesting that the property and revenues of St Patrick's Cathedral be used to endow a college.¹⁴⁵ Through a series of disputes and delays, Trinity College did not admit its first students until 1592, by which time, as we have seen, the majority of Irish and Old English gentry families were turning to European universities for their sons' education.¹⁴⁶

Very few young Irishmen were educated specifically for the Protestant ministry before 1592, with the established church relying on poorly trained reading ministers, or clergy imported from Britain, to serve their parishes. George Hopton, rector of Kylcombane in Leighlin, was granted a licence by Elizabeth in 1566 to be absent in England for five

¹⁴⁴ Oliver (ed.), *Members of the Society of Jesus*, pp 250-2.

¹⁴⁵ James Murray, 'St Patrick's cathedral and the university question in Ireland, 1547-1585' in Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *European universities in the age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Dublin, 1998), pp 1-33.

¹⁴⁶ For a comprehensive account of the process involved in the establishment of Trinity College, see Murray, 'St Patrick's cathedral', pp 1-33.

years of study, while John Bryan, vicar of Eyrke in Ossory, received a similar dispensation in 1569 for three years of study.¹⁴⁷ However, no record can be found of either of these men among the alumni of Oxford or Cambridge.¹⁴⁸ James Bicton of Kilkenny was certainly an exception. He was granted a pension at the suppression of St John's Priory in the city in 1540 and chose to enrol at Christ Church College in Oxford, graduating with a BA in 1545 and an MA in 1547, at which time he was appointed dean of Ossory.¹⁴⁹

While the royal visitations provided a clear picture of the Church of Ireland parish structure, the backgrounds of those named pastors are often obscure. This is in direct contrast to the Catholic position, where the education of the priests was often well documented, but their subsequent clandestine mission largely unknown. Marmaduke Middleton, who was Church of Ireland bishop of Waterford from 1579 to 1582, described his own clergy as 'little better than kern'¹⁵⁰ and Andrew Trollope, writing to Walsingham in 1587 with his impressions of Ireland, depicted the Protestant clergy as follows:

In truth, such they are as deserve not living or to live I cannot find whether the most of them love lewd women, cards, dice, or drink, best. And when they must of necessity go to church, they carry with them a book in Latin of the Common Prayer set forth and allowed by her Majesty. But they read little or nothing of it or can well read it, but they tell the people a Tale of our Lady or St. Patrick or some other saint, horrible to be spoken about or heard.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Ronan (ed.), *Reformation under Elizabeth*, p.649.

¹⁴⁸ Joseph Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (4 vols., Oxford, 1891-1892); John Venn and J.A.Venn, (eds), *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part I from the earliest times to 1751*, (4 vol., Cambridge, 1922-1927).

¹⁴⁹ Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery*, ii, p.66; Foster.

¹⁵⁰ Ford, *Protestant reformation*, p.32.

¹⁵¹ 'Andrew Trollope to Walsingham,' 26 Oct. 1587 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, pp 117-21.

This depressing account may, of course, have been exaggerated, but there is no evidence to suggest that these reading ministers had anything more than a rudimentary education or an obscure understanding of the confessional concepts that divided the two faiths. The 1615 visitations describe Donaldus Ó Teig, a reading minister in five parishes in Emly, as ‘an ignorant and barbarous priest, liar’ and an ‘unworthy fellow’. Hugo Harty, of the same diocese, confessed to never having celebrated baptism or communion, and to not having ministered for eight years. Generally, there is little or no information given about these pastors, with their only qualification being their ability to speak Irish, English or Latin.¹⁵²

The preaching ministers were, by definition, better educated, but were still scarce in 1615. With the exception of the archbishop and cathedral dignitaries, the diocese of Cashel had only five preachers. Two of these were Andrew and John Magrath, sons of the archbishop, Miler, and alleged Catholics; Absolom Gethin, an Englishman with an MA from Oxford, also held parishes in Lismore and Ossory but was ‘absent in England’; and Philip O’Hirk was a student in Trinity College. Only John Prendergast, vicar of Mullaghinona, possibly also a graduate of Oxford, may have been present in his diocese.¹⁵³

James Quin is the only named preaching minister in Emly, apart from the dignitaries, and we have no information about him. The precentor and chancellor, Randall and Edmund Hurley, were both students in Trinity. John Naylor, who graduated from Oxford in 1590,

¹⁵² RV 1615.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

and Fabianus Read, were the only preaching ministers in Waterford, while Trinity graduate John Roche, Scotsman John Temple and Englishman A. Potter were Lismore's only preachers.¹⁵⁴ It is unlikely that Temple was resident on his livings in Lismore as he was also chancellor of Cloyne in 1615.¹⁵⁵

The qualifications held by clergy in the archdiocese of Cashel make stark reading. The degree of Master of Arts was the most popular degree with clergymen in the early decades of the seventeenth century, with some 61% of presentees to benefices in England between 1627 and 1640 holding an MA.¹⁵⁶ Of the sixty-eight named ministers in the four dioceses of Cashel, Emly, Waterford and Lismore in 1615, only five, or 7.5%, had an MA qualification, with the position improved somewhat, to 24%, by 1633.¹⁵⁷

By the time of the Royal Visitation of that year, twenty-five preaching ministers had been appointed in Cashel, with fourteen in Emly, seven in Waterford and twenty-nine in Lismore. Most of these new recruits held BA or MA degrees from Trinity, Oxford or Cambridge, though pluralism and absenteeism were still rife.¹⁵⁸

The situation was less stark in Ferns, Leighlin and Ossory. Bishop Ram had implemented a policy of setting aside livings, worth less than £10 per annum, to provide for three or four youths from each of his dioceses to attend college, with the understanding that they would return to their parishes on the completion of their studies.¹⁵⁹ He reported that ten

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae* i, p.314.

¹⁵⁶ Rosemary O'Day, *The professions*, p.69.

¹⁵⁷ Elizabeth Rickett, 'The episcopate of the Church of Ireland, 1603-1660', (PhD thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 2007).

¹⁵⁸ RV 1633; Foster; Venn & Venn; Burtchaell & Sadleir.

¹⁵⁹ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

of his twelve preaching ministers in Ferns were in residence in 1615, with the other two, William Underwood and John Bateson, attending Trinity. Ram's report may not have been entirely accurate as one of these preachers, Matthew Lee, who held the living of Kilmule, was a minor canon of St Patrick's in Dublin in the same year, although he may have returned to Wexford at a later date, as he is noted as prebendary of Kilrush in 1629.¹⁶⁰

Robert Ram, son of the bishop, and a student in Trinity, was one of eight preaching ministers in Leighlin. There were at least ten preachers in Ossory, including Henry and Daniel Maynwaring, the Trinity student, Edmund Donellan, who would become archdeacon of Cashel, and Nicholas Jones, a student in Oxford.

The picture that emerges from the visitation returns is one of a parish system, sparsely served by a poorly prepared ministry, made up of inadequately educated native Irish and imported, but often absent, British clergy. Canny observes that, by 1622, the Dublin administration was frustrated by the fact that the number of continentally-trained priests in Ireland seemingly exceeded that of university-educated Protestant ministers.¹⁶¹ While efforts were made to attract Old Irish and Old English students to Trinity, a combination of factors ensured that the student body was increasingly drawn from the sons of recent English settlers. As the majority of Irish and Anglo-Irish became increasingly self-consciously Catholic, they were unlikely to want their children to attend a college that professed such a strong Protestant ethos, and the custom of sending their sons to

¹⁶⁰ Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, ii, p.196.

¹⁶¹ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p.441.

continental Europe was also firmly established by the time Trinity was in a position to offer an alternative.¹⁶² Although about one-third of students attending the college in its first three decades were drawn from the Old Irish and Old English communities, by the late 1603s this figure had fallen to less than 15%.¹⁶³

An attempt was made by the government to ensure that all wards of court should be 'maintained and educated in the English religion and habits in Trinity College Dublin,'¹⁶⁴ but this measure, which would have ensured that wards of Catholic families attended Trinity, was rarely enforced.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, a recommendation in the 'memorials for the reformation of the clergie' of 1604, that the government prohibit the 'sending of children overseas for study and to recall those already abroad'¹⁶⁶ could not be enforced. The difficulties encountered by Trinity in attracting Irish students were compounded in the university's first fifty years by internal disputes, weak administration and allegations of a growing puritan influence among its faculty. Writing to Archbishop Laud in 1633, Wentworth described the college as 'extremely out of Order, partly by means of their Statutes, which must be amended, and partly under the Government of a weak Provost'.¹⁶⁷

Despite centuries of attempted anglicisation, a significant portion of the population of south-eastern Ireland was still Irish-speaking by 1650. To achieve any degree of religious

¹⁶² Ford, *Protestant reformation*, p.197, 223.

¹⁶³ Idem, 'Who went to Trinity? The early students of Dublin University' in Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *European universities in the age of Reformation*, pp 62-6.

¹⁶⁴ 'Statutes of Kilkenny, 12n.' in Stopford Green, *The making of Ireland*, p.423.

¹⁶⁵ Ford, *Protestant reformation*, p.93.

¹⁶⁶ 'Memorials for the reformation of the clergie', *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.241.

¹⁶⁷ 'The Lord Deputy to Laud,' 31 Jan. 1633 in Knowler (ed.), *Strafford's letters and dispatches*, i, p.188.

conformity in the region, it was imperative that those clergymen entrusted with spiritual care should be able to communicate with their parishioners in their native language. Here, again, the education of Catholic priests appears to have appreciated and addressed this issue more successfully. We have already seen how students at Douai, who did not already speak Irish, were expected to learn the language, while R. Dudley Edwards claimed that the friars' knowledge of Irish, in contrast to the ignorance of many of the new generation of Protestant ministers, dealt a 'fatal blow' to the Reformation.¹⁶⁸ That there was never a shortage of Irish-speaking Catholic clergy is reflected in John McCafferty's comment that the language was 'the star of Catholic reform' in Ireland.¹⁶⁹

Like most other aspects of the education of Protestant clergy, the realisation that competence in Irish was critical came too late. It was not until 1604 that the 'memorials' for the reformation of the clergy mentioned that ministers should be taught the Lord's prayer, creed and commandments in Irish. It was also suggested that Gaelic-speaking clergy from Scotland could be brought to Ireland to work in Irish areas.¹⁷⁰ The chancellor of Leighlin and Irish scholar, Tadeus Dowlinge, mentioned earlier, was a noteworthy exception in the region. Another exception was William Daniel, a fellow of Trinity College in the 1590s, who was closely involved with a project to translate the New Testament into Irish and have it printed as a vital tool for proselytisation. But, with the exception of Daniel, Alan Ford argues that the ethos of Trinity was a 'predominantly anglicising' one from its foundation, and that the teaching of Irish was neglected.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Dudley Edwards, *Church and state*, p.82.

¹⁶⁹ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.17.

¹⁷⁰ 'Memorials for the reformation of the clergie,' *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.241.

¹⁷¹ Ford, *Protestant reformation*, p.96.

Somewhat belatedly, in 1620, James I recognised the importance of providing qualified Irish-speaking clergy to Gaelic areas. He wrote to Lord Deputy St John on 26 February that

..... by this time good numbers of the natives should have been trained up and been employed as teachers of the ignorant among the Irish if the governors of that house had not neglected their trust and employed the revenues otherwise, he requires the visitors of that university to take care of that point, and directs that some competent number of towardly young men already fitted with the knowledge of the Irish tongue be placed in the university and maintained there for two or three years till they have learned the grounds of religion, and be able to catechise the simple natives, and deliver unto them so much as themselves have learned.¹⁷²

But, by the time William Bedell was appointed provost in 1627, the terms of James's provision of 1620 had been misused to the point where these scholarships were applied to anyone born in Ireland, of whatever race, whether or not they could speak Irish. Bedell framed new statutes that stipulated the granting of the scholarships to those who would 'cultivate the Irish language, or learn it and present religious exercises in it'.¹⁷³

As we shall see in Chapters Three and Four, the inability of most Protestant ministers to communicate with their congregations through the Irish language, where necessary, was instrumental in further isolating them from those whom they wished to convert. From a position where education and training were seen as crucial to the provision of a ministry that would be a powerful tool in the task of persuading the people of Ireland to conform, these Church of Ireland clergy were now part of what Ford describes as a 'Protestant church and a protestant community with a clearly defined sense of identity',¹⁷⁴ emerging

¹⁷² 'James to Lord Deputy St John', 26 Feb. 1620, *CSPI, 1615-25*, pp 276-7.

¹⁷³ Ford, *Protestant reformation*, p.96.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.225.

separate and isolated from the Catholic society that surrounded them. Meanwhile, as James Murray concludes, the majority of Bishop Brady's 'tender youth' received their education 'on the continent, in universities and colleges where they were nourished on the doctrines of post-Tridentine Catholicism'.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Murray, 'St Patrick's cathedral', p.33

Chapter Two

Material Resources: the critical importance of property and other sources of income in the empowerment of the clergy

And therefore we may not hope that any man will set his sonne to schoole, and train him up in the study of Divinity, unlesse there bee hope of wealth and honour in their age.¹

In the previous chapter, the concerns facing the advocates of both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in preparing a trained body of clergymen with the knowledge and enthusiasm to serve their congregations, and the expertise to establish firm foundations for the future of their respective faiths, were outlined. In what was becoming an increasingly contentious confessional environment, those priests and ministers who took up duty in the parishes of south-east Ireland in the years between 1550 and 1650 faced serious challenges in carrying out their duties, not least the issues of property and income.

This chapter will examine the material resources that were available to the clergy in the south-east, and how the struggle for ascendancy between the churches was often influenced by the ability of clergymen, and those who took responsibility for their maintenance, to optimise those assets. The value of available church livings will be analysed as will the confessional identities of those who controlled such property and income, in the context of how it was used to support the work of priests and ministers. The availability and condition of churches for the celebration of services and other rituals will also be studied, as will the pragmatic steps taken to overcome the absence of such facilities. Finally, the efforts of government agents and both Protestant and Catholic

¹ Thomas Ryves, *The poor vicars plea Declaring, that a competencie of means is due to them out of the tithes of their severall parishes, notwithstanding the impropriations* (London, 1620), p.146.

hierarchy to improve and consolidate the financial position of their clergy in the first half of the seventeenth century will be evaluated.

In his article, 'Economic problems of the church: why the Reformation failed in Ireland', Steven Ellis argues that, while it would be simplistic to suggest that the poverty of Church of Ireland benefices was the chief factor in determining the future of the reformed church, it was certainly a significant issue. With the exception of some parishes in the relatively well-resourced dioceses of Dublin and Meath, there was little to attract educated, enthusiastic preaching ministers to take up positions within the established church.²

Ironically, some of the very resources which should have supported the Protestant ministry were often re-directed towards the upkeep of clandestine Catholic clergy. As we shall see, Catholic landowners, who had benefited by receiving church property in the aftermath of the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536, regularly used portions of the income from these impropriations to maintain priests.

It is important to understand at the outset that, in the aftermath of the Reformation, all church buildings and land were *de facto* the property of the established church and, in an ideal situation, should have provided homes, livelihoods and places to preach for those who would administer the state-supported religion. Also, the clergy who were in place by the 1560s were regarded as Church of Ireland ministers and the authorities intended to

² Steven Ellis, 'Economic problems of the church: why the Reformation failed in Ireland' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xli (1979), pp 239-67.

replace those who refused to conform.³ Therefore, while this chapter may appear to place disproportionate emphasis on the resources of Church of Ireland clergy, it will become apparent that the assets of Catholic priests, while generally less physically or fiscally tangible, were no less valuable than those of their Protestant counterparts. The chapters on community and institutional support will address this in greater detail.

Aspects of the parochial and diocesan structures of the church that were in place before the Reformation were responsible for some of the economic problems that made it difficult to offer a suitable standard of living to good quality clergymen. Historians have identified two major problems that contributed to the poor financial state of the church in Ireland in the second half of the sixteenth century – the fundamental poverty of livings available and the lay impropriation of church property, which served to exacerbate an already parlous situation. While not intending to over-emphasise the contrast with the position of the Church of England, some comparison will prove useful in showing how very poorly endowed was the average church living in south-east Ireland.

A vicar or rector's principal source of income was the payment of the tithe, a tax of one tenth of the profit from each parishioner's labour and produce, in return for which they had the right to have 'divine service said unto them'.⁴ Tithes were not regarded merely as donations towards the upkeep of a clergyman, but were considered due to him by *iure divino*, that is, by divine law, 'which does not admit dispensation or change'.⁵

³ Dudley Edwards, *Church and state*, pp 189-90.

⁴ Ryves, *The poor vicars plea*, p.90.

⁵ John Selden, *The history of tithes* (London, 1618), p.7.

The largest portion of these payments was in ‘great tithes’, the produce or fruits arising from the soil, mainly corn, hay and wood. ‘Small tithes’ comprised the produce of animals, profits on trade, salaries and wages, the produce of gardens and orchards, and fish caught at sea or in rivers. Tithe payments were supplemented by ‘altarages’, which were fees for services performed, by offerings and by the produce of the glebe farm, whether it was worked by the clergyman himself or leased out.⁶

The *Valor ecclesiasticus* for England and Wales, compiled in 1535, surveyed clerical income and the value of benefices in each diocese.⁷ The *Valor* suggested that a minimum annual ‘clear’ income of £13 sterling was needed for a rector or vicar to live comfortably. At the time, less than half the livings in England, and only about one-third of those in Wales were worth more than £10.⁸ Rosemary O’Day describes the financial position of most parish clergymen in England as ‘pitiful and uncertain’⁹ and John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, remarked in 1585 that there were no more than six hundred livings, out of an estimated nine or ten thousand in England and Wales, that could support a learned minister.¹⁰

The situation was far worse in Ireland. Work commenced in 1538 on the *Valor Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum in Hibernia*, which surveyed the value of Irish livings. Figures from that year were returned for Ossory, Ferns, Cashel, Waterford and Leighlin,

⁶ O’Day, *The professions*, p.63; James Murray, ‘The sources of clerical income in the Tudor diocese of Dublin, c.1530-1600’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, xlvii (1991-2), pp 139-160.

⁷ Ellis, ‘Economic problems’, pp 243-4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 248-9.

⁹ O’Day, *The professions*, p.63.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

excluding the Gaelic lordship of Leix, which was surveyed in 1586. Emly was assessed in 1584 and Lismore in 1591, though many of the parishes of Lismore, which had been united to the diocese of Waterford in 1363, are included in the earlier figures for Waterford.¹¹

Henry Jefferies points out the limitations of the figures provided by the *Valor in Hibernia*, when compared to its English counterpart, in that only a gross monetary value for each benefice was recorded, with no breakdown of the constituent elements of great and small tithes and altarages.¹² Nonetheless, even these rudimentary figures are valuable in assessing the worth of parish livings in south-east Ireland at the time of the Reformation.

Outside of the bishopric and cathedral dignitaries, of the sixty-one rectories and vicarages in Ossory, only six were valued at more than IR£10, thirty-two were worth between IR£5 and IR£10, with the remaining twenty-three having an income of less than IR£5 (see Table 1). When the difference in value between sterling and the Irish pound is taken into consideration,¹³ only the rectories of Callan, Rosconnell, Aghaboe and St. Martin's had an income that the English *Valor* would have deemed sufficient for the upkeep of a clergyman.¹⁴

¹¹ *Valor Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum in Hibernia: or the first-fruits of all the ecclesiastical benefices in the kingdom of Ireland, as taxed in the King's books, with an account shewing how this royal fund vested in trustees, hath hitherto been disposed of* (Dublin, 1741).

¹² Henry Jefferies, 'Parishes and pastoral care in the early Tudor era' in Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p.221.

¹³ The ratio of sterling to Irish pounds was 75:100, *Valor in Hibernia*, p.iii.

¹⁴ *Valor in Hibernia*.

The position in Ferns was slightly better. Of the sixty-five named livings, nineteen were valued at over IR£10, fifteen were worth between IR£5 and IR£10, while the remaining thirty-one benefices had an income of less than IR£5. But again, when the English *Valor* standard is applied, only the churches of St Mary, St Patrick and St John in Wexford town, and the rectories of Kilsoran, Rosslare, Tomhaggard, Kilclogan and Duncormick were in a position to comfortably support a clergyman. All of the wealthier livings in Ferns were in the southern part of the diocese, in or near the thriving port towns of Wexford and New Ross. The northern part of the county, still in the control of Gaelic families during this period, was considerably poorer.¹⁵

The proximity of Leighlin to the Pale may lead one to expect that its parishes would be relatively well off, but, of the earlier returns in 1538, not one parish was valued at over IR£10, with just five livings worth between IR£5 and IR£10. However, when the later survey of 1586 returned values for eleven rectories and two vicarages, seven of these, Dysart Eynnys, Borris, Killealy, Clonenagh, Straboe, Noghwall and Clonkyne had an annual income of more than £13 sterling.¹⁶ It is difficult to explain why these later returns vary so much from the earlier ones. While it is possible that the intervening forty-eight years may have seen a considerable increase in the economic wellbeing of these parishes, this appears unlikely, as will become apparent when the figures for 1615 are examined. The report of the Royal Visitation of that year gives no return for the income of six of these benefices, with only Dysart Eynnys, at £15, given an annual value.¹⁷

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ RV 1615.

The united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore had only five livings worth more than IR£10. Two of these were the city churches of the Holy Trinity and St. James, valued at IR£14 each per annum, while the vicarage of Stradbally was worth IR£12.2s.9d. Only the rectory and vicarage of Dungarvan, in the far west of the diocese, with unusually high and possibly questionable incomes of IR£60 and IR£30 respectively, had sufficient funds to meet the *Valor* criterion.¹⁸

The poorest of the south-eastern dioceses were Cashel and Emly, still separate sees in 1538, but united in 1568. Cashel had no rectory or vicarage worth more than IR£10, with forty-four of the forty-seven livings valued at under IR£5. Emly, surveyed at the later date of 1584, was only slightly better off, with nineteen of its twenty-eight benefices worth less than IR£5 and only Caherconlish and Aherlow valued at over IR£10.

Table 1: Annual income of benefices reported in *Valor Ecclesiasticorum in Hibernia*.¹⁹

Diocese	Over IR£10	IR£5-10	Under IR£5	Total
Ossory (1538)	6	32	23	61
Ferns (1538)	19	15	31	65
Leighlin (1538-86) [1]	11	7	38	56
Waterford & Lismore (1538-91) [1]	5	30	23	58
Cashel (1538)	0	3	44	47
Emly (1584) [1]	2	7	19	28
Total	43	94	178	315
Percentage	13.5%	30%	56.5%	100%

[1]. Figures for Emly and parts of Leighlin and Lismore have been converted from sterling.

Overall, more than 56% of livings in the region were worth less than IR£5 per annum and only 6.5% provided a sufficient income to allow a clergyman to live comfortably (see

¹⁸ *Valor in Hibernia*.

¹⁹ *Ibid*.

Figure 1). Andrew Trollope, writing to principal secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham in 1587, confirmed this impression, describing most of the clergy as ‘stipendiary men, and few have £5 a year to live on – the most not above 53s.4d’.²⁰

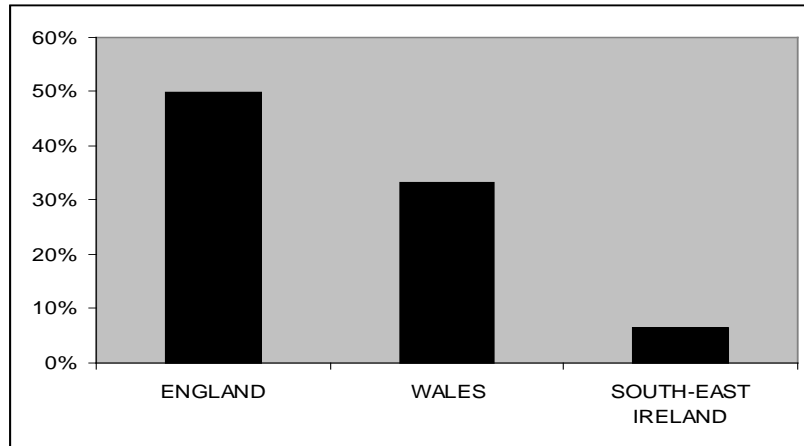


Figure 1: Percentage of benefices estimated to be capable of providing a sufficient living for a clergyman in the 1530s.²¹

The recruitment difficulties that arose as a result of the poverty of livings on offer were further compounded by the issue of impropriated church property. Over the centuries leading up to the early modern period, the regular religious orders, based in monasteries, had taken possession of much of Ireland’s ecclesiastical property, providing spiritual sustenance to parishioners while acquiring the profits accruing to the lands in question. More than half of all church benefices in Ireland belonged to the abbeys, monasteries and religious houses in the early 1530s.²²

In the years following Henry VIII’s instructions for dissolution and the passing of legislation by the Irish parliament in 1536, most of the monastic property in south-east

²⁰ ‘Trollope to Walsingham’ in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, p.117.

²¹ Ellis, ‘Economic problems’, pp 243-4; *Valor in Hibernia*.

²² James Frederick Ferguson, *Remarks on the limitations of the Actions Bill intended for Ireland: together with short extracts from ancient records relating to advowsons of the churches in Ireland* (Dublin, 1843), p.vi.

Ireland passed into the hands of Irish and English laymen and corporate bodies. Granted by letters patent, either in fee or for a term of years, the possessions of the religious orders were held by the grantees

as fully and as amply, and with all the rights and privileges enjoyed by their former proprietors, or to which they were entitled and the right and duty of appointing, nominating, and presenting fit ministers to the churches annexed to or forming part of these religious houses devolved upon such patentees and lessees.²³

An advowson is the right of presentation to a benefice, and Norman Jones points out that livings and advowsons were forms of property that could be defended in common law. The 'right to present' meant that the patron also owned the church and its tithes, unless that right of nomination had been sold on to a third party.²⁴ J.F. Ferguson agrees, stating that 'the grant of the rectory necessarily implies the conferring of the right of presentation'.²⁵ Therefore, I believe it is safe to assume that, in most cases, the holders of advowsons, as listed by Ferguson, were also the proprietors of the impropriated church property.

There was also a stipulation that these lay proprietors were 'bound to appoint, and to pay, support and maintain a curate to perform divine service'.²⁶ Thus, a rector or vicar in an impropriate parish in south-east Ireland became a 'stipendiary man'²⁷ and was dependant for his appointment and upkeep, and that of his church, on a man or woman who may have had no deep confessional beliefs in the early years after the suppression, but who

²³ Ibid., p.vii

²⁴ Jones, *The English Reformation*, pp 62-3.

²⁵ Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.viii.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ 'Trollope to Walsingham' in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, p.117.

was more likely to be an active Catholic recusant by the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

For example, members of the Browne family had come to Ireland with the first group of Normans in 1169, with Philip settling in Malrankan in south Wexford.²⁸ His descendants' loyalty to the king and his cause in the intervening centuries was illustrated by Henry's recommendation, in November 1540, that 'Browne of Malrankan be in Innescorthe' as part of his 'devices for the reformation of Leinster'.²⁹ Sir Walter Browne was in possession of the manor of Ballyfyslan and the advowson of Insulabarry when he died in 1551,³⁰ while the family also held the advowson of Malrankan from the years of Elizabeth's reign.³¹

The family later espoused the Catholic faith and it was believed locally that Viscount Baltinglass was sheltered in Malrankan Castle following his abortive uprising in 1580.³² The Brownes' subsequent involvement on the Catholic side in the rebellion of 1641 was documented by William Stafford and Ursula Row in their depositions. They alleged that William Browne contributed men and arms 'to the utmost of his powere' and was a 'colonel of a rigement of foot', while his uncle, Richard and his brother, Walter, also

²⁸ Bernard Browne and Kevin Whelan, 'The Browne families of county Wexford' in Whelan & Nolan (eds), *Wexford*, p.467.

²⁹ 'The Deputy and Council of Ireland to Henry VIII', 14 Nov. 1540 in *Letters and papers, Foreign and Domestic*, xvi, p.113.

³⁰ Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.139.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Browne & Whelan, 'The Browne families', p.469.

fought for the Confederacy.³³ Finally, Margaret Browne was ordered to be dispossessed of Malrankan and to be transplanted to the barony of Athlone in Roscommon in 1656.³⁴

There is evidence that advowsons were used by recusants, at least occasionally, to appoint Catholic priests. It was certainly the case in Clonmel, where the advowson of St Mary's Church was invested in the municipal council at the dissolution of Athassel priory. The council continued to regularly appoint a Catholic priest to the living for at least thirty years.³⁵ It is also likely that Lord Theobald Butler, a Catholic, nominated the priest, James Ronan, to the livings of Ardfinnan and Neddans in Lismore. Butler is listed as patron of these vicarages in 1591³⁶ and Patrick Power takes Ronan to have been a Catholic at the time of Archbishop Miler McGrath's visitation of Waterford and Lismore three years earlier, in 1588.³⁷

Similarly, Power names Thomas Gofrey of Kilcash as a Catholic priest in 1588. His chalice, with his name and the word 'presbyter' was dated 1599 and was still in use in the Franciscan church in Clonmel as late as 1937. Gofrey was suspended in 1591 for 'manifest contumacy and notorious irregularity.'³⁸ The rectory of Kilclash, presumably with its accompanying advowson, was in the possession of the well-known recusant, Richard Netterville, during Elizabeth's reign.³⁹ The Netterville family of Dowth were

³³ 1641 Depositions, (T.C.D. MS 819, 073r-074v, 31 March 1654; 079r-080v, 11 Jan. 1654) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³⁴ Robert Simington, *The transplantations to Connacht, 1654-8* (IMC, Dublin, 1970), p.233.

³⁵ William Burke, *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907), pp 35-6.

³⁶ Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.114, 120.

³⁷ Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore: a compendious history of the united diocese* (Cork, 1937), pp 355-7.

³⁸ 'Clergy examined and deprived in 1591', (T.C.D. MS 566, 196v-197r).

³⁹ Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.118.

among the major beneficiaries of the suppression in the dioceses of Cashel and Emly and the Royal Visitation of 1615 lists them as holders of at least twenty benefices.⁴⁰

Nor did the practice of Catholics appointing priests die out soon after the dissolution, because Donald McTeig (or O'Teig), who acted as curate in five Emly parishes, was accused by the 1615 Royal Visitation of being an 'alleged Papist.' The parish of Corkeheny in Cashel, impropriated to the earl of Ormond, was served by a 'popish priest' and Mortagh McNuiff, also described as a 'popish priest', was reading minister in the parishes of Moyne, Fythmona and Rathellty in Cashel.⁴¹

The parish of Urglin, near Carlow town, presents a particularly interesting example. On an unknown date, the dean and chapter of Leighlin leased the rectory and tithes of the parish to Walter Archer of New Ross,⁴² the same man who is described by Bishop Ram as offering shelter to the Catholic priest, Sir Tirielogh, at his home in Ardroman, Co Wexford, before 1612.⁴³ Archer passed this holding to Richard Eustace in 1612 and Eustace appointed Oliver Keatinge as curate. The 1615 Royal Visitation resulted in the removal of the 'ancient Irish' Keatinge, presumably because he was a Catholic priest, to be replaced by Samuel Morsley, the preaching minister of Carlow.⁴⁴

As late as 1649, Sir George and Lady Eleanor Mathews of Thurles, acting as guardians of the baron of Cahir, who was a minor, petitioned the Catholic bishop of Waterford and

⁴⁰ RV 1615.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.11.

⁴³ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

⁴⁴ Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.11; RV 1615.

Lismore, Patrick Comerford, to appoint Constantine O'Donnell to the vicarage of Cahir on the death of the previous incumbent, Robert Adams. This is probably one of the last nominations made by lay people to a Catholic benefice.⁴⁵

The 1615 visitation returns reported that fifty of the ninety-nine benefices in Ferns were impropriated, with at least sixty of the 111 parishes in Cashel, and twenty-seven of the forty-six livings in Emly in the control of lay landlords.⁴⁶ In all, Alan Ford estimates that 60% of the livings in south-east Ireland were in the control of lay people by 1615.⁴⁷ The earl of Ormond and his family were the major beneficiaries of the monastic suppression in the dioceses of Ossory, Cashel and Emly, and they also received considerable property in Lismore and some in Ferns and Leighlin.⁴⁸ Including the granting of Inistioge priory to the earl's younger brother, the future Viscount Mountgarret, in 1567, over 80% of the confiscated monastic lands in Kilkenny became the property of the Ormond Butlers.⁴⁹ While Thomas, the tenth earl, who lived until 1614, conformed, at least nominally, to the Protestant faith, many of his relatives were Catholics. Lord Mountgarret is mentioned in a 1613 report as being 'reliever and maintainer' of a number of Catholic priests, including David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, and John Coppinger.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ 'Appointment of a 17th century parish priest of Cahir', 25 June 1649 in *Journal of Waterford and south-east Ireland Archaeological Society*, x, (1907), pp 260-1.

⁴⁶ RV 1615.

⁴⁷ Ford, *Protestant reformation*, p.68.

⁴⁸ RV 1615.

⁴⁹ Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.14.

⁵⁰ 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny.'

The earl's brother, James Butler, was granted the Cistercian abbey of Duiske in Leighlin and the monastery of Fertnegeragh in Ossory by Elizabeth on 15 January 1567.⁵¹ These possessions were inherited by his son, also James, who regularly sheltered Nicholas Marob, the Franciscan, and Matthew Roche, vicar-apostolic of Leighlin, at Duiske.⁵² The 1615 Royal Visitation names John Brean, 'a popish priest' as reading minister in Duiske, probably another example of a Catholic priest being presented to a church living by the Catholic impropiator. The vicarage was subsequently sequestrated to David Archer of Gowran.⁵³

Others who gained control of vicarages, rectories and the lands and advowsons attached to them were members of recognized Catholic families, who offered shelter and support to priests, probably in lieu of maintaining Protestant ministers in their impropiated parishes. One of the region's most prominent recusant families, whose history during this period clearly illustrates the connections between the possession of impropiated church property, a developing commitment to Catholicism, and protection and support for priests, was the Shee, or Shea, family of Kilkenny.

John Thonory, the Augustinian bishop of Ossory, who was appointed by Queen Mary, granted fee-farm leases of the manors of Freshford and Friestown, as well as the episcopal lands at Tescoffin, Grange-cool-pobble and Seskinwood, to Sir Richard Shee in 1558.⁵⁴ Shee had earlier inherited impropiated church lands in Kilkenny, Carlow and

⁵¹ Ronan (ed.), *Reformation under Elizabeth*, pp 233-4.

⁵² Ibid.; 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

⁵³ RV 1615.

⁵⁴ Moran, 'Bishops of Ossory', pp 253-7.

Wexford on his father's death in 1556⁵⁵ and was granted the rectories of Dysart, Kilferagh, Banonagh and Enoreilen, all possessions of St Augustine's Monastery near Bristol, in 1582.⁵⁶ Reputedly a Protestant, it was believed that Richard was converted on his deathbed by the Jesuit priest, Fr Brian O'Kearney,⁵⁷ who was living in the Shee family house in Kilkenny in 1610.⁵⁸

Richard's son, Lucas, with his wife, Ellen Butler, and his cousin, Arthur, were in possession of the rectories of Glashcro, Erke and Galmoy in Ossory in 1615.⁵⁹ David Kearney, Catholic archbishop of Cashel and brother of Brian, mentioned above, resided with Lucas Shee in Uppercourt, while the priest Patrick Bolger celebrated Mass regularly at the house of Lattice Shee in 1613. She was the daughter of Sir Richard and widow of John Grace of Courtstown, one of the largest landowners in Kilkenny in the late sixteenth century.⁶⁰ Richard's nephew was the Cistercian priest, Luke Archer, whose brother, Patrick, was an executor of Richard's will.⁶¹

The parishes of Claragh, Castlecomer, Dunfert, Dromerthan, Fenell, Jerpoint, Kilbrenagh, Kilmodum, Muckully and Tubrid, temporalities that had belonged to St John Baptist's Augustinian Priory in Kilkenny city, as well as St John's itself, were granted to Kilkenny corporation by Edward VI. This grant was later confirmed by Charles I, despite the fact that the corporation had remained firmly in the control of the principal Catholic families

⁵⁵ 'The will of Robert Sheeth', 7 Nov. 1556 in *Ana. Hib.*, xx (1958), pp 218-9.

⁵⁶ Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.68.

⁵⁷ Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.267.

⁵⁸ 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

⁵⁹ Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.64.

⁶⁰ 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'; Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.24.

⁶¹ 'The will of Richard Shee', 23 Dec. 1603 in *Ana. Hib.*, xx (1958), pp 226-31; 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

of the town and that it had continued to pay a Catholic chaplain and to support the Catholic clergy of St Mary's church.⁶²

On his appointment as Protestant bishop of Ossory in 1577, Nicholas Walsh wrote to the privy council that the 'chiefest men of the town (as for the most part they are bent to popery) refuse obstinately to come to church.'⁶³ Little had changed by 1608, when a 'private information' to the lord deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, claimed that

Dellahide is appointed for Kilkenny, and is now resident there with some other Jesuits and to the number of 16 Popish priests, the chief whereof is Sir William Brenan, Vicar-General, and Sir Patrick Hoyne.⁶⁴

In 1610, Laurence Renaghan, who succeeded Brenan as vicar-general, was reported to be 'saying open mass and hath an annual stipend from the city'.⁶⁵ The influence in the city of the extended Shee family, discussed above, was illustrated when Kilkenny was granted its first charter in 1609. Ten of the eighteen aldermen that year were Shees or their relatives through marriage, Archers.⁶⁶

In 1613, Lord Deputy Chichester described Kilkenny as being 'wholly addicted to popery',⁶⁷ and control of the corporation was evidently still in Catholic hands in 1616 when new regulations, insisting that the mayor must take the oath of supremacy, led to the farcical situation of four mayors being forced to resign within six months and the Protestant bishop's son, Cyprian Horsfall, being admitted as a freeman, a common

⁶² Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.64; Neely, *Kilkenny*, p.30.

⁶³ Neely, *Kilkenny*, p.44.

⁶⁴ 'Intelligence regarding Seminaries and Priests', n.d. 1608, *CSPI*, 1606-8, p.507.

⁶⁵ 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

⁶⁶ Neely, *Kilkenny*, p.22.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.47.

councilman, an alderman and a mayor all in the same day, as no other candidate could be found who was willing to take the oath.⁶⁸ Even then, the Catholic influence remained, as Cyprian was married to a Catholic and his daughter and heir, Joan, married Oliver Grace, the eldest son of Robert Grace of Courtstown, another wealthy recusant family linked by marriage to the Shees.⁶⁹

A similar situation pertained in Waterford, where the temporalities of the nunnery of Killeheen, in the diocese of Ossory, including Newcastle, Downehill, Kilighe and Galgaghe, were leased, first by Henry VIII and then by Elizabeth, to the city corporation. Despite the blatant recusancy of the majority of members of the corporation over the next seventy years, the holdings were granted to the body forever and that grant was confirmed in 1627.⁷⁰

The Walsh family was prominent in both the ecclesiastical and secular administration of the city. Patrick Walsh was appointed Church of Ireland dean of the diocese in 1547 and was elevated to the bishopric in 1551. In 1557, while he held both these positions, the mayor was his cousin, Henry Walsh, and both bailiffs of the city were also relatives. Julian Walton regards the bishop's commitment to reform as being less than zealous, and it appears that he was a Protestant in little else but name.⁷¹ On 23 January 1553, the newly-appointed Protestant bishop of Ossory, John Bale, travelled through Waterford and

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.49; David Edwards, 'The Poisoned Chalice: the Ormond inheritance, sectarian division and the emergence of James Butler, 1614-1642' in T.C. Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds), *The dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Suffolk, 2000), p.65.

⁶⁹ William Carrigan, *The History and antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (4 vols, Dublin, 1905), iii, p.374.

⁷⁰ Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.122.

⁷¹ Walton, 'Church, crown and corporation', pp 182-3.

this ardent Protestant reformer described the citizens there as ‘all Catholic’, remarking that ‘Christ had there no Bishop’, clearly a reference to Walsh’s failure to conform.⁷²

Earlier, in 1545, another cousin, also Henry Walsh, was granted a charter by Henry VIII to convert the dissolved Franciscan friary into the Holy Ghost Hospital, an almshouse for ‘decayed citizens’, to be endowed with the portion of the sequestrated church property in his possession.⁷³ He was given power, in consultation with the corporation, to appoint three or four men as chaplains.⁷⁴ However, the English privy council wrote to Munster president, George Carew, in 1600, voicing concerns that

certain buildings erected under colour and pretence of almshouses and hospitals ... are in very deed intended and publicly professed to be used for monasteries and such like houses of religion, and that friars and popish priests are openly received in them⁷⁵

Walton is in little doubt that these priests were the same Franciscan friars, who continued to minister much as before in their old premises. A list of ‘sundrie priests and friars’ in Waterford city in 1610 included Richard Walsh, who was reported to be living in the ‘poorhouse’.⁷⁶ It would appear that Bishop Walsh and at least some of his successors were content to turn a blind eye to such blatant disregard for government directions regarding conformity to the new doctrine, liturgy and ceremony.⁷⁷

⁷² W.H. Grattan Flood, ‘Lismore under Edward VI and Queen Mary’ in *Journal of Waterford and south-east Ireland Archaeological Society*, vii (1901), pp 128-9.

⁷³ Patrick Power, ‘The Holy Ghost Friary’ in *Journal of the Waterford and south-east Ireland Archaeological Society*, i (1894-5), p.205.

⁷⁴ R.H. Ryland, *The history, topography and antiquities of the county and city of Waterford* (London, 1824), pp 189-91.

⁷⁵ ‘The Privy Council to Sir G. Carew’, 30 Sept. 1600 in J.S. Brewer and W. Bullen (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, 1575-1600, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth* (6 vols, London, 1867-8), 1589-1600, p.458.

⁷⁶ ‘Sundrie priests and friars’ (T.C.D., MS 580, June, 1610).

⁷⁷ Walton, ‘Church, crown and corporation’, p.183.

If the bishop was at least nominally willing to accept the royal supremacy, the same was not true of his kinsmen. By 1578, Sir Patrick Walsh, grandson of the founder of the hospital, was mayor of the city and in open confessional conflict with the new bishop, Marmaduke Middleton, who described his flock in 1580 as ‘the stiffnecked, stubborn, papistical and incorrigible people of the city of Waterford’.⁷⁸ As mentioned in Chapter One, Bishop Walsh’s son-in-law was John Flahy, the Catholic schoolmaster, many of whose former pupils would play important roles as priests of the Counter-Reformation.⁷⁹ The future Catholic archbishop of Cashel, Thomas Walsh, was born in Waterford in 1588, while his father, Robert, was in prison for refusing the oath of supremacy.⁸⁰ Robert’s wife, Anastasia Strong, was a renowned protector of priests in the city for many years.⁸¹

Another prominent Waterford family, the Sherlocks of Gracedieu, were closely related to the Shees of Kilkenny through a complex series of marriages. Richard Shee’s first wife was Margaret Sherlock, while his second wife, Margaret Fagan, was James Sherlock’s widow. James Sherlock’s first wife was Rose Shee, sister of Richard.⁸² Like their in-laws in Ossory, the Sherlocks held considerable political power and controlled extensive tracts of former church property. James was mayor of Waterford in 1580 and 1590 and was a

⁷⁸ ‘Bishop of Waterford and Lismore to Walsingham’, 29 June 1580, *CSPI, 1574-85*, p.229.

⁷⁹ Walton, ‘Church, crown and corporation’, p.188.

⁸⁰ Anon, ‘The Irish hierarchy in the seventeenth century; chapter II’ in *Duffy’s Hibernian Magazine*, iii, (Dublin, 1863), p.274.

⁸¹ Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p.213.

⁸² Anon, ‘Distinguished Waterford families’ in *Journal of Waterford and south-east Ireland Archaeological Society*, ix (1906), p.128, 172.

member of parliament in 1585, while seven other Sherlocks held the position of mayor between 1559 and 1632.⁸³

At the dissolution of the monasteries, an earlier James Sherlock had been granted a lease on all thirty temporalities of St Katherine's Augustinian Priory in Waterford. He also received twenty-three livings in County Cork and lands in Waterford, Tipperary and Kilkenny in August 1541.⁸⁴ The geographical range of the family's impropriations is illustrated by the will of the later James, written in 1601. He bequeathed the parsonage and tithes of Whitechurch in Tipperary to his youngest son, Christopher, the house and parsonage of Stradbally in west Waterford to his eldest son, James, Grace's Castle in Tipperary to his middle son, John, and the parsonage of Newtown, also in Tipperary, to his wife, Margaret.⁸⁵

In his capacity as mayor in 1580, James wrote to Secretary Walsingham, refuting the allegations of Bishop Middleton and claiming that 'all the men within Waterford do come every Sunday to Church three or four only excepted'.⁸⁶ Despite these protestations, it appears that James remained Catholic as it was reported in 1592 that he was one of 'certein rich merchants and good gent. within the citey of Waterford [who] do specially relieve and mainteyne seminaries and massing priests'⁸⁷ and that he did

⁸³ Ibid., p.171.

⁸⁴ Ferguson, *Advowsons*; 'Distinguished Waterford families', pp 125-6.

⁸⁵ 'Distinguished Waterford families', pp 175-6.

⁸⁶ 'James Sherlocke, Mayor, to Walsyngham' 18 Nov. 1580, *CSPI, 1574-85*, p.269.

⁸⁷ 'A memorial of sundry things commanded by her Majesty to be well considered by the lord Deputy &c', 28 July 1592 in Hogan (ed.), *The description*, p.289.

retain in his howse one Dr. Teig O'Swillivan, a Jesuyt seminary, which priest hath divers times preached publickly in the house of one Wm. Lyncolle and other places in the citye and country and also in Clonmell.⁸⁸

The Jesuit priest, John Wadding, mentioned in the previous chapter, resided in Waterford as the guest of the city's mayor, Paul Sherlock, in 1606, while three other members of the Sherlock family, Katherine, Walter and Ellin, were listed as harbouring priests in 1610.⁸⁹ The renowned Jesuit scholar, another Paul Sherlock, was almost certainly a grandson of James.⁹⁰ Finally, five members of the Sherlock family, Thomas 'a soldier', Peter, John, James and Patrick were all described as 'Irish papists' and ordered to forfeit their lands in the Cromwellian confiscations.⁹¹

That the majority of the prominent merchants of Waterford, who controlled the commercial and political life of the city, became staunchly Catholic in the succeeding decades is evidenced by the enthusiasm with which the townspeople supported the 'recusancy revolt' of 1603. Vicar-general White and his priests repossessed the churches and openly celebrated mass on receiving the news of the succession of James I to the throne.⁹² Three years later, when the president of Munster, Henry Brouncker, instigated a campaign against recusancy in the city, the attorney-general, John Davies, reported that up to ten of the aldermen were obliged to pay fines, while 4,800 penalties of twelve pence per person, or per offence, were imposed on commoners.⁹³ Six former or future mayors

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ 'Fr John Wadding, SJ, to Fr Conway', 18 Oct. 1606 in Hogan, *Ibernia Ignacia*, p.206; 'Sundrie priests and friars'.

⁹⁰ 'Distinguished Waterford families' in *Journal of Waterford and south-east Ireland Archaeological Society*, x (1907), p.43.

⁹¹ 'Cromwellian forfeitures' in Power, *Compendious history*, pp 357-66.

⁹² Walton, 'Church, crown and corporation', p.191.

⁹³ 'Sir John Davys to the Earl of Salisbury', 12 Nov. 1606, *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 14-15.

of the city, Thomas White, James Lombard, Thomas Strong, Richard Wadding, Michael Browne and Walter Sherlock, are among those listed as offering shelter and maintenance to priests in 1610.⁹⁴ These statistics certainly do not point to any significant move towards conformity and Brouncker himself remarked that Waterford and Clonmel ‘remained wilful’.⁹⁵

As in Kilkenny, the issue of the mayor being obliged to take the oath of supremacy before assuming office highlighted the steadfast Catholicism of most of Waterford’s aldermen. Between 1606 and 1607 Brouncker jailed and fined four elected mayors when they refused to take the oath, before an alderman, in the person of Sir Richard Aylward, was finally willing to conform.⁹⁶ The city was left without any mayor from 1617 to 1626 as no suitably qualified candidate could be found who was willing to take the oath.⁹⁷

It is no surprise, therefore, to learn that the considerable resources of this thriving port city, which should have been available for the upkeep of Protestant ministers, appear to have been diverted in various ways to aid the education and maintenance of their Catholic counterparts. As mentioned in Chapter One, Sir William Drury, president of Munster, wrote to the queen’s secretary of state, Walsingham, in 1577, remarking on the number of students from Waterford in Louvain, ‘at the charge of their friends and fathers’.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ ‘Sundrie priests and friars’.

⁹⁵ ‘Sir Henry Brouncker to the Lords’, 10 Feb. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.102.

⁹⁶ Walton, ‘Church, crown and corporation’, p.193.

⁹⁷ ‘Mayors of Waterford’, (www.waterfordcountymuseum.org) (24 July 2009).

⁹⁸ ‘Drury to Walsingham’ in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, pp 22-4.

Information about Protestant clergy in the second half of the sixteenth century is scarce and inconsistent, and certainly cannot be used to draw any definite statistical conclusions. However, Archbishop Miler Magrath undertook a visitation of Waterford and Lismore in 1588, during his first period as bishop of the united diocese. The returns provide an early picture of how poorly Waterford was served by clergymen.⁹⁹ The city churches of St Patrick and St Nicholas were without clergy while no mention was made of St Michael's, St Olaf's, St Peter's, St Stephen's or St John's, all churches that appear in later visitations. Only the chapels of St James in the Holy Trinity Cathedral and the dean's chapel, also within the cathedral, had named clerics. James Pyers is listed as chaplain of St James's while Richard Enos, William Flyde and Patrick Lyncoll were the dean's 'clerics and chaplains'.¹⁰⁰ By 1596, St John's was in the possession of John Charden, bishop of Down and, in 1604, St Michael's and St Olaf's were both served by the dean, although Richard Boyle, who was appointed to that position in 1603, had already been promoted to the deanery of Tuam by 1604. He was subsequently appointed archdeacon of Limerick in 1605, but was still listed as being in possession of the deanery of Waterford in 1615.¹⁰¹ It appears that a new dean was not appointed until 1621, when Henry Sutton assumed the position.¹⁰²

By the time of the Royal Visitation of 1615, there appears to have been little increase in the number of clergymen. Fabian Reade was preaching minister in Holy Trinity, St Olaf's and St Michael's, although he was also the incumbent in Killea and Rathmoylan, outside

⁹⁹ 'Bishop Miler Magrath's Visitation of 1588' in Power, *Compendious history*, Appendix VI, pp 351-6.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Knox; T.F. Henderson, rev. Elizabethanne Boran, 'Richard Boyle', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.com) (27 July 2009); RV 1615.

¹⁰² Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.19.

the city, and in Derrygrath, Newcastle and Outeragh, in Lismore, by 1618.¹⁰³ John Naylor was preaching minister in St Stephen's; Robert Hustler was archdeacon, prebendary in St Patrick's and reading minister in St Peter's; while Thomas Quoane was treasurer and reading minister in St John's. Quoane also held six other parishes in Waterford and one in Ossory.¹⁰⁴

Although it is even more difficult to estimate the number of Catholic priests who were operating in Waterford during this period, correspondence from Bishop Middleton would certainly indicate that they outnumbered their Protestant counterparts. He claimed in a letter to Walsingham in 1580 that the city was 'thoroughly given to Rome-runners and friars'.¹⁰⁵ By 1610, the compiler of the list of 'sundrie priests and friars' was able to give the names of thirty priests living in the city, as well as identifying the families with whom they found shelter.¹⁰⁶

In the rest of the united diocese, outside of Waterford city, the 1588 returns showed that, of the eighty-eight livings listed, fifty were vacant or waste, with at least sixteen of these having been unoccupied for at least seven years. Pluralism was rife: the chancellor of Waterford, John Quoane, was also vicar of Rathmolan and Killathe, and the treasurer of Lismore, William Prendergast, also held the vicarage of Clonmel.¹⁰⁷ But the greatest of all pluralists may have been Miler Magrath himself. 'The Archbishop of Cashel is worthy to be remembered,' wrote Davies in 1604, 'having now in his hands four bishoprics,

¹⁰³ RV 1615; Knox.

¹⁰⁴ RV 1615.

¹⁰⁵ 'Bishop of Waterford and Lismore to Walsingham', *CSPI, 1574-85*, p.229.

¹⁰⁶ 'Sundrie priests and friars'.

¹⁰⁷ 'Miler Magrath's Visitation of 1588', pp 351-6.

Cashel, Waterford, Lismore and Emly, and three score and seventeen spiritual livings besides.’¹⁰⁸ As mentioned earlier, in addition to the number of vacant livings and those held in plurality, several of the other incumbents were Catholic priests. As well as Thomas Gofrey, vicar of Kilcash, and James Ronan of Neddan and Ardfinnan, others whom Patrick Power takes to have been priests included Maurice Gorman of Kiltegan, William White of Donoghmore, Roger O’Coman of Outragh and William Neale of Faithlegg.¹⁰⁹ In all, twenty clergy of the united diocese were deprived of their benefices in 1591, mostly for irregularity and contumacy.¹¹⁰

As in Waterford city, Catholic priests outnumbered their Protestant counterparts in the other urban centres of the diocese, leading one to conclude, again, that the greater part of the available resources was diverted to their maintenance. Writing to Cecil in 1604, Brouncker described the towns of Munster as ‘swarming with priests and seminaries, that say mass almost publicly in the best houses, even in the hearing of all men’.¹¹¹ Sir John Davies described Clonmel in 1606 as ‘more haunted with Jesuits and priests than any other town or city within this province’.¹¹²

By 1615, when the Royal Visitations were conducted, only eighteen of the

¹⁰⁸ ‘Sir John Davies to Cecil,’ 20 Feb. 1604, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.143.

¹⁰⁹ Power, *Compendious history*, pp 355-7.

¹¹⁰ ‘Clergy examined and deprived in 1591’, (T.C.D. MS 566, 196v-197r).

¹¹¹ ‘Sir Henry Brouncker to Cecil,’ 23 Aug. 1604, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.193.

¹¹² ‘Observations made by Sir John Davys, Attorney of Ireland, after a journey made by him to Munster,’ 4 May 1606, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.475.

seventy-eight named benefices were vacant and the names of all the alleged Catholic priests had disappeared, but pluralism and absenteeism were still widespread. There were only eleven preaching ministers and seventeen reading ministers to serve the diocese.¹¹³

The visitators deprived John Quoane of the living of Kilmeaden, when he admitted that 'since March was twelve months, he never celebrated dyvine service or sacraments in that church.'¹¹⁴ He was also prebendary of Dysert and Kilvoleran, and held Mothill and Monomoyntree in Lismore and Polroan in Ossory, a parish that was impropriated to the city of Waterford. Absolom Gethin, who was awarded an MA from Oxford in 1603, and is described as 'absent in England', was chancellor of Lismore and held two other benefices in that diocese, as well as three in Cashel and two in Ossory. The other preaching ministers in the diocese included the Scotsman, John Temple, mentioned earlier as unlikely to have been resident, and another Englishman, Robert Potter. John Prendergast, dean of Lismore, also held Mullaghinone, one of the few prosperous livings in Cashel, worth £40 per annum. One of the three parishes held by Richard Danyell, archdeacon of Lismore, was Tullaghorton, which also had a reading minister, in the person of the treasurer, Richard Osborn. However, the main problem in that parish, according to the visitation report, was that 'the parishioners are all absent'.¹¹⁵

A notable exception to the shift towards Catholic recusancy on the part of the Old English landowners of the south-east was Laurence Esmonde of Wexford, who ardently embraced Protestantism in the late sixteenth century. He was appointed as a

¹¹³ RV 1615.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

commissioner to plan and implement the plantation of the northern part of the county and was governor of Duncannon Fort from 1606 until its surrender to the Confederate forces in 1645. He was notorious in his quest for land and accumulated large tracts of former church property in Wexford, Waterford, Tipperary, Kilkenny and Wicklow.¹¹⁶

Among the advowsons that he held in 1615 were Dungarvan, Neddans, Cloneghame, Kilgrant, Killalowant, Carrick, Shanrahan, Templetinne, Kilmolash, Killure, Killsaintlawrence, Drumcanon, Ilaniakine, Templehenny, Killolowan, Shanknight, Templeotwey, and Killimassy, all in Waterford and Lismore.¹¹⁷ However, despite his strong attachment to the Church of Ireland, and his evident wealth, the visitation returns for these livings show no difference in the level of incumbency, or available income, to those controlled by Catholic landowners. The minister of Carrick was Absolom Gethin, 'absent in England'.¹¹⁸ Cloneghame, Kilmolash and Killimassy had no curate and reading minister Maurice Harney served Ilaniakane, Killure and Kill St Laurence, as well as at least two other parishes in the diocese. Kilgrant was worth just £4 annually, while Killolowan fared slightly better, with an annual value of £6.¹¹⁹

Ironically, when he died in May 1645, all Laurence's property passed to his son Thomas, a committed Catholic and general of the horse with the Confederate army.¹²⁰ With his

¹¹⁶ J.J.N. McGurk, 'Laurence Esmonde', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.com) (30 July 2009).

¹¹⁷ Ferguson, *Advowsons*.

¹¹⁸ RV 1615.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ McGurk, *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (30 July 2009).

wife and son, Thomas was ordered to forfeit his lands and to be transplanted to Moycullen in Galway in 1656.¹²¹

Walter Peppard of County Kildare was granted a lease on the priory of Glascarrig and surrounding lands in the northern part of the diocese of Ferns in 1550, including the benefices of Ardamine, Donoughmore, Erick, Kiltannel, Killancoole, Kilmuckridge, Killenagh, Templeowdegan and Kilpatrick. The leases passed to his son, Anthony, in 1578, and his grandson, Patrick, was in possession in 1615.¹²² Patrick also held Belle Elin and Dunleekery in Leighlin in this year.¹²³ The Peppards remained Catholic throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and Patrick's brother, Walter, was believed to have played a central role in the 1641 rebellion. It was only the last in line of the family, also called Patrick, who converted to Protestantism in 1739.¹²⁴

Catholics who controlled monastic lands were not confined to Old Irish and Old English stock. Sir Thomas Masterson came to Wexford from Cheshire to take possession of Ferns Castle in 1583 and his son, Richard, held the livings of Seskyn, Ullegrein and Kilbride in 1622.¹²⁵ In 1606, Richard was constable of Wexford Castle and seneschal of the county, on a stipend of £25 per annum.¹²⁶ Richard's son, Edmund, converted to Catholicism and fought with the Confederates in the rebellion of 1641.¹²⁷ David Edwards describes the

¹²¹ Simington, *Transplantations*, p.173.

¹²² Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.133.

¹²³ RV 1615.

¹²⁴ 'History – Glascarrig' (www.ballygarrett.com/history/glascarrig) (16 Jan. 2009).

¹²⁵ W.H. Jeffrey, *The castles of Co Wexford* (Wexford, 1979), p.227; Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.132.

¹²⁶ 'An abstract of such fees, pensions and annuities as are payable out of His Majesty's revenues,' n.d. March, 1605, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.433.

¹²⁷ W.H. Grattan Flood, *History of the Diocese of Ferns* (Waterford, 1916), p.33.

Masterson estate as forming a ‘Catholic enclave’ in north Wexford in the aftermath of the plantation of the region.¹²⁸

The Catholic influence of the Brownes of Malrankan, mentioned earlier, was reflected in the actions of Sir Anthony Colclough, son of the Protestant Sir Adam Colclough of Tintern Abbey, whose family had only come from Staffordshire to Wexford in the middle of the sixteenth century. Anthony married Ismay Browne of Malrankan and was later a member of the Supreme Council of Kilkenny in 1642.¹²⁹ He and his family were ordered to be transplanted, to the barony of Clare in Galway, in 1656.¹³⁰

Having thus established how extensively the control of church livings was held by Catholic landowners, it comes as no surprise that the Royal Visitations and Royal Commissions established that

many of the lay impropiators neglected to perform the duty imposed upon them of appointing fit ministers to their churches, and allowing them a competent maintenance for their support – exacting, in many instances, all the tithes of the parish – ‘they enforced their rights , but forgot their duties.’¹³¹

Evidently many of them felt that these *duties* lay elsewhere. John McCafferty claims that, as early as the 1570s, Old English impropiators were ‘siphoning off the profits of dissolution to pay for the upkeep of the new seminary clerics’,¹³² and the solicitor-general, Sir John Davies, wrote in 1604 that ‘many gentlemen, and some women and

¹²⁸ David Edwards, ‘A haven of popery: English Catholic migration to Ireland in the age of plantation’ in Ford & McCafferty (eds), *Origins of sectarianism*, pp 114-5.

¹²⁹ ‘Anthony Colclough’, (www.thepeerage.com/p.36732) (16 July 2009).

¹³⁰ Simington, *Transplantations*, p.82.

¹³¹ Ferguson, *Advowsons*, pp xx-xxi

¹³² McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.7.

some priests and Jesuits have the greatest benefit of our benefices though these poor unlettered clerks bear the name of incumbents'.¹³³

That this diversion of income from the established church to Catholic priests was common practice at the beginning of the seventeenth century is reflected in the submission of Phelim McFeagh McHugh O'Byrne to the crown forces in March, 1601, in which he promises to amend his behaviour so that

none of his priests, nor any priests from beyond the seas, nor any priests made in Ireland contrary to Her Majesty's laws, shall receive any tithes, &c., not being entitled by law thereto, but the parsons, &c., entitled to the same, shall enjoy the same quietly.¹³⁴

In theory, the 40% of parishes in the region that were not impropriated should have offered more attractive livings for clergymen, as the incumbents were in a position to collect the tithes themselves. Conversely, those livings that were most likely to yield high tithes, by virtue of the quality of their agricultural land, ease of access and distance from locations of conflict, would have been most attractive to the monastic communities who originally appropriated them and later to the grantees of monastic property. As Thomas Ryves wrote in 1620, 'the fairer the benefice, the more in danger was it ever of Appropriation'.¹³⁵

This was clearly the case in Ferns, where all but two of the livings valued at £10 and more by the *Valor in Hibernia* in 1538 were in the possession of lay people by the end of the sixteenth century. Similarly, nine of the eleven parishes in Waterford and Lismore

¹³³ 'Davies to Cecil,' *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.143.

¹³⁴ 'The humble submission of Phelim McFeagh McHugh O'Byrne to her Majesty', 18 March 1601, *CSPI, 1600-3*, p.232.

¹³⁵ Ryves, *The poor vicars plea*, pp 149-50.

with an annual income of £10 or more were impropriated. Knockgraffon in Cashel and Caherconlish and Aherlow in Emly, the only parishes in those dioceses of comparable value, were also impropriate. All but three of the ten livings in Leighlin and three of the twelve in Ossory, estimated to be worth £10 or more in 1586, were impropriated.¹³⁶

Those clergymen who were in a position to collect tithes, as opposed to being dependent on the payment of a stipend by an often reluctant landowner, still faced many difficulties. The prevalence of subsistence farming, the frequency of minor wars and skirmishes, and the difficulty of travelling in many rural areas made the task often unrewarding, even where it was possible. The exemption of dry cattle and sheep from liability to tithes in what was a predominantly pastoral agricultural economy further reduced the incumbent's potential income.¹³⁷ In his examination of clerical income in the diocese of Dublin in the late sixteenth century, James Murray remarks that 'small' or 'mixed' tithes were more likely to be collected in the upland regions of Wicklow, in lieu of the 'great' corn tithes. We may surmise that the same was true of the mostly uncultivated districts of north Wexford, Carlow, Tipperary and Waterford.¹³⁸ Butter, cheese and wool, as well as fish caught in the sea and in rivers, were the most common forms of payment, when it was forthcoming.

A report from the Royal Visitation of 1615 claimed that, even in the most fertile arable lands, farmers were converting from tillage to cattle grazing to avoid paying the tithe, and it was alleged that English settlers were giving bad example in this regard to the natives,

¹³⁶ *Valor in Hibernia*; Ferguson, *Advowsons*; Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*.

¹³⁷ Henry Jefferies, 'Parishes and pastoral care', p.222.

¹³⁸ Murray, 'Sources of clerical income', p.147.

who 'are of themselves too ready to follow any president tending to the hurt of the church and religion professed.'¹³⁹ The commissioners sought to address this abuse by ordering that, for every ten cows that a farmer grazed, he must graze one for the minister, or else he must pay one tenth of the profit made from letting grazing rights.¹⁴⁰

In towns and cities personal tithes, payable on profits and wages, were of particular importance, although, when we consider the control exercised on urban administration by Catholics, it is unlikely that Protestant clergy benefited greatly from these payments in south-east Ireland. In 1637 in Callan, a parish in the diocese of Ossory that appears not to have been impropriated, the English-born clergyman, Francis Kettleby, was told by the leading Catholics of the town that he was to be deprived of his tithes.¹⁴¹

As mentioned earlier, another significant portion of a clergyman's potential income, rendered even more important in the absence of regular annual tithe payments, were the 'altarages', fees charged for the performance of services to the parochial community. These included ceremonies such as baptism, weddings and the churching of women, as well as a small cash payment made to the rector or vicar at Christmas, Easter, Whitsun and on the feast day of the parish's patron saint, while 'mortuaries' were payments exacted from the estate of a deceased parishioner, as recompense for personal tithes not paid during their lives.¹⁴² In 1537, a curate in Wexford expected to receive six pence for a wedding, two pence for a 'purification' and five shillings from a man's estate when he

¹³⁹ 'Part of visitation report from Cork, written on 24 July 1615,' (T.C.D., MS 2628).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.295.

¹⁴² Murray, 'Sources of clerical income', pp 153-4.

died.¹⁴³ In New Ross, the priest and clerk charged six pence for a churching and eight pence for a wedding,¹⁴⁴ while prices were higher again in Kilkenny, with christenings charged at twelve pence and churchings at twelve or sixteen pence.¹⁴⁵

Of course, in 1537, the confessional identity of those who administered these rites and sacraments was still ambiguous. As the dividing lines between the two faiths took shape with the passage of time, the struggle for hearts and minds was matched by the struggle for income that was earned by the performance of these personal religious rites. As Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin writes ‘the competition for resources represented a vital element in the competition for souls’.¹⁴⁶

Catholic priests were at least equally dependent on these altarages or ‘stole-fees’.

Although much former ecclesiastical property was in lay Catholic hands, the Catholic clergy held no temporalities and therefore had no sources of income other than offerings, payments for services and the support of relatives and other well-wishers. In 1618, a ‘note of the Archbushoppes and Bushoppes, etc, of Ireland consecrated and authorised by the Pope’ reported that secular priests lived off the proceeds of administering the sacraments – one or two shillings for conducting a marriage and one shilling for the practice of churching women.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Herbert Hore and James Graves, *The social state of the southern and eastern counties of Ireland in the sixteenth century; being the presentments of the gentlemen, commonality and citizens of Carlow, Cork, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford made in the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I* (Dublin, 1870), p.58.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 72-3.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.93.

¹⁴⁶ Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland: the mission of Rinuccini* (Oxford, 2002), p.53.

¹⁴⁷ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, i, p.91.

The same document claimed that

the Jesuits doe live by preaching the Gosple upp and downe the countries and by privie tyethes out of ye suppressed abbayes of the realme, and dispencing in matrimoniall causes and by usinge many extraordinary facultyes they have from ye Pope as hallowing of churches, altars, callices, absolving from irregularities etc..... The poor friars doe live only be begging of corne and muttuns and other such almes'.¹⁴⁸

By 1629, Sir John Bingley was reporting that the Catholic clergy 'take all fees for christenings, marriages, &c, as fully as or more fully than the Protestant ministers'.¹⁴⁹

However, this dependence of priests on the Catholic laity was not welcomed by the authorities in Rome and, as we shall see, was to become a major source of tension following the rebellion of 1641.¹⁵⁰ In 1631, Patrick Comerford, bishop of Waterford and Lismore, expressed the view that there were actually too many priests in his diocese, in light of the available resources. He wrote to Fr Luke Wadding in Rome that

our countrie is soe furnished with clergymen that ere it be longe we are like to have one against every house, and being so many in a poor beggarlie countrie, *facimus invicem angustias*, and the laytie begins to froune at us; ...¹⁵¹

Five years later, in 1636, David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, concurred, maintaining that his diocese was overstaffed in light of the absence of ecclesiastical income and the general poverty of the people. At the time, there were eight secular priests and about sixteen regular clergy in Kilkenny city, with more than thirty seculars in the rest of the

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ 'Sir John Bingley's account of the state of the Church in Ireland', 21 March 1629, *CSPI, 1625-32*, p.442.

¹⁵⁰ P.J. Corish, 'The reorganization of the Irish Church, 1603-41 in *Irish Catholic Historical Committee Proceedings* (1957), p.13.

¹⁵¹ 'Comerford to Wadding', 30 Oct. 1631, *Wadding papers*, p.609.

diocese.¹⁵² The tensions that arose between regular and secular priests, triggered by the struggle for access to scarce resources, will be addressed in Chapter Five.

It is little wonder that Thomas Ram complained in 1612 that the poorer people in his dioceses

groaned under the burden of the many priests in respect of the double tithes and offerings, the one paid by them unto us, and the other unto them.¹⁵³

Similarly, included with the titles of acts of parliament to be proposed in the Michaelmas term of 1612 was the comment that

there is not a church living in Ireland, that has not a concealed Romish priest, to whom the people pay underhand tithes, as well as to the allowed minister.¹⁵⁴

However, in a letter to Luke Wadding in 1630, Ram's Catholic counterpart, John Roche, dismissed the assize judges' claims that Catholic churchmen collected some two hundred thousand pounds per year from the laity, remarking that he had earned no more than twenty crowns in the previous twelve months, while spending one hundred pounds of his own money. He claimed that the 'extorsions' of the Protestant clergy, fines to the sum of one thousand pounds levied in the bishop's court of his own diocese, were the heaviest burdens on the Catholic people.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² 'Relatio Status of Bishop David Rothe', 2 May 1636, in *Archiv. Hib.* v (1916), pp 87-8; Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p.58.

¹⁵³ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

¹⁵⁴ 'Titles of acts of Parliament to be proposed in Michaelmas term 1612', n.d. 1612, *CSPI, 1611-14*, p.289.

¹⁵⁵ 'J.R. Turner (John Roche, Bishop of Ferns) to Luke Wadding', 26 May 1630, *Wadding papers*, pp 370-1.

The absence of independent means for most Catholic priests is reflected in correspondence between bishops and priests based in Ireland and their continental supporters, especially in Spain and Rome. The Dominican friar Edmund O'Callaghan travelled from Waterford to the court of Philip III in 1604 to petition for money, breviaries, missals, books, vestments and vessels. The king granted his request and contributed 2,000 ducats, to be spent on the order's liturgical needs.¹⁵⁶ While we cannot make any accurate assessment of the scale of success achieved by other such applications to the Spanish crown at this time, a royal commission of 1594 considered the importation by merchants of Catholic paraphernalia and literature to be a daily occurrence, and of sufficient threat to the establishment that it gave the archbishops authority to

search as well the ships, barques or vessells, as the shoppes and howses of any merchant or other person whom you shall suspect for having or keeping any such copes, vestiments, challaces, idolles, crosses¹⁵⁷

Usually the support offered by the Spanish crown was limited to the provision of a 'viaticum' to cover the cost of a priest's return journey to Ireland, following his education and ordination in the Spanish colleges. In 1628, Richard Caron, the Irish Dominican resident in Spain, pleaded for an increase in the annual royal payment to the order, as up to seven priests were now returning home each year, compared to a figure of three when payment of the 'viaticum' was first instituted. When divided between this increased number, the current concession left the priests with no extra money for the purchase of books and the other liturgical requirements of their mission. Again, the application was

¹⁵⁶ Flynn, *Dominicans*, p.132.

¹⁵⁷ 'Commission to Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Archbishop of Armagh etc for putting into execution the Acts concerning the Queen's Supremacy and for the visitation of the church', 27 Nov. 1594 in Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland*, ii, p.293.

endorsed.¹⁵⁸ In the same year the Congregation de Propaganda Fide decided to grant a ‘viaticum’ to all students of St Isidore’s Franciscan College and the secular Irish college in Rome to cover the cost of their journey home.¹⁵⁹

The Franciscan priest, Thomas Strange of Waterford, described the temporal difficulties encountered by many returning priests in a letter to his fellow Franciscan, Francis Matthews, in 1630:

Our common state in this kingdome is very miserable and pitifull. Wee live all every one in his friend and kinsman’s house, and some are destitute of relievers ... I am but one man, and for mine owne privat can live in as good fashion (I thank God and my friends) as any of my rank in the kingdome, both for boorde, cloathing, and bed; but I pity others that have not such bolsterers and are ready to fall to some inconveniences, whereof we have had many allready.¹⁶⁰

Another source of Catholic income, also dependent on the generosity of the laity, was the operation of chantries and other foundations established to support priests. A chantry was a late medieval institution, endowed by wealthy Catholics for the maintenance of priests whose duty it was to celebrate masses for deceased family members. The English chantries were abolished in the 1540s, with their property and revenues reverting to the crown, but similar measures were not taken in Ireland at that time, an omission which Steven Ellis believes left a source of revenue, though possibly not very significant, for the upkeep of priests, particularly in urban areas.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Flynn, *Dominicans*, pp 186-7.

¹⁵⁹ P.J. Corish, ‘The beginnings of the Irish college, Rome’ in Franciscan Fathers (eds), *Father Luke Wadding, commemorative volume* (Dublin, 1957), p.292.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Thomas Strange OFM to Francis Matthews OFM’, 24 Nov. 1630, *Wadding papers*, pp 440-1.

¹⁶¹ Ellis, ‘Economic problems’, pp 64-5.

Guilds, confraternities and sodalities were all closely related to chantries. In the towns of the south-east, where a large measure of self-government was enjoyed by the mainly Catholic citizens, P.J. Corish comments that the trade guilds had a strong religious element, with a significant portion of their funds helping to provide Catholic worship through foundations such as chantries.¹⁶² Confraternities and sodalities are voluntary associations of the laity, established for the promotion of special works of Christian charity or piety. The new generation of continentally-trained priests who returned to Ireland encouraged the foundation of such societies. By 1621 a confraternity of Our Blessed Lady was functioning in Cashel, while the Dominicans had established Holy Rosary confraternities in a number of towns by 1629. Further groups had been set up by the Jesuits in Carrick-on-Suir, Wexford and New Ross by 1641.¹⁶³ Bishop Rothe reported that four sodalities were operating in the diocese of Ossory by 1635.¹⁶⁴ According to John McCafferty, many of the surviving medieval institutions, such as chantries and guilds, joined with these 'dynamic lay pieties of imported Tridentine Catholicism'.¹⁶⁵ Such an alliance of wealth, civic power and religious fervour must have favoured the provision of a significant measure of material support for Catholic priests, particularly in the towns.

Information about chantries outside of Dublin city is scarce, although we do know that John Collyn, dean of Waterford, founded a chantry chapel in the city's cathedral, as well as an adjoining almshouse, in 1482, funded by James Rice, the long-serving mayor of

¹⁶² P.J. Corish, *The Irish Catholic experience: a historical survey* (Dublin, 1985), p.85.

¹⁶³ Moran (ed.), *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i, p.129; Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted people – belief and religion in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997), p.151.

¹⁶⁴ 'Relatio Status of Bishop David Rothe', *Archiv. Hib.* v (1916), pp 88.

¹⁶⁵ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.13.

Waterford, and his wife, Catherine Brown. Rice granted six houses and gardens, three shops, two and a half gardens, rents to the value of thirty shillings and other tenements as an endowment.¹⁶⁶ Clodagh Tait believes that almshouses and other charitable institutions, such as the Holy Ghost Hospital in Waterford, were frequently fronts for chantries and religious confraternities.¹⁶⁷ Sir Richard Shee of Kilkenny, who endowed an almshouse in Rose Inn Street in the city in 1582, requested in his will that his chaplain, Teige Duyin, would 'have a care of the poor in my hospital', in consideration of which he was to receive £3 per year from the manor of Glasharne. The clear implication here, according to Tait, is that the foundation had as much a spiritual as a medical purpose.¹⁶⁸ Teige Duyin (or Teig O Duigin) was still serving as a Catholic priest in the diocese in 1610, when he was reported to be living in the home of Robert Grace of Courtstown.¹⁶⁹

The first warrant for the Trinity Hospital in New Ross, which was founded by a bequest of Thomas Gregory, was issued in 1578, followed by a second warrant in 1587. P.H. Hore states that the hospital, which was also known as the Gregory Almshouse, was clearly a Catholic charity.¹⁷⁰ In 1588, Queen Elizabeth endowed the hospital with the chapels of St Saviour and St Michael, eleven messuages and five gardens and the first master was George Conway, brother of the renowned Jesuit, Richard Conway.¹⁷¹ Until

¹⁶⁶ Charles Smith, *The ancient and present state of the county and city of Waterford* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1774), pp 171-3.

¹⁶⁷ Clodagh Tait, *Death, burial and commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp 143-4.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p.144; Edward Law, 'The Charitable institutions of the city of Kilkenny from the Reformation to the mid-nineteenth century' (<http://homepage.eircom.net/~lawekk/CHARITY11.htm>) (13 Oct 2009); 'The will of Richard Shee', *Ana. Hib.* xx (1958), pp 228-9.

¹⁶⁹ 'Sundrie priests and friars.'

¹⁷⁰ Hore, *History of Wexford*, i, pp 80-1.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., i, p.81; i, p.268.

1667 it was possible for a Catholic to be master of a guild, corporation or fraternity incorporated by royal Charter.¹⁷²

Despite the paucity of evidence and detail regarding the operation of chantries and almshouses during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, intermittent official references to their continued existence lead us to believe that they were still regarded as a problem for the established church and its potential revenues. In 1610, the newly appointed bishop of Meath, George Montgomery called for the abolition of the chantries and for the diversion of their funds to the improvement of episcopal income and the provision of glebes for parish clergy.¹⁷³ In 1618, the president of Munster, the earl of Thomond, wrote to the Irish council requesting advice on ‘how to recover the means of hospitals and other almshouses disinherited by the preceding head thereof’.¹⁷⁴

James I’s ‘orders and directions concerning the state of the church of Ireland and the possessions thereof’, issued in 1623, included an instruction to the lord deputy that no patent or grant be passed in relation to chantry possessions unless by special direction from the crown.¹⁷⁵ In 1640 a bill of Parliament was introduced for the dissolution

of all superstitious chantries, guilds and fraternities in the kingdom of Ireland and vesting in the hands of the Crown the houses and fields thereof and all manner of messuages and other things heretofore belonging to them.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Ibid., i, p.81.

¹⁷³ Henry Jefferies, ‘George Montgomery, first Protestant bishop of Derry’ in Henry Jefferies and K. Devlin (eds), *History of the diocese of Derry: from earliest times* (Dublin, 1999), pp 157-8.

¹⁷⁴ ‘Earl of Thomond, President of Munster to Lord of the Council’, 28 Oct. 1618, *CSPI, 1615-25*, pp 216-7.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Orders and directions concerning the state of the church of Ireland and the possessions thereof’ (T.C.D., MS 808, p.35).

¹⁷⁶ ‘An Act for the dissolution of all superstitious chantries, guild and fraternities in the kingdom of Ireland’, n.d. c.1640, (Lambeth Palace Library, MS 640, pp 585-629).

At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, those friars and monks who voluntarily surrendered their property were granted a pension. However, it was crown policy to appoint members of the monastic communities as local curates of the new Church of Ireland, as this would save money on the payment of pensions.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, many of these men were already performing this role in impropriated parish churches, at an annual stipend of around two marks,¹⁷⁸ payable by the abbot of the monastery before the dissolution and by the impropiator in its aftermath. As the average pension for an ordinary friar or monk was between one and five marks, such a stipend, especially where pluralism was rife, was quite attractive.¹⁷⁹

For example, Denis O'Mulrian, a member of the Augustinian priory of Cahir, in the diocese of Lismore, was granted a pension of 13s.4d. It is likely that he is the same man, called Donogh Ryan, or Donald Mulryan, who was dean of the diocese of Emly and prebendary of Lattin in 1542, who also held the prebend of Kilbeacon and the parishes of Kilconnel, Templeineiry Union and Bruis in Cashel in 1557, and who was rector of Solloghodmore in Emly in 1559.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Brendan Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1974), p.131.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.55; a mark was valued at 13s.4d., making the average stipend worth £1.6.8d.

¹⁷⁹ Bradshaw, *Dissolution of the religious orders*, p.55.

¹⁸⁰ Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery*, i, p.63; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.178; St. J.D. Seymour, *St. A succession of parochial clergy in the united diocese of Cashel and Emly* (Dublin, 1908).

On 26 April 1540, Edmund O’Lonergan, prior of Cahir Abbey, was granted a pension of £3.6s.8d., but he was also appointed vicar of St Mary’s parish church on the same date.¹⁸¹ Similarly, Richard Cantwell, prior of St John’s abbey, Kilkenny, was appointed curate and chaplain of the parish church of St John the Evangelist on 8 April 1541, with a third of all the tithes pertaining to the church, rectory or chapel, and a house and garden in Kilkenny.¹⁸² Another friar of St John’s, James Bicton, whose education in Oxford was discussed in Chapter One, was granted a pension of forty shillings on 28 April 1540 and he was subsequently appointed dean of Ossory.¹⁸³

Alexander Devereux, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Dunbrody in Wexford, was appointed bishop of Ferns in 1539 on his surrender of the monastic property. He was later heavily criticized by Bishop Ram for greatly reducing the value of the see, through granting church property to his ‘kindred and bastards, at very small rents’.¹⁸⁴ James Butler, ex-abbot of another Cistercian monastery, Inislowmaght in Tipperary, was appointed dean of Lismore, and was succeeded on his death, in 1549, by Edmond Power, ex-prior of the Augustinian monasteries of St Katherine’s in Waterford and Mothel in Lismore. Power, who was the illegitimate son of Lord Richard Power, had been granted a portion of the temporalities of Mothel, including the livings of Ballyloughlin, Grangemoclere, Illanywick, Mothel, Molargy and Rathgormuck, for life in 1546.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery*, i, p.61; (<http://www.dirl.com/tipperary/cahir/old-st-marys.htm>) (17 September 2009).

¹⁸² Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery*, i, p.60

¹⁸³ Ibid, p.62; ‘Last will and testament of James Bicton, dean of Kilkenny, 1552’ in Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, pp 407-16.

¹⁸⁴ Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

¹⁸⁵ Grattan Flood, ‘Lismore under Edward VI and Mary’, p.126; Power, *Compendious history*, p.141; Ferguson, *Advowsons*, p.121.

It appears that, immediately after the suppression, there was no shortage of regular clergy to serve the parishes. It was only when these ministers died and needed to be replaced by vicars or curates, ordained and qualified to preach the new doctrines, that a serious number of vacancies arose, with the attendant financial difficulties.¹⁸⁶ As neither clergy nor congregation formed clear confessional dividing lines between the principles of Catholicism and Protestantism in the direct aftermath of the Reformation, a number of decades passed before it became evident that the abject poverty of most of the parish livings in south-east Ireland made it almost impossible to attract any suitably trained ministers to replace the mostly elderly incumbents, whose knowledge and understanding of the theological developments of the Reformation were severely limited. This deficit is clearly reflected in the report that more than forty clergymen in the region were to be deprived of their livings, for irregularity and contumacy, as late as 1591. Included among their number was Laurence Renaghan of Ossory, probably the same man who was functioning as Catholic vicar-general of the diocese in 1610.¹⁸⁷

In the absence of native-born clergy to fill these positions, it was unlikely that many would be found willing to come from Britain to populate a church that offered even lower career expectations than those available in England, Wales or Scotland. On 6 June 1560, Sir William Petre wrote to Sir William Cecil that ‘none are willing to go as Bishops to Ireland’.¹⁸⁸ If the bishoprics were unattractive, how much less appealing were ordinary vicarages and rectories?

¹⁸⁶ Bradshaw, *Dissolution of the religious orders*, p.228.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Clergy examined and deprived in 1591’, (T.C.D. MS 566, 195v-197r); ‘Sundrie priests and friars’.

¹⁸⁸ SP 12/12/42, *Calendar of State papers, Domestic, 1547-1580*, p.154.

Even when a clergyman was appointed to a parish, he often found himself with nowhere to preach or administer to his prospective congregation, as so many churches were in a dilapidated condition. Sir Henry Sidney, returning to Ireland for his third term as lord deputy in 1576, wrote to Elizabeth that the problems of the established church could be attributed to three main causes:

The ruin of the very temples themselves: the want of good Ministers to serve in them, when they shall be re-edified: competent living for the Ministers, being well chosen.¹⁸⁹

Nicholas Walsh, bishop of Ossory, appeared justifiably disheartened when he wrote in 1577 that

almost all the churches, chapels, chancels within that his diocese were utterly ruined and decayed and that neither the parishioners nor others that are bound to repair them and set them up could by any means be won or induced to do so.¹⁹⁰

Daniel Kavanagh, bishop of Leighlin, writing to the lord deputy, Sir John Perrot, in 1587, listed more than 100 churches and chapels 'either ruined or waste' in his diocese.¹⁹¹

By 1594, a commission addressed to the hierarchy and administration in Ireland recognized that those lay people who had responsibility for the restoration and rebuilding of churches and chancels were clearly not fulfilling their duties:

[they] do neglect to repair the portions of the chancels belonging to such vicarages and chapels, and obstinately or negligently permit the chancels of the same to run into utter ruin, decay, and profanation, to our dishonour ...¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ 'Sir Henry Sidney to the Queen', 28 April 1576 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, p.17.

¹⁹⁰ Neely, *Kilkenny*, p.44

¹⁹¹ 'Daniel Kavanagh, Bishop of Leighlin, to Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy,' n.d. 1587, *Calendar of Carew Manuscripts, 1575-88*, pp 457-8.

¹⁹² Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of patent and close rolls of chancery*, ii, pp 291-4.

Bishop Walsh's successor in Ossory, John Horsfall, a native of Yorkshire, found that little had changed by 1604, when he told the lord deputy of the difficulty he had in carrying out repairs to the bodies of the churches, as the people were 'so misled with superstitious idolatry that they altogether scorn their church censures' and that there was neither 'sheriff nor other officer who will put these writs into execution'.¹⁹³

Another bishop, Robert Graves of Ferns and Leighlin, gave an equally depressing account to Sir Robert Cecil in 1600, writing that he found the churches in his diocese

for the most part ruined; the livings given either to laymen or children or else in the hands of such ministers, for the most part, as are not only ashamed, but obstinately refuse, to do the duties of their calling.¹⁹⁴

While refuting allegations against the stewardship of his dioceses in 1601, Archbishop Miler Magrath admitted to Cecil:

I do confess the churches in the most parts, and within five miles to Dublin itself, to be like hogstys, or rather worse, yet am not I in fault thereof but the traitors, the papists, and the soldiers.¹⁹⁵

Sir John Davies visited Wexford in 1604 and wrote to James I, expressing the belief that if the churches were rebuilt, 'for they are all ruined in every place that I have seen', and if divine service were held regularly, then the 'common people would presently and voluntarily come to church'.¹⁹⁶ The same year, he wrote to Cecil that

¹⁹³ 'Bishop John Horsfall to the Deputy and Council of Ireland,' n.d. June 1604, *CSPI, 1603-6*, pp 178-9.

¹⁹⁴ 'Bishop Robert Graves to Sir Robert Cecil,' 20 Sept. 1600, *CSPI, 1600*, p.440.

¹⁹⁵ 'Archbishop Miler Magrath to Sir Robert Cecil,' 15 May 1601, *CSPI, 1600-3*, p.340.

¹⁹⁶ 'Sir John Davies to James I,' n.d. 1604, (Hore papers, St Peter's College, Wexford, file 57).

the churches are ruined and fallen down to the ground in all parts of the Kingdom. There is no divine service, no christening of children, no receiving of the sacrament, no Christian meeting or assembly, no, not once a year; in a word, no more demonstration of religion than amongst Tartars or cannibals'.¹⁹⁷

Thomas Ram, who was appointed bishop in 1605, took a personal interest in the repair of the churches in Ferns and Leighlin. Writing to the lord deputy and council in 1612, he reported that all the churches within his diocese were built according to the 'county fashion', with only a few exceptions, where the church was not yet built, or where the population was too small to warrant such building.¹⁹⁸ This improvement was certainly reflected in the Royal Visitation returns of 1615, which gave details of the condition of churches in four south-eastern dioceses (see Table 2).

Sixty-six churches in Ferns were reported to be in good repair, contrasting with only sixteen in Cashel, seven in Emly, and six in Ossory, where the churches, for the most part, were in the same dilapidated condition that Sidney and Bishop Walsh had described in the 1570s.¹⁹⁹ However, it is possible that Bishop Ram exaggerated his achievements when writing in 1612, as William Barry, a Catholic priest from Kildare, reporting in 1623 on his travels in Ferns, stated that 'in some of the villages of the diocese are to be found ruined parish churches'.²⁰⁰

There were other exceptional cases, outside the diocese of Ferns, where new churches were built and older buildings restored and maintained. In a report to the English privy

¹⁹⁷ 'Davies to Cecil,' *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.143.

¹⁹⁸ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

¹⁹⁹ RV 1615.

²⁰⁰ 'John Roche, Processus Datariae', 11 May 1623 in Cathaldus Giblin (ed.), 'The "Processus Datariae" and the appointment of Irish bishops in the seventeenth century', in *Luke Wadding, commemorative volume* (Dublin, 1957), p.524.

council in 1628 on the work of Richard Boyle, the first earl of Cork, it was claimed that he had restored the cathedral of Lismore, and built ‘churches for the worship of God, almshouses and schools’ on his lands in west Waterford.²⁰¹ However, this was refuted by the claim of the Franciscan priest, Anthony Hickey, the following year, when he told his superiors in Rome that Lismore cathedral was ‘nearly in ruins’.²⁰²

Christ Church Cathedral, or the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, in Waterford city was never allowed to fall into complete decay, being maintained at different times by the state, the city or the church.²⁰³

Table 2: Condition of churches in four dioceses in 1615.²⁰⁴

DIOCESE	Church in good repair	Church down, ruined or uncovered	No church	Unknown	Total
Cashel	16	26	13	55	110
Emly	7	17	6	19	49
Ferns	66	12	0	21	99
Ossory	6	8	1	86	101
Overall percentage	26.5%	17.5%	5.5%	50.5%	100%

Different sectors of the community were responsible for the upkeep and repair of the various sections of parish churches. In Lismore, for example, the parson or vicar was bound to build the chancel, while it was expected that the parishioners would erect and

²⁰¹ Power, *Compendious history*, p.16; ‘The Lord Deputy and the Council to the English Privy Council in respect of Sir Richard Boyle, the earl of Cork,’ 6 April 1628, *CSPI, 1625-32*, pp 321-2.

²⁰² ‘Patrick Comerford, Processus Datariae’, 15 January 1629 in Giblin (ed.), ‘The Processus Datariae’, p.552.

²⁰³ Power, *Compendious history*, p.16.

²⁰⁴ RV 1615.

maintain the body of the church.²⁰⁵ Thus, the nave could be dilapidated while the chancel was still in good condition. In 1615, the nave in Rath saran in Ossory was ruined, while the chancel was in good repair. Conversely, the parish of Dysartkyran in Cashel had a nave that was well repaired, but the chancel was ‘down’.²⁰⁶

We have no knowledge of where Protestant service was conducted in parishes like Tullow, in Leighlin, where Piers Gorse was reading minister in 1615, but where the church was waste and there was no chancel. The visitation reported the parish of Cahircorney in Emly as being served by both a preaching minister, Jacobus Quin, and a reading minister, David Rawley, despite the church being uncovered and the chancel down. There was no church or chancel in Liscormack, despite the fact that Randall Hurley and Donall McTeig were named as preacher and reader, respectively. Robert MacCarthy suggests that an unconsecrated building may have been used for services, though I can find no evidence of permission being granted for such a deviation from accepted practice and believe it more likely that there were no rituals observed in these parishes.²⁰⁷

Ironically, the fact that church property and the traditional parochial structures remained as part of the Church of Ireland actually worked to the advantage of the Catholic Church. Because the celebration of Mass and other Catholic rites was illegal, priests were granted dispensations to administer the sacraments in private houses and at temporary altars, thus making it unnecessary to address the financial burden of building or repairing ruined or

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.; MacCarthy, ‘The Church of Ireland in Carlow’, pp 332-3.

dilapidated churches in sparsely populated areas, and allowing priests to serve their congregations wherever the demand was strongest.

In 1564, Pope Pius IV instructed the nuncio, David Wolf, and the archbishop of Armagh, Richard Creagh, to establish a commission 'for the amendment of the morals of the clergy throughout Ireland'.²⁰⁸ Through the powers and duties of this commission, priests were authorised to use

portable altars on which, while in fear of the heretics and no longer, to celebrate Mass with due reverence and solemnity in suitable places outside their churches.²⁰⁹

The nuncio was also asked to consider and report

as to the transfer so far as he shall deem it expedient of Cathedrals oppressed by heretics, or otherwise deserted by Catholics, to neighbouring towns or other places where Mass and the other Divine offices may be more conveniently celebrated.²¹⁰

Later, in June 1614, the Dublin provincial synod, which met in Kilkenny, decreed that mass could be said in 'private houses, in orchards or caves, in the woods or on the mountain tops', so long as due reverence was observed.²¹¹ Ross McGeoghegan, vicar of the Dominicans, was granted faculties on 16 August, 1617, which included permission for his priests to celebrate Mass in 'whatever decent place, in the open air or underground' and to 'reserve the Holy Eucharist without lights and the other ceremonies customary in churches'.²¹²

²⁰⁸ 'Pius IV to David Wolf, S.J., nuncio of the apostolic see in Ireland and Richard Creagh, archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland,' 13 July 1564, *CSP Rome, 1558-71*, pp 166-9.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ P.F. Moran, *History of the Catholic archbishops of Dublin* (Dublin, 1864), p.268.

²¹² Flynn, *Dominicans*, pp 139-40.

Clearly, private houses were widely used for the celebration of mass and the sacraments throughout the region. Francis Bryan, sovereign of Wexford, told the lord deputy in 1603 that mass was

daily and openly said in certain houses, whereunto all the inhabitants of this town (very few excepted) did resort; which of long time, as also the priests themselves and the places of their abode, have been well known to the Lord Bishop of this diocese²¹³

David Kearney was appointed and consecrated as Catholic archbishop of Cashel in 1603, following a period of almost twenty years during which the province had no Catholic archiepiscopal presence. He reported in 1609 that

it is at night that we perform all the sacred functions – that we transfer the sacred vestments from one place to another – celebrate Mass, give exhortations to the faithful, confer holy orders, bless the chrism, administer the sacrament of confirmation.... Last year, when the persecution relaxed for a little while, I administered the sacrament of confirmation, at noon day, in the open fields, to at least ten thousand persons.²¹⁴

Despite Church of Ireland claims that they were in possession of all ecclesiastical property, some churches, especially those within the suppressed monasteries and friaries, were still used for the celebration of Catholic mass. The church in the Franciscan friary in Clonmel was maintained by the citizens of the town and used as a burial place for Catholics. It was in good repair, with the altars standing and evidently still in use, when visited by the Franciscan provincial, Donatus Mooney, in 1615. The following year, the

²¹³ ‘Francis Bryan, Sovereign of Wexford, to the Lord Deputy,’ 25 April 1603, *CSPI, 1603-6*, pp 28-9.

²¹⁴ ‘Relatio by Archbishop David Kearney to Rome,’ n.d. 1609, in Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp 235-6.

Franciscans erected a new residence in the town, with Thomas Bray as guardian, where they stayed until the arrival of Cromwell.²¹⁵

Local tradition claims that, for a period after the reformation and until the arrival of Cromwell in 1650, St Mary's Church in Cahir was used simultaneously by both Catholics and Protestants, with just a curtain wall between the nave and chancel segregating the two communities.²¹⁶

In the course of his voluminous correspondence with Fr Luke Wadding in Rome, Patrick Comerford, the Augustinian bishop of Waterford and Lismore, mentions, as the scene of an internal Catholic dispute, a parish church in St John's Grange, between Clonmel and Fiddert, which was 'never polluted' and where mass was said in the presence of a 'great assemblie of people' in November, 1629.²¹⁷ Christ Church Cathedral in Waterford city, mentioned earlier as being kept in good repair throughout the period, was evidently in use for Catholic service in 1610, when Thomas Walsh, later archbishop of Cashel, was reported to be 'ministering sacraments and preaching to the Cathedral Church'.²¹⁸

As well as private houses, outdoor settings and older churches that were still used for Catholic ceremonies, some efforts were also made to erect new places of worship.

Thomas Ram noted in 1612 that the priest Richard Fitzharries was building a 'masse house' on his brother's estate near New Ross. The bishop requested that this action be

²¹⁵ Power, *Compendious history*, p.160.

²¹⁶ (<http://www.dirl.com/tipperary/cahir/old-st-marys.htm>) (17 September 2009).

²¹⁷ 'Bishop Patrick Comerford to Fr Luke Wadding,' 22 November 1629, *Wadding Papers*, p.324.

²¹⁸ 'Sundrie priests and friars'.

stopped and that the door of another chapel in the town of New Ross, built earlier by Fr David Dowle, should be nailed up.²¹⁹ The Franciscan priest, Fr Sinnott, who had opened a new convent in Wexford town in 1615, built a ‘thatched chapel’ in Back Street in 1620, before the friars moved back to their former premises in Francis Street in 1622.²²⁰ Reflecting on the ‘exalted and confident insolence’ of the Catholic community in 1624, Lord Deputy Falkland reported to the privy council that

there are divers friaries erected, where sundry friars of different orders reside, by whom diver collections have been made for building churches for them, and materials provided, during the time of their confidence; these must now be removed²²¹

While we cannot be sure if these building projects were exceptions rather than illustrative of a region-wide trend, it is interesting to observe the variety of means adopted by Catholic clergy, and their congregations, to counteract the efforts of the state and the established church to thwart their ministry. Indeed, John Bossy considers that this need for flexibility, occasioned by the inability of Irish Catholicism to implement all the new edicts of the Council of Trent with regard to spiritual observation, actually worked to the church’s advantage in the long-term, giving it a capacity for compromise and survival that was often absent in countries where the Tridentine reforms could be openly and vigorously enforced.²²²

Unfortunately, while some information is available about episcopal residences in the region, little detail survives of the dwelling-houses or glebe lands that were available to

²¹⁹ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council.’

²²⁰ Anon, ‘Wexford mass houses of the penal days’ in Matthew Berney (ed.), *Centenary history of Wexford Twin Churches* (Wexford, 1958), p.54.

²²¹ ‘Lord Deputy to the Privy Council’, 1 March 1624, *CSPI, 1615-25*, pp 458-9.

²²² John Bossy, ‘Counter-Reformation and Ireland’, p.158.

ordinary Church of Ireland clergymen. On his appointment as bishop of Ferns and Leighlin in 1600, Robert Graves reported that neither diocese had a house in which he could live.²²³ His successor, Nicholas Stafford, concurred, writing in 1602 that his sees were ‘by my late Predecessors so unlawfully dismembered that not so much as a house is left me to dwell in’.²²⁴

Helen Bermingham has identified four types of accommodation that were used by parish clergy in late medieval Ireland, three of which were incorporated into the body of the church, or attached to its extremities. The fourth, and most uncommon kind of dwelling, was a free-standing, separate house.²²⁵ After the Reformation, with ministers being encouraged to marry and live in family units, only the detached accommodation would have been suitable, leading us to conclude that rectories and vicarages, suitable for a reformed clergyman and his family, were very scarce. It must also be remembered that more than half of the parishes in pre-Reformation south-east Ireland were inappropriate to the monasteries, with the cure being served by monks who lived within these abbeys and did not need to be housed by the parish, again leading to the conclusion that there was little in the way of residential property attached to most churches in the period.

An interesting case, possibly quite exceptional, was that of the rector of Horetown in Wexford, Richard Hendrican, who was described by Ram in 1612 as a churchman who

²²³ ‘Graves to Cecil,’ *CSPI, 1600*, p.440.

²²⁴ ‘Bishop Nicholas Stafford to the Lord Deputy and Council,’ 26 July 1602, in Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.256.

²²⁵ Helen Bermingham, ‘Priests’ residences in later medieval Ireland’ in Fitzpatrick & Gillespie (eds), *The parish*, p.169.

spoke Latin, English and Irish, and who had the distinction of living ‘on his owne land neere unto that parish’.²²⁶

I have already referred to the living arrangements of a number of Catholic priests in the region, mostly being sheltered in the houses of relatives or supporters. These were circumstances rendered necessary by the clandestine and illegal nature of their work and the priests’ living conditions, with the attendant consequences for their mission, will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

Seventy-seven years elapsed between the compiling of the earliest *Valor Ecclesiasticorum in Hibernia* in 1538 and the reports of the Royal Visitations in 1615. While it is difficult to assess how meaningful a comparison between these two sets of documents can be because obvious factors such as inflation, currency devaluation and the effects of war cannot be discounted, nonetheless a general overview of the progress made in the intervening years should allow us to reach some conclusions concerning the well-being of the Church of Ireland at parochial level by the early decades of the seventeenth century. It could be argued that a thriving established state church would have expected to see a marked improvement in its financial position over such a long period but the reality was somewhat less encouraging.

Of the parishes which returned incomes for their benefices in 1615, there was certainly an improvement, with just 14% returning values of less than £5 per annum, compared to 56.5% in 1538 (see Table 3). But over half the parishes returned no record of income at

²²⁶ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

all, which makes the figures more difficult to interpret, and 64% of those parishes that were recorded were still worth below £10.²²⁷ While we cannot be certain, this data may point to an inadvertent, or even intentional, consolidation of the position and resources of the Church of Ireland in more sustainable areas, coupled with the effective abandonment of other parishes. Canny believes that, where land and other natural resources were superior, clusters of English settlers were more likely to be found, with a consequently higher available income for a Protestant clergyman.²²⁸

Ossory showed the biggest improvement, with twenty-three of its livings now valued at over £20. The rectory of Callan, which had been worth £20 in 1538, was now valued at £200, and supported both a preaching and a reading minister. The rector, John Butler, was unusual in that he does not appear to have held any other benefices in Ossory or in the neighbouring dioceses, perhaps reflecting the comfortable living offered by his sole benefice. The value of Aghaboe had not changed from £20 in the period between the two surveys, but Rosconnell, also worth £20 in 1538, was reduced to £7.10s. by 1615, and was only served by a reading minister.²²⁹

The wealthier livings in Ferns in 1538 remained so in 1615, with the churches of St Mary, St Patrick and St John in Wexford town, along with Kilsoran, Rosslare, Tomhaggard and Duncormick, all worth over £15. Some improvements had been made, with the rectory of Kilkeevan increasing its value from £5.17s.9d. to £15, the rectory of Kilcormack increasing from £2.3s.2d. to £20, and the vicarage of Bannow, at £16, worth

²²⁷ RV 1615.

²²⁸ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 306-7.

²²⁹ RV 1615.

three times more in 1615 than it had been in 1538. But many benefices were still desperately poor, while the northern part of the diocese continued to be far less attractive to prospective incumbents.²³⁰

Little had changed in Leighlin, Waterford and Lismore or Emly, with most livings still valued at under £10 per annum and therefore considered unable to support a minister. It is interesting to note that Dungarvan, mentioned as Lismore's wealthiest parish in the *Valor*, made no return for its income in 1615, possibly because the constable of Dungarvan Castle, James Walshe, had been given a lease of this valuable rectory, as well as thirteen other chapels, the tithes of more than 100 townlands and the site of the Augustinian Friary at Abbeyside, in 1551.²³¹ The rectory was subsequently attached to the presidency of Munster by Elizabeth in 1569.²³² Cashel did show an increase in the number of livings now capable of maintaining a minister, with Athassel worth £100 and nine others valued at over £10.²³³

It is important to note that the Visitations returned values for 553 parishes in the six dioceses, compared to only 315 mentioned in the *Valor*.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid; Grattan Flood, 'Lismore under Edward VI and Mary', p.128.

²³² Jourdan, 'Transitional stage of reform,' p.350.

²³³ RV 1615.

Table 3: Annual income of benefices reported in Royal Visitations, 1615²³⁴

Diocese	Over £10	£5-10	Under £5	No return	Total
Ossory	26	25	6	59	116
Ferns	20	10	3	66	99
Leighlin	5	18	1	77	101
Waterford & Lismore	4	15	7	52	78
Cashel	10	11	4	85	110
Emly	1	13	4	31	49
Total	66	92	25	370	553
Percentage	12%	16.5%	4.5%	67%	100%

The most evident result of this poverty of church livings was a consequent scarcity of competent incumbents to spiritually guide the people towards participation in the rituals of the Church of Ireland at a time when they were still open to persuasion or coercion. In December 1584, the prebendaries of St Patrick's Cathedral wrote to the lords of the council of England, stating that the only preachers in the whole of Ireland were four bishops and themselves. They wrote that a curate

to make his stipend as he may live upon, travelleth like a lackey to three or four churches in a morning – every church a mile or two miles asunder – and there once a week *readeth them only a Gospel in Latin*, and so away – and so the poor people are deluded.²³⁵

In 1615, forty-seven of the 110 parishes in Cashel were vacant, with just nine preaching ministers and seven reading ministers serving the other sixty-three churches. There were forty-nine livings in Emly, with nine reported as vacant, the remainder served by just six preaching ministers and eleven reading ministers. The archdeacon, Theodore McBrien, was eighty years old, the dean, John Darling, was also precentor of Cashel, and the position of treasurer was deserted. The reading ministers held an average of four livings

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ 'Prebendaries of St Patrick's Cathedral to the Lords of the Council of England', n.d. December, 1584 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, pp 93-4.

each, with Hugo Harty being deprived of Leddenbegg and Willistowne when he confessed upon oath 'that he never yet celebrated Baptism or Communion, despite being minister for 8 years'. Waterford and Lismore had just twelve preachers and seventeen reading ministers to serve its seventy-eight parishes.²³⁶

The suffragan dioceses in the province of Dublin were better served than those in Cashel, although the problems of pluralism and absenteeism were still prevalent. Ossory had 116 livings, with just seven reported as vacant in 1615. However, there were only seventeen preachers and twenty-seven reading ministers, a number of whom also served parishes in other dioceses.²³⁷ Generally, the more prosperous livings appear to have attracted trained clergymen, who were content to serve just one or two cures, although we have no way of knowing how many of these men actually lived in or near their parishes. The dean, Barnabas Bolger, one of the earliest students at Trinity College, Dublin,²³⁸ who held Dunmore (value unknown) and Kilmataway (£20), was resident in St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin. The precentor, Randolph Barlowe, also served as dean of Leighlin, was dean of Christ Church by 1618 and later archbishop of Tuam.²³⁹

Edmund Donellan, who had an annual income of £50 from his two livings of Clonmore and Odogh, was reported to be a student at Trinity College, Dublin and was appointed a prebendary of Christ Church in 1626.²⁴⁰ Nicholas Jones, who held the parish of Inishloghan, was apparently still a student at Oxford in 1615, despite having been

²³⁶ RV 1615.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Burtchaell & Sadlier.

²³⁹ RV 1615; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, ii, p.42.

²⁴⁰ RV 1615; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, ii, p.65.

awarded his MA degree in 1606.²⁴¹ Henry Mainwaring had £60 from his archdeaconry and a further £20 for the rectory of Donoghmore; and reference has already been made to John Butler, the vicar of Callan, whose benefice was worth £200 per annum. John Gwynn received £20 each per annum for Tibbraghny and Castlelane although he also held the parishes of Kilcash, Kilsheelan and Tahney in Lismore.²⁴²

This apparent consolidation of the wealthier livings left eighty-nine parishes served only by a reading minister, whose duties were often thinly spread, as all but two of the curates served more than one benefice. Nicholas Jackson was reading minister in ten churches, while James Brin served eight and Gabriel Berill, the ‘Irishman’ Patrick Costekyn and Andreas Archer were responsible for seven parishes each. Unusually for a reading minister, George Dodd held positions in both Ossory and Lismore dioceses.²⁴³

There were only seven vacant livings in Ferns out of ninety-nine parishes listed in 1615, but just eighteen preachers and twenty-six reading ministers served the remaining ninety-two cures.²⁴⁴ Bishop Thomas Ram, commenting in 1612 on the scarcity of competent clergymen, claimed to have invited ‘3 or 4 men of English birth of staid carriage and good report’²⁴⁵ to take up livings in his two dioceses, offering them the most prosperous of the benefices in the English-speaking areas. Those men of English birth certainly included Apollo Waller, treasurer of the diocese and rector of Carne, and Michael

²⁴¹ RV, 1615; Foster.

²⁴² RV 1615.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

Bellarby, prebendary of Edermine, as both men held degrees from Cambridge.²⁴⁶ While Ram describes Bellarby as residing in the vicarage of Edermine,²⁴⁷ this was unlikely as he was also a prebendary of St Patrick's in Dublin.²⁴⁸ Waller was also prebendary of Wicklow, and, according to Cotton, was 'in St Patrick's' in Dublin in 1610.²⁴⁹ Thomas Gallamore, MA, was probably an Englishman. He was rector of Rosslare and Templeshambo, as well as holding the church of St Michael's in Wexford town, giving him a combined income of £42, which enabled him, in the words of Ram, to keep 'good hospitality'.²⁵⁰ The schoolmaster Robert Hudson, vicar of Kilturk and Kilmore, may also have been English, as a man of this name, a native of Yorkshire, graduated from Oxford in 1605, aged 20 years.²⁵¹

Irish preaching ministers included the Trinity graduates, John Alcock, prebendary of Toome and rector of Carnagh, and Noah Rogers, curate of Carnew, in the most northerly part of the diocese.²⁵² The archdeacon, William Campion, MA, held the important livings of Old and New Ross, and had been rector of Old Ross since at least 1599.²⁵³ John Harris, an 'auntient Master of Arts and a preacher', held the vicarage of Bannow, worth £20 per annum, and was also archdeacon of Leighlin.²⁵⁴ Robert Cleere was treasurer of

²⁴⁶ *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

²⁴⁷ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

²⁴⁸ Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, ii, p.183..

²⁴⁹ Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, ii, p.148.

²⁵⁰ RV 1615; 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

²⁵¹ Foster.

²⁵² Burtchaell & Sadlier; RV 1615.

²⁵³ J.B. Leslie, *Ferns clergy and parishes* (Dublin, 1936), p.51; RV 1615.

²⁵⁴ 'Ram to the Lord Deputy and Council'; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiasticae*, ii, p.167.

Leighlin and held four other livings in that diocese, but also had three benefices in Ferns.²⁵⁵

The preaching ministers, present and absent, were complemented by reading ministers, several of whom served five parishes or more. John Lacy, an ‘ancient minister’ was prebendary of Kilrush and minister in seven other parishes in 1615.²⁵⁶ Other ‘ancient’ reading ministers were Henry and Richard Reigh, Robert Dreighan, Patrick Kelly, James Stafford and David Browne, who were expected to serve seventeen cures between them.²⁵⁷ Adam Hay, although ‘as yet only a deacon’,²⁵⁸ held the benefice of Kilsowran, and the Englishman, Richard Allen, was curate in four parishes.²⁵⁹ John Hughes, who is listed as a reading minister, despite having been registered as a scholar in Trinity College in 1603, was prebendary of Crosspatrick and held five other parishes in Ferns and one in Leighlin.²⁶⁰

There were only twelve vacant parishes in Leighlin, but, as in the other dioceses in the region, the available clergy were thinly spread, with the remaining eighty-one churches having just thirteen preaching ministers and twenty-nine reading ministers to serve them. We know that a number of these ministers were absent. Samuel Ursley, or Morsley, BA, vicar of Carlow, was reported to be residing in Munster, while John Parker, BA, prebendary of Tulmagynah, was ‘still in Dublin’ in 1612. He later became a prebendary

²⁵⁵ Leslie, *Ferns clergy*; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, ii, p.173; RV 1615.

²⁵⁶ RV 1615; ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

²⁵⁷ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’; RV 1615.

²⁵⁸ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

²⁵⁹ RV 1615.

²⁶⁰ Burtchaell & Sadlier; RV, 1615.

of Christ Church.²⁶¹ Henry Welsh, who held the livings of Kellestown and Kiltegan was resident in Dublin.²⁶²

A number of the clergy were English-born, including Thomas Manley, prebendary of Ahold and rector of Ballerony and Gallen, Arthur Bladesmyth and James Waddinge, who held four livings each, and William Hilton, who held three. The prebendary of Illard, David Ready, had seven other parishes, while the ‘ancient Irishmen’ Oliver Keatinge, Moratus O’Currin and James Malone each served five churches.²⁶³

The general picture points to an established church that was paralysed in its proselytising efforts by the poverty of its livings, while the rival Catholic clergy were unable to mould themselves into a truly independent professional body because of their dependence on individual members of the laity for material support. The issues involved for the Church of Ireland were recognized soon after the Reformation, although successive efforts to tackle the problems were hampered by a combination of vested interests, vacillation and the unwillingness of the administration to invest sufficient resources to address the challenges. Queen Elizabeth wrote to the Lord Justice, William Drury, in 1578, remarking on ‘how greatly religion and justice be decayed in most parts’ and instructing him to

²⁶¹ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

²⁶² RV 1615.

²⁶³ RV 1615.

take such order as all those the several parish churches decayed may be re-edified, who in law are chargeable therewith, the parsons, vicars, or their farmers, compelled to keep curates.²⁶⁴

Thus, a pattern was established of instructions for the reform of the Irish church being issued from England at regular intervals over the following sixty years. At each move towards a more complete conquest of the island, the issues of religion and the status of the clergy were incorporated in the planning, if not the execution, of the operation. Under the terms of the first Munster plantation in 1585, each village was required to have one vicarage for a minister, who would have land and a living worth one hundred marks a year. Each undertaker was also expected to build a church within his estate village and furthermore, each cluster of nine estates was to provide a living for a 'minister excelling the rest in learning', who would have an annual income of £100.²⁶⁵ The main undertakers in Waterford were Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Christopher Hatton and Richard Beacon, while in Tipperary the earl of Ormond and the Fitton family were the principal beneficiaries of the plantation.²⁶⁶

When Sir Edward Fitton complained in July 1587 that the incumbent clergy on his newly-acquired lands 'collect their tithes with most rigour and neither give food spiritual nor temporal',²⁶⁷ he was echoing the concerns expressed earlier that year by the English privy council, when they instructed the lord deputy, John Perrott, to appoint commissioners in Munster to remove the clergymen who held most of the benefices in

²⁶⁴ 'Instructions given by the Queen's majesty to Drury', 29 May 1578, *Calendar of Carew Manuscripts*, 1575-88, p.131.

²⁶⁵ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 131-2.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 140-2.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.144.

the recently planted districts despite being, for the most part, 'either not sufficient, or not conformable in religion'.²⁶⁸

In 1604, the Council of Ireland debated a series of 'memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie and establishing of a learned ministerie in Ireland'. The subjects discussed reflected the failure of earlier measures to improve the value of benefices, the financial position of the clergy or the material condition of church property. Churches were to be repaired and prebends, parsonages and vicarages were not to be bestowed on lay people, children, 'popish priests or other unworthy ministers'. Reading ministers who held more than one living were to be deprived of all but one, with the remainder to be bestowed on good preachers. Farmers of impropriated church lands were to maintain a reading minister and pay him a sufficient stipend. Two benefices of small value that were close to each other could be united.²⁶⁹

In 1611, James I instructed the lord deputy, Arthur Chichester, to charge the bishops to ensure that 'no Papist priests enjoy any benefice or cure' in their dioceses. He also directed that they should

build up the ruinous parish churches and appoint fit pastors, or at least for the present such as can read the service of the Church of England to the common people in the language which they understand.²⁷⁰

The plantation of north Wexford was planned and implemented between 1612 and 1618 and, once again, the provision of resources to enable proficient clergymen to minister in

²⁶⁸ 'Council in England to Lord Deputy', n.d. Feb. 1587, *Calendar of Carew Manuscripts, 1575-88*, p.440.

²⁶⁹ 'Memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie', *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.241.

²⁷⁰ 'The king to Sir Arthur Chichester', 26 April 1611, *CSPI, 1611-4*, pp 31-2.

the region was included in the terms of the land grants. Undertakers receiving 1500 acres were obliged to assign thirty acres as glebe 'for maintenance of the Ministry there'; those who gained 1000 acres were expected to set aside twenty acres as glebe land; while those who were given 500 acres were to assign ten of those for the use of the local incumbent.²⁷¹

As we have seen, the Royal Visitations of 1615 recorded a significant amount of information about the financial and material state of the established church in each parish in the region. However, having highlighted the extent of the problems, it offered little in the way of solutions and is described by John McCafferty as a 'dead letter' in the absence of accompanying legislation.²⁷² It was not until after the Royal Commission of 1622 that further directives were issued. These 'orders and directions', announced by James I in 1623 as a consequence of the findings of the commission, again recognized that the problems facing the Church of Ireland would not be solved until the economic issues were addressed.

Lay impropriators were to be compelled, in the court of chancery if necessary, to allow 'competent means' for the support of stipendiary clergy and for the repair and rebuilding of churches. Measures were to be taken to regain church lands lost before and during the dissolution of the monasteries, and each minister was to be limited to two benefices 'with cure'. Echoing Ram's suggestion in 1612, impoverished livings that were less than four

²⁷¹ 'Material relating to plantation', n.d. (Hore papers, St Peter's College, Wexford, file 56).

²⁷² McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, pp 23-4.

miles apart could be united so that a ‘learned minister’ could reside there and be maintained.²⁷³

As the returns of the 1633-4 ecclesiastical commission show, the ‘orders and directions’ had little practical impact. Certainly, there were more clergymen incumbent in the dioceses of Cashel and Emly and Waterford and Lismore than had been the case in 1615, but pluralism was still a major factor. Robert Hamelton held five vicarages in Cashel and Emly and John Herbert had seven in Waterford and Lismore. The curate, Alexander Young, was reported to serve ten churches in Cashel and Emly.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, the increase in numbers was offset by non-residency of the clergy, which Raymond Gillespie estimates to have been 33% in the dioceses outside of Ulster in 1633, compared to just 20% in 1615.²⁷⁵

Thomas Ryves, commenting on the proposed work of the commission in 1634, remarked that many vicarages and rectories, which had not been impropriated at the time of the dissolution, had been ‘of late years taken into patents under colour of impropriations or usurped by lay lords and others without patent’.²⁷⁶ He also recommended that the lord deputy pay special attention to the archbishopric of Cashel, where Miler Magrath had granted ‘12 or fourteen townships or lordships of a great value’ for very low rents ‘upon consideration of protection’.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ ‘Orders and directions.’

²⁷⁴ RV, 1615, 1633.

²⁷⁵ Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth century Ireland: making Ireland modern* (Dublin, 2006), pp 114-15.

²⁷⁶ Thomas Ryves, ‘Certain considerations to be offered to the Lord Deputy concerning the Commission and Articles of Inquiry’, n.d. 1634, *CSPI, 1633-47*, pp 91-2.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.92.

If James's 'orders and directions' produced little improvement in the aftermath of the 1622 commission, they did form the basis of the approach that would be taken ten years later, with the arrival in Ireland of two men with the motivation and authority to truly attempt reform of the Church's finances. The establishment of the new ecclesiastical commission in 1633 coincided with the appointment of the new lord deputy, Thomas Wentworth, and his associate, John Bramhall, who was made bishop of Derry the following year. For the first time since the Reformation, the weight of civil and ecclesiastical support was to be united in the effort to bring the island to conformity.²⁷⁸

Wentworth wrote to Archbishop Laud shortly after his arrival in Ireland, with a description of the plight of the Protestant clergy in Ireland that shows how little had changed since the correspondence of his predecessor, Henry Sidney, sixty years earlier:

the Churches unbuilt; the Parsonage and Vicarage Houses utterly ruined; the People untaught through the Non-Residency of the Clergy, occasioned by the unlimited shameful Numbers of Spiritual Promotions with Cure of Souls, which they hold by Commendams, and the possessions of the church to a great proportion in lay hands.²⁷⁹

In the same letter, Wentworth expressed the opinion that any attempt to impose reform on the Irish people was pointless until the temporal position of the established church was improved.

To attempt the reducing of the kingdom to conformity before the Decays of the material Churches be repaired, an able Clergy provided, that so there might be both wherewith to receive, instruct and keep the People, were, as a Man going to Warfare without Munitions or Arms.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, pp 24-41.

²⁷⁹ 'Lord Deputy Thomas Wentworth to Archbishop Laud,' 31 Jan. 1634, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafford's letters and dispatches*, i, pp 188-9.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p.187.

He remarked that some of the church livings were so poor that a minister holding as many as six together still could not keep himself in clothes.²⁸¹ Bishop Bramhall was equally scathing about the quality of the clergy that he met on his arrival:

The inferior sort of ministers are below all degrees of contempt, in respect of their poverty and ignorance: the boundless heaping together of benefices by *commendams* and dispensations in the superiors is but too apparent; yea, even by plain usurpation, and indirect compositions made between the patron (as well ecclesiastic as lay) and the incumbents.²⁸²

The emphasis, then, was to be placed firmly on the recovery of church property and income, which would make the position of clergymen more attractive and secure, thus improving the quality of incumbents that could be attracted to livings in Ireland. When this was achieved throughout the country, the belief was that it would then be an easier task to convince or compel Catholics to convert to the state religion.

The Irish canons, passed by convocation in 1634, replicated many of the measures included in James's 'orders and directions'. Small parishes were to be united and residence enjoined; bishops were to ensure that appropriators paid sufficient maintenance for a curate to serve each parish; no minister could lease out his glebe lands for more than three years; and everyone was obliged to pay their tithes. No minister was to hold more than one benefice worth more than £40 unless he

has a master's degree, is a public and proficient preacher, spends a reasonable time in each benefice in the year, and has a curate capable of catechizing in the parish where he is not resident.²⁸³

²⁸¹ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, pp 39-40.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p.33.

²⁸³ Bray (ed.), 'Irish canons of 1634', pp 485-531.

Two important pieces of legislation were passed in the final sitting of the 1635-6 parliament. 'The Act to Enable Restitution of Improvements and Tithes and other Rights Ecclesiastical to the clergy' and an 'Act for the preservation of the Inheritance, Rights and Profits of Land belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical' granted further powers to Wentworth and Bramhall in their quest to repossess church property.²⁸⁴

Archibald Hamilton, a Scotsman, was appointed archbishop of Cashel in 1629 and was charged with the difficult task of recovering the lands alienated by Miler Magrath during the latter's lengthy tenure in the archdiocese. His difficulties in this regard were only solved by 'a special letter of instruction from Charles I'²⁸⁵ and the value of the united sees of Cashel and Emly increased from £260 in 1629 to £1,000 in 1640.²⁸⁶

Two new bishops, George Andrews of Ferns and Leighlin, appointed in 1635, and John Atherton, assigned to Waterford and Lismore in 1636, took an active role in implementing Wentworth's strategy in the south-east. Andrews, an Englishman, wrote to the lord deputy in 1635 requesting the restitution of episcopal lands held by Sir Henry Wallop, Sir Adam Colclough, Walter Stafford, William Esmond and Richard Wadding, 'the yearly rent reserved upon the said pretended leases or Fee Farmes being not the 4th parte of the true yearly value'.²⁸⁷ He estimated the total value of these lands at £640 per annum and, following correspondence from Colclough disputing the bishop's claims, it was decreed that the bishop could reclaim the fee farm of Kinneigh, valued at £100 per

²⁸⁴ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.49.

²⁸⁵ A.N. Grosjean, 'Archibald Hamilton', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.com) (20 Oct. 2009).

²⁸⁶ 'The Archbishop of Armagh to the Bishop of London', 11 Sept, 1629, *CSPI, 1625-32*, pp 482; 'A catalogue of the bishoprics of Ireland, with their respective values as they were upon improvements at the later end of my Lord of Strafford's government', n.d. 1655 in McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.149.

²⁸⁷ 'Petition to the Lord Deputy and Council of George Andrews, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin', n.d. 1635 in *Ana. Hib.* xx (1958), p.12.

year, leasing it back to Sir Adam for a sixty-year period at an annual rent of £12, increased from 22s.6d.²⁸⁸ In June 1640 a bill for an exchange of lands between the bishop and the wealthy and powerful Loftus family of Wexford passed all stages in the Irish parliament.²⁸⁹ Andrews's work appears to have had a fair measure of success, as the value of the united sees of Ferns and Leighlin increased from £170 to £600 between 1629 and 1640.²⁹⁰ Unfortunately, we can only speculate on whether this improvement in the bishop's finances was reflected in the conditions of the lower clergy.

John Atherton, also an Englishman, was consecrated bishop of Waterford and Lismore on 28 May 1636, recommended by Wentworth as a man who was capable of recovering the considerable diocesan properties in the possession of the earl of Cork. When Archbishop Laud, who suspected Atherton of simony in his dealings in England, expressed his reservations about the appointment, the lord deputy replied that there was 'no such terrier in England for the unkennelling of an old fox'.²⁹¹ Atherton devoted his life in Ireland to improving the financial position of the diocese, mainly at the earl's expense.²⁹² In Chapter Three we will examine the considerable, if short-term, success enjoyed by Boyle in establishing a Protestant community on his estates in west Waterford and east Cork, which makes it ironic that he was at the centre of much of the acrimony surrounding

²⁸⁸ 'Decree of the Lord Deputy and Council in settlement of petition of George Andrews, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin', 7 March 1636 in *Ana. Hib*, xx (1958), pp 12-3.

²⁸⁹ John McCafferty, 'George Andrews', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.com) (20 Oct. 2009).

²⁹⁰ 'Archbishop of Armagh to the Bishop of London', n.d. 1629, *CSPI, 1625-32*, p.482; McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.149.

²⁹¹ Aidan Clarke, 'John Atherton', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.com) (20 Oct. 2009).

²⁹² *Idem.*, 'A woeful sinner: John Atherton' in Ute Lotz-Heumann and Vincent Carey (eds.), *Taking sides? Colonial and confessional mentalités in early modern Ireland: essays in honour of Karl S. Bottigheimer*, (Dublin, 2003), p.138.

Wentworth and Bishop Atherton's efforts to recover church property from lay proprietors.²⁹³

Following a lengthy dispute, the bishopric recovered up to £1000 in annual income, as well as a restored cathedral in Lismore, fishing revenue from the great weirs nearby, five vicars choral endowed by Cork, and a grant of £500 toward the construction of a bishop's palace.²⁹⁴ Atherton employed many other income-yielding activities, included fining his flock for eating meat during Lent.²⁹⁵ The result was a tenfold increase in the value of the see, from £100 in 1629 to £1000 in 1640,²⁹⁶ although the bishop himself was not so fortunate, being hanged for the crime of buggery in December 1640.²⁹⁷

John McCafferty writes that nothing could be done in Ossory without the support of the earl of Ormond who, as we have seen earlier, also held considerable property in Lismore, Cashel and Leighlin.²⁹⁸ Bramhall wrote to Laud in December 1634, expressing the view that Ormond, 'who hath a large proportion, is willing to refer the price of his to the Master of the Rolls and Sir George Radcliffe'.²⁹⁹ It is unclear how much revenue was recovered in Ossory, from the earl or other sources, as we do not have a comparative figure for the bishopric's value in 1629, or even in 1615. The see was valued at £500 in

²⁹³ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.130.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p.131.

²⁹⁶ 'Archbishop of Armagh to the Bishop of London', n.d. 1629, *CSPI, 1625-32*, p.482; McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.149.

²⁹⁷ Clarke, *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (20 Oct. 2009).

²⁹⁸ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.152.

²⁹⁹ 'Bramhall to Laud', 20 Dec. 1634 in E.P. Shirley (ed.), *Papers relating to the Church of Ireland, 1631-39* (Dublin, 1874), p.42.

1640³⁰⁰ although, again, we cannot estimate how much these episcopal improvements filtered through to the living conditions of the parish clergy.

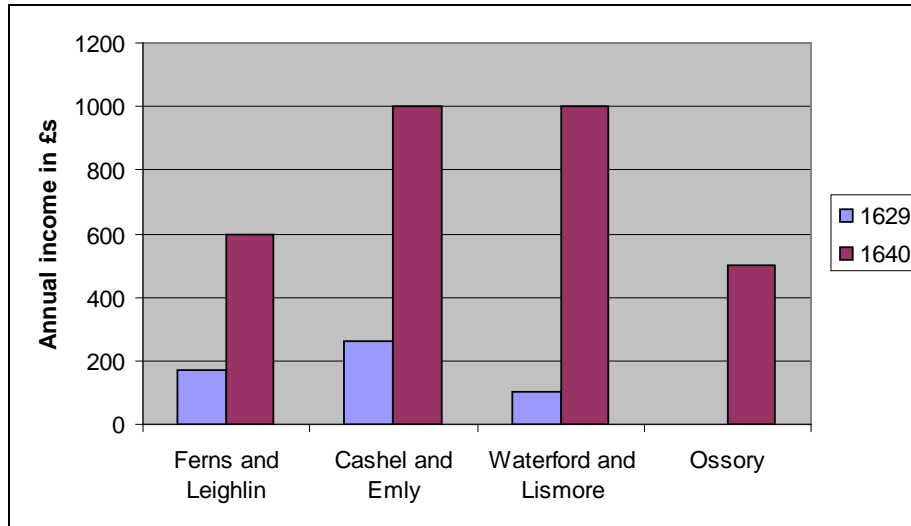


Figure 2: Comparison of episcopal income in the south-eastern dioceses: 1629 and 1640.³⁰¹

While Bramhall claimed to have increased the value of church livings by between 25% and 110%, with substantial growth in both rents and tithe payments, McCafferty suggests that he may have exaggerated the progress made, particularly in Leinster and Munster, where it is unlikely that full reports were ever compiled.³⁰² By 1639, the recovery hoped for in the archdioceses of Dublin and Cashel was not even close to being achieved.³⁰³

That the living conditions of curates serving improPRIATED churches had improved little is reflected in an order issued in 1639 by the Irish Court of High Commission, that the

³⁰⁰ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.149.

³⁰¹ 'Archbishop of Armagh to the Bishop of London', n.d. 1629, *CSPI, 1625-32*, p.482; McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.149; no figure available for Ossory for 1629.

³⁰² McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, pp 137-9.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.149.

salaries of these men should be raised from ‘three pounds or some other contemptible allowance, to the third part of the true value of the benefice’.³⁰⁴

Wentworth’s policy of internal reform of the Church of Ireland, in advance of efforts to convert the recusant population, led to *de facto* toleration of Catholicism during his years as governor. As Elizabeth Rickett remarks, the fact that Catholics still held considerable patronage in Church of Ireland property led to ‘frequent and peaceable interaction’ between both groups.³⁰⁵ It also gave the Catholic episcopate time and space to manage and improve their own financial position. The bishops set about organising their parishes and introducing specific structures for the payment of secular priests who administered the sacraments.³⁰⁶ Despite the widely differing needs and resources of the region, Corish believes that an ‘adequate parish system’ was in place by the mid-1630s.³⁰⁷ The considerable tensions that arose between regular and secular clergy as a result of these developments will be addressed in a later chapter.

As Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin points out, the parallels between what Wentworth and the Irish Catholic hierarchy were trying to achieve during this period are striking, as both confessional factions attempted to secure the economic position of their parish clergy, while streamlining their ecclesiastical administration and ultimately aiming to gain the ascendancy in the fundamental struggle between the churches for the loyalty of the

³⁰⁴ Ibid., p.58.

³⁰⁵ Rickett, ‘Church of Ireland episcopate’, p.308.

³⁰⁶ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, pp 51-2.

³⁰⁷ Corish, *The Catholic community*, p.28.

laity.³⁰⁸ Wentworth was recalled to England in September 1639 and the financial gains made by the Church of Ireland were swept away by the events of the following two years. While the bishops attempted to defend the property and income they had recovered from lay impropiators, a series of legal challenges in 1641 restored most of these lands to those who had held them before 1634.³⁰⁹

The lords justices wrote to Secretary Vane in June, 1641, on the eve of the rebellion, describing

.... inordinate assembled and innovation, holding of public conventions, exercising publicly foreign jurisdiction, burdening his Majesty's subjects with heavy weight of a double jurisdiction and double payment to clergy, labouring to erect a dependence on the see of Rome, laying hold as you may see not only on the spiritual but also on the Temporal power ...³¹⁰

With the progress of the rebellion and the establishment of the confederacy, the Catholic clergy in areas controlled by the Confederation, including the south-eastern counties, reclaimed the churches and cathedrals and were assigned the property and revenues hitherto held by their Protestant counterparts.

In Cashel, the precentor, Gavin Berkeley, reported in 1646 that he had lost goods and income worth £1,836.13s.9d., which had been taken by the 'Popeish clergie'³¹¹ and the archbishop's wife, Anna Hamilton, claimed that her husband had been dispossessed of his livings and robbed of his possessions, to the total value of £9,090 sterling.³¹²

³⁰⁸ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p.53.

³⁰⁹ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.217.

³¹⁰ 'The Lords Justices and Council to Secretary Vane', 30 June 1641, *CSPI, 1633-47*, p.307.

³¹¹ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 821, 200r-201v, 29 September 1646) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³¹² *Ibid.* (T.C.D. MS 821, 015r-016v, May 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

Alexander Young, vicar of Clogher, Moycarkey and Borris Union, and Robert Murdoe, vicar of Glankeene, also deposed that their livings, worth £100 and £40 respectively, had been taken from them.³¹³

This pattern was repeated throughout the region, with Edward Nelson, prebendary of Bellykene in Emly and vicar of Kilcash and Templeheny in Lismore, losing all his livings and his wife and children being taken prisoner.³¹⁴ Also in Lismore, Simon Lightfoot was deprived of his parishes of Cahir, Outragh and Murtlestown and James Hill was removed from his position as vicar of Kilgrant.³¹⁵ In Emly, Andrew Hayes, vicar of Tipperary Union, lost church income of £100 per annum.³¹⁶ In Ossory, John Brookbanck of Callan, John Watkinson of Castlecomer, John Moore of Rahore and Kilmacahell, John Kevan of Mayne, Edward Bishop of Rathbeaghe, Thomas Parsons of Gowran and Richard Deane of the Rowre and Kilmarow all deposed that they had been dispossessed of their livings.³¹⁷

Robert Dunster, curate of Hacketstown, Henry Crisp, vicar of Pollardstown, John Shaw, ‘minister and preacher’ at Old Leighlin, and John Howe, vicar of Tulmaguinna, were among the clergy of Leighlin who lost their parishes.³¹⁸ Martha Mosley reported in 1643 that she and her late husband, Samuel, vicar of Carlow, were

³¹³ Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 821, 107r-108v, 3 Aug. 1642; 151r-151v, 12 Aug. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³¹⁴ Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 821, 153r-154v, 16 Dec. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³¹⁵ Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 821, 067r-067v, 10 Aug. 1642; 162r-162v, 15 Aug. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³¹⁶ Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 821, 033r-033v, 28 July, 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³¹⁷ Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 812, 186r-235v, Feb–July 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³¹⁸ Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 812, 011r-087v, Jan. 1642–March 1645) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

forceibly expelled & deprived of and from the possession Rentes and profits of his benefices or Church meanes leases goodes chattels vizt sheepe horses mares Cattell swine howshold goodes Corne hay and other thinges of the value and to their losse of One thowsand seventy six Powndes ster.³¹⁹

The family was forced to seek shelter in Carlow Castle, where Samuel and his mother-in-law both died within a year.³²⁰ He was reported as absent from his livings and resident in Munster in the 1615 visitations, so had evidently returned to Carlow at some time in the intervening years.³²¹

Describing the situation in Wexford in 1642, Nicholas Rochford remarked that the

Popish Clergie thereabouts are all of them invested in the Church liveings of the said County and possesse the houses formerly enjoyed by the protestant Clergie.³²²

Among the Church of Ireland clergy in Ferns whose property and income were claimed by the rebels were the chancellor, Walter Stafford, the treasurer, Adam Waller, the archdeacon, Martin Archdale, Valentine Goodhand, prebendary of Coolstufte and Donatus Conner, prebendary of Edermine. Edward Taylor, rector of St Margaret's and Ardcolm, deposed in February 1642 that he was in Dublin when the rebellion broke out and dared not return to his livings since, while Patrick Lacy reported that Mr Smith, a minister at Balliroe, fled to the capital. John Alcock, parson of Tolleragh, escaped through Wexford town to safety in England.³²³

³¹⁹ Ibid (T.C.D. MS 812, 090r-091v, 29 Jan. 1643) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ RV 1615.

³²² 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 818, 138r-139v, 27 July 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³²³ Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 818 & 819) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011); Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae* i.

Two-thirds of this reclaimed clerical income was to be donated to the upkeep of the Confederate army and this certainly appears to have happened in Emly, where two priests, Dermot Dwyer and Thomas Beirne, gave evidence in 1647 that the bishop and dignitaries of the diocese only received one third of the earnings from their temporalities.³²⁴ In August 1642, the vicar-general of Ferns, William Devereux, ordered that the tithes of the see of Ferns be collected, and £3,000 was sent to the Confederate treasury from Wexford.³²⁵ However, while the priests may have nominally held the church properties, in reality they were still administered by the lay farmers and other landholders whose forebears had controlled them since the suppression of the monasteries.³²⁶

As we have seen, until now the priests had relied almost entirely on the support of lay Catholics for their safety and upkeep. This relationship created a dependence that was not welcomed by Rome and that was now to be the cause of one of the major rifts within the ranks of the Catholic confederacy. While the lay gentry and townspeople had shown their willingness to settle for a measure of tacit tolerance for the practice of their faith within a Protestant state, the papal nuncio, Giovanni Rinuccini, and many of the clergy wanted a settlement that would guarantee full and open toleration and the repossession of church property. Ironically, most of this property was in the hands of the same Catholic laity who had sheltered and maintained the priests to the detriment of their Protestant

³²⁴ Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'In imitation of that holy patron of prelates the blessed St Charles': episcopal activity in Ireland and the formation of a confessional identity, 1618-1653' in Ford & McCafferty (eds), *Origins of sectarianism*, p.90; 'Terence O'Brien, Processus Datariae', 25 Jan. 1647 in Giblin (ed.), 'The Processus Datariae' pp 575-6.

³²⁵ Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.316.

³²⁶ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p.71.

counterparts for the previous sixty or seventy years. A further source of concern for the landholders was the possibility that the regular orders would seek the return of their impropriated monastic property, despite what Thomas Flynn describes as a hitherto ‘strong measure of pragmatic agreement’ between the orders and those Catholics who took their land after the suppression.³²⁷ Ó hAnnracháin regards these internal tensions, and the failure of the papacy to take decisive leadership on the matter, as having a ‘major destabilising effect on the unity of the confederacy’.³²⁸

Simultaneously, the earl of Ormond, negotiating on behalf of the king, was determined that ecclesiastical property had to be returned to the established church as part of any settlement between the confederation and the crown.³²⁹ The result was that the Catholic gentry and landowners, for so long the mainstay of Catholic resistance and the principal reason why the Catholic clergy were able to thrive and minister to the Irish people, found their position under serious threat from both sides of the confessional divide.

Of course, the arrival in Ireland of Cromwell and his army, and the defeat of the confederate forces, effectively put an end to all such arguments. Catholic clergy and landholders alike were deprived of their church property, as the struggle for the survival of Catholicism moved into a new phase and the full force of the English administration was placed at the disposal of the established church.

³²⁷ Flynn, *Dominicans*, p.268; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p.445; Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p.32.

³²⁸ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p.77.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p73.

Chapter Three

The clergy in the community

Every port town and upland town, and also gentleman's houses for the most part are furnished with superstitious seducing priests which swarm up and down the whole country, seducing the people and the best sorts, to draw them from God and their allegiance to the Prince.¹

The previous chapter illustrated the connection between the growth of Catholic recusancy among the leading families of the south-east and the diversion of income from impropriated church property towards the maintenance of Catholic priests. While material resources, such as money and property, were vitally important to the upkeep of the clergymen of both churches, priests and ministers were also dependent on other forms of assistance to enable them to perform their duties as spiritual guides to the congregations that they were appointed to serve. In the centuries before fast transport and easy communication over large distances eased the risk of isolation, clergymen must have relied heavily on the relationships that they constructed with their parishioners, particularly those in positions of authority and influence, in order to establish themselves as integral leadership figures within their communities.

Without the assistance of those men and women who were in a position to offer support, and who could control the behaviour of their social inferiors and thus encourage a wholehearted acceptance of a particular faith, clergymen must have found it very difficult to minister successfully to their prospective congregations. The illegal status of Catholic priests in Ireland meant that they could only function as pastors with the cooperation of

¹ 'Sir John Dowdall to Lord Burghley', 9 March 1596, *CSPI, 1592-6*, pp 487-8.

the community and, indeed, they could not even live in their parishes without the shelter and sustenance offered by benefactors.

In theory, Protestant ministers should have been in possession of sufficient property, income and influence to enable them to hold an independent position of authority within their communities. But, as we have seen, this was rarely the case in south-east Ireland in the period following the Reformation, as the poverty of church livings was exacerbated by the failure of lay impropiators to provide ample income for conforming churchmen. Therefore, like their Catholic counterparts, Church of Ireland clergymen could not hope to catechise or persuade their parishioners to conform without support from influential members of the local community.

As their commitment to Catholicism grew, so did the willingness of the people of south-east Ireland to provide homes for the clergymen who would serve their confessional needs. However, it is important to remember that the recusancy of the majority of these people was not a foregone conclusion immediately after the Reformation. G.V. Jourdan commented that

..... at the start of Elizabeth's reign, it was not unusual for the lords and gentry to assist at Mass and then proceed to the parish church for the reformed service.²

This chapter will examine the extent to which the clergy on either side of the confessional divide were successful in developing and exploiting relationships within their communities. The importance of kinship ties will be explored, as well as the singularly

² Jourdan, 'Transitional stage of reform', p.310.

influential role of women within the domestic sphere. The role of the laity in the administration of church affairs will also be analysed, in an attempt to illustrate how Catholic priests and Protestant ministers developed very different relationships with their parishioners. Finally, it should be possible to evaluate how the nature of these community bonds affected the ability of the clergy to perform their pastoral duties in conditions that were constantly challenging.

The decision by a number of the inhabitants of Wexford to shelter priests and to help convey them to the continent in the aftermath of the Baltinglass rebellion of 1580 provides an early example of a trend that was to become widespread throughout the region in the following sixty years. Viscount Baltinglass's close companion during his revolt was the Wexford Jesuit priest, Robert Rochford. With a number of others, they unsuccessfully attempted to escape from Ireland through Wexford port in 1581, aided by Matthew Lambert, a baker, and a group of five sailors, including Robert Meyler, Edward Cheevers and Patrick Kavanagh, who were all hanged, drawn and quartered, having publicly proclaimed their Catholicism at a time when it was still unusual for confessional allegiances to be clearly defined, especially among the laity.³

In the same year, Patrick Hay, a merchant and shipowner, was imprisoned, charged with sheltering priests and bishops and conveying them abroad, while Richard French was also placed in captivity, accused of exercising the Catholic ministry.⁴ French admitted to

³ P.J. Corish, 'Two centuries', p.224.

⁴ Ibid.

being a priest but denied being a traitor and he was released to die.⁵ This claim of simultaneous loyalty to the English crown and the Roman Catholic faith was to become a recurring theme in the Irish religious and political struggles of the following century, regarded as impossible by many agents of the government but accepted and, indeed, practised, by the majority of the population of south-east Ireland.

While some Catholic clergy were sporadically involved in political and military upheavals such as the Baltinglass revolt, which necessitated emergency intervention like that provided by the Wexford artisans and merchants, in general community relationships between priests and laity were based on local support networks of families, neighbours and business associates living mundane lives. The pivotal role played by family relationships in the civil and commercial life of south-eastern Ireland in the early modern era has already been noted, as has the growth in the practice on the part of the leading families of the region of sending their sons to continental Europe to be educated at the Catholic universities of Spain, France and Flanders. Many of these young men returned to Ireland as priests in the period from 1580 and the limited information that we have about their pastoral lives indicates that, without the support of their families and other recusant neighbours, they would not have been able to function on the Irish mission.⁶

The kinship networks that had developed through generations of intermarriage over the preceding centuries in and between the urban centres of Waterford, Kilkenny, Wexford, New Ross, Clonmel and their rural hinterlands now provided a series of connections that

⁵ P.J. Corish, 'Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Wexford, 1500-1700' in Berney (ed.), *Twin churches*, p.41.

⁶ Appendix 1.

served to shield the priests from persecution and to provide an environment in which they could carry out their pastoral work in relative safety.

The strength of one such network is illustrated by the marriage of Robert Walsh and Anastasia Strong, members of two prominent municipal families in Waterford. Their son, born in circumstances that were alluded to in the previous chapter, was Thomas Walsh, who was educated at Lisbon and Salamanca, had returned to Waterford by 1610 and was appointed archbishop of Cashel in 1626.⁷ Anastasia Strong's brother was Thomas, bishop of Ossory from 1582 to 1602.⁸ James White, the Dominican who served as vicar-general of Waterford and Lismore from 1600 to 1629, was Anastasia's nephew and he was reportedly living in her house in the city in 1610.⁹ Intriguingly, the same informant reported that her son, Thomas, was not living with his mother, but was staying in the house of Thomas Harrold, 'relieved by his friends and by a stipend he receives for ministering sacraments and preaching' in the cathedral.¹⁰ During this period, Anastasia's husband, Robert, served as mayor of Waterford on three occasions, in 1601, 1602 and 1613. Another Thomas Strong, mayor in 1607, was reported to be sheltering his namesake, Peter, a Dominican friar and possibly a son or nephew. The priest, David John, lived in the house of an earlier mayor, Paul Strong, whom William Carrigan believed was possibly a brother of Anastasia and Thomas and who owned considerable property in Kilkenny, as did another brother, Edward.¹¹ Finally, Mary Walsh, sister of Robert, was married to Thomas Wadding, who had five sons who joined the Jesuit order

⁷ 'Sundrie priests and friars'; Power, *Compendious history*, p.21.

⁸ Moran, 'Bishops of Ossory', pp 258-65.

⁹ 'Sundrie priests and friars'.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, i, p.73; 'Sundrie priests and friars'.

and one who became an Augustinian, although it appears that only John returned to Waterford, where he was living with the mayor, Paul Sherlock, in 1606.¹²

Anastasia Strong's reputation as a protector of priests is reflected in Fr Luke Wadding's evidence to the 'Processus Datariae' that considered the appointment of Thomas Walsh to Cashel in 1626. He described how she 'kept her house continuously open for clerics, poor students, and pilgrims, to whom she gave lodging in her great charity'.¹³ At the same hearing, Patrick Sinnott averred that Anastasia gave shelter to priests 'at the risk of losing all she possesses'.¹⁴ Without the accommodation and shelter offered by Anastasia and her relations, it is unlikely that these clerics would have been in a position to minister in and around Waterford.

A study of the living arrangements of priests throughout the region reveals that large numbers of them were sheltered by their own families. In Ferns, the renowned Cistercian, William Furlong, mentioned in Chapter One, was reported by the Church of Ireland bishop, Thomas Ram, in 1612 to be living either with his brother, John, or his parents, Patrick Furlong and Catherine Stafford.¹⁵ Patrick was a wealthy and influential alderman in Wexford town and he held the mayoral office in 1593.¹⁶

¹² Power, *Compendious history*, p.18; Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p.206.

¹³ 'Thomas Walsh, Processus Datariae', 11 March 1626 in Giblin (ed.), 'The Processus Datariae', pp 542-3.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.544.

¹⁵ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

¹⁶ 'Mayors of Wexford', (www.wexfordcorp.ie/bc/AroundTown/History/PastMayors) (21 May 2010).

Ram also reported that William Wadding of Wexford was living in the house of his father, Walter, in 1612.¹⁷ It is likely that this was actually John Wadding, a secular priest alleged to be in Wexford town as early as 1598, who was appointed chancellor of the diocese by Bishop John Roche in 1632. Roche described him as

a priest, fifty years of age; a great preacher also, a wise man and a prudent confessor, who has laboured in the sacred ministry for twenty-five years.¹⁸

If Edmund Hogan was correct in asserting that Wadding was in Wexford in 1598, it appears that Bishop Roche must have underestimated both the priest's age and the duration of his ministry in the diocese.¹⁹

In New Ross, Ram reported that Father Dormer lodged with his brother, Marcus, in the town, 'for the most part', while William Dowle was 'keeping ordinarily' at his brother, Patrick's, home. Richard Fitzharris, created precentor of the diocese by Bishop Roche in 1632, was mentioned in the previous chapter as being in the process of building a masshouse on the estate of his brother, James, with whom he lived when he was in the town.²⁰ James Fitzharris was sovereign of New Ross in 1603 and MP for the town in 1613.²¹

¹⁷ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

¹⁸ 'Roche to Propaganda', 25 Feb. 1632, Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.315.

¹⁹ Hogan (ed.), *The description*, p.294; 'Priests in Wexford and their maintainers', n.d., (T.C.D., MS 580).

²⁰ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'; 'Roche to Propaganda', 25 Feb. 1632, Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.315.

²¹ P.D. Vigors (ed.), 'List of the "sovereigns" of the town of New Ross County Wexford from 1584-1841; taken from the books of the old corporation' (www.jstor.org/pss/25506566) (21 May 2010); Corish, 'Two centuries', p.226.

The other MP returned for New Ross in 1613 was Matthew Shea, who sheltered Matthew Roche, later vicar-general of Leighlin, whenever the latter was not staying at the home of his brother, Luke.²² The Roche family was held in high esteem throughout Co Wexford. Matthew's father was an expert in municipal law; his brother was sheriff of Wexford and his other brother, John, returned to Ireland in 1629 as bishop of Ferns.²³ They were renowned as one of the strongest recusant families in New Ross and Joan, mother of Matthew and John, was described by William Barry, a priest of Kildare, as 'accustomed to receive and give hospitality to Catholic priests in her house'.²⁴ Joan had died by the time John returned to Ferns to assume his episcopal duties and he appears to have lodged with the Turner family in Wexford during his time in the south-east, using the pseudonym J.R. Turner in correspondence with Rome.²⁵ The Turners were supporters of the Catholic clergy since the suppression, when Paul Turner was granted possession of the Franciscan property in the town. He permitted the friars to return to their monastery during the reign of Mary and, by 1562, he had overturned Elizabeth's subsequent confiscation. By means of a shrewd legal device, the friars then allowed the property to be vested in Paul's son, Nicholas, and then his son, Edward. So, while technically the Turners were the tenants of the property, the friars continued to live there and serve the town.²⁶

²² Corish, 'Two centuries', p.226; 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

²³ Cregan, 'Counter-Reformation episcopate', p.99.

²⁴ 'John Roche, Processus Datariae', 11 May 1623 in Giblin (ed.), 'The Processus Datariae', p.524.

²⁵ *Wadding Papers*, p.332.

²⁶ Furlong, 'Wexford port', p.155.

P.J. Corish describes the man who sheltered John Roche as a grandson of Paul, 'who had benefited substantially from the suppression'.²⁷ This may have been John Turner, mayor of the town in 1609 and MP in 1613.²⁸ The diocesan priest, Thomas Turner, was a member of the same family, and was elevated to the position of treasurer in 1632. Roche described him as being 'of good family, and of rare learning and piety'.²⁹ Later, another John Turner was parish priest of Mayglass and witnessed the Cromwellian assault on Wexford in 1649.³⁰ John Roche's successor as bishop of Ferns was Nicholas French, son of Christina Rossiter of Rathmacknee. In 1610, William and Susanna Rossiter were listed among the maintainers of priests in the county and Nicholas Furlong describes the family as 'powerhouses' of seventeenth century Wexford Catholic culture.³¹

A 'note of the names of the Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits' in Kilkenny in 1610 named Dr White, a 'seditious priest,' who 'when he resorteth to the city, keepeth with his brother-in-law, Henry Shee, Esq., now Mayor of the city'.³² The lord deputy, Arthur Chichester, informed Salisbury in 1611 that Henry Shee was married to a sister of Dr White, the Jesuit priest.³³

²⁷ Corish, 'Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Wexford', p.45.

²⁸ 'Mayors of Wexford' (www.wexfordcorp.ie/bc/AroundTown/History/PastMayors.) (21 May 2010); Corish, 'Two centuries', p.226.

²⁹ Corish, 'Two centuries', p.227; 'Roche to Propaganda', 25 Feb. 1632, Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.315.

³⁰ Grannell, *Franciscans in Wexford*, p.27.

³¹ 'Priests in Wexford and their maintainers'; Furlong, 'Wexford port', p.156.

³² 'Names of the Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny.'

³³ 'Chichester to Salisbury', 19 Feb. 1611, *CSPI, 1611-4*, p.12-3.

Another Jesuit, Thomas Brehon, lived in his father, John's, house and Edmond Seix regularly said Mass at the house of his brother, Robert Savage.³⁴ The priest Robert Cantwell was living in Co Kilkenny with Mary Fitzgerald, widow of Thomas Cantwell of Cantwellscourt. Thomas had been sheriff of the county in 1585 and we may assume that he and Mary were related to the priest whom she sheltered.³⁵ The Augustinian, Patrick Comerford, bishop of Waterford and Lismore from 1629 to 1652, told Luke Wadding shortly after he arrived in Waterford to take up his episcopal duties that

... unless I could get a bed and my table in my poor brother Philip's house, I know not where to blow in my nose.³⁶

As early as 1592, the Comerford family were known to be sheltering priests. A 'memorial' of that year listed Belle Butler, wife of 'T. Comerford, merchaunt', as one of the retainers of the vicar-apostolic, John White,³⁷ and Thomas Walsh, archbishop of Cashel, described the Comerford family as

.... among the leading citizens of Waterford and to their house during time of persecution the clergy were wont to fly for refuge and asylum.³⁸

Luke Archer, vicar-apostolic of Leighlin for a number of years from 1614 and provincial and vicar-general of the Cistercians in Ireland from 1618, was reported to be living mostly with his brother-in-law, Richard Archer, in Kilkenny city, with Edmund Tirrelogh

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid; Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory* iii, p.276.

³⁶ 'Comerford to Wadding', 24 Feb. 1630, *Wadding Papers*, p.345.

³⁷ 'A memorial of sundry things commanded by her Majesty to be well considered by the Lord Deputy', 28 July 1592 in Hogan (ed.), *The description*, p.289.

³⁸ Patrick Comerford, 'Processus Datariae', 15 Jan. 1629 in Giblin (ed.), 'The Processus Datariae', p.553.

in Rathvilly, Co Carlow, or with Mr Denham, ‘gentleman’, near Thomastown, Co Kilkenny, between 1610 and 1612.³⁹

That it was not always possible for priests to live where they ministered is illustrated by Ram’s report that Murtagh Dun, a priest of the diocese of Leighlin, resided mainly with his brother, James, in Kildare in 1612.⁴⁰ Conversely, another member of the Dun family, William, who lived in Binnekerry, near Carlow, was alleged to be sheltering the vicar-general of Kildare, Murtoogh O’Dowling, in the same year.⁴¹ An earlier report from the diocese of Ossory to the lord deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, in 1608, claimed that O’Dowling ‘keeps residence at Callan, and goes up and down the town clad in scarlet’.⁴² It was reported that Melthier Ragged, believed to be the abbot of Duiske, ‘keepeth usually with his father, Richard Ragged, of the said city, Alderman’,⁴³ indicating that the friar was safer, or possibly more comfortable, in Kilkenny city than at Duiske in Graiguenamanagh.

Those who did not stay with their own kinsmen were often sheltered by neighbours and the living arrangements of priests must, of necessity, have been flexible. Many priests were reported to have two or more ‘relievers and maintainers’, often spending time with one family in a town or city while also having a safe haven in some remote rural household, possibly close to the parish for which they were responsible. For example,

³⁹ Sundrie priests and friars; ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’; Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, p.60; Colmcille Ó Conbhuidhe, ed. Finbarr Donovan, *The Cistercian abbeys of Tipperary*, (Dublin, 1999), p.233.

⁴⁰ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² ‘Intelligence regarding seminaries and priests’, n.d. 1608, *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 507-8.

⁴³ ‘Names of the Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny.’

while David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, spent his time in Kilkenny city living with his brother, Edward, who was mayor in 1612, he was also reported to be sheltered by Lord Mountgarrett at Balline in the county.⁴⁴

Richard Fitzharris of New Ross stayed with members of the Dormer family in Stoakestowne or Talleragh in 1612 when he was not with his brother in town.⁴⁵ Both Marcus and Nicholas Dormer served as sovereigns of New Ross, the former in 1592 and the latter in 1608.⁴⁶ In 1610 Thomas Morough, a native of Kilkenny and a Jesuit, stayed with Henry Shee when in the city, but also, ‘when he was in the country, keepeth with Mr Purcell of Ballyfoyle, gentleman’.⁴⁷ Earlier, in 1592, William Morren, a priest, was sheltered by ‘J Leay Fitznicholas, P. White, R. Comerford, and J. Browne fitzHenry of Waterford, merchaunts’.⁴⁸ The Franciscan, Thomas Woodlock, divided his time between the homes of Nicholas Fitzthomas of the Gartens, near Carrick-on-Suir, and Mary Power in Waterford and Slieverue.⁴⁹

Teig O’Sullivan, mentioned in the previous chapter as being retained by James Sherlock and William Lyncolle in Waterford in 1592, was also described as ‘an earnest Precher of Popery, still preaching from house to house in Waterford, Clonmel and Fethard, and in the country about these townes’.⁵⁰ William O’Cherohy, ‘a seminarie, lately come from

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ ‘Ram to the Lord Deputy and Council’.

⁴⁶ Vigers (ed.), ‘Sovereigns of New Ross’ (www.jstor.org/pss/25506566) (21 May 2010).

⁴⁷ ‘Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny.’

⁴⁸ Hogan (ed.), *The description*, p.289.

⁴⁹ ‘Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny’; Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, i, p.78, iv, p.209.

⁵⁰ Hogan (ed.), *The description*, pp 288-9.

Rome', led a similarly nomadic existence throughout the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore and Cashel.⁵¹

The peripatetic lifestyles of the Catholic clergy are nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the accounts of the whereabouts of the archbishop of Cashel and his relatives during this period. David Kearney, prelate from 1603 to 1624, was alleged to be living at Uppercourt, Co Kilkenny, with Lucas Shee in 1610, while Sir George Carew, former president of Munster, reported in 1611 that 'the titular archbishop of Cashel makes his residence at Carrigge'.⁵² Carrick-on-Suir was where Thomas Butler, tenth earl of Ormond, had his principal residence and it is interesting that Kearney, ostensibly a fugitive and local leader of a clandestine church, should choose to live in such close proximity to the region's most powerful magnate, who was, at least nominally, a Protestant. The archbishop's brother, Brian, also known as Barnaby, was a Jesuit priest, credited with the deathbed conversion of Sir Richard Shee, in whose Kilkenny home he was reported to be living in 1610.⁵³ However, the 1608 report to Lord Deputy Chichester claimed that both Kearney brothers were living in Cashel, as was their nephew, Walter Wale, also a Jesuit.⁵⁴ Wale is described by Bernadette Cunningham as a 'renowned preacher' in Carrick-on-Suir.⁵⁵

David Kearney described his own life in correspondence to Rome in 1609:

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² *Calendar of Carew Manuscripts, 1603-24*, p.199.

⁵³ 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'; Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.267.

⁵⁴ 'Intelligence regarding seminaries and priests', n.d. 1608, *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 507-8.

⁵⁵ Bernadette Cunningham, "'Zeal for God and for souls": Counter-Reformation preaching in early seventeenth century Ireland' in A.J. Fletcher and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Irish Preaching, 700-1700* (Dublin, 2001), p.116.

We go around from one city to another, dressed in secular clothes, only using the longer dress at the altar; and following our Redeemer's counsel, we fly from one town to another, generally a very distant one. We do not stop for any time in one place, but pass from one house to another, even in the cities and towns. The journey, too, is made at morning's dawn, or when night has set in – sometimes even at the third or fourth watch of the night.....nay, we prefer even the winter to the summer time.⁵⁶

A recurring theme throughout all these early seventeenth century lists of Catholic clergy in the south-east is the prominent civic and commercial positions held by those citizens who were believed to be maintaining them. As David Edwards notes, many of those harbouring priests in Kilkenny were 'justices of the peace, coroners and constables of baronies'.⁵⁷ The leading position held by the Shees in the administration of local authority in Kilkenny was illustrated in the previous chapter and it is perhaps not surprising to note their role in the protection of the Kearneys, one of the most important ecclesiastical families in the region.

Monsignor Bentivoglio, the nuncio in Brussels who reported to the Vatican on affairs in Ireland, wrote in 1613 that 'the nobility and gentry [are] nearly all Catholic; hence the possibility of a large number of priests'.⁵⁸ Raymond Gillespie argues that landlords and other powerful figures held a strong influence over the religious beliefs and practices of their dependant tenants⁵⁹ and this is certainly borne out by the contentions of Thomas Ram, who claimed in 1612 that the 'poorer sort' were not as eager to embrace Catholicism as the 'Gentlemen and those of the richer sort', whom he had

⁵⁶ 'Relatio by David Kearney', Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp 235-6.

⁵⁷ Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.268.

⁵⁸ 'Report from the Brussels Internuncio, Mgr. Bentivoglio, 6 April 1613, on the state of Catholicity in the countries subject to his supervision' in *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), p.300.

⁵⁹ Gillespie, *Devoted People*, pp 29-30.

..... alwaies found very obstinate, which have proceeded from the priests resorting unto ther houses and company, and continuall hammering of them upon their superstitious anvell.⁶⁰

He also claimed that the poorer classes had confided their dislike of Catholicism to him, but were afraid to change their allegiance because

..... no popish Marchant would employ them being sailors, no popish landlord would let them any lands being husbandmen, nor sett them houses in tenantry being Artificers. And therefore they must either starve or doe as they doe.⁶¹

After 1580, many of the priests who lived and worked in south-east Ireland were members of the same families who owned large estates, held impropriated church property and administered local government in the towns, cities and ports. Their superiors, the bishops and vicars-apostolic, almost without exception, belonged to the region's prominent municipal families.⁶² When Kilkenny was granted its city charter in 1609, the first aldermen bore the names of Rothe, Shee, Archer, Ragett, Lee, Cowley, Langton and Lawless, all surnames associated with the priests of Ossory and those who sheltered and maintained them during this period.⁶³

Similarly, the 1629 'Inquisition on the Property of the Archbishops of Cashel' appointed jurors from among the prominent residents of Cashel town and the surrounding rural areas of Tipperary. Of the thirteen men appointed, all but three had the same surnames as Catholic priests residing in Cashel or Lismore between 1604 and 1650. Philip Purcell, John Butler, Walter Hackett, Robert and James Boyton, Thomas Stapleton, Redmond Comyn and Edmond Sall were evidently regarded as suitable citizens to adjudicate on an

⁶⁰ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Cregan, 'Counter-Reformation episcopate', p.99.

⁶³ Appendix 1.

inquiry regarding the financial affairs of the Church of Ireland prelates, despite the probability that they were all practising Catholics with relatives serving the Catholic ministry.⁶⁴

Even the Church of Ireland historian and canon of St Patrick's cathedral, G.V. Jourdan, described the Catholic clergy of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century as

.... friars and other papal emissaries, many of them belonging to the best families in Ireland ... welcomed in the houses of the greater gentry who were ready to defend their guests' interests.⁶⁵

Nicholas Langton, sovereign of Kilkenny in 1606, mayor in 1613 and MP for the borough in the same year, compiled a family register that was continued by his son, Michael, until the late 1640s. These recorded details of the baptisms and marriages of the family's children serve as a good example of the relationship between a prominent municipal family and the priests who officiated at their rituals and rites of passage.⁶⁶ When their second son, Joseph, was born in 1594, the Langtons made a promise to endeavour that he would become a priest. He duly joined the Dominican order in Valladolid, Spain, and gained renown as one of the finest preachers of his time, regularly counting the king and queen of Spain among his congregation. He returned to Ireland with Ross McGeoghegan in 1619 and baptised his half-sister, Frances, in Kilkenny in 1622. He was prior of the city's friary in 1642 and was transported to Spain in 1655,

⁶⁴ Thomas Laffan, 'Abstracts from the Ancient Records of the Corporation of Cashel' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xxxiv (1904), p.39; Appendix 1.

⁶⁵ Jourdan, 'Towards a doctrinal reformation' p.500.

⁶⁶ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, iii, pp 82-4; 'Mayors and Sovereigns of Kilkenny' (www.kilkennycity.ie/eng/Your_Council/The_Sovereigns_and_Mayors_of_Kilkenny_1282-2003) (24 June 2010).

where he died four years later.⁶⁷ Joseph's brother, Peter, studied at Salamanca and joined the Jesuits in Spain but never returned to Ireland.⁶⁸

Another Langton son, Michael, was born in 1606 and was baptized by Pierce Archer, brother-in-law of Nicholas, who was reported to be staying at the house of Elinor Shortall of Ballycloran four years later.⁶⁹ The vicar-general, Laurence Renaghan, baptised Beale Langton in 1610, while another sister, Ellen, was christened by Bryan Mac Turlough Fitzpatrick at Ballacolla in 1617. Fitzpatrick was appointed vicar-general of the diocese after the death of Bishop David Rothe in 1650.⁷⁰ John Brennan, who was reported to be living in the home of Edward Butler in 1610, baptised Megg Langton in Aghaboe in 1619.⁷¹ Michael Langton, who continued to compile the register, was married by his brother, Joseph, in 1629 and his son, Nicholas, was baptised by Fr James Shee in 1630.⁷²

It was not unusual for the private behaviour of these eminent families to be reflected in the corporate activities of the towns and cities that they controlled. As we have seen, income from impropriated church property granted to corporations and urban councils was often diverted to the upkeep of Catholic clergy, who served the spiritual needs of the increasingly recusant populations. Other forms of support for the clandestine priest were regularly provided by these close-knit networks of families, neighbours and municipal office-holders in the urban centres of the region.

⁶⁷ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory* iii, p.184; Flynn, *Dominicans*, pp 326-9.

⁶⁸ 'Salamanca oaths', *Archiv. Hib*, iii (1914), p.91; Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, iii, pp 261-2.

⁶⁹ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, iii, pp 82-4; 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

⁷⁰ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, ii, p.71; iii, pp 82-4.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, iii, p.71; 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

⁷² Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory* iii, p.72.

When Chief Justice Saxey wrote to Secretary Cecil in 1604, he remarked that

..... the Jesuits, priests and seminaries swarm as locusts throughout the whole kingdom, and are harboured and maintained by the noblemen and chief gentry of the country, but especially by the cities and walled towns within that realm, massing and frequenting all the superstitions of the people in their obstinate errors and contempt of the religion of God and His Majesty's laws ecclesiastical.⁷³

In 1606, the people of Clonmel refused to undertake not to shelter priests. As a result,

the chief of them were bound to appear at Cork before the Lord President and Council there to be censured with good round fines and imprisonment.⁷⁴

The expectation that corporate office-holders would accompany visiting dignitaries to the Protestant church services was included in the 'Memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie and establishing of a learned ministrie in Ireland' in 1604. This document recommended that the mayor and 'some of his brethren' in each city and corporate town be compelled to attend the weekly service.⁷⁵ During a visit by Munster president, Sir Henry Brouncker, to Tipperary, the burgesses of Clonmel and Cashel refused to accompany him to church. As a result, John White Fitzgeoffrey, a cousin of Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh, was deprived of the sovereignty of Clonmel. John Bray, Edmund Wall and nine others from Clonmel and Cashel were imprisoned while their property was confiscated and business was suspended in both towns.⁷⁶

⁷³ 'Chief Justice Saxey to Cecil', n.d. 1604, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.218.

⁷⁴ 'Observations made by Sir John Davys, Attorney of Ireland, after a journey made by him in Munster', 4 May 1606, *CSPI, 1603-6*, pp 475-6.

⁷⁵ 'Memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie,' *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.241.

⁷⁶ Burke, *Clonmel*, p.49.

In 1635, William Brereton witnessed a similar occurrence in Wexford, albeit with very different consequences. He reported that the mayor, Mark Cheevers,

..... attended the Judges to the Church doore, and so did the Sherriffe of the Shire, both which left them there, and went to Mass, which is tolerated here.⁷⁷

Sir John Davies reported that the sovereign of New Ross, James Duff, with up to two hundred inhabitants of the town, entered the church on Christmas Day 1605,

..... with an extraordinary noise and tumult, and making their popish offering, then disturbed the poor minister from making a sermon, which he had prepared for his small auditory.⁷⁸

The next sovereign, James Hyde, repeated the performance at Easter, 1606.⁷⁹

Lord Deputy Mountjoy informed the Lords in July 1603, that the town of Kilkenny ‘maintain openly there a friar of great note among the Papists’.⁸⁰ This was possibly the vicar-general, William Brenan, whose successor, Laurence Renaghan, was reported to be receiving an ‘annual stipend’ from the city in 1610 and was sheltered by Thomas Archer, who was elected mayor the following year.⁸¹ Bishop Horsfall wrote in 1604 that the priests Archer, Brown, Seixe, Lawless and Cantwell were ‘openly ministering in the town’.⁸² When one considers that only seven of approximately forty-six local government officials in the city and county of Kilkenny in 1608 were Protestants, it is hardly

⁷⁷ William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland, 1634–1635*, ed. Edward Hawkins (Manchester, 1844), pp 385-6, (www.ucc.ie/celt/published) (14 Aug. 2010).

⁷⁸ ‘Sir John Davies from New Ross’, 12 Nov. 1606, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.15.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ ‘Lord Deputy and Council to the Lords’, 2 July, 1603, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.68.

⁸¹ ‘Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny’.

⁸² ‘Horsfall to the Deputy and Council’, pp 178-9.

surprising that the Catholic clergy were in a position to pursue their mission so openly there.⁸³

The impunity with which priests operated in the cities and towns, with the support of their lay relatives, friends and neighbours, is reflected in the fact that both Luke Archer and Donogh Ward, who died in 1621, were described as parish priests of St Patrick's in Kilkenny.⁸⁴ The Jesuit, Morris Wise, who was living with his relative, John Wise, in 1610, was pastor of St Peter's in Waterford from 1609 until his death in 1628,⁸⁵ despite the fact that this church was nominally served by the Church of Ireland minister, John Naylor, in 1615.⁸⁶ Earlier, the Waterford priest, Richard Agnes, was 'retheyned by the whole city in general' in 1592 and was living in the house of Alexander Brewers, 'merchaunt, who sometimes professed religion, and now revolted'.⁸⁷

While it is difficult to separate the private sphere in which family and neighbourhood networks operated from the civic activities of urban corporations, what emerges from the evidence is a picture of wealthy, locally powerful Catholic recusants who felt directly responsible, in both their private and public capacities, for the provision of accommodation and sustenance for the Catholic clergy, even where they were not directly related to them. In 1611, Andrew Knox, bishop of the Scottish isles, reported to

⁸³ Edwards, *The Ormond Lordship*, p.267.

⁸⁴ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, iii, p.236.

⁸⁵ 'Sundrie priests and friars'; Walton, 'Church, crown and corporation', p.189.

⁸⁶ RV, 1615.

⁸⁷ 'A memorial of sundry things', Hogan (ed.), *The description*, p.289.

the archbishop of Canterbury that ‘natives, and others, in corporate towns, publicly profess them their [the priests’] maintainers’.⁸⁸

Although the towns and cities of the region played a significant role in the creation of a network of safe accommodation for Catholic clergymen, the maintenance of priests was not confined to within their walls. Of the rural gentry, Hugh O’Grady remarked that

..... a normal Roman Catholic Squire would regard it as a reflection on himself if the local priest went hungry. Every Roman Catholic Squire kept a priest as a chaplain We thus have, wherever there was a country house, a priest in residence, frequently with a medical degree, often a trained lawyer, at any rate an educated man, who his host took good care should have fair play.⁸⁹

As early as 1565, Archbishop Adam Loftus reported to the queen that the nobility and gentry were retaining priests as chaplains,⁹⁰ while Carew mentioned that all the lords who attended parliament in 1613 brought their Catholic chaplains with them and that these priests played an important role in advising citizens how they should vote and select their MPs.⁹¹ In 1635, Bishop Rothe wrote that the priests serving the rural parts of his diocese of Ossory included three chaplains to the gentry⁹² and Patrick Comerford of Waterford and Lismore told his superiors in Rome in 1639 that there were fourteen chaplains in private homes in his diocese.⁹³

⁸⁸ ‘Andrew, bishop of the Isles to the Archbishop of Canterbury’, 4 July 1611, *CSPI, 1611-4*, p.81.

⁸⁹ Hugh O’Grady, *Strafford and Ireland: the history of his vice-royalty with an account of his trial* (2 vols, Dublin, 1923), i, pp 464-5.

⁹⁰ ‘Loftus to the Queen’, 17 May 1565 in G.V. Jourdan, ‘The rise of recusancy’, in Phillips, *History of the Church of Ireland*, ii, p.324.

⁹¹ *Calendar of Carew Manuscripts, 1603-24*, p.199.

⁹² ‘Relatio Status of David Rothe’, n.d. April 1635, *Archiv. Hib.* v (1916), pp 85-90

⁹³ ‘Relatio Status of Patrick Comerford’, n.d. 1639, *Archiv. Hib.* v (1916), pp 108-11.

Unfortunately, we have very little information about the living arrangements of those priests who were sheltered by their families or neighbours, although I believe it is safe to assume that, in most instances, they lived in greater comfort than their impoverished Protestant counterparts. Of the fifteen priests reported to be in Kilkenny in 1610, at least eleven were staying with the city's aldermen, in the wealthiest and most comfortable urban households.⁹⁴ Many of the principal rural seats of Kilkenny were also temporary homes for priests, including the estates of Lord Mountgarret and his brother, James Butler. As mentioned earlier, the archbishop of Cashel, David Kearney, resided at Lucas Shee's Uppercourt estate, while Teig Ó Duigein, formerly chaplain to Richard Shee, was sheltered at Courtstown, home of the wealthy Grace family.⁹⁵

A Jesuit priest, writing in 1604, remarked of the laity that 'each one tries to bring us to his house; and they think they cannot make too much of us',⁹⁶ while another Jesuit, John Wadding, described his host in 1606, the mayor of Waterford, Paul Sherlock, as 'a very choice scholar, a person of great merit, and a great servant of God'.⁹⁷ As Jourdan remarked,

these [priests] coming on their mission, found an easy admission to the houses of the wealthy gentry. It is worthy of note that many of these men, and the people they moved among, being of English descent, combined a real loyalty to the King with a sincere loyalty to the Pope in his spiritual capacity.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p.150.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p.206.

⁹⁸ Jourdan, 'The rise of the puritans and planter class', in Phillips, *History of the Church of Ireland*, ii, p.527.

Reference has already been made to the part played by mothers, such as Anastasia Strong and Joan Roche, in the protection of their sons and other priests. What emerges quite clearly from the contemporary sources is that women had a broader impact on the direction of confessional preferences within local communities than their traditional role, confined to the private family domain, might suggest. While men fulfilled many public functions that brought them into regular contact with the agents of government and the established church, most sixteenth and seventeenth century women spent their lives almost entirely within the domestic sphere. While it may be argued that this role restricted their power and authority, it also had the effect of freeing them from the consequences, real or perceived, of refusal to abide by the laws governing church attendance and general confessional conformity.⁹⁹ It was obviously more difficult for the authorities to prosecute women for recusancy or for harbouring fugitive priests than it would have been to arrest and charge their menfolk.

This liberty of conscience, coupled with women's responsibility for the religious education and practice of children and household servants, gave them a substantial influence over matters of faith, which was recognized by the authorities as early as 1596, when Sir John Dowdall wrote to chief secretary Cecil from the fort at Duncannon:

For in the tenth year of her majesty's reign and since, they came very orderly to the church, but first their women grew weary of it, and that being unpunished, their men left it, and they being unpunished the mayors, sovereigns and portreeves for the most part left it.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Gillespie, *Devoted people*, pp 12-13; Tait, *Death, burial and commemoration*, p.56.

¹⁰⁰ 'Dowdall to Lord Burghley', 9 March 1596, *CSPI, 1592-6*, pp 587-8.

By 1604, Chief Justice Saxey was reporting that, while some dignitaries were prevailed upon to attend the Protestant service themselves, they 'do openly maintain the recusancy of their wives, sons, daughters and servants'.¹⁰¹ Three years later, Lord Deputy Chichester informed the privy council that the priests and Jesuits had

..... so gained the women that they are in a manner all of them recusants. Children and servants are wholly taught and catechised by them, esteeming the same (as truth it is) a sound and sure foundation of their synagogue.¹⁰²

The president of Munster, Sir Henry Brouncker, gave his opinion of the strength of the influence of women in the failure to impose the Reformation by 1606:

If men come to church, their Catholic wives will neither eat nor lie with their husbands if they be excommunicated for heretics, as presently they are by the priests if they come to the Protestant service. The priests prevail mightily throughout all Ireland with the women, and they with their husbands.¹⁰³

There is no simple explanation for this general decision of the women of south-east Ireland to choose Catholicism and to prevail upon the members of their households to do likewise. Raymond Gillespie believes that the strength of family tradition in the instruction of religion made them 'innately conservative',¹⁰⁴ and therefore more attracted to Roman Catholicism. However, it is also important to recognise that most sons of the elite and merchant classes were educated by Catholic schoolmasters, who encouraged them to travel to Europe to further their education. On their return to Ireland as priests, fired with the ideas of the Counter-Reformation, they were often sheltered and cared for in their family homes, where their influence was undoubtedly used to reinforce the

¹⁰¹ 'Chief Justice Saxey to Viscount Cranbourne', n.d. 1604, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.220.

¹⁰² 'The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council', 27 Oct. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.310.

¹⁰³ 'Concerning Reformation of Religion in Ireland', n.d. 1606, *CSPI, 1603-6*, pp 543-5.

¹⁰⁴ Gillespie, *Devoted people*, p.12.

confessional persuasions of the family, especially of their mothers and sisters, who had less contact with external pressures from the wider community.

As well as Anastasia Strong and Mary Power, mentioned earlier, several other women were reported to be protecting priests, who may or may not have been related to them, in Waterford city in 1610. The Franciscans, William Fagan and James Dalton, were lodging in the houses of Katherine and Ellin Sherlock, respectively, while Denis Purcell was sheltered by Austace Devereux and both William English (Eines) and the Capuchin, James Walsh, lived with Sisley Walsh. Anne Walshe, Beale Lombard and Anne White were listed as providing refuge for John Kelly, William Beale and David Launder, respectively.¹⁰⁵

The central role of the Shees of Kilkenny in the protection of priests in the city and county has already been noted and it is apparent that the women of the family were central to these undertakings. Fr Brian O’Kearney, credited with the conversion of Sir Richard Shee to Catholicism, was reported to be living in the Shee family home in Kilkenny in 1610, ‘kept and maintained by the Lady Shea’.¹⁰⁶ This was Richard’s second wife, Margaret, daughter of Christopher Fagan, a well-known Dublin recusant.¹⁰⁷ Lattice Shee, daughter of Richard and widow of John Grace of Courtstown, had Mass regularly celebrated in her house by Patrick Bolger.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ ‘Sundrie priests and friars’.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny’.

¹⁰⁷ Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.267; ‘The will of Sir Richard Shee’, 23 Dec. 1603 in *Ana. Hib.*, xx (1958), p.230.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny’.

Margaret Archer, a widow, was supporting the priest Denis Roghan, and possibly also Teige O'Hillane, in the New Ross area in 1590,¹⁰⁹ while Thomas Ram also names her as one of those who offered shelter to the priest 'Sir Loghlin' in Carlow in 1612.¹¹⁰ Susanna Rossiter, of Rathmacknee in Co Wexford, is named, with her husband, William, as being among the maintainers of priests in Ferns before 1620.¹¹¹ The Augustinian, William Tirry, who was executed in Clonmel in 1654, had been sheltered for several years by Amy Everard of Fethard, in the diocese of Cashel. Tirry was related to the Everards, the most prominent and wealthy Catholic family in the Fethard area, and Walter Conway, who was captured with Tirry and sent into exile, later stated that the priest had been a tutor to Amy's son.¹¹²

Despite the restrictions imposed by their private role in society, in general, it appears that women were not bashful about proclaiming their religious affiliations. The impunity with which they displayed their Catholicism by the 1630s is reflected in William Brereton's description of Wexford in 1634:

The most of the women are bare-necked, and weare a Crucifix itt seems they are not ashamed of their religion, nor desire to conceal themselves.¹¹³

There were still many more men than women listed as providing shelter for priests in the south-east between 1570 and 1650, but this may be somewhat misleading, as men may have been nominally the heads of households that were, at least domestically, controlled by wives, daughters or sisters. I believe it is significant that so many women were

¹⁰⁹ Hore, *History of Wexford*, i, pp 269-70.

¹¹⁰ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

¹¹¹ Letters concerning the church, 1620-3 (T.C.D., MS 580).

¹¹² F.X. Martin (ed.), 'The Tirry Documents' in *Archiv. Hib*, xx (1957), pp 70-89.

¹¹³ Brereton, *Travels*, p.397.

actually mentioned by name, in the context of protecting priests, at a time when they played a very limited role in public life.¹¹⁴

One significant consequence of the proliferation of priests living in the homes of their relatives and neighbours was what Raymond Gillespie describes as the ‘domestication’ of Catholic religious rites.¹¹⁵ As was mentioned in the previous chapter, private houses were often used for the celebration of Mass and administration of the sacraments, as almost all of the church buildings were in the possession of the state church. As early as 1574, a military envoy from Philip II of Spain reported from Waterford that Mass was being said in private houses, while the Protestant schoolteacher, John Shearman, who spent a short time in Waterford in 1585, wrote to the archbishop of Armagh, complaining that

.... not one couple above twenty married there according to her Majesty’s injunctions, but handfasted or married at home with a mass. They never christen their children but in their houses
.....¹¹⁶

The Protestant bishop, John Horsfall, reported in 1604 that ‘there is one Richard Foley in the Irishtown at Kilkenny who keeps continual Mass in his house’¹¹⁷ and the Franciscan, Peter Brenan, reported in 1626 that ‘the Catholics have divine service in their houses where the sacraments are administered’.¹¹⁸ In Kilkenny in 1610, it has already been noted that Patrick Bolger was reported to say Mass ‘usually’ at the house of Lattice Shee,

¹¹⁴ Appendix 1.

¹¹⁵ Gillespie, *Devoted People*, p.27.

¹¹⁶ ‘John Shearman, schoolmaster, to the archbishop of Armagh,’ 12 July 1585 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, p.99.

¹¹⁷ ‘Horsfall to the Deputy and Council’, pp 178-9.

¹¹⁸ ‘Thomas Walsh, Processus Datariae, 11 March 1626’ in Giblin (ed.), ‘The Processus Datariae’, pp 543-4.

widow of John Grace, while Edmond Seix celebrated Mass in the home of his brother, Robert Savage.¹¹⁹

Before his appointment as bishop of Ferns in 1645, Nicholas French was parish priest of St Patrick's in Wexford, where

in a private house, he carried out his duties as parish priest with great zeal, hearing confessions for six or seven hours without a break, and visiting the sick.¹²⁰

Clodagh Tait believes that most Catholic funeral services were conducted in the private homes of the deceased before their bodies were brought to the church for burial.¹²¹

Gillespie claims that it became the preference of wealthy Catholics to have Mass said in their homes, a practice that was not in accordance with the principles of the Counter-Reformation, but which was acknowledged as necessary, as early as 1564, in the distinctive confessional circumstances that prevailed in Ireland.¹²²

The Dublin provincial synod of 1614, which met in Kilkenny on 22 June, reiterated this position and clearly accepted the central role of the lay household in church rituals when it issued a series of decrees, including the stipulation that a baptismal font was to be 'blessed and kept at the house in which the parish priest usually resided'¹²³, presumably for the administration of baptism there. It was acceptable for Mass to be celebrated in private houses, so long as the 'most becoming localities' were selected, and priests were

¹¹⁹ 'Names of the Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny.'

¹²⁰ 'Nicholas French, Processus Datariae, 21 January 1645' in Giblin (ed.), 'The Processus Datariae', pp 568-9.

¹²¹ Tait, *Death, burial and commemoration*, p.52.

¹²² Gillespie, *Devoted People*, p.27.

¹²³ Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, p.269.

exhorted to teach their parishioners ‘the Creed or the Lord’s Prayer, or some point of Christian doctrine’ even if they were only staying in their homes for a short period.¹²⁴

However, the synod may also have recognised the dangers posed by an increasingly powerful lay influence at parish level when it decreed that the laity was to be ‘mainly passive’ in church affairs.¹²⁵ Alison Forrestal remarks that, as many of the priests were dependent on, or related to, wealthy landowners or burgesses, it can be assumed that this section of the population could expect their religious needs to be prioritised by the clergy.¹²⁶ Nicholas Canny believes that this may have been taken a step further, with rural gentry and urban elites having significant influence in Rome on the appointment of bishops and senior clergy, who were often their kinsmen and for whom they had provided shelter and maintenance.¹²⁷

Canny even suggests a somewhat cynical element to the relationship between Catholic priests and the elite members of the community when he remarks that

..... the mutual dependence of priests and landowners may have been influenced by the landlord’s need for the priests to assist them in maintaining their authority over their subordinates, while the priests needed the landlords’ protection and support in order to go about their duties without official molestation.¹²⁸

As was observed in the previous chapter, this interdependent relationship between Catholic clergy and the communities that they served was to cause considerable tension during and after the 1641 rebellion. The fact that priests were almost completely

¹²⁴ Ibid., pp 267-8.

¹²⁵ Forrestal, *Synods in Ireland*, p.74.

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp 150-1.

¹²⁷ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p.441.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p.432.

dependent on their lay benefactors facilitated secular interference in church affairs, a situation that was perhaps acceptable at a time when priests were being persecuted and forced to conduct a clandestine mission, but was to cause resentment and, ultimately, conflict, when the Catholic clergy were presented with the possibility of an independently resourced church.

From the 1630s, the lay Catholic gentry made it clear in their negotiations with the government that they would be satisfied with a *de facto* tolerance of their religious practice, coupled with guarantees of their property and inheritance rights. However, the clergy increasingly envisaged the possibility of open displays of faith, including religious processions and pilgrimages and, ultimately, the recovery of church property, much of which was controlled by the very families who offered them shelter.¹²⁹ What Canny describes as this ‘spectacle’ of Catholicism, including public manifestations of faith and fervour, was considered important in inspiring a suitable level of devotion for the church and reverence for its clergy among the faithful.¹³⁰ Unlike their lay benefactors, the clergy visualised a return to the situation that pertained in 1580, when Marmaduke Middleton described the state of religion in Waterford:

Rome-runners and Friars maintained amongst them. Public wearing of beads and praying upon the same. Worshipping of images and setting them openly in their street doors, with ornaments and deckings. Ringing of bells and praying for the dead, and dressing their graves divers times in the year with flower pots and wax candles.¹³¹

Of course, this ambition was unlikely to be achieved if the practice of Catholicism continued to be proscribed, as it had been for one hundred years.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p.445.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p.564.

¹³¹ ‘Marmaduke Middleton to Walsingham’, 29 June 1580 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, pp 39-42.

There is considerable disagreement about the level of persecution suffered by Catholic priests and their lay protectors in the period to 1641, although it appears that the levels of harassment intensified and eased at different periods. It is important to clarify what is understood by the term ‘persecution’ as it applied to sixteenth and seventeenth-century Ireland. The *Catholic Encyclopaedia* defines it as the ‘unlawful exercise of coercion for religion’s sake’ and stresses that it is not the same as intolerance.¹³² In Ireland, the 1560 Act of Uniformity made attendance at Church of Ireland services mandatory and participation in Catholic rites and ceremonies illegal. Therefore, it is inaccurate to characterise legitimate attempts by the civic authorities to enforce conformity as persecution. While the imposition of recusancy fines, the destruction of mass-houses and the arrest of priests found in possession of the trappings of Catholic rituals would be regarded from a modern perspective as unacceptable harassment and discrimination, these actions cannot be considered as anything other than the legitimate application of the law in early modern times. However, from 1570 we encounter a growing number of examples of more violent intimidation of Catholic clergy in the region, although it is also essential that we judge aggression against priests during this period in the context of the extremely brutal nature of society in general.¹³³

Dermot O’Mulrooney and two other Franciscans were in their monastery at Moore Abbey in the diocese of Emly in 1570 when they were surrounded by troops under the

¹³² *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* (www.newadvent.org/cathen/08163a.htm), (12 March 2012).

¹³³ David Edwards, ‘The escalation of violence in sixteenth-century Ireland’ in David Edwards, Pádraig Lenihan and Clodagh Tait (eds), *Age of atrocity: violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp 34-78.

command of the deputy, Sir Henry Sidney. The priests hid in the belfry, but were forced to surrender when the soldiers proceeded to burn the church beneath them and all three were executed.¹³⁴ John O'Mulloy, Cornelius Dougherty and Calfrid Farrell, Franciscans who had spent eight years travelling and administering the sacraments in Wicklow, Carlow and Wexford, were captured around 1588 and brought to Abbeyleix, where they were tortured and executed.¹³⁵

The strength of local community support for priests was recognised as early as 1583 when Maurice Kinrehan, parish priest of Mullanahone in Cashel and chaplain to the earl of Desmond, was reportedly arrested and sent to Clonmel. Having spent almost two years in jail there, regularly hearing confessions and instructing the townspeople through his prison grate, a leading townsman, Victor White, bribed the jailers to release the priest for one night in order that he might say Mass and administer communion. When White's house was surrounded by government soldiers, Kinrehan escaped and was forced to take shelter on the summit of Slievenamon. Despite the support of the local laity, he was eventually captured while administering to a dying man. The priest was brought to Clonmel where his body was 'hewn into fragments'.¹³⁶

In 1593 Patrick Kearney, who had formerly acted as secretary to Miler Magrath, alleged that Richard Power, sheriff of Tipperary, had failed to arrest the priest, James Brenagh, as instructed. Instead, Power 'drank wine with other delicatts in his company at a banquet in

¹³⁴ St. J. D. Seymour, *The diocese of Emly* (Dublin, 1913), p.178.

¹³⁵ Michael Comerford, 'The parish of Abbeyleix' in *Ossory Archaeological Society*, iii (1880-83), pp 122-3.

¹³⁶ Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, p.147; (www.newadvent.org/cathen/08617b.htm) (15 Nov. 2010).

Fethard'.¹³⁷ The lord deputy, Sir John Perrot, informed the queen's secretary in 1584 that he had

... apprehended 3 priests of late, notorious practising papists. By their apprehensions and upon the examination of them and some others, there is a great nest of mass mongers discovered, with whom I mean to deal shortly as meet is with such sort of men.¹³⁸

Alan Ford remarks that, from the late 1570s, Catholic priests were no longer treated as 'harmless missionaries' but were regarded as 'agents of enemy powers'.¹³⁹ Thomas Strong, mentioned earlier, who was bishop of Ossory from 1582 to 1601, travelled from Spain in disguise in 1583, but could spend just one year in his diocese before being forced to flee to Compostella, where he spent the remainder of his life.¹⁴⁰ The newly-appointed archbishop of Cashel, Dermot O'Hurley, was tortured and executed in Dublin in 1584; Maurice McBrien, bishop of Emly, died in prison in 1586; Peter Power, bishop of Ferns, fled to Spain where he dies in 1587; and George Power, vicar-general of Ossory, died in prison in 1599.¹⁴¹

In his study of the martyrologies of early modern Ireland, Ford identifies 162 Catholics who were killed for their religious beliefs between 1529 and 1629. More than 70% of these were clergy, there was a greater concentration of them in the southern part of the

¹³⁷ 'Additions to the informations made by Patrick Kearnye against Milerus, Archbishop of Cashel, and his associates unto whom he was sometimes clerk', 20 Feb 1593 in Marron (ed.), 'Documents concerning Miler McGrath', p.161.

¹³⁸ 'Letter to Secretary, 20 Oct. 1584' in Charles McNeill (ed.), 'The letter-book of Lord Deputy Sir John Perrot between 9 July, 1558 and 26 May 1586' in *Ana. Hib.*, xii (1943), p.12.

¹³⁹ Alan Ford, 'Martyrdom, history and memory in early modern Ireland', in Ian McBride (ed.), *History and memory in modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), p.57.

¹⁴⁰ Moran, 'The bishops of Ossory', p.258.

¹⁴¹ David Edwards, 'Dermot O'Hurley', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.org) (20 April, 2011); 'Irish confessors and martyrs' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, (www.newadvent.org/cathen/08163a.htm), (20 April 2011); Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.313; Moran, 'Bishops of Ossory', p.261.

country and the majority died during the 1580s.¹⁴² The emergence of a cult of martyrdom during this period was likely to have one of two contrasting effects. While the persecution of recusants and their pastors was intended to drive the public away from Catholicism and towards conformity, it often achieved the opposite result of hardening attitudes, that may still have been wavering, in favour of entrenched and beleaguered Catholicism, while also alienating the majority of the population from the nascent New English-dominated Dublin government.

In general, the level of persecution appears to have abated in the later years of Elizabeth's reign and the Catholic population had high hopes that the first Stuart monarch, James I, would be at least sympathetic to their cause on his accession to the throne in 1603.

However, the king's 'proclamation against toleration in Ireland' in July 1605 crushed this optimism when it decreed that

.... all Jesuits, seminary priests, or other priests whatsoever, made and ordained by any authority derived, or pretended to derive from the See of Rome, shall, before the 10th day of December next, depart out of the kingdom of Ireland.¹⁴³

That the authorities recognized the critical role played by the laity in the shelter and maintenance of priests is reflected in the fact that James also expressly forbade

..... all his subjects within that kingdom to receive or relieve any such Jesuit, seminary priest, or other priest who, after the said 10th day of December, shall remain in that realm or return to the same or any part thereof.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Ford, 'Martyrdom, history and memory', pp 50-54.

¹⁴³ 'Proclamation against toleration in Ireland', 4 July 1605, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.302.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Four months later, the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in England further hardened attitudes towards Catholics on both sides of the Irish Sea and the president of Munster, Henry Brouncker, was particularly severe in his implementation of anti-Papist measures. As discussed in Chapter Two, he instigated a strong campaign against recusancy, imposing harsh fines and jailing four elected mayors of Waterford who refused to take the oath of supremacy.¹⁴⁵ Clodagh Tait believes that the severity of Brouncker's attempts to impose conformity quickly became an embarrassment to the government and a period of relative leniency ensued following his death in June 1607.¹⁴⁶

As early as February 1606, Chichester was reporting to chief secretary Salisbury that James's proclamation had been generally ineffective as

..... few or no seminaries or Jesuits had yet departed the kingdom; neither had they made any curious search for them, knowing they should rather fail than accomplish their desires, for every town, hamlet, or house is to them a sanctuary.¹⁴⁷

In October 1607, Chichester told the privy council that if a priest was apprehended by his forces, 'both men and women will not stick to rescue the party'.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, the acting president of Munster, the earl of Thomond, reported to Salisbury that it was impossible for any of his soldiers to capture priests who had failed to obey the proclamation because 'the officers are no sooner known to come into the country but the priests are presently conveyed away'.¹⁴⁹ He later wrote later that he had

¹⁴⁵ 'Sir John Davys to the Earl of Salisbury', 12 Nov. 1606, *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 14-15; Walton, 'Church, crown and corporation', p.193.

¹⁴⁶ Clodagh Tait, "'The just vengeance of God'": reporting the violent deaths of persecutors in early modern Ireland' in Edwards, Lenihan and Tait (eds.), *Age of atrocity*, pp 130-53.

¹⁴⁷ 'Chichester to Salisbury', 26 Feb. 1606, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.405.

¹⁴⁸ 'The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council', 27 Oct. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.310.

¹⁴⁹ 'Earl of Thomond to Salisbury', n.d. June, 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.207.

..... placed some horse in Clonmel and Cashel hoping to capture some priests but all in vain, they are so befriended that hardly any of them can be apprehended.¹⁵⁰

Following the publication of the 1605 proclamation, James White, vicar-general of Waterford and Lismore, reported to Cardinal Baronius that the clergy lived in a state of peril, but that the laity had

..... shown true heroism; and together with the tedium of imprisonment, they courageously endure the plunder of all their possessions and property.¹⁵¹

In a letter to their agent in Rome in May 1607, the Irish clergy outlined the punishment that lay Catholics could expect if found to be harbouring priests:

Should any person subsequently receive them [the priests] into their houses, or support them, or entertain any commerce with them, or not discover them to the court tribunals, they were to be hanged at their own doors..... Two thousand florins are offered for the discovery of a Jesuit, and one thousand for any other priest, or of the houses which they frequent..... Bodies of soldiers are dispersed through the country in pursuit of bandits and priests. There are already in prison one bishop, one vicar-general, some religious, very many priests, and an immense number of the laity of every class and condition.¹⁵²

In January of the same year, the Clonmel Jesuit, Nicholas Leynagh, wrote that ‘no place is safe for us on account of the number of our pursuers’¹⁵³ and, by 1612, the archbishop of Cashel, David Kearney, was writing to the superiors of the Irish seminaries in Spain of a ‘new and furious persecution’ against priests and lay recusants.¹⁵⁴ In contrast, Monsignor Bentivoglio, writing from Brussels to Rome in 1613, remarked that, throughout Ireland, ‘the English penal laws [are] not enforced’.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ ‘Earl of Thomond to Salisbury’, 6 Sept. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.258.

¹⁵¹ Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp 229-30.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp 231-2.

¹⁵³ Burke, *Clonmel*, p.48.

¹⁵⁴ Moran (ed.), *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i, pp 119-20.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Report from Mgr. Bentivoglio’, *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), p.300.

Writing more than two hundred years later, Richard Mant agreed with the nuncio's assessment, claiming that the proclamation was 'faintly administered' and believing that, while it was mostly ineffective, it actually worked to the Catholics' advantage, giving them a 'topick of complaint to their continental partizans'.¹⁵⁶ Mant's fellow Church of Ireland historian, Jourdan, argued that there were hundreds of Catholic clergy allowed to live peacefully in Ireland as long as they did not involve themselves with politics and that only a very small number were ever arrested or imprisoned.¹⁵⁷

Despite these claims by Bentivoglio and the chroniclers of Irish Protestant history, there must have been a considerable level of fear of persecution among Catholic clerics in the early years of the seventeenth century. Of the fifty-three priests reported to have fled the south-east for Bordeaux between 1603 and 1619 we know of only twelve who definitely returned to the Irish mission in subsequent years.¹⁵⁸ Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin's assertion that the clergy were probably 'exposed to sufficient difficulties to boost their credibility but not so many as to undermine their pastoral activities', may not adequately reflect the level of danger to which priests returning to the Irish mission were subjected.¹⁵⁹ While the full force of the government authorities against the Catholic clergy of the south-east appears to have only been unleashed with the arrival of Cromwell's forces and the crushing of the Confederation in the late 1640s, numerous incidents of harassment were reported during the early decades of the seventeenth century.

¹⁵⁶ Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland* (3 vols, London, 1840) , i, p.350.

¹⁵⁷ Jourdan, 'Towards a doctrinal reformation', p.520, 533.

¹⁵⁸ 'Letter from James Tobin to Carew, enclosing list of priests received in Bordeaux in the sixteen years to 1619', 27 Feb. 1621, *CSPI, 1615-25*, pp 316-22; Appendix 1.

¹⁵⁹ Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, pp 10-11.

Lucas Bennett, a Jesuit alumnus of Salamanca, wrote to the college's rector, Richard Conway, in 1607, that the priests in New Ross 'cannot venture out by day, and with great risk even by night, on account of the spies the heretics have set to watch them'.¹⁶⁰ Around the same time, an unnamed correspondent reported that the authorities had captured several priests who were alumni of the Spanish colleges, including five in Kilkenny and three in Waterford.¹⁶¹ It took the diplomatic efforts of Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador to England, to persuade James I to release up to one hundred priests who had been captured and imprisoned in Ireland up to 1618.¹⁶²

In Ossory a regular priest, disguised as a layman, but carrying the 'sacred vestments' was arrested and imprisoned in 1616.¹⁶³ The Dominican, William O'Shee, was apprehended in Birr while carrying a cache of letters relating to Catholic affairs in 1624¹⁶⁴ and David Rothe, later bishop of Ossory, spent some time in Scotland in 1619 to avoid being captured at home.¹⁶⁵ In May of the same year, a servant of Lord and Lady Mountgarret was detained on suspicion of being a priest in disguise when he travelled to Chester in England in the company of his employers.¹⁶⁶ Interestingly, Hugh O'Grady described Rothe, at a later date, as being allowed to 'go where he pleased and do what he pleased without let, or hindrance, and with the full knowledge of those in authority'.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁰ Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p.212.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.207.

¹⁶² Richard Bermingham, 'A memorial presented to the King of Spain on behalf of the Irish Catholics', n.d. 1619, Reginald Walsh (ed), *Archiv. Hib.*, vi (1917), p.27.

¹⁶³ Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.279.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.286.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.281.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ O'Grady, *Strafford and Ireland*, i, p. 410.

While the level of harassment endured by Catholic clergy and laity during this period may be in dispute, what is certain is that measures taken by government failed to achieve their purpose of ridding the country of priests and preventing their protection by the laity.

In 1611, Andrew Knox was recommending to Salisbury that

..... every archbishop and bishop be ordained carefully to attend and try every one within his own see, who rests, entertains and furnishes Jesuits, seminary priests and friars, and that they deal diligently with everyone of those if they cannot be moved to do by doctrine, conference, and good reason, and that within a sufficient time that they shall pronounce the sentence of excommunication against them ... deliver their names to the Deputy, and the Deputy to His Majesty, that further order may be taken with them.¹⁶⁸

In 1624, a further proclamation decreed that all priests,

whether regular or secular, depart out of Ireland forthwith, or within 40 days next ensuing at the farthest after the date hereof, not to return. And all persons are charged not to receive, relieve, or converse with those who after the said 40 days shall abide in this kingdom or come to the same.¹⁶⁹

The financial and administrative problems of Charles I increased as his reign progressed and there appears to have been little enthusiasm for the harassment of priests and their protectors while the monarch relied increasingly on the Catholic elite for both economic and political support. In 1629, the lord deputy, Lord Falkland, recognised that the practice of Catholicism had in no way diminished and that, by then, priests were no longer merely content to celebrate the sacraments and preach discreetly, but were engaged in the erection of 'publick oratories, colledges, Mass-houses, and convents of fryers, moncks and nunnes'.¹⁷⁰ This time, they were not ordered to leave the country, but merely to desist from the exercise of their ministry and to break up their convents and

¹⁶⁸ Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, to Salisbury', 10 April 1611, *CSPI, 1611-4*, pp 26-7.

¹⁶⁹ 'Proclamation of Lord Deputy and Council', 21 Jan. 1624, *CSPI, 1615-25*, p.469.

¹⁷⁰ P.J. Corish, 'Two seventeenth century proclamations against Catholic clergy', in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxxix (1984), p.54.

monasteries. Furthermore, the lay owners of these properties were instructed to expel the clergy and convert the buildings to ‘other more lawfull uses upon pain to have their said houses seized to his majesties use ...’¹⁷¹ The gradual re-establishment of the regular orders in their own premises during this period will be further examined in Chapter Five.

In contrast to his uncle’s episcopacy of Ossory in the later decades of the sixteenth century, by 1610 it was possible for Thomas Walsh, nephew of Thomas Strong, to live in his native city while serving as vicar-apostolic of Waterford and Lismore from 1613 to 1626 and to be resident in his archiepiscopal see for most of his period as archbishop of Cashel, from 1626 to 1654.¹⁷² He certainly suffered some harassment and was arrested while presiding at a meeting of his clergy in wooded land in 1633, although he was later released without charge.¹⁷³ In 1637 the government ordered that he be arrested again, this time on the grounds that he was in receipt of a large annual income from Spain. There followed a two-year search that resulted in his capture in 1639, and on this occasion he was merely ‘bound over on security’.¹⁷⁴ By 1649 he was in hiding and, following his arrest and imprisonment in Clonmel in 1652, he was brought to Waterford. On his release the following year he travelled to Compostella, where he died in 1654.¹⁷⁵

One fact that emerges undisputed from the contrasting reports of the level of harassment during the period is the critical role played by the lay community, who were willing to protect their pastors, even in the face of the threatened imposition of punitive fines,

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp 54-5.

¹⁷² ‘Sundrie priests and friars’.

¹⁷³ Patrick Power, *Compendious history*, p.21.

¹⁷⁴ Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (Dublin, 2000), p.117.

¹⁷⁵ Meehan, *Franciscan monasteries*, pp 130-1.

imprisonment or worse. Archbishop Kearney wrote to Rome in 1609 that the authorities 'cast into prison not only those who favour the priests, but also those who refuse to persecute and deliver up the priests'.¹⁷⁶

The Dominican, Richard Bermingham, reported to the king of Spain in 1619 that a Catholic could be fined 12d for each time he failed to attend Protestant service. If convicted of hearing Mass, he could be fined £5 and imprisoned for six months for a first offence, £20 and one year's incarceration for a second infringement and £40 and life imprisonment on a third conviction.¹⁷⁷ The penalties for sheltering priests were even greater:

Whenever a Protestant seizes an ecclesiastic in the house or company of a Catholic, his wife along with himself are arrested. They are kept in prison for a long time, until released after some friend pays a large sum of money, on giving bail not to harbour a priest again¹⁷⁸

There were severe punishments for having a child baptised by a priest, for being married by the Catholic rite, for carrying priests into Ireland or for conveying students to the continental seminaries.¹⁷⁹ Even if these fines and other penalties were only intermittently imposed, while they adhered to Catholicism and supported the fugitive clergy, the Old English and Gaelic elite witnessed the gradual erosion of their traditional power and influence, especially within the towns and cities of the region. As mentioned in the previous chapter, an elected mayor could not assume office unless he was willing to take the oath of supremacy. Similarly, lawyers could not plead as advocates in court, heirs

¹⁷⁶ 'Relatio by David Kearney', Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp 235-6.

¹⁷⁷ 'A memorial presented to the King of Spain on behalf of the Irish Catholics' in *Archiv. Hib.*, vi (1917), pp 48-50.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.49.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 48-52.

could not take possession of their estates and merchants could not ‘share the rights and privileges’ of citizenship without accepting the oath.¹⁸⁰ None of these strictures were successful in persuading the majority of the population to convert to the established faith or to desist from providing a safe haven and a vibrant congregation for the Catholic clergy. Despite the threat, and occasional imposition, of penal sanctions against Catholicism, at least 340 priests lived in relative security and comfort in south-east Ireland between 1605 and 1641.¹⁸¹

Lucas Bennett’s report from New Ross in 1607 alluded to the presence of government spies in the area¹⁸² and occasional reference can be found to those members of local communities who were willing to betray their neighbours by passing information to the authorities about the whereabouts of priests. Attached to the ‘memorial of sundry things commanded by her Majesty to be well considered by the Lord Deputy’ in 1592 was a list of priests known to be in Ireland at that time, with the remark that ‘Richard Power, gent, is very willing and able to inform on such matters’.¹⁸³ As he is named directly after the priests in Waterford, it is likely that Power was a native of that region. As early as 1564, Denis McVard, probably a scholar, was among the spies recruited in Waterford to gather and pass information about students travelling to Europe to be educated as priests, especially those being shipped to Antwerp en route to Louvain.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., pp 52-54.

¹⁸¹ Appendix 1.

¹⁸² Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p.212.

¹⁸³ Hogan (ed.), *The description*, pp 287-9.

¹⁸⁴ Ronan (ed.), *Reformation under Elizabeth*, p.113.

James Tobin, who supplied Sir George Carew, president of Munster, with the names of those priests who left Ireland and landed in Bordeaux between 1603 and 1619, was described as a spy,¹⁸⁵ as was the person who gave details of priests in Clonmel to the authorities in 1615.¹⁸⁶ It is likely that the Protestant bishops, Horsfall and Ram, and the lord deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, had a chain of informers who assisted them in the compilation of information about those priests and their maintainers within their dioceses and in the country in general.¹⁸⁷ It was a government spy who followed the Mountgarrets to Chester in May 1619 and informed the authorities of the presence of a man, suspected of being a priest, among the travelling party.¹⁸⁸

However, it is also clear that those who broke the bonds of family and community by informing on the clergy, or even attending Protestant service, were treated harshly by their neighbours. Lucas Bennett wrote:

I know but one individual in these parts who has shown any weakness, and on account of it the Catholics cannot bear to see him, nor have any dealings with him as excommunicated.¹⁸⁹

Certainly, while most Catholic clergymen must have felt pursued or persecuted by government forces or their agents, at least sporadically, during their time on the mission in Ireland, many of them appear to have lived in a fair degree of comfort, sheltered and protected by the lay community. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the poverty of church livings and the extensive impropriation and alienation of the church property that

¹⁸⁵ 'Letter from James Tobin to Carew', *CSPI, 1615-25*, pp 316-22

¹⁸⁶ Burke, *Clonmel*, p.48.

¹⁸⁷ 'Horsfall to the Deputy and Council'; 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'; 'Intelligence regarding Seminaries and priests,' *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.507.

¹⁸⁸ Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.281.

¹⁸⁹ Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p.212

should have been placed at the disposal of Church of Ireland clergy in the aftermath of the Reformation, made it impossible for most Protestant ministers to carry out their pastoral duties or even to live in their parishes. The clergy of the established church, therefore, found themselves in a similar position to their Catholic counterparts - dependent on the goodwill and support of the elite members of local communities in order to establish and maintain their positions.

With some exceptions, their experiences in the south-eastern dioceses were markedly different to those of Catholic priests. As the confessional divide crystallised, the Church of Ireland clergy found themselves increasingly isolated from the people that they were appointed to serve, rarely enjoying the same close relationships that existed between Catholic priests and their congregations. There was little change in personnel within the church in the immediate aftermath of the Reformation, with many members of the dissolved monastic communities taking up positions as parish curates of the new Church of Ireland. Other incumbents, those that Aidan Clarke described as the 'ill-paid, ignorant, crypto-Catholic curates'¹⁹⁰ remained in their positions. It was only as this first generation of post-Reformation clergy died off, to be replaced with a pastorate that accepted, understood and could pass on the teachings of the established religion, that the scale of the challenge facing the authorities became apparent. As we have already seen, the absence of a university in Ireland and the growing practice of young men travelling to continental Europe, where they received a Catholic education, resulted in an almost complete absence of suitably trained young Irish clerics to fill these vacancies. It was equally difficult to bring good quality ministers from England, Wales or Scotland.

¹⁹⁰ Clarke, 'Varieties of uniformity', p.113.

Norman Jones writes that the ideal English Post-Reformation Protestant minister ‘had a degree, a wife and family, and he was in short supply until late in Elizabeth’s reign’.¹⁹¹

With the livings on offer much less attractive in Ireland, it is little wonder that many parishes were left without any replacement for their deceased incumbents, leaving the way open for the increasing number of Catholic priests in the region to provide local communities with their spiritual sustenance. As Hugh O’Grady commented about the early years of the seventeenth century:

The friar was a persona grata with the Irish aristocracy and the bucolic and half starved incumbent of a State living was not.¹⁹²

Records for the second half of the sixteenth century are scarce, but in 1565, the privy council commented that there was

..... but small appearance of religion in Ireland, the churches uncovered, and the clergy scattered, and scarce the being of a God known to these ignorant and barbarous people.¹⁹³

Nicholas White, constable of Waterford Castle, wrote to the chief secretary in 1571, remarking that

.... there is no church standing nor no perfect use of baptism in a great way about Enniscorthy, which is a thing easily helped by a good and godly farmer dwelling there.¹⁹⁴

He was petitioning Cecil for the house at Enniscorthy, formerly held by Thomas Stukeley as seneschal of Wexford. White promised to ‘erect both a place and a person meet to

¹⁹¹ Jones, *The English Reformation*, p.65.

¹⁹² O’Grady, *Strafford and Ireland*, i, p.463.

¹⁹³ Mant, *History of Church of Ireland*, p.289.

¹⁹⁴ ‘Nicholas White, Seneschal of liberty and constable of Waterford Castle, to Burghley,’ 15 May 1571 in Mary O’Dowd (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Ireland, Tudor Period, 1571-5* (Dublin, 2000), pp 23-4.

teach Christ and his doctrine to the people and their youth thereabouts'.¹⁹⁵ It is not known if his petition was successful, but there is no record of an incumbent clergyman in Enniscorthy until 1615, when John Hughes was reading minister there and in four other parishes of the diocese of Ferns.¹⁹⁶

The terms of the first Munster plantation reflected the importance that the government placed on addressing these issues, especially by providing suitably qualified and endowed clergy. Under the terms set down in December 1585, each village on the planted lands was to have a vicarage for a minister, with the living worth one hundred marks per year, while each undertaker was also to provide a church on his estate. In addition, each group of nine estates was expected to build a market town, with provision for a minister, 'excelling the rest in learning', who would have an income of £100 per year.¹⁹⁷

The earliest recorded visitation of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore was carried out by Archbishop Miler Magrath three years later and shows little improvement within the planted areas. Patrick Power described the situation as follows:

The state clergy had not been able to obtain admission at all, and even in the diocese where they had obtained possession they were, neither in numbers nor qualification, equal to the work assigned them.¹⁹⁸

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, fifty of the eighty-eight church livings outside of Waterford city were returned in 1588 as vacant or waste, with most of the rest being held by Catholic priests, absentee or pluralist clergy, or the archbishop and his recusant

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ RV 1615; Leslie, *Ferns clergy*.

¹⁹⁷ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 131-2.

¹⁹⁸ Miler Magrath's Visitation of 1588', p.10.

sons, while twenty clergy of the united diocese were deprived three years later, mainly for irregularity and contumacy.¹⁹⁹

A commission of enquiry into abuses in the dioceses held by Miler Magrath reported in August 1607 that the situation was even worse in Cashel and Emlly. William Flanagan and Robert Purcell were the only two vicars in the cathedral church and there appear to have been only two curates in the entire united diocese. Thomas Jones, archbishop of Dublin, commented:

... it seeming strange to me that in so civil a province, and in the compass of 40 miles ... there is not one preacher or good minister to teach the subjects their duties to God and His Majesty.²⁰⁰

In his *View of the Present State of Ireland* in 1596, Edmund Spenser, who had received lands at Kilcolman in Cork in the plantation, outlined the reasons why English clergymen were reluctant to come to south-east Ireland:

... what good should any English minister doe amongst them, by teaching or preaching to them, which either cannot understand him, or will not heare him? Or what comfort of life shall he have, where his parishioners are so insatiable, so intractable, so ill-affected to him, as they usuall bee to all the English; or finally, how dare almost any honest minister, that are peaceable civill men, commit his safetie to the hands of such neighbours, as the boldest captaines dare scarcely dwell by?²⁰¹

There were, of course, some exceptions, although several of the English ministers who did accept benefices in the region appear to have spent little or no time in their parishes. Absolom Gethin, the Englishman who was chancellor of Lismore, and later dean of Ossory, held benefices in Lismore, Cashel and Ossory. The 1607 commission described

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, pp 8-14; 'Clergy examined and deprived in 1591', (T.C.D. MS 566, 196v-197r).

²⁰⁰ 'A Note of several Abuses in the dioceses of Cashell, Emeley, Lysmore and Waterford', 4 Aug. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.242.

²⁰¹ Edmund Spenser, eds, Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley, *A view of the state of Ireland* (1633) (Oxford, 1997), pp 87-8.

him as chaplain to Lord Viscount of Tully, and he was reported to be ‘absent in England’ by 1615.²⁰² Similarly, Richard Donovan, precentor of Lismore and vicar of Aglish and Kilmolash, was absent in England while Philip Cahill, vicar of Kilcolman, was ‘absent without order taken for the service of the church’.²⁰³ In 1612 Thomas Winter, a native of Dorset, was deprived of the treasurership of Cashel, which he had held since at least 1607, for non-residency. He was also precentor of Waterford from 1609 and was later appointed dean of Cloyne in 1613.²⁰⁴

The inquisitors also found six or seven English preaching ministers in the diocese of Lismore, who had come to Ireland with the plantation undertakers but had been left without benefices. These men were to be granted some of the vicarages and rectories that were found to be ‘void and destitute of incumbents’.²⁰⁵ The beneficiaries included Thomas Ledisham, a native of Cheshire and graduate of Oxford, who was prebendary of Kilgobnet and vicar of Seskinan by 1610.²⁰⁶ Unlike many English clergymen who came to Ireland during this period, Ledisham appears to have remained in the country, as his son, also Thomas, graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, and was chancellor of Waterford by 1633.²⁰⁷

The vicarages of ‘Gelraghe Aghnegarowbed, Clonena, Lakowran, Ballybeakan, Cullegan, Killncolassy, Moccolpe, Novo Castro, Shamrelyen, Killurd, Templetiny,

²⁰² ‘A Note of several Abuses in the dioceses of Cashell, Emeley, Lysmore and Waterford’, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.242; RV, 1615; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*.

²⁰³ ‘A Note of several Abuses in the dioceses of Cashell, Emeley, Lysmore and Waterford’, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.243.

²⁰⁴ Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.143; p.310.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Knox, *Clergy and parishes*.

²⁰⁷ Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.69; Burtchaell & Sadleir; RV, 1633.

Fewies and Deragrath' were also earmarked for the unbeneficed plantation clergy, although with apparently less success. It is unlikely that Peter White, who was curate of Fewes (Fewies) in 1607 and of Clonea (Clonena) by 1615, was an English migrant, as he was also reading minister in Stradbally in 1591, in Dungarvan in 1599 and in Kilrossanty in 1607.²⁰⁸ John O'Hea, whose surname suggests that he also was Irish-born, was curate of Colligan (Cullegan) in 1615, but was also vicar of Ardmore as early as 1588 and held Kilcockin and Ringagona in 1607.²⁰⁹ Despite the commissioners' claims that the vicarage of Mocolpe was vacant in 1607, John Roche, the prebendary of Modeligo, is named as curate of the living in that year, although he had been replaced by John Owen, vicar choral in Lismore cathedral, by 1615.²¹⁰

If John Alden, vicar of Derrygrath (Deragrath) in 1615, was one of those English ministers left without a benefice in the aftermath of the plantation, he had secured a number of prestigious promotions by 1612, when he was archdeacon of Lismore and precentor of Cork. Later, in 1614, he was granted the rectories of Cahir and of St Mary's in Clonmel.²¹¹ Similarly, another Englishman, Thomas Wilson, who held Newcastle (Novo Castro) in 1615, was described as the earl of Cork's 'graduate preacher' in Youghal in 1606. He was chancellor of Cashel in 1608, dean of Lismore in 1610 and, by 1615, he was archdeacon of Cashel and prebendary of Coole in Cloyne.²¹² He had been granted the living of Rynchrowe in Lismore some time before 1615 when the

²⁰⁸ 'A Note of several Abuses in the dioceses of Cashell, Emeley, Lysmore and Waterford', *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.243; Knox, *Clergy and parishes*.

²⁰⁹ Knox, *Clergy and parishes*; 'Miler Magrath's Visitation of 1588'.

²¹⁰ RV, 1615; Knox, *Clergy and parishes*; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.73.

²¹¹ Knox, *Clergy and parishes*; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.59.

²¹² Knox, *Clergy and parishes*; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.114; p.335.

aforementioned John O’Hea resigned the cure.²¹³ It is unlikely that either Alden or Wilson spent much time in their Lismore parishes.

John Lancaster, bishop of Waterford and Lismore from 1608 to 1619, was a native of Lancashire and a graduate of Cambridge. Formerly chaplain to James I, he became the first Protestant bishop to make his home in Waterford since Marmaduke Middleton departed the city in 1581. By 1610 he or his son, also John, was in possession of the prebends of Corbally, Tullaghorton, Mora, Disert and Oughterath, as well as the vicarage of Shanrahan, another of those livings earmarked by the 1607 commission for those unbeneficed clergy who had come from England with the undertakers. John Lancaster junior went on to become precentor of Waterford in 1613 and of Lismore in 1616. However, the bishop had a strained relationship with the people of the city, the majority of whom had espoused Catholicism by the time of his appointment, and who were enraged when he used timber and materials that he had removed from St Peter’s church to build an episcopal residence.²¹⁴

An early example of the difficulties that were to face those attempting to impose the reformed faith within the tight-knit communities of south-east Ireland was the experience of John Bale, the Englishman who was appointed bishop of Ossory in 1552. Bale was a committed reformer and was in conflict with the lay and clerical community in Kilkenny soon after his arrival in the diocese. When he refused Lord Mountgarret permission for a Mass to be celebrated on the feast of St Anne, a day not recognized in the new liturgical

²¹³ RV 1615.

²¹⁴ Julian Walton, ‘John Lancaster’, *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (27 July 2009); Knox, *Clergy and parishes*; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, pp 9-10..

calendar, his clergy marched through the city in protest. Some time later, when he insisted that his haymakers work on a traditional church holiday, again not included in the diary of the reformed church, a riot ensued, during which five of Bale's servants were killed. Following his rescue, Bale fled to Dublin, then to Switzerland and he never returned to Kilkenny.²¹⁵ It is interesting to note that it was a clergyman, Barnaby Bolger, who led the group of protesters that besieged the bishop in his house.²¹⁶

That the Kilkenny community continued to reject the imposition of Protestantism is reflected in the remarks of Nicholas Walsh, bishop of Ossory from 1577 to 1585. On his appointment, he complained to the privy council that the 'chiefest men' of Kilkenny

.... could by no means be brought to hear the divine service there with their wives and families (as they are by her majesty's injunctions bound to do).²¹⁷

Walsh met an even worse fate than his predecessor, Bale, as he was murdered in December 1585 by James Dullerde, whom he had publicly charged with adultery.²¹⁸

In contrast to these extreme examples, Gillespie believes that peaceful coexistence between the Catholic and Protestant population was the norm, with confessional differences only becoming a matter of concern when other circumstances placed the people under strain.²¹⁹ Thadeus Dowling reported in 1602 that he had been resident in Leighlin functioning, first as treasurer, then chancellor, of the diocese since the 1560s and only once being forced to flee 'from the fury of the rebels', presumably during the

²¹⁵ Neely, *Kilkenny*, p.42.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid., p.44.

²¹⁸ J.B.Leslie, *Ossory clergy and parishes* (Enniskillen, 1933), p.15; Brady (ed.), *State papers*, pp 103-5.

²¹⁹ Gillespie, *Devoted people*, p.4.

Baltinglass revolt in 1580.²²⁰ According to Elizabeth Rickett, the Protestant clergy, mostly isolated and surrounded by recusant neighbours, had to interact with these Catholics on a regular basis in order to go about their daily lives.²²¹ Lord Anglesey, a member of the Church of Ireland, who lived at Camolin before the 1641 rebellion, reported that ‘there was never more unity, friendship and agreement amongst all sorts and degrees’ of Catholics and Protestants:

I remember very well the summer before the rebellion, the titular bishop of Ferns coming on his visitation in the county of Wexford, where I then dwelt. At the request of the Popish priest, I lent most of my silver plate to entertain the said Bishop with, and had it honestly restored.²²²

As Norman Jones remarks, communities were

..... capable of hating the abstract enemies that surrounded them while quietly doing business with the real people who held those hated views.²²³

However, as we shall see later, the brittle nature of these relationships was clearly illustrated by the ease with which they fractured in 1641.

The Royal Visitation of 1615 was the first comprehensive survey of incumbency in all the Church of Ireland dioceses of the south-east and, as we have seen, it clearly illustrated the failure of the measures that had been taken to provide a suitably qualified ministry to serve the people. The returns reveal that, at most, fifty-two qualified preaching clergymen were resident in the south-east in 1615, with all other parochial duties supposedly carried

²²⁰ ‘Thady Dowling’, *CSPI, 1600-03*, p.333.

²²¹ Rickett, ‘Church of Ireland episcopate’, p.341.

²²² Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, ‘The lost architecture of the Wexford plantation’ in Whelan & Nolan (eds.), *Wexford*, p.187.

²²³ Jones, *The English Reformation*, p.97.

out by reading ministers, who were described variously as ‘ignorant’, ‘barbarous’, an ‘unworthy fellow’, ‘ancient Irish’ or ‘popish priest’.²²⁴

Even when a clergyman did embrace the reformed faith, his credibility within the community was often compromised by the refusal of his family and household to follow his confessional persuasions. The most celebrated example of this was the archbishop of Cashel, Miler Magrath, whose many critics attested to the recusancy of his wife and children. In 1593 Richard Comyn reported that Magrath’s

wife, Any, his son Terence, his daughters yea and all his household servants, his tenants, followers, clerics, ministers, prelates and men in general are the greatest papists under the heavens.²²⁵

The archbishop’s former clerk, Patrick Kearnye, repeated the allegation that Magrath’s family and household were all Catholics and added that Any, ‘the mass-monger’, had ‘some private seminary priests or bishops celebrating a mass unto her on Christmas Day’.²²⁶ Furthermore, Piers Comyn alleged that Magrath

..... kept a schoolmaster named Mr. Hussey, a notorious papist, to instruct, learn and bring up his children in papistry²²⁷

The example of Magrath may appear, as always, to be extreme, but it was not exceptional, and the practice of recusancy by the families of Irish Protestant clergymen

²²⁴ RV 1615.

²²⁵ ‘Richard Comyn to the Council of Ireland’, 19 Feb. 1593 in Marron (ed.), ‘Documents concerning Miler McGrath’, p.152.

²²⁶ ‘Additions to the informations made by Patrick Kearnye’, 20 Feb. 1593 in Marron (ed.), ‘Documents concerning Miler McGrath’, pp 159-61.

²²⁷ ‘A book received from Piers Comyn the 9th March 1592 containing sundry articles against the Archbihop of Cashel’ in Marron (ed.), ‘Documents concerning Miler McGrath’, p.164.

did not die out with the passing of the first generation of vicars and rectors. As late as 1634, the new lord deputy, Wentworth, wrote to Archbishop Laud that

..... here are divers of the Clergy, whose Wives and Children are Recusants, and there I observe the Church goes most lamentably to Wreck, and hath suffered extreamly under the Alienations of this Sort of Pastors, wherein I could already give many Instances.²²⁸

In his drive to reform the established church, Wentworth also recognised the importance of persuading, or compelling, the clergy to leave the relative comfort and safety of the cities and towns to live in the rural parishes to which they were assigned. The 1604 ‘memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie and establishing of a learned ministrie in Ireland’ included a stipulation that ‘every preacher or minister be resident on his cure’.²²⁹ It is evident that the instruction was not widely followed, as Wentworth remarked thirty two years later that

..... we cannot but take notice of the general Non-residence of Clergymen, to the dishonour of God, the disservice of their Cures, the vain Expende of their Means in Cities and Corporate Towns, and the great Scandal of the Church.²³⁰

Despite the widespread absence of dwelling houses, churches or sources of clerical income in these livings, he ordered the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes to

..... cause all those whom you shall find to live idly about this city of Dublin, or in other cities or Corporate Towns, or upon their Farms, to repair instantly to their Parish-Churches to attend that Charge, whereof they owe an account both to God and Man; and if they shall disobey your Commands in this respect, to sequester their Livings for a Year; and if they be still negligent, to deprive them ...²³¹

²²⁸ ‘Lord Deputy to Laud’, 31 Jan. 1634, in Knowler (ed.), *Strafford's letters and dispatches*, i, p.188.

²²⁹ ‘Memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie’ *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.241..

²³⁰ ‘Lord Deputy to the Primate and the rest of the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes’, 2 June 1636 in Knowler (ed.), *Strafford's letters and dispatches*, ii, p.7.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

Interestingly, this was also a problem among the Catholic clergy, and the Dublin synod of 1614, which met in Kilkenny, addressed the issue by including among its decrees an order compelling priests to be present in their parishes, especially on Sundays and feast days.²³² The Catholic bishop of Waterford, Patrick Comerford, also acknowledged that the non-residence of priests in rural parishes was a difficulty that needed to be addressed within his diocese.²³³

Whether or not they lived among their communities, the Protestant clergy depended upon members of the laity to perform various duties within the parish. Since the thirteenth century, churchwardens had been responsible for the care and custody of the fabric and furniture of the church and the provision of utensils for divine service.²³⁴ Since the Reformation, the responsibilities associated with that office in the reformed church had expanded, to the point where the churchwarden was expected to function as the representative of the parishioners and could enter into legal agreements, levy parish rates, handle bequests, collect rents, inspect accounts and pay chaplains and clerks.²³⁵

Among Spenser's suggestions for the improvement of the Church of Ireland was a recommendation that the position of churchwarden should be filled by 'the gravest men in the parish ... as they bee here in England'.²³⁶ What he may not have understood was that this had been the case for centuries, although these leading citizens were now almost

²³² Forrestal, *Synods in Ireland*, p.51

²³³ Moran (ed.), *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i, pp 165-9.

²³⁴ 'Churchwardens' (www.churchwardens.com/history) (16 Sept. 2010).

²³⁵ Adrian Empey, 'The layperson in the parish: the medieval inheritance' in Raymond Gillespie and W.G. Neely (eds.), *The laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000: all sorts and conditions* (Dublin, 2002), p.26.

²³⁶ Spenser, *View of the state of Ireland*, p.155.

exclusively Catholic. If the churchwardens, described by Gillespie as the ‘embodiment of the parish’,²³⁷ were mainly recusants, they were, at best, ambiguous in the aspiration of enhancing the position of the Protestant church within the community.

Jourdan describes a churchwarden in 1615 who attended church and performed his official duties there, while he was ‘having masses said in his house and giving presents to the Romanist clergy’.²³⁸ Gillespie believes that Catholics retained ‘powerful local and familial associations’ with their parishes until the second half of the seventeenth century and continued to function as churchwardens and in other lay positions within the established church, engaging in a gradual process of disengagement. This process was helped by the fact that churchwardens were not required to take the oath of supremacy until the introduction of the Irish canons of 1634.²³⁹

The levying and collection of recusancy fines was the responsibility of the churchwarden,²⁴⁰ although it is unlikely that this duty was carried out with much alacrity or diligence in the south-eastern dioceses. The 1621 Royal Commission reported that

the churchwardens, some of them recusants, do not perform the disagreeable duty [collecting recusancy fines] but leave it to the ministers. As a result, the ministers do not perform it equally for they only prosecute the poorer sorts and leave the better classes alone.²⁴¹

²³⁷ Raymond Gillespie, ‘Urban parishes in early seventeenth century Ireland: the case of Dublin’ in Fitzpatrick & Gillespie (eds), *The parish*, p.233.

²³⁸ Jourdan, ‘The rise of the puritans and planter class’, pp 536-7.

²³⁹ Gillespie, ‘Urban parishes’, p.239.

²⁴⁰ Corish, *Irish Catholic experience*, p.66.

²⁴¹ ‘Report of the Commissioners to James’, 12 June 1621 in Jourdan, ‘The rise of the puritans and planter class’, p.565.

Gillespie also notes that the churchwarden was the person who spoke on behalf of the parish during the visitation of bishops.²⁴² In the case where the office was held by a recusant, it was likely that a false impression of the conduct of parish business could be given to the prelate on his annual tour, thus minimising the persecution of Catholic priests and laity, who might otherwise have been subject to harassment. The position of the Protestant clergy within the communities of south-east Ireland was not improved by their absence from many parishes, the often open recusancy of their families and the proliferation of Catholics serving as churchwardens within the established church.

As we have seen, the status of Catholic clergy in the community was considerably enhanced by the fact that so many of them were members of, or related to, the elite families who held much of the political and commercial power in the region. In contrast, a study of the available lists of Protestant ministers in the south-eastern dioceses reveals that the number of clergy with ties to the leading urban and rural households declined sharply in the century following the Reformation. Between 1552 and 1578, Nicholas Codd, Philip Roche, Stephen Hay, William Devereux, Richard Rothe, Patrick Stafford, John O'Dowyll, Thomas Synnotte and William O'Ferrall were rectors or vicars in the diocese of Ferns. They were also probably all members of Wexford's prominent Old English and Old Irish families.²⁴³ However, by 1615 Nicholas Codd had been replaced in the parish of Carne by the Englishman, Apollo Waller, who was also treasurer of Ferns, prebendary of Wicklow and living in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. By 1639, the living was held by Waller's son, Adam. Philip Roche held the relatively wealthy parish of

²⁴² Gillespie, 'Urban parishes', p.233.

²⁴³ Leslie, *Ferns clergy*.

Carnagh in 1578, but, by 1615, his place had been taken by John Alcock, prebendary of Toome and a graduate of Trinity College.²⁴⁴

Of the preaching ministers serving in Ferns in 1615, only the archdeacon, Richard Devereux, and Richard Turner, prebendary of Kilrane, carried surnames that might be associated with the county's leading families. While Stafford, Synnott, Hay, Ffrench, Warren, Dreighan and Hore still featured among the names of the reading ministers in that year, the Old English and Gaelic surnames had almost completely disappeared from the lists of clergymen by the 1630s, replaced by Richard Sherlock in Killenagh and Ardamine, Edward Taylor in Ardcolm, Anthony Proctor in Bannow, William Garvey in Clonmore, Thomas Parsons in Horetown and Valentine Goodhand in Kilcormick.²⁴⁵

The 1607 commission of enquiry in Cashel and Emly listed Church of Ireland incumbents with Irish surnames – O'Hea, MacBrien, Heffernan, Maguire, Hurley, MacCanny, O'Hogan, O'Teig and O'Flanagan – but they were all mere reading ministers and most served parishes whose livings were controlled by Archbishop Magrath and his family.²⁴⁶ By the late 1620s and early 1630s, they had all been replaced by men whose names suggest that they were English or Welsh, including John Crayford, Robert Jones, Richard Burgh, William Kidley, Francis Laurell, Bartholomew Price and Ezechiel Smith.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ Ibid; RV 1615; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, ii, p.359.

²⁴⁵ RV 1615.

²⁴⁶ 'A Note of several Abuses in the dioceses of Cashell, Emeley, Lysmore and Waterford', *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 237-44; Seymour, *Parochial clergy of Cashel and Emly*.

²⁴⁷ Seymour, *Parochial clergy of Cashel and Emly*.

When the visitation returns for Waterford and Lismore in 1615 are compared with the report of the Royal Commission of 1633, only Thomas Sherwin, vicar of Kinsalebeg in 1615, remained in the diocese at the later date, having been promoted to the position of treasurer of Lismore. Almost all of the Old Irish and Old English surnames that still dominated the lists in 1615 - Harney, Power, Cahill, O'Hea, Quoane, Roche and White – had disappeared by 1633. The new incumbents were evidently English or Welsh-born, or of New English stock, with surnames such as Glover, Barlow, Lighfoot, Jessop, Phelps and Thomas.²⁴⁸

While the arrival of better qualified clergy, many of whom had university degrees from Oxford, Cambridge or Dublin, may have improved the standard of pastoral care, it had the parallel effect of further alienating the local Gaelic and Old English communities, who had little common ground with these newcomers. They were regarded as yet another wing of the New English immigrants who were attempting to take control of the various spheres of civic, commercial and religious life in south-east Ireland. It is difficult to imagine these ministers developing mutually supportive relationships amongst those who regarded their arrival as 'an element in the English programme to threaten local liberties'.²⁴⁹

Jourdan gave a good description of this Protestant dilemma:

What had kept the Church of Ireland in a state of inferiority had been the low level of culture and education among its clergy, and indeed of its adherents in general.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ RV 1615; RV 1633.

²⁴⁹ Corish, *Irish catholic experience*, p.67.

²⁵⁰ Jourdan, 'The rise of the puritans and planter class', p.527.

However, the replacement of these inferior native clergy by ‘Englishmen, out of touch with their parishioners, and out of sympathy with their needs,’²⁵¹ did little to improve the situation. This view is echoed by Alan Ford, who believes that the fact that so many ministers were English or Scottish worked against the Church of Ireland in its efforts to convert the Irish.²⁵²

Local hostility to Protestant clergymen, their ministry and those members of the community who attended their services was manifested in a number of ways and was evident as early as 1596 when Bishop Lyons of Cork reported that his congregation had shrunk from one thousand to just five in the space of two years, with no more than three communicants where he had five hundred previously.

The best name they give unto the Divine Service appointed by Her Majesty in the Church of England and Ireland, is, the Devil’s Service, and the professors thereof, devils; and when they meet one of the profession, they will cross themselves after the popish manner, and any that company with us, or receive any living of me, or the like being appointed by Her Majesty, they excommunicate him or them, and will not suffer them to come in their company.²⁵³

The secretary of state, Geoffrey Fenton, told Robert Cecil in 1607 that

..... the Catholics here are of late risen into greater stomach against religion than before, not forbearing to defend their recusancy in public, to the great contempt of His Majesty’s proclamations and other mild means used by the State to recover them.²⁵⁴

In the same year, Chichester wrote to the privy council that

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ford, *Protestant Reformation*, pp 76-7.

²⁵³ Jourdan, ‘Towards a doctrinal reformation’, p.457.

²⁵⁴ ‘Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Salisbury’, 21 Jan. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 87-8.

..... such as are conformed and go to church are everywhere derided, scorned and oppressed by the multitude.²⁵⁵

That such scorn was expressed openly was also witnessed by Sir Toby Caulfield who told the lord deputy in 1610 that the Catholic hierarchy had ‘appointed that every man shall bless himself as often as he sees any Protestant’.²⁵⁶ John Ankers, a preacher in Athlone, complained in 1622 that a Protestant minister in Kilkenny had been forced to wait outside his church while a Catholic priest was inside celebrating Mass.²⁵⁷

Of course, it would be wrong to conclude that there were no exceptions to the general picture of the south-eastern dioceses presented in this chapter, that of a sparsely staffed Church of Ireland, whose clergy were, by and large, alienated from the communities they were appointed to serve. As was observed earlier, in some areas where plantations occurred and where land and other natural resources were attractive, Protestant enclaves were created, populated by recent immigrants from England, where a Church of Ireland minister was more likely to thrive than his Catholic counterpart.²⁵⁸

While promoting the cause of plantation in places such as Idough in Kilkenny, Ely O’Carroll in King’s County and on the former lands of the duke of Norfolk in Carlow, the solicitor-general, Sir Robert Jacob, argued that the introduction of Protestant landholders to the region would certainly lead to the appointment of Church of Ireland ministers. He wrote in 1613 that

²⁵⁵ ‘Lord Deputy and Council to Privy Council’, 27 Oct. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.310.

²⁵⁶ ‘Sir Toby Caulfield to the Lord Deputy’, 27 June 1610, *CSPI, 1608-10*, p.475.

²⁵⁷ Alan Ford, ‘James Ussher and the Godly Prince in early seventeenth-century Ireland’ in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), p.217.

²⁵⁸ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 309-16.

.... the poor people (who were as sheep without a shepherd) [were obliged] to attend popish priests and to go to their masses having no manner of service said in their parish church.²⁵⁹

Some small measure of success in this regard appears to have been achieved in the ensuing decades. During his travels through the south-eastern dioceses in 1635, William Brereton visited Hacketstown in Leighlin, where he found that a Lancashire planter, Mr. Watson,

hath erected a dainty new church, and maintains a good minister, Mr. Roote's wife's brother. He allows him 40£ pension per annum and his house, and a competent provision of ground.²⁶⁰

In 1637 the Yorkshireman, Christopher Wandesforde, was granted 30,000 acres in Kilkenny by his cousin, Lord Deputy Wentworth.²⁶¹ Wandesforde built a 'very handsome' church in Castlecomer and endowed it with lands worth £300 per annum. He also built a stately house for the minister and gave it to an 'able and godly man'²⁶². This was evidently John Watkinson, who was rector of the parish in 1639 and who served the many English settlers who had been brought into the parish by Wandesforde.²⁶³ As we have seen in Chapter Two, the progress in these parishes was short-lived, as the clergy were deprived of their church livings by the 1641 insurgents, with the curate of Hacketstown, Robert Dunster, being threatened to be 'run through with a sword' and James Kyvan, curate of Castlecomer, defecting to Catholicism.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ Ibid., pp 177-8.

²⁶⁰ Brereton, *Travels*, pp 385-6.

²⁶¹ 'Christopher Wandesforde' (www.castlecomer.ie) (23 Sept. 2010).

²⁶² Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory* i, pp 158-9.

²⁶³ Leslie, *Ossory clergy*, p.221; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p.507.

²⁶⁴ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 812, 011r-011v, 6 Jan. 1642; MS 812, 193r-194v, 28 April 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

Sir Walsingham Cooke, who received lands in north Wexford in 1619, claimed in his 1641 deposition that he had built a new church and chancel on his estate and that all the tenants on his manor of Parsonstown in the parish of Killenagh were English and Protestant, to the number of two hundred families.²⁶⁵ However, this assertion was challenged by another deponent, Sarah Markham, who claimed that the yeomen, John Chandler and Hugh Clarke of Cullendrow, were left unmolested by the rebels because they were the only Catholic tenants on the estate.²⁶⁶

The incumbent of the united parishes of Killenagh and Ardamine in 1637 was Richard Sherlock, a native of Cheshire, who had been sent to study in Dublin when his mother could no longer afford to keep him at Oxford. He graduated from Trinity College with an MA in 1633 and, following his years in north Wexford, he served as a chaplain with the royalist forces in the English civil war. After the Restoration he was granted the parish of Winwick in Lancashire, one of the wealthiest livings in the English church, where he remained until his death in 1689. He was a renowned writer and an influential mentor to many young clergymen in his later years.²⁶⁷ Unfortunately, we have no detail about his early period of ministry in Ferns, although we must assume that Walsingham Cooke brought him to his estate to serve the religious requirements of his Protestant tenants.

If these examples in Leighlin, Ossory and Ferns represent exceptional instances of isolated, but thriving, Protestant communities with landlords who supported well-qualified, resident clergymen, the position was somewhat different in that part of Lismore

²⁶⁵ Ibid. (T.C.D., MS 818 f.082r-083v, 5 Jan. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁶⁶ Ibid (T.C.D., MS 818, f.073r-073v, 13 Jan. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁶⁷ Leslie, *Ferns clergy*; Ian Green, 'Richard Sherlock', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (24 Sept. 2010).

that was controlled by Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork. Boyle, a native of Canterbury, purchased the Munster estates of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1603, including large areas of land in west Waterford and south Tipperary in the diocese of Lismore.

Toby Barnard describes the estates as being

..... designed as a model of what the resident and vigilant proprietor could achieve in Ireland. Simultaneously a peaceful and protestant island would be achieved and the English protestant interest advanced.²⁶⁸

By 1628, the lord deputy, Lord Falkland, reported to the privy council that Boyle had built and fortified a whole town, including ‘churches for the worship of God’.²⁶⁹ As well as sponsoring the development of the urban centres of Lismore, Dungarvan and Tallow, the earl claimed by 1641 that there were no Catholics on his musters and that east Cork and west Waterford had a population of ten thousand Protestants.²⁷⁰ From the 1620s, their names and educational records suggest that the clergy of Lismore and the surrounding parishes were all either English-born clerics or the graduate sons of recent immigrants. Although the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore had been united in the fourteenth century, the cathedral at Lismore retained its dignitaries and the dean in 1630 was Robert Naylor, an alumnus of Cambridge, who was later dean of Limerick His successor was Edward Perry, who held a doctorate from Trinity College, Dublin.²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ T.C. Barnard, ‘Boyle, Richard, first earl of Cork, (1566-1643),’ *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (24 Sept. 2010).

²⁶⁹ ‘The Lord Deputy and Council to the English Privy Council concerning the earl of Cork’, 6 April 1628, *CSPI, 1625-32*, p.322.

²⁷⁰ Barnard, ‘Richard Boyle’, *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (24 Sept. 2010); O’Grady, *Strafford in Ireland*, i, p.423; Dorothea Townshend, *The life and letters of the great earl of Cork* (London, 1904), p.392.

²⁷¹ Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.45.; Venn & Venn.

Four men held the position of precentor between 1630 and 1641, including Raleigh Bellot, a Dublin graduate, Anthony Proctor, who had attended Cambridge and Robert Foreward, an alumnus of both Oxford and Cambridge.²⁷² The English-born Francis Kettleby, mentioned in the previous chapter as rector of Callan in Ossory in 1637, was treasurer of Lismore a year earlier and also served as chaplain to the duke of Ormond.²⁷³ Thomas Burt, who had attended Oxford and Cambridge, held Dungarvan in 1637 and was succeeded in 1638 by Edwin Goodwin, holder of a doctorate from Cambridge, who was also prebendary of Seskanan and rector of Rathgomrack, Balilathim and Templebrick in 1633.²⁷⁴ The close association that the Boyle family maintained with the Lismore clergy is illustrated by the report that William Roper, vicar of Aghlish and Stradbally, was in England with the earl's son, Lord Dungarvan, in 1633.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, Thomas Webb, who served the parish of Lismore and was a member of the cathedral vicars choral, was described as Lord Cork's official organist in 1636.²⁷⁶

The writer and puritan preacher, Stephen Jerome, who graduated with an MA from Cambridge in 1607, had an even closer relationship with Boyle. This ambitious young minister was forced to leave his position in northern England following a scandal that involved the wife of a parishioner and rumours about inappropriate associations with his own maid-servants. He came to Ireland in 1622 with Viscount Beaumont and attached himself to the earl of Cork's household, first as tutor to one of his sons, then as his

²⁷² Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, pp 50-1..

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Knox, *Clergy and parishes*; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.75; RV 1633.

²⁷⁵ RV 1633.

²⁷⁶ Barra Boydell, 'The earl of Cork's musicians: a study in the patronage of music in early seventeenth century Anglo-Irish society' in 'Records of early English drama' 18 (1993), p.8 (www.jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/reed/article/download/9936/6882) (23 Oct. 2011).

chaplain, and finally as incumbent of the parish of Tallow until his return to England in 1625.²⁷⁷ The earl had restored the church at Tallow some years previously and had it ‘galleried round’.²⁷⁸ He appears to have taken a special interest in the parish, as he re-endowed it as a vicarage in 1631, provided an allowance of wine for the gentlemen who attended the regular Wednesday lectures there and paid for the preacher’s dinner. The vicar was usually one of Boyle’s chaplains who occupied a house at the token rent of ‘two fat turkeys a year’.²⁷⁹ Jerome was succeeded as incumbent by David Thomas, a Dublin doctoral graduate, who went on to become chancellor of the diocese in 1636 and who died around 1641. The next vicar of Tallow was Brien Roche, a native of Berkshire in England.²⁸⁰

The first earl also used his influence to further the careers of his cousins, Michael and Richard Boyle. Richard was appointed dean of Waterford in 1603 and went on to become archbishop of Tuam, while his younger brother, Michael, became dean of Lismore in 1614 and bishop of the united diocese in 1620. He also held the positions of chancellor of Lismore and treasurer of Waterford *in commendam*.²⁸¹ A Roger Boyle, possibly also related to the earl, was prebendary of Mora in Lismore in 1623.²⁸²

²⁷⁷ Thomas Secombe, rev. Alan Ford, ‘Stephen Jerome’, *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.com) (24 Sept. 2010).

²⁷⁸ Townshend, *The great earl of Cork*, p.43.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 78.

²⁸⁰ Knox, *Clergy and parishes*; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.53..

²⁸¹ T.F. Henderson, ‘Richard Boyle’, *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.com) (27 Sept. 2010); J.T. Gilbert, ‘Michael Boyle’, *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.com) (27 Sept. 2010).

²⁸² Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.63.

‘The model for a placid and prosperous protestant Ireland’²⁸³ was how Oliver Cromwell described Boyle’s estates and his clerical appointments do indicate a concerted effort on the earl’s part to introduce a group of competent, educated clergymen to help establish genuine Protestant communities. However, Barnard describes the Protestant presence in west Waterford and east Cork as ‘puny’ and the earl’s towns as ‘too fragile to withstand the Catholic onslaught after 1641’.²⁸⁴

Hundreds of Protestant settlers in the part of Lismore diocese that lay within Boyle’s estates reported that they suffered or witnessed violence, robbery and even murder at the hands of the Catholic rebels, while the parochial clergy lost their homes, income and churches.²⁸⁵ Mary Baulte, widow of the Cambridge and Oxford graduate, Thomas Burt, who was rector of Dungarvan since at least 1637, reported that the Confederate forces burnt the vicarage house and stripped the parish church in January 1642, before converting the latter to use as a prison for Protestants.²⁸⁶ Elizabeth Hatherington gave evidence in 1642 that her husband, Richard, the vicar of Modeligo, had fled to England²⁸⁷ while Daniel Spicer, prebendary of Tullaghorton and Kilrossanty, testified that he had lost his livings, worth £100 per annum, and that Richard Mayne, curate of Kilmallock, was hanged by the rebels.²⁸⁸ Phillip Chappell, curate of Whitechurch, reported that his church was despoiled and robbed, while John Potter, curate of Affane, and Thomas

²⁸³ Barnard, ‘Richard Boyle’, *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (27 Sept. 2010).

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 820) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 March 2012).

²⁸⁶ *Ibid* (T.C.D., MS 820 f.044r-045v, 29 June 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 March 2012).

²⁸⁷ *Ibid* (T.C.D., MS 820 f.091r-091v, 23 June 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 March 2012).

²⁸⁸ *Ibid* (T.C.D., MS 820, f.183r-183v, 17 August 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 March 2012).

Powell, curate of Mothel, Dysert and Kilmoleran, lost all their goods and chattels as well as their church incomes.²⁸⁹

Of course, reports of violence against Protestants during the rebellion were not confined to west Waterford and members of the Church of Ireland throughout the south-east region suffered similar assaults on their homes, property and persons. What is difficult to judge from the available sources is whether the Catholic community singled out members of the clergy for specific attacks. Donatus Conner, rector of Ardcolm and Castlebridge in Ferns, certainly believed that he was imprisoned by the rebels in Wexford town and transported to Kilkenny ‘because he was a protestant Mynister’, although there is a possibility that he was specifically targeted because he had been a Catholic priest until converting to Protestantism.²⁹⁰ It was reported that Francis Banister, vicar of Rahelty in Cashel, was attacked while travelling from Archerstown to Cashel and that he ‘earnestly begged’ his captors to spare his life, which they refused to do ‘in regard he was a minister’.²⁹¹ John Moore, prebendary of Aghoure in Ossory, described the actions of the insurgents in Kilkenny city in December, 1641:

most cruell of all, Wer they in ther robing of the pastors and ministers of the citie taking from them all of [their] goods: in beating without exceptione striping and most despytfully abusing of diverse as Mr Smith Mr John Kerny Mr Allan Lamond Mr John Jones, Mr Gro[]sto Mr Anthony Sharpe, and others

²⁸⁹ Ibid (T.C.D., MS 820, f.211r-211v, 24 June 1642; f.204r-204v, 13 Aug. 1642; 108r-108v, 20 Aug. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 March 2012).

²⁹⁰ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 818, 110r-113v, 28 Oct. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹¹ Ibid (T.C.D., MS 821, 001r-004v, 21 July 1645) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹² Ibid (T.C.D., MS 812, 187r-199v, 22 Feb. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

Henry Palmer reported that the rebels entered the church at Fethard-on-Sea in Ferns in December 1641 where they

cutt the Pulpit Cloth & the ministers books in peeces, & strewed them about the church yard, & caused the Piper to play while they daunced and trampled them under their feete & called the minister dogg & stript him of his Cloths.²⁹³

The victim of this assault was probably William Jones, prebendary of Fethard.²⁹⁴ Robert Hamilton deposed that George Lowe, vicar of Fethard Union and Isertkieran in Cashel, was captured and stripped of his clothes in the town of Fethard. When the rebels offered to spare his life if he would convert to Catholicism he repeatedly refused to capitulate whereby his throat was slit and he was thrown in the river.²⁹⁵

Ruth Crisp, wife of Henry, the vicar of Pollardstown, deposed that her family was robbed in November 1641 and they were forced to seek refuge in Carlow Castle ‘along with many other Protestants’. When her husband and other men left the safety of the castle in search of food they were attacked and killed.²⁹⁶ Another clergyman who sought shelter in the castle was John Shawe, minister at Old Leighlin, who reported that he was entertained by Captain Thomas Harman and acted as preacher to the garrison until the ceasefire.²⁹⁷

A number of ministers also combined sanctuary with chaplaincy duties in the besieged fort of Duncannon near New Ross. Richard Greene reported that, in November 1642, a Mr Archdale was present there. This may have been John Archdale, rector of Old and

²⁹³ Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 818, 088r-089v, 12 Jan. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹⁴ Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, ii.

²⁹⁵ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D. MS 821, 017r-024v, 26 Oct. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹⁶ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D. MS 812, 046r-047v, 11 March 1645) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹⁷ Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 812, 050r-051v, 8 Jan. 1644) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

New Ross, or his son Martin, archdeacon of Ferns.²⁹⁸ In 1645 Lieutenant Anthony Poulton claimed that both Richard Underwood, vicar of Kilmallog, chaplain to Lord Esmond and later precentor of Ferns, and Thomas Fleming, the elderly incumbent at Hook, ‘did usually morning and evening sing a psalme and reade prayers in the said fforte’.²⁹⁹

While Toby Barnard claims that the Church of Ireland clergy were ‘particular targets of aggression’ from Catholics, I believe it is important to differentiate between an organised campaign of brutality against Protestant ministers and a drive to reclaim churches and church property for the benefit and use of Catholic priests, as discussed in Chapter Two.³⁰⁰ Ministers certainly numbered among those who were subjected to physical violence and forced to flee to Dublin and other ‘English parts’ for safety, but, as the 1641 depositions clearly show, their Protestant neighbours, who were farmers, merchants, husbandmen and gentry, received similar treatment.³⁰¹

Certainly, what tentative moves towards peaceful coexistence or successful proselytisation may have developed in the preceding decades appear to have been almost completely swept away by the events of 1641. Valentine Goodhand, parson of Kilcormack in Ferns, claimed that one of the rebels who robbed him was his own servant, while Mr Smith, the vicar of Balliroe, mentioned in Chapter Two as having fled to

²⁹⁸ Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 812, 038r-040v, 5 Jan. 1643) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011); Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, ii; Leslie, *Clergy of Ferns*.

²⁹⁹ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D. MS 812, 185r-186v, 12 April 1645) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011); Leslie, *Clergy of Ferns*.

³⁰⁰ T.C. Barnard, ‘“Almoners of Providence”: the clergy, 1647 to c.1780’ in T.C. Barnard and W.G. Neely (eds), *The clergy of the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000: messengers, watchmen and stewards* (Dublin, 2006), p.78.

³⁰¹ 1641 Depositions (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

Dublin, had apparently been living on the lands of his brother-in-law Richard Synnott, who took all the minister's cattle, corn and other goods on his departure.³⁰² Also in Ferns, Thomas Underwood, vicar of Rathmacknee and Maglass, claimed that two of the insurgents who robbed him and forced him from his church livings were Henry Sinnott and John O Murrogh who 'before the Rebellion began frequented the protestant Church, but since are revolted and gone to Masse.'³⁰³

The fragility and general isolation of the nascent Protestant communities of the south-east were compounded by a number of other factors. Despite the efforts of the government, there were significant parts of the region where Irish was still the spoken language of the majority of the population, a fact recognized by the appointment of Nicholas Stafford as Church of Ireland bishop of Ferns in 1601. One of the reasons advanced for his promotion was that he spoke Irish, which would have been a considerable advantage, especially in the northern part of the diocese.³⁰⁴ In 1612, Stafford's successor, Thomas Ram, despite being an Englishman himself, recognized the importance of the language when he reported to the lord deputy that

..... whereas 2 or 3 of the natives of this countrye being well able to speak and read Irish unto their Countrymen, sought unto me for Holy Orders, I thought likewise fitt in the great scarsity of men of that quality to admit them and provide them some small competency of living in the Irish parts.³⁰⁵

As the older, Irish-born, clergy were replaced in the succeeding decades by Englishmen and the sons of recent immigrants, their improved standard of education and training was

³⁰² Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 818, 069r-070v, 4 Jan. 1642; 094r-094v, 17 Feb. 1654) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³⁰³ Ibid. (T.C.D. MS 818, 141r-141v, 24 May, 1643) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³⁰⁴ Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.254.

³⁰⁵ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

largely irrelevant if they spoke only a language that many of their parishioners were unable to understand. The failure of Trinity College to educate an Irish-speaking ministry was discussed in Chapter One and the effects of the delay in providing even the most basic Protestant literature in Irish will be considered in the next chapter.

While their relationship with the broader community became more distant and the Protestant establishment withdrew into itself, the clergy regularly married the relatives of other churchmen in the region, thus isolating themselves even further from their neighbours. For example, Nehemiah Donellan, who was in Kilkenny in 1591 and was subsequently appointed archbishop of Tuam, married Elizabeth Daniell, sister of William, who was prebendary of Tascoffin in Ossory in 1591 and succeeded his brother-in-law as provincial of the western archdiocese.³⁰⁶ Ralph Barlow, precentor of Ossory in 1615, married a daughter of his bishop, Jonas Wheeler.³⁰⁷ The Welshman, Lewis Jones, who was appointed dean of Cashel in 1608 and was later bishop of Killaloe, married a sister of Archbishop James Ussher and two of his sons, Ambrose and Henry, later held the sees of Kildare and Meath, respectively.³⁰⁸

In the period between 1550 and 1650, the body of the Church of Ireland clergy in south-east Ireland developed from a confessionally ambiguous, uneducated assortment of ministers, scattered throughout whatever parishes could offer them a meagre living, into a group of university-trained and dedicated churchmen. Unfortunately for the cause of the reformed church, they remained unconnected to the majority of the population that they

³⁰⁶ N.J.A. Williams, 'Nehemiah Donnellan', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.com) (27 Sept. 2010).

³⁰⁷ Leslie, *Ossory clergy*, pp 16-7.

³⁰⁸ Knox, p.296; John McCafferty, 'Lewis Jones', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.com) (28 Sept. 2010).

were intended to convert and serve. Any active Protestant communities were composed almost entirely of New English settlers, whose clergy by and large came from the same background as themselves, and who lived in isolated clusters among the much larger Catholic population. Even where these Protestant enclaves existed, Colm Lennon believes that nowhere outside Dublin were their numbers large enough to ‘sustain the growth of an integrated Church of Ireland lay community’.³⁰⁹

Meanwhile, the majority of the people of south-east Ireland, dominated and controlled by a closely-knit and interrelated community of merchants, gentry and urban officials, provided a covering net of support and shelter for those Catholic priests whom they had chosen to be their pastors.

³⁰⁹ Colm Lennon, ‘The shaping of a lay community in the Church of Ireland, 1558-1640’ in Gillespie & Neely (eds), *The laity*, p.69.

Chapter Four

Church of Ireland institutional support and organisation

Where the medieval priest had been a peasant among peasants, his successor was increasingly likely to be a professional graduate whose formation set him apart from the people, even if he had originated from among them.¹

At a time of unprecedented religious upheaval and uncertainty in western Europe, many quotidian challenges faced those ministers or priests who were able to take up pastoral duties in the parishes of the south-eastern dioceses. The next two chapters will consider the guidelines and support systems that were made available by the central agencies of the Church of Ireland and the Roman Catholic Church to enable those working in often isolated parishes, firstly to understand, and then to carry out, their catechetical duties. Without clear and effective direction from the central agencies, the local minister or priest could not be in a position to impart the confessional doctrines and enforce the religious behaviour expected of his parishioners. These chapters will examine the level of support that was made available, through civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies, to help the local clergyman understand his duties and, in turn, convince his parishioners to adopt the practice of Protestantism or Catholicism in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

With the establishment of the Church of Ireland as the official state church, the full weight of both Irish and English political and civil institutions were, in theory, available for the support of its clergy, through legislation, inspection, correction and, where necessary, the use of the armed forces to impose conformity. Conversely, their position as

¹ Clarke, 'Varieties of uniformity', p.118.

fugitives from the law meant that the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland could not aspire openly to follow the Counter-Reformation guidelines laid down by the Council of Trent for the governance and behaviour of priests. It became necessary for the pope to devise a flexible approach to the administration of dioceses in those countries where Catholicism was not recognized as the official state religion. A significant part of these chapters will examine the measures taken by both the English government and the Vatican to guide and assist the clergy in their work at parish level, as well as analysing the degree to which their efforts were successful.

Closely associated with the direction and support offered by the central seats of power was the role of archbishops, suffragans and other churchmen in positions of authority. The work of convocations, visitations and synods was designed to establish, organise and maintain efficient and thriving structures within dioceses that would allow the local minister or priest to clearly interpret and disseminate the catechetical message emanating from London or Rome. How effectively the bishops, cathedral dignitaries, vicars apostolic and superiors of religious orders fulfilled these duties will be evaluated, as will their success or failure in dealing with the problems encountered by their clergy.

The key components of Rheinhard's generic model for confessionalisation, as described in the Introduction, are essentially echoed in an Irish context by Raymond Gillespie, who has described the three principal means by which clergymen could promote religion within their parishes as preaching and prayer, books, and control of that which was

regarded as holy.² Whether and how these means were provided to local clergy will form another section of this chapter. Among the subjects discussed will be the availability of what would now be termed *in service* training, that is, keeping priests and ministers up to date with confessional developments; the provision of bibles and other books deemed vital for catechising and for the general furtherance of the clergyman's own confessional knowledge; the priest's access to the material supports necessary for the celebration of the sacraments, such as vestments, altar cloths and sacred vessels; and the promotion of the use of the Irish language in areas where the majority of the population were still native speakers.

In 1537, the Irish parliament proclaimed Henry VIII supreme head of the Church of Ireland³ and the role expected of the clergy in the dissemination of this new order at local level was spelt out in another piece of legislation passed by the same parliament. The 'Act for the English order, habit and language,' which emphasised the priority that was to be given to the anglicisation and centralisation of the country's administration, also included instructions about the part to be played by the clergy in this endeavour. All those aspiring to the priesthood were to

endeavour hym silfe to lerne thenglishe tongues and language and use englishe ordre and factions if he may lerne and attain the same by possibilitie in suche place and places where his cure or dwelling shalbe and further shall endeavour hym silfe to move endoctryne and teache all other being under his ordre rule and governance to accomlishe and performe the same;⁴

² Gillespie, *Devoted people*, p.149.

³ 'An Act authorising the King, His Heirs and Successors, to be supreme Head of the Church of Ireland', 28 Henry VIII,c.5 [Ire.].

⁴ 'An Act for the English order habit and language', 28 Henry VIII.c.26 [Ire.].

Despite the decree of 1542, which elevated Henry's status from lord to king of Ireland,⁵ crown control over the country remained limited until the end of the century and much of Irish life continued to function beyond the jurisdiction of the English monarch and his successors' civil and military agents. This made it difficult, at best, to impose the envisaged religious reforms. As John McCafferty remarks, 'a paper kingdom was to get a paper reformation'.⁶

As we have seen in relation to the failed efforts to rid the country of Catholic clergy and to suppress the practice of the Roman faith, the following one hundred years witnessed a series of government decrees, directions and suggestions, designed to put in place a suitably trained and resourced corps of parochial Protestant clergy that would then be supported in their task of ensuring the conformity of the people. The failures of government with regard to education and the provision of material resources for the enterprise have been examined in detail in Chapters One and Two and the successful provision of institutional support was to prove equally problematic.

In 1552, the lord deputy, James Croft, wrote to William Cecil, outlining the organisational challenges that faced the administration in the imposition of the established state religion. While he acknowledged that his duties included the 'setting forth of religion', he found the Irish bishops to be 'negligent and fewe learned, and none of any good zeale as semeth', while he remarked that the 'olde seremonies yet remayne in

⁵ 'An Act that the King of England, his Heirs and Successors, be Kings of Ireland', 33 Henry VIII,c.3 [Ire.].

⁶ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.5.

meny places'.⁷ Like many statesmen who would follow him, Croft saw the solution to the problem in the importation of English 'learned men' to replace the current unworthy incumbents and to fill the vacant sees. Failing this, he requested the sending over of some similarly learned man who could help him to better direct the 'blynd and obstinate busshops'.⁸

As the religious course of crown and country changed direction dramatically in the 1540s and 1550s with the deaths, in quick succession, of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary, it is not surprising that little stability was achieved in confessional matters until the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558. In Ireland, the uncertainty surrounding issues of faith, even among the most senior officials in the country, is reflected in the fact that Lord Deputy Croft recommended the appointment of Thomas Leverous in 1551 to fill either of the vacant sees of Cashel or Ossory, portraying him to Edward's regent, the duke of Northumberland, as

for lernyng, disrescon, and (in outward apparaunce) for good lyving the metyst man in this Realme, and best able to preache both in the Englishe and the Iryshe tonge.⁹

However, Leverous clearly had Catholic leanings, as he was later appointed to the see of Kildare under Queen Mary and was then deprived in 1563 because of his refusal to take the oath of supremacy under Elizabeth. He was described by the Jesuit, David Wolf, around 1573 as one of only three bishops in Ireland who was not a 'hireling' or a 'dumb

⁷ 'Sir James Croft, Lord Deputy, to Sir William Cecil', 15 March 1551 in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 63-4.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ 'Sir James Croft, Lord Deputy, to the Duke of Northumberland', 11 Nov. 1551 in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 61-2.

dog' and he went on to become a renowned Catholic schoolmaster in Adare and Limerick.¹⁰

Reformation doctrine allowed for, and even encouraged, the marriage of clergy, but Mary instructed her officers that any minister who had wed was to be deprived of his living. Among those who were removed from their positions, in 1553 and 1554 respectively, were Robert Travers, bishop of Leighlin, and Thomas Lancaster, who held the deanery of Ossory *in commendam* with the bishopric of Kildare and who later, under Elizabeth, was appointed archbishop of Armagh.¹¹

In 1560, within two years of Elizabeth's ascent to the throne, the Act of Uniformity was passed in the Irish parliament, reintroducing the Book of Common Prayer that had been in use during the reign of Edward VI and instructing all ministers to

say and use the mattens, evensong, celebration of the Lord's supper, and, administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book.¹²

The ministers were allowed to make no more than one alteration to the liturgy and were to add no more than two sentences in the delivery of the sacrament. Any parson or vicar who refused to follow these orders was, on conviction for a first offence, to lose the profits of his benefice for one year and face six months' imprisonment. For a second

¹⁰ 'Account of the Affairs of Ireland by David Wolf, S.J.', n.d., *CSP Rome*, p.483; Ronan (ed.), *Reformation under Elizabeth*, p.22; Colm Lennon, *An Irish prisoner of conscience of the Tudor era: Archbishop Richard Creagh of Armagh, 1523-1586* (Dublin, 2000), p.43.

¹¹ Henry Jefferies, 'Thomas Lancaster', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (20 Feb. 2011); Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*.

¹² 'An Act for the Uniformitie of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments', 2 Elizabeth,c.2 [Ire.], 1560.

offence, the punishment was to be one year's imprisonment and deprivation of spiritual promotions, while a third offence would lead to deprivation and imprisonment for life.¹³

Henceforth, Ireland was to be a Protestant country with an ecclesiastical structure in place to support the dissemination and practice of the reformed religion.

However, progress was slow and in 1564 Thomas Wroth and Nicholas Arnold, two of the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, reported to the privy council that they found the country to be

so far backward in religion, we somewhat dowghted euen emongst our Companions in Commission(for ther be amongst us fewe earnest favourers of religion)

When Sir Henry Sidney arrived in Dublin the following year to take up the position of lord deputy for the first of three terms that he would serve, his instructions reflected London's understanding of how little had been achieved. He was directed to use all means

as well by example as otherwise, that devotion and godliness may increase from the highest to the lowest, and errors and evill opinions may be restreynd, suppressed & abolished;¹⁵

With particular reference to the position of the clergy, he was instructed to

have the clergy well instituted to inquire of the state of the clergy of that realme, in what parts the same is defective, and by what meanes it may be repaired & amended, and as much as in them shalbe, to apply them selves thereunto

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ 'Sir Thomas Wrothe and Sir Nicholas Arnold, two of the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, to the Lords of the Privy Council', 16 March 1564 in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 140-1.

¹⁵ 'Instructions to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, for the maintenance of the Christian faith', 4 July 1565 in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, p.207.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Furthermore, he was to ensure that bishops were compelled to visit their cures and to see that the ‘laws & instructions heretofore published, [were] duly kept & observed.’¹⁷ That the non-residence of bishops and other clergy was prevalent is evidenced by the much earlier correspondence of the surveyor-general, Walter Cowley, to the lord deputy in 1549, which recommended that the presence of Archbishop Edmund Butler in his see of Cashel was ‘very expedient’, in view of the ‘idolatry’ and ‘papisty’ that Cowley observed in the province. Butler was resident in Dublin at the time.¹⁸

Sidney’s earliest observations repeated Croft’s assertion that the only way to address the lack of suitable clergy in Ireland was by ‘sending lernid pastours frome hence, and by giving them competent livings there’.¹⁹ Few of these requested ‘lernid pastours’ were sent from England in the succeeding years and delay, uncertainty and an unwillingness to allocate sufficient resources towards the provision of suitable parochial clergy, were to prove critical in the failure to propagate the Protestant faith in south-east Ireland. The bishopric of Ossory was described as ‘long void’ in Sidney’s instructions of 1565²⁰, despite the fact that the Marian bishop, John Thonory, lived until that year, and does not appear to have been deprived. In March 1566, Chief Secretary Cecil instructed Sidney to appoint Christopher Gaffney to the position, although this appointment did not proceed until May, 1567.²¹ Even then, Gaffney’s suitability for the position must be questioned, as he evidently licensed at least one of his clergy to obtain orders from a Catholic bishop. Robert Gaffney, chantor of Kilkenny, received a dispensation in 1577, confirming the

¹⁷ Ibid, p.209.

¹⁸ ‘Walter Cowley to the Lord Deputy’, 3 June 1549 in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, p.35.

¹⁹ ‘Sidney’s observations’, n.d., in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 210-1.

²⁰ ‘Instructions to Sir Henry Sidney’, in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 206-9.

²¹ ‘Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Sidney’, 1 March 1566 in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 231-2.

orders he had received from the Catholic bishop of Killaloe, Malachy O'Molony, as Bishop Gaffney 'never gave orders himself'.²² It was also alleged by Commissioner Garvey that when William Keho, a 'grave, learned, antient and sufficient man for such a living', applied to Bishop Gaffney for the position of archdeacon of Ossory, which was in the bishop's gift, Gaffney would not grant it without the payment to himself of a sum of money.²³

Similarly in Cashel, Mary's 1553 appointee as archbishop, Roland Baron Fitzgerald, continued in his position until his death in 1561, and a successor was not appointed until 1567, when James McCawell was consecrated.²⁴ Patrick Walsh was appointed bishop of Waterford and Lismore in 1551 and was not deprived under Mary, despite the fact that he was married. (His son, Nicholas, was appointed bishop of Ossory in 1577.²⁵) As was remarked in Chapter Two, Julian Walton regards Patrick as having been a Protestant 'in little else but name',²⁶ and yet he remained in his position until his death in 1578.²⁷ Mary appointed Thomas Ó Fighil to replace Robert Travers as bishop of Leighlin in 1555 and he retained the see until his passing in 1566 or 1567, having abjured the pope's authority on the succession of Elizabeth.²⁸

In Ferns, the death of Alexander Devereux, who had been bishop since 1539, left the see in such an impoverished condition that Sidney decried it as 'so naked, as his bastards,

²² Brady (ed.), *State papers*, p.29, 32.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp 30-31.

²⁴ Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, p.90.

²⁵ *Ibid*, ii, p.277.

²⁶ Walton, 'Church, crown and corporation', pp 182-3.

²⁷ Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, i, pp 8-9..

²⁸ *Ibid.*; 'Articles of Thomas Fyllie', 23 June 1559, *CSPI, 1509-73*, p.154.

the tokens of his incontinency, haue at this daie in maner the hole of his livings'.²⁹ Because Devereux had never married, he was allowed to remain in his position during the reign of Mary and then continued, apparently conforming to Protestantism, under Elizabeth. Following his death in 1566, Sidney recommended Alexander's nephew, John, the dean of the diocese, for the bishopric, with a request that he be allowed to keep his deanery *in commendam*, because the bishop's living was so small. According to the lord deputy, the younger Devereux had attended university in England and was of 'good discretion and judgement'.³⁰ However, the archbishop of Armagh, Adam Loftus, disagreed, writing to Cecil that 'an unfitter man can not be; he is now of late deprived of his Denrye for confessed horedome'.³¹ Perhaps Sidney and the Devereux family held more influence than Loftus at the English court, or perhaps there were simply no alternative nominees, as John was appointed bishop later that year and was also allowed to retain his deanery.³² It is interesting to note that David Wolf, the apostolic nuncio to Ireland, reported in 1574 that some of the Church of Ireland bishops in the archdiocese of Dublin would 'much rather be Catholics but that they would lose their sees'. M.V. Ronan believed that Wolf was referring specifically to Devereux and to Ó Fighil's successor in Leighlin, Daniel Kavanagh.³³

This uncertainty that surrounded the confessional allegiance of the Church of Ireland hierarchy must have been mirrored, and even magnified, within the ranks of the lower

²⁹ 'Sir Henry Sidney to Sir William Cecil', 19 August 1566 in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 264-6.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ 'Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Armagh, to Sir William Cecil', 5 Oct. 1599 in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 269-70.

³² 'Queen Elizabeth to Sir Henry Sidney', 12 Oct. 1566 in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 277-8.

³³ Ronan (ed.), *Reformation under Elizabeth*, p.480.

clergy. As was noted in previous chapters, many pre-Reformation priests were simply left in place in their parishes and members of the dissolved monastic communities were often appointed to vacant livings. In October 1550, Edward VI presented Cornelius McBrene, clerk, to the vicarage of Dunlyske in Emly, ‘by reason that the sayd Connor had the same of the busshope of Rome’s collacion and therby void’.³⁴ McBrene was just one example of incumbent clergy who were either considered suitable to be re-appointed to their livings or who were the only option open to Edward’s and, later, Elizabeth’s, officials.

Henry Jefferies points to the complete absence of what he describes as *in-service* training for these incumbents, especially in the immediate post-Marian years:

No preaching campaigns were organized. No prophesyings or exercisesto cultivate Protestant convictions or preaching skills among the Elizabethan clergy in Ireland.³⁵

As he remarks, the government made ‘no discernible efforts’ to convert the clergy and resigned itself to expect nothing but a token conformity, involving some reading of the Book of Common Prayer in Latin, but also the turning of a blind eye to the continued celebration of Catholic rituals in the churches.³⁶ This was clearly still prevalent practice in 1572, when Sidney’s successor, William Fitzwilliam, was instructed to

have the laws for the uniformity of religion observed in such sort as no subjects shall be suffered to use any other manner of divine service than is prescribed or allowed to be used ... He should exhort the bishops and clergy and the ecclesiastical commissioners to do their duty.³⁷

³⁴ Kenneth Nicholls (ed.), *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns* (4 vols, Dublin, 1994), i, p.129.

³⁵ Henry Jefferies, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations* (Dublin, 2010), p.281.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.144.

³⁷ ‘Memorial of divers things heretofore inserted in instructions delivered to former deputies of Ireland and now sent to Sir William Fitzwilliam’, n.d. 1572 in O’Dowd (ed.), *CSPI, 1571-5*, p.156.

As Norman Jones has suggested in relation to England, this policy of leaving incumbents in place until they died may have avoided possible legal actions by those whom the administration would have attempted to dispossess, but it also had the effect of slowing the pace of reform, a delay which John McCafferty describes as ‘deadly dangerous in a magisterial reform, which commanded almost no popular support’.³⁸ Archbishop Miler Magrath’s 1588 visitation of Waterford and Lismore, carried out more than fifty years after Henry had proclaimed himself head of the Church of Ireland, illustrates how little progress had been made in the provision of suitably qualified clergymen in the south-east. In his analysis of the returns, Patrick Power describes ten of the incumbents as non-conforming or Catholic and at least fifty parishes had no minister, with many of these having been vacant for more than seven years.³⁹ Three years later, as was discussed in Chapter Three, twenty clergy of the united diocese were deprived for irregularity and contumacy.⁴⁰

The prebend of Kilronan was held in 1588 by John Middleton who was described as a ‘mere layman’. Similarly, James Cuff, Edmund Prendergast and Nicholas Power, all described as laymen, held the prebend of Ballymakill, the prebend of Tullaghorton and the vicarage of Kilmeaden respectively.⁴¹ In May 1579 Elizabeth had commissioned David Cleare, the dean of Waterford, and others to hear an appeal against the Court of Faculties, who had found that Power had no title to the living of Kilmeaden. The appeal

³⁸ Jones, *The English Reformation*, pp 68-70; McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.13.

³⁹ ‘Miler Magrath’s Visitation of 1588’.

⁴⁰ ‘Clergy examined and deprived in 1591’, (T.C.D. MS 566, 1961-197r).

⁴¹ ‘Miler Magrath’s Visitation of 1588’.

was evidently successful as Power still held the vicarage in 1588, a situation that illustrates how difficult it was to remove even the most unsuitable of incumbents.⁴²

The dean of Lismore, John Prendergast, was sentenced by Miler Magrath, along with the aforementioned James Ronan of Ardfinnan and Neddans, for unspecified offences that Power believes were connected with non-conformity. An appeal, heard by Thomas Jones, the dean of St Patrick's Cathedral, in 1583 was evidently partly successful as Ronan retained his livings and Prendergast continued as dean, although the prebend of Mora, which he held in 1583, was in the possession of the archbishop's son, Terence Magrath, also widely believed to be a Catholic, by 1588.⁴³

The archbishop of Dublin's visitation of Cashel and Emly, almost twenty years later, revealed that even less progress had been made in the united diocese. Thomas Jones remarked that William Flanagan, 'a poor vicar', and Robert Purcell, 'an old man', were the only two vicars in the cathedral church and that

there be some other livings whereof some poor men, priests and others, carry the name, but they have little learning or sufficiency, and, indeed, are fitter to keep hogs than to serve in the church.⁴⁴

One suitably qualified English clergyman who was prepared to take up a position in the south-east during the 1560s was Richard Beard, the vicar of Greenwich, who arrived in Ireland on St Stephen's Day 1563, to 'help with preaching'.⁴⁵ By a fiant of Elizabeth, he

⁴² 'Fiants of Elizabeth, 3531, 22 May 1579' in Nicholls (ed.), *Irish fiants*, iv, p.113.

⁴³ 'Miler Magrath's Visitation of 1588'; Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae*; 'Fiants of Elizabeth, 4139, 2 May 1583' in Nicholls (ed.), *Irish fiants*, iv, p.204.

⁴⁴ 'Archbishop of Dublin to Salisbury', 3 Aug. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.242.

⁴⁵ Ronan (ed.), *Reformation under Elizabeth*, p.100.

was appointed archdeacon of Cashel in November 1564 and was granted the vicarage of Mothel, in Lismore, *in commendam* the following March.⁴⁶ However, Beard's presence in Ireland was obviously a stark exception because the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who described him as 'a preacher who seemeth honest and preacheth well', also remarked that he was the only preacher in the country besides the bishops of Meath and Armagh, Brady and Loftus.⁴⁷ There is also no evidence to suggest that Beard ever resided at his livings in Cashel or Lismore. By 1575 he had been replaced as archdeacon by Edmund Stapleton and his living of Mothel was held by the ten-year-old Thomas Power in 1577.⁴⁸

Generally, the non-residence of those clergy who were appointed to parishes continued to be a problem as the century progressed. A number of bills designed to address the difficulties of the established church were presented to the Irish parliament that sat between 1569 and 1571. Along with measures to have parish churches repaired and school houses erected, a bill to compel the residence of 'spiritual persons' was thrown out, evidently because it was found to be impossible for clergymen to live in the parishes from which they drew their revenues.⁴⁹

In an early attempt to improve ecclesiastical structures and chains of command within the Church of Ireland, Adam Loftus, the recently appointed archbishop of Dublin, convened a provincial council in February 1570. The four suffragan bishops were in attendance, as

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.650.

⁴⁷ 'Wrothe and Arnold to the Privy Council', 16 March 1564 in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 140-1.

⁴⁸ Seymour, *Parochial clergy of Cashel and Emyl*; Knox, *Clergy and parishes*.

⁴⁹ Ronan (ed.), *Reformation under Elizabeth*, p.327.

well as the deans and archdeacons of Ossory and Leighlin, while the dean and archdeacon of Ferns, Walter Turner and Richard Devereux, were both absent. The parochial clergy were represented by Peter Rothe from Ossory, Fergall Cure from Leighlin and Walter Busher from Ferns, although Busher was evidently resident in Dublin as he was a vicar choral in St Patrick's Cathedral despite also holding the position of rector of St Mary's in Wexford town until at least 1583.⁵⁰ Unfortunately there is no record of the council proceedings, although James Murray believes that it was part of Loftus's plan to purge Dublin of 'crypto-Catholic' clergy.⁵¹ The archbishop also undertook a metropolitan visitation of his suffragan dioceses later in 1570.⁵² There is no evidence that similar councils were summoned by James McCawell, archbishop of Cashel during this period, or by Miler Magrath, who succeeded him in 1571.

When Sidney had returned to Ireland from London in 1568, he came, according to Jefferies, with no specific instructions other than 'the observance of strict economy' and Murray claims that on-going disagreements between Loftus and Sidney were fatal to the Reformation cause.⁵³ Nicholas Canny believes that the English government, while clearly recognising the measures that were critical for evangelisation, were unwilling to provide the necessary resources to Sidney and his successors for the implementation of those reform strategies.⁵⁴ Even the nineteenth-century Church of Ireland historian, Richard Mant, agreed with this assessment, remarking that 'sufficient provision was not made for

⁵⁰ N.B. White (ed.), *Registrum Diocesis Dublinensis: a sixteenth century Dublin precedent book* (I.M.C., Dublin, 1959), pp 34-5; Leslie, *Clergy of Ferns*.

⁵¹ Murray, *Enforcing the Reformation*, pp 268-74.

⁵² *Ibid*, pp 276-7.

⁵³ Henry Jefferies, 'Henry Sidney', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.com) (20 Feb. 2011); Murray, *Enforcing the Reformation*, pp 294-300.

⁵⁴ Canny, 'Why the Reformation failed', pp 423-50.

the ministrations of the church' during Elizabeth's reign.⁵⁵ This image of a parsimonious English crown, unwilling to commit the necessary financial resources for the implementation of true reform in Ireland, is a constantly recurring theme in the historiography of the period and was certainly a factor in the failure of the Church of Ireland to achieve the critical confessionalisation objectives of 'distribution and enforcement of the new norms', as identified by Rheinhard.

Enforcing discipline within the ranks of its clergy was another vital element in the strengthening of any confessional group and the Court of Faculties had been established in England in 1533 to replace the papal jurisdiction over Protestant dispensations. The archbishop of Canterbury assumed the powers of the pope, with control over the clergy in relation to the granting of dispensations for non-residency, plurality, allowing boys to take orders in their teens and the ordination of bastards.⁵⁶ However, in yet another example of tardiness in carrying the reform measures into Ireland, an Irish Court of Faculties, described by Alan Ford as the 'main vehicle for implementing reform among parochial clergy',⁵⁷ was not established until 1577. Sidney erected it during his final period in office in Dublin and appointed Dr George Acworth and Robert Garvey as the court's first judges.⁵⁸

In 1578 and 1579, Archbishop Loftus accused the court of a number of offences, including the granting of dispensations for simony and the admission to benefices of

⁵⁵ Mant, *History of Church of Ireland*, i, p.342.

⁵⁶ Wilfrid Hooper, 'The Court of Faculties' in *English Historical Review*, xxv, (1910), pp 670-86.

⁵⁷ Ford, *Protestant Reformation*, p.34.

⁵⁸ Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, p.174.

clergymen who had not taken the oath of supremacy.⁵⁹ This latter charge was reiterated by Miler Magrath in 1582, when he claimed that even bishops were admitted to office, especially in Munster, without taking the oath.⁶⁰ Robert Garvey illustrated the challenges facing his court when he replied to another of Loftus's allegations, concerning Robert Gaffney, the aforementioned chantor of Kilkenny, who had been granted a dispensation to continue in his position despite his having been ordained by the Catholic bishop of Killaloe. Garvey argued that Gaffney genuinely repented of his actions, that he was a diligent minister and schoolteacher and that

the said Commissioners dispensed with him both for the causes aforesaid and also for that there is so little choice of sufficient men for the service of the church in that country, as if he were removed so good and necessary a man could not there be found to supply his place.⁶¹

The court's continuing ineffectiveness was witnessed by the solicitor-general, Sir John Davies, who complained to Cecil in 1604 that many clerical incumbents were 'serving men and horseboys',⁶² generally holding two or more benefices because

the Court of Faculties doth qualify all manner of persons and dispense with all manner of residence and pluralities.⁶³

In the same year, the 'memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie' demanded that the Court 'not give dispensations to children, lay persons and unlearned ministers'.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ 'Loftus to Commissioner Garvey', 6 Jan. 1579 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, p.29, 34.

⁶⁰ 'Petition of Miler Magrath', Oct. 1582 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, p.61.

⁶¹ Brady (ed.), *State papers*, p.32.

⁶² 'Sir John Davies to Cecil', 20 Feb. 1604, *CSPI*, 1603-6, p.143.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ 'Memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie,' *CSPI*, 1603-6, p.241.

These ‘memorials’ also highlighted the other aforementioned failures of Elizabeth’s officials in Ireland. At the beginning of James I’s reign, non-residency was evidently still a problem, as bishops were to be charged to live in their dioceses and ‘every preacher and minister [was to] be resident on his cure.’⁶⁵ The quality of incumbents had clearly not improved as desired either, as ‘insufficient and unpreaching ministers, possessing more than one living’ were to be deprived of all but one of their parishes and, furthermore,

every minister being detected and convicted of being drunk, in whoredom or other notorious crime [was to] be deprived ipso facto.⁶⁶

Another challenge facing the state in its efforts to organise the newly-established church efficiently was the unwieldy and often impractical nature of the Irish diocesan and parochial system. At the time of the Reformation, Ireland had thirty-two dioceses, compared to just seventeen in England and four in Wales.⁶⁷ As we have seen in Chapter Two, the south-eastern sees offered a very limited income to any prospective incumbent and, in 1565, Sidney was asked to investigate whether it would be ‘mete’ to consider the unification of the vacant dioceses of Cashel and Ossory, which might provide an adequate living to attract a bishop of sufficient calibre, who could then also serve as a counsellor for Munster.⁶⁸ He agreed that this suggestion, if carried through, would sufficiently endow one episcopacy but his recommendation was never acted upon. Instead Cashel and the smaller and poorer diocese of Emly, to the west, were united in 1568.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ellis, ‘Economic problems’, p.249.

⁶⁸ Instructions to Sir Henry Sidney’ in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, p.207.

⁶⁹ ‘Reformation, suppression, survival’ (www.cashel-emly.ie) (3 December 2007).

In 1597, following the death of Robert Meredith, bishop of Leighlin, his diocese was united with Ferns under Bishop Hugh Allen but it appears that this may have been regarded as a temporary measure because the ‘perpetual union’ of the two dioceses was proposed much later by the 1622 Royal Commission. This commission also suggested the merger of Ossory and Kildare, another development that never occurred.⁷⁰

Within each diocese, the issue of parish size presented another dilemma. While analysing the economic problems facing the Church of Ireland in the post-Reformation period, Steven Ellis draws attention to the paradox of small parishes, which were considered necessary as ‘effective instruments of conversion and control’ and yet were too small and too sparsely populated to be financially viable.⁷¹ For example, ninety-nine parishes were named in the 1615 Royal Visitation of the diocese of Ferns.⁷² If the population of Ireland was estimated at no more than 1.4 million people in 1600, there cannot have been more than 30,000 people, at the very most, in Co. Wexford, which had only two towns, both relatively small. When the nine urban parishes of Wexford town and New Ross are discounted, the average number of people living in each rural parish can be safely estimated at less than two hundred.⁷³ Similar ratios existed in the rest of the region, with 116 parishes in Ossory, 110 in Cashel, 101 in Leighlin, seventy-eight in Waterford and Lismore and forty-nine in Emly.⁷⁴ Even a thriving church would find it difficult to justify

⁷⁰ John McCafferty, ‘Protestant prelates or godly pastors? The dilemma of the early Stuart episcopate’ in Ford & McCafferty (eds), *The origins of sectarianism*, pp 59-60.

⁷¹ Ellis, ‘Economic problems’, p.248.

⁷² RV 1615.

⁷³ L.M. Cullen draws these very tentative conclusions about the population of Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century in ‘Population trends in seventeenth century Ireland’ in *Economic and Social Review*, vi (1975), pp 149-65.

⁷⁴ RV 1615.

the provision of a full parochial structure with beneficed clergymen for such a small number of people.

The 1604 ‘memorials’ recognized this problem, recommending the unification of any two benefices of small value that lay near each other⁷⁵ and Thomas Ram, bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, made a case for such amalgamations in his dioceses, when he wrote to the lord deputy in 1612:

.... mine earnest request is That 2 or 3 of the Impropriations of small valew may be united amongst themselves, if they be together, and a competency raised out of them all so united for an Incumbent, but if they be asunder that then they may be united to the next parsonage or Vicarage adjoining and contribute toward the bettering thereof; provide allwaies that in whichsoever of the united Churches Divine Service is celebrated, thither all parishioners of the Churches united be compelled every Sabaoth and holy day to repair in ther course and turne.⁷⁶

The government had evidently made no move towards such mergers by the time of the 1615 visitations or even by 1623 when James I issued his ‘orders and directions concerning the state of the Church of Ireland’. This document carried a recommendation that

churches may be united, with the caution that the churches to be united be not distant above four miles from each other, and that the patrons consent to the union and that a learned minister be still maintained who may there reside.⁷⁷

George Montgomery, bishop of Derry, had written to James in 1609, recommending that, in parishes where there was both a vicarage and a rectory, these should be united and held

⁷⁵ ‘Memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie,’ *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.241.

⁷⁶ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

⁷⁷ ‘Orders and directions’, p.33.

by one incumbent.⁷⁸ This proposal was included in the ‘orders and directions’, with the stipulation that such a measure should improve the ‘serving of the cure’.⁷⁹

Neither had the problem of absenteeism been addressed by 1623, as James ordered that curates and ministers should be resident upon their livings ‘according to the statutes of this realm of England’.⁸⁰ As already discussed, these ‘orders and directions’ from the king were a response to the 1622 Royal Commission, but they had little impact until the appointment of Thomas Wentworth in 1633. Shortly after his arrival in Ireland, the new lord deputy described the condition of the state church:

..... an unlearned Clergy, which have not so much as the outward Form of churchmen to cover themselves with, nor their Persons any ways revered or protected;⁸¹

Even then, while Wentworth and John Bramhall, bishop of Derry, did achieve a measure of success in the restitution of church property and income, their influence in the area of organisation and administration of church structures and clerical behaviour was limited. The Irish canons, which were passed by Convocation in 1634, charged prebendaries and canons not to be absent from their benefices for more than one month each year without an urgent cause and ordered preachers,

being resident on their livings, to preach every Sunday – no vain opinions, no heresies, nor popish errors nor anything at all whereby the people may be stirred up to the desire of novelties or contention.⁸²

⁷⁸ Jefferies, ‘George Montgomery’, p.155.

⁷⁹ ‘Orders and directions’, p.32.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p.29.

⁸¹ ‘The Lord Deputy to Archbishop Laud’, 31 Jan. 1634 in Knowler (ed.), *Strafford’s letters and dispatches*, i, pp 187-9.

⁸² Bray (ed.), ‘Irish canons of 1634’, no.9, pp 485-531.

The Book of Common Prayer was to be the only form of liturgy or divine service and nothing was to be taken from, or added to, the printed version. Ministers were required to observe

soberness in conversation and decency in apparel..... No drinking, base or servile labour, rioting, cards, dice, tables. Dress appropriately and no light-coloured stockings.⁸³

Curates were to be selected by the bishop, who was to investigate their ‘sufficiency, sobriety and fitness’ and no curate was to serve more than two churches in one day.⁸⁴

Once again, the issue of the amalgamation of livings was to be addressed, with ‘small parishes to be united and residence to be enjoined’.⁸⁵ However, a bill for the ‘union and division of parishes’, which could have led to the implementation of these aspirations, disappeared after a first reading in the parliament of 1635. McCafferty remarks that such ‘systematic well-financed local restructuring’ at this time would have made the Church of Ireland a ‘much more serious combatant’ in the battle for souls.⁸⁶

By 1636, Wentworth could see little evidence of reform and he charged the members of the Irish Court of High Commission, which had the control of clerical behaviour among its responsibilities, to

proceed instantly with all Severity to the Reformation of this great Abuse, and to cause all those whom you shall find to live idly about this city of Dublin, or in other cities or Corporate Towns, or upon their Farms, to repair instantly to their Parish-Churches to attend that Charge, whereof they owe an account both to God and Man; and if they shall disobey your Commands in this respect, to sequester their Livings for a Year; and if they be still negligent, to deprive them⁸⁷

⁸³ Ibid., no.42.

⁸⁴ Ibid., no.38.

⁸⁵ Ibid., no.36.

⁸⁶ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, pp 198-9.

⁸⁷ ‘Lord Deputy to the Lord Primate and the rest of the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes’, 2 June 1636 in Knowler (ed.), *Strafford’s letteres and dispatches*, ii, p.7.

The close relationship that existed between senior government administrators and the hierarchy of the church meant that civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions were always connected and often even interchangeable. For example, Adam Loftus and Thomas Jones, archbishops of Dublin, served separately as lords justices, in the absence of a lord deputy, for brief periods between 1582 and 1616.⁸⁸ George Acworth, previously chancellor and vicar-general to the bishop of Winchester, was appointed as one of the first judges of the Court of Faculties in 1577.⁸⁹ The government clearly regarded the Church of Ireland hierarchy as a central arm of state administration and a vital conduit of the established religion, from the centre of power into the towns and rural parishes of the country.

However, as we have seen, in the early years after the Reformation it was not unusual for the dioceses of the south-east to be left with no incumbent bishop for lengthy periods while the confessional affiliation of those who were appointed was often open to question. Patrick Walsh, bishop of Waterford and Lismore from 1551 to 1579, whose Protestantism was doubted by John Bale in 1553,⁹⁰ was unlikely to have actively promoted the appointment and sustenance of a rigorously reformed parochial clergy. This suggestion is substantiated by the remarks of Walsh's successor, the Welshman, Marmaduke Middleton, who found it impossible to live among the 'stiffnecked, stubborn, papistical and incorrigible people' of his diocese and returned to Wales, as bishop of St David's, in 1581.⁹¹ Around the same time, Captain Gilbert Yorke wrote to Walsingham

⁸⁸ T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland, ix: maps, genealogies and lists* (Oxford, 1984), pp 487-8.

⁸⁹ Ronald Fritze, 'George Acworth', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.org) (7 March 2011).

⁹⁰ Grattan Flood, 'Lismore under Edward and Mary', pp 128-9.

⁹¹ 'Marmaduke Middleton to Walsingham', 29 June 1580 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, pp 39-42; David Walker, 'Marmaduke Middleton', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.org) (21 March 2011).

from aboard his ship in Waterford harbour that ‘here neither bishop nor preacher may tarry unless there be either my lords justices or some great person to guard them’.⁹² Miler Magrath was the next bishop, holding the diocese *in commendam* with the archbishopric of Cashel and the see of Emly from 1582 to 1589, and again from 1592 to 1607. Some of the many allegations against Magrath have been detailed earlier, but, aside from the alienation of large swathes of church property to the benefit of himself and his family, Julian Walton believes that his involvement with the diocese was minimal.⁹³ The schoolmaster, John Shearman, who spent a short time in Waterford in 1585, commented on the position of any Protestant minister who might endeavour to promote the state religion in the city: ‘for fear of those brutish and savage lions, [they] be almost afeard to come near the sheep folds.’⁹⁴ Thomas Weatherhead (or Walley), who held the see between Magrath’s two tenures, from 1589 to 1592, was warden of the collegiate school at Youghal and accused of ‘unsufferable wickedness’ by Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam.⁹⁵ Thus, no solid episcopal support for the clergy of the diocese was put in place until at least 1607 when John Lancaster, a chaplain to James I, was appointed bishop. Despite the fact that Lancaster was the first resident ordinary since Patrick Walsh, he was described by Andrew Knox, archbishop of the Scottish Isles, in 1611 as having ‘no credit’.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the report of the 1615 visitation does not show any marked improvement in the quality or quantity of clergy over that noted by Magrath in 1588.⁹⁷

⁹² ‘Capt Gilbert Yorke to Walsingham’, 5 Dec. 1579, *CSPI, 1574-85*, p.199.

⁹³ Walton, ‘Church, crown and corporation’, p.186.

⁹⁴ ‘John Shearman, schoolmaster, to the archbishop of Armagh’, 12 July 1585 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, p.99.

⁹⁵ ‘Lord Deputy to Burghley’, 12 Feb. 1588, *CSPI, 1588-92*, p.122.

⁹⁶ ‘Andrew, archbishop of the Isles, to the Archbishop of Canterbury’, 4 July 1611, *CSPI, 1611-14*, p.81.

⁹⁷ RV 1615.

In Ferns, as was mentioned earlier, the bishop from 1556 to 1578, John Devereux, was suspected of harbouring Catholic sympathies. The next man to be consecrated to the see was an Englishman, Hugh Allen, who was transferred from Down and Connor in 1582 and retained the bishopric until his death in 1599. However, it is unlikely that Allen was a diligent agent of diocesan reform because his successor, Robert Grave, a native of Kent, reported to William Cecil that, on his arrival in the now united diocese of Ferns and Leighlin, he found

the livings though in time of peace not much inferior to any other diocese in this land for goodness, given either to laymen or children, held by dispensation from the faculties here, or else in the hands of such ministers, for the most part, as are not only ashamed, but obstinately refuse, to do the duties of their calling.⁹⁸

Grave had little time to effect changes in the united diocese before his death in 1601, nor did his successor, Nicholas Stafford, who only lived until 1604.⁹⁹ Thomas Ram, a native of Windsor and chaplain to the earl of Essex when he came to Ireland in 1599, was undoubtedly the first committed evangelising Protestant bishop of Ferns and Leighlin.¹⁰⁰

Daniel Kavanagh, also referred to earlier as possibly having Catholic leanings and described by James Hughes as ‘more remarkable for good fellowship and good nature than for piety or learning,’¹⁰¹ was bishop of Leighlin for twenty years until his death in 1587. He was succeeded by Richard Meredith, a native of Denbighshire, who was permitted to hold the deanery of St Patrick’s cathedral in Dublin *in commendam* and who spent at least two periods in prison during his time as bishop. He was in poor health from

⁹⁸ ‘Robert Grave, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin to Cecil’, 20 Sept. 1600, *CSPI, 1600-03*, p.440.

⁹⁹ Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.254.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.257.

¹⁰¹ James Hughes, ‘The fall of the Clan Kavanagh’ in *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, fourth series, ii, no.2 (1873), p.299.

1593 and is likely to have been resident in Dublin, as he died there in 1597 and is buried in St Patrick's.¹⁰²

Ossory's diocesan administration does not appear to have suffered as badly as the other south-eastern dioceses in the later decades of the sixteenth century. Following the difficult tenure of the aforementioned Christopher Gaffney, Nicholas Walsh, son of the former bishop of Waterford and Lismore, was appointed in 1577. Walsh was a graduate of Cambridge and chancellor of St Patrick's cathedral before his elevation to the episcopacy and Sir Henry Wallop regarded him as 'the only man of his coat that I ever knew born in [Ireland], that did most sincerely know and teach the Gospel'. However, Walsh's diligent work was cut short when he was murdered in Kilkenny in 1585 by James Dullard, a local man whom the bishop had accused of adultery in his consistory court.¹⁰³ John Horsfall and Richard Deane, both natives of Yorkshire and of whom little is known, were the next two holders of the see. After eighteen years in the position, Horsfall reported to the lord deputy that he had neither sheriff nor other officer to enforce writs against recusancy as the people were generally 'so misled with superstitious idolatry that they altogether scorn their church censures'.¹⁰⁴ Deane died in 1613 and was replaced by Jonas Wheeler, who was bishop until 1640 and appears, like Walsh, to have been a diligent holder of the office. With his return to the 1622 Royal Commission, he included a list of clergy admitted to prebends and livings in his diocese since 1569, as

¹⁰² Helen Coburn Walshe, 'Richard Meredith', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.org) (21 March 2011).

¹⁰³ N.J.A. Williams, 'Nicholas Walsh', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.org) (21 March 2011).

¹⁰⁴ 'Horsfall to the Deputy and council,' pp 178-9.

well as a comprehensive account of all the incumbents currently working in Ossory, noting their qualifications, linguistic skills and lifestyles.¹⁰⁵

The archbishopric of Cashel was held by Miler Magrath for more than fifty years until his death in 1622 at the age of 100. Even if the contemporary reports and criticisms of the Ulsterman's tenure were exaggerated and sometimes inspired by ulterior motives, there appears to be little doubt that he was less than fervent in the administration of his archiepiscopal duties. Whether Magrath's motives were confessional uncertainty or temporal greed may be open to debate, but what is undeniable is that the provision of, and support for, suitable Protestant clergy in Cashel and Emly was largely disregarded until the 1620s. Thomas Jones, archbishop of Dublin, who conducted his investigation of the diocese in 1607, wrote that there was not 'one preacher or good minister' within a forty mile radius.¹⁰⁶ He placed the blame on the 'Archbishop's misjudgement' and reported that the commissioners

deprived all such persons whom either they found apparently tainted with simony or altogether insufficient, and boys unlawfully preferred to vicarages which require a personal attendance ...¹⁰⁷

However, in responding to Jones's report in October, the Council of Ireland recommended that Magrath should not be deprived, as

a great many ill-affected subjects in that kingdom would be glad that one of his place and profession in the church should be found so fraudulent and faulty.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ 'Certificate by Jonas Wheeler, Bishop of Ossory, of the state of his diocese, parishes, incumbents, value of livings, lands, rents, grievances of the clergy, 1622', (Lambeth Palace Library, Fairhurst MSS, MS 2013 64 pp).

¹⁰⁶ 'A Note of several Abuses in the dioceses of Cashell, Emeley, Lysmore and Waterford,' *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.242.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 235-6.

¹⁰⁸ 'Lords of the Council to Chichester', 20 Oct. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.307.

Furthermore, Jones's claim that his commission had deprived those unsuitable and unqualified incumbents of their livings was clearly exaggerated, as evidenced by the returns of the visitation of 1615, which listed parishes held by 'popish priests', 'unworthy fellows', 'an ignorant and barbarous ... liar' and students in Trinity College.¹⁰⁹ An attempt was made to address the situation in the archdiocese in 1610, when William Knight, an 'ancient Master of Art' was appointed as coadjutor, 'because the archbishop is very old, mainly absent in the north living on his temporal lands'.¹¹⁰ Although this appointment was confirmed the following year by Lord Deputy Chichester, Knight's stay in Cashel was not a success and he departed in disgrace after appearing drunk in public.¹¹¹ Magrath's successor as archbishop was the Scotsman, Malcolm Hamilton, who only lived until 1629, when he was succeeded by another Scot, Archibald Hamilton, mentioned in Chapter Two as having worked diligently to recover church lands and property that had been alienated by Magrath.¹¹²

The quality of episcopal appointments in the region certainly improved through the early decades of the seventeenth century and the archbishops of Cashel and Dublin joined with their counterparts in Armagh and Tuam in 1611 to issue a declaration that they and their suffragans would visit every deanery in their dioceses annually,

calling before them the pastors and ministers of every parish church, and prescribing unto them necessarie instructions both for their own behaviour and performance of their ministeries.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ RV 1615.

¹¹⁰ 'Warrant from the King', 25 Sept. 1610, *CSPI, 1608-10*, p.501.

¹¹¹ 'Chichester to Davys', 24 July 1611, *CSPI, 1611-4*, p.85; Christopher Maginn, 'Miler Magrath', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.org) (21 March 2011).

¹¹² A.N.L. Grosjean, 'Archibald Hamilton', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.org) (21 March 2011).

¹¹³ Reginald Walsh (ed.), 'Declaration of Church of Ireland bishops' in *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1913), p.165.

The role of the bishops in controlling and encouraging their parochial clergy was also clarified by the central ecclesiastical and civil powers. Having visited Dublin in 1611, where he met members of the Irish hierarchy, Andrew Knox, archbishop of the Scottish Isles, presented a number of propositions in relation to the ‘Advancement of True Religion’ in Ireland to Chief Secretary Salisbury. These included directing the bishops to

assemble all the planted ministers within their diocese in some special place ... to give some trial of their number and qualifications, as also of the ... living and provision resting for the ministry, and how the quantity of the same (not being sufficient) may be supplied.¹¹⁴

Knox’s suggestions were reiterated in a letter from James I to the lord deputy around the same time. The king ordered that an archbishop or bishop was not to be absent from his see for more than three months at a time without licence and was to visit every parish in his diocese at least once a year. He was to ensure that no benefice or cure was held by a Catholic priest and was to appoint ‘fit pastors’ or, pragmatically,

at least for the present such as can read the service of the Church of England to the common people in the language which they understand.¹¹⁵

In many cases, however, these orders were no more than lip service, as the government’s agents did little to implement the other measures necessary to enable such reform to proceed. Visitations and commissions could only be effective if followed up by the passing of legislation and the implementation of such new laws. Thus, McCafferty

¹¹⁴ ‘Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, to Salisbury’, 10 April 1611, *CSPI, 1611-4*, pp 26-7.

¹¹⁵ ‘The King to Sir Arthur Chichester’, 26 April 1611, *CSPI, 1611-4*, pp 31-2.

describes the royal visitation of 1615 as a 'dead letter'¹¹⁶ and Norman Jones regards visitations as little more than 'spot checks for conformity'.¹¹⁷

The issue of church livings and advowsons held by lay landowners has already been addressed in detail in Chapter Two. Where the hierarchy held little control over the appointment and maintenance of ministers, it proved impossible to replace those whose conformity was suspect or to ensure that an adequate living was provided for competent clergymen. Jones has remarked with regard to England that,

although bishops were the spiritual authorities over their clergy, they had great difficulty shaping their workforce.¹¹⁸

In south-east Ireland, where even more church property was in lay hands and where the majority of the landowning population was inclined towards Catholicism, this proved to be an even greater problem. The unwillingness of the English crown to commit sufficient funds and personnel to address these issues continued through the early decades of the century, later compounded by Charles I's need to placate his Catholic supporters in Ireland, many of whom were also the holders of impropriated property.

Frustration at the lack of support from the civic authorities is evident in the correspondence of Thomas Ram of Ferns and Leighlin. In his letter of 1612, the bishop outlined the steps he had taken to improve the quality of clergy in his dioceses, including annual visitations undertaken by himself, ensuring that no man was admitted to any

¹¹⁶ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, pp 23-4.

¹¹⁷ Jones, *The English Reformation*, p.69

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 61-2.

spiritual cure unless he had taken the oath of supremacy and making equally certain that no Catholic priests were granted livings. He reported that he had supervised the rebuilding of most of the derelict churches; had arranged for three or four Englishmen to take up positions as preaching ministers; had placed clergy who could read and speak Irish as incumbents in the Irish-speaking parts; and had sent a number of young boys to Trinity College, Dublin, with a view to their assuming parochial duties on completion of their studies. In short, he claimed to have fulfilled all the measures deemed necessary for the successful organisation and administration of the parish system within Ferns and Leighlin.¹¹⁹

However, a tone of dissatisfaction with the level of government cooperation for his endeavours permeates the letter, from complaints about the risible total of his episcopal income to the absence of authority from the lord deputy to enforce the taking of the oath of allegiance. He requested that 'some present course' be taken to stop the building of a mass house near New Ross and to nail up the door of a chapel already in use for Catholic ceremonies in the same town. Herbert Hore later remarked that the blame for this latter situation being allowed to continue should not be 'attached to the Bishop, but to the Law'.¹²⁰

The earl of Thomond, who was president of Munster in 1618, appears to have been equally frustrated at the unfeasible nature of his role as a local administrator in the imposition of conformity, when he wrote to the lord deputy asking

¹¹⁹ 'Ram to Lord Deputy and Council'.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

what course should be taken for furnishing the churches in Munster with readers and interpreters of English and Irish, for the instruction of the inhabitants of Munster, forced by civil and ecclesiastical censures to repair to their churches.¹²¹

What is clearly apparent is that, as the quality and commitment of the hierarchy improved, the blame could no longer be placed on episcopal shoulders alone for the failure to establish and maintain a functioning parochial system served by genuine Protestant clergy. Historians as diverse as G.V. Jourdan and Karl Bottigheimer have agreed that the civil authorities, often as a result of financial and administrative constraints, were more willing to accept the appearance of a conforming state than was this new generation of bishops.

Jourdan wrote that

the government cared little that there was no improvement in religion and morals as long as the Pope was prevented from exercising jurisdiction in Ireland.¹²²

Jefferies agrees, pointing to the lack of effort made to transform ‘sullen conformity into enthusiasm for Protestantism’.¹²³ He claims that Sidney understood this as early as the 1560s, realizing that it was of no benefit to force people to attend church unless they were then appropriately catechised.¹²⁴ R. Dudley Edwards pointed to a ‘continual confusion’ between religious and political purposes in the drive towards reform,¹²⁵ while Karl Bottigheimer reminds us of the importance of recognising that ‘conformity’ to the state

¹²¹ ‘Earl of Thomond, President of Munster, to Lords of the Council’, 28 Oct. 1618, *CSPI, 1615-25*, pp 216-7.

¹²² Jourdan, ‘Towards a doctrinal reformation’, p.498.

¹²³ Jefferies, *The Irish church*, p.280

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, pp 161-2.

¹²⁵ Dudley Edwards, *Church and state*, p.114.

church and 'Protestantism' were two very different things, as, indeed, were 'survivalist' Catholicism and Counter-Reformation activism.¹²⁶

The 1623 'orders and directions concerning the state of the church of Ireland' required that

better choice be made by the bishops of the chancellors, officials and ministers the position of chancellor may only be filled by a professor of civil law, and doctor or bachelor of the same or be a man of sufficient learning.¹²⁷

As we have seen earlier, these orders had little effect when they were issued in 1623, but they were used as the foundation for Wentworth and Bramhall's undertaking in Ireland from 1633. The Irish canons, passed by convocation in 1634, mirrored several of James's directions, including the episcopal duty to appoint only suitably qualified ministers to positions within their dioceses and not to confer orders on any man who did not hold a degree from a university 'within the king's dominions or similar proof of erudition'.¹²⁸

As McCafferty remarks, bishops were expected to take more control of their clergy but were, in turn, expected to be more amenable to central control and to act as the conduits of the policies of Wentworth and Archbishop Laud, from Canterbury and Dublin to the vicarages and rectories of the Irish parishes.¹²⁹ By 1636, there were no Irish-born bishops in the south-east and Wentworth clearly believed that he had a hierarchy in place that could successfully administer the Church of Ireland. However, John Atherton of

¹²⁶ K.S. Bottigheimer, 'The failure of the Reformation in Ireland: une question bien posée' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxvi (1985), p.206.

¹²⁷ 'Orders and directions', p.35.

¹²⁸ Bray (ed.), 'Irish canons of 1634', nos. 23, 30 and 31.

¹²⁹ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.114.

Waterford and Lismore was executed in 1640 and Jonas Wheeler of Ossory died in the same year. At the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641, Atherton and Wheeler's successors, Archibald Adair and Griffith Williams, as well as George Andrews of Ferns and Leighlin, fled the country and were soon followed by Archibald Hamilton of Cashel and Emly, who initially found shelter in his diocese with some Catholic friends.¹³⁰ Even during their tenure, Elizabeth Rickett believes that the Irish bishops were not sufficiently well connected to senior government officials or to the elite ruling families and therefore rarely enjoyed the political power or social status that their British contemporaries held at court, in parliament and in local society.¹³¹

If there was less than wholehearted support from the state administration and the church's hierarchy for the organisation, upkeep and encouragement of the parochial Protestant clergy, they were further frustrated by the tardiness in the provision of literature to support their catechising endeavours, particularly in the Irish-speaking parts of the region. Rheinhard and Gillespie both emphasise the vital importance of books in the catechetical armoury of any clergyman, especially those operating in the uncertain confessional period following the upheavals of the early decades of the sixteenth century.¹³²

Gillespie describes the Book of Common Prayer as 'crucial' to the early identity of the Church of Ireland and essential for the development of the church's 'corporate

¹³⁰ A.N.L Grosjean, 'Archibald Hamilton', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.org) (12 April 2011).

¹³¹ Rickett, 'Church of Ireland episcopate', p.442.

¹³² Lotz-Heumann, 'Confessionalisation in Ireland', pp 29-30; Gillespie, *Devoted people*, p.149.

identity'.¹³³ The first Book of Common Prayer was published in England in 1549 and first printed in Dublin two years later. It contained matins, evensong, communion, litany and suffrages, as well as orders for baptism, confirmation, visitation and communion of the sick and burial of the dead. This book was replaced in England in 1552 by a revised second edition, which was designed to move the church in a more radically reformed direction, but which was never authorised for use in Ireland. This created a problem for the newly appointed bishop of Ossory, John Bale, who insisted on its use for his consecration in 1553. On her accession to the throne later that same year, Mary outlawed the Book of Common Prayer, but Elizabeth's 1560 Act of Uniformity introduced a new edition, which was closely based on the 1552 book.¹³⁴ Unfortunately, it is not possible to know how widely the Book of Common Prayer was distributed among the clergy of the south-east during Elizabeth's reign, although Patrick Kearnye, former clerk to Archbishop Miler Magrath, claimed in 1593 that there were not as many as four copies available in the entire diocese of Cashel.¹³⁵

Even if the Book of Common Prayer was widely available, Jefferies points out that there was nothing in the way of supporting literature for ministers, in the form of a manual, with a basic outline of the knowledge and standards required for parochial work.¹³⁶ The presence of books in the parish churches, rectories or vicarages of Cashel and Emly is not mentioned in Thomas Jones's 1607 visitation but, in Ferns and Leighlin, Thomas Ram

¹³³ Raymond Gillespie, 'Lay spirituality and worship, 1558-1750: holy books and godly readers' in Gillespie & Neely (eds), *The laity and the Church of Ireland*, pp 140-1.

¹³⁴ Michael Kennedy, 'The first Prayer Books, 1551-1666' in Brian Mayne (ed.), *The prayer books of the Church of Ireland, 1551-2004* (Dublin, 2004), p.11.

¹³⁵ 'Additions to the informations made by Patrick Kearnye', 20 Feb. 1593 in Marron (ed.), 'Documents concerning Miler McGrath', p.160.

¹³⁶ Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, p.144.

reported that a significant number of his ministers were well supplied with books by 1615. He named twenty-five churches that had multiple books ('cum libris') and another twelve that had at least a copy of the Book of Common Prayer.¹³⁷ Gillespie believes that most functioning parishes had the Book of Common Prayer by the 1630s.¹³⁸

The Bible was another important part of the clergyman's catechetical armoury and, in 1559, seven thousand copies, in English, were brought over from London and sold within two years.¹³⁹ By 1620, a full Bible could be bought in Dublin for eight shillings and a New Testament for three shillings although, again, we cannot know how many of these made their way into the possession of the south-eastern clergy.¹⁴⁰

Of course, for as much as half the population of the south-eastern dioceses, books, prayers and preaching in English were of little use, as they did not understand or speak the language. The 1537 'Act for the English order, habit and language' made it clear that anglicisation and prosletysation were to go hand in hand in Ireland. Only clergy who could speak English were to be appointed to livings and, if none could be found within three months, 'four proclamations were to be made that if any fit person that can speak English will come and take the same, he shall have it'. Only in the event of no suitable person being found after a wait of another five weeks could an 'honest able man, albeit he cannot speak English' be considered.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, ministers were to

¹³⁷ 'Archbishop of Dublin to Salisbury', 3 Aug. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 235-42; RV 1615.

¹³⁸ Gillespie, 'Lay spirituality and worship', p.141.

¹³⁹ G.V. Jourdan, 'Reformation and reaction' in Phillips, *History of the Church of Ireland*, ii, p.310.

¹⁴⁰ Gillespie, 'Lay spirituality and worship', p.138.

¹⁴¹ 'An Act for the English order habit and language'.

byd the beades in thenglishe tongue and preache the worde of God in Englishe (if he can preache).¹⁴²

The impractical nature of these stipulations was recognised as early as 1550, when the lord deputy, Anthony St Leger, was instructed to organise services in Irish in places where only that language was known by the people but Risteárd Giltrap believes that these instructions were not carried out because of an anti-Irish bias within the Dublin administration.¹⁴³ Indeed, the Irish Act of Uniformity, passed by parliament in 1560, sanctioned the use of a Latin translation of the Book of Common Prayer in parishes where Irish was the spoken language.¹⁴⁴ This expedient, if strange, decision to deviate from one of the cornerstones of Reformation policy - the provision of religious literature in the vernacular – may be explained by the absence of a printing press with Irish typefaces and the inability of most clergy to read the Irish script. When one considers that the first Welsh translations of the Book of Common Prayer and the New Testament were published in 1567, it does seem extraordinary that the clergy had to wait another forty years for an Irish equivalent.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, Brendan Bradshaw recognizes the ‘vernacularisation’ of the reform movement in Wales as one of the most significant elements in the successful establishment of the state church there.¹⁴⁶

State and church administrators realised, if somewhat tardily, that they could not hope to convert the Irish people to the state religion unless they attempted to do so using a language that could be understood. In 1575, Lord Deputy Sidney wrote to Elizabeth

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Risteárd Giltrap, *An Ghaeilge in eaglais na hÉireann*, (Dublin, 1990), p.7.

¹⁴⁴ Francis Proctor and W.H. Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1910), (www.justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp) (13 April 2011).

¹⁴⁵ Brendan Bradshaw, ‘Reformation and identity formation’, p.78.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp 78-80.

recommending the appointment of clergymen who could speak Irish in areas where English was not spoken, with the suggestion that Gaelic speaking ministers from Scotland could be sent over.¹⁴⁷ This proposal was later reiterated in the 1604 ‘memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie’, but does not appear to have been widely carried out in the region.¹⁴⁸

In 1571, John O’Kearney, the treasurer of St Patrick’s Cathedral, and Nicholas Walsh, also a chapter member of St Patrick’s and later bishop of Ossory, produced a catechism in Irish on the first printing press with Gaelic typefaces in Dublin.¹⁴⁹ Only 200 copies were printed, which Jefferies regards as insufficient even to satisfy the demand from Irish-speaking ministers within the Pale and it would be another thirty years before the city’s press produced sufficient volumes of catechetical literature.¹⁵⁰

Meanwhile, William Herbert, who received lands around Castleisland in Kerry in the plantation of Munster, reported to Cecil in 1587 that he had

taken order that public prayers shall be said in their own tongue, and that they shall assemble themselves at their churches on the Sundays. I have caused the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and the Articles of the Belief, to be translated into Irish, and this day the ministers of these parts repair unto me to have it in writing. They have undertaken to instruct their parishioners in it.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Mant, *History of Church of Ireland*, i, p.300.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Memorials for the Reformation of ye Clergie’, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.241.

¹⁴⁹ Neely, *Kilkenny*, p.44.

¹⁵⁰ Jefferies, *The Irish church*, p.144, 201.

¹⁵¹ ‘Sir William Herbert to Lord Burghley’, 30 April 1587, *CSPI, 1586-8*, p.331.

Unfortunately, there is no evidence to suggest that any of Herbert's translated works were distributed beyond his own estates or, indeed, that any landlords in the south-east took similar measures to provide catechetical literature in Irish for their pastors and tenants.

Despite the continuing efforts of O'Kearney and Walsh to produce more Irish texts, it was not until the first decade of the seventeenth century that the New Testament and Book of Common Prayer were published. The 1604 'memorials' recommended that the Book of Common Prayer and a catechism be made available in Irish and that the 'Lord's prayer, belief and commandments' be taught in that language. Sir John Davies wrote from Dungarvan in 1606 that

the New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer in the Irish tongue, which will incredibly allure the common country people, are not yet fully prepared.¹⁵²

William Daniell, a native of Kilkenny, a graduate of Trinity College and prebendary of Tascoffin in Ossory before his appointment as archbishop of Tuam, completed Walsh's work on the New Testament in 1602, although Davies's remarks, quoted above, would suggest that it was still not widely available four years later and, in total, only 500 copies were printed.¹⁵³ Daniell also published the first Irish language Book of Common Prayer in 1608, which Lord Deputy Chichester ordered to be distributed by the bishops with a copy being made available to every parish.¹⁵⁴ By 1615, Bishop Ram reported that there were copies to be found in the parish churches of Ballycanew, Monamolín, Rossmínoge

¹⁵² 'Sir John Davies from Dungarvan', 4 May 1606, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.467.

¹⁵³ Giltrap, *An Ghaeilge*, pp 11-2.

¹⁵⁴ Leslie, *Ossory clergy*, p.144; Kennedy, p.13.

and Kilgorman, all in the northern, Gaelic part of his diocese.¹⁵⁵ William Bedell, bishop of Dromore, published a bilingual catechism in 1631¹⁵⁶ but his translation of the Old Testament into Irish was not published until 1685.¹⁵⁷

As the need to serve the Irish-speaking community became more apparent, the Church of Ireland was faced with the challenge of balancing this requirement with the desire to improve the quality of the ministry by attracting educated clergymen from England. The early pleas of Croft and Sidney for the provision of English clergy were echoed as late as the 1630s, when Archbishop Laud made it clear that he regarded dynamic English ministers, with a wholehearted commitment to the Irish church, as the only means of ensuring the successful imposition of Protestantism.¹⁵⁸ Meanwhile, this dilemma is illustrated in the succession of bishops of Ferns who were appointed at the end of the sixteenth century. Following the tenures of the Englishmen, Hugh Allen and Robert Grave, the next incumbent was Nicholas Stafford, a native of Wexford, who was recommended by Sir Geoffrey Fenton specifically for his ability to preach in Irish.¹⁵⁹ Stafford's fluency in the language was somewhat unusual, as he was a member of an Old English family from the barony of Forth in the south of the county, and had been educated at Oxford.¹⁶⁰ His successor, Thomas Ram, was another Englishman, although, as we have seen earlier, Ram clearly recognized the importance of providing services in Irish and tried to reach the desired balance between importing English ministers,

¹⁵⁵ RV 1615.

¹⁵⁶ Rickett, 'Church of Ireland episcopate, p.329.

¹⁵⁷ Kennedy, 'First prayer books', p.13.

¹⁵⁸ McCafferty, *Reconstruction*, p.117.

¹⁵⁹ 'Fenton to Cecil', 26 Nov. 1600, *CSPI, 1600-3*, pp 35-6.

¹⁶⁰ Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.254.

educating local young men and appointing native Irish speaking clergy.¹⁶¹ In 1612, he reported that he had eleven reading ministers in Ferns and twelve in Leighlin who could read and speak Irish. In the latter diocese, these included the treasurer, Robert Cleere and the archdeacon, Peirs Gorse.¹⁶²

In 1622, Bishop James Wheeler of Ossory named nine ministers who read Irish well and he reported that Robert Johnson, vicar of Dunkitt, ‘preacheth every second Sunday to an Irish auditory at Kilkenny in the cathedral church’.¹⁶³ Another of these Irish speaking clergymen was James Kyvan, vicar of Castlecomer since at least 1608, whom Wheeler described as an ‘honest minister’.¹⁶⁴ However, all may not have been as it appeared to the bishop, because, in his deposition following the 1641 rebellion, the rector of the parish, John Watkinson, alleged that Kyvan had

revolted to the Mass & hath ioyned himself vnto the popish faction & doth in the Kathedrall Church of S. Kennes in Kilkennie as it is generally reported exircise his skill in singing & playing vpon the organe.¹⁶⁵

In 1634, the status of the liturgy in Irish was officially recognised when the canons of that year ordered that, in parishes where the majority of the congregation were Irish speakers, the service should be read in English first and then in Irish.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ ‘Certificate by Jonas Wheeler’ (Lambeth Palace Library, Fairhurst MSS, MS 2013).

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ 1641 Depositions, (T.C.D., MS 812, 193r-194v, 28 April 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

¹⁶⁶ Bray (ed.), ‘Irish canons of 1634’, no.8.

By then, of course, it was too late as Church of Ireland congregations were composed almost entirely of New English settlers and their families who had little use for services in the Irish language. This delay in providing the clergy with the necessary tools to preach to their parishioners, combined with the absence of coherent support systems from civil and ecclesiastical hierarchies, further exacerbated the challenges faced by Protestant ministers already struggling with meagre incomes and little community support.

Chapter Five

Roman Catholic institutional support and organisation

The Counter-Reformation priest was as revolutionary in his demands as was the Protestant pastor. Both demanded systematic instruction and regular devotions as foundations for the Christian moral life.¹

While official state assistance was, at least in theory, available to Church of Ireland clergy in the south-east during this period, the position of Catholic priests was very different. With the exception of the short reign of Mary, when Catholicism was briefly re-established as the official religion, the English crown and administration moved inexorably away from Rome and towards a Protestant Anglicanism centred on the monarch as supreme head of the church and a reformed episcopacy and clergy who reported to the state administration without reference to any other authority. Catholicism was outlawed, the work of priests, and even their presence in the country, was dangerous and they faced harsh penalties and even death if captured. In these difficult circumstances, the pope and the Vatican found it necessary to develop particular support mechanisms for their clergy that could operate independently of state administration. This chapter will examine the degree to which the Catholic administration, in Rome and elsewhere, succeeded in putting the structures and supports in place in the south-east that would allow the clergy to implement those provisions necessary for successful confessionalisation, while also assessing how their achievements compared with the experience of their Protestant counterparts.

¹ Corish, *Irish Catholic experience*, p.65.

As we have seen, denominational uncertainty continued for several decades after the Reformation and incumbent clergy, who were theoretically now Church of Ireland ministers, often continued to use Catholic liturgy and to celebrate the Roman sacraments in their churches.² While the English monarchy appointed archbishops and ordinaries without reference to Rome, the pope continued to hope that a reconciliation with the Vatican could be effected, until that aspiration was finally shattered by the excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570, a move that P.J. Corish describes as a ‘declaration of war in the name of Catholic Europe’.³

It is clear from the earlier correspondence of Pius IV to David Wolf, the Jesuit who was papal nuncio to Ireland, and Richard Creagh, archbishop of Armagh, that the pontiff understood the exceptional circumstances that already existed in the country, even if he remained hopeful that this was a temporary situation. An indication of the pragmatic approach that would be taken to the challenges faced by the Catholic clergy in the administration of the sacraments in difficult and dangerous situations were the dispensations granted to Wolf and Creagh in 1564 that allowed priests to use portable altars and suggested the transfer of those episcopal sees that had been annexed by the Church of Ireland to more convenient locations.⁴

Before the Council of Trent completed its deliberations in 1563 and laid down guidelines for the organization and administration of the Catholic Church, which were to remain in

² Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, p.226.

³ ‘Excommunication of Elizabeth I by Pius V’, 25 Feb. 1570, *CSP Rome*, p.328; Corish, ‘Two centuries’, p.223.

⁴ ‘Pius IV to David Wolf, SJ, nuncio of the apostolic see in Ireland and Richard Creagh, archbishop of Armagh, Primate of All Ireland’, 13 July 1564, *CSP Rome*, pp 166-9.

place for more than three hundred years, those Irish clergy who inclined towards Catholicism were as unprepared as their Protestant counterparts to undertake the rigorous catechetical duties required to effect a thoroughgoing confessionalisation of the population. Bossy points to the fact that some clergy did not even understand the church's rules with regard to marriage, confession and baptism⁵ and Michael Olden believed that many Elizabethan priests were merely 'instructed to learn parts of the Catechism by heart and to teach them verbatim'.⁶

The critical role of diocesan seminary colleges in the preparation of secular priests was clearly recognised by Trent, although the Irish situation called for a variation on this approach with the establishment of seminaries near universities in the Catholic strongholds of Spain, Portugal, Flanders, France and Rome, where Irish students were educated and ordained before their return home. Chapter One described the success of these colleges in preparing both secular and regular clergy for the mission in south-east Ireland, but it was not until the early years of the seventeenth century that these priests were being sent back in sufficient numbers to influence the overall quality of the parochial clergy. Of those clerics who were definitely resident in the south-east before 1600, we know of only seventeen who had attended a continental university, compared with a very conservative estimate of more than eighty in the first five decades of the seventeenth century.⁷ However, Corish believes that those who did return from Europe as early as 1580 were able to 'stiffen' any older clergy who were resistant to the changes

⁵ Bossy, 'Counter-Reformation and Ireland', pp 161-2.

⁶ Michael Olden, 'Counter-Reformation problems: Munster' in *Proceedings of the Irish Catholic Historical Committee*, 1964, p. 24.

⁷ Appendix 1.

being imposed by Trent.⁸ Brian Mac Cuarta believes that the Tridentine priests who returned to Ulster, albeit small in number and somewhat later than in the south-east, had a similar effect:

They helped to establish a clear confessional demarcation between Catholicism and the Church of Ireland in the minds of clergy and laity; they contributed towards the arrest of the slide towards the absorption of traditionalist local clergy into the established church; they consolidated a pastoral structure to parallel that of the state church.⁹

In the absence of secular parish priests during those early post-Reformation years, the Catholic faithful were dependent on the care of regular clergy, especially Franciscan and Dominican friars, many of whom continued to serve as priests in the aftermath of the dissolution of the monasteries despite some of them being offered positions as Church of Ireland ministers. While chronicling the history of the Dominicans during this period, Thomas Flynn points out that

the papacy quickly turned to the friars, through episcopal appointments, to resist and counter Henry's designs on the Irish church.¹⁰

This assertion is borne out by an examination of the early post-Reformation papal appointments to the episcopacy. John Thonory of Ossory (1553-65) was an Augustinian, Maurice McGibbon of Cashel (1567-78) was a Cistercian, Redmond Burke of Emly (1550-62) and John McGrath of Waterford and Lismore (1550) were Franciscans.¹¹

Although supporting evidence is limited, many historians, including Corish and Brendan Bradshaw, believe that the religious orders played a pivotal role in the clerical opposition

⁸ Corish, 'Two centuries', p.225.

⁹ Brian Mac Cuarta, *Catholic revival in the north of Ireland, 1603-41* (Dublin, 2007), p.92.

¹⁰ Flynn, *Dominicans*, p.39.

¹¹ W.M. Brady, *Episcopal succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, A.D. 1400-1875* (3 vols., Rome, 1876-7), iii, pp 5-69; ; Moran, 'Bishops of Ossory', p.251.

to the Reformation.¹² The Franciscans were still providing pastoral care in Enniscorthy in Ferns in 1582 when the guardian, Tadhg Ó Murchú and two other friars were killed by the treasurer at war, Henry Wallop.¹³ As was mentioned in Chapter Three, another three Franciscans, John O'Mulloy, Cornelius Dogherty and Calfrid Ferrall, had spent eight years travelling and administering the sacraments in Wexford, Carlow and Wicklow until their capture and execution at Abbeyleix in 1588.¹⁴ There may not have been as many friars in the south-east as there were in the west and north of the country, but their presence was still critical and Bradshaw described them as

a spiritual elite – the fruits of the Observant reform movement – numerous, widely dispersed, pastorally dynamic, respected by the laity of all social degrees, and well attuned to the vernacular as a mode of evangelisation.¹⁵

As we shall see later, the central part played by the friars in the survival of Catholicism, in the decades before the diocesan structures demanded by the reformers of Trent could be put in place, was to prove a source of tension as newly-appointed secular parish priests clashed with members of the orders who began to feel excluded from the ministry and its attendant sources of income.

The role of the diocesan bishop was regarded by Trent as key to the imposition of the demanding new discipline expected of parochial Catholic clergy. To this end, the parish was to be the main instrument used for the salvation of souls, with the archbishop and his suffragans defining boundaries, establishing new parishes where necessary, ensuring that

¹² Corish, 'Two centuries', p.225; Bradshaw, 'Reformation and identity formation', p.56.

¹³ Grannell, *Franciscans in Wexford*, p.16.

¹⁴ Comerford, 'Abbeyleix', pp 122-3.

¹⁵ Bradshaw, 'Reformation and identity formation', p.56.

suitably trained ministers were appointed and regularly supervised. Each secular priest was expected to live among his parishioners, to know his congregation and to be an example to them 'in word and in work' while preaching, instructing and administering the sacraments.¹⁶

However, in a country where the practice of Catholicism was proscribed, even the presence of bishops appointed by Rome was rare until the more tolerant years of the 1620s. For very different reasons, the absence of a resident Catholic hierarchy in the second half of the sixteenth century mirrored the previously discussed scarcity of Protestant prelates in the south-eastern dioceses in the same period. Following the death of Roland Baron Fitzgerald, the Marian archbishop of Cashel, in 1561, the Vatican appointed the Cistercian, Maurice McGibbon, as his successor. McGibbon allegedly fought with his Protestant counterpart, James McCawell, and later carried a petition from the Irish archbishops and ordinaries to the king of Spain and the pope, seeking support for the rebellion of James Fitzmaurice. By 1571 the bishop was in Paris and four years later was in Oporto, where he may have died in 1578, although there were suggestions that he may have returned to his diocese before his death.¹⁷ He was succeeded by Dermot O'Hurley, who was consecrated at Rome in 1581. O'Hurley did not reach his archdiocese until September 1583, where he received temporary sanctuary with the earl of Ormond in Carrick-on-Suir. He was arrested and taken to Dublin three months later, where he was tortured and eventually executed on 20 June 1584.¹⁸ The next archbishop was David

¹⁶ Corish, 'John Roche', p.105.

¹⁷ John Gleeson, *Cashel of the Kings: a history of the ancient capital of Munster from the date of its foundation until the present day* (Dublin, 1927), pp 198-9; Brady, *Episcopal succession*, ii, pp 6-10.

¹⁸ David Edwards, 'Dermot O'Hurley', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.org) (20 April, 2011).

Kearney, appointed in 1603 and reported to be living in his diocese and in County Kilkenny between 1611 and 1624.¹⁹ It is believed that he was one of only two Catholic bishops resident in Ireland in 1611.²⁰ The Franciscan, Thomas Walsh, a native of Waterford, succeeded Kearney in 1626 and lived in and around Cashel until he was forced to flee to Spain in 1653.²¹

The confessional uncertainty of the early post-Reformation hierarchy was highlighted in the previous chapter and is further illustrated by the case of Maurice McBrien, who was Church of Ireland archdeacon of Emly, prebendary of Lattin and held the parishes of Ballinlough, Knocklong and Ballingarry in 1559, a year after the death of Queen Mary. While in Rome in 1571 he was consecrated as Catholic bishop of Emly and appears to have spent most of the 1570s travelling between Rome, Portugal and Spain before returning to his diocese in 1578.²² He died in prison in Dublin in 1586 and thereafter Emly had no bishop until the appointment of Maurice O’Hurley in 1620.²³

Waterford and Lismore was without a Catholic bishop for even longer, from 1550 until the appointment of the Augustinian, Patrick Comerford, in 1629.²⁴ Ossory did have a bishop, albeit an absentee, in the later decades of the sixteenth century, as Thomas Strong was appointed in 1582. However, having taken up residence in his diocese in 1583, he

¹⁹ *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, iii, p.199, p.286; ‘Names of priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny’.

²⁰ ‘Archbishop David Kearney’ (www.cashel-emly.ie) (20 April 2011).

²¹ Meehan, *Franciscan monasteries*, p.130.

²² Seymour, *Parochial clergy of Cashel and Emly*; Benignus Millett, ‘Maurice McBrien, bishop of Emly, and the confiscation of his baggage, March 1578’ in *Coll. Hib.*, xxxiv & xxxv (1992-3), pp 13-14.

²³ ‘Irish confessors and martyrs’ in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, (www.newadvent.org/cathen/08163a.htm), (20 April 2011); Benignus Millett, ‘Catalogue of Irish material in vols. 140-143 of the *Scrittura originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali* in Propaganda Archives’ in *Coll. Hib.*, xiii (1970), p.58.

²⁴ Power, *Compendious history*, p.381.

was forced to flee the country the following year and lived out the remainder of his episcopacy in Compostella, where he died in 1602.²⁵ David Rothe was dispatched from Rome to his native city in 1609 but was not elevated to the position of bishop until 1618, with his consecration taking place two years later in Paris.²⁶

The defection of Thomas O’Fighil to the Protestant cause at the accession of Elizabeth left Leighlin without a Catholic bishop for much of the next seventy-five years. Francis de Ribera, a Spanish Franciscan, was appointed in 1587 but he lived at Antwerp and there is no evidence that he ever came to Ireland.²⁷ The next resident bishop in the see was the former Dominican provincial, Edmund Dempsey, who was not consecrated until 1642.²⁸ Peter Power, who spent long periods in prison during his five-year tenure as bishop of Ferns, and who eventually fled to Spain and died in 1587, was not replaced until John Roche returned to his native county as suffragan in 1626.²⁹ Following Roche’s death in 1636, the see remained vacant until the appointment of Nicholas French, another Wexford native, in 1645.³⁰

It is evident from the foregoing account that, for long periods during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, alternative measures to the appointment of bishops for the support and regulation of the clergy needed to be put in place. In regions where the ordinary hierarchy of the Catholic Church could not operate, the Vatican often appointed a deputy,

²⁵ Moran, ‘Bishops of Ossory’, pp 258-65.

²⁶ Colm Lennon, ‘David Rothe’, *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.org) (20 April 2011).

²⁷ Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, p.59.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.62.

²⁹ Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, p.313.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.320.

known as a vicar-apostolic, to carry out most of the functions associated with the episcopal office. Because of the fear of persecution, and perhaps also due to an unwillingness to antagonise the English government by consecrating bishops to rival the Protestant hierarchy, it was considered safer and less provocative to appoint vicars-apostolic to Irish sees and a number of these office-holders operated in the dioceses of the south-east from the late sixteenth century. In dioceses where bishops were appointed but were unable to reside in their sees, their functions were usually carried out by a vicar-general. Although they were prohibited from administering confirmation or holy orders, these Roman appointees could nominate parish priests, provide preachers for towns and deaneries and carry out all the other administrative and disciplinary functions that usually fell to the bishop.³¹

John White, who had studied at Louvain, was the first vicar-apostolic of Waterford and Lismore, serving in that position from 1578 to 1600.³² He was described by the president of Munster, Sir William Drury in 1577 as

worshipped like a God, between Kilkenny and Waterford and Clonmel.....an arrogant enemy to the gospel, and one that denieth all duties to her Majesty.³³

Continuing the practice of appointing members of the regular orders to positions of responsibility within diocesan administration, White was succeeded by his namesake, James, a Dominican friar and nephew of the archbishop of Armagh, Peter Lombard.³⁴

³¹ Forrester, *Synods in Ireland*, p.49; *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (www.newadvent.org/cathen/08163a.htm), (20 April 2011).

³² Power, *Compendious history*, p.381.

³³ 'Sir William Drury, President of Munster, to Walsingham', 16 April 1577 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, pp 22-4.

³⁴ *Ibid*; Appendix 1.

Another regular cleric, the Franciscan Thomas Walsh, a cousin of James White's, was the third appointee to the position, which he held from 1613 until his elevation to the archbishopric of Cashel in 1626.³⁵

George Power was being sheltered by Robert Rothe in Kilkenny in 1592 and he functioned as vicar-general of Ossory, in the absence of Bishop Thomas Strong, for a 'considerable time' until his arrest, imprisonment and death in Dublin in 1599.³⁶ The vicars-apostolic who administered the diocese after the death of Strong included William Brennan, who left Kilkenny for Louvain to join the Franciscans in 1609.³⁷ In that year David Rothe, a close associate of Archbishop Lombard in Rome, was sent back to Kilkenny as vicar-apostolic, a position he retained until he was consecrated as bishop of Ossory in 1620.³⁸ Despite Rothe's presence in Kilkenny for much of this period, Laurence Renaghan, who was reported in 1610 to be 'having open Mass' and receiving an 'annual stipend' from the city corporation, was described as the 'supposed vicar-general',³⁹ and P.F. Moran named Richard Fitzgerald as the last priest to fill this role before the episcopal appointment of Rothe.⁴⁰ Thus, even if it was unusual, it was evidently not unheard of for a resident vicar-apostolic to have a vicar-general working with him in his diocese.

³⁵ Power, *Compendious history*, p.381; Appendix 1.

³⁶ Hogan (ed.), *The description*, p.289; Moran, 'Bishops of Ossory', p.261.

³⁷ Fearghus Ó Fearghail, 'The Catholic Church in County Kilkenny, 1600-1800,' in F. Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny, History and Society* (Dublin, 1990), p.199.

³⁸ Lennon, 'David Rothe', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.org) (20 April 2011).

³⁹ 'Names of priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

⁴⁰ Moran, 'Bishops of Ossory', pp 264-5.

Thomas Ram reported that another Kilkenny native, Luke Archer, was vicar-general of Leighlin in 1612. He was archdeacon of Ossory in 1594 and was later assigned as parish priest of St Patrick's in Kilkenny by Bishop Strong. In 1610 he was admitted to the Cistercian order and appointed abbot of Holy Cross in Cashel. However, he appears to have assumed responsibility for the administration of the diocese of Leighlin shortly afterwards, possibly as a result of the shortage of suitably qualified priests, and was appointed vicar-apostolic on 7 March, 1614.⁴¹ Ram alleged that Archer spent most of his time in Kilkenny but lodged with Edmond Tirrelogh in Rathvilly when he was in his diocese. By 1618 Archer was provincial of the Cistercians in Ireland and returned to Holy Cross where he lived until his death in 1644.⁴²

The next vicar-apostolic of Leighlin was Matthew Roche, a secular priest from New Ross, whose brother, John, would later be bishop of Ferns. Matthew was appointed before 1623⁴³ and his tenure was most notable for a series of disputes between himself and members of the regular orders, including his predecessor. In 1629 Roche signed a proclamation enjoining the people of Leighlin not to hear Mass or receive the sacraments from the 'irregular cloysters' of Luke Archer, 'the assuming abbot, and his licentious retinue'.⁴⁴ Thomas Fleming, the Franciscan archbishop of Dublin, was in constant conflict with Roche and wrote to Luke Wadding that the vicar-apostolic had

bett latly a good abbot with a batt. I dare not meddle with him, therefore hee must be removed from thence, or cited thether under payne of suspension and excommunication⁴⁵

⁴¹ Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, p.267.

⁴² Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, p.60; 'Ram to Lord Deputy and council'; 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

⁴³ Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, p.61.

⁴⁴ 'Thomas Strange to Luke Wadding', 12 March 1629, *Wadding Papers*, p.369.

⁴⁵ 'Thomas Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin to Wadding', 20 July 1631, *Wadding Papers*, p.557.

His behaviour towards the regular clergy led to Roche's arrest by the civil powers in 1631 and he was brought to Dublin for questioning.⁴⁶ Despite this development, he was still vicar-apostolic in 1637, when Fleming described him as 'unsuitable'⁴⁷ and the metropolitan and his suffragans reported in the same year that the 'present vicar-apostolic gives bad example by his scandalous behaviour'.⁴⁸ According to Michael Comerford, Roche was arrested again in 1644, tried at Waterford, handed over to the secular authorities and executed.⁴⁹

Murtagh, or Moriarty, Dowling was vicar-general of Leighlin at some time before 1637, when a group of noblemen in the diocese recommended him for ecclesiastical promotion.⁵⁰ Dowling had a long career on the Irish mission. He was in Kilkenny as early as 1604 and Chichester was informed that he was 'in charge of Callan', in Ossory, in 1608.⁵¹ Ram reported that he was vicar-general of Kildare in 1612, but residing in the home of William Dun of Binnekerry, near Carlow in Leighlin.⁵² It is unlikely that Dowling was appointed vicar-apostolic, as Leighlin was the only diocese of the archiepiscopacy not to be represented at the Dublin synod of Tirchogir in 1640.⁵³

⁴⁶ 'Bishop Comerford to Luke Wadding', 30 Oct. 1631, *Wadding papers*, p.610.

⁴⁷ 'Thomas Fleming OFM, archbishop of Dublin, to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland', 12 Oct. 1637 in Benignus Millett, 'Catalogue of Irish material in Fourteen Volumes of the 'Scrittura originali riferite nelle congregate generali' in Propaganda Archives' in *Coll. Hib.*, x (1967), p.43.

⁴⁸ 'A petition to the pope in favour of Edmund Dempsey', undated, but written in late 1637, as Bishop John Roche of Ferns is described as being dead for one and a half years, *Coll. Hib.*, x (1967) p.31.

⁴⁹ Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, p.62.

⁵⁰ 'Testimonial of nobles in Leighlin', 12 July 1637, in Millett, 'Catalogue of Irish material', in *Coll. Hib.* x (1967), p.44.

⁵¹ 'John Horsfall to the Deputy and council', pp 178-9; 'Intelligence regarding Seminaries and priests', *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 507-8.

⁵² 'Ram to Lord Deputy and council'.

⁵³ Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, pp 61-2, p.253.

Edmund Dempsey was not selected as bishop until 1642, despite the recommendation of Thomas Fleming, archbishop of Dublin, as early as 1631, that another Dominican, Thaddeus, or 'John of the Cross,' Murphy, be appointed, in light of the fact that the diocese had 'not prospered under Matthew Roche'.⁵⁴ Dempsey was provincial of the Dominicans in Ireland from 1635 and had been proposed for the see of Leighlin in 1637 by the diocesan clergy and by Fleming and his suffragans.⁵⁵

In 1607 Daniel O'Druhan was appointed vicar-apostolic of Ferns. Unusually for this period, he was already a priest when he left Ireland to study in Salamanca in 1583, returning to Wexford in 1591. He used the pseudonym James Walsh, was reputedly living in the house of Johan Shea in New Ross in 1612, when Ram described him as the 'reputed bishop', and he died in 1626.⁵⁶ Four years before his death, O'Druhan and seven other priests of Ferns petitioned Gregory XV to appoint a bishop to the diocese. They recommended Walter Cheevers, the guardian of Wexford's Franciscan friary, who had studied in Douai and Louvain before returning to his native Wexford before 1617.⁵⁷ It is worth noting that these priests had no hesitation in supporting a Franciscan candidate for the episcopacy, despite the fact that they were all secular clerics, with the possible exception of John Coppinger.⁵⁸ Their petition was unsuccessful but four years later, on the death of O'Druhan, they wrote again, this time to Archbishop Fleming. They suggested the appointment of another Ferns native, Thaddeus Murphy, the Dominican,

⁵⁴ 'Archbishop Fleming to Cardinal Ludovisi', 5 Aug. 1631 in Millett, 'Catalogue of Irish material' in *Coll. Hib.* x (1967), p.18.

⁵⁵ 'A petition to the pope in favour of Edmund Dempsey', n.d., *Coll. Hib.*, x (1967), p.31; Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, p.63.

⁵⁶ Corish, 'Two centuries', p.226; 'Ram to Lord Deputy and council'.

⁵⁷ Benignus Millett, 'Walter Cheevers, OFM, postulated for Ferns, 1622' in *Coll. Hib.*, xxxiv (1992), pp 15-17.

⁵⁸ Appendix 1.

who would later be proposed for Leighlin. Fleming wrote to Cardinal Ludovisi in Rome, supporting the clergy's request and evidently unaware that the Vatican had already chosen John Roche for the position.⁵⁹

Roche's episcopacy lasted just ten years as he became ill and died while on a visit to David Rothe in Kilkenny, in 1636.⁶⁰ There was considerable competition to succeed him. Giorgio Bolognetti, the bishop of Ascoli, wrote to Rome in October 1636, proposing Bartholomew Archer for the position, as he was a relation of Roche's, a 'very good-living priest, zealous, sufficiently learned, a native', and, crucially, his family was in a position to support him.⁶¹ Archbishops Fleming and Walsh, the Franciscan provincial, Joseph Everard, and his Cistercian counterpart, Luke Archer, all testified as to Bartholomew's suitability for the see.⁶² During the same period, the influential Paris-based cleric, Thomas Messingham, attested to the fitness of Archer or Thomas Rothe, vicar-general of Ossory for the position.⁶³

In June 1636, twenty-three Ferns priests requested that the vicar-general, William Devereux, who was working in the diocese since at least 1610, be promoted to vicar-apostolic and that they be consulted when a bishop was to be selected.⁶⁴ By October of the following year, Archbishop Fleming, who had earlier recommended Archer for the

⁵⁹ 'Thomas Fleming, OFM, archbishop of Dublin, to Ludovico Cardinal Ludovisi', 19 Nov. 1636 in Millett, 'Catalogue of Irish material' in *Coll.Hib.*, x (1967), p.17.

⁶⁰ Corish, 'Two centuries', pp 228-9.

⁶¹ 'Giorgio Bolognetti, bishop of Ascoli, nuncio to a cardinal', 15 Oct. 1636 in Millett, 'Catalogue of Irish material' in *Coll. Hib.*, xiii (1970), p.38.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.39.

⁶³ 'A testimonial of Thomas Messingham', n.d., in Millett, 'Catalogue of Irish material' in *Coll. Hib.*, xiii (1970), p.44.

⁶⁴ 'Twenty-three priests of Ferns diocese to Urban VIII', 22 June 1636 in Millett, 'Catalogue of Irish material' in *Coll. Hib.*, xiii (1970), p.43.

episcopacy, believed that there was not a sufficient number of Catholics in the diocese to support a bishop so he also suggested that Devereux be appointed vicar-apostolic, which he duly was, serving in the position until 1645.⁶⁵ In that year Nicholas French, another long-serving secular cleric of the diocese, was made bishop.⁶⁶

Despite the challenges of operating in a clandestine environment, while experiencing sporadic periods of persecution, this group of bishops, vicars-apostolic and vicars-general combined to impose an increasingly sophisticated and effective level of organization within the dioceses of the south-east. They were supported by papal institutions that had been developed with a view to sustaining clerical activity in countries and regions that had changed dramatically in the aftermath of the Reformation and whose governments no longer accepted Roman ecclesiastical authority. With the realisation that different structures needed to be put in place to serve the Catholic populations in states that were governed by Protestant rulers, the Vatican-appointed nuncio in Flanders was charged with monitoring events in England, Scotland and Ireland. His information was supplied by the Spanish ambassador in England and by that envoy's confessor, as well as from the ministers of the archduke resident in London, exiled priests, travellers, merchants and agents. Ottavio Mirto Frangipani was appointed as the first permanent nuncio to Brussels in 1596.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ 'Thomas Fleming, OFM, archbishop of Dublin, to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland', 12 Oct. 1637 in Millett, *Coll. Hib.*, xiii (1970), p.43.

⁶⁶ Corish, 'Two centuries', p.229.

⁶⁷ Cathaldus Giblin (ed.), 'Catalogue of material of Irish interest in Collection 'Nunziatara di Fiandra' Vatican archives', Part 1: vols: 1-50 in *Coll. Hib.*, i (1958), p.13.

Guido Bentivoglio held the position from 1607 to 1615 and he reported to the Vatican in 1613 that there was a 'sufficiency' of priests in Ireland, with 800 secular clerics, 130 Franciscans, twenty Jesuits and a few Benedictines and Dominicans. He remarked that

However greater learning and acquirements [were] desirable in many of the secular clergy, the best being those educated in the continental seminaries.⁶⁸

The accuracy of this report must be questioned, as the nuncio also claimed that there were 'no factions among the clergy'. There is no evidence that he ever travelled to Ireland and another observation, that the Franciscans were 'always held in great esteem', suggests that his chief informants may have been members of that order.⁶⁹

In 1622, the regulation of church business in non-Catholic jurisdictions was streamlined with the erection of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide within the Vatican. By 1636 it was deemed necessary to form a dedicated sub-committee of the congregation to deal with Irish affairs.⁷⁰ Before the first nuncio since David Wolf was appointed to the country in 1645, the nunciature in Brussels took on a new importance as a 'connecting link' between Propaganda Fide and Ireland, with information regarding the mission being exchanged on a weekly basis.⁷¹ Communication between Rome and Ireland was also facilitated by the presence in the Vatican city of Irish priests, both secular and regular, who acted as conduits of information and as unofficial agents of the Irish hierarchy. The

⁶⁸ 'Report from Mgr Bentivoglio' in *Arch. Hib.* iii (1914), p.300.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p.43.

⁷¹ Giblin, *Coll. Hib.*, i (1958), pp 15-17.

most influential of these ambassadorial figures was the Waterford Franciscan, Luke Wadding, the founder of St Isidore's College.⁷²

As we have seen, the unwieldy nature of the Irish medieval diocesan and parochial structures created serious challenges for those charged with the administration of the established church. While the Catholic clergy were placed at a serious disadvantage by the clandestine nature of their mission, and by the fact that they had no livings to support them and no churches in which to celebrate their rituals, the vicars and bishops set about organising their dioceses in a pragmatic fashion, designed to ensure that all the people of the country had access to the services of a priest. The papal dispensations granted to Wolf and Creagh in 1564 have already been mentioned and the Vatican continued to recognise the special demands of Irish Catholic organisation. Because there were so few bishops in the country, Archbishop Lombard, himself an exile in Rome, requested that a special dispensation be granted to Irish students in continental colleges that they could be ordained without the usual testimonial from their ordinaries. Paul V granted this faculty in 1615, but, as we shall see, it was to cause serious disciplinary issues when a resident episcopacy was fully re-established. The faculty was rescinded in 1634.⁷³

These 'ultramontane' support structures, combined with the presence, in every south-eastern diocese but Emly, of at least a vicar-apostolic by 1612, made it possible for the clandestine faith to organise a parochial system for its clergy that would rival that of the state church. By 1610 English representatives in Ireland believed that the Catholic

⁷² Ignatius Fennessy, 'Luke Wadding', *ODNB*, (www.oxforddnb.org) (27 April 2011).

⁷³ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p.123.

Church had already succeeded in establishing these structures. In that year, Sir Toby Caulfield, who served the crown in various roles, wrote to the lord deputy that the Catholics had

appointed in every bishopric in Ireland a general vicar who must appoint a curate in every parish throughout all the diocese. They have archdeacons, deans, officers, as they were in times past.⁷⁴

The following year, Andrew Knox, archbishop of the Scottish Isles, told the archbishop of Canterbury that

there is no diocese but it has a bishop appointed and consecrated by the Pope, nor province that wants an archbishop, nor parish without priest, all actually serving their time at the Pope's direction and plenteously sustained by the people;⁷⁵

However, James White, vicar-apostolic of Waterford and Lismore, had painted a bleaker picture when he wrote to Rome in 1606 that

all our priests are reduced to such extremities that there is not one whose life is not in peril at every moment ...⁷⁶

In a letter to Rome in 1609, David Kearney, the archbishop of Cashel, described the conditions under which Catholic priests performed their duties:

As for us ecclesiastics, being always encompassed with dangers, we imitate the skilful seaman, who, when the tempest threatens, draws in the sails, and re-unfurls them on the return of calm.⁷⁷

Offering organisation, support and discipline to the secular clergy who operated under these difficult conditions was the work of provincial synods, which were regularly

⁷⁴ 'Sir Toby Caulfield to the Lord Deputy', 27 June 1610, *CSPI, 1608-10*, p.475.

⁷⁵ 'Andrew, archbishop of the Isles, to the Archbishop of Canterbury', 4 July 1611, *CSPI, 1611-4*, p.81.

⁷⁶ 'Letter from James White, vicar-apostolic of Waterford and Lismore, to Cardinal Baronius', 28 May 1606 in Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp 229-30.

⁷⁷ 'Relatio by David Kearney' in Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp 235-6..

convened in the archdioceses of Dublin and Cashel in the first forty years of the seventeenth century. Between 1606 and 1632, six synods were held in Cashel and three in Dublin, as well as two inter-provincial meetings of the Dublin and Cashel hierarchies, in 1624 and 1629. Following the 1641 rebellion, national synods were held, often as regularly as every six months. Unfortunately, none of the decrees of the Cashel gatherings are extant, although documents do survive from the Dublin synods of 1614 and 1640 and from the two inter-provincial assemblies.⁷⁸

The 1614 Dublin synod was convened in Kilkenny from 22 to 27 June by the archbishop of Dublin, Eugene Matthews, and was attended by all the vicars-apostolic of the suffragan dioceses including David Rothe, Luke Archer and Daniel O'Druhan. P.F. Moran described the statutes drawn up as the 'chief code of ecclesiastical discipline and law' in Dublin for the next two centuries⁷⁹ and Colm Lennon describes the principal work of these early synods as the

adaptation of the Catholic community to the circumstances of its existence in a protestant state in which all of the older ecclesiastical buildings were vested in the Church of Ireland.⁸⁰

In relation to the parochial clergy, the 1614 synod tackled a number of the same issues that faced the Church of Ireland during this period and that were constantly addressed on the Protestant side, with varying degrees of success, by government acts and royal directions. Absenteeism, the quality and quantity of available priests, their behaviour in their parishes and the performance of their catechetical duties formed a significant part of

⁷⁸ Forrester, *Synods in Ireland*, pp 195-6.

⁷⁹ Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, p.266.

⁸⁰ Lennon, 'David Rothe', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.org) (20 April 2011).

the deliberations of this and subsequent synods and clearly illustrated that the two confessional bodies faced many of the same challenges in Ireland during this period.

Among the statutes passed in 1614 was a stipulation that a priest was to be assigned to each parish, although any district left vacant due to the lack of clerics could be filled by a neighbouring parish priest, on the understanding that he give precedence to the congregation to which he was first appointed. Pastors were exhorted to ‘instruct the faithful in the catechism’, never failing to teach the inhabitants of houses where they were sheltered and maintained.⁸¹ These decrees were a reinforcement of the obligations imposed by the Council of Trent on the parish priest to

know his people and be an example to them in word and in work; to preach to them and instruct them in the faith; and to administer the sacraments’⁸²

The issue of absenteeism, so regularly recognised as a major problem among Protestant ministers, was also addressed. The synod prohibited the absence of priests from their parishes, especially on Sundays and feast days and ordered that any such non-attendance was to be covered by another cleric approved by the bishop or vicar.⁸³

On the subject of clerical behaviour, priests were forbidden to attend fairs, weddings, funerals or anniversaries of deaths unless invited. They were to wear clothing that clearly distinguished them from the laity and were to avoid ‘concubinage, fornication, drunkenness, communal drinking, drink challenges, entrance into taverns and any

⁸¹ Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, p.267.

⁸² Corish, ‘John Roche’, p.105.

⁸³ Forrester, *Synods in Ireland*, p.51.

association with suspect women'.⁸⁴ Many of these disciplinary lapses were evidently common to both Catholic and Protestant clergy, as most of the above list would be echoed twenty years later in the Church of Ireland canons, passed by convocation in 1634. Indeed, the Catholic position may not have improved either in those intervening years as the Vatican issued a decree to the Irish bishops in 1635, urging that priests be restrained from 'frequenting taverns and indulging immoderately in festivities on patron days'.⁸⁵

While recognising the particular challenges posed by the clandestine and often dangerous nature of the Catholic priest's work, the synods were also concerned that adequate reverence be maintained during the celebration of the sacraments. The outdoor celebration of Mass, although accepted as necessary, should be accompanied by the provision of a linen cloth over the altar and protection from wind and rain to the sides and back. Mass was never to be said without at least one wax candle being lit.⁸⁶

The synods also attempted to address another issue that would become increasingly contentious in the following decades, decreeing that ordinaries, in co-operation with religious superiors, could appoint regular clergy to parochial pastoral duties in cases where there was a scarcity of priests. At the same time, the synods attempted to control the behaviour of regulars who might undertake secular duties without permission from

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.72.

⁸⁵ Corish, 'John Roche', p.320.

⁸⁶ Forrestal, *Synods in Ireland*, pp 56-58.

their superiors or the consent of the bishop. The meetings of 1624 and 1640 forbade any ‘vagrant cleric’ to administer the sacraments without licence.⁸⁷

Thus armed with directions from Rome and their own synodal decrees, the Catholic hierarchy set about systematically organising their diocesan clergy. As with the government acts, royal orders and canons passed by Convocation, which were designed to streamline the work and behaviour of the Protestant clergy, it was not easy to translate aspirations into reality, although there is evidence that the work of the secular clergy was being organised, as far as was possible, along the lines envisaged by Trent by the 1620s.

Daniel O’Druhan, the vicar-apostolic of Ferns, had evidently succeeded in imposing a considerable level of organisation on his clergy by the time of his death in 1626. John Roche, who arrived in the diocese to take up his position as bishop three years later, reported quite favourable first impressions to Rome in December 1629. There were thirty priests to serve the seventy parishes,

fewer than in perhaps any other diocese, but nowhere are they better: and through the mercy of God there is not a single priest in the diocese whose fame is in the slightest degree impaired.⁸⁸

In May 1631, he wrote that

the parochial districts are everywhere well defined, and pastors are assigned to each of them, who, since the confiscation of their own houses, wander about, residing here and there, in some spots known to the faithful, and where they may be readily found for the administration of the sacraments, and the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.52.

⁸⁸ Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, p.399.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.325.

Roche took the diocesan administration a step further in 1632, when he informed Propaganda Fide of his intention to appoint some of his senior clergy to positions as cathedral canons, more to thwart the ‘inopportune ambition’ of the ‘ignorant young priests’ of other dioceses than because he regarded this move as a necessity. The vicar-general was to be William Devereux, mentioned earlier as a teacher in Wexford town, sixty years of age, who had ‘laboured for twenty-eight years without reproach’ in the diocese. John Wadding, ‘a great preacher also, a wise man and a prudent confessor’ was to be chancellor, while Daniel O’Breen, a priest of ‘gentle birth and many virtues’ was promoted to archdeacon. Richard Fitzharris, whom Ram had accused of building a mass house near New Ross in 1612, was to be precentor and Thomas Turner, a member of the family who sheltered the bishop in Wexford and also a priest of ‘rare learning and piety’, was made treasurer. Despite their promotion to the chapter, these priests could not take up residence in the cathedral, as was customary, but continued to live in their parishes.⁹⁰ By 1635, the bishop reported a slight drop in the number of parish priests in Ferns, with twenty-eight seculars who still managed to serve the faithful in every corner of the diocese.⁹¹

While the Protestant bishop, John Horsfall, named twenty-nine Catholic priests who were present in Ossory as early as 1604 and information was supplied to Dublin in 1610 about more than forty priests and their whereabouts in the diocese, little is known about their parochial assignments and duties until the correspondence of Horsfall’s Catholic

⁹⁰ ‘John Roche to Propaganda’, 25 Feb. 1632 in Hore, *History of Wexford*, vi, pp 314-5; ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’; Corish, ‘Two centuries’, p.227.

⁹¹ ‘Relatio Status of John Roche’, 17 July 1635, in *Archiv. Hib.*, v (1916), pp 90-1.

counterpart in the mid-1630s.⁹² David Rothe's arrival in Kilkenny in 1609, as vicar-general and later as bishop, was the first in a series of appointments that would lead to what Thomas O'Connor has described as

a generation of extraordinarily gifted bishops, continentally educated, multi-lingual, theologically engaged and pastorally innovative.⁹³

By 1635, Rothe reported to Rome that his diocese was well organised and sufficiently staffed, with more than thirty pastoral clergy and three personal chaplains in the rural parishes, while eight secular priests worked in Kilkenny city, which was also home to numerous regular clergy. These included seven Franciscans, three Jesuits, three Dominicans and some Cistercians and Carmelites.⁹⁴

As in Ferns, cathedral canons had been appointed to Ossory by 1631, when Rothe named them in correspondence. Thomas Rothe, whom Malachy Hartry described as a brother of the bishop, was vicar-general; Thomas Honreghan, who was serving in the diocese since at least 1610, was archdeacon and Marcus Archdekin was precentor.⁹⁵

The bishop also selected eight priests as vicars forane, or deans, who had responsibility for sub-divided regions of the diocese. They were required to assemble the clergy of their deanery on a regular basis, usually once a month, to discuss contentious issues that may

⁹² 'Horsfall to the Deputy and Council, pp 178-9; 'Names of Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

⁹³ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p.21.

⁹⁴ 'Relatio Status of David Rothe', n.d. April 1635 in *Archiv. Hib*, v (1916), pp 85-90.

⁹⁵ 'David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, and others: Proposals to the Regulars', 14 June 1631 in *Wadding Papers*, p.531; Malachy Hartry, *Triumphalia chronologica Monasterii Sanctae Crucis in Hibernia : De Cisterciensium Hibernorum viris illustribus* (1640), ed. Denis Murphy, (Dublin, 1891), p.93; 'Sundrie priests and friars'.

have arisen, to study and prescribe reading material and to deal with matters of clerical discipline. In this manner, the better-educated priests could exercise a measure of influence and supervision over their colleagues. The vicars forane and the urban clergy also convened four times a year to consider pastoral matters and Rothe expected all of his secular clergy to attend an annual week-long retreat with a Jesuit priest.⁹⁶

Despite the fact that there were more than sixty named priests in Waterford and Lismore in 1610, there is no record of clerical organization until the appointment of Patrick Comerford to the see in 1629.⁹⁷ The following year he informed Cardinal Ludovisi in Propaganda Fide that he had forty secular clerics, ‘35 of whom have the care of souls in their own parishes’, as well as about forty regular priests.⁹⁸ However, in contrast to John Roche’s high praise for the clergy in Ferns, Comerford had a poor opinion of his pastors, describing most of them to Luke Wadding in 1631 as

idle, contenting themselves to say masse in the morning, and until midnight to continue either playing or drinking or vagabonding; and as moste of them are unlearned, they make a trade of being ecclesiasticalls, thereby to live idle, sitt among the best, goe well clad, and if I would say it, swagger..... and a lass, very few spend one hour in a twelvemonth to teache the Christian doctrine, or instruct younge childer.⁹⁹

By 1639, he believed that the position had improved considerably. Of the fifty-nine secular priests in his jurisdiction, forty-five administered parishes in a praiseworthy, sensible manner, while the other fourteen were chaplains in private Catholic homes. Like

⁹⁶ ‘Relatio Status of David Rothe’, *Archiv. Hib.*,v (1916), pp 85-90; Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation*, p.58; O’Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p.121.

⁹⁷ ‘Sundrie priests and friars’.

⁹⁸ ‘Comerford to Ludovisi’, 20 June 1630 in Millett, *Coll. Hib.*, xiii (1970), p.18.

⁹⁹ ‘Comerford to Wadding’, 30 Oct. 1631, *Wadding Papers*, p.609.

Rothe, he had divided his diocese into deaneries, whose members held conferences six times a year to discuss ‘casus conscientiae’.¹⁰⁰

Unfortunately, neither Rothe nor Comerford made reference to the relationships that they enjoyed with those priests whom they identified as personal chaplains in private homes in their dioceses. It would be interesting to discover if the bishops were in a position to apply episcopal discipline to these clergy, especially those English priests who came to Ireland with some of the numerous recusant families who fled the stricter enforcement of anti-Catholic legislation in England and settled in the south-east. The 1610 report on priests in Kilkenny mentions two such immigrant chaplains, living with Mr Brookesbury of Castleiffe, near Callan, and Mr Naspoole of Polerath.¹⁰¹

Although the Church of Ireland archbishops had declared in 1611 that they and their suffragans would convene annual meetings of their clergy for the purpose of instruction and examination,¹⁰² there is no evidence that they achieved anything like the levels of organisation and discipline that were apparent among the parochial Catholic clergy at sub-diocesan level, at least in Ferns, Ossory and Waterford and Lismore. While Caulfield and Knox may have exaggerated the level of Catholic parochial administration and institutional support in their above-mentioned correspondence of 1610 and 1611, Thomas Dutton, a member of the council of Ireland, probably reflected the true picture when he wrote in 1630 that there were ‘priests in every parish to execute jurisdiction, say mass

¹⁰⁰ ‘Relatio Status of Patrick Comerford’, n.d., 1639 in *Archiv. Hib.*, v (1916), pp 108-11.

¹⁰¹ ‘Names of priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny’; Edwards, ‘A haven of popery’, pp 95-126.

¹⁰² Walsh (ed.), ‘The State of Ireland’, *Archiv. Hib.*, ii (1913), p.165.

and keep schools'.¹⁰³ Justice Cressy was probably equally accurate in his 1633 report from Wexford that described a 'Romish hierarchy of bishops, commissaries, vicars-general, and other officials'.¹⁰⁴

The unusual position of the Catholic Church in south-east Ireland did, of course, present difficulties to the hierarchy in their efforts to establish and maintain clerical structures and discipline. Although Rome appointed bishops and senior clergy without any reference to the civic authorities, Nicholas Canny believes that the independence of these appointments must have been compromised by the influence of the lay gentry who provided support and shelter to the priests and who were often their relatives or neighbours.¹⁰⁵ Another problem was that bishops found it difficult to discipline their clergy because, unlike their Protestant counterparts, the Catholic hierarchy could not depend on reinforcement from the civil powers.¹⁰⁶ The arrest and trial of the vicar-apostolic of Leighlin, Matthew Roche, discussed earlier, appears to have been a quite exceptional occurrence.

That changes made to the diocesan structures by the Church of Ireland had an impact on Catholic organisation is reflected in the correspondence of Archbishop Walsh to Luke Wadding in 1631 when he suggested that the Catholic administration should follow the lead of the Protestants in uniting the dioceses of Cashel and Emly because

¹⁰³ 'Sir Thomas Dutton to Lord Dorchester', 4 April 1630, *CSPI, 1625-32*, p.528.

¹⁰⁴ 'Justic Cressy from Wexford to the Lord Deputy', 15 August 1633 in Mant, *History of Church of Ireland*, i, pp 464-5.

¹⁰⁵ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p.441.

¹⁰⁶ Ó hAnnracháin, 'Episcopal activity in Ireland', pp 91-3.

both these dioceses be soe narrow and little as they will not make one good diocess, and they are ioyned or united materialy these many years by the kings and parliaments of England and Irland, which breeds a confusion in the government of them.¹⁰⁷

While diocesan structures and supports for secular priests were probably not consolidated until at least the second half of the 1620s, some of the regular orders had begun to re-organise their Irish-based clergy much earlier. Despite the dissolution of the monasteries and the dispersal of the communities of friars and monks, many of them continued to provide pastoral care in both urban and rural parishes. As we have seen, their confessional allegiance may have been uncertain in the early post-Reformation years but, by the later decades of the sixteenth century, it was clear that official efforts to eliminate the monastic and mendicant orders in Ireland had not succeeded and that many of the regular clergy had developed survival strategies that allowed them to continue with their mission.

In 1540, the lord deputy, Anthony St Leger, noted at least fourteen Franciscan houses in the south-eastern dioceses.¹⁰⁸ It has already been noted in Chapter Two that, following the dissolution, the Holy Ghost Hospital was founded in the former Waterford friary with four chaplains, whom Julian Walton believes were almost certainly Franciscan priests who continued to function in their traditional role.¹⁰⁹ Fergal Grannell remarks that the friars of Wexford town did not submit to the suppression but withdrew into hiding and were sheltered by their patrons.¹¹⁰ As was noted earlier, although the Turner family was officially granted possession of the friars' property, they allowed the Franciscans to

¹⁰⁷ 'Thomas Walsh, archbishop of Cashel, to Wadding', 17 Nov. 1631, *Wadding Papers*, p.613.

¹⁰⁸ Newport White (ed.), *Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-41* (Dublin, 1943), pp ix-xi.

¹⁰⁹ Walton, 'Church, crown and corporation', p.183.

¹¹⁰ Grannell, *Franciscans in Wexford*, pp 14-15.

remain in residence, which they succeeded in doing between periods of persecution.¹¹¹ In 1557, at least two members of the order, Robert Cheevers and Stephen Hay, were living in the town. Cheevers acted as chaplain to Paul Turner and Hay was nominally the vicar of St Patrick's.¹¹² According to J.B. Leslie, Cheevers was also clerk of St Patrick's and both men were granted a pardon in 1562 for the alienation to them of the friary.¹¹³

Having fled from the monastery of Moore Abbey in Emly at the suppression, Dermot O'Mulroney and two other Franciscans had returned there before 1570, when Sidney and his troops laid siege to the building. The friars climbed into the belfry to escape but were killed when the soldiers burnt the church.¹¹⁴ Cathaldus Giblin remarked that the Franciscan community 'fought, not alone to survive, but to maintain its organisation intact and its discipline at a high level'.¹¹⁵ The foundation of the Irish Franciscan college at Louvain in 1607 was critical to this effort, as was the establishment of St Isidore's College in Rome in 1625. The founder of the latter was Luke Wadding, the Waterford-born Franciscan who was probably the most influential Irish priest in the holy city during this period and whose presence close to the Vatican was likely to be beneficial to members of his order working in Ireland. As well as educating friars for their missionary role, Louvain, and later St Isidore's, provided a vital support mechanism for the order's organisation and administration in Ireland. Indeed, Samantha Meigs describes the Franciscans at Louvain as

¹¹¹ Furlong, 'Wexford port', p.155.

¹¹² Grannell, *Franciscans in Wexford*, p.15.

¹¹³ Ibid.; Leslie, *Ferns clergy*.

¹¹⁴ Seymour, *Emly*, p.178.

¹¹⁵ Cathaldus Giblin (ed.), *Liber Lovaniensis: a collection of Irish Franciscan documents, 1629-1717* (Dublin, 1956), p.vii.

an extremely important bridge between the old traditional Gaelic religious outlook and the new innovations brought about by Tridentine reform.¹¹⁶

It is mostly as a result of records kept in Louvain and Rome that it is possible to paint a reasonably comprehensive picture of Franciscan activity in the south-east during the first half of the seventeenth century. Irish provincial chapters were usually held every three years, with a middle chapter about halfway between each provincial meeting.¹¹⁷ Due to fear of persecution, the 1609 meeting was held in the woods near Roscrea.¹¹⁸ By 1615, when Donatus Mooney, another native of Waterford, was elected minister provincial of the order, the Franciscans had re-established themselves in Kilkenny and New Ross.¹¹⁹ They rented a residence in Kilkenny in 1612, with William O'Kelly as guardian, and Nicholas Marob, Nicholas Lee and possibly Melthier Ragged, William Marob and William Relie in the community.¹²⁰

When Mooney visited Clonmel after his election in 1615, he found that the conventual church was in good condition but was in the possession of Jesuit and secular clergy, who claimed to hold it under a grant from Pope Paul V. Having regained possession and persuaded the hitherto reluctant townspeople to re-admit the Franciscans, Mooney

¹¹⁶ Samantha Meigs, *The reformation in Ireland: tradition and confessionalism, 1400-1690* (London, 1997), p.89.

¹¹⁷ Giblin (ed.), *Liber Lovaniensis*, p.xiii.

¹¹⁸ Mooney, 'Golden age of the Franciscans', p.22.

¹¹⁹ Brendan Jennings, (ed), 'Brussels MS 3947, Donatus Moneyes, de provincial Hiberniae S. Francisci' in *Ana. Hib.*, vi (1934), pp 82-3; Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, iii, p.111; Corish, 'Reformation and counter-Reformation in Wexford', p.44.

¹²⁰ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, iii, p.111; 'Names of priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'; 'Sundrie priests and friars'.

oversaw the construction of a new residence for the community and Thomas Bray, renowned as a theologian and preacher, was appointed guardian the following year.¹²¹

In 1615, John Sinnott was guardian in Wexford town, where the friars lived in a house on High Street and rented another as a chapel, until they were able to move back to their old friary in 1622.¹²² In 1610, at least four Franciscan priests were sheltered in private homes in Waterford. They included Thomas Walsh, the future archbishop of Cashel, who was living with Thomas Harold, while James Dalton and William Fagan were staying in the homes of Ellin and Katherine Sherlock, respectively, and Thomas Woodlock was maintained by Mary Power.¹²³ By 1615, Mooney reported that the friars in the city were living together clandestinely in a rented house and, by 1629, Thomas Strong was guardian.¹²⁴ Eugene Field, Mooney's successor as provincial, re-established a community in Cashel in 1618 where Joseph Everard, himself a future provincial, was guardian in 1629.¹²⁵

Richard Sinnott, was sent to Enniscorthy in 1642, with five other friars, to restore the community that had been extinguished by Wallop in 1582. Sinnott had earlier been guardian in Kilkenny, was in Rome in 1633 and was killed, along with Raymond Stafford, John Esmond, Paulinus Sinnott, Peter Stafford and two lay brothers, by Cromwell's forces in Wexford on 11 October 1649.¹²⁶ Although the convent at Carrick-

¹²¹ Meehan, *Franciscan monasteries*, p.81; Power, *Compendious history*, p.160.

¹²² Grannell, *Franciscans in Wexford*, p.17.

¹²³ 'Sundrie priests and friars'.

¹²⁴ Meehan, *Franciscan monasteries*, pp 103-4; Power, *Compendious history*, p.282.

¹²⁵ Mooney, 'Golden age of the Franciscans', p.23; Giblin (ed.), *Liber Lovaniensis* pp 5-16.

¹²⁶ Grannell, *Franciscans in Wexford*, p.18, p.27; O'Boyle, *Irish colleges on the continent*, p.105.

on-Suir was reported to be vacant in 1629, a community had evidently been re-established by 1645 when Anthony Sweetman was guardian.¹²⁷ Similarly, the friary at Galbally in Emly had re-opened by the same year when Bernard Hurley was guardian.¹²⁸

By the early 1640s at least eight of the fourteen Franciscan communities that were dissolved one hundred years earlier were functioning again. There were still intermittent periods of persecution, most noticeably in the aftermath of the raid on the Carmelite sanctuary in Cook Street in Dublin in December 1629, when friaries, chapels and mass-houses throughout the country were closed down.¹²⁹ The guardian of Waterford, Thomas Strong, described the position of the friars to Francis Matthews in November 1630:

All our houses are taken up for the king, and no man will let us a house to rent now; nor I know no reason whie we should demand it, all such houses being subject to forfeiture and wee not able to make satisfaction to the landlord.¹³⁰

However, this surge of harassment appears to have been quite short-lived and the friars were soon able to return to their premises.¹³¹

The number of Franciscans working in Ireland increased dramatically in the first half of the seventeenth century, from an estimated 160 in 1618 to a possible 1,000 in 1644, although Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin believes that the latter figure may be somewhat exaggerated.¹³² Importantly, the number of university-educated members of the order

¹²⁷ Giblin (ed.), *Liber Lovaniensis*, p.4; Power, *Compendious history*, pp 116-8.

¹²⁸ Giblin (ed.), *Liber Lovaniensis*, p.23.

¹²⁹ Mooney, 'Golden age of the Franciscans', p.25.

¹³⁰ 'Thomas Strange O.F.M. to Francis Matthews O.F.M.', 24 Nov. 1630, *Wadding papers*, p.440.

¹³¹ Mooney, 'Golden age of the Franciscans', p.25.

¹³² Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p.57.

also rose, with sixty-three friars returning from Louvain alone before 1630.¹³³ Indeed, in 1634 Rome refused to grant any further missionary faculties because it believed the country to be over-supplied with priests.¹³⁴ The Franciscans certainly dominated the regular clergy in Ireland, in terms of numbers working there, although they were not as numerous in the south-east as in the more strongly Gaelic areas of Connacht and Ulster. Of the 508 named Catholic priests known to have been in the region between 1570 and 1650, seventy-six were definitely Franciscans, compared to sixty-six Jesuits, thirty-one Dominicans and thirty Cistercians. These figures must be treated with some caution because only one third of the priests are positively identified as being members of the regular orders and the number may be considerably higher, as not all of the remainder were definitely seculars.¹³⁵ It is also possible that the number of Jesuits is overstated, as the state administration often used the term 'Jesuit' to describe any member of a regular order during the early seventeenth century.¹³⁶

There were five Dominican communities in the south-east at the time of the dissolution.¹³⁷ Aghaboe, Cashel and Waterford passed into private ownership, while the Black Abbey in Kilkenny was granted to the sovereign and people of the city and was in use as a courthouse for many years.¹³⁸ Although Rosbercon Abbey lay in the diocese of Ossory, it was situated very close to New Ross in Wexford and the friars' chapel of St

¹³³ Mooney, 'Golden age of the Franciscans', p.27.

¹³⁴ Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland*, p.58.

¹³⁵ Appendix 1.

¹³⁶ Flynn, *Dominicans*, p.102.

¹³⁷ White (ed.), *Irish monastic possessions*, pp ix-xi.

¹³⁸ Ambrose Coleman, *Ancient Dominican foundations* (Dundalk, 1902), pp 28-46.

Saviour in the town was converted to use as an almshouse, known as the Holy Trinity Hospital, in 1588.¹³⁹

There is no indication that any Dominican communities survived in the region and the first evidence of their revival comes in 1603 when two friars, Edmund Barry and Edward Raughter, were involved in the attempted repossession of the Black Abbey in Kilkenny as part of the recusancy revolt that was sparked by the death of Elizabeth I.¹⁴⁰ Two more friars, John Power and Peter Strong, were in the city by 1604¹⁴¹ and John Murphy, mentioned earlier, was prior of Kilkenny by 1608.¹⁴² In Waterford, James White served as vicar-apostolic of the united diocese from 1600 and he was involved, along with Edmund O'Callaghan, in the recusancy activities in that city in 1603.¹⁴³ By 1610, Thomas Power was active in the diocese and, by 1615, he had been joined by two men bearing the name of John White, who had both been professed as Dominicans in Lisbon.¹⁴⁴ The following year, three more members of the order, John Fox, Vincent Hogan and Thomas Lyehe, returned from Bordeaux to the mission in Waterford.¹⁴⁵

Like their Franciscan counterparts, the Dominican communities in Ireland depended on their network of continental colleges for administrative support and encouragement as well as education and training. The Irish Dominicans in Europe were mainly based in Iberia, where their relationship with the Spanish crown was vital in terms of financial aid,

¹³⁹ Ibid., pp 30-1.

¹⁴⁰ Flynn, *Dominicans*, p.128.

¹⁴¹ 'Horsfall to the Deputy and council', p.263.

¹⁴² Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, iii, p.183.

¹⁴³ Flynn, *Dominicans*, pp 129-34.

¹⁴⁴ 'Sundrie priests and friars'; Flynn, *Dominicans*, p.100.

¹⁴⁵ Flynn, *Dominicans*, p.141.

as we have seen in Chapter Two. For many years, Richard Caron and others worked from Spain to rebuild the Irish province and, in May 1622, Ireland regained its status as a Dominican province with Ross McGeoghegan appointed as provincial.¹⁴⁶

The communities in Kilkenny and Waterford continued to grow and, by 1622, there were seven friars in each house, although those numbers had fallen again by 1626.¹⁴⁷ Thomas Flynn estimates that there were nineteen Dominican houses in the country by 1632, which certainly included the re-establishment of a community in Cashel. In 1638, Pádraigín Haicéad returned to the town from Belgium and he was later joined by at least two more friars, Thomas Heluert and James Sanjan.¹⁴⁸ A new house was established in Clonmel in the 1640s and there were at least three priests, Thomas Prendergast, Myler Magrath and James O'Reilly, resident there in 1649. Magrath and O'Reilly were killed when Cromwell's forces entered the town in 1650.¹⁴⁹

Despite their considerable presence in the region before the suppression, with Sidney noting at least thirteen abbeys in 1540, the Augustinian friars did not have as much success as the Franciscans and Dominicans in reviving their communities.¹⁵⁰ While Thomas Cusack was appointed prior of New Ross and vicar-prior of Clonmines, both in Ferns, in 1649, with Miles Conry as his sub-prior,¹⁵¹ I have found the names of only four other members of the order who lived in the south-east between 1570 and 1650. Nicholas

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp 145, 180-88.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp 158-61.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.123, 263; Giblin (ed.), *Liber Lovaniensis*, p.18.

¹⁴⁹ Power, *Compendious history*, p.15; Denis Murphy, *Cromwell in Ireland* (Dublin, 1883), p.422.

¹⁵⁰ White (ed.), *Irish monastic possessions*, pp ix-xi.

¹⁵¹ Thomas Butler, *Near restful waters: the Augustinians in Co Wexford* (Dublin, 1975), p.90.

Lincoline was in Co Waterford in 1610, Michael Barron, a nephew of Luke Wadding, was in Waterford and Lismore in 1648, William Tirry died in Fethard in Lismore in 1654, having lived there for a number of years, and Patrick Comerford, bishop of that diocese from 1629 to 1652, was also an Augustinian.¹⁵² There may, of course, have been other members of the order who are not identified as such in the available sources.

The Cistercians fared better in the aftermath of the dissolution and, indeed, managed to maintain an almost continuous presence in their abbey at Holy Cross in Cashel, which Colmcille Ó Conbuidhe believed was a result of the ‘connivance’ of the earl of Ormond, who was granted possession of the property in 1563.¹⁵³ Officially the abbey, which was an important pilgrimage site due to the presence there of a relic of the Holy Cross, was permitted to continue as a monastic community of reformed secular priests, with the existing abbot, Philip Purcell, functioning as provost. In reality, the monks remained as members of the Cistercian order and only vacated the abbey in 1601.¹⁵⁴ They returned two years later, led by the abbot, Richard Foulow, ‘through zeal for their order and for the welfare of souls’.¹⁵⁵ Foulow’s successor was Luke Archer, who served as abbot from 1611 to 1644, despite the fact that he was also vicar-general and vicar-apostolic of Leighlin for a number of years during this period.¹⁵⁶ Archer also succeeded Paul Ragget as vicar-general of the order in Ireland, following the latter’s death in 1633.¹⁵⁷ Both

¹⁵² ‘Sundrie priests and friars; Power, *Compendious history*, p.15; G.D. Burtchaell and J.M. Rigg, *Report on Franciscan manuscripts preserved at the convent, Merchants’ Quay, Dublin / presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty* (Dublin, 1906), p.99; Martin (ed.), ‘Tirry documents’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, xx (1957), pp 70-89; Cregan, ‘Counter-Reformation episcopate’, p.87.

¹⁵³ Ó Conbuidhe, *Cistercian abbeys*, p. 233; (www.cashel-emly.ie) (27 May 2011).

¹⁵⁴ Ó Conbuidhe, *Cistercian abbeys*, pp 224-33.

¹⁵⁵ Hartry, *Triumphalia*, p.75.

¹⁵⁶ Comerford, *Kildare and Leighlin*, i, p.60.

¹⁵⁷ Ó Conbuidhe, *Cistercian abbeys*, p.233.

Ragget and Archer were natives of Kilkenny and members of prominent municipal families in the town.¹⁵⁸ John Cantwell, who became abbot in 1644, had been in Holy Cross since at least 1628, when he was credited with using the relic to cure a woman of severe pain. He was the son of noble parents from Poyntstown in Tipperary and had studied in Bordeaux.¹⁵⁹

The other two Cistercian abbeys in the Cashel diocese, Hore and Kilcooly, were granted to the earl of Ormond in 1540 but the order later maintained a presence in both parishes.¹⁶⁰ John Hedin was ‘professed for the monastery of St Mary of the Rock of Cashel’ (Hore) in the presence of Luke Archer in 1622 while Thomas O’Leamy was abbot of Kilcooly in 1621, John Tobin held that position in 1646 and at least one other monk, John Stapleton, was there in 1645.¹⁶¹ While it is not known if these priests actually lived in the abbeys, their presence nearby was evidently tolerated, if not actively supported, by the Ormonds. Jerpoint, the only Cistercian abbey in Ossory, was also granted to the earl of Ormond.¹⁶²

Like Holy Cross, Abbey Owney in Emly was allowed to continue as a community after 1541 with the abbot, John O’Mulryan, appointed commendatory provost, receiving

all the rights and appurtenances of the house, both temporal and spiritual, and he and his priests were also to be allowed to hold secular benefices.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Appendix 1.

¹⁵⁹ Hartry, *Triumphalia*, p.151, p.217.

¹⁶⁰ (www.cashel-emly.ie) (27 May 2011).

¹⁶¹ Ó Conbuidhe, *Cistercian abbeys*, p.233.

¹⁶² (www.cistercians.shef.ac.uk/abbeys) (27 May 2011).

¹⁶³ ‘Fiant of Henry VIII’ in Seymour, *Emly*, pp 172-3.

However, the monks' reprieve was short-lived as Elizabeth granted the property to Pierce Walsh in 1562 and it remained in that family's possession until the Cromwellian confiscations.¹⁶⁴

Although the monastery of Inislounaght, near Clonmel in the diocese of Lismore, fell into lay hands at the suppression, there appears to have been a continuous line of titular abbots, including Nicholas Fagan, a native of Waterford, who had studied in Salamanca. Malachy Hartry reported that Fagan was chosen to be bishop of Waterford, but the papal bulls never reached him, 'owing to the conduct of some jealous persons' and he died in 1617.¹⁶⁵ Laurence Fitzharris, a native of New Ross, was consecrated abbot of Inislounaght in 1625.¹⁶⁶

The Cistercians gained possession of the Augustinian abbey of Mothel, also in Lismore, in the early seventeenth century and Thomas Madan was abbot from at least 1610 until 1629.¹⁶⁷ When Patrick Comerford was appointed bishop in 1629, he made vigorous attempts to regain the monastery for his own order, corresponding with Luke Wadding, and members of Propaganda Fide on the issue, until agreeing to remit the controversy for six years for the sake of peace in his diocese.¹⁶⁸ In order to resolve the issue, he suggested that Madan be given one of the four monasteries held *in commendam* by the Cistercian provincial, Paul Ragget, and this may indeed have happened, because Hartry

¹⁶⁴ Seymour, *Emly*, pp 173-4.

¹⁶⁵ Hartry, *Triumphalia*, pp 265-7; Power, *Compendious history*, pp 148-9.

¹⁶⁶ Ó Conbuidhe, *Cistercian abbeys*, p.241.

¹⁶⁷ 'Sundrie priests and friars'; Hartry, *Triumphalia*, p.93; *Wadding papers*, pp 322-3.

¹⁶⁸ *Wadding papers*, p.294, 322-3; 'Comerford to Cardinal Ludovisi', 8 Jan. 1629 in *Coll. Hib.*, xii (1969), pp 13-14; 'Comerford to Francesco Ingoli', 8 Jan. 1629 in *Coll. Hib.*, xii (1969), p.14.

wrote that Madan later became abbot of Graiguenamanagh, or Duiske, in Leighlin.¹⁶⁹

This abbey and its lands had been granted to the earl of Ormond at the time of the dissolution¹⁷⁰ while another Leighlin monastery, Abbeyleix, was also granted to the Ormonds in 1563 and it continued to function with the former monks often acting as parish priests.¹⁷¹

While examining the dissolution of the Cistercian monasteries in the area controlled by the Ormond lordship, a striking pattern emerges of continued monastic activity in properties that passed into the possession of the family. Despite the fact that Thomas Butler, earl from 1546 until 1614, was an avowed Protestant, most of his relatives remained Catholic and the monks were allowed, if not always encouraged, to continue their work in these parishes. Baltinglass, also in Leighlin, was suppressed in 1536 and granted to the FitzEustace family, although Dermot Cullu had ‘cure of souls’ there in 1621.¹⁷²

Alexander Devereux was abbot of Dunbrody at the time of the dissolution, when he exchanged his position there for the bishopric of Ferns. While the Etchingham family was in possession of the abbey and its lands from 1545, Hore believed that they never lived there and that it is reasonable to assume at least an intermittent presence by the monks until the 1640s.¹⁷³ John Devereux of nearby Ballymagir ‘made vows in 1623 for the

¹⁶⁹ ‘Comerford to Wadding’, 8 Jan. 1630, *Wadding papers*, pp 335-6; Hartry, *Triumphalia*, pp 99-115.

¹⁷⁰ (www.cistercians.shef.ac.uk/abbey) (27 May 2011).

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid; Hartry, *Triumphalia*, pp 99-115.

¹⁷³ Ferguson, *Advowsons*; Hore, *History of Wexford*, iii, p.116.

monastery of Dunbrody'¹⁷⁴ and Patrick Everard, a native of Waterford, returned from Douai in the early 1640s to assume the position of abbot. He later died of the plague in Duncannon.¹⁷⁵ There is no evidence that monks were present near Tintern, the other Cistercian abbey in Ferns, which was occupied by the Colclough family shortly after the dissolution.¹⁷⁶

While they struggled to deal with the challenges posed by the loss of their property and income, Brendan Bradshaw believes that those monks who worked to re-establish monasticism in the early decades of the seventeenth century actually benefitted from being 'unencumbered by [the] wealth and secular entanglement' that had so compromised their medieval communities.¹⁷⁷ As we have seen, many of the *new* regulars also profited from a rigorous university education in the continental colleges, which prepared them for their arduous missionary work in Ireland. At least half of the Dominicans and Cistercians who worked in the region in the first half of the seventeenth century had received a continental education, with a lower proportion of Franciscans having spent time in Europe.¹⁷⁸

As the traditional monastic and mendicant orders worked to retain their influence within Irish Catholicism, a new order emerged that would rival, and often surpass, the dedication to Counter-Reformation ideals of both regular and secular clergy. The Society of Jesus was founded by Ignatius Loyola and approved by Paul III in 1540. Described by Jean

¹⁷⁴ Hartry, *Triumphalia*, pp 99-115.

¹⁷⁵ Hore, *History of Wexford*, iii, p.117.

¹⁷⁶ Ferguson, *Advowsons*.

¹⁷⁷ Brendan Bradshaw, *Dissolution of the religious orders*, p.230.

¹⁷⁸ Appendix 1.

Delumeau as ‘the most dynamic element in the Roman Church between 1550 and 1650’, their numbers in Europe increased more than fifteen-fold during that one hundred years.¹⁷⁹ With their rigorous, standardised system of college education and preparation for pastoral work on the mission, the Jesuits were a crucial element in the introduction of post-Tridentine Catholic practice to Ireland. As we have seen in Chapter One, they made a considerable impact on the provision of education in the region and Corish also points to their role in the writing and delivering of sermons.¹⁸⁰ The fact that they gradually assumed control over most of the network of Irish colleges in Spain, Portugal, Rome and elsewhere allowed them to attract some of the most talented and dedicated Irish candidates for the priesthood.¹⁸¹

Among the earliest Irish members of the order were the Wexfordmen, John Howlin and Robert Rochford, who both joined the order in Rome. Howlin was the effective founder of the Irish college in Lisbon and wrote the first Irish martyrology, while Rochford was mentioned earlier as having been the close companion of Viscount Baltinglass during his revolt and escaping with him to Spain in 1581.¹⁸² Like Rochford, James Archer, a native of Kilkenny, was suspected of being involved in political intrigue. He returned to Ireland as early as 1577, when William Drury, president of Munster, told Secretary Walsingham that this ‘detestable enemy to the word of God’ had come from Louvain’.¹⁸³ Drury’s successor, George Carew, describing Archer as a ‘Jesuit and forerunner of the Spanish

¹⁷⁹ Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: a new view of the Counter-Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1977), pp 34-5.

¹⁸⁰ Corish, *Irish Catholic experience*, p.26.

¹⁸¹ O’Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p.131.

¹⁸² Corish, ‘Two centuries’, p.224.

¹⁸³ ‘Drury to Walsingham,’ 16 April 1577 in Brady (ed.), *State papers*, pp 22-4.

troops' reported that he had landed in Galway in July 1601 and made his way to Tipperary and Kilkenny to 'raise up the spirits of the ill-affected to revolt'.¹⁸⁴ Geoffrey Fenton reported the priest's death to Cecil in November, 1602, although George Oliver claimed that Archer was living in Compostela in 1606 and in Madrid in 1607.¹⁸⁵

In a letter to Walsingham in July 1580, the Church of Ireland bishop, Marmaduke Middleton, mentioned the presence of a Jesuit priest, Robert Power, in Waterford¹⁸⁶ and Thomas Raughtor, a native of Fethard in Lismore, returned to his native diocese from Rome before 1592 and was active in the recusancy revolt of 1603, rededicating churches in Cashel and Fethard.¹⁸⁷ Tadhg O'Sullivan, 'a Jesuyt seminary', was reported to be living between Waterford and Clonmel in 1592.¹⁸⁸

While the foregoing examples indicate the presence of individual Jesuit priests in the region by the late 1500s, it was not until the first decade of the seventeenth century that the order began to establish communities in the towns of the south-east. A priest who signed himself Pater Ibernus, and whom Edmund Hogan believed to be Fr Nicholas Lennagh, wrote to his father-general around 1604, describing the early efforts at organization:

We, who are here of the Society [Jesuits] met together in a certain place to treat and consult about the mode in which we should proceed and the manner in which we could best meet the great

¹⁸⁴ 'Carew to Cecil', 16 July 1601, *CSPI, 1600-1*, p.425.

¹⁸⁵ 'Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Secretary Cecil', 28 Nov. 1602, *CSPI, 1601-3*, p.530; Oliver (ed.), *Members of the Society of Jesus*, p.214.

¹⁸⁶ 'Middleton to Walsingham', 21 July 1580, *CSPI, 1574-85*, p.235.

¹⁸⁷ Hogan (ed.), *The description*, p.288; Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, i, p.79.

¹⁸⁸ Hogan (ed.), *The description*, pp 288-9.

necessity we see about us in this land, dividing it among the few there are of us till our Lord God should send some more labourers.¹⁸⁹

In 1606 the first formal foundation in Munster was set up in Clonmel by Lennagh, whom Sir John Davies described as having ‘special credit and authority’.¹⁹⁰ Andrew Mulrooney joined Lennagh a year later.¹⁹¹ If Samantha Meigs is correct in her claim that there were Jesuit residences in ten Irish towns by 1626,¹⁹² then the south-east was particularly well-served by the order. As well as Clonmel, there was a community of at least four priests, Lucas Bennet, David Dowell, James Walshe and Richard Henry, in New Ross by 1607.¹⁹³ Maurice Wise had returned to Waterford by 1609 and was appointed pastor of St Peter’s parish in the city. Although he was reported to be living with John Wise, probably a relative, in 1610, a community was clearly established by 1618, when he had been joined by John Lombard, Stephen Murty, Thomas Rafter and Edmund Cleere.¹⁹⁴

Hogan reported that there were at least three Jesuits in Cashel in 1609, although two of these, Brian Kearney and his nephew, Walter Wale, also spent time in other urban centres of the region. Kearney, a brother of the archbishop, was known to reside with Richard Shee in Kilkenny city and Wale was reported to be in Carrick-on-Suir.¹⁹⁵ By 1621, the vicar-general of the diocese, Daniel Kearney, was encouraging the order to establish a sodality of the Blessed Virgin in Cashel and there was certainly a community there by

¹⁸⁹ Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana* p.149.

¹⁹⁰ ‘Davis from Clonmel’, 4 May 1606, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.476.

¹⁹¹ Power, *Compendious history*, p.150.

¹⁹² Meigs, *Reformation in Ireland*, p.101.

¹⁹³ Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, pp 211-2.

¹⁹⁴ Power, ‘Jesuits in Waterford’, p.274; ‘Sundrie priests and friars.’

¹⁹⁵ Hogan (ed.), *The description*, p.290; ‘Sundrie priests and friars’; Cunningham, ‘Counter-Reformation preaching’, p.116.

1627 when William Boyton and John Shee were in residence.¹⁹⁶ George Oliver claimed that James Everard spent most of his forty years on the mission in Cashel, where he died, ‘on his knees in prayer’, in April 1647, just months before Boyton was killed during the siege of the town.¹⁹⁷ Like Kearney and Wale, Everard appears to have regularly travelled throughout the region, as he was also reported to be in Callan in 1608 and in Fethard in 1609.¹⁹⁸

An official report to government in 1608 claimed that David Delahyde was ‘appointed for Kilkenny, and is now resident there with some other Jesuits’.¹⁹⁹ These included Thomas Brehon, Tadhg O’Duigin and Dr White, although the priests do not appear to have lived together as a community at this time. Brehon was reported to be sheltered by his father in the city, O’Duigin was resident with Robert Grace of Courtstown and White stayed with his brother-in-law, Henry Shee, who was mayor in 1610.²⁰⁰ However, the Jesuit presence in the city was evidently well-established by 1617, when they introduced the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, and a Jesuit school was in place by 1635.²⁰¹ On his arrival in Kilkenny in 1645, Rinuccini commented favourably on the decision to grant the former Augustinian priory of St John’s to the Jesuits for use as a seminary and there were at least six members of the order in residence there in that year, including the rector, Henry Plunket.²⁰²

¹⁹⁶ Moran , *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i, p.129; Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, iii, p.261.

¹⁹⁷ Oliver (ed.), *Members of the Society of Jesus*, p.216, 226

¹⁹⁸ ‘Intelligence regarding seminaries and priests’, *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 507-8; Hogan (ed.), *The description*, p.290.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Intelligence regarding seminaries and priests’, *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 507-8.

²⁰⁰ Hogan (ed.), *The description*, p.290; ‘Horsfall to the Deputy and council’; ‘Sundrie priests and friars’; ‘Names of priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny’.

²⁰¹ Ó Fearghail, ‘Catholic church in Kilkenny’, pp 206-7.

²⁰² Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, iii, p.254, p.260.

By the 1640s, all of the above-mentioned towns hosted thriving Jesuit communities and Wexford could be added to their number.²⁰³ Oliver Eustace, who was superior of that community in 1649, was alleged to have sat on the Confederate bench of assizes and sessions in 1642, along with another Jesuit priest, Laurence Rochfort.²⁰⁴ The peripatetic lifestyle that was evident among members of these Jesuit communities can be explained by their commitment to preaching, which was an integral part of their role on the Irish mission. Bernadette Cunningham points to the emphasis placed by the order on the use of rhetoric while Michael Olden remarked that the Jesuits complained that they often had to deal with ignorant parochial clergy during their ‘preaching travels from Clonmel’.²⁰⁵ Thus, as early as 1592, we find Tadhg O’Sullivan ‘preaching from house to house in Waterford, Clonmel, and Fethard, and in the country about these townes’.²⁰⁶ George Oliver’s chronicle of the Irish Jesuits placed particular emphasis on their reputation as orators. James Everard was a ‘first class preacher’ throughout Cashel and Ossory for forty years; Bartholomew Hamlin, in his sixties in 1649, was still ‘in full vigour’ and an ‘excellent and fearless preacher’ in Wexford; John Egan, who was fifty-five years old and teaching philosophy in Kilkenny in 1649, was a ‘superior preacher’; and Richard Shelton was in ‘great repute as a preacher’ in Waterford in 1649.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ Appendix 1.

²⁰⁴ Oliver (ed.), *Members of the Society of Jesus*, p.226; ‘1641 Depositions’, (T.C.D. MS 818, 138r-139v, 27 July 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁰⁵ Cunningham, ‘Counter-Reformation preaching’, p.112; Olden, ‘Counter-Reformation problems’, p.24.

²⁰⁶ Hogan (ed.), *The description*, p.288

²⁰⁷ Oliver (ed.) *Members of the Society of Jesus*, p.226, .231, 246.

Most notably, Brian Kearney and his nephew, Walter Wale, returned to Ireland in 1603 and both had garnered widespread reputations as preachers by the time of their deaths, in 1640 and 1646 respectively. Oliver described Kearney as ‘always zealous in preaching’ and even the civil circuit judges credited the two Jesuits as being

more instrumental in preventing and putting down robbery, and in maintaining the public tranquillity, than all the courts of law.²⁰⁸

A number of Kearney’s sermons were printed in Lyons in 1622 and in Paris in 1635.²⁰⁹

Indeed, the pre-eminent position of the order in the areas of pedagogy and oratory is reflected in David Rothe’s decision to have each of his parish priests attend an annual Jesuit retreat.²¹⁰ The picture that emerges of the Jesuit presence in the region is one of a gradual influx of members, who initially found shelter in the private homes of relatives and other supporters, then gradually formed themselves into communities in the larger towns, so that their presence was considerable and highly influential, especially in terms of preaching and education, by the time of the rebellion in 1641. Elizabeth Rickett reflects that the civil authorities regarded the Jesuits as the ‘most important and threatening Catholic presence in Ireland’,²¹¹ notwithstanding the circuit court judges’ appreciation of their value in maintaining civil order through their preaching.

There was also a small number of Carmelite and Capuchin priests in the region, as well as one notorious member of the knights of St John, whose exploits in Lismore were

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p.234, 249.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p.249.

²¹⁰ ‘Relatio Status of David Rothe’, *Archiv. Hib.*, v (1916), pp 87-8.

²¹¹ Rickett, ‘Church of Ireland episcopate’, p.326.

related to Luke Wadding by Patrick Comerford in 1629. The bishop claimed that Edmund Everard had left his wife and become a priest of the knights of Malta, despite the fact that the order was not allowed to be received in Ireland, as they had lost all their livings. Everard warned the bishop's appointee to St John's Grange, between Fethard and Clonmel, not to celebrate the sacraments there, as the church and parish belonged to his order. When the parish priest chose to ignore these threats and began to say Mass 'in presence of a great assemblie of people', Everard came in

and snatched away the chalice, the patena, oste, velum and all, and his horsseboy carried them away.²¹²

Comerford appealed to Rome to

provide some efficacious remedies for these things; otherwise oure church will be brought to a most miserable state, the authoritie of the pastors despised, the laytie scandalized, the protestants encouraged, and sacrileges many committed, to the great hindrance of the soules of the poore flock.²¹³

This story, though perhaps a rather extreme example, does serve to illustrate the tensions that existed between the regular and secular clergy. The erosion of the prominent position of the regular priests, which happened as a result of the developing secular diocesan structure as the seventeenth century progressed, caused dismay and fear among many monks and friars, who saw their influence and earning potential disappear. Because they had no property or associated sources of income, the different groups of Catholic clergy were in intense competition for revenue generated by the administration of the sacraments. An in-depth analysis of the causes and effects of the tensions between secular and regular clergy is beyond the scope of this study, but, in general, the position in the

²¹² 'Comerford to Wadding', 22 Nov. 1629, *Wadding papers*, p.324.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p.325.

south-eastern dioceses does not appear to have been as fraught as in other parts of the country, particularly Dublin.

While we must question Monsignor Bentivoglio's assertion, mentioned earlier, that there were 'no factions among the clergy' in Ireland,²¹⁴ simmering resentment appears to have only occasionally flared into heated dispute in the region and there are many instances of cooperation between the two groups of priests. The Jesuit Father Iberius wrote in 1604 that 'we are on very good terms with the secular priests, and we occasionally avail ourselves of them'²¹⁵ and we have already encountered examples of secular clergy petitioning for the appointment of members of the regular orders to the episcopacy. In 1631, Archbishop Walsh mentioned on-going quarrels between the two groups of clergy in a letter to Luke Wadding in Rome, but added that there was

never a word nor sillable of them in Mounster, *saltem* in my diocese where wee live with as much peace and quiet, thancks be to God, as you live in S. Isidoro.²¹⁶

John Roche made a similar report to Propaganda Fide in 1634, when he remarked that there was 'great peace and accord' in the Dublin province outside of the capital city. He described the superiors of the Jesuit and Franciscan orders as 'old and experienced men [who] showed a great desire, in their visitations, to be on good terms with the secular clergy'. He also had a few Cistercians in his diocese who were 'excellent men'.²¹⁷ This

²¹⁴ 'Report from Mgs Bentoviglio', *Archiv. Hib.*, iii (1914), p.300.

²¹⁵ Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p.149.

²¹⁶ 'Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, to Wadding,' 17 Nov. 1631, *Wadding papers*, p.614.

²¹⁷ 'John Roche to the secretary of Propaganda Fide', 15 Nov. 1634, in Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i, pp 197-9.

compliment was repaid when Malachy Hartry acknowledged Roche's support for the members of his order.²¹⁸

Surprisingly, the most vocal critic of the behaviour of the regular clergy in the region was Bishop Patrick Comerford, himself an Augustinian. His difficulties with Edmund Everard have already been described and he was also disapproving of the orders, especially the Franciscans, who refused to accept his discipline and wanted to be 'at libertie to administer the sacraments to whom and when they pleased.'²¹⁹ He considered Thomas Strong, guardian of the Franciscans in Waterford, as the ringleader against him in the diocese²²⁰ and this assessment was supported by John Roche in a letter to Wadding in January 1630. The bishop of Ferns believed that Comerford was attempting to put a degree of organisation on a diocese where

every body did what it pleased him self hitherto, and now yt ye good man would faine geeve a forme or face to ye confused administration which was heretofore.²²¹

Comerford was evidently referring to Strong when he remarked the following year that

yea, the very regular prelates themselves dare not curb or correct the offences of their subjects, such is their libertie, and the advantage they take of these turbulent times.²²²

At the same time, Strong was complaining to Francis Matthews, guardian of the Irish Franciscan college in Louvain, that Comerford and the other bishops 'will not permit us to use any faculties, and ever building upon de Councell of Trent'. He further claimed

²¹⁸ Daniel McCarthy (ed.), *Collections on Irish church history: from the MSS of the late V. Rev. Laurence F. Renehan* (3 vols, Dublin, 1861), ii, p.4.

²¹⁹ 'Comerford to Wadding', 8 Jan. 1630, *Wadding papers*, pp 334-6.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ 'Roche to Wadding', n.d. Jan. 1630, *Wadding papers*, pp 332-3.

²²² 'Comerford to Wadding', n.d. Nov. 1631, *Wadding papers*, p.616.

that Comerford and his metropolitan, Thomas Walsh, were 'averse to all regulars'.²²³ He maintained that the people of Waterford had turned against their bishop and that

... there are not two houses in the whole of this city where he is sure of a meal, because the seculars themselves deplore his opposition to the religious.²²⁴

However, unlike the previously discussed case of Matthew Roche which provoked sizeable correspondence and widespread comment, quarrels were usually localised and often settled by negotiation and diplomatic intervention. A long-running dispute at Holy Cross Abbey had its origins in the pre-Reformation practice whereby the abbot of a monastery could appoint a secular priest to carry out pastoral duties in an impropriated parish. This was particularly prevalent in Cistercian foundations, where the monks were required to be present at recitation of the office and other domestic duties, often precluding them from the performance of pastoral work.²²⁵ The success of the friars in remaining at Holy Cross brought them into conflict with David Henesy, a diocesan priest who was referred to as 'priest of the Holy Rood' by Chichester around 1605.²²⁶ Although Hartry wrote that Henesy had charge of the parish with the permission of the abbot, Luke Archer,²²⁷ issues arose about jurisdiction and while Henesy is believed to have been supported in his assertions by the vicar-general of the diocese, the Cistercians disputed his claims and Archer excommunicated Henesy. Later, David Kearney, archbishop of Cashel, ruled that the secular priest could only exercise jurisdiction within the abbey with the approval of the abbot and, when Henesy duly apologised to Archer, he was pardoned

²²³ 'Thomas Strange O.F.M. to Francis Matthews O.F.M.', 24 Nov. 1630, *Wadding papers*, p.441.

²²⁴ Burtchaell & Rigg, p.47.

²²⁵ Denis Murphy, footnote in Hartry, *Triumphalia*, pp 54-5.

²²⁶ 'Chichester to Salisbury' n.d. (probably 1605), *CSPI*, 1603-6, p.380.

²²⁷ Hartry, *Triumphalia*, p.39.

and his excommunication was rescinded in 1621.²²⁸ He was still in Holy Cross in 1643 when he witnessed the miracle of a woman being cured of lameness.²²⁹

In general, difficulties appear to have arisen between the episcopacy and the older orders, who felt that their position of influence, nurtured in the absence of a secular clerical structure for more than sixty years, was being eroded. The newer orders, such as the Jesuits and Capuchins, were exempted from most criticism and, as early as 1624, the bishops and vicars general were commending the Capuchins in a letter to Rome.²³⁰ In 1642, Thomas Walsh of Cashel and Maurice O'Hurley of Emly wrote separately to Propaganda Fide praising the work of the Capuchins on the Irish mission and Walsh donated a considerable sum of money toward the building of a Jesuit seminary in Cashel town.²³¹

Tensions that arose between the *old* and *new* orders were reflected in another letter to Propaganda Fide in the same year when five bishops, including David Rothe, praised the work of the Capuchins in Kilkenny who were being 'opposed by certain other regulars'.²³² As mentioned earlier, when Donatus Mooney, the newly-elected provincial of the Franciscans, visited Clonmel in 1615 he found the townspeople, 'acting under the influence of the Jesuits and seculars', refusing to allow the members of his order into the town.²³³ Conversely, members of the Jesuits protested to Propaganda Fide in the late

²²⁸ Ibid., pp 89-91

²²⁹ Ibid., p.155.

²³⁰ Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i, pp 135-6.

²³¹ Millett, 'Catalogue of Irish material in vols. 140-143 of the *Scrittura*' in *Coll. Hib.*, xiii (1970), p.58.

²³² Ibid., p.59.

²³³ Meehan, *Franciscan monasteries*, p.81.

1620s that the older orders were intent on driving them out of the towns where they had established themselves.²³⁴

It was also not unknown for the older orders to be in dispute with each other, as witnessed by the aforementioned quarrel between the Augustinians and Cistercians over the possession of Mothel Abbey. However, there was also regular cooperation as when Malachy Hartry reported the profession of John Madan and Laurence Fitzharris, abbots of Mothel and Inislounaght respectively, in Waterford in 1625. They received the blessing from Thomas Fleming, Franciscan archbishop of Dublin, in the presence of the ‘principal religious of the different orders’.²³⁵

The work of the bishops, especially David Rothe, in solving disputes and maintaining harmonious working relationships between the different groups of clergy was augmented by decrees from the provincial synods and directions from Rome. While the Dublin meeting of 1614 permitted ordinaries to appoint regular priests to pastoral duties where there was a scarcity of secular clergy, these placements were to be made only with the cooperation and supervision of the religious superiors.²³⁶ The synods of 1624 and 1640 ruled that regulars who undertook secular duties in the absence of ‘hierarchical license’ were to be restrained.²³⁷

²³⁴ Flynn, *Dominicans*, p.232; Meehan, *Franciscan monasteries*, p.129.

²³⁵ Hartry, *Triumphalia*, p.107.

²³⁶ Forrestal, *Synods in Ireland*, p.52.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.53.

When the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, with their suffragans, met in Kilkenny in August 1629, they were presented with fifteen decrees on Tridentine reform, probably brought from Rome by John Roche. These included a ruling that

any pastoral office occupied by a religious without the bishop's authority is a concession to the evils of the time. Religious with the care of souls [are] to be subjected to the bishop's visitation.²³⁸

Rome did not consider that the houses where members of the orders lived in community enjoyed the stability to be acknowledged as foundations that would be fully exempt from episcopal visitation, while the bishops and superiors were urged to reach a 'fair agreement' on the contentious issue of funeral payments.²³⁹ The expanding power and influence of the diocesan bishops and their secular parish clergy, envisaged and encouraged by the Council of Trent, was further augmented by the dedicated Irish committee of Propaganda Fide, which issued a series of decrees from 1633 sanctioning increased episcopal authority over the conduct and work of the regulars.²⁴⁰

These clashes between regular and secular clergy and between the different religious orders often reflected what Thomas O'Connor describes as the 'theological and pastoral controversies' that raged throughout Catholic Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century.²⁴¹ As the number of continentally-educated priests returning to Ireland increased, it was inevitable that the disputes that arose in their universities and other centres of Catholic organization would be reflected among the clergy of the south-east.

As O'Connor writes:

²³⁸ Corish, 'John Roche', p.314.

²³⁹ Ibid; O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p.144.

²⁴⁰ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p.147.

²⁴¹ Ibid., p.104.

The growing tensions between secular and regular clergy were part of a wider European phenomenon and developed as an ingredient in emerging Jansenism.²⁴²

Thomas Flynn remarks that continental disagreements between Dominicans and Jesuits on matters of theology spread into pastoral issues in Kilkenny, Waterford and Cashel from 1626.²⁴³ However, I believe that it is important not to place a disproportionate emphasis on the tensions that existed but rather to recognise, as Corish wrote, that

even in their quarrelling [the Catholic priests of the early seventeenth century] had a concept of their spiritual mission which their forebears had not.²⁴⁴

What Nicholas Canny describes as the ‘spectacle of Catholicism’²⁴⁵ was important in the celebration of the sacraments. The use of suitably fine altar plate and the wearing of appropriate vestments were considered vital, as symbols of reverence and also as a means of invoking veneration for the sacraments and respect for the clergy among the laity. Thus, in 1552, the clergy of Ossory, still confessionally undecided but evidently reluctant to dispense with pre-Reformation ritual, were unwilling to destroy their vestments and ornaments when ordered to do so by their new Protestant bishop, John Bale. Instead, they managed to preserve them until they could be re-introduced into the practice of the sacraments the following year, on the accession of Mary to the throne.²⁴⁶

Efforts were made to preserve episcopal splendour, even in the face of persecution. The bishop of Emly, Maurice McBrien, sailed from Spain in 1578 and landed in Galway,

²⁴² Ibid., p.21.

²⁴³ Flynn, *Dominicans*, p.232.

²⁴⁴ Corish, ‘Reorganization’, p.14.

²⁴⁵ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p.564.

²⁴⁶ Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, p.117.

while his baggage was transported by a different ship that docked at Waterford. This vessel was searched by the authorities and William Drury, president of Munster, sent an inventory of the bishop's possessions to Secretary Walsingham. As well as saints' relics, described as 'certain bones of men', McBrien was carrying three vestments, an altar cloth, a silver chalice, a silver cup 'gilt within and without', a silver cross and seven pairs of beads.²⁴⁷ The Royal Commission of 1594 believed that

divers merchants and other persons have and keep divers copes, vestments, chalices, idols, crosses and other superstitious relics to the maintenance of Popery

and it gave full authority to those charged with the implementation of the act of supremacy and the visitation of the church to search for and seize any such seditious items.²⁴⁸

Despite an official report of 1608, which claimed that Murtagh Dowling was in Callan in Ossory and 'goes up and down the town clad in scarlet',²⁴⁹ most priests appear to have been circumspect in their dress except when administering the sacraments or celebrating Mass. Archbishop David Kearney reported to Rome in 1609 that he and his clergy dressed in secular clothes, 'only using the long dress at the altar'.²⁵⁰ The Franciscan, Peter Brenan, described a similar situation in 1626 when he informed the Roman authorities that both secular and regular clergy in Cashel went about the town in 'lay

²⁴⁷ Millett, 'Maurice McBrien' in *Coll. Hib.*, xxxiv & xxxv (1992-3), p.13.

²⁴⁸ 'Commission to Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Archbishop of Armagh etc for putting into execution the Acts concerning the Queen's Supremacy', n.d. 1594 in C.E. Maxwell, *Irish history from contemporary sources* (London, 1923), pp 136-7.

²⁴⁹ *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 507-8.

²⁵⁰ Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp 235-6.

dress'.²⁵¹ David Rothe wrote that the Franciscans in Kilkenny could not wear their habits because of the risk of discovery, while the Wexford friars wore a very light habit under their secular clothes.²⁵²

While recognizing the extenuating circumstances that existed for Catholic priests in the region in their efforts to conduct a clandestine mission, the early synods were still anxious to ensure an acceptable level of reverence in the celebration of the sacraments. Thus the 1614 Dublin synod decreed that each priest was to possess a surplice and a stole, while also recommending that clergy should wear clothes that would distinguish them from the laity.²⁵³ This was a stipulation that was also laid down for their Church of Ireland counterparts in the Irish Canons of 1634.²⁵⁴ No 'torn, dirty or cracked' utensils or materials were to be used, the holy oils could never be mixed, chalices were to be silver and gilded inside, where possible, although tin chalices were acceptable until they could be replaced, at which time a vicar-general or forane must authorise their breakage. In 1624, the Kilkenny synod stated that all priests were to have a long black-coloured tunic, a biretta and a surplice and, in general, should wear 'decent clothing'.²⁵⁵

Unfortunately, it would be mere conjecture to estimate the extent to which the synodal stipulations in relation to dress were fulfilled by parish priests and regular monks and friars in south-east Ireland. However, there is considerable evidence that altar plate was regularly presented to the clergy by affluent patrons during this period and there are a

²⁵¹ Giblin (ed.), 'The Processus Datariae', pp 543-4.

²⁵² Forrestal, *Synods in Ireland*, p.147; Grannell, *Franciscans in Wexford*, p.17.

²⁵³ Forrestal, *Synods in Ireland*, p.62, 72.

²⁵⁴ Bray (ed.), 'Irish canons of 1634', pp 485-531.

²⁵⁵ Forrestal, *Synods in Ireland*, p.72, 62.

number of extant examples. A chalice, inscribed with the name of Fr John Brenan of Ossory and dated 1622, was in Dublin in 1905 while another chalice, presented by Catherine Rothe to St Canice's Cathedral in 1633, was also inscribed with Brenan's name.²⁵⁶

Patrick Power listed altar plate that belonged to the Franciscan convent in Clonmel and which carried the names of patrons such as Jacobus Daniel, inscribed in 1614, and Edmund Everard and Joanne Nash, inscribed in 1645 or 1648.²⁵⁷ Power also speculated that Patrick Purcell was probably pastor of Kilcash in Lismore in 1631 as a chalice from that parish carried his name and that date.²⁵⁸ The parish of Cappoquin, also in Lismore, had a silver chalice that was donated by Catherine Shee in 1629.²⁵⁹ James Cleere, parish priest of St John's in Kilkenny, who died in 1643, left a chalice that is still in St Kieran's College along with two of his books.²⁶⁰

Like his Protestant counterpart, the post-Reformation Catholic priest found it difficult to procure catechetical literature that would assist in his pastoral endeavours. The first Irish catechism was written by Richard Creagh, archbishop of Armagh, around 1561. Entitled 'Epitome officii hominis Christiani' or 'The essential duty of a Christian', the text was in Irish and English, with Latin explanations.²⁶¹ Although the author clearly recognized the importance of providing bilingual texts for parish clergy, this work was never published

²⁵⁶ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, ii, p.71.

²⁵⁷ Power, *Compendious history*, p.164.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.207.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.105.

²⁶⁰ Carrigan, *History and antiquities of Ossory*, iii, pp 284-5.

²⁶¹ Lennon, *Richard Creagh*, pp 44-5.

and the same was true of Florence Conry's Irish catechism of 1598, a translation from Spanish that was only made available in manuscript form.²⁶²

It was not until the establishment of a printing press with an Irish typeface in Louvain that the first mass-produced catechism became available. This was *An Teagasg Criosdaidhe* by the Franciscan Giolla Brighde Ó hEoghasa, published in 1611 and deemed by Anselm Ó Fachtna as so important that it influenced most of the catechisms that followed it.²⁶³ Ó hEoghasa's work and two other Franciscan catechisms of the period, *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* by Aodh Mac Aingil (1618) and *Parrthas an Anma* by Antóin Gearnon (1645) are described by Mary O'Reilly as being firmly based on the teachings of the Council of Trent but with distinct components that marked them out as Irish, such as prayer and devotion to Mary and the saints and the use of poetry as a teaching aid for a largely illiterate population.²⁶⁴

Despite the absence of catechetical literature in Irish in the second half of the sixteenth century, there is evidence that Catholic books, in Latin and English, were being smuggled into Ireland as early as the 1570s. Six Latin primers were found among the luggage that Bishop McBrien of Emly was carrying into the country in 1578.²⁶⁵ Gillespie observes that the works of Edmund Campion were available in the south-east in the 1580s²⁶⁶ and the royal commission of 1594 remarked that merchants regularly carried Catholic 'books,

²⁶² Ibid; Cregan, p.104.

²⁶³ Anselm Ó Fachtna, 'Cúig teagasc chríostaidhe de'n seachtmhadh aois déag: compráid', in O'Brien (ed.), *Measgra Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh*, pp 34-6.

²⁶⁴ Mary O'Reilly, 'Seventeenth century Irish catechisms: European or not?' in *Archiv. Hib.*, 1 (1996), p.102.

²⁶⁵ Millett, 'Maurice McBrien' in *Coll. Hib.*, xxxiv & xxxv (1992-3), p.13.

²⁶⁶ Gillespie, *Devoted people*, p.152.

works, treatises and writings' into the country's ports.²⁶⁷ Suarez's Jesuit rhetoric textbook was evidently available in Ireland by 1595 when Nicholas Marob of Kilkenny, the first student to take the oaths at the Irish college in Salamanca in that year, listed it among his possessions on his arrival in Spain.²⁶⁸

While it is not possible to estimate how widespread the dissemination of books among the clergy of the region was, they were evidently still in short supply in 1604 when the Dominican, Edmund O'Callaghan, wrote from Waterford to Philip III of Spain requesting missals, breviaries and books.²⁶⁹ The 1614 Dublin synod regarded it as imperative that each priest should have a catechism from which he could explain points of doctrine to his congregation and, by the Kilkenny meeting of 1624, it was expected that he would also have a copy of the New Testament, the sacramental manual and a breviary.²⁷⁰

Aodh Mac Aingil, author of the 1618 catechism, when emphasising the importance of books to the Irish mission, explained that 'because of the violence of the persecution, we are not allowed to engage in oral instruction'.²⁷¹ However, the opposite position was adopted by the Dominican authorities when granting faculties to Ross McGeoghegan, as vicar of the order in Ireland in 1617, to

substitute the rosary, other prayers or the psalms known by heart in those circumstances where it would not be possible to carry the breviary or perilous to recite the divine office.²⁷²

²⁶⁷ Maxwell, *Irish history from contemporary sources*, pp 136-7.

²⁶⁸ 'Salamanca oaths', p.7.

²⁶⁹ Flynn, *Dominicans*, p.132.

²⁷⁰ Forrestal, *Synods in Ireland*, p.64, 72.

²⁷¹ Brian Ó Cuiv, 'The Irish language in the early modern period' in Moody, Martin & Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland*, iii, (Oxford, 1976), p.532.

²⁷² Flynn, *Dominicans*, pp 139-40.

The continuing importance that was attached to the provision of Catholic literature was reflected in the prayers that were offered in Ireland for the five loads and one trunk of books that were assembled in Spain by William Fitzgerald, procurator of the Irish Dominican province, in 1636. They were declared free from taxes and export duty as they left the Iberian peninsula although, unfortunately, there is no record of their arrival on the coast of Ireland.²⁷³ Earlier, in 1625, a ship from Calais that landed at Waterford was carrying copies of Robert Rochford's *Life of the glorious S. Patricke*, which was published that year in St Omer.²⁷⁴ The smuggling of books into Ireland for the use of Catholic clergy continued to be a cause of concern to the government as late as 1641 when the lords justices, Borlase and Parsons, issued instructions that all 'Popish books' were to be confiscated at the ports.²⁷⁵ Until the 1641 rebellion and the establishment of the Confederacy, it was not possible to print or publish Catholic books in Ireland and the only Catholic printing presses with Irish typefaces were in Louvain and at the offices of Propaganda Fide in the Vatican.

The existence of these printing presses illustrates that the Catholic agencies in Europe with responsibility for promoting the work of the Franciscans and the secular clergy in Ireland understood the importance of providing catechetical literature to support the missionary task of their priests who were dealing with the large proportion of the island's population who only understood Irish.

²⁷³ Ibid., pp 282-5.

²⁷⁴ Gillespie, *Devoted people*, p.69.

²⁷⁵ Dudley Edwards, 'Church and state in the Ireland of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh,' p.17.

Jefferies writes that

the antipathy of the Church of Ireland to indigenous culture was countered by the efforts of Tridentine Catholicism to invoke Gaelic culture as a complementary social ancillary to Roman Catholicism.²⁷⁶

Foremost in this invocation of Gaelicism was the respect granted to the native language and the efforts made to ensure that the new generation of continentally-educated priests were in a position to teach and preach in Irish. The emphasis placed on the language at the European Irish colleges was addressed in Chapter One and even students from Old English backgrounds, who may not have been Irish speakers when leaving Ireland, were expected to return to the mission with sufficient fluency. Indeed, Old English ethnicity and eloquence in Irish were not mutually exclusive among the Catholic clergy of the south-east, as illustrated by Geoffrey Keating and Pádraicín Haicéad, who lived and worked in Lismore and Cashel dioceses respectively. Keating, a member of an established Old English family near Cahir, was educated in Rheims and Bordeaux universities before his return to his native Tipperary where he was reported to be in Cahir, Tullaghorton and Tubrid parishes between 1610 and 1644. This renowned preacher, theologian and author was best-known for his history of Ireland, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, written in Irish and circulated in manuscript form from 1634.²⁷⁷ Haicéad was a Dominican friar, also continentally educated and from an Old English background. He was resident in Cashel from 1638 and was renowned for his Irish poetry.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ Jefferies, *The Irish Church*, p.202.

²⁷⁷ Bernadette Cunningham, 'Geoffrey Keating', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.org) (1 Aug. 2011); Power, *Compendious History*, p.22; 'Sundrie priests and friars'.

²⁷⁸ Ó Cuiv, 'The Irish language', p.540; Flynn, *Dominicans*, p.123.

The Jesuits, who placed such a strong emphasis on the roles of education and preaching in the promotion of Tridentine Catholicism among the people of Ireland, expected all their clergy on the mission to be fluent in Irish.²⁷⁹ Despite being an ‘excellent catechist, director of souls and peacemaker’, Maurice Wise, who was pastor of St Peter’s parish in Waterford from 1609 to 1628, considered that his lack of Irish left him unable to undertake the task of preaching and expressed his intention to learn the language.²⁸⁰

The Dominican, Thaddeus Murphy, who was mentioned earlier as having been postulated for the episcopacy of both Ferns and Leighlin, was considered particularly suitable for the former position by the Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fleming, who described him in 1626 as an ‘eloquent preacher’ in both English and Irish. Fleming explained that

this knowledge of both languages is most essential for the bishop of that diocese [Ferns], for there are very many people there who cannot speak one word of English, while there are others who know no language except English.²⁸¹

This necessity had been recognized by Thomas Ram twenty years earlier when he sanctioned the appointment of Irish-speaking Protestant ministers to certain parishes.²⁸²

When John Roche was appointed to Ferns in 1626, he overcame his lack of knowledge of Irish by taking his archdeacon, Daniel O’Breen, a competent Irish speaker, with him to translate whenever he visited the Gaelic parts of his diocese.²⁸³

²⁷⁹ Meigs, *Reformation in Ireland*, p.102.

²⁸⁰ Power, ‘Jesuits in Waterford’, p.273.

²⁸¹ Corish, ‘John Roche’, p.119.

²⁸² ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and council’.

²⁸³ Corish, ‘Two centuries’, p.228.

Unlike their Protestant counterparts, the Catholic clergy had no official civil role to fulfil and, indeed, they were strongly discouraged from playing any part in secular or political affairs. However, in 1602, Nicholas Stafford, Church of Ireland bishop of Ferns, wrote to chief secretary Cecil, expressing the opinion that Catholic priests were heavily involved in fomenting unrest among the general population:

The principal alleged cause of revolt is religion, the troubles in this kingdom being first bred and since nourished by priests. Nor may it in my poor opinion be hoped but that if any peace should ensue upon the Lord Deputy's forward endeavours, out of the dead ashes our seditious priests will kindle a new fire if their liberty and practice be not hereafter restrained.²⁸⁴

Certainly, clerics such as the Jesuits Robert Rochford of Wexford and James Archer of Kilkenny and the Cistercian archbishop of Cashel, Maurice McGibbon, were politically active during the second half of the sixteenth century, but, as the seventeenth century progressed, the hierarchy was adamant that priests should not be involved in politics. The Armagh synod of 1618, presided over by David Rothe, decreed that

the clergy shall abstain from every political intrigue, and avoid all offence to those who govern, save only in matters which belong to their spiritual duty; they shall devote themselves solely to the spiritual care of their respective flocks, and thus fulfil the divine precept to give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and to God what belongs to God.²⁸⁵

While the majority of the priests in the south-east appear to have obeyed Rothe's directions in the following twenty years, there is evidence of considerable clerical involvement in the 1641 rebellion and its aftermath. William Whalley of New Ross alleged that his bible was burnt by a priest, 'fflaxbery', in 1641;²⁸⁶ George Charlton of Gorey claimed that, among those who pressed him into joining the rebel army in

²⁸⁴ 'Nicholas Stafford, bishop of Ferns, to Secretary Cecil', 26 July 1602, *CSPI, 1601-03*, pp 453-4.

²⁸⁵ O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p.115.

²⁸⁶ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 818, 024r-026v, 5 Sept. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

November 1641, was William Roch, a priest;²⁸⁷ and Abel Ram of Ramsfort reported that Donagh McShane, a priest from the Ballagh, was one of those who robbed him of his goods.²⁸⁸ Referring to the Confederacy's oath of association, Edward Sinnott of Rosslare claimed that it was a practice among the priests to 'keepe the masse doores shut till each man had taken the said oath'.²⁸⁹ A number of deponents, including Donatus Conner, averred that Nicholas French, parish priest of St Mary's in Wexford and later bishop of Ferns, was deeply involved in the military operations of the rebellion. Conner claimed that French and the Franciscan, Richard Sinnott, brought 'gunpowder and other provisions, that were meant for Duncannon fort, to the rebels',²⁹⁰ while Henry Masterson and Nicholas Rochford maintained that French and Sinnott were on the Wexford council of the Confederacy.²⁹¹ Conner also believed that Nicholas Shee, parish priest of Callan in Ossory, had brought ammunition and powder from Rome to Wexford.²⁹² Edward Harman, commander of Carlow Castle in December 1641, named the friar, Lawrence Magoghan, as a member of the party who negotiated with him on behalf of the rebels²⁹³ and Edmond Hinckley supported Harman's evidence about the presence of Magoghan, 'prior of the convent of friars at Ballymoone,' at the talks.²⁹⁴ Henry Howell, a Protestant husbandman living in Dungarvan in 1642, claimed that Edward Hore, a 'mass priest', was among those who robbed him²⁹⁵ and Lawrence Hooper, a glover, described the

²⁸⁷ Ibid. (T.C.D., MS 818, 057r-058v, 24 Jan. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁸⁸ Ibid. (T.C.D., MS 818, 090r-090v, 12 Jan. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁸⁹ Ibid. (T.C.D., MS 818, 122r-123v, 9 Jan. 1654) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹⁰ Ibid. (T.C.D., MS 818, 110r-113v, 28 Oct. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹¹ Ibid. (T.C.D., MS 818, 132r-139v, 138r-139v, 27 July 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹² Ibid. (T.C.D., MS 818, 110r-113v, 28 Oct. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹³ Ibid. (T.C.D., MS 812, 073r-075v, 7 July 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹⁴ Ibid. (T.C.D., MS 812, 077r, 9 May 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹⁵ Ibid. (T.C.D., MS 820, 1711-171v, 2 July 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 March 2012).

actions of the priest Patrick Welshe who refused to allow Protestants to be buried in the city cemetery and forced them to be interred outside the gates on the highway.²⁹⁶

These two chapters have served to illustrate that there were many similarities between the aspirations of the propagators of both faiths for the organisation and behaviour of their clergy in the parishes of south-east Ireland in the aftermath of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Despite significant differences of approach and possibility, the central administrators of both churches strove to impose a well-functioning and efficient parochial system, staffed by ministers and priests who recognised the authority of their bishops and had access to centrally-produced literature and the other instruments necessary for the performance of their pastoral duties. For very different reasons, as we have seen, neither faith succeeded fully in the implementation of these ideals but, as P.J. Corish has observed,

the old religion had beaten the new one in providing a dedicated ministry, and this ministry came in time to save it before it could be suffocated by government decree and the passage of time.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Ibid. (T.C.D., MS820, 312r-315v, 31 May 1643) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 March 2012).

²⁹⁷ Corish, 'Reformation and Counter-Reformation', p.41.

Conclusion

A consistent theme that runs through almost all of the evidence in this study is that there was a general understanding, on both sides of the confessional divide, that the development of the clergy along professional lines was essential to the wellbeing of the church. Numerous proclamations, decrees, orders and suggestions emanated from the central agents of both the Church of Ireland and the Catholic Church, acknowledging the importance of appropriate education and training for future clerics, as well as the necessity to endow the parochial ministry with sufficient means to allow them to live independently and to maintain a respectable position within their communities as preachers, celebrants and guardians of faith and morality. The essential difference, then, was not in the recognition of the challenges presented but in the means employed to meet them.

Countless times in the course of the five chapters above we encountered examples of government plans for the improvement of the position of the Protestant clergy that were not implemented, or were postponed until it was too late to make a difference. The delay in the establishment of an Irish university in Dublin until 1592 is cited regularly as the major reason why most wealthy families decided to send their sons to continental Europe for their education, thus ensuring that the emerging post-Tridentine theologies and attitudes would turn them into rigorous Catholic missionaries. But, as we have seen, the tardiness in the foundation of Trinity College was only the most high profile example of the confusion, delay and parsimony that constantly hindered the advancement of the

Protestant parish clergy. The paradox of aspirations not being met with investment is illustrated by the instructions issued to Sir Henry Sidney on two different occasions during his terms as lord deputy. On his departure for Dublin in 1565, he was directed to ‘use all means, as well by example as otherwise, that devotion and godliness may increase’¹ But, when he returned for his third tour of duty in 1568, his orders contained nothing more specific than ‘the observance of strict economy’.²

The long-term result of this failure to implement the dynamic policies that would have improved the quality and conditions of the established clergy was that the Church of Ireland ministry was in no position to successfully engage in a battle for ‘hearts and minds’ with their Catholic counterparts and eventually appeared to tacitly settle for a limited ministry that would serve the small Protestant minority of New English settlers who lived in isolated pockets among the Catholic majority. The role of the Church of Ireland hierarchy as a central arm of state administration was mentioned in Chapter Four and Colm Lennon and Ciarán Diamond point to the increased expectation that parish clergy would also function as local civil officials. The Irish canons of 1634 instructed ministers to keep a registry of all christenings, weddings and funerals and they were also to have a role in tax collection, the provision of education and poor relief.³ The result was that the Protestant clergy, by this time almost exclusively English or Welsh-born, or the sons of New English settlers, came to be viewed as another factor in the expansion of the New English hegemony in the region, increasingly threatening the traditional civic,

¹ ‘Instructions to Sir Henry Sidney, LD, for the maintenance of the Christian faith’ in Shirley (ed.), *Letters and papers*, p.207.

² Jefferies, ‘Henry Sidney’, *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (26 Sept. 2011).

³ Colm Lennon and Ciarán Diamond, ‘The ministry of the Church of Ireland, 1536-1636’ in Barnard & Neely (eds), *Clergy of the Church of Ireland*, p.54.

political and commercial powers of the Old English and Old Irish elites and most unlikely, at this late stage, to affect a successful reform amongst them.

Brian Mac Cuarta traces many of the same developments in the archdiocese of Armagh, concluding that the Church of Ireland in Ulster emerged by the 1620s as ‘alien, English-speaking and serving the planter community’.⁴ However, it is interesting to compare how circumstances and chronology differed throughout the country, albeit leading eventually to a similar outcome, with the rejection of the Reformation by the majority of the Old English and Old Irish population. The evidence presented in this thesis points to the years between 1570 and 1600 as the critical period when the people of the south-east decided upon their allegiance to Catholicism and James Murray draws somewhat similar conclusions in relation to Dublin. He highlights the actions of Hugh Curwan, archbishop from 1555 to 1567, in the establishment of the practice of church papistry in the capital. Rather than openly disputing the Elizabethan settlement, Curwan accepted the oath of supremacy in 1560 while continuing to permit the celebration of Catholic rites, thus allowing what Murray describes as a ‘protective veil’ to be thrown over the religious behaviour of both clergy and laity.⁵ Curwan’s successor was Adam Loftus, who set about removing the ‘crypto-Catholic’ clerics from his archdiocese. His actions may have succeeded in driving the Church of Ireland towards conformity but he lost most of his congregation and many of his clergy in the process.⁶ While Loftus’s campaign had a measure of success in Dublin and he did convene a provincial council in February 1570 and undertook a metropolitan visitation later that year, the suffragan dioceses of Ferns,

⁴ Mac Cuarta, *Catholic revival*, p.69.

⁵ Murray, *Enforcing the Reformation*, pp 242-59.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp 261-74.

Leighlin and Ossory appear to have remained largely beyond his influence.⁷ The deprivation for irregularity of more than twenty ministers in these sees in 1591 and allegations of Catholic tendencies among many of the incumbents recorded as late as the 1615 Visitations point to a tenuous central influence, even in those parts of the south-east that were closest to Dublin.⁸ Simultaneously, what Murray charts in Dublin as the evolution from church papistry in the 1570s into strong recusancy in the last two decades of the sixteenth century and an ‘all-embracing’ Catholicism by the early years of the 1700s, was closely mirrored among the rural gentry and urban elites of the south-eastern counties.⁹

Ulster was further removed from government influence than even the most remote parts of the south-east and thus neither clergy nor laity was forced into a conscious decision to disengage from the established church until much later.¹⁰ Only in the part of the archdiocese of Armagh that lay in north-east Leinster was there a strong presence of wealthy Old English elite families and here the emerging confessional experience was remarkably similar to the south-east. Many young men from Louth and Meath travelled to Europe for their education, where the university of Douai was a particularly popular destination, before returning home to be sheltered and supported by their families and neighbours while engaged on the Irish mission.¹¹

⁷ White, *Registrum Diocesis Dublinensis*, pp 34-5; Murray, *Enforcing the Reformation*, pp 276-7.

⁸ ‘Clergy examined and deprived in 1591’, (T.C.D. MS 566, 195v-197r); RV 1615.

⁹ Murray, *Enforcing the Reformation*, pp 8-9.

¹⁰ Mac Cuarta, *Catholic revival*, p.13.

¹¹ *Ibid*, pp 14-15, p.72; Hammerstein, ‘Aspects of continental education’, p.146.

In Ulster, as in Connacht, members of the Franciscan order were exceptionally influential among the Catholic clergy, at least until the conclusion of the Nine Years War. Mac Cuarta attributes the collapse of their network of convents then to the breakdown of Gaelic aristocratic society and the extensive plantations initiated in the province.¹² The relative poverty of the region meant that there was less opportunity for young men to travel abroad for their education and less lay support for them on their return, therefore the re-establishment of secular parochial and diocesan structures did not begin until the 1620s, which was considerably later than in the south-east.¹³ Around the same time, the Franciscans set about reorganising themselves and there were about ninety preachers in the archdiocese by 1623.¹⁴ By the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641, Mac Cuarta remarks that they once again held a prominent position among the Catholic clergy in Ulster, where they certainly comprised a much higher proportion of the clerical population than in Leinster or Munster.¹⁵

While it is interesting to compare the position of the clergy in the south-east with their counterparts in other parts of the country, it is important to remember that the area covered by this thesis was by no means homogenous and that there were also significant differences in the experiences of both Catholic priests and Protestant ministers within the dioceses of south Leinster and east Munster. While large rural sections of the region, as well as the major towns and ports, were chiefly controlled by the Old English elite families, there was also a significant presence of Gaelic clans, particularly in the rural

¹² Mac Cuarta, *Catholic revival*, p.36

¹³ *Ibid*, p.14.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.72.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.129; Appendix 1.

parts of north Wexford, Carlow, upper Ossory and parts of Waterford and Tipperary. In 1606 the Munster president, Henry Brouncker, recognised the challenges presented by the diversity of these communities when he wrote that

the townsmen, understanding English, are more ready and willing to entertain religion, for there are few or no Irish preachers, and the country people understand little English.¹⁶

He expressed the hope that urban reform would, in turn, bring about the conversion of the rural population because the cities were as ‘lanterns to the country round about’.¹⁷

However, as we have seen, his optimism that the townspeople could be persuaded or forced to conform proved to be misplaced and he reported the following year that ‘Waterford and Clonmel remain wilful’.¹⁸ The same was true of Kilkenny, Wexford and New Ross in Leinster.

As was illustrated in Chapter Four, the presence of a diligent, resident Church of Ireland bishop, such as Thomas Ram in Ferns and Leighlin from 1605, could affect some improvement in the material circumstances of the parochial clergy.¹⁹ Nicholas Walsh of Ossory was another conscientious and enthusiastic prelate, although his efforts to improve his diocese were cut short by his murder in 1585 and his successors, John Horsfall and Richard Deane, reported little success in the struggle against Catholicism.²⁰ By 1608, only seven of the forty six local government officials in Co Kilkenny were Protestants and these included both Horsfall and Deane, as well as two other

¹⁶ ‘Concerning Reformation of Religion in Ireland’, probably written by Sir Henry Brouncker, n.d. 1606, *CSPI, 1603-6*, pp 543-5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ ‘Brouncker to the Lords’, 10 Feb. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, pp 101-2.

¹⁹ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

²⁰ Leslie, *Ossory clergy*, p.15.

clergymen.²¹ The protracted incumbency of the notoriously noncompliant, and often absent, Miler Magrath as archbishop of Cashel from 1571 to 1622, and as bishop of Waterford and Lismore from 1582 to 1589 and from 1592 to 1607, did little to enhance the living conditions that would have attracted the suitably qualified clergymen who may have made a difference to the confessional struggle. Thomas Jones, archbishop of Dublin, described Magrath's dioceses in 1607 as 'those parts, which have scarcely known whether there be a God'.²² It is somewhat ironic then that it was within the boundaries of one of Magrath's dioceses that the only truly Protestant community in the south-east emerged, in the part of Lismore that lay on the estates of Richard Boyle. However, it is important to remember that the Church of Ireland clergy and their congregations in west Waterford, as elsewhere, were almost entirely composed of New English immigrants and their families. Similarly, by the time the quality of appointments to bishoprics and parish livings had sufficiently improved by the 1630s, the battle to attract congregations from among the Old English and Gaelic people had been lost.

Conversely, while a resident Catholic episcopacy was not re-established in the region until the 1620s (and no bishop was appointed to Leighlin until 1642) the work of vicars-apostolic and vicars-general in all dioceses during the preceding decades ensured that the devotional requirements of the people were met by a secular parish structure that was, in the main, supported by the regular orders. Because of the clandestine nature of their mission, it is difficult to make many meaningful comparisons between the living conditions and missionary engagement of Catholic priests in different parts of the region.

²¹ Edwards, *The Ormond lordship*, p.267.

²² 'Archbishop of Dublin to Salisbury', 3 Aug. 1607, *CSPI, 1606-8*, p.235.

As was discussed in Chapter Three, their living arrangements had to be flexible and many of them appear to have spent time in both urban and rural households, while members of the regular orders moved frequently between dioceses and even archdioceses.

Once the equivocal post-Reformation clergy had been replaced in their parishes by self-conscious Church of Ireland ministers and Catholic priests, we encounter surprisingly few examples of apostasy among the clergy. For whatever reason and whatever their failings, most of these new clergymen were sincerely committed to their profession. There were, of course, exceptions. In 1612 Thomas Ram reported that William Barrick, ‘a very old manabout 10 years since ... one of our clergy and ... Vicar of New Rosse’, was now operating as a Catholic priest in the town. John Quiltey, described by Ram as a ‘roaving priest, sometimes one of our clergy (but long since)’ lived near Old Ross in 1612.²³ Quilty was one of the forty clergymen deprived of their Church of Ireland livings in the south-eastern dioceses in 1592, mainly due to irregularity and contumacy.²⁴ Remarkably, the names of only two more of those deprived ministers appear on later lists of Catholic priests. Laurence Renaghan, mentioned in Chapter Two, was deprived in Ossory and later served as Catholic vicar-general of the diocese, while James Morris lost his living of Mortelstown in Lismore and is mentioned in the 1610 list of ‘sundry priests and friars’.²⁵

Conversely, at some time before 1641, another clergyman of Ferns, the aforementioned Donatus Connor, whose deposition was mentioned in Chapter Four, had moved in the

²³ ‘Ram to Lord Deputy and Council’.

²⁴ ‘Clergy examined and deprived in 1591’, (T.C.D. MS 566, 195v-197r).

²⁵ Ibid; ‘Sundrie priests and friars’.

opposite direction, leaving the Catholic priesthood to become a Protestant minister.²⁶ He may well have been the cleric described by Nicholas French as an ‘old man, home-bred, unlearned but witty’, who was one of two apostates mentioned by the future bishop of Ferns. French claimed that the other was a Munsterman who converted to Protestantism and left for England, returning with Cromwell’s forces and leading soldiers to the home of known priests.²⁷

Again, the events of 1641 offered an opportunity to those Protestant incumbents who retained Catholic inclinations and there were a number of reported conversions, including the chancellor of Emly, Teig O’Grady, whose apostasy was reported by Faith Grady.²⁸ Simon Lightfoot, vicar of Cahir in Lismore, alleged that Richard Busher, prebendary of Seskenan and vicar of St Mary’s in Clonmel, had ‘turned papist’ in January, 1642.²⁹ This claim was corroborated by Elizabeth Nelson, who deposed that she heard Busher telling the mayor of Clonmel that he ‘would goe to masse many yeers agoe but *for* feare of looseing of his Church liueings’.³⁰ Amos Godsell testified to the apostasy of John Stukeley, vicar of Ringagona, Clonea, Ardmore and Kinsalebeg, while Robert Holloway deposed that the minister had ‘turned papist’. However, Stukeley himself appeared to

²⁶ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 818, 110r-113v, 28 Oct. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁷ Nicholas French, *The dolefull fall of Andrew Sall, a Jesuit of the fourth vow, from the Roman Catholick apostolick faith* (1674), pp 391-2.

²⁸ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 829, 209r-210v, 2 Feb. 1643) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

²⁹ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 821, 067r-067v, 10 Aug. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³⁰ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 821, 153r-154v, 16 Dec. 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

refute these allegations when he told the investigators in 1643 that he had been robbed of his belongings and deprived of his livings by the Confederate rebels.³¹

The apostasy of James Kyvan, vicar of Castlecomer in Ossory since at least 1608, was also mentioned in Chapters Three and Four. J.B. Leslie claimed that Kyvan was forced by the rebels to say Mass in 1641, although the deposition of John Watkinson, rector of the same parish, suggested that Kyvan was a willing convert.³²

The credibility of a Catholic priest who changed allegiance was likely to be damaged, not just among his erstwhile co-religionists, but also within official state circles. This dilemma was described in a letter from Archbishop Kearney and some Jesuits to the superiors of the Irish colleges in Spain in 1612:

Though the heretics are anxious to extend their sect and draw people to it, yet when they find any priest weak enough to come over to them and leave the Christian religion, they regard him with contempt, and look on him as a person of low sentiments and evil life, as was seen in the case of an English priest who, when offered the oath of supremacy, said he would take it and added that he did not consider anyone a good and loyal subject who would refuse it, by which he scandalized the Catholics, and lost the good opinion of the Viceroy, who told the Chancellor that the man would swear anything, and he would not honour him with the oath.³³

Catholic priests and Protestant ministers were described in the introduction as operating in adjacent but parallel realms, although there is some evidence that their paths did cross on occasion. In 1640 William Lithgow described how he had observed the relationship between the two groups:

³¹ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D. MS 820, 123r-123v, 23 June 1642; 253r-253v, 15 June, 1642; 288r-289v, 3 Jan. 1643) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 March 2012).

³² Leslie, *Ossory clergy*, p.221; 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 812, 193r-194v, 28 April 1642) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

³³ Moran (ed.), *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i, p.121.

The alehouse is their [the Protestant ministers'] church, the Irish priests their consorts and whensoever these parties meet, their pairing is Dane-like from a Dutch pot, and the minister still purse-bearer, defrayeth all charges for the priest; arguments of religion, like Podolian Polonians they succumbe; their conference only pleading mutuall forbearance; yea, and more for submissions sake, hee will give way to the priest to mumble masse in his church, where he in all his life never made prayer or sermon.³⁴

There is indeed some evidence of developing associations as early as the 1580s. In September 1583, Dermot O'Hurley, newly arrived in Ireland as Catholic archbishop of Cashel, wrote to Miler Magrath from Carrick-on-Suir, hoping to persuade his rival to share the same diocese without dispute. He expressed his desire to 'plant and foster friendship and peace' and was even willing to forego the title of archbishop in Magrath's favour.³⁵ Fifty years later, another Catholic archbishop of Cashel, Thomas Walsh, was arrested while conducting a synod in the countryside in 1633. He was brought to Dublin, accompanied by his Protestant counterpart, Archibald Hamilton, and it was reported that they passed the journey by discussing points of doctrine and became friends.³⁶ In Ferns in the late 1630s, Nicholas French, then parish priest of St Patrick's in Wexford, and the Church of Ireland archdeacon, probably Richard Jennings, reportedly held each other in 'high mutual esteem'.³⁷ Most famously, David Rothe, elder statesman of the resident Irish hierarchy, and James Ussher, Church of Ireland archbishop of Armagh, corresponded and swapped books, mainly on the subject of history, between 1619 and 1623.³⁸

³⁴ William Lithgow, *The totall discourse, of the rare adventures, and painefull peregrinations of long nineteene years travailes from Scotland, to the most famous kingdoms in Europe, Asia and Africa* (London, 1640), pp 439-40.

³⁵ David Edwards, 'Dermot O'Hurley', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (4 Oct. 2011).

³⁶ Meehan, *Franciscan monasteries*, pp 125-6.

³⁷ French, *The doleful fall of Andrew Sall*, pp xxvi-xxvii; Cotton *Fasti Ecclesiae*.

³⁸ William O'Sullivan, 'Correspondence of Rothe and Ussher' in *Coll. Hib.*, xxxvi (1995), pp 7-49.

While reports of the events of 1641 contain many incidences of violence against Protestant ministers, occasionally at the hands of Catholic priests, there are also examples of the Catholic clergy offering help to their opposite numbers. Samuel Pullein, chancellor of Cashel, was robbed of his possessions at the outbreak of the rebellion but was sheltered by the Jesuit, James Sall, until he could escape to England three months later. Intriguingly, Pullein had an opportunity to repay the favour when he encountered Sall in Oxford some time later and was able to persuade the priest's captors to spare him from harm.³⁹ Catherine Spallane, also of Cashel, reported that another Jesuit, John Conway, confronted William O'Dwyer, who had robbed a barrel of oaten meal from Pullein, telling O'Dwyer that it was

unmette for him to plunder the poore English their goods upon which words the said Dwyer gave the Jesuite a cuffe.⁴⁰

It was not unknown for pragmatism to triumph over religious belief. Some time after 1609, John Lancaster, Church of Ireland bishop of Waterford and Lismore, sent for William Furlong, the Wexford-based Cistercian, who was renowned as a miracle worker, and the Catholic priest was believed to have cured the prelate's 'grievous malady'.

It is possible that Furlong actually had some medical skill, as he was also reported to have walked 'boldly into town disguised as a medical doctor to continue his ministry'.⁴¹

It was not entirely unusual for priests to have knowledge of the other professions, as Sir John Davies reported from Clonmel in 1606 that

³⁹ Raymonf Refaussé, 'Samuel Pullein', *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (4 Oct. 2011).

⁴⁰ 1641 Depositions (T.C.D., MS 821, 235r-236v, 27 Aug. 1652) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm) (7 February 2011).

⁴¹ Corish, 'Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Wexford', pp 51-2.

the priests live in the houses of gentlemen and noblemen under the names of surgeons and physicians, and can hardly be taken in the exercise of their functions.⁴²

Jourdan suggested that ‘friars and other papal emissaries’ were often welcomed in the homes of the gentry, as much for their skill as physicians as for any religious reasons⁴³ and O’Grady concurred:

We thus have, wherever there was a country house, a priest in residence, frequently with a medical degree, often a trained lawyer, at any rate an educated man, who his host took good care should have fair play.⁴⁴

The Jesuit, Patrick Lea, ministered as both priest and doctor during the siege of Kilkenny and he died of the plague in 1650.⁴⁵

We have already encountered a considerable number of priests who worked as teachers in the towns’ grammar schools or as tutors to individual families on their rural estates, while a small number of Church of Ireland ministers pursued a similar ancillary and complementary occupation. However, Gillespie believes that many more Protestant clergy supplemented their often meagre clerical income by farming or money lending.⁴⁶

Meredith Hanmer, whose many benefices included the chancellorship of Ossory, and who lived in Ireland from 1591 until his death in 1604, commented that

the clergy of this land care more for transitory lucre and the plow rustical than the plow celestial.⁴⁷

⁴² ‘Davies from Clonmel’, 4 May 1606, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.476.

⁴³ Jourdan, ‘Towards a doctrinal reformation’, p.500.

⁴⁴ O’Grady, *Strafford and Ireland*, i, pp 464-5.

⁴⁵ Murphy, *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp 319-20.

⁴⁶ Gillespie, ‘Church of Ireland clergy’, p.67.

⁴⁷ ‘The MSS of Meredith Hanmer’, *CSPI, Addenda 1565-1654*, pp 661-687; Alan Ford, ‘Meredith Hanmer’, *ODNB* (www.oxforddnb.com) (4 Oct. 2011).

While the failure to establish a Protestant ministry that enjoyed the respect and deference of the community it was appointed to serve was a serious impediment to the implementation of reform, it would be wrong to conclude that the ‘victory’ for Catholicism indicates that the aspirations of professionalisation were fully realised in relation to the Roman clergy. Certainly, increasing numbers of university-educated Catholic priests were returning from continental Europe to pastoral duties in the south-east with the zeal, knowledge and skills required of a successful ministry, but their dependence on the laity for shelter and maintenance and the necessity of conducting their mission in private, inhibited their capacity to be truly autonomous in their duties. The celebration of Mass in private houses, the administration of the sacraments outdoors, the failure to live in their parishes and the need to wear lay clothing in public were all in contravention of the decrees of the Council of Trent, though recognised as necessary in the case of jurisdictions where the practice of Catholicism was proscribed. John Bossy may have been correct when he suggested that the inability to fully implement the edicts of Trent may ultimately have worked to the advantage of Irish Catholicism,⁴⁸ but it may also have retarded the development of the clergy as a true profession. As we saw in Chapters Two and Three, when the recovery of church property from both Protestant incumbents and lay impropiators became a genuine possibility for the priests of south-east Ireland after the rebellion of 1641, they were set on a collision course with the same lay elite who had ensured their safety and relative prosperity in the previous fifty years.

An analysis of this relationship between Catholic priests and the recusant lay population of the region was one of the key challenges posed in the introduction to this thesis. Were

⁴⁸ Bossy, ‘Counter-Reformation and Ireland’, p.158.

priests offered shelter and sustenance in the homes of the laity because these families had already chosen the course of recusancy or did the continentally-educated, Trent-inspired priests use their positions within the homes of their parents and neighbours to persuade the elite of the region to reject the established church in favour of Catholicism? The answer probably lies somewhere between the two explanations. If an early inclination towards Catholicism among the rural gentry and urban burgesses, for whatever reason, was the catalyst for sending their sons to Europe for their education, their inchoate adherence to Rome was certainly reinforced by the enthusiasm, rigour and theological certainties presented by those clerics who returned to the mission in their hundreds from the last decade of the sixteenth century. Living in the closest possible proximity while being sheltered in their households, these priests were in a perfect position to dispel any confessional doubts that may have lingered among their hosts. Conversely, the Church of Ireland's opportunity to seriously challenge for the religious loyalty of the population was doomed by its abject failure to provide a dedicated and proficient parochial clergy that could attract the undecided congregations in the decades after the Reformation and before the influx of post-Tridentine priests.

Thus, Sir John Davies succinctly summed up this failure of the Protestant clergy to successfully compete with their Catholic counterparts in the confessional battle for souls in south-east Ireland when he wrote from Clonmel in 1606:

If our bishops, and others that have cure of souls, were but half as diligent in their several charges as these men are in the places where they haunt, the people would not receive and nourish them as they do now. But it is the extreme negligence and remissness of our clergy here which was first

the cause of the general desertion and apostasy and is now again the *remora* or the impediment of reformation.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ 'Sir John Davies from Clonmel', 4 May 1606, *CSPI, 1603-6*, p.476.

Appendix 1

A database of Catholic priests reported to be in south-east Ireland between 1557 and 1650

The work of J.B. Leslie, St. John Seymour and, more recently, Iain Knox, has resulted in the publication of comprehensive lists of Church of Ireland clergy in the dioceses of south-east Ireland in the centuries following the Reformation.¹ However, the clandestine nature of the lives and work of Catholic priests in the region, which resulted in fragmented and often contradictory information being collected about their identity and whereabouts, has meant that, until recently, no comparable records have been compiled in relation to the Catholic clergy. In 2008 Dr Jason McHugh commenced work on a prosopography of priests in the archdiocese of Dublin in the seventeenth century (as yet unpublished) and the following database, assembled using a variety of official, informal and incidental sources, aspires to further address the deficiency, covering the dioceses of Ferns, Leighlin, Ossory, Cashel, Emly, Waterford and Lismore between 1557 and 1650, albeit with a number of caveats, which are outlined below.

As neither clergy nor congregation formed clear confessional distinctions between the principles of Catholicism and Protestantism in the direct aftermath of the Reformation, it was only with the second generation of post-Reformation clergy that definite dividing lines could be drawn between self-conscious priests and ministers, educated and trained

¹Leslie, *Ferns clergy*; Leslie, *Ossory clergy*; Seymour, *Parochial clergy in Cashel and Emly*; Knox, *Clergy and parishes*.

in their respective doctrines. Therefore, while the database does contain a number of earlier entries, the identification of clergymen as Catholic priests, by both supporters and opponents of Catholicism, only really began in the 1570s.

From 1577, lists of Catholic priests believed to be operating in the south-east were regularly sent to the Dublin and London administrations by government officials and Church of Ireland bishops. While those who supplied this information remained largely anonymous, a number of informers were named, including Richard Power, noted in 1592 as being ‘very willing and able to inform on such matters’² and James Tobin, described as a ‘spy’, who wrote to Sir George Carew in 1621, enclosing a list of priests who had left Ireland and were received in Bordeaux between 1604 and 1619.³ These lists were supplemented by reports on the activities of individual priests and incidental references in official correspondence, much of which is contained in the state papers, the *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland* and in George Carew’s collected manuscripts.

While some questions may be raised about the accuracy of these reports, the fact that one third of all the priests named in the database are mentioned in two or more sources leads us to believe that the government and hierarchy had a reasonably competent system of intelligence in place. While information for Catholic clerical activity in the cities and towns was quite comprehensive, many more priests may have been operating undetected in rural areas. Indeed, the ‘note of the names of the Priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits, together with their relievers and maintainers’, remarks that

² ‘A memorial of sundry things’, Hogan (ed.), *The description*, pp 287-9.

³ ‘Letter from James Tobin [spy] to George Carew, enclosing list of priests received in Bordeaux in the sixteen years to 1619’, 27 Feb. 1621, *CSPI, 1615-25*, pp 316-22.

there is 60 or 70 priests at this day within the cantred of Clonmell, whereof 25 have been made within this year 1613. Affirmed by Mr. Pierce Butler, now made sheriff of the Cross, who promiseth to certify their names if it be required.⁴

Unfortunately, we have no record of the names supplied by Pierce Butler.

It is also possible that an element of duplication occurred, with different spellings of surnames and different first names being attributed to the same priest by diverse informants. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that the Irish language is used in some cases, while the useful Bordeaux list, supplied by James Tobin in 1621, translated many of the priests' names into French.⁵

For example, James **Brenagh** was named by the informant, Patrick Kearnye, as having celebrated Mass for Bishop Miler Magrath's wife in Ballymackie in Tipperary in 1592.⁶ Also in 1592, James **Buenagh** is reported to be 'lately come from Rome' and living in Fethard, in the diocese of Cashel.⁷ Later, in 1605, Lord Deputy Chichester reported to Salisbury that James **Brannagh**, or **Walsh**, was in Tipperary.⁸ (Breathnach is the Irish translation of the name Walsh.) I believe that it is possible to say, with some certainty, that these reports all referred to the same man, who may also have been the James Walsh, or **Walseus**, who was a student in Louvain in 1563.⁹ The names Valois and Vodlog, which appear in the Bordeaux list, have been taken to be French translations of Walsh

⁴Names of priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits in Kilkenny'.

⁵ 'Bordeaux list', *CSPI*, 1615-25, pp 316-22.

⁶ Marron (ed.), 'Documents concerning Miler McGrath', p.159.

⁷Hogan (ed.), *The description*, pp.288.

⁸ 'Chichester to Salisbury', n.d. 1605, *CSPI*, 1603-6, p.380.

⁹ Nilis, 'Students at Leuven', p.36.

and Woodlock. The dates provided in most of the sources may also be somewhat misleading, as lists of priests may have taken several years to compile before they made their way into official state documents.

Catholic sources are, understandably, more circumspect in their naming of priests. It is possible to identify a number of students who attended the continental colleges and then returned to the region by cross-referencing between matriculation lists and the names supplied to official sources. The use of Latin translations of Gaelic and Old English surnames in many of the Catholic sources is another cause of possible duplication or confusion.

The religious orders, especially the Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits were excellent record-keepers and their archives are a rich source for identifying the names of priests. Indeed, P.J. Corish remarks that the importance of the role of the orders in Catholic Ireland in the seventeenth century may be exaggerated because so much of the surviving evidence concerns their members.¹⁰ While one third of the database entries are regular clergy, these figures may actually be higher, as not all the remainder are positively identified as secular priests.

Some duplication may also have occurred here as the Franciscan and Dominican records often used religious names, given to the priests on their acceptance into the congregation, with the same men's original family names possibly appearing in other lists. Thus Thadeus Murphy, the Dominican prior of Kilkenny between 1622 and 1627, was also

¹⁰ Corish, *The Catholic community*, p.26.

known by his religious name, John of the Cross. Other useful Catholic sources include the substantial correspondence from those bishops working in Ireland to their colleagues on the continent, particularly the papers of Fr Luke Wadding, who lived in Rome and acted as a conduit between the Irish hierarchy and the Vatican.¹¹

Unlike the Church of Ireland records, there is very little information available about what parishes were actually served by the priests. Several priests are reported as living in two or even three different dioceses, even crossing between the two archdioceses of Dublin and Cashel. Family connections, especially between Kilkenny and Waterford, may have been a significant factor in this mobility. The Franciscans and Jesuits also appear to have moved around considerably more than the secular priests.

Note: Dates in the database refer to the first and last reference to each priest in the sources except for those on the Bordeaux list, who were reported to have left Ireland for France at some time between 1604 and 1619.¹²

Index of abbreviations used in 'Sources' column

Primary sources

Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604: 'Bishop John Horsfall, Bishop of Ossory to the Deputy and council of Ireland', 8 June 1604, *CSPI, 1603-6*, pp 178-9.

¹¹ *Wadding Papers*.

¹² 'Bordeaux list', *CSPI, 1615-25*, pp 316-22.

Bordeaux list: 'Letter from James Tobin [spy] to George Carew, enclosing list of priests received in Bordeaux in the sixteen years to 1619', 27 Feb. 1621, *CSPI, 1615-25*, pp 316-22.

Brussels MS: Jennings, Brendan (ed), 'Brussels MS 3947, Donatus Moneyes, de provincial Hiberniae S. Francisci' in *Ana. Hib.*, vi (1934), pp 12-138.

Calendar Carew MSS: Brewer, J.S. and Bullen, W. (eds.), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth* (6 vols, London, 1867-8).

CSPI: *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland*, (24 vols, London, 1860-1911).

Drury to Walsingham: 'Sir William Drury, President of Munster, to Walsingham, the Queen's principal secretary of state, describing the religious condition of Waterford and its neighbourhood', 16 April 1577 in W.M Brady (ed.), *State papers concerning the Irish church in the time of Queen Elizabeth* (Dublin, 1868), pp 22-4.

Franciscan MSS: Burtchaell, G.D. and Rigg, J.M., *Report on Franciscan manuscripts preserved at the convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin / presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty* (Dublin, 1906).

French: Nicholas French, *The dolefull fall of Andrew Sall, a Jesuit of the fourth vow, from the Roman Catholick apostolick faith* (1674).

Liber Lovaniensis: Giblin, Cathaldus (ed.), *Liber Lovaniensis, a collection of Irish Franciscan documents, 1629-1717* (Dublin, 1956).

Louvain papers: Jennings, Brendan (ed.), *The Louvain Papers*' (Dublin, 1968).

Miler Magrath's 1588 Visitation: 'Bishop Miler Magrath's visitation of Waterford and Lismore, 1588', Appendix VI in Power, Patrick, *Waterford and Lismore: a compendious history of the united diocese* (Cork, 1937) pp 351-6.

Miscellanea Vaticano-Hibernica: 'Miscellanea Vaticano Hibernica, Ireland in 1580' in *Archiv. Hib.*, v, pp 157-65.

Names of the priests: 'A note of the names of such priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits, together with their relievers and maintainers in the city and county of Kilkenny' [n.d. 1613], (T.C.D., MS 567).

Ram to lord deputy and council, 1612: 'Letter from Bishop Thomas Ram to Lord Deputy and Council, 1 Sept. 1612,' (T.C.D. MS 1066, Reeves copy, 1873).

Scholars returned from Europe: 'List of the scholars returned from Europe', n.d. (T.C.D., MS 580).

Spicilegium Ossorienese: Moran, P.F., *Spicilegium Ossoriense, a collection of original letters and papers illustrative of the history of the Irish church from the Reformation to the year 1800* (3 vols, Dublin, 1874).

Sundrie priests and friars: 'The names of sundrie priests and friars within some dioceses and counties of Ireland' [probably 1610] (T.C.D., MS 567).

Triumphalia chronologica: Hartry, Malachy, *Triumphalia chronologica Monasterii Sanctae Crucis in Hibernia : De Cisterciensium Hibernorum viris illustribus* (1640), ed. Murphy, Denis (Dublin, 1891).

Wadding papers: Jennings, Brendan (ed), *Wadding Papers, 1614-38* (IMC, Dublin, 1953).

1641 Depositions: Depositions concerning the Irish insurrection of 1641 (T.C.D. MSS 812-39).

Secondary sources

Brady: Brady, W.M. *Episcopal succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, A.D. 1400-1875* (3 vols., Rome, 1876-7).

Burke: Burke, William, *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907).

Carrigan: Carrigan, William, *The History and antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (4 vols, Dublin, 1905).

Coleman: Coleman, Ambrose, *Ancient Dominican Foundations* (Dundalk, 1902).

Comerford: Comerford, Michael, *Collections relating to Kildare and Leighlin* (3 vols, Dublin, 1883).

Corish, John Roche: Corish, P.J., 'John Roche: An Irish Counter-Reformation Bishop, 1624-1636' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxv 1958 pp14-32; pp101-123.

Corish, Reorganization: Corish, P.J., 'The re-organization of the Irish Church, 1603-41' in *Irish Catholic Historical Committee Proceedings* (1957), pp 9-14.

Corish, Two centuries: Corish, P.J., 'Two Centuries of Catholicism in County Wexford' in Whelan, Kevin (ed.), *Wexford, History and Society* (Dublin, 1987), pp 222-47.

Corish, Reformation and Counter-Reformation: Corish, P.J., 'Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Wexford, 1500-1700' in Matthew Berney (ed.), *Centenary history of Wexford Twin Churches* (Wexford, 1958), pp 35-49.

Cunningham: Cunningham, Bernadette, "'Zeal for God and for souls": Counter-Reformation preaching in early seventeenth century Ireland' in Fletcher, A.J. and Gillespie, Raymond (eds.), *Irish Preaching, 700-1700* (Dublin, 2001), pp 108-26.

Edwards: Edwards, David, *The Ormond lordship in county Kilkenny, 1515-1642* (Dublin, 2003).

Fenning: Fenning, Hugh, 'Irish Dominicans at Louvain before 1700: a biographical register' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, xliii (2001), pp 112-60.

Flynn: Flynn, Thomas, *The Irish Dominicans, 1536-1641* (Dublin, 1993).

Forrestal: Forrestal, Alison, *Catholic synods in Ireland, 1600-1690* (Dublin, 1998).

Furlong: Furlong, Nicholas, 'Life in Wexford port, 1600-1800', in Whelan, Kevin, and Nolan, W. (eds.), *Wexford: History and Society* (Dublin, 1987), pp 150-72.

Giblin: Giblin, Cathaldus, 'The "Processus Datariae" and the appointment of Irish bishops in the seventeenth century' in Franciscan Fathers (eds), *Fr. Luke Wadding, commemorative volume* (Dublin, 1957), pp 508-616.

- Grannell: Grannell, Fergal, *The Franciscans in Wexford* (Wexford, 1980).
- Hansard: Joseph Hansard, *The history, topography and antiquities (natural and ecclesiastical) of the county and city of Waterford* (Waterford, 1870).
- Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*: Hogan, Edmund, *Ibernia Ignatiana* (Dublin, 1880).
- Hogan, *The description*: Hogan, Edmund (ed.), *The description of Ireland and the state thereof as it is at this present in anno 1598* (Dublin, 1878).
- Hore: Hore, P.H., *History of the Town and County of Wexford*, (6 vols, London, 1911).
- Irish Jesuits*: Oliver, George (ed.), *Collections towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English and Irish members of the Society of Jesus* (1863).
- Jefferies: Jefferies, Henry, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations* (Dublin, 2010).
- JMH: Database compiled by Dr Jason McHugh for ‘Ireland in Europe’ project.
- JWSEAS*: *Journal of the Waterford and south-east Ireland Archaeological Society*.
- Kilkenny and south-east Arch*: *Journal of the Kilkenny and south-east of Ireland Archaeological Society*.
- Lennon, Taking sides: Lennon, Colm, ‘Taking sides: the emergence of Irish Catholic ideology’ in Lotz-Heumann, Ute and Carey, Vincent (eds), *Taking sides? Colonial and confessional mentalités in early modern Ireland: essays in honour of Karl S. Bottigheimer* (Dublin, 2003), pp 78-93.
- Leslie, Ossory: Leslie, J.B., *Ossory clergy and parishes* (Enniskillen, 1933).
- Marron: Marron, Lawrence (ed.), Documents from the State Papers concerning Miler McGrath, in *Archiv. Hib.*, xxi (1958), pp75-189.
- Martin: Martin, F.X. (ed.), ‘The Tirry Documents’ in *Archiv. Hib.*, xx (1957), pp 70-89.

- Meehan: Meehan, C.P., *The rise and fall of the Irish Franciscan monasteries, and memoirs of the Irish hierarchy* (Dublin, 1877).
- Millett, Guide to material for biography: Millett, Benignus, 'Guide to material for a biography of Luke Wadding' in Franciscan Fathers (eds), *Father Luke Wadding, commemorative volume* (Dublin, 1957), p.233.
- Millett, Irish material in *Scrittura*: Millett, Benignus, 'Catalogue of Irish material in vols. 140-143 of the *Scrittura originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali* in Propaganda Archives' in *Coll. Hib.*, xiii (1970), pp 21-60.
- Millett, Maurice McBrien: Millett, Benignus, 'Maurice McBrien, bishop of Emly, and the confiscation of his baggage, March 1578' in *Coll. Hib.*, xxxiv (1992), pp 12-16.
- Millett, Walter Cheevers: Millett, Benignus, 'Walter Cheevers, OFM, postulated for Ferns, 1622' in *Coll. Hib.*, xxxiv (1992), pp 15-17.
- Mooney: Mooney, C., 'The golden age of the Irish Franciscans' in O'Brien, Sylvester (ed.), *Measgra Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh* (Dublin, 1944), pp 21-33.
- Moran, The bishops of Ossory: Moran, P.F., 'The bishops of Ossory' in *Ossory Archaeological Society transactions*, ii (1880-3), pp 267-471.
- Moran, *Archbishops*: Moran, P.F., *History of the Catholic archbishops of Dublin* (Dublin, 1864).
- Murphy: Murphy, Denis, *Cromwell in Ireland* (Dublin, 1883).
- Neely: Neely, W.G., *Kilkenny: an urban history, 1391-1843* (Belfast, 1989).
- O'Boyle: O'Boyle, J., *The Irish colleges on the continent* (Dublin, 1935).
- Ó Conbuidhe: Ó Conbhuidhe, Colmcille, ed. Donovan, Finbarr, *The Cistercian abbeys of Tipperary* (Dublin, 1999).
- O'Connell, Lisbon: O'Connell, Patricia, *The Irish College at Lisbon* (Dublin, 2001).

O'Connell, Santiago: O'Connell, Patricia, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela, 1605-1769* (Dublin, 2007).

ODNB: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Ó Fearghail: Ó Fearghail, Fearghus, 'The Catholic Church in County Kilkenny, 1600-1800' in Nolan, F. and Whelan, Kevin (eds), *Kilkenny, History and Society* (Dublin, 1990), pp 197-213.

Power, *Compendious history*: Power, Patrick, *Waterford and Lismore: a compendious history of the united diocese* (Cork, 1937).

Power, 'Jesuits in Waterford': Power, Patrick, 'The Jesuits in Waterford' in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, xxxvi, no.143 (1947), pp 271-82.

Seymour: Seymour, St. J.D., *The Diocese of Emly* (Dublin, 1913).

Stopford Green: Stopford Green, Alice, *The making of modern Ireland and its undoing*, (London, 1939).

Walton: Walton, Julian, 'Church, crown and corporation in Waterford city, 1520-1620' in William Nolan and T.P. Power (eds.), *Waterford, history and society* (Dublin, 1992), pp 176-97.

NAME	DATES	DIOCESE	COMMENTS	SOURCES
Agnes, Richard	1592	Waterford & Lismore	Retained 'by the whole city in general'.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.289.
Archdeacon, John	1610	Ossory	Living in Knocktopher	Sundrie priests and friars.
Archdeacon, Marcus	1631	Ossory	Educated in Douai. Precentor of Ossory	Wadding papers, p.531.
Archer, Bartholomew	1636-47	Ossory	Proposed for bishopric of Ferns in 1636. Obtained rectory of Callan from the pope in 1647. Later recommended by Rinuccini for bishopric of Ossory.	Leslie, <i>Ossory</i> , p.212; Millett, <i>Irish material in Scrittura</i> , pp 38-9.
Archer, Edward	1604-10	Ossory/ Waterford & Lismore	'Openly administering in the town.'	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Names of the priests; Sundrie priests and friars.
Archer, Edward	1640-49	Ferns	SJ. Educated in Rome. Superior in New Ross in 1648.	Carrigan, iii, p.261
Archer, James	1577-1600	Ossory	SJ. Educated in Louvain.	Drury to Walsingham; <i>CSPI, 1600-3</i> , pp 178-9.
Archer, John	1604-19*	Ossory	OP (from 1609). Educated in Douai.	Bordeaux list.
Archer, Luke	1604-44	Leighlin/ Ossory	O Cist (from 1610). Abbot of Holy Cross, 1611-44; nephew of Richard Shee of Kilkenny; vicar-apostolic of Leighlin in 1614.	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Sundrie priests and friars; Names of the priests; Ram to lord deputy and council, 1612; O'Connell, <i>Lisbon</i> , p.58; Comerford, p.60; Ó Conbuidhe, p.233.

Archer, Pierce	1604-46	Ossory	Educated in Lisbon.	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Names of the priests; Carrigan, iii, p.84, p.134.
Babe, Thomas	1647	Waterford & Lismore	OFM	Liber Lovaniensis, p.17.
McShane, Donnagh	1641-43	Ferns		JMH; 1641 Depositions.
Barn, Donogh	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Barnwell, Bonaventure	1649	Ferns	OFM. In Wexford friary in 1649.	Grannell, p.19.
Barrick, William	1612	Ferns	Formerly Church of Ireland vicar of New Ross.	Ram to lord deputy and council, 1612.
Barrick (Baros), Michael	1617-48	Ferns	SJ. Educated in Lisbon.	O'Connell, Lisbon, p.60.
Barron, Bonaventure	1626-96	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Nephew of Luke Wadding.	Millett, Guide to material for biography, p.233; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.25; Franciscan MSS, p.99.
Barron, James	1631	Leighlin	O Cist	Corish, Reorganization, p.12; <i>Wadding papers</i> , pp 563-6.
Barron, Michael	1648	Waterford & Lismore	OSA	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15; Franciscan MSS, p.99.
Barry, Edmond	1603-4	Ossory	OP. Involved in takeover of Black Abbey in 1603.'Allegedly an illegitimate son of Sir James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald'.	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Flynn, p.128; Jefferies, p.276.

Barry, Richard	1626-47	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Resident in Waterford in 1627. Martyred during sack of Cashel in 1647.	Fenning; Flynn, p. 326-9.
Bath, Robert	1645	Ossory	SJ	Carrigan, iii, p.260.
Beale, William	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Benet, Richard	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Bennet, Lucas	1607	Ferns	SJ. Educated in Salamanca.	Hogan, <i>Ibernia Ignatiana</i> , p.211
Bergin, Luke	1623-55	Ossory/ Ferns	O Cist. Educated in Douai.	Carrigan, iii, p.123
Bergin, William	1649	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Educated in Alcala and Rome.	Carrigan, iii, p.261
Bolger, Patrick	1604-10	Ossory		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Sundrie priests and friars.
Bowden, Patrick	1604-10	Ossory		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Names of the priests.
Boyton, Gasper	1626-7	Ossory	OP	Flynn, pp 326-9. Moran, <i>Spic Oss</i> , i.
Boyton William	1627-47	Cashel	SJ. Murdered at siege of Cashel in 1647.	Carrigan, iii, p.261; <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.216.
Brannagh (Walsh), James	1592-1605	Cashel/ Ossory	Probably educated in Louvain.	<i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , p.380; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.288; Marron, p.159.
Bray, Edmund	1647-48	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Guardian of Clonmel in 1647.	Liber Lovaniensis, p.16; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15.
Bray, Peter	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Bray, Thomas	1604-19*/1629	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Guardian of Clonmel in 1616 and 1629.	Bordeaux list; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.160; Liber Lovaniensis, p.5.

Brean, John	1615	Leighlin	Held Duiske Abbey. Described as 'popish priest'.	Royal Visitation, 1615
Brehon (Briones), Thomas	1609-14	Ossory	SJ. Educated at Salamanca, Rome and Ingolstadt. Later rector of Santiago Irish college	Sundrie priests and friars; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.290; O'Connell, Santiago, p.61
Brenan, John	1604-19	Ossory	Probably pastor of Graiguenamanagh in 1618. Was in Aghaboe parish in 1619.	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Sundrie priests and friars; Comerford, p.323; Carrigan, ii,p.71.
Brennan, Patricius	1648	Ferns	OFM. Guardian of New Ross in 1648.	Hore, i, p.98.
Brennan, Peter	1629	Ferns	OFM. Guardian of New Ross in 1629.	Hore, i, p.98.
Brennan, William (Bernard)	1604-09	Ossory	OFM (from 1609). Vicar-general of Ossory.	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Ó Fearghail, p.199; Louvain papers, pp 26-7; Carrigan, i, p.77.
Bretten, Dennis	1643	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643	JMH
Browne, Thomas	1604	Ossory	'Openly ministering in the town'.	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604.
Brytt, Richard	1648	Ferns	OFM	Liber Lovaniensis, p.29.
Burke, David	1604-19*	Cashel		Bordeaux list.
Butle, Edward	1604-19*	Cashel		Bordeaux list.
Butler, James	1604-19*/1643	Ferns	SJ. Educated in Salamanca and Lisbon. Indicted of treason in 1643	Bordeaux list; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.61; JMH; 1641 Depositions.
Butler, John	1604-19*	Cashel	There are two John Butlers in the Bordeaux list.	Bordeaux list.
Butler, Peter	1604-19*	Cashel		Bordeaux list.

Butler, Piers	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Butler, Thomas	1604-19*	Cashel		Bordeaux list.
Butler, Richard	1629			<i>Wadding papers</i> , p.369.
Butler, Theobald	1625	Cashel	O Cist	<i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 99-115.
Byrne, Daniel	1622-36	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643.	Millett, Walter Cheevers, p.17; JMH.
Byrne, Hugh	1636-53	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643.	Millett, Irish material in <i>Scritture</i> , p.43; JMH
Calavan, Darby	1592	Waterford & Lismore	Living in Cahir.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.289.
Cantwell, John	1628-44	Cashel	O Cist. Educated in Bordeaux. Abbot of Holy Cross from 1644.	Ó Conbuidhe, p.233; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.151; p.217.
Cantwell, Robert	1604-10	Ossory	'Openly administering in the town.'	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Sundrie priests and friars.
Cantwell, Thomas	1647	Ossory	OFM	Liber Lovaniensis, p.17.
Cashin, Paul	before 1656	Leighlin	Had probably been PP of Maryborough for many years. Transported to Barbados at a great age.	Comerford, p.289
Cheevers, Robert	1557	Ferns	OFM. Chaplain to Paul Turner in Wexford town.	Grannell, p.15.
Cheevers, Walter	1617-22	Ferns	OFM. Educated in Douai and Louvain. Guardian of Wexford friary in 1622. Postulated for Bishop of Ferns.	Millett, Walter Cheevers; <i>Calendar Carew MSS, 1603-25</i> , p.286.

Christopher, Father	1612	Leighlin		Ram to lord deputy and council, 1612.
Cleere, James	1643	Ossory	Educated in Antwerp and Louvain. PP of St John's Kilkenny.	Carrigan, iii, p.284; JMH
Clere, Edmund	1613-49	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Educated in Douai.	Calendar Carew MSS, 1603-24, p.285; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15; <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.222.
Collean, William	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Comerford, James	1630-40	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Died in 1640 in Waterford, having spent ten years on the Irish mission.	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.243
Comerford, Nicholas	1562-83	Waterford & Lismore	SJ (in 1583). Educated in Oxford and Louvain.	Drury to Walsingham; Meehan, p.211.
Comerford, Nicholas	1630	Waterford & Lismore	Chanter of Waterford.	Wadding papers, p.336
Comerford, Patrick	1604-19*/1652	Waterford & Lismore	OSA. Educated in Lisbon, Coimbra and France. Bishop from 1629-52. He was a nephew of Nicholas Comerford.	Bordeaux list; <i>Wadding papers</i> ; Meehan, pp 210-223; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.65.
Comerford, Thomas	1620-36	Waterford & Lismore	SJ	Power, 'Jesuits in Waterford', p.274; <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.244.
Comin, William	1604-19*	Cashel		Bordeaux list.
Conald, Maurice	1648	Ferns	SJ. Living in New Ross.	Hore, i, p.98.
Connu, Denis	1615-18	Cashel	OFM	Brussels MS.
Conway, John	1604-19*/1632	Ferns/ Cashel	SJ. Died in Cashel in 1632.	Bordeaux list; <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.223.
Conway, Patrick	1649	Cashel	SJ	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.224.

Conway, Walter	before 1654	Cashel	Imprisoned in Clonmel and banished into exile.	Martin, p.71.
Coppinger, John	1603-22	Ossory/ Waterford & Lismore/ Ferns	SJ. Educated in Salamanca.	Bordeaux list; Names of the priests; Sundrie priests and friars; Millett, Walter Cheevers; Carrigan, i, p.78.
Cornell	1593	Cashel	Patrick Kearnye alleges that he celebrates Mass and was priest to Archbishop Miler Magrath's wife, son, daughters and brother.	Marron, pp 145-64.
Costegan, Walter	1604	Ossory		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604.
Cowley, Luke	1648	Ossory	Archdeacon of Ossory in 1648.	Carrigan i, p.244.
Coyfe (Coffey?), James	1610	Ossory		Sundrie priests and friars.
Crokin, William	1606-15	Waterford & Lismore	Reported by Sir John Davies to be in Clonmel.	<i>CSPI, 1603-6</i> , p.380; Burke, p.49.
Cullu, Dermot (Fr Paul)	1621-26	Leighlin	O Cist. Had cure of souls in Baltinglass.	<i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , PP 99-115.
Cuneus, Thomas	1580	Waterford & Lismore	Archdeacon of Waterford.	Miscellanea Vaticano-Hibernica, p.161.
Currin, Edmund	1643	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643.	JMH
Dalton, James	1610	Waterford & Lismore	OFM	Sundrie priests and friars.
Daniel, Constantin	1604-19*/1669	Cashel		Bordeaux list; <i>JWSEAS</i> , x, p.71.
Daton, John	1648-53	Ossory	OFM. Acting guardian of Kilkenny in 1648. Executed in 1653.	Carrigan, iii, p.112
Daton, Thomas	1613	Ossory		Names of the priests.

David, William	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Delahyde, David	1608	Ossory	SJ. A David de la Hyde attended Oxford from 1549 to 1553. He refused to take the oath of supremacy and returned to Ireland. He was reported to have 'charge of Kilkenny where he resided with 16 Popish Priests'.	<i>CSPI, 1606-8</i> , pp 507-8; Stopford Green, pp 289-302.
Dempsey, Dominick	1629-45	Ossory/ Ferns	OFM. Guardian of Kilkenny in 1629 and of Wexford in 1645.	Carrigan, iii, p.111; Grannell, p.18; Liber Lovaniensis, p.22.
Dempsey, Edmund	1635-58	Leighlin	OP. Educated in Douai, Louvain and Alcala. Bishop of Leighlin from 1641. Provincial of the Dominicans since 1635.	Comerford, p.289.
Devereux, John	1624-53	Ferns/ Ossory	O Cist. Titular abbot of Dunbrody. Indicted of treason in 1643.	<i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 99-115; JMH
Devereux, Nicholas	1643	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643.	JMH
Devereux, Philip	1617	Ferns	OFM. Educated in Douai and Louvain.	Louvain papers, p.57; <i>Calendar Carew MSS, 1603-25</i> , p.286.
Devereux, William	1610-45	Ferns	Educated in Lisbon. Appointed dean of Ferns by John Roche in 1629. Acted as vicar general from 1636-45.	Sundrie priests and friars; Names of the priests; Ram to lord deputy and council, 1612; Hore, vi, p.315; 1641 Depositions.
Dillon, William	1645-49	Ossory	SJ	Carrigan, iii, p.260; <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.225.
Din, Thomas	1633	Cashel	O Cist. Educated in Salamanca.	<i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 99-115.

Donogho, William	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Donovan, Edward	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Dormer, John	1604-19*/1645	Ferns	OFM. Guardian of New Ross in 1645.	Bordeaux list; Ram to lord deputy and council, 1612; Hore, i, p.98; Liber Lovaniensis, p.22.
Dowdall, Gregory	1650	Ferns	SJ	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.225.
Dowdall, Patrick	1643-49	Ferns	Franciscan	Grannell, p.19; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.155.
Dowle/ Dooley, William	1612-36	Ferns	Educated in Salamanca.	Ram to lord deputy and council, 1612; Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43.
Dowle/ Dowell, David	1610-12	Ferns	SJ	Sundrie priests and friars; Names of the priests; Ram to lord deputy and council, 1612.
Doyle/ Duell, Denis (Dionisius)	1622-36	Ferns		Millett, Walter Cheevers, p.17; Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43.
Druhan, Patrick	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Dulchanta, Patrick	1645	Ossory	OFM	Liber Lovaninesis, p.24
Duly, William	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Dun, Murtagh	1612	Leighlin		Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612.
Dunton, Patrick	1643	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643.	JMH
Dwyer, Dermot	1647	Emly		Giblin, pp 575-6

Egan, John	1649	Ossory		<i>Irish Jesuits, p.226.</i>
Eneas, Richard	1592	Waterford & Lismore		Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.289.
English (Eines), William	1610-69	Waterford & Lismore	He was PP of Tubbrid in Lismore.	Sundrie priests and friars; <i>JWSEAS</i> , x, p.71.
Enos, Walter	1645	Ferns	Native of Dublin. Postulated as treasurer of Ferns in 1645.	JMH
Esmond, John	1645-49	Ferns	OFM. Guardian of Wexford in 1647. Killed in his church by Cromwell's forces in 1649.	Corish, <i>Two centuries</i> , p.231; Grannell, p.18; <i>Liber Lovaniensis</i> , p.23.
Eustace, John	1647	Ferns	OFM	<i>Liber Lovaniensis</i> , p.17.
Eustace, Oliver	1642-49	Ferns	SJ. Indicted of treason in 1643.	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.226; JMH; 1641 Depositions
Even (?), Donogh	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Everard, Edmond	1629	Waterford & Lismore	Knights of St John. Educated in Douai. Bishop comerford complained of his behaviour in St John's Grange.	<i>Wadding papers</i> , p.324; Calendar Carew MSS, 1603-25, p.286.
Everard, James	1607-47	Cashel/Ossory	SJ. Educated in Lisbon. Died on his knees in prayer in Cashel in 1647.	Hogan, <i>Ibernia Ignatiana</i> , p.223; <i>CSPI</i> , 1606-8, pp 507-8; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.290. <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.226; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.71.
Everard, John	1645-47	Cashel	OFM. Guardian of Cashel in 1645 and 1647.	<i>Liber Lovaniensis</i> , p.16, p.23.
Everard, Joseph	1604-19*/1648	Cashel/ Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Guardian of Cashel, 1629, Kilkenny, 1645 and Waterford, 1647. Minister provincial in 1636.	<i>Liber Lovaniensis</i> , p.5, p.8, p.16; Bordeaux list; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15; Carrigan,

				iii, p.111.
Everard, Patrick	1650	Ferns/ Waterford & Lismore	O Cist. Educated in Douai. Abbot of Dunbrody. Pastor of St James', Ballyhack. Died of plague in 1650.	Hore, iii, p.117; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 291-3.
Fagan, Nicholas	1610-17	Waterford and Lismore	O Cist. Educated in Salamanca. Abbot of Inislounaght. Commissary general of the order. Chosen to be bishop of Waterford and Lismore, but the Bulls never reached him. Died in 1617.	Sundrie priests and friars; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 265-7.
Fagan, William	1610	Waterford & Lismore	OFM	Sundrie priests and friars.
Ferrall, Francis	1645	Ferns	OFM. Guardian of Enniscorthy in 1645.	Liber Lovaniensis, p.22
Fitz Otrby, John	1605	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel		<i>CSPI, 1603-6</i> , p.380.
Fitzgerald, James		Leighlin	O Cist. Abbot of Baltinglass.	JMH
Fitzgerald, Patrick	1621	Ossory	PP of St Patrick's Kilkenny.	Carrigan, iii, p.236
Fitzgerald, Richard	1609	Ossory	Vicar-general of Ossory.	Moran, The bishops of Ossory, pp 264-5.
Fitzharries, Richard	1612-32	Ferns	Appointed precentor of Ferns by Roche in 1632.	Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612; Hore, vi, p.315.
Fitzharris, Laurence	1625-43	Ferns/ Waterford & Lismore	O Cist. Educated in Douai. Abbot of Inislounaght and Tintern.	Ó Conbuidhe, p.241; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 99-115; JMH.
Fitzharris, Martin	1643	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643.	JMH
Fitzjames, Peter	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and

				friars.
Fitzjohn, David	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Fitznichola, Jamess	1610	Ferns		Names of the priests.
Fitzpatrick, Bryan Mac Turlough	1617	Ossory	Vicar general of Ossory in 1651.	Carrigan, ii, p.71
Fitzrobert, John	1604-13	Ossory		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Names of the priests.
Fitzwilliam, Piers	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Flattsbury, John	1641-48	Ferns/ Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Indicted of treason in 1643. A priest, fflaxbery, was accused of burning a Protestant bible in Ross in 1641.	Liber Lovaniensis, p.29; JMH; 1641 Depositions.
Fleminge, Henry	1604-10	Ossory		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Sundrie priests and friars.
Fogarty, Matthew	1634-54	Cashel	Capuchin. Condemned to death in 1654 but sentence was commuted.	Martin, p.71.
Forest, James	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Forest, Richard	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Forstall, Gerard (Malachy)	1620-31	Cashel/ Ossory	O Cist. PP of Holy Cross in 1628. Died in 1631.	<i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , PP 99-115.
Foulow, Richard (Bernard)	1603-30	Cashel/ Emly	O Cist. Abbot of Holy Cross and Abbey Owney.	Ó Conbuidhe, p.233; Seymour, p.177; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> .
Fox, Francis	1647-49	Ferns/ Ossory	OFM. Guardian of New Ross in 1649.	Liber Lovaniensis, p.18; Grannell, p.23.

Fox, John	1616-26	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Educated in Bordeaux. Prior of Waterford in 1627.	Fenning; Flynn, p.141.
Foyse, James	1613	Ossory		Names of the priests.
Francis (or Patrick?) Óg	1612	Leighlin	OFM. Educated in Douai.	Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612; JMH
French, Nicholas	1603-78	Ferns	Educated in Louvain. Parish priest of St Patrick's, Wexford, from 1638 and then bishop of Ferns from 1645.	Corish, Two centuries, p.229; Giblin, pp 568-9; JMH; 1641 Depositions.
French, Richard	1581	Ferns	Imprisoned in Wexford, charged with exercising the Catholic ministry. Pleaded guilty to being a priest but innocent of being a traitor. Released to die in 1581.	Corish, Two centuries, p.224; Corish, Reformation and Counter-Reformation, p.41.
Furlong, William (Candidus)	1609-16	Ferns	O Cist. Educated in Oxford and Spain. Re-converted his wealthy parents to Catholicism, along with many others. Hugely revered in Wexford. Died in 1617.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.295; Ram to lord deputy and council, 1612; Furlong, p.153; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 271-3.
Gahan, John	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Garrett/ Gerrald, John	1610-13	Ferns	SJ	Sundrie priests and friars; Names of the priests.
Gefferey (Goffrey), Thomas	1588-1605	Waterford & Lismore	He was suspended by a visitation in 1591.	Miler Magrath's 1588 Visitation; <i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , p.193.
Gelosse, Stephen	1649	Ossory/ Waterford & Lismore/ Ferns	SJ. Teaching in Kilkenny in 1649.	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.230.
Geoghegan, Anthony	1645-47	Ossory	OFM. Guardian of Kilkenny, 1645-7. Later bishop of Clonmacnoise.	Carrigan, iii, p.112; Liber Lovaniensis, p.16.

Gerrot, Robert	1604-19*	Ossory		Bordeaux list.
Gilloduff, Father	1612	Leighlin	'Young priest roving hether and thether'.	Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612.
Goagh, Andrew	1640	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Superior of Clonmel.	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.230.
Gorman, Maurice	1588	Waterford & Lismore	Power takes him to have been a priest because he received sentence of privation later when he was returned as a papist.	Miler Magrath's 1588 Visitation.
Gough, John	1648	Waterford & Lismore	SJ	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15.
Guenac, Maurice	1604-19*	Ferns		Bordeaux list.
Gyanan (O'Gyanane), John	1592	Cashel	Took upon him the ministry once, now reconciled to papistry by Dr Creagh'.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.289; Marron, p.160.
Hackett, James	before 1654	Cashel		Martin, p.71.
Hackett, Michael	1648	Waterford & Lismore	Dean of Waterford.	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15.
Hackett, Richard	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Haicéad, Pádraigín	1638-51	Cashel	OP. Poet. Negotiator on behalf of Old Irish after rebellion. Fled in 1651.	Flynn, p.123
Hamlin, Bartholomew	1649	Ferns	SJ. 60 years of age but in full vigour, 'an excellent and fearless preacher'.	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.231.
Hampton, Thomas	1636-41	Ferns		Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43; 1641 Depositions.
Hampton, Patrick	1636-45	Ferns	Chancellor of Ferns in 1645.	Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43; JMH
Hampton/ Hanton, William	1612	Ferns		Sundrie priests and friars; Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612.

Harre, Patrick	1604	Ossory		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604.
Hartry, John (Malachy)	1619-51	Waterford & Lismore	O Cist. Educated in Lisbon. Author of <i>Triumphalia chronologica Monasterii Sanctae Crucis in Hibernia : De Cisterciensium Hibernorum viris illustribus.</i>	Power, Compendious history, p.15; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.84; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i>
Hay, Adam	1641	Ferns		1641 Depositions.
Hay, Stephen	1557	Ferns	OFM. Vicar of St Patrick's Cathedral in Wexford.	Grannell, p.15.
Hayes, John	1610	Ferns		Sundrie priests and friars.
Hedin, James	1620	Cashel	O Cist	Ó Conbuidhe, p.233; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 99-115.
HeffernanThomas	1604-19*	Cashel		Bordeaux list.
Helly/ O'Hely, Teig	1610	Ossory		Sundrie priests and friars.
Heluert, Thomas	1647	Cashel	OP	Liber Lovaniensis, p.18
Henesy, David	1605-43	Cashel	Involved in dispute with Cistercians at Holy Cross.	<i>CSPI, 1603-6, p.380; Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 89-93, p.155.
Henesy, Richard (Bernard)	1612-43	Cashel	O Cist	<i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 99-115, p.155, p.157.
Hennessey, Nicholas	1610	Waterford & Lismore	SJ	Sundrie priests and friars.
Henry, Richard	1607	Ferns	SJ	Hogan, <i>Ibernia Ignatiana</i> , p.211.

Henry (Fitzhenry), Richard	1609-10	Ferns	SJ	Hogan, <i>Ibernia Ignatiana</i> , pp 211-2; Sundrie priests and friars.
Hill, Thomas	1606	Waterford & Lismore	A learned Englishman.	Moran, <i>Archbishops</i> , p.227
Hogan, David	1605	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel		<i>CSPI</i> , 1603-6, p.380..
Hogan, Vincent	1616	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Educated in Bordeaux.	Flynn, p.141
Hore, Edmund	1604-1642	Waterford & Lismore	Educated in Salamanca.	Bordeaux list; 1641 Depositions.
Hore, Thomas	1636-53	Ferns		Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43; JMH
Horohan (Howgham), Thomas	1610-40	Ossory	Educated in Salamanca and Douai.	Sundrie priests and friars; Carrigan, iii, p.134; Wadding papers, p.531.
Howlin, John	1550-99	Ferns	SJ. Educated in Rome. Joined Jesuits in 1583. Spent latter years in Lisbon.	Corish, <i>Two centuries</i> , p.224. Lennon, <i>Taking sides</i> , p.87.
Hoyne, Patrick	1608	Ossory		<i>CSPI</i> , 1606-8, pp 507-8.
Hurley, Bernard	1645	Emly	OFM. Guardian of Galbally in 1645.	Liber Lovaniensis, p.23.
Hussey	1603	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel		<i>CSPI</i> , 1603-6, p.83.
Hylan, Dermot	1604-19*	Ferns		Bordeaux list.
John, David	1610-12	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars; <i>CSPI</i> , 1611-4, p.269.
Johnson (Johannis), Morgan	1636	Ferns		Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43.

Joyce, James	1604	Ossory		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604.
Joyce, John	1604-19*	Ossory		Bordeaux list.
Joyce, Thomas	1604-19*	Ossory		Bordeaux list.
Kavanagh, Charlie	1604-19*	Ferns		Bordeaux list.
Kavanagh, Maurice	1604-19*	Ferns		Bordeaux list.
Kealing	1592	Waterford & Lismore		Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.289.
Kearney, Brian (Barnaby)	1603-40	Ossory/ Cashel	SJ. Educated in Douai.	Sundrie priests and friars; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.290; <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.234.
Kearney, Daniel	1610-21	Cashel	Dean of Cashel in 1621.	Sundrie priests and friars; <i>Spicilegium Ossoriense</i> , i, p.129.
Kearney, David	1603-24	Cashel	Educated in Douai. Archbishop of Cashel, 1603-24.	Names of the priests; <i>Calendar Carew MSS</i> , 1603-25, p.199; p.286.
Kearney, James	1592-1605	Cashel		<i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , p.380. ; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.288; Bordeaux list.
Keating, Geoffrey	1604-19*/1644	Waterford & Lismore	Pastor of Outragh near Cahir in 1610 and of Tullaghorton and Tubbrid later.	Bordeaux list; Sundrie priests and friars; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.22; <i>ODNB</i> .
Keating, James	1588	Waterford & Lismore	Vicar of Ballbacon. Power believes him to have been a priest.	Miler Magrath's 1588 Visitation.
Keating, Patrick	1636-53	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643.	Millett, <i>Irish material in Scritture</i> , p.43; JMH
Kelly, John	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.

Kelly, Philip	1647	Ossory	OFM	Liber Lovaniensis, p.18.
Kelly, Piers	1592-1605	Waterford & Lismore	'Sojourning between Waterford, Clonmel and Cashel.'	Burke, p.37; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.288; <i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , p.380.
Kelly, William	1636-43	Ferns	Educated in Louvain. Indicted of treason in 1643.	Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43; JMH
Key, David	1607	Cashel	O Cist	<i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.131.
King, Paul	1648	Ossory	OFM. Guardian of Kilkenny in 1648.	Carrigan, iii, p.112
Kinrechtan, Maurice	1589	Waterford & Lismore	PP of Mullanahone. Martyred in Clonmel.	Burke, p.39; Lennon, Taking sides, p.88; Moran, <i>Archbishops</i> , p.147.
Laine, Edmond	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Lalor, John	1630s	Ossory	Buried in Freshford graveyard. Possibly one of a father/son who were CC and PP.	Carrigan, ii, pp 271-2
Lalor, Robert	1594-1606	Ferns (also Dublin & Kildare)	Admits to being vicar-general of the three dioceses during the previous 12 years. Martyred in Dublin in 1606.	<i>CSPI, 1603-6</i> , p.416; <i>CSPI, 1606-8</i> , p.210.
Lampord, Patrck	1636	Ferns		Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43
Langton, Joseph	1622-52	Ossory	OP. Educated in Vallodolid. Prior of Kilkenny in 1642.	Flynn, p.143, pp 326-9; Moran, <i>Spic Oss</i> , i; Carrigan, iii, p.183-4.
Langton, William	1610	Ferns		Sundrie priests and friars.

Latin, James	1642	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Educated in Douai. A letter from Waterford on 10 October 1642 claimed that he was arrested on the street by the 'Puritans'.	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.236
Launder	1610	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Educated in Lisbon.	Sundrie priests and friars.
Lawless, Patrick	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Lawless, William	1604-10	Ossory	Educated in Douai and Louvain. 'Openly administering in the town'.	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Sundrie priests and friars.
Lea, Lawrence	1629	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Educated in Lisbon. Chanter of Waterford and prior of St John's.	<i>Wadding papers</i> , p.346; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.80
Lea, Patrick	1650	Ossory	SJ. Ministered as a priest and a doctor during the siege of Kilkenny. Died in 1650 of plague.	Murphy, pp 319-20.
Lee, Nicholas	1610-13	Ossory	OFM	Sundrie priests and friars; Carrigan, iii, p.111.
Lennagh (Lynch), Nicholas	1604-25	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Educated in Lisbon.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.290; <i>CSPI, 1603-6</i> , p.193, p.476; Burke, p.48; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.150.
Lincoline, Nicholas	1610	Waterford & Lismore	OSA	Sundrie priests and friars.
Lincoll, Richard	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Loghlin, Father	1612	Leighlin		Ram to lord deputy and council, 1612.

Lombard, John	1616-42	Waterford & Lismore	SJ	Power, 'Jesuits in Waterford', p.274; <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.237.
Lombard, Steven	1610	Waterford & Lismore	SJ	Sundrie priests and friars.
Lonergan, Bernard	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Long, William	1649	Ferns	SJ	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.237.
Lulan, Daniel	1622	Ferns		Millett, Walter Cheevers, p.17.
Lyehe, Thomas	1616	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Educated in Bordeaux.	Flynn, p.141
MacGulle Martin, Donald (Benedict)	1612	Cashel	O Cist	<i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 99-115.
Macrach, Thomas	1610	Waterford & Lismore	OFM	Sundrie priests and friars.
Madan, John (Thomas)	1610-31	Waterford & Lismore/ Ossory	O Cist. Educated in Salamanca. Abbot of Mothel in 1621. Major issues with Bishop Comerford. Abbot of Graiguenamanagh in 1625.	Sundrie priests and friars; <i>Wadding papers</i> ; Ó Connbuidhe, p.241; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.93; pp 99-115.
Madden, James	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Educated in Louvain.	Bordeaux list; Louvain papers.
Madden/ Madygan, John	1604-10	Ossory		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Names of the priests.
Mageoin, Hugo	1647	Ferns	OFM	Liber Lovaniensis, p.18.
Maglanan, Thady	before 1654	Cashel		Martin, p.71.
Magoghan (Geoghagan), Lawrence	1641	Leighlin	Prior of Ballymoone. Present at negotiations with Edward Harmon at Carlow Castle in 1641.	1641 Depositions.

Magrath, Myler	1649	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Killed by Cromwell's forces in Clonmel.	Murphy, p.422.
Malley, Edmund	1647	Emly	OFM. Guardian of Galbally in 1647.	Liber Lovaniensis, p.16.
Manus, Roger	1622	Ferns		Millett, Walter Cheevers, p.17.
Marob, Nicholas	1600-13	Ossory	OFM. Educated in Salamanca. In St Francis' Abbey, Kilkenny.	Sundrie priests and friars; Carrigan, iii, p.111.
Marob, Richard	1613	Ossory		Names of the priests.
Marob, William	1613	Ossory	OFM. 'Commonly says Mass in St Francis' abbey. Possibly Nicholas Marob (see above)?	Names of the priests.
Matthews, Francis	1625-28	Ferns/Cashel/Ossory	OFM. Matthews opened schools in Wexford, Cashel, Kilkenny and Dublin.	Mooney, p.24
Maurice, Christopher	1645	Ossory	SJ	Carrigan, iii, p.260.
McBrien, Maurice	1567-86	Emly	Bishop of Emly, 1567-86.	Millett, Maurice McBrien, p.12.
McCarthy, Denis	1605	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel		<i>CSPI, 1603-6, p.380.</i>
McDavid, John	1643	Ossory	OP. Died in Kilkenny in 1643.	Carrigan, iii, p.184.
McDermody Quenlan, Philip	1605	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel		<i>CSPI, 1603-6, p.380.</i>
McDonogh, Thomas	1613	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. 'A great preacher, commonly in the cantred of Clonmel.'	Names of the priests.
McGibbon, Maurice	1567-78	Cashel	O Cist. Archbishop of Cashel, 1567-78.	Brady.
Mcgran, Molroney	1612	Leighlin		Ram to lord deputy and council, 1612.

McGrath, William	1648	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel	SJ. Educated in Lisbon.	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.84.
McMahon, William	1610	Ossory		Names of the priests.
McMurrough, Brian	1610-13	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. 'Abbot of Farney, keepeth around Clonmel.'	Sundrie priests and friars; Names of the priests.
Melaghlin, Bonaventure	1649	Ferns	OFM. Guardian of Enniscorthy in 1649.	Grannell, p.23
Mernin, John	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Meyler, Peter	1588	Ferns	Educated in Spain. Captured while returning to Ireland. Executed in Galway.	Furlong, p.151.
Miagh, Andrew	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Miagh, Gerard	1605-15	Waterford & Lismore		CSPI, 1603-6, p.476; Burke, p.49.
Miagh, Robert	1605-10	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel	In Tipperary in 1605 but was vicar apostolic of Cork by 1610.	CSPI, 1603-6, p.380; Louvain papers, pp 23-4.
Mokler, James	before 1654	Cashel	Banished into exile.	Martin, p.71.
Molan, Edmond	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Mooney, Donatus (Donagh)	1611-18	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Provincial from 1615-18.	Brussels MS.
Moore, Philip	1604-10	Ossory	PP of Dunamaggan in 1610.	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Carrigan, iv, p.84.
Moroghan, Piers	1605	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel		<i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , p.380.
Morough/ Maurey, Thomas	1610-13	Ossory	SJ	Names of the priests; Carrigan, iii, p.259.

Morrin, William	1592-1610	Ossory/ Waterford & Lismore		Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.289; Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Sundrie priests and friars.
Morris, James	1588-1610	Waterford & Lismore	Vicar of Balymortell in 1588 but 'reconciled to papistry' by 1592.	Miler Magrath's visitation of 1588; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.288; <i>Kilkenny and South-east Arch.</i> , 1856, p.83; <i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , pp 475-6; Sundrie priests and friars.
Morris, Richard	1580-1602	Waterford & Lismore		Burke, p.37; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.123.
Mulcahy, Nicholas	1649	Waterford & Lismore	PP of Ardfinnan. Beheaded publicly in Clonmel.	Murphy, pp 422-3.
Mulrony, Andrew	1604-31	Waterford & Lismore	SJ	<i>CSPI, 1603-6</i> , p.380 & p.476; Sundrie priests and friars; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.290; Burke, p.48; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.150.
Muntz (Murty), John	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Murphy, Hugh	1592	Ossory	He witnessed the will of William Daton of Kilmodally in 1592.	Carrigan, iv, p.252
Murphy, John	1604-13	Ossory/ Waterford & Lismore		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Sundrie priests and friars; Names of the priests.

Murphy, Thaddeus (John)	1608-29	Ferns/ Ossory	OP. Educated in Lisbon and Salamanca. Prior of Kilkenny in 1608, 1622 and 1627. In Ferns in 1626 when he was proposed for bishopric.	Corish, Two centuries, p.228; Fenning; Flynn, pp 158-61 & pp 326-9; Carrigan, iii, p.183; Corish, Roche, p.119
Murtagh, Father	1613	Ossory	In Callan.	Names of the priests.
Murty, Stephen	1616	Waterford & Lismore	SJ	Power, 'Jesuits in Waterford', p.274.
Nangle/ Nagle/ Nogle, William	1603-10	Ossory	Educated in Lisbon. He re-dedicated the church of Our Lady at Dunkitt in 1603.	Sundrie priests and friars; Moran, The bishops of Ossory, pp 261-2; Carrigan, i, p.78; iv, p.142; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.87
Nash, Laurence	1631	Ossory		Wadding papers, p.531.
Nash, Redmond	1605	Waterford & Lismore	In Fethard, Co Tipperary.	<i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , p.380.
Neale, William	1588	Waterford & Lismore	Rector and vicar of Faithlegg and Ballygunner but Power takes him to have been a priest.	Miler Magrath's 1588 Visitation.
Nellius, Peter	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Nersui, Claude	1604-19*	Leighlin		Bordeaux list.
Nicholas, John	1604-19*/1610	Ossory	In Inistiogue	Bordeaux list; Louvain papers, pp 26-7.
Nugent, Gerard	1649	Ferns	SJ	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.241.
O'Brien, Daniel	1622-55	Ferns	Educated in Santiago. Translated for John Roche in Gaelic areas. Lived to a very old age, escaped many times until finally put to death in 1655.	Millett, Walter Cheevers, p.17; Corish, Two centuries, p.228; Hore, vi, p.315; O'Connell, Santiago, p.113; Corish, Roche, p.326; Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43

O'Brien, Gerald	1636	Ferns		Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43
O'Brien, Hugh	1645-53	Ferns	In St Colman's Rectory, Templeshambo.	JMH
O'Brien, Terence	1647	Emly	OP. Bishop of Emly, 1647-51.	Giblin, pp 575-6.
O'Brien, Thady	1636	Ferns		Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43
O'Callaghan (O'Hallaghan), Edmond (Simon of the Holy Spirit)	1600-03	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Educated in Lisbon. Involved in Waterford recusancy revolt in 1603.	Flynn, pp 130-4; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.90.
O'Cane, Teig	1592	Waterford & Lismore		Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.289.
O'Cherohy, William	1592	Waterford & Lismore/Cashel	'A seminary, lately come from Rome'.	Burke, p.37; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.288.
O'Coddan, Dermot	1588	Waterford & Lismore	Vicar of Derrygrath but Power takes him to have been a priest.	Miler Magrath's 1588 Visitation.
O'Colly, Nic	1612	Ferns		Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612.
O'Coman, Roger	1588	Waterford & Lismore	Rector of Outragh but Power takes him to have been a priest. He received sentence of privation later when he was returned as a papist.	Miler Magrath's 1588 Visitation.
O'Connor, Phelim/Felix	1648-49	Ossory	OP. Prior of Kilkenny, 1648-9. Died in Sligo about 1686.	Carrigan, iii, p.184; Coleman, pp 28-9.
O'Dea, John	1618	Cashel	O Cist. Educated in Salamanca.	<i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , pp 99-115.
O'Doran, Conogher	1604-12	Ossory		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Carrigan, ii, pp 242-3.

O'Doran, Edmund	1643-66	Ferns	Sir Walsingham Cooke claimed that Sir Thomas Esmonde had apostasised to O'Doran.	JMH; 1641 Depositions.
O'Dowling, Murtagh (Maurice)	1604-19*/1637	Leighlin/ Ossory	Educated in Bordeaux. In 1608, Chichester was informed that he was 'in charge of Callan'. Vicar-general of Leighlin.	Bordeaux list; Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; <i>CSPI 1606-8</i> , pp 507-8; Sundrie priests and friars; Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612.; Carrigan, iii, p.343; Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.44; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.93.
O'Doyle, Donatus	1645-53	Ferns		JMH
O'Druhan, Daniel	1591-1626	Ferns	Educated in Salamanca. Vicar apostolic of Ferns from 1607. Already a priest when he went to Salamanca in 1583.	Corish, Two centuries, p.226. Ram to the lord deputy and council 1612; Hore, vi, p.313.
O'Duibhir, Moriertagh	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
O'Duigin/Dungan, Teig	1604-10	Ossory	SJ	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Sundrie priests and friars; Carrigan, iii, p.259.
O'Duling, Donnogh	1610-22	Ferns		Sundrie priests and friars; Millett, Walter Cheevers, p.17.
O'Dwyer, Edmond	1635-44	Emly	Archdeacon of Emly and later bishop of Limerick.	Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.24, p.59
O'Enney, Daniel	1610	Ossory		Sundrie priests and friars.
O'Faggan, Teig	1613	Ossory		Names of the priests.

O'Fahy, Teig	1605-10	Waterford & Lismore		<i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , p.380; Sundrie priests and friars.
O'Fergus, Cormac	1571	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Educated in Lisbon. Came from Cork on Easter Sunday and celebrated Mass and preached twice in Clonmel before being captured.	Burke, p.36; Marron, p.80.
O'Foylan, Donyll	1604	Ossory		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604.
O'Gaffney (O'Gonney), Donnell	1604-10	Ossory		Carrigan, ii, p.119; Names of the priests.
O'Gallaughoire, Brian	1610	Ossory		Sundrie priests and friars.
O'Glisan, Donogh	1610	Waterford & Lismore	SJ	<i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , p.380; Sundrie priests and friars.
O'Gorhye, William	1598	Cashel	A seminary. Came to Ireland with Bishop Creagh the previous year.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.288.
O'Hely, Donagh	1605-10	Ossory		<i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , p.380; Sundrie priests and friars.
O'Hens, Donnogh	1605	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel		<i>CSPI, 1603-6</i> , p.380.
O'Hinnigan, Thomas Óg	1612	Leighlin		Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612.
O'Hoen, Patrick	1592-1610	Ossory		Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.289; Sundrie priests and friars.
O'Howley, Donal	1613	Ossory		Names of the priests.
O'Hurley, Dermot	1581-84	Cashel	Educated in Louvain. Archbishop of Cashel. Executed in Dublin on 19 June 1584.	

O'Hurley, Maurice	1623-46	Emly	Bishop of Emly, 1620-46.	Millett, <i>Irish material in Scritture</i> , p.58
O'Kelly (O'Kealy), William	1612-27	Ossory	OFM. Guardian of Kilkenny in 1612.	Carrigan, iii, p.111
O'Leamy, Thomas (Bernard)	1606-36	Cashel	O Cist. Abbot of Kilcooly in 1622.	Ó Conbuidhe, p.233; Carrigan, iii, p.123; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.93.
O'Morcho, Arthur	1645-53	Ferns		JMH
O'Morhue, Maurus	1622	Ferns		Millett, Walter Cheevers, p.17.
O'Morrissey, Teig	1605	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel		<i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , p.380.
O'Mulrooney, Dermot	1570	Emly	OFM. Killed in Moore Abbey.	Brussels MS; Seymour, p.178.
O'Mulryan, John	1541-79	Emly/ Cashel	O Cist. Appointed commendatory provost for life of Abbey Owney at the dissolution. Later abbot of Holy Cross. Died in 1579.	Ó Conbuidhe, p.233; Seymour, pp 172-3
O'Murcho	1643-53	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643.	JMH
O'Murchú, Tadhg	1582	Ferns	OFM. Killed, with two other friars by Sir Henry Wallop in Enniscorthy.	Grannell, p.16.
O'Murhue, Eugene	1636	Ferns		Millett, <i>Irish material in Scritture</i> , p.43
O'Nieghan, Dennis	1592-1605	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel	Probably the O'Nahane mentioned as one of Bishop Creagh's chaplains in 1592.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.288; <i>CSPI 1603-6</i> , p.380.
O'Reilly, James	1649	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Killed by Cromwell's forces in Clonmel.	Murphy, p.422

O'Shee, William	1626-27	Waterford & Lismore	OP. In Waterford priory in 1627. Caught in Birr, dressed in civilian clothes, carrying Catholic documents.	Edwards, p.286; Flynn, pp 326-9.
O'Sullivan, Tadhg	1592	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Educated in Douai.	Burke, p.37; <i>JWSEAS</i> 10, p.42; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , pp 288-9; <i>Calendar Carew MSS, 1603-25</i> , p.286.
O'Sullivan, Thadeus	1649	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. 55 years of age in 1649. Highly commended by Fr. Verdier, visitor of the Irish Jesuit mission.	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.247
O'Tierney, Denis	1604-19*	Cashel		Bordeaux list.
O'Tierney, John	1604-19*	Cashel		Bordeaux list.
Phelan, James	1646	Ossory	Later bishop of Ossory.	JMH
Phelan, Patrick	1588	Waterford & Lismore	Vicar of Kilsheelin but Power takes him to have been a priest.	Miler Magrath's 1588 Visitation.
Piers, John	1610	Ferns		Sundrie priests and friars.
Plunket, Henry	1645	Ossory	SJ. Rector of St John's Seminary in Kilkenny.	Carrigan, iii, p.260.
Power, George	1592-99	Ossory	Vicar-general. Arrested, imprisoned and died in Dublin.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.289; Moran, <i>The bishops of Ossory</i> , p.261.
Power, John	1604	Ossory	OP	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604.
Power, Peter	1582-87	Ferns	Bishop of Ferns, 1582-7.	Hore, vi, p.313
Power, Richard	1643	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643.	JMH
Power, Robert	1580	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Bishop Middleton reported to have him in custody.	<i>CSPI 1580</i> , p.235

Power, Robert	1648	Waterford & Lismore	Dean of Waterford.	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15.
Power, Thomas	1604-19*/1627	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Educated in Salamanca. Prior of Waterford in 1622 and still there in 1627.	Bordeaux list; Sundrie priests and friars; Flynn, p.141, pp 158-61 & pp 326-9; Moran, <i>Spic Oss</i> , i.
Power, William	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore	Educated in Louvain.	Bordeaux list.
Prendergast, Thomas	1648	Waterford & Lismore	OP. In Clonmel.	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15.
Purcell, Anthony	1629-47	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Educated in Louvain. Guardian of Waterford in 1647.	Wadding papers, p.617; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.282.
Purcell, Dennis	1610	Waterford & Lismore	Educated in Lisbon.	Sundrie priests and friars; O'Connell, p.91.
Purcell, Geoffrey	1631	Ossory	Purcell was not conforming to the laws of the church.	Forrestal, p.148; Wadding papers, p.543.
Purcell, Marc	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Purcell, Patrick	1631	Waterford & Lismore	A chalice in Kilcash bearing his name and the year 1631 suggests that he was probably 'pastor'.	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.207
Purcell, Philip	1561	Cashel	O Cist. Abbot of Holy Cross	Ó Conbuidhe, p.233
Pursell	1598		A monk	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.295.
Quiltey, John	1612-15	Ferns		Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612.
Quirke, Thomas	1622	Ossory	OP. Prior of Kilkenny in 1622.	Flynn, pp 158-61.
Rafter (Raughter), Edward	1603	Ossory	OP. Involved in takeover of Black Abbey in 1603.	Flynn, p.128.

Rafter (Raughter), Thomas	1592-1620	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Born in Fethard. Rededicated churches in Cashel and Fethard in 1603.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.288; Sundrie priests and friars; Carrigan, i, p.78; Power, 'Jesuits in Waterford', p.274.
Ragged, Melthier	1613	Ossory	OFM. He is reputed to be abbot of Duiske.	Names of the priests.
Ragget, Paul	1610-34	Ossory	O Cist. Educated in Spain. Vicar general of Cistercians in the British Isles. Returned to Kilkenny in 1634, where he died.	Sundrie priests and friars; Wadding papers, pp 335-6; Ó Conbuidhe, p.233; Carrigan, iii, pp 87-8; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.269.
Raweether, Thomas	1636	Ferns		Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43
Reardan, William	1604-19*/1627	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list; Sundrie priests and friars; Wadding papers, p.245.
Redmond, Nicholas	1645	Ferns		JMH
Reigh, Thomas	1612	Leighlin		Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612.
Reilly, John	1642	Ossory	OFM. Guardian of Kilkenny in 1642.	Carrigan, iii, p.111
Reken, Garrett	1592	Waterford & Lismore	In Clonmel.	Burke, p.37.
Relie, William	1610	Ossory	OFM.	Sundrie priests and friars.
Reneghan, Lawrence	1604-13	Ossory	Vicar-general of Ossory, 1609-13.	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Sundrie priests and friars; Neely, p.48.
Rioghe, Morris	1582	Cashel	Miler Magrath claimed that Rioghe celebrated Mass in the cathedral in Cashel.	Marron, p.95.

Roche, Christopher	1590	Ferns	Educated in Louvain. Captured on his way home to Ireland. Executed after torture in London.	Furlong, p.151
Roche, John	1629-36	Ferns	Educated in Douai. Bishop of Ferns, 1626-36.	Corish, John Roche.
Roche, Matthew	1610-31	Ferns/ Leighlin	Educated in Douai. Vicar-apostolic of Leighlin. Controversial figure.	Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612; Names of the priests.
Roche, William	1641-43	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643.	JMH; 1641 Depositions.
Roche	1571	Cashel	Capured by Miler Magrath.	Marron, pp 80-1.
Roche (de la Roche), Maurice	1591-1602	Waterford & Lismore	Reported by Murtagh O'Hiffernan as being official to Miler Magrath and chaplain to the Earl of Desmond.	Marron, p.122; Bordeaux list.
Rochford, James	1649	Ferns	O.F.M. Killed by Cromwell's forces in Wexford.	JMH
Rochford, Laurence	1642-43	Ferns	SJ. Indicted of treason in 1643.	JMH; 1641 Depositions.
Rochford, Robert	1576-81	Ferns	SJ. Educated in Rome where he joined the Jesuits in 1564. Close companion of Viscount Baltinglass during his revolt. Escaped with him to Spain in 1581. Sailed in the Armada in 1588.	Corish, Two centuries, p.224
Rohan, Denis	1590	Ferns	Accused of treasonable communication with Spain.	Hore, i, p.269.
Rollea, Garrett	1593	Waterford & Lismore	In Clonmel.	Burke, p.37
Ronan, James	1588	Waterford & Lismore	Vicar of Neddán and Ardfinnan but Power takes him to have been a priest.	Miler Magrath's 1588 Visitation.

Rossiter, Thomas	1636-53	Ferns	Indicted of treason in 1643.	JMH
Rothe, David	1609-50	Ossory	Educated in Douai. Bishop of Ossory, 1618-50.	<i>ODNB.</i>
Rothe, Thomas	1621-49	Ossory	Protonotary apostolic in 1631; commendatory prior of St John's by 1645; dean and vicar-general of Ossory by 1621. Brother or nephew of Bishop David.	Carrigan, i, p.85, pp 238-9; iii, p.254; Wadding papers, p.531; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.93.
Sall, Andrew	1648	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. In Clonmel. Apostasised in 1674.	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15; French, pp xxvi-xxviii.
Sall/ Saul, James	1609-41	Cashel	SJ. Educated in Douai. In Cashel but had died before 1649 and his aged sister was living in the house with two other Jesuits when Mercure Verdier, the visitor of the Irish Jesuit Mission in 1649, visited. Briefly protected the Church of Ireland chancellor of Cashel, before the latter was forced to flee in 1641.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.290; Sundrie priests and friars; <i>Calendar Carew MSS, 1603-21</i> , p.285; <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.245; Leslie, <i>Ossory</i> , p.138.
Sanjon, James	1647	Cashel	OP. In Cashel.	Liber Lovaniensis, p.18.
Sarsfield, John	1645-47	Waterford & Lismore	OFM	Liber Lovaniensis, p.17, p.23.
Saul, Joseph	1647	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Guardian of Carrick-on-Suir friary.	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , pp 116-8.
Segrave, Christopher	1647-49	Ossory	SJ. Procurator of the novitiate in Kilkenny in 1649.	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.245
Seixe, Edward	1604-10	Ossory	Openly administering in the town'.	Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604. Sundrie priests and friars.

Sharpe, Matthew	1645	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Educated in Salamanca. Guardian of Waterford in 1645.	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.282; Liber Lovaniensis, p.22.
Shee, James	1630-48	Ossory	Buried in St Canice's Cathedral. 'Intruded' as prebendary of Tascoffin in 1648.	Carrigan, iii, p.80; iii, p.84; Leslie, <i>Ossory</i> , p.145.
Shee, John	1610-48	Ossory	SJ. Educated in Douai. 'Intruded' as prebendary of Mayne in 1648. Buried in St Canice's Cathedral. Brother of James.	Sundrie priests and friars; Calendar Carew MSS, 1603-25, p.285; Carrigan, i, p.85; iii, p.261; Leslie, <i>Ossory</i> , p.131.
Shee, Nicholas	1617-45	Ossory	OFM. Educated in Salamanca and Paris. Guardian of Kilkenny and later PP of Callan. Provincial of Franciscans from 1621-5.	Giblin, p.523;.Forrestal, Synods, p.139; Corish, John Roche, p.18; O Fearghail, p.200; Carrigan, iii, p.111, p.344; 1641 Depositions; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.93.
Shelton, Richard	1649	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. In great repute as a preacher. Departed to Spain.	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.246.
Shine, Thomas	1609-15	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. In Clonmel.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.290; Sundrie priests and friars; Burke, p.48.
Shortall, Stephen (Sebastien)	1598-1639	Ossory	O Cist. Lived in Spain before returning to Kilkenny. Came to Ireland with Hartry in 1619. Captured by the moors. Abbot elect of Bective in Meath in 1621.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.295; <i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.93, pp 277-9.
Sinnott, James	1635	Ferns	OFM. Guardian of Wexford in 1635.	Grannell, p.18.

Sinnott, John	1610-36	Ferns	OFM. Educated in Lisbon. Guardian of Wexford in 1615 and 1629. Indicted of treason in 1643.	Sundrie priests and friars; Millett, Walter Cheevers, p.16; Grannell, pp 17-18; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.94; Liber Lovaniensis, p.5; Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43; JMH
Sinnott, Paul	1645-49	Ferns	OFM. Guardian of Wexford in 1648. Killed in his church by Cromwell's forces.	Sundrie priests and friars; Murphy, p.165; Grannell, p.18; Liber Lovaniensis, p.17, p.24.
Sinnott, Richard	1613-49	Ferns/Ossory	OFM. Educated in Lisbon. Guardian and lector in Kilkenny. Returned to St Isidore's in 1633, but was back in Ireland and was killed in the Franciscan church in Wexford by Cromwell's forces.	Sundrie priests and friars; O'Boyle, p.105; Grannell, p.18; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.95; Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43; 1641 Depositions.
St Leger, William	1645	Ossory	SJ. In seminary in Kilkenny in 1645. Died in Santiago in 1665.	Carrigan, iii, p.260; <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.245.
Stafford, Anthony	1649	Ferns	OFM. In Wexford.	Grannell, p.19.
Stafford, Francis	1639-1650s	Ferns	OFM. Guardian of Wexford in 1639. Escaped the massacre and was in Inishboffin in late 1650s.	Murphy, pp 164-7; Grannell, p.18; Liber Lovaniensis, p.17.
Stafford, Melchior	1642-50	Ferns	In Rosslare. Executed by Col. Cooke in 1649 or 1650.	1641 Depositions.
Stafford, Peter	1634-49	Ferns	OFM. Parish priest of Wexford from 1634-49. Killed in his church by Cromwell's forces.	Nicky Furlong, p.155; Corish, Two centuries, p.231; Grannell, pp 18-9.

Stafford Raymond	1649	Ferns	OFM. Guardian of Wexford before 1649. Also in Enniscorthy. He passed up on a large inheritance to become a friar. Killed in his church by Cromwell's forces.	Corish, Two centuries, p.231; Grannell, pp 18-9.
Stafford, Richard	1610-45	Ferns	Educated in Douai.	Sundrie priests and friars; Names of the priests; Giblin, pp 568-9; <i>Calendar Carew MSS, 1603-25</i> , p.286.
Stafford , Stephen	1636	Ferns		Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43
Stapleton, John	1645	Cashel	O Cist. In Kilcooly	Ó Conbuidhe, p.233
Stapleton, Philip	1605	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel		<i>CSPI, 1603-6</i> , p.380.
Strong, John	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Strong, Laurence	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore	Educated in Paris.	Bordeaux list.
Strong, Nicholas	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Educated in Louvain.	Bordeaux list; Louvain papers, p.19.
Strong, Peter	1604-19*/1648	Ossory/ Waterford & Lismore	OP. Prior of the Dominicans in Waterford in 1631.	Bordeaux list; Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604; Sundrie priests and friars; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15; Wadding papers.
Strong, Pierce	1610-20	Waterford & Lismore	SJ	Sundrie priests and friars; Power, 'Jesuits in Waterford', p.274.
Strong, Piers (Peter)	1603-13	Ossory	In Dunkitt.	Names of the priests; Carrigan, i, p.78; iv, p.142

Strong, Richard	1626-27	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Educated in Salamanca.	Flynn, pp 326-9; Moran, <i>Spic Oss</i> , i.
Strong, Thomas	1582-83	Waterford & Lismore/ Ossory	Bishop of Ossory from 1582 to 1602 but only spent one year in his diocese. Fled to Spain in 1584 and lived the rest of his life in Santiaio de Compostella.	Moran, The bishops of Ossory, pp 258-65; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.295; Carrigan, i, pp 73-5.
Strong (Strange), Thomas	1608-45	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Educated in Louvain. Guardian of Waterford in 1629.	CSPI, 1606-8, p.540; Louvain papers, p.19; <i>CSPI, 1611-14</i> , p.269; Wadding papers, pp 332-3 & p.440; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.282; <i>Hansard</i> , p.264.
Swayne, William	1646-49	Ossory	PP of Gowran.	Carrigan, iii, p.422.
Sweetman, Anthony	1645	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Guardian of Carrick-on-Suir friary.	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , pp 116-8
Thonory, John	1553-65	Ossory	OSA. Bishop of Ossory, 1553-65.	Moran, The bishops of Ossory, p.252.
Tobin, John	1570-91	Ossory	Church of Ireland Prebendary of Killamery in 1570 and vicar of Dunfert in 1591. He was an 'arrant papistical felloe' and deprived.	Leslie, Ossory, p.137.
Tobin, John	1646	Cashel	O Cist. Abbot of Kilcooly.	Ó Conbuidhe, p.233
Tonory	1627	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Prior of Waterford in 1627.	Moran, <i>Spic Oss</i> , i.
Travers	1629	Waterford & Lismore		Wadding papers, p.294.
Trohie, William	1593-1605	Waterford & Lismore	'Come from Spaine, born in Cashel, most commonly sojourning at Clonmel'.	<i>CSPI, 1603-6</i> , p.380; Burke, p.37; Marron, p.159.
Turner, John	1643-49	Ferns	Parish priest of Maglass. Witnessed the Cromwellian massacre.	Murphy, p.166; Grannell, p.27; JMH

Turner, Thomas	1632-36	Ferns	Educated in Douai and Louvain. Appointed treasurer in 1632.	Corish, Two centuries, p.227; Hore, vi, p.315; Millett, Irish material in <i>Scitture</i> , p.43
Tyrrell (Tireologh), James	1612-47	Ferns	OFM. Guardian of New Ross in 1647.	Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612; Hore, i, p.98; Liber Lovaniensis, p.16.
Usher, John	1645	Ossory	SJ	Carrigan, iii, p.260.
Valtius (Walsh?), Richard	1580	Waterford & Lismore	Deacon of Waterford.	Miscellanea Vaticano-Hibernica, p.161.
Vin (Wynne), Edmond	1604-19*	Cashel	Educated in Lisbon.	Bordeaux list; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.97
Vinne, Thomas	1645	Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Guardian of Clonmel in 1645.	Liber Lovaniensis, p.22.
Wadding, John	1598-1636	Ferns	Appointed chancellor in 1632.	Hogan, The description, p.294; Sundrie priests and friars; Names of the priests; Hore, vi, p.315; Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43
Wadding, John	1606	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Educated in Salamanca and Lisbon.	Hogan, <i>Ibernia Ignatiana</i> , p.206; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.98
Wadding, Robert	1636-45	Ferns	Cullenstown in 1643. Archdeacon of Ferns in 1645. Indicted of treason in 1643.	Millett, Irish material in <i>Scrittura</i> , p.43; JMH
Wadding, William	1612	Ferns		Ram to the lord deputy and council, 1612.
Wale, James	1646	Ossory	He repaired Rosconnell church in 1646.	Carrigan, ii, p.119.
Wale, Thomas	1580	Ossory		<i>JWSEAS</i> ix (1906), p.210.

Wale, Walter	1604-46	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel	SJ. Educated in Louvain. Nephew of Archbishop Kearney, Renowned preacher.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.290; <i>CSPI, 1603-6</i> , p.380; Sundrie priests and friars; Cunningham, p.116; <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.249.
Wale, William	n.d.	Waterford & Lismore	O Cist. Died in exile in Spain.	<i>Triumphalia chronologica</i> , p.79
Walesius, Peter	1645	Ossory	OFM	Liber Lovaniensis, p.24
Wall, Father	1613	Ossory		Names of the priests.
Wall, John	1581	Cashel		Marron, p.159.
Walsh, Edmond	1604-19*	Ossory	Carmelite	Bordeaux list.
Walsh, Gerald	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Walsh, James	1649	Waterford & Lismore	SJ	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.249.
Walsh, Robert	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore	Educated in Salamanca.	Bordeaux list.
Walsh (Vallois), James	1604-19*/1610	Waterford & Lismore	Capuchin. Educated in Louvain.	Bordeaux list; Sundrie priests and friars.
Walsh (Welch), Patrick	1642	Waterford & Lismore	Alleged to have refused permission for Protestants to be buried within the city.	1641 Depositions.
Walshe, Edward	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Walshe, James	1607	Ferns	SJ. (Daniel O'Druhan used this as a pseudonym but I can find no other mention of his being a Jesuit so this may be a different man.)	Hogan, <i>Iberian Ignatiana</i> , pp 211-2.
Walshe, Nicholas	1610	Waterford & Lismore	OFM	Sundrie priests and friars.

Walshe, Richard	1610-42	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Educated in Salamanca and Douai. Living in the 'poorhouse' in Waterford in 1610.	Sundrie priests and friars; <i>Calendar Carew MSS, 1603-25</i> , p.286; <i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.249.
Walshe, Thomas	1610-53	Waterford & Lismore/ Cashel	OFM. Educated in Lisbon and Salamanca. Vicar-apostolic of Waterford and Lismore from 1613-26. Archbishop of Cashel, 1626-54. Died in exile in Compostella.	Sundrie priests and friars; Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.21; Meehan, pp 121-33.
Ward (Bardaeus), Donnogh	1621	Ossory	PP of St Patrick's in Kilkenny. Died in 1621.	Carrigan, iii, p.236
White, Dr	1610-13	Ossory	SJ. He was a brother-in-law of Henry Shee, mayor of Kilkenny in 1610.	CSPI, 1611-4, pp 12-13; Names of the priests.
White, James	1600-29	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Educated in Douai. Vicar-apostolic of Waterford and Lismore from 1600-29. Nephew of Peter Lombard.	Sundrie priests and friars; Flynn, p.129; <i>Calendar Carew MSS, 1603-25</i> , p.286.
White, John	1577-92	Waterford & Lismore	Educated in Louvain. Vicar-apostolic of Waterford and Lismore from 1578 to 1600.	Drury to Walsingham; Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.289; Burke, p.37, Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.381.
White, John	1615	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Educated in Lisbon and Salamanca.	Flynn, p.100.
White, John	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore	OP. Educated in Lisbon.	Bordeaux list; Flynn, p.100.
White, Richard	1604-15	Waterford & Lismore	In Clonmel.	<i>CSPI, 1603-6</i> , p.193 & p.476; Sundrie priests and friars; Burke, p.48.
White, Stephen	1613	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin and Lisbon. One of the first three scholars in Trinity and also one of the first in Lisbon.	Scholars returned from Europe; O'Connell, Lisbon, p.99

White, Thomas	1648	Waterford & Lismore	Educated in Salamanca.' Vicar' of Clonmel.	Power, <i>Compendious history</i> , p.15.
White, William	1588	Waterford & Lismore	Educated in Salamanca. Vicar of Donoghmore but Power takes him to have been a priest as he received sentence of privation later when he was returned as a papist.	Miler Magrath's 1588 Visitation.
Wise, Morris	1609-28	Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Was pastor of St Peter's in Waterford from 1609 until his death in 1628.	Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.290; Sundrie priests and friars; Walton, p.189; Power, 'Jesuits in Waterford', pp 271-82.
Wogall, William	1604	Ossory		Bishop Horsfall's report, 1604.
Woodlock, Gasper	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore	OFM	Sundrie priests and friars; Bordeaux list.
Woodlock, Patrick	1610	Waterford & Lismore		Sundrie priests and friars.
Woodlock, Thomas	1603-13	Ossory/ Waterford & Lismore	OFM. Carrigan describes him as being on the mission in Slieverue in 1610 or 1611.	Moran, <i>The bishops of Ossory</i> , pp 261-2; Sundrie priests and friars; Names of the priests; Carrigan, i, p.78; iv, p.209.
Woodlock (Vodlog), Patrick	1604-19*	Waterford & Lismore		Bordeaux list.
Young , John	1645-49	Ossory/ Waterford & Lismore	SJ. Founder of the Jesuit novitiate in Kilkenny.	<i>Irish Jesuits</i> , p.251
Younge, Patrick	1592	Cashel		Hogan, <i>The description</i> , p.289.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin.

‘Visitations and valuations - late 16th century’ (T.C.D. MS 566).

‘Sundrie priests and friars’ (T.C.D., MS 580, June, 1610).

Ram, Bishop Thomas, ‘Letter to the Lord Deputy and the Council, 1 Sept. 1612 (T.C.D., MS 1066, Reeves copy, 1873).

‘A note of the names of such priests, Commissaries, Friars and Jesuits, together with their relievers and maintainers in the city and county of Kilkenny, 1613’ (T.C.D., MS 567).

Royal Visitations 1615 (T.C.D., MS 1066, Reeves copy, 1873).

‘Part of visitation report from Cork, written on 24 July, 1615,’ (T.C.D., MS 2628).

Letters concerning the church, 1620-3 (T.C.D., MS 580).

‘Priests in Wexford and their maintainers’, n.d., (T.C.D., MS 580).

Royal Commission, 1622 (T.C.D., MS 808).

‘Orders and directions concerning the state of the church of Ireland and the possessions thereof, ffree schools, and other endowments, and landes given to charitable uses, for and concerning other things tending to the advancement of true religion, and maintenance of the clergie in the said Realme in James time, 1623’ (T.C.D., MS 808, pp 28-40.)

Royal Visitations (Cashel, Emly, Waterford, Lismore), 1633 (T.C.D., MS 2158).

Depositions concerning the Irish insurrection of 1641 (T.C.D., MSS 812-29) - (Carlow, Kilkenny: MS 812; Wexford: MSS 818-9; Waterford: MS 820; Tipperary: MS 821; Limerick: MS 829) (www.tcd.ie/depositions.htm).

Other manuscripts

‘Certificate by Jonas Wheeler, Bishop of Ossory, of the state of his diocese, parishes, incumbents, value of livings, lands, rents, grievances of the clergy, 1622’ (Lambeth Palace Library, Fairhurst MSS, MS 2013 64 pp.).

‘Court of faculties – muniment books.’ The first three books deal with the period from 1534 to the Restoration (Lambeth Palace Library).

‘An Act for the dissolution of all superstitious chantries, guild and fraternities in the kingdom of Ireland’, n.d., c.1640, (Lambeth Palace Library, MS 640, pp 585-629).

The Hore collection, at St. Peter’s College, Wexford.

Printed sources

Calendars, catalogues and collections of manuscript sources

Brady, W.M. (ed.), *State papers concerning the Irish church in the time of Queen Elizabeth* (Dublin, 1868).

Bray, Gerald (ed.), *The Anglican canons, 1529-1947* (Reading, 1998).

Brewer, J.S. and Bullen, W. (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth* (6 vols, London, 1867-8).

Burtchaell, G.D. and Rigg, J.M., *Report on Franciscan manuscripts preserved at the convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin / presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty* (Dublin, 1906).

Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, (24 vols, London, 1860-1911).

Collier, J.P., *The Egerton papers* (London, 1840).

Collins, Arthur, *Letters and memorials of State, written and collected by Sir Henry Sidney etc* (London, 1746).

Corish, P.J., 'Two seventeenth century proclamations against Catholic clergy' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxxix (1984), pp 54-5.

Dillon, Myles, *Catalogue of the Irish manuscripts in the Franciscan Library, Killiney* (Dublin, 1969).

Gairdner, James and Brodie, R.H. (eds), *Letters and papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, (21 vols, London, 1898).

Giblin, Cathaldus (ed.), *Liber Lovaniensis: a collection of Irish Franciscan documents, 1629-1717* (Dublin, 1956).

Giblin, Cathaldus, 'The "Processus Datariae" and the appointment of Irish bishops in the seventeenth century' in Franciscan Fathers (eds), *Fr. Luke Wadding, commemorative volume* (Dublin, 1957), pp 508-616.

Giblin, Cathaldus (ed.), 'Catalogue of material of Irish interest in Collection 'Nunziatara di Fiandra' Vatican archives', Part 1: vols: 1-50 in *Collectanea Hibernica*, i (1958), pp 7-136.

Hogan, Edmund (ed.), *The description of Ireland and the state thereof as it is at this present in anno 1598* (Dublin, 1878).

The Irish statutes, 3 Edward II to the Union (Dublin, 1885).

Jennings, Brendan (ed.), 'Acta sacrae congregaionis de Propaganda Fide, 1622-50' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxii (1959), pp 28-139.

Jennings, Brendan, 'Documents from Douai' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, x (1943), pp 163-210.

Jennings, Brendan, *The Louvain Papers*' (Dublin, 1968).

Jennings, Brendan (ed.), *Wadding Papers, 1614-38* (IMC, Dublin, 1953).

Jennings, Brendan (ed.), 'Brussels MS 3947, Donatus Moneyes, de provincial Hiberniae S. Francisci' in *Analecta Hibernica*, vi (1934), pp 12-138.

Knowler, William (ed.), *Earl of Strafford's letters and dispatches* (2 vols, Dublin, 1799).

Letters and Papers, foreign and domestic, Henry VIII (21 vols, London, 1856).

McNeill, Charles (ed.), 'The letter-book of Lord Deputy Sir John Perrot between 9 July, 1584 and 26 May, 1586' in *Analecta Hibernica*, xii (1943), pp 3-65.

Marron, Lawrence (ed.), 'Documents from the State Papers concerning Miler McGrath' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xxi (1958), pp 75-189.

Martin, F.X. (ed.), 'The Tirry Documents' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xx (1957), pp 70-1.

Maxwell, C.E., *Irish history from contemporary sources, 1509-1610* (London, 1923).

Millett, Benignus, 'Maurice McBrien' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, xxxiv & xxxv (1992-3), pp 10-14.

Millett, Benignus, 'Catalogue of Irish material in Fourteen Volumes of the *Scrittura originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali* in Propaganda Archives' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, x (1967), pp 7-59.

Millett, Benignus, 'Catalogue of Irish material in vols. 140-143 of the *Scrittura originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali* in Propaganda Archives' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, xiii (1970), pp 21-60.

Millett, Benignus, 'The archives of the sacred congregation of Propaganda Fide' in *Proceedings of the Irish Catholic Historical Committee*, 1956, pp 20-26.

Millett, Benignus, 'Walter Cheevers, OFM, postulated for Ferns, 1622' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, xxxiv (1992), pp 15-17.

Moran, P.F. (ed.), *Spicilegium Ossoriense, a collection of original letters and papers illustrative of the history of the Irish church from the Reformation to the year 1800* (3 vols, Dublin, 1874).

Morrin, James (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth* (2 vols, Dublin, 1861).

Nicholls, Kenneth (ed.), *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns* (4 vols, Dublin, 1994).

O'Doherty, Denis (ed.), 'Irish students who took the "oaths" at Salamanca, 1595-1619' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, ii (1913), pp 1-36.

O'Dowd, Mary, *Calendar of State Papers Ireland, Tudor Period, 1571-5* (Dublin, 2000).

O'Hurley, Dermot, 'List of prospective ecclesiastics for the Irish mission in 1580' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, v (1916), pp 157.

O'Sullivan, William, 'Correspondence of Rothe and Ussher' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, xxxvi (1995), pp 7-49.

Phair, P.B., 'Seventeenth Century Regal Visitations' in *Analecta Hibernica*, xxviii (1978), pp 81-99.

Power, Patrick (ed.), 'Bishop Miler McGrath's Visitation of Waterford & Lismore, 1588' (<http://snap.waterfordcoco.ie/collections/ebooks/106729>) (20 March, 2008).

Power, Patrick, 'Sundrie priests and friers' (T.C.D. MS E.3.15) in *Journal of the Waterford and south-east of Ireland Archaeological Society*, xvi (Waterford, 1913), pp 122-8.

Power, Patrick, 'Material condition of the churches of Waterford' (from Royal Visitations 1615) in *Journal of the Waterford and south-east of Ireland Archaeological Society*, xvi, (Waterford, 1913), pp 114-21..

Rigg, J.M. (ed.), *Calendar of state papers relating to English affairs, preserved principally at Rome in the Vatican archives and library, vol. i Elizabeth, 1558-71* (London, 1916).

Robbins, N., *An exact abridgement of all the Irish statutes* (Dublin, 1736).

Ronan, M.V. (ed.), *The Reformation in Ireland under Elizabeth, 1558-1580 (from original sources)* (London, 1930).

'Royal Visitation of Cashel and Emly, 1615' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, i (1912), pp 277-311.

Shirley, E.P., (ed.), *Original letters and papers in illustration of the history of the church in Ireland during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth* (London, 1851).

Shirley, E.P., (ed.), *Papers relating to the Church of Ireland, 1631-39* (Dublin, 1874).

Treadwell, Victor (ed.), *The Irish Commission of 1622, an investigation of the Irish administration 1615-22 and its consequences, 1623-24* (IMC, Dublin, 2006).

Walsh, Reginald (ed.), 'State of Ireland, 1611, declaration of archbishops' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, ii (1913), pp 157-66.

White, N.B. (ed.), *Extents of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-41*, (Dublin, 1943).

White, N.B. (ed.), '*Registrum Diocesis Dublinensis: a sixteenth century Dublin precedent book* (IMC, Dublin, 1959).

Other printed primary sources

Bale, John, *The Vocacyon of John Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Ireland* (1553).

Brereton, William, *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland, 1634-1635*, Edward Hawkins (ed.) (Manchester, 1844).

Copinger, John, *The theatre of Catolique and Protestant religion* (1620).

French, Nicholas, *The dolefull fall of Andrew Sall, a Jesuit of the fourth vow, from the Roman Catholick apostolick faith* (1674).

Hanmer, Meredith, *The chronicle of Ireland, 1633* (Dublin, 1809).

Hartry, Malachy, *Triumphalia chronologica Monasterii Sanctae Crucis in Hibernia : De Cisterciensium Hibernorum viris illustribus* (1640), ed. Murphy, Denis (Dublin, 1891).

Holinshed, Raphael & Stanihurst, Richard, *Holinshed's Irish chronicle: the historie of Irelande from the first inhabitation thereof unto the year 1509, and continued by Stanihurst till 1547*, ed. Miller, Liam & Power, Eileen (Dublin, 1979).

Jerome, Stephen, *Irelands iubilee, or ioyes Io-paeen* (Dublin, 1624).

Lithgow, William, *The totall discourse, of the rare adventures, and painefull peregrinations of long nineteene years travailes from Scotland, to the most famous kingdoms in Europe, Asia and Africa* (London, 1640).

Rich, Barnaby, *A short survey of Ireland*, (London, 1609).

Rich, Barnaby, *A Catholicke conference betweene Syr Tady Mac. Mareall a popish priest of Waterforde, and Patricke Plaine a young student in Trinity Colledge by Dublin in Ireland* (London, 1612).

Ryves, Thomas, *The poor vicars plea Declaring, that a competencie of meanes is due to them out of the tithes of their seuerall parishes, notwithstanding the impropriations* (London, 1620).

Selden, John, *The history of tithes* (London, 1618).

Smith, Charles, *The ancient and present state of the county and city of Waterford* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1774).

Spenser, Edmund, *A view of the state of Ireland* (1633), ed. Hadfield, Andrew and Maley, Willy (Oxford, 1997).

Valor Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum in Hibernia: or the first-fruits of all the ecclesiastical benefices in the kingdom of Ireland, as taxed in the King's books, with an account shewing how this royal fund vested in trustees, hath hitherto been disposed of (Dublin, 1741).

Wood, Anthony a, *Athenae Oxonienses* (Oxford, 1690).

SECONDARY SOURCES

Theses

McHugh, Jason, 'Soldier of Christ': the political and ecclesiastical career of Nicholas French, Catholic bishop of Ferns, 1603-1678, (PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2005).

Rickett, Elizabeth, 'The episcopate of the Church of Ireland, 1603-1660', (PhD thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 2007).

Articles & essays

Anon, 'The Irish hierarchy in the seventeenth century; chapter II' in *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*, iii, (Dublin, 1863), pp 272-283.

Anon, 'Wexford mass houses of the penal days' in Berney, Matthew (ed.), *Centenary history of Wexford Twin Churches* (Wexford, 1958), pp 54-7.

Barnard, T.C., "'Almoners of Providence": the clergy, 1647 to c.1780' in Barnard, T.C. and Neely, W.G. (eds), *The clergy of the Church of Ireland: messengers, watchmen and stewards* (Dublin, 2006), pp 78-105.

Barnard, T.C., 'Scholars and antiquarians: the clergy and learning, 1600-2000' in Barnard, T.C. and Neely, W.G. (eds), *The clergy of the Church of Ireland: messengers, watchmen and stewards* (Dublin, 2006), pp 231-58.

Bermingham, Helen, 'Priests' residences in later medieval Ireland' in Fitzpatrick, Elizabeth and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), pp 168-85.

Bossy, John, 'The Counter-Reformation and the people of Catholic Ireland, 1596-1641' in *Historical Studies*, viii (Dublin, 1969), pp155-70.

Bottigheimer, K.S., 'The failure of the Reformation in Ireland: une question bien posée' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxvi (1985), pp 196-207.

Bottigheimer, K.S. and Lotz-Heumann, Ute, 'The Irish Reformation in European perspective' in *Archiv fur Reformationsgeschichte*, lxxxix (1998), pp 268-309.

Boyle, Patrick, 'The Irish seminary at Toulouse' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, i (1912), pp 122-47.

Bradshaw, Brendan, 'Sword, Word and Strategy in the Reformation in Ireland' in *The Historical Journal*, xxi, 3, (1978), pp 475-502.

Bradshaw, Brendan, 'The English Reformation and identity formation in Ireland and Wales' in Bradshaw, Brendan and Roberts, Peter (eds), *British consciousness and identity: the making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 43-111.

Brady, Ciarán, 'Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond (1531-1614) in Brady, Ciaran (ed.), *Worsted in the game: losers in Irish history* (Dublin, 1989), pp 49-59.

Brady, Ciarán, 'Court, castle and country: the framework of government in Tudor Ireland' in Brady, Ciarán and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *Natives and Newcomers*, (Dublin, 1986), pp 12-56.

Brady, J. (ed.), 'The Irish colleges in the Low Countries' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xiv (1949), pp 66-91.

Brady, J., 'Father Christopher Cusack and the Irish College at Douai' in O'Brien, Sylvester (ed.), *Measgra Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh*, (Dublin, 1944) pp 98-117.

Brady, J., 'The catechism in Ireland' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lxxxiii (1955), pp 169-70.

Brink, Jean, 'Sir John Davies: lawyer and poet' in Herron, Thomas, and Potterton, Michael (eds), *Ireland and the Renaissance, c. 1540-1660*, (Dublin, 2007), pp 88-104.

Brockliss, L.W., and Ferte, Patrick, 'Prosopography of Irish clerics in the universities of Paris and Toulouse, 1573-1792' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lviii (2004), pp 7-166.

Browne, Bernard, and Whelan, Kevin, 'The Browne families of county Wexford' in Whelan, Kevin, and Nolan, W. (eds), *Wexford, History and Society* (Dublin, 1987), pp 467-89.

Canny, Nicholas, 'Why the Reformation failed in Ireland: une question mal posée' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxx, (Oct., 1979), pp 423-50.

Clarke, Aidan, 'Varieties of uniformity: the first century of the Church of Ireland' in Shiels, W.J. and Wood, Diana (eds), *The churches, Ireland and the Irish: Studies in Church History*, xxv (Oxford, 1989), pp 105-22.

Clarke, Aidan, 'A woeful sinner: John Atherton' in Lotz-Heumann, Ute, and Carey, Vincent (eds), *Taking sides? Colonial and confessional mentalités in early modern Ireland: essays in honour of Karl S. Bottigheimer* (Dublin, 2003), pp 138-49.

Cloney, Seán, 'The Colcloughs' in Whelan, Kevin (ed.), *Tintern Abbey, County Wexford: Cistercians and Colcloughs: eight centuries of occupation* (Wexford, n.d.), pp 19-39.

- Comerford, Michael, 'The parish of Abbeyleix' in *Ossory Archaeological Society*, iii (1880-83), pp 122-3.
- Corboy, J., 'The Irish college at Salamanca' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lxxiii (1944), pp 247-53.
- Corish, P.J., 'The re-organization of the Irish Church, 1603-41' in *Irish Catholic Historical Committee Proceedings*, (1957), pp 9-14.
- Corish, P.J., 'David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, 1618-1650' in *Butler Society Journal*, ii, no. 3, pp 315-23.
- Corish, P.J., 'Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Wexford, 1500-1700' in Berney, Matthew (ed.), *Centenary history of Wexford twin churches* (Wexford, 1958), pp 35-49.
- Corish, P.J., 'Two centuries of Catholicism in County Wexford' in Whelan, Kevin (ed), *Wexford, History and Society* (Dublin, 1987), pp 222-47.
- Corish, P.J., 'John Roche: An Irish Counter-Reformation bishop, 1624-1636' in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, xxv 1958 pp14-32; pp101-123; xxvi 1959 pp 101-116; 313-330.
- Corish, P.J., 'The beginnings of the Irish college, Rome' in Franciscan Fathers (eds), *Father Luke Wadding, commemorative volume* (Dublin, 1957), pp 284-94.
- Cosby, Ivan, 'The English settlers in Queen's county, 1570-1603' in Lane, Pádraig and Nolan, William (eds), *Laois, history and society* (Dublin, 1999), pp 283-326.
- Cowman, Des, 'The Reformation bishops of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore' in *Decies*, xxvii (Autumn, 1984), pp31-47.
- Cregan, Donal, 'The social and cultural background of a Counter-Reformation Episcopate, 1618-60' in Cosgrove, Art and McCartney, D (eds), *Studies in Irish history presented to R. Dudley Edwards*, (Dublin, 1979), pp 85-117.
- Cullen, L.M., 'Population trends in seventeenth century Ireland' in *Economic and Social Review*, vi (1975), pp 149-65.
- Cunningham, Bernadette, "'Zeal for God and for souls": Counter-Reformation preaching in early seventeenth century Ireland' in Fletcher, A.J. and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *Irish Preaching, 700-1700* (Dublin, 2001), pp 108-26.

Cunningham, Bernadette, 'Geoffrey Keating's *Eochair Sgiath an Aifrinn* and the Catholic Reformation in Ireland' in Shiels, W.J. and Wood, Diana (eds), *The churches, Ireland and the Irish: Studies in Church History*, xxv (Oxford, 1989), pp 133-43.

Dudley Edwards, R., 'Church and state in the Ireland of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh' in O'Brien, Sylvester (ed.), *Measgra Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh*, (Dublin, 1944), pp 1-20.

Edwards, David, 'The MacGiollapadraigs (Fitzpatricks) of Upper Ossory, 1532-1641' in Lane, Pádraig and Nolan, William (eds), *Laois, history and society* (Dublin, 1999), pp 327-69.

Edwards, David, 'A haven of popery: English Catholic migration to Ireland in the age of plantation' in Ford, Alan, and McCafferty, John (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 95-126.

Edwards, David, 'The Poisoned Chalice: the Ormond inheritance, sectarian division and the emergence of James Butler, 1614-1642' in Barnard, T.C. and Fenlon, Jane (eds), *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Suffolk, 2000), pp 55-82.

Edwards, David, 'The escalation of violence in sixteenth-century Ireland' in Edwards, David, Lenihan, Padraig and Tait, Clodagh (eds.), *Age of atrocity: violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp 34-78.

Ellis, Steven, 'Economic problems of the church: why the Reformation failed in Ireland' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xli (1979), pp 239-67.

Ellis, Steven, 'John Bale, bishop of Ossory, 1552-3' in *Journal of the Butler Society*, ii (1984), pp 283-93.

Empey, Adrian, 'Irish clergy in the high and late Middle Ages' in Barnard, T.C. and Neely, W.G. (eds), *The Clergy of the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000* (Dublin, 2006), pp 6-43.

Empey, Adrian, 'The layperson in the parish: the medieval inheritance' in Gillespie, Raymond and Neely, W.G. (eds), *The laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000: all sorts and conditions* (Dublin, 2002), pp 7-48.

Fenning, Hugh, 'Irish Dominicans at Lisbon before 1700: a biographical register' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, xlii (2000), pp 27-65.

Fenning, Hugh, 'Irish Dominicans at Louvain before 1700: a biographical register' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, xliii (2001), pp 112-60.

Flanagan, Eugene, 'The anatomy of Jacobean Ireland: Captain Barnaby Rich, Sir John Davies and the failure of reform, 1609-22' in Morgan, Hiram (ed.), *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 158-180.

Ford, Alan, 'The Protestant Reformation in Ireland' in Brady, Ciarán and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *Natives and Newcomers*, (Dublin, 1986), pp 58-74.

Ford, Alan, 'The Irish historical renaissance and the shaping of Protestant history' in Ford, Alan, and McCafferty, John (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 127-57.

Ford, Alan, 'James Ussher and the Godly Prince in early seventeenth-century Ireland' in Morgan, Hiram (ed.), *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 203-228.

Ford, Alan, 'The Church of Ireland, 1558-1634: a puritan church?' in Ford, Alan, McGuire, James and Milne, Kenneth (eds), *As by law established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995), pp 52-68.

Ford, Alan, 'Who went to Trinity? The early students of Dublin University' in Robinson-Hammerstein, Helga (ed.), *European universities in the age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Dublin, 1998), pp 53-74.

Ford, Alan, 'Martyrdom, history and memory in early modern Ireland', in McBride, Ian (ed.), *History and memory in modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), pp 43-66.

Foster, Andrew, 'The clerical estate revitalised' in Fincham, Kenneth (ed.), *The early stuart church, 1603-42* (Basingstoke, 1993), pp 139-60.

Furlong, Nicholas, 'Life in Wexford port, 1600-1800' in Whelan, Kevin, and Nolan, W. (eds), *Wexford: History and Society* (Dublin, 1987), pp 150-72.

George, J-A., 'The vocacyon of Johan Bale (1553): a retrospective sermon from Ireland' in Fletcher, A.J. and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *Irish Preaching, 700-1700* (Dublin, 2001), pp 94-107.

Gillespie, Raymond, 'Urban parishes in early seventeenth century Ireland: the case of Dublin' in Fitzpatrick, Elizabeth and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), pp 228-41.

Gillespie, Raymond, 'The Church of Ireland clergy, c.1640: representation and reality' in Barnard, T.C. and Neely, W.G. (eds), *The Clergy of the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000* (Dublin, 2006), pp 59-77.

Gillespie, Raymond, 'Lay spirituality and worship, 1558-1750: holy books and godly readers' in Gillespie, Raymond and Neely, W.G. (eds), *The laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000*, (Dublin, 2002), pp 133-51.

Goff, Henry, 'English conquest of an Irish barony. The changing patterns of land ownership in the barony of Scarawalsh, 1540 – 1640' in Whelan, Kevin, and Nolan, W. (eds), *Wexford: History and Society* (Dublin, 1987), pp 122-49.

Grattan Flood, W.H., 'Lismore under Edward VI and Queen Mary' in *Journal of Waterford and south-east Ireland Archaeological Society*, vii, (Waterford, 1901), pp 124-131.

Hammerstein, Helga, 'Aspects of the continental education of Irish students in the reign of Elizabeth I' in *Historical Studies*, viii (Dublin, 1969), pp 137-53.

Hooper, Wilfrid, 'The court of faculties' in *English Historical Review*, xxv, no. 100 (Oct, 1910), pp 670-86.

Hughes, James, 'The fall of the Clan Kavanagh' in *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, fourth series, ii, no.2 (1873), pp .282-34.

Jackson, Brian, 'Sectarianism, division and dissent in Irish catholicism' in Ford, Alan, and McCafferty, John (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 203-15.

Jefferies, Henry, 'George Montgomery, first Protestant bishop of Derry' in Jefferies, Henry, and Devlin, K. (eds), *History of the diocese of Derry: from earliest times* (Dublin, 1999) pp 140-66.

Jefferies, Henry, 'Parishes and pastoral care in the early Tudor era' in Fitzpatrick, Elizabeth and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), pp 211-27.

Jennings, Brendan (ed.), 'Irish students in the university of Louvain' in O'Brien, Sylvester (ed.), *Measgra Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh*, (Dublin, 1944), pp 74-97.

Kennedy, Michael, 'The first prayer books, 1551-1666' in Mayne, Brian (ed.), *The prayer books of the Church of Ireland, 1551-2004* (Dublin, 2004), pp 1-13.

Laffan, Thomas, 'Fethard, County Tipperary: its charters and corporation records, with some notice of the Fethard Everards' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xxxvi (1906), pp 143-53.

Laffan, Thomas, 'Abstracts from the Ancient Records of the Corporation of Cashel' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xxxiv (1904), pp 30-40.

Lennon, Colm, 'Pedagogy and reform: the influence of Peter White on Irish scholarship in the Renaissance' in Herron, Thomas, and Potterton, Michael (eds), *Ireland and the Renaissance, c. 1540-1660*, (Dublin, 2007), pp 43-51.

Lennon, Colm, 'Ossory and the Reformation: the testimony of Carrigan's *History and Antiquities*' in *Ossory, Laois and Leinster*, iii, (Kilkenny, 2008), pp 73-87.

Lennon, Colm, 'Taking sides: the emergence of Irish Catholic ideology' in Lotz-Heumann, Ute, and Carey, Vincent (eds), *Taking sides? Colonial and confessional mentalités in early modern Ireland: essays in honour of Karl S. Bottigheimer* (Dublin, 2003), pp 78-93.

Lennon, Colm, 'The Counter-Reformation in Ireland, 1542-1641' in Brady, Ciarán and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *Natives and Newcomers*, (Dublin, 1986), pp 75-92.

Lennon, Colm, 'The chantries in the Irish reformation: the case of St Anne's Guild, Dublin, 1550-1630' in Comerford, R.V., Cullen, Mary, Hill, J.R. & Lennon, Colm (eds), *Religion, conflict and coexistence in Ireland: essays presented to Msgr. P.J. Corish* (Dublin, 1990), pp 6-25.

Lennon, Colm, 'The shaping of a lay community in the Church of Ireland, 1558-1640' in Gillespie, Raymond and Neely, W.G. (eds), *The laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000*, (Dublin, 2002), pp 49-69.

Lennon, Colm, 'Education and religious identity in early modern Ireland' in *Paedagogica Historica. International journal of the history of education*, v, (1999), pp 57-75.

Lennon, Colm, 'Political thought of Irish Counter-Reformation churchmen: the testimony of the 'Analecta' of Bishop David Rothe' in Morgan, Hiram (ed.), *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), pp 181-202.

Lennon, Colm, 'The rise of recusancy among the Dublin patricians, 1580-1613' in Shiels, W.J. and Wood, Diana (eds), *The churches, Ireland and the Irish: Studies in Church History*, xxv (Oxford, 1989), pp 123-32.

Lennon, Colm, and Diamond, Ciarán, 'The ministry of the Church of Ireland, 1536-1636' in Barnard, T.C. and Neely, W.G. (eds), *The Clergy of the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000* (Dublin, 2006), pp 44-58.

Loeber, Rolf, and Stouthamer-Loeber, Magda, 'The lost architecture of the Wexford plantation' in Whelan, Kevin, and Nolan, W. (eds), *Wexford, History and Society* (Dublin, 1987), pp 173-200.

Lotz-Heumann, Ute, 'The Irish Reformation in European perspective' in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 89 (1998), pp 268-309.

Lotz-Heumann, Ute, 'The concept of "confessionalization": a historiographical paradigm in dispute,' in *Memoria y Civilizacion*, iv, (2001), pp 93-114.

Lotz-Heumann, Ute, 'Confessionalisation in Ireland: periodisation and character, 1534-1649' in Ford, Alan, and McCafferty, John (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 24-53.

McCafferty, John, 'Protestant prelates or godly pastors? The dilemma of the early Stuart episcopate' in Ford, Alan, and McCafferty, John (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 54-72.

McCarthy Morrogh, Michael, 'The English presence in early seventeenth century Munster' in Brady, Ciarán and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *Natives and Newcomers*, (Dublin, 1986), pp 171-90.

MacCarthy, Robert, 'The Church of Ireland in Carlow, 1549-2000' in McGrath, Thomas (ed.), *Carlow: history and society* (Dublin, 2008), pp 331-54.

McCartney, Donal, 'Parliamentary representation and electoral politics in Carlow' in McGrath, Thomas (ed.), *Carlow: history and society* (Dublin, 2008), pp 481-500.

Mac Craith, Mícheál, 'The political and religious thought of Florence Conry and Hugh McCaughwell' in Ford, Alan, and McCafferty, John (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 183-202.

Millett, Benignus, and Woods, C.J. (eds), 'Roman Catholic bishops from 1534' in Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X., and Byrne, F.J. (eds), *A New History of Ireland*, ix (Oxford, 1984), pp 333-91.

Mooney, C., 'The golden age of the Irish Franciscans' in O'Brien, Sylvester (ed.), *Measgra Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh*, (Dublin, 1944), pp 21-33.

Moran, P.F., 'The bishops of Ossory' in *Ossory Archaeological Society transactions*, ii (1880-3), pp 267-471.

Murphy, Celestine, 'The Wexford Catholic community in the later seventeenth century' in Comerford, Cullen, Hill and Lennon (eds), *Religion, Conflict and Coexistence in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1990), pp 78-98.

Murray, James, 'St Patrick's cathedral and the university question in Ireland, c1547-1585' in Robinson-Hammerstein, Helga (ed.), *European universities in the age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Dublin, 1998), pp 1-33.

Murray, James, 'Sources of clerical income in the Tudor diocese of Dublin, c. 1530-1600' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, xlvi (1991-2), pp 139-160

Murray, James, 'Ecclesiastical justice and the enforcement of the reformation: the case of Archbishop Browne and the clergy of Dublin' in Ford, Alan, McGuire, James and Milne, Kenneth (eds), *As by law established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995) pp 33-51.

Nilis, Jeroen, 'Irish Students at Leuven university, 1548-1797' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, lx, (2006-7) pp 1-304.

Nolan, William, 'County Carlow, 1641-1660: geography, landscape and society' in McGrath, Thomas (ed.), *Carlow: history and society* (Dublin, 2008), pp 355-404.

O'Cuiv, Brian, 'The Irish language in the early modern period' in Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X., Byrne, F.J. (eds), *A New History of Ireland*, iii, (Oxford, 1976), pp 509-45.

Ó Fachtna, Anselm, 'Cúig teagasc chríostaidhe de'n seachtmhadh aois déag: compráid' in O'Brien, Sylvester (ed.), *Measgra Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh*, (Dublin, 1944), pp 34-6.

Ó Fearghail, Fearghus, 'The Catholic Church in County Kilkenny, 1600-1800' in Nolan, F. and Whelan, Kevin (eds), *Kilkenny, History and Society* (Dublin, 1990), pp 197-213.

Ó hAnnracháin, Tadhg, 'In imitation of that holy patron of prelates the blessed St Charles': episcopal activity in Ireland and the formation of a confessional identity, 1618-1653' in Ford, Alan, and McCafferty, John (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 73-94.

Olden, Michael, 'Counter-Reformation problems: Munster' in *Proceedings of the Irish Catholic Historical Committee*, 1964, pp 21-32.

O'Reilly, Mary, 'Seventeenth century Irish catechisms: European or not?' in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 1 (1996), pp 102-12.

Power, Patrick, 'The Holy Ghost Friary' in *Journal of the Waterford and south-east Ireland Archaeological Society*, i, (Waterford, 1894-5), pp 202-20.

Power, Patrick, 'The Jesuits in Waterford' in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, xxxvi, no.143 (Sept, 1947), pp 271-82.

Prest, Wilfrid, 'Introduction: the professions and society in early modern England', in Prest, Wilfrid. (ed), *The professions in early modern England* (Beckenham, 1987).

Prim, J.G., 'Memorials of the family of Langton of Kilkenny' in *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, new series, v, no. 1 (1864), pp. 59-84.

Ranger, Terence, 'Richard Boyle and the making of an Irish fortune, 1588-1614' in *Irish Historical Studies*, x (1957), pp 257-97.

Robinson-Hammerstein, Helga, 'Archbishop Adam Loftus: the first Provost of Trinity College, Dublin' in Robinson-Hammerstein, Helga (ed.), *European universities in the age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Dublin, 1998), pp 34-52.

Ryan, Salvador, "'New wine in old bottles": implementing Trent in early modern Ireland' in Herron, Thomas, and Potterton, Michael (eds), *Ireland and the Renaissance, c. 1540-1660*, (Dublin, 2007), pp 122-37.

Sheehan, A.J., 'The recusancy revolt of 1603: a re-interpretation' in *Archivium Hibernicum* xxxviii (1983), pp 3-13.

Sheehan, Anthony, 'Irish towns in a period of change, 1558-1625' in Brady, Ciarán and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *Natives and Newcomers*, (Dublin, 1986), pp 93-119.

Tait, Clodagh, "'The just vengeance of God": reporting the violent deaths of persecutors in early modern Ireland' in Edwards, David, Lenihan, Padraig and Tait, Clodagh (eds.), *Age of atrocity: violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp 130-53.

Walsh, Katherine, 'Deliberate provocation or reforming zeal? John Bale as first church of Ireland bishop of Ossory, 1552/3-1563' in Lotz-Heumann, Ute, and Carey, Vincent (eds), *Taking sides? Colonial and confessional mentalités in early modern Ireland: essays in honour of Karl S. Bottigheimer* (Dublin, 2003), pp 42-60.

Walton, Julian, 'Church, crown and corporation in Waterford city, 1520-1620' in Nolan, William, and Power T.P. (eds), *Waterford, history and society* (Dublin, 1992), pp 176-97.

Books

Barnard, T.C. & Neely, W.G. (eds), *The clergy of the Church of Ireland: messengers, watchmen and stewards* (Dublin, 2006).

Barnard, T.C. & Fenlon, Jane (eds.), *The dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Suffolk, 2000).

Berney, Matthew (ed.), *Centenary history of Wexford Twin Churches* (Wexford, 1958).

Bossy, John, *Christianity in the west* (Oxford, 1985).

Bradshaw, Brendan, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1974).

Brady, W.M. *Episcopal succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, A.D. 1400-1875* (3 vols, Rome, 1876-7).

Burke, William, *History of Clonmel* (Waterford, 1907).

Burtchaell, G.D., and Sadleir, T.U. (eds), *Alumni Dublinensis, a register of the students, graduates, professors and provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin, (1593-1860)*, (Dublin, 1935).

Butler, Thomas, *Near restful waters: the Augustinians in Co Wexford* (Dublin, 1975).

Canny, Nicholas, *Making Ireland British* (Oxford, 2002).

Carrigan, William, *The history and antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (4 vols, Dublin, 1905).

Catholic Encyclopedia (1917) (www.newadvent.org/cathen).

Clarke, Aidan, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (Dublin, 2000).

Coleman, Ambrose, *Ancient Dominican foundations* (Dundalk, 1902),

Comerford, Michael, *Collections relating to Kildare and Leighlin* (3 vols, Dublin, 1883)

Comerford, R.V., Cullen, Mary, Hill, J.R. & Lennon, Colm (eds), *Religion, conflict and coexistence in Ireland: essays presented to Msgr. P.J. Corish* (Dublin, 1990).

Corcoran, Timothy, (ed.), *State policy in Irish education* (London, 1916).

Corcoran, Timothy, *Education systems in Ireland from the close of the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1928).

Corish, P.J., *The Catholic community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Dublin, 1981).

Corish, P.J., *The Irish catholic experience: a historical survey* (Dublin, 1985).

Cotton, Henry, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae: the succession of the prelates and members of the cathedral bodies in Ireland* (5 vols, Dublin, 1848).

Delumeau, Jean, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: a new view of the Counter-Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1977).

Dickens, A.G., *Reformation and society in sixteenth century Europe* (Norwich, 1966).

- Dickens, A.G., *The English Reformation* (London, 1964).
- Donovan, Brian, and Edwards, David (eds.), *British sources for Irish history, 1485-1641* (IMC, Dublin, 1997).
- Dudley Edwards, R., *Church and state in Tudor Ireland* (Dublin, 1935).
- Edwards, David, *The Ormond lordship in county Kilkenny, 1515-1642* (Dublin, 2003).
- Edwards, David, Lenihan, Padraig and Tait, Clodagh (eds.), *Age of atrocity: violence and political conflict in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007).
- Ellis, Steven , *Ireland in the age of the Tudors* (Harlow, 1995).
- Ellis, Steven, and Barber, Sarah (eds), *Conquest and union: fashioning a British state, 1482-1725* (London, 1995).
- Fenning, Hugh, *The black abbey, 1225-1986* (Kilkenny, 1986).
- Ferguson, James Frederick, *Remarks on the limitations of the Actions Bill intended for Ireland: together with short extracts from ancient records relating to advowsons of the churches in Ireland* (Dublin, 1843).
- Fincham, Kenneth (ed.), *The early Stuart church: 1603-42* (Stanford, 1993).
- Fitzpatrick, Elizabeth and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006).
- Fletcher, A.J., and Gillespie, Raymond (eds), *Irish preaching, 700-1700* (Dublin, 2001).
- Flynn, Thomas, *The Irish Dominicans, 1536-1641* (Dublin, 1993).
- Ford, Alan, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590-1641* (Dublin, 1997).
- Ford, Alan, and McCafferty, John (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005).
- Ford, Alan, McGuire, James and Milne, Kenneth (eds), *As by law established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995).

Forrestal, Alison, *Catholic synods in Ireland, 1600-1690* (Dublin, 1998).

Foster, Joseph, (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (4 vols, Oxford, 1891-1892).

Gahan, John V., *The secular priests of the diocese of Ferns* (Strasbourg, 2000).

Gillespie, Raymond, *Devoted people – belief and religion in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997).

Gillespie, Raymond, *Seventeenth century Ireland: making Ireland modern* (Dublin, 2006).

Gillespie, Raymond and Neely, W.G. (eds), *The laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000* (Dublin, 2002).

Giltrap, Risteárd, *An Ghaeilge in eaglais na hÉireann* (Dublin, 1990).

Gleeson, John, *Cashel of the kings: a history of the ancient capital of Munster from the date of its foundation until the present day* (Dublin, 1927).

Grannell, Fergal, *The Franciscans in Wexford* (Wexford, 1980).

Grattan Flood, W.H., *History of the Diocese of Ferns* (Waterford, 1916).

Hansard, Joseph, *The history, topography and antiquities (natural and ecclesiastical) of the county and city of Waterford* (Waterford, 1870).

Hogan, Edmund, *Ibernia Ignatiana* (Dublin, 1880).

Hogan, Edmund, *Distinguished Irishmen of the sixteenth century* (London, 1894.).

Hore, Herbert and Graves, James, *The social state of the southern and eastern counties of Ireland in the sixteenth century; being the presentments of the gentlemen, commonality and citizens of Carlow, Cork, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford made in the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I* (Dublin, 1870).

Hore, P.H., *History of the Town and County of Wexford* (6 vols, London, 1911).

- Jackson, Donald, *Intermarriage in Ireland, 1550-1660* (Montreal, 1970).
- Jefferies, Henry, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations* (Dublin, 2010).
- Jeffrey, W.H., *The castles of Co Wexford* (Wexford, 1979).
- Jones, Norman, *The English Reformation, religion and cultural adaptation* (Oxford, 2001).
- Joyce, P.W., *A concise history of Ireland* (Dublin, 1909).
- Knox, Iain, *Clergy and parishes of Waterford & Lismore, and Ferns* (Dublin, 2008).
- Lennon, Colm, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland, the incomplete conquest* (Dublin, 1994).
- Lennon, Colm, *The lords of Dublin in the age of Reformation* (Dublin, 1989).
- Lennon, Colm, *Archbishop Richard Creagh of Armagh, 1523-1586: an Irish prisoner of conscience of the Tudor era* (Dublin, 2000).
- Leslie, J.B., *Ferns clergy and parishes* (Dublin, 1936).
- Leslie, J.B., *Ossory clergy and parishes* (Enniskillen, 1933).
- Lewis, Samuel, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland* (London, 1867).
- Lotz-Heumann, Ute, and Carey, Vincent (eds), *Taking sides? Colonial and confessional mentalités in early modern Ireland: essays in honour of Karl S. Bottigheimer* (Dublin, 2003), pp 78-93.
- Lydon, James, *The making of Ireland, from ancient times to the present* (London, 1998).
- McCafferty, John, *The reconstruction of the Church of Ireland : Bishop Bramhall and the Laudian reforms, 1633-1641* (Cambridge, 2007).
- McCarthy, Daniel (ed.), *Collections on Irish church history: from the MSS of the late V. Rev. Laurence F. Renehan*. (3 vols, Dublin, 1861).
- Mac Cuarta, Brian, *Catholic revival in the north of Ireland, 1603-41* (Dublin, 2007).

- McGrath, Thomas (ed.), *Carlow: history and society* (Dublin, 2008).
- Mant, Richard, *History of the Church of Ireland* (3 vols, London, 1840).
- Mayne, Brian (ed.), *The prayer books of the Church of Ireland, 1551-2004* (Dublin, 2004).
- Meehan, C.P., *The rise and fall of the Irish Franciscan monasteries, and memoirs of the Irish hierarchy* (Dublin, 1877).
- Meigs, Samantha, *The reformation in Ireland: tradition and confessionalism, 1400-1690* (London, 1997).
- Moody, T.W., Martin, F.X. and Byrne, F.J. (eds), *A New History of Ireland* (10 vols, Oxford, 1976).
- Moran, P.F., *History of the Catholic archbishops of Dublin* (Dublin, 1864).
- Morgan, Hiram (ed.), *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999).
- Murphy, Denis, *Cromwell in Ireland* (Dublin, 1883).
- Murray, James, *Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland: clerical resistance and political conflict in the diocese of Dublin, 1534–1590* (Cambridge, 2009).
- Neely, W.G., *Kilkenny: an urban history, 1391-1843* (Belfast, 1989).
- Nolan, William, and McGrath, Thomas (eds), *Tipperary, history and society* (Dublin, 1985).
- Nolan, William, and Power T.P. (eds), *Waterford, history and society* (Dublin, 1992).
- O'Boyle, James, *The Irish colleges on the continent* (Dublin, 1935).
- Ó Conbhuidhe, Colmcille, ed. Finbarr Donovan, *The Cistercian abbeys of Tipperary* (Dublin, 1999).
- O'Connell, Patricia, *The Irish College at Santiago de Compostela, 1605-1769* (Dublin, 2007).
- O'Connell, Patricia, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590-1834* (Dublin, 2000).

O'Connor, Thomas, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-1700* (Dublin, 2008).

O'Day, Rosemary and Heal, Felicity (eds), *Princes and paupers in the English church, 1500-1800* (Leicester, 1981).

O'Day, Rosemary and Heal, Felicity (eds), *Continuity and change: personnel and administration of the church in England, 1500-1642* (Leicester, 1976).

O'Day, Rosemary, *The English clergy: the emergence and consolidation of a profession, 1558-1642* (Leicester, 1979).

O'Day, Rosemary, *The professions in Early Modern England* (Harlow, 2000).

O'Dowd, Mary, *A history of women in Ireland, 1500-1800* (Harlow, 2005).

O'Flynn, J.J., *Two centuries of Catholic bishops in Waterford and Lismore* (Waterford, 1917).

O'Grady, Hugh, *Strafford and Ireland: the history of his vice-royalty with an account of his trial* (Dublin, 1923).

Ó hAnnracháin, Tadhg, *Catholic reformation in Ireland: the mission of Rinuccini, 1645-9* (Oxford, 2002).

Oliver, George (ed.), *Collections towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English and Irish members of the Society of Jesus* (1863).

O'Shea, J.A., *The life of Fr Luke Wadding* (Dublin, 1885)

Parker, Charles, *Faith on the margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Harvard, 2008).

Phillips, Walter Alison, *History of the Church of Ireland from the earliest times to the present day* (4 vols, London, 1934).

Power, Patrick, *Waterford and Lismore: a compendious history of the united diocese* (Cork, 1937).

- Proctor, Francis and Frere, W.H., *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1910).
- Refaussé, Raymond, *Church of Ireland Records* (Dublin, 2000).
- Rennison, W.H., *Succession list of bishops, cathedral and parochial clergy of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore* (Waterford, 1920).
- Ryan, John, '*Carlow*': *history and antiquities of the county of Carlow* (Dublin, 1833).
- Ryland, R.H., *The history, topography and antiquities of the county and city of Waterford* (London, 1824).
- Seymour, St J.D., *A succession of parochial clergy in the united diocese of Cashel and Emly* (Dublin, 1908).
- Seymour, St. J.D., *The diocese of Emly* (Dublin, 1913).
- Simington, Robert, *The transplantations to Connacht, 1654-8* (IMC, Dublin, 1970).
- Stephen, Leslie (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1889).
- Stopford Green, Alice, *The making of modern Ireland and its undoing* (London, 1939).
- Tait, Clodagh, *Death, burial and commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke, 2002).
- Townshend, Dorothea, *The life and letters of the great earl of Cork* (London, 1904).
- Vandeleur, Rev. W.E., *Notes on Ardamine and Killena Parishes* (Dundalk, 1957).
- Venn, John, and Venn, J.A. (eds), *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I from the earliest times to 1751*, (4 vols, Cambridge, 1922-1927).
- Whelan, Kevin, and Nolan, W. (eds), *Wexford, History and Society* (Dublin, 1987).