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HISTORY

OF THE

CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN,

SINCE THE REFORMATION.

BY

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VOL. I.

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TO THE
VENERABLE CHAPTER AND THE CATHOLIC CLERGY,
Secular and Regular,
OF THE
DIOCESE OF DUBLIN.

HAVING completed, after long and careful researches, the first volume of the History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation, I take the liberty of dedicating it to you, as a proof of my profound respect and veneration for the virtues and merits by which you are distinguished—virtues and merits which may be considered as hereditary, having been handed down to you by your illustrious predecessors in the ministry, who laboured so assiduously for the preservation of religion, and contributed so largely to the triumph of the true faith in Ireland—thus securing for our country a name glorious among the Catholic nations of the earth.

During the period treated of in the part of the first volume now about to appear, the ancient Church of Dublin passed through the most trying ordeal and suffered the severest persecutions, whilst at the same time it was deprived of the protection and guidance of legitimate chief pastors; but through the zeal and devotedness of the Metropolitan Chapter and Clergy, the

flock was preserved from the ravages of heresy and the poison of error.

Intruded, in the year 1535, by Henry VIII., into the see of St. Laurence, without canonical election or sanction, Dr. Brown, previously an agent of Cranmer, and imbued with his heterodox opinions, employed all his influence and energy for nearly twenty years in laying waste and plundering the fold of Christ, and in vain attempts to pervert the Catholics of Dublin.

His career of rapine and destruction having been brought to an end, another Englishman, Hugh Curwin, though he had previously given his adhesion to the usurped supremacy of Henry VIII., was promoted to the metropolitan see of Leinster by Queen Mary, in the delusive hope that he would contribute to protect the true religion; but after a short episcopate of about three years, when Elizabeth came to the throne, that unhappy man betrayed the trust placed in him, returned to the principles which he had professed many years before, and preferring the smiles of the court to the discharge of his solemn engagements, fell away miserably from the faith.

When this apostate's unworthy conduct rendered it necessary to translate him to an English reformed see, Elizabeth, in the exercise of a power received from man, not from God, deputed another Englishman, Dr. Loftus, one of her own favourites, to establish the Reformation in Dublin—a task to which he devoted himself for nearly forty years, manifesting in all his proceedings a spirit of avarice and rapacity, and a deeply-rooted hatred of everything Irish and Catholic, and marking his career by persecution and bloodshed, in a way sufficient to prove that he was no minister of the Gospel of charity.

After a vacancy of almost seventy years, during which the See of Dublin groaned under the usurped authority of the three first Protestant bishops, who, without any spiritual jurisdiction,

and as mere government agents, enjoyed its temporalities, Catholic prelates were again, through the paternal providence of the Roman Pontiffs, appointed to govern the diocese; but such was the violence of persecution near the seat of government, that for more than a century after the death of Elizabeth, the canonically appointed archbishops died either in prison or exile.

Whilst heathens had thus come into the inheritance of the Lord, and defiled His holy temple, and poured the blood of the faithful as water round about Jerusalem, is it not a source of great glory to the Chapter and Clergy of Dublin, that during those sad times they watched over and defended their flocks with heroic fortitude and self-sacrifice, and preserved them from all the open and perfidious assaults of their enemies? Though left without the watchful care and spiritual guidance of a bishop, and deprived of every earthly possession, and subject to the terror of the penal laws, with the sword always hanging over their heads, nothing could make them flinch from duty, or consent to obey man rather than God. In his correspondence with the government, the great father of the Reformation in Ireland, Dr. Brown, was repeatedly obliged to confess that he scarcely found an adherent amongst the Chapter and Clergy of Dublin, and that their courage and constancy rendered it impossible for him to carry out his views; and, at a later period, Dr. Loftus often declared that there was no chance of establishing Protestantism in your Metropolis except by stringent penal laws and persecution.

Is it not also a glorious privilege of the children of St. Laurence, that, whilst defending religion in their own district, they contributed largely to its preservation in other dioceses? One of the most heroic defenders of the faith in the days of Elizabeth, was Dr. Leverous, dean of St. Patrick's, who, whilst retaining

that dignity, governed the diocese of Kildare and preserved it from the contagion of heresy. At the same period, a dean of Christ's Church was bishop of the faithful Catholics of Kerry; a priest of Dublin, holding a parish in that city, governed the diocese of Leighlin; and, a little later, a vicar of St. Mary's was apostolic administrator of the diocese of Raphoe.

When the prayers of the faithful were at length heard, and God, who commands the winds and the waves, and changes the hearts of princes, had restored peace to the Irish Church, were the Chapter and Clergy of Dublin found wanting to their ancient traditions, or did they show themselves unworthy of their glorious predecessors? On the contrary, as soon as persecution had ceased, they displayed the greatest energy in building up the walls of Jerusalem, and collecting the scattered stones of the sanctuary. How many beautiful churches now adorn your city and diocese? How many schools have you established? How many colleges, convents, and monasteries have sprung up under your fostering care? And, above all, what an impulse have you not given to deeds of piety and charity, and to the practice of every Christian virtue and good work!

Besides, how many zealous missionaries have been sent from among you to found or adorn new and distant churches? Do not the archiepiscopal sees of Baltimore, St. Louis, and Halifax, and the episcopal sees of Toronto and Chicago in America; of Capetown and Grahamstown in Africa; of Adelaide and Queensland in Australia; and of Bombay, in Asia, owe an immense debt of gratitude to Dublin for supplying them with pastors, who have rendered great services to them in the past, or are still toiling for their welfare? amongst whom may be mentioned one whose loss we had so lately to deplore, Dr. Kenrick, the Archbishop of Baltimore, whose name will be

ever in benediction in the Church of God, and whose works are a standing monument of his learning and piety.

Let me, then, conclude by again offering to you the work in which I am engaged, and which is closely connected with the history of the Chapter and Clergy of Dublin, though principally directed to describe the lives of those Prelates who presided over your diocese, and who fought the good fight, and preserved the faith. I regret the work is not more worthy of your acceptance. However, it contains many facts that will serve to illustrate the origin of Protestantism, and to show that it was propagated by violence, confiscation of property, penal laws, and cruel persecutions, and that the principal agents employed to establish it in Ireland, were men remarkable for their avarice and rapacity, their cruelty and immorality. What a contrast does its history present with that of the early Christians, who propagated the faith of Christ by prayer, by good works, by submitting to persecution, by deeds of charity, and by returning good for evil; not by force, or the confiscation of the property of others, or the terror of cruel laws! What a contrast, also, between the conduct of the first Reformers in Ireland and the lives of your predecessors, who, in patience and suffering, preserved the lamp of faith during the long night of persecution, and who edified the world by their constancy and courage, and by the odour of their virtues, handing down a glorious inheritance, which your piety and zeal will, in turn, transmit, pure and unsullied, to future generations!

In fine, I trust that the chronological series of the Irish Catholic Bishops, during the reign of Elizabeth, given in the Appendix to this Introduction, will convince the learned and impartial Very Rev. Dr. Todd that he was mistaken when he asserted, in his preface to the Life of St. Patrick, that in the

sixteenth century "the original Irish Church, properly so called, having merged into the Church of the English Pale, adopted the Reformation." The most authentic records of history which we have consulted, show that the general series of Catholic Bishops was never interrupted in Ireland; that the Catholic Bishops of the Pale, as well as those of every other part of the kingdom, were faithful to their trust, and "never adopted the Reformation;" and that the Protestant Bishops who were intruded into Irish sees had no claim to apostolical succession, and no right to episcopal jurisdiction, having derived whatever powers they possessed from mere secular authority, and from a most corrupt source, the despotic enactments of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth. Through the protection of Heaven, and the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and St. Patrick, the Catholic people of Ireland and their clergy have always been faithful to their religion; and confiscation of property and penal laws, and persecution, and the sword, have been in vain employed to separate them from the rock of Peter, and from the true faith, which overcometh the world.

With profound respect,

I have the honour to be

Your very obedient servant,

P. F. MORAN.

Irish College, St. Agatha, Rome,

Feast of the Circumcision of our Lord, 1864.

HISTORY
OF THE
CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN
SINCE THE REFORMATION.

TO THE READER.

THE following introductory chapters may be found useful, in preparing the reader for the perusal of the history of the holy and illustrious Irish Catholic Archbishops who filled the see of Dublin since the Reformation. In this introduction, the first attempts to root out the ancient religion of Ireland, the unworthy arts by which the Catholic Church was assailed, and the evil effects of the Reformation, are briefly described, and a sketch is given of the long and cruel persecutions which our forefathers, emulating the constancy of the early Christians, so gloriously suffered for their faith, in the days of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth. The sad condition to which the confiscation of Catholic property, the destruction of colleges and monasteries, the dispersion of the clergy, violence and penal laws—the offspring of a cruel and hypocritical despotism—had reduced our country at that period, will explain why the see of Dublin was so long deprived of pastors during the sixteenth century. At the same time every Irish Catholic, when considering the calamities which fell on our country in

the unhappy days of the Reformation, cannot but be filled with gratitude to God, for having preserved our ancient and venerable Church, from the destruction with which she was menaced by so many powerful and perfidious enemies; and having protected her in a miraculous manner, through centuries of darkness and desolation. The goodness of God, the power of faith, that victory which overcometh the world, were never more fully displayed than in the period to which we refer. The introduction is divided into four chapters:—

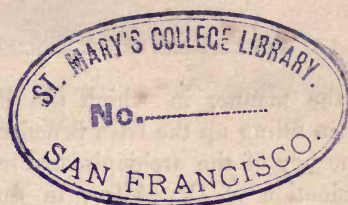
1. The first efforts of the English government to introduce the Reformation into Ireland.

2. The appointment of Hugh Curwin to the see of Dublin, and his apostacy.

3. Vacancy of the see after the apostacy of Curwin, and how the diocese was administered until the end of the sixteenth century.

4. Persecution of the Irish Catholics during the reign of Elizabeth.

To these chapters we add an APPENDIX, containing an account of the succession of the Catholic bishops in the various sees of Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth. The facts stated in this appendix will show, that the succession of our Irish Catholic bishops has remained unbroken, that the people of Ireland never abandoned the true faith, and that the theories of Dr. Mant, and of Dr. Todd in his late life of St. Patrick, on this subject, are without foundation.



INTRODUCTION.

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CHAPTER I.

FIRST EFFORTS OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT TO INTRODUCE PROTESTANTISM INTO IRELAND.

1. Mission of the Protestant Archbishop Dr. Browne to the Irish Catholics.—
2. Royal Supremacy sanctioned by Parliament, 1536-7.—3. Other Acts of Parliament in favour of the Reformation.—4. Zeal of the Protestant Archbishop in the same cause: Destruction of Crosses, Images, Relics, Church Ornaments, and the Crozier of St. Patrick.—5. Suppression of Monasteries.—
6. Sufferings of Religious Orders.—7. Other efforts of Government to promote the Reformation.—8. Character of Reformers in Ireland.—9. Reformation fails in Ireland under Henry VIII.

1.—*Mission of Doctor George Browne to the Irish Catholics.*

AN English Augustinian friar, by name George Browne, was the individual chosen by Henry the Eighth to unfurl in Ireland the standard of revolt against the authority of the Holy See. Dr. Browne had been for many years a courtier of the English monarch, and for some time before his advancement to the see of Dublin, had held the lucrative post of confidential agent of archbishop Cranmer. He, moreover, enjoyed the friendship of lord Cromwell, and in 1534 formed part of a commission specially destined to prepare the way in Ireland for the important step of *reformation*, then contemplated by Henry. This commission, indeed, was in many respects a complete failure; nevertheless, it obtained one result, which was hailed by the courtiers with all the joy of a glorious triumph—that, forsooth, the earl of Ossory and his son, when entering on the government of the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, in the month of May, 1534, should consent to pledge themselves “to resist the usurpation of the bishop of Rome,” and assign, as the cause of all the evils which then pressed heavily upon our

island, "the manner in which the Pope had exercised his authority in filling up the Irish benefices."*

The vacancy of the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, caused by the assassination of Dr. Allen, in July, 1534, presented a favourable opportunity of testing what blessings might result to our church, by setting aside the privilege of the Roman Pontiff, and filling up the Irish sees by the sole authority of the English crown. Accordingly, in the beginning of March, 1535, we find Dr. Browne appointed by Henry to the diocese of Dublin; a few days later, without receiving any confirmation from Rome,† he was consecrated by Cranmer, and, moreover, in compliance with the schismatical act lately passed in the English parliament, the new prelate received—not from the tombs of the apostles, but from the archbishop of Canterbury‡—the pallium and other insignia of his high dignity.

It is a great error of some writers to reckon Dr. Browne amongst the Catholic successors of St. Laurence O'Toole.§ He had no more claim to the title of Catholic archbishop of Dublin than has Dr. Whately at the present day.|| Even Ussher, in his sketch of the early career of Dr. Browne, attributes his favour with the king to his having rejected the doctrines of Rome; and Dr. Mant describes him before his appointment to the see of Dublin, as a man "whose mind was happily freed from the thralldom of popery," whilst he adds, that "the arrival of the archbishop in his diocese was the first step taken by the reformation in Ireland."¶

Were further evidence required on this head, we would find it in the letter of king Henry to the archbishop on the 7th of July, 1537, from which we give some extracts, as it clearly

* State Pap. See Haverty, "History of Ireland," page 360.

† Haverty, page 378, well remarks that Browne, at the time he was consecrated, was a *professing Protestant*.

‡ Harris's Ware, page 348.

§ Dr. Browne himself, writing to Cromwell on 8th of January, 1538 (State Pap., vol. ii. p. 539), says, "it hath pleased his most excellent highness (the king) through your good lordship's preferment, to make me under his grace, a spiritual officer, and chief over the clergy;" and again, "there is never an archbishop nor bishop but myself, *made by the king*, but he is repelled even now by provision."

|| A MS. notice of our Irish bishops, written in 1579, and preserved in the Vatican, describes the see of Dublin as vacant since the death of its archbishop in the reign of Henry VIII. *Per obitum epi. tempore Henrici Regis.*"

¶ "Hist. of the Church of Ireland," vol. i. pp. 111, 112.

traces the true source of the mission of this first English Protestant bishop to the Irish church:—

“Right reverend father in God, trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, signifying unto you, that whereas *before your promotion and advancement to that order, dignity, and authority of an archbishop, you showed an appearance of such entire zeal* and affection, as well to the setting forth and preaching the sincere word of God, and avoiding of all superstition used against the honour of the same, as to employ yourself always diligently, for your part, to procure the good furtherance of any of our affairs, as much as in you lay, and might appear to be to our contentment and satisfaction, that thinking your mind to be so earnestly fixed upon the same that you would persevere and continue still in that your good purposé: . . . do then your duty towards us in the advancement of our affairs there, and in the signification hither, from time to time, of the state of the same, and we shall put your former negligence in oblivion. If this will not serve to induce you to it, but that you will still so persevere in your fond folly and ungrateful ungentleness, that you cannot remember what we have done, and how much above many others you be bound in all the points before touched, to do your duty, let it sink into your remembrance, that we be as able for the not doing thereof, *to remove you again and to put another man of more virtue and honesty in your place*, both for our discharge against God, and for the comfort of our good subjects there, *as we were at the beginning to prefer you*, upon hope that you would in the same do your office, as to your profession, and our opinion conceived of you, appertaineth.”—(State Papers, vol. ii. p. 465.)

2.—*The Royal Supremacy receives the sanction of Parliament, 1536-7.*

Soon after his arrival in Ireland, Dr. Browne received a formal letter from lord Cromwell, acquainting him with “the royal will and pleasure of his majesty, that his subjects in Ireland, even as those of England, should obey his commands in spiritual matters as in temporal, and renounce their allegiance to the see of Rome.” At the same time a new commission was formed, and the archbishop was appointed one of its chief members, for carrying into effect his majesty’s desires.*

The reply of the archbishop sets forth the difficulty of carrying such a scheme into effect, on account of the devoted

* See “The Phoenix,” or Collection of “Scarce and Valuable Pieces,” printed in London, 1707, vol. i. number 5. “The Life and Death of George Browne,” written by Robert Ware. The same life is inserted in the English edition of sir James Ware’s *Annals*, between the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth.

attachment of our island to the chair of Peter; and suggests as the only remedy, the convening of a new parliament. His letter is as follows:—*

“MY MOST HONOURED LORD—Your humble servant, receiving your mandate as one of his highness’s commissioners, hath endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of his temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience in owing of his highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh,† who hath been the main oppugner, and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people whosoever should own his highness’s supremacy, saying, that isle—as it is in their Irish chronicles, *insula sacra*—belongs to none but the bishop of Rome, and that it was the bishop of Rome that gave it to the king’s ancestors. There be two messengers, by the priests of Armagh and by that archbishop, now lately sent to the bishop of Rome. Your lordship may inform his highness that it is convenient to call a parliament in this nation, to pass the supremacy by act; for they do not much matter his highness’s commission, which your lordship sent us over. This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders. . . . The common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in truth, at the beginning of the Gospel. I send to you, my very good lord, these things, that your lordship and his highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared O’Neill will be ordered by the bishop of Rome to oppose your lordship’s order from the king’s highness; for the natives are very much in numbers within his powers. I do pray the Lord Christ to defend your lordship from your enemies.—Dublin, 4th Kal. Dec., 1535.”

The suggestion here made by Dr. Browne, that a parliament should be held, to give a more solemn sanction to the innovations in religion, was warmly approved of by the king; and preparatory to it, the lord deputy set out on a *martial course*, as it is styled by sir John Davies, and a *victorious circuit round about the kingdom*. Most of the Irish septs, weakened by intestine troubles, and terrified by the imposing army now at the deputy’s command, hastened to meet him and make their submission to the government. Matters being thus prepared, continues sir John Davies, “he propounded and passed in parliament those laws which made the great alteration in the state ecclesiastical.”

* Phoenix, loc. cit. pag. 121; Harleian Miscel., etc.

† George Cromer, archbishop of Armagh.

The parliament was summoned in 1536, and the chief bill presented for discussion enacted:

"That the king, his heirs and successors, should be the supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland, and should have power and authority, from time to time, to visit, reform, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which, by any manner, spiritual authority, or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of peace, unity, and tranquillity of this land of Ireland; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, etc., notwithstanding."*

Another bill withdrew all appeals in spiritual causes from the tribunal of Rome, and vested them in the crown; whilst other acts were directly levelled against the authority of the Holy See, declaring it *an usurped authority*, and forbidding all persons, under penalty of *præmunire*, "to extol or maintain by writing, or any act," the jurisdiction of the Holy Father within the realm of Ireland. At the same time, the justices of the peace received instructions to examine into all offences against this act, as into "other offences against the king's peace." An oath of supremacy was imposed on all ecclesiastical and lay officers, and it was, in fine, declared that an obstinate refusal to take this oath "should be punished as high treason."†

Archbishop Browne was, of course, the active agent of the government in seeking to engage the sanction of parliament for these acts. His biographer has handed down the speech made by him on this occasion, and we give it as an illustration of the servility of this courtier, whilst we, at the same time, fully agree with Dr. Mant (otherwise a panegyrist of the archbishop), that it is more remarkable for brevity *than for deep argument or rhetorical display*:—‡

"My lords and gentry of this his majesty's realm of Ireland, behold, your obedience to your king is the observing of your God and Saviour Christ; for He, that High Priest of our souls, paid tribute to Cæsar, though no Christian. Greater honour then, surely, is due to your prince, his highness the king, who is a Christian one. Rome and her bishops, in the Fathers' days, acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes to be supreme over their dominions—nay, Christ's own

* Irish Statut. 28th Henry VIII. chap. v. † Ib. chap. vi. and xiii.

‡ Hist. of the Irish Ch. vol. i. p. 117.

vicars—and it is as much to the bishop of Rome's shame to deny what their precedent bishops owned; therefore, his highness claims but what he can justify the bishop Eleutherius gave to Lucius, the first Christian king of the Britons; so that I shall, without scruple, vote his highness, king Henry, my supreme over ecclesiastick matters as well as temporal, and head thereof even of both isles, England and Ireland, and that without guilt of conscience or sin to God: and he who will not pass this act, as I do, is no true subject to his highness."

This flimsy reasoning, or we should rather say confusion of ideas, by which he seeks to identify that temporal authority of the civil ruler, which was ever sanctioned by the Redeemer and the Church, with the spiritual power entrusted by Christ, only to the anointed pastors of his sacred fold, did not produce its desired effect.

There were in parliament two spiritual proctors from every diocese: it was their special province, "upon such things of learning as should happen in controversy," to declare what was the doctrine agreeable to truth and to the teaching of the Church; and from time immemorial they enjoyed the right that nothing contrary to their decision should be enacted in parliament. From this body now proceeded the chief opposition to the act of supremacy. Looked up to by the nation as the natural guardians for preserving untainted the purity of faith, they, without a dissentient voice, rejected with disdain the measures now proposed by the lord deputy. Moreover, they could not be overcome by threats or by corruption, and hence it became an object of anxious care to the court to have these proctors excluded, without delay, from parliament. On the 18th of May, 1537, lords Gray and Brabazon thus wrote to lord Cromwell in England:—

"Considering both the obstinacy of the spirituality used in this session, and having remembered if the king's highness would send any commissioners hither, we thought it good to have the parliament open at his coming, to the intent, that the wilfulness of the spirituality being refrained, things for the king's honour and profit, and the common weal of this land, now by them denied to be granted, may then pass accordingly. The frowardness and obstinacy of the proctors of the clergy from the beginning of this parliament, and at this session, both of them the bishops and abbots, hath been such, that we think we can no less do than advertise your lordship thereof. . . Con-

sidering their obstinacy, we thought good to prorogue the parliament for this time, and against the next sessions provide a remedy for them. And, therefore, my lord, it were well done that some means be devised whereby they may be brought to remember their duties better. Except the means may be found that these proctors may be put from voice in the parliament, there shall but few things pass for the king's profit; for, hitherto, have they showed themselves in nothing conformable."*

In accordance with these wishes, an order was at once transmitted to the commissioners, under the great seal of England, declaring that the spiritual proctors should be allowed no vote in parliament; and that their assent should nowise be requisite for any act of the legislature.†

The voice of the spiritual pastors being thus hushed, and many of the Irish chieftains having retired in disgust from the parliament, the act of supremacy was passed. It was boasted by Henry's agents on the continent, that the Irish nation had renounced the spiritual supremacy of Rome; but whatever may be deemed the civil result of the above act, surely no impartial observer will affirm that such an enactment of *an English parliament in Ireland, carried by despotism*, can be in any way referred to the representatives of the Irish nation.

3.—Other Acts of Parliament.

It is a remarkable coincidence that the same parliament that thus sought to introduce the new reformed principles into Ireland, was also the first to enact that the king of England should in future be styled *king* instead of *lord* of Ireland.‡ This act was especially pleasing to Henry, and was accompanied by public demonstrations of joy in the Irish capital. A solemn "Te Deum" was chanted in St. Patrick's Cathedral; bonfires were made in the public squares; wine, too, was set in the streets, and banquets were offered to the citizens by the court officials: so important a triumph was this deemed in promoting the cause of their royal master.

Other acts regarding the spiritual administration were passed in quick succession. The king being now head of the Church,

* State Papers, Henry VIII. vol. ii. p. 437.

† Irish Statute 28th Henry VIII. chap. xii.

‡ Ir. Stat. 33rd Henry VIII. ch. i.

it was deemed necessary to secure to him a tribute from the ecclesiastical property. Hence an act for *first fruits* declared that "all persons nominated to any ecclesiastical preferment, should pay to the king the profits for one year."* Another act vested in him the first fruits of abbeys, priories, and hospitals; whilst another enacted that the twentieth part of the profit of all spiritual benefices should be paid to the king for ever.

Even all this was not deemed enough to secure the *spiritual supremacy* of Henry; and hence another act prohibited the payment of Peter's Pence to the See of Rome, as well as the procuring of dispensations and faculties from the same ecclesiastical source; whilst these faculties were in future to be granted only by commissioners chosen by the king, who, in the wisdom of the reformed court, should be the new spiritual guides of the Irish people, instead of the successors of St. Peter.

It was so transparent that these enactments were repugnant to the traditions and hereditary glory of the Irish nation, that the parliament soon deemed it better to lay aside the mask, and wage an open war against our national usages, and even against our existence as a people. Thus we find one act passed for encouraging "the English order, habit, and language," whilst it prescribed that spiritual preferment should be given "only to such as could speak English, unless after four proclamations in the next market-town such could not be had." Should any Irishman, perchance, be thus promoted to any benefice, there was an oath imposed, "that he would endeavour to learn and teach the English tongue to all and every being under his rule, and to bid the beads in the English tongue, and preach the word of God in English, if he can preach; and to keep, or cause to be kept, within his parish, a school to learn English, if any children of his parish come to him to learn the same, taking for the keeping of the same school such convenient stipend or salary as in the same land is accustomably used to be taken."† At the same time a scheme was laid as diabolical as was ever planned by the perverted ingenuity of man, for the utter extirpation of the Irish. We transcribe it from the volume of state papers already referred to:—

* Irish Stat. 28th Henry VIII. ch. viii.

† Irish Stat. Henry VIII. ch. xv.

“The very living of the Irishry doth clearly consist in two things, and take away the same from them, and they are past for ever to recover or yet to annoy any subject in Ireland. Take first from them their corn and as much as cannot be husbanded and had into the hands of such as shall dwell and inhabit in their lands, to burn and destroy the same, so as the Irishry shall not live thereupon; and then to have their cattle and beasts, which shall be hardest to come by; and yet with guides and policy they be oft had and taken. And by reason that the several armies, as I devised in my other paper, should proceed at once, it is not possible for the said Irishry to put or flee their cattle from one country into another, but that one of the armies shall come thereby; and admitting the impossibility so that their cattle were saved, yet in the continuance of one year, the same cattle shall be dead, destroyed, stolen, strayed or eaten, by reason of the continual removing of them, going from one wood to another, their lying out all the winter, their narrow pastures. And then they (the Irishry) shall be without corn, victuals or cattle, and thereof shall ensue the putting in effect all these wars against them.”

4.—*Zealous Efforts of the Protestant Archbishop.—Destruction of Relics and Church Ornaments.*

We have already seen how the English monarch, by his letter of the 7th July, 1537, sought to stimulate the zeal of the archbishop of Dublin, reminding him of the mission he had received from the crown, and recalling also to his memory how he who had made him bishop of that see, could, with the same facility, *unmake him*.

In his reply, Dr. Browne sketches his past zealous labours, and declares his earnest desire to correspond faithfully with the wishes of Henry:—

“May it please your most excellent highness to be advertised, that on the 11th day of September I received your most gracious letters, which, being perused, did not only cause me to take fruitful and gracious monitions, but also made me to tremble in body for fear of incurring your majesty’s displeasure. And where your majesty writeth unto me, I have not endeavoured myself in setting forth and preaching the sincere word of God, avoiding all superstition used against the honour of the same, I may signify unto your highness of verity, that for my small abode here, there hath not these many years any my predecessors so much exercised in declaring to the people the only Gospel of Christ, persuading and inducing the hearers unto the true meaning of the same, utterly despising the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, *being a thing not a little rooted among the inhabitants here*. Touching the second article in your grace’s

letters concerning your majesty's affairs here, I refer me to judgment for the most part of your highness's council here, how in that behalf I have used myself, being the first spiritual man that moved the twentieth parts and first fruits, setting forth in what in me lay the like first fruits of all monasteries being before not motioned. . . . Finally, certifying your majesty that I received your grace's other letters, at this season to me addressed, on behalf of Edward Vaughan, the queen's gracious servant, the contents whereof I have fully accomplished. Beseeching your highness of your most accustomed goodness to accept this my rude letter, answerable even as I were personally doing my duty, approaching on knees before your majesty, declaring the certainty of all the premises, with acknowledging my ignorances, desiring of God, that hour or minute I should prefix myself to declare the Gospel of Christ, after any other sort than of my part most unworthy have heretofore done, before your majesty, in rebuking the papistical power, or in any other point concerning the advancement of your grace's affairs, should not be prompt to set forth benignly, that the ground should open and swallow me."—(27th Sept. 1537, State Pap. Henry VIII. vol. ii. pag. 512.)

But it was by his deeds still more than by his words that Dr. Browne resolved to prove his devotion to the new doctrines; and hence with barbaric fury he set to work at once to demolish the statues which adorned the interior of the cathedral church of St. Patrick, and to deface and destroy the valuable paintings and other rich ornaments of Christ's Church.* It was in a like manner that the religious feelings of the natives were outraged in other parts of the island. Thus, at Ballybogan, in the diocese of Meath, a famous image of our Saviour on the cross, which for centuries had been held in great veneration, was publicly destroyed by fire. In Trim, there was a shrine of the Blessed Virgin, to which the faithful resorted even from the remotest parts of the island: its venerable statue representing the "Mother of God," was now consigned to the flames, whilst the votive offerings and rich ornaments which adorned it, were plundered by the mis-named reformers.

It will not suffice to plead in palliation that these were acts of individual barbarity, for which the government cannot be held responsible: they were all done by the public ministers of the English monarch; and to complete the work which was thus so well begun, letters patent under the privy seal were issued in 1539, nominating a commission, one of whose members

* Cox, i. 256; Mason's "St. Patrick's"; Mant. i. 125.

was "George Browne, archbishop of Dublin," and which, in a particular manner, was destined "to investigate, inquire, and search out where, within the said land of Ireland, there were any notable images or relics, at which the simple people of the said lord the king were wont to meet together; and that they should break in pieces, deform, and bear away the same, and thus with all things pertaining, annexed, and adjoined thereto, they should utterly abolish them," so that nothing of that sort "might thenceforth for ever be in use in the said land or dominion of the aforesaid lord the king."*

Thus was a loose rein given to all such as might think fit to plunder and pillage the monuments of the religion and piety of our fathers. We shall mention only a few instances of their sacrilegious Vandalism, which were especially execrated by our Catholic people. In an excursion into the North, the lord deputy converted the famous cathedral church of Down into a stable, then destroyed it by fire, and defaced the monuments of the patron saints of Erin, and it is supposed scattered their relics. The same lord deputy rifled the abbey of Ballyclare, and left neither chalice, cross, nor bell in it,† and on another occasion seized and confiscated all the rich ornaments of the cathedral of Galway.‡ But what most of all excited the indignation of the island, was the destruction of the crozier of St. Patrick, known in our annals as "the staff of Jesus."§ In 1180, soon after the first invasion by the English, it was carried away from Armagh, and for three hundred and fifty years had been preserved with religious care in the cathedral of Dublin. Now, however, at the hands of the ruthless Vandals who assumed the name of reformers, it shared the same fate as the other monuments of our nation and religion, and was publicly consigned to the flames.

* "Public Records of Ireland," 1810-1815, Pl. vi. No. 3; Mant, i. 160.

† Cox, i. 265.

‡ Hardiman's Galway, p. 239.

§ Our apostle brought this crozier with him from Rome, and seems to have inserted in it a portion of some wood hallowed by the touch of our blessed Saviour during his mortal life: hence the Four Masters (ad. an. 1537) say that "it was in the hand of Christ while he was among men." It was ever held in the highest veneration in Ireland: and the holy disciple of St. Patrick, St. Thassach, is commemorated as the first who adorned it with a precious covering: "fuit primus qui baculum Jesu pretioso tegumento obelavit."—See "Obit. and Martyrol. of Christ Church," published by Royal Irish Acad. 1844, pref. xiii. seqq.

This wholesale destruction of sacred images and relics would now-a-days seem incredible, were it not minutely detailed by our chief annalists.

Sir James Ware briefly states:—"About this time, amongst the famous images whereunto pilgrimages were made, the statue of the Blessed Virgin was burned,† then kept at Trim, in the abbey of the canons regular, and the gifts of the pilgrims were taken away from thence. The image of *Christ crucified*, in the abbey of Ballybogan, and *St. Patrick's staff*, in the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, at Dublin, which William, the son of Aldeline, brought from Ardmagh, and gave it as a gift to that church, in the year 1180, underwent the like fate."

There is in Trinity College, Dublin, another very ancient manuscript volume of annals, which gives the following more detailed narrative:—‡

"The most miraculous image of Mary, which was at Baile-atha-Trium, and which the Irish people had all honoured for a long time, and at which were healed the blind, the deaf, the lame, and every sort of disease, was burned by the Sassenachs. And the staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin, and which wrought many wonders and miracles in Ireland since the time of St. Patrick down to that period, and which was in the hand of Christ himself, was burned by the Sassenachs in like manner. And not only that, but there was not a holy

* Annals of Henry VIII. page 99.

† The destruction of the sacred image was soon followed by the suppression of the monastery. On the 15th May, 1539, the royal commissioners arrived. The ornaments of gold and silver, the crucifixes, chalices, and other altar-plate, were seized on for royal use; the property in the monastery, valued at £1,861 15s. 2d., remunerated the plunderers, and the lands attached to the abbey were distributed among the Reforming favorites.—Mant, loc. cit. pag. 162, and Calendar of Pat. Rolls, vol. i. pag. 64, seqq. §.

It was at the same time that the abbey of Navan was plundered: "the image of the Blessed Virgin, so long held in veneration here, was torn from her altar and indignantly destroyed. The gold and silver ornaments of the church,—chalices, ciboriums, crucifixes, images, vestments, altar-plate and altar-linen,—all were carried off to fill the coffers of Henry VIII., and to enrich the worshippers of lay supremacy."—Cogan, "The Diocese of Meath," vol. i. pag. 225. This sanctuary of Navan was a long-cherished place of pilgrimage from every part of Ireland. The parliament held in Dublin in 1454, ordered letters patent to be issued, granting protection to all, *whether rebels or others*, who might be engaged in this pilgrimage. In the preamble to another act of parliament, in 1460, a striking miracle is mentioned as having then occurred before that shrine, whereby a Mr. Stackbolle, whose tongue had been cut off, and his eyes put out, being brought before the image of the Blessed Virgin "was, by her grace, mediation, and miraculous power, restored to his sight and speech."—See Hardiman, "Stat. of Kilkenny," pag. 25 and 51, published by I. A. S. in 1842.

‡ See "The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity," printed by Royal Irish Acad. 1844. Intr. pag. xvi.

cross, nor an image of Mary, nor other celebrated image in Ireland, over which their power had reached, that they did not burn. Nor was there one of the seven (religious) orders which came under their power that they did not ruin."

The Four Masters (ad. an. 1537) give, however, the most complete account of the Vandalism which desolated our country through the impious rage of the English monarch:—

"A heresy and a new error," they write, "broke out in England, the effects of pride, vain-glory, avarice, sensual desire, and the prevalence of a variety of scientific and philosophical speculations, so that the people of England went into opposition to the Pope and to Rome. At the same time they followed a variety of opinions, and adopting the old law of Moses after the manner of the Jewish people, they gave the title of head of the church of God, during his reign, to the king. There were enacted by the king and council new laws and statutes after their own will. They ruined the orders who were permitted to hold worldly possessions, viz., monks, canons regular, nuns, and brethren of the cross; and also the four mendicant orders, the Franciscans, the Preachers, the Carmelites, and the Augustinians. The possessions and livings of all these were taken up for the king. They broke into the monasteries; they sold their roofs and bells, so that there was not a monastery from Arann of the Saints to the Iccian sea, that was not broken and scattered, except only a few in Ireland, which escaped the notice and attention of the English. They further burned and broke the famous images, shrines, and relics of Ireland and England. After that they burned, in like manner, the celebrated image of Mary, which was at Ath-Truim, which used to perform wonders and miracles, and at which were healed the blind, the deaf, the lame, and the sufferers from all diseases, and the staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin, performing miracles from the days of St. Patrick down to that time, and which was in the hand of Christ whilst he was among men. They also made archbishops and bishops for themselves; and, although great was the persecution of the Roman emperors against the church, it is not probable that so great a persecution as this ever came upon the world; so that it is impossible to tell or narrate its description, unless it should be told by him who saw it."

From these last words we may gather how general was the storm let loose against the religious orders in Ireland. In the districts subject to the English sway, few escaped its fury, and the persecution continued unabated till the accession of queen Mary. Even in the last year of king Edward's reign, we find it mournfully commemorated by the same annalists, that "the churches of Clonmacnoise were plundered, and there was not left a bell, small or large, an image, an altar, a book, a gem, or

even glass in the window, which was not carried off;" and they add, "lamentable was this deed, the plundering of the city of Kieran."

5.—*The Destruction of Monasteries.*

SOME modern writers have hazarded the assertion, that at the period of Henry VIII.'s reformation, no blood was shed in Ireland for the denial of the royal supremacy. Such a theory, however, was unknown to our ancient annalists; and in the passage just now cited, from the Four Masters, it is declared that the fury of the pagan persecutors against the Christians was surpassed by the rapacity and cruelty of Henry's agents: so much so, that none could credit their excesses save those who were eye-witnesses of them. Under the year 1540, the same annalists mention one particular instance, as it regarded their own order: The guardian, they say, and some of the friars of the Franciscan convent of Monaghan, were put to death in that year, for having refused to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the king; and they add the simple, but momentous record, that "the English, throughout every part of Ireland where their power extended, were persecuting and banishing the religious orders."

The convents of the mendicant orders, however, were not those that were most exposed to the rage of the reforming monarch; the wealthy abbeys and monasteries chiefly attracted his attention, and felt the full violence of his rapacity. We shall defer, however, to the next article the consideration of the special sufferings to which some of these communities were subjected, that we may proceed with greater order in detailing the deeds of plunder of these so-called reformers.

It was in 1536 that the first grant of religious houses was made to the king by the authority of the Irish parliament. This grant comprised three hundred and seventy monasteries, whose yearly value amounted to £32,000; whilst their moveables were at the same time rated at £100,000.* In the following year, by virtue of a commission under the great seal of England, eight abbeys were suppressed; and in 1538, a further order was issued, for the suppression of *all the monasteries and abbeys*. In many instances, indeed, it was impossible to carry this decree into

* Loftus's MS. Marsh's Library, ap. Mant, loc. cit. i. 155.

immediate execution; however, we find that before the close of 1539, no fewer than twenty-four monasteries of the highest class, whose abbots and priors were entitled to a seat and suffrage in parliament amongst the spiritual peers, were successfully suppressed by the government.* In some cases, the superiors of these religious houses surrendered without opposition the charge entrusted unto them: but whenever they could not be induced by threats or promises to resign their monasteries to the crown, severer measures were resorted to; and one instance is especially recorded, of Manus O'Fihily, the last abbot of St. Mary's, Thurles, who, on refusal to comply with the wishes of the crown, was carried a prisoner to Dublin, and subjected to a long and painful imprisonment.†

King Edward VI., in his proclamation of 6th of February, 1551, declares, that "his gracious father, king Henry of happy memory, dissolved all priories, monasteries,‡ abbeys, and other pretended religious houses in Ireland, as being but nurseries for vice and luxury, more than for sacred learning," and because their inmates persisted in keeping "the light of the Gospel from his people." Were the refusal to embrace the newly-invented tenets assigned as the motive for the suppression of these monasteries, we would not be disposed to quarrel with the royal reasoning; but it is too ungenerous, after seizing on their property and possessions, to endeavour to malign the character of these sanctuaries of virtue and learning. The letter of the lord deputy and council of Ireland, on receipt of the order for the suppression of these monasteries, presents a far surer ground for judging of the true character of these institutions. It is dated 21st May, 1539:—§

* Cox's History, etc. i. 260; Archdall's Monasticon, page 169.

† Grose's Irish Antiquities, ii. 85.

‡ Marsham, though a Protestant, thus writes in his preface to Steven's Addit. to Monasticon Anglic.: "Our monasteries have long since perished; nor have we any footsteps left of the piety of our ancestors, besides the battered walls and deplorable ruins. We see, alas!—we see the most august churches and stupendous monuments, dedicated to the eternal God, than which nothing can be now more defaced, under the specious pretence of superstition,—most filthily defiled, and expecting utter destruction. Horses are stabled at the altar of Christ, and the relics of martyrs are dug up." Another Protestant (Mr. Denham) is not less severe in his strictures on English vandalism:

"Who sees those dismal heaps, but will demand,

What barb'rous invader sacked the land?

But when he hears no Goth, no Turk did bring

This desolation, but a Christian king," etc.—(*Cowper's Hill.*)

§ State Papers, iii. page 130.

"May it please your honorable lordship to be advertised, that by the report of Thomas Cusack and other, repaired lately out of the realm of England into this land, it hath been openly bruited the king's grace's pleasure to be, that all the monasteries within this land should be suppressed, none to stand. Amongst which, for the common weal of this said land, if it might stand with the king's most gracious pleasure by your good lordship's advertisement, in our opinions it were right expedient that six houses should stand and continue, changing their clothing and rule into such sort and order as the king's grace shall will them: which are named St. Mary's Abbey, adjoining to Dublin, a house of white monks; Christ's Church, a house of canons, situated in the middle of the city of Dublin; the nunnery of Grace-Dieu, in the county of Dublin; Connall, in the county of Kildare; Kenleys and Jerpoint, in the county of Kilkenny. *For in these houses commonly, and in others such like*, in default of common inns, which are not in this island, the king's deputy and all other his grace's council and officers, also Irishmen and others resorting to the king's deputy in their quarters, is and hath been most commonly lodged at the cost of the said houses. Also in them young men and children, both gentlemen's children and others, both of man kind and woman kind, be brought up in virtue, learning, and in the English tongue and behaviour, to the great charge of the said houses; that is to say, the women kind of the whole Englishrie of this land for the most part, in the said nunnery, and the man kind in the other said houses. And in the said house of St. Mary's Abbey hath been the common resort of all such of reputation as hath repaired hither out of England. And in Christ's Church, parliaments, councils, and the common resorte in term-time for definitions of all matters by judges and learned men is, for the most part, used. Also at every hosting, rode and journey, the said houses, at their proper costs, findeth as many men of war as they are appointed by the king's deputy. And if they were suppressed, the profit of them should scarcely find so many men of war, according to the rate of the king's wages, as they now standing do find and hath found, over and besides the yearly payment both of subsidy, also the twentieth part of their small revenue, with also their first fruits, at every change of their head rulers. . . . Notwithstanding, the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Dublin, and Mr. Brabazon, under-treasurer, for that they were named to be commissioners for the suppression, did forbear with us to subscribe this letter, although they thought and agreed as is aforesaid. Wherefore, in discharge of our duties to the king's majesty, we declare here this our opinion in the premises to your honorable lordship, etc.

"Written at Dublin, the 21st day of May, 1539.

"Your lordship's most bounden,

LEONARD GRAY,
JAMES BUTLER,
GERALD AYLMEY, *justice*.

THOMAS LUTTRELL, *justice*.
THOMAS HOWTH, *justice*."

This letter fully corroborates the plea put forward by the abbot of St. Mary's, when petitioning to be exempt from the order for suppression: "Verily, we be but stewards and purveyors to other men's uses for the king's honour, keeping hospitality, and many poor men, scholars, and orphans."*

The true motive which stimulated the monarch to the suppression of these institutions, besides the hatred for their inmates, whom he regarded as the chief opponents to his iniquitous designs, was his own rapacity, and the desire to appropriate the treasures with which the piety of the faithful had enriched these institutions. Even Dr. Mant does not deny that this was the mainspring of the royal movements.† Some of the chief co-operators seem to have been stimulated by a like impulse. Thus we find the lord chancellor Allen endeavouring to secure for himself the monastery of Thomas-court, near Dublin,‡ though he failed in his suit, and that venerable abbey became a prey to Sir Thomas Brabazon, the then vice-treasurer. Even archbishop Browne sought to obtain for himself and family a share of the religious plunder. On the first rumour of the commission, he wrote to lord Cromwell, soliciting "a very poor house of friars," as he describes it, "named the New Abbey, which lay very commodious for him by Ballymore."§ This monastery, however, had already been given away, and what especially provoked the displeasure of the archbishop, *had been bestowed upon an Irishman*.|| He next solicited a grant of the nunnery of Grace-Dieu; but here too his suit was fruitless; though Dr. Browne was the leading agent of the government in confiscating these religious houses, yet there were others more active to seize upon them as their prey.

By a special order of the king,¶ all the gold and silver plate,

* Cambren. Evers., ii. 545, note.

† Hist. of Ir., ch. i. 183.

‡ State Pap. He assigned as his chief reason, "that he had no house in Dublin," and that thereby he "would be better able to serve the king."

§ State Papers, No. ccxxvi.

|| State Papers. "I am clene despatched of any pleasures there, and the profite thereof gyven to an Irishman, so that I am compted an unworthie parson."

¶ Act 28th Henry VIII., chap. 16. In Shirley's "Original Letters," p. 31, we find the following order from the lord protector Somerset (1549, 6th January) to the dean of St. Patrick's, "for the better furniture of the mint, being advertised that one thousand ounces of plate of crosses, and such like things, remaineth in the hands of you, the dean of St. Patrick's, we have thought

with the jewels and principal ornaments, also the lead and bells, were reserved for the crown; the lands and other property were put up for sale, or privately bestowed on the minions of the monarch. Amongst the records of this spoliation, there is one of £326 2s. 11d. "for the price of divers pieces of gold and silver, and also of certain precious stones set in gold and silver, and of silver ornaments and other things upon divers images, pictures, and reliques in the late monasteries, priories, cathedral and parish churches, and other places within the said land of Ireland lately destroyed, broken," etc. Another item of the sale presents £20, "being the price of 1,000 lbs. weight of wax, manufactured into candles, tapers, images, and pictures." From thirty-nine monasteries, arose a sum of £1710 2s., "the price of divers vases, jewels, and ornaments of gold and silver, and bells, and the utensils, and household stuff." The property in the monastery of Melifont was sold for £141; that of the monastery of Kells, for £191; of the abbey of the Blessed Virgin, at Trim, for £186; of the monastery of St. Mary's, near Dublin, for £385. The house of the Carmelites in Kildare brought only £1; whilst that of the Dominicans in Kilkenny was disposed of for £57. We find an item of £3 7s. 6d. "for the price of divers silver or holy crosses, in the late abbeys of Kilcooly and Innislannagh." An account is also given of sundry bells, belonging to the different monasteries, and of one in particular it is said: "Nor do we render any price for a bell, appertaining to the late house of brothers at Clane, inasmuch as said bell came into the lands of lord Leonard Gray, so that no produce in respect thereof came to our hands, as we say upon our oaths."*

This suppression, however, of religious houses was far from being universal, as it embraced only such districts as were subject to, or under the influence of the crown of England; and sir John Davies, writing during the reign of James I., remarks in particular as to "the abbeys and convents in Tyrone, Tyr-

good to require you to deliver the same to the hands of Agard, the king's majesty's officer of the mint there, indenting with him for the receipt of the same, to be employed to his majesty's use as by him shall be thought most for his highness' commodity; and for the safe keeping of it hitherto by you the dean, his majesty, of his liberality, by our advices, is pleased to allow to you the sum of £20 in ready money."

* Extract from Roll in Record-Office, Dublin, ap. Mant, vol. i. p. 161. seq.

connell, and Fermanagh," that though "they were dissolved in the 33rd of king Henry VIII., yet they were never surveyed, nor reduced into charge, but were continually possessed by the religious persons until his present majesty that now is came to the crown."

The destruction of the monasteries was followed by the suppression of the collegiate church of St. Patrick, in Dublin. For some years a plan had been laid by the archbishop to secure this boon for his majesty, and Cromwell had received £60 for lending his aid to the intrigue.* The instructions sent from London, on the 25th May, 1547, ordering the suppression of the collegiate church, and the transmission of its plate and ornaments to the English mint, have been printed by Shirley; and we copy here the preamble of these instructions, as it serves to illustrate the undying devotion of the Irish people to their glorious apostle: "Touching St. Patrick," it says, "it appeareth that the people of that realm have a great confidence in the said St. Patrick, taking him for their chief patron under Christ: the king's majesty's pleasure, with the advice of me, the lord protector, and the rest of his majesty's privy council, is, that as well for that superstitious opinion of the common people as for sundry other considerations you shall accordingly," etc.—(Orig. Lett. p. 1.)

6.—*Some particular Instances of the Sufferings of the Religious Orders.*

THE celebrated annalist of the Trinitarian Order, Father Domingo Lopez, will be be our guide in this article. His history of the order in Ireland† was compiled from the original letters transmitted, at the period of which we speak, to the superiors of the central house of the order in Spain; and hence his narrative presents all the vividness and interest of a contemporary record. In the first pages he informs us, that the emissaries of Antiochus of old did not rage with greater fury against

* See Moore's "History of Ireland," vol. iii. p. 297.

† The title of this very rare work is "Noticias Historicas de las tres florentissimas Provincias del celeste orden de la ssma. Trinidad," etc. by Fr. Domingo Lopez, 1 vol. 4to, Madrid, 1714. His fourth part, entitled "History of the Martyrs in Ireland during the reign of Henry VIII." runs through about 100 pages.

the Jews, than did the agents of Henry in Ireland against Irish Catholics; plundering the churches and monasteries, despoiling the sacred shrines and exterminating the religious orders. Not only in England but even in France, and Germany, and Switzerland, schismatical agents were sought out—adepts in the arts of plunder and confiscation; in every town the prisons were filled with the most worthy Catholics; the name of homicide or robber was less odious to the government than that of papist; and to insult the clergy, and outrage the sacred ceremonies of religion, was the surest means to merit the favour of the court.

Many of the religious houses were totally destroyed, and their inmates put to death in a thousand different ways. In some monasteries, however, the religious were allowed to continue; but being deprived of all they possessed, hunger and thirst was to them a lengthened martyrdom: such was the vigilance of their persecutors, that oftentimes they could not procure even bread and water for their sustenance. The nuns, too, were exposed to manifold sufferings, which they endured with unexampled heroism; without raiment and without food, the only prayer they breathed was for perseverance, and faith, and courage to sustain them in the martyrdom that awaited them.

The relics and bodies of saints which were religiously preserved in the Catholic churches and sanctuaries were scattered and destroyed; the sacred vestments were profaned; the statues were mutilated, and those of wood were hewn in pieces and cast into the flames; the paintings were torn in shreds and thrown upon the streets; in a word, every outrage that malice or ingenuity could devise, was heaped upon our holy religion by these agents of the English schism.

Atharee.—The convent of Atharee, which was reckoned the oldest foundation of the Trinitarian Order in Ireland, received the summons in 1539 to take the oath of supremacy and surrender its property to the crown. Father Robert, a man of learning and virtue, was the superior of the convent, and having received intelligence of the storm which was gathering against his order, he assembled the forty-two religious who formed the community of Atharee, and announcing to them the impious designs of Henry, declared that the king was now an avowed heretic, and only sought to make them his associates in the guilt

of schism. All the community shared the sentiments of the worthy superior, and avowed their readiness to lay down their lives, and to sacrifice all that they possessed, sooner than deny their faith or renounce their spiritual allegiance to the Holy See. Nor was this a mere empty boast—a set form of idle words. The religious set to work at once to distribute amongst the poor all the provisions and clothing that were in the convent, and all the sacred vessels and ornaments for the altar were concealed in various places, so that when at length the agents of the government arrived, they could not find even a wooden crucifix on which to vent their impious rage. Three times summoned before the magistrate, Father Robert was immoveable in rejecting the proffered honours of the court, and in declaring his devoted attachment to the Catholic faith. ‘None,’ he said, ‘had ever sought to propagate their religious tenets by the sword except the pagan emperors in the early ages, and Mahomet in later times. As for himself and community they were resolved that no violence should move them from the principles of truth: they recognized no head of the Catholic Church save the Vicar of Jesus Christ; and as for the king of England, they regarded him not even as a member of that holy Church, but as head of the synagogue of Satan.’ At these words of the venerable father, an heretical officer drew his sword, and with one blow severed his head from his body. The other agents of the court were at once let loose against the unoffending community. As the public prison was full of other victims, the religious were dragged to confinement in private houses: there many died of the injuries and maltreatment which they received; some too, were secretly murdered, whilst others were publicly hanged in the market-place. It was on the 12th and 13th of February, 1539, that these happy fathers thus attained their eternal crown.

Dublin.—The Trinitarian convent in Dublin was the chief house of the order in Ireland; the building was large and ornamental, and the community numbered no fewer than fifty religious. On the first intelligence of the king’s iniquitous designs, a meeting of the superiors of the various houses of the order was convened in Dublin. Father Patrick Humbert was then provincial, and presided on the occasion; the ex-provincial, Father

Theobald, also assisted; and besides the local superiors, several other members remarkable for their learning and sanctity were also present, and amongst them we find the names of Father Thaddeus O'Brien, from Kilkenny; F. John Hogan and F. William Hurley. In fact, as an eye-witness, who compiled a narrative of the subsequent events, records, this assembly might well be said to represent the whole Irish Church, such was the learning, and authority, and sanctity of those who composed it.

The chapter being assembled, all gave their opinion on the momentous subject for which they were convened, and all declared themselves ready to lay down their lives, in defence of their holy religion and of the authority of the Holy See, whilst they stigmatized as heretical and impious the innovations of the English king. During their conference the news was received of the fate of their brethren of Atharee; they all at once returned thanks to God, and father Theobald exclaimed in holy joy: "The most Holy Trinity has blessed our order with this happy commencement, and thus given us a pledge that its blessing will accompany us even to the end." Before separating all signed the profession of Catholic faith, and addressed an exhortation to the faithful, not to allow themselves to be led astray by deceitful reasonings and seduced into the abyss of schism.

It was on Saturday, the 24th of February, that the royal agents arrived in Dublin to enforce the oath of supremacy and expel the religious from their possessions. The following morning saw the exhortation of the Trinitarian fathers posted in all the public squares and other places of resort. The provincial and father Theobald, moreover, went about fearlessly addressing the people and combating the schismatical decrees, till the former fell transpierced by a musket ball, whilst a hired band seized upon the latter and dragged him through the streets. The good father expressed his joy in being found worthy to thus suffer for the Catholic faith, and he repeated his exhortations, till at length a stroke from a hatchet terminated his existence. Even his body was treated with all possible insult by the heretical agents; but the Catholics, during the night, gathered together his scattered members and secretly interred them. The other religious were the next day obliged

to seek their safety by flight, and wheresoever discovered, they were treated with the like cruelty and ferocity.

Limerick.—The Trinitarian convent of Limerick was dedicated under the invocation of the Holy Cross, and numbered forty-five religious amongst its inmates. Cornelius O'Neil, a member of the order, who, in preceding years, had acted as provincial, and discharged many other important offices, was at this time suffragan or coadjutor to the aged and feeble bishop of Limerick.* He belonged to the princely family of Tyrone, and was remarkable for his zeal and abstinence and charity: all that he had from his family possessions he made the patrimony of the poor; for he regarded the riches of faith as his own true inheritance. Seeing the tendency of the counsels of the king, he convoked the religious of his community and said to them: "The beginnings which we witness cannot lead to a happy end: the king and kingdom of England have abandoned the Church, and we are in danger of heresy being introduced amongst us, unless God, by his omnipotent arm, protect us." He then counselled them to prepare for all extremities, and to dispose of everything appertaining to the monastery, especially of the gold and silver vases of the sanctuary, lest they should be profaned by the heretical enemies of our holy religion. In like manner the good bishop warned the other religious orders and the secular clergy of the impending dangers. When he received intelligence of the destruction of the other convents, and of the sufferings of the religious, he, in union with the members of his order, solemnly intoned the "Te Deum," and fervently prayed that the most Holy Trinity would grant to them the heroic fortitude of their martyred brethren.

On the morning of St. John's feast, 24th June, 1539, the holy bishop preached in his cathedral to an overflowing congregation: indeed the whole city had assembled to hear the word of life from the lips of their saintly pastor. He took that opportunity to denounce the threatened innovations: "The royal commands (he said) are based on heresy: the king and his counsellors, and those who follow him in his perverse designs, are anathematized and cut off from the tree of life;" and he added

* For Dr. Coyn, bishop of Limorick, see Ware's Bishops, pag. 510; and Shirley, "Original Letters," pag. 47.

that he himself now anathematized anew and excommunicated any of his flock who should thus renounce the saving doctrines of the Catholic faith. The emissaries of the crown, who feared to insult the loved bishop in the presence of his flock, sought him in the evening of that day at his private residence, ordering him to comply with the king's decree, otherwise threatening him with instant death. The venerable prelate, throwing himself upon his knees, and with eyes uplifted to heaven, exclaimed: "Oh, Lord! on this morning I offered to thee on the altar the unbloody sacrifice of the Body of my Saviour: grant that I may now offer to thy greater honour and glory the sacrifice of my own life;" and then turning towards a painting of the Holy Trinity which was suspended in his room, he scarce had time to pronounce the ejaculation "Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus, miserere nobis," when, by a blow of a sword, his head was severed from his body.* The monastery was then pillaged, and the monks heroically shared the fate of their chief pastor. Thus were new members added to the heavenly choir of martyrs on 24th and 25th of June, 1539.

The other convents of the order in Cork, Kilkenny, Kildare, Ross, Dundalk, Galway, Cashel, etc.† showed the same fortitude: all were plundered of whatever riches they possessed; and there was not one of them but was adorned with the palm of martyrdom. So universal, indeed, was the ruin that fell upon this religious order, that all vestiges of it disappear from the subsequent history of our Church.

We shall conclude this sketch of the sufferings of these religious, with an extract from a letter written by a Dominican father in 1547: after commemorating the heroic death of some Trinitarian fathers in Mullingar, he adds: "Never in the time of Nero, or Diocletian, or the other enemies of the Christian name, was a more fiery persecution witnessed than now raged against our Church; its agents seem to have laid aside all humanity, and to have transformed themselves into beasts, or rather into demons."‡

* There was another martyr of the same family, Arthur O'Neil, also a member of the Trinitarian Order; he preached the faith in Chaldea and Asia Minor, and was martyred there in 1282.

† See a very imperfect list of the houses of the Trinitarian Order in DeBurgo: Hib. Dominic. page 739.

‡ Ap. Lopez, page 186.

Many of the monasteries referred to were well provided with books and manuscripts, but all were pillaged and destroyed; oftentimes even the material edifice was not spared: and Henry was fond of employing the proverbial phrase, "If the nests remain, the birds will soon be back to dwell in them."*

7.—*Further Efforts of the Government to promote the New Reformation.*

On the 12th of December, 1538, the Irish council, in reply to a letter of the lord privy seal, declares, that "touching your lordship's advertisement for the setting forth of the word of God, abolishing of the bishop of Rome's authority, etc., we have well begun therein already, and to our power shall persevere with all industry and diligence."

In pursuance of this promise, the archbishop of Dublin, with the lord chancellor and some other members of the council, set out soon after on a military-religious visitation of four counties, viz.—Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary. A narrative of their progress was transmitted to England on 18th January, 1539, from which it will suffice to select a few extracts:†

"We resorted first to Carlow, where the lord James Butler kept his Christmas; and there *being very well entertained*, from thence we went to Kilkenny, where we were no less entertained by the earl of Ormond. There on New Year's Day the archbishop of Dublin preached the word of God, having very good audience, and published the king's injunctions, and the king's translation of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, the articles of faith, and Ten Commandments in English: divers papers whereof we delivered to the bishop and other prelates of the diocese, commanding them to do the like throughout their jurisdictions. The Saturday following we repaired to Ross, which town having been heretofore one of the best towns of this land; being also situated in the best place of those parts for subduing of the Kavanaghs, is in manner utterly decayed and waste, by reason of the continual war and annoyance of the Kavanaghs, which cannot be helped whilst the Kavanaghs remain unreformed. There the morning after, the said archbishop preached:

* "Constat multa monasteria fuisse ornatissima et opulentissima quæ omnia impius iste (Henricus) diripuit, vastavit et solo æquavit: nec Bibliothecis vel ullis litterarum antiquitatis monumentis aut sanctorum Reliquiis pepercit, illud barbarum usurpans dictum, corvorum nidos esse penitus disturbandos ne postea iterum ad cohabitandum convolarent." (Disputatio Apologet. etc. by Con. O'Mahony, Francfort, 1645.)

† State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 108-116.

that night we went to Wexford, where the same archbishop preached on the Epiphany day, having a great audience, and publishing the said injunctions. The Saturday following the Epiphany we came to Waterford, where the mayor and his brethren during our abode both well entertained us, and used themselves obediently in conforming themselves to our orders and directions. There, the Sunday, my lord of Dublin preached, having a very great audience, where also we published the king's injunctions. The day following we kept the sessions there, both for the city and the shire, where was put to execution four felons, accompanied with another, a friar, whom among the residue, we commanded to be hanged in his habit, and so to remain upon the gallows for a mirror to all his brethren to live truly.

"At the writing hereof, we are at Clonmel, where we keep sessions this day; and on Sunday the archbishop of Dublin will preach here, in the presence of all the bishops of Munster, who, upon our commandment, have repaired hither for the most part already."

All the efforts of the government and its emissaries were employed to render these sessions at Clonmel the beginning of a new era in the cause of reformation. Every prelate throughout Ireland who was devoted to the English monarch, and every bishop who, despite of the canonical appointment, had been intruded into the Irish sees, was summoned to attend; and the members of the Irish council were able to boast in their letter of 8th February, 1539,* that two archbishops and eight bishops graced the meeting by their presence, and took the oath of the king's supremacy. Who these prelates were, is not mentioned; and this silence seems to imply that but few, if any, of the canonically-appointed bishops could be numbered amongst them. The archbishops were probably Dr. Browne of Dublin, and Dr. Bodkin of Tuam. This latter prelate had been intruded into that see by the authority of Henry, in 1537,† and whilst the canonically-appointed archbishop, Dr. Arthur O'Farrell,‡ (or O'Frighi), was obliged to feed his flock in poverty and in disguise, Dr. Bodkin continued, during the reigns of Henry and Edward,

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 117.

† Harris's Ware, page 615: his app. was on the 15th February, 1536, styl. vet., i. e., 1537.

‡ Acta Consist. ex Archiv. Vatic., ad an. 1538. The statement of Hardiman, "Iar-Connaught," page 228, that Dr. Bodkin admitted the king's supremacy, is correct; the subsequent assertion, however, that "in the reign of Elizabeth he again conformed to the religion of the state," is utterly erroneous. We shall have to speak more at length of this archbishop in the life of "Hugh Curwin," next chapter.

to hold the temporalities of the see. The bishops bore, probably, a similar character. We only know for certain that one of them, for various misdemeanours, was deposed by the lord deputy, as Dr. Browne bitterly laments, in a letter addressed to the lord privy seal, a few days after the meeting in Clonmel, from which, too, we may glean that that prelate was bishop "in O'Brene's country;" and another, Dr. Nangle of Clonfert, could never even obtain possession of the temporalities of his see, through the opposition of M'William, a chieftain of that district, who, in the words of Dr. Browne, being "a naughty traitorous person," supported the bishop appointed by Rome; and when Nangle showed to him the king's "broad seal" for his appointment to that see, the Irish chieftain avowed his contempt for such a royal nomination, and "threw it away and vilepended the same."^{*}

We cannot, therefore, be surprized that this assemblage of prelates did not suffice for the zeal of Dr. Browne. Writing to lord Cromwell, on the 16th of February, the same year, he makes known his determination to travel "as far as any English can be understood," in order to preach the king's supremacy: his charity even embraced the uncouth inhabitants who were unacquainted with the English language; and hence he "provided a suffragan named Dr. Nangle, bishop of Clonfert," to set forth "the word of God and our prince's cause," in the inharmonious accents of the Irish tongue.[†] The subsequent letters of Dr. Browne are, however, silent as to any such perilous journey amongst the wild natives of our island; and it is probable that, deterred by the tale of Dr. Nangle, he did not venture at any later period to seek a premature martyrdom beyond the precincts of the English pale.

On Easter day, 1551, the liturgy was solemnly read for the first time in the English tongue in Christ's Church cathedral, and the archbishop on that occasion took for his text the words of the royal psalmist: "Open my eyes that I may see the wonders of thy law." The order of Edward VI., with which Dr. Browne thus earnestly complied, set forth that "his father of happy memory thought it most fit and convenient for the

* State Papers, vol. iii. page 122.

† State Papers, loc. cit. page 122.

preservation of the souls and bodies of his subjects, that the Holy Scriptures should be translated, printed, and placed in all parish churches within his dominions;”* and hence he now, “for the general benefit of his well-beloved subjects’ understandings, whenever assembled either to pray or to hear prayers read, that they may the better join therein, in unity of hearts and voice, caused the liturgy to be translated into our mother tongue of this realm.”†

It is difficult to conceive anything more ludicrous than that the facilitating of the liturgy to the Irish people should be thus assigned as the motive for translating it into the English tongue, and for commanding the use of its English version in all the churches throughout the kingdom. We shall see hereafter how even during Elizabeth’s reign, not one in a thousand of the Irish people could understand “the English jargon,” as it was styled, and how this happy ignorance was an insuperable barrier to the spread of the contagion of heresy. For the present, one instance will suffice. It was precisely at this period that Dr. Cranmer of Canterbury was busily employed in procuring a bishop for the see of Armagh. At length his choice was made; but to his surprise, the elected prelate declined the proffered dignity, assigning the unanswerable reason, “*If he went thither, he would have no auditors; for the people understood no English.*”‡

Dr. Browne had been from the commencement the main-spring of the Protestant movement, and the energy which he displayed in introducing the English liturgy crowned all his merits in the royal cause. As his reward, the grateful king and council of England, by a decree of 20th October, 1551, declared the see of Armagh deprived of the primacy of all Ireland, whilst that high dignity was now *annexed to the see of Dublin for ever*.

From the first years of his episcopate, this had been the fond object of Browne’s ambition, and in all probability he would

* Phoenix, vol. i. page 128.

† Ibid.

‡ Mant, loc. cit. i. 215. So persuaded was the government of the utter uselessness of the English liturgy in Ireland, that it was endeavouring at this very time to procure for the Irish parish churches a *Latin translation* of the communion service. See Shirley’s “Original Letters,” page 47; Letter of the lord deputy to Mr. secretary Cecil, 19th January, 1551.

have attained it ten years earlier, were it not for the momentary weakness and pliancy of the archbishop of Armagh. Dr. Cromer, an Englishman,* had been advanced to the primatial see at the nomination of the king in 1522. On the first efforts of Henry to introduce schism into the Irish Church, none displayed greater courage than the primate in asserting the Catholic doctrine, and upholding the supremacy of the successors of St. Peter. When the act of royal supremacy received the sanction of parliament, he indignantly withdrew from the metropolis, and having convened the suffragans and chief clergy of the province, he exhorted them to resist the progress of innovation, and to preserve unsullied the glorious title of *the holy isle*, by which Ireland was celebrated for so many centuries; and in conjunction with them he pronounced anathema against all who should swerve from the due allegiance to the Holy See and acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the crown.† During all this time Father Gillebride, or Brigidian, superior of the order of Trinitarians in Armagh, was his intimate friend; and nothing of any moment was undertaken without his counsel. By degrees, however, a deaf ear was turned to the counsels of the good father; and whilst the archbishop was alarmed at the growing confederation of the Irish chieftains, the example of his countrymen in England, and affection for the monarch, to whom he was indebted for the primatial see, deadened the ardour of his faith and slackened the vigour with which he hitherto had opposed the schismatical acts of Henry. This weakness of Dr. Cromer, whilst it marred the designs of Browne, awakened the alarm of Rome. In the consistory of 13th of July, 1539, sentence of suspension from all exercise of primatial jurisdiction was promulgated against him, till such time as he should purge himself of the suspicion of heresy; and in the interim, Robert Wauchop was, on the same day, appointed apostolic administrator of the see of Armagh.‡ From the fact of no sub-

* Ware, Harris, etc. See Flanagan, "British and Irish History," pag. 435.

† See Stuart's "Historical Memoirs," etc. pag. 229 seqq.

‡ Acta Consistorialia in Archiv. Vallicell. The supposition that Dr. Wauchop was blind from his youth, is wholly devoid of foundation. The German witticism, "*Scotus coecus oculatis Germanis*," on which some writers place too much reliance, only implies that he was suffering from weakness of sight; and the consistorial acts expressly declare the same: "*debilitatem visus patientem*."

sequent sentence being pronounced against him, we may conclude that Cromer voluntarily resigned his archiepiscopal charge; and before the close of 1540, we find Dr. Wauchop elevated to the dignity of archbishop of Armagh.*

It was only in December, 1543, that Dr. Dowdall was intruded by Henry into the primatial see.† It was expected that thus appointed, he would be pliant to the monarch's wishes; but to the surprise of the court, soon after his episcopal consecration he put himself at the head of the orthodox party, and during the following years laboured incessantly in defence of the Catholic faith. His crowning offence was his opposition to the introduction of the new liturgy in 1550. Sir Anthony St. Leger, the viceroy, convoked the prelates, and notified to them the king's command, that the English liturgy should be used in all their churches. Dr. Dowdall opposed this innovation in strong and energetic language, and his opposition happily resulted in complete success. Of all his suffragans only the Protestant Staples accepted the royal order;‡ and whilst the profane innovators were everywhere received with universal execration, Dowdall's name became a theme of eulogy, and was hailed with benediction throughout the whole island. From that day his doom was decreed: the see of Armagh was declared by the king and council deprived of the primacy, and this first dignity of our church was awarded to Dr. Browne, the foremost champion of the royal cause. Dr. Dowdall was at once subjected to innumerable vexations, which in 1552 obliged him at length to seek a refuge on the continent.§ On the 10th of November, 1551, Dr. Wauchop had passed to his eternal reward: and the unanimous voice of the Irish Catholics solicited the appointment of Dowdall, now a confessor for the faith, as his

* Epis. Cochlaei to Wauchop in Nov. 1540: in Archiv. Secret. Vatican.

† Harris's Ware, p. 91.

‡ It reflects great honour on our Church, that the only prelates who united with Browne and Staples in introducing the new liturgy, were Robert Travers of Leighlin, and Thomas Lancaster of Kildare, both of whom had been intruded by the court into their respective sees about six months before. Ware's Bishops, also Reid's Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, vol. i. pp. 30-1, who adds Dr. Coyn of Limerick; but in this he errs.—See Shirley, loc. cit. pp. 47-8.

§ Without any sentence of deposition against Dowdall, Hugh Goodacre was appointed archbishop of Armagh, by order of Edward VI., on 28th October, 1552.

successor in the primatial see. This voice was heard in Rome, and on the 1st of March, 1553, Dr. Dowdall was proposed in consistory as successor to the deceased archbishop of Armagh.* Thus did he merit, by his constancy in the true faith, and by his sufferings for the Catholic cause, to be absolved from the guilt of schism, and advanced to the primacy of our church; whilst with the death of Edward, on the 6th July, 1553, even the civil primacy of Dr. Browne came to a dishonoured close.

From the brief sketch which we have now presented of the efforts of the English government to destroy the Catholic Church in Ireland, it results, that to the unflinching constancy of our bishops we are mainly indebted for the preservation in all its purity of the faith of our fathers. At the first commencement of the reformation some of the Irish sees were filled by Henry's nominees, who were devoted to his interests, and pliant to his will. However, before danger became imminent, these had passed away, and thanks to the watchful vigilance of Rome, new shepherds were appointed to tend the Redeemer's flock and guard our faithful people from the poisoned pastures presented to them. Thus, for instance, within the three years from 1538 to 1541, at least sixteen bishops were appointed by the Holy See to the vacant dioceses of Ireland. Protestant historians, indeed, have sought to consign to oblivion the names of these great and holy men who thus, despite privations and persecutions, handed down to us the sacred deposit of faith; but it is the duty of Irish

* Our historians, both Catholic and Protestant, seem to have been hitherto persuaded that it was at the request of queen Mary, Dr. Dowdall was recognized in the see of Armagh. However, we learn from the consistorial acts that it was far otherwise. During the year 1552 the friends of Ireland in Rome more than once solicited his appointment; and in the consistory of 23rd January, 1553, cardinal Maffei, to whom the matter had been referred, solemnly proposed his nomination to Armagh. The Vatican Registry of that consistory thus notices this nomination: "*Proposuit Ecclesiam Armachanam Primatiale Hiberniæ, vacantem per obitum Roberti, pro eo qui alias absque provisione sedis apostolicæ in illius regimine se immiscuerat et fuit remissum negotium ad proximum consistorium.*" The Registry of the Vallicellian Archives gives his nomination in almost the identical words. It being a matter of universal importance, cardinal Maffei received instructions to submit all the documents connected with the case to the cardinals then present in Rome, and in the mean time the Holy Father deferred his decision till he should receive their counsel. At length, on the 1st of March, 1553, his appointment to Armagh is thus registered: "*Cardinali Maffei referente providit (sua sanctitas) ecclesiæ Armacanæ de persona Georgii Dowdall prioris prioratus de Atrio Dei ordinis cruciferorum, Armacanæ diœcesis, cum retentione dicti prioratus: ipsumque illi in archiepiscopum. præfecit.*"

Catholics to revere their memory, and treasure up the example of virtue and heroism which their lives present to us.

8.—*Character of the Reformers.*

The report of the commissioners appointed in 1538 to inquire into the state of the kingdom, would suffice to convince every impartial reader, that all the new apostles who were sent by king Henry to propagate his reformation in Ireland, were not models of perfection or masters of virtue. In it* complaints are made of undue fees being exacted by the bishops and their officials; many of the reformed clergy are charged with extortion for baptisms, marriages, and other ecclesiastical functions. Some, too, are accused of taking *portion-cause*; that is, of seizing (after a man's death) on his best apparel, sword and knife, or of levying a tax on the property that was bequeathed. More revolting to the piety of the Irish people was the newly-imported theory, of the reformed clergy receiving the fruits of benefices, though they no longer performed the sacred functions for which such benefices were founded; and from Clonmel the charge was especially insisted on, that the new teachers took to themselves wives; and often, too, had children, without even the semblance of lawful wedlock.

The Catholic clergy of Ireland have ever been remarkable for the special lustre of their chastity. The contrary vice soon became a characteristic mark of the reformers, so that as early as 1542, the king deemed it necessary to thus write to the lord deputy: "We think it meet, that seeing we have passed here the act for the continency of the clergy, you should, in like manner, follow, or at least upon consideration of the state of the country, cause such a reasonable plan to be devised as may be to the avoiding of that sin, and to the advancement of the honest name and fame of our clergy of that realm."†

As regards the general fruit of the reformed tenets throughout Ireland, we may form some idea of it from the letter of Dr. Browne to the king, on the 28th of February, 1545: "Most gracious prince," he writes, "here reigneth insatiable ambition, here reigneth continual coin and livery, and callid extortion

* State Papers, part 3rd, page 510.

† State Pap., vol. iii. page 428.

. I beseech God to preserve your grace, and to save all your English subjects from the trial of this country: *expertus loquor*.* Five years later, sir Anthony St. Leger writes, (September 27th, 1550) lamenting the universal decay of piety and religion: immorality, he says, everywhere prevails; the ministers are insulted, and divine service itself has ceased; and he condenses his opinion, as to the progress made by the reforming agents, in the pithy sentence: "I never saw the land so far out of good order."†

The instructions, too, which accompanied the proclamation of Henry, as king of Ireland, reveal to us some important features of the ecclesiastical administration of the province of Munster: church dignities and benefices, we are told, were held by persons who had no ecclesiastical orders, and never resided in their cure; sometimes mere boys were advanced to church preferments, and even some of the episcopal body were found not to exercise their jurisdiction "according to the law of God and the canons."‡

More than once, indeed, the lord deputy was obliged to complain of the transgressions and indifference of the reformed bishops. Thus, on 15th March, 1551, sir James Croft (lord deputy) writes to Cecil: "The bishops, as I find, be negligent, and few learned, and none of any good zeal, as it seemeth."§ Another lord deputy, as we have seen, as early as 1539 found it necessary, on his own authority, to depose one of the bishops lately appointed by the crown; whilst the bishop appointed to the see of Leighlin by Edward VI. is described by a local annalist as "cruel, covetous, and vexing his clergy."||

The three leading agents, however, of the English court in reforming our Irish church, were Dr. Browne of Dublin, Dr. Staples of Meath, and Dr. Bale of Ossory. As regards Dr. Browne, we have already seen how Henry, in his letter of 7th July, 1537, speaks of his *lightness of behaviour, the elation of his mind in pride, and of all virtue and honesty being banished from him*. Twelve months later he seems not to have made much

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 557.

† See the orig. lett. in Shirley, loc. cit., pp. 41-2.

‡ Cox, i. 270.

§ Shirley, Orig. Lett. pp. 63-4.

|| Dowling's Annals, edit. R.I.A. 1849, p. 38.

progress in the path of virtue,* if we can give credence to the contemporary Protestant bishop of Meath, who writes to lord St. Leger, on 17th June, 1538:† “I have written unto you, by John Plunkett, much of my trouble by the bishop of Dublin, and the occasion of the same. He now boasteth himself to rule all the clergy under our sovereign lord, and he hath given a taste of his good demeanour, that every honest man is not only weary thereof, but reckoneth that pride and arrogance hath ravished him from the right remembrance of himself. I doubt not but you shall hear from others the specialities at large, from such as be indifferent; for surely he hath handled me and my poor friends for my sake most cruelly, so far as he might.” As to his subsequent career, we have no direct source of information; but perhaps we may justly infer that his life was not one of the most edifying, from the words of the Protestant bishop of Ossory, who tells us, that on his seeking to reform the corrupt morals of some of his ministers in 1553, “they would at no hand obey, *alleging for their vain and idle excuse, the lewd example of the archbishop of Dublin, who was always slack in things pertaining to God’s glory.*”‡ And the same writer, in his own coarse strain, subsequently accuses him of “drunkenness and gluttony,” and calls him *an epicurious archbishop, a brockish swine, and a dissembling proselyte.*

The character of Dr. Staples seems to have borne the same stamp as that of Dr. Browne. The editors of the “State Papers” inform us, that the king sent an admonition to Staples identical with that sent to the archbishop of Dublin; and Dr. Browne himself, writing to a member of the council, on 15th of April, 1538,§ speaks of Dr. Staples as having preached *without any honest shame*, and in such a manner “as I think the three-mouthed Cerberus of hell could not have uttered it more viperiously.”

* “As for teaching and preaching, these were utterly neglected, indeed not so much as thought of, unless occasionally, as when the chancellor once exclaimed, ‘How should men know their duties when they shall not hear teaching or preaching from one end of the year to the other.’”—Liber. Mun. Hib. part i. p. 37.

† State Papers, iii. p. 29.

‡ Bale’s *Vocacyon*, p. 414, reprinted in Harl. Misc., vol. vi. In Shirley, p. 18, are given articles of accusation against Dr. Browne, written in 1548. One of them accuses the archbishop of making *alienations, etc., of most of his bishopric to his children and others.*

§ State Papers, vol. iii. p. 1.

The bishop of Ossory has not found many eulogists even amongst his brother reformers; and Dr. Mant confesses that "with an uncommon warmth of temperament, he allowed himself the use of an unbecoming coarseness, and even grossness of expression."* The people of Kilkenny seem to have been soon tired of his ministrations; and his flight from that city on the accession of queen Mary, is one of the most remarkable events in the history of the restoration of the Catholic religion. Even during the reign of Elizabeth he did not venture to revisit the former scene of his labours,—so persuaded was he of the utter absence of sympathy and respect for him amongst its inhabitants. He retired to Canterbury, and died there in obscurity in 1563.†

9—*The Reformation of Henry, a failure in Ireland.*

From a cursory glance at some of the passages cited in the preceding pages, from the reports of Dr. Browne, and other English agents in Ireland, the reader might, perhaps, conclude that our island joyously embraced the boon of the English reformation. The Protestant archbishop, indeed, more than once depicted, in glowing colours, the happy fruits of his zeal in propagating the new tenets in Ireland. Yet all this was a mere delusion,—the commencement of that mighty delusion which, for three hundred years, the Protestant establishment has continued to be in Ireland. Whilst the reformed doctrines remained unheard-of in most of the Irish districts, innumerable records of the period attest that, even within the pale, but little progress was made in the work of proselytism. Hence, our task in this article will be an easy one, and it will suffice to quote some passages from these records, to illustrate the true extent of *the reformation* in our Irish church.

A private letter of Browne to Cromwell, on 8th of January, 1538,‡ thus describes the opposition made by the clergy, especially in the diocese of Dublin:

"It may please your lordship to be advertised, that within these

* Hist. of Ir. Ch., i. 226.

† The reader will find many curious facts connected with this unworthy individual in Harris's Ware, p. 417; Brennan's "Eccles. Hist." vol. ii. p. 99.

‡ State Paper, vol. ii. page 539.

parts of Ireland, which grieveth me very sore,—yea, and that within the diocese of Dublin and province of the same, where the king's power ought to be best known, where it hath pleased his most excellent highness to make me a spiritual officer, and chief over the clergy; yet neither by gentle exhortation, evangelical instruction—neither by oaths solemnly taken, nor yet by threats of sharp correction, can I persuade or induce any, either religious or secular, since my coming over, once to preach the word of God, or the just title of our most illustrious prince There is never an archbishop nor bishop, but myself, made by the king, but he is repelled even now by provision; again, for all that ever I could do, might I not make them once, but as I send mine own servants to do it, to cancel out of the canon of the Mass, or other books, the name of the bishop of Rome, whereby your lordship may perceive that my authority is little regarded.”

About the same time, a king's justiciary, named White, made an inspection of the counties of Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary, and in his report to the lord privy seal,* he declares that he found but one city (Kilkenny) and one gentleman, lord Butler, who had embraced the reformation, whilst all the people were imbued with “an evil and erroneous opinion of the king's most noble grace, and of all those that under his majority, be the setters forth of the true word of God.” Whether the remark, as far as regards Kilkenny, be true, will be illustrated hereafter by the fact of the expulsion of the Protestant bishop Bale from the precincts of that fine old Catholic city.

Many of the letters of Dr. Browne are written in a most desponding strain. Thus, we have already seen how in his letter to lord Cromwell, on 28th November, 1535, he described the Irish natives, as “more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs” of the early church; and again, on 29th March, 1538, he writes to the same: “the people of this nation be zealous, yet blind and unknowing The country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, *the blacksmith's son* Rome hath great favour for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness; therefore my hope is lost, yet my zeal is to do according to your lordship's orders.”† On the 8th May, same year, he laments the disobedience of a prebendary of St. Patrick's who, when ordered to read the new set form of prayers, “*thought scorn to read them,*”

* State Papers, vol. ii., page 562.

† Phoenix, loc. cit., pp. 123-4.

and he adds: "they be, in a manner, all at the same point with me. There are twenty-eight of them, and yet scarce one that favoureth God's word."*

Subsequently he informs the lord privy seal of the union in opposition to the reformation, which had sprung up between those of English descent and the old Irish race. "It is observed (he says) that ever since his highness's ancestors had this nation in possession, the old natives have been craving foreign powers to assist and rule them; and now both English race and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders, and to lay aside their national old quarrels,† which I fear will, if anything will, cause a foreigner to invade this nation.—(Cox's Hib. Anglic. vol. i. pp. 256-258; Macariæ Excid., edit. by Royal Ir. Acad., 1850, page 288).

Even as late as 19th May, 1540, he laments the indocility of our country, in refusing to adopt the newly-fashioned creed: "I trust the time of amendment be at hand; howbeit, since ever I heard the name of Ireland first, the country was never farther out of order."‡

Other leading members of the government, from time to time, betrayed the same despondency regarding the Irish people. Thus, Agard writes to Cromwell on 5th April, 1538.§ "Here as yet the blood of Christ is clean blotted out of all men's hearts . . . except it be the archbishop of Dublin, and my good lord Butler, the master of the rolls, Mr. Treasurer, and one or two more, which are of a small reputation; here is else none, from the highest to the lowest, who may abide the hearing of God's word, spiritual, as they call them, nor temporal, and

* State Papers, vol. iii. page 6.

† This confederacy threatened for awhile the complete annihilation of the English power. Robert Cowley writes to Cromwell on 8th September, 1539: "There never was seen in Ireland so great a host of Irishmen and Scots," the motive of it being, he adds, that "they considered the king a heretic;" and this spirit, too, he says, pervaded the English pale. (State Papers, vol. iii. page 145.) On the 18th January, 1540, the lord deputy Gray informed the king that the detestable traitors, young Gerald, O'Neil, O'Donel, the pretended Earl of Desmond, O'Brene, O'Conor, and O'Mulmoy had well nigh subdued the whole country "to the supremacy of the pope." (Ibid, page 148.) See further details of this confederacy in the "The Earls of Kildare," by the marquis of Kildare: Dublin 1858, page 180-1.

‡ State Papers, vol. iii. page 308. In another letter (Ibid. page 35) Dr. Browne laments that many who outwardly "feigned themselves maintainers of the gospel, have it not inwardly in their hearts."

§ State Papers, vol. ii. page 569.

especially they that here rule all, that is, the temporal lawyers who have the king's fee."

Cowley writes, the same year (19th July), in a like strain: *
"Sorry I am to hear such abuses; praying God that the employment of the king's treasure exhausted, and all his grace's resource in Ireland do not work to the confusion of the king's true subjects.....More sorry am I to hear how the papistical sect springs up and spreads abroad, infecting the land pestiferously."

Some years later (in 1548) Dr. Staples, the Protestant bishop of Meath, writing to the secretary of the lord deputy,† thus depicts the sentiments of the people of his own diocese regarding his evangelical ministrations: "One gentlewoman to whom I did christen a child, which beareth my name, came in great alarm to a friend of mine, desiring how she might find means to change her child's name: and he asked her why, and she said: because I would not have him bear the name of an heretic. A gentleman, dwelling nigh unto me, forbade his wife, who would have sent her child to be confirmed by me, so to do; saying, his child should not be confirmed by him that denied the sacrament of the altar. A friend of mine, rehearsing at the market that I would preach the next Sunday at Navan, divers answered they would not come there lest they should learn to be heretics. One of our lawyers declared to a multitude that it was a great pity that I was not burned; for I preached heresy. . . . A beneficed man, of mine own promotion, came unto me weeping, and desired me that he might declare his mind unto me without my displeasure: I said I was well content. My lord, said he, before you went last to Dublin, you were the best beloved man in your diocese, and now you are the worst beloved that ever came here. I asked why. Why, said he, for you have taken open part with the state—that false heretick, and preached against the sacrament of the altar, and deny saints, and will make us worse than Jews; wherefore if the country could, they would eat you: and he besought me to take heed of myself, for he feared more than he durst tell me. He said, you have more curses than you have hairs in your head, and I advise you not to preach at Navan, as I hear you intend to do," etc.

* State Papers, vol. iii. page 50.

† Shirley, "Original Letters," p. 22.

This is a faithful picture of how little sympathy there existed, at the close of Henry's reign, and during the first years of Edward's government, between the people of Ireland and the heretical clergy. The violent attempts made by Bale and others in the following years, only served to awaken the ardour of the Catholic population, and even Dr. Mant confesses, that during the reign of Edward, no progress was made in *the reformation*; partly, as he says, on account of *the timidity of counsels during the king's minority*, and partly (or, we would rather say, wholly) through *the intractable temper of the people, and their inveterate attachment to the Church of Rome*.^{*} Were further evidence required, we would find it in the letter of the lord deputy St. Leger, who writes from Dublin on 5th December, 1550:†—“Now as touching the bishopric void, it shall be well done some honest man be placed therein for the advancement of religion, *which, although it hath been here much talked of these two or three years past, yet hath it been smally set forth in deed*; and, perchance, if the disposition of men here were thoroughly known, it would be thought a thing not easy to be brought to pass.”‡

There were some indeed who took the oath of allegiance, but as yet this was regarded by many as only an acknowledgment of fealty to their monarch: it was supposed by the natives not to involve the denial of any doctrine of faith, and it was explained by the court, as we have already seen in the words of Dr. Browne, that it only granted to Henry what many other Catholic and sainted kings had exacted from their subjects. Perhaps many of those who thus offered their allegiance never even enquired into the precise terms of the oath; but when it was proposed to abandon the Catholic Church, and renounce their affection for the see of Peter, we have sufficiently shown that such proposals were rejected with disdain, and that the Irish people remained immoveably attached to the faith of their fathers.

The rejoicing with which they hailed the accession of queen

^{*} Hist. of Ir. Ch. vol. i. p. 228.

[†] Shirley, p. 45-6.

[‡] In Shirley (remarks on Letter the 7th), is cited a passage from some interrogatories made by the government in 1548, with the answers received: “How is the word of God set forth in this realm? (answer) *the deades* (that is, *not at all*). How many friar-houses and others remain using the old Papist sorte? (answer) *all Munster, Thomond, Connaught, and Ulster*.”

Mary, and the restoration of the Catholic worship, is of itself a sure guarantee of their unswerving devotedness to the ancient faith. It was on the 31st of August, 1553, that the clergy of Kilkenny resolved to restore the cathedral of St. Canice to Catholic worship. Dr. Bale, the most violent of the reformers, was the Protestant bishop, and Ormond was his patron. The death of the king had not as yet been publicly proclaimed, still the people would brook no delay. "To the utter contempt of king and council of England," as Bale himself writes, they rang all the bells in the fine old cathedral and parish churches; in the exuberance of their joy, "they flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple;" a solemn procession was formed; once more the canons walked forth "with their capes, candlesticks, holywater, crosses, and censers;" the litany was intoned, and the hearts of the citizens were cheered with the oft-repeated Catholic anthem, "*Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis.*"* The Protestant bishop himself was treated with every opprobrium, and obliged to fly in disgrace to the stronghold of puritanism.† And yet this was not the first time that Bale had witnessed the enthusiasm of the good people of Kilkenny in the cause of their time-honoured faith. Six months before, when, on his first appointment, he publicly proclaimed the tenets of king Edward, a tumult at once ensued: "five of his attendants were slain before his face, and he himself was obliged to shut himself up from the fury of the populace within the iron gates of his castle, from which critical situation he was relieved only by the civil magistrate at the head of 500 soldiers."‡

The same spirit was everywhere manifested throughout the kingdom; especially in those parts where Catholic devotions had been for awhile prescribed by the government, festive rejoicings marked the triumph of their sacred cause. Nowhere do we find the slightest trace of any opposition to the recognition of the Holy See. In fact, says the writer just now referred to, "on the accession of Mary to the throne, so little had been

* Bale's *Vocacyon*, ap. Mant, i. 232.

† White, in his *Apology*—"Joannem Baleum Anglum . . . noluerunt Hiberni recipere, sed ut catholicos eorum animos decebat, cum ignominia exulare coegerunt et confugere ad Calvinismi arcem et metropolim. Genevam."

—p. 47.

‡ *Liber. Mun. Hib.*, part i. p. 37.

done in the advancement of the reformation, that there was little or nothing to undo. She issued a license for the celebration of Mass in Ireland, where no other service was or had been celebrated worth mentioning, and where no other supreme head had been ever in earnest acknowledged but the pope."*

CHAPTER II.

APPOINTMENT OF HUGH CURWIN TO THE SEE OF DUBLIN— HIS ACTS AND APOSTACY.

1. Early Life of Dr. Curwin.—2. Chief Events of his Episcopate.—3. His apostacy and translation to Oxford.—4. Constancy of the Irish in their faith.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the only Englishman who, since the sad era of the reformation, was elevated to the see of St. Laurence O'Toole, should be, at the same time, the only bishop on its long roll of sainted names who dishonoured it by a vile apostacy.

1.—*Early Life of Dr. Curwin.*

Hugh Curwin was a native of Westmoreland, in England, and boasted a high lineage from the earls of Northumberland. He enjoyed a fair literary fame, was doctor of laws, dean of Hereford, and, according to some of his biographers, archdeacon of Oxford. In matters of religion, however, he made worldly utility the rule of his conscience; hence, during four successive reigns, he fashioned his creed according to the tenets of his royal patrons, and his character was well sketched by Strype, when he styled him *a complier in all reigns*.*

The first question by which Curwin acquired notoriety, and won the favor of Henry VIII., was that of the king's marriage

* Lib. Mun. Hib, part i. p. 37.

† Life of Cranmer, p. 54.

with Anne Boleyn. Corrupt though the court of the English monarch was at this period, yet exemplary priests were not wanting, who boldly admonished him of his crimes, and denounced his violation of God's law. In 1533 a Franciscan friar named Peto, "a simple man," writes Stowe, "but very devout," preached before the king at Greenwich, and took for his text the words of the prophet: "Even where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, even there shall the dogs lick thy blood also, O King." Amongst other things he did not fear to address the following words to the proud monarch: "I am that Micheas whom thou wilt hate, because I must tell thee truly that this marriage is unlawful; and I know I shall eat the bread of affliction, and drink the water of sorrow; yet, because the Lord hath put it into my mouth, I must speak it."

On the following Sunday, the courtiers deemed it expedient that the favourite tenets of the king should be eulogized in a strain equally bold and impressive, and Hugh Curwin was the orator chosen for the occasion. The fact of his having been thus selected, sufficiently proves what an ardent advocate he had shown himself of Henry's divorce. Nevertheless, the discourse of this favorite orator was the occasion of an additional mortification to the court party. Curwin, indeed, used the severest language in regard of Peto and his preaching; he styled him "a slanderer, a rebel, and a traitor," and used other most opprobrious epithets, adding, that no subject should speak so audaciously to princes. Having said much on that head, and in commendation of the king's marriage, he concluded, raising his voice, and exclaiming, "I speak to thee Peto, who makest thyself Micheas, that thou mayst speak evil of kings, but now thou art not to be found, being fled for fear and shame, as being unable to answer my arguments." The orator well knew that Peto was absent; for the superior of his order, suspecting that a storm was impending over the courageous friar, sent him to assist at a meeting of the clergy, which had been convened at Canterbury. But in the assembly addressed by Dr. Curwin, there was present a companion of Peto, equally zealous in the cause of truth, and equally heedless of the monarch's indignation. His name was Elstow, and standing in the rood loft, he, in a loud voice, thus addressed the preacher:

“ Good sir, you know that Father Peto, as he was commanded, is now gone to a provincial council holden at Canterbury, and not fled for fear of you, for to-morrow he will return again : in the meantime I am here, as another Micheas, and will lay down my life to prove all these things true which he hath taught out of the Holy Scripture ; and to this combat I challenge thee, before God and all equal judges ; even thee, Curwin, I say, who art one of the four hundred prophets, into whom the spirit of lyeing is entered, and seekest by adultery to establish succession, betraying the king into endless perdition ; more for thy own vain glory and hope of promotion, than for discharge of thy clogged conscience and the king’s salvation.”

The fearless Franciscan continued in this strain till the king, in a rage, commanded him to be silent.

Whilst new dignities were marked out to reward Curwin for his servility, the two friars, Peto and Elstow, were cast into prison. This punishment, however, only served to complete their triumph ; and so fearless were they when summoned before the council, that on the earl of Essex telling them “ they deserved to be put into a sack and thrown into the Thames,” Elstow smiling replied : “ Threaten these things to rich and dainty folk, who are clothed in purple, fare deliciously, and have their chief hope in this world ; for we esteem them not, but are joyful that in the discharge of our duties we are driven hence ; and with thanks to God, we know that the way to heaven is as short by water as by land, and therefore we care not which way we go.”*

On the question of supremacy Dr. Curwin was not less devoted to the crown ; and he even publicly preached in favour of it.† It was also known that king Henry was warmly attached, through conviction or through pride, to the “ Corporal presence,” as the Catholic doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist was then called ; and hence this tenet found an ardent supporter in our aspirant to court favour. Indeed, so zealous was he on this head that the death of Frith, for teaching the contrary heretical doctrine, was commonly laid at his door.

On the accession of queen Mary, the sentiments of Dr. Curwin were completely reformed on the questions of the royal supre-

* See Ellis’s “ Original Letters Illustrative of English History,” ii. 41-2. and Edinb. Rev. January, 1825, p. 434.

† Strype, “ Life of Parker,” vol. i. p. 508.

‡ See Mant, “ Hist. of Ch. in Ireland,” p. 239.

macy and divorce; and so enthusiastic was the convert in defending the orthodox tenets, that he was at once appointed chaplain to her majesty. The see of Dublin was soon after deemed a fit promotion to reward his zeal, and on the 22nd of February, 1555, the royal license was issued to the cathedral chapter of Dublin, to proceed to his election as archbishop. This mandate, however, was preceded by a special letter from the queen, under her privy signet, and dated the 18th of February, being signed, moreover, with her own hand, "Marye, the queene."^{*}

This nomination of Dr. Curwin having been confirmed by the Holy See on the 15th of June, 1555,[†] he was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on the 8th of September the same year, and a few days later was appointed by her majesty lord chancellor of Ireland. Dr. Curwin without delay hastened to his new charge,[‡] and on the 15th of the same month we find the following commendatory letter addressed to the dean and chapter of Christ's Church:

"MARY, THE QUEEN.

"TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED,—We greet you well: and forasmuch as the right reverend father in God, our right-trusty and well-beloved councillor, the archbishop of Dublin, being lately chosen for that see, repaireth speedily to that our realm of Ireland, as well to reside upon the cure of his bishopric, which now of long hath been destitute of a Catholic bishop, as also to occupy the office of our high chancellor of that our realm: although we have good hopes that ye will in all things of yourselves carry yourselves towards him as becometh you; yet to the intent he might govern the clergy committed unto him, to the

* Harris's Ware; also, Mant, loc. cit.

† See De Burgo "Hib. Dom." p. 817, whose assertion as to Curwin's appointment having been confirmed by the pope, rests on two unanswerable arguments: viz., its being published in consistory on the 15th June, 1555; and the pope's bull of appointment having emanated on the same day. In some lists Dr. Curwin is omitted, probably on account of his subsequent apostacy. For further evidence see next note.

‡ The royal order to the lord chancellor from Greenwich, on 13th Sept. 1555, for the restitution of the temporalities of the archbishopric, thus begins: "Whereas we have received from our holy Father the pope a bull, herein enclosed, by which you shall clearly understand that his Holiness, upon our recommendation, hath preferred unto the archbishopric of Dublin, in Ireland, our trusty and well-beloved chaplain, Hugh Curwin, whereupon he hath done unto us his homage and fealty," etc.—"Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland." Edited by James Morrin. Dublin, 1861; vol. i. p. 339.



honour of Almighty God, we have thought fit to require and charge that for your part ye reverently receive him, honour and humbly obey him in all things as appertaineth to the duties tending to God's glory, our honour, and the common weal of that our realm, whereby ye shall please God and do us acceptable service.

"Given under our signet at our manor of Greenwich, the 15th day of September, in the third year of our reign."

2.—*Chief Events of Dr. Curwin's Episcopate.*

On his appointment to the see of Dublin, Dr. Curwin applied himself without delay to restore the ancient religion in all its splendour; and amongst his first acts we find recorded that he replaced in Christ Church the marble statue of our Saviour, which the Protestant bishop Browne had, some years before, caused to be thrown down and mutilated.

The first sermons of the archbishop won for him the applause of his Irish auditory. There is yet preserved amongst Ware's MSS. a contemporary letter which thus records the impression that was made by his inaugural discourse:

"May it please your lordship to be advertised that the archbishop of Dublin did preach his first sermon that he made in this land, the Sunday after St. Andrew, in Christ Church in Dublin, and did set forth the word of God in his sermon, sincerely and after such a sort, that those men that be learned and unlearned, both do give him as high praise as I have heard given to any one man; so that those men that favour the word of God are very glad of him, and prayeth for him so to continue."*

In 1556 Dr. Curwin convened a provincial council in Dublin, and in it many salutary laws were enacted regarding the due administration of the sacraments, and the observance of Catholic discipline.† One of its fruits was witnessed on the 2nd of July, that year, on the occasion of the solemn inauguration of the new lord deputy, when, to the great annoyance of the English Protestants, the Catholic ritual was carried out in all its splen-

* Ware's MSS. vol. 75, p. 180; ex Collect. to Dr. George Carew, *Lambeth MSS.*, lib. No. 602. pag. 136; apud. Mant, vol. i. p. 240.

† Loftus MS. Marsh's Lib. This MS. is "a collection of annals, unfinished; intended probably as the materials of a work never published." It does not preserve the decrees that were enacted, but merely records the fact of the synod being held. We are indebted for these particulars to Rev. Dr. Todd, vice-president of the Royal Irish Academy.

dour. Sir Anthony St. Leger, who had continued even after the death of Edward VI. to hold the viceregal authority in Ireland, had of late given displeasure to the queen by some satirical verses which he composed attacking the Catholic faith, and Thomas Ratcliffe, viscount Fitzwalter, subsequently made earl of Sussex, was appointed his successor. The 2nd of July was the day fixed for taking public possession of his high office; he proceeded to St. Patrick's Cathedral with a noble retinue; the archbishop arrayed in pontificals, and the clergy dressed in rich copes, were assembled at the church portals to receive him; immediately on entering he knelt beneath a rich canopy of state, and having been incensed, he kissed the cross, and received the blessing of the archbishop, after which he proceeded towards the high altar, where he continued kneeling whilst the hymn *Te Deum* was sung. Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was then given by Dr. Curwin, after which the deputy arose from his place, proceeded to the foot of the altar, and having knelt there for a little while and taken the usual oath of office (Cox, i. 303), he made an offering of a piece of gold, and subsequently dined in state with the archbishop.*

The new lord deputy on coming to Ireland, received special instructions from her majesty to annul the heretical and penal acts of the preceding reign, and restore the Catholic religion to all its privileges; for instance, the first article required the deputy and council, "by their example, and all good means possible, to advance the honour of God and the Catholic faith, to set forth the honor and dignity of the pope's holiness, and See apostolic of Rome, and, from time to time, to be ready with their aid and secular force, at the request of all spiritual ministers and ordinaries, there to punish and repress all heretics, and Lollards, and their damnable sects, opinions, and errors, and to assist the commissioners of the legate, cardinal Pole, when visiting the clergy in Ireland."†

The Irish parliament met in Dublin on the 1st of June, 1557, and its first care was to receive the bull of Paul IV., which was transmitted through cardinal Pole, and conveyed pardon and forgiveness to all of the temporality and spirituality of her majesty's dominions who had swerved from the obedience

* Mason's St. Patrick's, p. 163.

† Ap. Mant, i. 243.

of the apostolic see, and fallen away from the unity of Christ's Church. The preamble of the act of parliament relates that this bull—

“Having been delivered by the lord deputy to archbishop Curwin, was, by him, devoutly and reverently received and read upon his knees in open parliament, deliberately and distinctly in an high voice. And the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons, in the name of themselves particularly, and also of the whole body of the realm, hearing the same, embraced it right reverently, and humbly kneeling upon their knees and yielding thanks, had *Te Deum* solemnly sung. And further, for a due proof of their repentance, they immediately proceeded to abrogate and repeal all the acts and statutes made in parliament since the twentieth year of king Henry VIII., against the See apostolical of Rome, according to the tenor and effect of the said bull.”*

The same act of parliament declares that much false and erroneous doctrine had been taught and preached by heretical innovators during the two preceding reigns; and thanks are rendered to Providence for having raised up their royal majesties “preserved by God's goodness from the common infection aforesaid.” The title of supreme head of the church was subsequently pronounced not to be justly attributed to any king or civil governor; it was moreover declared, that the bulls and dispensations from Rome should be allowed to be put in execution; and it was ordained that such authority, pre-eminence, and jurisdiction should be enjoyed by the Holy Father, as was due to his supremacy, and was enjoyed by him in the twentieth year of the reign of the king, her majesty's father, within this her realm of Ireland, and other her dominions.”

Another act was passed, giving civil sanction to the enactments of the ecclesiastical authorities, that thus they might be the better able to guard their flocks from erroneous and heretical teachers. Moreover, it was decreed that the first fruits paid to the crown on all ecclesiastical benefices, as well as the yearly tithes, should not in future be exacted. The rectories, glebe lands, and all other spiritual and ecclesiastical emoluments, which had been seized on by the crown during the two preceding reigns, were restored to the ecclesiastical authorities, with a proviso, however, that this act should not extend to, or affect in any way such

* 3 & 4 Philip & Mary, cap. viii.

grants of ecclesiastical property as had been made by the crown to private individuals, or to any public or civil corporations; thus, indeed, rendering null and nugatory the restitution of ecclesiastical property which was set forth in the act itself.

The government, however, did not take this step without consulting the Holy See. It was well known in the Roman court that the possession of church lands and other church property presented a main obstacle to the reunion of the English gentry with the Catholic Church; and hence, with a desire to facilitate their conversion, and thus procure a spiritual blessing for that straying portion of his fold, the Holy Father had destined cardinal Pole as his legate to England and Ireland, and authorised him, by special bull, to alienate such property and lands as had already passed into the hands of the laity; and the present act of the Irish parliament merely re-echoed the sentiments of this concession of the Holy See.

The decree of cardinal Pole, conveying the dispensation of the Holy Father, was dated "from Lambeth, the 6th of May, 1557." The Holy Father, he says, was moved to make these concessions by the testimony of many authoritative and prudent persons, who declared that such a dispensation would mainly contribute to preserve that unity of faith which was already happily avowed by their sovereign, and "from which depended the salvation of souls redeemed by the precious blood of Christ." All such as had shared in the plunder of the church property were then declared to be absolved by apostolic authority; all foundations of schools and collegiate or cathedral churches made by the crown during the period of schism were confirmed; marriages contracted during the same interval, and null through defect of dispensation from the Holy See, were convalidated; and, in a word, all concessions made or privileges granted, during the two preceding reigns, in virtue of the assumed authority of the spiritual supremacy of the crown, were legalized and sanctioned; and in particular the holders of ecclesiastical property were confirmed in the possession of their respective portions, and in such a manner that no future councils, whether provincial or general—no decrees of the Roman pontiffs, or other ecclesiastical authority, should in any way molest them or subject them to any censures whatsoever. Those, however,

into whose hands the sacred vessels of the altar might, perhaps, have come, are reminded of the severe judgment of God which fell upon the impious Balthasar; and hence they are exhorted to restore them to the churches from which they had been taken,—or, at least, to have them devoted to the divine service in some other place of Catholic worship. In fine, the possessors of such vicarages and lands as were destined for the maintenance of the parochial clergy, are exhorted to be mindful of the responsibility which rested upon their souls, that such clergy should have due and befitting means for their support, that thus they might be able to devote themselves to their sacred calling, and fulfil the duties imposed upon them.*

The Irish parliament, as we have seen, added its civil sanction to this dispensation of the cardinal legate; and, moreover, enacted the penalties of *præmunire* against all such as should impugn or oppose it. It also decreed that all churches to which the care of souls was annexed, and which hitherto had been subject to lay patronage, should be free and exempt from all such bonds, and be subject solely to the authority of the bishop or other ecclesiastical ordinary.†

That cardinal Pole, acting as papal legate to our Irish Church, should have held many investigations regarding the abuses which then prevailed, there can be but little room for doubt; and three documents connected with his legation which are preserved in the Vatican archives, throw some light on this period of our history.‡

The first document regards the appointment of William Walsh to the see of Meath. He was a native of the diocese, and having been, for many years, a member of the Cistercian Order, was enabled, by apostolic dispensation, to embrace the institute of the canons regular; and in 1554, when advanced to the see of Meath, he was professor of theology, and famed for

* See in Appendix the original *bullæ dispensationis* of cardinal Pole. It is painful to find the facts of history so sadly distorted as in the following extract from the editor of "The Life and Times of Sir P. Carew": "His (cardinal Pole's) chief concern, in conjunction with the queen, was to obtain restitution of the vast amount of property which had been wrested from the Church; but this being chiefly in the hands of the most powerful nobles, very great difficulties attended it, and neither of them lived long enough to accomplish the design." London, 1857; p. lxxviii.

† Ibid.

‡ Ex Archiv. Vatican. Secret.

piety and learning. Some years before, Dr. Walsh had visited Rome, and whilst there, lived as chaplain in the palace of cardinal Pole, and at the suggestion of his eminence, his name was now presented by the crown for the vacant see of Meath. This see was regarded as appertaining to the order of canons regular, and as the "*Relation*" continues, "though situated in Ireland is looked on as an English see; and the kings of England are accustomed to write for the appointment of its bishop, as they do for the dioceses of England. The see is, at present, wholly impoverished, in consequence of its property having been plundered during the period of schism." Dr. Walsh was, at the same time, prior of Duleek and Colpe, which belonged to the canons regular, and whose revenue of £214 sterling, had passed into lay hands; he was also rector of Luxseudy in the diocese of Meath, whose revenue of £40 sterling was yet peaceably enjoyed by the ecclesiastical incumbent.*

The second document contains an investigation concerning Dr. Christopher Bodkin, bishop of Kilmacduagh, who was nominated by the crown to the see of Tuam. This investigation was held at Lambeth, on the 18th of September, 1555; but no decision resulted from it, as the canonically-appointed archbishop, Dr. Arthur O'Frighi, was not represented at it. Rev. Peter Wall, archdeacon of Kilmacduagh, was the chief witness examined on the occasion; and from his evidence we glean many particulars regarding the diocese of Tuam. "The city of Tuam (says the *Relatio*) was, at one time, large and populous; but it is now in ruins, unfortified, and almost uninhabited. The river *Chorcha* flows through its centre; in its western segment is situated the cathedral church, dedicated under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, which is a sufficiently large and ornamental edifice." This cathedral is further described as having "a high altar and two minor altars; a choir with the books necessary for chanting the divine

* For further particulars, see Harris' Ware, who correctly places his death in 1577. Henriquez in his *Menologium Cisterciens*, as also in his *Fasciculus Sanctorum*, etc., gives an interesting life of this holy bishop. We shall have occasion to dwell on his sufferings during the reign of Elizabeth, in a subsequent chapter. See also the valuable history of "The Diocese of Meath," by the Rev. A. Cogan, vol. i. p. 104, seqq.

office; a baptistery, a sacristy—being, moreover, sufficiently furnished with crucifixes, chalices, patenas (altar-cloths), vestments, and other sacred ornaments; it has a cemetery attached, and a belfry which is in ruins; there are three dignitaries, a dean, archdeacon, and provost, and ten or twelve canons. The diocese is sufficiently large; but its inhabitants are, for the most part, rude and untamed (*sylvestres et indomitos*); it has another cathedral church, named Anaghduagh, attached to it for many years." As regards the vacancy of the see, the deponent attests, that it was vacant for many years since the death of Thomas O'Molaly, the last Catholic bishop—on whose demise Dr. Christopher Bodkin, who had been appointed by the Holy See bishop of Kilmacduagh,* intruded himself into the see of Tuam, being confirmed by the authority of king Henry, and he still retains its possession, together with the see of Kilmacduagh. Being asked whether there was any other claimant for the see of Tuam, the same witness replied, that "Arthur O'Frighi, a native of Ulster, claimed it by appointment from the Holy See, as he (the witness) had been informed by the said Arthur."† As to Dr. Bodkin, it is added that he was about fifty years of age, of a noble family, and remarkable for the morality and sanctity of his life, being also well versed in theology and canon law, to which he had applied himself in the university of Oxford; he was, moreover, a stern defender of orthodoxy, and an enemy of the heretics, and more through fear than depravity of intention, contracted the guilt of schism. The city itself, it is added, was wholly free from all danger or suspicion of heresy.‡ This evidence of Rev. Peter Wall was

* He was consecrated bishop of Kilmacduagh, at Marseilles, November 4, 1534. He was subsequently appointed archbishop of Tuam, by the English monarch, on the 13th of February, 1537, but was not recognized by Rome. Notwithstanding his schismatical appointment, he remained devoted to the Catholic faith. On his submission to the Holy See, he was allowed by cardinal Pole to continue in the administration of the temporalities of the see of Tuam, with the right of succession on the demise of Dr. O'Frighi.

† This Arthur was, indeed, for many years after, true archbishop of Tuam, as we learn from a letter of David Wolf, 12th October, 1561: he was a canon of Raphoe, and appointed to Tuam in 1538.—(Acta Consistorialia in Archiv. Vatic.)

‡ There is a note added to the document which would impair a little the favorable testimony of this witness, in regard of Dr. Bodkin: "*Ipse (Petrus Wall) fuit familiaris dicti Christophori et ab eo obtinuit archidiaconatum Eccle. Duacensis.*" His evidence, however, is fully corroborated in every par-

corroborated by the testimony of Donald Doign, a Tuam priest, and of Maurice Macraí, a priest of Kilmacduagh.

The third document presents a similar investigation, held on the 14th of October the same year, regarding the diocese of Anaghduagh (Anachduanen.), which was supposed to be united to the metropolitan see of Tuam. We glean from it that the city of Anaghduagh was small, and unfortified,—being situated at the distance of four or five miles from the city of Tuam; there was a small cathedral church in it, dedicated under the invocation of St. Brandan. This church had still a dean and archdeacon, and some canons, who, however, did not reside there; in fact, it was altogether abandoned, and only one Mass was celebrated in it on the days of obligation: “there is a belfry attached to it, and a cemetery; it has only one chalice and one vestment; the diocese itself is small, and situated in a dangerous and uncivilized country.”

That these districts, which were as yet almost wholly exempt from English rule, should be styled *barbarian* by English authority, is intelligible enough; but the fact that the cathedral churches, even in those remote dioceses, had been plundered and had fallen into decay, sufficiently attests with what fury the agents of the English court had assailed, throughout the whole kingdom, the time-honoured monuments of the faith of our fathers. We have a further confirmation of their vandalic fury in the commission which was issued on the 3rd of December, 1556, addressed to the archbishop of Dublin, with the deans of Christ's Church and St. Patrick's, and some others who were authorized “to report on all lands and tenements, all sacred plate, bells, and other utensils, as well as all sums of money which had lately belonged to the churches or chapels of the diocese of Dublin; and to inquire into the present state of such churches, and if ruinous or in decay, to investigate by whose fault they had become so.”

The Catholic faith was now fully restored, not only in its

particular by the letter of David Wolf already referred to, with the exception of the motive which is said to have impelled Dr. Bodkin to throw himself into the arms of the schismatical party. From Wolf's letter it is clear, that Dr. Bodkin was not merely impelled by fear to accept, but much rather impelled by ambition to solicit, from Henry that dignity which had been refused by the Holy See.

sacred ritual, but also in its civil power and influence, throughout the whole extent of the kingdom: nevertheless, we do not meet with one single case of persecution against those who professed the Protestant tenets. So well known, indeed, were the sentiments of toleration of the Irish Catholics, that when many Protestant families of England found themselves subjected to local disabilities or persecution, they fled for refuge to Dublin and other parts of Ireland, and continued there to pursue unmolested the practices of their peculiar creeds. Dr. Leland records that, "the assertors of the reformation who had not fled from this kingdom, were, by the lenity of the Irish government, suffered to sink into obscurity and neglect. . . . Several English families, friends to the reformation, fled into Ireland, and there enjoyed their opinions and worship in privacy, without notice or molestation."* Taylor, too, confesses that "the restoration of the old religion was effected without violence; no persecution of the Protestants was attempted, and several of the English . . . found a safe retreat among the Catholics of Ireland. It is but justice to this maligned body to add, that on three occasions of their obtaining the upper hand, they never injured a single person in life or limb for professing a religion different from their own, . . . as they showed, in the reign of Mary—in the wars from 1641 to 1648—and during the brief triumph of James II.†" Mr. William Parnell gratefully acknowledges, in like manner, that "though the religious feelings of the Irish Catholics, and their feelings as men, had been treated with very little ceremony during the two preceding reigns, they made a wise and moderate use of their ascendancy. They entertained no resentment for the past; they laid no plans for future domination. . . . Such was the general spirit of toleration, that many English families, friends to the reformation, took refuge in Ireland, and there enjoyed their opinions and worship without molestation.‡" The editor of the *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, also writes of Mary's reign: "There was no persecution of the Protestants in Ireland by fire or torture, in this reign. In truth, the reformation not having been sown

* Hist. of Ireland, book 3rd., ch. viii.

† Hist. of the Civil Wars in Ireland, vol. i., page 169.

‡ Historical Apology, page 35, seq.

in Ireland, there was no occasion to water it by the blood of martyrs: insomuch, that several English families, friends to the reformation, withdrew into Ireland as into a secure asylum."*

These first years of Dr. Curwin's episcopate were a period of comparative peace and tranquillity. But though the government had restored the Catholic religion, yet in some districts, the local authorities that remained unchanged, continued their petty vexations and persecutions against the Catholic clergy. As regards Dr. Curwin himself, would to heaven, that a veil could be drawn to close his history with the death of queen Mary! for his career during her reign had been unsullied by those vices that marked his subsequent years, and made him an object of reproach and shame, even to the Protestant sectaries whose communion he embraced.

3.—*Apostacy of Dr. Curwin and his subsequent Career.*

On the 17th of November, 1558, queen Mary died, and it was soon necessary for our archbishop to choose between the smiles of her successor, and the poverty and persecutions to which the Catholics were subjected. Dr. Curwin did not long deliberate, and true to his earlier courtier habits, resolved without delay to accommodate his conscience and conduct so as to suit the fancy of Elizabeth. His history as archbishop of Dublin is thus brought to a close; but the documents connected with his subsequent career, record some particulars which merit the reader's attention, and illustrate the condition of the Irish Church at this period.

The constancy of the dean of his cathedral church presents a striking contrast with the base apostacy of the archbishop.

* Lib. Munerum vol. i. part i. page 38. It reflects but little credit on Dr. Mant that though he was obliged to confess that "several English Protestants fled into Ireland from Cheshire, and bringing with them their families, goods, and chattels, lived in Dublin, and became citizens of that city;" yet he has not the fairness to acknowledge the forbearance of the Irish Catholics, and endeavours to explain the peace and quiet which was enjoyed by the Protestants, by their own "wisdom and caution" in concealing their religion. But if such was their *wisdom and caution*, why, we may ask, did they not remain at home with their goods and chattels in Cheshire?

Thomas Leverous had been appointed dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in 1554, and by special privilege continued to hold that dignity even after his consecration as bishop of Kildare.* When the earl of Kildare and his five uncles were treacherously seized on in 1535, and sent to England to be soon after led to the scaffold, the only hope of the Geraldine family, the youthful Gerald, half-brother to the earl, was saved by his faithful tutor, Dr. Leverous. The youth was lying ill at Donore, in the county of Kildare, but "his nurse immediately committed him to the care of his tutor, Thomas Leverous, a priest and foster-brother of his father, who carefully conveyed him in a large basket into Offaly, to his sister, lady Mary O'Connor. There he remained until he had perfectly recovered, when he was removed first to O'Dun's country, and after three months, to Thomond, where he was under the care of his cousin, James Delahoide, eldest son of Walter Delahoide of Moyglare."† During the five years that Gerald continued in Ireland, travelling from district to district, and ever varying his disguise, Leverous was with him, his faithful guardian and preceptor. The lord deputy and the English agents employed every art and stratagem, and offered every inducement that could allure the Irish chieftains to surrender or betray the wished-for prize; but all were "so affectionate to the Geraldines"‡ that not one traitor was found in the Irish ranks. Dr. Leverous was also mainly instrumental in organizing that confederacy of the Irish chieftains which, in 1537 and 1540, well nigh brought to ruin the power of king Henry in Ireland. The despatches of that time declare, that "never was such a combination seen in Ireland,"§ and whilst the English commanders pourtray their own alarms and their treacherous designs, they also record the interesting fact, that the Irish confederates had appealed to arms to defend "the supremacy of the pope and the Geraldines."|| About the middle of March, 1540, the young Geraldine, "dressed in a saffron-colored shirt, and bare-

* He was nominated by the crown to that vacant see on the 1st of March, 1555, and was confirmed by the Holy See on 3rd August, the same year.

† See "The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors, from 1057 to 1773," by the marquis of Kildare. Second edition. Dublin, 1858, pag. 170.

‡ St. Pap., vol. iii., pag. 148.

§ State Pap. vol. iii., pag. 145.

|| Ibid. pag. 148.

headed, like one of the wild Irish,"* and accompanied only by Leverous and two attendants, set sail from Donegal Bay, and "safely arrived at St. Malo, where he was hospitably received by the governor, Mons. de Chateaubriand."† So great was the reverence and affection of the young earl for his faithful tutor, that at the slightest word of rebuke, he used to tremble through fear of displeasing him.‡ The intrigues of the English king soon obliged the young Geraldine to fly from France, and subsequently too from Flanders, and take refuge in Rome, where "he was treated with the greatest affection;"§ and sharer of all his perils and sufferings, was the worthy provost of Kildare. In Rome, Dr. Leverous became acquainted with cardinal Pole, and pursued his studies there from 1543 till 1548, when he returned again to England, still the guardian and guide of the Geraldine.

In 1551 we meet with a characteristic letter of the lord deputy, sir James Crofts, in which that Protestant nobleman writes to the English court, suggesting the appointment of Leverous to either of the vacant sees of Cashel or Ossory, declaring that "for learning, discretion, and (in outward appearance) for good living, he is the meetest man in this realm, and best able to preach both in the English and the Irish tongue." And he adds: "for as much as he was thought an offender for conveying the lord Garrett out of the realm, and notwithstanding since had his pardon, I dare not become a suitor for him, although, as I have said, I know no man so meet; I heard him preach such a sermon as, in my simple opinion, I did not hear in many years."|| Dr. Leverous, however, was not the flexible character required by the English courtiers; and it was only in 1555, on the expulsion of the Protestant bishop from Kildare, that he was advanced to his native¶ diocese. When on the accession.

* Despatch of one of the English continental spies from Rennes, 22nd May 1540: in St. Pap., vol. iii. pag. 211.

† "The Earls of Kild.," pag. 182.

‡ St. Pap. vol. iii., pag. 211, and another letter from Rouen to Henry VIII., on 6th Sept., 1541, *ibid.* pag. 281.

§ "Earls of Kild.," pag. 193. For many further particulars regarding the young earl and Dr. Leverous, see Stanihurst, "Hist. Anglicana," vol. i., page 245, seq.

|| Shirley's "Original Letters," etc., pag. 61-2.

¶ The nomination of Dr. Leverous received the sanction of the Holy See on the 3rd of August, 1555; the bull of his appointment, however, did not reach

of Elizabeth he was summoned to take the oath of allegiance, both spiritual and temporal, he heroically refused to comply with the injunctions of the lord deputy, and avowed his determination to risk every earthly prospect, sooner than renounce his faith. His interview with the deputy is thus described by Mr. Mason, in his history of St. Patrick's Cathedral:—The lord deputy asked him why he refused to take an oath which had already been taken by so many illustrious men. The bishop made answer, that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was derived from Christ: and since the divine founder of the Church did not deem it fit to confer ecclesiastical authority even on the most privileged of women, His own blessed Mother, how could it be believed that supremacy and the primacy of ecclesiastical authority should, in future ages, be delegated to anyone of that sex? He added, that according to the command of the apostle, no woman should presume to speak authoritatively in the Church, much less should she preside and rule there; and to confirm this opinion, he adduced authorities from St. Chrysostom and Tertullian, and other early writers. The deputy, abandoning this line of argument, then represented to him that if he refused to comply, he must be deprived of all his revenues; to which the worthy bishop replied, in the words of the sacred text: "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world, if he lose his own soul?"*

The threat was soon put in execution; and whilst government honours were heaped on those worthless men who sacrificed their consciences to the whims of Elizabeth, Dr. Leverous "was dispossessed of his temporalities, and compelled to fly the country. He sojourned some time in† or near Limerick, where he taught school. He afterwards returned, visited his destitute flock, and in a little time closed a most pious and apostolic life, in an

Ireland till the 19th of December, through the illness of the person to whom it was entrusted. "In the Auditor-General's office (says Mason) there is a petition of Dr. Leverous praying to be allowed the main profits of his see from the date of the pope's bull—which profits are stated to be forty-four pounds per annum. His petition was granted, as appears by the order, which is dated the 15th of February."—Hist. of St. Patrick's, pag. 162.

* See *Analecta*, by Dr. Roothé of Ossory, and other authorities in Mason's Hist. loc. cit.

† His first school was at Adare, and one of his ushers in that hallowed locality was Richard Creagh, who in a few years was promoted to the archbishopric of Armagh.—Mason, "Hist. of St. Patrick's," page 160, seq.

obscure hut at Naas.* We are further informed by Ware, that he died about the year 1577, in the eightieth year of his age, and was buried at Naas, in the parish church of St. David.

One of the chief instructions given to the lord deputy, on being sent into Ireland, was, "to set up the worship of God as it was in England."† To carry this design into execution, a parliament was convened in January, 1560, and the following statutes were published, to regulate the future government and worship of the Established Church in Ireland. The first act declares "restored to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual."‡ The oath of supremacy was ordered to be taken by all ecclesiastical persons, officers, and ministers; and forfeiture of office was the penalty for refusing it. To maintain or defend foreign jurisdiction, was pronounced an offence for which an ecclesiastic should, the first time, lose all his benefices; the second time, incur the penalty of præmunire, and the third time, be adjudged to suffer the penalties of high treason.

Another statute decreed "the uniformity of common prayer and service in the church and in the administration of the sacraments." In the first year of Edward VI. the Book of Common Prayer had been introduced into Ireland, and it remained unchanged during the remainder of his reign, although in England it was subjected to many variations. It was now introduced again, not according to its former Irish model, but according to its latest English fashion, *with certain further alterations and additions*, and thus remodelled, it was ordered to be used in all the cathedral and parish churches of the kingdom. All ministers "who should refuse to use it, or should use any other form, or speak or preach in derogation of it," were mulcted for the first offence, with the forfeiture of a year's profit of benefice and six months' imprisonment; for the second offence, with imprisonment for one year and deprivation; and for the third offence, with imprisonment for life. This same statute commanded "all persons to resort to the parish churches on all Sundays and Holidays, and there to abide orderly during the service,

* These words are taken from a MS. memorandum written by Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, bp. of K. and L., and kindly communicated by his worthy successor the present bishop of that see.

† Cox. i. 313.

‡ 2 Elizab. chap. i.

on pain of the censures of the Church, and twelve-pence, to be levied by the churchwardens, for the use of the poor." As, however, not one in a thousand, even within the pale, could appreciate the service of the "common prayer," it was deemed necessary to derogate from what the reformers had more than once proclaimed to be required by God's law, and *considering the peculiar circumstances of Ireland*, it was declared lawful not to celebrate in the vulgar tongue, but "to say and use the matins, even-song, celebration of the Lord's supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in the Latin language."* This device of the government theologians had, in part, its desired effect; for many of the Irish Catholics, seeing the Latin liturgy yet preserved, which was everywhere regarded as a sure sign of the Catholic faith, continued for awhile to frequent the parish churches, reciting their rosaries and performing their usual Catholic devotions. The sheep's clothing, however, could not long conceal the iniquitous designs of the new ministers; and when the mistake was discovered, the churches were left desolate, and the faithful people sought in the glens and mountain caverns their own true pastors, to receive from them the sacraments of life.

As to Dr. Curwin, one of his first cares after bowing to the decrees of Elizabeth, was to remove the statues and other ornaments with which he himself had formerly adorned the cathedral and parochial churches. Even the beautiful fresco-paintings were effaced; and amongst the MSS. of Marsh's library we find a record, that "orders were sent to newly paint the walls of St. Patrick's, and instead of pictures, to place passages of Scripture thereon."† Like instructions were sent to the other churches, and in particular the dean of Christ's Church was commanded "to remove all popish relics and images, and to paint and whiten it anew, effacing from the walls all paintings and other such remains of popery;" orders which were without delay carried into execution.‡

In 1564 Dr. Curwin actively opposed a project for converting

* Act of Parliament, 2nd Eliz., c. ii.; Leland's History of Ireland, ii. 225; Mant, i. 260.

† See Mant, i. 253.

‡ Ibid. p. 265.

the church of St. Patrick into a university; assigning for such opposition, the following characteristic reasons: 1. "The notion of the change cometh from certain greedy persons, who have repaired out of this realm to the court, who look more for their own gain than any profit of the country, thinking that at the dissolving thereof, they may have the prebends to farm at a low price, as divers of them have already boasted there." 2. "In this realm of Ireland, a university will be of small profit; for here there are no promotions to be bestowed upon clerks that are learned, which, however, would be a matter of necessity." 3. "An university here will be unprofitable; for the Irish enemy, under colour of study, would send their friends hither, who would learn the secrets of the country, and advertise them thereof, so that the Irish rebels should by them know the secrets of the English pale." 4. "The prebends are parish churches, having cure of souls, and therefore have to be bestowed on elderly men, and not on young scholars: the whole profit of them standeth in tithes, without any temporal land, which at present, as corn is extremely dear, are worth something; but if the price of corn shall fall, they would be of too small a value to help any number of scholars." 5. "Moreover, the change of the church would be a destruction to the archbishop here, who hath not one benefice within the English pale to bestow upon learned men, but only the prebends of St. Patrick's, which are only twenty-three in number; so that if they be altered, he shall not be able to have one learned man to preach God's word in his diocese."*

To Protestant writers of the present day, one of the most important events of Dr. Curwin's career was the consecration of Adam Loftus, who in 1562 was appointed by her majesty archbishop of Armagh. This act derives its importance from the validity which it seems to impart to the Protestant ordinations of the Irish Church; and hence it is chosen by them as the link which preserved apostolical succession in the Protestant hierarchy of this kingdom.† It would be foreign to these pages to examine

* The original letter of Curwin is given in Shirley's "Collection," etc., pp. 151-153.

† See Mant, loc. cit. 269, 270; Harris's Ware, p. 94.

whether *valid ordination* would of itself suffice to preserve unbroken the apostolical succession: it certainly did not suffice to preserve such apostolical succession in the churches of Apollinaris and Nestorius. There is, however, something altogether mysterious about the election of Dr. Loftus to the see of Armagh. His early ordination as priest is subject to grave doubts. Whilst yet at Cambridge, it was the comeliness of his person and his graceful address, that won for him the favour of Elizabeth; and he was only in his twenty-eighth year, when he was appointed by her to the see of Armagh.* He was at first nominated by her majesty for that see in November, 1561, but for some secret cause, she again suspended that nomination.† At the urgent solicitation of the earl of Sussex, she renewed her nomination in the following year, and sent an order to the chapter of Armagh to proceed to his election. There is preserved, however, a letter of the lord deputy and council of Ireland to queen Elizabeth, on September 2nd, 1562, in which they complain that the chapter could by no means be assembled; they were all adherents of Shane O'Neil, and neither argument nor threat could induce them to proceed to the election of the queen's nominee.‡ The remedy, however, was in the hands of her majesty, and consequently we find him consecrated by virtue of her sole authority on 2nd of March, 1563. There is no record of his earlier ordination: the fact of his being dean of St. Patrick's during Elizabeth's reign, does not imply any such ordination; §

* Harris's Ware, loc. cit.

† Shirley's Orig. Lett., pp. 91-100.

‡ Shirley's "Orig. Lett.," pag. 119, 121. Perhaps the true reason why the canons refused to assemble for the election of an archbishop was, that the see was *not vacant*, as an archbishop had already been canonically appointed by the Holy See.

§ We are informed by Mason (see also Shirley, pag. 299), in his Hist. of St. Patrick's (pag. 170), that, in 1568, Robert Weston, though *no ecclesiastic*, yet was dean of St. Patrick's; and at the same time another of the prebendaries was a layman. These facts remained unnoticed till an investigation was held in that year, when both acknowledged they were laymen, but pleaded that they had received a dispensation from the archbishop of Canterbury. They were both allowed to continue in their prebends. This promotion to the episcopate, without previous ordination, may seem strange at the present day. However, it was more a matter of course in the reign of Elizabeth. Thus, in the genealogical account of the O'Donnellans, published by O'Donovan in I.A.S., 1843, it is said of Dr. Nehemias O'Donnellan, who was consecrated Protestant archbishop of Tuam on May 18th, 1595, "*though he never was in holy orders, he was called archbishop of Tuam.*"—Ibid. pag. 171. The fact seems to be, that many of those who were thus appointed to the episcopate,

and the well-known sentiments that then swayed the court and the Protestant bishops of England, must make the rational inquirer hesitate, before he recognizes Dr. Loftus as a person capable of receiving the true episcopal consecration.*

The history of the removal of Dr. Curwin to the see of Oxford, and the causes which led to it, throw some light on the condition of the Established Church in Ireland at this period. Strype, in his life of archbishop Parker, tells us that he met with a letter written about 1562, by Adam Loftus (who a little while before had been appointed to the see of Armagh) and addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, wherein Dr. Loftus "hinted how his grace of Canterbury had promised to aid him in all church causes of Ireland, especially for removing the archbishop of Dublin;" and Strype adds, that Dr. Curwin "was, as described by the archbishop of Armagh, a known enemy, and labouring under open crimes, which although he shamed not to do, I am (said that archbishop) almost ashamed to mention."† From this passage Dr. Mant justly concludes that "archbishop Curwin's character suffered under some heavy moral imputations, as we have already seen his unsteadiness as to religion."‡

Indeed these accusations against Dr. Curwin were more than once repeated. As early as November 2nd, 1560, he himself petitioned to be translated to an English see,§ setting forth as his claim, that "no man of his coat" had been more devoted to

looked on their appointment as a mere money-making speculation, and a mere concern of civil government. Thus we read in Lynch's MS. History of the Irish Church, when speaking of the famous bishop of Achonry, Dr. Eugene O'Hart: "Id etiam commodi ex episcopatibus Achadensi et Alladensi, Eugenio O'Conor, ab Elizabetha regina collatis hausit ut ab illa sede sua minime motus fuerit, ut pote cui arcto amicitiae nexu ante religionis mutationem devinctus fuerat, sed 180 marcarum censu veteri sodali quotannis persoluto quietem sibi et functiones episcopales intra suae dioceseos fines obeundi potestatem comparavit: et alter ille Eugenius ideo tantum a fide descivit ut se fluxis et caducis divitiis et voluptatibus expleret."

* To theologians, of course, one great reason for rejecting the validity of the Protestant ordinations, even in Ireland, is the insufficiency of the form used in the Protestant ritual. For the subject viewed in this light, we refer the reader to the essays of Dr. Lingard, Kenrick, Perrone, and others. Dr. Mant evidently betrays some anxiety on the question, when he writes that the Protestant succession of bishops through Dr. Loftus is unquestioned and unquestionable, and protected against all exceptions, even from the Papists themselves.—Hist. of the Church of Irel. London, 1840, vol. i., pag. 270.

† Strype's Life of Parker, i. 221. ‡ Mant. loc. cit., pag. 282.

§ Shirley, loc. cit., pag. 94.

the crown, whether in England or in Ireland. This translation, however, was not accorded to him, and we next meet with a letter in her majesty's name (Oct. 15, 1563) proposing to him to resign his archbishopric and chancellorship, and offering him as compensation £200 per annum for the remainder of his life.* To this proposal Dr. Curwin replied on the 3rd of April following, and while he hints that her majesty, "upon sinister information, hath conceived some dislike" for himself and his doings,† he renews his suit for an English bishopric, "where, I trust," he adds, "I should recover better health than I have had in this realm;" and, in fine, he prays that at least such benefices would be granted to him as would equal his revenue in Dublin, and thus enable him to keep his *old servants*, who were *Englishmen*, and to continue the hospitality which he had ever kept *since his ecclesiastical promotion*, and which he *would be loath to give over in his latter days*.‡ Not obtaining these favours, he says, "the evil-disposed would have cause to conceive or report that for my evil deserts or lack of due service I was thought worthy to lose these offices; and especially the archbishopric, the leaving whereof, and not receiving another, shall engender slander against me, that I was deprived of it." No change, however, was made for the moment, and it was only on the 28th of March, 1566, that his translation to Oxford was announced to the lord deputy, which was at length carried into effect in the following year. The letter which Dr. Curwin on this occasion addressed to the chief secretary in England is, indeed, a characteristic one: he asks, as a further favor, that he might leave Dublin before the following winter, and "in such time as he might provide fire for the winter and hay for his horses," and he suggests that his successor should be appointed without delay, "for, if the see stand vacant, much of the lands will be pilfered away by Irishmen, and the houses spoiled."§

A little before this translation was confirmed by the crown, Dr. Brady gave a rather low character of the archbishop, praying for his recall, as being *an old unprofitable workman*;||

* Shirley, loc. cit. pag. 124-5.

† Ibid. pag. 144.

‡ Loc. cit. p. 147.

§ Shirley, loc. cit. p. 248-9: from a letter of the lord deputy (Ibid. p. 250) we learn that Dr. Curwin made a further petition to be allowed the preceding *half-year's rent of Oxford*.

|| Ibid. pag. 201, letter of June 23, 1565.

and elsewhere he had styled him *a disguised dissembler*, numbering him amongst *the dumb dogs who neither teach nor feed any save themselves*. Even Dr. Loftus was not less severe, and besides the letter already cited in the extract from Strype, he again wrote on October 8th, 1565, urging Dr. Curwin's removal, as being unfit and unwilling *to further any business* of the new reformation;* and when this removal was delayed, he again wrote on October 5th, 1566: "I beseech your honor, for Jesus Christ's sake, that my suit in regard of the church of Dublin may be so furthered, that it may be finished with the expedition which the cause requireth: it is much that I desire, and yet no more than the case demands; for when he (Dr. Curwin) neither does good in preaching nor reforming his diocese himself,—when he placeth in the sufficient livings for able preachers, those that he never saw and never come there, open enemies, and such as for want of learning are never able, even if they had the will, to do the church any good,—when in open judgment (loath I am to say it, and I say it only constrainedly), when, I say, in open judgment, he will swear terribly, and that not once or twice, I beseech your honor, is it not time, and more than time, that such a one be removed? and yet, I spare him, I assure your honor, that you may understand how far I am from maligning him." (Ibid. pag. 275).

4.—*The Irish remain devoted to the Catholic Faith.*

It has been often asserted that the act of parliament to which we have already referred, implies an official renunciation of the authority of the Holy See by the representatives of the Irish nation. Such a statement, however, is wholly irreconcilable with the true facts of the case,† and the enactments of that parliament can in nowise be indented with the wishes of Ireland. The official list of the members summoned to parliament in 1559-60, has been recently published by the Irish Archaeological Society.‡ More than two-thirds of the upper house are

* Ibid. pag. 226.

† See an able article on this subject in "Rambler," Jan. 1853, entitled "A chapter in the History of the Ref. of Ireland," from the pen of my lamented friend, Dr. Kelly, Prof. of Ec. Hist., Maynooth.

‡ "Tracts relating to Ireland," vol. ii, pag., 135.

known to have continued for many years attached to the Catholic faith;* and amongst them were many who endured severe persecutions on account of their devotedness to that sacred cause. The lower house consisted of comparatively few members. No county in Ulster was allowed a representative, and only one of its borough-towns, viz., Carrickfergus, had the privilege of a voice in parliament. From all Connaught there was likewise no county member, and only two boroughs, viz., Galway and Athenry, were represented in it. From Munster there were but twenty members, whilst from a portion of Leinster the remaining fifty members were summoned to parliament. In a word, only those districts were allowed a representative, which were most subject to government control; and the decision of a parliament thus constituted was surely not the voice of the Irish nation.

Though the members of such a parliament would naturally be supposed to be pliant to the wishes of Elizabeth, yet the majority made no secret of their resolution to refuse their sanction to the English penal code. This was a moment of perilous anxiety for the lord deputy. He had received positive instructions from her majesty to have these laws passed in parliament,† and nothing remained to him but to have recourse to stratagem to ensure the approving smiles of the imperious monarch.

“The blame of these outrages on religion (writes the learned author of *Cambrensis Eversus*) must not be charged against all the members elected to serve in that parliament. The deputy is recorded to have employed violence, and the speaker

* The editor of *The Life and Times of Sir P. Carew*, 1857, pag. lxxxviii., acknowledges that “most of the temporal lords were firmly attached to the Romish communion.” He adds, however, the bishops were not so zealous or steadfast in their faith: they had accepted every phase of religion which had been presented to them, and with the exception of two, Meath and Kildare, they made no difficulty on the present occasion.” This latter statement is wholly inconsistent (1.), with what the same writer adds (pag. lxxxix.): “It was found impossible to enforce the new laws: *the clergy refused to conform*, abandoned their cures, and none could be found to supply their places;” (2.) with the report of the government commission of 1564, which describes the bishops as being, with the exception of two, all opposed to the new tenets—Shirley, pag. 140; see also other documents in preface.

† *Lib. Munerum Hib.* vol. i., part 4th, page 113, letter of Eliz. 18th Oct., 1559.

treachery. Finding that there was a very thin attendance of members on a certain day* and that the benches were almost untenanted, except by a few who were already resolved to abolish the old creed, he delivered an elaborate and specious harangue for the abrogation of the Catholic faith, and is said to have carried with him the votes of the house. I have been informed that it was previously announced in the house that parliament would not sit on that very day ; but, in the mean time, a private summons was sent to those who were well known to be favourable to the new creed.”†

Another writer, father George Dillon, who, in 1650, full of years, died a martyr of charity while assisting those stricken with the plague in Waterford, adds some further particulars: “ In 1560, (he says) James Stanihurst, lord of Corduff, who was speaker of the lower house of parliament, by sending private summons to some, without any intimation to the more respectable Irish, succeeded in carrying the penal law by surprise. . . . As soon as the matter was discovered, in the next full meeting of parliament there was a general protest against the fraud, injustice, and deliberate treachery of the proceeding. But the lord deputy and others having solemnly sworn that the law would never be carried into execution, the remonstrants were caught in the dexterous snare, and consented that the enactment should remain on the statute-book.”‡ The learned bishop of Ossory, Dr. Roothé, also attests these facts; and he further informs us that the delegates of the Irish parliament to king James in 1613, declared to the English monarch that the penal

* From the official lists in Tracts, &c., published by R. I. Academy, as also *Cox and Liber Mun. Hib.*, we learn that the parliament was prorogued from 11th January to 1st February, 1560; as the 1st February was the Feast-day of St. Brigid, the patroness of Ireland, we can easily understand how the orthodox members might have absented themselves, and how it could have been hinted to them that no public business would be transacted on that day.

† Vol iii., page 19. Dr. Roothé in his *Analecta*, page 387, corroborates this statement; and he also says of the same speaker of the parliament: “ His enormous wealth passed out of his family, with his grandson, who not only squandered away the wages of his grandfather’s guilt, but ran through the old patrimonial inheritance.”

‡ “ *Rationes et Motiva*,” etc., page 87; *Camb. Evers.*, loc. cit. page 21-3. Curry, in his “ *Historical Review*,” book 2nd, chap. iii. remarks that these penal acts “ were well known to have been imposed upon the nation by force or fraud, though under the plausible appearance of parliamentary sanction.”

statutes of 1560 were passed in the fraudulent manner we have described.

The government, however, soon resolved that these enactments should not remain without effect: and we find commissioners to inquire into the state of the Irish church appointed for the county of Westmeath in May, 1561; for the province of Armagh, including Meath, in December the same year, and for the whole kingdom in October, 1564.* From a report made to the privy council by two of the head commissioners in 1564,† we learn what little progress had been made in the work of reformation: they state that so devoted were the people to the old religion, that scarcely could they be induced even to listen to the new tenets; they say, however, that they must not be despaired of, as the inhabitants were naturally inclined to observe the laws, whilst the judges and lawyers were disposed to execute the enactments made in regard of religion; yet they conclude, *we thought good that they meddle not with the simple multitude for the present, but with one or two boasting mass-men (priests) in every shire.*‡

In the "instructions" sent by the government to the lord deputy (July 4th, 1565) the country is represented as unreformed, and as yet in its primitive, *barbarous, and savage* state: *i.e.*, refusing to accept the laws and adopt the usages which were established in 1560.§

One of these enactments commanded that the oath of supremacy should be taken by all who were assumed to the various civil offices throughout the kingdom. So far, however, were the Irish cities and towns from complying with this injunction, that throughout the whole of Elizabeth's reign they retained the old Catholic oath, which, indeed, was a full profession of Catholic faith and condemnatory of all heresies and schisms. It is thus Peter Lombard writes in 1601: "The cities and towns, and other civic communities never consented either to receive that oath, or to require it from those who were elected to the magistracy and other offices. Nay, as regards religion, no other oath

* "Liber Mun. Hib." vol. i. part. 2nd, pp. 181-2.

† Published by Shirley in "Orig. Lett.," p. 130.

‡ Ibid, p. 140.

§ Shirley, loc. cit. 206-213.

is ever taken in these towns but the oath of the olden Catholic times, in rejection and detestation of all heresies and heretics; so that it is more opposed to the English monarchs and their religion than in any way favorable to them.* So determined indeed was the opposition made by the Irish boroughs to the oath of supremacy, that when some over-zealous ministers of the crown sought to enforce it in Cork and other places, they were rebuked by the court for their indiscretion.†

Another of the so-called parliamentary enactments prescribed, under penalty of fine, attendance at the Protestant service.‡ As we have already remarked, such attendance was for the great mass of the population wholly impracticable. The Protestant ritual prescribed the service in the vulgar tongue; and whilst even the Bible§ and Book of Common Prayer were not as yet translated into the Irish language, the English tongue was wholly unintelligible to the people, except in some districts of Louth, Dublin, Meath, and Kildare.¶ A concession was, however, made

* De Regno Hib. (MS) chap. 20.—“Ad hæc, quamvis prophanum de quo paulo antea juramentum de profitenda et credenda suprema dictorum regum auctoritate, cum in temporalibus tum in spiritualibus sic præscriptum ac præceptum esset ab eorundem conciliis, tanquam quod deberet exigi ab omnibus qui in Hibernia ad officia publica assumerentur; tamen civitates hic, oppida, aliæque communitates juramentum istud suscipere nunquam voluerunt, nec ab iis prestari quos ad magistratum aliaque officia eligunt et assumunt. Imo quoad religionis causam non aliud in iis præstatur juramentum quam olim Catholico tempore exigi solebat in abnegationem et detestationem hæreseos et hæreticorum omnium ac proinde quod revera iisdem regibus, eorumque religioni adversatur potius quam ullo modo favet.”—(Pet. Lomb. De Reg. Hib. cap. 20.)

† See an instance in Camb. Evers, vol 1, pag. 32, note. Other instances occur in Hib. Pacata.

‡ Lord Clare, in his famous speech on the union, justly styles the enforcing of the new liturgy a *solecism in legislation*, and adds: “In the body of the act, by which *the use of the English liturgy and a strict conformity to it* was enjoined under severe penalties, a clause is introduced, reciting that English ministers could not be found to serve in Irish churches; that the Irish people did not understand the English language; that the church-service could not be celebrated in Irish. And what is the remedy? If the minister of the Gospel cannot speak English, he may celebrate the church-service in the Latin tongue.”

§ The first Prot. Bible in Irish was printed in 1603.

¶ Even in Kildare, however, but little progress had been as yet made in the English language, if we can credit the testimony of Dr. Craik, the Protestant bishop of that see. This prelate was appointed by Elizabeth in August, 1560, and as Shirley remarks, was “chiefly remarkable for the very imprudent exchanges which he made of the see-lands.” (Orig. Letters, p. 95.) Ware also writes that he reduced “the very ancient see of Kildare to a shameful poverty.” (Harris’s Ware’s Bishops, p. 391.) And Harris adds, that in the short time of his episcopate “he did more mischief to his see, than his suc-

in the sequel to the act, permitting the service to be continued in Latin wheresoever the English language was not understood; and some of the uninstructed faithful being entrapped by this artifice, continued for awhile to frequent the parochial churches, imagining that no deviation had been made from the ancient liturgy. Some, even of the most ignorant (writes Peter Lombard) "guided by the unction of the Holy Ghost more than by any other motive, withdrew themselves at once from this Protestant service. But very many continued to flock thither as usual in the Catholic times, in such a manner, however, that they used no religious symbols, save those which proclaimed their Catholic faith, bringing with them, and using in the churches, the crucifix, with the image of our Saviour, the prayers and beads of the Blessed Virgin, the litanies and pictures

cessors have been ever able to repair." (Ibid.) As early as April, 1561, he thus wrote to lord Robert Dudley: "As you were the instrument of this my continual and daily torment (I mean of my preferment unto a bishopric in such place in Ireland, where neither I can preach unto the people, nor the people understand me), I pray that you will be the like instrument unto the queen's majesty, that I may be exonerated and unburdened of the same; for there is not a preacher to assist me in setting forth of God's word." (Shirley Orig. Letts. pp. 95-6.) It is indeed a remarkable fact, how little root the English language had taken, even within the districts of the pale. As early as 1367, in the famous statute of Kilkenny, the Irish language was interdicted to all "the English, or Irish living among the English," under the penalty of forfeiture of "lands and tenements" (Tracts, etc., Royal Irish Acad., vol. ii. part 2nd, p. 13); and this severe enactment was renewed in each successive parliament till 1495, when it was at length repealed. Under Henry VIII. it was again re-enacted in 1537, but in vain; for the Celtic tongue, year by year, irresistibly encroached upon the English quarters, till at length, as Stanihurst writes in 1575, it was *free denized in the English pale and took such deep root, that the body which was before whole and sound, became by little and little in a manner wholly putrified.* (Description of Ireland, p. 4) In 1537 it had also been enacted that no benefice should be given to a person that spoke Irish only, until proclamation was made for four days in the nearest market town for an English-speaking candidate; nevertheless, Sydney reported in 1576, that out of the one hundred-and-two vicars of the diocese of Meath, there were only eighteen that spoke English. The author of *Cambrensis Eversus* (i. 191) writes in 1660 that the Irish language is that "which all of us to this day drink in on our mother's breasts. Except the inhabitants of Dublin, Drogheda, and Wexford, and their immediate vicinities, the only knowledge we have of English is what we learn in schools." From this it would appear that Wexford was an exceptional town; however, Stanihurst tells us that at his time (1575) the Wexfordians, who formerly spoke no Irish, "had so acquainted themselves with the Irish language, that they have made a mingle-mangle, or gallimanfrie, of both the languages;" and he adds, that an English commissioner who was sent over to Wexford, congratulated himself on his rapid progress in the Irish, because he was able to understand odd words and sentences of the Wexford peasants; he thought "they had prattled Irish all the while they jangled English." (Description of Ireland, p. 4)

of the saints; and no sooner did they learn that it was unlawful to frequent these churches and assist at such service, than they at once avoided and execrated it, so much so, that to the present day (1601), throughout all Ireland, wheresoever the heretical or schismatical service is performed, none are found to assist at it, except some foreigners partly from England and partly from other countries; and so, too, the Protestant ministers, of whom the most part is from England; but any that are Irish, make no secret of their having accepted this ministry, not through any affection for the new tenets, but solely that they may be relieved in their distress.”*

The fine for non-attendance at the parish church, seems to have been at intervals more severely exacted in Dublin than elsewhere; but when the people were thus compelled to be present at the Protestant service, they made it a matter of amusement and diversion, so that no doubt should remain as to the motives which compelled them to attend there. Thus Sussex writes on the 22nd of July, 1562, in a most mournful strain: “Our religion is so abused, as the papists rejoice; the neutrals do not mislike changes, and the few zealous professors lament the lack of piety. The people without discipline, and utterly void of (the Protestant) religion, came to divine service as to a May-game.”† O’Sullivan Beare commemorates some facts which would alone suffice to justify these laments of the lord deputy; sometimes, he tells us, the peasants would pour out all the wine from the communion cup, and allow it to run down through their long flowing beards; sometimes the bread which they received would be flung from one to another; and sometimes such shouts and cries were raised by the unwilling assistants, that the minister could not proceed with the service till the hostile auditors were expelled from the parish church.‡ Even the Anglo-Irish of the pale, though employed by the government as civil and military officers, could not be induced to assist at the Protestant service; and captain Thomas Lee, the notorious agent of Elizabeth, wrote to her majesty in 1594, detailing, indeed, his hopes in regard of the earl of Tyrone (hopes which were very soon blighted by the Irish chieftain), but

* De Regno Hib. (MS.) cap. xx.

† Shirley, Orig. Lett. pag. 17.

‡ Hist. Cath. Comp., lib. iv. cap. 27. pag. 134-5.

adding, that the pale's-men, "as soon as they have brought the lord deputy to the church door, depart as if they were wild cats."*

In 1566, the lord deputy, together with Dr. Curwin and the other members of the privy council in Ireland, forwarded to her majesty a report on the state of the Irish church, in which they virtually confess that outside of the three dioceses of Armagh, Meath and Dublin, the reformed doctrines were almost unknown, whilst even in these three dioceses, but little progress had as yet been made.

"We can no less than (as truth is) declare for the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, and the bishop of Meath, that they are diligent in the functions of their pastoral offices, as well in often and fruitfully preaching of God's glory and true Christian religion themselves, as also in the earnest calling on the and looking to the other pastors and ministers within their provinces and dioceses to do the like; and are earnest and careful exhorters and overseers over the residue under their charge, to reduce them by all good means out of error and contempt of godliness unto right belief and true devotion; and likewise on the part of me, her majesty's deputy, with the rest of her council here, our best endeavour, by God's grace, hath been and shall be, both by good example and earnestness, and by all other good means, to maintain and further the same, there and throughout all this realm universally. Although, for all this, it goeth slowly forward both within their said three dioceses, by reason of Popery being inveterated and leavened in the people's hearts, and in want of livings sufficient for the support of well-chosen and learned curates amongst them; besides the decay of the chancels; and also of the churches universally in ruin, and some wholly down; and out of their said dioceses, in the remote parts of Munster, Connaught and others, the Irish countries and borders thereof, although the commissioners for the ecclesiastical causes have travelled with some of the bishops and other ministers residing in the civil and nearer parts, order cannot yet so well be taken with the residue, until the countries be first brought into more civil and dutiful obedience."†

To be convinced of the utter disregard with which the Protestant tenets were received in Ireland, we shall now examine how far they penetrated even amongst the natives of these three model dioceses of Dublin, Meath, and Armagh.

* O'Flaherty's West Connaught, published by R. I. Academy, 1846, pag. 395, not. f.

† Shirley, loc. cit. p. 233, seqq.

And first, as regards Dublin, we learn from Adam Loftus of Armagh, that Dr. Curwin but seldom attempted to preach the new* tenets; that the clergy who held the benefices were *open enemies*;† that the canons of the cathedral church, who were moreover parochial clergy,‡ were *old bottles*, and therefore, not suited for the new wine of Protestantism; and hence are styled by the bishop of Meath “a sort of dumb dogs, the living enemies of the truth and of the setters forth thereof, neither teaching nor feeding save themselves;” and, he adds, that speaking generally of them, from the bishop to the smallest canon, they were nothing more than *disguised dissemblers*.§ It cannot therefore surprise us to find the ecclesiastical commissioners, in 1562, requesting the privy council of England to devise some plan *how the pretenders that will not be reformed* may be compelled by law to adopt the new tenets.|| They proposed, indeed, that a special commission should be appointed to visit St. Patrick’s, and another to visit Christ’s Church; but the privy council thought it more prudent for the present not to grant these commissions, and in 1565 we still find Cecil lamenting that St. Patrick’s served only for *lurking papists*.¶ Hence, too, the lord deputy Sydney solemnly avowed that it was absurd to think of extending the reformation to the remainder of the kingdom, whilst Dublin itself *remained unreformed*.

As to Armagh, the ardent Loftus had, indeed, the desire to promote the cause of his royal patron; but alas for his success! his lot was cast in the territory of Shane O’Neil. It was, indeed, preposterous to expect that an *established* bishop could make a successful inroad in that territory, whilst its chieftain defied the power of the English monarch, and who, even when pledging his fealty to her, treated with derision the reformed creed.**

* Shirley, loc. cit., pag. 275. † Ibid. pag. 275 ‡ Ibid. 152, coll. 158.

§ Dr. Brady’s lett., 10th Jan., 1654, ap. Shirley, ibid. pag. 161, seqq.

|| Ibid. pag. 141.

¶ Ibid. pag. 160.

** When he went to England in 1562, to ratify his treaty with Elizabeth, he was attended by a guard of gallowglasses, richly attired in the costume of the country, “armed with the battle-axe, their heads bare, their hair flowing on their shoulders, their linen vests dyed with saffron, with long and open sleeves, and surcharged with short military harness.” (Camden ad. an. 1562.) The courtiers styled him in derision, *a cousin to St. Patrick*. He was at all events remarkable for his charity: “Sitting at meat, before he put one morsel into his mouth, he used to slice a portion above the daily alms, and send it to some beggar at his gate, saying, it was meet to serve Christ first.”—Campion, *Historie*, etc., (printed in 1570) pag. 189.

Hence we cannot be surprised that Loftus himself, when petitioning to be relieved of the intolerable burden of the diocese of Armagh, employs the pitiiful argument, that forsooth "*it was neither worth anything to him, nor was he able to do any good in it, as it lay altogether among the Irish.*"*

In fine, as to the diocese of Meath, the devotedness of its saintly bishop, Dr. Walsh, to the Catholic cause is well known, and merited for him the sentence of deprivation, and a painful imprisonment of many years. The Protestant primate in 1565, whilst describing *his* abhorrence of the oath of supremacy adds: "he is one of great credit among his countrymen, and upon whom, as regards matters of religion, they wholly depend."† Even the Protestant bishop of Meath details in a letter of March 14th, 1564, the complete failure which had as yet attended his attempts to reform the district in which his lot was cast: "Oh, what a sea of troubles have I entered into! (he thus writes) storms arising on every side; the ungodly lawyers are not only sworn enemies to the truth, but also for lack of due execution of law, the overthrowers of the country; the ragged clergy are stubborn and ignorantly blind, so there is left little hope of their amendment; the simple multitude is, through continual ignorance, hardly to be won, so that I find *angustia undique.*"‡ He was not however, without some hope that his own zealous exertions would in a short time be crowned with more complete success: "for my own diligence I would rather others should speak, than myself; and yet this far I dare presume, by God's help, to do as much good as any other that could be sent hither; for a great number of the simple people, and especially where I was born, *are greedy hearers, and such as I trust will be unfeignedly won.*"§ Within twelve months, however, all these fond hopes had vanished, and he again writes on the 16th May, 1565, that he was only able to hold his ground at all in the diocese, by keeping an open house for all visitors and a good table for his guests: "I am at this present very poor, charged with a great house, driven to large expenses, or else infamy and discredit; for these people will have

* Shirley, pag.

† Ibid. pag. 220.

‡ Ibid. pag. 135-6.

§ Ibid. pag. 136. This letter of Dr. Brady seems to have given the tone to the Protestant missionary reports which for three centuries have from year to year been transmitted to the meeting-houses and Gospel societies of England.

the one or the other; I mean, they will either eat my meat and drink, or else myself: and that I may speak of it without vaunt or comparison, I feed as many continually as any bishop in England doth, and have not as yet provision towards the same; and to do otherwise I cannot, unless I should utterly discredit both myself and my doctrine, which both maketh me to have often a heavy heart and an empty purse; and to help me forward to more grief, I am presently compelled to go into the earl of Desmond's country, leaving my own business and functions behind me undone, to my great charges and some hazard, amongst so untamed a people. . . . To say anything further of the state at this present I will not, only this—all things waxeth rather worse than otherwise; and as I said before, I fear me, without some speedy redress, the whole body will be so sick, as it shall with difficulty recover, so badly are men here disposed.”*

In one respect alone, the government enactments seem not to have been fruitless, forsooth, in the prohibition of public Catholic worship. Hatred of the holy sacrifice of the Mass† was, indeed, a chief passion of the religious innovators of the period: and it was assuredly a great triumph for Satan, that its public solemn celebration should be for awhile interdicted in our island. The parish churches were seized on; and, according to the unvarying reports of the lord deputy, very soon fell into decay. These sacred edifices, built by the piety and the voluntary offerings of our forefathers, were soon desecrated: sometimes taxes were imposed upon the people to keep them in repair for an alien worship, but, for the most part, roofless and pillaged, they remained scattered throughout the range of the English pale, as monuments of the violence which was offered in the name of reformation to the church of our sainted isle.

* Shirley, loc. cit. pag. 187-191.

† “I defy James Fitzmaurice to deny that I did not except my duty to the queen in all my dealings with him, and refused to consent to the bringing in of Spaniards, and the putting up of the Mass, which things James (Fitzmaurice) was earnest with me for.”—Letter of sir Edmond Butler to the earl of Ormond, 23rd of August, 1569, from St. Paps. off., published in app. to *Life and Times of Sir P. Carew*, p. 226.

CHAPTER III.

VACANCY OF THE SEE OF DUBLIN AFTER THE APOSTACY OF CURWIN, AND HOW THE DIOCESE WAS ADMINISTERED UNTIL THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Father D. Wolf, S.J.—2. Rev. T. Newman, R. J. White.—3. Donaldus Dublinensis.—4. Sketch of Irish Character and Customs.

1.—*Father David Wolf, S.J.*

ONE of the most remarkable men who, during the first years of Elizabeth's reign, laboured in our Irish church to gather together the scattered stones of the sanctuary, was father David Wolf,* a member of the order of St. Ignatius. A native of Limerick, he spent seven years in Rome imbibing the full spirit of his order, under the immediate guidance of its holy founder and St. Francis Borgia; and in August, 1560,† he was sent by the Holy See, with all the privileges of apostolic commissary, to confirm his countrymen in the faith, amidst the impending persecutions of Elizabeth. His chief care was to propose learned and zealous men to fill the vacant sees of our island; and the names of Richard Creagh of Armagh;‡ Donald M'Conghail of Raphoe, Eugene O'Hart of Achonry, Maurice M'Bryan of Emly, to omit many others, are a sure guarantee of the fidelity with which he fulfilled this charge.

Father Wolf resided, for the most part, in his native diocese; but his jurisdiction extended to the whole island, and we find him incidentally referred to in contemporary records, as visiting the district of Tyrone, and again, as travelling through various dioceses of Connaught and Ulster. The English agents were filled with alarm at the presence in the country of one who, by

* The sketch of Father Wolf's life given by Dr. Oliver in his "Collections," p. 270, might serve as an admirable illustration of the utter darkness which has so long prevailed in regard of the ecclesiastical history of our Irish Church.

† See for these and many other particulars the examination of Dr. Creagh, archbishop of Armagh, ap. Shirley, loc. cit. p. 171, seqq.

‡ See in appendix an interesting inedited paper, presented in 1563 to the cardinal protector of Ireland, and proposing various individuals for the vacant see of Armagh.

public acclamation, received the title of papal nuncio; and when in 1561, pope Pius IV. invited queen Elizabeth to send her representatives to the council of Trent, she absolutely refused, assigning as one of the chief reasons for her displeasure, that "an Irishman (father Wolf) had been sent from Rome to Ireland to excite there disaffection against her crown."* So watchful were the agents of the English government in pursuit of the Jesuit father, that he was for several years unable to enter within the limits of the pale; and we find him, when delegating his jurisdiction for Dublin and its vicinity to father Newman, in 1563, affirming that so many were the dangers which beset his journey thither, that he feared to visit that district.†

Amongst the papers of the secret archives of the Vatican there is one which was presented in 1560 to the cardinal protector of Ireland, and which sketches the course to be pursued by the agents of the Holy See, whilst performing the visitation of our island. A few extracts will suffice to prove how full of responsibility and peril was the mission entrusted to the disciple of St. Ignatius. "His first care shall be to visit the Catholic leaders, and especially the four chief princes of the kingdom, to commend in the name of his holiness their unflinching constancy and zeal, and to encourage them to persevere in the defence of the Catholic faith." The bishops also were to be visited: "to see if they resided in their dioceses and instructed their flocks; if they were attentive to the due decorum of the sacred edifices, and vigilant in selecting zealous and worthy ministers for the altar." As to the clergy, he was to inquire into their manner of administering the sacraments, and to afford them every aid, especially in administering the holy sacraments of confession and communion, in preaching the word of truth, and in exhorting their Catholic flocks to lead holy and Christian lives. Should any heretical minister be found, the agent of Rome was to guard the people against the contagion of his errors, and above all, to seek in the spirit of charity, to bring him back to the paths of truth. "He must also seek to establish grammar schools, supplying them with Catholic masters, and thus remedy the great ignorance of the natives: admonishing the parents to send

* Laderchi in *Continuat. Annal. Baronii*, ad an. 1561.

† Shirley, *loc. cit.* p. 129.

their children to these schools, that thus they may be instructed in literature and morality, and at the same time acquire a meet knowledge of the saving truths of faith." If possible, some monasteries were to be established, and exact discipline maintained; hospitals, too, were to be founded, and other places of refuge and succour for the poor.

For these things, and for whatsoever else might be done, no reward or recompense, even in the name of alms, was to be received; the salvation of souls alone was to be the moving-spring, and the reward of every fatigue. Should the glory of God and the interests of religion require it, life itself was to be risked; but in this the laws of Christian prudence were to be observed, and all undue temerity to be shunned. In fine, the Holy See was to be made acquainted with the real state of the Irish church, the losses sustained by the Catholic faith,—the perils to which religion was exposed, and the most opportune aid and succours were to be pointed out that could be granted to sustain the faithful in the dangers to which they were exposed.*

The course traced out in these "instructions" was exactly pursued by father Wolf, and before the close of this chapter, we shall have occasion to cite some of his letters, which, whilst they disclose precious details regarding the condition of our island, clearly demonstrate how indefatigable he was in his labours, and how unceasingly he struggled to restore our suffering church to its primitive comeliness and fervour.

One of the chief wants of Ireland at this period was a place of untainted instruction for Catholic youth. The monastic schools had been swept away by the persecution of Henry VIII., and now, in such districts as were accessible to the English arms, no *mere Irishman* or Catholic could, without risking liberty or life, seek to instruct his fellow-countrymen in the rudiments of literature and religion. To meet this want, a "brief" was addressed by the Holy Father on the 31st of May, 1564, to the newly-consecrated primate, Dr. Richard Creagh, and to father David Wolf,† empowering them to erect schools wheresoever they should deem fit throughout the kingdom of Ireland, and communicating to such schools all the privileges of

* See Appendix to this chapter.

† Ex. Archiv. Colleg. Hib. Romæ.

an university; whilst, at the same time, it was declared that these schools were necessary for the establishment of due order, and for the maintenance of the Catholic faith. Neither Dr. Creagh, however, nor father Wolf, was allowed sufficient time to carry into effect the wise designs of Rome. The history of Dr. Creagh's imprisonment is well known. Father Wolf shared in his sufferings, being loaded with chains, and thrown into the dungeons of Dublin Castle. On the 13th of March, 1568, a letter was despatched from Rome to the nuncio in Madrid, instructing him to employ all the papal influence at that court, to procure, through the mediation of the Spanish monarch, the liberation of these two ecclesiastics, whose labours in the sacred cause of religion had already won for them the applause of the whole Christian world.

"We have been informed," thus writes the sainted pontiff, Pius V., "that our venerable brother, the archbishop of Armagh, who, as you are aware, is primate of Ireland, has been arrested by the English and cast into prison in the tower of London; and that our beloved son David, of the society of Jesus, is also closely confined by the same English in the city of Dublin, both of them being treated with the greatest severity. Their sufferings overwhelm us with affliction, on account of their singular merits and of their zeal for the Catholic faith. And, as it is our desire and our duty to succour them as far as is in our power, we know of no other means for doing so, than that our dearest son, his Catholic majesty, should employ his authority with the English queen in their behalf. You, therefore, will use every endeavour with his majesty to this effect, and you will urge, and request, and solicit in our name, his letters to his ambassador and to the queen, to obtain the liberation of these prisoners. Than which favour none other could be at present more acceptable to us.

"Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, this 13th day of March, 1568."*

The mediation of the Spanish court, however, was without effect; and father David was detained in the closest custody till 1572, when he happily made his escape from Dublin Castle and, accompanied by sir Rice Corbally and the son of James Fitzmaurice, took refuge in Spain. Sir Peter Carew, writing to the privy council in England on 6th February, 1573, characteristically remarks: "James Fitzmaurice hath sent his son with one David Wolf, an arrant traitor, into Spain, to practise his

* See orig. in appendix.

old devices.”* He soon, however, returned to the former field of his labours, and in 1575, we find him engaged once more in visiting and consoling the Catholics of Ireland.† We shall conclude our notice of this indefatigable and holy man with the words of the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*: “I saw a dispensation granted by David Wolf, of Limerick, to Richard Lynch, a citizen of Galway, grandfather to Nicholas Lynch, provincial of the Irish Dominicans, who died at Rome about twenty years ago, deeply regretted by his friends. The dispensation was signed David Wolf, apostolic nuncio.”‡ Orlandini speaks of him in his history of the society of Jesus: “I have learned that he was a man of extraordinary piety, who fearlessly denounced crime whenever it was committed. When the whole country was embroiled in war, he took refuge in the castle of Clunoan, on the borders of Thomond, and of the county of Galway;§ but when he heard that its occupants lived by plunder, he scrupled to take any nourishment from them, and soon after sickened and died.”||

We have no precise record of the year in which he died; but it seems to have been in 1578, as no mention is made of him in the detailed correspondence of 1579 and the following years, during the eventful period of the second Desmond war. The name, *David Wolf sacerdos Hibernus*, occurs for the last time in a list transmitted by the Spanish nuncio to Rome, on 3rd June, 1578;¶ and from this list we learn, that he was then living in Lisbon, supported by the generous contributions of the Holy See.

* Life and Times of sir Peter Carew, pag. 290, appendix H. In a note on the above passage the editor, John Maclean, Esq., says: “of sir Davy Wolf (priest) it is stated in a letter of the state paper office, indorsed as having been received on the 13th October, 1572, ‘He that foreswore himself and fled from Dublin is gone to Spain, and carried the son of James Fitzmaurice with him, accompanied by sir Rice Corbally.’”

† Lett. of James Fitzmaurice from St. Malo, 1576, 31st January.

‡ Perhaps when returning a second time to Ireland he received the title of *nuncio*; it is probable, however, that he was only commissary. He was commonly styled nuncio, even on his first arrival, though he was certainly at that time only *commissary apostolic*.

§ Now Cluain Dubhain or Clunoan, an old castle close to the boundary of the county Galway, and not far from Rockvale, in the parish of Kilkeedy, barony of Inchiquin, county Clare.

|| Camb. Evers., vol. ii., pag. 735.

¶ Ex. Archiv. Secr. Vatican.

2.—*Rev. T. Newman ; Rev. J. White.*

The diocese of Dublin was widowed of its chief pastor for many years; but during that interval the Holy See, with watchful vigilance, ceased not to provide for its spiritual wants. As we have seen, David Wolf was destined to our island in 1560. Soon after his arrival, we find him delegating his apostolic faculties for Dublin and its vicinity to a worthy priest of that diocese named Thadeus Newman—authorizing him to absolve from all censures which the faithful might have incurred, and to reconcile to the bosom of Holy Church all those who, by choice, had been led astray into the paths of heresy or schism. The letter, by which he delegates this authority, is dated from Limerick, and thus begins:

“David Wolf, a priest of the Society of Jesus and commissary of our most holy father pope Pius IV., to the most illustrious princes, and to the whole kingdom of Ireland, to our well-beloved in Christ, Thadeus, priest of the diocese of Dublin, health in him who is true health. As it is not possible for me, on account of the dangers which beset the journey, to visit, in accordance with the commission entrusted to me by the Holy See, those districts in which you reside; and as those who may stand in need of the apostolic indult are impeded from coming hither, by the wars and contentions and mutual jealousies of the oppressors of this nation, and violators of all justice; it has seemed proper to commit all my faculties to you, whom I regard as a faithful minister of the altar, and well suited to discharge this office.”*

No sooner was father Wolf removed from the theatre of his earthly labours than another Irish priest, Rev. John White, was sent to our island by Gregory XIII., with the most extensive faculties for all the dioceses of Ireland. The brief of his appointment is dated the 4th of November, 1578, and in it he is described as well versed in sacred literature, and as one who, by his integrity and virtues, had earned the esteem and confidence of the Holy See. His jurisdiction was not limited to the power of absolving from the excommunication attached to the guilt of heresy, and in all other cases reserved to the pontiff, but extended, moreover, to dispensations in marriages contracted

* See the original in Shirley, loc. cit. p. 128-129.

within the prohibited degrees,—the abuse of which marriages, “in consequence of the disturbed and licentious condition of the times,” is described as “prevalent in some districts.”*

Even the bishops of other dioceses in Ireland were more than once commissioned by Rome to assist the faithful of Dublin in their spiritual wants. Thus, the archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Richard Creagh, received faculties for the entire province of Dublin as well as for that of Armagh, on the 10th of April, 1575; and on the 8th of the same month, similar faculties for his own diocese, as also for Dublin, had been granted to Dr. William Walsh, the heroic bishop of Meath. Lest, however, either of these briefs should perchance not have effect, through the imprisonment or other vexations to which these prelates were subjected, another brief was expedited on the same 10th of April, 1575, addressed to Dr. Edmund Tanner, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, authorizing him to absolve from all reserved cases, etc., not only in his own diocese, but also “in his native province of Dublin.”†

Owing to these wise arrangements of the Holy See, and to the untiring zeal of the priesthood, the diocese of Dublin remained immoveably attached to the Catholic cause, and notwithstanding the long vacancy of the see, and though its emoluments were all seized on by an alien clergy, and every art which court policy could devise was employed, to undermine the devotedness of its faithful people to the religion of their fathers, nevertheless, we find that their fidelity was a theme of eulogy in Rome in 1579, and a Vatican manuscript of that year, whilst sketching the various sees of Ireland, says that Dublin, though vacant for many years, and now held by an heretical bishop, yet remains unabated in its ardour for the Catholic cause: “perstat tota civitas in religione Catholica.”‡

* See the original from Archiv. Secret. Brevium, in appendix.

† The above dates are taken from the original briefs in Archiv. Secret. Brev. Romæ.

‡ Ex Archiv. Secr. Vatic.

3.—*Donaldus Dublinensis.*

That an archbishop named *Donaldus*, or Donagh, was the immediate predecessor of Matthew de Oviedo in the diocese of Dublin, there can be but little doubt; he is, in fact, expressly commemorated as such in the bull* by which Dr. Oviedo was appointed to that see. With the exception of the name, nothing can be affirmed with certainty regarding this prelate; and all the details of his episcopate are involved in utter obscurity. This however, cannot surprize us, when we reflect that the acts of most of the other bishops of our Irish church at this period, have been consigned to a like oblivion.

Without venturing beyond the limits of conjecture, we may, perhaps, be permitted to suggest, that this *Donaldus* was the justly-celebrated Dr. M'Conghaill, for many years bishop of Raphoe, and that the year 1587 or 1588 was the date of his appointment to the see of Dublin. The period of momentary tranquillity† which our church enjoyed between 1585 and 1589, gave an opportunity to the Holy See of nominating a bishop to this vacant diocese;‡ and it is more than probable that in choosing a successor for St. Laurence O'Toole, the Holy See lent a willing ear to the petition often repeated in the correspondence of that period, that, forsooth, those only should be advanced to the chief dignities of our church who had borne the brunt of the persecution,§ and faithfully resided amidst the

* "Ecclesia Dublinensis cui bonæ memoriæ Donaldus, archiepus. Dublinensis dum viveret præsidebat, per obitum dicti Donaldi archiepi. qui extra Romanam curiam debitum naturæ persolvit, pastoris solatio destituta," etc.—(Bulla Clementis VIII. 3 Nonas Maij, 1600, ex Archiv. Secret. Brevium.)

† The violence of the persecution from 1590 to 1599, precludes the supposition of a bishop being appointed to Dublin during that interval. Moreover, from the Vatican list of 1579 we learn, that no bishop had been appointed to it during the first years of Elizabeth's reign; and from a letter of the bishop of Killaloe, 29th October, 1584 (in which, speaking of the bishops appointed during the preceding years, he omits all mention of Dublin), we may conclude that the archbishop had not been appointed before that date.

‡ Thus, in 1587 we find a bishop appointed to the see of Leighlin, the condition of which diocese was somewhat similar to that of Dublin. From a letter of two Jesuit fathers, dated Paris, 4th June, 1584, (ap. Theiner Continuât. Baronii, vol. iii. p. 818), we learn that the Holy See had lately begun to deliberate on the appointment of a bishop for Dublin.

§ We only know of one other bishop in Ireland of the name *Donaldus* or *Donatus*, about this period: he was bishop of Killala in 1578; being subsequently transferred to Down and Connor. He died bishop of that see in 1582.

flocks entrusted to their care.* The translation of bishops, even to sees in different provinces, was not unfrequent at this period:† we shall have occasion to remark hereafter how the second in succession from Donaldus, in the diocese of Dublin, Dr. Eugene Matthews, was, in a similar manner, transferred from Clogher to that archiepiscopal see: and the death of Dr. McConghail, in 1589,‡ probably before he was able even to take possession of his new diocese, will sufficiently explain the silence of our Irish records regarding this worthy occupant of the see of Dublin.

Donald McConghail was a priest of the diocese of Raphoe, and after visiting the eternal city in 1560, was for many months the constant companion of the apostolic delegate, father David Wolf, in the visitation of various districts of Ireland. Before the close of 1561, he was deputed a second time on a special mission to the central see of the Catholic world. He was, at the same time, bearer of an important letter from Wolf to the cardinal protector of Ireland, in which most interesting details are given of the actual condition of the Irish church, and of some individuals who were destined in after times to be numbered amongst the brightest ornaments of our country. We have already had occasion more than once to refer to this letter, and we now present it in full to the reader:—

“May the true peace and love of our Redeemer be in our hearts.

“I addressed a letter a few days ago, through sir William Neon, to your excellency, on the state of the church in this district of Munster; but now I deem it better to send in person the bearer of this letter, Donald M’Gomghaill, to give full details to you, as he was the companion of my journey through Ireland; and as he is a man of judgment, well acquainted with the circumstances of this country, having also (as I will just now mention) some other particular business there.

“This Donald being my companion in Connaught, we saw there (though we did not visit them) the archbishop of Tuam and the bishop of Clonfert, who in the ways of this world are good and honest men.

* It was for the same motive, that in the same year 1587 the bishop of Ardagh, Dr. Edmund Magauran, was transferred to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh.

† We have just referred in a preceding note, to the translation of Donatus, bishop of Killala, to Down and Connor. His predecessor in the see of Killala, Dr. Raymond O’Gallagher, was translated in 1569 to the diocese of Derry.

‡ Annals of the Four Masters.

Both of them have taken the oath of allegiance to the queen, as I have already written about others in Munster. The archbishop's name is Christopher Botteghin (Bodkin), who acquired the archbishoprick (as everyone says) by force of arms and royal authority; he himself would not make any statement as to his appointment, merely declaring that cardinal Pole of happy memory made an agreement between him and a certain Arthur O'Frehir, who is the true and legitimate archbishop, and is still living, though expelled from the bishopric by the aforesaid Dr. Christopher. This same Dr. Botteghin holds the arch-diocese of Tuam, with the dioceses of Kilmacduagh, Enaghduagh, and Mayo, which last two sees have, as he asserts, been long attached to the see of Tuam; others, however, assert the contrary, and state that he, on his own authority and by permission of the crown, united them to Tuam together with Kilmacduagh. He told me that the aforesaid Arthur resigned the see into his hands: and, indeed, if the Holy See would accept his resignation, Dr. Botteghin would seem to me much better suited for the government of the diocese than Dr. Arthur; for he is skilled in administration, and has great influence with the gentry of the district. In fact, the church of Tuam was for three hundred years used as a fortress by the gentry, without the holy sacrifice or the divine office, till he took it by force out of their hands, with a great risk of his own life: so that where formerly horses and other animals were kept, now Mass is celebrated, and he himself usually assists in choir every day, although there are not more than twenty or thirty houses in that district of Tuam. His morality is unimpeached, and he is well liked by everyone, even by those adversaries who had formerly possession of the church.

"A certain Malachy O'Molony, canon of Kilmacduagh, has granted some forged dispensations, as your excellency will see from the annexed copy, in which he alleges the approbation and sanction of Dr. Botteghin, who however has solemnly assured me that he never saw or approved of such a rescript; so that the said Malachy is a forger of apostolic letters. When cited before the archbishop, he refused to present himself; and I wish to know how I am to manage in his regard, as he is contumacious, and has no authentic rescript for his assumed authority.

"Bernard O'Huyghin, bishop of Elphin, has resigned his bishopric in favour of a Dominican father, the prior of Sligo, named Andrew Crean, a man of piety and sanctity, who is moreover held in great esteem by the laity, not so much for his learning as for his amiability and holiness. The said Bernard was a good and religious man as regarded himself, but he was not acceptable to the people; and seeing that he was losing the temporalities of the see through the dislike which the laity had conceived for him, he chose father Andrew, who is beloved by everyone, that thus all that was lost might be regained. This father now proceeds to Rome, with the permission of his provincial, to obtain that see, bearing with him the resignation of Dr. O'Huyghin. He asked me for testimonial letters; and though personally I know but little about him, I can attest the fame for virtue which he enjoys throughout the whole island.

"Father Andrew is accompanied by another religious of the same

order, named Owen, or Eugene O'Harty,—a great preacher, of exemplary life, and full of zeal for the glory of God : he lived for about eight years in Paris ; and I am of opinion (though he knows nothing of it, and goes thither on a quite different errand) that he would be a person well suited for a bishopric. And should anything happen to father Andrew (for accidents are the common lot of all), father Eugene would be a good substitute, although the present bishop did not resign in his favour. Should it please God, however, to preserve father Andrew and appoint him to the see of Elphin, his companion might be appointed to the see of Achonry, which diocese has remained vacant since the demise of Cormac O'Coyn of happy memory, of the order of St. Francis. The cathedral church of Achonry is at present used as a fortress by the gentry of the neighbourhood, and does not retain one vestige of the semblance of religion ; and I am convinced that the aforesaid Eugene, by his good example and holy life, and with the aid of his friends, would be able to take back that church, and act with it as Dr. Christopher did in Tuam.

"The bearer of this letter, Donald M'Gomghail, was my companion in the district of Connaught, and there is no one in Ireland who is better able to give you accurate information about everything ; wherefore I send him to Rome for a twofold purpose—1. to give you intelligence about myself, as well as about the bishops and archbishops, etc. ; and 2. that as the bishop of Raphoe has lately been taken away from us, I know of no one better suited to be his successor ; he is very learned, according to the style of literature of this country, and he is beloved by every one ; he moreover spent some time in Rome last year.

"About fourteen persons have started from Ireland without any letters from me, to procure that bishopric ; amongst them is the dean of Raphoe, a man who, as I have been informed by trustworthy persons, is far better skilled in the sword than in the cross. I pray your excellency not to give credence to him, should he plead ignorance of my coming to Ireland ; for there is not an individual in the whole country, whether heretic or Catholic, that has not heard of my mission hither, in consequence of a notification which I caused to be published in every part of the island. As the vessel is now about to start, I will say no more, but recommend these three travellers to your excellency, as well as sir William Neon, whom I already sent thither, praying God to preserve your excellency in health of body and mind, to His own greater glory and to the great advantage of this afflicted country.

"From Limerick, the 12th of October, 1561.

"Your excellency's unworthy servant,

"DAVID WOLF."*

The following day father Wolf gave to Donald and his companions another introductory letter, thinking that, perhaps, on

* See appendix.

arriving in France, they might with sufficient safety be able to consign to the courier the letter just cited:—

“The bearers of this note (he says) are the same about whom I wrote in my letter of yesterday, and in order that they may be able to despatch that letter by the courier, I gave them also the present lines, praying your excellency to receive them as persons recommended by me. The name of the secular priest is Donald Macgongail; he is a man well versed in the affairs of this nation, and I wish your excellency would command him, in virtue of holy obedience, to make known to you how Donatus, archbishop of Armagh, and the other prelates of this country, deport themselves. His companions are Andrew O’Creayn and Eugene O’Hart, whom I have already recommended to you, and whom I now recommend anew. I will add no more, as I leave everything in the hands of Donald. May our blessed Saviour grant me his true love, and preserve your excellency in health of body and mind.”*

This recommendation of Wolf was not without effect, and the 28th of January, 1562, saw Andrew Crean,† Eugene O’Hart,‡ and Donald Maccongail§ appointed to three important sees in Ireland. Before their departure from Rome they received the episcopal consecration, and we next meet two of them, Dr. M’Conghaill and Dr. O’Hart, in company with Thomas O’Herlihy, bishop of Ross, entering the town of Trent on 25th May, 1562, to take part in the deliberations of the ecumenical council, which was then holding its sittings there. The votes of these three bishops are occasionally recorded in the history of that great synod. Thus, on the question as to the expediency of allowing communion under both kinds to the laity, the bishop of Achonry voted in the affirmative, adding the clause, however, that he remitted the matter to the Pope’s discretion; whilst the bishops of Ross and Raphoe gave the question a direct negative. On the sacrament of holy orders their votes and reasoning were

* This letter is dated 13th October, 1561, from *Pilchua*, which, however, is written in a most illegible hand, and probably is a mistake of the copyist for *Kilchree*.

† DeBurgo erroneously writes this name Xerea (Hib. Dom. pag. 486). He was a Dominican, and belonged to the convent of Sligo. He was appointed bishop of Elphin on 28th January, 1562. DeBurgo also errs in making Dr. O’Hart prior of Sligo at this period; it appears from the letter of Wolf that that office was held by Dr. Crean.

‡ Appointed eod. die. bishop of Achonry, vacant by the death of Cormac O’Coyn, O.S.F.

§ Appointed eod. die. bishop of Raphoe, vacant by the death of Arthur O’Gallagher, who died in 1561.

deemed of much importance, and the abuses to which they occasionally refer, throw much light on the condition of our church. For instance, they lament that many persons, when nominated to benefices neglected to receive ordination, whilst, nevertheless, they seized on the fruits and revenues attached to these benefices; and also that too many bishops were appointed, receiving their title *in partibus infidelium*, and hence often occasioned annoyance to the bishops in whose sees they resided. This latter abuse is easily illustrated from other contemporary documents. The Annals of the Four Masters at this very period commemorate a bishop apparently without any see, and living in the diocese of Raphoe;* and a letter of Cognosius Magyir of Fermanagh, on 28th March, 1568, mentions that there were then two bishops in Clogher, and at the same time the apostate Milcs Magrath was seeking to intrude himself as a third claimant for that see.†

In the metrical catalogue of the bishops who assisted at the council of Trent, Donald M'Gonghail receives the epithet of "the just," whilst he is at the same time described as in the flower of his age, and adorned with the comeliness of every pastoral virtue.‡ On the close of the synod in 1563, no bishops were more punctual than the representatives of Ireland, in complying with the decree of residence; they hastened to their respective flocks, and though at the risk of their lives, unflinchingly persevered in ruling the dioceses entrusted to them. Of the details of Dr. Donald's subsequent episcopate, but little has been handed down to us. Towards the close of 1568, or the beginning of 1569,§ a provincial synod was held in the province of Armagh, for the purpose of promulgating the decrees of the council of Trent, but being impeded by the wars, the bishops of Raphoe and Derry were unable to be present at it|| About the same time the bishop of Derry died, and amongst the papers

* Annals, etc., pag. 1929.

† Ex. Archiv. Secret. Vatic.

‡ "Post hos, tres juvenes quos frigida Hibernia legat,
Eugenium, Thomamque bonos, justumque Donaldum,
Omnes ornatos ingens virtutibus orbis,
Misit ut hanc scabiem tollant morbumque malignum,
Sacris omnes induti tempora mitris."

§ Letter of Richard Creagh from prison, in Arch. Sec. Vat. written in 1569.

|| Lett. of Rich. Armagh: ut sup. "Rapotensis et Darensis non iverunt ad concilium provinciale propter bella."

of cardinal Morone in 1569, there is a note to the effect, that whilst Cornelius O'Cervallan was recommended as his successor by David Wolf, another, styled *the Abbot Magonius* (perhaps Magennis) was recommended by the bishops of Kilmore and Raphoe, as also by the chapter of Derry. The next incident we find connected with our worthy bishop is, that faculties were granted to him on the 4th of May, 1575; it was also for many years the traditional record of the northern clergy, that he assisted at a provincial council which was held in the diocese of Clogher about the year 1587,* in which further arrangements were made regarding the Tridentine disciplinary canons. The names of the prelates who assisted at this synod would shed lustre on even the most august assembly. The bishop of Achonry, though from a different province, was present at it, and three, at least, of the provincial members were destined to add new glory to our church, by sealing with their blood the testimony of their faith.

The Annals of the Four Masters record the death of Dr. M'Conghail on the 29th of September, 1589. On the summit of a hill which rises above the harbour of Killybegs, in the county Donegal, and beside a moss-grown cemetery, there stands a ruin, which tradition marks out as the oratory which our holy bishop was accustomed to visit, to perform his devotions and offer the holy sacrifice for his flock; and the same tradition records, that in the adjoining cemetery repose his venerable remains. No monument, indeed, adorns his place of burial; but the proudest monument to his memory is the living tradition of his virtues, which, throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, despite the variations of three hundred years, remains unchanged to the present day.

was translated to Armagh, 1st of July, 1587, and was not appointed to the see of Ardagh till about 1585. The synod must consequently have been held between these two dates.

* All that can be said with certainty is, that it was held between 1582 and 1589. Dr. O'Devany, bishop of Down and Connor, who assisted at it, was not appointed till 1582; and Dr. M'Conghail, who was also present, died in 1589. The only record of this synod known to exist, and transcribed by Dr. Hugh Coghlan about 1649, is mutilated in the date of the synod. See some particulars connected with this synod in "Appendix Consultationis Provincialis (1614)" published in collection on "Irish Church History," pag. 139. We had written thus far, when we discovered some additional data for determining the year in which this synod was held. The bishop of Ardagh, who assisted at it,

4.—*A Sketch of Irish Character and Customs at this period.*

We are indebted to the interest taken by foreign courts in the struggle of the Irish Catholics against the persecuting tyranny of Elizabeth for two important narratives, detailing the chief physical and social features of our country. One of them was written by a Spaniard who had taken part in the expedition to aid the Geraldines, in 1579: he had spent six months in visiting various districts of the island, and in 1581, his narrative, which principally regards the social life and customs of the natives, was presented to the Holy See. The other narrative was written about six years later, by an exiled Irish bishop then present at the papal court. He dwells for the most part on the physical resources of the country, and shows what an important bulwark of the Catholic cause Ireland would be, were it preserved from the assaults of the English heretics:

“THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE IRISH, ESPECIALLY IN THE
DESMOND TERRITORY.*

1. “Money is rarely used in this country, and purchases are for the most part made by exchange of goods.

2. “If you except the port towns, there are no hotels or lodging-houses to be found in the island. Every traveller sets up in the first house he meets, and, there, is provided with whatsoever he desires, gratuitously.

3. “Table is not usually laid until evening, but in the meantime drink is not denied to travellers.

4. “There are eight sorts of draughts: beer made of barley and water, milk, whey, wine, broth, mead,† usquebagh, and spring water.

* See the original in appendix; it was presented to the Holy See in 1581, and is now published for the first time from the Archiv. Secret. Vatican. There is a second, but very inaccurate MS. copy of it in the Vatican library.

† This drink was generally made of honey and milk: Ireland was remarkable, as we shall just now see, for its abundance of honey. Peter Lombard (Comment. c. 8) writes: “Quorundam opinio fuit insulam hanc expertem esse mellis atque ceræ. . . . Sed hic reclamatur prorsus experientia qua constat in tanta abundantia apes hic mellificas esse ut non solum in alveariis sed et in aliis obviis vasis, in cavatis arborum truncis, et in cavernis terræ favos reponant distentissimos.”

5. "The men wrap themselves up in mantles: the women wear large linen wide-spreading bonnets. The knives which are used at table are so long, that they exceed even their daggers in size.

6. "The more honourable person sits in the centre; the next in dignity sits at his right, and so on in order until the range of seats is filled. All sit facing towards the entrance-door: that thus, they say, they may be always ready to repel the attacks of their enemies.

7. "They are so firmly attached to the Catholic faith, that they seem never to have given ear to the heretics. They arise at midnight for prayer and meditation, to which some devote an entire hour, others half an hour: the fires are always lit at the same time.

8. "Their language has a great affinity with the Chaldaic and Hebrew: many of the letters are aspirated, whence it happens that the words seem different when written, and when pronounced.

9. "At the Lord's Prayer in the Mass, they arise, and remain standing during its recital.

10. "The men salute each other with a kiss: the women also salute each other in the same manner.

11. "On Wednesdays they abstain from flesh-meats; on Fridays, from white-meats and milk.

12. "Although they are devoid of all polite training, they nevertheless treat each other with such kindness and urbanity, that during six months, I did not see even the soldiers come once to blows: this spirit of concord seems to extend to the horses and dogs, wherefore, I am disposed to refer it all to the mildness of the climate and temperature.

13. "The climate is so mild, that they enjoy almost a perpetual spring; and herbage is never wanting for the flocks of sheep and the herds of cattle.

14. "No poisonous animals are found in Ireland: there are neither snakes, nor vipers, nor toads.*

15. "They eat a great deal when food can be found; but they also fast with alacrity for two or even three days.

* In a life of Marianus Scotus, written by an Irish monk of Ratisbon in the twelfth century, Ireland is thus described: "*Dulce solum natalis patriæ, solum omni genere serpentum ac universis vermibus nocivis sequestratum, montes et colles et valles et saltus venatibus aptos, amœmissima fluminum fluentia, et virides terras, in puris fontibus amnes,*" etc.—Ap. Bollandist. Feb. 9th, page 361-6. Bede also writes (lib. 1, Hist. Ang. cap. i.): "*Nullum in Hibernia reptile videri solet, nullus vivere serpens valet; nam scepe illo de Britannia allati serpentes mox ut proximante terris navigio, odore illius aëris attracti fuerint, intereunt. Quin potius omnia pæne quæ de eadem insula sunt, contra venenum valent. Denique vidimus quibusdam a serpente percussis, rasa folia codicum qui de Hibernia fuerunt, ipsam rasuram aquæ immisssam ac potui datam, talibus protinus vim veneni grassantis, totum inflati corporis absumpsisse ac sedasse tumorem.*" Peter Lombard (loc. cit. cap. 9), speaking of the Irish timber, adds: "*Ad domus quoque ædificandas cum in Angliam tum in alias regiones solebant exportari quia præter alia commoda ubicumque venenatæ sunt araneæ manent semper munda (ligna), et immunia ab earum telis, ex illa nimirum prærogativa qua quæcumque ex Hibernia adferuntur, contra venenata cuncta valent.*"

16. "They show an inviolable fidelity to their chiefs, at whose discretion they make peace or war.

17. "In battle each one follows his own natural ardour, and rushes on the ranks of the enemy without paying attention to the course pursued by his companions.

18. "In swiftness, they equal and sometimes surpass the horses.

19. "They freely seat themselves on hay, or straw, or grass; but they avoid the hard ground and benches.

20. "They mount their horses, seizing them by the left ear, and using nothing to support their feet.

21. "They use no leggings, and never even make them.

22. "The nobility are clothed in garments made of skin and adorned with various colours.

23. "They cultivate sacred poetry* with great assiduity; they do not undertake to compose verses on sacred subjects, except after fasting and prayer. When important negotiations have to be made, the bards are always chosen as the negotiators.

24. "At meals, before the thanksgiving is made, the bishop or priests who may be present make an exhortation, and all listen to it with great attention."

The second narrative, though dwelling chiefly on the material features of our island, is not less interesting. It is as follows:

"DISCOURSE† ON THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND, AND ON THE NUMBER OF TROOPS THAT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR ITS RE-CONQUEST, ADDRESSED TO POPE GREGORY XIII.

"The kingdom of Ireland is almost equal in size to England, when considered as separated from Scotland, which is smaller than either of the other two islands.

"It abounds in corn and cattle, in‡ wool and , in flesh

* Peter Lombard, in his "Commentarius de Regno Hib." cap. 12, writes: "*Musica delectantur et poesi. Ad militiam maxime sunt affecti, et ad eam cum primis quibusque apti nationibus utpote animosi, fortes, expediti, patientes laboris, et inediae, appetentes gloriae et capacissimi cum totius disciplinae militaris tum usus atque exercitii armorum omnis generis. Scientias seu liberales disciplinas multum amant et viros eruditos plurimum honorant. Sunt etiam passim acutis praediti ingeniis et ubi commoditatem ad id nacti addicunt se libenter studiis, diligenter eis insistent, proniores vero ad ea feruntur studiorum sive scientiae genera in quibus ingenii acumen, quam alia mentis vis exercet se et exerit.*"

† This discourse was written in Italian, and is now published for the first time from Biblioth. Vatic. Codex Urbinus, 854, fog. 408, et seqq; see the orig. in appendix. In the translations, some irrelevant passages are omitted.

‡ In a letter of John Hooker to Sir Peter Carew, on 26th May, 1568, we find the following interesting description of the fertility of the barony of Idrone, of which, forsooth, that adventurer had resolved to deprive the rightful owners:—

and in fish, both of the sea and of fresh water,*— in milk and honey, of which there is such an abundance to be found, even in the woods and where the bee-hives are not cared, that the inhabitants make use of

“The soyle and countrie of that baronny is very large and great, and yn all Europa not a more plesaunt, sweter, or frutefuller Lande; the same beinge referted with all thinges necessarrye for man yn any respecte, servinge for pleasure or neede, for huntinge the stagge, the hare, the fox, the wolff, for your pleasure at will; for hawkinge with all kyndes of hawkes, at partridge, rayle, fesaunt, crene, byttern, and a nomber of other foules, as miche as can be wished and desyred: for fyshinge there is as miche as any freshewater can geve; the seas are somewhat dystaunte from this countrie of Hydron, but yet, on the one side, a goodly river called the Barro fleateth through the whole countrie, and this so serveth the countrie, that upon it they do conveighe all their comodyties and marchaundyces from the seas or from Waterford even to the house of Laghlyn.” (“The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew, Bart.,” by John Maclean, Esq., London, 1857, pag. 198, from the MSS. of Lambeth Palace.)

* Venerable Bede styles Ireland, “*Dives lactis et mellis insula nec vinearum expers; piscium volucrumque sed et cervorum venatu insignis.*” (Hist. Ang. lib. i. cap. 1.) Peter Lombard, in his “*Commentarius*,” devotes the entire sixth chapter to the salubrity of the island. He writes as follows:—“*Salubritatem hujus regionis, multa sunt quæ probant et insigniter commendant, sed potissimum hæc quinque dotes: 1. temperies cœli perpetua: 2. aquarum puritas et præstantia: 3. ciborum omnis generis et præsertim carniarum atque piscium suavitas: 4. morborum paucitas, raritas, et levitas: 5. Prærogativa singularis contra venena et venenata cuncta animantia.*” His remark on the purity of the waters is especially interesting:—“*Sunt illæ hic purissimæ et clarissimæ idque non in fontium tantum primis scatibz atque rivis sed in ipsis quoque lacubus imo in fluminibus donec eæ misceantur cum refluxu maris. Sunt etiam præter id quod gustu delectabiles, adeo virtute præstantes ut plurimæ sint quæ ad præstandas sanitates plurimum valeant. Quæ virtus ut in nonnullis concedenda est inesse a naturali earum excellentia, ita et quibusdam non est dubitandum eam impertitam atque impetratam per merita sanctorum hujus regionis a quibus proinde eæ suas olim acceptas nomenclaturas etiamnum hodie immutatas retinent.*” As to the food, he adds:—“*Quod ad ciborum spectat suavitatem testantur exteri et nominatim Angli, qui hic aliquando commorati, carnes atque etiam pisces in Hibernia multo esse delicatiores et suaviores quam sint in ipsa Anglia; unde solent curiosius indagare, cum primò huc adveniunt an id a natura inditum an vero arte aliqua sit inductum.*” In the seventh chapter he speaks of the Irish fisheries; and with very few changes, his words would be applicable to the present day:—“*In mari, quæcumque Hiberniam alluit, in portibus ejus et in sinubus, in fluviis et in lacubus tanta est varietas et abundantia piscium et quidem omni anni tempore, quantam vel nulla alia habet Europæ regio vel certe non cum ea commoditate qua hinc velut ex præcipuo quodam Europæ vivario aliis ejus regionibus ubertas ista communicari possit, si talis esset rerum administratio qualis deberet merito, cum ad ipsam ditandam insulam, tum ad commodandum externis nationibus. Quin etiam modo utcumque administrantur res, præterquamquod indigenis ubi aliqualis saltem industria adhibetur, semper sit provisum abunde de piscibus, etiam magna effertur copia ad externas quasdam regiones, partim per Hibernos sed præcipue per mercatores Angliæ. Quæ quidem, exclusis mercatoribus et piscatoribus aliarum nationum, suis dumtaxat subditis reservat jus et potestatem hic piscandi. Unde videre est per omne anni tempus passim in Hiberniæ portibus et æstuariis innumeros pisces Anglos, quod hic quam in Anglia experiantur piscationem, uti copiosiores sine comparatione ita et multo utiliorem etiam expensis omnibus quas faciunt in rationem adductis.*”



wax and honey according as they want it, and pay no further attention to it.

"There are mines of gold, silver, copper, and lead. Iron is found in all parts of the island.* There is also an abundance of lakes and rivers.

"It has a peculiar breed of horses, which are not too high of stature, but are swift, and not unlike the Spanish horses.† It yields also the same articles of produce which are yielded by England.

"There is a superabundance of hawks and falcons, which are of a superior quality, and are highly esteemed in France.

"In winter the cold is not so severe as it is in England. No sort of serpents or obnoxious animals—not even a spider is to be found there, so much so, that its clay is carried into England and Scotland as a remedy against serpents.

"The Reasons why the Irish are the Natural Enemies of England:

"The first and chief reason is the difference of religion.

"The second is, that the English kings have, contrary to every right and justice, usurped the title of kings of Ireland. . . .

"The third is, that the English crown has tyrannized over our island, seeking only its own aggrandizement, without paying any attention to the interests of the natives; and entrusting the government to English agents, who use the most tyrannical means to enrich themselves, transporting its produce into England, taxing the people contrary to its laws and ancient privileges, maintaining wars and domestic strife amongst the inhabitants, and, in a word, satiating their blood with the very blood and bowels of the natives.

* Peter Lombard, loc. cit. cap. 9, gives the following important testimony regarding the mines of Ireland:—"Sunt hic et quidem copiose mineralia plurima et argentum vivum, alumen, vitreolum, sulphur: immo et metalla in suo quoque genere admodum præstantia. . . . Et ferrum quidem facili opera eruitur et coquitur ab iis etiam qui metallorum parum sunt periti, et nihilominus probatur tam excellens ut non aliud in Europa magis sit durabile. Alia metalla nonnisi tecte adhuc et parte sunt attacta. Attamen sic tentata ut possit id sufficere ad iudicium de eorum præstantia et abundantia. Verum ne magis innotescant vel explorentur cavet diligenter et advigilat Concilium Angliæ: in quo cum aliquando fuisset propositum de fodinis in Hibernia indagandis, opposuit se acerrime quidam e primis Proceribus qui aliquando in Hibernia rebus præfuit, tanquam non expediret ullo modo statui immo salutis Angliæ ut in lucem veniret et notitiam potentioris ejuspiam nationis quanti essent a natura in fodinis Hiberniæ reconditi thesauri. De his quæcumque ego hic adduco, accepi pro certissimis partim a præfectis fodinarum in Anglia qui et Hiberniam aliquando studiose perlustrarunt, partim ab aliis qui peroverunt intime quæcumque in Concilio Angliæ de iisdem sunt proposita."

† The Irish horses were celebrated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Munster, in his "Cosmographia" (lib. ii.), says: "Gignit Hibernia multos equos qui graviter incedunt, studentque velut datâ opera mollem facere gressum, ne insidenti molestiam ullam inferant." Jovius also states that the Irish horses were often bestowed as presents by the nobility of France and Spain; and adds the curious fact: "ex hoc genere duodecim candoris eximii, purpura et argenteis habenis exornatos in pompa summorum pontificum sessore vacuos duci videmus."—(In lib. de Regionib. in Descript. Hiberniæ.)

"The fourth is, that no schools or academies are allowed in Ireland, the English being desirous to keep the people in ignorance, lest they should learn the difference between liberty and slavery, and knowing well that the inhabitants are warlike and courageous, and capable of supporting every fatigue, they fear lest they should be instructed in the art of war. For the same reason they never allowed artists to settle there, lest the inhabitants, by learning how to avail themselves of the natural resources of the country, might become rich and powerful, and shake off the foreign yoke; for it yields abundance of metal for every sort of armour, and for the munitions of war.

"As to the troops that will be necessary for the conquest of the kingdom, it is certain that as the eyes of England are now opened to the importance of the island, greater forces will be required than heretofore. Considering, however, the importance of the enterprize, and the increase of the Catholic faith, the expense will be but trifling; and I think that with five thousand well-armed troops, such an end may easily be attained.

"There can be no difficulty in disembarking the troops; there are so many ports in the island that it would be impossible for the enemy to occupy them all.* There are many of the Irish chieftains both in Rome and Spain, who are excellently acquainted with the country.

"As regards the good will of the inhabitants, were it merely for the motive of religion, all would unite themselves at once with any Catholic power, and still more so with the Roman pontiff.

"The queen of England is so occupied with the war in Flanders, and other wars abroad, as well as with the guerillas of the Irish chiefs at home, that it will be impossible for her to send an army to oppose the invading troops; and as to the cities which she at present occupies, the citizens, being all Catholics, will hail with delight the friendly troops, and shake off the tyrannical yoke of the English. And even should it not be so, there is not a single city in the whole kingdom which could resist for four days against a battery of four pieces of cannon. . . . In fine, the conquest being thus most easily accomplished, not only will new power and glory be obtained, but the Irish nation being the most devoted to the Holy See, the most firmly rooted in the attachment to the Catholic faith, and the greatest enemy of all heretics, especially of the English, it will be a perpetual bulwark against all the heretics of the west, and serve as a bridle to check those of England and Scotland."

* Tacitus (in Vit. Jul. Agric.) says of his time: "*Quod Hiberniæ quam Britannæ melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti.*" Peter Lombard (loc. cit. c. xi.) also writes: "*Plurimi sunt et optimi portus qui nimirum et accessum habent facilem et fidam præbent stationem adeo quidem ut in ista etiam parte Hibernia longe Britanniam superet.*"

CHAPTER IV.

PERSECUTION OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS DURING
THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

1. General View of this Persecution.—2. Sufferings of the Irish Church.—3. Devastation of the Country.—4. Famine which ensued.—5. Examples to Illustrate the Persecution of Elizabeth.—6. Constancy of the Irish Catholics.—7. Condition of the Protestant Church in the time of Elizabeth.

1.—*General View of the Persecution.*

FEW penal laws were enacted by the Irish parliament during the reign of Elizabeth. In its first meetings, indeed (1559), an effort was made by the government to lay the foundations of a penal code, on which an ample superstructure might subsequently be raised. Not only was spiritual supremacy, as enjoyed by Henry VIII. and Edward VI., restored to the crown, and all the acts of queen Mary in favour of the Catholic religion repealed, but it was further commanded, that all officers and ministers, whether lay or ecclesiastical, should, on pain of forfeiture, take the oath of supremacy; that all persons in any way maintaining the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See, should forfeit, for the first offence, all his estates, real and personal (or be imprisoned for one year, if not worth £20), incur a *præmunire* for the second offence, and become guilty of high treason for the third offence; that the use of the book of Common Prayer, instead of the Roman Catholic liturgy, should be enforced as in England; that any clergyman who refused to use the book of Common Prayer in his church, or who used any other form of worship, rite, ceremony, or celebration of the Lord's Supper, openly or privately, than was laid down in the said book of Common Prayer, should, for the first offence, forfeit one year's income, and be imprisoned for six months; for the second offence be deprived of office, and suffer imprisonment at pleasure; and for the third offence, be imprisoned for life; that every person should resort to the established church and attend the new

service, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, and of the forfeiture of twelve pence for every offence, to be levied by the church-wardens, by the distress of the lands or chattels of the defaulter; that the first fruits and twentieths of all church revenues should be given to the crown, and that the old form of *congé d'élire* should be superseded by the letters patent of the crown, by which, in future, all collations to vacant sees should be made.*

It was only by a stratagem, however, that the wishes of the queen, in regard of these penal laws, received the sanction of the commons; and the promise of the viceroy that they would not be put in execution, made them for some years remain as a dead letter on the statute-book. Other enactments, embodying the cruel code that was enforced in England, were proposed in 1585; but the Catholic party in parliament was successful in its opposition, and the agents of persecution were never able to palliate their cruelty, by appealing to the acts of the Irish legislature.

Some English writers dwell with complacency on this lenity of the government, and extol the mildness with which the new religion was sought to be enforced in Ireland; and whilst they acknowledge that torrents of blood were poured out in England by the intolerant bigotry of Elizabeth, they have not hesitated to affirm, that Ireland was wholly free from such scenes of persecution, and that our Catholics were allowed peaceably to pursue the dictates of their own conscience. And yet, whosoever impartially considers the contemporary monuments of our history, must be convinced, that a bitter unremitted persecution was at this period carried on in Ireland against the Catholic faith; that the agents of the government pursued, in regard of the Irish Catholics, the same sanguinary code which had been enacted in England; and that every torture which their malicious ingenuity could devise, was inflicted with impunity on the natives of our island.

One of the most learned men to whom Ireland gave birth in the sixteenth century, was Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh.

* Liber Mun. Hib. statut. 1 Elizab. chap. i. 2. This act of parliament is given in full, with interesting notes, in the "Analecta" of Dr. Roothé, the learned bishop of Ossory.

Educated in his early youth at Oxford, he ever cherished a warm sympathy for the English nation, which he more than once takes occasion to eulogize in his celebrated "*Commentarius de Regno Hiberniæ*." This work was written in the year 1600, and we adopt the following calm and unimpassioned words with which it sketches the ordeal of persecutions to which our country was subjected during Elizabeth's reign:—

"I shall present (he says), arranged under certain heads, a sketch of the persecution which was begun, indeed, under Henry the Eighth, was continued under Edward the Sixth, but raged with special fury under Elizabeth; for during her reign, whatsoever means could be devised to seduce the Irish Catholics from the faith and their allegiance to the Apostolic See, whether by force or fraud, by threats of torments or the seductions of the world, were eagerly carried into execution.

1. "And, first, as to the sanctuary and the ornaments of religion: no country was more enriched with noble monasteries, many of which were opulent, and able, at all times, to give meet hospitality to the richest noblemen of the island. These, wheresoever the sway of the English monarchy extended, were plundered and destroyed; their property, whether sacred or domestic, was pillaged and dissipated; their revenues were seized by the crown, and the sites themselves were either abandoned to ruin or applied to profane purposes. The same, indeed, must also be said of many of the Catholic churches, whilst in others, the sacred worship of God being abolished, and the monuments and relics of Christ and His saints being desecrated, the schismatical and heretical rites were introduced.

2. "As to persons: it was first prescribed and commanded, that all who were assumed to public offices should take the oath of abjuration, which was drawn up through hatred of the Apostolic See, and declared that supreme power and authority, as well in spirituals as in temporals, in Ireland as in England, belonged to the aforesaid kings of England, as heads of the church. Should any, through unwillingness to take this oath, decline such offices and honours, they, by the very fact, incurred the royal displeasure. And should it happen, as it often indeed occurs, that this oath was tendered to individuals for the purpose of testing their faith, by refusing it, they incurred the penalties of high treason.

3. "As it was well known that the Irish revered men of learning and eloquence, it was resolved, the more effectually to inculcate the royal tenets, to send to Ireland those ministers who were most distinguished in England and Scotland for their ability and eloquence. Such were Goodman, the leader of the Calvinists in England, who, moreover, during Mary's reign had published a treatise against female government; Cartwright, distinguished amongst the Puritans; Jansons, famed for his preaching; Burchley, so zealous in preaching, that besides his sermon on the Lord's day, he also added every week two catechetical

discourses; Brady, a bishop of the Anglican tenets; Meade, known for the vehemence of his sermons; Craik, a Scotchman, made bishop of Kildare, also a famous preacher, etc.

4. "In various parts of the island there were excellent literary schools, the rectors or masters of which being Catholics, instructed the youth not only in science, but also in Catholic doctrine and morality; in some, too, there was a class of exposition of the Catholic catechism: now, all these schools, under various pretexts, are subjected to vexation and oppression, and most of them have been wholly swept away.

5. "To provide instruction for the natives, and to display a greater earnestness in its regard than had hitherto been shown (for often had the erection of an university been in vain solicited from the crown), a most ample and splendid college was erected a few years ago in the vicinity of Dublin, by royal decree, but at the expense of the inhabitants, in which it is commanded that all liberal arts shall be taught by heretical teachers. As such heretical masters, however, could not be found in Ireland, they were sent thither from England; and the better to establish and propagate their teaching, they received the mission to preach the evangelical doctrines in Dublin, and were directed, moreover, to exact the oath of the queen's supremacy, in all ecclesiastical matters, from the students whom they should educate.

6. "That they might the more freely persecute the Catholics, as if, not for religion's sake, but for the violation of the civil laws, some statutes were enacted, not indeed in Ireland, but in the parliament of England, so full of cruelty and folly, that the mere practices of Catholic piety are declared to be civil and capital crimes, and some of them, too, equivalent to high treason; for instance, to celebrate or assist at the adorable sacrifice of the altar—to refuse to assist at the schismatical and heretical rites—to have in your possession or be bearers of missals, breviaries, offices of the Blessed Virgin, agnus Deis, crosses, beads, medals blessed by the Roman pontiff—to make a confession of sins, or to absolve from them—and especially to reconcile anyone to the Catholic Church. Forsooth, our English legislators imitated in this the princes and satraps of the Medes and Persians, who being desirous to achieve the ruin of Daniel, and seeing that they could find no pretext except in his observance of the law of God, devised a royal statute, which enacted that anyone found praying to any God or man, except the king, should be cast into the lion's den.

Although these laws and statutes were not only not received but were even rejected in the Irish parliament, still oftentimes were they carried into execution with far more unbridled cruelty in Ireland than in England;* and those members of the clergy or laity who conciliated the

* Ranke cites a contemporary Italian discourse on Ireland, in which the government of Elizabeth in that country is described as most tyrannical, "as she abandoned it to the care of ministers who, to ensure their own aggrandizement, employed every art, no matter how tyrannical, and sought to maintain wars and dissensions amongst the natives themselves." In the Codex Urbinus,

popular reverence and esteem by their learning, piety, orders, dignity, rank, and virtue, were persecuted with imprisonment, torture, and most cruel deaths; which sufferings of our people, were they made known to the world (and in his own good time God will surely make them known), it would at once be seen how our island is not only adorned with the early glory of its confessors, but is still more decorated by the heroic fortitude of its martyrs."

But whilst the emissaries of Elizabeth thus revelled in every excess against the Catholics of our island, the government itself cannot be reputed blameless: in fact, it not only* co-operated with them in their guilt, but, moreover, spurred them on to the most cruel deeds of Vandalism and persecution. The commissioners who a few years later presented to James I. the remonstrance of the Irish Catholics, expressly laid the blame of all their sufferings at the door of Elizabeth;† and, indeed, the proclamation of the queen, signed the 18th of October, 1591, is more than sufficient to justify their accusations.‡ One of the articles of this proclamation commanded all the natives of Ireland

Vat. Libr. 854, pag. 231, there is a "Discorso sopra l'Inghilterra," in which we read "Il rammemorare gli atti empj et crudeli da lei usati contro la vera religione et contro i ministri di quella et contro i seguaci non si può far senza spargere lagrime o senza eccitarle in altri."

* The cruelty of the English agents was well known at the court; and Elizabeth herself was on one occasion heard to say, that she feared the same reproach, on account of the disorders in Ireland, which had been formerly made by Bato to Tiberius—"It is you, you! that are to blame for these disorders; who have committed your flocks, not to shepherds, but to wolves."—*Hibernia Pacata*.

† See this remonstrance in full in O'Sullivan, loc. cit. pag. 317, seqq.

‡ Carve, a coeval writer, thus describes the cruel rage of Elizabeth against the Catholics:—"Sine mora certos commissarios destinavit ad omnia cœnobîa a Maria Regina viris Ecclesiasticis concessa supprimenda: insuper omnes imagines ex Ecclesiis ejici imperavit, omnes quoque Catholicam fidem profitentes vel eidem addictos acerbissimis tormentis enecari: nec minori atrocitate et conamine in Hibernia gessit, omnem politiam, civilitatem, urbanitatem ablegando, omnia sacra profanando," etc.—(*Lyra*, pag. 117.) This writer was born in 1590, and studied at P. White's school in Kilkenny. He frequently commemorates "immanem Elizabethæ in Catholicos Hiberniæ persecutionem et tyrannidem;" "execrandam hæreticorum sævitiam;" "sacerdotes ac religiosos ad nefandas ac immanes neces rapi," etc.—(pag. 121, et seqq.) In "Ireland's Case Briefly Stated," printed in 1695, pag. 7, we read—"The Spanish cloud (the armada) was no sooner dispersed, than Q. Elizabeth resolved to fall upon the Irish with all the severity imaginable, in order to force her pretended reformation upon them. First, she prosecuted some on pretence of having relieved a few Spaniards cast by stress of weather upon the coast of Ireland; then she ordered others to be seized on for having harboured Catholic bishops, priests, and friars; and a great many more were questioned for having been at Mass, or not come to the Protestant meetings, as they were enjoined by the said pretended acts of parliament."

to make a return to the government of the priests and religious who within fourteen months had visited their houses; whilst another enacted the penalties of high treason against all who for the future should be found to harbour or relieve them.* The proclamation was accompanied with a series of secret instructions, communicating full inquisitorial powers to the ecclesiastical commissioners to search out, and punish with the utmost rigour, all who should attempt to violate its enactments.†

We have seen how, under various pretences, Catholic schools were proscribed throughout our island. From other sources we further learn, that the newly-appointed Protestant bishops received special orders to carry out that scheme, and to found heretical schools in their respective districts.‡ A little later this system of proselytism attained its perfection, when parents were commanded to send their children to these schools, under pain of forfeiture of their property and other severe penalties.§

It is to the same unprincipled schemes of persecution that we are indebted for the destruction of most of the monumental records of our history. Dr. Lynch, in his "*Cambrensis Eversus*," attests that "the English laboured with Vandal earnestness in plundering our Irish documents;"|| and again he writes: "It is a fact well authenticated by the testimony of the last generation, that while Ireland was wasted by the flames of war, the queen's troops, wherever they were quartered through the country, rifled the houses of friends and foes indiscriminately, and carried off all Irish manuscripts; it was not through any fancy of their own that they did so, but they seem to have had orders to that effect; and when these soldiers were called in to garrison the towns, large leaves of these manuscripts were distributed by them to schoolboys to make covers for their books, or cut up in the tailor's shop to make measures for clothes."¶ Dr. David Roothé, writing in 1614, is equally explicit in attesting this Vandalism of the English governors: "if any members of the government," he says, "received intelli-

* The proclamation is given by Dominick de Rosario, loc. cit. pag. 144-8.

† See Appendix to Dom. de Rosario, loc. cit. pag. 235, seqq.

‡ "*Irish Statutes*," p. 346, 12 Eliz. c. i.

§ See Hardiman, "*Iar-Connaught*," pag. 420.

|| Vol. i. page 335, edited by Celtic Society in 1849.

¶ Ibid. page 337.

gence of a fragment of manuscript history being in the possession of a private individual, it was at once either begged or bought; but if neither money nor entreaty was strong enough to obtain it, then threats and commands immediately followed, which it would imperil one's life to resist. . . . Far the most active in this trade of hunting out in all quarters, and carrying away or destroying ancient books, especially in the province of Munster, of which he was president, was sir George Carew. He took from the noble family of the M'Carthys a most ancient manuscript volume. But the course pursued by this president in one province, had been already adopted throughout Ireland by sir Henry Sydney and preceding governors, who swept away in one mass everything that they could lay hands on; so that one of their most special instructions, when deputed to govern this island, would appear to have been, to annihilate with the most unsparing hand every monument of the history of Ireland."*

2.—*Sufferings of the Irish Catholics under Elizabeth.*

The statutes of 1559 were not destined to remain very long a dead letter; and one of their first fruits was witnessed in 1563, when the earl of Essex, the then viceroy, issued a proclamation,† by which all priests, secular and regular, were interdicted either to hold assemblies or to take up their abode in the city of Dublin. This proclamation was further accompanied with a republication of the former edict, by which various fines and penalties (as mentioned above) were enacted against those who, on Sundays and festival days, should absent themselves from the Protestant service; and, as Ware informs us, these fines were exacted with the greatest rigour.

The priests and religious—the shepherds of the flock—were, as it was natural to expect, the first to experience the fury of the storm. Wheresoever the English agents penetrated, the clergy had to fly for safety to the mountain recesses; the churches were desecrated, and the altars overthrown; and those hypocritical reformers (to use the words of Leland), “under pretence of obeying the order of the state, seized on all the

* “*Analecta*,” pag. 557-9.

† Ware’s *Annals of Eliz.*, an. 1563.

most valuable furniture of the churches, which they exposed to sale without decency or reserve.”* A few instances of the desecration of holy places will suffice. In 1595, the governor of Sligo, George Bingham, setting sail around Tyrconnell, entered Lough Swilly and plundered the defenceless nuns of the Carmelite convent of Rathmullan, which was situated on the banks of the lake, and was known as St. Mary’s Abbey; the ruthless despoiler carried off the vestments, chalices, and other valuable articles of the abbey.† In the following year the convent of Kilconnell, belonging to the Franciscans, was made a barrack for the English soldiers; the church became a stable for their cavalry; and the very tombs were rifled by the soldiery, who hoped to find some treasure concealed there.‡ A few years earlier, the Franciscan monastery and church of Kilchree were also pillaged: the statues and paintings were demolished; the sacred utensils were broken to pieces and carried off: and the annalist of the order especially laments the destruction of a rich figure of the crucifixion, exquisitely worked and adorned with beautiful medallions of the Evangelists, which were wrought in silver and gold. At the same time a body of English soldiers entered the church of Timoleague, and not content with demolishing the stained glass windows which adorned it, tore to flitters the pictures for which the church was famed: the people entreated and prayed to have them preserved, but all was in vain, for destruction had been vowed against all the monuments of Catholic piety and devotion. In like manner, the monastery of Multifarnam was burned to the ground; and when re-built, plundered a second time by the heretical troops. The convent of Donegal, however, was particularly remarkable for the richness of its sacred ornaments: “In the year 1600 (writes Mooney) there were forty friars in that house; and the divine praises were celebrated with solemn chant by night and by day. I myself was sacristan, and I had entrusted to my charge forty suits of vestments, many of them of cloth of gold and silver—some interwoven and brocaded with gold—all the remainder silk. There were also sixteen

* Hist., vol. ii. pag. 274.

† Miscellany of Celtic Society for 1849, edited by O’Donovan, pag. 223.

‡ Mooney’s Hist., MS., of the Franc. Ord.

large silver chalices, all of which, two only excepted, were washed with gold; nor should I forget two rich ciboriums for the Blessed Sacrament, which were inlaid with precious stones.* This far-famed monastery, however, soon became a garrison of the English soldiery;† the entire of the sacred furniture was seized on by Lambert, the governor of Connaught; the chalices were profanely used as drinking cups, and the rich vestments were torn into shreds and employed for the profanest uses.‡ But it is not necessary to pursue these individual instances.

“Everywhere,” writes Henriquez, “the heretics profaned the sacred churches, demolished the altars, consigned to the flames the holy images, and devoted to profane purposes the chalices and other ornaments of divine worship. Not a day passed without being marked by some cruel martyrdom: the nobles were despoiled of their wealth and possessions; the poor overwhelmed with affliction; the natives banished into foreign lands; the priests were compelled to wander about from place to place, or were thrown into prison. The religious dared not to appear in public, and no one could attempt to preach the Catholic faith or defend the supremacy of the Holy See. It was not sufficient for the enemies of our faith to persecute the Catholics in the cities and towns, they followed them moreover to the woods and mountains, like hungry lions pursuing the flock of Christ. Their diabolical cruelty was still more displayed in the destruction of the numerous and richly-adorned monasteries, which the munificence of the nobility had erected and endowed in former times, that their inmates might devote themselves wholly to the praises and service of God; but the heretics pulled down the churches, destroyed the edifices by fire, murdered the servants of God, profaned the sacred places, and made the houses of prayer become dens of thieves. They were earthly paradises—they now became the abode of demons; for the voice of prayer was substituted blasphemy, and instead of the daily sacrifice of thanksgiving, nought was witnessed but abominations and crimes.”

He then particularizes the sufferings to which his own Cistercian Order was subjected—

“Some,” he says, “full of affliction and misery, fled from the sword which impended over them; others were murdered or burnt

* MS. Hist. loc. cit.

† Soon after the powder magazine exploded, blowing to atoms many hundreds of the garrison, and completing the ruin of both convent and church.—Ibid; and also the Annals of the Four Masters ad. an. 1601; O’Sullev. Hist. Cath. pag. 221.

‡ “Supellex illa fuit prædæ Olivero Lamberto gubernatori Connacæ ex parte hæreticorum qui calices in cyphos profanos convertit et vestes sacras in diversos profanos usus convertendos scindi et dilacerari curavit.”—Mooney, loc. cit.

to death in their convents; all the monasteries were levelled to the ground; the virgins who, from their youth, had consecrated themselves to God, were driven from their convents, and compelled to wander in hunger through the woods and mountains. The heretics were the more eager in the pursuit of our religious, as our monasteries were numerous and rich; and in a short time all were completely destroyed.”*

The same writer gives an extract from a letter addressed to himself by an Irish exile, from Compostella, the 3rd of April, 1617, describing the persecution to which the Cistercian fathers had been subjected in Elizabeth’s reign:—

“Whilst the diabolical rage of the heretics destroyed the churches and monasteries, and profaned them with sacrilegious hands, the constancy of the Cistercians, in offering up their lives for Christ’s sake, was most remarkable, and deserving of all praise; and as many of their sacred houses were scattered through the country, so innumerable monks of that order, by martyrdom, attained their heavenly crown.”†

It would not be difficult to multiply these extracts from coeval writers,* who, without a dissentient voice, agree in attesting the rigour of the persecution waged against the Irish priesthood. We shall be content, however, with one passage

* Henriquez, p. 358 :—“*Templa profanabant hæretici, altaria demoliebantur, sanctorum imagines comburebant, et calices, et ornamenta cultui divino dicata profanis usibus applicabant. Nullus abibat dies quo aliquem martyrio non afficerent, nobiles divitiis et possessionibus spoliando, pauperes affligendo, et incolas in exilium ablegando. Sacerdotes sedem mutarant et fugerant vel carceribus mancipati erant. Religiosi in nullius conspectum venire audebant, denique nullus fere erat qui Catholicam fidem profiteri auderet et summi Pontificis auctoritatem propugnaret. Non satis erat fidei inimicis se Catholicos in urbibus persecutos esse, nisi et in desertis et vagis montibus ut famelici leones inquirerent oves Christi. Deinde diabolicam suam crudelitatem etiam in multis et sumptuosis monasteriis ostenderunt quæ Principes in regno illo dum Religio vigeret, extruxerant, et Catholici dotarant ut in eis diversarum religionum et institutorum Religiosi Deum laudarent et servirent. Evertebant templa, exurebant ædificia, servos Dei trucidabant, et profanabant loca sacra, et domus orationis in speluncas latronum commutabant: paradisi illi terrestres fiunt inferni, voces laudationis in blasphemias vertuntur, et in locum sacrificiorum quæ quotidie offerebantur succedebant abominationes et peccata.*”

. . . . “*Aliqui gladium qui eis minabatur fugiebant dolorum et miseriarum pleni: aliqui trucidabantur et comburebantur, omnia monasteria solo æquabantur. Virgines quæ ab ineunte ætate se Deo voverant claustra relinquentes per devia vagabantur et montes et valles absconditas petebant. Hæretici tanto magis rabiem in monasteria nostra ostenderunt, quo erant plura numero et ditiora et brevi tempore fere diruerunt.*”

† Henriquez, loc. cit. :—“*Dum in principio maledicti schismatis, perfida et diabolica hæreticorum furia templa et monasteria erueret et sacrilega manu profanaret, notabilis fuit semperque laudanda eorum constantia in vitæ pro Christo amissione. Et quia multæ hujus ordinis sacræ ædes reperiebantur, innumeri quoque monachi martyrio cœlestem arcem petiere.*”

from the famous Dominican writer Dominick de Rosario, who thus addresses his Catholic countrymen:—

“Your religion made your enemies crucify you. Divesting themselves of humanity, and disregarding God’s anger, the rage of these heretics (who may be likened to famished lions) exhausted itself on our holy edifices. The priests of the Lord were stoned in the public thoroughfares, and their tonsured heads were made targets for those wretches to aim at. Some of these priests had their brains beaten out, their bodies dashed to earth, trodden under foot, and bruised by kicks and blows. Some had the nails of their fingers torn out by the roots, whilst others actually saw their entrails protrude and their flesh ripped and torn by combs of iron. How shall I describe such scenes? *They were stoned—they were cut asunder—they were tempted—they were put to death by the sword.* But, praised be God! they were true to their faith. These persecutors excelled in malice—their cruelty surpassed its ordinary character, and their ferocity shrank not from the most appalling crimes.”*

He then adds several instances, some of which we shall have occasion to refer to in a subsequent article.

Florimond Raimond, writing in France in the beginning of the seventeenth century, gives many details of the sufferings of our Catholics, which he had received, he says, “from forty Irish priests, who at that time (1600) had been exiled for the faith, and landed at Bourdeaux.” Eight years earlier (1592), Ware tells us that “eleven priests and Jesuits were seized in Connaught and Munster and brought up to Dublin;” of only one of them, Rev. Michael Fitzsimmons, the son of an alderman of Dublin, is the martyrdom recorded by this Protestant annalist; we can have, however, but little doubt as to the fate of the other ten. The names of many of these worthy confessors are preserved to us by Curry, in his “Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland.” In the reign of Elizabeth, he writes:—

“Among many other Roman Catholic bishops and priests, there were put to death for the exercise of their function in Ireland, Glaby O’Boyle, abbot of Boyle, of the diocese of Elphin, and Owen O’Mulkeren, abbot of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, in that diocese, hanged and quartered by lord Gray, in 1580; John Stephens, for saying Mass for Teague MacHugh, was hanged and quartered by lord Burroughs, in

* “The Geraldines,” printed originally in 1655, translated by Rev. C. P. Meehan, and reprinted in 1847, Dublin, Duffy, pag. 138.

1597; Thady O'Boyle, guardian of the monastery of Donegal, was slain by the English in his own monastery; six friars were slain in the monastery of Moynihigan; John O'Calyhor and Bryan O'Trevor, of the order of St. Bernard, were slain in their own monastery, de Sancta Maria, in Ulster; as also, Felimy O'Hara, a lay-brother; so was Eneas Penny, parish priest of Killagh, slain at the altar, in his parish church there; Cahall McGoran, Rory O'Donellan, Peter O'Quillan, Patrick O'Kenna, George Power, vicar-general of the diocese of Ossory; Andrew Stritch, of Limerick, Bryan O'Muirhirtagh, vicar-general of the diocese of Clonfert; Dorohow O'Molony of Thomond, John Kelly of Louth, Stephen Patrick of Annaly, John Pillis, friar, Rory McHenlen, Tirrilagh McInisky, a lay brother. All those that come after Eneas Penny, together with Walter Farnan, priest, died in the castle of Dublin, either through hard usage and restraint, or the violence of torture."*

All these outrages of the government and its agents were well condensed by the heroic chieftain of Tirconnell, when, having arrested an English captain named Willis, he set him at liberty, desiring him to acquaint Elizabeth that "her emissaries in Ireland acted iniquitously towards the natives: seeking impiously to corrupt the Catholic faith—torturing with barbarous and inhuman cruelty our sacred bishops and priests—imprisoning and cutting off without mercy the Catholic nobility—in fine, substituting everywhere iniquity for the rule of justice."† The same motives impelled the Leinster chiefs to appeal to arms; "they could no longer endure," says O'Sullivan, "that the sacrifice of the Mass and the holy Sacraments were interdicted to them—that their priests were proscribed, and cast into prison or led to execution—that their churches were contaminated by heretical rites, and they themselves subjected to an incessant persecution."‡

We might suppose that Dr. Adam Loftus, Protestant archbishop of Armagh, should at least, as minister of the Gospel, be exempt from the common contagion of persecuting fury; and yet, during the whole forty years that he enjoyed the richest benefices of our island, he was a main stimulus to English bigotry, ever seeking for new penal enactments against the Catholic faith. In his first report to the queen, dated May the 17th, 1565, after describing the nobility of the pale as all

* See O'Connell's *Memoirs*, etc., p. 127-8.

† O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.* p. 156.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 111.

devoted to the ancient creed, he adds: "Whereupon I was once in mind (for that they be so linked together in friendship and alliance, one with another, that we shall never be able to correct them by the ordinary course of the statute) to come upon every one of them with a good round fine and sum of money, to be paid to your majesty's use, and to bind them in sure bonds and recognisances ever hereafter dutifully to observe your majesty's most godly laws and injunctions. But . . . I thought fit not to deal any further with them until your majesty's pleasure was therein specially known, which I humbly crave, with as much expedition as conveniently may be. And verily, in my opinion, if they were once brought to some good order and dutiful obedience to your majesty's laws, and, indeed, somewhat sharply dealt withal now, it should be no small furtherance to your majesty's proceedings, and their example should be a great cause to bring the rest and meaner sort to a godly reformation.*"

Twenty-five eventful years rolled on; Dr. Loftus had been, at his own request, translated from Armagh to Dublin, and many of the highest offices of the state had been entrusted to him; nevertheless, his spirit of intolerance and bigotry remained unchanged. In the State Paper Office is preserved a letter which he addressed, on 22nd of September, 1590, to lord Burghley, detailing (as is endorsed on the letter itself) "the causes of the general decay" of the Protestant religion in Ireland, and "how the same may be remedied." Most pitiful, indeed, are the laments which he pours out for the wide-spread abandonment of the Protestant tenets; and, in conclusion, he suggests: "It may be easily remedied, without any danger, and with great gain to her majesty, if the ecclesiastical commission be put in force; for this people are but poor, and fear to be fined; if liberty be left to myself and such commissioners as are well affected in religion, to imprison and fine all such as are obstinate and disobedient, and if they persist, being men of ability to bear their own expenses, to send them into England, for example's sake, I have no doubt but within a short time they will be reduced to good conformity. If it be objected that

* Shirley, "Original Letters," etc., p. 194, seqq.

this severe course may perhaps breed some stirs, I assure your lordship there is no dread of any such matter, for they are but beggars, and if once they perceive a thorough resolution to deal roundly with them, they will both yield and conform themselves; and this course of reformation, the sooner it is begun the better it will prosper; and the longer it is deferred, the more dangerous it will be.* Seven years later he counsels, indeed, peace and lenity; for the judgment of God had fallen on the heretical soldiery, and yet whilst communicating this counsel, he betrays his truculent spirit, and how his only aim was to compass the destruction of our country: "The captains die," he writes, "the soldiers die,† the army daily groweth weaker; treasure, victuals, and munition are consumed; the rebels are increased and grown insolent. . . . I see no other course for this cursed country but pacification, until hereafter when the fury is passed, *her majesty may with more convenience correct the heads of these traitors.*"‡

Dr. Loftus, however, was not the only member of the Protestant episcopate who displayed this excess of persecuting bigotry. The bishop of Ferns imitated his example: "he assailed the church dedicated to St. John the Baptist in the town of Caislean Ilisi (writes O'Sullivan Beare), and having despoiled the statues of the Blessed Virgin and St. John, which were there held in high veneration by the people, of all their rich offerings and ornaments, he caused them to be pulled down from the altar by his English satellites. Not satisfied with this, he resolved to have severe penalties inflicted on the Irish Catholics who refused to aid him in this impious enterprise. But before he could execute this design, he himself paid the penalty of his wickedness: being seized with violent pains, and raging as a madman, he beat his huge body against the ground, till death completed his sufferings."—*Hist. Cath.* pag. 138.

Matthew Sheyn, the reformed bishop of Cork, was also remarkable for his ferocity, and amongst his other deeds, it is

* From State Paper Office.

† This statement is repeated by O'Sullivan, p. 178: "*Armachæ præsidium, ingens pediculorum vis rodet, plagaque multos extinguit, neque diu post fames invadit.*"

‡ Letter of 18th October, 1597, in State Paper Office.

recorded, that in 1578 he caused the statue of St. Dominick, which was held in high veneration by the citizens of Cork, to be thrown down, and contemptuously dragged through the streets, and then burned in "the high cross" of the city.*

Sir John Perrot has justly been styled one of the most mild and lenient of the lord deputies at this period; and the favor which he showed the Irish Catholics was one of the chief accusations that subsequently led him to the tower. And yet, many of sir John's deeds shared the fanatical spirit of persecution which then prevailed. Thus we find it recorded by his panegyrist, that his troop having pursued a party of the natives, he cut off fifty heads, and bringing them home in triumph, arranged them as a trophy around the cross, in the square of Kilmallock.† In his "last will and testament," written in prison, after sentence of death being passed against him, he declares that "he abhors the Mass," and calls God to witness that he "never favored friars or such kind of vermin; but suppressed more monasteries and friars during his government of the land of Ireland, than was done by all the governors before in thirty years."‡ Earlier in his career (1582), when desired by her majesty to make a statement as to the best means of subduing the natives, he replied, that "as St. Patrick was more familiar with the people generally than Christ, he proposed that the reformation should begin from God, that friars, monks, Jesuits, priests, nuns, and such like vermin, who openly uphold the papacy, should be executed by martial law."§ Such were the principles that guided this merciful viceroy; and yet, so lenient was his administration in comparison with that of the other agents of the crown, that all classes of the nation viewed as a calamity his removal from amongst them, and in crowds accompanied him to the sea-shore.||

There were, however, many agents of the English crown to whom religious bigotry only served as a cloak for their rapacity

* Smith "The ancient and present state of the county and city of Cork," vol. ii. pag. 50.

† "The History of sir John Perrott," written about the close of Elizabeth's reign, and printed from the original MS. in London, 1728, pag. 52. A rare and valuable tract for the history of that period.

‡ Ibid. Append. vi. pag. 311.

§ "Government of Ireland under sir John Perrot," lett. to the queen, pag. 4.

|| Ibid. ; also Annals of the Four Masters, etc.

and corruption, and they saw in the royal supremacy the shortest road to wealth, as it justified, in the eyes of the law, the plunder of the Irish Catholics, and the confiscation of their property. "The penal laws of Protestants," writes the learned archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Peter Talbot, "are written with bloody characters; all their courts are stained with the innocent and noble blood of many learned and loyal subjects, only because they would not take an oath against their conscience, and abjure the faith of their Christian ancestors. . . . The oaths of *supremacy*, *allegiance*, and *abjuration*, are like so many nets cast out by Protestants to fish estates in troubled consciences—a far different method from that of the apostles, who were fishers of men and not of estates."* And he again speaks of the cruelties thus perpetrated "by public magistrates, under the color of law and pretext of peace of the land; the starving and racking of so many innocent, worthy, learned persons; the tearing out of hearts and bowels in the public view, upon suborned testimonies of base, vagabond, perjured catchpoles, hired to swear what they and their hirers knew to be false, and all the world saw to be void of all signs of truth."†

The viceroy Fitzwilliam, was, amongst others, remarkable for his rapacity and cruelty. He farmed out the shires and captaincies to the highest bidders; and these, in return, seized on the natives with impunity, demanding large sums or tracts of land for their ransom, and when this was refused, the usual revenge was, to torture the prisoners by frying the soles of their feet in seething butter and brimstone. One of those who fled from this tyranny of Fitzwilliam, was Bryan na Murtha O'Rorke, a northern chieftain, remarkable for the comeliness of his person, as well as for the firmness and nobility of his demeanour.‡ He took refuge with king James in Scotland, but was soon after treacherously surrendered to Elizabeth: he understood no English, and his only petition to the queen was, that he might be executed after the Irish fashion. When led to the scaffold, the apostate archbishop of Cashel, Miler Magrath, was sent to induce him to

* "The Politician's Catechism," chap. x., printed at Antwerp, in 1658.

† Ibid. pag. 95.

‡ See for the facts here stated, and many other particulars regarding this heroic chieftain, O'Donovan's "Four Masters," vol. vi pag. 197.

conform to the established creed; but in reply, the heroic chieftain reproved Magrath for his vile apostacy, and told him to take a lesson from his fortitude, and return to the bosom of the holy Catholic Church.

A curious declaration of the government of Ireland, presented by captain Lee to the queen in 1594, details many instances of the cruel excesses thus committed against the natives; one will suffice for us: "It is well proved that in one of your majesty's shires, there lived an Irishman peaceably and quietly, as a good subject, many years together, whereby he grew unto great wealth; which his landlord thirsting after, and desirous to move him from his land, entered into practice with the sheriff of the shire to despatch this simple man, and divide his goods between them; they sent one of his own servants for him, and he coming with his servant, they presently took his man, who was their messenger, and hanged him; and keeping the master prisoner, went immediately to his dwelling and shared his substance between them, turning his wife and many children to begging. They then carried him to the castle of Dublin, where he lay by for two or three terms, and having no matter objected against him whereupon to be tried by law, they, by their credit and countenance, being both English gentlemen, informed the lord deputy so hardly of him, as that without indictment or trial they executed him."* He then gives several other similar instances of barbarity, and adds: "These principal instruments, as the lord deputy and they who have been his assistants in these dishonest practices, have not only used these bad means against those poor remote and savage people, but have done all their endeavour to discomfort and discredit your majesty's best servitors. . . I fear that they who liked that hard course, and have been practicers of the same, will inform your majesty that those people are so bad as it is no matter of conscience to cut them off any way howsoever."

This contemporary officer also refers to the massacre of Mullaghmast, for which it would be difficult to seek a parallel, even

* The original of this tract is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin; it is printed in "*Desiderata curiosa Hibernica*," vol. ii. p. 91; also in appendix to Dr. Curry's "*Civil Wars in Ireland*;" and again in "*Historical Memoirs*," by the same author, append. 33rd. p. 265, seqq.

in the annals of Indian warfare. The chief families of Leix and Offaly were invited in the queen's name to assemble there, and about four hundred obeyed the summons.* Francis Cosby and Robert Hartpool were the English officers in command,† and no sooner were the natives assembled in the great rath, than they were encompassed by a treble line of the government soldiers, and the slopes of Mullaghmast soon streamed with their blood. Not even to one was mercy shown; and this atrocious deed was perpetrated with the cognizance and approval of the viceroy.‡

It seemed to be a matter of strife amongst the English officers who should exceed in barbarity and cruelty. We have already seen the arts to which Fitzwilliam's agents had recourse. Of another it is recorded that he tied his victim to a may-pole, and then punched out his eyes with his thumbs.§ Others made it their sport to catch infants on the point of their swords and whirl them in the air.|| But, perhaps, the palm of savage barbarity should be awarded to Cosby, of whom we have just now spoken, and whose heartless cruelty is thus commemorated by O'Sullivan Beare: "Francis Cosby, the deputy of Leix, with his son Alexander, raged with indescribable fury against the Catholics of every class. . . He resided mostly in Stradbally. In front of his house there grew a tree remarkable for its height and wide-spreading branches. From these branches it was his amusement to hang up, without any crime being imputed to them, not only men, but women and children; and he was accustomed to manifest special delight when, whilst the mothers were being strangled, their infant babes were hanged from their long-flowing locks."¶ Oh! well had Hallam reason to remark, that the sufferings of our country "had never been surpassed," not even

* Donovan's "Four Masters," vol. v. pp. 1695-6.

† "Annals" of Dowling, the contemporary Protestant chancellor of Leighlin, ad. an. 1577.

‡ See the authorities just cited. Captain Lee especially commemorates the last-mentioned fact: "This hath been by the consent and practice of the lord deputy for the time being."—"Brief Declaration", etc, p. 267; see also O'Sullivan Beare, "Hist. Cath. Compend.," p. 99.

§ Despatch of Calthorpe, the attorney-general, on 28th of March, 1598, St. Pap. Office, London.

|| O'Sullivan Beare, "Hist. Cath." pag. 238.

¶ "Cum ex arbore fœminæ laqueo strangulatæ dimittebantur, et simul ex fœminarum longo crine infantes liberi pendebant, animo capiebat incredibilem voluptatem."—Hist. Cath. pag. 99.

by those of the Jews in their destruction by Titus. Our own great Dominican, father Dominic a Rosario, exclaims: "This far-famed English queen has grown drunk on the blood of Christ's martyrs; and, like a tigress, she has hunted down our Irish Catholics, exceeding in ferocity and wanton cruelty the emperors of pagan Rome;"* and subsequently, after commemorating the sufferings and torture to which English Catholics were subjected, he adds: "But in Ireland the harvest of persecution was still more abundant than in England, and God alone can enumerate the number of martyrs whose blood was shed."†

Some, perhaps, may suppose that these excesses were more the effect of military law than of religious animosity. Yet it was far otherwise. Love for the faith of their fathers was a main motive which impelled the Irish natives to appeal to arms,—and hatred of that same Catholic faith mainly contributed to steel the hearts of the heretical enemy, and impel them to unheard-of deeds of barbarism. When the earl of Desmond was preparing for war in 1580, he thus addressed his soldiers: "Our rulers, ever since they renounced the Catholic religion, scorned to regard the nobles of this land, who have remained true to their faith Before heaven, we are trampled on by a gang of mailed marauders who hold us in contempt. Look to the sacred order of our priesthood; is it not despised by those innovators, who have come amongst us to plunder and banish the rightful owners from their time-hallowed possessions Rights are despised, and liberty is a mere catch-word; the military command is committed to adventurers; the civil administration is in the hands of spies, hirelings, and defamers; but what is most deplorable of all, we are denied the right of practising and professing our religion openly. Heresy is making

* "Hist. of the Geraldines," part 2nd, pag. 150.

† "Hist. of the Geraldines," part 2nd, pag. 159. Dr. Lombard, after citing, in the words of Giraldus Cambrensis, the well-known reply of the archbishop of Cashel as to Irish martyrs, adds: "Quod idipsum responsum esset etiam propheticum de hoc tempore; siquidem Hibernia ut ita sit quod olim non alios habuerit suæ gentis martyres quam qui in externis passi regionibus tamen postremis hisce temporibus cum in Anglia tum in Hibernia pro confessione Catholicæ fidei, et sedis Apostolicæ defendenda auctoritate Hiberni complures mortem sunt perpassi; quorum uti in martyrio præcipua ætatis hujus probata fuit patientia et constantia, ita et post mortem, illorum prima gloria miraculis scitur confirmata; quod ab aliis, vel alias, ut Deus volet, latius declarabitur"—Comment. cap. 20, in fine.

rapid encroachments, and we are called upon to do homage to those base-born churls who, in the queen's name, mock and spurn us." Twenty years later, the next who bore the honoured title of earl of Desmond thus wrote to the king of Spain: "We are of long time oppressed by the English nation; their government is such as Pharaoh himself never used the like; for they content not themselves with all temporal superiority, but by cruelty desire our blood and perpetual destruction; to blot out the whole remembrance of our name, together with our old Catholic religion, and to swear that the queen of England is supreme head of the Church."* On the other hand, the extermination of Popery was the war-cry of the English agents, and the burden of their songs of exultation after victory. Elizabeth's hatred of Catholicity, says O'Sullivan, was well known to every one; and "her agents and emissaries in Ireland sought by their oppression of the Catholics to rival the cruelty of their queen."† "They scarce ever gave quarter, (writes O'Connor), and when they did, it was in order to satiate their revenge. They massacred their prisoners in cold blood, as rebels and idolaters: treaties, capitulations, the laws of nations, the rights of war, were of no avail: they set fire to the towns and villages: they destroyed the corn and cattle, and drove the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, to feed on dockings and nettles, like the beasts of the field."‡ When Limerick surrendered, the whole garrison, notwithstanding the plighted faith of the English commander, were, by his orders, put to the sword; and in his official despatch to the queen, he does not hesitate to describe this success as a triumph of the Gospel.§ The massacre of the inhabitants of Dursey Island will serve as another instance: "On the arrival of the heretical troops," writes O'Sullivan, "many of the natives in alarm ran to the chapel as a place of safety; others sought refuge in the caves; some fled to the rocks, and some to the fortress, which was defended only by a few armed men. This was at once sur-

* Letter of 14th March, 1599, in "Hibernia Pacata."

† "Hist. Cath.," pag. 124.

‡ "The History of the Irish Catholics," etc., p. 14.

§ See, for particulars of this siege, the valuable notes of O'Donovan in *Four Masters*, and other documents, which we refer to, in *Life of Dr. Oviedo*, sec. 1.

rounded, and then the English, according to their custom, perpetrated a horrid deed of cruelty. The castle was reduced to ruins, the chapel and houses were consigned to the flames, whilst the disarmed garrison, with the whole multitude of the inhabitants—the aged, and the young, and the females—were fired on by the soldiery, smitten with their swords, and transfixed with their lances. The survivors, bound with cords, were cast headlong from the projecting rocks into the sea, and there overwhelmed with a shower of shot and stones.* Such were the scenes which were enacted throughout the whole length and breadth of the kingdom. “It exceeds all belief,” says O’Mahony, “to what persecutions our Irish Catholics were subjected: many of our bishops suffered death at the hands of the heretical English, and all of them were obliged to seek their safety in concealment or flight: very many priests, both secular and religious, and innumerable individuals of both sexes, as well nobles as plebeians, were also put to death—to say nothing of confiscation of property, exile, imprisonment, and other like evils—all which our country suffered, as is known to heaven, and as I myself have partly witnessed, and in part have learned from the trustworthy evidence of others.”†

We shall conclude this article with the sketch of the condition of our island in 1589, as presented to us by O’Sullivan Beare, to to whose authority we have already so often had occasion to refer:

“All alarm from the Irish chieftains having ceased, the persecution was renewed with all its horrors; a royal order was promulgated that all should renounce the Catholic faith, yield up the priests, receive from the heretical ministers the morality and tenets of the gospel, and assist at their ceremonies on Sundays and Holidays; threats, and penalties, and force were to be employed to enforce compliance. . . . This excited universal alarm throughout the whole island. The natives everywhere refused to be contaminated by the preaching and rites of the heretics; sometimes, too, they struck terror into the ministers by night or by day; the ministers, on the other hand, cited the Catholics before the magistrates, and had them subjected to imprisonment and fines. Every effort of the queen and her emissaries were hence directed to

* “Hist. Cath.,” p. 238; also, “Hibernia Pacata,” p. 563; elsewhere, O’Sullivan, p. 129, describes the English in Munster as “barbara feritate humanum et Catholicum sanguinem sitientes.”

† “Disput. Apolog.,” printed in 1645, p. 113.

despoil the Irish Catholics of their property, and exterminate them. More than once did they attempt this, for they knew that not otherwise could the Catholic religion be suppressed in our island, unless by the extermination of those in whose hearts it was implanted; nor could their heretical teachings be propagated whilst the natives were alive to detest and execrate them.”*

3.—*Devastation of the Country.*

A few extracts from the contemporary English authorities, will suffice to present some idea of the sad desolation that fell upon our country at this period. Hollingshed must be numbered amongst those writers whom none will accuse of partiality to Ireland. Nevertheless, when describing the excursion of the English troops into Munster, in 1579, he declares that “they preyed and took all the cattle in the country, and such people as they met they did, without mercy, put to the sword; by which means the whole country, having no cattle nor kine left, the inhabitants were driven to such extremities, that they were forced to die and perish for famine, or to die under the sword.”† He subsequently, more than once, describes the scenes “of neither man, woman, nor child been spared, all being committed to the sword:”‡ and of the English commanders dividing their armies into companies, that as they marched along they might everywhere burn and destroy the country.§ The consequence of such wholesale ruin was what might naturally be expected: “by reason,” he adds, “the harvest was taken from the natives, their cattle, in great number, preyed upon, and the whole country spoiled and burnt; the poor people, who lived only upon their labours, and were fed by their milch cows, were so distressed, that they would follow after the goods which were taken from them, and offer themselves and their wives and children, rather to be slain by the army than to suffer the famine wherewith they were now pinched.”||

Lord Gray was at this time commander of the English forces, and amongst those who came to Ireland in his train, was the far-famed Edmund Spencer. Kilcolman Castle, and its fair domains, were a portion of the spoils that fell to the poet’s lot; and

* Hist. Cath. pag. 133-139.
§ Ibid. 430, 452.

† vi. 427.

‡ Ibid. pag. 430.

|| Ibid. pag. 433.

the sad scene of ruin which he depicts in his chief poem, is but a faithful picture of what presented itself to his view, as he thence scanned the once-smiling plains of Munster:—

“He, in his furie, all shall over-ronne,
And holy church with faithless hands deface,
That thy sad people, utterly for-donne,
Shall, to the utmost mountains fly apace.
Was never so great waste in any place,
Nor so fowle outrage doen by living men;
For all thy cities they shall sack and rase,
And the green grass that groweth they shall bren,
That even the wild beast shall die in starved den.”*

Despite, however, the sad desolation and the smoking ruins that thus enveloped our island, the same poet was elsewhere forced to cry out: “sure it is yet a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly; sprinkled with many very sweet islands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas; adorned with goodly woods . . . besides the soil itself is most fertile, and lastly, the heavens most mild and temperate.”†

In the work from which this passage is taken, Spencer proposed to himself to develope a patent remedy to heal all the ills of our suffering island; and this remedy was nothing less than to employ numerous bands of troops “to tread down all that standeth before them, and lay on the ground all the stiff-necked people of that land;” and to insure the wished-for result, he suggests that the war should be carried on not in summer but in winter; “for then,” he says, “the trees are bare and naked, which use both to clothe and house the kerne; the ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his bedding; the air is sharp and bitter, to blow through his naked sides and legs; the kine are barren and without milk, which useth to be his only food, neither if he kill them will they yield him flesh, nor if he keep them will they give him food; besides being all with calf, they will, through much chasing and driving, cast all their calves and lose their milk, which should relieve him the next summer.”‡

* *Faerie Queene*, book iii. ch. 3.

† “*State of Ireland*,” pag. 28-9.

‡ *Ibid.* pag. 161, Dublin edit. 1809.

This prescription did not rest on mere theory; it was based upon his own experience; "the end," he continues, "will be very short, although there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slain by the soldiery, yet being thus kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint, they would quickly consume themselves and devour one another. The proof whereof I saw sufficiently exemplified in these late wars in Munster; for notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, yet, ere one year and a-half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able to continue there long withal, so that in a short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country was suddenly left void of man and beast."*

A few years of peace and comparative tranquillity sufficed to restore the province of Munster to its former abundance. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, however, another storm of destruction was let loose upon this fertile region, and once more it was transformed into a barren wilderness and a dreary waste. Fortunately a record of some of the scenes of ruthless barbarism by which this ruin was effected, has been preserved to us from the pen of sir George Carew, who himself was the leader of the Vandal band. In the vicinity of Limerick, he tells us, his troop having burned all the houses and corn, they thence marched southward, "harassing the country and killing all mankind that were found therein." Soon after they entered the Arleaghe glens where, he adds, "we did the like, not leaving behind us man or beast, corn or cattle."† Some garrisons of Munster merited his special eulogy on account "of the

* State of Ireland, p. 166-7.

† Pacata Hibernia, p. 189.

great services which they performed." Nor are we left in ignorance as to the services which merited for them this eulogy: one of these garrisons, he tells us, "left neither corn nor barn nor house unburnt between Kinsale and Ross;" whilst another garrison "did the like between Ross and Bantry."*

It hence can occasion but little wonder that, as Leland writes, the whole southern province seemed "to be totally depopulated, and, except within the cities, exhibited an hideous scene of famine and desolation,"† so much so, indeed, that many of the English settlers at length presented a remonstrance to her majesty, declaring that such was the barbarity and tyranny of the lord deputy, "that little was now left in Ireland for her majesty to reign over but ashes and carcasses."‡

An eminent contemporary writer, Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh, who was himself a native of the southern province, thus vividly describes the cruelty exercised by the English soldiery, whilst carrying into execution the diabolical scheme of devastation:—

"Unheard-of cruelties were committed on the inhabitants of Munster by the English commanders. Great companies of these natives, men, women, and children, were often forced into castles and other houses, which were then set on fire; and if any of them attempted to escape from the flames, they were shot or stabbed by the soldiers who guarded them. It was a diversion to these monsters of men to take up infants on the points of their spears, and whirl them about in their agony; excusing their cruelty by saying, that if they were suffered to live they would become popish rebels. Many of the women, too, were found hanging on trees, with their children at their breasts strangled with their mothers' hair."§

As early as 1567, sir Henry Sydney, by order of the government, set out on a visitation of Munster and Connaught, and his report is little more than an unvarying tale of the frightful desolation which everywhere presented itself. Describing Munster,

* *Pacata Hibernia*, pag. 645; see also pag. 6, 56, 60, 476, 138, 153, 517, 583, 661, etc.

† *Hist. of Irl.*, book iv. chap. 3.

‡ Leland, loc. cit. chap. 2. Spencer also writes that a complaint was made against the deputy "that he was a bloody man, and regarded not the life of her majesty's subjects no more than dogs, but had wasted and consumed all, so as now she had nothing almost left but to reign in their ashes."—*State of Irel.* pag. 168-9.

§ *Comment. de Reg. Hib.*

he writes: "Like as I never was in a more pleasant country in all my life, so I never saw a more waste and desolate land. . . . Such horrible and lamentable spectacles are there to behold, as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting of such as have been good towns and castles; yea, the view of the bones and skulls of the dead subjects, who, partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields, as in troth, hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold." From Munster* he proceeded to Connaught, and found the same wide-spread utter desolation everywhere; and this, too, he says, not owing to the war, but to the policy of the government, which "kept the people in continual dissension;" and he adds: "so far hath that policy, or rather lack of policy prevailed, as now albeit all that are alive would become honest and live in quiet, yet are there not left alive in these two provinces, the twentieth person necessary to inhabit the same." As an instance, he writes of Athenry: "The town is large and well walled, and it appeareth by matter of record, there hath been in it three hundred good householders: and since I knew this land there were twenty, and now I find but four, and they poor, and whilst I write, ready to leave the place."†

The province of Leinster had for some time enjoyed the sweets of peace and abundance, but in the universal wreck of our island, this prosperity could not be of long continuance. "The Leinster rebels," writes Leland, "by driving the royalists into their fortified towns, and living long without molestation, had cultivated their lands, and established an unusual regularity and plenty in their districts. But now they were exposed to the most rueful havoc from the queen's forces. The soldiers, encouraged by the example of their officers, everywhere cut down the standing corn with their swords, and devised every means to deprive the wretched inhabitants of all the necessities of life; for, famine was judged the speediest and most effectual

* The Life of Sir John Perrot gives many further details of the ruin and devastation of Munster, see pag. 56, etc. Writing from Dublin Castle, on 31st January, 1585, he requests some provision for the troops in Munster, "where there is not so much to be had as will serve for my own family, or yet to feed my horses till the grass grows."—*Ibid.* pag. 304.

† "Letters and Memorials of State," published by Arthur Collins, London, folio 1747, vol. i., pag. 89, seqq.

means of reducing them.”* This statement of the Protestant historian is confirmed by the secretary of the deputy, lord Mountjoy, who states that when, towards the close of the century, the English troops entered Leix, they found the land well manured, the fields well fenced, the roads and pathways well beaten, the towns populous, so that the invaders were struck with amazement at the prosperity of “so barbarous inhabitants;” but, he continues “our captains, and by their example, the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords all the rebels’ corn, to the value of £10,000, and upwards, the only means by which they were to live.”† It was about the same time that lord Mountjoy made another incursion into Offaly, where he pursued the same ruthless policy, and devised a sort of harrows called *pracas*, constructed with long pins, with which he tore up from the roots all the unripe corn.”‡

As to Ulster, Leland informs us that “there too the English commanders had recourse to devastation, in order to bring down a famine on the country.” “The governor of Carrickfergus, sir Arthur Chichester, issued from his quarters, and for twenty miles round, reduced the country to a desert. Sir Samuel Bagnal, the governor of Newry, proceeded with the same severity, and laid waste all the adjacent lands. All the English garrisons were daily employed in pillaging and wasting.” He adds that the inhabitants “were effectually prevented from sowing and cultivating their lands.”§

Ulster was indeed the province best guarded against devastation; and for many years the sword of O’Neil was an insuperable barrier to the advance of the English troops.¶ In the interval, however, from 1600 to 1603, the expedition of sir

* Hist. iv. 5.

† Fynes Moryson, “Hist. of Irl.”

‡ Annals of Four Masters, pag. 2187.

§ Hist. book iv. ch. v.

¶ Were it not for the energy and valour of O’Neil, the ruin of Ulster would have been achieved at a much earlier date. Sir H. Sydney, describing Ulster in 1575, states of the two best counties of the province (Down and Antrim) :—“*Lecale*, much of the country waste; *Dufferin*, or White’s country, all waste and desolate; the *Ardes* much impoverished, but in good hope of recovery, for there are many freeholders of English race of ancient habiting there; county of *Clandeboy* utterly disinhabited; town of *Knockfergus* much decayed and impoverished, no ploughs going at all, where before were many; and great store of kyne and cattle belonging to the town, now few or none left; church and houses, saving castles, burned; the inhabitants fled, not above five householders of any countenance left remaining.”—Sydney, Papers, vol. p. 76, seqq.

Henry Dowcra on one side, and lord Mountjoy on the other, put an end to its peace and abundance. Dowcra wrote, in 1614, an account of his excursion, which was published by the Celtic Society in 1849. At every page he describes the abundance and fertility of the country as his troops advanced, and the ruin and desolation which marked their progress. Entering O'Kane's country, he says, "we found it large and full of houses and corn; we divided ourselves, and set a compass about, so as at night we met altogether, and encamped in the midst of the country, each troop having fired the houses and corn they met withal, which I never saw in more abundance."* Having advanced towards Lough Neagh, and met with the forces of sir Arthur Chichester, "ten days," he says, "I stayed with his lordship in these parts, assisting him to waste and spoil the country, which he endeavoured by all the means he could possibly to do."† A little later, compendiating his services, he requests the reader to hold in mind, that when he landed in Ulster, on 16th May, 1600, "the country abounded with houses, corn, cattle, and a people that had been bred up in arms, and flushed with former victories;" but now, after his expedition, only the English quarters "were replenished with such corn and cattle as was left, and the rest desolate and waste; the people upon it brought to desperate extremities, and enjoying nothing but as fugitives and what they obtained by stealth."‡

* Miscel. of Celtic Soc. 1849, pag. 257.

† Ibid. 260. It was long before some of the Ulster towns recovered from these devastations. In the "Memorial of the Life and Death of Bishop Spottiswood" (appointed bishop of Clogher in 1621), the town of Clogher is described as "an ancient city, decorated with two churches and a great number of inhabitants; but in the late wars it was utterly ruined, the churches undermined and fired, the bishop's, and the abbot's, and the canons' houses were demolished; and at the bishop's coming to dwell there, there were no more than ten or twelve poor people dwelling in cottages patched up with skreas and wattles."—(pag. 66.) In the "Direction for the Plantation of Ulster," by Blennerhassett (London, 1610), we read of Armagh;—"How exceedingly well standeth Armagh; better seat for rich soil there cannot be; but so poor, as I do verily think all the household stuff in that city is not worth £20."

‡ Ibid. pag. 271. O'Kane had for some time sided with the English against O'Neil: on seeing the requital which he now received, "he shook hands with my lord Hugh (O'Neil), and bade the devil take all Englishmen, and as many as put their trust in them."—(Dowcra's "Narrative," p. 277.) It is a remarkable circumstance, that all the Irish chieftains who at any time sided with the English, in the end breathed a similar prayer. Thus, Cormac M'Carthy

Lord Mountjoy's expedition was crowned with a similar result; and writing to Cecil, he was able to boast that he had succeeded, "by the grace of God, as near as he could, in utterly wasting the country of Tyrone."

(Hib. Pacat. pag. 180); the *Sugan* Earl (ibid. pag. 72, 73, and 252); Tyrone (ibid. p. 36, 233, 305-7, etc.); O'Sullivan (ibid. p. 409, 486), etc.

* The Irish Archaeological Society, in 1841, published a description of Ireland, made in 1589, by Robert Payne, who was one of the English *undertakers*, amongst whom were partitioned the 574,628 acres of the Desmond estates. A few extracts from this "description" will serve to complete the sketch of Irish character, as given in this article:

"Let not the reports of those that have spent all their own, discourage you from Ireland, although they and such others, by bad dealings, have wrought a general discredit to all Englishmen in this country, with whom the Irish are unacquainted.

"They will say there is great danger in travelling this country, and much more to dwell there: yet are they freed from three of the greatest dangers: first, they cannot meet in all that land any worse than themselves; second, they need not fear robbing, for they have not anything to lose; third, they are not like to run in debt, for there is none that will trust them. The greatest matter which troubleth them is, they cannot get anything but by honest labour, which they are altogether ignorant of. . . .

"The (Irish) people are of three sorts: the better sort, are very civil and honestly given; the most of them greatly inclined to husbandry, although, as yet, unskilful; notwithstanding, many of them are rich in cattle; some one man there milketh one hundred kine, and two or three hundred ewes and goats. . . . Although they never saw you before, they will make you the best cheer their country yieldeth, for two or three days, and take not anything in return. Most of them speak good English, and bring up their children to learning. I saw in a grammar school in Limerick, one hundred and sixty scholars. . . . They keep their promise faithfully, and are more desirous of peace than our Englishmen. They are quick-witted, and are of good constitution of body: nothing is more pleasing to them than to hear of good justices being placed amongst them. They are obedient to the laws, so that you may travel through all the land without any danger or injury from the very worst Irish, and be greatly relieved by the best.

"The second sort, being least in number, are called kerns: they are warlike men: most of them were slain in the late wars.

"The third sort are a very idle people, not unlike our English beggars, yet, for the most part, of pure complexion, and good constitution of body. . . .

"Although some undertakers of small judgment, have failed in their expected crops, in consequence of their unskilful choice of ground, yet, assuredly, the commodities of the country are many more than either the people can well use or I recite. Their soil, for the most part, is very fertile, and apt for wheat, rye, barley, pease, beans, oats, etc., and all other grains and fruits that England in any way doth yield. There is much good timber in many places, and of that straightness, and so good to rive, that a single workman with an axe will cleave a great oak to boards of less than one inch thick, fourteen inches broad, and fifteen feet in length: such a board there, is usually sold for two pence half-penny. . . . A barrel of wheat, or a barrel of salt, containing three bushels and a half of good Winchester measure, is sold there for four shillings; malt, pease, beans, for 2s. 8d.; barley, for 2s. 4d.; oats, for 20d.; a fresh salmon (worth in London 10s.) for 6d.; twenty-four herrings, a fat hen, thirty eggs, a fat pig, one pound of butter, or two gallons of new milk, for a penny; a red deer, without the skin, for 2s. 6d.; a fat ox for 13s. 4d.; a fat sheep for 18d. There is great store of wild swans, cranes, pheasants, partridges, etc., and all

4.—*Famine which Ensued.*

The devastating policy pursued by the English troops was destined to bear its natural fruit, and many of the passages which we have cited, whilst they detail the ruin and desolation that everywhere marked the progress of the English arms, record at the same time the dire consequences of pestilence and famine which completed the martyrdom of our suffering people.

We closed the preceding article with the expedition of Mountjoy into Ulster. We may now hear from sir John Davis the result of that expedition: "The queen's army, under lord Mountjoy, succeeded in breaking, and absolutely subduing, all the lords and chieftains of the Irishry. Whereupon the multitude being brayed, as it were, in a mortar, with sword, famine, and pestilence together, submitted themselves to the English government."* The lord deputy himself, writing to Cecil and the privy council in England in 1602, attests that in his march through the northern districts, he "found everywhere men dead of famine;" and he adds that some of his party had assured him "that between Tullaghoge and Toome, there lay unburied one thousand dead, and that since our first coming this year to the Blackwater, there were about three thousand starved in Tyrone."†

The secretary of lord Mountjoy gives us some special details: "Because I have often made mention formerly (he says) of our destroying the rebels' corn and using all means to famish them, let me now, by two or three examples, show the miserable estate to which they were thereby reduced." He then cites some dreadful examples: sir Arthur Chichester and other officers, he says, witnessed the horrid spectacle of three children

other fowl, much more plentifully than in England. You may buy a dozen of quails for 3d. ; a dozen of woodcocks for 4d. Oysters, etc., about the sea coasts are to be had for the gathering, in great plenty. You may buy the best heifers, with calves at their feet, for 20s. a-piece, which are nothing inferior to the Lincolnshire breed.—Tracts relating to Ireland. I.A.S., 1841.

* Davies' "Historical Tracts" (Discovery of the True Cause, etc., first published in 1612; reprinted, Dublin, 1787) p. 54.

† Ap. Fynes Moryson, p. 237.

feeding on the flesh of their dead mother;* and again, in the vicinity of Newry, some old women were proved to have subsisted on the flesh of children who were slain; in fact, "the common sort of rebels were driven to unspeakable extremities, beyond the records of any history that I ever read;" and he adds, "no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in the wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above the ground."†

The province of Leinster had been mercilessly laid waste, and the famine which ensued involved in one common ruin the persecutors and those whom they persecuted. The Protestant chancellor of Leighlin attests (Dowling's Annals, p. 41), that in 1575 "a great pestilence laid waste Wexford, Dublin, Naas, Athy, Carlow and Leighlin-bridge, and the city of Dublin was so depopulated by it, that the very streets and church porticoes seemed changed to meadow-land." At the close of the century, the same scene was renewed, as lord Burgh records, who, writing to Cecil in 1597, declares: "It is lamentable to hear of, but woful to behold, soldiers, citizens, villagers, and all sorts, daily perish through famine; so, as I write to you, the end is, both the spoiler and the spoiled are in like calamities."‡

As Munster, however, was the district most involved in ruin and desolation, so was it there that famine and pestilence displayed their full violence and exercised a wider sway. We shall allow Hollingshed to present its details; the simplicity and quaintness of his narrative renders it the more impressive and unimpeachable:

"As for the great companies of soldiers, gallowglasses, kerne, and the common people who followed the rebellion, the numbers of them are infinite whose blood the earth drank up, and whose carcasses the beasts

* Cox also mentions this fact. Speaking of the "service of devastation" entrusted to the English soldiers, he writes: "They performed that service effectually, and brought the rebels to so low a condition, that they saw three children eating the entrails of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed many days, and roasted it by a slow fire."—p. 449.

† Fynes Moryson, "Hist. of Irel," p. 272; see also Curry's "Historical Review," pp. 26-27.

‡ State Pap. Off. London.

of the field and the ravening fowls of the air did consume and devour. After this followed an extreme famine, and such whom the sword did not destroy, the same did consume and eat out—very few or none remaining alive excepting such as were fled over into England; and yet the store in the towns was far spent and they in distress, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who lived at large, for they were not only driven to eat horses, dogs, and dead carrions, but also did devour the carcasses of dead men, whereof there be sundry examples—namely, one in the county of Cork, where, when a malefactor was executed to death and his body left upon the gallows, certain poor people did secretly come, took him down and did eat him; likewise in the bay of Smerwick, the place which was first seasoned with this rebellion, there happened to be a ship there lost through foul weather, and all the men being drowned were there cast on land. The common people who had a long time lived on limpets, orewads, and such shell-fish as they could find, and which were now spent, as soon as they saw these bodies, they took them up and most greedily did eat and devour them, and not long after, death and famine did eat and consume them. The land itself, which before those wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plenteous of corn, full of cattle, well stored with fish and sundry other good commodities, is now become waste and barren; yielding no fruits, the pastures no cattle, the air no birds; the seas, though full of fish, yet to them yielding nothing. Finally, every way the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoever did travel from the one end to the other of all Munster, even from Waterford to the head of Smerwick, which is about six score miles, he would not meet any man, woman, or child, saving in towns and cities, nor yet see any beast, but the very wolves, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts, many of them lay dead, being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere.”*

Such was the sad destruction which had fallen on a country blessed by Providence with smiling abundance and all the riches of nature; and well nigh was realized the barbarous project which the persecutors had proposed to themselves, “to cut off, forsooth, by pestilence and famine, the Catholics of Ireland whom they could not slay by the sword.”†

Mooney, who was an eye-witness of these scenes of misery, attests, that so general was the devastation of the whole island, that “in most parts you would travel forty miles through the country without meeting any human creature, or even any ani-

* Hollingshed, vi. 459.

† O’Sullivan Beare, “Hist. Cath.,” pag. 146. “Nec est pretereundum aliud Protestantium stratagema qui Catholicorum agros, mancipia, segetes, armenta, ferro flammaque corrumpabant, ut quos virtute superare non poterant, fame et inedia vincerent.”

mals except birds and wild beasts. Hence ensued so great a famine, that men were sometimes known to eat human flesh, though this was of rare occurrence; a more common case was their subsisting on horse-flesh. The farms were left untilled; and even in the districts which, being free from the ravages of war, were well cultivated, all the produce was designedly destroyed by fire by the enemy. I myself witnessed the English army cutting down the corn with scythes in the month of July, when as yet the ear was scarce shot out, intending by this means to destroy the remnant of the natives by famine.”*

We shall conclude this dismal tale of misery and woe with the words of O’Sullivan Beare, who thus describes the state of Ireland, in the last year of Elizabeth’s reign:—

“All Ireland was devastated and reduced to ruin: an unparalleled scarcity and famine pervaded everywhere. Nor was it man alone that suffered; the very beasts of the field were in many places swept away, having nothing to subsist upon; the wolves abandoning the hills and woods, assailed and devoured the emaciated inhabitants. The dogs rooted up from the graves the decaying corpses, and devoured even the very bones of the deceased.”†

5.—*Some Examples to illustrate this Period of Persecution.*

WE have already had occasion to commemorate the appointment of Dr. William Walsh to the diocese of Meath: we now recall his name, to record the fortitude and Christian heroism which he displayed, in enduring a cruel imprisonment and exile for the Catholic faith.

During the short period of his episcopate, he conciliated the universal esteem of the Irish Catholics. “Acceptable to God,” says his biographer, “and pleasing to men, his whole life breathed nothing but sanctity, and all his labours were directed to promote the interests of the heavenly King.”‡ He opposed,

* Hist., MS., Franciscan, pag. 93.

† “Hist. Cath.,” pag. 261. We find recorded the following extraordinary rise in the price of provisions in Dublin in 1602. Wheat rose from 36s. to £9 per quarter; barley malt, from 10s. to 43s. per barrel; oats, from 3s. 4d. to 24s.; beef, from 26s. 8d. to £8 per carcase; mutton, from 3s. to 26s., ditto; lamb, from 1s. to 6s., ditto, &c.—See M’Gregor’s “History of Limerick,” 1827, vol. ii. pag. 218.

‡ Henriquez, in his “Fasciculus SS. Ord. Cistercien.” printed in folio at

with dauntless courage, the attempted innovations of Elizabeth, and whilst the storm of persecution was gathering around our island, he was at the same time the consolation and refuge of his immediate flock, and by his exhortations and the example of his spotless life, a pillar of strength to the Catholics of the whole kingdom. Hence he was at once marked out as their victim by the agents of persecution. Ware merely commemorates that Dr. Walsh was "very zealous for the Romish Church," and that on the accession of Elizabeth he not only did not assent to her innovations, but publicly impugned them, "for which the lord lieutenant confined him," at the same time soliciting further instructions from her majesty. An order to place him under close arrest was the reply, and a few months later he was deposed by royal authority, and deprived of the temporalities of his see.* On the 13th of July, 1565, he was brought into court before Dr. Loftus and the other ecclesiastical commissioners, and sentenced by them to imprisonment in Dublin Castle. The motives which led to this sentence are thus stated by Dr. Loftus himself, in his letter to sir William Cecil, 16th July, 1565: "He refused the oath (of supremacy) and to answer such articles as we required of him: and besides, ever since the parliament he hath manifestly contemned and openly showed himself to be a misliker of all the queen's majesty's proceedings: he openly protested before all the people the same day he was before us, that he would never communicate or be present (by his will) where the Protestant service should be ministered; for it was against his conscience and against God's word."†

Brussels in 1624, devotes three whole chapters to the life of Dr. Walsh, which he thus entitles: "*Gloriosum certamen B. Gulielmi Walshæ, Monachi Cisterciensis in Hibernia, Episcopi Midensis et Martyris*," vol. ii. p. 362, seqq. The other documents which we have consulted for this sketch of Dr. Walsh's lengthened martyrdom, are the "*Menologium Ordinis Cisterciensis*," by Henriquez; also, a fragment of an Italian martyrology of the Cistercians, written in the seventeenth century, and preserved in the Valicellian archives; and three letters of the holy bishop, which we were fortunate enough to discover in the Vatican archives. The reader will find an interesting sketch of Dr. Walsh's life in "*The Diocese of Meath*," etc., by Rev. A. Cogan, Dublin, 1862.

* Ware's "*Annales Regni Eliz.*," 1560, and letter of Dr. Walsh, 5th July, 1573.

† Shirley "*Orig. Lett.*," p. 220. The Protestant archbishop in the same letter passes this eulogy on Dr. Walsh: "He is one of great credit amongst his countrymen, and upon whom, as touching causes of religion, they wholly depend."

As no pretext could be devised for leading him to the scaffold, he once more received the culprit's chains, and was re-conducted to his former prison;* this was "a subterraneous dungeon, damp and noisomē,—not a ray of light penetrated thither; and for thirteen years this was his unvarying abode."† During all that time his food was of the coarsest kind; and, with the exception of rare intervals, when the intercession of some influential friends obtained a momentary relaxation, he was allowed no occupation that could cheer the tedium of his imprisonment. In all this lengthened martyrdom, prayer was his resource, and as he himself subsequently avowed, he oftentimes passed whole days and nights overwhelmed with heavenly consolations, so that his dungeon seemed transformed into a paradise of delights. To preclude the possibility of idleness, he procured a bed made of twisted cords, and whensoever his mind was fatigued with prayer, he applied himself to untie these cords, and often was he well wearied with the exertion before he could re-unite them to compose himself to sleep.‡

His persecutors, overcome by his constancy, and finding his fervour in spiritual contemplation a continual reproach to their own wickedness, at length, about Christmas 1572, connived at his escape. Sailing from our shores, his only regret was to abandon the field of his spiritual labours, and to leave his flock defenceless amidst the many enemies that now compassed its destruction. His friends had provided a ship bound for Bretagne; for sixteen days he was tossed on the waves by a violent storm, and was at length driven in shipwreck on the coast of France.‡ Weighed down with the infirmities which he contracted in prison, and with the burden of more than sixty years, he was compelled to remain for six months unknown and abandoned in Nantes.§ At length, receiving aid from the nuncio, he proceeded to Paris, and thence to Spain. The closing years of

* "In tetrum carcerem," letter, 5th July, 1573.

† Fasciculus, etc., vol. ii. p. 363.

‡ Fasciculus, pag. 364.

§ "Industria et ope amicorum inde ereptus, reperta Brittanicæ navis opportunitate, in quam me conjeci, ætatis plus quam sexagenariæ aut valetudinis nulla habita ratione, tutius ducens vitam vorticibus credere marinis quam hostium Catholicæ Religionis iterum experiri feritatem."—Lett. of 5th July, 1573.

his life were spent in Alcalá. A noble Spanish lady received him into her house, and attended him as though he were an angel from heaven. The sores which yet remained from his dungeon-chains she kissed as the trophies of his martyrdom: she would allow none but herself to wait on him, and on her knees she usually dressed his wounds and ministered to his wants. From this asylum of charity, thus providentially prepared for him, he passed to the convent of the Cistercian fathers in the same city, and there, on the 4th of January, 1577, he happily closed his earthly life which, as many attested, he had never sullied by any stain of mortal sin.* His remains were placed in the collegiate church of St. Secundinus; and he is still held in veneration by his Cistercian brethren, as a holy martyr in the cause of the Catholic faith.

Dermod O'Hurley is one of the most glorious names on the roll of Irish martyrs. He was distinguished in the literary circles of the age as a rhetorician and canonist. For four years he taught philosophy in Louvain,† and subsequently held, with great applause, the chair of canon law in Rheims. Proceeding to Rome, his merits soon attracted the notice of Gregory XIII., and in 1580‡ he was advanced to the metropolitan see of Cashel. He was of imposing stature, writes O'Sullivan; noble in his deportment, and none more mild had ever held the crozier of St. Cormac. For a little while he tarried amidst the monuments and sanctuaries of Rome, and then set out for his afflicted church. From a peaceful sojourn in the Catholic lands of Belgium, France, and Italy, his lot was now changed to a province well nigh a desert waste, and still infested by marauders, who were stimulated by a worse frenzy and fury than the Iconoclasts of old. Burning with desire to trim the lamp of faith, he hastened from district to district, "administered the sacraments with incredible zeal, and imparted the doctrines of salvation to his spiritual flock."§ In 1583, being beset on every

* "Con grandissima ragione fu questi stimato Martire e ricevuto per santo come quello che in tutto il decorso di sua vita mai con peccato grave aveva macchiata l'innocenza battesimale."—Martirolog. Cisterc MS.

† "Postquam Lovanii docuit sublimia sensa humanæ sophiæ patris Aristotelis."—(*Elogium Elegiac.*) It is by mistake that O'Sullivan reckons him among the professors of canon law in Louvain.

‡ Ex. Act. Consist.

§ O'Sullivan's Hist. Cath. pag. 124.

side by heretical spies, he found it necessary to bend before the storm of persecution, and seek a refuge in the castle of Slane, in the county Meath. Here he for some time enjoyed a happy and undisturbed retreat,—God so disposing to prepare him for the terrible trial, in which he should so soon be called on to seal with his blood the sacred truths which he taught. A singular circumstance, minutely described by O'Sullivan, led to his arrest. One day the lord chancellor, Robert Dillon, came on a visit to the castle of Slane. During dinner, some heretics who were present, seized an opportunity of charging the Catholics with the most revolting doctrines; and so licentious were their remarks, that the archbishop, though in disguise, felt himself constrained to refute their calumnies. This he did with such grace, eloquence, and learning, as filled the whole party with reverence and surprise. The chancellor at once surmised that he was some distinguished personage sent to our island to oppose the progress of heresy; and on his return to Dublin, informed the Protestant archbishop Loftus and sir Henry Wallop, both of whom, as royal commissioners, governed the kingdom in the absence of the viceroy. A troop was at once sent to arrest the unknown stranger, but before their arrival, Dr. O'Hurley had made his escape, and taken refuge in Carrick-on-Suir. Thither he was tracked, and being soon arrested, was hurried to the capital. Being asked if he were a priest, he replied in the affirmative, and added, moreover, that he was an archbishop. He was then “thrown into a dark and loathsome prison, and kept there bound in chains till the Holy Thursday of the following year” (1584),* when he was again summoned before Loftus and Wallop. At first they received him kindly, and sought by entreaty to induce him to subscribe the oath of supremacy, and reject the spiritual authority of the Holy See; they promised him, should he comply, not only a full pardon, but, moreover, ecclesiastical preferments, and all the smiles of court favour. “Dr. O'Hurley replied, that he had resolved never to abandon, for any temporal reward, the Catholic Church, the Vicar of Christ, and the true faith. The lords justices, seeing that promises would not avail, had recourse to reasoning, and proposed the usual arguments against the Catholic doctrines. The

* O'Sullivan, *ibid.*

archbishop smiled at their simplicity, and told them they should blush to propose what they knew to be frivolous sophistry, to one who had been educated in the first universities of the continent. On hearing this, they were filled with rage. If arguments fail to convince him, they said, we shall try other means to change his purpose:”* they hoped thus to extort from him by torture, if not a denial of his faith, at least a confession of some complicity in treasonable designs.†

The torture to which he was subjected recalls the worst days of Nero and Domitian: “the holy prelate being thrown on the ground, was bound to the trunk of a large tree, with his hands and body chained; his legs were then forced into long boots‡ (reaching above the knees) which were filled with salt, butter, oil, turpentine, and pitch; and thus encased, his limbs were stretched on an iron grate, under which a fire was kindled, causing a terrible and cruel agony. For an hour he was subjected to this torture; as the pitch, oil, and other materials boiled, not only did the skin fall off, but the flesh itself melted away; the muscles, veins, and arteries were gradually contracted, and when the boots were pulled off, particles of the broiled flesh being torn off with them, not a small portion of the bones was left quite bare, presenting a horrid spectacle, which no words can describe. Still the holy martyr, having his mind fixed on God and holy things, never uttered a word of complaint, but endured the dreadful torture with the greatest courage, maintaining to the very end the same serene and tranquil countenance. The tyrants had vainly thought to subdue his spirit by these torments, but, at length, they ordered him to be again thrown into his former dark and loathsome dungeon, for he was ready to endure still greater suffering, if such could be devised.§ In prison no means were left untried to shake his constancy; even his sister was sent to induce him to alter his resolution, but he reproached her for her temerity, and implored her to fall on her

* O’Sullivan, pag. 124.

† Roth. *Analecta*: also letter of Geoghegan, 4th June, 1584.

‡ The letter of Geoghegan, just referred to, calls them leather boots; however, the bishop of Killaloe describes them as *ocreas plumbeas* (letter of Oct. 29th, 1584), that is, boots made of tin.

§ O’Sullivan, pag. 125.

knees and ask forgiveness of God for this great crime.* A worthy priest, named Mac Morris, skilled in medicine, found access to the archbishop, and treated his wounds with such skill, that in a few days his strength began to return. This made the lords justices resolve on his immediate execution; "and lest there should be public excitement, or any attempt made to rescue the archbishop, the soldiers were instructed to bring him to the place of execution immediately at day-light, and to hang him before any people could assemble. These orders were strictly carried out; only two of the citizens followed the martyr, together with a friend, who had watched over him with intense anxiety from the first moment of his arrest. It is said that the holy bishop, as he was led forth, seized the hand of this friend, and pressing it closely, imprinted on it a red sign of the cross, as a lasting token of his gratitude, and that this mark could never be effaced"† At early dawn on Friday, the 6th of May, 1584, Dr. O'Hurley, being in the sixty-fifth year of his age, consummated his martyrdom, and his mangled remains were deposited in the old church-yard of St. Kevin.‡

One circumstance connected with the heroic constancy of Dr. O'Hurley deserves to be specially commemorated. The bishop of Ferns had wavered in his allegiance to the Holy See, and hence, at this period, stood high in court favour. Witnessing the triumph of Dr. O'Hurley, he was struck with remorse for his own imbecility and criminal denial of his faith,§ and hastening to the lords justices, declared that he was sorry for his past guilt, and now rejected with disdain the spiritual supremacy of Elizabeth: "he, too," writes the bishop of Killaloe in October that same year, "is now confined in a most loathsome dungeon, from which every ray of light is excluded."||

We shall conclude this sketch of Dr. O'Hurley's martyrdom with the words of his own suffragan bishop, who, in the letter just referred to, thus attests the immoveable constancy of the archbishop: "The archbishop of Cashel endured martyrdom in Dublin with most glorious firmness and heroism; and although

* Roth. *Analecta*. † O'Sullivan, pag. 126. ‡ Rothe, *loc. cit.*

§ *Lettera di Geoghegan*, 4th of June, 1584; and letter of Cornelius Laonensis from Lisbon, 29th October, 1584.

|| *Epist.*, *cit.*

subjected to the most dreadful torture, yet could never be induced to subscribe to the iniquitous innovations of Elizabeth . . . He died fearlessly and gloriously confessing his faith; but what afflicts me is, that our martyrs are no longer led publicly to execution, but are put to death in private without the presence of the people: it was thus the archbishop was executed by only three soldiers, fearing lest he should exhort and inflame the people to constancy in their Christian faith.”*

With the archbishop of Cashel must be associated his companion in suffering, Dr. Murtagh O'Brien, bishop of Emly.† In the letter of Dr. Cornelius O'Mulrian just referred to, immediately after the eulogy of the heroic martyr of Cashel, is added a brief but pregnant commendation of Dr. O'Brien: “The bishop of Emly,” he says, “who is equally constant in the faith, is at present confined in the Dublin dungeons; they are now preparing for him, too, the tin boots, and intend to apply the fiery ordeal as they did with the archbishop, that thus, if possible, they may compel him to renounce his religion.” This was on the 29th of October, 1584. Of his subsequent sufferings no record has been preserved; but Mooney chronicles his death in prison in the following year.‡

Dr. Thomas O'Herlihy was also rendered illustrious by his sufferings in the cause of our holy faith. Of noble birth, and remarkable for his virtue, he had been promoted to the see of Ross on 17th of December, 1561.§ He assisted, together with the bishops of Raphoe and Achonry, at the last sessions of the council of Trent, and in the acts of that œcumenical synod has left the record of his prudence, and learning, and devotedness to the Holy See. He thence hastened to console his persecuted flock; “his labours were incredible,” writes O'Sullivan, “in preaching against heresy, administering the sacraments, and

* Letter of Dr. Cornelius O'Mulrian, loc. cit. ex Archiv. Secret. Vatican.

† The Consistorial Acts commemorate the appointment to the see of Emly of *D. Mauriti MacBrien*, on 24th January, 1567. This was manifestly the same bishop whose death is referred to in the text.

‡ MS. Hist. of the Francisc. “*Denuo Moriartus O'Brien epus. Imolacensis Dublini mortuus est in carcere an. 1585*” (page 95). The “*Processus Martyrialis*,” also records his death in prison, but refers it to 1586.

§ Ex Act. Consist. According to local tradition he was a native of the parish of Kilmacalna, in the same diocese.

ordaining young levites for the service of the sanctuary.”* The agents of persecution marked him for their victim; but for some time searched for him in vain in all the recesses of his diocese. He had taken refuge in a small island on the southern coast, and was at length arrested there in the spring of 1571, and delivered up to the newly-appointed viceroy, sir John Perrot, who, without delay, transferred him to the prisons of London Tower.† “Being brought before the court, he defended his spiritual allegiance to Rome with great ability and learning, and solved with ease the arguments which were proposed to him. This, however, did not procure for him any relaxation in his confinement; and hence, when brought a second time into court, he maintained a strict silence. On being repeatedly interrogated as to the cause of this silence, he at length replied: ‘If justice were to be the criterion of my cause, I should no longer be in chains, having already established my innocence, and cleared myself of every imputation of crime; but as you are resolved to be guided not by the dictates of equity and justice, but by your own preconceived opinions, I thought it useless to plead, knowing that it would be of no avail.’” He was then reconducted to prison, and subjected to the most rigorous treatment; weighed down with chains, he was compelled to endure hunger and thirst, together with utter darkness in his fetid dungeon; vermin swarmed over his whole frame, and the emboldened mice gnawed away the very soles of his feet.”‡ It was only after three years and seven months that some of the southern princes, whom the English government was anxious to conciliate, purchased his release. During the years which intervened till his death in 1580,§ he enjoyed the confidence of the Holy See, and in the fulness of his zeal and sanctity, he exercised his sacred functions throughout the whole island. The last trace we find of this venerable confessor is amidst the Irish soldiers in the Desmond war, ministering to their spiritual

* Hist. Cath., pag. 109, seq.

† Rothe “Process. Martyr.,” pag. 73.

‡ O’Sullivan, loc. cit., pag. 111.

§ Ware, following the old computation, places his death in 1579. The date in the text rests on the authority of Sanders. Both statements may be reconciled by placing his death in the first three months of 1580.

wants, and together with the papal nuncio and the bishops of Ardfert and Killaloe "sharing the perils of the camp."*

It was in prison, by the silent martyrdom of poison, that Dr. Richard Creagh, archbishop of Armagh, triumphed over heresy. More than once, being freed from his persecutors by a manifest interposition of God, he applied himself to restore discipline, and rekindle the fervour of our afflicted Church; and when once more he became a prey to his pursuers, he unceasingly displayed, through every phase of suffering, an unvarying devotedness to the Catholic faith. He was offered his liberty and rewards, should he consent to consecrate the newly-patented Protestant prelates; but he replied that no earthly treasures would ever induce him to lay his anointed hands upon them, or to concur in their sin. When after his second arrest he was placed upon his trial in Dublin, accused of high treason, he was acquitted by the jury; but the jurors, for this sentence, were themselves condemned to pay heavy fines. This acquittal did not procure his liberation. Being transferred to London, his enemies employed the foulest arts to stain his character and procure sentence of death against him. One of their stratagems recalls the efforts of the Arians against the glorious champion of orthodoxy, St. Athanasius. A damsel was suborned to accuse the holy bishop of having offered insult to her. The time appointed for the trial approached, and everything promised her a certain triumph: so certain, indeed, were his iniquitous persecutors of overwhelming their victim and the whole Catholic body with confusion, that they procured a large number of the nobility and gentry to assemble to witness his condemnation. On the day of trial the prosecutrix boldly came forward and repeated her tale of accusation; but when told to identify the prisoner, she was so struck by the saintly countenance of the venerable prelate, that, filled with remorse, she seemed to have lost all consciousness, and when at length she was able to proceed, she, in presence of the assembled multitude, avowed that the accusation was a mere concocted scheme; that the prisoner had never even touched the hem of her garments, and that she implored pardon

* Correspondence of Sanders in Archiv. Secret. Vatic., 1579, 1580. See fuller detail in first chapter of the history of the archbishops.

from Heaven for having co-operated so long in seeking to blacken the character of so holy a man. For about eighteen years Dr. Creagh was confined in a dark dungeon. What most afflicted him was, that he was unable to offer up the holy sacrifice of the Mass. In order to unite more and more in spirit with the holy sacrifice as offered up throughout the whole Catholic world, he procured a missal, and with the rush light which was brought to him at his meals, he read a portion of the daily liturgy, leaving his meal till the light should be consumed. The record of his imprisonment, moreover, adds that he was accustomed to ingeniously contrive, by means of a portion of his garments, and the meat which he received, to form a sort of taper, thus adding to his bodily privations, in order to prolong for a little while his spiritual feast, and lay up a better store for heavenly contemplation. The agents of the court seeing all their efforts fruitless, and despairing of being ever able to overcome his constancy, at length put him to death by poison, in London Tower, on the 14th of October, 1585.*

Dr. Patrick O'Hely, bishop of Mayo, together with his companion, Cornelius O'Rorke, was led to the scaffold for the faith during Elizabeth's reign. This holy bishop was a native of Connaught, and from his youth was adorned with every virtue. Having embraced the religious order of St. Francis, he proceeded to Spain, and pursued his sacred studies with great applause in the university of Alcalá. In obedience to the command of the minister-general of his order, he repaired to Rome in 1575, and having resided for some time in the convent of Ara Cœli, in that city, he was proposed for the vacant see of Mayo, in the consistory of 25th June, 1576; and his nomination was confirmed by the Holy Father in the consistory of 4th of July, the same year.† Returning to Ireland, he was accompanied by Cornelius O'Rorke, a Franciscan priest, who, though the eldest son of the prince of Breffney, had abandoned all the pleasures of the world to embrace a life of prayer and poverty. They encountered many difficulties in their journey, but at length safely landed in

* Rothe, *Analect.* We reserve a lengthened notice of this glorious martyr for the "*Lives of the Archbishops of Armagh.*"

† *Ex Act. Consist.*

Dingle, in the county Kerry. The heretical spies whom Drury, the lord deputy, kept at this time stationed along the southern coast of Ireland, soon recognized the venerable strangers. They were, therefore, almost immediately on landing, arrested and transmitted to Limerick, to be examined by Goulden, the military commander of that district. By his orders the prelate and his chaplain were loaded with chains and cast into the public prison. Here they remained for some months, till the arrival of sir William Drury in Kilmallock, before whom they were conducted in the month of August, 1578. On being examined, Patrick O'Hely confessed that they belonged to the Franciscan Order, that he himself was bishop of Mayo, sent by Gregory XIII. to guide and instruct his spiritual flock; this, he added, was the object of his mission, and the only motive of his return to Ireland. "And do you dare," asked Drury, "to defend the authority of the pope against the laws of the queen and parliament?" "I repeat what I have said," replied the bishop, "and I am ready, if necessary, to die for that sacred truth." Father O'Rorke replied in the same strain. Threats and promises were unavailing to change their resolution; and they both joyfully received sentence to be first put to the torture, and then to be strangled in the presence of the garrison. These orders of Drury were executed with an uncommon degree of barbarity. The two prisoners were first placed on the rack: their arms and feet were beaten with hammers; and sharp iron points and needles were cruelly thrust under their nails, which caused an extreme agony of suffering. For a considerable time they were subjected to these torments, which the holy confessors bore patiently for the love of Christ, mutually exhorting each other to constancy and perseverance. At length they were taken from the rack, and hanged from the branches of a neighbouring tree. Their bodies were left suspended there for fourteen days, and were used in the interim as a target by the brutal soldiery. When the martyr-prelate was being hurried away to execution, he turned to Drury and warned him that before many days he himself should appear before the tribunal of God, to answer for his crimes. On the fourteenth day after, this unhappy man expired in great agony in Waterford, of a

distemper that baffled every remedy.* The 22nd of August, 1578, was the day rendered illustrious by their martyrdom: by the care of the earl of Desmond, their bodies were reverently laid in the Franciscan convent of Clonmel; whence, seventy years later (in 1647), they were translated with solemnity, and deposited, together with the implements of their torture, in the convent of Askeaton.†

As to the lower order of clergy, innumerable instances are recorded by the contemporary writers, of those who laid down their lives to seal the testimony of their faith. On one occasion, no fewer than forty-two attained their crown. It was intimated in many districts of the southern province, in 1602, that such of the clergy as presented themselves to the magistrates, would be allowed to take their departure from the kingdom. Two Dominican fathers, and forty others, for the most part Cistercians and secular priests, availed themselves of the government proposal. They were ordered to assemble at the island of Inniscattery, in the vicinity of Limerick, and on the appointed day they were taken on board a war-vessel to sail for France. No sooner, however, had they put to sea than all were thrown overboard. The captain and other officers were severely reprimanded on their return to land: but this was a mere formality; for, the captain showed to his friends the royal order he had received to execute that horrid deed, and as a reward, the property of the victims was divided between those officers.‡

About 1577, whilst Drury was lord deputy, Fergal Ward, a

* Dr. Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, in his "Politician's Catechism," writes: "God's justice hath fallen visibly upon some of those judges who pronounced sentence against the Catholics, even in this world, to the astonishment of many, and repentance of very few. The memory of justice Glanville's strange wound and death by an invisible hand, is yet fresh in Lincoln. . . . Drury, the lord deputy of Ireland, was cited to appear before the throne of God's judgment within the space of fifteen days, by the venerable bishop and martyr, Patrick O'hely, of the order of St. Francis, whom he commanded to be put to death for not taking the oath of supremacy; and so it happened, for the fourteenth day Drury died of so intolerable a disease, that he cried aloud, he was tormented with all the pains of hell."

† All our annalists attest the heroic fortitude of these martyrs: O'Sullivan loc. cit. pag. 104; Rothe, *Analect.* pag. 63; Theatre of Prot. etc., pag. 50; Bruodin loc. cit. pag. 437, seqq.: *Arthur a Monasterio in Martirolog. Francisc.*; Dominicus a Rosario, etc.

‡ O'Heyn in "Epilog. Chronolog." Lovanii, 1706: pag. 18; *Hibern. Dominic.* pag. 559.

Franciscan, and a native of Donegal, was put to death in Armagh. He was venerated by the people for the simplicity of his life and his zeal for the salvation of souls. He travelled at intervals throughout the whole province of Armagh, visiting the scattered families who, in the mountainous districts, lived without the comforts of the holy sacrifice, or the strengthening graces of the sacraments. On one of these excursions he fell into the hands of the soldiery, and being scourged with great barbarity, was hanged from the branches of a tree with the cincture of his own religious habit.*

The convent of Moyne, in Mayo, was rendered illustrious in 1577, by the heroism of father O'Dowd. The soldiers of Fitton (then president of Connaught) had occupied that convent, and some of their prisoners having made their confessions to that courageous father, they seized on him, and by promises and threats, sought to induce him to reveal to them the secrets which he had heard. His refusal kindled their demoniac ferocity, and binding the cord of his habit around his head, they forced and screwed it till his eyes burst from their sockets. Under this frightful torture he expired on the 9th of June, attesting by his martyrdom the inviolability of the sacred sacramental seal.†

In the following year the religious of the same convent were informed of the approach of a party of English soldiers. They at once sought elsewhere a refuge till the tempest should pass. One venerable lay-brother, however, refused to quit the place, alleging that they would not harm one so aged as he, and that his presence in the chapel might induce them to spare that holy place. When some time had elapsed, the friars returned to Moyne. All was silent, the convent and chapel were plundered, and on the steps of the altar lay the martyred O'Hara, bathed in his blood.‡

John O'Lochran, Edmund Simmons, and Donat O'Rorke, were members of the Franciscan convent of Down. A military commissioner named Britton, and his ravaging band, resolved to fix their winter quarters in that ancient town. Their thirst for

* Synop. Prov. Franciscan. in Hib p. 66.

† Ibid. Also Mooney, Hist. MS. Ord. Francis.

‡ Mooney, loc. cit.

religious spoils soon impelled them to the convent; but the sacred vessels had been concealed, and nobody could be found. The three fathers mentioned above were their only prey. These they first subjected to a variety of torture, and then, dragging them to the adjoining garden, strangled them from the branches of a large oak that overshadowed the sanctuary.*

Thaddeus Donald and John Hanly, on the 10th of August, 1580, received their palm. They had long laboured among the suffering faithful along the south western coasts of our island. When the convent of Bantry was seized by the English troops, these holy men received the wished-for crown of martyrdom. Being conducted to a high rock impending over the sea, they were tied back to back and precipitated into the waves beneath.†

John O'Molloy, Cornelius Dogherty, and Walfrid Ferrall were also Franciscans, and about 1588 fell victims to the malice of the heretics. They spent eight years in administering the consolations of religion throughout the mountainous districts of Leinster. Many families of Carlow, Wicklow, and Wexford, had been compelled to seek a refuge there from the fury of the English troops. The good Franciscans shared in all their perils travelling about from place to place by night, they visited the sick, consoled the dying, and offered up the sacred mysteries. Oftentimes the hard rock was their only bed; but they willingly embraced nakedness, and hunger, and cold, to console their afflicted brethren. In a remote district of the Queen's County they were overtaken by a party of cavalry, bound hand and foot, and conducted with every species of insult to the garrison of Abbeyleix. Here they were flogged, and then put on the rack; at length being strangled, embowelled, and quartered, they happily yielded their souls to their Creator.‡

Gelasius O'Cullenan was born of a noble family in Connaught, and in his early years embraced the Cistercian Order. Having completed his novitiate and sacred studies in Paris,§ the monastery of Boyle was destined as the field of his labours. On his arrival in Ireland he found that the monastery, with its

* Bruodin : *Passio Mart.* p. 440.

† Bruodin, *loc. cit.* pag. 452.

‡ Ibid : also *Synop. Prov.* pag. 86.

§ Henriquez *Fasciculus*, etc., part i. distinct. 27, chap. 1. He devotes three chapters to the life of this Cistercian abbot.

property, had been seized on by one of the neighbouring gentry, who was sheltered in his usurpation by the edict of Elizabeth. The abbot, nothing deterred by the penal enactments which he knew impended over him, went boldly to the usurping nobleman, and admonished him of the guilt which he incurred, and the malediction of Heaven which he would assuredly draw down upon his whole family. Moved by his exhortations, the nobleman restored him to the full possession of the monastery and lands; and some time after, contemplating the holy life of its inmates and the happy fruits of their zeal, and desirous to share in their apostolate, he too renounced the world and embraced their religious institute. In 1580, Gelasius, being in Dublin, was arrested by order of the government, and together with Hugh O'Melkeran, another Cistercian father, was thrown into the public gaol. John O'Garvin,* then Protestant dean of Christ's Church, was amongst those who assisted at his first interrogatory, and having proposed many inducements to the abbot "to abandon the Popish creed," Gelasius, in reply, reproved him for preferring the deceitful vanities of this world to the lasting joys of eternity," and exhorted him "to renounce the errors and iniquity of heresy by which he had hitherto warred against God; and to make amends for the past, by joining with him in professing the name of Christ, that he might thus become worthy to receive a heavenly crown."† The holy abbot and his companion were then subjected to torture, and amongst their other sufferings, we find it commemorated that their arms and legs were broken by repeated blows, and fire was applied to their feet. The only words of Gelasius during all this torture were: "though you should offer me the principedom of England, I will not forfeit my eternal reward." Sentence of death being passed against them, they were led out with all possible ignominy to execution. They, however, were filled with consolations; the sight of the joyous sufferers excited the admiration of the assembled multitude, and many even of the heretics declared that they were more like angels than men. It was on the 21st of November, 1580, that they were happily crowned with martyrdom. The garments

* He is styled Garvey by Ware and Mant; he was soon after appointed Protestant bishop of Kilmore.

† Henriquez, loc. cit. chap. ii.; O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath. pag. 126.

which they wore, and the implements of their torture, were eagerly purchased by the Catholics, and cherished by them with religious veneration. Gelasius O'Cullenan is justly styled by the annalist of his order, "*Ordinis Cisterciensis decor, sæculi nostri splendor et totius Hiberniæ gloria.*"*

About the same time the monastery of St. Mary of Maggio, in the diocese of Limerick, became illustrious by the martyrdom of its holy inmates. An heretical band having entered the adjoining country, spreading on every side devastation and ruin, the monks of Maggio, forty in number, were in hourly expectation of death. They resolved, however, not to fly from the monastery, choosing rather to consummate their course in the asylum which had been so long their happy abode. They, therefore, assembled in choir, and having recited the morning office, in silence and prayer awaited their executioners. The heretical soldiers did not long delay; on coming to the monastery, they at first imagined that it had been abandoned—so universal was the silence that reigned around it; and they plundered it in every part. On arriving, however, at the church, they found the forty religious kneeling around the altar, unmoved, as if unconscious of the scenes of sacrilegious plunder that were perpetrated around them, and wholly absorbed in prayer. "Like hungry wolves, the heretics at once precipitated themselves upon the defenceless religious. The cruelty and ferocity of the soldiers was only surpassed by the meekness and heavenly joy of the victims," and in a few instants forty names were added to the long roll of our Irish saints. The vigil of the Assumption was the day consecrated by their death. One lay-brother of the monastery who had been absent for some time, returned that evening, and found his former happy abode reduced to a heap of smoking ruins, and entering the church he found the altar and choir streaming with blood. Throwing himself prostrate before the mutilated statue of our Lady, he poured forth his lamentations, that her monastery was no more, and that her glorious festival, which should be then commenced, would pass in sadness and silence. He had scarcely breathed his prayer, when he heard the bells of the monastery to toll,

* Henriquez, loc. cit. chap. i.

and lifting his head, he saw his martyred brethren, each taking his accustomed seat: the abbot intoned the solemn vespers, and the psalms were sung as was usual on their festive days. The angels and the Queen of heaven joined their voices with those of their now sainted companions; the enraptured lay-brother knew not whether he had been assumed to heaven, or was still on earth, till the office being completed, the vision ceased, and he once more contemplated around him the mangled and bleeding remains of the martyred religious.* Muriquez concludes his narrative of their triumph with the impressive words: "Oh, happy Ireland, that is enriched with the treasure of so many martyrs! oh, happy community, that sent forth so many intercessors to the heavenly throne!"

The annalists of the Cistercian Order commemorate many other instances of the heroism displayed by its Irish fathers, in encountering all the torments that heretical fury could devise, rather than betray their sacred character. Amongst them was Nicholas Fitzgerald of Limerick, who, under lord Gray, being discovered in a wood in which he had for some time concealed himself, was loaded with chains, and transmitted to Dublin Castle. There he was condemned to death, and for the faith suffered with heroic constancy the penalty of treason.

But it is time to mention some few instances of the secular clergy who nobly emulated the fortitude of the religious, and by their sacred heroism, added new lustre to the cause of faith, and won an imperishable fame for our "martyred isle."

Daniel O'Nielan was a priest of the diocese of Cloyne, and endured a most peculiar martyrdom on the 28th of March, 1580. He was a most apostolic man, full of attention to the wants of the poor, and of solicitude for all his flock. He was no sooner arrested and conducted under a military guard to Youghal, than two wicked men, named Norris and Morgan, undertook the task of his execution. They conducted him to the summit of Trinity Tower, and having fastened a rope around his waist and arms, precipitated him from the battlements. The rope not being

* Henriquez, loc. cit. part ii. distinct. 37. This work was written in the first years of the seventeenth century. The same martyrdom and miraculous vision is recorded by Manriquez, in "Sanctoral Cisterc." printed in Valladolid, 1613, and also by the Irish Seminary of Seville, in "Persecut. Hibernic." printed in 1619.



sufficiently strong to resist the shock, the holy man fell mangled and almost lifeless to the ground. The fury of his executioners, however, was not allayed: observing that life was not yet extinct, they caused him to be dragged to a mill not far distant, where they tied him to the water-wheel; his lacerated body in a few minutes was wholly disfigured, and scarcely retained the semblance of human remains.

Maurice Scanlan, Philip O'Shea, and Daniel O'Hanrichan, were three secular priests, and natives of Kerry. For more than thirty years they had been indefatigable in their labours, in their native county and the surrounding territory. It was in the town of Lislughton that they received the crown of martyrdom. Whilst the country around was laid waste by the agents of persecution, they hastened to the sanctuary to offer themselves as victims for their suffering flock. They were soon discovered there by the enemy, and immediately beheaded. The 6th of April, 1580, was the day of their happy triumph.

Maurice Kinrehan, P.P. of Mullanahone, in Tipperary, in a special manner attracted the rage of the heretics, and was compelled to take shelter, together with numbers of his flock, on the wild summits of Slievenamon. Rewards were more than once offered for his arrest, and his parish was frequently scoured by military parties, anxious to seize on their prey. At length, whilst engaged in administering the last sacraments to a dying man, he was overtaken by his pursuers, who at once hurried him towards Clonmel. Before arriving in that town, the officer of the guard, named Furrows, fearing lest the inhabitants might rescue the venerable captive, gave orders to have him despatched: the soldiers treated him with great brutality, and hewing his body into fragments, scattered his mangled members along the highway, and brought his head as a trophy to the commander in Clonmel.*

The agents of persecution were not always so successful in leading their intended victims to the scaffold. An amusing instance is recorded by O'Sullivan Beare. In a small town near Drogheda the Protestant minister occasioned great annoyance to the Catholics by his pursuit of their only priest, and by

* Bruodin, loc. cit. ; also Analecta.

continually insisting on all the baptisms, and other sacred rites, being performed in his presence. One of the chief Catholics having died, they resolved on having the holy sacrifice offered up, and then interring the corpse in the country farm-house that served them for a chapel. The body of the deceased was conducted thither at night and the grave was dug; at morning's dawn the priest commenced the holy sacrifice, at which none but the women had assembled, the better to allay the suspicions of their Protestant neighbours. The minister, however, had been fully informed by his spies of all the arrangements that were made, and, long before the arrival of the priest, had concealed himself beneath the temporary altar. No sooner had the priest raised the chalice at the communion, than, rushing from his hiding place, he seized the chalice, and laying hold also of the priest, told him that he was arrested by her majesty's command. The assembled women could not brook this outrage, and seizing on the minister, dragged him to the empty grave, and throwing him headlong in, commenced to inter him, heaping the clay and stones upon him. It was only when the minister had solemnly called God to witness that he would never more interfere with their sacred rites, that the priest's intercession was effectual, and that the culprit was released from his premature grave.*

The abbot of the Cistercian monastery called the White Friars, in Donegal, was a member of the great family of O'Donnell, and closely allied to its celebrated chieftain, *Hugh Ruadh*. Having refused to surrender his monastery, it was suppressed by the queen's commissioners; the abbot himself was proclaimed a traitor, and a reward offered for his head. He fled to Iar-Connaught, and found a secure asylum at the foot of *Cnoc-a-Caillean* hill, in the parish of *Moynes*, near the sea-shore, where a martello tower now stands. It was only after a long search that the abbot's retreat was discovered. Fourteen persons undertook to apprehend him, and entered at night his place of concealment. He was engaged in prayer, but was instantly seized, and the captors only waited for the morning to bear away the prisoner, and secure the promised reward. A

* Hist. Cath., pag. 135-6.

bold expedient suggested itself to the defenceless abbot. He informed his greedy captors that all he possessed was concealed in the small uninhabited island of Cruaghnaakeely, which he told them was only at a short distance, and could be seen from the shore. They readily consented to accompany him thither, sure of his person, and expecting to find there the sacred plate of the monastery. When they reached the island, he directed one of the men to step on the rock, which formed its only landing-place, and to lay hold of a rope which was attached to the bow of the boat. This done, he placed himself at the bow, and, with a setting-pole, kept the boat steady until all were safely landed; then slipping the rope and giving a sudden shove, the water being very deep, he was in an instant out of reach, and directed his course back, leaving the entire party of his pursuers on that desolate island, where, being destitute of food and shelter, they all miserably perished. On the summit of the island are still to be seen some heaps of stones which, as tradition records, were raised a few years after by the neighbouring inhabitants to cover their remains.*

Sometimes it was even an immediate interposition of Providence that preserved the clergy to their devoted flocks. Father Henry Fitzsimons relates how a gentleman named Richard Bellings, living at Dunamore, about seven miles from Dublin, was brought to trial in 1580

“By Robert Cocles, a blood-thirsty monster, for having harboured Patrick Nigram, a priest. At that very time the priest was concealed in his house, and a band of soldiers was despatched to besiege and examine it; meanwhile the Blessed Virgin appeared to Mrs. Bellings, and addressed to her the following words: Without a moment’s delay send for Nigram and place him in the lower cellar, where, by removing a stone which is in the corner, he can descend a few steps farther down. Though Mrs. Bellings heard these words repeated more than once, she thought it was only a dream, and paid no attention to them. At last the most august Queen of Heaven revealed herself in the most beautiful form, and clothed with dazzling radiance, ordered her to instantly execute the command which she received. Father Nigram was a man of no ordinary piety, of spotless integrity, and always burning with an ardent zeal for religion; I made it my duty to visit him before his death, and to get from his own lips the most accurate information on a

* Hardiman’s *Iar-Connaught*, published by I. A. Society, 1846, p. 102-3.

matter about which I had already heard so much from different quarters. On removing the stone he saw five or six steps which led down to a small but convenient bed-chamber, twenty feet long and twelve feet broad, and furnished with a neat bed and chair. He was scarcely shut up in this cell when the priest-hunters arrived, and searched every corner of the house, but all to no purpose; for three days they continued their toilsome search, and then departed, goaded almost to madness by the loss of their expected prey. Nigram, who during all this time had been favoured with the choicest consolations of heaven, came forth from his subterraneous cell, and the passage, when covered with the stone, could never afterwards be discovered; even after the most diligent search, not a trace of it could be found.”*

6.—*Constancy of the Irish Catholics.*

In a former chapter,† we have seen how the smiles of court favour did not suffice, in the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign, to allure the Irish Catholics to embrace the tenets of the reformed creed. It now becomes our task to examine how far penal enactments and the terrors of the sword were successful in alienating our people from the cherished doctrines of the Catholic faith. We confidently assert, that the church of our fathers shone with brighter lustre at the close, than at the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign; and that the trials and persecutions to which our clergy and people were subjected, only served to render more dear to them the saving truths which they professed, whilst the finger of the Most High once more renewed in our island, that manifestation of His power which consoled the early church—“sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum:” “The blood of martyrs was the seed of Christians.”

In 1590 “the general backwardness of the Protestant religion in Ireland” became an anxious subject of consideration in the privy council of her majesty, and letters were despatched to the lord deputy, demanding an explanation of the reproachful fact, that hitherto all the hopes of the reformers had been blighted in our island. Dr. Adam Loftus, Protestant archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, was commissioned to

* Consolatoria ad Hib. Epist. ad calcem refutationis. Rideri. pag. 93. Cambrensis Eversus, vol. iii., p. 121.

† See chap. ii. 4.

reply. This letter is dated the 22nd of September, 1590; and whilst he acknowledges the fact, that the whole kingdom was devoted to the Catholic faith, he excuses it by endeavouring to cast its blame on his mortal enemy, the former lord deputy, sir John Perrott. It is addressed to lord Burghley, and is as follows: *—

“IT MAY PLEASE YOUR GOOD LORDSHIP,—I have lately been made partaker of your lordship’s letter to my special good lord, the lord deputy, wherein you lament the general corruption of this realm in the cause of religion, and do wish his lordship and myself to enter into some speedy consideration how the same may be remedied. I am thereby emboldened, humbly craving your lordship’s good acceptance, both at large to discover unto you the means and degrees by which this people are fallen into this general revolt, and to signify my opinion how they may be reduced to better conformity. And looking back unto the times past, I cannot forbear to inform your lordship of that which in my experience I know to be true: that although there hath been in this people a general disposition to popery, as to a thing wherein they are misled from their cradle; yet, this general recusancy is of but six years’ continuance at the most, and began in the second year of sir John Perrott’s government, in the beginning of the parliament holden by him. Before which time, I well remember and do assure your lordship, there were not in the pale the number of twelve recusant gentlemen of account; but since then they have grown to such obstinacy and boldness, that it is to be feared (if some speedy remedy be not provided), upon pretence of religion, they will shake off all duty and obedience. Before that time they were restrained by the ecclesiastical commission, and, howsoever they were affected inwardly in their consciences, yet outwardly they showed great duty and obedience, in resorting to service and sermons, and in receiving of the communion.

In the beginning of the parliament, sir Nicholas White, in the name of his countrymen, moved sir John Perrott, with sundry reasons, before the most of this council, to permit this people to have liberty of their consciences, and the free use of their religion, wherein they had been bred and brought up; assuring sir John that granting that unto them, they would not only condescend to the repeal of Poyning’s Act, but to any other reasonable motion which should be propounded in the parliament. His good success with the lord deputy at that time moved another of his country, one Edward Nugent, a lawyer, to come into the lower house with a premeditated speech in defence of the Mass and Romish religion, declaring the good success her majesty’s progenitors had whilst they embraced the Mass and the Catholic religion, as he termed it, and the bad success which pursued the rejecting thereof.

* Extracted from State Paper Office, London.

“By these encouragements, and by the bad example of some great personages of credit in this state, this people hath ever since grown to wonderful obstinacy, and therein do persist unto this day increasing in malice beyond all measure and utter detestation of religion. When we, the bishop of Dublin, Meath, and a few others, well affected, perceived this declination, being authorized by her majesty's high commission for ecclesiastical causes, we assembled before us the principal gentlemen, and such as we knew to be ringleaders in this cause, seeking to draw them to better conformity; but so soon as they came before us, we were forbidden by the then lord deputy to deal with them, who told us (but in truth never showed the same) that he had received direction from their lordships that this people should not be dealt with for matters of religion, and so we were restrained from proceeding any further. And presently it was bruited throughout the pale, that her majesty's pleasure was that they should not be touched for their religion, but should be permitted to use the same at their pleasure; and so they did during the time of sir John's government, wherein they took such heart and grew to such obstinacy, that now they can hardly be reclaimed, the rather because those noblemen and principal gentlemen, by their bad examples, do daily draw them backward from the service of God established by her majesty.

“And sorry I am that, for the discharge of my duty, I must be forced to note unto your lordship one particular man well known unto your lordship, whose example doth of all others greatest hurt in the pale; I mean sir Luke Dillon, who, although he is both a most grave and wise councillor, and of great experience in this state, yet his notorious recusancy and wilful absenting of himself from the church these three or four years past (being drawn to this backwardness by his son-in-law Mr. Rotchfort, a most malicious and dangerous instrument, both against religion and this government), is a special provocation, and means to draw the greatest number of this people into that general corruption wherein they live. For redress whereof your lordship hath most wisely considered that the sword alone without the word is not sufficient. But yet I assure your lordship their obstinacy now is such, that unless they be enforced, they will not ever come to hear the word preached, as by experience we observed at the time appointed by the lord deputy and council for a general assembly of all the noblemen and gentlemen of every county, after her majesty's good success against the Spaniard, to give God thanks for the same; at which time, notwithstanding, the sheriff of every county did their duties with all diligence, and warned all men to repair to the principal church in every county wherein order was taken for public prayers and thanksgiving unto God, together with a sermon to be preached by choice men in every diocese, yet very few or none almost resorted thereunto; but even in Dublin itself, the lawyers in term-time took occasion to leave the town, on purpose to absent themselves from that godly exercise, so betraying in themselves, besides their corruption in religion, great want of duty and loyalty unto her

majesty, and giving just occasion unto us to conceive a doubtful opinion of them.

“For preachers (God be thanked) my cathedral church and those civil dioceses here about are pretty well furnished; but it is almost a bootless labour for any man to preach in the country out of Dublin for want of hearers, the people are grown to so general a revolt; which, nevertheless, is not so far gone but, in my opinion, it may be easily remedied, without any danger and with great gain to her majesty, if the ecclesiastical commission be restored and put in action; for this people are but poor and fear to be fined—if liberty be left to myself and such commissioners as are well affected in religion to imprison and fine all such as are obstinate and disobedient; and if they persist, being men of ability, to bear their own charges, to send them into England for example sake. This course of reformation, the sooner it is begun the better it will prosper; and the longer it is deferred the more dangerous will it be. All which I leave to your lordship’s wise consideration, and so most humbly craving pardon for my wonted boldness, I commend your good lordship with my prayers to God’s best blessings.

“From Rathfernan, this 22nd Sept., 1590,

“Your lordship’s humbly at command,

“ADAM DUBLINENSIS.

“To the Right Hon. my singular good Lord
the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of
England.”

We gladly accept the precious acknowledgements which this letter of Dr. Loftus presents to us, that forsooth the Irish were from their cradle devoted to the Holy See, and, beyond all measure, displayed their *utter detestation* of the reformed church. His secondary assertion, that all this had its origin only in 1584, will be but little credited by those who have read the preceding chapters. It is, in fact, inconsistent with his own letters, repugnant to the repeated declaration of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and proved to be false by all the mass of evidence as to the state of the Irish Church, which we presented to the reader in the account of Dr. Curwin.

4. Whilst Dr. Loftus acknowledges the utter discomfiture of Protestantism in our island, he seeks to attach its blame to his own mortal enemy; but sir John Perrott, though under sentence of death, and imprisoned in the Tower, rebutted well this accusation, declaring that he was more successful in suppressing

religious houses, expelling the clergy from the kingdom, and checking the growth of popery, than any of his predecessors.*

The documents connected with the Desmond war, prove that the whole kingdom was then devoted to the ancient faith. The description of Ireland presented to the Holy See in 1581, represents the whole nation as Catholic.† Dr. Sanders, a few years earlier, commemorates our countrymen as distinguished for their devotion to the Catholic faith,‡ and, as we have seen, a Vatican MS. of 1579 speaks of the inhabitants, even of the capital, as having, from the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, unswervingly maintained their allegiance to the Holy See.

It would be easy to multiply citations from writers who attest the devoted attachment of Ireland to the faith during the whole period of Elizabeth's reign; we, however, shall be satisfied to commemorate a few facts which, perhaps, are more eloquent than words, in manifesting the religious sentiments of our people.

1. In the first year of Elizabeth, it was enacted that the oath of supremacy should be taken by all who were assumed to any civic office; nevertheless, throughout the long period of her government, the cities and corporate towns everywhere rejected the Protestant oath, and, in regard of religion, continued to use the oath of the Catholic times, condemnatory of all heretics and heresies.§

2. Amongst the orders issued by sir John Perrott, preparatory to the parliament of 1584-5, there was one which prohibited any of its members from dressing in the Irish fashion. To facilitate their assuming the English habit, the lord deputy bestowed both gowns and cloaks of velvet and satin on any that were unwilling to purchase them. One of the Irish chieftains felt special reluctance to abandon the costume of his ancestors: "The whole nation (said he) will be filled with laughter at an O'Neil appearing in public dressed in English apparel." When the lord deputy insisted on his complying, the chieftain solicited that at least one favor might be granted to him, forsooth, that a Protestant minister should accompany him dressed in

* See his "last will and testament," made in the Tower, 3rd May, 1592: History of sir John Perrott, pag. 30, seqq.

† See chap. iii. sec. 4.

‡ In his work, 'De Schism. Anglic.' written in 1579.

§ Pet. Lomb. Comment. de Reg. Hib.; see supr. sec. 1.

Irish garments; for thus, he added, the mirth and amazement of the multitude will be divided between us.*

3. One of the few who followed the attractions of this world, and bowed to the spiritual headship of queen Elizabeth, was Miler Magrath, bishop of Down and Connor. His royal mistress sought by dignities and honors to silence the reproaches of his conscience, and the archbishopric of Cashel and other ecclesiastical preferments were heaped on him in profusion. So far, however, was this change of spiritual allegiance from securing to him the sympathy and affection of his countrymen, that he became an outcast amongst his own kindred, and an object of abhorrence to all. In 1593 he addressed a letter to Cecil lamenting his sad fate, an extract from which letter may serve to illustrate our present subject: "I find myself so hardly beset and overwhelmed with the general unbridled multitude there (in Ireland), notorious Papists, and reconciled to the Pope and the king of Spain, very few of them escaping the whip of my censuring discoveries, that they all have joined hearts and hands together, to overthrow and destroy my poor self, well known to be, of that country birth, the only eye-sore and chiefest preventer and detector of all their mischievous practices. My case resting thus, what other remedy might be left me in such an hourly-expected danger, remaining safe neither in country nor town, at home nor abroad, no, not in my church or chapter house, than for safe-guard of my poor innocent life, thus infinitely and by infinite means sought after, to appeal to the uncorrupted seat of justice and sanctuary of all afflicted subjects, her majesty and honorable council?"†

4. The history of James, seventeenth earl of Desmond, affords us another instance of the utter horror of the Irish people for all who were infected with the reformed tenets. He had spent well nigh thirty years as hostage and captive in the hands of the English, and had imbibed, under their tuition, the Protestant creed. Towards the close of this century, the English power had well nigh been totally overthrown in the south of Ireland, and its lord president Carew pitifully wrote to sir

* Life of sir John Perrott, p. 198-9.

† Miler Magrath to sir Robert Cecil, dated London, June 8, 1593. St. Pap. Office.

Robert Cecil, "whosoever knoweth this kingdom and the people will confess, that to conquer the same and them by the sword only, may be said to be impossible; and I do verily believe, that all the treasure of England will be consumed in that work, unless other additions of help be ministered unto it. The fair way that I am in, towards the finishing of the heavy task which I undergo, will, I am afraid, receive some speedy and rough impediment, unless my advice, in sending of the young Desmond hither, may be followed."* Cecil at once recommended to her majesty the liberation of the earl; and in the month of October, 1600, we find him in charge of trusty English agents† setting sail from Bristol for the Irish shores. One scene alone of his Irish sojourn attracts our attention. It was on a Saturday evening that he arrived in Kilmallock. At his entry into the town, "there was a mighty concourse of people," says sir George Carew, "insomuch that all the streets, doors, and windows—yea, the very gutters and tops of the houses, were so filled with them, as if they came to see one whom God had sent to be that comfort and delight which their hearts and souls most desired; and they welcomed him with all the expressions and signs of joy, every one throwing upon him wheat and salt (an ancient ceremony used in that province), as a prediction of future peace and plenty. That night the earl was invited to supper to sir George Thornton's, who then kept his house in Kilmallock; and although the earl had a guard of soldiers, who lined the way from his lodgings to sir George Thornton's house, yet the confluence of people that flocked thither to see him was so great, as in half an hour he could not make his passage through the crowd; and after supper he had the like encounters at his return to his lodging. The next day being Sunday, the earl went to church to hear Protestant service, and all the way his country-people used loud and rude dehortations to keep him from church, to which he lent a deaf ear; but after service and the sermon were ended, the earl coming forth from the church,

* St. Pap. Off., published in Dublin Review, August 1861, p. 516-7.

† The instructions given to these agents were, in case he was found not to be of any service in Ireland, to take him off by poison, or otherwise hire agents to swear counts of treason against him.—See letter of Cecil to Carew, Oct. 8, 1600, and the other documents from State Paper Office, in Dub. Rev. loc. cit. p. 526.

was railed at and spat upon by those that before his going to church were so desirous to see and salute him; insomuch, that after that public expression of his religion, the town was cleared of that multitude of strangers, and the earl from thenceforward might walk as quietly and freely in the town, as little in effect followed or regarded, as any other private gentleman. This true relation I make, that all men may observe how hateful our religion and the professors thereof are to the ruder and ignorant sort of people in that kingdom; for, from thenceforward, none of his father's followers, except some few of the meaner sort of freeholders, resorted unto him. The truth is, his religion, being a Protestant, was the only cause that bred this coyness in them all; for, if he had been a Romish Catholic, the hearts and knees of all degrees in the province would have bowed unto him.”*

5. In the close of Elizabeth's reign, captain George Flower, commanding the English forces, “understanding that the castle of Cloghan was guarded by the rebels, and that in the same there was a Catholic priest lately come from Rome,”† hastened to assault it. He had in his hands as hostage Donnell Dorrogh, brother of the commander of the fortress, and on their refusal to surrender, he threatened to hang him in their sight; nevertheless, “to save the priest, whose life they tendered, they persevered obstinately not to yield; whereupon captain Flower, in their sight, hanged the commander's brother.” Four days later, the priest having been shifted away in safety, the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war. Sir George Carew having commemorated this fact, adds: “I do relate this event to the end the reader may the more clearly see in what reverence and estimation these ignorant superstitious Irish do hold a popish priest, in regard of whose safety the commander was content to suffer his brother to perish.”‡

6. Scarce had the news of Elizabeth's death been whispered through the cities of Ireland, than the inhabitants without delay hastened to the cathedral and parochial churches, purified the sanctuary, and restored the ancient worship in all its splendour. The bells sent forth a joyous peal, solemn *Te Deums* were

* *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 163-4.† *Ibid.* p. 646.‡ *Ibid.* p. 647.

intoned, and the people once more exulted (though their joy was to be of short duration) in the uncontrolled display of their Catholic feeling.*

These facts must place in the boldest relief the devotedness and affection for the ancient faith, cherished amidst so many perils by the people of Ireland, during the whole period of Elizabeth's reign. This, indeed, was so remarkable, that the persecuting viceroy, sir Arthur Chichester, was heard repeatedly to exclaim "that he knew not how this attachment to the Catholic faith was so deeply rooted in the hearts of the Irish, unless it were that the very soil was infected and the air tainted with Popery; for they obstinately prefer it to all things else—to allegiance to their king, to respect for his ministers, to the care of their own posterity, and to all their hopes and prospects."†

The example of the Catholics seems to have even exercised a salutary influence on their persecutors, and it is recorded that many of the Protestant families embraced the saving tenets of our holy Church. "As soon as Protestant settlers fix their abode in Ireland," writes the learned author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, "they for the most part embrace Catholicity, or at least their children renounce the heretical doctrines imbibed from their parents, and enter the saving fold of the Catholic Church;" and he adds, regarding the constancy of our people during Elizabeth's reign:

* We shall have to commemorate this fact again in another chapter, when we shall give the authorities for it in full. See, in the interim, Smith's *History of Cork*, also *History of Waterford*, and *Fitzgerald's History of Limerick*, vol. ii. p. 219, etc.

† *Analecta*, p. 203; *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. ii. p. 605. Spenser, in 1596, writes: "The natives of Ireland be all Papists by profession." (*View, &c.* pag. 137.) McGeoghegan asserts, that during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, and James I. not sixty of the Irish embraced the Protestant religion. (*Histoire d'Irlande*, vol. iii. pag. 422.) The Protestant bishop of Ferns in 1612, in a report to the crown on the obstinacy of the Papists, says, that having interrogated some of the poorer class "why they did not forsake the Mass and come to our church, their answer was, that if they should be of our religion, no popish merchant would employ them, being sailors; no popish landlord would let them any lands, being husbandmen; nor set them houses in tenantry, being artificers. As for the gentlemen and those of the richer sort, I have always found them very obstinate, which hath proceeded from the priests resorting unto their houses and company, and continually hammering them upon their superstitious anvil." (*Reports of Com. of Pub. Rec. in Irel.* vol. i, pag. 264.) Dr. Kearney, archbishop of Cashel in 1609, officially reported to the Holy See: "*Vix millesimus quisque ex ipsa natione Hibernica labe hæreseos notatur.*"

“so deeply was the Catholic faith rooted in their hearts, that though the plebeians were transplanted, the rich severely taxed, the gentry harassed, the nobles insulted, the cities and towns despoiled of their rights and privileges, the whole nation trampled on, the natives deprived of their offices, honors, and dignities, wealth and honors monopolized by foreign professors of heresy, and the resources of the country drained; religion derided as superstition, fidelity to God denounced as treason; constancy in the faith branded as obstinacy and rebellion; yet, not all these, nor any other engines of terror or ruin, nor smiles of conciliation, could ever sever them from the fond embraces of the Catholic Church.”*

Dr. Roothe also attests the conversion of many of the English to the Catholic faith. “Though the authority of the Pope,” he says, “was proscribed and condemned by all the public authorities and tribunals; yet no violence could extinguish, nor fear obliterate, the ardent attachment to the Vicar of Christ which is deeply imprinted on the hearts of this people. Laws, discipline, and forms of government have been changed; but wherever they interfered with religion, no violence or artifice could induce the people to adopt them. Knavery was employed to deceive, seduction to allure, insult to provoke, intrigue to solicit, threats to terrify, rewards to conciliate. They oppress and they promise; they chalk out their approach, and seize all the avenues; they ply both the mine and the battery,—all machines are employed, but in vain; they do not advance one inch; and they are rather converted to us than we to them. And this it was that excited the admiration of that cunning statesman, the pilot of English policy under Elizabeth, sir William Cecil, who, filled with amazement at the immoveable constancy of the Irish, declared that it was labour in vain to seek to unite Ireland with the British Church, since the ministers who were sent to attain that end not only were devoid of success, but were rather themselves converted by the Irish to the Catholic faith.”†

Dr. Lombard, archbishop of Armagh, gives some further

* *Cambrensis Eversus*, loc. cit., page 607.

† *Analecta*, p. 202, printed in 1617.

interesting details as to the Catholic influence thus exercised on the heretical agents by our suffering church:*

“Notwithstanding all the arts employed by the magistrates during so many years, to lead the natives of Ireland to schism and heresy, the Catholic spirit remains pure and untainted; and the few who were seduced into the path of error, found themselves detested by none more than by their own countrymen, and none pursued them with greater enmity than those of their own families and kindred. . . . And here we may reflect on the wonderful and merciful designs of Providence, which so succoured our church in these days of its greatest trial, that our people have become better instructed and more and more constant in all that regards religion;† nor has this progress been confined to the knowledge of religion,—it extended also to the practices of faith; and many are not wanting at the present day, who realize in their lives the continence and austerity of the early saints. . . . The learned and eloquent Scotch and English preachers who were sent thither to avert the Catholics from the faith, after all their pains and toil, reaped so small a harvest, or rather found their hands so wholly empty, that on their return to England they often publicly avowed in their sermons that they had wasted so many years in useless labour in Ireland, without being able, as they said, to convert those obstinate papists to the evangelical doctrines. Lest, however, they might seem to have lost all charity for that people, they occasionally, with all seriousness, exhorted their auditors to pray that the Gospel light, which so happily illumined England, might be extended to the benighted kingdom of Ireland, for God alone could realize that end, in seeking which all human efforts had hitherto been employed in vain. The professors, likewise, in the new university were so disappointed in their projects, that very soon after their undertaking to teach heresy in Dublin, their preaching was found to be so obnoxious and odious to the citizens, that the very heretical magistrates, fearing a tumult, found it necessary to impose silence on the preachers. And when they commenced in like manner to exact the oath of spiritual

* *Commentarius*, etc., cap. xx. The reader will hold in mind that this work was written in the year 1600.

† In another place (cap. xii.), Dr. Lombard repeats this fact: “*Quod præcipuam omnium meretur laudem et hoc maxime tempore consideratione summa, immo et admiratione dignum est, hic passim omnes tametsi alioquin educatione et moribus alii ab aliis multum differentes, adeo sunt tenaces atque observantes, orthodoxæ religionis ut cum ab annis jam compluribus nihil non tentatum sit quâ vi et fraude, qua timore hominum et amore mundi ut ad schisma et hæresim abriperentur, tantum tamen abest ut hoc sit consequutum quod potius et quidem occasione sumptâ ex ipsa quam interea passi sunt oppositione et oppressione longe melius nunc instructi de dogmatis et mysteriis Catholicæ religionis, etiam multo constantiores sint effecti in ea retinenda immo audaciores multo in eadem defendenda et asserenda.*”

supremacy from the youths that frequented their lectures, this was so abhorred by the Irish, that though they anxiously desired instruction for their children, yet they rather chose that they should remain in ignorance, retaining the integrity of their faith, than that with literature they should imbibe the fatal corruption of heresy."

In 1597 father Henry Fitzsimons landed on our Irish shores. He was a native of Dublin, and one of those whom the example of the suffering Catholics brought back to the saving fold. After more than twenty years incessant labour, he published to the world a eulogy of our Irish Catholics, of which any nation might be justly proud: He never witnessed (he writes) greater tenacity of the ancient faith amidst so many storms of persecution; greater veneration for religion where pastors were so few, and wolves so numerous and so ferocious; or a more profound knowledge of the principles of faith, even when its teachers were banished, and all the aids of books and instructions proscribed.* "It is almost incredible (he adds), but yet a most indubious fact, that during full sixty years (*i. e.* from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign) neither the most atrocious penalties, nor the most tempting rewards, have been able to seduce into the ranks of heresy more than two hundred persons in that whole kingdom.† Who could ever anticipate that even the lowest order of the people, most of them ignorant, would renounce fortune, liberty, and life, rather than walk for one instant in the council of the ungodly, or pursue the path of sinners? . . . Who could believe that the respectable persons of every rank and sex would prefer the most pinching poverty, in the cause of their holy faith, to the most splendid fortune, granted as a reward of external conformity to the established religion?"‡

We shall conclude this article with the words of Dr. Lynch, who, after commemorating the trials of our people during Elizabeth's persecution, writes:—

* This sentiment is repeated by O'Sullivan Beare, *Historiæ Cath.*, pag. 133: confer also pag. 139.

† All authorities agree as to the small number of the natives that embraced the Protestant tenets. In a rare pamphlet—"Ireland's Case Briefly Stated"—printed in 1695, pag. 6, it is stated: "Not one in five hundred of the natives was then Protestant, or became so during queen Elizabeth's reign."

‡ "*Britannomachia Ministrorum*," etc. lib. iii., pag. 332; printed at Douay in 1614.

“Of all the countries of Europe subject to heretical kings, there is not one in which a greater number of subjects have persevered in the old faith, and in obedience to the sovereign pontiff, than in Ireland. Cardinal Bentivoglio has truly observed, *that the Irish would seem to have sucked in the Catholic faith with their mother's milk.* In other countries smitten with heresy, the majority followed the example of the king or other governing power of the state, and renounced the old faith and the supremacy of the pope; but in Ireland, I do not hesitate to assert, that not the tenth, nor the hundredth, no, nor the thousandth part, revolted from the faith of their fathers to the camp of the heretics.* Orlandinus might say, with perfect truth, *that the Irish had preserved in heart and soul the Catholic faith in all its integrity, and the most devoted obedience to the Roman pontiff.* And Bozius also: *as far as we can judge from history, not one of all the northern nations has been more constant in the profession of the one faith.* May I not then apply to the Irish what Virgil sang regarding the Romans:—

Let others better mould the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass;
And soften into flesh a marble face:
Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
And when the stars descend, and when they rise:
But, Erin, be it thine, mark well, I pray,
Thy faith to hold, Christ's Vicar to obey.”†

* As a specimen how the constancy of our Catholics was esteemed on the continent, we add an extract from “*La Spada d'Orione*,” by Primo Damascino, printed in Rome, 1680. After stating that the Catholics sought a refuge on the mountain-tops, he continues, “*dalla fermezza di quei monti apprendeano essi ad essere immobili nella difesa della religione Romana, e dalla costanza di essi fra gli urti delle tempeste et i patimenti dei ghiacci godeano d'imparare quella imperturbabilità di cuore con cui doveano ricevere le persecuzioni della Eresia,*” etc.

† Camb. Evers., vol. ii. pag. 613-5. transl., by Rev. Dr. M. Kelly, Dublin, 1848.

Since writing the above, the *Hibernian Magazine* (October, 1863) has published an interesting document from the Public Record Office, London; being a letter addressed from Waterford, in 1585, to the Protestant archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Long, by the schoolmaster who, a little while before, had been sent thither to instruct the natives in both science and religion. We shall give a few extracts to show what progress Protestantism had made in Ireland up to that period:—

“I wrote unto your honor of late, desiring an answer to satisfy me for two especial causes, which moved me to write; the one, that I understood that your honor was offended with me; the other was to desire your honor's assistance, in this place where it pleased your honor to place me, against a number of professed enemies of God and good men, although outwardly a few of them make some hypocritical show, yet their lives, for the most part, show the contrary; so that I have not seen nor heard of the like contempt of the word of God, and manifest resistance of her majesty's proceedings, no not in the whole island. . . .

“First, there is not one couple among twenty married according to her majesty's injunctions, but handfasted only, or else married at home with a Mass: then they never christen their children, but in their house, either with a

7.—*Condition of the Protestant Church.*

To the consoling series of facts which we enumerated in the last article, another series must now succeed quite different in character, disclosing to us the features of the newly-intruded church, which claimed the veneration and affections of our Irish people. Whilst the sanctuaries of our fathers were laid waste, and our holy religion was reviled as superstition and

mass-priest, or for want of him (which commonly the wealthiest of them do not want), the women themselves christen. Their dead they bury not if they can choose, but tumble them into the graves without any word of service or any minister, the proof whereof I myself have seen very often even before the school-door, to my great grief: and as for themselves altogether, they either abuse the word, or absent themselves from the church, or when they come there, they walk round about like mill-horses, shopping and changing and making merchandize, and in such a manner, that they who are in the choir and willing to hear, through their babbling, cannot hear a word; and yet they are not small fools, but even the chief persons of the city. . . .

"The ministers cry out that they are abused, deceived, despised, and almost discomfited, and for this especially, that they being constrained to send up a true certificate of such as frequented not the church, nor received communion, their certificate was presently shown to their enemies, who returned home with open jaws and foaming mouths, reviled the ministers with such opprobrious terms as men of their profession use to do, that they, poor shepherds, for fear of those brutish and savage lions, are almost afraid to come near the sheepfold. It was little credit for him who showed it to them, for even they themselves know what his drift is, forsooth either to be wrapped in a mantle, or cloaked with a caddow, or made drunk with aqua-vitæ. . . .

"Since my coming hither I had not above thirty scholars, which was no small grief unto me, especially being sent hither by you: the cause why they received me was rather for fear, than for any desire they had to have their children instructed in the fear of God and knowledge of good letters, which I soon perceived by them; for within one month, most of them took away their children from me, and sent them to other tutors in the town that were professed Papists. . . . The reason they alleged why they took them away from me was, that they did not profit in their studies; neither did they indeed in what they looked for; for I constrained them to come to service, which they could not abide, and whereat they muttered privately among themselves. . . .

"Whereas your honor persuaded me that I should find them such loving and courteous people, I have found them clean contrary; even the mayor himself, of whom you made so great account, hath dealt but strangely with me. . . . As for the sheriffs, they were the greatest enemies I had, and went about to disgrace me most. . . . They called a son of Peter Strange's, where I stop, turncoat, traitor, and Protestant, because he used to go to the English service. These speeches and far worse are in their children, but if your honor did but dwell amongst their parents, to see their villainy in massing at home and murmuring at God's word in the church, I know you could not abide it. . . . For these aforesaid causes I thought good to give over the place and betake myself to my country, where I hope to live with a quiet conscience; for here I could have no comfort, because there is not one professor of the Gospel to be found among them, no not one. . . .

"The 13th of July, 1585.

"Your honor's to command,

"JOHN SHEARMAN."

—Record Office, London, Ireland, Elizabeth, pag. 118. vol. i.

idolatry, it may be asked, were the reforming ministers angels of light or of darkness? whilst the evangelical truths were on their lips, did corruption fester in their hearts, or did the fruits which they produced, reveal to the world the heavenly character of the mission to which they pretended? The chief Protestant contemporary writers, who were best acquainted with the true condition of the reformed church, will supply sufficient data to enable the reader to reply to these important questions.

As early as the 22nd of July, 1562, the lord deputy, the earl of Sussex, wrote to sir William Cecil: "Our religion is so abused, as the Papists rejoice; the neuters do not mislike changes, and the few zealous professors lament the lack of piety. . . The ministers, for disability and greediness, be had in contempt, and the wise fear more the impiety of the licentious professors than the superstition of the erroneous Papists. These matters be so far come that they be not, I think, to be helped by private commissions, but rather by parliament, wherein limits in religion and discipline may be appointed, with such severe orders for punishment of the breakers thereof, as men may fear to go beyond or come short. God hold his hand over us, that our licentious disorders and lack of religious hearts do not bring, in the mean time, His wrath and revenge upon us."*

In 1565, the earl of Sussex was succeeded in the chief government of Ireland by sir Henry Sidney, who, on his arrival, found the kingdom "overwhelmed by the most deplorable immorality and irreligion."† He summoned the privy council, and invited them to deliberate on the condition of the country. The following was the appalling result of their investigations:

"The pale was overrun with thieves and robbers; the countryman so poor, that he hath neither horse, arms, nor victuals for himself; and the soldiers so beggarly, that they could not live without oppressing the subject: for want of discipline they were grown insolent, loose, and idle. . . . As for religion, there was but small appearance of it: the churches uncovered and the clergy scattered; and scarce the being of a God known to those ignorant and barbarous people."‡

To prepare some remedy for such abuses, the lord deputy

* Shirley, "Orig. Lett." p. 117-18. † Mant, vol. i. p. 287. ‡ Cox, i. p. 319.

made a *progress* into Munster and Connaught, in 1568, and the preamble of the act of parliament 11th Elizabeth, sess. 3, chap. vi., records the results of his inquiries:—

“Whereas, the right hon. sir Henry Sidney, etc., hath in his late progress into Munster and Connaught found, among other experience, the great abuse of the clergy there, in admitting of unworthy personages to ecclesiastical dignities which hath neither lawfulness of birth, learning, English habit nor English language, etc., getting into the said dignities either by force, simony, friendship, or other corrupt means, to the great overthrow of God’s holy church, and the evil example of all honest congregations:” then follows the act authorizing the lord deputy to appoint for ten years, to all the ecclesiastical benefices of these provinces,—the four cathedral churches of Waterford, Limerick, Cork, and Cashel, alone being excepted.*

This remedy does not seem to have produced the desired result; and in April, 1576, we find the same sir Henry Sidney, once more lord deputy, addressing another remonstrance to her majesty, on the deplorable state of her Irish Church:—

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,—I have, in four several discourses, addressed unto the lords of your highness’s most honorable council, certified them how I found this realm at my arrival in the same, and what I have seen and understood by my travel these six last months, in which I have passed through each province, and have been in almost each county thereof. . . . And now, most honored sovereign, I solely address to you, as to the only sovereign salve-giver to this your sore and sick realm, the lamentable state of the most noble and principal limb thereof, the church I mean—as foul, deformed, and as cruelly crushed as any other part thereof, only by your gracious and religious order to be cured, or at least amended. I would not have believed had I not, for a great part, viewed the same throughout the whole realm.”

After this general statement he descends to particulars, and first to the diocese of Meath:—

“There are within this diocese two hundred and twenty-four parish-churches, of which number one hundred and five are appropriated to sundry possessions; no parson or vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple or sorry curate for the most part appointed to serve them; among which number of curates, only eighteen were found able to speak English, the rest being Irish ministers, or rather Irish rogues,

* Lib. Mun Hiberniæ, vol. ii. part 6, page 11.

having very little Latin, and less learning and civility. . . . In many places the very walls of the churches are thrown down; very few chancels covered; windows or doors ruined or spoiled. There are fifty-two other parish churches in the same diocese which have vicars endowed upon them, better served and maintained than the others, yet badly. There are fifty-two parish churches more, residue of the first number of two hundred and twenty-four, which pertain to divers particular lords; and these, though in better state than the others commonly, are yet far from well.

"If this be the state of the church in the best-peopled diocese, and best-governed country of this your realm, as in truth it is, easy is it for your majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is, where little or no reformation either of religion or manners hath yet been planted and continued among them; yea, so profane and heathenish are some parts of this your country become, as it hath been preached publicly before me, that the sacrament of baptism is not used amongst them; and truly I believe it. If I should write unto your majesty what spoil hath been, and is of the archbishoprics, of which there are four, and of the bishoprics, whereof there are above thirty, partly by the prelates themselves, partly by the potentates, their noisome neighbours, I should make too long a libel of this my letter. But your majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth where Christ is professed, there is not a church in so miserable a case."

The remedies which the lord deputy suggests are, first, the repair of the churches; second, the sending of instructed ministers, who should, moreover, be versed in the Irish language; and thirdly, an increased provision for the Protestant clergy. He dwells especially on the second head, and prays her majesty that if duly-instructed ministers cannot be had in England, they be sought for in Scotland; he concludes with an additional request:—

"I wish, and most humbly beseech your majesty, that there may be three or four grave, learned, and venerable personages of the clergy there, be sent hither,* who, in short space, being here, would sensibly perceive the enormities of this overthrown church, and easily prescribe orders for the repair and upholding of the same, which, I hope, God would confirm. And I find no difficulty but that your officer here might execute the same. Cause the bishops of that your realm to undertake this apostleship, and that upon their own charges. They are rich

* We learn from the Protestant chancellor of Leighlin at this period, that the visitation of our Irish Church by English dignitaries were not always productive of much good: "Anno 1577. Georgius Ackworth, legum doctor, et Robertus Garvey, legum baccalaureus, destinati ad clerum Hibernicum titulo magistrorum ad facultates pro reformatione cleri: sed Ecclesiæ potius perturbatio sequebatur."—Dowling's Annals, pag. 43, published by I. A. S.

enough; and if either they be thankful to your majesty for your immense bounty done to them, or zealous to increase the Christian flock, they will not refuse this honorable and religious travail; and I will undertake their guiding and guarding, honorably and safely, from place to place.”*

An able English Protestant statesman (lord Grenville), after citing some extracts from this letter of sir Henry Sidney, remarks: “Such was the condition of a church which was half a century before rich and flourishing, an object of reverence and a source of consolation to the people. It was now despoiled of its revenues; the sacred edifices were in ruins; the clergy were either ignorant of the language of their flocks, or illiterate and uncivilized intruders; and the only ritual permitted by the laws, was one of which the people neither comprehended the language nor believed the doctrines: and this was called establishing a reformation.”

Twenty years rolled on from the date of Sidney's letter: the first generation of reformed preachers, we may suppose, had passed away; yet their successors in the ministry presented precisely the same features to their friendly poet, Spencer; and the only fruits which marked their ministry, were the spread amongst their followers of immorality and irreligion. A little before his death, in 1598, Edmund Spencer composed his “View of the State of Ireland,” in which he minutely sketches the character of the Protestant clergy and their flocks: “The clergy there,” he says, “excepting the grave fathers which are in high place about the state and some few others, are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.” And he adds: “Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England, you may find in Ireland, and many more—namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, incontinence, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergyman. And, besides all these, they have their particular enormities; for all Irish ministers that now enjoy church livings are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders; but otherwise they go and live like laymen; follow all kinds of husbandry and other wordly affairs,

* Sir H. Sydney's Letters and Memorials, vol. i. pag. 112. Dublin Castle, 28th of April, 1576.

† “Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland”: London, 1845, pag. 27.

as other Irishmen do. They neither read the Scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion. . . only they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may of their livings.”*

In a strain of animated eloquence Spencer subsequently contrasts the zeal of the Catholic clergy with the conduct of the reforming ministers:—

“It is a great wonder to see the odds between the zeal of Popish priests and the ministers of the Gospel; for *they* spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by long toil and dangerous travelling hither, where they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no rewards or riches are to be found, only to draw the people to the Church of Rome: whereas some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and esteem thereby opened unto them without pains and without peril, will neither for the same, nor any love of God, nor zeal of religion, nor for all the good they may do by winning souls to God, be drawn forth from their warm nests to look out into God’s harvest.”†

The material buildings do not seem to have been much better than the officiating clergy. “The most part of the churches,” the same writer continues, “lie even with the ground.‡ And some that have been lately repaired, are so unhandsomely patched and thatched, that men do even shun the places for the uncomeliness thereof.”

The above censures may be supposed, indeed, to principally regard the lower order of the Protestant clergy. Carte, another unbiassed witness, fully corroborates their evil fame: “The clergy of the established church,” he writes, “were generally ignorant and unlearned, loose and irregular in their lives and conversations, negligent of their cures, and very careless of observing uniformity and decency in divine worship.”

Even the bishops, however, seem to have been far from models of perfection; and the contemporary writers, of one accord, describe them to us as mainly intent on plundering

* View, etc. pag. 139, 140.

† Ibid. pag. 254-5.

‡ The following preamble to a proclamation issued by sir John Perrott, 4th March, 1584, furnishes another proof of the wretched state of the cathedral and parish churches: “Whereas, it appeareth unto us that churches and chancels for the most part within this realm, are not only decayed, ruined, and broken down, but also, we find that free-schools, which are to be maintained and kept for the education and bringing up of youth in good literature, are now, for the most part, not kept or maintained,” etc.—Hardiman’s *Bardic Rem.* ii. 409.

their respective sees, and enriching their own families. Between 1560 and 1564, Dr. Craik of Kildare succeeded in disposing of most of the manors and lands belonging to his bishopric, thus, says Ware, "reducing that very ancient see to a most shameful poverty." Harris adds, that in the three years of his episcopate, "he did more mischief to his see than his successors have been ever able to repair."* Dr. Allen of Ferns, about the same time, is described as committing many wastes on the lands of his see; and Cavenagh of Leighlin left his diocese in *so naked a condition*, as to be scarce worth any one's acceptance.†

In 1574, sir John Perrott presented to her majesty a remonstrance as to the evils prevalent in Munster, and their necessary remedy. He suggests: "First of all, that her majesty should write sharp letters to the archbishops and bishops of that province, to deal more carefully in their several charges than hitherto they have done, in setting forth of God's word in their several dioceses." Of the Protestant archbishop of that province, Dr. Miler Magrath, we have already had occasion to speak. Towards the close of his episcopate, he received as coadjutor, Dr. William Knight, who, however, in a short time, "having excited the scorn and derision of the people" by his public drunkenness, was obliged to fly to England.‡ One of his suffragans, the Protestant bishop of Cloyne and Ross, was deprived for public immorality.§ Dr. Middleton of Waterford, another suffragan, was, at the same time, translated to St. David's, and there degraded *for the forgery of a will*, as Harris writes, but as Heylin informs us, "for many notable misdemeanours."|| Well, indeed, did sir John Perrott call on her majesty to write an exhortation to her southern bishops! Dr. Adam Loftus, archbishop of Armagh, in his report to the lords of the privy council, June 10th, 1566, says: "Bishops have been sent to occupy almost all the best posts in the land, of whose unableness and untowardness, if it might do good, I would say more."¶ On

* Harris's Ware, pag. 391. † Ibid. 446 and 462. ‡ Harris's Ware, pag. 484.

§ See official record in Gilbert's Hist. of Dublin, vol. i., pag. 114: "propter adulterium manifestum et confessum.

|| See Harris loc. cit. pag. 538. A few years later, another Protestant bishop of this see was publicly executed in Dublin, for crimes which the apostle forbids to be even heard on the lips of Christians.—See Harris, *ibid.*, pag. 539-541: also Cambrensis Eversus, vol. ii. pag. 149.

¶ Shirley, Orig. Lett. pag. 256.

the same day he wrote on this subject to sir William Cecil, declaring that "the people were much fleeced, and nothing at all fed" by their spiritual pastors.* One instance, however, will suffice to show what little influence was exercised by these remonstrances, as regarded the nomination of reformed bishops for our Irish sees. In 1566, the bishopric of Ferns was solicited by several candidates. Dr. John Devereux had many recommendations from persons of high station in court. On the 3rd of September, 1566, Dr. Adam Loftus wrote to sir William Cecil: "The bishopric of Ferns is presently void, and I fear laboured for by one Devereux. An unfitter man cannot be: he has been of late deprived of his deanery for confessed immorality."† Nevertheless, a few days after the receipt of that letter by her majesty's secretary, the patent was issued appointing Dr. Devereux to that see.

Such were the men sent to reform the Church of the Leverouses, the MacConghails, and the Creaghs. Spencer, so often already referred to, further illustrates the mission of the English prelates—

"They have their clergy," he says, "in such awe and subjection under them, that they dare not complain of them, so as they may do to them as they please; for they, knowing their own unworthiness and incapacity, and that they are therefore still removeable at their bishop's will, yield what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he liketh; yea, and some of them whose dioceses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the world's eye, do not at all bestow the benefices which are in their own donation upon any, but keep them in their own hands, and set their own servants and horse-boys to take up the tithes and fruits of them, with which some of them purchase great lands, and build fair castles upon the same, of which abuse, if any question be moved, they have a very seemly colour and excuse, that they have no worthy ministers to bestow them upon."‡

And lest the reader might not understand what he meant by this scarcity of worthy ministers, he adds—

"There are no sufficient English ministers sent over as might be presented to *any bishop for any living*; but the most part of such English as come over hither of themselves, are either unlearned or men of some bad note, for which they have forsaken England."§

* Orig. Lett. p. 258. He elsewhere lamentably deplores "the miserable state and condition of this poor church of Ireland."—Ibid. pag. 322: letter of Loftus to Cecil, 5th Dec. 1567.

† Shirley, ib. p. 271.

‡ View, etc., p. 104.

§ Ibid. p. 141. Even in England the standard of the reforming ministers

A characteristic feature of the Protestant clergy of this period, was the frenzy with which they hounded on their religious brethren to deeds of cruel and barbarous ferocity. We have already recorded this of Dr. Adam Loftus,* after his translation to the see of Dublin. Matthew Sheyn of Cork, and his successor, Dr. Lyons, might also be mentioned as examples. But to vary our details, we shall rather cite the fact which is recorded of Hewson, Protestant minister of Swords, who fell violently on a Catholic named Horris, a native of that town, and having seized upon his crucifix, dragged it to the market-place, where he hung it upon a gallows with words of blasphemy written beneath. The Catholic preferred a complaint against the minister to the secretary, sir Geoffry Fenton, and presented the mutilated and defaced crucifix; but sir Geoffrey only added insult to his former injuries, and snatching the crucifix, trampled it under foot, and moreover ordered Horris to be committed to prison for having dared to utter such a complaint.†

was not very high. Strype, speaking of 1565, says, "the ignorance of the ordinary sort of clergymen, curates, and such like, is commonly said to be great about these times" (Life of Parker, vol. i. p. 258). Dr. Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, in his *Politician's Catechism*, also writes: "As for their inferior clergy, I will give you a brief catalogue, made by that famous Dr. Stapleton, who lived in those times. 'And wherein I pray you, saith he, resteth a great part of your new clergy, but in butchers, cooks, catchpoles, and cobblers; dyers, and dawbers, fellows carrying their mark in the hand, fishermen . . . potters, pothecaries, and porters of Billingsgate, pinners, pedlars, ruffling ruffians, saddlers, sheremen and shepherds, tanners, tilers, tinkers,' etc. This rabble-rout of mean and infamous persons did cast so foul an aspersion upon our Protestant clergy, that even to this day the most ordinary citizens think their family disgraced when any of their nearest kindred become ministers."—Chap. 5.

* Dr. Loftus, for forty years, was the leading agent of the English crown in Ireland. Harris writes of him that his character was "somewhat tarnished by his excessive ambition and avarice; for besides his promotions in the church and his public employments in the state, he grasped at everything that became void, either for himself or family" (loc. cit. p. 353). In May, 1572, her majesty granted him a dispensation to hold with his archbishopric, any livings not exceeding £100 per annum in value—a dispensation of which he so fully availed himself, that the dean and chapter of Christ's Church, on making some concession to him on the 28th August, 1578, obliged him to insert a clause, promising not to become suitor to them for any further benefices.—See Monck Mason's Hist. of St. Patrick's, and Harris loc. cit.

† "Theatre of Protestant and Catholic Religion," p. 117. The same work gives us another instance of the impious cruelty of sir G. Fenton: "he did set a poor fellow on the pillory in Dublin, with the picture of Christ about his neck, for having carried the same before a dead friend at a funeral."—P. 118.

Appendix to the preceding Introduction,

SHOWING HOW THE EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF IRELAND WAS PRESERVED DURING ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

1. Statement of Dr. Todd and other Protestant writers, that in the sixteenth century the Irish Church merged into the Reformation.—2. Dr. Mant attempts to prove statistically that the Irish Hierarchy adopted the Tenets of the Reformation.—3. Dr. Mant, in his enumeration of the Irish sees, omits three.—4. Armagh not vacant, as supposed by Dr. Mant.—5. Seven sees, supposed by Dr. Mant to be vacant, not so.—6. Two Catholics deprived, but unjustly; one apostate removed.—7. Eleven sees vacated by death, two by resignation; how they retained the Catholic succession.—8. Two sees vacated by resignation.—9. Dr. Mant's opinions, regarding four other sees, examined.—10. Conclusion.

1.—*Statement of Dr. Todd and other Protestants, that in the sixteenth century, the Irish Church merged into the Reformation.*

MANY modern Protestant writers have endeavoured to persuade their readers, that on the revolt of Elizabeth from spiritual allegiance to the See of Rome, the Irish bishops and clergy, with scarce a dissentient voice, approved of her majesty's resolve, and gladly severed the sacred bonds that united them with the Vicar of Christ.

Dr. James Henthorn Todd is the latest exponent of this singular theory. In the preface to his life of "St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland"* he thus writes: "It was necessary in order to correct some popular mistakes, to draw attention to the fact, that from the eleventh century to the reformation, there were two churches in Ireland, each ignoring as far as it could the existence of the other; and that since the reformation, a third church has sprung up, deriving its succession from a foreign source; whilst the original Irish Church, properly so called, having merged into the church of the English pale, has adopted the reformation, and lost in a great measure its hold upon the descendants of the native tribes."† Thus, then, the *mere Irish Church*, which was long in opposition

* Dublin, 1864.

† Preface iii-iv.

to the church of the English pale, combined with it in embracing the reformed creed.

This theory, indeed, can scarcely be reconciled with what the same learned writer attests in his subsequent narrative: "It is highly probable," he writes (pag. 242), "that had the reformation been presented to the Irish people in a Gaelic dress and in the Gaelic language, it would have been accepted without difficulty; but, unfortunately, the reverse was the case. The reformation was almost studiously brought into Ireland in ostentatious connection with the church of the pale and the English colonists; it was planted on the basis of puritanism and iconoclastic outrage; and to this day the influence of that unhappy mistake continues to destroy the usefulness, and to paralyze the energies of the Irish (Protestant) clergy. The reformed doctrines were regarded by the oppressed and degraded natives of Ireland as essentially English; and, accordingly, they were rejected without examination, and spurned with the detestation and abhorrence with which the English, and everything coming from England, were, as a matter of course, received." Lest, however, some inexperienced reader might suppose that there was a contradiction in these statements, Dr. Todd remarks in the same page: "When the Anglo-Irish Church accepted the reformation, the 'mere Irish' clergy were found to have become practically extinct."*

The sketch of the persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland for their faith, which we have just now presented to the reader, should suffice to prove how erroneous are the statements thus advanced by this learned writer. It is not true that the Anglo-Irish as a body, or as a church, accepted the Elizabethan reformation; and much less can that statement be made in regard to the *mere Irish*. The mild beneficent government of Elizabeth and her ministers, both clerical and lay, left no means, indeed, untried to merge the *mere Irish* Church into the newly-introduced establishment: finding, however, that this was impossible, they had recourse to the sword and scaffold, that thus, at least, they might render the *mere Irish* clergy practically extinct. Like the early persecutors of the Christian name, we find the agents of Elizabeth more than once exulting, whilst conveying to

* Ibid. p. 242.

their ruler the announcement that a Popish bishop had been subjected to torture or put to death; and at other times they officially proclaimed to the world, that the mere Irish priesthood was no more. But the blood of Irish martyrs only served to fertilize our church; its faithful clergy never failed; in poverty and wretchedness and suffering, they went to the mountains and bogs with their *mere Irish* flock. When a bishop was summoned from their ranks by fatigue or martyrdom, another was ready to assume his perilous post; and if, through the rage of the persecutors, he could not receive the sacred imposition of hands at home, he journeyed to Spain, or France, or Rome, and thence returned with renewed energy to pursue his missionary career. We shall just now present in detail the names of those *mere Irish* bishops who, at this trying period, fearlessly trimmed the lamp of faith in our island; it will not be amiss, however first, to briefly state some of the other theories which are put forward by our adversaries, when labouring to explain how the Irish Church became Protestant.

The late Protestant dean of Ardagh, in his "Ireland and Her Church,"* recklessly asserts, that "the bishops, with the exception of two, and *all* the priests," embraced the reformation.† Elsewhere he repeats: "As soon as the determination of the queen was known in Ireland, the *whole* body of the Romish priests abandoned their connection with Rome."‡

Shirley, in his valuable "Original Letters and Papers," etc.,§ with more reserve affirms, that "although from the distracted state of the times, the reformation was necessarily very imperfectly carried out in Ireland, the true succession of bishops in the (Protestant) Church was ever preserved, and that *solely in the line of prelates acknowledged by the state.*"||

The Hon. and Rev. A. Perceval, in "An Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession," also states, that "at the accession of queen Elizabeth, of all the Irish bishops, only two were deprived, and two others resigned on account of their adherence to the supremacy of the See of Rome. The rest continued in their sees; and from them the bishops and clergy of the Irish Church derive their orders. . . . This has never been disputed."

* London, 1845. † P. 207. ‡ P. 205. § London, 1851. || Preface, viii

The anonymous author of "Historical Notices of peculiar Tenets of the Church of Rome" still more explicitly affirms, that "by the records of the Irish Church it appears, that when in the reign of queen Elizabeth the Roman jurisdiction was renounced, of all the Irish bishops only two, namely, Walsh bishop of Clonard (it should be *Meath*), and Leverous bishop of Kildare, suffered deprivation for their refusal to join in that renunciation. Two others, Lacey bishop of Limerick, and Skiddy bishop of Cork and Cloyne, resigned—the former in 1566, and the latter in 1571, possibly from scruples on the same score."

2.—*Dr. Mant attempts to prove statistically that the Irish Hierarchy adopted the Tenets of the Reformation.*

Dr. Mant, Protestant bishop of Down and Connor, has, however, far outstripped all these writers in the clear statement which he has made of this Protestant theory. Only two bishops, he says, remained devoted to the cause of Rome. Many years after Elizabeth's accession to the throne, two others resigned their charge, but this resignation had nothing to do with the supremacy of the Pope, and was just as if Protestant bishops were now to resign their sees. Thus, of all the bishops except two, he says, it may be confidently asserted, that they conformed to the Protestant tenets.* Subsequently† he thus specifies his assertion regarding each Irish diocese:—

"Of the twenty-eight bishoprics at the queen's accession, there was vacant *one* (Armagh); those of which the occupants are not known were *seven* (viz.: Kilmore, Dromore, Raphoe, Derry, Kilfenoragh, Killala, and Achonry). Subsequently, there were vacated by deprivation two (Kildare and Meath); by translation, one (Dublin); by death, *eleven* (viz.: Clonmacnoise, Ardagh, Ossory, Ferns, Leighlin, Cashel, Emly, Waterford, Tuam, Elphin, and Clonfert); by resignation, *two* (viz.: Limerick and Cork and Cloyne); by causes not recorded, *four* (viz.: Clogher, Down and Connor, Ardfert and Killaloe)."‡

Here, at least, the question is clearly stated, and the whole controversy is reduced to certain heads, on each of which

* Hist. of Irish Church, London, 1840, chap. v. † Ap. No. 2. ‡ Ib. p. 743-4.

we shall make a few remarks; and as Dr. Mant and the other Protestant writers just mentioned restrict themselves to mere historical statements, we shall keep ourselves within the same limits, and not descend to doctrinal or polemical discussions. The reader, however, must bear in mind, that even if Dr. Mant's or Dr. Todd's assertions were founded on fact, and that the legitimate occupants of the Irish sees became Protestants, or that Protestants were placed in those sees when they were duly vacated, it would not follow that the true hierarchical succession was maintained in the Protestant Church. Every one versed in ecclesiastical history must know that a bishop, such as Nestorius, by abandoning the true faith and becoming a heretic, may forfeit all right to his see; and that other prelates, such as Photius, though intruded by the secular power into the sanctuary, have no claim to rank among the successors of the apostles, and never acquire any spiritual jurisdiction. According to the doctrine received from the earliest ages by all Catholics, a bishop becoming a public heretic not only loses all jurisdiction, but ceases to be a member of the Church; and also a bishop enjoying no other jurisdiction but that which he derives from a temporal sovereign, such as queen Elizabeth, or the empress Elizabeth of Russia, has no authority to feed the flock of Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world. But omitting these questions* we return to Dr. Mant.

3.—*Dr. Mant, in his enumeration of Irish sees, omits three—Mayo, Ross, and Kilmacduagh.*

In the first place, it seems strange that this prelate should completely pass over in silence three sees, viz.: Mayo, Ross, and Kilmacduagh; each of which had, at that time, its own

* We have been forced to pass over controversial topics in order to avoid prolixity; but we may here add, that in order to establish the legitimate succession of the Protestant bishops, the following points should be proved:—1st. That queen Elizabeth had the right from God of nominating bishops and giving them spiritual jurisdiction; 2nd. That she had a right to deprive the Pope of the power of nominating and confirming bishops which the universal Church had recognized in him from the first dawn of Christianity; 3rd. That she had the right of depriving bishops canonically appointed, though guilty of no offence, of their spiritual powers, and appointing in their stead men publicly professing heresy; 4th. That the men promoted to the Protestant episcopacy had received the previous orders, and were capable of receiving episcopal consecration; 5th. That the ceremonial of consecration was valid, etc.

bishop, and formed a distinct see. It cannot be that the learned prelate was ignorant of their existence; for in the preceding pages of his history he more than once refers to these dioceses. This silence seems to be a concession that, at least, these three sees were then occupied by Catholic bishops whose claims to the episcopal succession could not be controverted.

Mayo.—Eugene MacBreohan, a Carmelite, was appointed its bishop on 21st of November, 1541. On his death, Dionysius O'Dwyer, O.S.F., was appointed on 12th of February, 1574. He died in the following year, and Patrick O'Hely, also a Franciscan, was proposed for the see in the consistory of 25th of June, 1576, and appointed on the 4th of July the same year. Another bishop, Adam Magcaran (perhaps MacGauran), was appointed to this see in the consistory of 29th July, 1585; and the Consistorial Acts add, after registering his appointment, the following note: "*hic habuit orationem contra reginam Angliæ et ejus tyranidem et impietatem in ecclesias et Catholicos tam in Anglia quam in Hibernia, protestans se hæc ipsa coram Sanctitate sua, ad suæ conscientiæ exonerationem dixisse.*"*

Ross.—The bishops of Ross were not less attached to the Catholic faith. The following are the entries of the Consistorial Acts: "*die 22, Januarii, 1554: providit Sanctitas S. Ecclesiæ Rossensi in Hibernia, vacanti per obitum Dermitii Macary (perhaps M'Carthy), de persona D. Mauritii O'Fihely, ord. F.F. M.M., et Theologiæ Professoris.*"

"*Die 15, Martii, 1559, referente Revm. Dom. Card. Pacecho fuit provisum Ecclesiæ Rossensi in Hibernia per obitum bon. mem. Mauritii O'Phihil (O'Fihely), pastoris solatio destitutæ, de persona R. D. Mauritii Hoga (another copy writes the name Hæ), Presbyteri Hiberni.*"

On his death, Dr. Thomas O'Herlihy was appointed, as we have already seen, on 17th December, 1561; and happily terminated his glorious episcopate in 1579. Wadding, in his *Annals*,† when describing the monastery of Kilchree, adds the following tribute to the memory of this great bishop: "*Ibidem*

* *Ex Actis Consist.* In the extracts from the acts of the consistory, the family names of our Irish bishops are often badly spelled, or mutilated. We give them in their incorrect shape as we found them. The reader will easily correct them

† *Ad an. 1465, num. xx.*

(i. e. in the convent of Kilchree) sepultusest anno, 1579, Thomas Hierlajus Epus. Rossensis post multas ærumnas pro fide Catholica constantissime toleratas et vitam sanctissime peractam, mortuus in Muscreana ditione."

Kilmacduagh.—Dr. Christopher Bodkin was consecrated bishop of Kilmacduagh about the year 1534. Though he soon after schismatically seized on the archiepiscopal see of Tuam, he was never recognized as archbishop by Rome. Considering the peculiar circumstances of the times, and the many material advantages he had conferred on Tuam, he was allowed by cardinal Pole to retain the temporal administration of the see, with the right of succession on the death of the canonically-elected archbishop, Dr. O'Frighi. However, the spiritual jurisdiction of Dr. Bodkin extended only to the diocese of Kilmacduagh. On his death, bishop Malachy of Killaloe petitioned to be translated to this see; this translation was sanctioned by the Holy Father in the consistory of 22nd August, 1576, and Dr. Malachy governed this diocese till after the accession of king James. A letter of this prelate to the king of Spain, written in 1602, is given in *Hibernia Pacata*, page 689.

4.—*Armagh not vacant, as supposed by Dr. Mant.*

We now come to the see of Armagh, described as vacant by Dr. Mant, and in which her majesty wished to perpetuate the hierarchical succession, by the appointment of Dr. Adam Loftus. It is true that Dr. Dowdall died on the 15th of August, 1558, before the accession of Elizabeth; but it is not true that the see was vacant when her majesty, on 30th of October, 1561, wrote to the archbishop of Dublin, "commanding the consecration of Dr. Loftus."* The Catholic archbishop, Dr. Donatus Fleming, was then actively engaged in attending to his spiritual flock, having been appointed to the vacant see of Armagh, on the 7th February, 1560.† Indeed, there seems to have been some fatality about the Protestant appointments to Armagh. The appointment of Dr. Dowdall had been schismatical; but he repented, and even before the death of Edward VI., was restored

* Shirley, Orig. Lett. pag. 98.

† Ex Act. Consist.

by Rome to the primatial dignity. The lord deputy wrote to the king in 1551, to declare that the archbishop of Armagh had "absented himself from his see, whereby the said bishopric is void;"* and though Dr. Dowdall was still living, and had never been deposed,† another archbishop, Dr. Hugh Goodacre, was consecrated according to Edward's ritual, on 2nd February, 1553. The case of Dr. Loftus' appointment was somewhat similar. Not only was the Catholic bishop in actual possession of the see, but even her majesty found it necessary to do away with the legal requirements for the election of his opponent. Her majesty, indeed, wrote to the dean and chapter of Armagh, recommending the election of Dr. Loftus;‡ but owing to "Shane O'Neil's horsemen," and other reasons, no election was made;§ and so the archbishop was subsequently appointed without any such election, and consecrated for the primatial see.

Even on the death of Dr. Fleming, the succession of Catholic bishops was not interrupted; and the names of Richard Creagh, Edmund Magauran, and Peter Lombard, are still embalmed in the memory of the Irish people.

5.—*Seven sees supposed by Dr. Mant to be vacant, which were not so.*

The next class consists of those sees whose occupants *are not known*. The fact of the bishops of these *seven* sees not being known to Dr. Mant, or to the government of the day is, of itself, sufficient proof that they did not sever the spiritual bonds which bound them to Rome, nor bow to the *divine* supremacy of Elizabeth.

In the see of *Kilmore*, Dr. John Mac Brady had been bishop for many years during Henry's, and Edward's, and Mary's reign. On his death, a successor was appointed, as usual, in the consistory of 7th February, 1560, in the acts of which consistory we read: "Referente Rmo. Dno. Joanne Hieronymo Cardinali Morono sua Sanctitas providit Ecclesiæ Kilmorensi, in regno Hiberniæ, vacanti per obitum Joannis Mac Brady, de persona D. Odonis Ogenridan, Canonici Ecclesiæ Rapotensis, cum reten-

* See Shirley, loc. cit. pag. 50, seqq.

† Shirley, loc. cit. pag. 98.

‡ Harris' Ware's Bishops, pag. 91.

§ Ibid. p. 120.

tione dicti canonicatus." On his death we find Dr. Richard Mac Brady translated to this see from Ardagh, in the consistory of 9th March, 1580; and though arrested in 1601, this holy bishop survived queen Elizabeth, and died in 1607. Now, as Dr. Mant and Ware acknowledge, the first Protestant bishop was intruded into this see in 1585.

Dromore was united at this time with the see of Ardagh: and in 1576 and 1585 we find bishops appointed to these united sees.* The first notice taken of it by the Protestant Church, seems to have been in 1606, when, according to Ware, it was united with the sees of Down and Connor.

As regards *Raphoe*, its bishop, on the accession of Elizabeth, was Dr. Arthur O'Gallagher; and on his death the celebrated Dr. M'Conghail was appointed bishop on 28th January, 1562. Before the close of 1589, he, too, passed to his eternal reward; and in the consistory of 5th August, 1591, Niall O'Boyle was appointed his successor.† This bishop was more than once arrested and thrown into prison: he, however, outlived Elizabeth, and died in 1611. George Montgomery was the first Protestant bishop of this see, having been appointed by king James in 1605.

Derry had for its first Protestant bishop the last-named prelate of Raphoe; for these two sees were united by royal authority, and committed to the charge of this puritanical Scotchman, as Dr. Mant informs us, in the year 1605. It had, however, during all this time, its succession of Catholic bishops. Dr. Eugene Magennis, who was appointed bishop in 1551, died in 1568, as we learn from a letter of Dr. Creagh: and his successor was appointed in the following year, being translated from the see of Killala. Dr. Raymund O'Gallagher, who thus was appointed to Derry, continued to govern his diocese till the close of Elizabeth's reign, when he died a glorious martyr—"gloriosus martyr occubuit,"—as our annalists attest.

Kilfenoragh, too, maintained its succession of pastors. From the consistorial acts we learn, that on the death of bishop Maurice, the abbot John Bujala (Boyle) was appointed bishop,

* The Burgundian List, as printed in Dr. Renchan's Collections, etc., p. 273, describes the see of Dromore as united with Armagh: this must be a mistake of the copyist for Ardagh.

† Ex Act. Consist.

on 21st November, 1541. Hugh MacLanchan, a Franciscan, was his successor during the reign of Elizabeth.*

Killala had no Protestant bishop till 1591. It is no wonder, indeed, that Dr. Mant should describe the bishops of these sees as unknown. They at least knew nothing of Protestantism, but they remained true to their religion and to their spiritual charge. In the consistory of 6th November, 1545, the see being vacant by the death of Dr. Barret, the young priest of Raphoe, Dr. Raymund O'Gallagher was appointed its administrator: he was consecrated its bishop in 1549. On his being translated to Derry, Dr. Donatus O'Gallagher was appointed his successor in the see of Killala, on 4th of September, 1570. This bishop, too, was translated to Down and Connor in 1580, and had for his successor a Franciscan, John Hubert, appointed bishop of Killala, in the consistory of 19th July, 1580.

Achonry.—Last, though certainly not least, under the score of unknown bishops, is given the bishop of Achonry. The letter of David Wolf, which we have already published,† supplies us with sufficient information about this see. Dr. Cormac O'Quinn was its bishop on the accession of Elizabeth. Eugene O'Hart, his nephew, and a distinguished member of the order of St. Dominick, was appointed his successor in the consistory of 28th January, 1562. He, too, outlived his persecutors, and died in 1603. If this bishop was unknown to Dr. Mant, he was not, however, unknown to the Protestant primate in 1585. The following letter of Dr. John Long, Protestant archbishop of Armagh, addressed to Walsingham, and dated June 4th, 1585, is preserved in the Record Office, London, and betrays the delusion of the zealous primate, that this holy bishop was about being entrapped in the meshes of the Established Church:—

“Owen O'Hart, bishop of Achonry, being committed unto me by the lord deputy to be conferred with, is brought, by the Lord's good direction, to acknowledge his blindness, to prostrate himself before her majesty, whom he afore agreed to accurse in religion: so persuaded, I doubt not but great good will ensue by his means. He has resigned his bishopric, and no doubt void of all temporizing, is thoroughly persuaded that the man of sin sitteth in Rome, under pretence of the seat of God. I assure your honour, if we used not this people

* See Burgundian List, p. 275.

† Page 85.

more for gain than for conscience, here would the Lord's work be mightily prospered."*

The poor primate, however, notwithstanding all his pious delusion, soon found he had mistaken the bishop of Achonry. Hence, Eugene O'Connor was appointed to the united Protestant see of Killala and Achonry, in 1591. Dr. O'Hart, having been his old schoolfellow, visited him, and easily persuaded him to accept 150 marks annually, and to leave to himself all the spiritual work and the charge of the *mere Irish* of Achonry.†

6.—*The two Catholic bishops of Kildare and Meath deprived, but unjustly. One Apostate, Dr. Curwin, translated to England.*

As regards the next class, we have no fault to find with Dr. Mant's statement. Two bishops, and two only, had official sentence of deprivation passed against them, whilst two Protestant bishops were, without delay, appointed to their sees. But surely the time is now come when even Protestants should deny that the spiritual authority of those legitimately appointed bishops is dependant on the will of the sovereign, who wields the sceptre of temporal rule. St. Peter, when in the Mamertine, did not cease to be Vicar of Christ; and the glorious bishops of *Kildare* and *Meath*, though sentenced to imprisonment or exile, did not lose one particle of their episcopal authority. We have already seen how the illustrious martyr-bishop, Dr. Walsh, displayed the fulness of Christian heroism during his long imprisonment; and though the Protestant bishop was appointed in 1563, yet was Dr. Walsh, till his death in 1578, regarded as the bishop of Meath, not only by his own spiritual flock, but by the Holy See and by the bishops of the Catholic world, and whithersoever he went, he was welcomed as an angel of God, as we mentioned in ch. iv. p. 131.

Dr. Leverous, too, as we have also seen, continued to exercise his spiritual functions; he risked his life and shared the perils of his persecuted children, in order to break to them the food

* Irish Correspond. vol. 117, pag. 566.

† See the original passage of the MS. History of the Irish Church (preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and written by Dr. John Lynch, archdeacon of Killala), given above in note to chap. ii. § 3, pag. 64.

of life, and instruct them in the saving truths of the Catholic faith. The Protestant bishop, Alexander Craik, was intruded into this see whilst Dr. Leverous was still living in 1560.

Only one bishop, Dr. Curwin, betrayed the sacred charge entrusted to him, retaining at the same time the charge of the diocese to which he had been canonically appointed;* and such was his sad career, that his patrons were at length obliged to remove him to a more congenial soil, and allow him to enjoy the sweets of domestic repose in the see of Oxford. It is also remarkable, as we have already noticed in chapter the second, that this bishop was the only Englishman that held at this period the episcopal dignity in our Irish Church.

7.—*Eleven Sees vacated by death. How they retained the Catholic succession.*

In order to keep within due limits, our remarks on the bishops of the next class shall be but brief. They remained in undisturbed possession of their sees till their death, and at the same time continued unflinchingly attached to the Catholic faith

The bishop of *Clonmacnois*, Dr. Peter Wall, of the order of St. Dominick, was appointed in the consistory of 4th May, 1556, and continued undisturbed in the possession of his see till his demise in 1568. The Burgundian List adds the remark, that this diocese was, by the heretical government, annexed to Meath, but that the Holy See had not sanctioned this annexation.†

Ardagh.—The first Protestant bishop was Lisach Ferral, appointed in 1583. The Catholic bishop, Patrick M'Mahon, was

* Of course, when Dr. Curwin apostatized, he lost all authority to govern the flock of Christ. The see of Dublin, however, was not left without true ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Father David Wolf, F. Newman, F. White, a bishop named Donaldus, and occasionally the bishops of other dioceses, were deputed by the Holy See to provide for the spiritual wants of the people of Dublin. (See ante, p. 82.) Though Curwin betrayed his Divine Master, the clergy and people of Dublin were not seduced by his example. In the midst of privations and persecutions they continued to cling to the rock of Peter. The Protestant successors of Curwin were never the pastors of the people of Dublin. After a widowhood of about forty years, Dublin received again a bishop, and the same authority that first established the apostolical succession in Ireland, through the mission of St. Patrick, restored the connection with the mystic vine to the see of St. Laurence, and engrafted its prelates on the trunk of their holy Catholic predecessors.

† De Burgo, by an oversight, refers this bishop to the see of Cloyne.

appointed in consistory, 14th November, 1541.* On his death, Dr. Richard MacBrady, O.S.F., was appointed bishop, on 23rd January, 1576; and on his translation to Kilmore, Dr. Edmund MacGauran was consecrated its bishop, who retained its administration till his appointment to the primacy on 1st July, 1587.

Ossory had for its bishop Dr. John Thonory, who was consecrated at Inisteague, about the 1st of January, 1554. He died in 1567, and his successors are already well known from De Burgo.†

Ferns received for its bishop, in the consistory of 30th March, 1541, Bernard O'Donell, O.S.F. On the 3rd of June following, with the sanction of Rome, he exchanged sees with the bishop of Elphin, Dr. Hubert Iseranen (sic) of the Cistercian Order. This bishop, however, resigned the see of Ferns on the 5th May, 1542; on the same day Dermetius Fitzpatrick was appointed his successor, and seems to have held the see till his death, when Dr. Peter Power was appointed bishop in the consistory of 27th April, 1582: he died in 1587.

Leighlin.—Dr. Thomas O'Fihel, abbot of the monastery of Mageo, who had been appointed bishop of Achonry, in the consistory of 15th June, 1547, was transferred to Leighlin on 30th August, 1555, “cum retentione Ecclesiæ Parochialis Debellyns, Dublinensis Diœcesis.”‡ He continued in undisturbed possession of his see till his death. The last Catholic bishop during Elizabeth's reign, was Francis Ribera, who, after an episcopate of eighteen years, died in Brussels in 1604.§ The brief of his appointment is dated 11th September, 1587.

Cashel and Emly.—The first Protestant occupant of these sees was James M'Caghwell, who was appointed to Cashel by letters patent of the 2nd October, 1567,|| and in the following year received the administration of Emly. Now the Catholic archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Maurice Fitzgibbon, was appointed in the consistory of 4th June, 1567; and the bishop of Emly, Dr. Maurice MacBryan was appointed on the 24th of January, 1567. Thus, both sees had their lawful bishops at the time of the intrusion of Dr. M'Caghwell.

* Ex Act. Consist. † Hib. Dom. pag. 505 (note). ‡ Ex Act. Consist.
§ Burgundian List and Consist. Acts. || Harris' Ware's Bishops, pag. 483.

Waterford.—On the death of Dr. Walsh, Rev. John White was appointed vicar-apostolic on the 4th of November, 1578. Nicholas Fagan, and James White were his successors.

Tuam.—We have already seen how Arthur O'Frighi was archbishop of Tuam on the accession of Elizabeth. His successor was Nicholas Skerret, appointed in consistory of 17th October, 1580. Dr. Miler O'Higgins was the next archbishop, being appointed in the consistory of 24th March, 1586. He died in Flanders, on his return from Rome, in the beginning of 1591; and on the 20th of March, the same year, he was succeeded by Dr. James O'Hely, to whom the pallium was granted on the 5th of April following.* During all this time the temporalities of the see were administered by Dr. William Lahy, who was intruded into Tuam in 1573.

Elphin.—According to Ware and Dr. Mant, this see was given in administration to Dr. De Burgo of Clonfert, in 1552, and thus continued till the death of that bishop, in 1580. Dr. De Burgo, however, renounced his schismatical administration of this see on the accession of queen Mary. Its succession of bishops was as follows: Dr. Bernard O'Donnell, O.S.F. held the see only for a few months. On the 5th May, 1542, I find the following entry in the Consistorial Acts: "SS. providit Ecclesiæ Elfinensi in Hibernia vacanti per obitum quondam Bernardi, de persona fr. Bernardi, presbyteri eremit. S. Augustini." This was probably Bernard O'Higgins, who, according to Ware, was appointed by the pope bishop of Elphin before 1552. From the letter of David Wolf, published in the preceding chapter, it appears, that Dr. O'Higgins continued in his see till the accession of Elizabeth. He resigned it in 1562, when Dr. O'Crean was appointed. On the 28th January, 1562, the Consistorial Acts record: "S.S. providit Ecclesiæ Elphinensi in Hibernia, vacanti per resignationem Rev. D. Honoyghum (sic) ord. S. Augustini Professoris, de persona Dni. Andreae O'Crean, Hibernia ord. Præd. professoris, quem R. P. David presbyter, S.J. in Hibernia commorans per suas litteras commendavit." Dr. O'Crean assisted at the council of Trent. His successor seems to have been Dermetius O'Heily, who is described, in a *Relatio* of the archbishop of Dub-

* Ex Act. Consist.

lin, made in 1623, as being a bishop of Elphin, “qui obiit martyr tempore Elizabethæ.”* The last bishop of whom I find a trace in Elizabeth’s reign is *Raymund Galvirius*, as he is styled in the Consistorial Acts. No Protestant bishop was appointed till about 1582.

Clonfert.—Roland de Burgo was appointed by the Holy See in 1538, and not only exercised the spiritual authority, but took also possession of the temporalities, expelling the king’s nominee.† Though he schismatically obtained the see of Elphin in 1551, he was absolved by cardinal Pole on the accession of Mary. His death is thus registered in the Annals of the Four Masters: “Roland, the son of Redmond, the son of Ulick of Knocktua, bishop of Clonfert, died, and the loss of this good man was the cause of great lamentation in his own country.”‡ There can be no doubt of his having remained a Catholic till his death.

8—Two Sees vacated by resignation.

Dr. Mant reckons two sees vacated by resignation. This word *resignation*, however, means only that the revenues were appropriated by the crown. Thus we have seen above, that the bishop of Achonry was said by Dr. Long to have resigned his see; and Ware states that Dr. O’Herlihy of Ross *resigned* in 1571; we have, however, already seen how the case really stood.

Limerick.—The temporalities of this see were transferred by the crown to William Casey, in 1571. Dr. Lacy, however, did not cease to administer his spiritual charge. We find him petitioning the Holy See for special faculties for his diocese in 1575; and the same year we find the Holy See expediting these faculties for “Hugo epus. Limericensis;” and on account of the wants of the Irish Church, these faculties are further granted to him for the whole province of Cashel, “quamdiu ven. frater noster archiepus. Cassellensis a sua diœcesi et ecclesia et universa provincia abfuerit.”§ Indeed, so high was the esteem in which Dr. Lacy was held in Rome, that he was selected by the Holy See

* Ex Archiv. S. Cong. de Prop. Fid.
Ad an. 1580.

† State Papers, vol. iii. pag. 50.
§ Ex Secret. Brevium. 3 Maii, 1575.

to recommend members of the Irish Church for the vacant sees. The see of Limerick, in 1580, is described in a Vatican list as vacant, “per obitum D. Ugonis Lacy in sua ecclesia defuncti.”* Thus, by the so-called resignation of Dr. Lacy, the temporal possessions of the see were, indeed, *merged* in the Established Church, but the hierarchical succession remained unchanged, and both clergy and people continued attached to the faith of their fathers. Dr. Lacy’s successor, Dr. Cornelius (Nachten), was appointed in 1581.

Cork and Cloyne.—On the resignation of Dr. Skiddy, in 1566, the first Protestant bishop was not appointed till 1570, as Ware and Dr. Mant inform us. Now the Catholic bishop was appointed on 27th February, 1568, being the celebrated Nicholas Landes. His successor was Dr. Edmund Tanner, appointed bishop on the nones of November, 1574. He was a native of the province of Leinster, and we find faculties granted to him by the Holy See, not only for his own diocese, but also for the provinces of Cashel and Dublin.† He was succeeded by Dermitius Graith, on 11th October, 1580, and this holy bishop, whose memory is still cherished in the south of Ireland, happily survived Elizabeth, and governed his diocese *aliquot annis sub Jacobo rege*.‡

9.—*Dr. Mant’s opinions, regarding four other sees, examined.*

8. We have arrived at the last series of the Irish bishops, those, forsooth, who, for various causes not recorded in history, a few years after the accession of Elizabeth, are no longer registered amongst the bishops of their respective sees.

Clogher.—Dr. Mant seems to have been acquainted only with Dr. Odo O’Cervallan, who was appointed, he says, in 1542, and the time of whose death is not known. The first Protestant bishop was Miler Magrath, who was appointed in 1570. Now in the consistory of 29th May, 1560, we find the following note:—“S. S. providit ecclesiæ Clocherensi in Hibernia vacanti per obitum Mumothannæ (sic) in Romana

* Ex Archiv. Secret. Vatican.

† Ex Archiv. Secret. Brev. 10 April, 1575.

‡ Relatio Arch. Dublinen. in 1623.

curia defuncti de persona Dni. Cornelii Mercadell (perhaps MacCadel) cum retentione canonicatus," etc. We find, moreover, that Miler Magrath, then bishop of Down and Connor, petitioned the pope in 1568, to be translated to Clogher. Dr. Creagh wrote against having this petition granted; and then that unfortunate man addressed his solicitations to Elizabeth, who readily granted his translation in 1570. Other favours, too, were heaped on him; he was not only made archbishop of Cashel, but he was allowed to hold together with it the bishoprics of Emly, Waterford, and Lismore, and subsequently Killala and Achonry, as well as several rectories, etc., as may be seen in Harris' Bishops. He had, however, the good fortune to repent before his death, and to be received back into the Catholic fold by Dr. Kearney, archbishop of Cashel.

Down and Connor.—Dr. John Merriman was the first Protestant bishop of this see, as Dr. Mant informs us.* This bishop was appointed by Elizabeth in 1568. Already in 1565, on the fourth of the ides of October, Miler Magrath had been appointed Catholic bishop. Sentence of deposition was passed against him towards the close of 1569.† Thus the first Protestant bishop was certainly an intruder. As regards Dr. Magennis, who was appointed to this see by Rome in 1541, he seems to have died in 1564, as the Consistorial Acts describe the see, in 1565, as vacant, "per obitum Eugenii Magnissii."

Ardfert.—James Fitzmaurice held this see from 1551 till his death in 1583. We have already given some particulars about this bishop, and the Four Masters, registering his death, style him "a vessel full of wisdom." A successor seems to have been appointed without delay, as I find the see described as one to which a bishop might be appointed without danger. The only other entry that I met with in the Consistorial Acts of this period is as follows, on 5th August, 1591: "Fuit provisum Ecclesiæ Ardfertensi, in regno Hiberniæ, vacanti per obitum Jacobi Idorni (sic), de persona Michaelis Gualterii (perhaps FitzWalter), cum dispensatione super eo quod non sit doctor; et cum dispensatione etiam defectus oculi, quatenus opus sit, et cum retentione Decanatus Templi Christi in civitate Dublinensi quousque

* History, etc. vol. i. p. 296.

† Ex Archiv. Secret. Vatic.

adeptus fuerit possessionem pacificam ecclesiæ Ardfertensis aut majoris partis diœcesis."

Killaloe.—Terence O'Brien was bishop of this see till the year 1566, and Dr. Mant says he knows not what became of him afterwards. The first Protestant bishop was appointed in 1570 to enjoy the temporalities of the see, but was not consecrated till 1576.* The appointment of the Catholic bishop is registered on 10th January, 1571: "provisum fuit Ecclesiæ S. Falani in provincia Cassellensi in Hibernia in persona Malachiæ, nobilis et sacerdotis ejusdem Provinciæ." On the 22nd of August, 1576, he was translated to Kilmacduagh. Dr. Cornelius O'Mulrian was appointed his successor on the same day, and lived till the year 1617.†

10.—*Conclusion.*

Thus, then, so far from the old clergy of Ireland having *merged* into the reformation of Elizabeth, the succession of the Catholic hierarchy remained unbroken. True, many of the bishops were compelled to abandon the temporalities of their sees to the agents of the reformation, still they continued faithful to their spiritual charge: and surely Dr. Todd, and the other able writers whom we have named above, will not affirm that the seizing on the property which our fathers bequeathed for sacred Catholic purposes, sufficed to *merge* these faithful bishops and their flocks in the government establishment. In many dioceses, the crown did not even attempt to appoint Protestant bishops: whilst in the other dioceses where such bishops were appointed, they are proved almost invariably to have been intruders—Catholic bishops being already, by canonical authority, consecrated for these sees, and ruling by the power and in the name of the Holy Ghost, the spiritual flocks entrusted to them. As a matter of fact, it results from the preceding pages, that the *mere Irish* remained attached to the Catholic faith: with sacred discernment, they viewed each Protestant bishop as a mere official of a government which proscribed alike their name and their religion;

* Ware.

† The Burgundian List gives his appointment on 22nd August, 1579, which is merely an error of the copyist.

and though they were obliged to pay Protestant bishops as agents of the crown, they took care not to seek for spiritual food at their hands: indeed, it is quite evident, that neither the hierarchy, whether *mere Irish* or Anglo-Irish of the pale, nor the Irish people, *merged* into the so-called reformation. The theory, therefore, proposed by Dr. Todd, that the present Catholic Church of Ireland had its origin in the sixteenth century, being founded at that period by *emissaries from Spain, begging friars, and foreign priests*,* has no foundation in truth, and is in direct opposition to the genuine records of history, which prove that the Catholics of Ireland, as a body, and their clergy, remained devotedly attached to the chair of St. Peter, and that neither penal laws, nor confiscation, nor exile, nor imprisonment, nor the sword, nor the other violent and anti-Christian means employed to propagate Protestantism, could separate them from the true fold of Jesus Christ, or induce them to adopt the false teaching, or to imitate the corrupt morals of Henry and Elizabeth, of Cranmer and Brown, Curwin and Loftus, and other worthy fathers of the Reformation.

* These are the words of Dr. Todd, St. Patr. p. 244.

END OF INTRODUCTION.

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HISTORY

OF THE

CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN,

SINCE THE REFORMATION.

CHAPTER I.

1. Matthew de Oviedo, a native of Spain, and member of the Franciscan Order—The Geraldine War in 1579.—2. The War of Hugh O’Neil.—3. Particular events of Oviedo’s episcopate, and persecutions of the Catholics under James I.

MATTHEW DE OVIEDO.

AFTER a widowhood of more than half a century, the metropolitan see of Leinster was at last to be consoled by the appointment of a chief pastor, in the person of Matthew de Oviedo. This prelate, who, in 1600, was chosen to fill the vacant see of Dublin, was a native of Spain, being born in the diocese of Segovia, in Castile, and in his early years became a member of the observant order of St. Francis. With the spirit of religious observance, he seems to have imbibed an enthusiastic affection for Ireland, and he soon wholly devoted himself to promote its interests. Salamanca was the place chosen for his novitiate; and side by side with him, within its study halls, sat Florence Conroy, who, a few years later, was promoted to the archiepiscopate of Tuam. At the period of which we treat, Salamanca was renowned throughout Europe as a sanctuary of piety and learning; and an English contemporary writer observed, that there “all kind of learning was, by most excellent men, with incredible industry, professed.” Many were the bright

ornaments of Spain which went forth from its halls; and the annalist of the Franciscan order numbers eleven of the companions of Oviedo who were subsequently raised to the episcopal dignity.*

We are unacquainted with the early fruits of the zealous labours of Oviedo in the sacred ministry, and we meet with him, for the first time, in 1579, on the renewal of the Geraldine war, when his services were enlisted in the Spanish court in favour of the Irish chieftains.

1.—*The Geraldine War, 1579.*

James Fitzmaurice, brother of the earl of Desmond, had long solicited the aid of the Spanish monarch to achieve the independence of the Irish nation, and free it from the intolerable yoke of persecution and heresy to which it was then subjected. At length, on the 17th of June, 1579, the first expedition sailed from the port of Ferol, bearing with it a momentary aid and a pledge of future more powerful succours. The bishops of Killybegs and Ross shared the perils of this expedition; Dr. Sanders, too, accompanied it as Papal nuncio, having received, immediately before his departure from Spain, as a token of the Sovereign Pontiff's favour, a gift of the silver altar-plate which had belonged to the ill-fated Stukely; and Matthew de Oviedo, who is described in the official list as *guardian of the Franciscan convent of Toro, and commissary of his order*, was chosen chaplain of the army.

In the following year, a detailed narrative of the events of the campaign which ensued was presented to the Roman court.†

"James Geraldine," it says, "sailed from a port called Ferol, in the kingdom of Galicia, on the 17th of June, 1579, with the few troops which he had gathered, having with him his own vessel, and three Spanish chaluppes, which belonged to the port of St. Vincent, *de lo*

* Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, ad an. 1290 (tom. 2dus, pag. 583). Some writers go too far when they say that these were all *fellow-novices*. One of the number was Hugh M'Caghwell, archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1626, in his 55th year; he was consequently only eight years old in 1579, at which time Oviedo had already, for some years, completed his novitiate, and was engaged in the exercise of his missionary duties.

† The original is in Italian, and may be seen in the Appendix No. 1.

Barquere. On the way we captured three vessels, two of which were English and the third French, which was immediately set free; and on the 16th of July we arrived in Ireland, at the port of Dingle, where we arrested, amongst others, the chieftain of the district, who held in his possession the fort known as the *Golden Castle*. At three leagues distance is the port of Smerwick, which we reached on the 18th of July, and there we left our vessels. On the 25th two galleys joined us, carrying one hundred fighting men; but, four days later, an English war vessel captured our two ships, whilst the earl of Desmond marched to attack us. That very night, however, John Geraldine, brother of the earl, joined us, promising to live and die in defence of the Catholic faith. Our commander learning the good dispositions of many of the chiefs of those districts, dispatched the friar commissary, called *Matthew Oviedo*, to Spain, to procure all that was necessary for the campaign, and in company with James Geraldine, Dr. Sanders, and others, penetrated, the following night, into the interior of the country, leaving a body of Spaniards to guard the castle. The earl of Desmond was neither our friend nor our enemy, and we freely traversed his territory. The viceroy being informed of the coming of James Fitzmaurice into these parts, marched to attack us. We remained on the defensive; and a gentleman named David Barry having invited us to his territory, promising to join us with all his followers, James Fitzmaurice set out in that direction. He was intercepted, however, by a body of the queen's forces, consisting of two hundred swordsmen, sixteen cavalry, and three musketeers. We were only thirty swordsmen, six cavalry, and three musketeers, with captain Bertoni, of Faenza; still we gained the victory, killing six of their cavalry, and twelve others, whilst on our side none but the general, James Fitzmaurice, was slain. John Geraldine* then became our leader; and a month later we gained another victory, in which three of the English captains, eight of their cavalry, forty musketeers, and more than a hundred others were slain, none being killed on our side, and only the general and four others being wounded. It was on the 18th of August that James Geraldine was slain, yet, on account of our success, great numbers joined us, and after some days the earl of Desmond also came to us with all his troops. Being thus strengthened, we at once advanced to attack the enemy; but as they were prepared to receive us, and our musketeers were few, we could not force their lines, and we were compelled to retire, leaving forty of our men killed, amongst whom was one knight, and a medical doctor named Allen.† There was no further skirmishing before my departure, but

* The Annals of the Four Masters present an interesting account of the adventures of John Geraldine at this period, how "he slept only upon couches of stone, or on the earth. He drank of the pure cold streams, and that from the palms of his hands, or from his shoes. His only cooking utensils were the long twigs of the forest for dressing the flesh-meats carried away from his enemies," etc.

† The English authorities falsely imagined that the Dr. Allen who was slain was an ecclesiastic, and the famous Jesuit of that name.

both sides were busily engaged in preparing for battle. The earl of Ormond had advanced towards the west, where my residence is, and our general gave orders that all the castles should be levelled to the ground, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands. On the 10th of March, earl Clancarthy, called Macarthymore, declared in our favour: he has 4,000 fighting men. The two sons of the earl of Connaught also took part with us, and invaded the territory of Ormond, obliging him to leave his quarters, and hasten to defend his own territory. The earl of Desmond was, however, unable to pursue him, his troops being badly provided with fire-arms. These are the chief events that occurred before my departure, which was on the 14th of March, on which day I sailed from the port of Dingle. The general was then at Tralee, together with his brothers, Dr. Sanders, and other religious; the remainder of the army was encamped in the adjoining districts. The following are the names of the principal chieftains who have sided with us:—Gerald Geraldine, the general, earl of Desmond; John Geraldine, his brother; James Geraldine, also his brother; Macarthymore, cousin of the earl; David Barry, the MacLiens, who are four brothers; three sons of the earl's brother, and baron MacMaurice."

The Papal nuncio, Sanders, writing to cardinal Como, in Rome, on the 10th of October, 1579, gives some further details connected with the first landing of the expedition, and states that already one-fourth of all Ireland had declared in their favour, and that there was no doubt but the whole island would be with them if the promised assistance was forwarded without delay. The Irish troops must have been exposed to much hardship, as he states that he himself had been four times despoiled of all he possessed, and scarcely had a sheet of paper on which to write to his eminence.*

Many motives had, at first, induced the earl of Desmond to assume the mask of indifference for the Catholic cause. He, however, privately encouraged the leaders, and allowed his retainers to join the Spanish ranks. At length, as he himself writes, seeing how the English exulted in the death of James Fitzmaurice, and how his own castles were assailed by them, he could no longer curb his indignation; and though one of his sons was yet a hostage in the hands of the government, he

* See his letter in Appendix No. 2, with an extract from another letter of the same to the nuncio in Portugal, 8th October, 1579.

resolved "to postpone everything to the service of God," and, with his troops, marched to join the army of his brothers.*

For twelve months the war was carried on with ever-varying success. Many particulars connected with it are preserved in the histories of the period, and some additional facts are recorded in the following extracts from Sanders' letters, transmitted to Rome by the nuncio at the Spanish court, before the close of 1580:—

"The bishops of Killaloe,† Ardfer,‡ and Ross,§ share in all the privations of the camp. John Lacy, with his troop, comprising cavalry and infantry, passed from the enemy to the Catholic side, and levelled his own castles to the ground, lest they should afford protection to the enemy. The sons of the earl of Connaught have made known their intention of joining us, and one of them declared that he was only prevented from doing so by the danger impending over his father, who was as yet detained a captive in the hands of the English.

"Dr. Sanders also writes, that during the Christmas time O'Neil and O'Donel had made a great havoc of the enemy. That after the taking of Jetal (Youghal), in Clancarthy's country, much time was lost in negotiations between John Geraldine and the earl of Clancarthy, who at length agreed to a truce. That in the absence of the Irish chiefs, the earl of Ormond, of the Butlers, the only Irish family hostile to the Catholic faith, invaded the territory of the Catholics, and carried away an immense booty;|| the Catholics, however, soon after made an inroad into his territory, and carried away an equal prey."

We have seen how father Matthew de Oviedo, on the 30th of July, 1579, only fourteen days after his arrival on the Irish coast, was dispatched on an embassy to the Spanish monarch, to

* See, in Appendix No. 3, an extract from letter of Desmond, transmitted by the nuncio, in Madrid, to the card. secret. of state, in Rome.

† Dr. Cornelius O'Mulrian, who took a leading part in this expedition. He died in 1617.

‡ James Fitzmaurice, who died A.D. 1583, before the close of the war. He is styled by the Four Masters, *a vessel full of wisdom*. This letter of Sanders is the first published document that throws any light on the course taken by this prelate in the Desmond war. Conf. O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath. Dublin edit. pp. 120-1 in notis.

§ Dr. Thomas O'Herlihy, a sketch of whose life we have given in a preceding chapter.

|| See Haverty Hist. of Irl. pag. 420. "He seized a prey of 1,500 cows belonging to the earl of Desmond, who had a narrow escape of falling, together with his countess and Dr. Sanders, into the hands of the lord deputy, having passed that way only about an hour before. Some of the vestments and sacred vessels belonging to the legate were taken by the soldiers."

make known the wants of the Irish chieftains, and to urge on the expedition of the promised aid. The English agents, on the other hand, being scattered through every port of Portugal and Spain,* exerted all their influence to prevent it; and when at last it sailed for the Irish coast, they contrived to have appointed to the command one whose heart was open to corruption, and whose incapacity, or treachery, soon blasted all the hopes of the Desmond chieftains.

On the 27th of August, 1580, the new expedition sailed from the harbour of Santander, on the coast of Biscay, being under the command of colonel Sebastian S. José, and having on board about 300 soldiers,† together with the heroic Franciscan father, Oviedo. On the 13th of the following month they reached the Irish shore, and landed their military stores in the port of Smerwick.‡

Oviedo was bearer of a letter of the Roman Pontiff, encouraging the Irish chieftains to union, and bestowing on all who should join the Catholic army the same indulgences that were enjoyed by the Crusaders. It was as follows:—

“ Gregory XIII. to the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, as also to the Catholic princes, earls, barons, clergy, nobles, and people of Ireland, health and apostolic benediction :

“ A few years ago we exhorted you by our letters, when you took up arms to defend your liberties and rights, under the leadership of James Geraldine, of happy memory, to be all of one mind, and to give a ready and strenuous aid to that chieftain who, with inexpressible ardour, desired to free you from that yoke which is imposed on you by the English heretics; and that you might the more promptly and efficaciously join with him in this enterprise, we conceded to all those who, with due contrition, had confessed their sins, full pardon and remission, and the same indulgence as was imparted by the Roman Pontiffs to those who fought against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land, provided they should enrol themselves under the banners of the aforesaid James, the champion and defender of the Catholic faith, or aid him by

* Letter of Sebast. S. José, 19th Jan. 1580, in Archiv. Sec. Vatic.

† The English accounts give the number as 700; Dr. Sanders, however, in his letter of 9th January, 1581, states the number as 300.

‡ Letter of Alexander Bertoni, 27th December, 1580, and dispatch of the nuncio to card. Como, in Archiv. Sec. Vatic.

counsel, provisions, arms, or other things necessary for the sustenance of his troops. Lately, however, we have learned, with the most profound sorrow, that James fell in battle, bravely fighting for the faith, and that our beloved son, John Geraldine, has succeeded him, who has already given heroic proofs of his devotion to the Catholic religion. We therefore, with all possible affection, exhort, urge, and solicit each and every one of you to unite with the said John, your commander, and aid him and his army against the aforesaid heretics, as you would have aided the aforesaid James, if he were living. We therefore impart the above plenary indulgence to each and every one of you, provided you shall first have confessed and communicated, and given aid, by every means in your power, to the general-in-chief, John, and, in case of his demise, which God avert, to James, his brother, which concession shall continue as long as the brothers John and James shall live and carry on this war against the heretics, etc. Given at Rome the 13th day of May, 1580, the eighth of our pontificate.”*

One of the first acts of the Spanish commander, San José, was to reject the counsel of the Irish chieftains. On a neck of land jutting out into the sea, and naturally fortified on every side by the rocks, there remained the ruins of an ancient castle, from which it derived its name of the *Golden Fort*. San José chose this as the site of a fortress, and, without delay, set to work to renew its walls and strengthen its position. It was in vain that the Irish leaders represented to him the strength of the English fleet, and the difficulty of introducing provisions into the fort; and at length finding him inflexible in his resolve, they united with him some chosen troops, and left a faithful priest, named Laurence Moore, to animate their courage and watch the movements of the commander. Matthew de Oviedo seconded with all his influence the remonstrance of the Irish leaders; but seeing that his representations were slighted by San José, he quitted the Spanish quarters, and, together with the bishop of Killaloe and Dr. Sanders, joined the camp of the earl of Desmond.†

The services of our Franciscan father were soon required by the Irish chieftains in another field of labour; and before the

* The original Latin letter, which we have somewhat abridged in the text, may be seen in O'Sullivan's Hist. Cath. pp. 121-2.

† Documents were forwarded to Rome by San José, accusing Oviedo and the bishop of Killaloe for having joined the Irish camp contrary to his express orders. In Archiv. Sec. Vatic.

close of October, 1580, he was once more sent on an embassy to Spain, with instructions to proceed thence to Rome, and act as representative of Ireland at the Papal court.* A letter of Dr. Sanders, written to the Spanish nuncio on the 19th October 1580, whilst it registers some of the chief events that had occurred up to that period, gives also some particulars connected with the then contemplated mission of Oviedo:—†

“On the 26th of July, whilst the earl of Clanrickard and baron Macmaurice abandoned our camp and joined the enemy, judging that we had no hope of success, the most noble baron of Baltinglass, James Eustace, as also Tieghe Mache (*sic*), and many others of the nobility, took up arms for the faith in the vicinity of Dublin itself, which is the capital of all Ireland. They displayed heroic courage, and gained some brilliant victories over the enemy. John Geraldine came thence to our quarters, to seek some pecuniary assistance to strengthen his party there. We proposed the matter to colonel Sebastiano, who made kind promises, but as yet gave him no money. I pray your excellency not to be unmindful of John and his associates, who are well deserving of the Catholic cause.

“John Geraldine sends his son, Thomas Geraldine, to Spain, in company with father Matthew (Oviedo): he is a boy of admirable talent and excellent disposition, and he is sent thither by his father to receive a suitable education.

“When I had written the above, John Geraldine came to inform me that he was afraid to send his son, for the present, to Spain, on account of the imminent risk which he would run in such a journey.

“This is only the third part of what I was anxious to write to you; but as we fear lest the English may besiege our fortress by sea, we hasten to send off father Matthew, whom the earl and John Geraldine wish to act as nuncio with your excellency.

“The ships that will come thence with the army should make for the port of Cork, for they will there be easily protected from the enemy. The port of Limerick is not so safe, and it is thought it will be occupied by the English fleet.”

Whilst Oviedo was engaged in discharging the mission entrusted to him, his countrymen in the Golden Fort met with a

* See Appendix No. 4.

† Ex Archiv. Sec. Vatican, Inghilter. 1580. We learn, even from English sources, the high esteem in which Oviedo was held in the Irish camp. “And there is in great estimation with them one frere Matthew Oviedo, whom they call commissarius apostolicus.”—Letter of the commons of Lixnaw to her Majesty’s attorney and recorder of Limerick, the 27th Sept. 1580.—St. Pap. Off. London.

mournful fate. The sad tale is easily told. In the beginning of November, the earl of Ormond made a first attack on it with 1,500 men,* and was compelled to retreat, leaving many of his dead around its ramparts. An English fleet, consisting of fourteen vessels, seven of which were men of war,† soon after hove in sight, whilst, at the same time, the viceroy, with a reinforcement of 2,000 men, joined the besieging camp. The little garrison, though hemmed in on every side, fought with heroic determination; every attack was repulsed and every breach repaired; and the army of the Geraldines on the surrounding hills was mustering all its strength to make a combined attack on the English camp. However, the courage of San José failed, and he at once entered into treaty with the viceroy. We shall allow Dr. Sanders to present to the reader the details of this negotiation. We meet with only one redeeming feature in it, forsooth, the heroism displayed in their martyrdom by three glorious champions of the Catholic cause:—‡

“The war which was carried on for the faith in Ireland, though begun without any human aid, would have been very soon most happily terminated, if the assistance which was promised to us within six months, had come to us even within twelve months; for all Ireland was most desirous that the ancient faith should be restored, and, with the aid which was promised, this end would without any difficulty have been attained. But when a whole year had passed, and no succours had as yet arrived, many of the chieftains, looking on our cause as desperate, made their submission to the viceroy, so that none but the Geraldine family remained in arms, at the head of which family is the earl of Desmond. The enemy, on the other hand, was most powerful, being in need of nothing, either by land or sea, to assail us. At length, however, the most noble baron James Eustace, lord of Baltinglass, moved by zeal for religion, united with the earl of Desmond, and still courageously perseveres in the Catholic cause.

“Matters being so, after a year and about four months, three hundred recruits were sent to us under the command of Sebastian de San José, a most vile and wicked man, who, during the three past years, con-

* Letter of Bertoni, 27th Dec. 1580, in Archiv. Secret. Vatic: O'Sullivan's Hist. Cath. page 115.

† Bertoni, loc. cit. states that there were 250 pieces of brass artillery on board the fleet: San José, in his defence, makes a similar statement. See Bertoni's letter in Appendix No. 5.

‡ Letter of the 9th January, 1581. See Appendix No. 6.

tinually preyed upon the vitals of our sacred cause, being himself avaricious and luxurious, and effeminate and arrogant: and hence his arrival only increased more and more our difficulties. His first care was to select a suitable site for a fortress, where his soldiers and his goods would be secure. God allowed him fifty days, during which he was free to perfect his designs. From his boasting, people would imagine that he had brought four thousand men with him;* but the enemy soon discovered the reality, and the earl of Ormond advanced with some troops to reconnoitre. Some of our soldiers went out to skirmish. There was in the enemy's ranks one who far surpassed all his companions-in-arms, by name Andrew Martin, ward of the castle of Mang. He having chosen his ground, fired on our men with great skill, till he fell, being shot through the head by one of our soldiers. The earl of Ormond finding that the English fleet had not arrived, abandoned the fortress, and rejoined his army. This gave great courage to our men, who now imagined that the fortress was impregnable. In a few days, however, the queen's fleet came in sight, whilst the viceroy advanced by land. On the 7th of November, the lines were opened against the fortress, and the firing continued till the evening of the eighth day. Then San José, more solicitous about his life and pleasure than for the honour of God and the holy cause, hoisted the white flag as a signal of wished-for peace: the enemy rejoiced that an opportunity was thus given them of seizing the fortress, for they had begun to give up all hope of entering it by force. Captain Winckfield was sent by the viceroy to learn what conditions were asked for by San José. By permission of the colonel, a worthless man named Anthony Urtiago, who, for his cowardice, John Geraldine had deprived of his commission and reduced to the ranks, was sent to Winckfield, and then to the viceroy, Winckfield remaining as a hostage in the fortress. The viceroy demanded that James Fitzgerald, the most noble son of the earl of Desmond, should be surrendered to him. To this the colonel assented, delivering him at once into his hands. The same night San José himself went to the viceroy's camp: he went, however, so adorned with golden rings and chains, and so decked with trinkets, that one would suppose him to be victorious and triumphant. He remained all that night with the viceroy, and received from him a present of a steed fully equipped. They are said to have agreed that two-thirds of all the property in the fortress should go to the queen, and the remaining third to San José, and that all the soldiers should be free to return to Spain. On the morning of the ninth day, the colonel returned to the fortress, declaring to the soldiers that such was the enemy's strength that there was no hope of being able to resist; so that nothing remained for them but to be allowed to return safely to Spain. The most holy priest, Laurence Moore, at once ad-

* This is confirmed by the Four Masters, who state that "the fame of the invasion was so great at first, that had they come to Limerick, Galway, or Cork, these great towns would have been left wide open to them."

dressed the colonel, exhorting him not to be unmindful of his duty to God and to the Holy See, and to bravely defend the fortress which they guarded for the cause of faith. God, he said, would not be wanting to them should they place their trust in Him, and devote themselves to the discharge of their duties. His discourse was, however, despised : for the Spanish soldiers were so little inflamed with military ardour, that they were accustomed to use their swords as spits, and their helmets as pots, when cooking their meat. The Irish who esteem nothing more than their arms, and are continually engaged in polishing and adorning them, seeing this practice of the Spaniards, held them in the greatest contempt. There were a few of them, however, who were enraged at the determination of San José, and who even deliberated about taking away his life : however, as the multitude thought of nothing but of returning to Spain, their resolution was of no avail.

"At the request of the viceroy, the priest Laurence, Oliver Plunket, and William Willick, an Englishman, were delivered into his hands : to them the offer was made to be restored to liberty should they consent to take the oath of allegiance to the queen ; but when they replied, with one accord, that they were Catholics, and that, by the grace of God, they would persevere in the faith, they were led off to a forge of an ironsmith, and there their arms and legs were broken in three different parts. During all that night and the following day they endured that torment with invincible patience ; at length they were hanged, and their bodies cut into fragments. Thus did they receive the palm of martyrdom.*

"In the meantime, the colonel managed matters at his pleasure ; and having shown to the soldiers the terms granted by the viceroy, all were satisfied. The English were then allowed to enter into the fortress, where there was great feasting and banqueting on that day. On the tenth, the viceroy gave orders for all the war-materiel and other property to be brought to the lower camp, to be there guarded by his men. He then sent to the fortress three hundred soldiers, who were joyfully received by the Biscayans ; and when they had feasted for a while, he gave further orders that none of the Spaniards should bear arms, but deposit them in a determined place. This being done, the viceroy called to himself eighteen individuals, of whom thirteen were Italians and three Spaniards, and taking from the colonel the paper of conditions which

* The martyrdom of these three holy men is substantially corroborated by the letter of Sir Richard Bingham to Walsingham (St. Pap. Off.), in which he states, that an Englishman who had waited on Dr. Sanders, Plunket, who acted as interpreter, and an Irish priest, were reserved for special punishment—"their arms and legs were first broken, and they were then hanged on a gibbet on the walls of the fort." Lord Grey, in his dispatch to the queen, betrays how great a share religious animosity had in the subsequent cruel massacre. He took care, he says, to call the pope "a detestable shaveling, the right antichrist, and general ambitious tyrant over all principalities."—St. Pap. Off.

had been agreed to, the English soldiers at once began the bloody tragedy, massacring all the remaining soldiers, not allowing one of them to escape.* This is a brief narrative of the sad event. With how far greater glory would these soldiers have laid down their lives fighting for Christ and for the Catholic faith! Our sins, however, merited for us this chastisement; now nothing remains but that abundant supplies be, once for all, sent to us. Such succour, however, implies an army of eight or ten thousand men; and then, without delay, all Ireland will be in our power.

"I thought it well to notify these things to your excellency, not doubting but that, as usual, you will aid our cause as far as lies in your power. It would have been, in fact, far better that this war was never begun, than that now, in the middle of this conflict, we should be left alone and abandoned."

The few unfortunate prisoners lingered a long time in confinement; and so universal was the disgust at the treachery of the commander, San José, that for many months none could be found to offer a ransom for his release. Accusations, too, were formally presented against him before the Spanish court, and amongst the chief of his accusers was our Franciscan father, Matthew de Oviedo:—

"There is nothing I so ardently desire," writes Paul Justinian to San José, on the 9th May, 1581, "as to see you set at liberty, that you may be able to plead your cause against Ciantu and Peter Ortis, on the one hand, and against father Matthew de Oviedo on the other. They have accused you of a thousand things which I could not well mention here; suffice it to say, that father Matthew has brought from Ireland a thick volume of evidence against you."†

From this letter, it would appear that Oviedo again returned to Ireland in 1581, and that he still continued the faithful friend

* All the English authorities confess the indiscriminate slaughter of the garrison, and number the slain at 600. Sir Richard Bingham insinuates that it took place without orders; but the dispatch of lord Grey to the queen places that point beyond all doubt. "Morning came," he writes, "and I presented my forces in battle before the fort. The colonel, with ten or twelve of his chief gentlemen, came trailing their ensigns rolled up, and presented them to me with their lives and the fort. . . . I sent straight, certain gentlemen, to see their weapons and armouries laid down, and to guard the munition and victual then left from spoil: *then put I in certain bands, who straight fell to execution. There were 600 slain.*" No wonder that "Graia fides," Grey's faith, should become proverbial, not only in Ireland, but even on the continent.—O'Sullivan Hist. Cath.

† In Archiv. Sec. Vatic. This letter was written from Madrid to San José, who was still detained in prison.

of the earl of Desmond. The treachery of San José was, however, a death-blow to the hopes of the Geraldines; and if they still prolonged the struggle, it was only in the hope that new succours would be sent to them from the continent, and further aid procured for the sacred cause in which they had embarked.* The Spanish government, however, could send no further succours; and at length, on the 11th of November, 1583, the hopeless struggle was brought to a close by the assassination of the noble earl of Desmond. More than once pardon had been proffered to this heroic chieftain, should he consent to surrender Dr. Sanders to the viceroy—a stipulation which he indignantly spurned. Dr. Sanders, whilst life remained, continued to share the perils and fatigues of the Irish camp, till at length, worn away by dysentery, he expired towards the close of 1581.† In his last moments he was attended by his companion in suffering, the bishop of Killaloe, and his body was borne to the grave by four Irish knights, it being prohibited for any others to attend, “lest perchance some person might be found to betray his place of interment to the English enemy, who were accustomed to vent their irreligious fury even against the remains of the deceased.”‡

2.—*The War of Hugh O'Neil.*

For some years Matthew de Oviedo seems to have devoted himself to the unobtrusive discharge of his missionary duties in Spain, till towards the close of the century, the voice of Ireland once more summoned him from the cloister to guard her interests in the Spanish court. Spain had, as yet, scarce recovered from the dreadful shock of her shattered armada, when the victories of the Blackwater,§ and the Curliu mountains, and the repeated

* We give in the Appendix, No. 7, a letter of the earl of Desmond, dated Aharlach, 23rd January, 1582, which shows what confidence that chieftain placed in Oviedo, and how bitterly he felt the treachery of the foreign commander.

† Annals of Four Masters, by O'Donovan, p. 1761.

‡ O'Sullivan's Hist. Cath. p. 121.

§ Primo Damaschino in Spada D'Orione, printed in Rome, in 1680, says that the destruction of Bagnal's army at the Blackwater, was hailed with salvos of artillery from St. Angelo's—"fecero eco colle sue salve di allegrezza le artiglierie di Roma."

destruction of English armies by the united forces of O'Donel and O'Neil, proved that Ireland was still a priceless ally of the Spanish crown. Towards the close of 1599, the earl of Essex agreed to an interview with O'Neil, and whilst a truce was concluded for six weeks, the Irish chieftain demanded from the viceroy "that the Catholic religion should be tolerated; that the principal officers of the state and the judges should be natives of Ireland; that he himself, O'Donel, and James Fitzthomas Roe (whom O'Neil had created earl of Desmond), should enjoy the lands of their ancestors, and that half the army in Ireland should consist of Irishmen."* A few days after this interview, two Spanish vessels, under the command of Ferdinand de Barranova, and having on board Matthew de Oviedo, arrived on the coast of Ulster. The Franciscan was bearer of a letter of the reigning pope to O'Neil, congratulating him on his victories, and exhorting him to persevere in the glorious struggle, that thus "the Catholic kingdom of Ireland might not be subject to the yoke of heresy, nor the members of Christ have for their head the iniquitous Elizabeth."† At the same time he presented to the Irish chieftain, in the pontiff's name, a crown of phoenix feathers;‡ whilst from the Spanish monarch, Philip III., he brought 22,000 crowns of gold, to assist him in his unparalleled enterprises.

There was another more secret motive which impelled the Spanish monarch to dispatch this trusty delegate to the Irish shores: it was, that he might thus learn at length the true state of the kingdom, the attitude of the queen's government in regard to Ireland, and that of the Irish nation in regard to the English crown. The *Hibernia Pacata* says, that he was sent "to see and understand the state of the country."§ Many English, scattered through the continental courts, though feign-

* Pet. Lomb. loc. cit. and Haverty's History of Ireland, p. 472. James FitzThomas, the earl of Desmond, was commonly known as the *sugane earl*. Cox says he was "the handsomest man of his time."

† Primo Damaschino, loc. cit. He adds, concerning Elizabeth, "*che simile a Medusa avea per sua corona le vipere dell' Eresia.*"

‡ We learn from Hoveden's Annals, that the son of Henry II. received, on a former occasion, from the pontiff, as a token of his lordship over Ireland, "a crown of peacock's feathers wreathed with gold."

§ Pages 456-7.



ing a great devotion for the interests of Ireland, and for the Catholic cause, had poisoned the minds of the Catholic princes in reference to our island. The contemporary Irish authorities bitterly complain of this. It will suffice to give the words of Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh,* who, commemorating the obstacles which had hitherto impeded the triumph of the Catholic cause, says:—

“*Quintum est ex affectu non sincero vel certe judicio minus solido quorundam aliorum Anglicanæ nominatim nationis qui apud eosdem principes vel auctoritatem aliquam consequuti vel se sponte ingerentes ad informationem dandam tam de hac quam de quibusdam aliis vicinis regionibus, cum de ea imprimis adjuvanda faciliorem multo rationem possent demonstrare id vel reticentes vel etiam deprimentes, alia consilia suggesserunt quæ principibus ipsis nimis sumptuosa, regionibus istis noxia magis quam utilia, ut taceam quod orbi Christiano non satis etiam tuta.*”

For some months prosperity smiled on our long-suffering island, and O'Neil availed himself of this momentary repose to make a sort of royal progress through the southern districts, for the purpose of uniting all the Irish chieftains in a compact confederation against the common enemy. It was one of his most anxious cares that chief pastors should be provided for the widowed sees of the Irish Church; and in unison with the confederate chiefs, he addressed a letter to pope Clement, soliciting the appointment of those bishops whose names they had forwarded, with the sanction and under the guidance of the aged bishop of Cork and Cloyne, the only bishop that still survived in the province of Munster. This letter is dated “from our Catholic camp, the 30th March, 1600,” and in it the Irish Catholics are declared to suffer more from the English heretics than the Christians under the Turkish yoke, and that their government was more tyrannical than that of Pharaoh of old.

One of the prelates whose names had been thus forwarded by the Irish princes to the Holy See, was Matthew de Oviedo; and though the bull by which he was constituted successor of

* Comment. cap. xxi.

† See Hib. Pacata, p. 309.

St. Laurence O'Toole, is dated the 7th of May, 1600,* yet the Irish princes already styled him archbishop-elect of Dublin, as appears from a fragment of O'Neil's letter to Florence M'Carthy, on 2nd of May, 1600, which is preserved in the *Hibernia Pacata*.† From this document we also learn, that our heroic Franciscan had undertaken another journey to Ireland, bearer of promises from the Spanish court, and destined in a special manner to preserve the union which for some time had so happily combined together the Irish princes. It was with the same intent that the pontiff, about the same time, addressed another letter to all the confederate chieftains, renewing the indulgences which had formerly been granted during the Geraldine war. In it he confirmed to Hugh of Tyrone the leadership of the Catholic army, and moreover confirmed to him the title of prince O'Neil, which, in the style of the Roman court at this period, was usually granted only to independent sovereigns.‡ From February, 1600, till the same month in 1601, Oviedo shared the perils of the Irish campaign. He seems to have resided for the most part in the territory of Tyrone; and many of his letters are still preserved which he thence addressed to the southern chiefs, exhorting them to constancy and union. One of these was addressed to the earl of Desmond, and bears the date, Donegal, the 13th January, 1601:—

“MY MOST HONORABLE GOOD LORD,—Having long desired a fit opportunity to write unto you, I am rejoiced that it is at length afforded me by John of Desmond, that thus, through this most trustworthy and faithful messenger, I may open my mind to your lordship, and at the same time make known to you that certain and undoubted hope of aid will assuredly soon arrive. I would most willingly have come to your lordship, and lately, indeed, I made an effort to do so, but I was terrified by the northern chiefs, who assured me that I would run imminent risk and danger in such a journey, unless I were accompanied by an army to protect me. Were it not that I am now through necessity compelled to return to Spain, I should have gone to you with the aforesaid John; but I hope that speedily and happily I shall soon again return to you. In the meantime, I have omitted

* See Appendix No. 8.

† Page 306. It is described as a letter “from Tyrone to Florence M'Carthy, dated the second of May, 1600, wherein he signifieth unto him of the arrival of the pope's archbishop of Dublin, and of present aids from Spain,” etc.

‡ This bull is dated 18th April, 1600. See *Hibernia Pacata*, p. 664.

nothing that might tend to your profit, as well with his Catholic majesty as with others; which offices I will not fail to continue in Spain. I therefore entreat your excellency to be of good courage, together with all of your party, and to fight constantly and valiantly for the faith and for the freedom of your country; for I am persuaded, and know as a certainty, that the help of his Catholic majesty is now coming, which, when it arrives, all things will be prosperous, and you will be restored to your former security and liberty, in the enjoyment of tranquillity and peace. May the Almighty preserve your lordship," etc.

He addressed a similar letter to Florence M'Carthy, three days later:—

"God is my witness," he writes, "that after my arrival in Ireland, having knowledge of your ability and learning, I had an extreme desire to see, communicate, and confer with so distinguished a personage, but the dangers of the journey would not permit me. I am now departing into Spain, sorrowing that I have not visited those parts; but I hope to return again shortly to this kingdom, and into those parts to your satisfaction; and be assured, that I will perform with his majesty the office that a brother ought to do, that he may send succours to you from Spain. By letter I can say no more, but leave the rest until sight. May the Almighty have you in His keeping, according to my desire! From Donegal, the 16th January, 1601."*

Before his departure for Spain, an assembly of northern chieftains was held, and the archbishop was invited to take a part in their deliberations. In the words of the English annalist, "Tyron, O'Donel, the Spanish archbishop, and all the chief traitors of the country, were assembled in this council," and no fewer than "sixteen Irish priests" are said to have assisted at it.† The assembly was opened with due solemnity. The sacrifice of the Mass was offered up, and all present approached the most holy sacrament. The oath of association was then renewed,‡ and the deliberations commenced. A letter from Florence M'Carthy to Tyron, declared that he was one with them in spirit, though he had been obliged to make a truce with the lord deputy: it would expire in May, and then he should once more join his forces with them. The chief matter

* See Hib. Pacat. pp. 300-1. † Hib. Pac. pp. 282, 302. ‡ Ibid.

of debate was the place to be selected for the landing of the Spanish forces. It was unanimously resolved that Munster was the province to be first invaded. Many were of opinion that Limerick was the city to which the expedition should be directed: however, Florence M'Carthy, in his letters, represented Cork as the stronghold of the enemy, the seizing of which would place all Munster in the power of the confederates. This counsel was seconded by the archbishop, and was at length adopted by the whole assembly.*

Their deliberations being concluded, the archbishop hastened, without delay, to Spain, to urge on the so long promised fleet and forces. It was in the month of February, 1601, that Oviedo took his departure from the Irish coast. All his sacred plate and other property, he entrusted to the care of the earl of Tyrone.† He was, moreover, accompanied by the Spanish admiral, Martin de la Cerda;‡ and the earl's son, Henry, was sent under their safe guidance, to be educated in the Spanish court.§

No sooner was the Holy Father made acquainted with the deliberations of the Ulster assembly, than he addressed to O'Neil the following beautiful letter:—

“Beloved son, health and the apostolic blessing. Having learned as well from your letters as from those which our beloved son, Peter Lombard, your countryman, and provost of Cambray, presented to us, that the confederation into which you and very many of the princes and chief nobility of the kingdom have entered, is still, through the mercy of God, preserved inviolate in the bonds of charity, and that you have gained many victories over the English who deserted from our Church and from the Catholic faith, we were filled with exceeding joy, and we returned thanks to God, the Father of mercies, for having yet preserved in that kingdom so many thousands who never bent the knee to Baal. These have not only rejected profane novelties and the impieties of heresy, but, moreover, bravely combat for the inheritance of their fathers, for the preservation and integrity of the faith, and for the

* Hib. Pacata, p. 319.

† “Leaving great store of plate and other riches, for a pledge behind him.” Hib. Pac. p. 281.

‡ Letter of Donogh M'Cormack, 5th of January, 1601.

§ This son of the earl of Tyrone was received with all honour by the Spanish monarch, and had an allowance of two hundred ducats per month for his support. Hib. Pac. p. 457.

maintenance of union with the Church, which alone is catholic and apostolic, and outside of which there is no salvation. We extol the singular piety and fortitude which you, beloved son, have displayed, as well as those princes and all others who, being united and confederated with you, refuse no dangers for the glory of God, and manifestly prove themselves to be worthy children and successors of those heroes who, by valour in war, and their devotion to the cause of religion, acquired an immortal fame. Maintain, my sons, these sentiments, maintain this union and concord, and God the all-powerful, the God of peace and concord, will be with you, and will continue to prostrate your enemies before you. As for us, we love and cherish, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, your excellency, and all the others who are devoted to the ancient faith, and who perpetuate the fame of their fathers; we cease not to pray to God for your felicity and safety, and we shall ever be solicitous for your welfare, and, if necessity requires, we will gladly use all influence in our power to induce the Catholic princes and sovereigns to succour yourselves and your cause. It is also our intention to send to you a special nuncio of this Holy See, over which, by divine disposition, we though unworthily preside, who will be a native of your kingdom, pious, prudent, imbued with zeal for the glory of God, and approved of by us, that thus he may prove the respect we entertain for you, and may assist you in maintaining the so necessary and salutary union, as well as in propagating the Catholic faith, and discharging all the other offices which may promote the honour and worship of God. In the meantime, we judged it proper to premit these letters, in order to attest our love for you and for the whole kingdom, and thus, by our paternal affection, console you, who are our beloved children in Christ. As regards Peter Lombard, whom you have constituted your orator and agent at our court, we have cordially received him, and we will continue so to do. To yourself, and to all those who are united with you in the defence of the Catholic faith, we lovingly impart our apostolic blessing; and we pray God to send His angels as your protectors, to direct your pious efforts by His heavenly grace, and to defend you by the right hand of His omnipotence. Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman, the 20th January, 1601.”*

It was on the 2nd of October, 1601, that Qviedo again reached the Irish coast. As the fate of Ireland would have it, the Spanish fleet was scattered by a storm, and it was with difficulty that our archbishop, with the general Don John D'Aquila and 2,500 men, landed in the harbour of Kinsale. Without delay, letters were sent to O'Neil and O'Donel, to urge the speedy junction of their forces with the Spanish troops.

* The original of this letter is most incorrectly printed in Hib. Pac. page 667, seqq.

"We have arrived in Kinsale," writes the archbishop, "with the fleet and army of our king Philip : we expect, each hour, the arrival of your excellencies : come, therefore, as expeditiously as you can, bringing a supply of horses, of which we are especially in need. As we have already written by another messenger, we now write no more. Farewell.

"FR. MATTHEW, archbishop of Dublin.

"12th October, 1601."

A few days later an address to the Irish Catholics was published in the name of Don John D'Aquila, in which it is declared that the expedition was undertaken by apostolic authority. The Irish Catholics are reminded that queen Elizabeth was an excommunicated sovereign, to whom they owed no allegiance or submission; and it thus concludes:—

"You affirm that we Spaniards seek only to win the Irish to us by allurements and fictitious flattery, that when we have thus drawn the minds of simple men to us, we may afterwards subject them to a cruel yoke, and show our cruel nature towards them. O immortal God ! who is there that is not astounded at your bitter and indescribable cruelty, as well as at the effrontery which you display in these words ? And who is there that doth not know the great cruelty which you English have exercised, and cease not still to exercise, towards the suffering Irish ? You, I say, seek to take from their souls the Catholic faith, which their fathers held, and in which consists eternal life. Truly you are far more cruel than bears or lions, which take away the temporal life, for you would deprive them of the eternal and spiritual life. And who but the English enemy has demolished all the temporalities of this once most flourishing kingdom ? Look upon your work, and be ashamed. Whereas, on the other hand, we, commiserating the sad condition of the Catholics here, have left our own most sweet and happy country, Spain, which abounds with all good things, being moved by their cries which pierce the heavens, and have reached the ears of the Pope and our king Philip. They, excited to pity, have sent hither soldiers, silver, gold, and arms, with a most liberal hand, not to exercise cruelty towards you, O Irish Catholics, but that you may be happily restored to your pristine felicity, and that you may freely profess the Catholic faith. Therefore, most beloved, seeing that what you have for so many years desired, and solicited with prayers and tears, has been at length granted to you, and that now, once more, the Pope, Christ's vicar upon earth, doth command you to take up arms for the defence of the faith, I admonish, exhort, and beseech all of you, to whom these letters may come, to join us, as soon as you possibly can, with your weapons and associates. Whosoever

shall do this, will find us ready for action, and we will communicate unto them such means as we possess; and whosoever, despising our salutary counsel, shall attempt to do otherwise, and remain in the obedience of the English, we will persecute him as an heretic and a hateful enemy of the holy Church.”*

In the meantime, however, the mainstay of the confederates in the south, Florence M'Carthy, had been treacherously seized on by the viceroy, and, together with the earl of Desmond, was committed to the tower.† As for the Anglo-Irish nobility of the province, they were more alarmed at the growing power of the O'Neil than at the spread of the English authority, and almost, without exception, ranged themselves under the banner of the viceroy. Nevertheless, whilst the foreign auxiliaries acted in unison with the Irish chieftains, all succeeded prosperously; but Don John soon quarrelled with them and with our archbishop, who, as of old, was sure to be always found on the side of the Irish princes. What might have been effected by a cordial union between the natives and the Spaniards, was seen when a detachment of the Spanish forces, under vice-admiral de Zubiaur, was attacked by the English at Castlehaven. Zubiaur, without delay, invited the neighbouring Irish chieftains to assist him. They cordially did so; and in a few hours their combined forces compelled the enemy to fly to their vessels, leaving six hundred of their slain on the Irish coast.

So haughty, however, was the deportment of Don John, so ill-conciliating in his deliberations, that few only of the Irish associated with him. “None of account,” writes the English chronicler, “repaired to the Spaniards, except some dependents of Florence M'Carthy. Don John offered six shillings per day to every horseman among the Irish that would join his standard,

* Hib. Pacata. It is deserving of remark, that whilst O'Neil and O'Donel, in their earlier communications with the Spanish monarch, promised allegiance to him, as to their sovereign (See Appendix No. 9), in the later documents they only regard the Spaniards as their allies in asserting their own rightful claim.

† The Hib Pac. tells us that “there was no man of any account in all Munster whom the president had not oftentimes laboured about the taking of the reputed earl, promising very bountiful and liberal rewards to all who would draw such a draught whereby he might be gotten alive or dead.”

so that it is a wonder unto us that from present staggering they fall not into flat defection.”*

For two months the Spanish troops were hemmed in by an army of 15,000 English, yet they defended themselves with heroic bravery. On the 31st of December, the united troops of O’Neil and O’Donel arrived in sight of the castle, having traversed the whole island in the midst of winter, in order to relieve their allies. No fewer than 6,000† of the English troops had already fallen victims around the ramparts of Kinsale, and everything gave to the confederates the assurance of a certain victory. But English gold unlocked the secrets of the Irish camp, and it is also feared corrupted the integrity of the Spanish commander. When the combined attack on the English camp was planned for the 3rd of January, 1602, the English army, though in the dead of night, was already drawn out in order of battle to receive them, whilst the Spanish forces remained unmoved within the walls of the fortress. A disastrous rout was the consequence; and the immediate surrender of Kinsale blasted all the hopes of the Irish princes.

On board the Spanish fleet, in company with Oviedo, two remarkable men had sailed for the shores of Ireland. One was F. James Archer, an Irish Jesuit, and the other was Dominick Collins, a lay-brother of the same order. Father Archer had already laboured for some years on the Irish mission; and a letter addressed to an agent of the Roman court in England, about 1598, thus sketched his character:—

“Father Archer, alone, is a greater comfort to his Irish countrymen than even a considerable reinforcement of troops. I am a witness that his presence was almost more serviceable to the cause than anything else; for, at his nod, the hearts of men were united and bound together, not only in the district of Berhaven and Munster, but in the greater part of the whole kingdom.”‡

One of the good father’s letters, dated from the camp, the 10th of August, 1598, is still happily preserved. In it he

* Moryson’s Itinerary, p. 136.

† Letter of Carew, 11th August, 1602, Hib. Pacata, p. 631.

‡ Oliver’s Collections, etc. p. 232.

describes the intense anxiety of the government to apprehend him, insomuch "that he was obliged to live for the most part in the woods and hiding-places;" still he never ceased from exercising his sacred ministry. 2,000 general confessions, and the reconciliation of many to the Catholic Church, had been his spiritual harvest. Fellow-labourers, he adds, are wanting, and yet the nobility of the northern as well as of the southern districts are most anxious for a supply.* The English writers accuse him of having concerted the plan for the arrest of the earl of Ormond, in 1600.† He, indeed, assisted at the conference with that nobleman; and the Irish writers assign as the occasion of the earl's arrest, the threatening violence of the gestures which he used towards the aged father. Towards the close of that year, father Archer visited Rome; but when the expedition was prepared for Ireland, he was again to be found at his post of danger.

The career of Dominick Collins had been marked by far different traits. He had served for many years as captain in both the French and Spanish armies, but at length renounced the world to ensure his salvation, as a lay-brother, in the order of St. Ignatius. Even after the surrender of Kinsale, he threw himself into the castle of Dunboy; and when it, too, was taken by storm, no threats or promises could induce him to renounce his institute, or abjure the Catholic faith; and at length, on the 3rd October, 1602, he was led from Cork to his native town, Youghal, by order of the lord deputy, and there executed, "imparting, by his constancy, great edification to all the faithful, whilst the whole city of Cork accompanied him with its tears."‡ O'Sullivan Beare gives a few additional particulars connected with his martyrdom: "He was first assailed by the reasonings of the Protestant ministers, and then great rewards and ecclesiastical dignities were offered to him, should he embrace the tenets of Anglicanism. On his rejecting these things with disdain, he was dragged at a horse's tail to the place of execu-

* Oliver's Collections.

† Hib. Pac. p. 44, seqq.

‡ Letter from Dublin, 26th February, 1603; also, Hib. Pacata, pp. 577-8. Drews, in his *Fasti*, and O'Sullivan Beare, assign the 31st of October as the day of his martyrdom.

tion; and whilst he was still hanging from the gibbet, the soldiers transfix his breast with their weapons."

But to return to our narrative: about the time that the disastrous battle of Kinsale was fought in the south, Oviedo had set sail from the northern coast, for the purpose of soliciting aid of men and arms from the Spanish court; and in a few days later the following letter, addressed to him by the duke of Lerma, was intercepted by the English troops:—

"I have received your lordship's letters, giving thanks to God for the success of your journey; for by it, it appears, there is a way open for many good purposes for his service; and his majesty hath great confidence in the solicitude and zeal of your lordship for the advancement of the same. We now send you a good body of men, with such things as are necessary, and more shall be prepared; and so we will continue sending as much as we may, whereof you need entertain no doubt; and as his majesty (whom God preserve) looks upon it as a matter of paramount importance, that the earls should join with Don John d'Aquila, he desires your lordship to do in it your utmost endeavours, according to the confidence he hath in your zeal. May God preserve your lordship. From Valladolid, the 5th December, 1601.

"El duque de Lerma, marques de Denia."*

For some time the archbishop seems to have entertained further hopes of success. O'Neil was still in arms; and whilst Don John† was everywhere despised and banished from the court, O'Donel was received with all honour by the monarch and grandees of Spain. Three days after the disaster at Kinsale, this prince went on board a Spanish vessel in the port of Castlehaven, and sailed for Corunna. He was treated with every mark of honour by the marques of Caragena and the other nobility; and at each city, as he passed along, the public enthusiasm sufficiently proved the sympathy which was felt for the cause of Ireland. The earl's heart, however, was unmoved by these demonstrations, and he could allow himself no rest until he reached Zamora, and pleaded his country's cause in the court of king Philip‡ Here his demands were ably seconded by the

* Hib. Pac. p. 467.

† Hib. Pac. p. 625.

‡ For the reception of O'Donel in Spain, see *Hibernia Pacata*, pp. 478-9; and notes to *Annals of the Four Masters*.

solicitations of Oviedo; and at length orders were given for another powerful force to be assembled at Corunna, to make a descent on the Irish coast.

However, that armament never sailed; the news of the successful progress of the English forces in Ireland alarmed the Spanish courtiers; and the gallant O'Donel, overcome by his exertions, died at Simancas, two leagues from Valladolid, on the 10th of September, 1602. A few months later, O'Neil, receiving honourable conditions, made his submission to the viceroy; and our archbishop being unable to visit his flock, and seeing no prospect of further aid being available for his adopted country, retired once more to the peaceful seclusion of the cloister.

3.—*Some Particular Events of Oviedo's Episcopate, and Persecution of the Catholics under James I.*

The bull of Dr. Oviedo's appointment to the see of Dublin, is dated the 3rd of the nones of May, 1600. In it he is styled a professed member of the order of the Observants; and the sanctity of his life, the morality of his conduct, his prudence in spiritual matters, and his circumspection in temporal affairs, are declared to be well known to the Apostolic See. "Wherefore," it thus concludes, "by our apostolic letters, we commend you to our venerable brothers, the suffragans, and to our beloved sons, the chapter of the said church, as also to the clergy and people of the city and diocese of Dublin, that the suffragans adhering to you as members to their head, and the chapter humbly reverencing you as the father and pastor of their souls, may show to you all due and devout reverence and obedience, that thus mutual affection between you and them may produce happy fruits, and we may be able to commend their devotion in the Lord."*

But howsoever Oviedo may have been desirous to visit his spiritual flock, such were the dangers which beset his path, especially in the vicinity of the capital, that he seems never to

* See Appendix No. 8.

have taken possession of his see,* and to have been compelled to govern it by vicars-general, during the whole period of his episcopate. In 1603, at the solicitation of the Spanish monarch, he was invested with the administration of the see of Auria,† suffragan to the archbishop of Compostello, and seems to have closed his earthly career about the year 1610.

The first vicar-general chosen by our archbishop was Bernard Moriarty, who, in the following year, 1601, laying down his life through devotion to the Catholic faith, proved how wisely he had been chosen for that spiritual charge. He was a priest of the diocese of Ardagh, and in Spain had graduated in the faculty of law. He was subsequently appointed dean of Ardagh and archdeacon of Clonmacnoise; and his merits being already well known to Oviedo, he was appointed vicar-general of the see of Dublin. Dr. Moriarty was residing in the time-honoured Franciscan monastery of Multifernam, in company of the venerable bishop of Kilmore, when all its inmates were arrested by the English soldiery. On the 1st of October, this troop was dispatched from Dublin by lord Mountjoy, with instructions to pillage the monastery and seize on the religious. It was dark night when they arrived at Multifernam, and the religious were returning to their cells after the recital of the divine office; and hence some were able to escape from the convent, and seek a refuge in the neighbouring woods. The bishop, however, and Dr. Moriarty, with some of the other religious, were at once seized; and whilst the monastery was devoted to the flames, the prisoners were sent under a strong escort to the capital. Before they had reached their destination, some Catholics assailed the guard of our vicar-general, and sought to effect his liberation. They, however, were easily repulsed, and

* In the Franciscan Annals, ad an. 1603, he is spoken of as still archbishop elect of Dublin, and his translation to Auria is thus registered: "Anno Christi, 1603, episcopalem dignitatem obtinuit inter observantes Matthæus de Oveto electus archiepiscopus Dublinensis in Hibernia, postea translatus ad ecclesiam Auriensem in Hispania." According to the strict style of the Roman Curia, a bishop, even though consecrated, is only bishop elect till he takes possession of his see; and an archbishop is styled elect until he receives the pallium.

† The suffragan sees of Compostello were often thus entrusted to our Irish bishops when banished from their own dioceses. Thus it was with Dr. William Walsh of Meath, and Dr. Cornelius Mulrian of Killaloe. The appointment, however, to these sees did not imply any renunciation of their former dioceses.

the excited soldiery inflicted many wounds upon their prisoner, who was thrown into the dungeons of the castle, and, before the end of October, expired from the effects of the wounds he had received.* The faithful revered him as a martyr, and his remains were solemnly interred in the cemetery of St. James.

We cannot with certainty determine who was his immediate successor in this perilous dignity. It was probably, however, the Rev. Robert Lalor, who was arrested in 1606, being accused of exercising foreign jurisdiction, and styling himself vicar-general of the dioceses of Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns. On the 22nd of December, a formula of retractation was proposed to him, in which king James was declared to be "lawful chief and supreme governor in all causes as well ecclesiastical as civil:" the bishops "ordained and made by the king's authority," were acknowledged to be "lawful bishops;" and, in fine, a promise was exacted that he would be "willing and ready to obey the king, as a good and obedient subject ought to do in all his lawful commandments." To this latter promise Lalor readily assented; and interpreting the preceding declarations as merely regarding the *legal ordinances* of the realm, he subscribed to them also. The government, however, was not as yet satisfied, and though his confinement was somewhat relaxed, he was still detained in custody.† His friends, on learning that he was indebted for this leniency to his having acknowledged the king's supremacy, were filled with indignation: they were appeased, however, when he protested "that his acknowledgment of the king's authority did not extend to *spiritual*, but was confined to *temporal causes* only." This declaration of the vicar-general soon reached the ears of the lord deputy, and hence he was,

* Mooney's MS. Hist. of the Franc. Order—"Dnus. Bernardus Moriartus sacerdos Ardachadensis diocesis, in jure Can. in Hispania graduatus, decanus ardachaden. et archidiaconus Cluanensis, constitutus postea vic. generalis Dublinensis, captus est cum fratribus conventus de Montefernan, an. 1601, et cum ministro provinciali qui tunc erat et fr. Richardo Kilmorensi Epo. (nam uterque plerumque manebat cum fratribus ex singulari ergo illos devotione) et cum duceretur Dublinum in via vulneratus est ab hæreticis dum aliqui Catholici eum vi auferre conantur, et Dublini in carcere mortuus est, martyr sepultus in eodem cemeterio mense Octobri anni prædicti."

† "On this confession he was indulged with more liberty and with free access to his friends."—Mant. vol. 1, p. 351.

without delay, indicted upon the statute of *præmunire*, tried, and found guilty. During the trial, the judge reproached him with having denied that doctrine which he had, by his signature, acknowledged to be true. The prisoner, however, by his courage, made ample atonement for any weakness he might have heretofore been guilty of. He declared that there was no contradiction between the document he had signed and the declaration which he had made to his friends; he had acknowledged the king's authority in the questions of social order, but "he had told his friends that he had not acknowledged the king's supremacy in the spiritual order; and this he still affirmed to be true." This explanation was, of course, declared by the government officials to be mere "knavery and silliness;" the sentence of the law was pronounced upon the prisoner, and, in a few days, another name was added to the martyrs of Dublin.*

Despite the many persecutions they had been subjected to, the people of Dublin, as well as the whole mass of the population of the island, seem to have immoveably adhered to the faith of their fathers. The letters of father Richard Field, a Jesuit, who, from 1599 to 1606, laboured in the missions of Dublin, present valuable information on this head. His first letter is dated Dublin, 1st September, 1599, and in it he commemorates the zealous labours of his saintly colleague, father Henry Fitzsymons. In his second letter, which is dated Dublin, 20th July, 1600, he enters into fuller details as to the condition of the country; and whilst he laments the laxity of morals which had crept into those districts which were the theatre of war, and hence calls aloud for an increased supply of pious and learned priests, he adds—"In the more civilized parts of the island, where I happen to reside, the poor are exceedingly well affected to religion." His third letter is also dated from the same theatre of his zeal—Dublin, 25th February, 1603. After lamenting the long interval that had elapsed since the receipt of letters from his friends in Rome, he states that there were then five Jesuits in Ireland—viz., two in Munster—F. Andrew Malony and F. Nicholas

* Cox, vol. 2, p. 10, seqq.

Lynch; two in Leinster—himself and his companion, F. Leann; whilst the fifth, F. Fitzsymons, was still detained in prison, a confessor for the faith. He then adds:—

“Since the queen’s privy council have imagined that the war is drawing to a close (the Spanish troops having been repulsed last year, and the forces of the Irish chieftains being now broken and dispersed), they have appointed upwards of sixty ecclesiastical commissioners to superintend the business of the churches. They commenced with Dublin, and ordered the churches to be put in proper repair, and to be refitted with seats, etc., in a handsome style. They have, moreover, divided the city into six parishes, and they seek to urge the people by threats, and to allure by promises, to attend the Protestant service and sermons in the respective parish churches. Unable to prevail on the Catholics to be present, they fix a day in each week when the Catholics (whom they style recusants) must appear before the commissioners. The gentry are asked, in the first place, and then the common people, whether they will frequent the churches and assist at the sermons. The general answer is, that they will not enter those profane places of worship, or listen to the false doctrines of the preachers, and that by the faith of their forefathers, and by the Catholic religion, they are prohibited from communicating with them in sacred things. A thousand injuries and calumnies are heaped upon them in consequence; they are called traitors and abettors of the Spaniards; commitments to jail are made out for disobeying the queen’s laws; fines of ten pounds are ordered for each offence, or absence from the church on the Lord’s day. The imprisonment thus imposed is patiently endured, but the citizens will not pay the fines, for they stoutly deny that they can be legally compelled to pay them. This is the condition of the citizens of Dublin, and their invincible fidelity has stimulated the courage of other towns.”*

The father Fitzsymons, to whom reference is made in the above extracts, was son of an eminent merchant in Dublin. He was well versed in sacred literature; and in 1595 we find him professor of philosophy at Douay, at the same time that the famous Lessius presided over its theological faculty. Towards the close of 1597 he was selected for the mission of his native country, and for more than forty years he continued to display, in Dublin and its vicinity, a fearless zeal and an unbounded charity. One of the most striking facts connected with his history at this period, is his having celebrated solemn high Mass,

* Oliver’s Collections. London, 1845. Pages 244-5.

with great pomp, in Dublin in 1598, accompanied with a great variety of musical instruments—"a sight," it is added, "that Dublin had not witnessed for forty years before."* He was soon after arrested, and detained in prison until the accession of king James, when he was sentenced to exile, and hurried on board a ship bound to Bilboa.† He was author of many controversial works, and in his "Catholick Confutation," page 210, he gives the following details of the exploits of the then Protestant dean of St. Patrick's‡ against the Catholics of Dublin:—"He exacted each year," he says, "*seventeen hundred barrels of corn as the tithes of his deanery; he pulled down a fine cross in the Liberties, which the people held in great veneration, and which all his predecessors had allowed to stand, and with the stones thereof he built an oven; moreover, he cut down, for fire, all the trees that adorned the church grounds; and in May, 1604, his son attempted to pull down an ancient image which was yet standing in the church walls, but in doing so, he tumbled down from a great height, and was killed by the fall.*"

A little while before the queen's death the persecution was somewhat relaxed, as the viceroy had learned from England the precarious illness of her majesty, whilst he found that conciliation was the only hope for preserving tranquility in Ireland. There is extant an interesting letter of father Christopher Holywood, better known by his latin name, *a Sacro Bosco*, and which is dated Douay, 16th July, 1603. In it he states that the Catholics of Dublin had, before the queen's death, experienced a dreadful storm of persecution: the instigators were *Terrell*, the mayor of the city, and *Rider*, the dean of St. Patrick's. Many Catholics, he says, quitted the town, and the leading citizens were committed to gaol. Baron Mountjoy was then absent in Connaught, where he pursued a conciliating course. At his return, the citizens presented a memorial of their grievances; and Mountjoy, turning to the mayor, exclaimed in an angry tone: "I am putting an end to warfare abroad, and you, sir, are sowing

* Oliver's Collections, page 245.

† For his return to Ireland, and subsequent labours, see Oliver, loc. cit. and Historical Sketch of the Persecutions, etc. Dublin, 1862. Page 12.

‡ John Rider, dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and soon after appointed Protestant bishop of Killala.

the seed of wars at home.”* The latter adds, that on the news of the queen’s death reaching Ireland, the citizens of Waterford, Kilkenny, Cork, and other places, took possession of the parochial churches, expelling the Protestant clergy, and restoring them to Catholic worship. A detailed narrative of the display of Catholic feeling thus made throughout the cities and towns of Ireland, has fortunately been preserved to us. It was written in 1604, and was presented to pope Clement the eighth, by James White, vicar-apostolic of Waterford and Lismore.† In it he describes “the oppressive and intolerable yoke of heresy,” which had for many years pressed so heavily on the Irish Catholics: “which oppression,” he adds, “they suffered solely for the Catholic faith.” It was only on the 9th of April that the news of the queen’s death reached the citizens of Waterford, and they at once resolved “no longer to dissemble the faith of their forefathers, and practise it only in private, but to publicly profess it, and proclaim it to the whole world.” There was no tumult, for the mayor, and corporation, and gentry, and people, all were alike faithful children of the Church. In fact, the reformed creed seems to have had none to acknowledge its tenets save the alien and hireling pastors, who, in the address of the citizens, are styled “Calvinist, Lutheran, and Atheist ministers.” On the 11th the church of St. Patrick was solemnly reconciled, and on the following day the cathedral dedicated to the most holy Trinity was likewise restored to Catholic devotion. This church had been especially desecrated by the profane hands of the innovators. “We found the temple of God,” writes the vicar-apostolic, “which was erected by our fathers, changed by the heretics into a hog-stye, and a mere receptacle of every filth.”‡ Through the efforts of the citizens, however, the church was soon renewed, and altars erected; the emblems of religion once more decked its walls; and when, on the following day, its bells pealed forth the summons

* Oliver’s Collections, etc. p. 250.

† It is published in Appendix to *Cambrensis Eversus*, Dublin (for the Celtic Society), 1851-2, vol. iii. p. 521-550. An ancient MS. copy (probably the original) is in the Barberini Archives, Rome.

‡ “*Invenimus templum Dei, Patrumque nostrorum ab hereticis factum fuisse non in pomorium sed quasi in porcorum custodiam, sordiumque et stercoreis receptaculum.*”—*Loc. cit.* p. 525.

to solemn thanksgiving, the mayor, and magistrates, and nobility joined in procession with the faithful throng. Nothing but rejoicing was to be seen in the assembled multitude, and many shed tears of joy on witnessing that gladsome spectacle.

Other towns soon followed the example thus given them. The cathedral of Limerick was rededicated by Richard Arthur; the cathedral of Cork and Cloyne, by Robert Miagh;* the metropolitan church of Cashel, by Thomas Rachtur; the churches of Wexford, by John Coppinger; Dr. White himself restored to the piety of the faithful the churches of Clonmel, Kilkenny, and Ross, and other clergymen acted in like manner in many other places. This success, whilst it inspired the Catholics with consolation, filled the heretics with dismay and fury, for nothing could enrage them more, says the narrative, than to see the Irish Catholics thus publicly proclaim themselves devoted children "of the pure and saving faith of the holy Roman Church."†

The rejoicings of the Catholics lasted but for a little while. As soon as king James found himself sufficiently secure upon the English throne, he at once retracted all his promises of toleration; and his proclamation of the 4th July, 1605, which was published in Dublin on the 28th of September following, at once blighted all hopes of religious liberty.‡ In it, it was first declared: "It hath seemed proper to us to proclaim, and we

* The revolt of the citizens of Cork was one of the most remarkable of the kingdom. The citizens not only refused to acknowledge the king, but took up arms, placed guards upon the town, *burned all the Protestant Bibles and Common Prayer Books they could find*, destroyed every emblem of heretical worship, re-hallowed the churches, and celebrated divine worship with all possible pomp. "They had a person named a legate from the pope (perhaps a vicar-apostolic), who went about in procession with a cross, and forced people to reverence it; they buried the dead with the Catholic ceremonies; and numbers took the sacrament to defend that religion with their lives and fortunes."—Smith's Cork, vol. ii. pp. 97-101.

† Ibid. p. 522.

‡ King James had been for some years before his accession to the English throne a pensioner of the pope and the king of Spain, and made repeated declarations of his desire to afford *libertie of conscience* to the suffering Catholics. What sort of toleration this was is detailed in a letter of Richard Blount, of 3rd June, 1605. "The persecution," he says, "surpasses by many degrees all former times. The prisons in the north of England are full of Catholics. The sheriffs seize upon their cattle and goods, and sell them before their faces for the king's use. His majesty thinketh papists unworthy to be tolerated in any commonwealth, and but yesterday drank very solemnly at dinner, 'to the eternal damnation of all papists.'"—Oliver's Collections, etc. p. 250.

hereby make known to our subjects in Ireland, that no toleration shall ever be granted by us. This we do for the purpose of cutting off all hope that any other religion shall be allowed save that which is consonant to the laws and statutes of this realm.”* All his subjects are then commanded to attend the Protestant churches on Sundays and festivals; all priests are required to withdraw from the kingdom before the 10th of December; and, in fine, the penal statutes of the late queen are renewed and ordered to be put in force against all popish recusants and popish priests and Jesuits.

Father Christopher Holivood writes from Dublin on the 10th of December, 1605, that this edict was without delay put into execution:—

“To strike terror amongst the Catholic population of Dublin, who nobly refused to sacrifice their religion to mammon, the lord lieutenant and privy council sent to prison, on the 22nd and 27th of November, several members of the corporation and some of the principal citizens. A deputation of gentlemen from the counties of Kildare, Meath, and Louth, upon this, waited on his excellency, and petitioned for a suspension of the system of coercion, until they could be allowed to visit his majesty’s court and represent their case. After a delay of fifteen days, his excellency, in the exercise of despotic power, threw some of the deputation into gaol, and ordered others to confine themselves to their houses, and neither to write to any one, nor speak to any person who was not part of their own household, under the penalty of a thousand pounds, English money. A large body of troops was assembled in Dublin, whilst detachments were drafted off for the apprehension of priests all over the kingdom. Amongst the prisoners were the following citizens of Dublin: Mr. Walter Seagrove, John Shelton, James Beelow, Thomas Penket, Kennedy, Stephens, Tornor, Kearroll, etc. These and others were first commanded to go to church by proclamation; they then received a special order; and the third time received commandment, upon the duty of allegiance under the broad seal; and still persisting in their refusal, they were indicted in the star-chamber, fined, and committed for contempt. Others of the nobility and gentry were committed to prison for daring to present a petition, and amongst them are my lord viscount of Gormanstown, my lord of Howth (as I hear), sir Patrick Barnwall, close prisoner; sir James Dillon, John Finglass, Richard Netterville, and Henry Burnell, who are committed to their houses only on account of their great age.”*

* Dom. O’Daly, *Relatio Persec. Hib.* p. 232.

† Oliver’s *Collections*, etc. p. 251.

The persecution spread in like manner to every part of the kingdom. Father Barnaby Kearney, brother of the archbishop of Cashel, was engaged in the sacred ministry in the city of Cork. He was famed for his sanctity, and his preaching had won many to the Catholic faith. He was consequently marked out for the vengeance of the government; and on the dawn of the 5th of September, 1606, a troop of horse was sent by the viceroy to apprehend him. He, however, escaped in disguise, and, as we learn from his own letter of the 4th October, that year, he followed the steps of his excellency to Waterford, where he was a witness of his persecuting enactments, and, at the same time, consoled by contemplating the heroism of the citizens.

"On arriving at the courthouse," he thus writes,* "his excellency summoned before him eleven of the most respectable inhabitants of Waterford, viz., Paul Sherlock, who had been elected mayor for the ensuing year; Nicholas Maddan, Michael Brown, Nicholas White, James Fagan, Nicholas Strong, James Sherlock, Richard Wadding, James Walsh, Patrick White, and Richard Boucher. Six neglected to make their appearance, and were heavily fined, being moreover ordered to present themselves before him at Cork. The five who attended, with great spirit, professed that they would never swerve from the Roman Catholic faith, which they had inherited from their fathers; but should ever manifest loyal allegiance to their sovereign, and obedience to his representatives, in all civil and political matters. The viceroy marked his indignation at this bold expression of sentiment, imposed a heavy fine, and gave them in charge to his secretary, until they should alter their opinions. Finding them immovably firm in their faith, he caused them to appear before the lord chief justice, who endeavoured to gain them over by promises of place and emolument, and assured them that the government would be satisfied if they would but once attend at the Protestant service. But these heroes knew too well that pliancy in religion was inadmissible, and hence refused their consent, telling him that they had given, and ever would give, undeniable proofs of their civil allegiance—that it could never benefit the king's interests for them to act against the dictates of conscience—and that they could not believe that the king wished them to make such a sacrifice of principle. The sheriffs, James Walsh and James Brown, who were indeed *two olive trees in the garden of God*,† were then attacked, but

* We are induced to give these documents in full, on account of the effrontery with which some writers continue still to eulogize the *mild administration* of king James—so true is it that hitherto Irish history, with rare exceptions has been little more than a conspiracy against truth.

† "Vere duæ olivæ in domo Dei."

with no better success. One hundred and sixty of the citizens were next selected as persons who might probably be prevailed on to surrender conscience to the motives of fear and interest; but God, who chooses the weak things of the world to confound the strong, supplied them with courage to resist every assault, and not one of the whole number, nor even in the whole population of Waterford, comprising many thousands of inhabitants, would degrade himself by such an act of hypocrisy and apostacy. In revenge, severe pecuniary fines were inflicted on them. The base attempt of the chief justice to rob the inhabitants of Ross of their conscientious integrity, proved equally abortive."

The writer, moreover, adds:—

"The viceroy, in his progress towards Carrick, was informed that Nicholas Madan harboured in his castle of Whitfield, three miles from Waterford, a learned English priest, named Thomas Hill. Under some specious pretext, his excellency proceeded in that direction with a troop of horse, and sent soldiers to search every corner of the castle; but, thanks to God, they found nothing, and Mr. Hill is still safe in Ireland."*

Dominick de Rosario describes to us still more vividly the strict rigour with which the enactments of the English monarch were executed in Ireland.

"Quickly," he says, "did the satellites of James put his decree in execution in every quarter of Ireland. Their virulence knew no bounds; the priests of the people were made to suffer, and those who stood by them became participators of their sorrows."†

And hence, he thus apostrophises the king:—

"You lash the flock of Christ with a whip of scorpions; their enemies you caress; the lambs are dispersed and hunted; and the wolves are kennelled by you, and unslipped to devour them."

The author of *Macariæ Excidium* laments, in a similar

* Oliver's Collections, etc. p. 252. This letter is dated *e nostro latibulo in quo frater* (the archbishop of Cashel) *modo est*, 4^o Octob. 1606.

† The Geraldines, etc. Originally printed in Lisbon, 1655; translated by Rev. C. P. Meehan. Dublin, 1847. Page 166.

emphatic strain, the persecuting bigotry thus displayed by king James.

“Having been,” he says, “from his earliest years, imbued with the impiety of the new doctrines, and trained in their preposterous religion by those who had been guilty of both his mother’s exile and his father’s death, he persecuted the Roman Catholic faith, following Elizabeth’s example, with the fiercest severity, and himself enacted laws of the most bloody tenor in Ireland, against the ancient customs and venerable rites of religion; and even in other matters he showed no greater leaning towards the native Irish, though he did not deny that he was of their lineage and blood. This great perversity of James, so contrary to what was generally expected from him, and his deadly hatred of that religion for which his royal parent shed her noble blood, drove those Irish, originally of English blood, who had formerly sided with Elizabeth, to repent of their conduct, and, when too late, to regret their inconsiderate folly in joining the party of that persecuting queen, in doing which they little thought they were reducing their country to slavery, and abolishing the pure religion of their forefathers.”*

Still more minutely than all these, the vicar-apostolic of Waterford and Lismore, already referred to, details the sad violence which desolated the whole island. He thus writes to cardinal Baronius, on the 1st of May, 1606:—

“I have already often written to you since my arrival in this most afflicted kingdom, concerning the condition of the Catholic Church, and especially in the month of October last, immediately after the publication of the edict against all Catholics, whether clergy or laity. By that edict it was most strictly commanded to all Jesuits and seminarists, and all other priests whatsoever, and to all bishops ordained by foreign jurisdiction, to depart altogether from this kingdom before the tenth of December last, under penalty of the supreme indignation of his majesty, and other penalties to be arbitrarily inflicted. We hoped that some mitigation would be allowed in the rigour of this edict, but as yet we have looked for it in vain; nay, so rigorously is it executed, that there is scarcely a spot where Catholics can find a safe retreat. The impious soldiery, by day and night, pursue the defenceless priests, and mercilessly persecute them. Up to the present they have succeeded in seizing only upon three, one of whom is detained in Dublin prison, another is confined in Cork, and the third, in my opinion, is happiest of all, triumphing in heaven with Christ our Lord; for, in the excess of the

* *Macariæ Excidium*, edited by T. C. O’Callaghan, for Royal Irish Academy, 1850, p. 31.

fury of the soldiery, without any further trial or accusation, having confessed himself to be a priest, he was hanged upon the spot. May this beginning be a happy and auspicious omen, and may the Almighty, appeased by such holocausts, look down on us from His heavenly throne, and have mercy on us; and in the meantime, may He grant us to be so rooted in the saving faith of the holy Roman Church, that no efforts of the power of hell may deprive us of it! As the priests are pursued by the cruel soldiers, so the Catholic laity, if they have any temporal possessions, are victims of the avaricious courtiers, and are incessantly oppressed by them by fines and imprisonment, and chains and threats, and various unusual and inhuman vexations, until they are reduced to extreme poverty and misery. Despite, however, all these afflictions, the word of God prospers, nor is the necessary ministry wanting to the faithful. Very many have given a glorious testimony of their Catholic faith; and, praise to the Most High, our enemies and persecutors have as yet gained but little. I have sent a more detailed narrative to the archbishop of Armagh, and to the Jesuit fathers, who will give to your excellency all the particulars of this persecution. In the meantime, whilst we are oppressed by wicked and impious men, we hope that prayers will be offered up for us in that holy city, before the relics of the saints, and that the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of Christ, will assist us, for it was from Rome that we received the faith, and it is Rome that must guard and defend it. With the blessing of God, we will not be wanting in our duties. We have here very many most zealous spiritual labourers, not only of the secular clergy, but also of the religious orders, and particularly of the Jesuits, who display a special zeal in the present difficulties. I must now terminate, as I am warned of impending danger,"* etc.

"JAMES WHITE, Vic. Apost.

"Waterford, 1st of May, 1606."

Before the close of that month, he wrote another letter to the same eminent historian, adding further particulars of the persecution to which the Irish Catholics were subjected. In former letters he says:—

"I acquainted you with the state of our affairs, but now we are in far more afflicting circumstances. For, last week, a new edict was everywhere published in the official places, that all priests who would be detected, should, without any subterfuge or further trial, be hanged from the first tree or gallows that should present itself. All blessing to the name of our Lord Jesus, who thus prunes the branches, that they may bear more abundant fruit; and we deem it a most manifest sign, and an indubious pledge of His divine love, that the members of His mystic

* See the original letter in Memoir of Oliver Plunket, p. 390.

body should be treated with the same torments and contumely which He Himself, in His sacred humanity, was pleased to endure at the hands of the perfidious Jews! Now truly the sword and chains are put into the hands of the impious and unbelieving soldiery, to torture and strangle the priests of Christ. But a little while ago, three Catholics were arrested whom the persecutors suspected to be priests, and were instantly put to death. One of them was, indeed, a priest, the other two, however, were certainly laymen. May this, their spiritual birth, be happy and auspicious to us all, and may this oppressed island become fertile in martyrs, whose fame was so ennobled in former times by its confessors and virgins! All our priests are reduced to such extremities that there is not one whose life is not in peril at every moment. Hitherto Christ has not failed to strengthen us, and we confidently hope that He will not abandon us. The Catholic laity have also shown true heroism; and, together with the tedium of imprisonment, they courageously endure the plunder of all their possessions and property," etc.

"From Waterford, 28th of May, 1606."

The Irish Catholics were, at this time, consoled with a letter from the holy father, Paul V., in which he warns them against an insidious oath of allegiance which had been proposed to them by the government, and thus beautifully commends their unflinching constancy in the faith of their fathers:—

"Sadly have we mourned, beloved children, over the tribulations which your unshaken devotion to the faith has brought upon you. But when we learned that even now you are more bitterly afflicted, the measure of our sorrow has been increased. We have heard that you are compelled, under heavy penalties, to frequent the temples of heretics, and assist at their solemnities and sermons. But truly we do believe that those who have already suffered so much affliction and atrocious persecution, that they might walk, without erring, in the way of the Lord, will never sully their honour by now communicating with those who have deserted their God. Nevertheless, zeal for our pastoral office, and that paternal solicitude with which we watch over your spiritual interests, compel us to admonish and conjure you never to approach the churches of these heretics, and never to be present at their rites or ceremonies, lest you incur the anger of God. . . . We confidently rely on your ready compliance with this request, when we call to mind all you have already suffered, and the alacrity with which you are prepared to sustain torments more atrocious, nay, death itself, rather than outrage the majesty of God. Yea, verily, our faith in you is strong, when we consider that the early Christians endured not more than you yourselves. Gird ye, then, your loins in truth; put on the breastplate of justice and the shield of faith. Be comforted in the

Lord, who, looking down from heaven upon you, will finally crown you, and perfect the work which He has begun. You know that He promised His disciples never to leave them orphans, and He is faithful who hath made that promise. Retain, then, the discipline of the Church; be rooted and bound together in charity. Whatever you do or contemplate, let it be in simplicity of heart and unity of spirit, so that all men may know that you are disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the love ye bear to one another," etc.

"Given in Rome, at St. Mark's, the 22nd September, 1606."*

A few months after the receipt of this letter, many of the clergy assembled in Dublin, and thence addressed to their agent, in Rome, a letter describing the Egyptian yoke under which they were then suffering.

"Your reverence must know," they write, "that since the treaty of peace was signed between our king and the Spanish court, the persecution of Nero seems to have been once more renewed amongst us. The first penal edict was published on 28th of September, 1605, commanding all Jesuits, seminarists, and priests, to depart within ten days from the kingdom, under penalty of death. Should any persons subsequently receive them 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 the discovery of any other priest, or of the houses which they frequent. Whosoever the servants of any of the clergy are arrested, they are cruelly scourged with whips, until they disclose all that they know about them.

"Bodies of soldiers are dispersed through the country in pursuit of bandits and priests, and all that they seize on they have the power, by martial law, of hanging without further trial. These bands are scattered on the roads, and through the fields, and enter private houses, and execute whomsoever they please, vying with each other in cruelty. It is difficult to define the precise number of those who are thus put to death. As this system was not in accordance with the laws, the nobility petitioned, not to be abandoned to the fury of individual caprice, but to be judged by the law of the land. But their petition was a new offence. Many of them were at once cast into prison; others received orders to confine themselves to their houses till they would be summoned before the courts; and all were severely rebuked for having dared to oppose any rights or laws to the royal prerogative, which should always be inviolable.

"At present, everywhere throughout the province and in the cities, all who are greedy and spendthrifts, and all who are overwhelmed with

* Apud Dom. de Rosario, loc. cit. p. 171.

debt, seek to make a prey of the property of the Catholics. To attain this end, they, first, by various briberies and fraud, obtain for themselves the title of royal questors. They then go forth exulting, and everywhere, pompously setting forth the royal name, carry away by force whatsoever they please. No doors, no enclosures, no wall can stop them in their course; they are unmoved by the shrieks of the females and by the weeping of the children. Everything is torn open, and whatever is of any value is set aside to be carried away; whatever is worthless is thrown into the streets, and devoted to the flames. Silver cups are called chalices, and gems are designated *Agnus Deis*, and all are, therefore, carried away. Whatever is for profane uses, they profess to regard as sacred, and bear it off, and whatever is sacred they seize on to desecrate.

"The fines are arbitrary, according to the whim of each questor. If the person who is fined says he is unable to pay the fine imposed on him, the questor goes to his house; whatever is found, whether in clothing or cattle, or even in his papers, is seized on, and rated as a matter of no value. Hence, those who are rich become on a sudden reduced to abject poverty, and yet they cannot dare to murmur. The poorer people are fined tenpence for each time they are absent on festivals from the Protestant service; and whilst the heretics, contrary to their own practice and doctrines, multiply these festivals, the little property of the poor people is wholly wasted away.

"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. In one city alone, five of the aldermen were successively thrown into prison for having refused to take the nefarious oath of allegiance on their being nominated to the mayoralty; in another city, no fewer than thirty were likewise thrust into prison at Easter last, for having approached the holy communion in the Catholic Church. No attention whatever is given to the protests of these men or to the clamours of the whole Catholic body; nay, they are treated with derision and contempt. Even the most illustrious earl of Tyrone, the Catholic Mardocheus, having been for some time subjected to many vexations and annoyances, has just arrived in Dublin, being summoned by the viceroy. It is useless to presage anything bad; but the malice which the heretics bear to him, and their inveterate arts of deceit, excite in our breasts many fears for his safety," etc.

"Dublin, May, 1607."*

The fears of these holy men for the cherished champion of the Catholic cause, were, alas! too well founded. A conspiracy

* The names of one bishop, one vicar-general, one nobleman, and six priests, were attached to the letter. They add, that their sentiments were shared by the whole clergy and laity of the kingdom. See the original letter in notes to O'Sullev. Beare's Hist. Cath. (Dublin, 1850) p. 271.

was soon devised by the minions of the castle, and hired perjurers were not wanting to implicate the earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell. These chieftains, however, received intelligence of the plot which was laid for their destruction, and seeing no hope in an appeal to arms—for the treaty between England and Spain cut off all prospect of aid from the continent, and at home they were unprovided with arms or ammunition—they resolved to seek an asylum on the continent.* They were immediately denounced as traitors by the government, and their immense territories were confiscated to the crown. In the eternal city, however, they found a home, being welcomed by the pontiff, Paul V., with paternal affection.† Peter Lombard, who had been for some time the agent of O'Neil in Rome, was now there, as archbishop of Armagh, to guide and comfort them. A letter written by him in the following summer, will, better than any words of ours, make known the honour and respect with which they were greeted in the seven-hilled city. It was intercepted by the English government, and is still preserved in the State Paper Office, London, dated June, 1608:—

“MY VERY DEAR SIR,—I must not omit to write to you when occasion of writing is offered. These holidays—the Thursday before Trinity Sunday—was canonized St. Francisca, which was done in St. Peter's, with all pomp, splendour, and triumph, the setting forth whereof cost the Romans 20,000 crowns, and I never saw a more stately sight, nor more religious ceremonies. The Pope himself, in his patriarchal habit, did sing Mass; all the cardinals, bishops, prelates, canons, and religious, for the most part, were present. The night before, his holiness gave orders that the earl of Tyrone, and the rest with him, should have the best place in the church, which myself saw performed; and to grace the matter more, his holiness' niece went in state to the earl's house, and brought with her the countess to St. Peter's, giving her, both in place and church, the better hand, which she had also from the pope's sisters, amongst all the duchesses and other nobility of Rome; and when all the ceremonies were ended, the same niece that had brought the countess, conducted her home again to her own palace, whence she had taken her. The Italians speak much and very honourably of these earls, and the earls themselves keep their state gallantly. Also, at the procession on Corpus Christi day, the

* They arrived in France in September, 1607.

† The Palazzo Salviati, in the vicinity of St. Onofrio, was assigned to them for their residence.

Pope ordained that the chiefest of the Irish exiles should alone carry the canopy over him, which eight of them accordingly did.”*

With the flight of these earls, all apprehension on the part of the English monarch must have ceased. There was no longer a chieftain who could rally any considerable body of his countrymen under his standard ; no one who could be said to centre in himself the hopes and aspirations of Ireland. Were the preceding persecutions merely enacted for the security of the British power, surely peace should be, now at least, restored to the Irish Church. The result, however, proved that this was a mere empty pretext, put forward by crafty statesmen, to blind the Catholic states on the continent. After a momentary calm, the persecution was continued in all its fury ; nay, it seemed now to redouble its violence, as the dreaded names of Tyrone and Tirconnell were no longer there to check its course. To sketch the scenes of persecution which ensued, belongs to the following chapter. We shall conclude this notice of the episcopate of Oviedo with some extracts from a *Relatio*, made in 1609, by Dr. Kearney,† archbishop of Cashel, from which we learn what little progress had been made as yet by Protestantism in our land ; and, at the same time, what happy fruits of devotion were displayed by

* See, for further particulars, a very interesting article in the *Hibernian Magazine*, No. 1, The O'Donels in Exile, written by the late lamented editor of the Four Masters. From the Irish MS., The Flight of the Earl, we further learn, that the wine and doves which were offered to the Pope at the canonization, were sent by him, after the ceremony, as a gift to the Irish princes. The author of The Flight of the Earls adds, that this was the first time that the Irish were allowed the privilege of bearing the canopy over the holy father. This privilege is now enjoyed every year by the students of the Irish College, Rome.

† The date of Dr. Kearney's appointment to Cashel is marked as uncertain by the learned editor of the Renahan Collections. The *Relatio*, from which extracts are now published for the first time, and the original of which is preserved in the Barberini Archives, Rome, states that the archbishop had then almost concluded “*sex annorum curriculum*” in Ireland : he must, therefore, have commenced his archiepiscopal career before the close of 1603. The same date results from other indirect sources ; for instance, his brother, Barnabas Kearney, S.J., when dedicating to him the first volume of his *Heliotropium*, says that he himself had been sent to Ireland soon after the appointment of the archbishop, “*ut oneris tibi tunc injecti sustinerem partem.*” Now, from the Jesuit records (see Oliver's Collections, page 252), we learn that he was sent into Ireland in the summer of 1603. It is, indeed, true that the *Heliotropium* above referred to was only printed in 1622, whilst, in the dedication, father Kearney states that “fifteen years had already elapsed since he had come into

the faithful during the few months of comparative peace which marked the commencement of the preceding year:—

“The heretics, who hold all authority and rule everywhere in Ireland, may be distributed into four classes: 1st. The viceroy and the deputies of the provinces; 2nd. The members of the royal and provincial councils, and their assistants, such as the judges and inferior magistrates; 3rd. The pseudo archbishops and bishops, and other ministers; 4th. The military leaders and garrison soldiers, who hold all the castles that are capable of being fortified as well on the sea-coast as in the interior of the country. To these may be added the families of all the above individuals, and the settlers who have lately been introduced, and who are still being brought over from England and Scotland. To these are assigned the lands of the natives who were ejected or slain during the last war, or who were driven into exile for their faith and religion. These settlers are an iniquitous race, false brothers; they are almost all English and Scotch heretics, and they keep the Catholics in servitude, and alarm, and constant affliction; and yet the Catholics are so firm in their faith, that not one in a thousand of the natives of the island can be found infected with the contagion of heresy.

“The condition of our Catholics is very sad and unsettled, since they are wholly dependant on the commands and whims of the aforesaid heretics; the soldiers oppress them with impunity; the pseudo-bishops and ministers heap calumnies and persecutions upon them, till they compass their destruction. Some of these heretical agents, however, exceed the others in their cruelty, amongst whom was George Bruncard, an Englishman, the deputy of Munster, who, full of impiety and tyranny, left no means unemployed to utterly eradicate from our province every remnant of the Catholic faith. He lived amongst us like another emissary of Antichrist, for three years and a-half, and it was his boast that his health improved the more the maledictions of the Catholics were heaped upon him; but, lo! God is ever with his beloved in their afflictions: this wretch, struck with insanity, in a frenetical fit, departed this life.

“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. When the persecution presses us, and the soldiers are in pursuit of us, we fly to

Ireland;” however, these fifteen years are to be calculated, not from the year in which the work was *printed*, but from the year in which it was *written*. It was written, as he tells us, *in Ireland, in domesticis latibulis*, and at a time when the archbishop was still *present to his flock*. It was printed in *Lyons* only in 1622, in which year Dr. Kearney, the archbishop, was already in Rome, having been obliged to yield to the storm of persecution.

P.S.—After this note was written, we were enabled to fix the precise date of Dr. Kearney’s appointment by the *Acta Consistorialia*. See introductory essay.

secret recesses ; when the persecution is relaxed, we gradually venture to appear in public. The higher that each one's dignity is, the more eagerly do they seek to compass his destruction, and lead him to the prison or the scaffold. But as they leave nothing undone to capture us, so we are ever on the alert, and seldom can they obtain any certain intelligence as to our whereabouts. 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. This 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. Though we hope to be children of light, yet we have to love the protecting darkness ; nay, we prefer even the winter to the summer time. 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, and discharge, in a word, all our ecclesiastical duties.

“The heretics make diligent search to seize on those who assist at Mass, and they, moreover, inflict fines on all who absent themselves from the heretical temples. They cast into prison not only those who favour the priests, but also those who refuse to persecute and deliver up the priests ; they interdict the use of chapels, they prevent pious pilgrimages, and punish whom they will, and rage arbitrarily against us.

“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 ; for our Catholics so venerate this sacrament, that they come even from the most distant parts of the country when an opportunity is presented of administering it to them.”*

Dr. Oviedo seems to have died about the year 1610 ; and the closing moments of his life were clouded by the gathering storms of new persecutions. From the documents connected with his life, we must conclude that he was a man of indomitable energy, heartily devoted to the cause of Ireland, inflexible in his attachment to the Holy See, and animated with the most fervent zeal for the defence and propagation of our holy religion.†

* See this invaluable *Relatio* in full, in Appendix No. 10, from the Barberini Archives, Rome.

† Mooney, in MS. History of the Franciscan Order, thus briefly but faithfully sketches the character of Dr. Ribera, bishop of Leighlin, and of our archbishop, Oviedo :—“*Hi duo fuerunt exteri Hispani qui ob zelum propagandæ fidei in Hibernia creati sunt episcopi.*” For this and many of the preceding extracts from the same MS. history, as also from the State Paper Office, London, I am indebted to my amiable and learned friend, Rev. C. P. Meehan, to whose ability and untiring zeal in the cause of our national literature Ireland is so much indebted.



CHAPTER II.

Connected with the Earl of Tyrone.—Translated to Dublin from Clogher.—Sad state of Ireland under James I.—The Plantation of Ulster.—Grants of Confiscated Property to Trinity College.—Character of the Undertakers.—Catholics insulted.—Dr. Matthews exposed to many dangers.—Death of Dr. O'Duana and Father Luorchain.

DR. EUGENE MATTHEWS.

WE learn from the Consistorial Acts, that Dr. Eugene Matthews (more commonly designated, in the ancient records, by his Irish name, MacMahon), was appointed to the see of Clogher on 31st August, 1609, and was translated to Dublin on the 2nd of May, 1611, he himself being at that date present in the Eternal City.

Dr. Matthews was closely allied, by blood, to the princely house of Hugh O'Neil, earl of Tyrone,* and his father and family were ranked amongst the most faithful champions of the Catholic cause, under the standard of that heroic chieftain, when combating against Elizabeth. The expediency of appointing an archbishop to the see of Dublin was long a matter of debate in the papal court, and many special difficulties seemed opposed to the translation of the bishop of Clogher.†. At length, however, the urgent solicitations of the Irish exiles in Rome overcame every difficulty, and in the consistory of 2nd May, 1611, the translation of Dr. Matthews to the archiepiscopal see was publicly proclaimed to the Catholic world.

* In a paper presented to the Sacred Congregation on 8th May, 1629, on the part of the earl of Tyrone, and defending the recommendations made by the Irish princes for the vacant sees, we read :—" Archiepiscopus Dublinensis moderni archiepiscopi prædecessor suffragio excellmi. D. Comitum Tyroniæ ad episcopatum fuit promotus ; novem tamen continuis annis absque ulla persecutionis specialis umbra suo gregi præfuit. Item modernus primas ejus intercessione episcopatum Kilmorensem accepit quem et rexit quatuor annis ante ejus translationem ad archiepiscopatum Armachanum : ambo hi affinitate ipsi comiti conjuncti. Eodem suffragio promoti sunt modernus archiepus. Dublinensis, epus. Kilmorensis, ep. Rapotensis, et ep. Elphinensis." See also *Informatio ex Hibernia*, 10th May, 1615, in Dr. M'Carthy's Collections, etc. p. 265. The celebrated bishop of Clogher, Dr. Heber M'Mahon, was another worthy scion of the same princely family, and a near relative of Dr. Eugene.

† He was not only a near relative of the exiled O'Neil, but had been educated at Salamanca, and maintained there at the expense of the king of Spain.

For some days the archbishop continued to visit the hallowed shrines and sanctuaries of Rome, providing, at the same time, for the spiritual wants of his suffering flock. He resided with the earl of Tyrone, and the other princely exiles, in Salviati palace; and it requires but little effort of the imagination to picture the sorrowing feelings of these great men, at the painful recital of the new afflictions which were then rapidly falling on our country.

Sir Arthur Chichester was busily engaged, not only in re-enacting the penal statutes of the preceding reign, but still more in carrying out the new schemes of plunder and plantation devised by his royal master.* Six whole counties of Ulster were, by one decree, declared to be, by right, the property of the crown; the 400,000 acres of tillage lands which they contained were partitioned amongst some 200 Scotch and English proprietors, only about twenty Irishmen being admitted to acquire a title in the poorer districts of their own hereditary princely domains. These proprietors, who were styled *undertakers*, received instructions for the peopling of their lands with loyal tenants, to the exclusion of all the "mere Irish," excepting such as would take the oath of supremacy, who moreover should be compelled to pay double the rent fixed for the English and Scotch tenants. The interest and cupidity of many of the new proprietors and their agents, prevented this exterminating scheme from being fully carried out; but in some districts it became penal for a Catholic to live even on his own lands, except as the slave of the Presbyterian or Protestant usurper.†

* See his edict from Dublin castle, July 10th, 1610, in O'Sullivan, and De Rosario, *Hist. of the Gerald.* p. 175.

† Harris's *Hibernica* presents the chief original documents connected with this iniquitous "plantation." See especially letter of sir Thomas Philips, *ib.* p. 242, and Pynnar's Survey, p. 233, seqq. In this latter work, compiled by order of the king in 1618-19, the names of the undertakers are given, together with the territory they received, etc.; it hence required considerable effrontery in Dr. Reid to state, in his *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol. i. pag. 81, that the confiscated territory was disposed of to 160 Scotch and English gentlemen, and to 286 natives. Edinburgh, 1834. This same writer accuses the Catholics of overrating the quantity of land confiscated by the crown, and he triumphantly appeals to Pynnar, who rates the whole territory at 400,000 acres. He should hold in mind, however, that Pynnar only speaks of the *available land*, and hence does not include in his estimate the bog and mountain lands, and the forests reserved for royal use, etc. Carte

The Protestant university of Dublin was destined to have its share of the spoils, and more than 3,000 acres were marked out as its portion of the plundered estates of the Catholic chieftains of Ulster. We often hear of our country being indebted for this literary institution to the beneficent gifts of Protestant sovereigns. It should rather be said that we owe it to the proselytising bigotry of Elizabeth and king James; that it was built at the expense of the nation, and enriched with the spoils of the Church of our fathers, the pillage of the ancient monasteries, and the confiscation of the national principalities.

The movement, so successfully carried out in the six Ulster counties, was soon extended to other parts of the island. Sixty-six thousand acres in Dublin and Waterford were, by inquiry, declared the king's property; and in the counties of Westmeath, Longford, King's County, Queen's County, and Leitrim, immense tracts, amounting, as Mooney informs us, to 385,000 acres, were confiscated to the crown.*

In carrying out this systematic plunder, legalized by the name of plantation, every principle of justice was set at naught; and to such lengths did the tyrannical cruelty of Chichester proceed, that the jurors who refused to conform their verdict to the perjured and often contradictory evidence of the suborned witnesses, were "pillored with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked on the forehead with a hot iron."

The new colonists were, for the most part, the scum of society in England and Scotland; adventurers, whose character was stained by dishonesty and debauchery; and who, shut out from the road to honours and emoluments at home, eagerly accepted the royal invitation to riot in the plunder of the Irish Catholics. This statement may seem to some to be exaggerated, and yet it is far otherwise. A Presbyterian minister, whose father shared in the first *plantation*, thus vividly describes the men

reckons the forfeited lands at *above half a million of acres*; and Stuart, in Hist. Memoirs of the City of Armagh, Appendix xxi. p. 636, estimates the confiscated territory at "upwards of 800,000 English acres of land."

* See O'Connor's Hist. of the Irish Cath. p. 22; Mooney, MS. Hist. of Franciscans.

† *Commons' Journal*, vol. i. p. 307; Leland's Hist. b. iv. ch. 8, etc.

who started for the Irish shores—the harbingers of Presbyterianism to our Catholic isle.

“From Scotland,” he writes, “came many, and from England not a few, yet all of them generally the scum of both nations; who, from debt, or breaking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, came hither, hoping to be, without fear of man’s justice, in a land where there was nothing, or but little as yet, of the fear of God. And in a few years there flocked such a multitude of people from Scotland, that these northern counties of Down, Antrim, etc., were, in a good measure, planted, which had been wasted before. Yet, most of the people were all void of godliness; who seemed rather to flee from God in this enterprise, than to follow their own mercy; . . . on all hands atheism increased and disregard of God; iniquity abounded, with contention, fighting, murder, adultery, etc. Among people who, as they had nothing within them to overawe them, so their ministers’ example was worse than nothing; for, ‘from the prophets of Israel, profaneness went forth to the whole land.’”*

Even in the judicial circuits and the administration of the now established English law, nothing was omitted that could outrage the feelings of the Catholic natives. The monasteries and the Catholic churches were the places chosen for the most part for holding the sessions and judicial investigations in cases of murder, and other such crimes. Thus, in Mullingar, Sligo, and the county Kilkenny, the assizes were held in the churches of the Dominican Order: in Trim, Leitrim, Cavan, Ennis, Enniscorthy, Wicklow, and the county Galway, the Franciscan churches were desecrated in like manner. In no place was the insult to the Catholic faith felt more bitterly than in Galway; for “there, the assizes were held in the very choir of the church, and the high altar, yet standing, was used as the tribunal on which the judges took their seat;” thus, adds the annalist, being once more verified the words of the prophet, that the abomination of desolation should be seen in the holy place.† The whole administration of the laws seemed to have for its chief object the rooting out of the Catholic faith. Judges, sheriffs, bailiffs, all, writes O’Sullivan, conspire in this one great object, “breathing enmity to the

* MS. History, by Rev. Andrew Stewart, in Advocate’s Library, Edinburgh; ap. Reid’s History of the Presbyt. Ch. vol. i. p. 96.

† Mooney’s MS. Hist. of the Franciscans, p. 6, seqq.

Catholic faith, straining every nerve to banish the clergy, or arrest and lead them to the scaffold, and to overwhelm the people with every possible violence and injustice. And hence, the judges on their circuits are always accompanied by a number of most wicked and desperate men, who assail the Catholics with every wickedness, and seek to circumvent them by every stratagem that perverted ingenuity can devise.”*

This rule of terror and persecution did not suffice to deter Dr. Matthews from hastening to the scene of his spiritual labours, to impart courage and consolation to his suffering flock. In the summer of 1611 he set out from the tombs of the apostles; and the archives of Rome yet preserve a petition which he presented to the holy Father a little before his departure, which we now offer to the reader as an illustration, at the same time, of the condition of our Church, and of the sentiments of the holy prelate:—

“MOST HOLY FATHER,—Eugene, now appointed by your Holiness to the see of Dublin, being about to leave Rome for Ireland, towards the close of the present month of May, humbly supplicates your Holiness that as all the churches of that kingdom are either profaned and destroyed by the late persecutions, or occupied by the heretics, and as it is nowise allowed to offer up there the holy Sacrifice in public, but only in private houses, or in orchards, or in caverns, he may be permitted the use of a privileged portable altar, and should one such privileged altar be broken or lost in any way, he may consecrate another with the same indulgences and privileges, erecting it in as becoming a place as possible, and preserving it with all due care and reverence.”†

The brief of Paul V., granting the wished-for faculty, is dated 1st of June, the same year; and in addition to the usual formulas, it expresses the anxious desire of the holy Father to impart “consolation to the archbishop, and to enrich him with special spiritual gifts and favours.”

* O’Sullev. Hist. Cath. p. 81.

† Ex Archiv. Secret. Brev. 11th of May, 1611.

CHAPTER III.

Eulogies on Dr. Matthews.—Character of Knox, Protestant Bishop of Raphoe.—His persecuting spirit.—Edicts against Catholic Education.—Protestant Bible in Irish.—Dangers to which Dr. Matthews was exposed.—Case of Father Helan of Drogheda.—Dr. O'Duana and F. O'Lourchain.—Constancy of Irish.

ALL the contemporary writers conspire in commending the zeal and piety of Dr. Matthews. "The present archbishop of Dublin," writes Mooney, "is a man remarkable for his virtue and learning, and worthy of administering such an important see in more favourable times. He resides in Ireland, constantly pursued by his heretical enemies; favoured, however, by the protection of God, he safely lies concealed, escaping from all their snares, and from his hiding-place he zealously pursues the work of his sacred ministry."* Another Irish ecclesiastic, in 1615, styles him, in like manner, "a worthy bishop, full of the divine spirit, and glowing with an ardent zeal to fulfil his mission and feed the flock intrusted to him."

Indeed, his whole episcopal career more than justifies these eulogies. Though constantly pursued by the emissaries of the government, and marked out as the object of special persecution, he faithfully clung to his suffering flock, administering to them the sacraments of life, and comforting them by his example and exhortations.

The same year that Dr. Matthews was sent by the Holy See, on an errand of charity and peace, to the diocese of Dublin, another prelate received from king James a far different mission to our Irish Church. "In the year of our Lord, 1611," writes Dominic de Rosario, "there arrived in Ireland a certain bishop named Knox, who had received crozier and mitre at the hands

* MS. Hist. Franciscan.—"Vir virtute et eruditione insignis dignus qui meliore tempore tam illustri loco collocaretur: nunc in Hibernia residet, multis hæreticorum insidiis impetitus, quas per Dei gratiam delitescens et e latebris vigilantia pastoralis operam navans declinat."

of king James. He was intrusted with a special commission and ample powers to tear up popery by the roots; and if he did not succeed, no one, at least, can question the malicious ingenuity of his designs, or the severity of the means which he employed.”*

Knox, who shared, together with the name, many of the leading traits of the Genevan reformer, was a Scotchman by birth. As bishop of Orkney, he displayed the fulness of puritanical zeal against the Catholics, and he was now translated to the see of Raphoe in Ireland, to pursue the same course, receiving from his royal patron ample powers in all matters of religion, and a special injunction to superintend the other members of the Irish Protestant clergy, and report to his majesty on their tepidity or zeal in propagating the Protestant tenets: and, says O’Sullivan Beare, well did this emissary pursue the iniquitous plot, for he “left no means unemployed to destroy every vestige of the Catholic religion, and obliterate every trace of its history.”

The difficulty of the undertaking only served to stimulate more and more the ardour of Knox’s bigotry. “I know the obstinacy of these wicked papists,” he thus addressed the viceroy, on his arrival in Dublin, “but I will be sure to punish them with due severity. I will soon make them curse the Pope and his teaching, whilst they will remember me for ever. My remedies will be far more efficacious than any yet employed, and in comparison with the penalties which I will inflict on them, all that they have hitherto endured will be esteemed as caresses and favours.”† The disappointment which he and his followers experienced, served as an additional stimulus to their intolerance. They imagined that, as in Scotland, so, too, in Ireland, an abundance of Church property yet remained; and whilst they held the Bible in one hand, they stretched out the other to seize on the spoils of the sanctuary. The rude storm of Elizabeth’s

* Hist. of the GERALD. p. 177.

† Hist. Cath. Compend. p. 286. It is deserving of remark, that Dr. Mant, in his History of the Prot. Church in Ireland, passes over in complete silence the whole career of Dr. Knox. The same course, eloquent in its silence, is pursued by Niel, in his Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

‡ Ibid. p. 286.

reign, however, had well nigh overthrown all the monuments of the ancient faith in our island, and little remained for Knox and his assistants, but to demolish the humble chapels which the impoverished people had erected, and to plunder the chalices and the fragments of sacred plate that yet remained.*

His first care was to publish a series of edicts against the Catholics, which are thus compendiated by De Rosario:—

I. "Let all Papists and Popish priests forthwith depart out of Ireland, or remain on peril of their lives.

II. "Let none, henceforth, send their children or kindred beyond the seas for education. Those who are abroad must return within one year, or suffer their property to be confiscated.

III. "Let no Papist dare to exercise the function of schoolmaster in this kingdom.

IV. "Whosoever shall harbour a priest in town or country, shall forfeit his possessions to the crown.

V. "Let each and every one be present at our rites, ceremonies, etc., on Sundays and festivals.

VI. "The churches which have sustained any injury during the late wars, are to be repaired at the expense of the papists."†

Nor were these edicts allowed to remain mere idle threats. "Every town, city, hamlet, and homestead in the island, was visited by trained bands of perjurers, informers, and assassins, to carry out the designs of Dr. Knox;" whilst the bishop himself, armed with the full power and authority of the king, went around, accompanied with a troop of puritanical minions, and "whosoever of the Catholics fell into his hands on the highway, by-way, or hostelry, had no hope of escape from death and torments."‡ What a sad and mournful spectacle did our country then present! "The ministers of the Protestant Church," writes O'Sullivan, "penetrated everywhere. Bibles of a corrupt and erroneous version into the vernacular language,§ the expense

* Porter's Annales, p. 252.

† Loc. cit. p. 178: and O'Sullivan, loc. cit. p. 286.

‡ De Rosario, loc. cit. pp. 178, 180.

§ In Transactions of Ibero-celtic Society, Dublin, 1820, p. clxxx., it is recorded, that the first edition of the Protestant version of the New Testament "was printed in the year 1603, in quarto, the charges of which were levied on the people of Connaught." For some amusing examples of biblical mistranslation, arising from ignorance of the Irish idiom, see *ibid.* and p. clxxxi.

of which the Catholics were compelled to defray, were placed in all the parish churches: the meaning of various passages of the sacred text was perverted according to each one's conceit. No art was left unemployed to compel the Catholics to frequent the heretical conventicles, and listen to their profane and sacrilegious novelties. . . . The Catholics who refuse to second these impious designs, are punished with fines, or thrown into prison. Some are deprived of their possessions, others are driven into exile, whilst some, too, are led to the scaffold. All are treated with the greatest severity and cruelty. Those Protestants are esteemed most mild and merciful, who only fine even the poor families two silver crowns, for each time that they absent themselves from the heretical worship; but the rich families are subjected to far greater fines. The impious despoilers do not spare the sacred images. They seize on the sacerdotal vestments, and all other matters appertaining to the holy Sacrifice and to divine worship. The houses of the Catholics are plundered, and their gold and silver cups, and all the valuable ornaments that they possess, are seized on and carried off, under pretence that they are chalices, or otherwise belonging to the altar. They employ all possible diligence in searching out the priests to put them to death. The Irish teachers and masters are everywhere expelled.* Those who are anxious to cultivate literature are prohibited to journey to the foreign colleges, or enter any Catholic academy. To such extremes do they carry their rage and fury, that, as the venerable father Conway informs me, a certain privy councillor publicly boasted that all his plate, which is of considerable value, was made up of the chalices, pattens, reliquaries, and other sacred vases of the Catholics. I have learned

* The commissioners of the royal visitation, in 1615, reported: "We found in Galway a public schoolmaster named Lynch, placed there by the citizens, who had great numbers of scholars not only of that province, but also from the Pale. We had daily proof, during our continuance in that city, how well his scholars profited under him, by verses and orations, which they presented to us. We sent for that schoolmaster before us, and seriously advised him to conform to the religion established; and not prevailing with our advice, we enjoined him to forbear teaching; and I, the chancellor, did take a recognition of him, and some others of his kinsmen in that city, in the sum of £400 sterling, to his majesty's use, that from thenceforth he should forbear to teach any more," etc.—*Iar-Connaught*, published by Irish Archæolog. Soc. 1846, p. 215.

from the same father another striking fact. In the town of Coleraine, there was a statue of the Virgin Mother, which the Protestant bishop Babington* gave orders to be pulled down and burned. His sacrilegious minions had scarce set themselves to perform this iniquitous deed, when they both fell dead. Successive efforts to set the statue on fire, or destroy it by gunpowder, were all ineffectual; it remained divinely preserved despite all their attempts, whilst the bishop himself was overwhelmed with terror, and being seized with illness, expired. This occurred in the month of September, 1611."†

More than once Dr. Matthews was exposed to imminent danger, and with difficulty escaped from the eager pursuit of his enemies. The Franciscan annalist records how, on one occasion, the house in which the archbishop lived was surrounded and searched by the priest-hunters, but the intended victim, with another priest, his companion, stole out through the attic windows, and making his way over the roofs of the adjoining houses, succeeded in baffling his pursuers. It was on the same day that father Francis Helan, a very aged Franciscan, was seized in Drogheda, at the foot of the altar, after saying Mass. When he was conducted a prisoner through the streets, the women rose, rushed in crowds from all quarters of the town, and by repeated volleys of stones and other missiles, rescued him from the soldiery. Father Francis, however, being conscious of no crime, and fearing lest the vengeance of the government might fall on the Catholics of Drogheda, surrendered himself voluntarily, and being conducted to Dublin, was arraigned in his habit before the lord chancellor, the Protestant archbishop of Dublin. The captain of the escort interposed on behalf of father Helan; and stated, moreover, that he himself had never been in such danger of his life, as from the women of Drogheda.‡ Notwithstanding this inter-

* Bishop of Derry, as Ware and Mant inform us.

† O'Sullivan. Hist. Cath. p. 287-8. Ware merely mentions regarding Dr. Babington, that he was consecrated bishop of Derry in 1610, and died the year following.

‡ There is a letter of the viceroy to lord Salisbury, written in 1610 (Pub. Rec. Office, Ireland), vol. 228, in which he states: "If some course be not speedily taken for restraining them (the priests), I cannot see how this kingdom

position, and although no crime was imputed to him, the aged priest was thrown into prison, where he had to suffer for six weary months. This was the second time, within a short interval, that the Franciscan house in Drogheda had been assailed. The former time the priest had scarcely left the altar, when the agents of sir Arthur Chichester forced their way into the house, and carried off the chalice, vestments, and everything else that they considered valuable.*

It was at the same period, on the 1st of February (old style), 1612,† that the scaffold of Dublin was empurpled with the blood of two heroic martyrs—Dr. Cornelius O'Duana, bishop of Down and Connor, and Patrick O'Luorchain, a priest of the diocese of Cork. Dr. O'Duana, or O'Devany, as he was styled by the English, was appointed to the united sees of Down and Connor, on 26th April, 1582.‡ Towards the close of 1587 he was seized by the emissaries of sir John Perrot, and thrown into the dungeons of Dublin castle. On the 17th of September, 1592, he addressed thence a most submissive petition§ to the lord deputy, to be liberated from this imprisonment, stating that "he was now ready to starve for want of food, and had no friends to become bonds for him." In the following year, Dr. O'Duana was restored to liberty; and, if we can credit Dr. Loftus, Protestant archbishop of Dublin, consented to take the oath of supremacy, as also to become her majesty's true and faithful subject, and to disclose to the government any treasonable practices of which perchance he might become cognizant.||

can long stand as it doth, for every city and town is full of them. Upon a strange apprehension, they have taken that it is the king's pleasure that they should have the exercise of their religion, so it be not public in the churches; and when an officer or soldier lays hold on a priest within their garrison, the young men and women of the city or town, where he is taken, flock together, and rescue the party apprehended."

* Mooney, Hist. MS. Franciscan, p. 18.

† O'Sullev. p. 305; the Four Masters; Mooney, loc. cit.; and *Analecta*.

‡ *Acta Consistorialia*.

§ "Petition of Conoghor O'Devana.—In most humble manner maketh petition to your lordship, your poor distressed suppliant, Conoghor O'Devana, preest, . . . prisoner in her majeste castle of Dublin. That where in the government of sir John Perrot, knight, your suppliant was committed concerning matters of religion," etc.—State Paper Office, Ireland, Sept. 17th, 1592.

|| "The answers of the archbishop of Dublin to some matters objected against him by Legg and Riche."—State Paper Office. The second article of accusation against Dr. Loftus was: "You did let out a bishop out of the

However, the manner of life pursued by the bishop after his liberation, as sketched for us by Dr. Roothe, in his *Analecta Sacra*, accords but badly with this statement. Dr. O'Devany, he says, laboured in season and out of season to preserve his flock from heresy. He went around on foot to every district, administering confirmation on the hills or in the bye-places, and offering up the holy Sacrifice for his persecuted people. He thus continued for several years to discharge all the duties of a good pastor, till at length, in the month of June, 1611, he was a second time arrested by the English soldiers, in the act of administering the sacrament of confirmation in a Catholic family, and once more thrown into prison in Dublin castle. It was at the same time that father O'Luorchain was condemned to the dungeons of the capital. He had just returned from Rome, and landed in the city of Cork. Being tracked by the government spies, he was summoned before the magistrates, and having acknowledged his priestly character, was at once committed a prisoner, and sent to Dublin to be tried for high treason.

For seven months these holy men suffered all possible privations and hardships in their cheerless dungeons, till sentence of death was passed against them, and both were condemned as traitors, to be hanged, embowelled, and quartered. On his trial, the bishop declared that the oath of royal spiritual supremacy was impious;* and added, that his enemies did not more eagerly thirst for his blood than he himself was desirous to shed it for Christ his Redeemer. The Four Masters thus record his martyrdom:—

“The English offered him riches and many rewards if he would turn over to their heresy; but he refused to accept them, for he despised transitory riches, seeking an everlasting kingdom. There was not a Christian in the land of Ireland whose heart did not shudder within him through horror of the martyrdom which this chaste, wise divine suffered for the reward of his soul. The Catholics of Dublin

castell, that was sent from Roome, without good warrant, which Romishe bishop doth wander up and downe, and doth great hurt now in the northe.”—*Ibid.* The statement of Loftus in the text was made to exculpate himself for having counselled the liberation of Dr. O'Duana.

* O'Sullev. loc. cit. p. 300.

contended with each other to see which of them should have possession of some one of his limbs, and they had fine linen* in readiness, to prevent his blood from falling to the ground; for they were convinced that he was one of the holy martyrs of the Lord."†

The bishop had almost attained his eightieth year when sentence was passed against him; and hence, at his trial, he declared that his crime would be far greater than that of Eleazar, if, for the enjoyment of a few days of life, he renounced his faith.‡ To a pious matron, who waited on him a few days before his execution, he said: "For ten years I have not enjoyed such vigour of body or such joy of mind as at present; and my only anxiety is lest God should allow me to be worn away in this prison by age and infirmity, and not summon me to His own blissful enjoyment by martyrdom."§ The holy priest displayed a like heroism. When Dr. O'Duana, fearing that the spectacle of his own torments might strike terror into father O'Lourchain, had requested the executioner to carry out the sentence of the law first in his own regard, the priest said that "he need not be in dread on his account, for he would follow him without fear;" and added, that "it was not meet for a bishop to be without a priest to attend him." And the annalists add that faithfully did he fulfil his promise, "for he suffered the like torture with fortitude for the kingdom of heaven and his own soul."||

It is deserving of remark, that the executioner, who was an Irishman, fled as soon as sentence was passed on these venerable men, nor could any other native be induced, by rewards or threats, to discharge that office.¶ An English culprit, under sentence of death, on life being granted to him, was the only person that the government could procure to act as executioner of the holy martyrs.

This instance sufficiently proves how far were the efforts of

* A small piece of linen tinged with Dr. O'Devany's blood is still preserved in Rome.

† Annals, p. 2371.

‡ O'Sullev. p. 302.

§ O'Sullev. loc. cit. p. 302.

|| Annals of Four Masters, loc. cit.

¶ "Not even among criminals under sentence of death, among the vilest dregs of the populace, could any man be induced to lay sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed."—Cambren. Evers. vol. ii. p. 609.

Chichester from alienating the affections of our Irish Catholics from the faith and traditions of their forefathers. Persecution and proscription only made the Irish cling more fondly to their faithful clergy, and labour with greater industry in seeking to preserve them from their puritanical pursuers. The words with which O'Sullivan Beare describes these efforts of the Catholics in behalf of their clergy, are well deserving of attention.

"The Irish youth," he says, "is so far from listening to the heretical teachers, that despite the edicts of the king and the viceroy, the foreign colleges are filled with our students, whilst at home the children are instructed by their parents, or by the priests, in the rudiments of the faith. The heretical schoolmasters, lest they should lose the whole stipend, readily make an agreement to allow Irish teachers to instruct the children, on condition of half the salary being given to themselves.

"Rather than assist at the heretical service, the natives chose to suffer fines and imprisonment, or death. Sometimes, though rarely, the Protestant minister is murdered; generally the Catholics only alarm him, that thus he may desist from his impious ministry, and cease to persecute the Catholic clergy. It is amusing to see what has often occurred in our country towns. On the holidays some of the inhabitants invite the Protestant minister to breakfast, that when inebriated with wine and whiskey, he may, whilst thus sacrificing to Bacchus, forget to execute his royal commission.

"The Catholics everywhere complain that no justice is shown to them, and that the laws are violated in their regard. Nevertheless, they treat the priests with all reverence and devotedness; and in no part of the world, and even never before in Ireland, was such universal affection and respect displayed for the clergy as at present. They will not betray their priest, though they are subjected, not to say to fines, but to the most cruel and terrible tortures. It hence happens, that fewer of the clergy now suffer for the faith than in former times, for when a priest is arrested, no art is left unemployed to secure his liberation. This fills the Protestant agents with rage; and sometimes the Catholic laity, who are known to thus succour their persecuted pastors, are accused of other crimes, and brought to the scaffold. Such was the sentence against sir Patrick Purcell, a nobleman in his eightieth year, who was executed in 1612, being accused of having sheltered some Irish defender of the Catholic cause, in Elizabeth's reign. His real crime, however, was that he possessed ample estates, and was renowned throughout the kingdom as a friend of the clergy."*

This constancy of our Catholics, and heroic devotedness to

* O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath. pp. 293-4.

their faithful clergy, merited the eulogy of the whole Christian world; and the holy pontiff, Paul V., in an apostolical letter addressed to them at this period, not only compares them to the martyrs of the primitive times, and exhorts them to perseverance, but adds—"You glory in that faith by which your fathers procured for their country the distinguished appellation of the island of saints. Nor have the sufferings which you endured been allowed to remain unpublished; your fidelity and Christian fortitude have become the subject of universal admiration, and the praise of your name has long since been loudly celebrated in every portion of the Christian world."†

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1613.

Meeting of a Parliament suggested by Chichester.—New boroughs created in order to secure a majority in favour of persecution.—Controversy on the Election of a Speaker.—Violence of the Government party, and pretended Election of Sir John Davis.—Catholics excluded from all legitimate influence.

TWENTY-SEVEN years had elapsed since a parliament assembled in the Irish capital, when Chichester suggested to the king the necessity of sanctioning, by its enactments, the schemes of proscription and plantation which, during that interval, had well nigh transformed the kingdom of Ireland into an English province. On the 18th of May, 1613, the representatives of both houses met in Dublin castle. The upper house, being composed of the Protestant bishops and members of the English aristocracy, was sure to be a main support of the government. On the other hand, the election of representatives for the lower house was a source of anxious care to the viceroy. In the counties and ancient boroughs, the Catholics had taken the alarm, and

† Ap. Dr. Rothe, Hib. Resurgens, etc.

dreading some impending dangers, had, by incessant exertions, secured a large majority of votes. Nothing was left undone by the English civil and military authorities, by threats and bribes, and even by throwing into prison the leading Catholic agents, to check the enthusiasm of the popular party.* All, however, was in vain; and nothing remained for the court but the bold unconstitutional measure of erecting, by royal prerogative, more than forty new parliamentary boroughs.† These were situated for the most part in Ulster, and consisted of paltry villages, and even in many cases merely of some few scattered houses inhabited by the colonists from Scotland,‡ whilst the minions of the court, and the very outcasts of Dublin, were declared free-men and citizens of these new-fashioned towns.§ The individuals selected to represent these boroughs in parliament, did not bear a much higher character, and were, for the most part, officers from the army, attorney's clerks, and "divers servants to great men."||

It was well known that penal enactments against the Catholic religion, drawn up by the privy council in England, and sanctioned by king James, were transmitted¶ to the Irish viceroy, to be decreed by the approaching parliament. A letter signed by six Catholic lords of the Pale, dated the 25th of November, 1612, was addressed to the king, remonstrating against such grievances; it was, at the same time, lavish of flattery and devotedness to the English monarch, and declared that it was presented "on the bended knees of their loyal hearts."*** The natives took more effectual means to resist the penal inno-

* O'Sullev. Hist. Cath. p. 308.

† O'Sullev. loc. cit.; Mooney's Hist. Franc. MS. Cox, etc.

‡ Rex auctoritate sua erexit triginta et octo loca valde obscura et minus nota in oppida cum privilegiis et juribus municipalibus, quia in illis habitabant novæ plantationis hæretici, et jussit ut ex singulis locis duo interessent parlamento," etc.—Mooney. loc. cit.

§ "In his rursus desertis urbibus cives hæreticos desiderans, cives illis creat Anglos tonsores, pharmacopolas, scribas, litium procuratores, curiæ janitores, hominumque id genus colluviam qui ne oculis quidem unquam loca illa lustraverunt."—O'Sullev. loc. cit. pp. 308-9.

|| Hib. Desiderata Curiosa, vol. i. p. 220.

¶ See the heads of these enactments in O'Sul. loc. cit. pp. 310-12; De Rosario, pp. 180-2.

*** Cox, ii. p. 25; Gale's Corporate History of Ireland, p. 105.

vations. The popular members set out in triumphant procession from the scenes of their respective victories towards the seat of government. The population everywhere received them with shouts of tumultuous greeting, and exhortations to defend to the last the only remaining glory of their nation, the Catholic faith.* As they passed along, the same wide-spread enthusiasm added hourly new troops to their cavalcades, and they made their entry into the capital more like martial leaders at the head of their armed retainers, than peaceable deputies hastening to deliberate on the affairs of state. The clergy, also, crowded to Dublin from all parts of the country; even the bishops and religious orders made it a matter of duty to assemble there, to animate and direct the exertions of their representatives; and many that were sojourning in Spain, and Belgium, and France, started for the Irish shores, to contribute their mite towards averting the coming storm.†

On the appointed day, the lord deputy, with the peers of the realm, the nobles, the archbishops and bishops, attired in rich scarlet robes, proceeded with sound of trumpet from the castle of Dublin to the cathedral of St. Patrick. Lord Barry and lord Buttevant carried the sword of state, and the earl of Thomond bore other emblems of royalty. The viceroy rode "upon a most stately horse, very richly trapped; himself attired in a very rich robe of purple velvet, which the king's majesty had sent him, and his train was borne by eight gentlemen of worth."‡ All this pomp could not induce the Catholic members to enter the Protestant cathedral, and assist at the discourse of the Protestant primate. They halted outside, and no sooner had lord Barry laid the sword of state upon the cushion before the viceroy, than he too retired, refusing to remain during the

* "Quos in parlamentum proficiscentes, nobiles, plebei, matronæ, puellæ, pueri, decrepiti, orant et obtestantur ut sanctam Jesu religionem a majoribus semper cultam defendant, si faciant aliud, id irritum se habituros."—O'Sullev. loc. cit. p. 308.

† "Ibèrni Antistites, religiosi, sacerdotes ex omnibus regni locis Dublinum confluent; et ire contendunt multi qui per Hispaniam, Galliam, Belgium in religionibus et seminariis suisque sumptibus, dabant operam litteris."—O'Sullev. Hist. Cath. p. 313; Desid. Curiosa Hib. vol. i.; Cox, loc. cit. etc.

‡ Des. Cur. Hib. vol. i. page 166.

heretical service. The ceremony* being completed, they returned in state procession to the castle, and all assembled in its chambers to receive the address of the lord chancellor. He, in "a grave and worthy speech," expressed the benign intentions of the king in regard to Ireland, and declared his majesty's pleasure that sir John Davis should be elected speaker of the lower parliament house. Sir John was at this time attorney-general for Ireland. He had during the past years proved himself an able and efficient minister in carrying out the king's policy, and hence had reaped an abundant harvest of the royal favour when sharing the Irish spoils.

On the following day, the members of the lower house assembled to choose their speaker, and all the government minions, 125 in number, grouped together to support the royal favourite. They were emboldened by the presence of a band of soldiers completely armed, who, with lighted matches in their hands, guarded the entrance of the parliament rooms.† The Catholic members only numbered 101, and, with few exceptions, had been chosen from the Anglo-Irish families, as being more conversant with the language and usages of parliament. The question of the speakership being proposed, one Irish member interrogated those who filled the opposite benches whence they had come, or by what law they were entitled to sit in an Irish parliament. "You are not natives of this country," he said; "you have no property here; no city, no county, has chosen you its representative. Surely a few huts or uninhabited farms cannot be allowed to depute members to parliament. Wherefore, depart from this assembly. You may belong to other parliaments, but here you are strangers to our laws, and you are representatives of places unknown in this country."‡ Whilst he continued in this strain, a government member summoned those who were for sir John Davis to count their numbers in the anti-chamber, as was usual in those days in England. No sooner had they retired than one of the Catholic party thus addressed his associates:—"The rabble at length

* O'Sullev. loc. cit. page 314.

† See Curry's Civil Wars, page 79; O'Sullivan, loc. cit. page 315.

‡ O'Sullivan, pp. 315-6.

has gone, and we are left, as it is our right to be, in possession of this house; wherefore, seeing that our efforts have been so blessed by God, we should pursue the course which He has traced for us, and defend that saving faith, for which, if necessary, we should be ready to die. To this we are encouraged by the example of our fathers and kinsmen, who, fighting for the Catholic faith, obtained an undying glory in this world, and a happy immortality in heaven. We will not be unworthy of their name, if we are called on to engage in the same combat. Should death be our lot, we will be sharers in their renown; should our struggles be crowned with success, our merit shall not be less, whilst higher fame and happier fortune will await us. Nor is there reason to apprehend that, by so doing, we shall trespass aught against the king's majesty; for that same object should be his special care, and nothing can be more necessary, either for his own salvation or for the righteous ruling of this kingdom. Let all, therefore, be courageous; let us maintain that religion, for which it is a privilege to combat; in whose cause, it is more honourable to be conquered, than to conquer fighting against it; to die for which, is truly to live; and to exalt which, should be the highest glory of man."*

They then chose sir John Everard for their speaker. He was a man of high repute amongst the Anglo-Irish Catholics; and some years before had resigned his office of chief justice, rather than sully his conscience by taking the oath of supremacy. He was at once unanimously installed in the speaker's chair. The Protestant members, on their return, raised a clamour in the house, and, proceeding to the speaker's chair, forcibly placed sir John Davis on the lap of the Catholic speaker; and as even this did not suffice, they, after a long struggle, pulled the latter from his place, tore his garments, and bruised his body with repeated blows.†

The Catholic members at once seceded from the assembly; and, to the great alarm of the viceroy, the citizens and the

* O'Sullev. loc. cit. p. 316. The speech is also given by De Burgo, Hib. Dom. ; and Porter, in his Annals.

† O'Sullev. p. 316 ; Dess. Curios. Hib. vol. i. p. 223.

multitudes, who had hastened to Dublin from all parts, fearlessly and threateningly avowed their determination to stand by their representatives. On the following day, an invitation to sir John Everard conveyed the wishes of the government, that the Catholic members should return to parliament. He courageously replied, that he could not return except as speaker of the house; that at their preceding assembly, the military had illegally been drawn out for the purpose of terrorism; that the intruded members had inflicted severe bodily injury upon himself, for which he awaited the due reparation. To repeated messages of the viceroy the Catholic members replied with one accord, that most of the opposition members were intruders in their parliament; that their constitutional rights had been arbitrarily violated; and hence they were resolved not to sanction, by their presence, the acts that might be passed in such an assembly. At the same time they published an address to the people of Ireland, exhorting them to be faithful to their ancient creed, and by their firmness preserve it from threatening dangers. One passage of this address is particularly interesting, as illustrating the special grievances to which the Irish Catholics were subjected during the first years of James' reign. "We had hoped," they thus write, "that on the accession of his majesty peace would be granted to us; but to our grief, not only was no toleration granted, but a bitter persecution excited against us by the Protestant clergy; for they, and other agents of the crown, recalled into operation statutes that had passed into disuse. They oppressed the Catholics with new laws and fines, and vexations of every sort, by which they reduce us to an extreme poverty, but still they could not alienate us from our holy religion. Hence, new burdens are heaped upon ourselves and upon our children—upon our lives and liberties—upon our fame and fortunes. Our children are prohibited to seek science and literature in the European schools; our gentry are shut out from the offices of state; and no Catholic can even be a magistrate without renouncing the doctrines of his faith. . . . Even our artificers and labourers have been subjected to cruel persecution, to excommunication and fines, and a thousand other evils. . . . Notwithstanding all these penalties of poverty,

and mockery, and imprisonment, and destruction, we have never wavered in matters of conscience. It is true, our wealth and property has been wasted away. The whole condition of the nation has been altered by the endowed and married clergy, and other ministers of the government: many inconveniences have arisen, in consequence, even in matters of commerce. Our domestic life is intruded on, and we ourselves are become a prey to vile and abject men, who devour our substance, and enjoy the fruits of our labours."*

Whilst the Catholic deputies† were, in consequence of these dissensions, summoned by the king to appear before him at Westminster, Chichester dispatched instructions to his agents at the court to bias the minds of the royal counsellors against them. One of the articles of these instructions was as follows :—

"Whereas they say that such as were returned to their party were without exception, you may prove the contrary by showing how many of them were heads of rebellion in the last wars, how some of them can speak no English, how they were all elected by a general combination and practice of Jesuits and priests, who charged all the people, upon pain of excommunication, not to elect any of the king's religion."‡

King James received the Irish deputation at Whitehall, and at repeated audiences displayed his characteristic pedantry. They were summoned to his presence for the last time on 1st of May, 1614, when he addressed to them a long harangue, reproving their turbulence and audacity in rejecting his religion, and refusing to accept as speaker the individual whom he had nominated. "You and your nation," he thus began, "are not only hostile to my religion and to myself, but are, moreover, most obstinate Papists; nay, more, you make it a boast of being more attached to popery and to Rome than any other nation." As regarded their complaints, he evaded them,

* This address is given in full in O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.* pp. 316-9.

† Those who formed the Irish deputation were, Jenico Preston, Lord Gormanstown; James, Lord Dunboyne; Sir Christopher Plunket, Sir James Gough, William Talbot, Edward Fitzharris, Sir Christopher Nugent, and Thomas Luttrell. A collection was made throughout Ireland to defray their expenses.

‡ See the *Confiscation of Ulster*, by MacNevin; Dublin, 1846; pp. 244-5.

declaring "that in the government nothing had been proved faulty, except you would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of heaven." He added many reproaches for the general obstinacy of the nation in adhering to the Catholic faith. "You will not frequent our churches, you will not hear our sermons, but you will pin your faith to the Council of Trent. You never cease to conspire against my crown and my life. At home and abroad you are ever hatching sedition. At Rome you have Peter Lombard, whom you call a doctor, and in Ireland, Christopher Hollywood, who inculcate the necessity of sending your children to foreign seminaries, teaching them rebellion, and confirming their hatred of me." And he concluded thus: "My sentence is, that in the matter of parliament you have carried yourselves tumultuously and undutifully; and that your proceedings have been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment, which, by reason of your submission, I do forbear, but not remit, till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament; where, by your obedience to the deputy and state, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your past miscarriage, and then may deserve not only pardon, but favour and cherishing."*

His majesty, moreover, added deeds to words. Two of the deputies, Talbot and Luttrell, were thrown into prison, and subjected to heavy fines; and on the 31st May, 1614, an edict was published commanding "all archbishops, bishops, Jesuits, and seminarists, who have derived their authority from Rome, to withdraw themselves from the kingdom of Ireland before the 30th of September following;" and empowering the royal constables and other officers to arrest and punish all such as after that date should be found in the kingdom.†

The only result of the deputation to England was a promise of the viceroy that no penal enactments should be introduced against the Catholic faith. Satisfied with this promise, the Anglo-Irish members resumed their places in the parliament in 1615, and lent their aid to the government in passing the bill

* See O'Sullev. loc. cit. 323-5; Cox, ii. page 25; Dominic de Rosario, page 182, seqq.

† Dominic de Ros. pp. 185-6.

of attainder against the princes of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, thus legalizing the plunder of 800,000 Catholic acres in Ulster alone. The few Irish deputies seceded from the sittings of the house, refusing to be present at the sacrifice of the liberties of the nation. Thenceforward the history of that parliament does not fall within our present scope, as it no longer re-echoed the Catholic spirit of Ireland, nor could its measures be regarded as receiving the sanction and approval of the Irish Catholics.*

CHAPTER V.

SUBSEQUENT AFFLICTIONS OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS.

Dangers to which Dr. Matthews was exposed.—Letter of an Irish Jesuit.—O'Sullivan's and Dr. Kearney's testimony.—Dr. Roothé.—Extract from a Report to Propaganda by Dr. Matthews.

THE puritanical faction that held in its hands the reins of government, was only the more provoked by the unlooked-for result of the first sessions of the parliament of 1613; and hence we find the agents of persecution everywhere throughout our island, redoubling their fury, and renewing their efforts to root out the Catholic faith. In the following year, when Dr. Eugene Matthews and his suffragans assembled in Kilkenny to celebrate a provincial council, the presiding archbishop declared that the exercise of the sacred ministry was beset on every side by difficulties, and impediments, and dangers. "Our words," he adds, "are interpreted in an evil sense; we ourselves are exposed to calumnies, so that we cannot even assemble for purposes of concord and religion, without danger to our lives and liberties. Amidst these afflictions and sufferings, whilst we attend to our

* An eloquent protest against the bill of attainder, addressed by the exiled archbishop of Tuam, Florence O'Conroy, to some friends in Ireland, in 1616, may be seen in O'Sullivan, loc. cit. pp. 328-331.

spiritual charge, and contemplate the necessities of our flock, we are compelled by duty to be unmindful of our own safety, and to be heedless of those snares of which many friends have admonished us, and by which imprisonment and, it is supposed, even death is continually impending over us.*

From many contemporary sources we learn that the archbishop himself was a special object of persecution. Thus a letter written on the 10th of May, 1615, informs us: "Eugene, archbishop of Dublin, is eagerly pursued by the government; and the viceroy mentioned to a Catholic baronet, from whose lips I received the intelligence, that he is by name and by person odious to the king, and for that reason the viceroy and the lord chancellor are most anxious to arrest him, so that it is supposed he will be compelled to abandon his diocese. He lives concealed, and abstains from ordination and confirmation, and all other functions that might betray his place of refuge. The holy man is full of zeal, and anxiously desires to discharge his spiritual duties, and guide the flock entrusted to him; but he is beset on every side with dangers on the part of the government, which is alarmed on account of the family to which he belongs, and the district where he was born, and those whom he admitted to his society; and pretends to regard him as a precursor sent to prepare the way for a new revolt. For my part, I am sure that the archbishop has no such designs, but still the government persists in imputing them to him."†

During the next three years the persecution of Dr. Matthews continued unabated; and we may form some idea of the eager anxiety of his pursuers to compass his destruction, from the particulars stated in the following letter, written by an Irish Jesuit, to Rome, on 17th July, 1617:—

"The desire of the government to arrest the archbishop of Dublin is most intense, and their efforts incessant, so that many fear lest others may be the victims, and be arrested by those who are in pursuit of him. During the last Easter time, it happened in the city of Dublin that the lord chancellor and another of the

* *Constitutiones Provinciales*, etc. printed in 1770, Proœmium, p. 1, seqq.

† See *Collections*, etc. p. 265.

privy council, and Dr. Ryves, master of the prerogative court, accompanied by some of the household of the viceroy, and other attendants well armed, proceeded to search in several houses for Dr. Eugene, relying on the guidance of an ill-informed spy. They moreover placed guards at the corners of the streets and other places, to preclude all possibility of escape; and so determined were they in this pursuit, that they rushed headlong into the bedroom of a Catholic countess, belonging to the chief nobility of England and Ireland, although such an intrusion was contrary to the rights and privileges which such persons enjoy in Ireland. You will easily imagine the terror and alarm of this worthy lady, who had only just risen from bed, at the sudden entrance of an armed band. Archbishop Eugene, through the blessing of God, was beyond the reach of his pursuers; however, many others, both of the clergy and laity, were arrested and thrown into prison; amongst others, one religious was seized on, and a secular priest named William Donagh (Donatus), who, although confined to bed through illness, yet because he was reputed a chaplain of the archbishop, was compelled to get up and accompany the others to prison, where he is still detained. Your friend, the archbishop of Cashel, and another of your members, incurred some odium, as if they were conscious of the traitorous designs of Dr. Matthews, whom the heretics style not an archbishop or bishop, but arch-traitor, and of whom they are, in consequence, continually in search. For my part, I could never see any traces of such political intrigues in the archbishop; he certainly never devised any such schemes amongst the clergy, but, on the contrary, always exhorted them to keep clear of such matters of state. Still the government imagines that both at home and abroad he is involved in negotiations. May God guard the innocent, and preserve those who are guileless in their designs!"*

From O'Sullivan we also learn that in this very year (1617) Dr. Matthews was unceasingly pursued by the agents of the crown, and five hundred pounds were offered as a reward to

* See Collections, etc. pp. 265-6. The editor of the Collections, by an oversight, refers the suspicions and pursuit of the heretics, spoken of in the latter part of this letter, to the archbishop of Cashel.

whosoever should bring to the government the head of the archbishop, dead or alive.*

The letters of Dr. David Kearney, archbishop of Cashel, more than once refer to the storm of persecution, which was thus let loose against our Irish Church. In 1617, he writes: "We are more afflicted now than hitherto, and on account of the new viceroy, who has promised great things to the king, the persecution goes on increasing every day."† In the following year he again renews his laments, declaring that "the persecution now rages with more dreadful violence than ever in past years."‡

The new viceroy to whom Dr. Kearney refers, was sir Oliver St. John, who succeeded Chichester, on August 30, 1616. The first years of his career in Ireland, are thus briefly sketched by O'Sullivan, writing in 1618:—

"This cruel monster being made viceroy, the fury of the persecutors was redoubled. On assuming his office, he is said to have sworn to extirpate, within two years, all the Catholic priests in Ireland. For this purpose, in 1616, commissary judges were appointed for each district, accompanied by troops of armed men, and authorized to inflict the penalties of the law on all the clergy, and to exact from the laity an account of their manner of life. From the fines of the Catholics who refused to assist at the impious heretical rites, six hundred thousand crowns of gold were gathered into the royal treasury. New prisons are made and filled with Catholics. In the city of Dublin alone, nine hundred of the laity were thrown into gaol for refusing the oath of supremacy."§

The greater part of the treatise of Dr. Roothe, entitled *Analecta*, is taken up with details of the sufferings of our Church at this sad period. The chief facts, however, which he commemorates are: (1) that the fines levied in the county Cavan, in 1615, for the mere crime of not assisting at Protestant service, amounted to more than eight thousand pounds; (2) that when some of the poor Catholics of the county Meath, who were

* O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.* pp. 336-7. "Qui vel Eugenium MacMahon, Dublinnæ vel Davidem O'Carnium Casiliæ archiepiscopum, vel utriuslibet caput tradat, hinc quingentæ argenti libræ præmio constituuntur ab Anglis."

† Lett. to the General of the Jesuits, dated "ex Hibernia 26 Maij, 1617."

‡ Lett. to the same, "E loco mansionis nostræ in Provincia Cassellen. die ulta. Sept. 1618."

§ Loc. cit. p. 335.

unwilling to pay this tax, fled from the cruel collectors of it into the caverns and mountain recesses, furious bloodhounds were often let loose in pursuit of them, followed by the sheriff and his posse of soldiers, equally furious and unrelenting; (3) that the Protestant authorities had constant recourse to ecclesiastical censure, in consequence of which, great numbers of Catholic merchants and artificers were thrown into prison, and reduced to extreme poverty and distress; (4) that those who happened to die, whilst under the ban of these Protestant censures, were denied Christian burial, and thrown into graves dug in the highways, where, to increase the ignominy, stakes were driven through their bodies.*

More interesting to the reader than all these narratives, will probably be the sketch of the sufferings of Ireland from the pen of the archbishop himself,—a sketch drawn up with special care by Dr. Matthews, in 1623, and presented by him to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda.† He thus writes:—

“Although from the very commencement of the schism we have been constantly in the battle-field, and, with the exception of the momentary repose enjoyed during the reign of Catholic Mary, have been unceasingly exposed to the attacks of our persecutors, yet so severe are their late assaults, that, in comparison, all their preceding efforts sink into insignificance. Of this persecution I myself have been a witness and a sharer, and I shall briefly commemorate a few of its chief heads.

“Some years ago the heretics strained every nerve to introduce into Ireland those laws which the English parliament enacted against the

* *Analect. præf.* ; also part i. p. 39, et seqq. See also Curry's *Historical Memoirs*, p. 39, seqq. Some late Protestant writers have not hesitated to assert that the bloodhounds were unknown to the executors of English law. However the testimony of Dr. Roothe, an eye-witness, who often shared the perils of his flock, is unimpeachable ; and, moreover, in the present instance, we have his testimony confirmed by the charter of James I., published in *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, authorizing Henry Tuttlesham, in 1614, “to keep four men and twelve couple of hounds in every county of Ireland, for seven years.” Although the permission was granted, in order to destroy the wolves which infested the country, we know from several authorities how such permissions were perverted, by the ingenuity of the persecutors, to compass the destruction of the Catholics. See *Proceeding of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 2, p. 77.

† This sketch is sec. 8 of the *Relatio* entitled “*Brevis informatio ad Illmos. D.D. Cardd. S. Congreg. Prop. Fidei, de statu Religionis in Regno Hiberniæ, et præsentè ejus necessitate, exhibita die 4 Febr. 1623.*” *Ex Archiv. S. Congregat.*

Catholics of England, and to resuscitate the penal code which had been suppositiously passed in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. A parliament was summoned to attain these ends. The government agents sought by every art and violence to secure the election of English or Scotch heretical soldiers. Lest our Catholics might prevail by their numbers, new English and Scotch colonies were planted, and endowed with the privilege of representation. Moreover, a number of titles were conferred on various heretics, whilst the remonstrances of the Catholics were unheeded. Nevertheless, no counsel can prevail against the Lord. All the heretical efforts were fruitless; and so strenuously did the Catholics defend their sacred cause, that their adversaries did not dare even to propose the penal statutes. The heretics had then recourse to royal prerogative, that thus, without any form of law or justice, they might riot against the Catholics; and so violent is the storm of persecution which they have thus excited, that it almost baffles description.

1. "All Catholics are removed from the administration of affairs, and even the smallest offices are given to heretics and schismatics, who may, with impunity, persecute the Catholics according to their fancies.

2. "No Catholic can hold property throughout the entire kingdom: everything is seized on by heretical colonies, and the ejected Catholic proprietors cannot even live as servants on those lands of which they are the masters by hereditary right. For the heretics have learned by experience that there is no people in the world so attached to the faith of their fathers as are the Irish, in defence of which they often had recourse to arms, and risked their fortunes and lives. Seeing, therefore, that penal laws could not suffice to destroy their devotion to the Catholic religion, they had recourse to new arts, and by a disastrous counsel commenced to fill the country with English and Scotch colonies: whilst at the present time, in consequence of the treaties entered into with the continental states, the Irish can hope for no assistance from other powers. Thus, then, the natives, though unaccused of any crime, are without colour of justice, without any feeling of humanity, without any fear of Him who will punish the oppressors, expelled from the homes of their fathers, and from their hereditary estates. Sometimes they are driven to other parts of the kingdom, where small portions of land are assigned to them for their maintenance; sometimes they are compelled to fly from the island, and seek support by entering the armies of the Continent. Heretics being thus introduced into the Catholic lands, a great part of the kingdom is polluted with their sacrilegious impieties; and unless God may avert the dire calamity, the ancient faith will be banished from the whole island. As this evil is propagated by brute force, and as our people has neither skill nor power to cope with our enemies, we must wholly rely for its remedy on the mercy of God.

3. "Ministers and preachers were sought out everywhere in Scotland and England, and sent hither to pervert our Catholics.

4. "All benefices and other ecclesiastical property, were, from the

beginning, seized on by the heretics. In each diocese there is a pseudo-bishop, and in each parish a pseudo-minister.

5. "The Catholics are compelled to repair, for heretical worship, the churches and chapels, which these Iconoclasts themselves had destroyed.

6. "The pseudo-clergy not only seize on all the revenues, but exact payment for the sacraments of baptism and marriage, even when they are administered by the Catholic priests; the sum thus exacted sometimes amounts to four guineas or more, according to the will of the Protestant ministers, who make no account of the poverty and misery of the people. In addition to these exactions, a salary was lately assigned to a certain heretic, to be levied on the births, marriages, and deaths of the Catholics.

7. "Four times in the year, questors are appointed to explore the Catholics throughout the whole kingdom, and impose fines on all who absent themselves from the heretical sermons and communion. As this fine is not defined by law, the judges and questors display great earnestness and avarice in exacting it, through hatred of our holy religion.

8. "On each Sunday, each Catholic father of a family is obliged to pay a pecuniary fine for himself and for each Catholic member of his family. This fine is exacted without mercy even from the poorest labourers.

9. The pseudo-bishops have introduced a new system of excommunicating, forsooth, the Catholics; from which excommunication the Catholics cannot be freed, except by recognizing the spiritual authority of these bishops, and thus sacrificing their own faith. Those, thus excommunicated, are liable to arrest; and should they die, are interred in unconsecrated ground.

10. "Those who assist at Mass, incur a penalty of one hundred marks.

11. "All our gentry and nobility are obliged to send their heirs to be educated and perverted in England.

12. "None of the nobility are now allowed to succeed to their paternal inheritance, without first emitting the oath of royal supremacy, otherwise they and their posterity are deprived of their revenues, and thus the dreadful alternative is presented to them of perversion or poverty.

13. "It is interdicted to the Catholics to teach school either in public or in private; on the other hand, heretical masters are hired in every diocese, and paid from the revenue of some benefices, to pervert our youth and imbue them with heresy. In fact, the heretics have obstructed every avenue by which our youth could receive instruction in this kingdom; and, by their severe penalties and rigorous searches, they seek to render it impossible for any Catholic teacher to remain in the country. Moreover, having created a university in the city of Dublin, the seat of the viceroy and the capital of the whole kingdom,

they employ every artifice to attract our children to its schools. Indeed, they could not possibly devise any scheme more iniquitous than that of thus corrupting our youth.

14. "The Catholic cities are deprived of their ancient liberties, privileges, and rights, and are reduced to the rank of towns, unless they elect heretics as their mayors and aldermen, or, at least, select such persons as the heretics approve of, as lately happened to the city of Waterford, which holds the second place in the kingdom for its strength and opulence."

CHAPTER VI.

PROVINCIAL SYNOD OF 1614.

This Synod held in Kilkenny.—Edition of its Acts in 1770.—Its various Decrees.—Account of them from Dr. Meagher's Notice of Life of Most Rev. Dr. Murray.—Strictness of Law of Abstinence in Irish Church.

WE owe a debt of gratitude to the ecclesiastic, whoever he was, that by publishing the little compilation entitled Provincial and Synodical Constitutions of the Metropolitan and Primatial Church of Dublin,* preserved to us so many interesting lessons on Irish ecclesiastical history, as its pages contain. The foremost and principal of those contributions, are the statutes of the Provincial Synod of Kilkenny,† held by Dr. Eugene Matthews, on the 22nd of June, 1614, of which for more than two centuries the church of Dublin was justly proud, re-enacting them in various subsequent synods, and regarding them as her chief code of ecclesiastical discipline and law.

The proœmium to the synod, as we have already seen, sketches the sad desolation which had fallen upon our Church. It then commemorates the opening of the synod in the city of

* *Constitutiones Provinciales et Synodales Ecclesiæ Metropolitanæ et Primatialis Dubliniensis.* Printed, without date of place, in 1770.

† *Notices of the Life and Character of his Grace Most Reverend Daniel Murray, etc.*; with historical and biographical notes. By Reverend William Meagher, P.P. Dublin, 1853. Page 115.

of Kilkenny, on the 22nd of June, 1614, under the presidency of our archbishop, and its happy termination on the 27th of the same month. All the suffragan sees were at this time vacant; even the names of the vicars-general, who assisted from each diocese at the deliberations of the synod, have not been handed down to us. We may conjecture, however, that David Roothe, subsequently elevated to the see of St. Canice, represented the diocese of Ossory, and that Drs. Luke Archer, Daniel O'Drohen, and James Talbot,* assisted as vicars of Leighlin, Ferns, and Kildare.

The first act of the assembled prelates was to profess their obedience to the Holy See, and to accept, with due reverence and submission, all that had been ordained by the sacred Council of Trent. They avow their desire and profess their readiness to publish and faithfully execute the disciplinary laws which it prescribed; but they, at the same time, deplore the mournful condition of the times which compelled them to avail themselves of the dispensation so wisely accorded by that Council, and to defer to a more favoured era the full execution of all its ordinances.

As regards the clergy, a fixed pastor was to be assigned to each parish; and if a sufficient number of clergy could not be procured, each vacant district should be assigned to the care of the neighbouring parish priest, who, however, is admonished, whilst discharging that office of charity, not to neglect the spiritual interests of the flock more especially entrusted to him. They are, in particular, exhorted to instruct the faithful in the catechism; and even when casually stopping for a day in the house of any of their parishioners, never to fail to teach to one or other of its inmates in the presence of the rest, the Creed or the Lord's Prayer, or some point of Christian doctrine.†

The province of Leinster in those days seems to have been

* In the Wadding Papers, Dr. James Talbot is commemorated, in 1615, as being then vicar-general of Kildare. He was appointed its vicar-apostolic in 1617. The brief appointing Luke Archer vicar-apostolic of Leighlin, is dated 7th of March, 1614.

† Constituciones, etc. page 11. The various disciplinary enactments cited in this chapter, are copied from the decrees of the synod as registered in the same compilation, unless when other authorities are referred to.

wholly bereft of any "house of God;" the holy sacrifice was offered up "in private houses, in orchards, or caves,"* in the woods or on the mountain tops. To provide, however, for due reverence towards the sacred mysteries, it was prescribed that the most becoming localities should always be selected for celebrating Mass. To guard against all irreverence from dust, etc., linen cloths were, if possible, to be suspended above, or around the altar; and, when it was necessary to celebrate under the broad canopy of heaven, the utmost care was to be taken lest the sacred vessels should be disturbed by sudden showers or gusts of wind. The kiss of peace hitherto given even at the private Masses, was to be discontinued; and no priest was to presume to offer the holy sacrifice without two candles, or at least one being kept burning from the commencement of the Mass to its close. Special care was to be taken that the corporalia and other cloths, more immediately connected with the holy sacrifice, should be "clean and beautiful;" no chalices were to be consecrated, but such as had the cup and paten of silver, and, if possible, gilt on the inner side. As there was no possibility of reposing the adorable sacrament in a consecrated place with a light burning before it, as duty would otherwise prescribe, it was commanded to preserve some sacred particles only when necessary to provide for the sick and dying.

"The most startling canon of all, however, and which implies most emphatically the disasters with which religion was surrounded, is that permitting laymen, in cases of necessity, to carry the holy Eucharist to prisoners about to be executed, and who, bereft of the opportunity of confession, should dispose themselves, as best they could, by acts of contrition, to receive the adorable Victim. In such cases the recipients, if priests, were to administer it to themselves in the ordinary way; if laymen, they are not to touch the sacred Host with their hands, but to lift it to their mouths reverently with the tongue.†

In regard to the sacrament of baptism, it is prescribed that the people be instructed, when administering it in case of necessity, and employing the English language, not to use the

* See petition of Dr. Eugene MacMahon, on the 11th May, 1611.

† Notices, etc. p. 112; Constitutiones, etc. pp. 25-6.

formula, "I do christen thee," etc., but only the words, "I do baptize thee," etc. The Sarisbury Ritual, hitherto in use with some of the clergy, was interdicted, and none but the Roman Ritual was to be used after the date of the 1st October, 1615; and as there was no chapel for administering the sacraments, a baptismal font was to be blessed and kept at the house in which the parish priest usually resided.

The laity are prohibited to engage in disputes with heretics, lest the purity of Catholic faith should in any way be imperiled by the contagion of their errors; and even the clergy are exhorted to shun their acquaintance, conversation, and society, "that thus the whole world may see that we are in no way united with those who are severed from the Church of Christ."*

We have already seen the bitter persecution which was waged against the Catholics of Ireland, and the envenomed obloquy which was unceasingly poured out against our holy religion. The ecclesiastics were, in a special manner, made the object of the rage of the heretics; and it was only a few days before the meeting of Kilkenny, that a royal edict had renewed the storm of fanatical bigotry, and sanctioned anew imprisonment, confiscation, exile, and even death, against the unoffending shepherds of the spiritual fold. Nevertheless, "the worst atrocities with which they were menaced, failed to deter these heroic men from meeting and deliberating upon the spiritual exigencies of their people, and devising such means as, under their desperate circumstances, might appear best calculated to avert or diminish the perils that assailed them. And what, perhaps, is still more astonishing, because to weak nature a more trying effect, the direst cruelties that impended over them sufficed not to provoke from these sufferers one sentence of retaliation, one syllable of contumely, one undignified word. So far from it, every ecclesiastic subject to the jurisdiction of the province is charged, as he fears God, to abstain cautiously from, not to say disobedience to the constituted authorities, but from every interference whatsoever with such concerns, nay, from all conversation, even in private, upon affairs of state."† They were, therefore, faithfully

* Constitutiones, etc. p. 54.

† Notices, etc. p. 114.

to fulfil their duties towards religion and towards their flocks, to discharge their sacred functions, and, laying aside those things that belonged to Cæsar, to devote themselves wholly to promote the glory of God.*

In this synod was published the Bull of Paul V., issued seven years previously (1607), and extending the period within which the paschal communion might be received; so that the faithful were thenceforward permitted to comply with that precept of the Church on any day from Ash-Wednesday to Ascension Thursday. The whole people being Catholic, says the Bull, and the clergy being but few, whilst, at the same time, the violence of the persecution increases the difficulty of intercourse between the pastors and their flocks, the fortnight prescribed for the Universal Church would be insufficient to enable all the Irish Catholics to approach the holy sacraments.†

There was, at this period, a great difference of opinion amongst some members of the Irish Church, as to the extent of the obligation of abstaining on Sundays from servile work; whether, forsooth, it was confined merely to the Sunday, or, like the Jewish sabbath, comprised, moreover, a portion of the preceding day. Many defended this latter opinion, and assigned some the third hour, others the sixth hour, or sunset, and so forth. To remove the anxiety which these conflicting opinions occasioned to the faithful, the synod now declared that the obligation of abstaining from servile works embraced only the material Sunday, and extended from midnight to midnight.

A list of the days to be kept holy is next stated, and to the thirty-six hitherto observed, three more were added by this synod—viz., the festivals of St. Joseph, St. Anne, and St. Sylvester.

The Irish Church was long remarkable for the fervour of the faithful in the exercises of austerity and penitential deeds. On three days of each week—viz., Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, the entire year round, they abstained from flesh meat. On Friday, moreover, and, in some districts, also on Saturday, they abstained from white meats, that is, from eggs, butter,

* Constitutiones, etc. p. 47.

† Ibid. p. 26, et seqq.

cheese, and milk. In many places, too, the faithful, on every Friday, fasted rigidly on one meal, and the same rigorous fast was universally observed on all the week-days of Lent, and on the vigils and quarter tenses throughout the year. The fact that thus more than half the days of the whole year were devoted to these trying deeds of self-denial, which exceeded the austerity of many of the now existing religious institutes, will enable the reader to form some idea of the fervent piety which, in the midst of persecutions, continued to animate our faithful people. The uninterrupted desolation of the country, and the ever-renewed calamities which were heaped upon our people, rendered the observance of these rigorous fasts, in many cases, burdensome and impossible. For this reason, Clement VIII., in 1598, published a Bull, dispensing with many of these austerities, and mitigating, to a great extent, the rigour of such fasts. Nevertheless, the great body of the people still clung to the ancient observances; and, after some years, these began again to be looked upon as obligatory. To remove all occasion of disputes, and relieve from anxiety the conscience of all, the synod of Kilkenny re-published the Bull of Clement, and gave notice of its benign dispensations to the faithful. However, we shall have occasion hereafter to remark, that even this synodical edict did not suffice to abrogate the usage of the faithful; very many continued to observe the former fasts in all their rigour; and sixty years later we will find another dispensatory Bull, published by Clement X., and another synod notifying to their flocks that they were wholly free from any obligation of observing the ancient disciplinary usages.

The synod terminated its deliberations by commending to the clergy of the province the observance of the various decrees which were enacted, and directing them to celebrate four Masses for the Holy Father and the whole Church; for the metropolitan and the province of Dublin; for the peace and tranquility of the kingdom; and, in fine, for all present at the council, its benefactors, etc. Thus was concluded this important council, which, amidst the ruins of our Church, traced out anew the foundations of the House of God, and commenced the structure of the mystic edifice.

“ Did circumstances permit, we might amuse ourselves not unprofitably in examining which was the more edifying spectacle: St. Charles Borromeo, dead in his own person to all the blandishments of earthly prosperity that surrounded him, but indefatigable in eliminating, with all the aid of papal and imperial authority, every inveterate abuse from amongst a flock exclusively Catholic, and substituting every sanctifying practice in their stead; propagating every maxim, enforcing every law, realizing every hope and wish of the great fathers of Trent; till, from a moral wilderness, his church of Milan presented a garden rich in every production of Christian excellence and virtue—or Eugene Matthews and his suffragan brothers, toiling intrepidly, as the acts of their synod testify, in the same glorious cause, amidst a desolated nation and a church in ruins, with kings, and nobles, and adversaries of every rank to combat; and poverty, and terror, and tribulation impeding them at every step; and incarceration, and banishment, and death staring them perpetually in the face! What an argument of the ever-abiding, everywhere-pervading Spirit of God through His Church, do not these nearly contemporary lights of religion—the metropolitan and saint of Milan, and his saintly brother of Dublin—supply! What illustrations of the contempt for all the favours and all the frowns of fortune which almighty faith can inspire! and of the dominion which, uncorrupted by the goods of the world, and unbroken by its adversities, she everywhere maintains over the souls of men!”*

CHAPTER VII.

OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

Provincial Synod of Armagh, held by Dr. Roothe, as representative of Primate, in 1618.—Instruction regarding the separation of Parishes, and the duties of Regulars.—Abuses in connexion with Wakes and Funerals.—The Festivals of Saints, etc.

THE illustrious Dr. David Roothe, who, as representative of the primate, presided in the provincial synod of Armagh, held towards the close of 1618, drew up a series of regulations, which he addressed not only to the assembled prelates, but also to the

* Notices, etc. p. 115,

clergy of the whole island, and which, being adopted by the other provinces, soon attained a high rank amongst the ecclesiastical statutes of the kingdom.* The chief object of Dr. Roothe was to introduce uniformity in the disciplinary arrangements of the different provinces, as also harmony in the exercise of their respective privileges and faculties by the secular and regular clergy.

In the first place, it was deemed a matter of paramount importance, that the parish priests should themselves attend to the parochial duties, and only in case of necessity introduce substitutes in their discharge. All the ecclesiastical superiors were, moreover, exhorted not to admit to the exercise of the priestly functions, in their respective dioceses, any members of the clergy save those who should present commendatory letters from their late ecclesiastical ordinaries. Incidentally, under this heading, is commemorated the important fact, that each diocese had at that time a vicar-general, to whom, in the absence of the bishop, was entrusted the charge of the spiritual flock. Vicars-forane, too, were to be found in each district, and with them a sufficient number of parochial clergy to minister to the wants of the faithful.

The second decree regulated the mutual assistance which the regular and secular clergy should be careful to afford, whensoever required, for the correction of their respective members. "One diseased member," it remarks, "suffices to infect the whole body; wherefore, if clemency and mildness do not suffice for the correction of those who are depraved, it behoves us to have recourse to rigour to banish the distemper from amongst us."

The third decree is of peculiar interest. It lays open some abuses which had crept in during the period of persecution, and proposes efficacious remedies to heal them.

"It is known by experience," says this decree, "that in some districts of this province, faults are committed, either by excess or by defect, in performing the rites for the dead. Sometimes there is excessive luxury in funeral banquets and in mourning dresses, to the great detri-

* *Ordinatio pro uniformitate cleri, etc. penes me.* From this *Ordinatio* of Dr. Roothe are extracted, verbatim, almost all the additions to the synod of 1614, published in *Renchan Collections*, pp. 142-6.

ment of the heirs, with little benefit to the poor, and, perhaps, to the loss of the creditors. Again, through a depraved custom and a vain emulation, those who are in humble circumstances, seek to compete with those who are wealthy, and sin grievously, imposing an intolerable burden on their own children. To moderate this excess, some remedy must anxiously be applied, as also to check the abuse which gives such pain to pious and religious souls, when, forsooth, through the wickedness of some fools and gamesters (*quorundam nebulonum et jocularum*), improper songs and gesticulations are allowed at wakes, which would even be unlawful in festive rejoicings—works of darkness are united with darkness, and all fear of death is banished from the mind, although the image of death itself, in the body of the deceased, is present before them. Wherefore, we earnestly commend to all members of the clergy, as well to the prelates as to the confessors and preachers, and to all who have to heart the honour of God and the salvation of souls, to procure, by every best means in their power, by counsel, and exhortation, and precept, and by the threats of divine judgment, that those subject to their care may be preserved from all such abuses.”

Another abuse which the clergy and faithful are guarded against, was the celebration of baptismal and nuptial festivals with excessive pomp and feasting. The clergy especially were admonished not to celebrate their patron feasts with extravagant banquets, in which a variety of meats would be served up, and at which a large number of both sexes would be invited to assist. It is added, that some such feasts of the founders of religious orders, were a source, not of edification, but of scandal to the faithful, whilst the laity were “burdened to supply cows, sheep, calves, lambs, goats, deer, birds, and a variety of wines and other liquors.” All such banquets were, for the future, to be abandoned, and in their stead these feasts were to be celebrated by approaching the holy sacrament “of confession and communion, by which the devout soul is nourished, and consoled, and strengthened, and enabled to gain the copious indulgences which are granted for such festivals.”

The only other abuse against which the assembled prelates seek to guard the clergy, is the excess of ornament in their daily apparel. They were to dress in a becoming manner, as was usual with respectable citizens, and not to imitate the excessive nicety and profanity of those who were devoted to this world and its vanity.

The fourth decree regards the granting of the marriage dispensations within the prohibited degrees, and of permission to retain ecclesiastical property. Such dispensations are reserved to the diocesan ordinaries, who are, moreover, admonished to proceed with prudence and discretion, when granting them to the faithful.

In the fifth place, the ordinaries of the various dioceses are exhorted to invite the co-operation of the religious in their respective districts. The regular clergy are styled "the ornaments of the sacred hierarchy, and the strenuous co-operatives of those engaged in the pastoral charge."

It is added, that owing to the persecution that prevailed, the religious were not able to live in their own convents, and devote themselves to their exercises of piety and devotion; wherefore, the diocesan ordinaries are exhorted to adopt them amongst their active clergy, and to allow them to apply all their energies and zeal in cultivating the mystic vineyard of God. On the other hand, the religious were reminded of their duty to be submissive to the local authorities in the exercise of their peculiar privileges, as those were granted for the advantages of the Church, and not for its destruction.

Sixthly, in fine, all are exhorted to devote themselves solely to the spiritual guardianship of their respective flocks, and to abstain from all political intrigue, that thus they might fully realize the divine command, giving to Cæsar those things that are of Cæsar, and to God those things which are of God.

Such are the decrees of the ecclesiastical assembly of 1618. They are a clear proof of the piety and zeal which animated the chief pastors of our Church at that trying period, whilst, at the same time, they are an indubious record of the devotedness and spotless lives of our clergy, which left so little occasion for reform and correction. We give those decrees in full in an Appendix, as they have never before been published.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUBSEQUENT ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS OF DR. EUGENE'S
EPISCOPATE.

Conversion of Earl of Ormond and of the Earl of Kildare.—Colleges founded on Continent, in Spain, Belgium, etc. for Irish.—Irish College of Louvain patronized by Dr. Matthews.—Three Burses founded there by him.—Dr. Matthews retires to Rome.—The Holy See assists the Irish Colleges and Exiles.—Condition of the Religious Orders.—Bishops, at this time, few in Ireland.—Places of Worship in Dublin.—Death of Dr. Matthews.

THIS period of severe trials for the Irish Church, was not without some cheering events to console the persecuted fold of Christ. The earl of Ormond, Thomas Butler, had abandoned the faith of his fathers, during the reign of Elizabeth. He now resolved to prepare for death, and be reconciled to the Catholic Church. "He, therefore, made his peace with God, edified all by his piety, and soon after losing the ineffable blessing of sight, was gathered to his fathers."* Whilst this nobleman was reminded by the weight of years to hasten back to the fold from which he had rashly strayed, another nobleman of still higher rank, though only in the dawn of life, wished to enjoy the same blessings of our saving faith. This was Gerald Geraldine, earl of Kildare. He was only in his ninth year; nevertheless, when seized with his last illness, in the castle of Maynooth, in the month of November, 1620, it was his first care to summon a priest to his bedside, to make open profession of the Catholic religion.

Bright prospects, too, began to dawn for the supply of evangelical labourers for our suffering Church. The first storm of persecution swept away the educational institutions, which had been erected in Ireland by our Catholic forefathers. By the

* Dominic a Rosar. p. 186.

penal laws of Elizabeth and James, not only were Catholic schools interdicted at home, but the Irish youth was commanded not to seek instruction in the institutions of the continent. The clergy, who, fearless of danger, were anxious to prepare themselves for the battles of faith in our island, found at first no national colleges in foreign countries, in which to seek a refuge and a home, and apply themselves to the pursuits of sacred literature. It was reserved for the Spanish monarch, Philip III., to take the lead in founding the Irish continental colleges. In 1609, he laid the first stone of the convent and schools of the Irish Franciscan fathers in Louvain, which, under the invocation of St. Anthony, were destined to be for many years a nursery of zealous labourers for our Church. Dr. Florence Conry, the exiled archbishop of Tuam, ever loved to reside in that religious house; and after death, his remains were deposited within the hallowed precincts of its sanctuary.* To this convent flocked the most distinguished Irish scholars of the age: it became, in fact, the historic school of our island. A small catechism in the Irish language and characters was printed there by the first guardian of the convent, father Bonaventure Hussey; and thus was happily commenced that long series of works with which Colgan and Ward, Fleming and Hickey, and so many other students of this institute, enriched the literature of our country. It was in Louvain that the Irish Dominicans opened their first continental college about the same period, and fathers Rock de Cruce and Dominic a Rosario soon won it a wide-spread fame.

In Paris, the first outlines of an Irish seminary were traced by the learned Messingham. The chancellor of the French queen, M. Lescaplier, was the chief patron of the infant institute. He gathered together the many Irish clerical exiles that were scattered through that great capital, provided them with a home and sufficient funds, and, with the assistance of cardinal de Retz, had them instructed and prepared for the Irish mission.†

It was some years earlier, towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, that the city of Bordeaux welcomed within its walls forty Irish

* Van Gastel, *Hist. Sac. et Prof. Decan. Lovanien*, tom. 1, p. 168.

† Messingham, in *Dedicat. of his Florilegium*, printed in Paris, in 1624.

priests, exiled for the faith from their native country. These soon found a distinguished patron in the Jewish convert, Florimond Raimondo, and maintained there a struggling seminary, till, in 1654, Anne of Austria erected it into a college, which she endowed with ample funds.

Spain was still more prominent in providing seminaries and colleges for the instruction of the Irish youth; and the cities of Madrid, Seville, Salamanca, Valence, Compostello, and Alcalá were soon adorned with institutions, which, for many years, yielded an abundant supply of missionaries to the persecuted fold of Ireland. With the colleges of Spain we may associate the seminary of Lisbon, which was, at the same time, opened for the benefit of our exiled countrymen.

It was not easy, however, to maintain these various seminaries. Though founded and endowed by various patrons, the vicissitudes of the period, and the ever-increasing influx of Irish youths, seeking there for the science and religion which were prescribed at home, rendered their subsistence precarious, and at more than one interval brought them to the very brink of ruin. On the other hand, the Catholic resources of our country were worn away by war and oppression, and no assistance could be given from home to maintain these struggling institutes. As an instance of the casual resources from which the Irish continental colleges were obliged to derive their support at this period, we present to the reader a petition addressed to Rome, by the college of Seville, on 17th August, 1617:—

“MOST HOLY FATHER,—In the year 1615, at the request of the rector and students of the Irish colleges of Lisbon and Salamanca, your Holiness benignly granted to the fishermen of Setnua and Cascaes, and other districts of Portugal, Galicia, and Biscay, permission to fish on six Sundays or festivals every year, and to sell the fish thus taken for the benefit of the aforesaid colleges, to aid them in their temporal support. It happens that the seminary of the same Irish nation in Seville, is now in the like need of succour and maintenance. Wherefore, we humbly supplicate your Holiness to grant a similar permission to the fishermen of the coast of Andalusia, that this seminary may thus receive some succour and emolument,” etc.*

* The original petition is in Italian, and is preserved in Secret. Brevium.

In reply, a brief was expedited from Rome, on 9th September, the same year, granting the wished-for faculty, and expressing, moreover, an anxious desire to accord whatsoever favours were in its power to promote the interests of that college.*

In all these institutions thus scattered throughout the continent, Dr. Matthews displayed a lively and affectionate interest. It was, however, in connexion with the Irish college of Louvain for secular priests, that his name should be rendered more particularly illustrious. When obliged to yield to the storm of persecution, which was raised against him in Ireland, Dr. Matthews sought a refuge in Louvain, and there planned the erection of a new seminary for the secular clergy of our Church.† He secured the active co-operation of the apostolic nuncio and of cardinal de la Cueva; and before quitting Belgium for the *limina Apostolorum*, by a public deed, devoted his own scanty resources to the foundation of three burses, one for his native diocese of Clogher, and two for the diocese which he then ruled as archbishop. This official deed is dated "Louvain, 21st September, 1622," and thus begins:—

"Eugene Matthews, archbishop of Dublin, seeing, with inmost grief of heart, the small number of labourers in the spiritual harvest of Ireland, which is exposed to an oppressive and continued persecution from the heretics, and perceiving that its children seek for the bread of truth and the sacraments, and can find none save a few to break it unto them, so that the flock is dispersed and the sheep are devoured

* The preamble of the brief is as follows:—"Sincerae devotionis affectus quem dilecti filii rector et alumni seminarii Hibernorum Hispalensis erga nos et Romanam Ecclesiam gerere comprobantur non indigne promeretur ut eorum petitionibus quantum cum Domino possumus favorabiliter annuamus. Exhibita siquidem nobis pro parte rectoris et alumnorum prædictorum petitio continebat quod cum seminarium hujusmodi satis exiguos et ad tot juvenum alumnorum ad illud passim confluentium manutentioni longe impares redditus habeat, inter illius benefactores nonnulli piscatores erga illos bene affecti inveniuntur qui pro eorum sublevanda necessitate certis diebus Dominicis seu festivis piscaripretiumque ex hujus modi piscatione proventurum eidem seminario gratis donare statuerint, si eis ad id nostra et apostolicæ sedis licentia desuper suffragetur et facultas."—Ex Secret. Brevium.

† Van Gastel, already referred to, justly remarks, that Dr. Matthews was the founder of this college: "Auctor ejus fuit Illmus. D. Eugenius Matthæus, archiepiscopus. Dublinensis, in Hibernia," etc.—Hist. Sac. et Prof. tom. 1, p. 185. It was whilst passing through Louvain, on this occasion, that our archbishop gave his approbation to the work of Dr. Conry, *De statu parvulorum*, which, however, was not published till two years later.

by all the beasts of the field, there being no pastor to protect them,—resolved to place in the treasury of Christ the mite which the divine bounty had conferred on him, and offer it for the poor studious sons of Ireland who aspire to the sacred ministry, earnestly exhorting the other bishops and vicars-general of that island, through the love of Christ, the good Shepherd, who laid down His life for His flock, and through the merits of St. Patrick, our apostle and patron, to enliven their zeal for the house of God, and co-operate in the good work of this pastoral foundation,” etc.

It was in the month of December, 1622, that Dr. Matthews arrived in Rome, and, prostrate at the feet of the Vicar of Christ, solicited his blessing and co-operation in the sacred task. Writing to the secretary of Propaganda, Mgr. Ingoli, before the end of January, 1623, Dr. Matthews himself informs us of this important fact.

“I humbly acquainted his Holiness,” he says, “that amongst the causes which impelled me to expose myself to so much fatigue and danger, in journeying to this city to kiss his sacred feet, the chief one was, that I might obtain from this Holy See some assistance for the education of our youth in the fear of God, and in the holy Catholic faith, as is eagerly desired by the poor afflicted Catholics of our kingdom.”

On the 10th of January, 1623, the archbishop of Dublin presented his petition to the same effect to the members of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. It details his hopes and fears, all that had been as yet accomplished, and all that had still to be achieved in regard to the infant institution. We present in full this interesting document:—

“Eugene Matthews, archbishop of Dublin, knowing by experience the fewness of the spiritual labourers in Ireland, and reflecting on the Tridentine decree, which commands the erection of diocesan seminaries, although he himself is deprived of the revenues of his see, and therefore being guided more by his zeal than his resources—resolved to devote a portion of what was offered by the faithful for his own subsistence, to make some beginning, at least, of so desirable a work. However, he was only able to put together a mite sufficient for the scanty maintenance of two students; but, at the same time, he gained for that institute the favour of the most eminent cardinal della Cueva, and of the most rev. archbishop of Patras, apostolic nuncio in Belgium,

who promised to contribute during their lives: the former for two, the latter for one student. What, however, is all this in so great a spiritual need of our numerous and faithful flock?

"Wherefore, he humbly represents this urgent need to the Apostolic See, and to the Sacred Congregation, whose duty and whose care it is to propagate our holy faith, praying them to perfect the weak foundation that has been laid, that thus a seminary may be opened for instructing our youth, and preserving the faith, from which missionaries may go forth to the mystic vineyard, in obedience to the Sacred Congregation, and which will grant to our country that favour which was conferred on other nations by Gregory XIII. and succeeding pontiffs. This is demanded by the necessities of our Church; it is merited by the devotedness of our faithful people, who, in former times, offered themselves and all they possessed to the Sovereign Pontiffs, and who still, despite every persecution, maintain inviolate their allegiance to Rome; it is merited by all the losses they sustained, when they drew the sword in defence of the faith. Should you, therefore, wish to reward, he enumerates their services; should you wish to commiserate, he represents their extreme need: for in Ireland no Catholic is permitted, either in public or in private, to keep a school, that thus our youth may be more easily perverted, as he has more fully stated in the paper presented to his Holiness, and in the *Relatio* concerning Ireland presented to the Sacred Congregation."

This application of Dr. Matthews was not fruitless; and we find it decreed by the Sacred Congregation that six burses should be established without delay in this Irish college of Louvain.*

Another care of the archbishop was, to procure special faculties from the Holy See for the newly-instituted colleges. It was on the vigil of the ides of December, 1614, that pope

* Dr. Eugene Matthews, in his last will, bequeathed to the university of Louvain a foundation for three burses. The following extract may not be uninteresting at the present moment:—"Statuit et ordinat ut in alma universitate Lovaniensi sit ista fundatio, nulli tamen loco illius adstricta ut uniri possit aliis futuris foundationibus ejusdem nationis pro inchoatione seminarii quando se offeret occasio: per hoc tamen non adimit potestatem sibi aut ordinariis illarum diœcesium pro quibus istæ foundationes fiunt quin alio eas transferre (cum licentia Sedis Apostolicæ) possint prout, ratio temporis et loci commoditas suaserit, semper reservato fine ac intentione fundatoris."—Archiv. Sac. Cong. vol. cclxxxiv. p. 173. At a later period, when the college was involved in some difficulties, its debts were paid by the Irish soldiers on the continent: "Porro in hac etiam patria, a comitibus Tyroniæ et Tyrconnelliæ, necnon a colonello nobilissimo Domino Eugenio O'Neill, antiqua seminarii debita inter horum legiones dividenda et extinguenda, promissione a singulis ipsorum facta omnino confidimus."

Paul V. issued from Rome a solemn brief, granting "to the Irish colleges in Spain, Portugal, France, and Belgium," permission, for five years, to have their students promoted to holy orders, with the mere dimissorial letters of the respective superiors of these colleges. Three years later, another college was erected in Seville, chiefly through the exertions of Hieronymus de Medina, and an Irish priest named Maurice Riegan. Dr. James Talbot was sent to Rome, to solicit the extension of the papal privilege to this college; and another brief was expedited in July, 1617, granting the wished-for favour. This brief, whilst stimulating the Irish Church to persevere courageously in the defence of the faith of its fathers, thus beautifully begins:—

"Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum, Dei in perpetuam rei memoriam.

"Decet Romanum Pontificem in hoc potissimum invigilare ut juvenes quicumque præsertim a patria sua causâ fidei Catholicæ exulantes et litterarum studiis intendere volentes, absolutis suis studiis Altissimo ministrare et pro suo cujusque talento uberes in vinea Domini fructus facere possint ac exinde Christi fideles eorum exemplo et piis operibus moti avitam majorum suorum religionem conservare satagant et procurent."*

On Thursday, the 25th June, 1620, another permission was granted to the Belgian colleges,† authorizing their students to be promoted to holy orders, with the dimissorial letters of the nuncio, and of the superiors of the various institutes. This permission was to last for five years, and to hold good only for such students as would have spent three years in those colleges.

The last memorial which we find presented to the Holy See by Dr. Matthews, was a request that some such faculty might be granted, in perpetuity, to the various continental colleges of our country. It is as follows:—

* Ex Archiv. Vaticano. The brief is dated: "Datum Romæ, apud S. Mariam Majorem, anno Inc. Dom. 1617, Id. Julii, Pontif. nostri an. 13^o."

† "Alumnis Collegiorum Hibernorum Belgii."—Ex Secret. Brev. Though the decree is dated "Feria 5^{ta} 25^o Junii, 1620," the brief was not expedited till the 7th November, 1620.

"MOST HOLY FATHER,—The archbishop of Dublin, knowing by experience what great good and advantage is derived from the Irish colleges, whose students, having completed their studies, and being promoted to holy orders, return to Ireland, and there devote themselves to cultivate the vineyard of God, for the benefit of the poor Catholics, humbly prays your Holiness to grant a perpetual indult to these students, that by the dimissorial letters of the rectors of the respective colleges where they have studied, they may be promoted to holy orders *extra tempora*, and without the usual requirement of benefice or patrimony, as has already been granted to the English and Scotch students."

This petition was presented in the beginning of February, 1623, and on the 20th of the same month, the following decision was communicated to the archbishop:—

"Sanctissimo Domino, et Patribus placuit privilegia alumnorum Anglorum concedi alumnis Hybernis.

"His Holiness and the Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation have decreed that the privileges accorded to the English students be also extended to the students from Ireland."*

Owing to the various continental institutes for supplying missionaries to our Church, the number of priests rapidly increased, and the succession of pastors was maintained uninterrupted in our Church. O'Sullivan, writing in 1618, informs us, that *numerous bands*† of the secular and regular clergy were everywhere restoring the ancient splendour of religion, which the heretics had in vain attempted to destroy.

"They administer the sacraments," he adds; "they assist those who are firm in the faith; they strengthen those who are wavering; they support the tottering, and raise up those who have fallen; they expound the sacred gospel, preach to the people, and unweave the sophistry of the Protestants. The more they are commanded to depart from the kingdom, the more immoveably do they cling to it. That the English may not recognise them, they assume the dress of seculars, and go about as merchants or physicians; some gird on the sword, and assume the character of noblemen; others adopt various disguises. . . . Of the four archbishops, two—that is, Eugene MacMahon (Matthews), archbishop of Dublin, and David Kearney, archbishop of Cashel—braving unheard-of perils, and undergoing excessive labour, feed their flocks in

* Ex Archiv. Sac. Congnis. † Catervatim inundantes. Loc. cit. p. 297.

person; P  ter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh, and Florence O'Melconry, of Tuam, not being secure through the enmity of the English, have entrusted their dioceses to vicars."

The religious orders began to flourish anew throughout the whole island. On the death of Elizabeth, there were only four of the Dominican order in Ireland, as De Burgo informs us.* In the year 1618, they were again a numerous body, full of energy and zeal, under the guidance of father Rock de Cruce, who, a few years later, was advanced to the episcopate of Kildare. The Franciscans were still more numerous; and, as father Mooney, their provincial, informs us, were in that very year 120 in number. In the list of Irish priests presented to government at this time, one Franciscan is especially commemorated: "Thomas M'Donagh, vice-primate of Armagh, a Franciscan friar; he resides, for the most part, in the county of Clonmel; a great preacher." The Jesuits had also some distinguished members. Father Kearney, author of several spiritual treatises, and brother of the archbishop of Cashel, was indefatigable in his labours in the south; whilst father Nicholas Nugent was confessor of the faith in Dublin castle. The total number of the Irish clergy whose names were presented to the English government at the same period, amounted to one thousand one hundred and fifty.

The bishops, however, were very few. Persons bearing that exalted dignity were especially marked out for persecution; and Rome deemed it prudent to limit their number to the principal sees, whilst the remaining dioceses were, for the most part, governed by vicars-general, appointed either by the archbishops or directly by the Holy See. Besides the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, commemorated in the extract first cited from O'Sullivan, the government list of 1618 mentions a *Rowland de Burgo* as titular bishop in Connaught. In the first years of Dr. Matthews's episcopate, Dr. O'Deveny, bishop of Down and Connor, and Richard O'Muldowny, bishop of Kilmacduagh,† perpetuated the succession of chief pastors.

* Hib. Dominic. p. 610.

† He is styled *Episcopus Duacensis*. Perhaps the "Rowland Bourke, bishop of Connaught," referred to in the government list, was his successor.

David Roothé was next destined to receive the perilous inheritance. Born in 1572, he pursued his studies in Douay, Salamanca, and Rome. In the last-named city he enjoyed the friendship of the archbishop of Armagh, and lived with him for some time as his secretary. On his return to Ireland, he zealously discharged the duties incumbent on him as vicar-apostolic of Ossory, and administrator of Armagh. In the English list of the Irish clergy, in 1618, his character is thus sketched: "There is one Davy Rothe, a most seditious instrument, who was sent from Rome, since Tyrone's abode there. He takes upon himself the name and authority of Prothonotarius Apostolicus, to hear and determine all ecclesiastical business for the kingdom of Ireland, and hath been in the north since his arrival, but is now for the most part in Munster." The Holy See, however, formed a different estimate of this singularly gifted man. On the 1st of October, 1618, we find him proclaimed in consistory bishop of Ossory, and a few weeks later, to the great joy of our Irish Church, he received the episcopal consecration in Paris. It was no wonder that Ireland should rejoice on that occasion; for when, after a short interval, Drs. Matthews and Kearney were compelled to bend before the storm, and seek a refuge on the continent, the bishop thus consecrated for the see of Ossory, was destined, in the mysterious dispensations of Providence, to preserve unbroken on her shores the series of Catholic bishops. At three distinct periods in the history of our Church, since the so-called Reformation, Ireland was well-nigh widowed of her chief pastors: during the closing years of the reign of James I., during the protectorate of Cromwell, and in the beginning of queen Anne's reign. At this last-named period, it was Dr. Sleyne of Cork, a prisoner for the faith, that perpetuated the presence of bishops amongst us; again, during Cromwell's persecution, there was for a while but one bishop, and he too feeble to depart from the kingdom; whilst, at the close of James's reign, Dr. Roothé was the only bishop to dispense to her children the sacraments of life. These trying periods, however, were short in their duration; and at the time of which we treat, scarcely had our archbishop been obliged to seek a refuge in Belgium, than our hierarchy was enriched with new pastors, and Meath,

Emly, and Limerick exulted in the appointment of bishops to their widowed sees. Dr. Thomas Dease was chosen to the first-named see. The early years of his episcopate were blessed with sunshine and calm; but the close of his career was marked by trials, contradictions, and afflictions. Emly received as its bishop Maurice O'Hurly, who governed it till the dawn of the eventful period of 1641; whilst to Limerick was appointed Richard Arthur, who had already long toiled in our Church, and who was still destined to share in the vicissitudes of many eventful years. A paper presented by this worthy bishop to the Holy See, in 1630, soliciting a coadjutor, will serve to convey some idea of the desolation of our Church, during the period of which we have just treated:—

“For more than thirty-two years I have, to the best of my ability, laboured in this city and diocese of Limerick, though beset with difficulties and vicissitudes on every side, to preach and propagate the Catholic faith. I laboured as catechist and preacher, and as parish priest, with faculties which were granted to me by the primate, Peter Lombard, of happy memory. I also administered the sacraments, at first indeed as vicar-general, with faculties communicated to me by our most reverend metropolitan, David Kearney, of happy memory, and subsequently as bishop of Limerick, being appointed to this diocese by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See. I pass over in silence the other theatres of my spiritual labours—Cork, where I was born, Galway, Cashel, Kilkenny, Kinsale, Clonmel, Fethard, Callan, and elsewhere, through almost every part of Munster, and through some districts, too, of Leinster and Connaught, running from place to place, as necessity or the advantage of the flocks required. Now, however, my strength has begun to fail.”*

Wherefore, he solicits a coadjutor to assist him in his declining years.

We have but little to add specially connected with the Dublin diocese. As the persecution displayed there its full violence, the Catholics were compelled to seek retired chambers in the backlanes, to perform their devotions and assist at the holy sacrifice. The government list of the clergy, in 1618, gives us

* Ex Archiv. Sac. Congnis. This petition is dated 7th August, 1630, styl. vet.

the names of some of these temporary chapels, which even the catacombs could not have envied.

"The places of most public note," it says, "whereunto the priests resort for Mass in Dublin, are :

"The Baker's Hall, in the college adjoining St. Audeon's chancel.

"A backroom of Brown, near Newgate.

" of Mr. Plunkett, in Bridge-street.

" of Nicholas Queitrots, in High-street.

" of Cary, in High-street.

" of widow O'Hagan, in High-street.

"Shelton's house, beyond the bridge, at the corner of the so-called Hangman-lane."

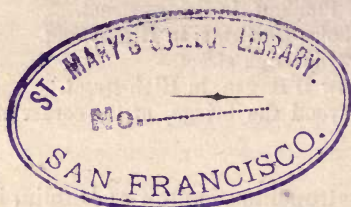
The dean of the metropolitan church of Dublin, in 1623, was rev. William Barry. He had journeyed to Rome in that year, "after labouring for sixteen years in the vineyard of the Lord, and converting many heretics to the Catholic faith." His resources, however, were exhausted by the lengthened journey; and on the 23rd May, he petitioned the Holy See for some aid to enable him to revisit his spiritual children.*

It was during the summer months of 1623 that Dr. Matthews was seized with his last illness, in the city of Rome. He lingered on till the month of August, when he calmly expired. His nephew, Eugene Reyly, had accompanied him from Ireland, where he was sharer of his perils and labours. In Rome he acted as the secretary of the archbishop, and, at the same time, sought to prepare himself for the sacred ministry. A few months after the demise of Dr. Matthews, he petitioned the Sacred Congregation, that, in consideration of the many merits and labours of the archbishop in the cause of God, and in defence of the Catholic faith, "by whose ardent zeal, moreover, and remarkable learning and sanctity of life, our holy religion was considerably advanced in that kingdom,"† some provision might be made enabling him to complete his sacred studies. In reply,

* Ex Archiv. Sac. Cong. Dr. Matthews, soon after his arrival in Rome, also petitioned for the stipend usually allowed at that time to the Irish bishops. His petition is dated 31st December, 1622.

† This petition is dated 30th April, 1624. It thus begins: "Eugenius Reyly ex perillustri familia in Hibernia, archiepiscopi Dublinensis nuper in curia defuncti nepos," etc.

the Sacred Congregation selected him to hold one of their burses in the college of Louvain, supplying him with funds for his journey thither, and conveying, at the same time, instructions to the nuncio, that until the Irish college there might be ready to receive him, he should be maintained at the expense of the Holy See.



CHAPTER IX.

WRITINGS OF DR. MATTHEWS.

Report presented to the Propaganda, in 1623.—Extracts from it.—Report on the Changes of Ecclesiastical Properties in Ireland, and Extracts from it.

We have more than once referred to an important paper, presented by Dr. Matthews to the Sacred Congregation, laying before it the history and condition of our Church, and suggesting the best means for maintaining in Ireland the sacred inheritance of the Catholic faith. It is dated the 4th of February, 1623, and entitled, "*Brevis informatio ad Illmos. D. D. Cardinales S. Congregationis Prop. Fidei de statu Religionis in Regno Hiberniæ et præsentè ejus necessitate exhibita.*" It is divided into ten articles, describing the origin of the Irish Church, the ancient names of our country, its form of government, etc., Ireland's fame for sanctity in early times, its numerous monasteries, and schools and missions to the continent, the storm that laid waste the whole island at the time of Henry VIII., which was continued during Edward's reign, and renewed with redoubled fury under Elizabeth. The eighth article we translated entire in a former chapter, and we now add the ninth and tenth, which show, at the same time, the spirit of faith which animated our prelate, and depict in vivid colours the condition of the Irish Church at the period of which we treat:—

"On the present state of the Catholic religion, and how the hierarchy was ever preserved in our island.

"What I have already written too clearly proves, that the outward aspect of our Church is sadly different from what it was in Catholic times. The heretics now not only hold the citadels and fortresses, the courts and tribunals, the offices of government and the municipal administration, but they also have seized on our churches and usurped our sacerdotal privileges, so that these are now accessible only to such as contaminate themselves with heresy. And yet, although such is the sad condition of our island, it is most notorious, and let it be ever commemorated to the greater glory of God, that the whole native population of Ireland, whether noble or plebeian, whether in the cities or in the country parts, as well the rich as the poor,* have most unswervingly retained the faith of their fathers, and their fidelity to the Roman See. For which reason, a certain courtier (Chichester) justly enough remarked: 'The very ground that they tread upon, the air they breathe, the whole climate, and the very sky that hangs over them, seems infected with Popery;' which sentiment, indeed, is now so universally entertained by the adversaries of our faith, that when an Irishman, living amongst the English, loses his devotion for the Holy See, he is put down as a spy and an impostor, and as such is shunned by the heretics themselves. Let this, then, be reputed the chief eulogy of our nation, that it is immovable in its attachment to Rome, and in its reverence for the Sovereign Pontiff. I now wish to commemorate the chief means by which our faith was thus strengthened, and I will subsequently state by what means its progress may be best secured.

"It is an incontrovertible fact, that in every country it is only the vigilance of the pastors that can preserve the flock from the ravages of the wolves; and it is a singular mercy granted to us by God, that from the first dawn of faith in our island, pastors were never wanting to watch over the flocks entrusted to their care. And although, as I have said, during this period of persecution, the heretics have seized on our episcopal sees and parishes, nevertheless, Ireland has ever had its bishops and pastors sent by Rome, and holding communion with the Holy See, under whom are arranged numerous bands of secular priests. In our own time, in Elizabeth's reign, we had Redmond Gallagher, bishop of Derry, and martyr; Edmund Gauran, archbishop of Armagh, primate, and martyr; † Demetrius Hurley, archbishop of Cashel,

* In the Altieri Archives there is a MS. *Relatio de Regni Angliæ Statu et Religione*, presented to Paul V. about the year 1610. Alluding to Ireland, it commends its inhabitants for their "constantia in tuendis semel receptis institutis: colonias Anglicas recentiores excipio, ac duorum triumve magnatum familias, qui in Regia, superstitiones regias imbiberunt; reliqua fere insula tota Catholica est."

† In the Introduction we have given a short notice of most of the prelates here enumerated. Dr. Edmond M'Gauran was appointed bishop of Ardagh in the year 1584-5, and translated to Armagh on 1st July, 1587 (*Ex Actis Consist.*).

and martyr; friar Demetrius Heily, of the Franciscan order, bishop of Elphin, and martyr; friar Cornelius O'Devany, O. S. F., bishop of Down and Connor, who, being almost eighty years of age, was crowned with martyrdom about ten years ago in Dublin, the capital of the whole kingdom, giving a noble example to the whole nation; friar Richard Brady, of the same order, bishop of Kilmore, who suffered a great deal, zealously watching over his flock amidst many dangers, and died not many years ago at a very advanced age; Richard O'Muldony, bishop of Kilmacduagh, also attained an advanced age, and only died a few years ago; Cornelius Buillius (O'Buill), the aged bishop of Raphoe, who died not very long ago; Dermotius Grath, bishop of Cork, also died in a fine old age; to omit many other bishops who flourished at an earlier period, during the first years of Elizabeth. The last five bishops whom I commemorate, lived for some years under James's rule, and faithfully discharged their functions, though beset by dangers and persecutions.

"There were also auxiliaries, and fellow-soldiers, and companions from the various orders of the regular clergy. At the present day, those who are engaged in the spiritual fight are four archbishops, five bishops, either consecrated or elect, vicars in every diocese, some being vicars-apostolic, the others vicars-general, also parochial rectors, who are scattered through the various districts, to whom are subject more than eight hundred secular priests. To these must be added about 200 Franciscans, who are especially to be commended, because they never suffered themselves to become extinct in the kingdom, and were the only religious who maintained the fight in some districts; a few Cistercians,* forty Jesuits, more than twenty Dominicans, a few Augustinians,

He received the pallium on 7th August, the same year. He was killed by the soldiery of sir Richard Bingham, at Skeith-na-bfeart, near Tusk, in the barony of Roscommon, on 23rd June, 1593. Bingham, writing to the privy council on the 28th of June, 1593, says: "M'Guire was on horseback, and all their principal men and himself escaped so narrowly, that the very next unto him round about him were stricken down, among whom his ghostly father, the titular primate, M'Gauran, lost his life, a man of more worth, in respect of the villainy and combinations which he had wrought with the ill Irishry, than the overthrow of divers hundreds of the others; and so generally is his death lamented, as if the same were their utter overthrow. . . . The said rebels carried his head away with them, that they might universally bemoan him at home."—S. P. O. A paper presented to the Sac. Cong. in 1627, gives the following account of Dr. Mac Gauran:—"Qui ab Anglis captus et mox delapsus, operâ nobilium quorundam, in Scotiam, neque ibi, persequente Elizabetha subsistere valente in Italiam transmeavit, ereptus insidiis quas eidem in mari prætenderunt Angli: nihilominus incunctanter propriam sedem repetiit et admonente fel. mem. Clemente octavo comitem Tyroniæ cum subditis in fidei defensionem armavit, in quo bello idem ipse martyrio decubuit, tantum abest ut gregi pastorem curam metu aut labore perterritus subtraxerit."

* Amongst the Vatican papers, there is a petition of the Cistercians addressed to the Holy See in 1609, soliciting letters of recommendation for the Irish

also four or five Capuchins, all of whom, according to their respective rules, obey their own provincials, rectors, and other superiors.

“On the best means for preserving and propagating the faith.

“As in the order of nature, the causes which produce an effect also maintain and propagate it, even so in this divine work of the salvation of souls it may be most justly said, that the same succession of fathers and pastors who first brought forth spiritual children in our island, should also be the surest means for preserving their spiritual life. Ireland received the saving faith of Christ through the watchful care of bishops and pastors, and it was through the sacred hierarchy that His holy name was preserved amongst us: if, then, we wish still to cherish and maintain the Catholic faith, we must not allow its guardian hierarchy to cease; for, through the mercy of God, with our nation, the mere name of a bishop, though concealed in the mountains, and deprived of all earthly honour, has greater efficacy in preserving the due reverence for the ancient faith, than in other countries the outward pomp and full episcopal decorum. This, then, is the first central point, viz., the uninterrupted succession of bishops, which will be mainly instrumental in preserving our holy faith; and as the present number of Irish bishops is less than the necessities of our island demand, some others should be added according to the local requirements.*

“The second means for preserving and propagating the faith, is now to be commemorated. It was mentioned above that the enemies of our

house, which they purposed erecting in France and Belgium. It is as follows:—

“*BEATISSIME PATER*,—*Quoniam status rei Catholicæ in Regno Hiberniæ eo redactus reperitur ut nisi Dei misericordia et proborum virorum vigilantia ei quantocius succurratur de ejus totali exitio valde metuendum sit; quod quidem considerantes nonnulli Patres ordinis Cisterciensis, ac aliquos eis adesse, vitæ integritate doctrina aliisque virtutibus præditos qui cum tempore uberes in vinea Dni. fructus se facturos pollicentur, aliqua seminaria religiosorum sui ordinis in Gallia et Belgio omnino erigenda esse judicarunt, in quibus alumni dictum ordinem profiteri cupientes, recipi et in bonis litteris erudiri et postmodum in Hiberniam ad prædicandum verbum Dei mitti possint. Verum cum eis impossibile sit promissa adimplere nisi Galliæ et Hispaniæ Regum ac Archiducis Alberti pietate et liberalitate adjuventur. Supplicant igitur humiliter S. Vam. dicti Patres ac pro eis nobilis vir Hugo Comes Tironiæ, qui et omnes suos conatus conservationi fidei Catholicæ inibi periclitantis dumtaxat dirigit, quatenus hoc negotium dictis Regibus et Archiduci Alberto neonon ejusdem S. V. Nuntiis apud eos residentibus favorabiliter suis litteris ut illud promoveant ac adjuvent, commendare dignetur pro gratia,” etc.*

* Several petitions were about this time presented to the Holy See, soliciting the appointment of an additional number of bishops. Thus, Albert Hugh O'Donnell, Earl of Tirconnell, writes on 2nd October, 1619:—“*Messis magna et operarii pauci: inimicus homo superseminat zizania, nec est agricola qui explantet; oves in præcipitium feruntur quia notam pastoris vocem non audiunt.*” Dr. Conry, of Tuam, on 17th March, 1628, petitioning for the appointment of a bishop to Clonfert, writes, that the “*provincia Tuamensis, quamvis ex provinciis Hiberniæ maximis et latissime patentibus sit; in ea tamen unus tantum suffraganeus Elphinensis est qui Episcopatu suo millia passuum fere octoginta longo et triginta lato, vix potest curæ satis impendere, nedum aliarum diocesium illius provincie curæ animum intendere.*”

faith, by an iniquitous counsel, deprived us of every means of instructing Catholic youth in our own country. Now, it is on such instruction that all public and private prosperity depends; and hence we must seek abroad for that education which is refused to us at home. It was thus that, when other countries were infected with heresy, Gregory XIII., of immortal memory, erected for them, in various places, not merely one, but many seminaries; and Clement and Paul, following his example, added other colleges. Whilst thus Roman munificence was extended to all the nations of the earth, Ireland alone, I know not by what accident, did not share in its bounty. It is only by such an institution that the faith can be preserved amongst us; and if it had long since been established, our Church would at present be much more prosperous. The greatness of the undertaking should not deter his Holiness and the Sacred College from founding a seminary for us. It is not a great edifice we look for, but only the first beginning, no matter how small, to which, in His own good time, God will give an increase. Steps have already been taken amongst us for this purpose, and any encouragement and aid that may be afforded will be a great blessing, and a source of consolation to us."

The second paper is entitled "*De Statu ac Mutationibus bonorum Temporalium Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ a tempore Anglicani Schismatis anno 1535, usque ad præsens.*" It is chiefly taken up with the record of the spoliation of our monasteries and other religious establishments, in the reign of Henry VIII., and with the Bull of Paul IV., promulgated by cardinal Pole, and the act of parliament which accepted and confirmed it. As we have already spoken of these subjects at great length in the "Introduction," a few extracts from that paper will suffice to give the reader some idea of the sentiments of our archbishop. The motive which induced the Roman Pontiff to permit the ecclesiastical property to be retained by its lay proprietors, is thus assigned:—

"Cum etenim Maria Regina universum Angliæ Regnum hæresi adeo infectum invenisset ut vix ipsa in hæreditarii regni sui possessionem venire aut illud ad Romanæ ecclesiæ obedientiam adducere valeret, maximaque proinde tam sibi ipsi quam fidei causæ et ecclesiæ pericula ab hæreticis imminere perspiceret, præsertim a tot nobilibus ecclesiasticorum bonorum possessoribus, ea de causa ut ejusmodi damna præcaveret, Romanæque religionis restitutio cunctis gratior esset dum pleraque immutata relinqui cernerent, consultius visum est Reginæ, consiliariis et cardinali Polo ut omnia quantum fieri posset in eo quo tunc erant statu

res ecclesiasticæ relinqui permitterentur, utque cum laicis dispensaretur pro libera et quieta possessione præfatorum locorum extinctorum atque ad laicorum possessiones alienatorum."

Subsequently it adds:—

"When, on the death of Mary, Elizabeth succeeded, heresy was propagated everywhere throughout the island. The Irish, for many years, resisted with great constancy; but, overwhelmed by the number and power of their adversaries, they were at length compelled to bear both her temporal and spiritual yoke. At once an immense number of English pseudo-bishops and pseudo-pastors rushed into Ireland, who not satisfied with seizing on all our ecclesiastical property and revenues, never ceased plotting against our faith and our lives. They do not even permit us to enjoy the alms of the faithful, and they persecute ourselves and our benefactors in so many and such various ways, that it would be tedious here to commemorate them."

Elsewhere it commemorates the squandering of the episcopal and parochial revenues by the Protestant occupants, and assigns the following cause:—

"Cum pseudo-episcopi Angli sint omnes uxorati, liberisque onusti, conantur liberis suis amplas relinquere nobilium possessiones eâque de causa plurimas alienare conati sunt ecclesiarum possessiones, modo de vano pseudo-capituli consensu, modo ex regia auctoritate, nunc quidem scienter, nunc subdole obtenta."

CHAPTER X.

APPOINTMENT OF DR. FLEMING TO THE SEE OF DUBLIN.

Dr. Fleming, son of the Baron of Slane.—Account of Family.—He becomes a Franciscan, and studies at Louvain, under Hugh M'Caghwell and others.—Made Bishop in 1623.—His zeal in promoting Education.—Encourages Irish Colleges abroad.—Colleges at Louvain, Rome, etc.

THOMAS FLEMING, third son of William, sixteenth baron of Slane, at an early age renounced the pride of birth and riches to embrace the humility of the cross. During the trying period of the reigns of Elizabeth and James, the barons of Slane had happily rejected the allurements of the court, and remained unflinchingly attached to the faith of their fathers. Their castle was the resort and refuge of the persecuted clergy; and as a heavenly reward, we find, at the period of which we treat, that many members of the family were summoned by God to renounce the honours of the world, and assume the habit of St. Francis. A little later, in 1642, the names of the lord of Slane and five of his nearest relatives were entered in the lists of attainder; whilst, in 1652, in the Act of Settlement of the kingdom, the then baron of Slane was amongst those who were excepted by Cromwell from pardon for life and estate. Another member of the family, father Patrick Fleming, a near relative of our archbishop, attained the martyr's crown. On St. Patrick's day, 1617, he joined the Franciscan order in Louvain. A few years later, he taught philosophy in Rome, whither he accompanied Dr. Hugh M'Caghwell in 1623; and subsequently we find him lecturer of divinity in the college of the Immaculate Conception at Prague. He laboured assiduously in gathering together the fragments of the ecclesiastical history of our island, and was the loved associate of Ward, Sirinus, and Colgan. Early in the year 1631, he was witness of the shocking cruelties inflicted by the Protestant soldiers of Sweden and Saxony on the Catholic priests who fell into their hands; and on the 7th of

November, the same year, he himself and two Irish companions were seized by some Lutheran peasantry in the neighbourhood of Prague, and immediately put to death through hatred of our holy faith.*

Father Thomas Fleming, also a Franciscan, was uncle of the subject of this memoir. Though advanced in years, he no sooner heard of the first struggles of the confederates, than he hastened to share their perils. An extract from a contemporary document will present to the reader all the particulars of his life which have been handed down to us:—

“At this time (1642) did die in Kilkenny the two best peers—Gormanstown, nephew of general Preston, but nothing like, and the baron of Slane. He had an uncle, Thomas Fleming, a Franciscan friar, who was older than this man’s father, but exchanged his terrestrial inheritance for a better in heaven. Entering religion, he bequeathed the title to his younger brother;† and upon intimation of the state of Ireland, he repaired from Louvain. He kept much with his brother-in-law, the viscount Clanmorris (of the Bourkes), and finally went to his patrimony in county Louth, where he took from the English twelve garrisons, giving them no rest, day or night.”‡

The Franciscan monastery of St. Anthony, in Louvain, erected in the commencement of the seventeenth century, was long a safe retreat for the persecuted priesthood of Ireland, whilst it was, at the same time, a fertile seminary from which went forth many fervent missionaries to trim the lamp of faith in our suffering country. Thither the future archbishop of Dublin hastened about the year 1610, having abandoned friends and home to devote himself to the service of God. We are indebted to the celebrated author of the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ* for the only record that has been handed down to us of the hidden

* Sirinus in pref. to *Collectanea Sacra*. This work was prepared for press by Fleming, but only printed after his death by his friend Sirinus. See also Ward in pref. to *Vita S. Romualdi*.

† See in the Calendar of Patent Rolls for Ireland, Charles I. p. 505 (edited by James Morrin, Esq., 1863), the confirmation of the resignation of the title, etc., by the King. It is dated October 30th, 1629.

‡ The MS. from which the above extract is taken, bears the singular title: *An Aphorismicall Reflection on the Discoverie of Faction*. It is preserved in T.C.D., and appears to have been written by the secretary of Owen Roe O’Neill.

career of Dr. Fleming in this sanctuary of learning and virtue. In 1647, when dedicating to Dr. Fleming, then archbishop of Dublin, the second volume of the Acts of the Irish Saints, Colgan thus refers to the holiness and zeal, to the genius and ability, which marked his early life:—

“With a piety which surpassed your years, you wished to enter the seraphic order before you had attained the age required for the religious vows. Entering on your course of studies, so rapid was your progress in science and divine pursuits, that your eminent learning and religious spirit qualified you for the professor’s chair in Louvain, even before the canonical discipline allowed of your ordination to the priesthood. Whilst discharging this high duty, many were the spiritual children whom you trained to perfection; and though I myself am the lowliest of all these, yet it was no small incitement to me, in my career, that my master, whilst yet in the flower of age, should be found so adorned with consummate piety, and the ornaments of virtue and learning, that amongst very many most worthy, he alone should be marked out by the decision of the Apostolic See, and the anxious wishes of the clergy and people, to fill the highest post of ecclesiastical dignity in his country.”*

Amongst those that were engaged in preparing Dr. Fleming for his future missionary labours, was father Anthony Hickey, who subsequently, as professor of philosophy at St. Isidore’s, won for himself a wide-spread fame in Rome for philosophical acumen and erudition. In a letter written by our archbishop to Luke Wadding, on the 23rd September, 1629, the following postscript is added: “I pray you remember my best wishes to my old master, father Anthony Hickey, for whom I daily do pray to God, for his pains taken with me.”†

It was, however, under the guidance of Hugh M’Caghwell that Dr. Fleming applied himself to the study of the higher branches of theology. That learned man is justly ranked amongst the brightest ornaments of the Franciscan order. He was at this time regent of St. Anthony’s, in Louvain, but was soon summoned to more responsible offices in his order. He was finally advanced to the see of Armagh, and consecrated at St.

* Colgan, Tr. Thaum. Dedic. p. 5.

† In Archiv. S. Isid.

Isidore's, on 7th of June, 1626. In the Consistorial Acts, he is described as "a Franciscan of the strict observance, a native of Ulster, skilled in canon law, acquainted, too, with the civil law, formerly guardian in Louvain, and general definitor of his order, of about fifty years of age. Whilst meritoriously discharging many offices in his order, his fame and the fragrance of his virtues were wide-spread throughout Spain, and Germany, and Ireland, which countries he illustrated by his preaching, and counsels, and conversation, and the sanctity of his life, as well as by various writings in different languages. In fine, being summoned to Rome by the general of the order, he at present holds the post of a regent of the highest chair in Ara-Cœli." Luke Wadding further informs us, that he prepared for publication, and illustrated with copious notes, almost all the works of Scotus; and moreover, when summoned to the assemblies of the order in Spain, and France, and Germany, and Italy, always travelled on foot.† Dr. M'Caghwell was known in his order by the appellation *Aodh Mac Aingil* (son of an angel), and after his decease, his eulogy was pronounced in Louvain by Vernulæus, who styles him, "a master in all sciences, human and divine." Urban VIII., too, on hearing of his premature death, is said to have remarked: "*non hominem sed angelum amisimus*"—"it is not a mere man that we have lost, but an angel."

So rapid was the progress of Dr. Fleming under the guidance of Father M'Caghwell, that when this learned man was summoned to Rome, in 1623, to occupy some important post in his order, Fleming, though, as yet, only in his twenty-fifth year, was chosen his successor in the theological chair. He was thus

* "Hugo Cavellus Ultoniensis, Ord. Min. Strict. Obs. Sac. Theolog. lector jubilatus, juris canonici peritus, jurisque civilis non ignarus, olim guardianus Lovanii, et ordinis seraphici Generalis Definitor, quinquaginta circiter annos natus, qui variis aliis in suo ordine officiis laudabiliter functus sui nominis memoria et bonæ famæ odore per Hispaniam, Germaniam, et Hiberniam, prædicationibus, consiliis, conversatione, vitæ integritate et scriptis non vulgaribus in diversis linguis resperso et relicto: tandem a Revmo. Generali ministro Romam vocatus ibi jam in Conventu Ara-Cœlitano primæ Cathedræ regens constitutus est."

† "Qui post tersa et correcta fere omnia opera Scoti, et addita doctissima scholia, prudenterque promotum et rectum Collegium Minorum Hibernensium Lovanii, post longa itinera et magnos susceptos labores pro gravioribus sui Instituti negotiis, ad plura comitia generalia semper pedes profectus per Hispanias, Galliam, Germaniam, Italiam," etc — Wadding *Annales*, ad. an. 1254.

engaged when, on the demise of Dr. Matthews, he was appointed by Urban VIII. to the vacant see of Dublin. Some, indeed, have not hesitated to ascribe his promotion to his own solicitation, and to the intrigues of the religious of his order. But though the earl of Tyrone solicited this favour,* and Luke Wadding, with other distinguished members of the Irish Church, urged the Holy See not to delay an appointment from which so many advantages would assuredly accrue to our suffering island, it is certain that Dr. Fleming himself had no share whatever in his being chosen to this high dignity.† The following letter, written by him to Luke Wadding, soon after the receipt of his Bulls, discloses to us the true religious sentiments with which he regarded the responsibilities of the office thus imposed upon him:—

“Should the archiepiscopate be looked upon as an honour, surely there were many others far more deserving of it; if you regard it as a burden, there were many far better able to sustain it. Nor do I say this as if to exempt myself from the duty of returning thanks, and to lessen the favour conferred upon me, which is far from my intention: I say so merely because I feel myself unworthy of such a dignity, and unequal to such a task. And He who sees the secrets of my heart, knows how foreign from my desires is the charge now imposed upon me.”‡

It was on the 23rd of October, 1623,§ that the appointment of Dr. Fleming to the see of Dublin was proclaimed in consistory. He was not consecrated, however, till the 31st of

* See paper of 8th May, 1629, given in preceding life.

† Colgan says that Dr. Fleming was “*suæ electionis inscius*,” and “*suæ promotioni renitens*.” He adds, “*Vidimus te anxie reluctantem . . . te solum merentem, omnes alios pie lætantes*.”—Loc. cit.

‡ Ex Archiv. S. Isid. Romæ. Lovanio, 15th Dec. 1623, fr. Thomas Fleming, Elect. Dublini, Wadding: “*Si honos censendus sit, plurimi me digniores; si onus plurimi fortiores. Nec hæc a me quæstæ sunt aut beneficii extenuandi gratia, aut gratiarum extenuandarum, quod longe alienum est a genio meo: sed quod me indignum tali honore et imparem tali oneri æstimem, Etsi is qui cordis mei arcana intuetur novit quam nolim hoc curæ mihi imponi.*”

§ Acta Concistorial. 23rd Oct. 1623. “*Referente Card. Verallo Regni Hiberniæ Protectore, SS. providit Eccl. Metropolitanæ Dublinen. vacanti per obitum bonæ mem. Eugenii Matthæi ultimi illius Episcopi in Romana curia defuncti, de persona rev. fr. Thomæ Fleming ord. min. de observ. expresse professi ac Theologiæ Lovanii in Belgio professoris ipsumque dictæ Ecclesiæ Dublinensi in Archiepiscopum præfecit et Pastorem.*” The pallium was granted to him in Consist. 26th Feb. 1624.

December; on which day he received the imposition of hands from the archbishop of Mechlin, in the church of the Franciscan convent of St. Anthony, in Louvain, the aged archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Conry, and the nuncio apostolic, archbishop of Philippi, *in partibus*, having hastened thither to act as assistants in performing the solemn ceremony.*

One of the first cares of the archbishop, whilst he awaited his consecration in Louvain, was to petition the Holy See to have that faculty promulgated and confirmed, which had been granted to his predecessor, that, forsooth, the students of all the Irish seminaries on the continent might be promoted to holy orders, solely on the testimony of their respective superiors, without requiring the usual dimissorial letters of the ordinary; and, moreover, might be ordained without benefice, patrimony, or other canonical title, but merely *ad titulum missionis in Hibernia*. The Holy See graciously received this petition; and on the 22nd of December, 1623, the brief which recorded it was transmitted to our archbishop.†

This privilege, in all its clauses, was invaluable to our Church; and hence, when some doubts were raised in its regard, it was again sanctioned by a decree of the Sacred Congregation, on 26th June, 1626, which decree was confirmed by the Holy Father on the 10th of July, the same year. The clause which regarded the episcopal dimissorials, was specially important for the period of persecution, when the bishops were compelled to seek a refuge in the woods and morasses, and all communication was broken off, even with those who, at a distance, were preparing to devote themselves, under their guidance, to the service of the altar.‡

* Ex instr. authentic. archiep. Mechlinen. sub data 31st Dec. 1623, in Archiv. S. Isid.

† See Supplem. Hib. Dominic. pp. 874-5.

‡ With the period of persecution this necessity also ceased; and hence the clause regarding dimissorials was annulled by decree of the Sac. Cong. on 10th April, 1835. The rescript is published in the Bullarium S. C. de Prop. Fid. This privilege being so peculiar to our missionary Church, and the documents connected with it being gradually involved in obscurity, some bishops, in the eighteenth century, feared lest it should have crept in as an abuse during the period of persecution. Thus, Dr. James Daly, in a letter to the archbishop of Paris, in September, 1736, energetically protests against this privilege being made use of in regard to the students of his diocese, adding, that the privilege had been accorded by Rome, at most

Another matter which engaged the solicitude of the archbishop, whilst yet residing in Louvain, was the Pastoral College, of which, as we have seen, his predecessor had, in 1622, laid the first foundations in that city. Some funds were indeed collected, and the constitutions were drawn up by Dr. Matthews; but still the institution itself had to be summoned into life, and even the material structure had to be raised. This task devolved on Dr. Fleming; and hence, in the annals of that college, he is justly ranked amongst its chief founders. It was in the month of July, 1624, that the first president assumed the charge of the infant establishment, and six students entered its walls to prepare for the Irish mission. The following letter, written conjointly by our archbishop and by the long-exiled archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Florence Conry, conveyed to the secretary of the Sacred Congregation the announcement of this happy event, which should one day be a source of such blessings to our Irish Church:—

“At length we have made a commencement, though, indeed, an humble one, of that seminary, which, in the name of your Holiness, we desire to erect in this university. We hired a house for this purpose, and appointed as its superior the Rev. Nicholas Aylmer, a priest of mature age and experience, sufficiently versed in polite literature, and also skilled in languages. He is, moreover, so meek and affable, and pleasing to all, that the fact of his being superior will be a resource to it in its struggling infancy. In the hired house we have placed already six students, of whom Christopher Chamberlain is maintained by the burse of your Excellency, John O’Mulconry by the burse of the archbishop of Mechlin, and Emer Matthews by the burse founded by the late archbishop of Dublin for the diocese of Clogher.

only for the times of persecution; “and in 1626, when it is said to have been granted, there was no bishop in Ireland, Dr. Fleming himself being then in Rome.”—Ex Archiv. S. C. How little was the history of the Irish Church known, even to the best instructed of her members! The privilege was granted and re-sanctioned repeatedly, without limitation, for the greater advantage of Ireland, and hence should last until recalled by the Holy See. In 1626, Dr. Fleming was zealously labouring in his diocese; and not only in 1626, but also in 1623, when the faculty was really granted, more than one bishop (as Dr. Rothe of Kilkenny, Dr. Dease of Meath, Dr. Therry of Cork, the bishop of Emly, etc.) were braving the perils of persecution, and living amidst their persecuted flocks. Other bishops, at intervals, deemed it prudent to solicit the partial renewal of this faculty. Thus, in 1742, we find the bishops of Cork and Kerry receiving faculty to ordain twelve priests, *titulo missionis*; and some years later a similar privilege was granted to Dr. Anthony Blake, archbishop of Armagh.

"We are now seeking for some select students, who may occupy the other burse founded by the archbishop of Mechlin, and the burses granted to us by cardinal de la Cueva: we would also ask for one to hold the burse of the Dublin diocese, were not its funds to be expended for this year in purchasing furniture and utensils. The students who defray their own expenses are Henry O'Neil, Luke Dillon, and Thomas Dillon, with whom many others will soon be associated from Ireland. It now only remains to request your Excellency to give your sanction to these things which we submit to your consideration, whilst we also beseech you to devise some means by which the promised assistance from the Sacred Congregation may be quickly obtained. And we pray the Almighty to preserve you happily for many years.

"Louvain, 1st August, 1624.

"FR. THOMAS FLEMING,

"Archbishop Elect of Dublin and Primate
of Ireland,

"FR. FLORENCE CONRY,

"Archbishop of Tuam."*

It is, indeed, a glory for that venerable college, that one of the first students who entered its walls should be the future

* "ILLME. AC REVME. DNE.,—Nunc tandem jecimus utcumque (quantum nimirum in nobis fuit) fundamenta seminarii illius quod pro gente nostra in hac universitate prætendimus suæ sanctitatis nomine extruere; domum siquidem conduimus et conductæ præfecimus R. D. Nicolaum Aylmer sacerdotem maturæ ætatis et magnæ experientiæ, litterarum eruditione satis commendatum nec minus linguarum peritiâ. Est etiam vir adeo tractabilis et mansuetus atque adeo omnibus amabilis, ut id ipsum quod superior sit, multum illi, debili adhuc principio, collaturum existimemus. In dicta vero domo collocavimus jam nunc sex studiosos alumnos quidem, Christophorum Chamberlinum sustentandum bursa Illmi. V. Dnis. Joannem O'Mulconry, super una e bursis Illmi. Mechlinensis, et Emerum Matthæum super bursa ab Illmo. Dubliniensi piæ memoriæ fundata pro Clogherensibus.†

"Petimus etiam aliquos electos juvenes qui sustententur alia bursa Illmi. Mechlinensis, et bursis collatis ab Illmo. Cardinali de la Cueva; petitori qui sustentaretur bursa Dublinensium nisi expendenda esset hoc anno, uti et reditus qui accepti sunt tum ex illa tum ex aliis hactenus, in lectis et utensilibus coemendis. Commensales autem in domo sunt Henricus O'Neil, Lucas Dillon, Thomas Dillon, quibus jam brevi accessuri sunt plures quos ex Hibernia accersiri curamus. Cæterum jam superest ut V. Illma. Dnio. hæc omnia quæ non tam fecimus quam V. Illmæ. Dni. approbanda proponimus rata habeat et circa modum recipiendi seu inveniendi ea quæ eidem foundationi censuit Sacra Congregatio conferenda, dignetur adhibere aliqualem celeritatem Illma. V. Dnio. quam precamur conservet diutissime incolumem D. Opt. Max.

"Lovanio, Kalendis Augusti, 1624.

"Illmæ. Dnis. Vrà. servi,

"FR. THOMAS FLEMINGUS,

"Electus Dublinien. et Hib. Primas.

"FR. FLORENTIUS CONREUS,

"Archieps. Tuamen."

† The nephew of Dr. Eugene Matthews was sent by Prop. to occupy one of the places. See p. 288.

bishop of Clogher, whose heroic martyrdom and labours in the cause of our holy faith shed such lustre on the Irish Church. He was a near relative of the earl of Tyrone, and was destined to hold the place founded by his illustrious uncle, Dr. Eugene Matthews.

It was only in the spring of 1625 that Dr. Fleming started from Louvain, to assume in person the charge of the spiritual flock which had been entrusted to him. In the meantime, he continued to foster the infant college with paternal care; and though the sad condition of Ireland allowed it to receive but little assistance from that quarter, and the war which raged in Belgium multiplied its difficulties an hundredfold, we find that on the 5th of March, 1625, the diocese of Armagh had two students there, whilst the dioceses of Clogher, Elphin, Kilmore, Meath, Kildare, Cashel, and Mayo had each a representative within its walls.*

The other collegiate institutions were cherished by Dr. Fleming with no less paternal solicitude; and more than once he represented to the Holy See how great was the need of the Church of Ireland of zealous labourers to gather in the spiritual harvest. The college of Rome had just then been founded by cardinal Ludovisi; and in the beginning of April, 1627, Dr.

* Nicolaus Aylmer, first president of the Irish College, Louvain, writing to Rome for assistance, on 5th March, 1625, says:—

“Occasione piæ et devotæ voluntatis Illmi. Dni. Eugenii Archiepi. Dublinen. placuit S. Sanctitatis et Illmis. D.D. V.V. collegium pastorale pro juventute Hibernica in oppido Lovaniensi apud Belgas erigi in quo adolescentes ad pietatem et doctrinam informarentur, ut ea ratione misero et calamitoso suæ patriæ statui succurrere aliquando valerent: quod quidem collegium a me ex præscripto Illmi. D. Nuncii Apostolici novem abhinc circiter mensibus, bonis ut in Dno. confido auspiciis nomine suæ Sanctitatis inceptum est, in eodemque jam de præsentī novem habeo adolescentes eximie spei. Sed quia principia omnia debilia esse solent et res in Belgio ob continua bella loco difficillimo sunt, egestate premimur.” To this letter is added a list of the students as follows:—

- | | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| Alumni:— | { | 1. Emerus Matthæus, ætatis 25 annorum, in schola Theologiæ, Diœc. Clogheren. super bursa fundata a defuncto Archiepo. Dublinen. pro eadem Diœcesi. |
| | | 2. Ferdinandus O'Mulchonry, æt. 23 an. Diœc. Elphin. |
| | | 3. Christophorus Chamberlinus, æt. 22, Diœc. Armachan. |
| | | 4. Eugenius Relly, æt. 18, Diœc. Kilmoren. |
| Convictores:— | { | 1. Bernardus O'Nellus, æt. 23, Diœc. Medensis. |
| | | 2. Robertus Dungan, æt. 19, „ Kildaren. |
| | | 3. Petrus Boetinus, æt. 20, „ Cassellen. |
| | | 4. Lucas Dilon, æt. 14, „ Mayonen. |
| | | 5. Henricus O'Nellus, æt. 12, „ Armachanæ. |

Fleming united with the bishops of Ossory and Cork in returning meet thanks to his eminence for his zeal and munificence thus displayed in regard to the Irish mission. The college of Douay, too, in a special manner, awakened his solicitude. In 1625, by the death of its president, who long had watched over its progress, and by the wars which desolated the country, that college was well-nigh reduced to utter ruin. It had been "a fruitful mother of sacred missionaries, remarkable for their zeal and virtue, learning and erudition;"* it was "the armoury

* We add the beautiful letter of Dr. Fleming and the bishops of Ossory and Cork, which has never before been published:—

ILLME. ET REVME. DNE.,

Tamquam umbraculum in cucumerario derelictum est collegium illud nostræ nationis quod multis annis cum magno operariorum fructu in Belgio steterat situm in civitate et Universitate Duacensi. Vix credi potest quanto id damno et dolore nobis acciderit, considerantibus, quam fecunda ibi mater extiterit prolis usquequaque conspicuæ tam a virtute et pietate quam a doctrina et eruditione. Vestra vero præclara est illa cogitatio, uti de cælo nata, ita zelo vestro digna, qua intenditis jacturam nostram sarcire ut uno asylo nobis propemodum deficiente, alterum ex ære vestro Romæ surgat, ad sancti seminis successionem nobis continuandum. Hoc igitur est quod nos suppliciter deposcimus ab Illma. Gratia Vra., ut istud per vos pie susceptum opus pro Deo et Ecclesia ejus, fideique Catholicæ apud nos augmento et tutamento feliciter et graviter provehratis et per vestras insuper litteras ad Catholicum Regem et ad serenissimam ejus in Belgio amitam Isabellam cum SSmi. D. N. sacris apicibus conjungendas, suscitetis scintillam illam nostram Duaci morientem ne penitus extingatur. Illa certe domus antehac late præferebat lucem per omnes hujus insulæ fines et nunc passa duorum annorum eclypsim cum aliunde, tum per mortem optimi præsulis qui eam feliciter gubernabat luctum nobis propinat intuentibus hunc defectum utilium nobis operariorum quem persentiscimus: fluctuantes enim inter spem meliorum temporum et metum deteriorum, dum formidamus etiam in sereno cælo procellas ingruentes et conspicimus potestates tenebrarum contra lucem in tenebris fulgentem cæco impetu ferri, idque non voce tantum sed scriptis etiam audacter ab eis contra apertam veritatem tentari; tametsi nobis abunde sufficeret cura fidei domesticorum alendæ et fovendæ, tamen hinc quoque augetur nostra sollicitudo, quod una manu dum operi incumbimus, altera quasi mucronem tenere cogimur. Et hinc nobis acrior oboritur dolor quod antiquum nostrum armamentarium in quo fortium nostrorum armatura pendebat, contra hæreticorum dogmatum assertores vibranda, nunc minetur ruinam, et vacuum admittet quod natura ipsa et necessitas quam patimur, abhorret. Ac proinde sub alas patrocinii vestri confugientes una voce precamur, ut dolorem nostrum lenire dignemini gemina illa subventionem quam diximus; altera per erectionem novi domicilii in Urbe nobis accelerandam, altera per veteris refugii celerem in Belgio restorationem, vestris hortatoriis et excitatoriis conficiendam. Utrumque quanto nobis magis necessarium tanto magis honorificum vobis futurum est et majoris apud Deum meriti, quem vos unice respicitis, nosque, etc. etc.

Datum prid. non. Aprilis, 1627.

DAVID Ossoriensis Epus.

GULIELMUS Epus. Corcagien. et Cluanensis.

Fr. THOMAS FLEMINGUS, Archiep. Dublinen.

Hiberniæ Primas.

—Ex Archiv. S. Cong.

which supplied the spiritual weapons" to the Irish Church for so many years, and no wonder that its decay should be viewed with alarm and regret by her consecrated leaders. It was not only Rome that was petitioned in its behalf, but also letters of the Holy See were procured, commending its welfare to the king of France, as also to Isabella of Belgium; and owing to these energetic appeals, and the anxious solicitude thus displayed by Dr. Fleming and the other bishops of Ireland, this institution was enabled to continue for some years its beneficent career, and to send forth many more devoted missionaries to labour in the vineyard of Christ.

CHAPTER XI.

CONDITION OF THE CATHOLICS DURING THE FIRST YEARS OF DR. FLEMING'S EPISCOPATE.—1623-1633.

Penal Laws in full operation at the period of Dr. Fleming's Appointment.—Account of those Laws in a Letter of that period.—Lord Falkland's Administration.—Letter of a Franciscan.—Of Dr. Fleming.—Efforts to introduce Religious Freedom opposed by Protestant Clergy.—Declaration of Usher and other Protestant Bishops.—Letter of the Superior of the Carmelites in Dublin.—Heroism of the People of Dublin.—Proclamation against Catholics.—Relatio of Dr. Fleming.—Deplorable state of the Protestant Church, etc.

AT the period of Dr. Fleming's appointment to the see of Dublin, the Catholics of Ireland were still subjected to all the oppressive laws that had afflicted them during the episcopate of his predecessor. The following letter, written from Dublin, in the month of March, 1623, gives an accurate epitome of this persecuting code :—

"I wrote to you about the feast of St. Michael (29th September, 1622), acquainting you with the state of our afflicted and oppressed country, but, lest these letters should not have reached you, or lest you should have since forgotten the subject of which I treated, I deem it

better to once more lay before you the sufferings of our poor Catholic people.

"1st, then, all the wards* who are under the king's guardianship when admitted to their estates, are subject to vexations if they refuse the oath of royal supremacy: hence, some youths have taken that oath, contrary to the dictates of their conscience, and others who refused it were deprived of their lands and inheritance.

"2nd. All the mayors, and magistrates, and other civil officers in the cities and corporate towns, are obliged to take the same oath, and to administer it to their subalterns, which is contrary to the charters, and is repugnant with the privilege of free election.

"3rd. No gentleman, with the exception of the higher nobility, is allowed to assume the title of *Roman Catholic*.

"4th. All priests, and others hitherto imprisoned on account of their religion, are still subjected to close confinement. The new viceroy being solicited by the nobility to allow some liberty in the exercise of religion, replied that he received no such order when in England; nor, since his arrival in this country, were any instructions to that effect forwarded to him: neither would he for any one's sake deviate from the letter of the commission entrusted to him.

"5th. Excommunications are fulminated with the greatest rigour and severity against the citizens of Dublin, and other Catholics. If they wish to escape the penalties, they have to conceal themselves, like prisoners and notorious malefactors, in their own houses: neither are they allowed to keep shops, or sell any articles of merchandize.

"6th. The statute of the 1st of Elizabeth, obliging recusants to assist at the heretical service on Sundays and holidays, under a penalty of twelve pence for each transgression, is now rigorously carried out, so that no Catholic whatsoever is exempted from it: thus many are reduced to extreme poverty, whilst a large sum flows into the royal treasury.

"7th. All, of whatsoever condition they may be, are made liable to an arbitrary fine, to be fixed in each diocese by the Protestant bishop, or his ministers, should they be guilty of allowing their children to be baptized by the priest, or of celebrating marriage in his presence (and this they style a *clandestine marriage*): and such as are unable to pay the fine, are obliged to stand in the stocks in the public square, whilst they are at the same time, through ridicule, dressed in linen garments; and in like manner they have to stand at certain hours, in the Protestant churches, whilst papers are attached to their foreheads, with the inscription in large characters, '*for marriage or baptism against the injunctions of the king.*'

"8th. No one, no matter how well instructed he may be, is allowed

* The court of wards was maintained by Charles I. In the patent, issued the 16th April, 1625, the main object of this court is said to be "for preventing the great inconveniences which might happen in Ireland, if the children of noblemen and gentlemen should be deprived of good breeding and education, religion and learning," etc.—Patent and Close Rolls, Chas. I. p. 3.

to keep a public school, nor even are the nobility allowed to send their children to foreign parts to learn the arts and sciences; whence it must come to pass, that after a while all our people will become Protestants; and there is another danger, also, that the young heirs growing up ignorant and uninstructed, will be unable to claim their lands and possessions.

"Thus far I have repeated the substance of my former letter. From the time of its despatch, the fine which was imposed for the baptism of the children is rigorously exacted. The citizens of Drogheda, with their wives, and servants, and grown-up children, were all cited before a conformist jury, and condemned; so that now they run a risk of being deprived of all their moveable goods. If matters continue to go on in this manner, all will soon be reduced to extreme misery. It is only eight days ago since what I mentioned was done by Dominick Sarsfield and his associates. Moreover, in the county of Louth, the jury received instructions to find bills against all the recusants. As there were three Catholics on the jury who refused to comply with this injunction, they were thrown into prison for a week, with orders that should they not subsequently find sufficient bail for appearing at the next assizes, they should be confined in Dublin castle. The like happened in the county Cavan: and, in fact, all the magistrates received instructions to inquire after the recusants, each in his own district, which manner of acting was never before witnessed amongst us.

"The cavalry troops of the viceroy, and his corps of satellites, are maintained by the citizens of Dublin, at a great expense. There are many other things that I could mention, were there any hope of their being improved. But these will suffice for the present. I pray you, through the passion of our holy Redeemer, to communicate what I have written to the ambassador of the Spanish monarch, that that court may interpose its influence with our king, to the end we may be freed from this servile misery and slavery.

"Dublin, 8th March, 1623."*

The new viceroy, referred to in this letter, was Henry Carey, lord Falkland, who was appointed lord deputy for Ireland on 6th of September, 1622. His predecessor, Grandison, had been accused of "crimes of enormous oppression and tyranny"† against the Catholics; and his removal from the government awakened hopes in their body, that it was at length the intention of the crown to inaugurate a more lenient administration. There was little, indeed, in the personal character of the new viceroy to encourage these aspirations of the Catholics; for we

* See the original Latin letter in notes to O'Sullivan Beare's *Hist. Hib.* pp. 340-1.

† Dr. Elrington's *Life of Usher*.

find that even in his private letters he delighted to heap opprobrious epithets on their religion and clergy.† The Protestant clergy, too, were resolved for their part to stimulate his anti-Catholic zeal; and on his taking the oaths of office, the celebrated Usher delivered a fanatical harangue on the text, "He beareth not the sword in vain," in which he dwelt, at great length, on the duty incumbent on the lord deputy to rigorously execute the penal statutes against the Irish Catholics.

A year later than the letter cited above, a worthy member of the Franciscan order thus described, in a letter from Dublin to Rome, the severity of the persecution, which raged with special violence within the precincts of the capital:—

"That I have not hitherto written to your excellency was occasioned by my distance from the seaports, where alone I can ensure the postage of my letters. Having at length returned to Dublin, and found an opportunity of communicating with you, I have nothing to narrate but the continued and unparalleled calamities of this afflicted kingdom, which, if witnessed, would suffice to move the hardest heart to tears. For here, in the Dublin courts, you see nothing but the extinction of the old nobility, the depauperizing of the citizens and other inhabitants, the plundering of orphans, the oppression of widows, and, in a word, all the horrors of an Egyptian bondage, weighing on the Catholics of this country. Lately a decree was published, re-enacting the Elizabethan statute, which imposes a fine on all who refuse to frequent the Calvinistic synagogues; and the tyrannical exaction of this fine will effect the total ruin of this exhausted kingdom, unless we be sustained by a special providence of God.

"Some years ago, at the evil instigation of the council of this kingdom, the king introduced into two provinces colonies of the Anglo-Scotch and Scoto-English, despoiling our gentry of their estates and patrimonies, and making grants of them to the heretical Scotch and English, on condition that they should seek to promote heresy; whence it happens, that heresy has been so rapidly spread in these two provinces. He is now seeking to introduce similar colonies into the other two provinces, forsooth, into Connaught and a part of Munster, violating all the municipal laws and statutes of the kingdom. The nobility have recourse to the laws of our country, and only ask to have justice dealt

† *Locusts of Rome—that most leprous infection*, etc. See letter dated Dublin, 8th December, 1626, published from the State Paper Office, Ireland, in Appendix to Life of Lady Falkland, London, 1861. This lady, becoming a Catholic, was subjected by him to cruel treatment. Her perseverance, however, was crowned by the conversion of her children to the Catholic faith. For many other interesting facts, see the Life just cited.

to them. And yet, whatever defence they make, they are stigmatized as rebels and seditious Papists, and are thrown into chains, and subjected to all the sufferings and misery of prison, until they either submit to the above-mentioned tyranny, or, worn away by the hardships and privations of prison, lay down their life in defence of justice. I am overwhelmed with sadness when I reflect on these tyrannous proceedings against our nation, so guileless and so devoted to the orthodox faith. There is only one thing that consoles me, and it is, that they suffer all these calamities for the faith of Christ, and that these tribulations are sent by God that we may be more and more purified, and rendered worthy to appear in His holy sight. . . .

"I found here a fragment of a marble statue, which was broken by the heretics whilst they raged with worse than savage fury against all the ornaments of our churches. I send this fragment to you. I wish it were of greater value, or more worthy of your acceptance, etc.

"Dublin, 17th November, 1624."*

At the time of the accession of Charles II., many clouds were gathering around the political horizon of England. The two most powerful monarchs of Europe were leagued together against her, whilst the spirit of disaffection was daily becoming more rife at home, and the parliament refused the necessary subsidies for carrying on the war. It thus became a matter of necessity to conciliate the Catholics of Ireland; and we find lord Conway, in December, 1625, writing to lord Falkland, warning him of the "apprehensions of danger, if any reformation in religion should (for the present) be attempted there." The Catholics of Ireland saw how favourable was the opportunity for obtaining some relaxation of the penal code, and they "offered constantly to pay an army of five thousand foot and five hundred horse for his majesty's service, provided they might be tolerated in the exercise of their religion."†

Matters were in this state when Dr. Fleming arrived in Ireland. His first letter from Dublin, to the internuncio in Brussels, is dated 20th of August, 1625,‡ and in it he vividly describes the renewed fervour with which the Catholics now applied them-

* Translated from the original in Archiv. Sac. Cong.

† Sir Ed. Walker's Historical Discourses, fol. 337.

‡ In Dr. Renehan's Collections on Irish Ch. Hist. p. 193, the date of Dr. Fleming's arrival in Ireland is given 1623, on the authority of Paul Harris. But Harris, in the place referred to, only says *about the year* 1623. From the letters already referred to, it is clear that Dr. Fleming continued in Belgium during 1623 and 1624, and only came to Ireland in the summer of 1625.

selves to the practices of religion, as also the hopes and fears, in regard to the future, which agitated the whole Catholic body:—

“I would have long since broken silence, were it not for the length of the journey and my ignorance of the real condition of this country, with which I wished to become somewhat acquainted before I should write anything positive to you. I hope, however, for the future, to write more frequently, and acquaint you with everything connected with this country and with myself, as soon, at least, as I will have secured a secure medium for transmitting my letters, which is no easy matter here, as there is always a great risk of their being intercepted.

“I doubt not but that your excellency is already aware of the many and grievous oppressions which this afflicted kingdom of Ireland has hitherto been compelled to endure, on account of its unflinching attachment to the Catholic faith. At length, however (thanks to the Most High!), that tempest of uninterrupted persecution has been somewhat appeased, and the orthodox inhabitants enjoy a more tranquil repose than was granted them for many years. They are, however, wholly ignorant of how long this calm may last, and hence fluctuate betwixt hope and fear. They have not yet forgotten their past afflictions; and as the dread of an impending calamity is often worse than the calamity itself, especially in those who are sorely oppressed, and whose minds, retaining a vivid remembrance of the sufferings they endured, look on the threatened evil as though it were already present, so they now dread the future persecutions, and experience but little relief from the present relaxation. But the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation, who suffers not His children to be tempted beyond their strength, and whom the seas and the winds obey, will, I am confident, conduct the present momentary tranquillity to the safe port of joyous security.

“The pious and innumerable pilgrimages of the faithful this year are a pledge of this; for, like bees to the beehive, so do they daily flock in such numbers from every corner of the kingdom, for penitential purposes, to a certain island, which is called the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and which is situated in the centre of a lake, that many have been obliged to return without satisfying their pious desire, there being no room for landing on the island. This pilgrimage, though, through the bitter persecutions of heresy, it has been almost abandoned for many years, was once so celebrated throughout the Christian world, that many from the most distant parts even of the continent visited it in a spirit of devotion. The manner of performing the pilgrimage as it is now observed from ancient tradition, is as follows:—Each person, from the day he arrives in the island till the tenth following day, never departs from it. All this time is, without intermission, devoted to fasting, watching, and prayer. If they wish to give rest to their body they must sleep on the bare ground, and for the most part under the broad canopy of

heaven. They receive but one refection, and that consists of bread and water. It is incredible what severe austerities and bodily mortifications females, as well as men, and persons of every age and of every condition, endure, whilst they perform this penitential course; and during twenty-four hours they are shut up in certain caves, like unto prisons, where they pass the whole day and night entirely absorbed in prayer, and receiving nothing to eat or to drink.*

"I have thought it well to mention this fact, for, I am sure, your excellency will be rejoiced to see that the natives of this island, by this so great and so unparalleled an impetus of devotion, seek to appease the anger of God; and we may confidently hope, that by their fervour He will be appeased, who listens to the prayers of those who have recourse to Him in their afflictions.

"As regards the pastoral seminary which was founded in Louvain by my predecessor, Eugene, of happy memory, it is still in its cradle through the want of means. I pray your excellency to continue your usual assistance, and by your benign protection to foster its yet tender and weak members. My same predecessor solicited in Rome the promotion, to the see of Kildare, of the reverend and worthy man, Mr. James Plunkett. His efforts had a happy commencement, but were interrupted by the death (alas!) of bishop Eugene. . . .

"Dublin, 20th Aug. 1625.

"FR. THOMAS FLEMING, Archbishop of Dublin,
"Primate of Ireland."†

The government, for its part, was disposed to make some concessions, and a silent toleration continued for a short time. The Catholics, without delay, gathered together the scattered stones of the sanctuary, houses were rented in which the holy sacrifice was publicly offered up, and a Catholic school, which it was intended to raise to the rank of a university, was opened in Dublin, under the auspices of Dr. Fleming. The historian of Usher thus commemorates these efforts of the Irish Catholics: "They proceeded to the most imprudent excesses. They celebrated their religious worship with public solemnity, and with the full parade of their ostentatious ritual. They seized churches for their service; avowedly exercised their ecclesiastical jurisdiction; erected everywhere new monasteries; and even in the city of Dublin established a college for the education of their youth." Cox denounces in like manner the presumption of the Papists, who "not only proceeded in building abbeys and monasteries, but had the

* See Appendix, p 332.

† Ex Archiv. Sac. Cong.

confidence to erect a university in Dublin, in the face of the government, which it seems thought itself limited in this matter by instructions from England." It was even the intention of the government to make further concessions, and proposed to suspend all proceedings against them for marriages and christenings by priests, and to allow some other privileges, without taking the oath of supremacy.* The Catholics, on the other hand, petitioned, that in addition to these exemptions, they should be allowed to practise in the courts of law on taking an oath of civil allegiance in lieu of the oath of supremacy; that the claims of the crown to the Irish lands should be limited to the last sixty years; that the inhabitants of Connaught should be permitted to make a new enrolment of their estates; and that a parliament should be holden to confirm to each one the undisturbed possession of his lands.†

These exemptions and privileges were popularly known as the "Royal Graces;" and the lord deputy summoned a great meeting of the Protestant and Catholic gentry, to deliberate in common on the propriety of granting these privileges, and at the same time of sanctioning the increase of the standing army in Ireland by 5,000 foot and 500 horse. The bigotry of the Protestant clergy was at once alarmed; their Church was declared to be in danger; and we find an assemblage of their bishops, convened by the illustrious Usher, archbishop of Armagh, and under his guidance, proclaiming the concession of such graces to be a heinous crime, of the first magnitude. This protest of the Protestant bishops begins with the statement, that "The religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine, erroneous and heretical; their Church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin; and that in two respects." The reasons are then assigned in the usual hypocritical cant of that period, and it concludes: "And as it is a great sin, so also is it a matter of most dangerous consequence, the consideration whereof we commend to the wise and judicious; beseeching the

* Mant, *Church in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 422.

† See Lingard, *Charles I.* chap. i.

God of truth to make them who are in authority zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute, and courageous against all Popery," etc.*

This declaration of the Protestant bishops produced the desired effect upon the government; and to them must the Catholics of Ireland attribute the unqualified refusal of the meagre "graces" they had solicited. For their part, the Catholic gentry had sufficient courage to reject the government proposal for an increase of the standing army; and it was only when they received an assurance that *the graces* would be again submitted to parliament, and that, in the interim, the statutes against the recusants would not be carried into execution, that they granted a subsidy to meet the immediate necessities of the English monarch, and consented to raise in Ireland the sum of £120,000.

To secure still more their prospects of toleration, the Catholics chose agents to proceed to London, and there lay before his majesty, together with the subsidy they had granted, their just claims to the wished-for graces, embodied in about fifty articles, and praying that, in order to quiet the fears of the Catholic body, he would privately at least sanction to them the toleration of their religion. The king received the offering of the Catholic

* See Mant, loc. cit. pp. 422-4. From Usher's Life we learn that this assemblage of the bishops was held at Usher's own house in Dublin, 26th of November, 1626, and that they unanimously signed the protest described in the text. The names of the Protestant bishops who signed this document are as follows:—

James (Usher) of Armagh.
 Malcolm (Hamilton) of Cashel.
 Anthony (Martin) of Meath.
 Thomas (Ram) of Ferns and Leighlin.
 Robert (Echlin) of Down, etc.
 George (Downham) of Derry.
 Richard (Boyle) of Cork, etc.
 Andrew (Hamilton) of Killala.
 Thomas (Moygue) of Kilmore and Ardagh.
 Theophilus (Buckworth) of Dromore.
 Michael (Boyle) of Waterford and Lismore.
 Francis (Gough) of Limerick.

The best commentary on this protest would be to sketch the subsequent unfortunate career of these same Protestant prelates: however, suffice it to remark, that the prime mover of this outrageous, and, we must add, wilful misrepresentation of Catholic tenets, for the purpose of awakening a spirit of persecution against the Irish Catholics, offered an ample retraction, when, from his deathbed, he wrote to Rome to open negotiations for the purpose of being received back into the bosom of that very Catholic Church which he had so wilfully maligned.

deputies with joy, and in return signed with his own hand the articles of graces which they presented to him.

A letter from the superior of the Carmelites in Dublin, presented to the Sacred Congregation about the month of March, 1629, details the happy fruits of the security which the Irish Catholics now enjoyed for a little while, until the Protestant Establishment was again filled with alarm at the progress of the hated creed; and conscious of its own inability to cope with the divine vitality of the Catholic Church, once more unsheathed the sword of persecution, and invoked the aid of government to fetter its opponent:—

“For a few years, Ireland has at length enjoyed some sort of toleration in professing the Catholic faith. During the past summer, some of the nobility, selected from all Ireland, were sent as a deputation to the king, that by offering a large pecuniary subsidy they might obtain for their country an exemption from many calamities which have hitherto oppressed her. Their arrival was so agreeable to the king, that he made no difficulty in assenting to their desires; and so he granted to them more than fifty articles, which provided for the public good of this kingdom, directing, moreover, that they should be confirmed by act of the parliament to be held in Ireland. These nobles, however, urged that all these articles would be of no avail without liberty of conscience. This, too, the king granted, but was unwilling that it should be placed among the articles to be submitted to parliament, lest it might be rejected by the heretical faction, assuring them, however, that they might be satisfied with his promise, and that they should not be molested for matters of religion. In conclusion, they solicited that though this promise was more than sufficient for themselves, yet some authentic testimony might be given to them for the sake of those by whom they had been deputed to his majesty. The king assented, and gave it to them, signed by his own hand and seal.

“On account of this, all the ecclesiastics now publicly perform their sacred functions, and prepare suitable places for offering the holy sacrifice; with open doors they now preach to the people, say Mass, and discharge all their other duties, without being molested by any one.

“As regards our own order of Discalced Carmelites, having been sent by our general to this kingdom some years ago, to labour in converting the heretics to the Catholic faith, we hired a house in Dublin, and arranged it as best we could, after the manner of a convent, in which twenty religious, including both the professed and the novices, now reside. As often as they go abroad, which happens when they have to preach or hear the confessions of the sick, or exercise some other office of charity, by permission of their superior, they use secular

dress, for, owing to the hatred of the heretics, they are not allowed to dress otherwise in public. Inside doors, however, all dress in our own religious habit, and all the domestic duties and common life are carried out with as much precision and order as in Rome itself, at the convent of *la Scala*.

“Our church is sufficiently large. It is open to all during our sermons; Mass is celebrated in it; processions are also made with the due ecclesiastical ornaments and sacred vestments, and sometimes, too, the blessed sacrament is borne in procession. Domestic and small bells are permitted, but large ones are not tolerated: the former, however, are sufficient for giving the necessary signals. The heretics come to the Catholic churches, and assist at the sermons; they also freely treat with the religious, and seem to have no objection to the habit. Some are converted, and many seem to be well disposed towards us. Good example, modest and religious deportment, abstinence from flesh-meats, and other such things, produce a wonderful impression on them, and they are particularly struck when our religious refuse to take food or drink in their houses. Amongst other instances, it happened that one of our order was thrown into prison, before the royal decree spoken of above became known, and on his refusing to eat flesh-meat, the heretics were so struck and edified, that soon after they liberated him; so that experience teaches us how they are often better convinced by example than by many words and arguments.

“Ireland, for the most part, is Catholic, and in general all the natives have persevered in the faith, despite the many persecutions that they suffered since the time of Henry VIII., in which period some were detained in prison, till death terminated their sufferings; others were sent into exile, or put to death, or punished with the loss of their goods; and not even for an interval did they enjoy peace or repose. The heretics that are found in the island are either sons of English parents, some born in Ireland, others sent thither from England to extirpate the natives, and most unjustly seize upon their lands, as has actually occurred in many places. In the present toleration, the Catholics enjoy some repose, and they attend at the chapels and frequent the sacraments; in which matter I myself, indeed, can testify as an eye-witness, how each week they flock in such crowds to the sacraments of penance and the holy eucharist, that scarcely is it possible for the priests to meet their demands. Our church, which is of a fair size, cannot contain a sixth part of the congregation on Sundays and holydays, and four confessors are not sufficient for our confessionals. They have a most singular devotion for the scapular of the Blessed Virgin of Mount Carmel, and there are scarcely any that have not received it with great devotion. Sufficient alms are also not wanting to us.

“In the same city of Dublin, there are very many other distinguished spiritual labourers, forsooth, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Capuchins, and Jesuits, all of whom untiringly labour in that vineyard. There are also pastors residing in their parishes, as best they can, supported by a

stipend and casual offerings from their parishioners. They do not possess the old parochial churches or the benefices attached to them, for all these have passed into the hands of the heretics. The bishops, too, do not reside in their dioceses, on account of their episcopates being seized on by the heretics." . . . *

At the very time that this consoling narrative was being penned by the worthy superior of the Carmelite order, the enemies of religion were maturing their plans to renew the former penalties against the Catholics. It was on the last day of January, 1628-9, that the privy council of Ireland addressed a letter to the king and privy council of England, bearing the signatures of Falkland, the viceroy, Adam Loftus, the lord chancellor, James Usher, archbishop of Armagh, and others, by which they solicited permission to act against the Papists. In this letter, after stating that : " We have already made your lordships acquainted with the intolerable increase and progress of Jesuits, seminarists, priests, and monastic friars, who have arisen in this kingdom, and derive all ecclesiastical law and authority from the bishops of Rome:" they conclude: " We do not require from your royal justice that rigour which is due to their provocation; we only ask, should it be pleasing to his majesty and to your lordships, that authority be given to us to that effect, and we doubt not but by moderation we will be able, with little difficulty, to restrain their arrogance, coerce their jurisdiction, diminish their numbers, deaden their attempts, and make known their practices."

The permission they sought for was not long delayed in England;† and on the 1st of April, 1629, the following proclamation against the Catholic clergy was issued by the lord deputy:—

* Ex Archiv. Sac. Cong. This letter is endorsed as presented to the Sac. Cong. by the superior of the Carmelites in Ireland. It was probably presented by him in person in Rome, and bears no date. It is classed amongst the papers of 1629, and from a list of bishops which is added, it must have been written before the 15th of March, of that year.

† About the same time there was a remonstrance presented to his majesty from the House of Commons of England, to the effect, "that the Popish religion was publicly professed in every part of Ireland, and that monasteries and nunneries were there newly erected, and replenished with votaries of both sexes, which would be of evil consequence unless seasonably repressed."—Cox, ii. 44.

"Whereas, we have necessarily remarked that the late intermission of legal proceedings against popish pretended titular archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, vicars-general, Jesuits, friars, and others of that sort, who derive their pretended authority and orders from the see of Rome, in contempt of his majesty's royal power and authority, has bred such an extraordinary insolence and presumption in them, that they not only dared again to assemble together here in public places, and celebrate their superstitious rites in all parts of this kingdom, but, moreover, erected houses, edifices called public oratories, colleges, mass-houses, and convents of friars, monks, and nuns, in the very sight of the royal council and elsewhere throughout the entire kingdom, and continually exercise jurisdiction in regard of his majesty's subjects, by authority derived from the Roman see, and (under the pretext of instructing and keeping schools in these their monasteries and colleges) educate the youth of this kingdom in their superstitious religion, to the great detriment and contempt of his majesty's royal power and authority, as well as to the great injury of this kingdom, and to the despoiling of the goods of his subjects," etc.

Then is added a command, first, that all convents of nuns, monasteries, colleges, and other religious houses be dissolved; second, that all religious and priests desist from "preaching or performing any rite in any public chapel or oratory," as also from "teaching the youth in any place or places whatsoever within this kingdom;" and, third, that all owners of all such religious houses and schools should apply them, without delay, to other uses: intimating against all who should attempt to contravene in any one of these articles, the full severity of the "laws and statutes of this kingdom."*

The Catholics, however, paid but little attention to this proclamation. In some places it was published as a matter of ridicule and mirth, whilst everywhere the religious houses and chapels continued as heretofore. The lord deputy, on the 24th of April, 1629, wrote to the Protestant primate, Usher, to complain of this irreverence.

"I have received information," he says, "both of the unreverend manner of publishing the late proclamation at Drogheda, and the ill-observance of the same since it was published. For the first, that it was

* This proclamation is referred to by Cox, ii. 53, and Mant, i. 429. We have given the substance of it, as well as of the letter to the privy council of England, from two Latin copies extant in the Wadding Papers, and in Archiv. Sac. Cong.

done in scornful and contemptuous sort, a drunken soldier being first set up to read it, and then a drunken sergeant of the town, making the same to seem like a May-game. And for the latter, that there is yet very little obedience showed thereto by the friars and priests; only that they have shut up the fore-doors of some of their mass-houses, but have as ordinary recourse thither by their private passages, and do as frequently use their superstitious service there, as if there were no command to the contrary; those mass-houses being continued in their former use, without any demolishing of their altars," etc.*

In Dublin, the Protestant archbishop anxiously awaited some favourable opportunity for inflicting ample chastisement on those who thus dared to obey God rather than man. On St. Stephen's day, 1629, this opportunity at length presented itself. Whilst the lords justices were assisting at service in Christ Church, the rumour reached them, that in the Carmelite chapel (described above) high Mass was being celebrated with special pomp and solemnity. The archbishop requested to be allowed to punish the offenders; and a troop of soldiers being drawn out, he issued forth at their head, leading them to the devoted Carmelite sanctuary in Cook-street. The altar was at once demolished, as also the oratory, in which stood a statue of St. Francis, and this, with Puritan ferocity, was hewn in atoms by the soldiery. Two of the religious were moreover seized, and the archbishop, with his band, were in the act of leading them away to prison, when the pious matrons, who had assembled for their devotions, raised a clamour, and being assisted by some youths, assailed the archiepiscopal troop with stones and clubs, rescuing the prisoners, dispersing the soldiers, and compelling the archbishop to save himself by flight.†

* Mant, i. 429.

† The heroism thus displayed by the women of Dublin, in administering condign chastisement to the Protestant archbishop, is recorded by the bishop of Ferns, who, on the 6th of January, 1630, thus writes (under the assumed name of Turner) to his agent in Rome, Father Luke Wadding:—"Our oratories began again to be opened, and on the last term before Christmas there was great resort to the friars in Cook-street, for that we held ourselves out of danger of the last proclamation; but upon St. Stephen's day last, it befel that the pseudo-archbishop of Dublin and the mayor, a great Puritan, went with soldiers to the said friars' house about noon of the day, and there defaced the altar and oratory, and were leading away two friars which they took; but the devout women which were in the oratory, together with young men that came to the cry, did so play on the mayor with stones and clubs, that they were forced to take house, and some persons were hurt. Some Catholic aldermen,

If we may credit Ware, it was the intention of the Protestant archbishop to proceed to the other chapels of Dublin, in like manner, and demolish all the sacred emblems of religion, leading away the priests and friars to the dungeons of the castle. The heroism, however, of the Dublin matrons, in Cook-street, checked him in his worse than Vandal career. A large guard was sent, without delay, by the lords justices, to ensure the archbishop's safety, and a number of Catholic aldermen were cast into prison,

who were not at all in the streets, but only in their own house, because they got not out to rescue the mayor, he put in prison. I know not what will be the issue. Some of our Catholics be gone with speed to England. I do hope that they will be able to divert the king's indignation. The Jesuits were not so forward as the friars in opening their schools or oratories, and you know they judge it prudence to suffer others to try the ford before them."—Ex Archiv. S. Isidori.

We will here add some Protestant accounts of this event, that the reader may see how little reliance can be placed on their authority when dealing with matters appertaining to the Catholic Church. Ware writes:—"In 1629, our archbishop was in some danger from a riot raised by the Jesuits and friars in Dublin. Our archbishop being informed that they made it a constant practice to infuse sedition by their sermons into the popish inhabitants of Dublin, applied to the lords justices for a warrant and a file of musketeers to seize the offenders. The Carmelites in Cook-street, together with their audience, rose in a body to oppose the execution of the warrant; they fell upon the guard, affronted the archbishop and mayor, with the rest of their attendants. The archbishop was obliged to take to his heels, and cry out for help; and with difficulty saved himself in a house." Ware gives as his authority for this narration the well-known libellous pamphlet, *Foxes and Firebrands*; nevertheless, it is copied almost verbatim by Dr. Mant, i. 431. In the *Life of Usher* it is said: "A most extraordinary occurrence, even in these lawless times, took place in the city of Dublin. A fraternity of Carmelites appeared in the habit of the order, and publicly celebrated their religious rites in Cook-street, then one of the most frequented parts of Dublin. The archbishop of Dublin and the mayor, roused by this defiance of law and government, led a party of the army to their place of worship, and attempted to disperse the assembly. The friars and the congregation repelled the attack by force, and obliged the assailants to consult their safety by a precipitate flight. The archbishop escaped with great difficulty, by taking shelter in a house,"—p. 105. Hammon l'Estrange, cited by Harris in his *Fiction Unmasked*, is more truthful in some of his details: "The Roman clergy began to rant it, and to exercise their fancies, called religion, so publicly, as if they had gained a toleration. For, whilst the lords justices were at Christ Church, in Dublin, on St. Stephen's day, they were celebrating Mass in Cook-street, which their lordships taking notice of, they sent the archbishop of Dublin, the mayor, sheriffs, and recorder of the city, with a file of musketeers, to apprehend them; which they did, taking away the crucifixes and paraments of the altars, the soldiers hewing down the image of St. Francis. The priests and friars were delivered into the hands of the pursuivants, at whom the people threw stones, and rescued them. The lords justices being informed of this, sent a guard and delivered them, and clapped eight popish aldermen by the heels for not assisting their mayor. On this account, fifteen houses, by direction of the lords of the council in England, were seized to the king's use," etc. etc.

not for taking part in the tumult, but for remaining in their houses, and not succouring the Protestant archbishop, whilst, with his Vandal band, he sought to pilfer and demolish the Catholic places of religious worship.

A few days later, the various religious houses, and also one chapel of the secular priests, were seized upon by the government.* Strict orders were, moreover, sent to the country magistrates, to seize, in like manner, on all the religious houses in their respective districts. It is thus Dr. John Roche, bishop of Ferns, writes to father Luke Wadding, on the 7th of February, 1630. Having commemorated the scene of St. Stephen's day, he adds: "Soon after, on another day, the other houses, even the very Jesuits' house and one secular priests' chapel, were taken up for the king, and yet we do not hear of any order come from his majesty to that effect, only it is said to be done in consequence of the proclamation given about Easter. In Cork, also, some houses were seized on, and the like order is sent to Limerick; and we know not how far it will extend. Our Lord be praised for all. The worse they can devise for us shall prove to be our best."†

The alarm excited throughout the kingdom, and the rigour with which this order was carried into execution, will be best described by presenting a few extracts from the letters written at this period to the authorities in Rome. Father Francis Matthews thus writes from Belgium to Luke Wadding, enclosing another letter from Ireland: "The enclosed letter I received ere yesterday from Ireland, re-echoing the afflictions which are every day increasing, and gradually extend to every quarter of the kingdom. For the confiscation of the religious houses, which commenced in Dublin and Cork, now embraces all the other districts of the kingdom. Nor does the persecution stop with this; it rages also against the persons of the religious, amongst whom, F. Eugene Field, of our order, was seized, and cast into

* L'Estrange states the number of religious houses thus seized in Dublin to be fifteen, which seems to be correct. See also Mant, loc. cit. i. 433. Besides these fifteen houses, thus seized on, the schools and religious house in Backlane were seized in 1632, and disposed of to the Protestant university, which placed therein a rector and scholars, and maintained a weekly lecture.

† Original English letter of Joan. Fernen. in Archiv. S. Isid.

prison by the president of Munster.”* (4th Sept. 1630.) And again, on 20th of December, 1630, he writes: “I have already acquainted you with the return of Thomas Bray to Ireland, where the fury of the persecution continues unabated, nay, threatens to be now still more increased by the inauguration of lord Boyle as viceroy, who being hitherto associated with another only as justiciary, will now no longer have the check of a rival authority, but may freely execute his plans against the Church and the Catholic faith.”† Father Eugene Field, spoken of in one of the foregoing extracts, thus writes from Cork, before his arrest: “A grievous persecution commenced in this kingdom at Dublin on the feast of St. Stephen, and it goes on increasing everywhere throughout the entire kingdom, so that our house in Dublin is wholly destroyed, and the houses elsewhere have all been handed over to other persons. No two religious can anywhere live together; and yet this is only a prelude to the intended persecution.”‡ (Cork, 10th April, 1630.) A few days later, on 28th April, 1630, the guardian of Galway, fr. Valentine Browne, writes in like manner: “So great is the persecution we are subjected to (praise be to the Most High!) that there was none so grievous since the commencement of the oppression of the Catholic religion in this kingdom.”§ Another letter, from Waterford, dated 24th November, 1630, adds: “The common state in this kingdom is very miserable and pitiful. All our houses

* “Cum ingeminatione malorum quæ in dies augentur et sensim in omnes regni partes serpunt. Confiscatio enim domorum regularium quam antea scripsi inchoasse Dublinii et Corcagiæ jam ad cætera totius regni loca pervenit: nec in hoc sistit, sed in personis desævit de quibus noster fr. Eugenius Fieldius a præside Momoniæ captus est et incarceratus.”

† “Ubi adhuc perseverat et major imminet persecutionis sævitia, sumptura incrementum ex nova inauguratione Comitum Boyle in proregem,” etc. Sir Richard Boyle, on the recall of lord Falkland, 26th Oct. 1629, was appointed lord justice, together with Sir Adam Loftus. The report was spread that Boyle, a great enemy of the Catholics, was to be made viceroy, but this never took place; and on 25th July, 1633, Thomas Strafford was appointed viceroy.

‡ “Gravis persecutio incœpit in hoc regno Dublinii in festo S. Stephani et crescit taliter per omnes regni partes contra Religiosos ut jam locus noster Dublinii sit penitus dirutus et cætera loca aliis tradita per totum regnum, nec licet duobus fratribus simul habitare et hoc est tantum præludium persecutionis quæ intenditur.”

§ “Tanta est persecutio quam sustinemus (laus Deo) quanta non fuit ab initio suppressionis Catholicæ Religionis in hoc regno.”

are taken up for the king, and no man will rent us a house now."

Immediately after the occurrence on St. Stephen's day, agents were sent from Ireland to appease the anger of the court, and to seek the interposition of the queen. Little attention, however, was paid to their representations; and one of these agents, named fr. Thomas de Anglia, writing from London, declares that every avenue to obtain relief was closed: even the birth of a young prince, which at first gave them some hopes, was found to be of no avail; "for here," he concludes, "they seem to take no interest in the progress of religion, or of the Catholic cause, God, no doubt, so arranging it, until iniquity will be consumed in the fire of tribulations."*

So far, indeed, were the members of the privy council in England from disapproving of the severity displayed by the lords justices in Ireland, that they wrote a commendatory dispatch, encouraging them, at the same time, to pursue the course they had happily begun. Their letter is preserved in Rushworth's Collections, and is as follows:—

"A Letter from the Privy Council in England to the Lords Justices in Ireland, against the Convents of Friars, Nuns, etc., erected in Ireland.

"By your letter, we understand how the seditious riot, moved by the friars and their adherents in Dublin, hath, by your good order and resolution, been happily suppressed. And we doubt not but by this occasion you will consider how much it concerneth the good government of that kingdom, to prevent in time the first growing of such evils. For where such people are permitted to swarm, they will soon make their hives, and then endure no government but their own, which cannot otherwise be restrained than by a due and seasonable execution of the laws, and such directions as from time to time have been sent from his majesty and this board. Now it redoundeth much to his majesty's honour, that the world shall take notice of the ability and good services of his ministers there, which, in person, he hath been pleased, openly in council, and in most gracious manner, to approve and commend, whereby you may be sufficiently encouraged to go on with like resolution and moderation, till the work be fully done, as well in that city as in the other parts of that kingdom; the carriage whereof we must leave

* From a letter of fr. Eug. Matthews to Luke Wadding, bearing only the date, "1630," in Archiv. S. Isid. Romæ.

to your own good discretions, whose particular knowledge of the present state of things can guide you best when and where to carry a hard and softer hand; only this we hold necessary to put you in mind, that you continue in that good agreement among yourselves, for this and other services which your letters do express, and for which we commend you much. . . . And such magistrates or officers, if any shall be discovered, that openly or underhand favour such disorders, or do not their duties in suppressing them, and punishing the offenders, you shall do well to take all fit and safe advantages, by the punishment or displacing of a few, to make the rest more cautious. This we write, not as misliking the fair course you have taken, but to express the concurrence of our judgment with yours, and to assure you of our assistance in all such occasions; wherein, for your further proceedings, we have advised, and his majesty requireth you accordingly to take order:—

“That the house where so many friars appeared in their habits, and wherein the reverend archbishop and the mayor of Dublin received the first affront, be speedily demolished, and be a mark of terror to the resisters of authority; and that the rest of the houses erected or employed there, or elsewhere in Ireland, to the use of superstitious societies, be converted to houses of correction, and to set idle people on work, or to other public uses, for the advancement of justice, good art, or trade. And further, that you use all fit means to discover the founders, benefactors, and maintainers of such societies and colleges, and certify us their names; and that you find out the lands, leases, rents, or revenues applied to their uses, and dispose thereof according to law. And that you certify, also, the places and institutions of all such monasteries, priories, nunneries, and other religious houses, and the means of all such persons as have put themselves to be brothers or sisters therein, especially such as are of note, to the end that such evil plants be not permitted any more to take root in that kingdom, which we require you to take care of. And so,” etc.

“Signed by

“ Lord Keeper.	Earl of Salisbury.
Lord Treasurer.	Earl of Kelley.
Lord President.	Lord Viscount Dorchester.
Lord Privy Seal.	Lord Newburgh.
Lord High Chamberlain.	Mr. Vice-Chancellor.
Earl of Suffolk.	Mr. Secretary Cook.
Earl of Dorset.	Sir William Alexander.”*

Notwithstanding, however, all the threats of a lengthened persecution, the storm soon subsided. The negotiations which were carried on upon the continent, on one side with France, and on the other with the emperor of Austria and the Pope,

* Rushworth, ii. 33-4.

obliged the government to suspend for a while the action of the penal laws, and, for a few years, the Catholic Church once more enjoyed a comparative tranquillity.* It had passed unharmed through the ordeal of persecution, and, on the return of calm, it was found in every district of the island, in the fulness of divine vitality and supernatural vigour. Justice Cressy, on the 15th of August, 1633, gives an account to the lord deputy of the state of the Catholics in Wexford. "I find," he says, "that the English plantators, who were lately the most forward professors of the reformed religion in the kingdom, by the pernicious confluence of priests, are now, in a sort, become principally Romish and Popish." He adds, that he deemed himself "bound by his oath, as a judge, to oppose this with all his force and strength; and, in his charge to the jury, did declare unto them the quality and fearful consequences thereof; but," he concludes, "I fear all in vain, for they are all recusants, not one Protestant among them."†

Bishop Bedell, too, at the close of the same year, gives a general sketch of the spread of the Catholic religion. "I know," he says, "that in this kingdom of his majesty, the Pope hath another kingdom, far greater in number, constantly guided and directed by the orders of the new Congregation de Propaganda Fide, lately erected in Rome; that the Pope hath here a clergy, if I may guess by my own diocese (Kilmore and Ardagh), double in number to us. . . . I know that his Holiness hath erected a new university at Dublin, to confront his majesty's college there, and to breed up the youth of this kingdom to his devotion. I know, and have given advertisements to the state, that these regulars dare erect new friaries in the country."‡

From this last testimony, we learn how untiringly the Catholic archbishop of Dublin sought to keep open to his children untainted sources of secular science, and how, when his

* During this interval of tranquillity enjoyed by the Catholics, the revenue of the kingdom increased fourfold. The returns for three years are given as follows, in the Clarendon State Papers, vol. i. p. 362 :—

For 1632	£4,951	2s.	6d.
„ 1633	£8,373	13s.	10d.
„ 1634	£20,019	15s.	2d.

† Strafford Letters, i. 103.

‡ Ibid. i. 147.

former schools were confiscated, he again, aided by the Holy See, re-opened them with new vigour ; nay more, obtaining from Rome the privileges of an university, dared, with his scanty resources, to enter a course of rivalry with the more earthly-favoured Protestant university of College-green.

As regards the internal discipline of the Church, but little can be added to what we have already presented to the reader. It is probable that, in the year 1628, Dr. Fleming transmitted to Rome a *Relatio* of the diocese of Dublin, but we have not been able to find any vestige of it. In 1632, he added another very brief relation, in which he states, that knowing no priest, whether of the regular or of the secular clergy, who was about to proceed to Rome, and having no means to undertake himself that journey, he was obliged to confine himself to the limits of a letter, in giving some account of the state of his diocese. He adds:—

“ At the present time we enjoy some slight toleration, whilst exercising our religion in private houses ; but to the great detriment of the Catholic faith, all the public chapels and houses of the religious orders have been confiscated by the government. How long even the present slight toleration will be allowed us, is a matter of great uncertainty. Our only hope is in God, in whose hands is the heart of the monarch, who of himself is well disposed and inclined to mercy, unless he be urged on by others to further persecutions.”

He subsequently commemorates the dissensions occasioned by Harris and Cahil, as we shall see in another chapter, and concludes:—

“ Praise be to the Most High ! there is no district in this diocese which cannot conveniently have a priest, who administers the sacraments, and on days of obligation offers up the holy sacrifice, at which all the faithful can, without difficulty, assist, unless, perchance, through the violence of the persecution, the priests may be momentarily compelled to lie concealed. The religious orders strenuously co-operate with them in administering to the spiritual wants of the faithful—living as observantly as possible according to their rule, and maintaining the regular discipline as far as the circumstances of the present times allow ; and would assuredly effect much good, were they not impeded by the persecutions raised against them by Harris and Cahil. In fine, as our youth cannot here receive education from Catholic

masters, we earnestly pray your eminence to show a fostering care for our foreign seminaries, than which nothing can be more useful for our kingdom, or more honourable to your eminence.

“Dublin, 2nd October, 1632.”

From a letter of the bishop of Ferns, written in the preceding year, we learn that the places of retreat in which the priests dwelt, during this period of persecution, were well known to the faithful. “The parochial districts,” he says, “are everywhere well defined, and pastors are assigned to each of them, who, since the confiscation of their own houses, wander about, residing here or there, in some spot known to the faithful, and where they may be readily found for the administration of the sacraments, and the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions.”*

We have found no further traces of any *Relatio* of Dr. Fleming, except one note in the minutes of the Sacred Congregation, 1640, which states, that “according to the *Relatio* of the archbishop of Dublin, on 29th May, 1640, that diocese continued in the same state as he described in his former relation, with the exception of the controversy with Mr. Paul Harris, which is now happily terminated.”

Before closing this chapter, we may pause for awhile to inquire what where, at this period, the merits of that Protestant Establishment, which persecuted, with such unmitigated fury, our Catholic forefathers. We shall allow Protestant authorities to speak on this subject; but we premit a letter of the saintly bishop of Ferns, Dr. John Roche, written from Wexford, on 26th May, 1630, in which he concisely, but vividly, portrays the leading features of both the accusers and the accused:—

“I have sent your letter of November, which came to me but in May, to our friends of Waterford and Cashel, together with such letters as were for themselves, for so you wished I should do; and I do heartily thank you for the memory you hold of me. You know but too much of our troubles, yet add this to the rest of your knowledge, that our adversaries are using certain diligences to fill his majesty’s ears that Catholic churchmen be of over-great charge to the land, and, therefore, they procure to know all their names, dwellings, benefactors, alms, or stipends, etc., to make a great noise of it to our disadvantage. In the

* *Epist. Fernens.* 4 Maii, 1631.

last circuit of the judges of assize, one of the gravest amongst them was heard to say on the bench, that the Catholic churchmen did collect above £200,000 by the year; a sum, you see, which the king, with all his forces, may not gather. Indeed, I think he should have rather said £2,000, than £200,000; for if it be with others as it is with me, the sum of £2,000 shall not be made in the year. Since my coming to the land in this twelvemonth, my charge is not worth me twenty crowns; and yet, since I left Paris, I have spent, of my own, above £100. So, how will our adversaries load us with £200,000? The truth is, that the Catholics have reason to complain of the Protestant clergy, by means of their extortions, so that their officialities, or bishops' courts, be more chargeable to the land than would the maintenance of an army be. And, for example, this bishoprick is almost worth nothing to the incumbent in demesne or lands, for they have dissipated all almost, yet his court is worth him a great deal. I am loth to say what a worshipful man of the diocese said to me, that it came to a thousand pounds what he profited by it in the extortions on poor Catholics: and, notwithstanding, the Catholic clergy must be thought the persons that are burthensome to the realm.*"

No sooner was viscount Wentworth appointed to the government of Ireland, than he nominated a royal commission to examine into the state of the Protestant Church. A leading member of this commission was Dr. Bramhall, subsequently bishop of Derry and archbishop of Armagh. The result of his enquiries is thus detailed by him in a letter to bishop Laud, on 10th August, 1633:—

"RIGHT REVEREND FATHER,—My most honoured lord, presuming partly upon your licence, but especially directed by my lord deputy's commands, I am to give your fatherhood a brief account of the present state of the poor Church of Ireland.

"First, for the fabrics, it is hard to say whether the churches be more ruinous and sordid, or the people irreverent, even in Dublin, the metropolis of this kingdom, and seat of justice. To begin the inquisition where the reformation will begin, we find one parochial church converted to the lord deputy's stable; a second, to a nobleman's dwelling-house; the choir of a third, to a tennis-court, and the vicar acts the keeper.

"In Christ's church—the principal church in Ireland, whither the lord deputy and council repair every Sunday—the vaults, from one end of the minster to the other, are made into tippling-rooms for beer, wine, and tobacco, demised all to popish recusants, and by them and others

* Ex Archiv. S. Isid. The original letter is in English.

so much frequented in time of divine service, that though there is no danger of blowing up the assembly above their heads, yet there is of poisoning them with the fumes. The table used for the administration of the blessed sacrament, in the midst of the choir, is made an ordinary seat for maids and apprentices. . . .

"This being the case in Dublin, your lordship will judge what we may expect in the country.

"Next for the clergy: I doubt much whether the clergy be very orthodox, and could wish that both the articles and canons of the Church of England were established here by act of parliament or state; that as we live all under one king, so we might, both in doctrine and discipline, observe an uniformity. 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; insomuch, that it is affirmed that one bishop, in the remoter parts of the kingdom, doth hold three-and-twenty benefices with *cure*. Generally their residence is as little as their livings. . . .

"Lastly, for the revenues: the alienations of Church possessions by long leases and deeds are infinite; yea, even since the act of state to restrain them, it is believed that divers are bold still to practise, in hopes of secrecy and impunity, and will adventure until their hands be tied by act of parliament, or some of the delinquents censured in the Star Chamber," etc.*

The many disorders, indeed, that preyed upon the Protestant Church in Ireland, were more than once represented by the lords' committees for Irish affairs to his majesty. In reply to one of their communications, the king, on the 12th of April, 1631, thus wrote to the four archbishops:—

"Among such disorders as the lords of our privy council, deputed by us to a particular care of our realm of Ireland, and the affairs thereof, have observed and represented to us in that government, as well ecclesiastical as civil, we have taken in special consideration the growth and increase of the Romish faction there, and cannot but from thence collect that the clergy of that Church are not so careful as they ought to be, either of God's service or the honour of themselves and their profession, in removing all pretences of scandal in their lives and conversation." He subsequently adds: "There is a complaint brought

* The length of this letter obliges us to omit many paragraphs, though they all develop the same sad condition of the Protestant Establishment. It is given in full in Collier, Ec. Hist. part 2nd p. 760; and in Mant, i. 448-452.

to the said lords' committees for Irish affairs, that some bishops there, when livings fall void in their gift, do either not dispose them as soon as they might, but keep the profits in their own hands, to the hindrance of God's service, and great offence of good people ; or else they give them to young and mean men, which only bear the name, reserving the greater part of the benefice to themselves ; by which means that Church must needs be very ill and weakly served."*

In the statement drawn up by the royal visitation of the province of Dublin, in 1615, it is said:—"The rectories are improper; besides, if we could get means, we could not possibly get ministers. The natives of this kingdom do train up their children in popery ; so soon as they come to age, they send them beyond seas, from whence they return either priests, jesuits, or seminarists, enemies to the religion established, and pernicious members to this state. Such English ministers and preachers as come hither for relief out of England, we do but take them upon credit, and many of them do prove of a dissolute life, which doth much hurt."†

Primate Usher, in 1625, made a visitation of his diocese, and, as we are informed by Parr, found everywhere popery increased. "Many things amiss," in the Protestant clergy ; "many great complaints of exactions and abuses," against the ecclesiastical courts ; whilst "the poor people, that were outwardly Protestants, were very ignorant of the principles of religion."‡

In 1629, bishop Bedell was appointed to the united sees of Ardagh and Kilmore. "He found his diocese," says bishop Burnet, "under so many disorders, that there was scarce a sound part remaining. The revenue was wasted by excessive dilapidations, and all sacred things had been exposed to sale in so sordid a manner, that it was grown to a proverb."§ Bedell himself, on 1st April, 1630, wrote to Laud, that his diocese was in a most miserable state ; the cathedral and parish churches all had gone to ruins ; "the people, saving a few British planters here and there, obstinate recusants;" the poorer class ground

* This letter is given in full in Parr's *Life of Usher*, p. 38.

† MS. Trin. Coll. Dublin, E, 3, 14; also Mant, i. 389.

‡ *Life of Usher*, p. 27.

§ Burnet's *Life of Bishop Bedell*, pp. 34-6.

down by "the oppression of the court ecclesiastical, which, in very truth, my lord, I cannot excuse;" the ministers are all English, "and the clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English, and sometimes two or three, or more, upon one man, and ordinarily bought and sold or let to farm." Cox, after referring to this letter, adds, that the same description applied well to all the Irish sees.*

Simony seems to have pervaded every diocese in the kingdom. Bishop Vesey, in his Biography of Bramhall, says, that with the exception of the see of Cork, "there was not one bishopric in the province of Cashel which had not the print of the sacrilegious paw upon it." Mant also writes:—"Simony was an evil which was found to prevail very generally with the patrons of ecclesiastical benefices."†

Viscount Wentworth himself deemed it well to write to the archbishop of Canterbury on the sad plight of the Irish Establishment. His letter is dated 31st January, 1634. One passage from it will be sufficient for our present purpose:—"The best entrance to the cure will be clearly to discover the state of the patient, which I find many ways distempered. 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; the churches unbuilt, the parsonage and vicarage houses utterly ruined; the people untaught, through the non-residency of the clergy; the rites and ceremonies of the Church run over without all decency of habit, order, or gravity, in the course of their service; the bishops alienating their very principal houses and demesnes to their children or to strangers, and farming out their jurisdictions to mean and unworthy persons." He then describes at length the schools as *ill-provided* and *ill-governed*; "the college here, which should be seminary of arts, and civility in the elder sort, extremely out of order; all the moneys raised for charitable purposes converted to private benefits," etc.‡

* Cox, ii. 53; Mant, i. 435-7.

† Mant, i. 446.

‡ Strafford Letters, i. 187, 188. See also in Clarendon State Papers, vol. 1, p. 52, a letter of the king to the privy council in Ireland, in 1632, on the misappropriation of the ecclesiastical property in Killaloe.

A few years later, Dr. Lesly, Protestant bishop of Down and Connor, delivered a *charge* on 26th September, 1638. In the first place, he remonstrates with the clergy for "their general neglect of catechizing." He says, that preaching "has excluded from the Church both the immediate worship of God, which is the same as public prayer, and the duty of catechizing." In the second place, he complains that the churches "are in no better keeping than hog-styes."*

After such statements from the highest authorities of the Church and State in Ireland, we cannot be surprised to hear Leland (himself a Protestant clergyman) acknowledge that extreme "ignorance, negligence, and corruption prevailed amongst the established clergy;" and to find Carte, too, observing that "the clergy of the Established Church were negligent of their cures, being generally ignorant and unlearned, and loose and irregular in their lives and conversations."† So general, indeed, was the corruption, that archbishop Laud was forced to lament: "The Irish ecclesiastical disease is spread so universally over the body, that a very wise physician can scarce tell where to begin the cure."‡

The Catholic bishop of Ferns, in the letter cited above, complains, in a special manner, of the exactions of the Protestant ministers, which were exercised with special severity against the poorer Catholics; and in many of the other extracts we find the same abuse complained of. Bishop Burnet explains to us the origin of this corruption. "The ecclesiastical courts," he says, "were managed by a chancellor, that bought his place, and so thought he had a right to all the profits he could make out of it;" and he adds, "the officers of the court thought they had a sort of right to oppress the natives, and that all was well got that was wrung from them."§ In the remonstrance of the Irish house of commons, in 1640, they dwell on "*the exorbitant and barbarous exactions* of the Protestant clergy, levied especially on

* See long extracts from the Visitation Charge, in Mant, i. 531-7.

† Leland's Hist. iii. 4, 26; Carte's Ormond, vol. 1, p. 68.

‡ Strafford's Letters, vol. 1, p. 212.

§ Life of Bedell, p. 39. Usher, in one of his letters to archbishop Laud, states, that "such was the venality of all things sacred in Ireland, that he was afraid to mention anything about them."

the poorer sort.”† Nevertheless, not satisfied with this, the Protestant clergy, in 1635, proposed that new penalties or fines should be imposed upon the Catholics for non-attendance at the Protestant service, which proposal caused the viceroy to exclaim: “Such brain-sick zeal would work a goodly reformation surely, to force conformity to a religion, when there was hardly to be found a church to receive, or a minister able to teach the people.”*

If, however, the lower Protestant clergy thus oppressed the Catholics, they, in their turn, were fleeced by the higher Protestant authorities. Bishop Burnet states, in his *Life of Bedell*, that “the visitations lay heavy on the inferior clergy. Some slight inquiries were made, and those chiefly for form’s sake; and, indeed, nothing was so much minded as that which was the reproach of them—the fees—that were exacted to such an intolerable degree, that they were a heavy grievance to the clergy. As the bishop’s visitation came about every year, so every third year the archbishop made his metropolitical visitation; and every seventh year the king’s visitation went round; and in all these, nothing seemed so much aimed at as how to squeeze and oppress the clergy, who were glad to purchase their peace by paying all that was imposed on them by those severe exactors.”

* Commons’ Journal, vol. 1, pp. 258–261. See fuller extracts in *Memoirs of Dr. Oliver Plunket*, pp. 62, 63.

† *Strafford’s Letters*, i. 188.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.

ON THE PURGATORY OF ST. PATRICK.

Origin of this Pilgrimage.—Poetical Narratives —True History.—The Works of Piety which are there performed, etc.

WE have seen, in the preceding chapter, how Dr. Fleming commends the piety of the faithful, who, during the momentary relaxation of persecution, displayed in their lives the fulness of sanctity and penance, and, "like bees to their hive," hastened in crowds to the penitential station known as "the Purgatory of St. Patrick;" there, by voluntary mortifications, to appease the anger of God, and expiate the temporal chastisement due to their past transgressions. The contemporary, Messingham, describes the course of penance performed in the island somewhat more in detail than has been already given in the letter of Dr. Fleming. "During the nine days of the pilgrimage," he says, "a rigorous fast was observed on oaten bread and the water of the lake. The pilgrim was first conducted barefooted to the church of St. Patrick, around which he moved on his knees seven times inside, and seven times outside, repeating all the while stated prayers of the Church. He was then conducted to the seven places of station, known as *lecti pœnosi*, which were formerly small churches, or sanctuaries, dedicated to various saints; and at each of these he repeated the visit as above. The next station was around a cross in the cemetery, and subsequently at another cross that was fixed in a mound of stones. Thence he proceeded, *over a rough and rocky path*, to a spot on the border of the lake, to which tradition pointed as the place on which St. Patrick had knelt in prayer. Here, also, certain prayers were appointed to be recited. All this pilgrimage and prayer was repeated three times each day—morning, noon, and evening—during the first seven days; on the eighth day it was repeated six times; confession and communion followed on the morning of the ninth day; and then the

pilgrims entered the cave, where twenty-four hours were devoted to fasting and meditation. Any that choose not to enter the cave, passed these twenty-four hours in solitude, at one of the former stations.”* The seven *lecti pœnosi* were dedicated to SS. Patrick, Bridget, Columba, Brendan, Molaisre, Catherine, and Dabeoc, who was the patron of the place. During Catholic times there was an elegant church in the centre of the cemetery, and, besides other relics, it possessed some of our glorious apostle. This church, with the seven cells, or smaller churches, was still standing at the time of Peter Lombard, who adds, that “the English deputy did not dare to prevent the pilgrimage or profane the place.”† He also describes the cave as “situated a few paces to the north of the church, being a narrow building, roofed with stone, which could contain twelve, or, at most, fourteen persons, kneeling two and two.‡ There was one small window, near which those were placed who were bound to read the breviary.”

This solitary island was looked on as a place which had been chosen by St. Patrick for retreat and silent prayer, and for exercising those deeds of penance for which his whole life was so remarkable. Hence it derived its name of Purgatory, or place of penance, of St. Patrick.§ But whilst it was thus for the inhabitants of Ireland a chosen retreat of prayer and penance, its fame on the continent assumed another form. With the troubadours it became a favourite theme. Calderon immortalized it in Spanish; in Italy, it attracted the attention of Dante and Ariosto; and many popular tales about St. Patrick’s Purgatory are still extant in French and Portuguese. It thus became a

* Messingham, p. 95. See also Carve, who, in his *Lyra* (edition of 1666), p. 112, gives a plate of the *Insula Purgatorii S. Patricii*; and adds:—“Certum est magnam olim hac in peninsula apparuisse devotionem in qua etiam varios viri sancti circulos seu cavernas maceris introrsum circumdatas condiderint; atque in iisdem corpuscula sua jejuniis, orationibus, aliisque disciplinis assidue domantes, auxiliumque divinæ gratiæ sine intermissione implorantes ac insuper Deum pro communi ecclesiæ bono, conservandaque inter omnes Christianos vera concordia convenienter deprecantes.”

† Commentar. p. 277.

‡ Rothe apud Messingham states, that only nine persons were usually admitted into the cave.

§ It is matter of dispute amongst our hagiologists, whether the St. Patrick, from whose deeds of penance this island acquired its fame, was our apostle, or another subsequent saint of the same name.

matter of romance ; and poetical imagination conducted the penitents who visited the island of Lough Derg, at first to the regions of purgatory, and subsequently to the abodes of the blessed or of the damned.

On the dawn of the so-called Reformation, Protestant writers seized on these poetic tales as if they were matters of sober fact, and availed themselves of the fictions of romance to cast ridicule on the practices of Catholic piety and devotion. For some time, indeed, they did not dare to offer violence to the pilgrims who hastened thither with unabated fervour. During the reign of James I., however, the chapels or oratories on the island were demolished ; but this did not satisfy the fury with which the enemies of the Catholic faith assailed its sanctuaries and shrines. Enraged at the numbers who, despite their threats, continued to flock to this penitential retreat, the lords justices, in 1632, made a last effort to desecrate "the holy island." After publicly announcing that, in the opinion of the papists, there was a passage from this island to the other world, and an entrance to the realms of purgatory, they gave orders to have the whole island dug up, and that especially no portion of the cave should remain undestroyed ; and thus, says Dr. Mant, was made known "the imposition of the Irish clergy." But we should much rather say, thus did the predecessors of Dr. Mant reveal to the world the blindness of their bigotry, and afford a new instance of the frenetical fury, by which alone they were guided, in upturning the sanctuaries of Catholic devotion. Borlase, in his *Reduction of Ireland*,* mentions this sacrilegious act, and adds, that "St. Patrick's Purgatory was discovered to be a mere illusion, a little cell, hewn out of a rock, no confines of purgatory or hell."† Boate, too, in his *Natural History* (p. 44), gives some further particulars ; as he states that it was on the 13th of September, 1632, that the order of the lords justices was carried into execution, and that the religious who had it in charge were driven

* *The Reduction of Ireland to the Crown of England, with the Governors, etc.* London, 1675, p. 207.

† Had he taken the trouble to open the writings of Peter Lombard or Messingham, he would have seen that the limits of the cell were well known, and that *the confines of purgatory or hell* existed only in the distempered imaginations of the persecutors themselves.

from the island, their monasteries being demolished, and the cell itself broken open; "in which state," he adds (writing in 1660), "it hath lain ever since."

In the *Antistitis Icon, or Sketch of the Life of Dr. Kirwan*, bishop of Killala, written by John Lynch, the learned archdeacon of Tuam, and first printed in 1669,* we have a faithful description of the penitential severities of this place of pilgrimage, and of the true motives which impelled the fervent faithful to flock thither in such numbers:—

"That he (Dr. Kirwan) might not be wanting in any species of piety, he revered in his soul the custom of undertaking pilgrimages. Nor was he satisfied with visiting such places in Connaught as were consecrated by the sojourn of the saints, and, above all, the rugged mountain called *Cruagh Padrick*, which he was wont to frequent, often ascending its steep sides, a thousand paces in height, and there staying, according to usage, on the very summit, which is covered with large stones, and creeping on bended knees over the rough rock fragments, which struck one with horror, not to speak of the danger of yawning chasms and precipices; but often, too, did he go into Ulster, to the far-famed *Purgatory of St. Patrick*, in which the pilgrims are wont to abstain from meat for nine days, using no food, save a little bread, and water from the lake. During one of the nine days, they are shut up in the dismal darkness of a cavern, and, therein fasting, partake of nothing save a little water, to moisten their throats when parched with thirst. At noontide and evening, they go on bended knees over paths beaten by the feet of saints, and strewn with sharp stones. In other quarters, they walk barefooted over rugged ways, in the olden time frequented by holy men, to satisfy for their transgressions. Sometimes walking and sometimes on their knees, they advance to a considerable distance into the sea. Thus do they spend the day, pouring out their prayers to God, and listening to holy discourses; nor in this sacred place is there to be seen or heard anything scurrilous or ludicrous. When night comes on, they lie down, not to enjoy repose, but to snatch a few moments' sleep; their beds are of straw, nor do they use any pillow but their garments. Thrice each day did Francis, with the other pilgrims, punctually perform these duties, and, in addition, he diligently applied himself to hearing confessions and preaching sermons."†

The nuncio Rinnucini, in the report of his nunciatura, made to the Holy See, on his return to Rome, in 1649, mentions how

* This valuable work has been re-published, accompanied with an elegant translation and notes, by Rev. C. P. Meehan (Dublin, 1848).

† Ibid. pp. 61-3.

anxiously he had desired to snatch from the hands of the heretics the *far-famed Purgatory of St. Patrick*; and he adds: "the devotions of this deep cave are of great antiquity, though their first origin is uncertain. It is agreed, that the saint chose that spot for his holy retreats; and the visions * with which he was there favoured by God, were well known, and approved of by succeeding generations. At present, the fury of the Calvinists has levelled everything with the ground, and filled up the cave; and as thus they destroyed every vestige of the spot, so do they seek to cancel every trace of its memory. It seemed to me that my mission from Rome should embrace this, too, as one of its special objects, and I would have been, in part, content, could I have re-planted the cross on that island. But I was not blessed with the fulfilment of this design." †

Despite, however, all the efforts of the Puritans, it continued to be a place of resort for pilgrims from every quarter of Ireland; so much so, that in the second year of queen Anne, the parliament once more enacted, "that, whereas the superstitions of popery are greatly increased and upheld by the pretended sanctity of places, especially of a place called St. Patrick's Purgatory, in the county of Donegal, and of wells, to which pilgrimages are made by vast numbers, . . . be it enacted, that all such meetings be deemed riots and unlawful assemblies, and all sheriffs, etc., are hereby required to be diligent in executing the laws against all offenders."

In the year 1714, Dr. Hugh M'Mahon, bishop of Clogher, ‡ presented to the Sacred Congregation a Relation of the diocese entrusted to his care; and, amongst other things, he details his own experience of the place of penitential resort, which we have

* The poetical descriptions of "the Purgatory" abound with fanciful visions. We shall give a real one from a MS. Relatio of the diocese of Waterford, made by Dr. Patrick Comerford, on 16th Oct. 1632:—"In diocesi Corcagiensi est quidam Anglus qui (ut a multis fertur) biduum vel triduum mortuus revixit, et cum ante obitum esset Calvinista, statim atque revixit abjuravit Calvinismum et publice sepius declaravit se vidisse in inferno Lutherum et Calvinum et proinde neminem salvari posse qui eorum dogmatibus adhæreret; hinc excitati Protestantés eum in carcerem detruserunt."

† Nunziatura, p. 414.

‡ He was appointed, in 1707, bishop of Clogher, and, in 1715, was translated to Armagh. The Collections on the Church History erroneously mark his appointment to Clogher in 1708, and his translation to Armagh in 1709.

been describing. He had visited it disguised as a merchant from Dublin; for, even then, a bishop incurred great risk were he publicly recognized; and he describes in detail each particular of its penitential course. From his description we may conclude, that some changes had been introduced in its ritual since the time when Lombard and Messingham penned their commentaries. We shall give the extract in full in a note, as it has never before been published.*

* "In septentrionali plaga hujus diœcesis Clogherensis, situs est locus ille celeberrimus vulgo dictus Purgatorium S. Patricii in parva insula circumdata lacu, quo ab initio Junii usque ad finem Augusti confluent ex omnibus regni partibus etiam remotissimis quotannis omnis ætatis et conditionis milleni viri et mulieres ibique conficiunt novenam semel in die solo pane avenaceo et aqua victitantes, ac humi cubantes nudis pedibus semper, et non raro offendiculo cruentatis: ter de die varias stationes visitant per asperum iter acutis stratum lapillis ejus magna pars aquis ultra genua excedentibus obtegitur, donec nona die, præmissa generali confessione omnibus vitæ noxis expiatis, sacro pabulo refecti ante diluculum ingrediuntur subterraneam foveam quæ purgatorium dicitur, ibique viginti quatuor horis continuis semper vigiles et orantes sine ullo cibi aut potus refrigerio perseverant et recurrente eadem hora egressi sequenti die se ter immergunt algidis aquis sicque perficitur peregrinatio cui otiosi fabularum fabricatores multa commenta addiderunt de spectris ac visionibus quæ nusquam comparent nisi in vitiato cerebro comminiscendum; tribus mensibus, quibus, durat hæc peregrinatio ab aurora ad meridiem celebrantur missæ, excipiuntur confessiones, fitque concio bis terve de die ad populum qui uberrimis lachrymis, gemitibus aliisque penitentiae signis cum clamore editis concionantem frequentur interrumpit; tantaque misericors Dominus asperam hanc et plane austeram peregrinationem interioris gratiæ suavitate accumulatur ut qui antea videbantur obdurati, vitiorum sordibus immersi acerrimos compunctionis stimulos sentiant, nec contenti semel aut iterum accedere ad insulam, reperi in diœcesi qui quatuordecim vicibus peregrinationem perfecerunt. Non leve huic devotorum fervori addidit incrementum a SS^{mo} D. N. Clemente visitantibus concessa indulgentia plenaria quæ brevi expirabit et renovatione opus habet. Non absimile prodigio censetur apud omnes quod peregrinatio hæc primo loco et nominatim lege parlamentaria sub gravissimis pœnis prohibita, nullam vel certe raram patiatur remoram a circumhabitantibus et alias supra modum malignis Calvinistis Scotis. Et cum ipse accederem sub nomine mercatoris Dublinensis, (nam sub hujusmodi negotiatoris aut artificis involucris latere necesse habent communiter Prælati et non registrati sacerdotes,) ministellus illius districtus satis humaniter me exceperit. Dum alibi per totum regnum ingruente persecutione cessant functiones ecclesiasticæ in hac insula quasi in alio orbe posita, liberum fit et publicum exercitium quod divinæ providentiæ hunc locum speciali favore protegenti gratum referunt et meritis S. Patricii. Cum ibi essem hæreticus Anglus famâ loci et curiositate movente eo accessit qui exemplo penitentium compunctus hæresim abjuravit. Præter ceteros ecclesiasticos eo accedentes strenuissimam navant operam Patres Franciscani. Unum in hac peregrinatione deprehendi usum, ne dicam abusum; nam nona die foveam ingressuri audiunt Missam, quæ semper est de Requiem, seu defunctorum applicata pro iisdem ingredientibus, quasi jam mortuis mundo, et tradendis sepulturæ; quod cum vellum abrogare saltem diebus Dominicis et festivis præsertim majoribus, quibus dicenda est missa conformis officio,

About forty years later, the Purgatory of St. Patrick was visited by another eminent prelate of our Irish Church, Dr. Thomas de Burgo, who, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, has recorded his impressions on visiting that far-famed sanctuary. "So great," he says, "are the penitential deeds performed there, that they exceed, in my opinion, those of any other pilgrimage in the universe ;"* and he adds—"non quæ audivi, sed quæ vidi refero; mihi enim feliciter contigit, insulam ipsam sanctissimi Patritii habitatione et miraculis consecratam, præclarumque austeritatis primorum ecclesiæ sæculorum præbentem exemplar, invisere anno 1748."

As regards the relations of the Holy See with this place of devotion, we learn from the Bollandists, that, in 1497, the cave was destroyed by order from Rome, in consequence of its being represented to the Pope as *an occasion of shameful avarice*, by a monk from Holland, who had visited it, attracted by its wide-spread fame, and yet saw there none of the wonderful visions which he had heard so often described.† The Ulster Annals also commemorate this destruction, but state, that it was occasioned by its not being the true cave hallowed by St. Patrick.‡ The proper lessons for the feast of the Purgatory of St. Patrick, were inserted in the Roman Breviary, printed at Venice in 1522, but were expunged, by order of the Holy Father, in the next edition, by the same printer, in 1524. The nature of the devotion was subsequently explained to the Holy See; and we are informed by Messingham, that indulgences were attached to its penitential exercises before the close of the sixteenth century.§ When Dr. MacMahon wrote his *Relatio*,

obtenditur immemorabilis possessio et consuetudo in contrarium, ut fert traditio, ab ipso S. Patricio primitus instituta quod a viris doctis et timoratis constantissime assertum me perplexum reddidit et propterea humillime rogo edoceri ad Eminentis Vestris quid desuper agendum censeant."

* Hib. Dom. p. 4, not. 6. The same learned writer justly remarks, that it was from the severity of its penitential exercises that this island derived its name :—"Locus iste luendis peccatorum pænis destinatus *purgatorium* dicitur, non quidem posthumum, sed vitale seu viatorium in præsentī vita."

† Bollandists, March 17, p. 590.

‡ From this we might, perhaps, conclude, that the cave thus destroyed was not the present sanctuary visited by pilgrims, but was situated on one of the other islands of Lough Derg. In the Ordnance Map, the site of some such deserted cave is marked on the adjoining island, known as Saints' Island.

§ Messingham, *Florileg.* p. 125.

the term of the indulgences granted by pope Clement X. had just expired. A little later, the cardinal archbishop of Benevento, who was subsequently raised to the papal chair as Benedict XIII., made the Purgatory of St. Patrick the theme of one of his homilies to his flock; and since that time this devotion has been ever cherished and encouraged by the sovereign pontiffs.

In the Annals of the Four Masters, and other ancient records, mention of pilgrimages to this island seldom recurs. It was a mere matter of private devotion, and did not precisely fall within the province of history. In the sixteenth century, we learn from the Bollandists, that it was sometimes visited by 1,500 persons at the same time.* Dr. Fleming tells us how such numbers flocked to it in 1625, that many had to return without finding room to land upon the island. Nor since then has its celebrity decreased; and we find that, before the famine years of 1847, this sanctuary was annually visited by no fewer than 10,000 pilgrims.† At the present day, the average number of daily pilgrims, during the *station months*, is very considerable, and the total annual number is estimated at several thousands.

Besides the many accounts of this Purgatory, published more as matters of romance‡ than history, there are several valuable treatises which deserve attention. Not only Lombard and Messingham, in the works already alluded to, but the Bollandists (17 March); Dr. Lanigan (vol. iv. p. 290, seqq.); Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturga* (p. 27); and Feijoo, the celebrated Spanish critic, in his *Threatro Critico* (tom. vii. p. 157), give several important facts, together with many judicious remarks concerning this venerated sanctuary of Lough Derg. The valuable notes of Dr. Matthew Kelly, to the first volume of *Cambrensis Eversus* (pp. 138-155), throw much light on the subject. See, also, a very rare treatise, entitled, *A Brief History of St. Patrick's Purgatory*, written by Rev. Cornelius Nary, parish priest of Michan's, and published in Dublin in 1718.

* Boll. March 17, p. 590.

† See notes to *Camb. Evers.* vol. 1, p. 146.

‡ Amongst these we must reckon the narrative inserted in his *Hist. Cath. Hib.* by O'Sullivan Beare, pp. 18-30. The work on St. Patrick's Purgatory, published by Mr. Wright (London, 1844), is a mere display of blind bigotry, by which he seeks to identify the teaching of the Catholic Church with the romances about this Purgatory of our saint.

CHAPTER XII.

ZEALOUS LABOURS OF DR. FLEMING.

Several Bishops and Superiors of Religious Orders refute calumnies circulated against him, and bear testimony to his zeal.

For some years after his appointment to the see of Dublin, Dr. Fleming had to suffer much from a few turbulent members of his spiritual fold, who, by misrepresentations and calumnious accusations, sought to embarrass the administration of his pastoral charge. To these accusations, however, we are indebted for the fullest evidence of the zeal and untiring labours of the archbishop—evidence, for which otherwise, after the lapse of two centuries, we should, most probably, have to seek in vain. Amongst the first to raise his voice against these unjust accusations, was Dr. David Roothe, bishop of Ossory. On the 12th August, 1626, he writes about the archbishop, that “for the past year and a-half, since his arrival in this country, he has given many and most signal proofs of his piety, prudence, and zeal for the divine honour, the propagation of the Catholic faith, and the promotion of ecclesiastical discipline and the public peace. Moreover, as far as the times would permit, he laboured with fruit, and diligently discharged his pontifical functions, ordaining, confirming, holding ecclesiastical conferences, and presenting in his own life a bright example to all who knew him, by the sanctity of his morals, the gravity of his deportment, his amiability, and all the other virtues which should adorn a chief pastor.”* On the 27th of July preceding, the ordinaries of the northern dioceses, assembled at Drogheda, deemed it incumbent on them to give their attestation to the merits and irreproachable integrity of the archbishop.

* “Qui hoc sesquianno sui adventus in hanc patriam multis et præclaris indiciis comprobavit suam pietatem prudentiam et zelum honoris divini, religionis Catholicæ, disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ, et publicæ pacis,” etc.—Ex. Archiv. S. Isid.

"We declare and attest," they thus write, "that, partly from our own knowledge, and partly from information received on trustworthy evidence, we are fully acquainted with the manner of life and administration of the archbishop of Dublin, and the progress made by him in the discharge of his pastoral functions, from his first arrival in this country, even to the present day; and we have never discovered anything in him that, in the least, was opposed to the sanctity of morals, or the integrity of justice, or the decorum and gravity becoming in a chief pastor; nay, more, he ever lived in the most perfect peace and amity with every class, both lay and ecclesiastic, as well regular as secular, ever labouring with incessant industry and care to maintain concord, heal dissensions, and diffuse a spirit of charity, embracing alike the religious of every order, without bias or partiality, and acting towards all with due impartiality and equality." *

This important document was signed by the bishops-elect of Kilmore and Down and Connor, the vicar-capitular of Armagh, the vicars-apostolic of Dromore, Ardagh, and Clogher, the vicar-general of Clonmacnoise, and the prior of Armagh.

Before the close of the same year, we find the abbot of the Cistercians, together with the monks of his order, writing to the cardinal protector, attesting that they had never discovered in the archbishop anything to give a shadow of truth to the accusations that had been made against him, but, "on the contrary," they add, "each one of us every day experiences him in everything so moderate, so benign, so sincere, that, as the diocese of Dublin and the whole province glory in him as a most vigilant pastor, a perfect and irreproachable prelate, and a most worthy bishop, so may we, in like manner, style him our most dear and most loving father." †

The accusations made against Dr. Fleming chiefly regarded

* "Fidem facimus et attestamus nos partim ex certa scientia partim ex fide digna informatione, dicti archiepi Thomæ Fleming vitæ et regiminis institutum ac progressum a suscepto muneris sui pastoralis exercitio in hunc usque diem diligenter notasse ac fideliter didicisse, nec in eo quidquam invenisse quod vel morum integritati vel justitiæ incolumitati, vel prælati modestiæ et gravitati in minimo adversari posset, quin ipsum cum omni ordine tam laico quam ecclesiastico, tamque regulari quam seculari in summa semper pace et amicitia vixisse. . . . Semper ad pacem conservandam, ad lites componendas et ad charitatem propagandam, etc. Datum Pontanæ die 27 Julii, 1626."

† "Immo potius eum tam tractabilem tamque benignum et candidum in omnibus omnes in dies experimur, quod sicut ecclesia et provincia sua vigilantissimum pastorem, prælatum perfectum et irreprehensibilem antistitemque dignissimum in eo obtuivisse gloriatur, ita similiter et nos charissimum amantissimumque patrem," etc. 2 Oct. 1626.—Ex. Archiv. S. Isid.

a special partiality which he was said to display towards the members of his own order. The Dominican fathers were represented as especially suffering under his rule; wherefore, the superiors of that order, being assembled in chapter at Athenry, on 20th February, 1628, published the following protest:—

“Having been informed that some reports are circulated throughout this kingdom to the effect, that members of our order have uttered complaints against the most illustrious and most reverend Dr. Thomas Fleming, archbishop of Dublin, and transmitted such complaints to Rome; we, being assembled in this intermediate chapter, in our convent at Athenry, declare and make known, that neither we nor any one of our order, to our knowledge, ever uttered complaints against the aforesaid archbishop, or ever received from him any occasion for such complaints. We, moreover, declare, that we and our order are indebted, by very many titles, to the said most illustrious and most reverend prelate, and that we return him unbounded thanks for the extreme benevolence and affection he has displayed in our regard.”*

Similar reports were circulated in regard to the religious of other orders; hence, the superiors of all the religious orders assembled together, on the 21st of August, 1630, after protesting against such calumnies, recorded their appreciation of Dr. Fleming's integrity and vigilance, as follows:—

“We declare, that the said most reverend Thomas, archbishop of Dublin, from the very commencement of his episcopate, was everywhere and in everything irreproachable, discharging his high functions with no less dignity than vigilance and watchful zeal for the salvation of souls; and to have so fulfilled the charge entrusted to him, as to win the esteem and love of all the good, giving to none any occasion of offence, but, by word and example, and by vigilantly and assiduously visiting his diocese, to have edified all in the Lord, so far as it was

* Cum ad aures nostras pervenerit quosdam rumores in hoc regno sparsos fuisse, aliquos ex nostris quasdam querelas contra illum et revmum. D. Thomam Fleming, archiep. Dublinensem, efformasse easque Romam transmisisse, ideo congregati in hoc capitulo intermedio in conventu nostro de Athenry declaramus et notum facimus nec nos nec aliquem ex nostris nobis consciis in aliquo unquam de prædicto illmo. et revmo. dno. conquestos fuisse aut ullam occasionem querelæ ab illo nobis unquam datam fuisse. Immo declaramus nos et ordinem nostrum prædicto illmo. et revmo. dno. pluribus nominibus devinctos esse et pro singulari ejus in nos benevolentia et affectu summas ei gratias agere. In quorum fidem, etc. in conventu nostro de Athenry, die 20 Februarii, 1628.”—Ex Archiv. S. Isid.

possible in the present times of persecution in this afflicted kingdom." *

Thus the accusations made against Dr. Fleming, so far from clouding the splendour of his episcopate, only served to bring his virtues into bold relief, and to transmit to us an indubious record of the self-sacrifice and zeal with which he discharged the duties of his sacred ministry.

From Colgan we also learn, that our archbishop, even after his elevation to the see of Dublin, and when engaged in the arduous exercise of his episcopal duties, continued to observe the rigorous discipline and penitential deeds of the Franciscan order, presenting in his own life a mirror of all those virtues which his exhortations commended to his faithful flock. He loved to dwell in the humble abodes of his own cherished order, and to be treated as the last of the brethren:—"Inter humiles sui instituti fratres omnium infimum se ostendit." To all who approached him he was affable and kind; and his only anxiety seemed to be, not to be honoured by others, but to be the servant of all: "ut nulli præesse sed singulis subesse videatur." †

CHAPTER XIII.

SOLICITUDE OF DR. FLEMING FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF BISHOPS TO THE VACANT SEES.

Letters of Dr. Fleming recommending the Appointment of various Bishops.—Dr. Dungan, Dr. Magennis, Dr. Malachy O'Queely, etc.—Efforts of the Queen of England to get Foreigners appointed.—Letter of the Earl of Tyrone.—Appointment of five Bishops, etc.

ONE of the first cares of Dr. Fleming, was to procure the appointment of fit pastors to the widowed churches of our island. We have already seen how, in his first letter from

* "Hisce literis nostris declaramus eundam revmum. archiepum Thomam Dublinensem a primo suo in hujus diocesis curam ingressu irreprehensibilem ubique et per omnia sese gessisse, munusque suum non minori cum dignitate quam vigilantia et animarum zelo sincero obiisse," etc. 21 August, 1630.

† Colgan, Tr. Thaum. ded. p. 4.

Dublin, he solicited the appointment of Dr. James Talbot, who had already been proposed to the Holy See, by his predecessor, for the vacant diocese of Kildare. He subsequently, more than once, repeated this solicitation; but the eyes of Rome had been fixed on another worthy subject, Dr. Rock M'Geoghegan, who was soon after advanced to that ancient see.*

Before his departure from Louvain, Dr. Fleming represented to the secretary of the Sacred Congregation the wants of the diocese of Down and Connor; and, on the 24th of June, 1624, he added his attestation to the testimony of the president of St. Peter's College, Louvain, that "Edmund Dungan, a native of the diocese of Down, had attained to the highest honours, and to the degree of master of arts in that university; and that he had subsequently, in the college of pope Adrian VI., pursued his studies for seven years, distinguished alike by his piety, meekness, integrity, and zeal."† The subsequent career of this worthy prelate proved how justly Dr. Fleming had appreciated his merits. He was ever a model to his flock,‡ and merited to consummate his earthly course in prison, in 1629, having been arrested for the faithful discharge of his sacred ministry. A letter, written on 7th September, that year, and bearing the signatures of Hugh O'Reilly, archbishop of Armagh, Thomas Fleming, archbishop of Dublin, and Eugene Swiney, bishop-elect of Kilmore, solicits the appointment of father Bonaventure Magennis, as the successor of Dr. Edmund Dungan

* In the paper drawn up, in 1627, for the Congregation of Propaganda, in which Dr. M'Geoghegan was appointed to the see of Kildare, he is thus described: "Fr. Roccus de Cruce, O.S.D., provincialis vir sanguine, vitæ integritate, et doctrina nobilissimus, quinquagenarius, midensis diœcesis, qui officium provincialatus in Hibernia per duodecim annos continuos maxima cum ædificatione cleri, populi, et fratrum sui ordinis laudabiliter exercuit." De Burgo has placed his death in 1642: a later writer in Hib. Magazine (Jan. 1864), places it in 1640. However, Invernizi writing in 1664, states, that he had died only some months previous—*ante aliquot menses*. Ex Archiv. Barberin. de Urbe.

† Archiv. S. Isidori.

‡ On the death of Dr. M'Caghwell, archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Dungan was one of those proposed as his successor. In the note of the Sac. Cong. he is described as being "Vescovo Dunense, di vita integerrima e tenuto in molta venerazione in quei paesi dai nobili, dal clero, e dal popolo." The archbishop of Cashel wrote from Dublin on the 12th Aug. 1628, informing the Sacred Congregation, that Dr. Dungan had been arrested, and was still detained in prison, being accused of high treason (*læsæ majestatis*) on account of having exercised his sacred functions.

in that see, and thus beautifully describes the ever-undying attachment of Ireland to the chair of Peter:—

“MOST HOLY FATHER,—To the pious solicitude and providential care with which the Roman pontiffs, from the time of St. Celestine I. (from whom our glorious apostle received his mission to preach the faith of Christ to our forefathers) to the present day, have cherished this our kingdom of Ireland, and to the so-often repeated benedictions which the holy apostolic see has granted to our island, she is indebted for that peerless sanctity which, in former ages, won for her, throughout the universe, the title of ‘Island of Saints,’ and for that so invincible attachment and reverence for the Roman pontiffs and the Holy See, that she can be justly styled ‘the Roman Island;’ and, in fine, for that wondrous constancy in the faith and devotedness to the chair of Peter, which she has displayed in our own times, to the admiration and edification of the surrounding nations, clinging immovably to the Catholic faith, and dauntlessly combating against its enemies. And in order that these blessings may not hereafter fail, but rather be daily increased, and our countrymen be rendered more courageous in enduring adversity for the faith . . . we humbly implore your Holiness to continue the zealous care and watchfulness of your predecessors for this your vineyard of Ireland, which, being planted by your predecessors, and irrigated by St. Patrick, has extended its branches from see to see throughout all Europe, and has yielded an abundant vintage for the heavenly Master.

“Above all, however, at the present time, we pray your Holiness to remark how all the efforts and all the snares of our enemies in the faith are now directed to this one scope, to lessen, forsooth, the esteem of the prelates of this kingdom, and check them in the exercise of their ministry; but we look to heaven, and we feel assured that, sooner or later, it will not be wanting to us; and no more secure defence can we find against their present attacks, than in the appointment to the sees of this kingdom of worthy pastors, who, by the example of their lives, and by the truth of the Gospel, will instruct the faithful entrusted to their charge, and who, moreover, will be the foremost, if needs be, in the path to martyrdom.

“We deplore the vacancy of none of the widowed churches more than that of the diocese of Down and Connor, which lost its two most glorious champions, Cornelius and Edmund, both of whom consecutively attained the martyr’s crown.”*

Father Bonaventure Magennis, whom they then recommend, was, without delay, appointed to that venerable see; and well did he prove himself deserving of their encomiums, and a

* Ex Archiv. S. Isid.

worthy successor of the martyrs, Edmund Dungan and Cornelius O'Devany.

More than once did Dr. Fleming present to the Holy See the name of Malachy O'Queely, to be advanced to the episcopate of his native diocese of Killaloe. In unison with the other assembled bishops, he petitioned to that effect from Drogheda, on 26th October, 1626. He subsequently, on 24th October, 1627, addressed a letter from Dublin soliciting the same favour, and declaring that Dr. O'Queely was "renowned for his virtues, versed in the sacred writings, and leading an unsullied life throughout his whole career."* Rome, however, did not seem desirous to increase the number of bishops in the southern provinces; and it deemed the see of Killaloe sufficiently provided for, whilst it had for its vicar-apostolic such a man as this Malachy O'Queely; wherefore, we find Dr. Fleming, in the following year, again petitioning the Holy Father, together with the bishops of Cork, Limerick, Emly, and Elphin, to have this favour granted to our Irish Church. "Although the great favour," they say, "already shown by the Apostolic See to so many dioceses of this realm of Ireland, and the creation of some bishops, which has redounded so much to the advantage of souls and the propagation of the faith, might seem to indicate that the present number of prelates should suffice for the wants of our Church; nevertheless, daily experience proves, that the distance of places, and the manifold abuses of heretical depravity, and the increase of the Catholic religion, require an additional number of pastors and bishops, who, in the more remote districts (which can with difficulty be otherwise assisted), may, with due vigilance and solicitude, minister to the salvation of souls, and renovate those dioceses which are persecuted and sinking under heretical perversity. Such, especially, is the diocese of Killaloe, which is one of the principal sees of the province of Cashel, and which, since the decease of Cornelius, of holy memory, has remained widowed of its chief pastor."

Before, however, this petition could have effect, the illustrious

* "*Quem novimus esse hominem virtutibus clarum, in sacra doctrina eruditum et in gradibus singulis bonum habentem testimonium,*" etc.—*Ex Archiv. S. Isid.*

archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Conry, had passed to the reward of his labours; and, without delay, the Sacred Congregation fixed on Dr. O'Queely as a person worthy to be his successor in that high dignity. He was appointed archbishop of Tuam on 9th April, 1630, and on the following 10th of October was consecrated in a private chapel of Galway, by Dr. Thomas Walsh, of Cashel, assisted by the bishops of Elphin, Limerick, and Kilmore.* As his zeal and virtues, during his early career, merited for him the confidence of the Holy See, so did his subsequent untiring labours, during his episcopate, fully justify the commendations of Dr. Fleming and the other bishops of Ireland. He ended his life as a worthy pastor, sacrificing himself for his flock, being slain by the enemies of the Catholic faith, in November, 1645. His last words were: "I have hitherto devoted all my energies to the defence of the Catholic religion, and I now willingly lay down my life for the same."†

In the beginning of September, 1626, the see of Ferns was deprived of its ordinary, by the death of Daniel O'Drohen, who for many years had governed it as vicar-apostolic. The clergy petitioned to have father John de Cruce, a Dominican, appointed as his successor; and Dr. Fleming, when transmitting their petition to Rome, accompanied it with the following letter, which presents some interesting particulars connected with that ancient see:—

"Although there are many things connected with this afflicted kingdom which should be mentioned to your excellency, I must pass over them for the present; one matter only, which is of more immediate necessity, will I now treat of. The diocese which is suffragan to this metropolitan see, became vacant two months ago, by the death of

* Ex Auth. Orig. Thomæ Valesii, archiep. Cassalensis dat. die dict.: "assistentibus Richardo Limericensi, Boetio Elphinensi, et Eugenio Kilmorensi."

† Letter of Rinnucini, 20th Nov. 1645. Dr. O'Queely, before his appointment as vicar-apostolic of Killaloe, held a rich benefice in France. For an account of his zealous labours as archbishop of Tuam, see letter of Dr. O'Dwyer to Sac. Cong. and other documents, in Additional Notes to Memoir of Oliver Plunket, pp. 384-389. For his death, see Sketch of the Puritans in Ireland, part iii. p. 158. The nuncio thus concludes his narrative regarding this great bishop: "Verily, he has closed his career gloriously, and won for himself in heaven a reward commensurate with his labours."—Nunziatura, p. 70.

the rev. Daniel O'Drohen, otherwise known as James Walsh ; and the clergy of the diocese having deliberated on the choice of a worthy successor, presented to me the name of father John de Cruce, otherwise Moechoe,* of the order of preachers, assigning as their motive for this choice, that the said father John was descended from some of the highest nobility of the kingdom, being of singular learning and probity of life, and that he, moreover, is well acquainted with the two languages—English and Irish—being an eloquent preacher in both of them, as daily experience proves. This knowledge of both languages is most essential in the bishop of that diocese, for there are very many of its inhabitants who cannot speak one word of English, whilst there are others who know no other than the English language. Wherefore, I beseech your excellency to attend to the necessities and to the wishes of this flock, by appointing father John de Cruce to its episcopal charge. In my opinion, there is no other more worthy of it. But if, in the present circumstances, this dignity cannot be hoped for, I pray your excellency to have him at least appointed vicar-apostolic of that see.

“ Dublin, 19th November, 1626.

“ FR. THOMAS FLEMING,
“ Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland.”

Owing to this vigilant watchfulness of Dr. Fleming and the other bishops of Ireland, at this transition period of our Irish Church, we are indebted, under Providence, for an unbroken succession of chief pastors, who, in season and out of season, kept alive the lamp of faith in our island. The English government laboured, at the same time, to sow dissensions amongst the Catholics, and to have foreign bishops introduced to the Irish sees. The Irish hierarchy, however, bound together in the closest bonds of religious concord, manfully resisted these encroachments; and the array of prelates who were successively nominated to each vacant see, might claim comparison with the brightest ornaments of Christendom.

A letter written by O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, in defence of the privileges of the Irish Church, is deserving of attention. It is dated from Madrid, the 11th of October, 1639:—

“ The fervent and pious zeal with which, as I am well aware, the Sacred Congregation labours to promote the welfare of the persecuted

* The name is thus given by the Italian copyist ; perhaps the original name was *Roche*.

and Catholic kingdom of Ireland, admonishes me to return such thanks as I am unable to give expression to. Yet I venture to earnestly pray the Holy See to continue that zealous solicitude, and thus prove to the whole world the interest with which it regards our efforts in defence of the Catholic faith. The late schemes of some designing persons, who strained every nerve to be numbered amongst the prelates of this kingdom, through the influence of the queen of England, were proved to be iniquitous; and hence the Holy See and the Sacred Congregation unhesitatingly rejected their unjust pretensions, so manifestly prejudicial to the interests of our country. Indeed, had it been otherwise, I know not what hope the Catholics of Ireland could any longer place in the favour and assistance of the Holy See, on whose protection they have ever relied, and which we all now suppliantly approach, humbly praying that it may allow no innovations to be made at the solicitation of the queen of England, or of any others, as regards the appointment of bishops to our vacant sees."

A few years later, on 14th March, 1641, in the palace of cardinal Spada, was held a private congregation, composed of his eminence and the cardinals Pamphili and Barberini, together with the secretaries of the Dataria and Propaganda, at which the names of five bishops were approved of, to be presented to the Holy Father for the then vacant sees of Ireland.

"In the first place," thus runs the note of the Sacred Congregation, "cardinal Barberini, protector of Ireland, having commemorated the attestations of the four archbishops of Ireland, as also of the bishop of Elphin, and of the vicars-apostolic of Achonry and Killala, as to the noble birth, learning, sanctity of life, prudence, and distinguished merit in preaching the word of God, of rev. John de Burgo, of the Clanrickard family, doctor of sacred theology, prothonotary-apostolic and vicar-apostolic of the see of Clonfert, and, moreover, his labours happily employed during many years in the government of that see, the congregation was of opinion, that should it be pleasing to the Holy Father, the said John de Burgo might be advanced to the see of Clonfert, now vacant for many years.

2. "The same cardinal proposed the attestation of the archbishop of Tuam, and of the bishop of Elphin, as to the nobility, integrity of life, gravity of deportment, varied condition, and skill in the management of affairs, of father Ludovic Dillon, of the order of Franciscan Observants, who is son of viscount Dillon, and laudably discharged many commissions in his own country and in foreign parts; wherefore, the congregation deemed him a fit person to be proposed to the Holy Father for the see of Achonry.

3. "The cardinal protector having also presented the attestation of the

nuncio at Paris, and of Falconieri, whilst nuncio in Belgium, as also of the archbishop of Dublin, and of the bishops of Raphoe and Kildare, as to the noble extraction, learning, holy life, and zealous labours, during many years, with abundant spiritual fruit, of father Edmund Dempsey, provincial of the Dominican order in Ireland, and also the donation of 1,800 ducats, yielding an annual sum of 100 ducats, made by Terence Dempsey, baron and viscount of Clamalyre, in favour of the said Edmund, on his nomination to the episcopal dignity; the congregation deemed it expedient, should it so seem to the Holy Father, that the said Edmund Dempsey should be advanced to the see of Leighlin, which is suffragan to the metropolitical see of Dublin, and has been vacant for many years.

4. "The same cardinal proposed the letters of the archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, sent to his agent in the Roman court, and in which, in his own name, as well as in that of the bishops of Meath and Kilmore, he attests that Emer Matthews, vicar-apostolic of Clogher, who, for four years, has well administered that church, is worthy of being advanced to the episcopal dignity. The congregation resolved, should it be pleasing to his Holiness, that Emer Matthews be appointed bishop of the united dioceses of Down and Connor, vacant since the demise of Bonaventure Magennis, of holy memory.

5. "He, moreover, presented the attestations of the archbishop of Cashel, and the bishops of Cork, Limerick, and Emly, who give testimony that their sentiments are shared by the archbishop of Dublin, and by the clergy and people of the united dioceses of Ardfert and Aghadoe, suffragan to the archbishop of Cashel, as to the learning, purity of morals, integrity of life, noble birth, and indefatigable labours, for about thirty years, in the government of the same clergy and people, of the rev. Richard Conald, doctor of Sacred Theology, prothonotary and vicar-apostolic of the said united dioceses: the Congregation decreed, should it seem well to the Holy Father, that the aforesaid Richard be advanced to the episcopal charge of these united sees, now vacant for many years."

The reader may expect a few remarks as to the prelates thus recommended by the archbishop of Dublin:—John de Burgo, as we learn from Lynch, was remarkable, whilst bishop of Clonfert, for singular probity, boundless hospitality, and generosity to the poor. The nuncio Rinnucini styles him, on 1st January, 1646, "a man of mature judgment and most upright intentions." During the first tumults of the Revolution, he exerted himself most strenuously to save the lives and properties of the English Protestants; and amongst the various plans which he formed of protection for them, it is recorded that he

advised his clergy to conceal them under the very altars. When, subsequently, divisions took root in the Confederation, family bias made him take part with the earl of Clanrickard and the Ormondists; but his subsequent sufferings and exile sufficiently expiated any errors into which he may have fallen. During the Cromwellian devastation, he fled to the mountainous districts of Connemara; but being at length arrested, he was at first confined in a dreary dungeon, and subsequently compelled to dig with a spade for his daily support.*

Edmund O'Dempsey, though a member of the Dominican order, almost escaped the notice of the learned author of the *Hibernia Dominicana*. Father O'Dempsey was a native of Leinster, and pursued his early studies at Douay and Louvain. He read his theological course, with great distinction, at Alcalá, and, in 1624, entered on the Irish mission, where he incessantly laboured, with abundant fruit, in promoting the salvation of souls. In 1635, he was unanimously chosen provincial of the order in Ireland, and in that office gave frequent proofs of consummate prudence, and zeal for the glory of God. On the death of Dr. John Roche, bishop of Ferns, many of the clergy petitioned to have Dr. O'Dempsey selected as their bishop;† but that diocese was destined to be for some time destitute of a chief pastor,‡ and the worthy Dominican continued his zealous career, making the diocese of Leighlin the special theatre of his missionary labours. In 1637, the clergy of Leighlin petitioned to have him appointed bishop of their see; and Dr. Rock M'Geoghegan, bishop of Kildare, seconding their petition, writes, that he was a religious of holy and irreproachable life, renowned as a preacher of the word of God, and for many years had laboured throughout all Ireland, but especially in the diocese of Leighlin, in promoting the welfare of souls, and converting heretics to the Catholic faith. As the poverty of some of the dioceses was a difficulty

* De Burgo was translated from Clonfert to Tuam in Congregation of 26th January, 1647. He died on Holy Thursday, 1667.

† In their petition, in 1636, they describe him as "*Predicatore per dodici anni in Ibernia: di età di quaranta anni: ed i Padri nell' ultimo capitolo l'elessero di comun consenso per Provinciale del Regno d'Ibernia.*"

‡ During the vacancy, the see of Ferns was governed by rev. William Devereux, who was elected vicar-capitular by the clergy, and confirmed as such by Dr. Fleming, archbishop of Dublin, in 1636.

urged by the enemies of the Irish Church to impede the appointment of bishops to the vacant sees, the father of our good Dominican, viscount of Clanmalure,* endowed him with a sufficient patrimony for those times, for maintaining the due decorum of the episcopal office.† Being remarkable for his devotion to the Holy See, as well as for his meekness and clemency,‡ he was one of those to whom faculty was delegated to absolve from the censures of the nuncio. He suffered many privations with great fortitude, during his exile§ at Finisterre, in Galicia, and, in 1659, happily closed his earthly career.

As regards the bishop of Ardfer, Dr. Richard Conald, or Connell, he was repeatedly presented to the Holy See by the Irish bishops; even as early as 1626, the assembly in Drogheda solicited his appointment. A letter, however, of Malachy O'Queely, archbishop of Tuam, of whose merits we have spoken above, will supply sufficient information for our present purpose. "The virtues and merits (he thus writes to the secretary of the Sacred Congregation, on 6th Oct. 1640) of the venerable man, rev. Richard Conald, doctor in sacred theology, prothonotary-apostolic, and also, by apostolic appointment, vicar-general and ordinary of the diocese of Ardfer for the last twenty-six years, impel me to request a favour from your excellency: for, the afore-said Richard has been nominated by the archbishop of Cashel, his metropolitan, and by the other suffragan bishops, to fill the vacant see of Ardfer; and, indeed, the maturity of his years, the integrity of his life, the sanctity of his morality and conduct, his literary acquirements, and his long-tried experience in the guidance of the faithful, are so eminent, that no prudent person can entertain a doubt of his fitness for that high dignity. Wherefore I affectionately intreat your excellency to use all the influence in your power, that this worthy man may be promoted

* The secretary of Owen Roe O'Neill writes:—"At this period (1642-3) was consecrated Edmond Dempsey, a Dominican, son of Turlough, lord of Clanmalire, bishop of Leighlin, and at the same time Eneas (should be Heber) M'Mahon, bishop of Clogher, having had the see of Down and Connor these two years past, though not consecrated till now, ceding the former two united for this only of Clogher."—An Aphorismical Reflection, etc. Libr. T.C.D.

† Epist. Kildarensis, 14th Feb. 1637.

‡ Note of Sac. Cong. in 1655.

§ Petition of 15th Jan. 1658.

to the episcopal administration of that see." Throughout the eventful succeeding years, he constantly clung to the party of the nuncio Rinnucini; and he often made it his boast, that he had been the first bishop to welcome the papal representative to the Irish shores.*

It is not necessary to add any remarks as to the other two bishops whose names are recorded in the note of the Congregation which we have cited. Dr. M'Mahon is well known to Irish readers; and before the close of this chapter, we shall have occasion to commemorate a letter written by Dr. Fleming, and other bishops, to the Holy See, to acquaint it with the death of Dr. Emer M'Mahon, an event which plunged the whole nation in grief and consternation.

The published records of that age present few details as to the remaining prelate, Dr. Lewis Dillon. The archbishop of Tuam and the bishop of Elphin, petitioning for his nomination, on the 9th December, 1639, state that they do so in order "to promote the welfare of the faithful in this afflicted country and province, where all things are now under the hand of the despoiler, and the inhabitants are being expelled from their hereditary lands and possessions." Father Dillon is then described by them as a Franciscan, who had laudably discharged many offices in his order; that he was connected by consanguinity with all the nobility of the province, and especially with those of the diocese of Achonry; that during the past eight years, they themselves had repeatedly extolled to the Holy See his merits and virtues; and that all the clergy and people of Achonry were of one accord in anxiously soliciting Rome to grant him to them as their chief pastor. Dr. Dillon is not commemorated in any of the printed lists of our Irish bishops: his episcopate was short; and we learn from Invernizi that, in 1645, the see of Achonry was widowed of its venerated pastor.

During the eventful nunciature of Rinnucini, Dr. Fleming being exiled from his see, and weighed down by infirmities and

* In the MS. narrative from which these particulars are gleaned, it is stated that the nuncio first landed at *Kilmakollog*, where he was met by Dr. Conald, and thence proceeded to Macroom.

care, solicited the Holy Father to grant him a coadjutor, in the person of Dr. Edward Tyrrell, who had studied in Paris, and during the first years of the Confederation had taken an active part in their deliberations. The nuncio, however, more than once protested against the appointment of a coadjutor, declaring that the see of Dublin was, for the present, wholly devastated by the Puritans, and that no bishop, no matter how active, could reside there; and that, moreover, the archbishop himself was yet far from being unequal to the task of government.

The last letter connected with the appointment of bishops to the vacant sees, is dated "from the place of our refuge, the 18th of December, 1650," and bears the names of Hugh, archbishop of Armagh; fr. Thomas, archbishop of Dublin; Walter, bishop of Clonfert; fr. Anthony, bishop of Clonmacnoise; Robert, bishop of Cork and Cloyne. This letter regards the appointment of a successor to the martyred bishop of Clogher, and will be read with painful interest by those who are acquainted with the chivalrous heroism of Heber M'Mahon:—

"During the past summer, the most reverend bishop of Clogher, to our irreparable loss, fell into the hands of the enemy. After many wounds and imprisonment, they beheaded him about the middle of autumn, and fixed his head on a spike at the gate of Enniskillen, where, in their hatred to religion, it still remains. The whole province feels the shock, and mourns his decease, and vehemently desires that, as far as possible, his place may be filled up. Wherefore, all turn their eyes towards father Thomas Makiernan, ex-provincial of the Franciscan Observants, a distinguished theologian and preacher, who is known and renowned throughout the whole kingdom for his constancy in defending the nuncio's cause, and for the imprisonment he endured in consequence; wherefore, he is much esteemed and extolled by all true lovers of the Catholic religion; and, without doubt, the encomiums of his fortitude and constancy have ere this reached the ears of your excellency. Hence it is the desire of all, that, with the approbation of the Holy See, the vacant see of Clogher, now weeping in its widowhood, may again rejoice in the appointment of such a man to its episcopal charge."

This father Thomas Kiernan had, twenty years before, governed the diocese of Clogher as vicar-apostolic, and it was on his resigning that dignity, to enter the Franciscan order, that

Heber M'Mahon was appointed to the government of that see. He again seems to have opposed his advancement to any ecclesiastical dignity; and before the close of the following year, Philip Crolly, nephew of the deceased bishop, was appointed vicar-apostolic of Clogher.

CHAPTER XIV.

DR. FLEMING LABOURS TO PROMOTE THE STUDY OF IRISH LITERATURE.

Writers on Irish History in Seventeenth Century encouraged by Dr. Fleming.—Colgan, Wadding.—Letter of Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel.—Conjecture regarding Usher.—Dr. Rooth's Hieroglyphics and Michael O'Clery.—Approbation of Martyrology of Donegal by Dr. Fleming.—Father Stephen White.

FEW countries can present a brighter array of glorious historic names, than those which shed lustre on our island during the first half of the seventeenth century. Besides the Four Masters, whose Annals enriched Ireland with a record of which few nations can boast, Messingham in Paris, Colgan and Fleming, and a host of others, in Louvain, Wadding and his fellow-labourers in Rome, David Rooth, the learned bishop of Ossory, Lynch, White, Keating, MacFirbiss, and many others in our own country, unceasingly explored the ancient monuments of our history, and won for themselves an undying fame. Between all these great men there existed a bond of the closest friendship, by which they stimulated and aided each other in their literary toils; and amongst their chief patrons must be numbered Dr. Thomas Fleming, our archbishop of Dublin.

Colgan, in the dedication to the second volume of his immortal work, the *Acta Sanctorum*, published in 1647, extols the zeal of Dr. Fleming in promoting the study of the antiquities of Ireland, and commemorates how the archbishop, though then an exile from his own diocese, and occupied with a thousand cares, yet laboured indefatigably in exploring the ancient

records of our country, and took on himself the burden of the publication of that work. Thus are we indebted to his munificence for that most valuable of all the treatises on the sainted patrons of our Irish Church.

"I would reckon," writes Colgan, "as one of the last motives for dedicating this work to your grace (were it not that the circumstances of the times, and the difficulties which accompany it, render it a truly great one), that it was your grace who supplied the means for publishing it; and, what is still more, that I owe to your industry in exploring books and other ancient monuments, my being able to present this volume, duly illustrated, to the public. And, indeed, on this head, great are my obligations to your grace, who, forsooth, amidst the present calamities of war, and surrounded by so many other necessities, and being an exile from your diocese, have not only defrayed the necessary expense, but have, moreover, supplied the materials to illustrate my work."

It was not Colgan alone that thus experienced the co-operation and aiding hand of our archbishop; the illustrious Luke Wadding looked to the same source for guidance and assistance. About the year 1628, many of the Irish prelates earnestly urged that great annalist to compile the history of our early Church; and from his correspondence at the time, we learn that he joyfully embraced the task, and undertook to compile an *Historia Sacra Hiberniæ*. Some of the suggestions made to him by Dr. Fleming and his other correspondents, will serve to throw light on the eager devotedness with which the study of our ancient records was then pursued in our island.

On the 23rd of September, 1629, Dr. Fleming wrote to congratulate him on the new volume of the *Annals of the Franciscan Order*, which had been just published, and adds: "I should wish that your reverence would be pleased to begin, with all convenient haste, the *History of Ireland*; and in regard that fr. Stronge [cannot] there help you with some things happening before the Register of St. Gregory, your reverence might begin yours since the Register.* I will do what I can to get you some

* We give the text as it is in the original: some words, however, seem to have been omitted. As the Vatican records commenced with the Register of Pope

antiquities." In a preceding letter he had already written: "I will not fail to labour the best I can to get what antiquities I may; for your most grateful and most esteemed works, to your extraordinary credit and everlasting reward, are so much esteemed and desired."*

The archbishop of Cashel also writes to the same great annalist, giving details as to the materials for ancient Irish history: "My friend has made a collection of ancient records that he got up and down—I mean the very original registers of the church of Ardmagh,† and showed them to me; and he had them fairly bound, divided into six several tomes, some of them bigger than the tome of your Annals. There is to be found great antiquity of this kingdom, and I can borrow them of him."‡ The friend to whom Dr. Walsh here alludes, is styled in another letter, "Jacobus de Turrecremata." Whether this was merely a conventional designation, concealing the real name of the successful explorer of the mine of our country's monuments, we shall not venture to affirm; but we strongly suspect that he was no other than the famous Usher, who, whilst he in public life betrayed such bigotry, may perhaps have privately cherished an intimate friendship with the illustrious archbishop of Cashel.

The earliest document we have met with, referring to this projected work of Wadding, is the following letter of the same archbishop. It is dated from Dublin, 27th November, 1628:—

"DEAR COUSIN,—For what helps of antiquity of our country you would have hence sent to you, I will do my best endeavours. I have a worthy friend, I mean Jacobus de Turrecremata, who hath promised to help me very much for the work of *Historia Ecclesiastica Hiberniæ*, saltem usque ad tempora Gregorii Papæ Septimi (Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, at least to the time of Pope Gregory VII.). His opinion is, that you should begin to write your said history from the time of the said Gregory VII., or thereabouts, until our own times; whereas

Gregory, the Irish bishops requested Wadding to write the History of Ireland subsequent to that period, whilst, in the meantime, the necessary documents might be collected in Ireland for the earlier history.

* Letter of 26th Aug. 1629.

† It is thus that Dr. Walsh writes the name of the primatial see. In many of the contemporary Latin documents, however, sent from Ireland to Rome, it is written *Armachanus*.

‡ Letter of Dr. Walsh, from Dublin, to Luke Wadding, 15th March, 1629.

the Roman Register, having begun in Gregory's time,* you may find in the Register all that may concern our country since that time, but not before; and for anything before Gregory VII., you shall be better helped here than there. I will spare no charges or labour in the collecting or transcribing of what you will have me do here. Write to Heidelberg, to Mr. Darcy, to acquaint you or me of what books were left there of ancient manuscripts, in their house or elsewhere, and chiefly of the Hebrew or Greek Bible. I understand the third tome of your Annals is at the print. I hope you will make a parenthesis between it and the fourth. I mean that the next your study shall be only of our country's affairs, wherein you shall much oblige your country, observing the former style of your Annals."

Another of the correspondents of Luke Wadding was rev. Thomas Messingham, the justly celebrated author of the *Florilegium Sanctorum Hiberniæ*,† who, especially in his letter of July, 1630, gives many details as to the labours of Dr. Roothe, in regard to our Irish history.

"The notes," he says, "which I have for the History of Ireland, are very few. His lordship of Ossory wrote unto me, that if your paternity would signify unto him what particular notes or treatises you would have, that he can afford, he will send them to you. The treatise which he means to send me shortly is thus entitled:—

Hierographiæ sacræ insulæ Hibernorum
lineamenta adumbrata
sive
Arrabo et prægustus
Tripartitæ descriptionis, Ecclesiæ, Regni et gentis
Hibernorum, etc.
Industria et studio Analectæ et Anagnostæ Catholici
hoc est
Collectore et Degestore Philadelpho
etc. etc.

He writes, also, that his pastoral employments are so great, that were it not for the importunity of friends, he would leave the said work to your paternity and others to be finished. Our clergy sent agents to the queen of England, to pray her majesty to obtain of the king their former liberty or connivance of religion, which I fear will hardly be granted.

* The regular and almost uninterrupted series of the Papal Register commences with Innocent III. and consists of two thousand and sixteen volumes, down to the period of St. Pius V. Of the pontificates before Innocent III. there are only preserved imperfect Registers of St. Gregory the Great, John VIII. and Gregory VII.

† It was published in Paris in 1624.

They are to have a parliament at Michaelmas : God grant that it be for their good. With best wishes to your paternity, I rest," etc.

What a loss to our literature that the *Hierographia Sacra*, here referred to, was not published by the learned bishop of Ossory. It is manifest, that it was nearly complete when the above letter was written; and perhaps it may be yet preserved in manuscript in some of our national archives. In his letters to Luke Wadding, Dr. Roothé more than once speaks of the necessity of discriminating between the truthful facts of the earlier hagiologists of Ireland, and the exaggerated colouring which they often added to the historical narrative. We shall give but one extract from these letters, which will suffice to present a specimen of the treasures of our ancient literature which were even then preserved, and which are now, alas! irreparably lost: "I have the Autographum of the blessed martyr, primate Creagh's History and Etymological Deductions of the Irish Language out of the Hebrew, etc., which I do much value, as being the work of so worthy a man."

Michael O'Clery was an humble lay brother of the order of St. Francis. To his family had belonged, for centuries, the privilege of recording the deeds of the princely family of O'Donnell; and now that the sun had set over the fair territory of Tirconnell, a wider field of historic labour opened for the hereditary antiquarian of Kilbarran.* He spent four years, by command of his superiors, in gathering together the Acts of the Saints of Ireland, and, in 1630, completed the Martyrology of Donegal, as well as the equally important work of the Genealogies of the Saints of Ireland. His address to the reader, in the last-named treatise, thus begins:—

"What true children are there that would not feel pity and distress at seeing or hearing of their excellent mother and nurse being placed in a condition of indignity and contempt, of dishonour and contumely, without making a visit to her to bring her solace and happiness, and to give her assistance and relief?"

* The castle and lands of Kilbarran, near Ballyshannon, were the hereditary possession of the O'Clerys. Petrie describes the ruins of this castle as "seated on a lofty, precipitous, and nearly insulated cliff, exposed to the storms and billows of the western ocean."

"Upon its having been observed by certain parties of the Observant order of St. Francis, that the holiness and righteousness of their mother and nurse, Erin, had perceptibly diminished, for not having the lives, wonders, and miracles of her saints disseminated within her, nor yet made known in other kingdoms, the counsel they adopted was to send into Erin (from Louvain) a poor friar of their own order, Michael O'Clery, a chronicler by descent and education, in order to collect and bring into one place all the books of authority in which he could discover anything that related to the sanctity of her saints, with their pedigrees and genealogies. On the arrival of the aforesaid Michael, he searched through every part of Erin in which he had heard there was a good, or even a bad, Gaelic manuscript; so that he spent four full years in transcribing and procuring the matters that related to the saints of Ireland."*

One of the chief patrons of this great chronicler, was Dr. Thomas Fleming; and when his works were corrected and prepared for publication, they bore with them the sanction of this illustrious archbishop. Mr. Bindon has already made known, from the manuscripts of Brussels, how, in sanctioning the Martyrology of Donegal, the name of Dr. Thomas Fleming,† archbishop of Dublin and primate of Ireland, was associated with those of Malachy, archbishop of Tuam, Boetius, bishop of Elphin, and Rock, bishop of Kildare.‡

From the original MS. of the Genealogies of the Irish Saints, we are enabled to present a similar sanction, given by our archbishop to that important work:—

"Genealogias regum et sanctorum Hiberniæ§ singulari industria collegit frater Michael Clery, laicus ordinis Sancti Francisci de Obser-

* O'Curry, Lectures, p. 165.

† The approbation of the archbishop is given in the following words:—"Martyrologium Sanctorum Hiberniæ a fratre Michael Clery laico ord. S. Francisci de observ. historico solertissimo concinnatum, plurimi, ique doctissimi approbarunt, quorum iudicio nos multum, ut par est, deferentes, illud etiam nostro testimonio ad Dei et sanctorum honorem comprobare duximus. Datum Kildariæ, 6 Februarii, an. 1636."—Martyrology of Donegal, etc. Dublin, 1864, p. liv.

‡ Paper on MS. relating to Ireland, read by Samuel Bindon, Esq. before the Royal Irish Academy, 24th May, 1847. By a characteristic blunder he translates *fr. Rochus Kildarensis*, "Father Roche of Kildare" (p. 15). It is the signature of Dr. Rock M'Geoghegan, O.S.D. bishop of Kildare, whom we mentioned in the last chapter.

§ Ex Archiv. S. Isid. in Urbe. The bishops of Elphin and Kildare, and the archbishop of Tuam, give also their approbation. The bishop of Kildare gives

vantia, prout fidem faciunt nostrates antiquarii, quorum autoritate freti opus tam insigne dignum quod editur judicamus.

"Actum Dublinii, 6 Februarii, 1636.

"Fr. THOMAS FLEMING,
" Archiepus. Dublinensis, Hiberniæ Primas."

The same Franciscan lay brother was the chief compiler of the great work, commonly known as the *Annals of the Four Masters*, which, in 1851, found a competent editor and translator in the learned O'Donovan. It was in 1626 that fr. Michael O'Clery set out from Louvain on his literary mission. During ten years he laboured unceasingly, "collecting all the best and most copious books of annals that he could find throughout all Ireland." In 1636 he completed his task, and the letter and seal of Dr. Fleming attested the importance of the work he had achieved, and the fidelity with which he had linked together the many records of our eventful history.

Father Stephen White, S.J., as early as the year 1611, applied himself "to open that rich mine of Irish literature on the continent, which has ever since yielded such valuable returns, and still continues unexhausted."* He held, for many years, high and responsible offices in Spain and Germany; and it is deserving of remark, that he was the master of novices who trained to perfection the great saint who shed such lustre on the Jesuit order, *the blessed Claver*. All the continental writers on Irish antiquities in the seventeenth century, gratefully acknowledge their obligations to the untiring industry of father White. He prepared many works for the press, but in a letter to Rome, in 1640, lamented that he could find no printer to run the risk of publishing them. What, however, no printer would undertake, the archbishop of Dublin and the other bishops of Ireland gladly assumed, soliciting, forsooth, the

it a different title. "De hoc libro," he says, "qui vocatur *genealogia sanctorum ac de ortu serie ac successione Regum Hyberniciæ*." The archbishop of Tuam describes it in a similar manner. For much interesting matter connected with this treatise, see Curry, loc. cit. p. 162, seqq. The approbation given by Dr. Fleming to the *Genealogy*, etc. is dated Dublin, 6th Feb. 1636; the approbation given to the *Martyrology of Donegal*, is dated Kildare, the same day. Probably there is a mistake in one of the dates.

* See paper of rev. Dr. Reeves, read before the Royal Irish Academy, Nov. 30th, 1861.

publication of his treatises on Ireland, and offering to defray all the expenses that might attend such a task. The superior of the Irish Jesuits acquaints us with this important fact, in a letter addressed to the general of the society, from Kilkenny, the 10th June, 1646:—

“I have given a commission to four of our fathers to diligently examine the works of fr. Stephen White, and to forward their judgment to your paternity, conformably to the orders you have recently given. His works, however, are numerous, and these fathers live in places very distant from each other; at the same time, the most reverend bishops, who are ready to defray the expenses of the printing, as also the supreme council, very earnestly insist that a certain work of his, *De Sanctis et Antiquitate Hiberniæ*, should be sent to the press without delay. I find it almost impossible to resist their reasonable demand, the more so, as many of them have already perused the manuscript itself, and pronounced it not only worthy of being printed, but also highly necessary for the credit and interest of this kingdom.”*

However, the golden opportunity was lost, and the dissensions which soon after sprung up in the bosom of the Confederation, blasted every hope of seeing the history of our island enriched with the contributions of one of its most gifted sons.

* “Commisi quatuor e nostris ut diligenter examinarent opera P. Stephani Viti, eorumque de iis judicium ad Paternitatem Vestram juxta ea quæ suis litteris nuper præscripsit, transmitterent : . . . nihilominus Revmi. Episcopi, qui parati sunt impressionis expensas solvere,” etc.—Ex Archiv. Dom. Prof. Romæ.

CHAPTER XV.

MISSIONS OF THE FRANCISCAN FATHERS IN SCOTLAND.

Paul V. sends some Franciscan Missionaries to Scotland.—Dr. Fleming succeeds Dr. Lombard in the charge of the Scotch Mission, and gives an account of it.—Father Ward's Relatio of his Mission to Scotland.—Conversion of many Heretics.—Father Patrick Hogarty's Letter.—Father Scarampo's Report.

IN the month of December, 1618, pope Paul V. selected three Franciscan fathers, from the Irish college of Louvain, to cultivate the vineyard of Scotland, which for many years had been overrun with heresy, and had become a prey to the enemies of God. Other Irish priests had been from time to time called to the same mission in the early part of the century, through the care of Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh, who, with the title of primate of all Ireland, by authority of the Holy See united also that of primate of Scotland.* To secure, however, an uninterrupted supply of fervent missionaries, the religious of St. Francis now received it in special charge; and on the 4th January, 1619, fathers Edmund Cana and Patrick Brady, with the lay brother John Stewart,† set out from the convent of Louvain, to brave the perils of persecution in that necessitous mission. After two years' incessant labour, father Edmund was seized by the Scotch heretics and thrown into a filthy prison, whence, after a long confinement, he was sent into banishment. The other two

* In a petition presented to the Holy Father, in 1618, Peter Lombard writes that the archbishop of Armagh "est primas totius Hiberniæ et erat aliquando etiam Scotiæ, et est antiquissimus metropolitanus omnium Britannorum regnorum atque insularum," etc.—Ex Archiv. Secret. Vatican.

† John Stewart was a native of Scotland, but for many years had lived as lay brother with the Franciscans in Ireland. About 1614 he was arrested near Dublin, and after suffering many hardships in Dublin prison, was transferred to the Tower of London, where many attempts were made to seduce him from the Catholic faith. He was released about 1617, and sent into Belgium.—See Mooney's MS. History of the Franciscans, written in 1618.

escaped the pursuit of the heretics, and continued their labour of love till, in 1623, a new dawn arose for that mission; and whilst Dr. Fleming, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed its immediate superior, three new missionaries, selected by him, viz., Cornelius Ward, James O'Neil, and Patrick Hogarty, were sent thither with most ample authority and privileges from the Holy See; and at the same time, the old veteran father Edmund Cana resolved to brave once more the fury of the heretics and the penalties of the law.* The barren wilderness was soon clothed with gladness; and father Hugh de Burgo writes from Dublin, on the 17th of November, 1624: "God has already performed great things in Scotland, through the labours of our Franciscan fathers. They could have even effected more, were it not for the great poverty and wretchedness of the country; for their district of Scotland is so impoverished, that scarcely can they find sufficient means for the most frugal support."

Dr. Fleming, in his first letter from his diocese to the nuncio in Brussels, also writes that "the spiritual labourers selected for Scotland are diligently engaged at the harvest entrusted to them, though they have to struggle with many difficulties. Two of them lately came to Ireland, and gave me a *Relatio* of that mission, which I transmit to you, together with this letter. The others continue in the interior of Scotland, where it is difficult for them to hold any communication with foreign parts, either by letter or by messengers. I know, however, that they are not idle, and that they are engaged in the cultivation of that vineyard." We have to lament the loss of the *Relatio* here referred to. The nuncio certainly transmitted it to Rome, for he thus writes to the secretary of the Sacred Congregation, on the 3rd of January, 1626: "I send to your excellency a letter which I have received from the archbishop of Dublin, together with a *Relatio* written by father Cornelius Ward, one of the missionaries to Scotland, which will assuredly be of great consolation to you. I have written to the archbishop, desiring him to encourage the said missioners to pursue the work which they

* Ex *Relat.* sent to Rome by Scarampo, on 29th June, 1644.

have so happily begun, assuring him that all the required assistance will be given to them.”*

The loss, however, of this *Relatio* is in part supplied by another narrative, which was drawn up, in 1637, by the same father Ward, and presented to the Sacred Congregation. He had in the interim visited the Eternal City, and on his return, having received the benediction of the bishop of Down and Connor, hastened (November, 1635) to resume his missionary labours in the Hebrides. Before two months elapsed, he had restored fifty heretics to the saving fold, in the island of Sgiahanach. During the following year (1636), in twenty-two towns of the islands of Eustia and Benimhaola, two hundred and three heretics were converted: whilst in the islands of Barra, Feray, and Barnaray, no fewer than fifty others were led captive to truth. In the last-named island, the zealous priest was pursued by a Protestant minister, who had procured a warrant for his arrest; and in consequence, he was obliged to fly to the mainland of Scotland. There, on the mountains of Muidheart and Arasoig, during two months, the conversion of two hundred and six heretics was his reward. He adds: “The missionary labours in those barbarous and remote districts is indescribable, and incredible to those who have not witnessed it. Oftentimes the missionary father has passed six months there without being able to procure any drink, save water and milk; indeed, their whole food consists of milk, and in summer they seldom have bread. In the Hebrides and in the mountainous districts of Scotland, there is no city nor town, nor school; neither is there anything like education; and none can be found to read, except a few who received instruction in distant parts.” Father Ward continued on these mountains until his store of altar-breads and wine for the holy sacrifice was exhausted; he then set out on foot for Edinburgh; and, after many risks and dangers, returned with a renewed supply to his mountain flock, where, though he was at the same time weighed down by a grievous illness, he, between the 8th of September and Christmas, through the districts of

* “Ho risposto all' Arceivescovo che comforti li sudetti missionari a seguire l'opera felicemente cominciata, assicurandolo che non se gli mancherà somministrare gli ajuti necessarj.”—Lett. del nunzio, 5 Gennajo, 1626.

Locheabar, Muidiurt, Sleibhte, and Gleansilge, received back one hundred and thirty-nine heretics into the bosom of the Catholic Church.

During the year 1637, the missionary toils of these worthy men yielded the like happy fruits; and father Ward writes, that so numerous were the invitations made to them from various districts, to go and instruct them in the Catholic faith, that they were not able to comply with a third part of them. He adds, that in all this quarter of Scotland there was then only one native priest, named father Reginald MacDonell, who lived in the island of Eustia, in a remote and wild district, in which he took refuge from the fierce storm of persecution, and there, "labouring with his own hands in cultivating the earth, and fishing or collecting sea-shells, he seeks to procure sufficient food. He visits, from time to time, the inhabitants of the island, to strengthen and confirm them in the faith; but he states he will not be able to continue there much longer, through the absolute dearth of everything, as all that the islanders can give is required for the tithes and tribute to the Protestant minister, which, whether they like or not, they are compelled to give to him."*

On the appointment of the Franciscan father Bonaventure Magennis to the see of Down and Connor, which was more closely situated to the Scottish islands, Dr. Fleming requested the Holy See to have the immediate charge of that mission entrusted to him; and hence, in the narrative we have just referred to, father Ward hastened to receive the blessing of that bishop, before embarking on his field of labour. Dr. Magennis, when transmitting that narrative to Rome, states that he had examined the facts stated in it, and verified their accuracy by enquiries from some of the Scotch nobility, who, he adds, "are held both here and in their own country as of unimpeachable authority and truthfulness."†

Overcome by his labours, father Ward was soon obliged to return to the comparative repose of his Irish convents, and father Patrick Hogarty was chosen prefect of that mission.

* *Relatio P. Vardæi*, in *Archiv. S. Congnis*.

† Letter of Dr. Magennis, 28th August, 1637.

In a letter of the 4th December, 1640, he gives some further details of that spiritual harvest to the secretary of the Sacred Congregation. A short extract from it will suffice:—

“For eight years I have acted as guardian of this convent of Bunanargy, labouring no less in the conversion of the Scotch than if I was actually amongst them, for they flock hither to be received into the Church as bees to the beehive. In a *Relatio* which I sent last year, I stated that in four successive months a thousand persons had been brought to the true fold by the fathers of this convent, and received confirmation at the hands of the bishop of this diocese, Dr. Bonaventure Magennis, of holy memory; and amongst them was the most noble Alexander MacDonnell, lord of Largy, who, in the following month, being comforted with all the sacraments of our holy religion, happily departed this life. His example has impelled many of the nobility and gentry to embrace the orthodox faith. In a word, during each of the past eight years, five hundred have been converted by us, and as many confirmed in the Catholic faith; we must except, however, the present year, as in consequence of the tumults in Scotland, the passage is no longer open between Scotland and Ireland; and yet, this very year, I have received two hundred into Christ’s fold.”

The path of these devoted missionaries was beset with increased dangers during the subsequent years. Nevertheless, four fathers, in 1644, again offered themselves to labour in that vineyard; and all the means that the prefect of the mission solicited for them, was “sacred vestments, a secular habit, corn, wine, and candles for the sacrifice of the Mass, instruments for making the altar-breads, and money to pay their passage.”* Father Scarampo, then agent of the Holy See in Ireland, earnestly wrote at the same time, requesting to have a missionary stipend allowed to these good fathers, who had now an excellent opportunity for visiting the Scottish mission, on account of the departure of the Irish soldiers for Scotland, where, he adds, these fathers have already laboured and suffered a great deal. In another letter, of the 8th September, 1645, the same writer says:—“In Scotland, the king’s party daily gains ground, and in his army there, there are fifteen hundred effective Irish soldiers, and many Scotch, who would

* *Relatio Mis. Scot.* sent by Scarampo, on 29th June, 1644, to the Sacred Congregation de Prop. Fid.

be in greater numbers, were there ministers of the gospel in that province; where, indeed, there is as great a dearth of them as is to be found in any part of the universe. Their passage from this country will be short and secure, and they can also find the necessary provisions here (although very dear), especially of flour and wine for Mass, which can seldom be found in Scotland, and much less during the present disturbances." He concludes by again requesting the Holy See to display its usual generosity towards these abandoned districts, and to have the faculties transmitted to his successor, as he hoped to be on his journey to Rome before an answer could be transmitted to him.*

The Sacred Congregation was not wanting on its part; and we find it recorded in a note of the Congregation of 29th March, 1644, that, at the solicitation of father Scarampo,† a missionary stipend was granted for five Franciscan fathers, to be sent into Scotland, and that instructions were despatched to him at the same time to appoint one of the five fathers prefect of that mission.

The last document connected with the Franciscan mission in Scotland, is a letter of father Patrick Hogarty, from Waterford, on the 29th August, 1646. During the five preceding years he had been detained in close imprisonment by the Scots, and he writes to express his gratitude to God for having been freed from that calamitous condition, and to request, at the same time, sufficient means to resume his labours in the vineyard of Scotland.‡

Clouds, however, had been fast gathering around that devoted land, and the destruction of the king's army blasted for a while, at least, all hopes of diffusing there the blessings of Catholic faith. In Ireland, too, the ranks of the clergy were soon too thinned to supply the wants of the Scottish mission; and were

* Ex Archiv. Sac. Congnis.

† It must have been in some letter written before those we have just cited. Probably, father Scarampo was not aware of this decision of the Sacred Congregation when writing his letter of 29th of June, 1644.

‡ "Benedictus sit Deus misericors qui servi sui indigni humilitatem respiciens e carceribus in quibus Scoti hæretici me detruserant, ubique in magnis ærumnis per continuos ferme quinque annos jacueram, me eripere dignatus est." —Epist. Patrit. Hogarty, O.S.F. 29th Aug. 1644.

it not for the unbounded charity and zeal of St. Vincent de Paul,* few vestiges of the persecuted faith could have been preserved even in the mountain recesses of that once Catholic region.

CHAPTER XVI.

DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE SECULAR AND REGULAR CLERGY.

Policy of the English Government to excite Dissensions among the Clergy.—Causes of these Dissensions.—Peter Caddell and Paul Harris assail the Regulars.—Answered by F. Matthews.—Cahill, P.P. of S. Michael's, suspended by Dr. Fleming.—The Bishop of Meath commissioned by the Holy See to remove Harris.—Controversies gradually terminated, etc.

THE dissensions which existed between the secular and regular clergy in England, during the first years of the seventeenth century, brought the Catholic Church in that country to utter ruin. The agents of the English government, both at home and on the continent, kept alive the flame of discord, and artfully availed themselves of every opportunity to foster the mutual suspicions and distrust of the different branches of the clergy, and to widen the separation which thus weakened the whole Catholic body.

Amongst the Clarendon State Papers there is one which throws much light on this policy of the British statesmen of that day. There was question of the appointment of an English agent to the Roman court; and Mr. Windebank, the secretary of state, in a private letter to the king, sketches the qualities that would be requisite in the individual to be chosen for that post. A certain captain Brett had been recommended by father Philips, chaplain to her majesty, but the secretary declares that

* For some details regarding the subsequent history of these missions, see Abeilly, *Life of St. Vincent*, lib. iv. ; also *Memoir of Oliver Plunket*, Dublin, 1861, chap. 15, page 172, seqq.

such an appointment would be wholly in opposition to the interests of the king.

"I shall presume," he says, "to instance in some particulars, as namely, his negotiation concerning the oath of allegiance, in which I know Philips is not well affected; and likewise concerning the bringing in of a Catholic Roman bishop into England, which was the end of the Italians coming hither from Rome, and whereunto I know Philips hath contributed all he could; the soliciting the pope to censure Courtenay, if not for his base and treasonable book, yet for publishing it without authority from thence, which I am confident Philips will likewise hinder as much as he can; his endeavouring to discover the correspondences of the Roman Catholic party here in England, and their ways, and his fomenting their schisms and differences here, which he must do if he serves your majesty well; and, therefore, I most humbly beseech your majesty to weigh these circumstances deliberately, and to make choice of some man, *par negotiis*, that I may not have to deal with an ignorant person. That this (Brett) is a very honest gentleman, I doubt not; but honesty alone will not despatch business; and of the two, (I speak as a secretary, and humbly crave your majesty pardon), honesty, in this Romish employment, may better be spared than sufficiency."*

The same scheme was tried also in Ireland, and well-nigh produced similar disastrous results. For ten years both parties wasted their strength in mutual dissensions, whilst, as we shall see, the main agent of discord enjoyed the benign patronage of the castle. From the documents written in defence of their respective privileges, we shall glean such facts as serve to illustrate the history of our Church.

During the period of Elizabeth's persecution, the Franciscans alone, of all the religious orders, uninterruptedly clung to the sacred ministry in Ireland, and maintained their novitiates in the country. On the return of comparative calm, the other various orders resumed their labours in the ministry, and entering into a holy rivalry, houses for the reception of novices were everywhere erected; and whilst many looked upon this multiplication of religious houses as useless and dangerous in the circumstances

* State Papers, collected by Edward Lord Clarendon: vol. i. pp. 338-9; letter of 6th October, 1635. Amongst the instructions subsequently given to the agent in Rome, one was to prevent the appointment of a bishop, and to watch the Jesuits, "*to discover what intelligence they hold both here and there, and diligently to observe their ways, and to give advertisement of them hither.*" (28th October, 1635.)

of the times, others, on the contrary, commended their zeal, and declared this increase of the religious to be the only hope for restoring in Ireland the former splendour of our Catholic ritual.*

Some of the religious, too, claimed the monasteries and possessions which, in Catholic times, belonged to their respective communities. On the other hand, the laity, into whose possession those monasteries and lands had passed, represented it as a grievance to be thus expelled from properties which they had so long enjoyed, and for which, too, many of them had paid large fines to the crown. Both sides had their respective supporters, and the bishop of Ossory (Dr. David Roothe), together with the bishop of Meath and the archbishop of Cashel, did not hesitate to add their authority to confirm the opinion that the religious orders had forfeited their rights to these possessions.

Dr. Roothe of Ossory had incidentally broached the speculative opinion, that the members of religious orders did not, strictly speaking, belong to the ecclesiastical hierarchy: this was now laid hold of by the enemies of the religious, and the matter was long debated with the greatest vehemence.

The exercise of the parochial duties was, however, the chief source of contention. During the period of persecution, the bishops and the local clergy being almost everywhere expelled, these duties often devolved on the regulars, who still remained in the vicinity; and even when the bishops were reappointed, and the parochial clergy restored, some continued to exercise their former functions. On this head uniformity was restored only by a decree from Rome, to which the religious orders at once submitted.

The religious, on the other hand, complained that Dr. William Therry, bishop of Cork, had imparted the faculty to his priests, to bless the religious habits for the dying; that some of the ordinaries, and especially Dr. Matthew Roche of Leighlin,† had interdicted their collecting the alms of the faithful; and that the bishops of Limerick and Cork had, in 1630, commanded

* The facts mentioned in this article, unless when other authorities are indicated, have been taken from a *Relatio de querelis quæ contra religiosos moventur*, dated 30th August, 1630, in *Archiv. Colleg. Hibernor. Romæ*.

† This diocese is, in some of the documents, styled *Diocesis Lughliensis*.

their parish priests not to allow them to perform the funeral service.

The division of offerings, which were made at the place of burial, was another matter of complaint. From time immemorial it had been the custom in Ireland to have an alms offered to the assisting priest at the monasteries or other places of burial: the heretics, however, having seized the monasteries and parochial graveyards, prevented the performance of the Catholic service, and claimed, moreover, the alms which might be offered by the friends of the deceased. To obviate this difficulty, the funeral, before arriving at the place of burial, halted at some convenient place, where the Protestant minister could put forth no claim, and there the prayers were recited and the alms offered to the assisting priest. Originally this alms was devoted to the repairs of the church or monastery where the interment was made; in many places, however, the custom had been long introduced that it should be divided into three portions, of which one was applied to the repair of the monastery or church, the second to the maintenance of the clergy, and the third to the poor. A new arrangement, however, was now introduced, especially in the dioceses of Waterford and Cork, by which one portion of this alms was devoted to the maintenance of the bishop, a second portion was allotted to the parish priest, and the third was applied to the support of the other clergy.

The canons prescribe the offering to be made to the parish priest by regulars and others, known as the *quarta funeralium*. When the newly-appointed bishops sought to enforce this law, the regulars claimed to be exempted from it, in consequence of a sentence given in their favour by the bishop of Cork and the archbishop of Cashel, in the year 1514, that is to say, fifty years before the council of Trent: whilst, by a decree of that ecumenical council, the religious should be exempted from the above law in all countries where such exemption had been allowed for at least *forty years* before the celebration of the council. "Of this decree of the bishop of Cork, and Maurice, archbishop of Cashel, in favour of the religious," adds the writer, to whom we owe these particulars, "I have seen an authentic copy."

For some years these controversies, though carried on with

great warmth, yet did not sever the bonds of charity: they occasioned, however, no little annoyance to the faithful, whilst, at the same time, they weakened the strength and energy of the clergy in resisting the common enemy. In 1628, they assumed another aspect, and for a while so violent and angry was the dispute, that it threatened to add schism to the many afflictions of our Church. At the instigation of Peter Caddell and Paul Harris, the former a native of Meath, the latter an Englishman, who for some time had exercised the functions of missionary in Dublin, a series of propositions, the most puerile and absurd, was laid before the theological faculty of the university of Paris, and represented as the teaching of the regulars in Ireland. Without delay the university censured the propositions proposed to it, and its censure was solemnly promulgated by the archbishop of Paris. Father Francis Matthews, of the Franciscan order, did not delay long in replying to the censure of the Parisian faculty, repudiating, at the same time, most of the propositions which had been imputed to the Irish religious. Some of the Irish bishops were looked upon as hostile to the religious orders, and a few of the expressions which escaped from father Matthews, in the heat of the disputation, were reputed at the time injurious to these prelates, as well as to the archbishop of Paris; and hence, instead of extinguishing the flame, his treatise only served to redouble its ardour.* Repeated solicitations were made to Rome to have this *Examen Juridicum* inscribed on the lists of the Index; but the Sacred Congregation, in its wisdom, deemed other means more suited for restoring peace

* Father Matthews' treatise was published without his name. It was entitled: *Examen Juridicum censuræ facultatis Th. Parisien. et ejusdem civitatis Archiepi. latæ, circa quasdam propositiones regularibus Hiberniæ falso impositas. Auctore Edmundo Ursulano Hiberno.* Some of the Munster bishops, writing to the Sacred Congregation, in 1632, state that the writer was probably a friar named "M'Mahon, or Matthews; and as the word *Mahown* in Irish signifies a bear, hence the assumed name *Ursulanus*, attached to the treatise." Wadding, however, leaves no doubt as to the author, as he expressly attributes it to father Matthews, in his *Scriptores Ord. Minor.* p. 123. Whatever faults may have been committed by the writer in his *Examen Juridicum*, were nobly expiated in his subsequent career, and he heroically laid down his life for the faith, in 1644. As a specimen of the correspondence of the Irish bishops at this period, and of the prudence with which they referred the whole controversy to the mother church, we insert some extracts from two letters, the first dated the 3rd of the nones of November, 1631, signed by the

and calm to our Irish Church. We may now retrace our steps to see the part taken by Dr. Fleming in this controversy.

Paul Harris and Peter Caddell were the chief promoters of discord in the kingdom, and they made use of another priest, named Patrick Cahill, to keep alive the flame in England and on the continent. Harris was a man of learning and of irreproachable life; he was, however, wholly devoted to sophistry,

bishops of Cork, Ossory, and Ferns; and the second, the 30th of December, 1632, signed by the bishops of Cork, Limerick, Killaloe, and Emly, and by the vicar-apostolic of Ross:—

“*EMI. PATRES ET DNI. COLMI.*—Non patitur omnium Ecclesiarum sollicitudo quæ Eminentissimis vestris incumbit ut ignoretis quæ etiam in Hibernia remotissimo quamvis orbis angulo apud Nos agantur. Nostis Emi. Patres, quæ jurgia nata sint apud nos ex semine quod supereminavit pater discordiarum, qualiter clerus sæcularis scissus sit a regulari, qualiter se mutuo petant, et utrumque latus aperiant hosti communi, seu fidei adversario. Et Nos quidem arbitrabamur contrariarum partium studia quæ fervebant mox abitura in nihilum, quando et quæ Emus. gentis nostræ Protector, et D. Nuntius Aplicus. apud Belgas, gravissime monebant ne ex dolore aut vindicta illata, ut prætendebatur calumniæ, regulares attentarent novas excitare turbas, sed offensiones et injurias suas remitterent Sac. Congni. quæ plene satisfaceret. Verum ecce de repente prodiit libellus quidam famosus a quodam Franciscano fratre Hiberno, ex iis unus qui Lovanii commorantur, ut communis fert opinio, digestus et inscriptus Examen Juridicum censuræ fac. Theologiæ Parisien. auctore Edmundo Ursulano Hiberno, in quo libello maligne et mendacissime author variis calumniis onerat Episcopos, et pastores Hiberniæ, in Sorbonam quoque et in Archiepum. Parisiensem insulse et irreverenter insurgit; libellus iste per manus transit regularium qui per se et assecclas suos eundem magnis præconiis extollunt inter laicos et egregiam laudem sibi videntur retulisse qui in tractatu toto non adeo laborant ut se tueantur ab illatis ut prætendebatur calumniis, quam ut Epos. et pastores majoribus gravent, quos non erubescunt socios facere persecutorum fidei, addentes quod ex integro desiderent religiosorum exterminium.

“*Lædunt injuriæ tantæ Prælatorum et Pastorum patientiam in hoc regno qui cum in eadem calamitate persecutionis involvantur in qua regulares, eo inexcusabilior est fratrum criminatio quod de aliis dicant quæ de ipsis dici non ferrent. Ad recriminandum proni sunt animi non paucorum sæcularium quos a scribendo comprimimus, ne videamur labi in delictum quod culpamus in fratribus, qui non attendentes monitis Emi. Protectoris et Dni. Nuntii Aplici. scribilibigne sua novas suscitaverunt turbas, nolentes injurias remittere ad arbitrium Sac. Congnis. Sed quamvis contineamus nostros sæculares intra fines injuncti nobis silentii, urit tamen intus mendax illa fratrum exprobratio et irrumpet aliquando in flammam nisi Vos Patres Emi. apportatis frigidam, severe inhibendo ne libellus iste Examen Juridicum inscriptus legatur aut retineatur inter fideles. Quod ut quantocius imperetis, Nos pro remedio malorum quæ suboriri possunt, petimus et exoptamus.*

“Porro commissarii quatuor Archiepi. vid. Dublinen. et Tuamen. et Epi. Kilmoren. et Kildaren. quos de mandato Sedis Aplicæ. nominavit D. Nuntius in Belgio ad inquirendum in hoc regno quid regulares docuerint in materia propositionum exhibitarum Sorbonæ per D. Patritium Cahil, præstiterunt ut opinamur quod secundum datam illis a Deo prudentiam ipsis visum fuit præstari potuisse, et acta inquisitionis suæ transmiserunt ad D. Nuncium

and seems to have brought with him from England a hatred of religious orders which verged on madness, and which nothing could control.* Such was precisely the agent suited to the views of the government; and, as we learn from the bishop of Ferns, he was admitted to the favour of the royal ministers, and received a mandate from the viceroy not to depart, on any condition, from the city of Dublin.† A sermon, preached in 1627, by father

Apostolicum in Belgio; qui si frigide et perfunctorie munus sibi commissum adimpleverint, ut de clero sæculari nonnullos eloquentes audivimus, attribuendum est tempori nimis duro et difficili, quod non permittit fieri satis sedulam indagationem.

“GUILIELMUS, Corcagien. et Cluanen. Epus.

“DAVID, Epus. Ossorien.

“JOANNES, Epus. Fernen.

“3rd Nonas Novembris, 1631.”

“Eminentissimis Dominis S. Congnis. de Propag. Fide Cardinalibus, Episcopi et Vicarij Apostolici Provinciæ Cassilensis in Hibernia ferventissimæ devotionis obsequium:—

“**EMINENTISSIMI AC REVM. DNI.**—Quorum prudentiæ et singulari industriæ commissa est cura propagandi fidem per universum orbem æqui bonique consulere dignemini quod per nos Hiberniæ Prælatos orbe pene ab urbe divisos a gravioribus forte negotiis ad audiendas nostras non leves aut minimi momenti querelas, parumper vacare interpellentini. Videtur utpote non minus vestro officio congruere ea quæ hactenus contra fidem temerariis ausibus usurpata sunt corrigere, quam in posterum providere, ne ulla dogmata inter fideles figant radices quæ in perniciem fidei et animarum periculum velut cancer paulatim serpant. Alto itaque silentio suppressis calamitatum procellis, quibus particulares nostræ Ecclesiæ improborum fidei adversariorum violenta persecutione conquassantur, paucula quædam quæ ex animositate seu inconsiderato Regularum zelo, nobis inferuntur gravamina, transcursum et perfunctorie delineabimus, sperantes ut censuræ vestræ interposita auctoritate sublevati in tranquillitatis et concordiæ portu tandem conquiescere valeamus. . . .

“Prodiit in publicum sub anno 1631, famosus quidam et vere infamis libellus qui infausto nomine inscribitur; Examen Juridicum censuræ facultatis Theologiæ Parisiensis, etc. auctore Edmundo Ursulano, etc. In modico isto opusculo immodica continentur mala, mendaciis quippe scatens, undique non plures facies quam fraudes refert nec plures paginas quam peccata adimplet. Injurias contra Deum cumulat dum sub religioso prætextu inculpatae defensionis Regularium, universum clerum in Dei sortem et famulatum specialiter vocatum contemptibilem et infamem reddere conatur.

“GUILIELMUS, Corcagien. et Cluanen. Epus.

“RICH. Epus. Limericensis.

“JOANNES, Laonensis.

“MAURITIUS, Imolacen. Epus.

“ROBERTUS BARRY, Prot. Aplicus. et Vic. Aplicus. Rossensis.

“30th Dec. 1632.”

* Epist. Fernensis, 20th Oct. 1635.

† Ib. The bishop of Meath also commemorates how the favour of the castle was extended to this unfortunate man: “Jam regii senatus præsidio munitus et speciali status gratiâ fretus nusquam confidentius negotiatur quam in ipsa proregis curia,” etc.—Letter, 29th May, 1635.

Thomas Strong, guardian of the order of St. Francis, in which he dwelt on the merits and privileges of the regular clergy, could not be endured by Harris. He at once published a "fraternal correction," under the name of Philadelphus,* which was violent in its language, and offensive in the extreme to all the regular clergy. Father Strong, under the name of Philalethes, replied with another pamphlet; and the contagion of this angry dispute soon infected the whole clergy of Dublin. As a remedy to the evil, the archbishop interdicted to the faithful the pamphlet of Philadelphus, and Harris, submitting for a while, consigned to the flames all the copies of it that remained in his possession. His happy conversion was, however, only momentary in its duration, and he soon relapsed into his former invectives against the regular clergy.

Peter Caddell was the associate of Harris in all these proceedings; and to such extremes did their enmity to the religious orders proceed, that Dr. Fleming was at length obliged to suspend both of them from the exercise of all ecclesiastical functions. In the decree of suspension, the archbishop thus states the motives that impelled him to take this step:—

"Considering the obstinate disobedience and continual insolency, without hope of amendment, of Paul Harris, notwithstanding that he hath been borne withal this long time past, as also the like disobedience of doctor Peter Caddell, to the great scandal and disedification of many Catholics of this diocese, and to no small dishonour of the pastoral function and authority, and to the end that at length the current of their scandalous proceedings may have a stop, and not always go forward without correction; after mature consideration of their proceedings, being thereby forced to perform my duty for the good of the souls of this my diocese," etc.†

As regards Cahill, Dr. Fleming, under the assumed name of Barnwall, thus writes to Luke Wadding, on 26th August, 1629: "I have gotten the ill-will of the secular clergy, particularly for displacing, at your request, a turbulent spirit of another diocese, who was placed, by my vicar-general, in the best parish of Dublin, called St. Michael's: his name is Patrick Cahill." He

* Epist. Fernensis, 1st Dec. 1629.

† This sentence of suspension is dated 6th March, 1631.

adds that he appointed in his place a worthy priest, a native of the diocese, named Patrick Brangan. It was not, however, at the suggestion of Wadding alone that Dr. Fleming took this important step; many of the clergy, both secular and regular, presented to him a petition, on 24th March, 1629, requesting him to punish, with ecclesiastical censures, the same Patrick Cahill, on account of a virulent diatribe which he had published against the bishops of the Church:* and Dr. Fleming himself, on 1st of February, 1631, thus wrote again to the Eternal City:—

“The regulars, with many of the best of the town, did most earnestly solicit with me, to have Cahill removed, alleging that he was a stranger to the town, and that there were two or three natives of the town descended of the best families, and educated beyond the seas, of whom two had no charge at all, and the third had only one of the worst in town; and seeing that the Protestant clergy enjoy all the benefices, and that our clergy are only maintained by the charitable benevolence of the citizens, they saw no reason why natives, deserving of the post, should be excluded, and strangers preferred. . . . The premises being considered, upon my coming to town, I displaced the said Cahill, and put in his place a native, who laudably had carried himself in the aforesaid poor parish for six years.”†

All this solicitude of the archbishop was, nevertheless, inefficient to restore the wished-for calm of our suffering Church. The priest whom he had substituted for Cahill in

* The address to the archbishop is as follows:—“*Nos infrascripti in civitate Dublinensi theologi lectâ et perspectâ testium examinatione testantium libellum quemdam famosum contra prælatos ecclesiæ a D. Patricio Cahill esse compositum et vulgatum, non sine multorum ad quos pervenit scandalo Catholicorum, sentimus prædictum D. Cahill ob suprascriptum scandalum dignum esse qui ab Epo. suspendatur. Dublini, 24 Martii, 1629.*” Then follow the signatures of several of the clergy.—*Ex Archiv. S. Isid.* There is another address, signed by the superiors of the Cistercians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, and Capuchins, which bears the date 24th November, 1629. It is as follows:—“*Nos infrascripti, etc. rogati an expediret amovere ab hac civitate et Diœcesi Rev. Dom. Paulum Harris Anglum Sacerdotem et Pat. Cahil Presb. Medensem, ob varia scandala quæ ab eis aut eorum causa orta existimantur in hac civitate et diœcesi, Nos re mature considerata et longa experientia et eorum notitia edocti considerantes turbulentum et factiosum eorum spiritum non ad ædificationem tendentem, non solum expediens sed etiam necessarium ducimus pro quiete et pace Ecclesiasticorum hujus Diœc. ac civitatis et ut evitentur ulteriora scandala ut penitus amoveantur, et optassemus pro publico bono et quiete ut antehac amoti fuissent.*”

† *Ex Archiv. S. Isid.* The original letter is in English.

the administration of St. Michael's, was arrested by order of the viceroy, and detained in prison for several months; and though Cahill abandoned the diocese of Dublin, his enmity to the religious was not diminished, and he caused to be circulated, in Paris and Germany, no fewer than three thousand copies of a treatise he had written against them.*

Harris and Caddell continued their career in Dublin; tract after tract issued from the press, maligning the archbishop, and not sparing, in their attacks, the Sacred Congregation itself. Some of these tracts were in Latin, but for the most part they were in English, and scattered at a nominal price, not only throughout Ireland, but also in England, and especially in London, "to the great scandal of all true Catholics, and to the joy and triumph of the enemies of the faith."† Supported by the government, they heeded not the threats of ecclesiastical censure;‡ and when the Holy See commissioned the bishop of Meath to cite Harris before his spiritual tribunal, and remove him from the theatre of his scandals, Harris did not hesitate to write:—"Certainly if the bishop of Meath's warrant come in the name of king Charles, it will doubtless be obeyed; but if it come in any other man's name, Paul Harris, as far as I understand his mind, is resolved not to depart; nay, if all the fathers, popes, bishops, cardinals, priests, and a general council shall command, not a foot will he remove out of the diocese of Dublin."

It was in 1634 that this commission was sent to Dr. Dease; and it authorized him to remove Harris from Dublin, "if this could be effected without occasioning greater scandal."§ The bishop of Meath replied to the Sacred Congregation, expressing his readiness to execute its commands, but, at the same time,

* Wadding Papers, in Archiv. S. Isid. Gilbert, in his most interesting History of Dublin, vol. 1, p. 316, and some others, are of opinion that even in after years rev. Mr. Cahill assumed the title of P.P. of St. Michael's; it is certain, indeed, that he was recognised as such by the government, and was more than once employed by the Puritan lords justices to negotiate with the Irish leaders. He is also said to have been appointed dean of Christ's Church, by Urban VIII. in 1644. He may have assumed that title, as he did the former one; but there is no trace in the Roman Archives of any such appointment.

† Relatio of Dr. Fleming, 2 Oct. 1632.

‡ Ibid. "Censuras Ecclesiasticas præsidio brachii sæcularis Protestantis continententes agunt omnia impune."

§ Epist. Midensis, 29th Maii, 1635.

declaring his opinion, "that it would be impossible to carry such a design into execution, protected as Harris was by the authority of the government, and safely reposing in the very highest courts of the land, whence, as from an eminence, he easily assailed his metropolitan, and all others whomsoever he pleased;"* and should the bishop cite him before the ecclesiastical tribunals, he himself would thus incur capital penalty, which assuredly would be carried out in all its rigour, in defence of this government protégé.†

This was not the first step taken by the Sacred Congregation in this controversy. On the 10th of May, 1631, a commission was sent from Rome to the archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, and the bishops of Kilmore and Kildare, to examine whether the religious orders in Ireland taught the propositions imputed to them. To this commission, Dr. Fleming and the bishop of Kilmore replied, on the 4th September, 1631, declaring that, having duly examined the necessary witnesses, they found that none of the propositions imputed to the religious had been broached by them;‡ and the archbishop of Tuam and the bishop of Kildare replied a few days later in the same sense. So soon, however, as it became generally known (1633) that the Holy See reproved the conduct of Harris and his associates, and that ulterior steps were deliberated on to remove him from the diocese of Dublin, the ardour of controversy subsided, and concord was gradually re-established between the secular and regular clergy. Even before the close of 1634, as we learn from Dr. Roche, peace and calm were restored throughout the whole provinces of Dublin and Cashel, though, in the capital, the smouldering embers continued for awhile, to show how great was the conflagration that had raged there. "As to ecclesiastical matters," he thus writes, "we are all in the enjoyment of peace and concord in this province,

* Epist. Midensis, 29th Maii, 1635.

† Dr. Fleming himself writes almost in the same strain, on 1st August, 1631: "Cum ea sit et horum temporum ratio et regni conditio, ut seditioso cuilibet omni seposito poenæ timore, quidlibet liceat attentare, nobis interim sub perpetui carceris mulctâ, omni externâ jurisdictione abrogatâ," etc.—Epist. ad Secretar. Sac. Cong.

‡ "Regulares hujus Regni Hiberniæ nullam prorsus ex propositionibus prædictis protulisse," etc.—Ex Archiv. S. Isid.

with the exception of the city of Dublin; and the same tranquillity reigns in the province of Cashel: every one attends to his own affairs, and the slight differences that sometimes arise are easily accommodated by a little forbearance. The superior of the Jesuits and the provincial of the Franciscans (both aged and prudent men), when making their circuit of visitation, showed an earnest spirit of conciliation, and a determination to chastise the younger and more ardent members of their respective orders, should occasion so require. I deem it my duty to give this attestation of their prudent zeal. Of the other religious I know very little, as there are none of them in my diocese, with the exception of two Cistercians, who are excellent men."* The crowning measure, however, adopted by the Holy See, in 1636, at once put an end to all dissensions. Each archbishop was appointed delegate of the apostolic see for two years, for the correction of all abuses, and the decision of all controversies that might arise within his respective province: and so happy were the fruits of this commission, that from that period till the revolution of 1641, few churches in Christendom enjoyed a greater internal peace; even in Dublin, all dissensions were happily extinguished: and the archbishop was able to write to the Sacred Congregation, on 29th May, 1640, that no longer did any trace remain of the controversy excited by Harris and his confederates.

* Epist. Fernens. 15th Nov. 1634.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD STRAFFORD.—1633-1640.

Lord Strafford appointed Viceroy.—Address of Catholics to him.—He promises to protect them.—Letter of Bishop of Ferns.—Protestant Bishops oppose Catholic Claims.—Parliament held.—Subsidies granted by Catholics.—Perfidy of Viceroy, and Persecution of Catholics.—Address to the Pope explaining Catholic Grievances.—Court of Wards, etc.

THE Irish Catholics looked forward with feverish anxiety to the appointment of the new viceroy. Lord Strafford, then known as viscount Wentworth, had often proclaimed his enmity to the Catholic religion, and the report of his nomination diffused throughout Ireland an universal alarm. The statute against recusants, of the second year of Elizabeth, was republished at the same time, and many deemed this a mere preparatory step for the further severities of the future viceroy. A long delay, however, intervened before he took his departure from the English court, and new difficulties were daily gathering around the throne of king Charles. Availing themselves of the opportunities thus presented to them, the Irish Catholics at once despatched agents to Saint James's, to seek by liberal offers to avert from their country the threatened storm. Being arrived in London, they were courteously received by the newly-appointed viceroy, to whom they presented the following address in the name of the Irish nation:—

“RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Having long since understood of his majesty's princely designment of your lordship to undertake the charge of this government, we daily expected your happy arrival with confidence, that (notwithstanding all reports to the contrary) we should thereby reap a large portion of comfort and content. But seeing that your lordship's coming to us is (we know not how) retarded beyond our expectation, we have thus presumed, by these our agents and letters, to make demonstration beforehand of our loyal promptness to give his majesty all content and assistance that possibly we may, under the government of so worthy a ruler as, we have generally conceit, that your lordship

will prove. And that your honour may be the better assured thereof, behold here how ingeniously, with one consent, we make recourse unto your lordship, humbly beseeching that before your coming unto us, you will endeavour to persuade his majesty that he will be pleased to make trial of our well-disposed inclinations any other way than by this late broached execution of the statute of 2nd Elizabeth, the which certainly hath brought us all unto an extraordinary amazement, as by these our agents your lordship shall further understand. And if his majesty's royal pleasure be such, that here in this kingdom twenty thousand pounds must be had for the maintenance of his armies, we, your humble petitioners, do hereby promise for ourselves, that we will be found among the forwardest of his majesty's subjects of this realm to contribute unto the same, at least for this next year to come, not doubting but that upon your happy entrance into the possession of this government, your lordship shall find us as humbly pliable unto all good motions for his majesty's further service, as we unfeignedly expect to find your lordship an efficacious mediator for us unto his princely favour, for our enjoying of all such graces as were by him granted unto us, upon the gift of the three late subsidies, by the agents then attending his majesty. Concerning the which, we have given particular instructions unto these our agents, that so they may inform your honour more fully, and your lordship may accordingly possess his majesty, for whose long and prosperous reign over us we will never cease to pray: and so remain

“Your honourable lordship's humbly at command,”*

* * * *

This petition, and especially the promise of a subsidy which it contained, was most welcome to the viceroy; and on his arrival at his appointed post, in October, 1633, the hope of toleration from the government once more cheered the Irish Catholics. It is thus the bishop of Ferns writes, on the 18th November, 1633:—

“The long-expected viceroy has at length arrived. The rumour universally received of his severity against the Catholics, terrified very many, who, turning to God with fervent prayer, sought from him a defence against the coming tribulation; and, indeed, their prayers were heard, for the heart of the viceroy has been changed, and, whether through regard for the queen, or from prudential motives and the interests of the king, he acts with more moderation than we expected from him. Hence, we live in peace, in the private exercise of our religion and of our ministry, whilst, at the same time, however, a large sum of money is annually paid by us for the maintenance of the army.”

* Ex Archiv. Sac. Cong.

From the memoir of father Francis Slingsby, we learn that the primate Usher and others did not abate their efforts in seeking to keep alive the embers of persecution in Dublin. On embracing the Catholic faith, and leading captive to its truth other members of his family, father Slingsby was first confined to his lodgings in Dublin, and then committed to the Tower. "Here I am at this present, prisoner," he writes, on 11th November, 1634. "The chief crime laid to my charge is the conversion of a young gentleman coming out of England, and of my brother and others."* He adds that twice the primate Usher had had conferences with him, to shake the firmness of his faith; but in vain. The intrepid confessor interrupted all his sophistry by summoning him to a prayer in common, like Elias of old:—"Let he of us be struck with instant death, whose words vary from what his conscience knows to be the truth." At this demand, the terror-stricken primate rushed from the room.† Other conferences held with him by Bramhall had as little effect as the foregoing; and at length, through the influence of some of the nobility, he re-acquired his liberty. It is a consoling thing amidst such scenes of bigotry, to learn that some of the Protestant gentry were quite opposed to the violence thus offered to the Catholics. The castle of Kildare was, in a special manner, the home and refuge of all the persecuted, which was chiefly owing to the piety of the countess, who, having been born in the Tower of London whilst her parents were imprisoned there for the Catholic religion, never allowed the fervor of her faith to grow cold, or the ardour of her charity to be extinguished. Her castle became not only the asylum of the neighbouring Catholics, but a sort of head-quarters for the Catholic clergy; and hence it was characteristically known throughout the kingdom as the "house of holiness," whilst by the Protestant bigots it was styled a centre of abominations, "the sink of hell."‡

* Mem. of Fr. F. Slingsby, from orig. doc. London, 1861. Page 214.

† Ibid. Also letter of father Fitzsimons, 29th Aug. 1634.

‡ Memoir, p. 212. At this very period, father Robert Nugent, superior of the Irish Jesuits, was for seven years "continually being looked after by the pursuivants, whom he only beguiled by night-travelling and various disguises. All this time, however, he never ceased preaching to crowds of eager listeners."—Ibid. page 211.

The viceroy was, in the meantime, deeply engaged in political intrigue. The parliament was summoned for the express purpose of voting supplies for the exhausted treasury of England; but many of its members were pledged to make no such grants, unless "the graces" so often promised by the King were guaranteed to the Irish nation. Strafford, on opening the parliament, deliberately stated, as we learn from his own letters,* that "these graces would be granted," if the parliament voted such supplies as would be acceptable to the monarch. His concluding words were: "Surely so great a meanness cannot enter your hearts, as once to suspect his majesty's gracious regards of you, and performance with you, where you confide in his gracious counsels." With alacrity the wished-for supplies were voted; nay, the subsidies granted by the parliament far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the viceroy. "Each of the six subsidies," he writes, "amounted to £50,000, and I never propounded more to the king than £30,000; so that the subsidies raised in this first were more than I proposed to be had in both sessions, and were freely given, and without any contradiction."†

We learn the same particulars from the bishop of Ferns, who thus writes on 15th of November, 1634:—

"In the present parliament, all, as well Catholics as Protestants, unanimously consented to make a larger grant to the king than the king himself had hoped for. They voted six subsidies, to be paid in four years, which amount altogether to about 800,000 scudi,‡ a gift which is very considerable for a kingdom so impoverished as this is. In return for this devotedness, displayed by the deputies in the first session of parliament, we are in hopes of obtaining many graces from his majesty in the present second session—graces which have been often solicited and promised, but which have always been withheld from us. Of these there are many which especially regard the relief of the Catholic body, and modify the penalties and exactions which are inflicted by the Protestant bishops, for the baptisms, marriages, and burials at which the Catholic priests assist. Even should only a part of the graces be granted to us, the parliamentary subsidy will have been well employed."§

* Strafford's State Letters, vol. i. pp. 222-3.

† Ibid. page 273.

‡ Each subsidy was equal, according to the computation of that period, to 200,000 scudi: when making the sum total, Dr. Roche must have multiplied that amount by four instead of by six. It should have been 1,200,000 scudi.

§ Lettera del Fernense da Kilkennia, 15 di Nov. 1634, al Seg. della Sac. Congne.

These hopes of the Catholics were soon dissipated; the promises of the viceroy had attained their purpose, and no idea was any longer entertained of their fulfilment. So far was Strafford from recommending to the king the concession of these graces, that, on the contrary, he declared them to be prejudicial to the crown, and such, that the king was not bound, "either in justice, honour, or conscience," to grant to the Irish Catholics. Such is the record preserved in the Strafford State Papers; and, alas! for the honour of the monarch, there are too clear indications of his complicity in the faithless policy of the viceroy.*

This injustice was not the only one that marked the government of lord Strafford. During the reign of James, one fair province in Ireland had been confiscated to the crown; Strafford now resolved on the confiscation of the three remaining provinces. Jurors were openly threatened with the vengeance of the viceroy, should they refuse to find verdicts for the king; and in a little while the whole of Connaught was confiscated to the crown. The punishment inflicted on jurors who refused to deprive the lawful proprietors of their estates, is recorded in the journals of the House of Commons, which tell us, "that jurors who gave their verdict according to their consciences, were censured in the castle chamber in great fines; sometimes pilloried with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead with a hot iron, and other infamous punishments."†

At the same time, a Court of Wards was established; also, the High Commission Court, or Protestant Inquisition, was extended to Ireland, and many other vexatious enactments were levelled against the Irish Catholics. All these grievances are well compendiated in a petition presented by the Irish agents to the Pope, in 1640.‡ It is entitled *Gravamina Regni Hiberniæ*, and is as follows:—

* See State Papers, vol. i. page 279; and letter of the king, *ibid.* page 331.

† Commons' Journals, vol. i. page 307. The fate of the courageous jurors of Galway is well known to our readers. Their estates were seized by order of the Exchequer; they were moreover fined four thousand pounds each, and sentenced to be imprisoned till this fine was paid; and then they were to acknowledge their offence in open court upon their knees. The sheriff, too, for returning such a jury, was fined £1,000. See Strafford's Letters, i. 451-3; Leland, book v. chap. 1; Carte's Ormond; O'Connell's Memoir, etc.

‡ "BME. PATER,—Exponuntur S. V. aliqua gravamina Regni Hiberniæ eo

"1. The English seeing that the Catholic religion was so deeply rooted in the Irish hearts, that it could never be eradicated by threats, or violence, or the confiscation of property, or the loss of life itself, now

animo, ut, si fieri possit, aliquod salutiferum remedium in levamen Catholico-
rum adhibeatur.

"I. Cum Angli Catholicæ Religionis cultum animis Hibernorum adeo esse innatum advertissent, ut vi, metu, rerum jactura, aut corporum internecone divelli nequeat, quod palam adoriri non sunt ausi, per insidias, humanasq. artes exequi conantur; mediumq. ad id opportunum (ad imitationem olim Romanorum) novas introducere colonias judicatum fuit, ut sic, incolæ Regni, Anglor. et Scotor. hereticor. familiaritati assueti, sub specie recti hæresis veneno inficerentur. Modus introducendi colonias inter Christianos hactenus inauditus, et iis, qui rem experti non sunt, incredibilis, talis est. Primo per edictum regium decernitur, colonias esse erigendas (seu ut ipsi vocant) plantationem esse faciendam, quia plantant, seu seminant zizania simul cum tritico, hoc est hæreticos inter catholicos: designant ad eum effectum certum aliquem comitatum, vel provinciam: citantur omnes Domini directi territorii designati, quibus injungitur, ut juribus suis, ac antecessorum cedendo, beneplacito se regis submittant: qui obstitierint, spoliantur omnibus suis possessionibus, nulla habita ratione familiæ antiquitatis, aut juris ipsorum; qui vero permittunt suum jus, ac possessiones regis beneplacito, facto publico super hoc instrumento, decernitur, omnes, quorum possessiones centum agri jugera non excederent, privatos esse omni titulo, ac jure in perpetuum, nulla facta eis, recompensatione pro sua possessione. Quorum aut possessiones excedunt centum jugera, quarta pars sit regis, tres aliæ partes penes dominum relinquuntur, sed ad beneplacitum regis, cum certis conditionibus adimplendis sub pœna jacturæ totius juris, ac domini, quas implere est impossibile. In recognitionem vero directi domini principis ex quolibet jure certum censum quotannis solvere tenentur ex parte sibi relicta suarum possessionum, et ut plurimum coguntur de loco nativo, ac suorum patrum transmigra- re in locum alterius per commutationem, ut sic intelligant nullum sibi relictum dominium directum in territoriis possessis. Pars territorii, quæ regi cedit, distribuitur inter Anglos et Scotos hæreticos ea tamen conditione, ut Hibernis nec vendant, nec pignorent ullas suas possessiones, et ad eas comparandas absque speciali privilegio regis redduntur inhabiles Hiberni.

"II. Gravamen: Nuper item fuit erectum novum tribunal, sanctæ Inquisitionis instar, in qualibet regni provincia, cujus commissarii jus habent, omnes ecclesiasticos citare, damnare, ac exilio punire, et quoscumque, in hæresim invehentes tanquam hæreticos castigare. Ista nova inventio multorum Catholicorum crumenas prius exhausit, quam intellexerunt artem, et futura pericula graviora prævident, nec impedire possunt, prout diversis ex partibus epistolæ declarant.

"III. Per edictum publicum Christiani magistri juventuti Catholicæ adempti sunt, ut natio alias avida doctrinæ in tenebris ignorantiae jaceret, aut certe sub preceptoribus Lutheranis tenera ætas erroribus hæreticæ pravitatis corrumpetur. Simili peste Julianus apostata rem Christianam insecutus est, ad cujus forte exemplum hæc nobis insidiæ parantur.

"IV. Quia in Hibernia, omnes Ecclesiæ parochiales ministeriis, ac sepul-
turis hæreticorum pollutæ, Catholicus populus pro majori parte sepulturas suas fieri curabant in certis monasteriis mendicantium, quia redivitis vacua neglecta sunt ab hæreticis et ita quos in vita socios habere fugiebant, in morte separatos optabant. Quare vice-rex hoc advertens stricte mandavit, omnes cujuscumque status aut religionis sepeliendos esse in ecclesiis parochialibus.

"Hæc et alia gravamina populi Catholici regni Hiberniæ non tam de consensu sermi. regis, quam ministrorum nequitia et avaritia introducta esse creduntur, excepto primo gravamine, quod regem latere non potest, quem incolæ, quor. ultimum exterminium in eo positum est, furtive, frequenterque informant, et supplicant."

attempt to insidiously attain the end, which they could never arrive at by open violence. In imitation of the pagans of ancient Rome, they deemed the introduction of new colonies the best means for this purpose, that thus the inhabitants of the kingdom, through familiar intercourse with the English and Scotch heretics, might be infected with the poison of heresy. Their manner of establishing these colonies was never before heard of among Christian nations, and must seem incredible to those who have not witnessed it. In the first place, a royal edict is published, to the effect that a colony is to be erected, that is, in their phraseology, that a plantation is to be made; for they truly plant or sow the cockle amidst the good corn, that is, heretics amongst the Catholics. For this purpose they mark out a certain county or province; all the direct proprietors are summoned to appear on an appointed day, to surrender to the crown their own possessions and those of their forefathers, that thus they may conciliate the clemency of the king. Those who offer any resistance are at once despoiled of all they possessed, without regard to the dignity of their family, or to the justice of their claim. As regards those who submit without resistance, a public instrument is at once drawn up, declaring the royal title; those whose property does not exceed one hundred acres, are at once despoiled of all right or title to it for ever, and receive no compensation for it whatsoever; as regards those whose property exceeds one hundred acres, a fourth part of it is seized for the king, the other three parts are allowed to remain in the hands of the proprietor, only, however, at the king's pleasure, and subject to certain conditions (whose fulfilment is impossible), under penalty of forfeiture of all right and dominion. In recognition of the direct dominion of the king, they are obliged to pay a certain rent for each acre that remains to them; and for the most part they are compelled to quit their home, and the home of their fathers, and change to some other place, that thus it may be made more manifest that they retain no direct dominion over the lands which are left with them. The territory which is seized by the crown, is divided between the English and Scotch heretics, on condition, however, that they neither sell nor set any portion of it to the Irish; and, moreover, the Irish are declared by law incapable of acquiring a title to any such property, without a special privilege from the king.

"2. A new tribunal, like to the Inquisition, was erected in each province of the kingdom. Its commissaries have the right to summon all ecclesiastics before them, and punish them and even condemn them to exile, and to sentence as heretics all those who preach against their heresies. This new scheme emptied the pockets of the Catholics before they well understood its object; and they foresee greater impending dangers, which it is not in their power to prevent, as letters from various parts make manifest.

"3. By public proclamation, Catholic teachers are prohibited to teach Catholic youth, so that a nation, otherwise most eager for knowledge, must be enveloped in the darkness of ignorance, or otherwise its chil-

dren, in their tender years, must be subjected to Lutheran teachers, and thus corrupted with the errors of heretical depravity. By a like pest, Julian the Apostate sought to infect the Christian Church, after whose example it is, perhaps, that these snares are prepared for us.

"4. As in Ireland all the parish churches were polluted by the heretical functions and the burial of heretics, the Catholics, for the most part, sought to be interred in some of the monasteries of the Mendicant Friars, which, being destitute of revenues, had been allowed to remain in Catholic hands, that thus in death they might remain separated from those whose society they shunned during life. Wherefore, the viceroy perceiving this, issued strict orders that all, of whatsoever class or condition, should be interred in the parish (Protestant) churches.

"These and other grievances of the Catholic people of the kingdom of Ireland, are attributed, not so much to the wishes of his most serene majesty, as to the iniquity and avarice of his ministers, with the exception, perhaps, of the first grievance, of which his majesty cannot be ignorant, and about which the natives of the kingdom, knowing that their utter extermination was involved in it, repeatedly informed and supplicated his majesty."

The High Commission Court was deemed a special injustice by the Irish Catholics. It was so odious an establishment, and so manifestly destined to engender dissensions in the country, that the viceroy did not attempt it till after the dissolution of parliament. In the remonstrance presented to the king by the Irish Catholic nobility and gentry, assembled at Trim, in 1642, special mention is made of the vexations which this Protestant inquisition involved, and amongst its other consequences are commemorated—"An incapacity of the Catholics for all offices and employments; a disability to sue out livery of their estates without taking the oath of supremacy; severe penalties of various kinds inflicted on all those of the Catholic religion, although the Catholics were an hundred to one more numerous than those of any other religion."*

The other tribunal, styled the Court of Wards, professed itself the watchful guardian of the estates of minors in the kingdom of Ireland. Its fruits, however, as detailed in the "remonstrance"

* Remonst. from Trim. Curry, Hist. Rev. page 125, seqq.

just referred to, sufficiently prove 'that such guardianship was only the tender affection of the wolf for the lambs:—

“ Sir William Parsons, by whom it was first projected, was appointed master of it—a man justly and universally hated by the Irish; and such were the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of that court, that the heirs of Catholic noblemen and other Catholics were destroyed in their estates, and bred in dissolution and ignorance; their parents' debts unsatisfied; their sisters and younger brothers left wholly unprovided for; the ancient proved tenures of mesne lands disregarded; estates, valid in law, and made for valuable considerations, made void against law; and the whole land filled with frequent swarms of escheators, feudatories, pursuivants, and others, by authority of that court.”*

These measures of the government were looked upon by the Irish Catholics as aiming at little less than the utter extirpation of the whole nation. At first, however, the Catholics were more leniently proceeded with, that thus the courts themselves might be the more firmly rooted in the country. On 23rd November, 1637, father Columbanus, an Irish Carmelite, writes from Dublin to the secretary of the Sacred Congregation, that his silence hitherto should be imputed to the pestilence and war, and to his great distance from the Holy See. “ However,” he adds, “ all things here prosperously succeed in our mission, nor are we without apostolic men, who manfully labour for the conversion of souls, to whose ministry the present times are sufficiently favourable, as the violence of the persecution is less than in former years.” The bishop of Down and Connor, too, thus writes from his place of retreat, on the 12th September, 1636:

“ As regards the state of this kingdom, matters as yet tranquilly proceed with us; but day by day the report goes on increasing that a dreadful storm of bitter persecution will soon overwhelm us, unless God in His mercy preserve us from it. Would to God that by my own individual sufferings I might be allowed to expiate whatever yet remains of our fathers' guilt, that thus the remainder of His people might devote themselves without obstacle to the service of God.”†

* Remonst. from Trim.

† “ Quod ad hujus regni statum attinet tranquille adhuc vivimus; verum de die in diem increbescit rumor quod ingens sævissimæ persecutionis tempestas (quam Deus opt. max. pro sua misericordia avertat) brevi superventura sit; quæ utinam mei solius cruciatibus, quod adhuc iniquitatis patrum

By degrees the storm went on increasing, till, at the close of Strafford's administration, when the petition above cited was presented to the Holy See, nothing short of utter extermination seemed to impend over the Irish Catholics. A little later this intent was openly avowed by the ministers of the government, and this it was that chiefly goaded on the Irish people to that revolution, which marks the year 1641 as one of the most important eras in our modern history. We will subsequently return to that period; we must first, however, revert to the ecclesiastical affairs which occupied our archbishop during these years of his administration; and we will conclude this chapter with the words of Mr. Grainger, who, speaking of the reign of Charles I., remarks: "The condition of a Catholic missionary at the beginning of this reign was different from what it was at the latter end of it, when religious zeal against popery was heightened and inflamed with all the rage of faction. If a Turkish dervise had then preached Mahomet in England, he would have met much better treatment than a popish priest."*

nostrorum inultum est, deleat, ut reliquus populus possit Deo libere famulari; cujus benignitati," etc.

"Datum 12 Sept. 1636, styl. vet.

"Fr. BONAVENTURA, Epus. Dunen. et Connoren."

* *Biograph. Hist. of England, ii. p. 208.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

DIOCESAN AND PROVINCIAL SYNODS, AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THIS PERIOD.

Synod of Kilkenny, in 1624.—Dr. Roothe's Address to the Clergy, or *Cautio Ecclesiastica*.—Cahill, and his Complaints against the Regulars.—Synod of Drogheda, in 1626.—Synod of the Bishops of Leinster and Munster, in 1629, at Kilkenny: its Decrees.—Letter of Dr. Roche, of Ferns, on the State of the Irish Church.—Synod held by Dr. Fleming at Tyrehogir, in 1640.—Utility of those Synods.—Capuchins established in Dublin.—Dispute as to whether the Franciscans were obliged to contribute to the support of the Ordinary.—Rev. L. Sedgrave and Rev. J. Talbot endow a College in Antwerp.—Visit of Bishops and *Limina Apostolorum* to be made every ten years.—Resolutions of the Propaganda regarding the Irish Church.—Letter of the four Archbishops: their address to the Card. Prefect of Propaganda.—The four Archbishops made Delegates of the Apostolic See, to terminate disputes with Regulars.

ON the 4th September, 1624, the bishops of Ossory, Cork, Limerick, and Emly, with Daniel Kearney, vicar-general of Cashel; Laurence Lea, vicar-general of the united sees of Waterford and Lismore; Richard Connell, vicar-apostolic of Kerry; Robert Barry, vicar-apostolic of Ross; and Malachy Queely, vicar-apostolic of Killaloe, assembled in the city of Kilkenny, to deliberate on the necessities of the Irish Church, and make such arrangements as might restore peace and harmony, especially between the various branches of the secular and regular clergy.* Their first care was to re-sanction the constitutions of 1618, which, they add, "though enacted for the sole province of Armagh, were, nevertheless, accepted and adopted by the other provinces."† Any doubtful or contentious privileges which might be claimed by the religious, were to be jealously watched over by their respective superiors; their assemblies, too, and chapters, were to be held with secrecy, and in some retired place, that the alarm of government might not be awakened; the

* Ex Archiv. Sac. Cong. de Prop. Fid.

† "Per alias postmodum provincias usu et acceptione approbatæ sunt."—*Ibid.*

number of novices was to be limited in accordance with the decree of the holy Pontiff, Urban VIII., nor were they to be sent to the Irish missions till they had completed their sacred studies, and prepared themselves for the peculiar wants of our suffering Church. On the other hand, the religious were to be cherished by the parochial clergy, and invited to assist in the discharge of the sacred ministry. The regulations thus agreed on were published as a "consultatio unitiva," and the last decree which was sanctioned by the assembled prelates, sufficiently explains the motive of these enactments. "The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda," they say, "will be petitioned by us, not to allow the union of the bishop with his flock to be interfered with by the immunities or exceptional faculties of the religious orders: *for, everything else has been destroyed in this country; the monuments of faith are no more; the cloisters are in ruins; the monasteries are plundered; the ecclesiastical property is seized by alien hands; the churches themselves are taken possession of by the Protestants; the faithful flock alone now remains to the pastor, and hence, special diligence must be used lest any dissensions or discord should creep in to separate and divide them.*"*

Dr. David Roothé, as senior bishop, presided in the assembly. A few years later, he issued an address to the clergy, which was styled *Cautio Ecclesiastica*, or an Ecclesiastical Warning, in which he placed before them the many evils that preyed upon the Church and benumbed its energy, whilst he repeated the injunctions of the assembled prelates of Kilkenny. He commemorates a decree of the Sacred Congregation, transmitted to the Irish bishops on 21st August, 1626, reprobating the manner of celebrating the patron feasts observed in some districts, and the importunity occasionally displayed by the religious in the collection of alms: "this decree," he adds, "we wish the more especially to enforce, on account of the patron-celebration which was lately witnessed in our own diocese, in which such a number of the people assembled, and such a continual feasting was kept up, even in the presence of heretics and other enemies of our

* Consultatio Unitiva, etc. ex Archiv. S. Cong. de Prop. Fid.

Church, that not only were the faithful scandalized, but the pastors of other districts were exposed to persecution, and a government investigation was ordered, which, in part, is still impending over us." He also, in fine, warns his flock against some erroneous propositions which were imputed to the religious, especially to the Franciscans in Ireland, and of which we will just now speak. "They have been condemned," he says, "by the Parisian faculty, as well as by the nuncio of the Holy See in Belgium, and the archbishops of Dublin and Tuam have also written to Rome against them." This pastoral exhortation was long a standard work in the Irish Church; its sentiments were re-echoed, not only by individual bishops, but also by the assembled prelates, and its enactments were revered as dictated by fervent piety, and true zeal for the glory of the house of God.

The propositions referred to by Dr. Roothe, were one of the many accusations preferred against the religious orders of Ireland, by their embittered enemy, Patrick Cahill. This unhappy man culled from their writings a series of doctrinal assertions, which, detached from their context, were erroneous and nonsensical in the extreme; and these* he presented to the Parisian faculty as the teaching of the Irish religious. The Jansenistic enemies of the Holy See eagerly fanned the flame of discord, whilst the main prompters of dissension secretly enjoyed the patronage and protection of the English government. The Holy See resolved at length to root out the growing evil, and

* The following are the eleven propositions which Cahill submitted for examination to the Parisian theologians:—

"1. Hierarchia Ecclesiastica constat ex Pontifice, Cardinalibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis et Regularibus.

"2. Sacerdotes sunt meri sæculares.

"3. Regulares sunt veri et soli curati seu Pastores.

"4. Regulares possunt ministrare omnia Sacramenta etiam invito Parocho.

"5. Parochiani non tenentur in propria Parochia communicare in Paschate.

"6. Solis Regularibus competit vocari Patres.

"7. Ecclesiasticæ Hierarchiæ pars prudentior selectiorque sunt Regulares.

"8. Supérieures Regularium digniores sunt Episcopis.

"9. Securius et salubrius est peccata Regularibus quam Pastoribus confiteri.

"10. In partibus Hæreticorum non tenetur populus Christianus necessariam sustentationem suo Parocho subministrare.

"11. Privilegia Regularium non potest Papa revocare."—Wadding Papers, Rome.

letters were sent to Drs. Fleming, archbishop of Dublin; Malachy Queely, archbishop of Tuam; Eugene Sweeny, bishop of Kilmore; and Rock MacGeoghegan, bishop of Kildare,* authorizing them to investigate the teaching of the religious orders, and to report to the Holy See on the accusations which were made against them. These prelates carefully fulfilled the mission entrusted to them; and whilst in reply they condemned the propositions as schismatical and erroneous, they at the same time declared that such propositions were falsely and maliciously imputed to the religious of Ireland.

In the month of July, 1626, there was a solemn assembly of Irish prelates in the town of Drogheda. Early in the preceding year, bishops had been appointed to the sees of Kilmore, Down, and Elphin, yet it was only now that the elected prelates hastened to St. Peter's church, in Drogheda, to receive the solemn imposition of hands from the archbishop of Dublin. Dr. Hugh MacMahon was the bishop thus consecrated for Kilmore; a little later he was translated to the see of Armagh, and the clergy, when petitioning for his appointment, describe him as remarkable for piety and zeal, and as closely allied with the chief nobility of Ulster.† Boetius Egan was consecrated for the see of Elphin: a contemporary writer styles him "*vir venerabilis et prædicator eximius*."‡ He, too, outlived most of the sad vicissitudes of the eventful era of 1641, and died full of merits and of years, in 1650. The third bishop consecrated to the see of Down and Connor was Dr. Edmund Dungan: he was beloved by his contemporaries on account of his meekness and many virtues,§ and he was destined to die for the faith in the dungeons of Dublin Castle, in 1629.

* The letter of the Holy See is dated 10th May, 1631. The conjoint reply of Drs. Fleming and Sweeny is dated 4th September, the same year, and they plainly assert "*regulares hujus regni nullam prorsus ex propositionibus prædictis protulisse*."

† The Consistorial Acts register his appointment to the see of Kilmore on 9th June, 1625, and his translation to Armagh on 21st of August, 1628. He died in the month of February, 1653.

‡ This is a marginal note in Mooney's MS. History of the Irish Franciscans.

§ On the death of Dr. M'Caghwell, many solicited the translation of Dr. Dungan to the primatial see. In the petition he is described as "*di vita integerrima e tenuto in molta venerazione in quei paesi, dai nobili, dal clero e dal popolo*."—Wadding Papers.

Before separating, the assembled prelates made some wise regulations to promote the spiritual welfare of their flocks; and the bishops of Down and Kilmore, together with the various vicars-apostolic and vicars-general of the northern sees, addressed a common letter to Rome,* protesting against the attacks to which the archbishop of Dublin was subjected, and attesting his prudence and indefatigable zeal in watching over the spiritual interests of the flock entrusted to his care.

Three years later, the bishops of Leinster and Munster assembled again under the hospitable roof of Dr. David Roothé. Their deliberations commenced on the 24th, and terminated on the 27th of August. Dr. Thomas Walsh, archbishop of Cashel,† with his suffragans, Dr. William Terry, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and Dr. Patrick Comerford, bishop of Waterford and Lismore, represented the southern province; whilst Dr. Fleming, archbishop of Dublin, who presided, and his suffragans of Ossory and Ferns, represented the province of Leinster. Their meeting had none of the formalities of a synod; they assembled merely to deliberate on what measures might be adopted in their respective dioceses to promote the interests of the Church, and give new impulse to the piety of the faithful. In their first resolution they adopt the decrees of the Council of Trent,‡ and inculcate their observance, excepting only those decrees whose observance was as yet impracticable in the Irish Church, such as the decrees regarding clandestine marriages, the wearing of the tonsure by the clergy, &c.

2. The use of *lacticinia* during lent, as permitted in the pro-

* Wadding Papers, 27th July, 1626.

† Dr. Walsh arrived in Ireland in the summer of 1628. The bishop of Ferns thus writes to Luke Wadding, from Paris, on 20th October, 1628:—"The French that hitherto could not peep out but that they were taken by the English, now do go as far as between England and Ireland, and there have taken six ships of Waterford and made prizes of them; so a friar writeth from London, and that my lord of Cashel was arrived in London, bound presently for his country. Our Lord be praised, he broke off with his Polanders in Amsterdam, and God provided for him a passage from Rotterdam to London."—From the original letter in English, amongst the Wadding Papers, Rome.

‡ The archbishop of Cashel writes *e refugii loco, die 30 Junii*, 1634: "Concilium Tridentinum nusquam fuit hactenus promulgatum in Provincia Cassilensi, unde necessum fuit in visitatione Metropolitana tum in causis quibuscumque ad nos delatis procedere secundum jus commune et antiquissimam Ecclesiæ Cassilensis praxim."

vince of Dublin, was approved of for the province of Cashel, so that butter, milk, and cheese might be allowed on every day, with the exception of Ash-Wednesday and Good-Friday.

3. Holy orders were to be conferred but seldom, and only when necessary to supply the place of deceased missionaries, or when required by the wants of the faithful. Commendatory letters, too, were to be granted with great caution, lest the fair fame of the Irish clergy might be dishonoured in the churches of the continent.

4. Bishops and others having authority to grant permission to bless vestments, and similar religious privileges, were to limit their use to their respective dioceses, and such privileges were to be exercised only with the consent of the local ordinaries.

The subsequent decrees chiefly regard the relations which should subsist between the bishops and the regular clergy. Houses merely rented for a limited time, were not to be reckoned as monasteries, or exempted from episcopal visitation. Convents of nuns were to be opened only after mature deliberation, and no one was to be admitted to take vows in them without sufficient means being secured for her maintenance. In fine, it was resolved that a similar assembly of prelates should be held every year, or at least every alternate year: the place of meeting was to be appointed by the metropolitan, and the decrees sanctioned at the present conference were to be re-enacted, or re-modelled, as the peculiar circumstances of the times would require.*

Dr. John Roche, bishop of Ferns, had arrived in Ireland just in time to take part in this episcopal assembly, and, in a paper addressed to Rome, on 1st December, 1629, he gives some interesting details connected with it, as well as with the few Irish sees which he had visited. We give a few extracts from this invaluable paper:—

“Peace being concluded between France and England, I started from Paris in the month of May, and arrived in Ireland in July. I tarried some time in London, for the sole purpose of learning what was the feeling there regarding the controversy which is so warmly

* We give the original decrees in Appendix.

carried on between some of the religious and the bishop of Chalcedon. Having read the writings of both sides, and discoursed a good deal with some of the chief members, I find that they are very much exasperated against each other, and that they cannot agree even on the state of the question which they discuss. The only remedy, in my opinion, is that the Holy See should directly interfere and pronounce its judgment, for both parties will readily submit to its decision.

“ Dublin being the capital and chief port of Ireland, I sailed thither in the month of July, after waiting for a favourable wind for a whole month, on the English coast. On the third day after my arrival, the viceroy sent to a friend of mine to inquire where I was, or whether I had as yet left Dublin; on being informed that I had gone to the country for a few days to live retired, and to avoid giving offence to the civil authorities, he said that he was already aware of my peaceable disposition, and that I might rest assured no annoyance would be given me, unless accusations in time to come should be made against me.

“ I stopped but a short time in the city and neighbourhood of Dublin, but I found there a very angry feeling to subsist between the secular and regular clergy. . . . I thence proceeded to Meath, where I met the bishop, who is an exemplary man and full of energy in the discharge of his sacred duties. I found our holy religion flourishing in his diocese, as far as the sad condition of our country will permit. There are but few heretics there, whilst there is a numerous clergy, and the parochial districts are admirably arranged. This diocese had formerly two Cistercian monasteries and the famous school of Melifont; now nothing remains but the bare title for those who are styled abbots.

“ From Meath I went to Ossory, being invited by its bishop to assist at an assembly of the Dublin and Cashel bishops, which was to be held in Kilkenny on an appointed day. The bishop of Ossory is Dr. David Rooth, who is an ornament to his country by his writings and illustrious deeds.* The other bishops ascribe to his exhortations and counsel all the good that they perform; for as he is the senior of all in years and episcopate, so also is he a model and an example to us all. He enlivens our vigilance—invites us to assemble together to deliberate; when assembled, he entertains us at his own expense; he directs our deliberations, proposes the matters to be discussed, and by his suavity of manner and the clearness of his reasoning, inclines all to his opinion, and maintains unity in our resolutions.

“ The very day that I arrived in Kilkenny, the archbishop of Dublin, the metropolitan of our province, also arrived there, and the archbishop of Cashel, with his suffragans of Cork and Waterford. We all

* In the last chapter of this Relatio, when recapitulating his preceding narrative, Dr. Roche says of the bishop of Ossory: “In diocesi Ossoriensi comperi loci antistitem vivum exemplar veri prelati et pastoris.”

stayed with the bishop of Ossory, without any ostentatious display, and without awakening the alarm of the government authorities. On the same day, having invoked the Holy Ghost, we held our first session; the following days we again assembled, both in the morning and in the evening, and after three days' deliberation, we terminated our sessions with great mutual joy and concord. . . .

"The assembly being thus happily closed, I hastened to the see of Ferns, which is my appointed field of labour; and as there is no chapter to which I could present my bulls, I called together the principal missionary priests, and notified to them, and to the heads of the religious orders, my consecration to this see.

"The city of Ferns was once populous and important; it is now remarkable only for its antiquity, and its ruins scarcely preserve the traces of its former grandeur. Its cathedral church, dedicated under the invocation of St. Aidan, was one of the most illustrious in the whole kingdom, as well for the richness of its ornaments as for the number of benefices which were attached to it: it had an archdeacon, dean, chancellor, treasurer, and ten prebendaries, all which dignities are now occupied by married ministers—pretended ecclesiastics, who are infected with heresy, and nowise occupied with the sacred ceremonies or the praises of God.

"The pseudo-bishop of this diocese has also another adjoining see. The revenues have been squandered and made away with by the present heretical occupant and his predecessors, so that he receives but little emolument on that score. This defect, however, is abundantly compensated for by the exercise of his jurisdiction: he has erected courts in the various districts of the diocese, the whole object of which is to extort money from the poor Catholics; for if the Catholics wish their children to be baptized by the priest,* if they contract marriage, or seek burial according to the Catholic ritual, and if they refuse to assist at the Protestant service on Sundays and festivals, they are punished by a pecuniary fine; and as the whole population is Catholic,

* In addition to what we have written in the preceding chapters, we might refer to many documents which attest the continual annoyance thus given to the Irish Catholics. As a further instance, we cite the words of the bishop of Down and Connor, who, on the 20th November, 1637, thus writes to the Sacred Congregation: "*Si occasionibus quas horum temporum calamitas frequentes parit, tabellariorum corresponderet opportunitas, ex his ad Urbem partibus crebræ forent litteræ, nostrarum miseriarum nunciæ, quibus intellectis, vestræ procul dubio ad commiserandum Eminentie commoverentur. Nam etsi quemquam nostrum ob orthodoxæ fidei professionem directe inquietari aut molestari non liceat, nostræ tamen Religionis exercitium quorundam officiariorum industria (ne quid aliud dicam) paulatim diminuitur. Hic siquidem in septentrionali Ultoniæ tractu, gravi pecuniaria (ut cætera taceam) muleta puniuntur, qui matrimonium contrahunt coram alio quam Protestante ministro, et qui prolem alii quam Protestanti baptizandum offert. Præterea novæ et novæ alienigenarum coloniæ adducuntur qui expulsus genuinis colonis, omnem pene terram late occupant," &c.—Ex Archiv. S.C.*

and these fines are most diligently collected, a revenue is secured for the pseudo-bishop which more than compensates all his other losses.

"The diocese of Ferns is sufficiently extensive, and has about seventy parishes, which are at present attended to by more than thirty priests. . . . The parochial clergy are, indeed, 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. Besides the parochial clergy, there are two houses of Franciscans—one at Wexford, and the other at Ross. These religious are good and laborious, living in concord with the secular clergy, and respectful and affectionate towards myself. There are also two Jesuits, who live in Ross, and labour assiduously in instructing the poor. . . . There is also one Dominican, who dedicates himself to the same sacred mission."†

Whether the resolution so wisely adopted in this assembly, of convening a similar episcopal meeting at least every two years, was subsequently carried out in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, it is now impossible to determine with certainty. The acts of synods held in the other ecclesiastical provinces, have fortunately come down to us. We have the diocesan synod of Tuam, in 1631, and the provincial council, held in Galway, at the close of the following year.‡ We have also the acts of the provincial synod of Armagh,§ which held its last session on the 14th of July, 1632. A provincial council was

* He subsequently again writes of his clergy: "*Exilis est Parochorum numerus sed nullibi melior in regno; ad triginta quamvis non exerescat, tamen nullus est angulus diœcesis quo non attingant ad necessaria administranda.*"

† This paper is entitled, *Narratio Joannis Episcopi Fernensis de statu Ecclesiæ suæ et aliarum quarundam adjacentium Ecclesiarum in Hibernia, missa ad Sac. Cong. de Prop. Fide, die 1º Decembris, 1629.—Ex Archiv. Sac. Congreg.*

‡ As the decrees of the diocesan synod of 1631 were adopted by the whole province, and prefixed to the acts of the provincial council, which terminated its labours on the 9th December, 1632, the decrees of both synods are frequently cited in later documents as enacted in 1631.

§ This synod was held in the diocese of Ardagh, and commenced its sessions on 10th July, 1632. There were present, besides the archbishop of Armagh, the bishops of Meath, Raphoe, Kilmore, and Down and Connor, the vicars-apostolic of Ardagh, Dromore, and Derry, and the vicars-general of Clonmacnoise and Clogher. In the introductory address, the primate declares the object of the synod to be "*reparandis ecclesiarum ruinis quasi inter media irruentium hostium agmina, una manu trullam, et alia gladium tenentes, sedulas admovere manus.*" The decrees are thirty-nine in number, besides four petitions which were addressed to the Holy See. This synod escaped the attention of the diligent author of *Collections on Irish Church History*.

certainly held by Dr. Fleming, probably in the same year; but, unfortunately, the sad vicissitudes of the period have deprived us of its decrees: in fact, we find no decrees of any such council in Leinster, till the 29th of July, 1640, when Dr. Fleming, with his suffragans, assembled at Tyrehogir, in the diocese of Kildare,* to deliberate once more on the spiritual interests of the sacred charge which was entrusted to their vigilance. Tyrehogir was probably the residence of the aged and infirm Dr. Rock MacGeoghegan.† Dr. Roothe, bishop of Ossory, was also present. The see of Ferns was now vacant; nevertheless, it was represented at the synod by its vicar-general, Dr. William Devereux.‡ The vicar-apostolic of Leighlin, after administering that diocese for sixteen years, was now on his death-bed; and hence, that see alone had no representative in Tyrehogir. The chief object of this synod was to command an uniformity of ceremonial and ritual observance in the administration of the sacraments throughout the whole province. The *banns* for marriage were ordered to be published on three successive Sundays or festivals, according to the council of Trent; the parish priest alone, or the diocesan-ordinary, was to assist at the celebration of marriage: should any other priest, not deputed, attempt to solemnize that sacrament, he was subjected to suspension. As regards Church property, a twentieth part of such as was already in possession of the laity should be given in alms, and a tenth of all such property that hereafter might pass into

* In an old MS. copy of the decrees of this synod, the following note is inserted: "Tyrehogir ecclesia parochialis est prope oppidum cui modernum nomen *Portarlinton*." When referring to the preceding provincial council, the printed text adds, "which was held in the city of Dublin." The MS., however, merely says, "which was held by the present archbishop."

† Some recent publications register Dr. MacGeoghegan's death in 1640. De Burgo refers it to 1641 (Hib. Dom. pag. 487). However, a list of the Irish bishops, presented to the Sacred Congregation in 1643, describes him as still living, but helpless from paralysis and other infirmities: "Ilvescovo Kildariense d. fra Rocco Geogheghan Domenicano paralitico ed impotente." Two years later, i.e., in 1645, Invernizzi, who was companion of the nuncio Rinuccini, sent to pope Innocent X. a *Relatio* of the Irish sees. He describes the see as vacant by the death of Dr. MacGeoghegan: "Ecclesia Kildariensis nuper Antistite suo orbata." Also, amongst the Wadding Papers of 1644, there is a note at fol. 243: "Roccus MacGeoghegan, moritur anno 1644, ante mensem Junium." We may therefore assign his death to May, 1644.

‡ The bishop of Ferns, Dr. John Roche, died on the 9th of April, 1636. His vicar-general, Rev. William Devereux, was confirmed by the metropolitan, and continued to administer the diocese till the appointment of Dr. French.

their possession. The regulars, as well as the private chaplains of the gentry, were prohibited to administer the holy viaticum, extreme unction, baptism, or matrimony, without the permission of the parish priest. The eleventh decree regards the foreign colleges. For some time many complaints had been made of an unequal distribution of the burses which had been founded in these institutions, for the common benefit of the whole Irish Church: some provinces were said to receive more than their proportionate share, whilst others were deprived of their due proportion at the discretion of the respective superiors. The assembled prelates protest* against such an abuse, declaring it injurious to the institutions themselves, and to the vital interests of the Irish Church. In conclusion, the decrees of the provincial synod of 1614 were again ratified and re-sanctioned, and the bonds of unity and charity being thus renewed, all returned to their respective sees before the close of July, 1640.

To the many synods held at this period throughout the various provinces, we may ascribe the rapid advance which was made in repairing the ravages of the preceding era, and in building up anew the mystic structure of the temple of God. They enlivened the energy of the clergy, gave life and vigour to the hierarchical administration, and quickened and combined the strength and vitality of our Church. They were not always, however, free from danger. The archbishop of Cashel, whilst engaged in celebrating his provincial synod, towards the close of 1632, was arrested, and brought prisoner to Dublin, where he was detained till Strafford found it his interest to set him free, in the following year. The archbishop of Armagh, too, was arrested in consequence of his synod, at a later period. In the month of May, 1637, he celebrated a provincial synod, at which were present, amongst others, the bishops of Kilmore, Meath, and Down. Some of those who were censured at its deliberations,

* A similar protest was made about the same time by the bishops of Cashel. This we learn from a letter of the superior of the Jesuits, father Robert Nugent, who, on the 12th November, 1640, wrote to Rome: "*Nuperrime intellexi plures convenisse Episcopos in Provincia Cassellensi ac inter alia de Seminariis Hibernicis in Hispania positis pertractasse. Ex iis plurimi Hispanorum in Hibernos regimen improbant,*" etc.—*Ex Archiv. Dom. Pro. Romæ.*

gave intelligence to the government, and accused the primate of plotting against the state. He was at once thrown into prison in Dublin castle, where, for six weeks, he was detained in a tedious and painful captivity.* We learn these particulars from a letter of the archbishop himself, addressed to Dr. O'Dwyer, in Rome, on 24th October, 1637, in which he further states that as yet his health had scarcely recovered from the severe shock which it received in the damp dungeons of the castle.

We may now retrace our steps a little, to commemorate some particular events connected with our archbishop. It was by letter of 27th June, 1625, that the general of the Franciscan order permitted the Capuchins to be re-established in our island. They had, indeed, long before laboured with much fruit in the Irish Church; but owing to the violence of the persecution, every vestige of their order had completely disappeared. Father Francis Nugent, who had already distinguished himself by his virtue and learning in many of their continental houses, was the person chosen to re-establish their missions in our Church. From the first day he landed on the Irish shores, he found a patron and protector in Dr. Fleming; and a few years later the archbishop gave a written attestation of the good services rendered to religion by these zealous children of St. Francis:—

“Nos in Domino agnoscimus et attestamur eos, tametsi paucos numero (quod satis dolendum est), haud solum ab odore suavi exemplaris vitæ sed etiam ab actionis piæ assiduo fructu esse laudatos passim, ita quod omne genus hominum per civitates et villam turmatim illos adeant, sacramentorum et prædicationis intuitu; quin et nos, Primoresque alii, ipsorum doctrinam, prudentiam et industriam zelo pacis et modestiæ unitas valde observavimus.”†

About the same time the question was agitated with great warmth by some opponents of the Franciscan order, whether

* “Scripsi ad te, via Tuamensi jam a duabus septimanis fuse de omnibus, de quibus scribam hic succinctim, nimirum quod non potui æstate præterita ad te scribere, quod fui commissus carceri castelli Dublinensis per sesquimenssem cum maximo damno salutis meæ, ita ut non antehac omnimode convalui.”—Epist. Hugonis Armach. 24 Oct. 1637, in Archiv. Sac. Cong. de Prop. Fid.

† “Per injuriam temporum et sævitiam hæreticorum.”—Lett. Gen. Ord. S. F. in Archiv. Sac. Cong. See also Notitia Historica Ordinis Cappuc. in Hibernia, Romæ, 1859.

‡ Epist. fr. Thom. Archiep. Dublin. 30 Nov. 1629.

their exemption from contributing to the support of the local ordinary, was based on truth and the canonical decisions of the Church. Dr. Fleming was one of those who pronounced judgment in their favour; he moreover published a letter declaring that they were thus exempted by the holy council of Trent, and hence were not bound to contribute the so-called *quartam funeralium* for the maintenance of the bishop or parish priest in whose district their convents might be situated.* The unanimity with which the Irish bishops adopted this opinion, was eulogised by the continental universities, and still more by the authorities in Rome; it proved that the bishops of Ireland, whether chosen from the ranks of the secular or regular clergy, were not influenced in their decisions by interest or passion, but were solely guided by the canonical enactments of our holy Church.

We have already seen with what earnestness, at the very outset of his episcopate, Dr. Fleming laboured to promote the interests of the Irish colleges of Douay, Louvain, and Rome. A few years later another college was re-opened at Antwerp, under his auspices and care. Some Irish students, indeed, resided in that city as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century; and in the Irish MS. entitled the Flight of the Earls, it is recorded that, when passing through Antwerp, the Irish exiles were publicly received with due honours in that institution. However it had, at that time, only very precarious means of subsistence, and it soon wholly ceased to exist. It was only in 1629 that this nursery of piety was restored to our Irish Church, through the munificence of the rev. Laurence Sedgrave, and of his nephew, rev. James Talbot, who for some time had discharged the duties of vicar-general of Dublin. These worthy ecclesiastics contributed the sum of 13,000 florins towards its re-establishment, and it continued for many years to send forth zealous missionaries to recruit the thinned ranks of our persecuted priesthood. One of its collegiate rules will suffice to reveal to us the spirit of self-sacrifice and Christian heroism with which

* The letter of Dr. Fleming is dated 22 Aprilis, 1627. See *Hibernia Dominica*, pag. 108. A similar decision was given by Dr. Dease, bishop of Meath, 17th April, 1627; by Dr. O'Reilly, bishop of Kilmore, 6th June, 1627; and by Dr. Egan, bishop of Elphin, 25th June, 1627, etc.

the youthful Levites were prepared for their missionary toils in Ireland. "Each priest," thus the rule enacts, "will offer to God, with all possible devotion, the holy sacrifice of the altar, beseeching our divine Redeemer to have mercy on our afflicted and persecuted country, and to strengthen our clergy with His sanctifying grace. To attain this end, all the students will, moreover, on each Friday, observe a rigorous fast, and will recite every day, at their evening devotions, the Penitential Psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*."*

On the 10th day of May, 1631, permission was granted to the archbishops and bishops of Ireland to make their visit to the sacred *limina apostolorum* only every tenth year. In the decree of pope Sixtus V., Ireland was expressly named amongst the countries whose bishops should visit Rome every fourth; year and only to the Asiatic bishops, and to those of the New World, and other such distant regions, was the interval extended to ten years. However, a century of persecution had despoiled the bishops of Ireland of all the means which would enable them to undertake this journey at the appointed time, and their presence was needed in their dioceses to guard their flocks from the open assaults of the government, and the more insidious attacks of the *established* heresy. Hence, as Benedict XIV. remarks,† the Holy See wisely extended to our island the faculty which was reserved for more distant kingdoms.

Another faculty, still more characteristic of the period of persecution, was granted a little later to the Irish bishops. The canon law required that sentence of excommunication should be communicated in writing. Owing, however, to the eager anxiety of the English courts to find some clue to the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction by the Catholic clergy, such written documents would be the sure forerunner of imprisonment, and

* These rules were published in 1680, being approved of by Mgr. Tanari, internuncio apostolic, and by the bishop of Antwerp. They have prefixed a short history of the foundation of the college, with the title, *Principium ac Progressus Collegii Pastoralis Hibernorum Antwerpia*. Anno I. D. 1629.

† De Synod. Dioces. lib. xiii. cap. 6, § 4. A few years previous (in 1625), faculty had been granted to the Irish bishops to make the visit *ad limina*, by means of a procurator. This faculty, however, was limited to twenty-five years. The person deputed in 1625, by the Irish bishops, to make the visit in their name, was Dr. Edmund O'Dwyer.

perhaps of death. This inconvenience was more than once represented to the Holy See; and at length, on the 30th January, 1638, the following decree emanated from the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda:—

“Referente eminentissimo Cardinale Pamphilio, S. Congregatio censuit si Ssmo. placuerit, concedendam esse facultatem archiepiscopis et episcopis Hiberniæ ut possint sine scriptis coram tamen duobus testibus proferre sententiam excommunicationis contra contumaces et inobedientes, si periculum sit, ne ab eis apud magistratus sæculares accusentur.

“Eodem die Ssmus. Dnus. noster decretum Sac. Congregationis approbavit,” etc.

In 1633, a series of resolutions was drawn up by the S. Congregation of Propaganda, comprising some special regulations which were deemed expedient for the Irish Church. Before submitting them, however, to the Holy Father, the cardinal prefect of the Sacred Congregation transmitted them to the four archbishops, requesting them to forward without delay to Rome their judgment as to the opportuneness and utility of such resolutions.

Towards the close of November, 1635, the four archbishops assembled in a small hut in a remote district on the borders of Leinster, to draw up their reply to the Sacred Congregation.* The first decree had reference to the number of bishops in each province; and our archbishops remark, that in the provinces of Armagh and Munster, three bishops, with their respective archbishop, would be required for the present wants of the Church, whilst in each of the smaller provinces of Leinster and Connaught, two bishops, with the archbishop, would suffice. They suggest that no more vicars-apostolic should be appointed, but that the vacant sees should be given in administration to the neighbouring prelates. In appointing to the vacant sees, they request the Sacred Congregation to pay no attention to the recommendations of the continental governments, or of the nobility at home; the Irish bishops were best acquainted with the wants of the various districts, and with the merits of those whom they would propose to receive the sanction of the Holy See. Incidentally

* “In unum tuguriolum ob temporum injurias multis expositi periculis convenimus.”—Epist. 28 Nov. 1635.

they mention, that a report had reached them of a decision of Rome, that no regulars should in future be appointed to the metropolitan sees. They express a hope that such a report would prove to be groundless. "In regard to Ireland," they add, "the only metropolitan see thus occupied is the see of Dublin, and the religious by whom it is filled is conspicuous alike for his high lineage, vigilance, zeal, and learning."*

The second resolution of Propaganda had for its object the translation of bishops to the more important sees. The archbishops reserved their remarks on this head to their next provincial councils, when they would convey separately to the Holy See the wishes of their respective provinces. What was the decision of Dr. Fleming, in his subsequent provincial synod, we have not been able to discover. In regard to Ulster, it was resolved in the provincial council, held in May, 1637, that the see of Clogher should be administered by Armagh, Clonmacnoise by Meath, Derry by Raphoe, Ardagh by Kilmore, and Dromore by Down and Connor. This resolution of the northern prelates was approved of by the Sacred Congregation, on 4th March, 1638, with the clausula that, with the exception of Armagh, the various dioceses thus united should alternately give title to the bishop who ruled the united sees.† In Munster, the bishops were unable to assemble at the appointed

* "Non est minus nobilis quam vigilans, zelosus et doctus."—Epist. 28 Nov. 1635.

† DIE 14^o MARTII, 1638.—Fuit Congregatio particularis super negotiis Hiberniæ in Palatio Emi. D. Cardlis. Spadæ, cui interfuerunt cum Emi. sua, DD. Cardd. Pamphilius et Antonius et RR. PP. DD. Patavius, Maraldus, et Paulutius. Relatis literis Archiepiscopi Ardmacani et aliorum Eporum. Provinciæ Ultoniæ in Provinciali Concilio congregatorum, Patres Emi. sententiam ejusdem Concilii probantes censuerunt Ecclesiam Clogherensem dandam esse in administrationem Archiepiscopo Ardmacano; Ecclesiam vero Cluanensem Epo. Midensi; Derrensem, Rapotensi; Ardaghadensem Kilmorensi; et Dunensi et Conneren. Dromorenssem. In futurum vero durante schismate tantum, alternatim Ecclesias prædictas (excepta Ardmachana quæ semper danda erit in titulum) dandas esse modo in titulum et modo in administrationem; ita ut illa quæ fuit in titulum data, veniente vacatione detur in administrationem, et quæ in administrationem detur in titulum: et ne per hujusmodi provisiones Diöceses eorumque confinia confundantur, mandarunt scribi Archiepiscopo Ardmachano ut suæ et cæterarum Ecclesiarum confinia ac loca intra fines cujuscumque Diöcesis existentia diligenter perscribat et copiam authenticam descriptionis apud se conservet aliamque ad S. Congnem. de Prop. Fide mittat et singulis Epis. et Vicariis Aplicis alias similes copias apud eos conservandas consignet.

time, being threatened with imprisonment by the agents of the government. However, the opinion of one, at least, of its prelates has been preserved to us; for, Dr. Comerford, bishop of Waterford, on the 20th of January, 1636, wrote to the Sacred Congregation that the chief episcopal sees were those of Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Killaloe; and he suggests that Emly should be given in administration to Cashel, and Kilfenora to Limerick, whilst the sees of Ardfert and Ross might continue to be administered by vicars-apostolic.

The subsequent decrees of the Sacred Congregation regarded the *limina apostolorum*, the provincial and diocesan visitations, and the publication of the council of Trent, as far as the circumstances of the country might allow. All these were approved of by the archbishops, and they express their wish that they might be observed most rigorously.

Another series of resolutions had reference to the religious orders.

The first and second decrees referred to the collection of alms, and the special privileges of the various religious orders. The archbishops wish the same rules to be observed as were followed by the religious in continental Catholic countries; and they pray the Holy See to insert in the privileges granted to the religious of Ireland, that all their faculties were to be subservient to the episcopal and parochial rights.

The third, which limited the number of novitiates, and prescribed the strict canonical discipline in their regard, was also warmly approved of by the assembled prelates; whilst they also recommend the sanction of the fourth decree, which prohibited the custom of carrying about relics and other sacred things, when soliciting the alms of the faithful.*

A third and concluding series of resolutions regarded the administration of the sacraments and the celebration of the patron-festivals. As to the administration of the sacraments, the archbishops remark that the canons were rigorously observed,

* "Decretum de circumgestaltunge reliquiarum per quæstores eleemosynarum censemus pium, et per illud prædictis quæstoribus tam in ordine ad salutem animæ, quam ad famæ conservationem bene provisum."—Letter of the Four Archbishops, 24th Nov. 1635.

and none of the clergy were allowed to receive any emolument for the administration of the holy sacraments. A small sum, however, had been fixed in the preceding provincial synods, which should be paid by those whose means permitted it, for the support of the clergy who were engaged in administering the sacraments, and whose only support was derived from these offerings of the faithful. As to the patron-feasts, the Sacred Congregation judged that they should not be celebrated with sumptuous banquets and unbecoming luxury, and much less be made an occasion of frequenting public houses (*tabernas*), and of acts of public disorder and intemperance. This the prelates declare to be most prudently decreed by the Sacred Congregation, and they add, that such sinful celebrations had already been reprobated and condemned under the severest penalties in their various provincial and diocesan assemblies.

They conclude by submitting these remarks, and any other resolutions they might have made, to the wisdom of the Sacred Congregation.*

Before separating, the assembled prelates addressed a common letter to the cardinal protector of Ireland, thanking him for the lively interest which he displayed for the welfare of the Irish Church, and praying him to continue to foster it with the same vigilant and paternal care.† They also addressed another letter to the cardinal prefect of the Sacred Congregation, in which they commemorate the resolution which they had long since formed after mature deliberation, and having consulted, moreover, the most prudent of the clergy, that, viz., an agent or procurator of the Irish bishops should reside in Rome, to represent to his Eminence the wants of our Church, and the desires of the respective bishops, and to communicate to them in return the decisions of the Holy See. Their pecuniary resources, they add, being almost entirely destroyed by the uninterrupted persecution of so many years, they earnestly solicit the Holy See,

* Their letter to the secretary of the Sacred Congregation, and their accompanying remarks, are dated "e loco nostri refugii in Hibernia, die 28th Nov. 1635," and signed by "Hugo Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus, totius Hiberniæ Primas; fr. Thomas Fleming, Archiepiscopus Dublinensis Hiberniæ Primas; Thomas Archiepiscopus Casselensis; Malachias Archiepiscopus Tuamensis."—Ex Archiv. S. Cong.

† We insert this beautiful letter in full in the Appendix.



through the Sacred Congregation, to endow their agent with some ecclesiastical benefice, that he might be able to wholly devote himself to his charge, and thus a great benefit would be conferred upon the whole Irish nation.*

On the 17th of May, 1636, a brief of pope Urban was expedited to Dr. Fleming and the other archbishops, communicating to them a very singular privilege. Each archbishop was constituted apostolic delegate for his own province, with all the usual authority and faculties, to last for two years, for the express purpose of putting an end to all dissensions between the secular and regular clergy. They were empowered in the name of the Holy Father to summon to their tribunal all persons, no matter what exemption they might claim, and to decide whatsoever controversies might exist in their respective provinces.†

This special delegated authority thus granted to the archbishops, at once restored peace and tranquillity to our Church. The archbishop of Armagh, after two years' experience, wrote that it was a source of concord and union between the secular and regular clergy, and a blessing granted by God to the whole kingdom. Dr. Edmund O'Dwyer, agent of the Irish bishops in Rome, attested that since the first commencement of the Anglican schism, no greater boon had been conferred on the Irish Church, no happier preservative of peace and charity between all the orders of the ecclesiastical hierarchy throughout the whole kingdom.‡ As soon, therefore,

* See this letter in Appendix.

† The first to suggest this concession was Dr. Comerford, bishop of Waterford, who thus writes on 6th July, 1630: "Propter has æmulationes, contentiones et sectas, ni fallor, permisit Deus, in poenam peccati novissimam, exoriri persecutionem in omnes Ecclesiasticos hujus regni, quamvis heterodoxi causam obtendant, nimiam publicitatem communitatum, concionum, missarum, musices, grammatices ac Philosophiæ et Theologiæ prælectionum. Unde effectum est quod omnia oratoria in præcipuis civitatibus et oppidis hujus Regni fisco Regis addicta, Franciscanorum domus Dublini solo æquata et supellex ablata; communitates tum Regularium, tum sæcularium Sacerdotum dissipatæ sint. Faxit Deus ut nostramet culpa acerbiora gravamina et rigidius vexamen non promereamur, et Ecclesia orthodoxa quæ apud nos reviviscere et paulatim exurgere videtur quorundam indefessa æmulatione et turpiculi quæstus aviditate non supprimatur: quibus malis obsistendum conducere nonnihil ut quispiam ex Episcopis qui nunc in Hibernia degunt, Nuncii Apostolici officio et potestate ad triennium saltem fungeretur."

‡ "Experientia compertum est nihil toto tempore schismatis concessum esse in Hibernia quod magis coerceat intra limites rectæ rationis, cujuscumque

as the two years of this concession had expired, a petition was presented to the Sacred Congregation, requesting its renewal for a longer period. "In the year 1636," thus runs the note of the Congregation of 1638, "a delegated authority was granted for two years to the archbishops of Ireland, with power to decide all controversies between the secular and regular clergy; this term being now expired, a renewal of this privilege is solicited for five years, on account of the great distance of Ireland from the tribunals of Rome, and on account of the many advantages which have resulted from the former concession, in the maintenance of concord and peace, and in the healing of controversies and dissensions." Five years, however, were deemed too long an interval for such a peculiar privilege, and its renewal was limited again to two years. The same happy fruits resulted from this new concession; and in the Congregation held in the Palazzo Spada, on the 14th March, 1641, the cardinal protector of Ireland, in the name of the four archbishops, prayed that the apostolical delegation might be again renewed. His petition was approved of by the Sacred Congregation, and it was decreed that, with the sanction of his Holiness, it might be re-granted for the term of three years (*ad triennium tantum*).*

It was about this time that the Congregation of Rites received the intelligence that two new names had been added to the long roll of martyrs in London. William Ward, a secular priest, and Edward Barlow, a Benedictine, had been accused of exercising the functions of their sacred ministry,† and were mercilessly led to the scaffold without delay, by the puritanical faction which then prevailed. Public veneration at once hailed them as martyrs; and, indeed, there was no room for doubt as to the sacred cause for which they suffered, for even the witnesses that were produced against them, accused them of no crime save the administration of the sacraments, and their being

status ecclesiasticos ac quietem et pacem inter eos auxerit magis ac discordias eradicaverit, quam dicta delegatio."—Memoriale Edm. Dwyer, Sac. Congreg. exhibit. 1638 (Ex Archiv. S. Cong).

* Ex Archiv. Sac. Cong.

† For a sketch of the lives of these martyrs, see Dr. Challoner's Memoirs of Missionary Priests, vol. ii. p. 82, seqq.

priests of the Catholic Church. The Congregation of Rites was anxious that these heroes of our holy faith should not be deprived of the earthly honour which was due to them, and on the 11th November, 1641, it addressed a letter to the archbishop of Dublin, requesting him to institute an official investigation as to their sufferings and martyrdom.* Momentous events, however, were rapidly succeeding in our island, and a new storm of persecution was just let loose against the devoted flock of Dr. Fleming, when this letter reached its destination. No wonder, indeed, that it remained unanswered: not only were these champions of the cross in England deprived of this authentic recognition of their heroism, but the martyrdom of thousands of his own immediate fold was destined to remain unauthenticated by their afflicted pastor. We have thus arrived at the eventful period which marks the close of 1641, and which will form the subject of the following chapters.

* A copy of this letter is preserved amongst the Acts of the Sac. Cong. Rit. It was also published in the *Analecta Juris Pontif.* (Rome, 1863) 59th livraison, p. 279. On the 22nd March, 1642, another letter was sent to Dr. Fleming, requesting him to make a similar investigation in regard to two other holy priests, Reynolds and Roe, who also suffered for the faith in London.

APPENDIX.

[Since the preceding chapters of this History were written, the very learned Theiner has undertaken to publish a series of documents connected with the Church of Ireland. His collection renders it unnecessary for us to publish many papers which we had collected for this Appendix. We shall therefore for the present publish only some of the most interesting documents which we have referred to in our Notes. Others we omit, as they are translated accurately in the text, or may be found in F. Theiner's volumes. If any paper of importance be omitted, we shall insert it at the end of the work.]

No. I.

Appointment of Dr. Walsh to Meath. Page 51.

ECCLESIA *Midensi** Regni Hiberniæ certo modo vacante, Rmus. D. Reginaldus S. Mariæ in Cosmedin Diaconus Car. Polus ad universum Angliæ Regnum et quæcumque dominia illi subjecta SSmi D. N. PP. et sedis Aplicæ. Legatus, ad supplicationem Sermæ. Mariæ Angliæ Reginæ ad id per Aplicæ. sedis litteras sufficiente facultate munitus, providit eidem Ecclesiæ de persona venerabilis *Willhelmi Walshe*,† Sacerdotis Midensis, eumque illi in Epum. præfecit et Pastorem cum facultate sive indulto eidem concesso ut a quocumque Catholico antistite assistantibus eidem duobus aliis similiter Catholicis Episcopis munus consecrationis recipere posset in forma, &c., ita tamen ut idem provisus intra annum a Data hujuscemodi provisionis computando litteras confirmationis seu novæ provisionis super eadem Ecclesia a sede Aplica. in Curia Romana prout ante schisma fieri consueverat reciperet alioquin provisio præfata nihil ei suffragaretur prout in litteris ejusdem Dni. Legati desuper confectis plenius continetur.

Quarum litterarum vigore idem Willhelmus fuit rite et recte in Epum. consecratus et possessionem Ecclesiæ præfate nactus est in qua pacifice existit.

Nunc autem ipse petit litteras confirmationis prædictæ provisionis seu novæ provisionis super eadem Ecclesia sibi per SSnum. D. N. concedi prout aliis

* Hæc Ecclesia est Regularis ordinis Canonicorum Regularum. Sti. Augustini.

† Ipse Willhelmus fuit prius ordinis Cisterciensis professor deinde ab eodem ordine fuit translatus ad ordinem canonicorum Regularium aplica. auctoritate ut ipse asseruit, sacre Theologiæ professor de legitimo matrimonio natus et ætatis maturæ.

provisis per eundem D. Legatum concessæ fuerunt. Et licet idem Willhelmus post tempus hujusmodi provisionis constituerit procuratores in Curia Romana pro petenda supradictâ confirmatione seu novâ provisione, non tamen, quia ipse non potuit ob ejus paupertatem providere pro expensis necessariis ad dictam expeditionem peragendam litteræ adhuc nec expeditæ nec petitæ fuerunt: sed Rmus. D. Legatus prorogavit sibi tempus ad dictas litteras expediendas quod nondum est elapsum. Verum ad omnem cautelam poterit exprimi in nova provisione etiamsi lapsum esset tempus statutum ad dictam provisionem potendam.

Et licet processus consuetus necessarius non sit cum jam sit provisum Ecclesiæ et provisos sit in ejus possessione et jam consecratus nec petatur nisi nova provisio, tamen ad omnem cautelam eum confecimus, et cum hac informatione transmittimus; tempore provisionis non potuit in hac forma confici quia res non poterat ita aperte agi cum non esset tum obedientia sedi Aplicæ restituta et extra Regnum fiebant hujusmodi provisiones sed videbatur satis esse habere ex litteris serenæ Reginæ et aliorum informationes necessarias et quoad vacationem et quoad qualitatem personæ: qualitates etiam erant satis notæ Rmo. Dno. Legato et ejus familiæ cum is alias fuerit in Curia Romana in domo ejusdem Rmi. Dni. versatus.

Supplicatur nomine Sermæ. Reginæ Sanctmo. D. N. ut dignetur gratis huic expeditionem concedere sicut cum aliis factum fuit. Iste Episcopatus est de his qui inter Anglicos computantur licet sit in Hybernia et Reges Angliæ solent scribere pro provisione hujus Ecclæ. sicut pro Ecclesiis Angliæ et Ecclesia est valde depauperata propter usurpationem bonorum suorum factam tempore schismatis. Is Willhelmus jam obtinuit auctoritate Aplica. Prioratum sive cellam de *Duleke* et Colpe ordinis Canonicorum Regularium Sancti Augustini dictæ Medensis Diœcesis valoris 214 librarum sterlingarum qui conventualis non est, cujus nondum obtinuit possessionem, quia est in manu laicorum; petit hujus Prioratus retentionem sibi concedi cum eadem Ecclesia. Necnon retentionem Rectoriæ de Luxsendis ejusdem Diœcesis cujus fructus 40 lib. sterling. esset, et est in ejus pacifica possessione et ista Rectoria fuit assignata ejus predecessori pro Ecclesia et domo Episcopali, loco cujusdam Monasterii suppressi per dictum Regem in quo tum erat sedes Episcopalis.

No. II.

Dr. Bodkin of Tuam. Page 52.

DEPOSITIONES testium per me notarium et Secretarium infrascriptum de mandato Illmi. et Revmi. D. Cardlis Poli Regnorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ Protectoris super statu, qualitatibus et vacatione Ecclæ. Metropolitanæ *Tuamen*. necnon super persona Venlis. viri D. Christophori Bodykyn Epi. Duacen. auctoritate Aplica. consecrati ad hanc Ecclesiam promovendi receptorum et examinerum.

Lambethi prope Londinum in palatio solitæ Residentiæ ej. Rmi. D. Card.

Legati, die 18 Septembris, anno 1555, coram Rdo. D. Nicolao Ormanetto ejusd. Rmi. D. Cardlis. Auditore, et me notario, etc.

Rdus. D. Petrus Val Archidiaconus Duacensis testis, etc., interrogatus medio juramento, respondit ut sequitur.

Quoad limum de statu Tuamen. Ecclæ. dixit verum esse et notorium quod in Regno Hiberniæ in ea parte quæ Connacia appellatur est Civitas Tuamensis inter Hybemicos partim sylvestres, partim domesticos sita, olim magna et populosa nunc destructa sine muris et pene inhabitata per quam fluit flumen appellatum Chorchā et quod in parte occidentali dictæ civitatis locata est Ecclia. Metropolitana sub invocatione Beatæ Mariæ, formæ directæ, satis ampla et ornata.

Quoad qualitates Ecclæ. respondit eam habere altare magnum cum duobus aliis minoribus altaribus, chorum cum libris ad divinum officium necessariis, baptisterium, sacristiam, crucibus, calicibus, patenis, indumentis, vestibusque sacris et aliis paramentis satis convenienter fulcitam, cœmeterium, campanile dirutum, Dignitates tres, Decanatum, Archidiaconatum, Præpositum, 10 vel 12 Canonicos. Diœcesim satis amplam et pro majori parte inter sylvestres et indomitos; dixit etiam quod habet Ecclesiam Cathedralem annexam appellatam Anagdunen. ab eo tempore quo ipse recordatur.

Fructus Ecclæ. ad quam summam ascendunt ipse se ignorare respondit: dixit tamen eos consistere in decimis, censibus et procurationibus, hancque Ecclesiam Metropolitanam habere 5 suffraganeos sub se vid., Clonfertem. Elfenen. Aladen. Duacen. Achaden.

Quoad Ecclesiæ vacationem respondit quod ipsa vacavit per multos annos per obitum Rdi. Patris D. Thomæ Molaly ultimi Archiepi. Catholici post ejus obitum præfatus Rev. D. Christophorus Bodykyn, Epus. Duacen. auctoritate aplice. consecratus, in eandem Ecclesiam auctoritate Regis Henrici se intrusit et illam de facto detinuit et adhuc in ejus detentione simul cum Ecclia Duacen. existit. Interrogatus si scit aliquem qui in ea Ecclesia vel ad eam jus aliquod prætendat respondit:

Quod quidam Arthurus O'Frighi de Ultonia Armachanæ Provinciæ prætendit se habere jus in dicta Ecclia. Metropolitana ex provisione habita in Curia Romana, ut intellexit ab eodem Arthuro.

Circa personam Christophori Bodykyn intrusi respondit se cognoscere dictum Christophorum valde intime quia alias fuit de ejus familia, eumque esse de legitimo matrimonio natum, de nobili progenie ortum, ætatis 50 annorum vel circa, vitæ et morum honestate præditum, doctumque in Theologia et in jure canonico, quibus operam dedit in studio Oxoniensi, maximumque fuisse oppugnatorem et persecutorem hereticorum, quamquam metu magis quam voluntate cum multis aliis in errorem schismatis inciderit.

Demum interrogatus an civitas sit aliqua hæresi infecta sive suspecta, respondit, quod non.

Et prædicta scire dixit, quia ipse conversatus est in civitate Tuamen. et in ea provincia et prædicta respective vidit, audivit et cognovit.

Circa personam recte, nisi quod ipse fuit familiaris dicti Christophori et ab eo obtinuit Archidiaconatum Ecclæ. Duacen.

Donaldus Doign Sacerdos Tuamen. et Mauritius Mærai Sac. Duacen. were also examined: it is only said that they corroborated the above.

No. III.

State of the Diocese of Anaghduagh united to Tuam. Page 51.

Eisdem loco et anno die vero 14 Octobris, Rev. D. Petrus Val Archidiac. Duacen. examinatus super statu et qualitatibus Ecclæ. Anagduanen. Metropolitanæ Tuamens. ut præfertur unitæ, respondit quod civitas Anagduanen. parva et sine muris distat a civitate Tuamen. per quatuor vel quinque milliaria et quod in ea est etiam parva Ecclæ. Cathedralis sub invocatione St. Brandani, quæ habet Decanum et Archidiac. et quosdam canonicos qui tamen ibi non resident et Ecclesia ipsa est penitus desolata et inibi una tantum missa celebratur in diebus festivis; habet etiam campanile, cœmeterium et unum tantum calicem et paramentum, etc. Diocesis est admodum parva et intra sylvestres et malos homines sita.

Donaldus Doign testified the same.

No. IV.

Instruction to the Agents of the Holy See in Ireland, for the management of Ecclesiastical matters. Page 78.

Ricordi circa le cose d' Ibernìa.

QUEL che si intraprende in questa missione d'Ibernìa è generalmente di ajutar le cose di quella Provincia nel spirituale, e scaricar in quel che si potrà la coscienza del sommo Pontifice ed anche dell' Illmo. e Revmo. Protettore di quella Provincia.

Per questo effetto si toccheranno alcuni punti di ciò che dovranno fare di là quelli che si mandano: Altri di quello che debbono avvisar qua: Altri degli ajuti che se li potranno dare da Roma.

Di quello che pare dovriano fare in Ibernìa.

1^o. Visitar li capi Cattolici e specialmente quattro Sgri. Secolari che sono li principali del Regno, laudando da parte di Sua Santità loro costanza e zelo della Religione Cattolica ed animandoli a perseverarvi.

Visitar anche li Vescovi Cattolici facendo un simil officio con loro e se alcuni mancaranno di fare il debito suo, dando mal' esempio alli Diocesani della sua vita; o non facendo residenza nelle sue Cattedrali nè visitando il suo gregge nè procurando che gli officii divini siano detti; ovvero che le chiese si non tengano con la decentia conveniente; ovvero che facciano mala promozione ed elezione di ministri; e così di altri difetti pubblici ed importanti; ammonirli ed esortarli a diportarsi meglio se vogliono che venga di loro buon odore a questa Sta. Sede.

Similmente con Preti massime curati facciano buon officio sì in ajutarli nella vita per se stessi con esortazioni e per mano delli Vescovi quanto alla correzione

sia delli peccati loro pubblici sia della negligenza di far il suo officio verso il culto divino ed ajuto delle anime.

Abbiano special riguardo alla amministrazione delli sacramenti vedendo come si deportano li Preti nel battezzare, sentir Confessioni e dar la Sta. Communion e Estrema Unzione e Matrimonio: ed i Vescovi nella Confermazione ed ordini Sacri per avvisare loro e supplire in quella parte che potranno specialmente nelle Confessioni e Communioni.

Vedendo etiam se si predica il Verbo divino Cattolicamente; e l'istruzione ed ajuto che potranno dare agli altri Ministri, lo diano: e per se stessi insegnino il popolo e lo esortino a vivere cristianamente.

Se intendessero esservi alcun predicatore o Parroco Eretico, procurino gli sia levata l'occasione di far danno agli altri; e quanto a loro stessi si sforzino di ridurli, mostrandoli la verità in spiritu lenitatis. E se fossero duri e potessero essere ajutati con l'autorità e potenza di altri superiori a loro, dovranno anche procurarlo ed etiam la punizione dove si può.

Veda di animar gl' infermi nella fede ed esortarli a confessarla nelli casi e modo che conviene senza dar luogo al mondano timore nè alla temerità.

Dove conosceranno esservi alcuni buoni soggetti ed atti ad insegnar e reggere altri procurino di metterli inanzi alli Vescovi, acciò siano adoperati e gli diano li benefici che essi sogliono e possono dare.

Se potessero introdur scuole di grammatica in alcune bande trovando maestri Cattolici e sufficienti sarebbe grande rimedio contro l'ignoranza grande del paese, e bisognerebbe muovere i Padri a mandare i suoi figliuoli acciò abbino istruzione in lettere e costumi, ed imparino anche la dottrina Cristiana e Cattolica.

Vedano se ci sarà ordine che siano reparami alcuni Monasterii di uomini o di donne, o quelli che sono in essere riformati.

Saria anche bene che il Monte di pietà per sovvenzione dei Poveri, Ospitali, ed altre opere pie che in queste bande si usano, ed in quelle forse averanno luogo, siano introdotte ovvero riparate se prima ci erano.

In tutti li predetti uffici di carità ed altri che sogliono esercitar le persone della Compagnia per ajuto delle anime procedono secondo l'istituto nostro senza accettar premio alcuno ne anco eleemosyna per li tali esercizi; quantunque essendo necessario si ajutino di eleemosine per la sustentazione sua ma non già dimandate ne anche accettate per conto di quello che loro fanno, procurando di edificarli coll' esempio di carità e zelo di loro salute, etc.

E quantunque dove per la gloria di Dio e ben commune bisognassi mettersi in pericoli della vita senza temerità nè tentare Iddio, non li debbono fuggire; pur generalmente parlando, procedano con la desterità che potranno e prudenza per non essere presi dalli ministri della Regina, e con quelli Signori Cattolici si potranno consigliare e veder insino a qual termine si possano estendere nel conversare in quelli paesi che sono governati da Inglesi Eretici.

Di qual cosa debbono dar avviso a Roma.

1. Avviseranno generalmente del stato che trovano quanto alla Religione Cattolica ed obbedienza verso la Sede Aplica. sì nelli capi Ecclesiastici e secolari, sì nelli popoli e quello che si guadagnerà o perderà alla giornata in questa parte.

2. Se alcuni Prelati che di la non possono essere costretti, se vedesi procedano tanto malamente che non basti altro rimedio che della Sede Aplica. per emendare loro costumi scandalosi, sebben la fede sia Cattolica, avvisarà fedelmente e schiettamente di quello che conviene.

3. Mandi una nota delle persone che riputerà atte per li Vescovati e specialmente quando vacarà qualche d'uno, in specie potrà avvisare che li parerà atto per quello, toccando le ragioni che lo muovono.

4. Generalmente se li occorressero alcuni mezzi importanti per ajuto del ben commune di quella Provincia che per la Sta. Sede Aplica. si possano usare, dia ricordo nelle sue lettere.

Degli ajuti che adesso se li potranno dare in Roma.

1. Facoltà di assolvere delli casi riservati ed in Bulla Coenae Dni. che possono ricorrere in quelle parti e specialmente di assolvere gli Eretici e scismatici e reconciliarli con la Sta. Chiesa almeno in foro conscientiae.

2. Quanto al foro esteriore vedasi se convien che abbino facoltà di assolvere di dispensare in gradi proibiti de Matrimonii ed in quali; e similmente in casi di irregolarità ed in quali. Et almeno per assicurare la coscienza pare che dovriano aver alcuna facoltà in casi simili in foro interiori; con questo che il tutto faccino secondo l'istituto nostro, senza pigliar cosa alcuna; anzi se la pigliassero per simili conti che non sia valida la grazia che vogliono conferire.

Vedasi se sarà espediente ch' abbino alcun Breve o Bolla di S. Stà. nella quale constasse come li manda, e delle predette facoltà ed altre se paressero convenienti.

Vedasi similmente se si dovrà ordinare a quelli che vengono a Roma per Vescovati o Benefici che non venghino senza testimonio di questi che manda S. Stà.

Pare etiam giovarebbero alcune lettere di S. Stà. o dell' Illmo. e Revmo. Protettore d' Ibernìa alli Sigri. Principali ovvero qualche Breve per tutti loro animandoli, etc.

No. V.

Letter of Father Wolf to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland. Page 85.

La vera pace ed amore di Gesu Christo Sre. nostro sia nelli cuori nostri.

Ho scritto in questi giorni passati con Sig. Guillelmo Neon a V. Revma. ed Illma. Sigria circa il stato della chiesa Ibernica in questa parte di Momonia: ed ora essendo il portatore di questa lettera Donaldo Mac Gomgayll meco in tutta la mia peregrinazione per la Ibernìa ho giudicato piu espediente per dar buon conto del tutto, di mandarlo in persona per esser persona di giudizio ed esperta in queste parti ed ancora avendo (come dirò dappoi) da fare costi.

Essendo questo Donaldo meco nella parte di Conacia avemo visto e non visitato l'Arcivescovo Tuamense et il Vescovo Clonfertense, li quali secondo il mondo

sono uomini dabbene. Tutti due hanno dati suoi voti alla Regina come già ho scritto delli altri di Momonia a V. Rma. ed Ilma. Signia. Quello Arcivescovo Tuamense per nome Cristoforo Botteghin, ebbe suo arcivescovado (secondo che si dice da ognuno) per forza d'armi et auctoritate regia, e non mi ha voluto dire nè mostrare qualmente l'ha avuto, salvo che mi diceva che la buona memoria del Cardinal Polo fece una composizione fra lui ed un certo Arturo O'Frehir vero e legittimo Arcivescovo, il quale vive ancora ed è espulso da quell' Arcivescovato dal detto Cristoforo. Questo Cristoforo tiene l'Arcivescovato Tuamense insieme con lo Vescovato Duacense, Enachdunen. et Magdunen. le quali Enachdunen. et Magdunen, secondo che lui dice erano uniti da molti anni con Tuam; ed altri dicono che no, ma lui stesso propria et regia auctoritate ha gionto ancora Duacen. con quelle altre. Mi ha detto che ha avuto la resignazione dell' Arcivescovato dal detto Arturo ed in effetto se fosse accetta dal sommo Pontefice mi pareria molto piu al proposito che il detto Arturo, perche è un uomo di governo ed ha gran credito appresso li Signori di quelle bande. Ed essendo quella chiesa per 300 anni per fortezza nelle mani di gentil uomini, senza messa ne altro officio divino, lui l'ha tolto per forza dalle mani loro con grande pericolo della sua persona, e dove prima erano cavalli ed altri animali, ora si canta e si dice messa in essa, e lui stesso suole essere in coro ogni giorno, abbenche non vi siano in quella terra Tuamense piu di 20 case o 30. Ha buona fama ed è ben voluto da ognuno ed ancora dalli suoi avversari li quali tenevano quella chiesa per il tempo passato.

Un certo Malachia O'Molonno, Canonico Duacen. ha fatte false dispensazioni come V. Rma. ed Ilma. vedrà per la copia che gli mando qui annessa ed in quella ha incolpato quel Cristoforo con dire che lui l'abbia visto ed approvato, ma il detto Cristoforo mi ha giurato sopra l'Evangelio che mai ha visto nè approvato tal decreto Aplico. allegandomi molte ragioni, e trovo che il detto Malachia è falsario litterarum Aplicarum, e non ha voluto presentarsi avanti di lui quando era citato e perciò io desidero di sapere che cosa dobbiamo fare di quel Malachia in tal caso, essendo lui ribelle e non avendo alcuna originale alla quale dovessimo dar fede.

Bernardo O'Huyghin, Vescovo Elfinen. ha rassegnato il suo Vescovato a un Padre dell' ordine di S. Domenico Priore di Slyghvach per nome Andrea Crean, uomo assai religioso e di buona fama ed ha gran credito appresso alli secolari non tanto per la sua dottrina quanto per la sua buona conversazione e bontà. Questo Bernardo è stato uomo da bene e religioso quanto a se stesso ma non era grato al popolo e vedendo lui di aver perso assai della sua temporalità per esser così odioso al popolo, ha eletto quel Andrea il quale è molto amabile ad ognuno per recuperare tanto quanto lui stesso ha perso. Il detto Andrea va adesso per (con permesso?*) notitia del suo Vicario Provinciale a Roma per obtinere quel Vescovato insieme con la resignazione del detto Bernardo: e volse aver le mie lettere testimoniali, ed io ho poca pratica della sua persona nondimeno sento la sua fama buona sparsa per tutto il paese del che ne rendo testimonio. Va ancora col detto Andrea un compagno per nome Owen ovvero Eugenio O'Harty, frate del detto ordine, gran Predicatore ed uomo di buona vita e zeloso dell' onore di Dio, il quale è stato otto anni o incirca in Parigi ed io giudico (abbenche non va per tal' effetto, ne anche pensa niente) che lui

* Illegibile,

fusse buono per esser vescovo. Ed in caso che il detto Andrea (essendo la morte ad ognuno commune) fusse morto, quel Padre Eugenio saria buono in suo luogo non obstante che la resignazione non fosse fatta in suo nome. Ed ancor che la volontà di Dio fusse che il detto Andrea viveria e fusse Vescovo Elphinen. anchora potria esser Vescovo *Accaden*. il quale vescovato vaca per la morte della buona memoria di Cormaco O'Coyn del detto ordine di S. Francesco. Quella chiesa Accadense è adesso per fortezza in mani di gentil'uomini e non vi sia vestigio di Religione e credo che il detto Eugenio con li suoi esempi e buona vita insieme con l'ajuto delli suoi amici potria pigliar quella chiesa dalle mani dei gentil'uomini e far in quella come ha fatto Cristoforo Tuamense. Il portatore di questa lettera Donaldo Magonigail fu mio compagno nella parte di Connacia e non sia persona in tutta Ibernia che sa dar conto migliore di lui di ogni cosa ed io la mando per due effetti: 1^o. per dar quel conto di me stesso ed ancora delli Vescovi, Arcivescovi e Prelati, &c. 2^o. Essendo morto il Vescovo Rapotense non trovo persona che fusse atta a tal dignità miglior di lui: è ben dotto secondo la dottrina di questa patria ed è ben voluto d'ognuno ed è stato in Roma l'anno passato.

Sono partiti d'Ibernia da 14 persone senza le mie lettere delle quali uno è il Decano Rapotense per impetrar quel Vescovato e questo Decano secondo che sento da persone degne di fede è uomo piuttosto di guerra che di chiesa. Guardasi Vtra. Rma. ed Illma. Sigria. che non gli dia fede se dirà di non saper della mia venuta in Ibernia perche non vi sia persona eretica nè cattolica che non sa del mio venire, perche ho mandato un editto publico per tutta la patria: ed essendo la nave apparecchiata di partirsi adesso non dirò altro, salvo raccomandar queste tre persone a V. S. Illma. e Revma. insieme con quel Sig. Guiljelmo Neon già mandato, pregando il Sig. Dio di conservarla in sanità del corpo e dell' anima a gloria sua ed utilità di questa misera patria.

Di Limerico alli 12 di Ottobre, 1561.

Di V. Sigria. Rma. et Illma.

Servo indegno,

DAVID WOLF.

No. VI.

Paper presented in 1563 to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, proposing names for the vacant See of Armagh. Page 77, note.

ILLME. ET REVME. DNE.

Hos invenimus esse idoneos qui numquam ab unitate Sanctæ Matris Ecclæ. deviaverunt.

1^o. Thomam Leverum, Epum. Kyldaren. qui tempore Henrici 8vi. Eduardi ejus filii et etiam hoc ipso tempore expulsus fuit suo Episcopatu eo quod noluerit obtemperare in parlamento hæreticis.

2^o. Gulielmum Walshe, Epum. Midensem, qui per annum unum propter Ecclæ. fidem et unitatem in carceribus vitam lubentissimo animo egit et

Episcopatu privatur, nunc vero, Deo auxiliante pristinae libertati emancipatus in primo tamen proposito perseverans carceribus liberatus est.

3º. Hugonem Epum. Limericensem, qui vir in fide Catholica constans et dum vocabatur a Reginae Angliæ Commissariis rogatus ut morigerum se in omnibus præberet ipsi Reginae hoc responsi dedit “unum agnosco in terris Ecclesiæ summum caput eique et non alteri obedientiam dare pollicitus sum” itaque numquam a proposito desistam : hujus tamen absentia non parum detrimenti patriæ afferret ; Comes Dns. Desmonia fere in omnibus ejus consilio utitur.

Est quoque unus quem pater David in suis litteris Vrae. Illmæ. et Revmæ. Dni. commendavit, nomine Richardum Crevium Theologiæ Baccalaureum, quem voluit præesse ut Archiep. Cassellensem. Vir sane et vita et doctrina satis clarus.*

No. VII.

Letter of the Pope to the Nuncio in Spain, 13th March, 1568, ordering him to take steps to obtain the liberation of the Archbishop of Armagh and Father Wolf from prison. Page 80.

PIUS PP. V.

VEN. FRATER, ETC.

Relatum Nobis fuit, Ven. Fratrem Archiepiscopum Armachanum, qui ut nosti Primas est Hiberniæ, captum fuisse ab Anglis et in Turre Londinensi in compedibus haberi : dilectum autem filium Davidem ex Hibernia Soc. Jesu. Professorem ab iisdem Anglis in oppido Dublinio arctissime custodiri, ambosque durissime tractari. Valde admodum dolemus tantam calamitatem utriusque eorum propter singularem ipsorum probitatem, et multos ob religionem Catholicam susceptos labores. Quia vero adjuvare eos, quantum possumus cupimus et debemus ; alia ratio nobis non occurrit quam ut charissimus in Christo filius noster Rex Catholicus, Reginae Anglorum pro eis diligenter scribat. Itaque fraternitas Tua cum ipso Rege pro utrisque diligentissime loquatur ; et curet instetque ac roget nostris verbis ut ad ipsam Reginam atque ad oratorem suum accuratissime scribat. Quo ejus officio nihil in præsentia gratius Nobis esse poterit.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 13 Martii, 1568, Pontif. nostri anno tertio.

Venerabili Fratri Archiepo. Rasanensi in Hispania apud
Regem Catholicum nostro et Apostolicæ Sedis Nuncio.

* This is signed at the back “Pro Patria Hibernia.”

No. VIII.

Letter of Dr. Sanders to the Cardinal of Como. Page 196.

Illmo. et Emo. Cardinali Comensi domino suo observandissimo.

ILLME. ET EME. DNE.—Etsi quarta jam vice spoliato, vix charta in qua scribam supersit, tamen nolui committere quin tuam Illmam. Dominationem inde ex Hibernia salutare. 17^o Julii appulimus: postridie in terram cum descendissemus erecto crucis vexillo arcem occupavimus. Ibi Joannes comitis Desmoniae frater nos clam adivit, et bono animo esse iussit. Is 1^o Augusti tres Anglos totius provinciae gubernatores occidit. Inde palam libereque regionem perambulavimus. 18^o Augusti Jacobus praelio inito vicit, sed ipse solus occubuit. Joannes ducis officio fungens quinto Septembris ducentos ex Anglis occidit. Hinc nostris viribus auctis, tertio Octobris totum Anglorum exercitum aggressi tres tantum occidimus, viginti autem ex nostris amisimus. Inde Angli superbia elati, arcem Comitis Desmoniae obsederunt: at ille cum eatenus nonnisi occulte nobis favisset, jam aperte in nostrum exercitum ingressus quintuplo majores copias nobis affert, ita victi sumus, ut melius, si Deus volet, vicissemus. Iam fere quartam Hyberniae partem obtinemus, totam facillime obtenturi, si auxilia quae expectamus quaeque jam Sua Sanctitas, prout S. Illma. dominatio nobis promisit, opportune occurrerint. Deus et Suam Sanctitatem et Suam Illmam. dominationem nobis et toti Ecclesiae incolumes servet. Decimo die Octobris A.D. 1579.

Ut Joanni detur officium Ducis Apostolici, et privilegia solita, jam ad nuncium Hispaniae scripsi.

Suae Illmae. Dominationis studiosissimus servitor,

NICOLAUS SANDERUS.

No. IX.

Extracts of Dr. Sanders' Letters, sent to Rome by the Nuncio in Spain. Page 197.

“17^o Julii appulimus in Hyberniam, postridie arcem occupavimus: 29^o navis Anglicana eam navim in qua ex Hispania vecti fuimus, abstulit: 1^o Augusti Joannes Geraldinus tres Anglos qui Provinciam Momoniae gubernabant, occidit: ea caedes nobis libertatem dedit palam prodeundi. Tunc Jacobus Geraldinus cum hostibus congruens vicit quidem sed ipse ex vulnere accepto e vita decessit. Joannes ex tam sancto instituto progressus die 5^{to} Septembris Anglos aggressus, trecentos fudit, et ducentos ex illis occidit: hinc nostris viribus auctis, die 3^o Octobris totum Anglorum exercitum aggressi, amissis fere viginti viris repulsam tulimus. Angli ea re elati Comitis Desmoniae arcem obsidere ceperunt qua stultitia provocarunt Comitem, ut contra eos arma sumeret quum eatenus occulte potius quam aperte nobis favisset.” 8 Oct. 1579.

Extract from letters of the Nuncio in Madrid, 1580. Amongst those who joined the expedition were the Bishop of Ardfert and the Bishop of Ross. He had been informed by letters of Sanderus :—

“Che Giovanni Laseo (Lacy) con li suoi Cavalli e fanti passò dal nemico alla parte Cattolica ed atterrò le sue fortezze perchè li nemici non se ne potessero servire. Che li figli del Conte di Conacia hanno dato grande intenzione di conguingersi ; uno dei quali ha risposto al Sandero, che ciò era da lui molto desiderato ; però che per questa congiunzione temeva della vita del Padre che è tenuto prigionie dagli Inglesi.

“Che nelle feste di Natale, O'Neil ed O'Donel avevano fatto gran strage dei nemici.

“Che dopo la presa di Jetal nel Contado di Clincart si è speso assai tempo, perchè Giovanni tre volte et il Conte due volte sono andati per stabilire, come hanno stabilita e giurata, una tregua.

“Che in assenza dei capi principali, il Conte di Ormonia Butlero che solo degli Irlandesi si mostra nemico della fede, fece molta preda, senza poterseglì impedire, nei confini dei Cattolici : ma dopo la sua partita i Cattolici ne fecero una dentro i suoi confini non punto inferiore.”

X.

Letter of Dr. Sanders, 9th Jan., 1581. Page 201.

ILLUSTRISIME ET REVERENDISIME DOMINE,

Bellum in Hybernia pro fide sine omni humana ope incoatum, facillime, citissime ac felicissime fuisset expeditum, si auxilium quod intra sex menses promittebatur, saltem intra annum integrum fuisset transmissum ; nam omnis Hybernia et fidei restituendæ cupidissima erat, et auxilio suppeditato, facillime quod cupiebat, assequuta esset. At postquam integer annus præterisset, nec ullum auxilium adventasset, multi viri principes velut re desperata cum hostibus pacem inierunt, adeo ut soli Geraldini, quorum familiæ princeps Comes Desmonia est, in fide persisterent. Hostis potentissimus erat, cui nihil nec mari nec terra deerat, quo nos undique infestaret ; tandem tamen nobilissimus barro Iacobus Eustatius dominus de Balthinglas, zelo Dei permotus, ad Comitem Desmonia se junxit, et in officio ac fide constantissime perseverat. His ita constitutis post annum et menses fere quatuor pervenerunt ad nos trecenti firones, Sebastiano de sancto Josepho coronello homine villissimo et nequissimo, qui per triennium totum viscera hujus sanctissimæ causæ depascebatur, avarus, luxuriosus, effeminatus, arrogans ; huius adventu magis desperari cœptum est ; is autem locum opportunum castro ædificando elegit, in quo tam milites, quam bona sua incolumia præstaret ; concessit ei Deus dies quinquaginta liberos, in quibus opus ex animi sententia perfecit. Erant enim sermones dissipati, quasi quatuor millia vivorum appullissent. Tandem veritate per hostium exploratores probe cognita, Comes Ormondia cum exercitu castrum invisit ; prodierunt ex castro milites, ut sclopetis cum hostibus luderent ; erat vir

facile princeps inter hostes Andreas quidam Martinus, Castelli Mang præfectus; is fossa quadam obtenta cœpit contra nostros sclopeta emittere, quod magna dexteritate faciebat; ecce autem ab uno ex nostris in capite percussus subito interiit; tunc Comes Ormondia videns classem mari expectatam non affuisse, relicto castro reversus est ad sua; hinc magna spes hominum animos erexit, fore ut illud castrum expugnari nunquam posset; post paucos autem dies supervenit mari præfectus classis Regina, terra vero prorex cum exercitu.

Itaque septimo die Novembris castrum tormentis verberari cœptum est, duravitque ea res usque ad octavum diem circa meridiem; tunc coronellus magis de vita et deliciis suis, quam de honore Dei aut causa tam sancta sollicitus, vexillum album, pacis optatæ signum, erexit, quod hostis cum viderit, a tormentis incutiendis mox abstinuit; cum enim desperaret se posse castrum vi expugnare, gavisus est aliam sibi occasionem ultro subministratam. Venit ergo Winckfeldus Capitaneus a prorege missus, ut quid Coronellus offerret exploraret; exiit ad Winckfeldum de licentia coronelli Antonius Ortiagus, homo vecors, et propterea per dominum Johannem Desmonia Generalem Suae Sanctitatis officio ducendi ordines privatus, et in ordinem plebeium redactus: is autem ad proregem transiit, Winckeldo in castro loco obsidis derelicto. Prorex petit a coronello Jacobum Geraldii nobilissimum Comitum Desmonia captivum sibi donari: fecit id Coronellus, hominem e vestigio transmittens; eadem vero nocte de proregis consensu ad castra proregis transiit: transiit autem annulis, catenis aureis, ac monilibus tam magnificus ac splendidus, cum delecto etiam comitatu, ut tunc demum vivere ac triumphare videretur: mansit autem cum prorege tota illa nocte, cui prorex equum instructum donavit. Pacti dicuntur fuisse, ut duæ partes omnium bonorum Reginae essent, tertia vero Coronelli, liceretque omnibus militibus in Hispaniam reverti. Nono die mane Coronellus ad castrum reversus, cœpit exponere militibus majores hostium vires esse, quam quibus resistere possent. Itaque nihil sibi optabilius esse, quam ut in Hispaniam incolumes reverterentur. Sanctissimus presbiter Laurentius Moore interpellavit orationem coronelli, rogans ne obliviscerentur officii sui erga Deum et Papam, sed locum, quem pro honore fidei propugnandum suscepissent, fortissime propugnarent; Deum non defuturum iis, qui sperant in se ac officio suo funguntur. Ejus autem oratio nihili habita est; erat enim miles tam ab omni militari gloria alienus, ut gladiis suis loco verum ad assandas carnes, galeis vero loco lebetum ad coquendas uterentur; quod cum Hyberni viderent, cui nihil perinde ac arma sua æstimant, ornant, expolliunt, magno eos contemptu habuerunt; non deerant tamen tres aut quatuor, qui Coronelli factum improbarent, de quo etiam e vita auferendo cogitarunt, sed cum viderent universam multitudinem eo ferri, ut in Hispaniam reverterentur, nihil amplius tentarunt.

De proregis voluntate emissi sunt ad eum Laurentius presbiter, Oliverius Plonketus, et Guillelmus Wiellich Anglus; his oblatum est, ut si Regiam vellent agnoscere, libertate sua uterentur; cum autem respondissent omnes se catholicos esse, ac in fide per Dei gratiam perseveraturos, ducti sunt ad fabri ferrarii officinam, ruptisque tribus in locis separatis manuum ac pedum ossibus, tota illa nocte ac die sequente summa patientia dolorem illum pertulerunt; tandem vero suspensi ac membratim dimissi, palmam martyrii adepti sunt. Coronellus interim omnia ex animi sui sententia confecit, ostensoque militibus proregis chyrographo abunde eis satisfacit: mox intrarunt liberius in

castrum Angli non nisi epulandi et comptandi specie, plurimum enim vini illo die exhaustum est; decimo vero die prorox præcepit, ut omnia bona in castrum inferius inferrentur, ibique per suos asservarentur; misit vero trecentos Anglos, qui laetissimo vultu a Biscainis excipiebantur, ubi cum aliquantulum inebriati essent, prorox iubet, nequisquam Biscainorum arma ferret, sed ea deponeret, atque in unum locum comportaret, quod ubi factum est, evocavit prorox octodecim personas, ex quibus fere quindecim erant Itali, tres vero Hispani, tunc Coronellum ad se advocans, chyrographum ab eo repetiit atque abstulit; mox Angli, qui in castro erant, Biscainos trucidare cœperunt, nemine omnino superstite relicto. Hæc est summa tragœdiæ, quæ apud nos accidit: quanto gloriosius illi milites vitam pro Christo et fide Catholica impendissent! sed aliud merita sunt peccata nostra: nunc autem id solum restat, ut auxilium plenum tandem aliquando transmittatur; plenum autem vocamus exercitum decem vel saltem octo millium, quo transmisso statim universa Hybernia erit in nostra potestate. Hæc habui quæ significarem, nihil dubitans, quin tua Illustrissima Dominatio, pro eo ac solita est, causam istam omni studio prosecute; præstiterat enim non esse incoatam, quam in medio deseri, et pro derelicto haberi.

Reverendus presbiter Gualterus Bregin, qui has defert, ut est litterarum cupidissimus, ita cum non habeat ex suo unde se alat, rogo tuam Illustrissimam Dominationem, ut quacunque eum ratione poterit, commendet, ac iuvet. Non deerit occasio viro tam potenti ac bono, qua, id non dubito, facile præstet; non potui illum pati absque meis litteris commendatitiis istuc venire, cum et optime sciat quo in statu res vestræ sint, et semper et officiose interfuit. Rogo ergo ut a tua Illustrissima Dominatione iuvetur. Ego jam a plurimis diebus ægritudine tam animi quam corporis afficior, ut. . . mihi magis condonandum sit, si omnia tam frigide perscribo; saltem tuæ Illmæ. Dominationis immemor non ero, ac si quis mei usus est, rogo ut imperet, tamquam fidelissimo servo suo.

Tuæ Illmæ. Dominationi addictissimus servus,

NICOLAUS SANDERUS.

Die nono Januarii, 1581.

No. XI.

Letter of Nicolaus Sanderus, 19th Oct., 1850. Page 200.

“Die 26^o mensis Julii, cum Comes de Clancharti et Baro Macmauritijs nos deseruissent hostique se adjunxissent (quod nostram partem adeo imbecillum judicarent), nobilissimus Baro de Baltinglas, Jacobus Eustacius, itemque Tiegh Mache, et alii multi nobiles arma pro fide sumpserunt circa ipsum Dublinum quod est totius Hybernix caput. Hi fortissime se gesserunt, et adhuc gerunt, præclara de hostibus reportata victoria. Dominus autem Joannes inde ad nos transiit ut accepta ope aliqua pecuniaria potentior ad suos rediret. Rem Dno. Sebastiano proposuimus: benigne respondit, sed nihil hactenus pecuniæ tradidit. Obnixè rogo V. D. Illmam. ut hujus Dni. Joannis sociorumque ejus tamquam virorum de fide præclare meritorum meminerit.

“D. Joannes Geraldinus mittit una cum Patre Matthæo in Hispaniam filium suum naturalem Thomam Geraldinum acutissimi puerum ingenii, et indolis optimæ ut educetur in liberalibus disciplinis.

“Cum hæc scripsissem D. Joannes mihi dixit se non audere filium mittere hoc tempore propter periculum quod in itinere subibunt.

“Hæc tertiam partem eorum quæ oportuit, mihi licuit scribere. Cum enim timeamus ne Angli arcem mari quoque obsideant, festinamus patrem Matthæum demittere, quem omnes et D. Joannes voluerunt Nuncii partes ad T. Illmam. Dom. agere.

“Naves quæ isthinc venient cum exercitu optime ac tutissime appulsuræ videntur in portu Corcagiensi. Nam in eo se facile ab hostibus tuebuntur. Nam portus Limericensis nec perinde tutus dicitur et ab Anglorum classe occupandus putatur.”

No. XII.

Alessandro Bertona de Faenza writes from prison, 27th Dec. 1580, asking assistance from Card. Como, and says (see page 201) :—

“Alli 27, di Agosto partimmo di Santander della costa di Biscaglia ed alli 13 di Settembre arrivammo in un porto d' Irlanda il quale si chiama Smerwick e sbarcassimo tutti li soldati e munizioni come vi era stato ordinato ; e da li a sei giorni venne il Conte Desmond a trattar tutte queste cose, donde io per ordine del Sig. Colonello incominciai un forte per guardare le nostre munizioni e principiandoli venne un Conte D'Ormond con un campo di soldati li quali, erano 1500, e con quelli pochi soldati che avemmo, amazzammo molti dei suoi donde fu forzato di ritornarsi. Dapoi venne quattordici vascelli per mare tra li quali vi erano sette galeoni grossi e tutti questi potevano aver 250 pezzi di artiglieria di bronzo, e nel medmo. tempo venne il Vice-Re con un campo di 2000 soldati, donde avendo aperto li fianchi del nostro porto, e scavalcato la nostra artiglieria e ammazzato molti soldati fummo forzati perdervi, donde furono tagliati tutti a pezzi e fecero prigione al Sig. Colonello con venticinque altri non piu.”

There is another similar letter from Colonel St. Joseph.

No. XIII.

Extract from letter of the Earl of Desmond, sent by the Nuncio in Madrid, 17th January, Dingle. Page 197, note.

“Che egli trovato all' improvviso, poiche non era stato avvertito della andata di Giacomo Geraldino, stette alquanto sopra di se, ma lasciò fra tanto che li suoi fratelli si congiungessero a Giacomo, favorendogli esso ancora e difendendoli quanto pottette, sinchè intese la morte di Giacomo dopo aver vinto i suoi

nemici. Questi fatti insolenti da questo successo, egli ancorche non avesse stabilito le cose sue e tenesse un figlio nelle mani degli Inglesi, posponendo tutto al servizio di Dio si scoperse e si unì coi suoi fratelli.”

No. XIV.

Brief of Gregory XIII., conferring various faculties on the Rev. D. J. White. Page 83.

Dilecto filio Joanni Vito Presbitero Hiberno, Gregorius Papa XIII.

Dilecte fili salutem, etc. Exigit Pastoris universalis cura nobis divinitus injuncta ut omni studio enitamur oves quæ a Christi ovili aberrarunt commodis rationibus ad idem quamprimum reducere. Hinc est quod Nos tibi qui Theologus existis et de quo in his specialem in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, ut in universo Hiberniæ Regno omnes et quascumque utriusque sexus poenitentes personas ab omnibus casibus poenis et censuris etiam per litteras die cœnæ Dni. legi solitas sedi Aplicæ. reservatis, injuncto eis pro modo culpæ poenitentia salutari in foro conscientiæ dumtaxat, necnon eos quos etiam ex hæresi aut schismate in eodem Regno Hiberniæ ad gremium S. Matris Ecclesiæ reduxeris ac etiam quia propter temporum malitiam atque licentiam multa matrimonia in diversis consanguinitatis seu affinitatis gradibus, etc., ibi contracta sint, cum hujusmodi personis ut in contractis matrimoniis in quarto ac in tertio et quarto, necnon in secundo et tertio consanguinitatis seu affinitatis gradibus, ac etiam in cognatione spirituali non tamen inter levatum et levantem cum publica honestate justitiæ contractis, etc., dispensare possis. Non obstantibus, etc

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum die 4 Novembr. 1578, anno septimo.

No. XV.

Brief appointing Dr. Matthew D'Oviedo Archbishop of Dublin. Page 84 and page 193.

Dilecto filio Matthæo di Oviedo, Electo Dublinen. salutem, etc.

Divina disponente clementia cujus inscrutabili providentia ordinationem suscipiunt universa, in Aplicæ. sedis specula etsi immeriti constituti ad universas orbis Ecclesias aciem nostræ considerationis intendimus, et pro earum statu salubriter dirigendo apostolici favoris auxilium adhibemus, sed de illis Nos propensius cogitare convenit quas propriis carere pastoribus intuemur ut eis juxta cor nostrum pastores præfiantur idonei, qui commissos sibi populos per suam circumspectionem providam, et providentiam circumspectam salubriter dirigant, et informant ac Ecclesiarum suarum bona non solum gubernent utiliter

sed et multimodis efferant incrementis. Dudum siquidem provisiones Ecclesiarum omnium tunc vacantium et in antea vacaturarum ordinationi nostræ et dispositioni reservavimus, decernentes ex tunc irritum et inane si secus super his per quoscumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contingeret attrahere. Postmodum vero Ecclesia Dublinensis cui bon. mem. Donaldus Archiepus. Dublinensis dum viveret præsidebat per obitum dicti Donaldi Archiepi. qui extra Rom. curiam debitum naturæ persolvit pastoris solatio destituta, Nos vacatione hujusmodi fidedignis relatibus intellectâ ad provisionem ejusdem Ecclesiæ celerem et felicem de qua nullus præter Nos hac vice se intromittere potuit sive potest, reservatione et decreto obsistentibus suprapositis, ne Ecclesia ipsa longæ vacationis imponatur incommodis, paternis et sollicitis studiis intendentes post deliberationem quam de præficiendo eidem Ecclesiæ personam utilem et etiam fructuosam cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem : demum ad Te ordinis fratrum minorum de observantia nuncupatorum professorem, ex legitimo matrimonio procreatum ac in presbyteratus ordine ac ætate legitimâ constitutum cuique apud Nos de vitæ munditia, honestate morum, spiritualium providentia et temporalium circumspeditione aliisque multiplicum virtutum donis fide digna testimonia perhibentur, direximus oculos nostræ mentis. Quibus omnibus debita meditatione pensatis Te a quibusvis excommunicationis, etc.

Quocirca Ven. fratribus nostris universis suffraganeis ac dilectis filiis capitulo et vasallis dictæ Ecclesiæ necnon clero et populo civitatis et Dioc. Dublinen. per apostolica scripta mandamus, ut suffraganei tibi tamquam membra capiti obsequentes ac capitulum tibi tamquam patri et pastori animarum suarum humiliter intendentes, exhibeant tibi obedientiam et reverentiam debitas et devotas, itaque mutua inter te et ipsos gratia gratos sortiatur effectus et Nos eorum devotionem possimus propterea in Dno. merito commendare. Ac clerus Te pro nostra et dictæ sedis reverentia benigne recipientes et honorifice pertractantes tua salubria monita et mandata salubribus humiliter intendant. Itaque tu in eis devotionis filios et ipsi in te per consequens patrem benevolum invenisse gaudeatis, etc.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum anno 1600, 3^o Nonas Maij Pontif. nostri anno Nono.

A. DE ALEXIIS.

H. Cardinalis Montaltus.

No. XVI.

Decrees published under Dr. Roothe, Bishop of Kilkenny, in a Provincial Synod of Armagh, in 1618. Page 272.

Ordinatio pro uniformitate Cleri Provinciæ Ardmachanæ facta in solemnî Conventu ejusdem Cleri, an. 1618.

Præsides Rmo. D. Davide Epo. Ossoriensi, Vice-Primate Hiberniæ.

1. Ut quæ pro regimine Provinciæ Ardmachanæ adeo et pro directione Cleri totius Hiberniæ in singulis hujus regni provinciis respective edita et sancita sunt, meliorem prosecutionem et certiolem effectum sortiantur, expedit

omnino adhiberi firmamentum aliquod et munimen ex uniformi Prælatorum consensu, et mutua eorum correspondentia contra ingruentem, meritoq. formidandam quorundam de Clero nimiam libertatem, vel etiam lubricitatem; ne forte quæ salubriter ordinata, in neglectum, desuetudinem, vel contemptum abeant. Et quia per omnes Provincias, quatenus rerum et temporum conditio patitur, jam designati sunt vicarii generales qui absentibus vel deficientibus episcopis suis singuli diœceses seorsim gubernent, qui eisdem partito onere per diversos districtus habent sibi deservientes vicarios foraneos; sub quibus etiam Parochi ministrant curam sacramentalem: ne ex confusione frangatur nervus Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, et juris atque æquitatis ordo perturbetur, quando licitum aut permissum foret Parochis aut aliis in cura constitutis transire, inconsulto ordinario, sub cuius obedientia jam vivunt, ad aliam diœcesim vel provinciam, ibique novum assumere onus animarum, relicta vel deserta priori parochia, cui inserviebant; unde et regiminis formam destrui, et improborum contumaciam roborari contingeret.

Idcirco providendum est, et communi consilio, consensuq. provisum sit, ad occurrendum omni subreptioni, prevaricationi, lapsui, relapsui, laxitati, vel inordinationi, ne quisquam qui de præsentī curam alicujus Parochiæ, Decanatus, aut districtus habet in quacumque diœcesi, cujuscumque provinciæ, admittatur in posterum in aliam diœcesim ejusdem vel alterius Provinciæ, absque testimonialibus vel commendatitiis proprii ordinarii. Quod ut serio et diligenter curetur, utque inconsultæ transmigrationses Parochorum de una in aliam diœcesim, vel provinciam impediuntur, et cum severitate etiam prohibeantur, æquitas requirit, suadet charitas, et ipsa etiam necessitas jubet esse commendatum omnibus ubique Officialibus, Archidiaconis, Decanis, vicariis generalibus, sive diœcesanis, sive etiam metropolitanis, ceterisque ordinariis, vel quasi ordinariis quibuscumque per universum hoc regnum constitutis, ut nec permittant vagos ignotorum Sacerdotum transcursus, atque recursus, neve absque testimonio et commendatione suorum ordinariorum extraneos recipiant ad curam extra illos districtus quibus ipsos jam de facto obstrictos, aut ex ordinationis velut vinculo adscriptos esse constet. Porro tenebuntur Parochi susceptam animarum curam per se exequi, nec citra necessitatem, et alios casus a jure expressos poterunt residentiam deserere, quod secus fit a quibusdam, qui pro sua commoditate et ad libitum servire volunt per alium, quem sibi constituunt, absque justa absentię causa. Id vero omni studio, sollicitudine, et vigilantia connitendum est, ut debitæ executioni demandetur.

Ordinatio pro correspondentia et conformitate inter clerum secularem et regularem juxta diversos gradus Eccliciæ. Hierarchiæ.

2. In omni ordine, gradu, et instituto qui discoli sunt, contumaces, vel refractarii perturbant pacem, et unitatem, qua continetur omnis ordinata societas; et una pecus morbida nisi tempestive arceatur ab ovili, potest totum gregem inficere; idcirco postulat recta disciplinæ ratio, ut ubi mansuetudine non proficitur, severitatis adhibeatur acrimonia, quæ ne irrita sit, et frustranea mutuis auxiliis et consiliis se invicem fulcire debent Ecclesiasticæ Hierarchiæ Præsules. Ac proinde si quis e seculari clero vel populo notorie delinquens, et excommunicationis, suspensionis, vel interdicti censura innodatus, per senten-

tiam latam a proprio pastore, recurreret saucius ad Regulares pro absoluteione impetranda, neglecta satisfactione, et obedientia, qua tenetur obnoxius suo proprio parochio, vel antistiti, cum privilegia Regularium ad ædificationem, non autem ad destructionem censeantur concessa; nec ad sententiam a iudice latam in foro contentioso rescindendam extendi posse, aut debere intelligantur; illud optandum est, et gratiose impetrandum a præsulibus Religiosi cujusvis ordinis, quibus hoc ipsam in spiritu pietatis et fraternæ charitatis proponendum requiritur, ne cito manus imponant hujusmodi refractariis, aut rebellibus etiam in foro conscientiæ, sed magis hortentur, ut se conforment recto imperio et voluntati suorum superiorum; ne quod unus ædificat, alius destruat, et dum unus claudit, alius aperit, laxitas et impunitas pariat ruinam. Quod si ex institutis Regularibus contra suorum antistitum nutum et mandatum aliqui incorrigibiles exirent ad sæcularem curam et officium, ordinarii locorum tales non admittent, nec fovebunt eorum contumaciam, quam potius reprimere et refrænare expediat, ut mutuam charitatem et correspondentiam utrique inter se gradus, cum unius corporis membra sint, constabiliant.

Ordinatio tam pro moderandis excessibus et defectibus in gubernatione funerum quoad laicos, quam pro coercendo vano et superfluo excessu tum in victu, tum in vestitu quoad ipsum Clerum.

3 Quia usu compertum est in quibusdam hujus provinciæ locis quosdam excessus, et defectus committi in curandis, et peragendis exequiis mortuorum, dumalibi nimio luxu in funebres epulas, et lugubres vestes cum magno hæredum detrimento, et nullo propemodum refrigerio pauperum, quandoque etiam cum damno creditorum, expensæ profunduntur; idque aliquando invalescente prava quoramdum æmulatione, dum mediocres ut exæquent fastum eorum, qui locupletiores sunt, suas excedunt facultates, in quo graviter peccare ipsi et suos liberos indebite onerare consueverunt; pro isto excessu moderando remedium quæri debet, similiter et pro defectu, quem alibi in exequiis obrepere conquerruntur piæ et timoratæ conscientiæ, ubi per quorundam nebularum, et jocularum nequitiam, quæ neque in domo convivii ferenda esset, inhonestæ cantiones, lascivæ gesticulationes, quandoque etiam cum tenebris opera tenebrarum peraguntur, et cum extinctione luminis pariter extinguitur timor mortis, cujus ut imago in cadavere exposita est oculis, ita memoria menti debet occurrere; ideoque omnibus de clero commendatum sit, tam Prælatiis quam concionatoribus, confessariis, parochis, ceterisque zelatoribus divini honoris, et publicæ salutis procuratoribus ut omni meliori via, ratione, modo, consilio, exhortatione, præcepto, et divini judicii contestatione deterreant, avocent, et abducant suos respective subditos, poenitentes, parochianos seu quocumque alio necessitudinis, charitatis, aut justitiæ titulo commissos eorum curæ vel directioni ab omni enormitate, inordinatione, indecentia, errore, et abusu, sive excedendo per luxum, sive deficiendo per quæcumque intemperantiam vel luxuriam, omnemque adhibeant diligentiam amovendi, et abolendi offensam Dei, dispendium reipublicæ, damnum animarum, scandalum infirmorum, et cetera nocumenta, quæ noscuntur emergere ex isto excessu et defectu funerum curandorum; ut cum satius esse duxerit sapiens in domum luctus ire quam in domum convivii, transeat in domum vitii et convitii. Quod ut universi et

singuli sedulo procurent (ut dictum est), mandamus, quantum possumus, et serio commendamus.

Quæ autem laicis præscribuntur circa moderandas exequias, idem circa nuptialia, et baptismalia convivia, aliasque profanas et fastuosas commensationes debet intelligi; multoque magis ad ipsius cleri excessus coercendos tam in victu, quam in vestitu vano et superfluo extendi convenit. Idecirco vitandus in posterum erit nimius ille apparatus ciborum, varietas ferculorum et opipara quoramdā lautities, ac operosa invitatio hospitum, sexusque promiscui frequens accubitus ad mensas ecclesiasticorum, præsertim nonnullorum Sacerdotum in celebratione primitiarum, ac Regularium in festis Ordinum patronalibus, quæ magna cum æmulatione charismatum non meliorum factitantur cum gravi onere laicorum in subministrandis omnigenis cibaribus, vaccis, ovibus, vitulis, agnis, hœdis, altilibus, volatilibus, vinorum etiam, aliorumque liquorum varietate, non sine magna distractione mentis, et jactura devotionis conquirentium undique, ac conquisita apparantium ac ministrantium Religiosorum: cum magna exclamatione, indignatione, et offensione gubernatorum regni, improperantium nostris luxum, et superabundantiam; cum ingenti denique displicentia, fastidio, et expostulatione aliorum Catholicorum, qui hanc immoderantiam culpant, redarguunt, et aboleri cupiunt; præsertim quando his epulis carnalibus multo attentius, et frequentius vacatur, quam Sacramentis administrandis, quibus in tanto hominum tumultu ad nidorem ecclesiæ advolantium vix attendi potest. Hæ itaque profanæ commensationes, quibus festa Patronorum ab Ecclesiasticis, ac potissime a Regularibus celebrantur, posthac commutandæ erunt in sacras et salutare epulas confessionis Sacramentalis et Smæ. Eucharistiæ, quibus anima devota expiatur, reficitur, roboratur in gratia, et disponitur ad indulgentias fructuose lucrandas. Et quod de victu temperando dictum est, idem et de vestitu moderando præcipitur, ne in eo luxurient Ecclesiastici, aut se nimium conspicabiles faciant supra communem sortem honestorum incolarum, cum quibus degunt, idque ad vitandos sumptus non necessarios, et ad pravam æmulationem, et profanorum hominum imitationem fuigendam decet omnino et expedit.

Ordinatio pro dispensationibus caute et ordinate concedendis.

4. Dispensationes sive ad retinenda bona Ecclesiastica, sive ad contrahenda matrimonia in gradibus a jure prohibitis non debent concedi, nisi causa sufficienter examinata; cujus cognitio merito præsumitur ab ordinario, cujus oves sunt, melius quam ab aliis posse fieri, et proinde justum est, ut ab eo approbentur, et acceptentur. Parochi vero, qui temere ac promiscue admitterent dispensationes quascunque, nec causa dispensandi, nec facultate dispensantis satis ab ordinario cognita, arbitrio ejusdem ordinarii puniantur.

Ordinatio de Regularibus ad curam animarum invitandis cum moderatione in usu suorum privilegiorum.

5. Regulares omnes, qui Ecclesiæ. Hierarchiæ ornamenta, ac Ordinariorum pastorum strenui co-operatores sunt, ab omnibus pastoribus, aliisque nobis subjectis volumus ut tales amari, et honorari, eisque omnia charitatis obsequia, et subsidia ad ædificationem fidelium ab omnibus præstari optamus, et cum jam

in nostra patria in suis Regularibus domibus consuetis religionis exercitiis vacare non permittantur; neque dubitemus illos zelo salutis animarum accensos libenter velle in messe Dei impendi, et superimpendi, nosque alioquin quam maxima Pastorum penuria laboremus; volumus, ut durante hoc rerum statu Ordinarii locorum serio cum superioribus Regularium agant, quatenus sibi subjectos Religiosos Sacerdotes ad munus pastorale gerendum sibi concedere velint, communique consilio tum Ordinarii, tum Regularium superiores curent, ut sine detrimento Regularis observantiæ hujusmodi pastoralis cura Religiosis commissa exerceatur. Ulterius declaramus Religiosos suis privilegiis et facultatibus, quatenus locorum ordinariis non repugnant, aut præjudicant, uti posse, ac proinde quoad hæc a nemine eos volumus molestari: cum autem certum sit, privilegia quæcumque in ædificationem, et non in destructionem concessa esse, debitumque Ecclesiasticum regimen postulare ea, quæ sunt fori contentiosi, a solis illis, qui illius fori sunt iudices (quales sunt Ordinarii), prout jura determinant, exerceri debere, ac proinde S. Sanctitatem nullo modo per hujusmodi privilegiorum concessionem hoc rectum regimen pervertere aut ordinariorum juri præjudicare velle; monemus igitur omnes Regulares, ut in iis, quæ fori contentiosi sunt, aut ad illud deduci possunt, privilegiorum, aut facultatum virtute nihil agant, nisi quatenus Ordinarii hæc illis commiserint, aut eorum ad illa præstanda auxilium requisierint.

Ordinatio de cauta conversatione Clericorum.

6. Caveant Sacerdotes, ne publice aut privatim de negotiis status, aut politiæ temporalis tractent, neve ullo alio modo Regiæ majestati, aut aliis, qui sub ipso Reipublicæ in temporalibus præsent, se exosos reddant, quam quæ sui officii erga Deum et populum præstando, nimirum spiritualia tantummodo eis ministeria exhibendo, relinquentes Cæsari, quæ Cæsaris sunt, et reddentes Deo, quæ Dei sunt.

No. XVII.

Report of Dr. Kearney, Archbishop of Cashel, written in 1609, on the State of Religion in Ireland. Page 234.

Vera et succincta relatio status Hiberniæ et simul temporis transacti ratio a Davide Archiepiscopo Cassellensi, in suo munere.

In quatuor classes distribui possunt hæretici qui rebus potiuntur, omniaque in Hibernia gubernant. Primum obtinent locum Prorex et Provinciarum præsides: secundum, consiliarii Regni et Provinciarum, iisque assistentes, qui justitiam administrant, ut Iudices et alii his inferiores; tertium, Pseudo-archiepiscopi et Episcopi et alii ministri: quartum, duces seu Capitanei ac Præsidarii milites qui præsent propugnaculis omnibus ad oppugnandum aptis tam ad mare quam in civitatibus et oppidis per universum regnum. Hiscæ adjungi possunt prædictorum omnium familiæ, censuarii qui nuper introducti sunt et

quotidie introducuntur ex Anglia et Scotia ut occupent terras dominorum qui aut devicti aut occisi fuere in bello, aut solum verterunt propter fidem et religionem, genusque hominum pessimorum, falsi fratres, Catholicis permolesti, et hi omnes sunt ferme Angli aut Scoti hæretici, continentque omnes Catholicos in servitute, timore et perpetuis angustiis, qui tamen in tanto sunt numero ut vix millesimus quisque ex ipsa natione Hibernica labe hæreseos notetur.

Status itaque Catholicorum in Hibernia est sine dubio valde perplexus et dubius quia pendet omnino a nutu et voluntate prædictorum hæreticorum; opprimuntur impune a militibus; injuriis et calumniis vexantur a Pseudoepiscopis ac ministris: horum autem aliqui juxta cujusvis naturæ propensionem aliis sunt mitiores, alii vero inquietissimi; ex his fuit quidam Georgius Bruncardus Anglus, Momoniæ nostræ Provinciæ Præses qui non minus impie quam tyrannice omnem movebat lapidem ut religionem et fidem a finibus nostris exterminaret. Vixit inter nos in hac impietate, tamquam alter antichristi emissarius annis tribus cum dimidio; et cum jam gloriaretur maledictionibus se Catholicorum valetudine melius confirmari, ecce Deus qui suis, in angustiis semper adest, illum frenesi ad insaniam correptum e medio sustulit.

Post cujus obitum remisit se nonnihil persecutio tum quod ejus successor maluit publicis negotiis intendere, quam alterius exemplo se frustra vexare et totum populum denuo commovere; tum quod sub id tempus Serenissimus Princeps O'Nellus ingenioso stratagemate ab internecione sibi ac suis diu excogitata ac jam tum præparata aufugerit, quæ ejus fuga hæreticorum animos supra modum torsit ac vexavit; unde arma parant, militem cogunt ac propugnacula omnia munire satagunt: aliud enim non expectabant quam O'Nelli propediem cum armata et forti manu in Hiberniam reditum; exercebant ergo se quasi jam ille in castris aperto Marte propugnaturus consisteret; ita fuere perterriti omnes ut integro anno sic impediti, aliquā nos fruebamur conniventia et veluti a sævitia cessatione.

Timent vero Nostrates modo, uti nuperrime accepimus, novam sibi parari persecutionem, eoque magis quod adversarii advertant dictum Principem O'Nellum nihil obtinuisse neque spem aliquam affulgere quod rediturus sit in patriam cum aliquibus copiis. E re tamen nostrorum Catholicorum omnino esset si in Anglia intelligeretur ipsum magni hic fieri tam a S. Sede quam a Regibus et Principibus Catholicis. Hinc enim non dubitarent Angli aliquid subesse et præparari in ipsorum ruinam atque sic animi suspensi hærent intereaque mitius in Catholicos ageretur.

Nos interim Ecclesiastici mediis semper involuti periculis peritum nautam qui vela ingruente tempestate contrahit, cœloque expandit sereno imitamur. Nam urgente persecutione, discurrentibus et inquirentibus nos militibus, ad secretiora loca confugimus. Dum persecutio remittit paulatim in apertum progredimur; quisque vero ut dignitate, et in oculis hæreticorum præcellit tanto magis ad carceres et pœnas et necem queritur. Sed quemadmodum ipsi ruinam nostram serio meditantur, ita nos nobis providemus ut vix unquam certi aliquid de nobis habere possunt; sumus enim in continuo motu sæcularibus induti vestibus, ad altare solum longioribus contenti; ab una civitate (a Christo edocti) in aliam, ab uno pago in alium plerumque remotissimum confugimus. Neque ullibi diu hæremus sed ab una domo ad aliam etiam in civitatibus et oppidis transimus, idque in matutino crepusculo vel sub noctem imo tertia vel quarta vigilia noctis; filii enim etsi speramus lucis, pias tamen tenebras atque adeo

hyemem æstati præferimus. In tenebris enim munia nostra peragere, vestes sacras circumferre, missas celebrare, exhortari, ordines conferre, chrisma benedicere, confirmationis sacramentum administrare, cæteraque omnia Ecclesiastica tractare oportet.

Inquirunt enim severe Catholicos qui sacro intersunt et multas insuper imponunt iis qui hæreticorum templa non adeunt; in carceres trahunt non solum qui sacerdotibus favent sed et eos qui non abjiciant expellantque Christi ministros; prohibent usum templorum, peregrinationes impediunt et uno verbo quos volunt puniunt et pro arbitrio sæviunt.

Anno vero superiore cessante sævitia, confirmationis sacramentum clara die in mediis campis, decem millibus ad minus administravimus; ita enim nostrates hoc venerantur sacramentum ut a remotis regni partibus ad id certo suscipiendum concurrerent. Majorem nostræ Provinciæ partem visitavimus et constitutos a nobis initio temporis nostri vicarios generales invisimus. Hi in singulis Diocesibus pro quovis decanatu habent vicarium ruralem qui ruri invigilat, qui si quid indecenter fit ad vicarios generales defert: si scandali occasio detur, vicarii nos monent, et si nobis integrum non sit rem componere, nam etiam inter nos refractarii inveniuntur, recurrimus ad Principes et nobiles Catholicos in quorum ditione tales consistunt et tamquam auxilio brachii sæcularis eorum auctoritatem interponimus: ipsique ita caute ac prudenter istos protervos corripunt, ut neque hæretici quidquam tale suspicerent neque correpti aliud advertant quam se dominorum benevolentia privari, et ita, velint nolint, superioribus acquiescere coguntur, aut certe ditionem temporalem dominorum magno suo malo deserere.

Reverendi Patres Societatis Jesu qui sunt jam numero duodecim circiter in Hibernia inter se et nobiscum optime in omnibus conveniunt neque exemptionibus contendunt ut alii, sed morem gerunt (manentibus tamen integris, ut par est, eorum privilegiis) in omnibus quæ in Dei gloriam cedunt. Si Vicarii generales aut locorum Pastores judicent non esse in tali aut tali die concionandum, non esse hoc vel illud agendum, acquiescunt; si eorum operam implorant, non recusant labores, nec ubi ipsi volunt, moram faciunt, sed quo eos superior mandat, proficiscuntur. Hæc affirmo ex certa scientiâ quia oculatus testis sum, et sine adulatione dixerim, haud dubie non quæ sua sunt quærunt sed quæ Jesu Christi. Interim nihil habent unde vivant præter solam Catholicorum benevolentiam quæ quam tenuis sit, Deus novit, quia et ipsi quotidie extenuantur et expilantur ab hæreticis.

Alii etiam Religiosi usque ad ultimum biennium circiter, recte inter se et cum aliis conveniebant, sed advenerunt tandem tumultuarii aliquot, qui variis negotiis sine necessitate imo cum multorum scandalo se implicant.

Reverendi DD. Abbates conantur omnia emolumenta quæ parva sunt ad se trahere, nihilque aliis operariis relinquere unde vivant: æquum autem videretur ut qui æstum et pondus portant aliquid inde commodi percipiant. Existimarem itaque (salvo superiori judicio) convenire ut cujusvis provinciæ beneficiorum, prioratum et monasteriorum emolumenta cedant, durante hæresi ac schismate in usum eorum qui de facto in provincia, præcipueque in loco ubi sita sint monasteria, laborant. Et si Abbates ut inceperunt pergant, tam adversariorum quam Catholicorum sibi ac nobis indignationem parient. Neque quæ prætendunt Ecclesiastica emolumenta obtinebunt, cum vix quidem S. Pontifex neque Hispaniæ aut Galliæ Reges id possint efficere. Et si contingeret Angliæ cum

Dei Ecclesia reconciliatio, vix spes esse possit ut monasteria aut prioratus unquam restituantur cum pridem tempore Julii 3. 2^o. an. Regis Phil. et Mariæ in Anglia, obtinuerunt tam ipse Rex quam ejus subditi ab Illmo. piæ mem. Card. Polo, Legato tum a latere pro rebus Anglicis componendis dispensationem pro retentione omnium monasteriorum, etc. Quam dispensationem regiis statutis insertam et impressam a paucis jam mensibus vidi diligenterque legi.

Atque hæc sufficiant de rerum nostrarum statu ac de temporis ratione qua nos sex nunc prope annorum curriculo in Hibernia summis jactati angustiis, nullis dotati redditibus aut proventibus aliove vivendi modo quam amicorum pia liberalitate mansimus. Si quid enim haberi possit sive in Provincia sive in Diocesi id solum ex monasteriis et Prioratibus qui in manibus Catholicorum sunt, expectandum, atque hoc licet perexiguum, aliqui, ut dixi, conantur ad se suosque alendos tumultuarie pertrahere. Beneficia vero curata, Episcopalia, etc. occupantur ab hæreticis, a quibus nihil nisi persecutiones et calumniæ expectandum.

No. XVIII.

Acts and Decrees of several Bishops in Kilkenny. Page 395.

Acta, conventa, et ordinata in consultatione, Epali habita Kilkeniæ, die 24-27 Aug. an. 1629, ab his Prælatiis, quorum nomina subscribuntur.

Concilii Tridentini ex deliberato consensu renovatur receptio quoad omnia, quæ non exquirunt expressam, et specificam promulgationem, quale est decretum de clandestinis matrimoniis, et præter ea quæ presenti rerum, et temporum statui impossibilia videri possunt in Ecclesia administratione, et æconomia, qualia sunt decreta de tonsura et habitu clericali, de præbenda theologali, de erectione seminarii et similia.

2. Usus lacticiniorum per omnes dies quadragesimales observandus est in Provincia Cassellen. ex usu, observatione, et praxi Provinciæ Dublinen., in qua licitum est vesci omnibus feriis sextis butiro, lacte, etiam caseo, præter primam et ultimam fer. iv^{am} et vi^{am} quadragesimæ, idque per commutationem in aliud opus pium.

3. Ordines sacri nonnisi parcissime conferendi, idque propter necessitatem potissimum serviendi locis vacantibus, in cura animarum et sacramentorum administratione.

Regulares ordinandi sunt a proprio Diocesano juxta tenorem mandati Clem. VIII., et declarationem Cardinalium ad istum finem pridem factam.

Magna cautela utendum est in commendandis Ecclesiasticis proficiscentibus ad partes ultramarinas propter multitudinem vagorum isthuc catervatim euntium, qui magno dedecore gentem et patriam dehonestant.

4. Facta jam restrictione facultatum missionariorum, Episcopi, quibus competit potestas communicandi aliis facultatem dispensandi, benedicendi paramenta, &c., non concedent eas alibi extra propriam diocesim exercendas, nisi

de consensu et approbatione Episcopi, Vic. Apostolici, seu alterius Ordinarii in diversa Dicecesi.

5. Circa constitutionem Greg. XV. pro correctione Regularium delinquentium in administratione sacramentorum pastoralium; item circa revocationem privilegiorum factam ab Urb. VIII. pro approbatione necessario obtinenda, quilibet diocesanus procedat in sua Dicecesi, cum ea disciplinæ sobrietate et observantia, quæ magis ædificationem et pacem sapiat, quam innovationem vel contentionem.

Incuris et beneficiis per Regulares* occupatis sine requisita præsentatione Epo. facienda, quasi per annexionem, seu appropriationem, aliove simili modo ad se pertinentibus quidquid conceditur, vel permittitur eis ab Ordinariis contra Canones, hoc ex indulgentia, et conniventia propter miseriam temporis et ad redimendam vexationem, potius quam vero aliquo juris titulo, aut solido privilegio, quantum nobis adhuc constat, quod Regularibus ipsis competat, permittitur, et conceditur. Itaque curati etiam Regulares tenentur ad diocesanas synodus accedere vocati ab Ordinariis, subsuntque eorum correctioni, visitationi, et eorundem approbationem petere tenentur etiam in territoriis, quæ quondam fuerunt monasteriorum in quibus verius est Prælatos Regulares in hoc Regno nec potiri modo, nec olim potitos fuisse pleno jure in civilibus, et criminalibus, sive jurisdictione Episcopali et temporali quoad parochos, et parochianos, ut loquitur Conc. Trid. et Cardinales Concilii interpretes exposuerunt.

6. Nomine missionariorum intelliguntur Regulares et sæculares presbyteri cujuscumque dignitatis et gradus, et Prælati quicumque Episcopis inferiores adeo, ut ipsis, non liceat uti facultatibus antea concessis, nisi secundum restrictiones a Smo. D. N. Urbano PP. VIII. factas.

7. Transumptum literarum Apostolicarum etiam manu publici notarii subscriptum, et sigillo Ecclesiastici Prælati munitum fidem facere potest in causis beneficialibus, aliisque minoris momenti; secus vero est de transumpto mandati Apostolici pro consecratione Episcopi, vel solemnī benedictione Abbatum et similium, atque ita usu ac praxi suscipiendum censent in posterum Episcopi adunati.

8. Metropolitani cum magno honore, circumspectione et respectu Episcoporum suffraganeorum in causis appellationum debent procedere, et omnes frivolas, frustratorias, ac dilatorias amputare: nec debent ipsi (multoque minus Vicarii eorum Generales possunt) Episcopos personaliter citare.

9. Constitutio Armachana de dispensationibus citra consensum et approbationibus Ordinarii non admittendis, expressa omnium congregatorum Episcoporum voluntate et consensu recipitur, et est talis: Dispensationes sive ad retinenda bona Ecclesiastica, sive ad contrahenda matrimonia in gradibus a jure prohibitis non debent concedi, nisi causa sufficienter examinata, cujus cognitio merito præsumitur ab Ordinario, cujus oves sunt propriæ, melius quam ab aliis posse fieri, et proinde justum est, ut ab eo approbentur et acceptentur. Parochi vero, qui temere et promiscue admitterent dispensationes quascumque, nec causa dispensandi, nec facultate dispensantis satis ab Ordinario cognita, arbitrio ejusdem Ordinarii puniantur.

* This note is on the margin:—D. Archiepus. Dublinen. suspendat judicium suum super hoc articulo quoad tempus, scilicet donec de eodem melius considerarit.

10. Hospitia missionariorum, quibus utuntur ad certum annorum terminum non sunt conventus Regulares nec eorum omnimoda exemptione gaudent.

11. Quoad officii sepulturæ præsentiam et regimen, sive etiam loci in officiatura præferentiam, et præcedentiam, quando mortui sepeliuntur in habitu Regulari, sive id fiat in monasterio Regulari, sive extra monasterium, dummodo officium celebratur infra fines parochiæ, parochus ipse (vel Ordinarius si adsit) præferendus est Regulari. Optandum vero est, ut Regulares sua sponte sequantur usum et ritum alicujus alterius principalis Ecclesiæ nationalis ultramarinæ, sive in Italia, Gallia, Hispania, vel Belgio, nisi alia concordata cum Ordinariis, et pastoribus ineant. Et hoc etiam dicimus de aliis Regularium privilegiis, quæ prætendunt, et de quibus contendunt cum pastoribus et Ordinariis.

In provinciis illis, sive diœcesibus, in quibus oblationes funerales, tam quæ extra monasteria, seu oratoria Regularium fiunt, quam quæ in circulis, et compitis dum cadaver ad sepulturam deferitur, exhiberi solent, Ordinarii concordent cum Regularibus quanta possunt cum æquitate et moderamine.

12. Caveant Episcopi, ne facile patiantur erigi monialium monasteria, et sine justa cautione sufficientis dotis nullæ moniales admittantur.

13. Facultas dispensandi cum spuris presbyterorum in actum non reducatur ad evitandam infamiam, quæ nasci apta est ex illa degeneri et damnata progenie.

14. Testamentorum ac piorum legatorum dispositio, executio, et administratio regenda est ex Conc. Trid. tenore, nec non ex ordinationibus diversis in provincia Dublinen. et Armachana factis circa eadem administranda, nempe ut, relicta ad usum pios indeterminatos Ordinarium dispositioni subjaceant et similiter quoad alia in iisdem sanctionibus contenta.

15. Pia confœderatio et unio pro defensione juris Episcopalis et pastoralis cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ amplectenda est cum RR. Coepis et confratribus nostris vicinis Chalcedonen. et Philippen. nosterque in Urbe Agens cum eorum in Urbe Agentibus consiliorum communicationem et animi conjunctionem in causis communibus ad dignitatem et jurisdictionem Episcoporum tuendam et promovendam spectantibus integra fide colet et amplectetur.

16. Optatur, et expedire judicatur, ut similis Prelatorum Congregatio qualis nunc est habita quolibet anno, vel biennio instituatur, in qua fiat relectio horum actorum, et ea moderatio, additio, vel ademptio adjiciatur, quæ tunc videbitur; locus autem, et tempus relinquatur arbitrio Metropolitanorum, verbo tamen facto cum suffraganeis et sufficienti tempore assignato.

Datum die 27. Augusti, an. 1629.

Signarunt,

FR. THOMAS, Archiepus. Dublinen.

THOMAS, Archiepus. Cassellen.

DAVID, Epus. Ossorien.

GULIELMUS, Epus. Corcagiensis et Cluanen.

Jo. Epus. Fernensis.

FR. PATRITUS, Epus. Waterforden. et Lis.
moren.

Hæc omnia fideliter transumpta sunt ex ipsis actis originalibus.

No. XIX.

Letter to the Cardinal of Propaganda of the four Archbishops of Ireland, about appointing an Agent in Rome. Page 408.

EME. ET REVME. DNE.

Vigilis Pastoris more, Patres qui Metropolitanis Hiberniæ Ecclesiis præfecti sunt, adhibitis in consilium selectis quibusdam Prælati et venerabilibus de Clero viris, clare censent summe expedire pro commissi sibi gregis custodia et recto Ecclesiarum Hiberniæ Regimine, Procuratorem habere Romæ consistentem qui sine aliquo mentis excessu coram Em. Va. Ecclesiarum causas in congregationibus proponendis agat, et divina super illas voluntatis vestræ arcana ad nos diligenter transmittat; res quidem est undique sana et ad divinum ampliandum cultum moresque in populo Christiano reformandos aptissima. At cum nos redditus non habeamus proprios, nec consuetæ sufficiant eleemosynæ ad commodam in urbe Procuratoris sustentationem, rem plane necessariam cogimur tota sedulitate Emæ. Vræ. commendare, postulantes enixe ut dignemini ipsam Smo. Dno. Nostro proponere ad hoc ut parvitas nostra mediante vestra paterna sollicitudine gratiam inveniat in oculis Sanctitatis suæ quā micam de fragmentis mensæ ad Procuratoris nostri sustentationem erogare dignetur. Negotium quidem est præclarum et pietati ac protectioni vestræ conjunctissimum collabentem in Hibernia supportare Religionem et fortiores quoscumque impendere conatus ut gens tuæ tutelæ commissa ad perfectiora assurgat: felix in re speratur exitus si vestro muniatur patrocinio. Deus opt. max. favorem suum divinum E. V. ubique affluenter aspiet.

Ex loco Refugii nostri in Hibernia,

28 Nov. 1635.

Eæ. Vræ. Observantissimi.

HUGO Ardmacanus, Tot. Hib. Primas.

FR. THOMAS FLEMING, Ar. Dub. Hib. Primas.

THOMAS, Archiepus. Cassellensis.

MALACHIAS, Archiepus. Tuamensis.

No. XX.

Letter of the four Archbishops of Ireland thanking the Cardinal Protector, and appointing Dr. E. O. Dwyer their Agent in Rome. Page 408.

EME. ET REVME. DNE.

Emæ. Vræ. litteras datas 27 Junii proxime præteriti cum eo quo par est honore et reverentia accepimus; in iis clare perspeximus summam Creatoris providentiam in fovendis Religionis Catholicæ reliquiis in hoc summe afflicto Regno, excidendo ex vetustissima Ecclesiæ petra, miro quidem artificio marmoream Ecclæ. Vræ. columnam ad supportandum Ecclæ. Hiberniæ ædificium,

variis hostium machinationibus obnoxium quod dirutum iri nequaquam timere possumus dum Emæ. Vrä. humeris fulcitur. Quæ circa decreta fieri mandavit Ema. Vra. opportuno tempore executioni mandari curabimus : interea submissee rogamus Emam. Vram. ut quo sedulo et sollicito pede nostram cepit protectionem hujusque Regni vestræ protectioni commissi negotia et commune bonum promovendo eodem semper incedat ut decet paterna protectoris viscera et ut Rev. Adm. D. Edmundum Dwyerum, S. T. D. Immolacensis Diœc. Archidiaconum. et nostrum in urbe communem agentem audiat relatisque ab ipso pro nobis fidem adhibeat. Sensum nostrum de decretis a S. Congne. da Propaganda pro recto Ecclesiarum nostrarum regimine editis ne Emæ. Vrä. molesti simus reverenti silentio prætermittimus et ad Revm. D. Franciscum Ingolum Sec. Vrum., Emæ. Vrä. communicandum fuse scribimus. Deus opt. max. Em. Vram. diu servet incolumem ut ex animis rogamus.

Datum ex loco nostri Refugii in Hibernia,
die 28 mensis Nov. 1635.

Etiaë Vrä.

Observantissimi

HUGO, Archiepus. Ardmachanus,

Tot. Hib. Primas.

FR. THOMAS FLEMING, Archiepus. Dublinensis,
Hibæ. Primas.

THOMAS, Archiepus. Cassillensis,

MALACHIAS, Archiepus. Tuamensis.

NO. XXI.

*Letter of Dr. Roche, Bishop of Ferns, to the Secretary of Propaganda.
Page 396.*

PERILLUSTRIS, REVME. DNE.

Ne mireris, vir ornatissime, si te nimium fatigo litteris et sollicitudine rerum nostrarum. Tua tibi humanitas has peperit molestias: nisi enim singulare præsidium in tua de gente mea cura comperissem, nequaquam Te ad officia pro nobis interponenda ita sæpe sollicitassem. Habeo aliqua quæ Diœcesim meam respiciunt exponenda Sacræ. Congni. Gratiola illa sunt et non obnoxia litigiis, ideoque fidenter ea peto quæ Te patrocinante negari non possunt. Unum est de Absolutione cujusdam communitatis ab excommunicatione seu alio maledicto quod olim forte incurrit. Alterum de approbatione ejus quod a me gestum est in nominatione quorundam virorum selectorum meæ Diœcesis ad subeundos titulos Dignitatum Ecclesiæ meæ, ut plenius in Libellis hic adnexis explico. Et advertendum quod dignitates sæculares in Cathedralibus et personalibus non interierunt quando bona regularia abierunt in possessionem laicalem, sed illæ adhuc retinentur a personis in speciem Ecclesiasticis quamvis heterodoxis, ideoque restituendæ aliquando Ecclæ. Catholicæ, si bonus Deus ipsam nobis unquam restituerit. Hæc quæso pro me exponat Rma. Dom. T. Sac. Congni. quæ si vivæ vocis oraculo, man-

Emi. D. Cardinalis aut vestra testato approbentur, abunda ea erit mihi cautio ad formandam conscientiam meam pro valore gestorum et gerendorum.

Novus ad nos ex Anglia Prorex mittitur qui quamvis in Puritanismo rigidissimi ut fertur zeli sit, statuatque secum experiri quid possit super decessores in officio pro exterminio Catholicæ Religionis quod molitur, non deicimur tamen, aspicientes in authorem fidei et consummatorem Jesum, probe scientes quod plures dimicant pro nobis quam pro adversariis nostris; reminiscentes etiam quod plures antehac ministri venerint pari auctoritate instructi et prava voluntate affecti. Sed qui potens est destruxit consilia ipsorum et scintillam nostram non est passus extinguere. Idem Deus vivit et regnat qui venturi istius Achitophel consilia confundet. Idem quoque incolumem Te conservet Dne. in plurimum colende.

Wexford, die 25 Feb. 1632.

Servus in Christo obsequens,
JOANNES Epus. Fernensis.

Rmo. D. Franco. Ingoli.

No. XXII.

At page 266 we have given an account of the synod held in Kilkenny in the year 1614, by Dr. Matthews. The decrees of that synod, with other statutes of Dublin, were published in 1770, without mentioning the place where they were printed. As, however, that collection is now rarely met with, and as the statutes of Kilkenny are of great value in illustrating the discipline of our Church, we have determined to put them within the reach of our readers in this Appendix. The MSS., according to which we publish the decrees, is very ancient; it contains other decrees of a synod, held in 1685, signed by Dr. Russell, then archbishop, with his own hand.*

* In the old MSS., according to which we have corrected the above decrees, the following entry is made on the first page:

"Certain Advices left of Record for our new coming Missioners, by old F. Barnaby Barnwall.

"1. That the Council of Trent is received only in the north, in the counties of Louth and Meath, and Elfin in Connaught; but the decree of clandestine marriage is not published in Meath.

"2. You must not administer the sacraments of marriage, extreme unction, viaticum, paschal communion, or baptism, where parish priests are in the parish, for we have no such privilege.

"3. You must not deal with giving any dispensations, lest you offend the prelates, and for other reasons.

"4. Be circumspect in resolving cases of conscience, until you be acquainted with the customs of the country.

"There is no nation apter to be scandalized of the carriage of religious men than the Irish; wherefore you must be very wary; for who is once spotted, will never recover his honour in Ireland."

*Allocutio habita ab Archiepiscopo Dublinensi cum Synodus Kilkenniae,
an. 1614, aperiretur.*

Ea est conditio temporis et calamitatis hujus nostræ Provinciæ, ad cujus sollicitudinem assumpti sumus, ut nobis cum nihil optatius sit, quam pro muneris dignitate, et oneris magnitudine, solerter defungi curâ administrationis nobis impositæ: nihil tamen difficilius, nihil periculosius, pluribusque impedimentis obnoxium sit, quam ejusmodi consiliorum executio. Quamvis enim pura sit intentio nostra, et in oculis Dei sincera mens, ac prorsus necessaria cogitatio de proximorum æternâ salute provehenda, viis et modis vocationi nostræ consentaneis; ne domesticorum mores per desuetudinem ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ degenerent ab instituto nostro, et ab illa integritate, quam requirit status uniuscujusque, et officii qualitas; experimur tamen magno nostro cum dolore et discrimine, saluberrima nostrorum consilia sinistris urgeri suspicionibus, nosque ipsos gravari iniquis et anticipatis opinionum præjudiciis: ut neque convenire ad unitatis et innocentiae sectanda studia sine summo vitæ ac libertatis nostræ periculo, omnino posse aut sperare videamur: Cogimur sæpe differre quod dudum cogitavimus; subinde etiam abrumpere quæ inceptavimus, nonnunquam vero ab eisdem etiam resilire, cum in medio cursu timoribus obruimur, ut vix nostri compotes simus; dum propositi exortes, votoque frustratos, nos aliquando suspicimus.

Cæterum in angustiis his, et angoribus animi nostri, dum attendimus, commissi nobis gregis et necessitates et hiantia vulnera intuemur, quibus medelam afferre cogimur officii nostri conscientia, immemores nostræ incolumitatis hac vice, qua tot amicorum nuntiis, litteris et nutibus præmonemur insidiarum & minarum, quibus ad mortem (ut creditur) ad carcerem (ut constat) impetimur; Nihilominus nitimur superare difficultates omnes, quibus via coeundi obstruitur: et (superis faventibus) congressum hunc, a nobis institutum, pro bono publico hujus Provinciæ, vestro hic interventu peragemus: ut appareat illud solummodo ante oculos nobis obversari, quod nostri muneris necessitas exigit, pro cleri reformatione, populi ædificatione, fidei & disciplinæ conservatione, ad honorem Dei, et salutem fidelium; cui nos pro viribus (quas, ipse de cælo daturus est) cooperari tenemur.

Id vero tametsi pro rei dignitate nequeat a nobis in tanta difficultatum et periculorum frequentia pertractari, non debemus tamen prætermittere, quod possumus, ut quod juxta præsentem necessitatem nobis occurrit, saltem per tumultuariam et indigestam congeriem proponamus. Idcirco vos omnes oro et hortor, ut concorditer in charitate conjuncti, pro cujusque zelo, prudentia, judicio et pietate studeatis, hanc ecclesiasticam hierarchiam configurare, recteque sacramentorum administrationem exornare, nitidisque administrantium moribus cohonestare; ne deinceps ulla appareat confusio nuditatis, aut macula, quæ deturpet conversationem eorum, quos Christus Dominus lucere præcepit et prælucere cæteris justitia et sanctitate.

Constitutiones pro reformatione et bono Regimine hujus Dublinensis provinciae, editae in congregatione habitae in civitate Kilkeniensi, caepaeque ibidem die vigesimo secundo Mensis Junii, Anno Domini 1614, ibidemque finita 27mo. ejusdem Mensis et Anni: in qua praesidebat illustrissimus ac reverendissimus Dominus D. Fr. Eugenius Matthaeus, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis Gratiâ Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, ad instar Synodaliū statutorum, ab omnibus per totam praedictam Dublinensem provinciam, et ab aliis quibuscunque, ad quos quomodolibet spectare poterunt, observandae.

Decretum de Receptione Concilii Tridentini.

Exigit obedientiae Sedi Apostolicae a nobis debitae professio, ut sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini Decreta recipi, approbari, et executioni, quantum possumus, mandari faciamus; verum quia temporis iniquitate impedimur, ut id universe attentare non liceat, nec expediat jugum importabile humeris afflictorum imponere; pie matris ecclesiae praeceptum in his, quae vel necessaria vel possibilia nobis ducimus, obtemperanter reveriti, in caeteris indulgentiam ejus et benignitatem amplectimur; et quoniam eo devenerat status provinciae hujus, cujus incumbit nobis cura, pro qua et assidue ad Dominum suspiramus, ut cum hactenus, et ex quo edita est sacra illa synodus, potiri illa non potuerit suo metropolitano, qui ejus promulgationem vellet et valeret procurare: nobisque reservata sit illa necessitas, cum aliis, quas patimur, miseriis; profitemur nobis non deesse voluntatem, si facultas non deesset, evulgandi, acceptandi et exequendi ejusdem per omnia reformationem & disciplinam.

Exonerantia itaque decreta, quae nimirum ad abolendam multitudinem prohibitionum (qualia sunt, quae impedimenta matrimonii restringunt, et alia quaecunque ejus generis a sacro Concilio sapienter edita sunt) omnia recipimus et acceptamus: aliaque, quibus pares esse possumus, non gravate admittimus: Sed quia certam in his regulam dare non valemus, et quia in Corpore Concilii multa scimus esse comprehensa, quae a nobis in hoc rerum Statu nequeunt observari: quinimo in uno, eodemque decreto cum quaedam nobis ardua, alia facilia, nonnulla implexa satis, et impossibilia, juxta conditionem locorum, personarum et temporum contineantur; nihil certius aut definitius nunc tradere posse videmur, quam ut commendemus omnibus Suffraganeis episcopis, qui pro tempore futuri sunt, ut ipsum Concilium, omnesque ejus partes obedienter recipiant. Oramus autem et ordinamus, ut ipsi juxta ejus tenorem in omnibus procedunt, quantum res et tempora pertulerint. Nos interim ipsi operam navabimus, et a nostris officialibus et vicariis, sive generalibus sive foraneis per nos deputatis idem navari volumus, ut in ejus observantiam sedulo incumbant.

De Vicariis Generalibus et Foraneis.

Præter vicarios generales, quibus totius Diocesis cura incumbit, deputentur ex dignioribus sacerdotibus pro singulis Decanatibus uniuscujusque diocesis

singuli Decani, sive vicarii foranei, qui præter specialem curam parochialem ipsis incumbentem, sacerdotibus in eisdem decanatibus animarum curam gerentibus immediate præesse debeant: episcoporum vero erit, hujusmodi vicarios ad præsentationem seu nominationem suorum vicariorum generalium (nisi ipsis aliter expedire visum fuerit) constituere: Vel, ipsis episcopis deficientibus, solius metropolitani, aut cujuscumque alterius, ad quem id de jure spectare poterit.

De Parochiis.

Instituantur a vicariis generalibus in singulis parochiis, quantum fieri poterit, presbyteri vitæ integritate, et doctrinæ sufficientia commendabiles, quos frequenter circa omnia, quæ sui sunt muneris, et maxime de sacramentorum materia et forma et eadem administrandi ritibus examinabunt. Quod si pro singulis parochiis singuli parochi, aut sacerdotes inveniri non poterunt, uni tamen sacerdoti non committatur plurium ecclesiarum cura, quam quibus ordinario constiterit, illum commode inservire posse. Si autem ultra sacerdotum numerum aliquot parochiæ pastoribus destitutæ supersint; Ordinarios erit, pro illis aliunde Pastores accersere, aut aliquo alio congruenti modo parochianorum saluti prospicere: Saltem illos pastoribus vicinarum parochiarum commendando, et committendo, donec de propriis pastoribus illis provisum fuerit; ita tamen, ut dum hæc charitatis obsequia ovibus non propriis præstant, oves proprias debitis ex justitia obsequiis non defraudent. Vicarii generales beneficia curata, aut non curata hujusmodi sacerdotibus in titulum nullatenus conferre præsumant: Sed eos tantum ad instar parochorum ad nutum amobilium, animarum illis curam committentes, instituant; cui curæ sibi impositæ omnes sacerdotes diligenter invigilent. Nullusque seu alius sacerdos, etiam ab ordinario approbatus, sacramenta aut alia munia sacramentalia parochis propria, intra alienam parochiam, non accedente parochi proprii licentia, ministrabit, aut exercebit: qui vero contrarium fecerit, quidquid emolumenti ex hujusmodi administratione percepisse dignoscitur, proprio loci parochi reddere, et præterea tantundem vicario generali, aut foraneo in pios usus convertendum solvere cogatur.

Habeant singuli parochi penes se catechismum, seu explicationem Doctrinæ Christianæ, cujus unum vel alterum punctum singulis dominicis, et festivis diebus, immediate, ante vel post sacrum, vel in fine concionis, (si quæ ad populum habenda sit) præmissa festorum ac jejuniorum denunciatione (si infra hebdomadam occurrerint) suis parochianis, semota quacunque excusatione, explicare teneantur. Ut autem id majori cum fructu fiat, procurabunt sacerdotes, ut parvuli suæ parochiæ, qui ad hoc magis apti fuerint, per interrogationes et responsiones, in salubri Christi doctrina exerceantur; et quoties de loco in locum intra suam parochiam pertransierint, aut in domibus suorum parochianorum pernoctaverint, doceant aliquam personam ex incolis illius loci aut domûs, coram cæteris, symbolum apostolicum, orationem Dominicam, aut aliquid aliud ad Doctrinam Christianam pertinens, prout opportunitas vel tempus permiserit. Insuper singuli Sacerdotes penes se habebunt, summam aliquam Casuum Conscientiæ approbatam, quam præ aliis habendam illis elegerit Ordinarius, in qua singulis diebus, unum ad minus, vel alterum casum perlegant: ut hac frequenti lectione adjuti conscientias

populi sibi commissi (pro quibus in die iudicii rationem Domino sunt reddituri) melius dirigere valeant. Cura etenim præcipua eorum esse debet, gregem suum in Christiana Doctrina (sine cujus saltem aliquali notitia non datur æterna salus) erudire, easque ad frequentem suorum peccatorum confessionem hortari, atque ad illam recte peragendam instruere. Quare sciant Parochi, quantum ad hæc omnia ad Salutem necessaria, se non tam sapientibus, et altiora desiderantibus, quam insipientibus (ut ait Apostolus) debitores esse; atque ideo rudimenta fidei, verbumque poenitentiae, ita simpliciter et sub brevitate proponant, ut fiant clarè cognita nescientibus, et tamen scientibus (ut admonet S. Gregorius) non sint onerosa.

Non permittantur sacerdotes de loco in locum vagari; sed unusquisque regi suo in assidua sollicitudine præsit: a quo, præsertim diebus dominicis, & festivis nunquam absit, nisi forte ad breve tempus, et subrogato in locum suum alio idoneo sacerdote ab Ordinario approbato. Præterea nulli sacerdotes sive animarum curam gerant, sive non, nisi urgente necessitate, aut alia rationabili causa Superiori cognita, et ab eo obtentâ licentia, ad Nundinas, aut convivia nuptialia accedant: Similiter ad funeralia aut anniversia mortuorum obsequia eos accedere nolumus, nisi specialiter invitentur, aut intimi sint amici; et tunc etiam a Superiore licentiam obtinuerint.

Omnes sacerdotes, et maxime qui in civitatibus resident, habebunt tunicam talarem, et biretum sive pileum sacerdotalem, quibus (quantum commode fieri poterit) dum sacris dant operam, aut Domi coram notis commorantur, uti debeant, ut hac decora, et gravi habitus compositione, tum eorum a laicis distinctio, tum interior mentis compositio ostendatur: quibus non dubitent reliquum populum in sui venerationem (prout æquum est) allicidendum. Qui verò animarum curam habent, præter supradictum habitum, semper in promptu habeant superpellicum, stolam, chrismale, seu pixidem olei, ac manuale sacramentorum: ut quâcunque oblata sacramentorum administrandorum occasione, hæc pro illis decenter administrandis competentia ad manus habeant. Vicarii generales et foranei procurent, (si fieri potuerit) ut singulis decanatibus et oppidis, sin minus, saltem in singulis diœcesibus et urbibus, sit et constituatur unus prædicator ab Ordinario approbatus, qui, quoties tempora permiserint, et commode poterit, verbum Dei populo prædicet: et ipsi Ordinarii cum superioribus regularium serio agant, ut ad hoc munus obeundum religiosos idoneos illis mittant, et tam Ordinarii, quam parochi admoneant populum quod his, aliisque approbatis prædicatoribus, sibi ordinarie servientibus, congruam vitæ sustentationem præbere debeant.

De Sacramento Baptismi.

Habeant singuli parochi in locis, in quibus plerumque resident, fontem baptismalem bene coopertum, et obseratum; nec alibi, aut in alio vase, nisi cogente necessitate, baptizent. Quod si ex necessitate in vase profano baptizare oporteat, ne admisceatur oleum aquæ baptismatis, ne admixto illi oleo, in loco indecenti effundere necesse sit. Cum vero omnes parochi teneantur, tum pro fontis benedictione, tum pro puerorum et infirmorum unctione, oleum eodem anno consecratum habere, ut Ordinariis constare posset, an, et qualiter huic obligationi satisfaciant: statuitur, ut Ordinarii ipsi tempus illis præscribant,

quam primum commode fieri poterit post Feriam quintam in cena Domini, infra quod tempus, ad se ipsos tantum, et non ad alios ullos pro oleo habendo recurrere debeant. Nunquam vero oleum non consecratum consecrato admisceatur, nisi tam parva supersit olei consecrati quantitas, ut credatur omnibus, quibus eo anno administrari debet, non sufficere: quo casu ultra tertiam partem non consecrati pro una vice consecrato non admisceatur. Quod si parochi negligentes aut segnes fuerint in sibi procurando oleo intra tempus sibi ab Ordinariis præscriptum, eorum arbitrio puniantur.

Propter varias, easque justas causas, nos merito moventes, præcipue autem propter evitanda pericula suffocationis, et diversarum infirmitatum, quæ infantibus ex occasione immersionis in baptismo a viris expertis credantur accidere solere, multarum aliarum Christiani orbis provinciarum in hoc consuetudinem imitantes, statuimus, ut a Calendis Octobris hujus anni 1614, nulli amplius sacerdotes utantur, in baptismo infantis, immersione; sed uniformiter omnes sacerdotes baptizantes, patrino infantem supra fontem tenente, infundant de aqua fontis super caput infantis, simul dicentes: *N. Ego te baptizo*, etc.

Ne parvuli, absente sacerdote, in extremis constituti sine lavacri regeneratione, ex hac vita migrent, doceant frequenter sacerdotes suos parochianos, baptismum sive a masculis, sive a feminis, adhibitis debitâ materia et formâ, cum intentione faciendi, quod facit ecclesia, in tali articulo constitutis, ministrari posse et debere. Doceant præterea, materiam baptismi esse aquam elementarem, seu naturalem, et nullum alium liquorem: Formam vero esse; Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris, etc. simulque cum infantis ablutione distincte et clare proferri debere: quod ut melius fiat, doceant sacerdotes laicos, et maxime fæminas, quæ in tali necessitate adesse communiter solent, formam baptismi proferre linguâ maternâ, Hibernicâ vel Anglicâ, his verbis. *I do baptize thee in the name of the Father*, etc. Amen. Et caveatur ab illis verbis, *I do christen thee*: quia quamvis in antiquo Sarisburiensi Manuali reperiantur; non tamen satis consultum aut tutum illis uti putamus.

Si parvuli, in tali necessitate baptizati, supervixerint, sacerdotes non præmittant exorcismis, aliisque ecclesiæ consuetis ritibus et cæremoniis, prout in manuali habentur (exceptis tamen ablutione, et verbis formæ baptismi) erga hujusmodi infantulos uti: et idem (si requisiti fuërint) poterunt facere erga eos, qui ab hæreticis baptizati fuerint; ita tamen ut (ad tollendum errorem vulgi, eos rebaptizari existimantis) protestentur, se illos non rebaptizare. Dum fœtus est in utero inclusus, non potest baptizari; si vero caput emittat, et timeatur ei periculum mortis, baptizetur, etiam non cognito sexu; et postea natus non rebaptizetur, etiam sub conditione; secus tamen si pedem aut manum emiserit extra uterum matris; quia tunc membrum illud baptizetur, et postea natus puer (si vixerit), baptizetur sub conditione, ut in manuali. Nunquam autem sacerdotes baptizantes proferant formam baptismi sub conditione, nisi quando est causa probabiliter dubitandi, an infans fuerit baptizatus, nec ne: et vestis baptismalis, sive pannus chrismalis ad nullum usum profanum, etiam pauperum, aut alium pium usum converti debet. Sed si circa altare usui esse poterit, illi applicetur; sin minus, comburatur.

Non admittant sacerdotes ad tenendum seu lavandum infantem in baptismo plures patrinos, quam unum vel unam; aut ad summum, unum et unam; inter quos et baptizatum ipsum, baptizatique patrem et matrem, nec non baptizan-

tem et baptizatum, baptizatique patrem et matrem tantum, cognationem spirituales contrahi declarent.

Peracto vero baptismo, procuret parochus, ut statim baptizati, ejusque parentum et patrinorum nomina, dies mensis, et incarnationis Dominicæ annus, in libello, quem pro horum memoria in promptu, eum habere convenit, describantur: et nullo modo exigant sacerdotes pro administratione hujus, aut aliorum sacramentorum, aliquid ultra id, quod diuturna consuetudo obtinuit, Ordinarii autem, pro diversitate locorum, sibi subjectis parochis declarabunt, quid in singulis locis dari consuetum sit; a pauperibus autem, qui verè pauperes sunt, nihil omnino exigatur; qui vero contra fecerit, in quadruplum per ipsum exactorum in pios usus convertendum per Ordinarium mulctetur; quod si solvere noluerit, donec satisfecerit, suspendatur.

Ut conformitas per omnia cum ecclesiâ Romanâ, ut uniformitas in sacramentorum administrandorum ritibus ac cæremoniis, nec non brevitās et claritas hoc præcipuè tempore requisita, serventur; statuimus, ut alia omnia, tam circa hujus, quam circa cæterorum sacramentorum administrationem juxta præscriptum Manualis Romani a nobis in hac Congregatione recepti, observentur. Cum autem difficile sit, Manuale hoc Romanum ab omnibus haberi, nisi ad illud habendum aliquod tempus illis concedatur, volui, ut ab initio Octobris anni sequentis 1615, omnes per universam nostram provinciam prædicto Manuali Romano uti teneantur; nec amplius Sarisburiensi aut ullo alio Manuali, eis uti liceat.

De Missæ Sacrificio et Eucharistice Sacramento.

Tametsi in omnium sacramentorum administratione, maxima diligentia, circumscriptio et reverentia a sacerdotibus habenda sit, ne opus Dei negligenter facientes, maledictionem in sacris litteris comminātam incurrant: hoc tamen præcipue locum habet circa ministerium hujus tam tremendi mysterii, in quo non solum gratia, sicut in aliis sacramentis confertur, sed etiam ipse gratiæ author verè, realiter et substantialiter continetur, et quotidie per manus sacerdotum in expiationem et propitiationem, pro vivis et defunctis, offertur. Quapropter ad illud pertractandum cum omni cordis munditia, atque exteriori devotionis ac pietatis specie accedendum erit: caveant ergo sacerdotes, ne in altaris ministerio, laceris, sordidis, aut scissis ornamentis aut mappis utantur, sed mundis, et quantum fieri poterit, pulchris: maxime quantum ad corporalia, pallas, purificatoria, calices, patenas ac vela; quæ sicut propius ipsi sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini adjacent, et ex ipsis aliqua illud attingunt, ita præ cæteris omnibus altaris ornamentis mundiora et pulchriora ea esse convenit. Et quod ad calices attinet, nulli deinceps consecrentur, nisi quorum saltem cuppæ et patenæ ex argento fuerint: et, (si fieri poterit) intus sint deauratæ. Qui vere hactenus ex stanno consecrati sunt, eousque tantum tolerantur, quousque vicariis generalibus, aut foraneis videbuntur pro ministerio hoc indecentes, et tunc confringantur: et superiores de his diligenter invigilent, certi quod de iis sint rationem reddituri.

Nullus sacerdos, cujuscunque facultatis aut licentiæ hactenus sibi concessæ prætextu, bis in die celebrare præsumat, nisi prius in scriptis obtentâ episcopi, vel (ipso absente) vicarii generalis licentiâ. Quam nullo modo concedant, nisi

ipsis constiterit urgentem esse necessitatem, qualem ad hoc jura requirunt : eaque licentia cessare censeatur, hujusmodi necessitate cessante : et cum his eodem die celebrare oportet, nec habetur commoditas lotionem prioris missæ servandi, lambatur diligentissime calix, eoque ipso et non alio calice, pro secundo sacro sacerdos utatur ; et non prius quam peracta in secunda missa communionem et ablutionem, eum abstergat. Cumque intellexerimus aliquos ignaros sacerdotes feriâ sextâ parasceves, perinde ac aliis diebus, celebrare et consecrare præsumere ; volumus, ut si quos Ordinarii locorum in hoc deliquisse compererint, in eos severe animadverstant.

Et quamvis horum temporum calamitas cogat sacerdotes in locis profanis missas celebrare, volumus tamen, ut habeant locorum delectum ; ita ut quamvis ad loca magis obscura, minusque decentia ad celebrandum invitarentur, semper tamen in loco magis honesto eligant celebrare ; et ne sordidum aliquid in altaris mensam, aut corporalia decadat, curent desuper altare, linteum, vel tapetem, vel aliquid aliud appendi, quo sordes, ne decidunt, impediuntur. Si autem aliquando contigerit, eos, propter multitudinem populi, vel aliam causam, sub dio celebrare oportere, curent, ut mensa altaris, desuper, retro, et ad utrumque latus a ventis, pluvia, et a cæteris aeris agitationibus bene munita atque firmata sit : neque sine duobus, vel ad minimum, uno cereo a principio missæ usque ad finem indesinenter accenso, ullus sacerdos celebrare præsumat.

Ad tollendos abusus, quos circa pacis osculum, et symbolum committi adivimus, volumus, ut de cætero in missis privatis pax non detur. Omnes sacerdotes diligenter perlegant rubricas missalis recogniti, et eis solummodo utantur, neque ullas orationes, preces aliasve cœremonias a principio missæ usque ad finem addant, quam quæ in missali ipso juxta rubricarum præscriptum habentur : et superiores de his diligenter inquirent. Et cum importunæ et illiberales eleemosynarum exactiones avaritiam et sordidum quæstum sapiant, statuimus, ut nullus sacerdos, pre se, aut pro alio, inter celebrandum, vel intra missam, ullas eleemosynas postulet : Si autem ordinarii locorum aliquibus suas litteras commendatitias ad eleemosynas, propter pias causas, colligendas concesserint, tunc parochus, peracto sacro, eorum necessitatem populo commendet, sine ulteriori coactione : Constat etenim, ab hujusmodi sordido quæstu et avaritia non multum distare, ad eleemosynas colligendas sacras reliquias, sanctorum vetera monumenta, aut eorum Imagines frequenter per diversa loca circumferri, hocque cedere tum in ipsarum reliquiarum irreverentiam, et vilipendium, tum in totius cleri non solum apud hæreticos, sed etiam apud ipsos Catholicos, (ut experientia docet) vituperium et ignominiam.

Statuimus item, ut in posterum nullæ hujusmodi reliquiæ, imagines, aut Sanctorum monumenta, cujuscumque generis sint, ad tales quæstus faciendos extra loca sua circumferantur : Nisi Ordinariis locorum ob publicam, eamque piam causam, ipsisque notam, visum fuerit licentiam concedere : quam non nisi raro et ad tempus determinatum atque in scriptis concedant, non obstante quâcunque etiam immemorabili in contrarium consuetudine.

Abusus etiam illum de cætero aboleri volumus, quo in aliquibus partibus laici hujusmodi sanctorum vetera monumenta per diversa loca circumferentes, per eorum in aquam immissiones, et aliquas precatiunculas, exorcismos quosdam facere solebant, et deinde populum et pecora eâdem aquâ aspergunt : hæc

enim (ut patet) superstitionem potius quam pietatem sapiunt. Corrigant etiam et reforment Ordinarii abusus et superstitiones nonnullas, quæ in congressibus ad fontes et arbores ab ignara plebe committi solent: si tamen illis constiterit, virtutem aliquam sanandi inesse fontium aquæ, sive a natura illis insit, sive ex invocatione et patrocinio alicujus sancti, congressum ad aquas non prohibeant, sed tamen superstitiosas actiones circa illas, aliosque abusus corrigant. Præterea corruptelam quorundam simplicium sacerdotum, pro rebus deperditis aut furto ablati, aut etiam ob varias alias causas, sæpe apud altare coram frequenti populo maledictiones imprecantium, imo excommunicationes, aliasque censuras, (ad quas ferendas nullam habent potestatem) fulminare non dubitantium, de cætero omnino prohibemus.

Parochi non permittant sacerdotes ullos in suis parochiis missas celebrare, aut ulla alia munia sacerdotalia exercere, nisi ab Ordinariis approbati fuerint. Ordinarii vero nulli vago et ignoto sacerdote, multoque minus publice de aliquo enormi crimine infamato, approbationem concedant; donec eis de illius ad sacros ordines legitima promotione, doctrinæ sufficientia, ac morum honestate constiterit.

Habeant etiam singuli sacerdotes, animarum curam gerentes, clericum, seu scholarem, qui eis in missa celebranda, et aliis sacramentis administrandis inservire possit: et ut omne dedecus, omnisque irreverentia ab altari Dei quam longissime arceantur, caveant sacerdotes, ne ad hujusmodi sancta ministeria assumant aliquos ex sacrilego thoro natos; aut quos noverint aliqua infamiâ personali publice esse notatos: Nam si a ministerio sacrificiorum veteris Legis manceres arcebantur; quanto magis a quocunque ministerio hujus sacrosancti sacrificii omnium sacrificiorum præcipui, spurios hujusmodi et infames arceri convenit.

De Communione.

Habeant sacerdotes singuli animarum curam gerentes, instar pixidis vel capsulæ, vasculum parvum ex argento, ab habente potestatem benedictum, pro conservando, et ad infirmos decenter ac reverenter deferendo sanctissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento; nulloque modo præsumant, illud in vase ligneo, aut etiam in corporali plicato servare, aut laico deferendum tradere: nisi casu, quo captivi in carcere constituti, imminente probabili periculo mortis (non habitâ copia confessarii) cuperint, (præsuppositâ saltem præsumpta contritione) hoc sanctissimo viatico refici; tunc enim posset permitti, ut laicus Eucharistiam privatim in capsula ad eos deferret: ipsi vero captivi, si sacerdotes sint, sibi ministrent: si vero laici, aut inferioris ordinis clerici, non turgent manibus Sacramentum, sed reverentur lingua ex pixide sumant; et cum ob temporum injuriam, non possit Eucharistia in loco sacro, et cum lumine (prout deceret) servari; non conservetur diutius, quam probabiliter credatur pro viatico morituris ministrando citius fore necessarium, quam commode denuo conservari aut celebrari poterit.

Paulus Papa Quintus ad Futuram Rei Memoriam.

Exponi nobis nuper fecerunt dilecti Filii incolæ regni Hiberniæ, quod cum ipsi in tanta hæresum lue, divino beneficio Catholici ferme omnes sint, et imperium etiam hæreticorum patiantur; qui adeo acerbe religiosos, et

sacerdotes vexant, ut palam se ostendere non audeant, sanctissimum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum propterea ob paucitatem ministrorum ecclesiasticorum, omnibus Christi fidelibus circa festum paschatis, ut est jure statutum, nequaquam possit ministrari; quare eorundem incolarum nomine, nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, quatenus eis in præmissis opportunè providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur justis et honestis eorum votis annuere, quantum in Domino possimus, cupientes, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, tam sacerdotibus ministrandi, quam omnibus aliis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus dicti regni, sacramentum prædictum a feria quarta cinerum, usque ad festum ascensionis Domini (dummodo tamen necessitate fiat, ut circa dictum paschatis tempus suscipi non possit) suscipiendi licentiam concedimus et impertimur; ac per hujusmodi ministrationem sacerdotes, ac per susceptionem alii utriusque sexus Christi fideles, constitutioni Innocentii Papæ tertii, prædecessoris nostri, quæ incipit. (omnis utriusque sexus) satisfacere, et satisfecisse omnino censeantur; non obstante prædicta, ac quibusvis aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris die vigesimo octavo Martii 1607, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

SCIPIO COBELLUTUS.

Doceant tamen sacerdotes suos parochianos praxim et præceptum et universalis ecclesiæ esse, quod fideles teneantur a dominica palmarum, usque ad dominicam in albis inclusive sacramentum Eucharistiæ sumere; quando autem et ubi necessarium fuerit, ob paucitatem sacerdotum, vel ob aliam similem causam, hujus gratiosi ab apostolica Sede concessi indulti beneficio gaudere poterunt, et juxta illud suas conscientias quietas reddere studeant.

Conentur etiam sacerdotes omnibus modis persuadere Christi fidelibus, ut frequenter, et meliori, qua poterunt, dispositione, et devotione, vivificum et salutiferum corporis Dominici convivium suscipiant, etiam extra tempus, quo ad id ex præcepto obligantur, ut in principalioribus festivitatis anni, et alias, prout commoditas sese obtulerit, et devotio suggererit. Irreverentiamque quorundam, qui ante sacramentum vel communionem, tabacum sumere non dubitant (prout intelleximus) reprehendant et corrigant sacerdotes. Cumque experientia constat, aliquos plus satis verecundos, nonnunquam a communione abstinere, eo quod aliquid non habeant, quod ad altare, dum communicant, offerre possint; volumus, ut sacerdotes sæpissime populo significant, non esse suæ intentionis ab eis hujusmodi oblationes exigere, aut expectare; sed tantum salutem animarum, et augmentum gratiæ et charitatis, quæ per hujus sacræ mensæ participationem datur, se sitire, et ardentem desiderare: quare sive quid habeant, sive non, invitent eos ad mensam Domini, monentes eos in verbis Isaïæ, cap. 55. *Omnes sitiientes venite ad aquas, et qui non habetis argentum, properate, emite, et comedite; venite, emite absque argento, et absque ulla commutatione, vinum et lac.*

Caveant ulterius sacerdotes, ne, ob suam negligentiam, e suis parochianis ullus ex hac vita sine viatico migret. Denique procurent, ut parvuli suæ parochiæ circiter saltem ætatis duodecimum annum (prius bene instructi quid sint sumpturi) sacrosanctam Eucharistiam, sicut cæteri Christiani, sumere assuescant; et ne aliqui ignari videntes porrigi in calice ablutionem post

communione communicantibus, errore ducti existimare possent Eucharistiam sub utraque specie communicantibus ministrari; et ut uniformitas, ad occurrendum huic errori, ab omnibus observetur, volumus, ut de cætero, nulla hujusmodi ablutio communicantibus, etiamsi sacerdotes fuerint, in calice ipso, aut per manus celebrantis porrigatur: sed in alio tantum vase, et per manus ministri: nec ipsi communicantes quæstionem faciant, sive vinum, sive aqua illis in tali lotionem porrigatur; cum ad deglutiendas tantum si quæ in ore remanerent, sacramenti reliquias talis ablutio, et non ad ullum alium usum aut finem, sit instituta.

De Sacramento Pœnitentiæ.

Cum sacramentum pœnitentiæ non solum infructuose, sed etiam invalidè et sacrilegè ab eis administratur, qui ad illud ministrandum jurisdictionem non habent; hujusmodi autem jurisdictio, vel ad minus, ejus usus ab Ordinariorum approbatione, admissione et licentia pendeat: quare sicubi adhuc vigeat periculosa illa et intolerabilis aliquorum ignarorum sacerdotum corruptela, qui statim ab ordinatione sua nulla ulteriori requisita potestate, quoslibet ad se accedentes indifferenter absolvere præsumebant: de cætero, eam nullatenus tolerari, et delinquentes gravissimè ab ordinariis puniri volumus. Ad hoc etenim munus obeundum de cætero non approbentur, nisi prius examinati, aut quorum cognoscetur esse saltem mediocris sufficientia, qualem necessario debent habere hujus fori judices, ad discernendum inter lepram et lepram; et quamvis pro præsentis rerum statu, et ut quieti conscientiarum indulgeatur, nollemus ullos casus intuitu consuetudinis superioribus reservari, præter eos tantum, qui jure communi sunt reservati, et peccatum eorum, qui in divinis cum hæreticis communicant, volumus tamen, ut omnes ad confessiones audiendas approbandi, hujusmodi jure communi reservatos casus apprime sciant; et nequaquam ab illis, aut a communicatione cum hæreticis in divinis, nisi ulteriori privilegio gaudeant, absolvere præsumant. Ipsi etiam parochi, aut alii sacerdotes ad hoc sacramentum ministrandum approbati, alienos parochianos sine proprii pastoris licentia expressa, vel ad minus tacitâ, quæ sit rati habitio de præsentis, absolvere non præsumant.

Et quia ut cum fructu ad hoc sacramentum pœnitentes accedant, plures in illis præviæ dispositiones requiruntur, volumus, ut sacerdotes non admittant ad confessionem, nisi quos noverint scire, et explicitè credere fidei articulos, maximè, autem ejus præcipua mysteria: qualia sunt, Deum esse trinum in personis, et Unum in substantia et Deitate: Filium, secundam in Trinitate personam, Deum esse et Hominem; ac ideo in carnem venisse, ut genus hominum, tum ab originali, tum ab eorum actualibus peccatis liberaret; pro quorumque salute passus, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus est: omnium in hac vita gestorum exactam rationem in districto Dei judicio esse reddendam, ac pœnam aut gloriam æternam, pro meritis aut demeritis, post hanc vitam omnibus esse paratam. Hæc enim Fidei mysteria præ aliis explicitè credi maximè convenit.

Ulterius sciant Confessarii, an pœnitentes valeant recitare orationem Dominicam, et Salutationem angelicam, nec non symbolum Apostolorum, verbatim, ac præcepta decalogi linguâ vernaculâ: eosque de his ante confessionem inchoatam examinari expediat. In ipsa vero confessione, faciant eos, tantum

exprimere speciem et numerum peccatorum, et circumstantias intra eandem speciem notabiliter peccata aggravantes, et aliorum peccata nullatenus prodant. Instruant etiam illos de summo cordis ob Deum offensum dolore, ac firmo amplius (saltem mortaliter) non peccandi proposito habendis. Et ubi de fama, aut externis bonis aliquem restitutioni obnoxium invenerint, eum (nisi factâ vel serio promissâ hujusmodi restitutione) non absolvant: pœnitentias vero tales injungant, quæ simul medicinales sint, et satisfactoriæ; atque ita per discretionem moderatæ et temperatæ, ut nunquam pro peccatis occultis, aut in confessione tantum cognitis, publicas pœnitentias, aut aliquid aliud ex quibus peccatum detegi possit, imponant. Nec pauperibus graves Eleemosynas, aut missas celebrandas curare; aut mulieribus, præsertim juvenculis, aut conjugatis, sine alterius conjugis consensu; aut sine dominorum, vel dominarum consensu, servis, aut ancillis, longinquas peregrinationes (sub quarum prætextu aliquos abusus committi circa mulieres audivimus) injungant.

Si vero aliquando propter publica peccata publicæ pœnitentiæ injungendæ erunt, Ordinarii locorum et alii, qui judices fori externi sunt, id extra confessionem agant, quod secundum Deum illis expedire videbitur: Hoc autem iniquo tempore, rigorem mitigare potius quàm severius agere convenit: Et quamvis hæ instructiones adeo perviæ sint, ut omnibus satis per se notæ esse videantur; tamen quia, suppositâ populi ruditate, et aliquorum sacerdotum ignorantia, nunquam, aut vix, unquam, satis inculcare eas poterimus: volumus, ut Ordinarii locorum circa eas sacerdotes sibi subjectos frequenter examinent: et si quos ad hæc præstanda insufficientes invenerint, quamvis hactenus confessiones audire permissi fuerint, in posterum ab hujus Sacramenti eos suspendant administratione.

Quamvis indulgentiarum concessio Christi fideles ad pietatem et devotionem vehementer alliciat, et inveteratos peccatores ad pœnitentiam et Confessionem nonnunquam suaviter inducat; constat tamen nimis frequentem et minus circumspectam earum publicationem inter populos rudes, et quid per hujusmodi indulgentias concedatur, quæve dispositione eas lucrari oporteat, ignorantes, maximè ad ipsarum contemptum, et peccata liberius committenda, occasionem præbere: dum aliqui sibi ipsis persuadent, quod licet alioquin gravissimis peccatis irretiti, imo restitutioni obnoxii sint, ab omnibus tamen, indulgentiarum hujusmodi virtute (secluso quocunque alio), liberi evadant. Et (quod pejus est) nonnunquam simplices sacerdotes ipsas indulgentias publicantes, ad hanc falsam persuasionem illis ansam præbent; affirmantes, per illas, et a culpa, et a pœna, accedentes fore liberos, nullâ ulteriori adhibitâ hujus rei explicatione, aut declaratione.

Et ulterius, ipsi ignari sacerdotes hujusmodi indulgentiarum intuitu, indifferenter ob omnibus peccatis, quantumvis enormibus et reservatis, necnon a censuris quibuscunque, absolvere præsumunt, idque aliquando extra suas parochias, et Dioceses, nullâ habitâ ab Ordinario loci approbatione, aut licentiâ.

Quibus malis et aliis quamplurimis incommodis, indies ex hujusmodi indulgentiarum publicationibus consequi solitis, occurrere volentes; statuimus, ut si quæ de cætero indulgentiæ alicui loco concedantur, nullo modo publicentur, nisi priùs intimato et ostenso concessionis instrumento loci Ordinario ejusque super ea re habito assensu et consilio.

Indulgentiæ autem, quæ non locis, sed personis quibusdam bene meritis

aliis communicandæ, a Sede Apostolica conceduntur; privatim singularibus personis ab habente facultatem, inuncto aliquo opere pio, concedi poterunt: Coram frequenti tamen populo non publicentur, nec promulgentur (cum vix sine abusu hoc modo concedi posse credantur), nisi forte raro, et intimatâ Ordinario facultate, ac ejus consilio et assensu, modo aliquo adhibito, quo prædictis abusibus occurrî possit.

Insuper procurent parochi, ut parvuli suæ parochiæ, cum ad rationis usum pervenerint, sua peccata confiteri discant, et assuescant: Et licet citius alii, alii tardius ad id apti censi debeant, verisimile tamen est, omnes (ut plurimum), a septimo vel octavo anno, doli esse capaces: proinde ad hoc sacramentum, quod secunda post naufragium tabula dicitur, debere eos pro remedio recurrere.

De Ordinibus.

Non dentur per vicarios generales litteræ commendatitiæ, aut dimissoriæ (dato, quod alias de jure dare possent) nisi illis, qui fuerint naturales, vitâ ac moribus commendabiles; quique velint et valeant, in suis diocesisibus in munere, ad quod assumuntur, inservire; et quibus in eadem diocesi, de patrimoniis, aut stipendio ad honestè vivendum sufficienti, sciverint jam esse provisum, aut saltem post ordinum susceptionem certo fore providendum, et hujus in litteris suis mentionem facere teneantur.

De Sacramento Matrimonii.

Quæ animarum perditio ac damnatio, quantaque alia incommoda ex indebito matrimonium contrahendi modo, debitarumque ad illud contrahendum solemnitatum omissione, toti reipublicæ in dies eveniunt, vix ullus est, qui ignoret? Quibus (quantum in Nobis est) occurrere cupientes, imprimis, clandestinos omnes, tum sponsaliorum de futuro, tum matrimonii de præsentî, contractus, quos semper Ecclesia, etiam ante Concilium Tridentinum, detestata st, omnino prohibemus.

Et licet ob temporum injuriam Decretum Sacri Concilii Tridentini matrimonia clandestina irritans, nondum (propter majora animarum pericula, quæ inde secutura timemus) promulgare audeamus; tamen eos, qui aliter, quam præsentî parochio proprio, vel alio sacerdote de ejus licentiâ, vel Ordinarii, vel (parochio non existente) aliquo alio sacerdote communionem Sanctæ Ecclesiæ habente, et duobus vel tribus testibus, matrimonium contrahere præsumperint; omnesque eos, ad hoc inducentes, nec non ipsum sacerdotem, qui sine præfato testium numero, hujusmodi contractui interfuerit, præter peccatum mortale, quod sine dubio committunt, excommunicationem latæ sententiæ ipso facto incurrere decernimus: Eidemque pænæ Sacerdotes, intra gradus prohibitos, scienter aliquos conjungere matrimonialiter præsumentes; nec non ipsi etiam scienter contrahentes (non habita prius dispensatione) subiaceant; et insuper spe dispensationis consequendæ careant.

Et quia damna quam plurima ex contemptu et neglectu eorum, quæ salubriter ab ecclesia sunt statuta de bannis, seu tribus denunciationibus contractui matrimoniali præmittendis, ortum habent; dum aliqui ignorantes impedimenta, quæ (denunciationibus præmissis) vel scivissent, vel saltem

inculpabiliter ignorassent, matrimonia contrahunt, a quibus postea (innotescens impedimentis) cum maximo suarum rerum, ac prolis susceptæ detrimento, nec non proximorum scandalo, resilire cogantur : Statuimus, ut præter pœnas alias a Jure impositas, Ordinarii locorum graviter puniant sacerdotes, qui in locis, in quibus ipsius Ordinarii judicio sine evidenti gravis damni periculo denunciationes contractui matrimonii præmitti poterunt, Eas præmittere neglexerint. In locis vero, in quibus Ordinarii judicio eas omitti convenit, sacerdotes semper diligentem inquisitionem de impedimentis, quæ matrimonio contrahendo obesse possint, præmittere teneantur; et nunquam illud solemnizare præsumant, nisi ultra suam privatam notitiam, ex relatione quatuor vel quinque testium, fide dignorum, et qui statum contrahentium satis norunt, illis constiterit, nullum (quod sciatur) subesse Impedimentum.

Et ne quid cum errore a testibus, aut partibus, in hac re fiat, ipsi sacerdotes, quæ impedimenta matrimonium impediunt et dirimant, prius illis breviter explicant; et sacerdotes, qui circa hæc negligentes fuerint, graviter ab Ordinariis puniri mandamus; ipsi vero contrahentes, qui salubria ecclesiæ monita, quoad hæc, temerè contempserint, si cum impedimentis contraxisse reperiantur, benignitatem illius, quæ se indignos reddiderunt, in concedenda illis dispensatione, non facile experiantur.

Præterea, quia lites interminabiles oriuntur, ex eo, quod multi contrahere volentes, ignorent quibus verbis, aut factis matrimonium perficiatur; proinde parochi contracturos doceant, matrimonium contrahi (omnibus aliis seclusis), firmum ac ratum esse, mutuo consensu, et acceptatione utriusque partis, se invicem de præsentis in conjuges acceptantis, verbis, vel signis ad minus expressis: quâ instructione præmissâ, ne ullus tergiversationi locus relinquantur, parochus, ante prolationem verborum contractûs, interroget, coram testibus, partes, quid tunc intendunt facere, viz.: an intendant matrimonium de præsentis firmum, ratum ac indissolubile contrahere: an vero tantum se postea illud contracturos promittere. Quod si promissionem de futuro tantum voluerint facere, caveant sacerdotes, ne verbis de præsentis eos uti permittant, prout audivimus ab aliquibus simplicibus sacerdotibus permissum aliàs fuisse; et postea prolatis verbis contractûs, sive de præsentis sit, sive de futuro, curet parochus, ut speciem contractûs, ac contrahentium, et testium nomina; diem quoque mensis, et incarnationis dominicæ annum, in libello, quem pro harum rerum memoria, eum habere convenit, conscribat.

Quod si modum a nobis hic præscriptum et præceptum (saltem quoad matrimonia de præsentis contrahenda) parochi omiserint, vel neglexerint, ab Ordinariis irremissibiliter pro prima vice, ad mensem a missa celebrandâ, et ab aliorum sacramentorum administratione, suspendantur; et pro secunda vice, ad tres menses, ac ulterius, pœnâ arbitriâ, semper pro ratione frequentiæ delicti, aggravandâ, puniantur. Si autem durante hujusmodi suspensione, vel excommunicatione, aliisque censuris a nobis supra positis, vel infra ponendis aliquem actum sibi prohibitum exercuerint, non dubitent, ipso jure, irregularitatem, in qua solus Papa dispensare poterit, se incursum.

Eâdem per omnia pœnâ puniantur sacerdotes, qui aliquos matrimonialiter conjunxerint, non requisitâ parentum, tutorum, vel curatorum (si quos habuerint) licentiâ, et consensu. Raptores autem fœminarum, sub potestate parentum, tutorum, aut curatorum constitutarum, etiam si consenserint ipsæ; nec non aliarum quarumcunque sui juris fœminarum, sine proprio ipsarum

consensu ; ac omnes hujusmodi raptoribus, auxilium, consensum, aut favorem in tali delicto præbentes, ipso facto, excommunicatos esse decernimus, ac declaramus.

Et si quæ filiafamiliâs clam cum aliquo contraxerit, aut ut rapiatur ab aliquo consenserit, in odium talis malitiæ, inhibemus, ne ulli sacerdotes ullâ viâ cogant, aut adhortentur parentes ejus, aut alios, quorum interest, ad eam dotandam, nisi Ordinario aliter expedire visum fuerit.

Cumque sæpius contingat, ut qui, obtentâ de gradibus prohibitis, aliisve matrimonii impedimentis dispensatione, post contractum matrimonium, ab eo resilire volentes, illud negent ; parochus cum ipsis dispensatum fuisse dicet ; vel saltem declaret, se dispensationem acceptasse ; ne contrarium forte judici fori externi (etiâsi dispensatio, et matrimonium alioquin coram Deo valuerint) sufficienter, et prout jura requirunt, constare possit ; ac proinde partibus instantibus, divortii sententiam sæpe contra matrimonium coram Deo validum, proferri necessum sit. Huic malo, ut proinde occurratur, statuimus, ut parochi nullos hujusmodi impedimenta habentes, matrimonio jungant, nisi prius coram testibus, visâ, lectâ, examinatâ, et ab utraque parte acceptatâ dispensatione. Ipsa vero dispensatio (quæ gratis concedenda est) non admittatur, nisi Ordinario constiterit dispensantem sufficientem habere auctoritatem.

Cumque sacrum concilium Tridentinum determinet, quod dispensationes quâcunque auctoritate concedendæ, si extra Romanam curiam committendæ sint, committantur Ordinariis illorum, qui eas impetraverint ; eæque vero, quæ gratiose conceduntur, suum non sortiantur effectum, nisi prius ab eisdem, tanquam delegatis Apostolicis, summarie tantum et extrajudicialiter cognoscatur expressas preces vitio subreptionis, vel obreptionis, non subjacere : statuimus, ut parochi, cujuscunque dispensationis virtute, matrimonio eos non jungant, quos noverint alioquin impeditos, nisi prius ab Ordinario cognoscatur (prout dictum est) preces vitio subreptionis, vel obreptionis non subjacere : et sacerdotes, qui contrarium fecerint, sciant se severe puniendos : ipsi vero Ordinarii suam approbationem (quantum ad hæc) dispensationis instrumento in dorso, aut alibi, inscribant.

Procurent etiam parochi, ut horum omnium memoria in suo libello, his vel similibus verbis, fiat : videlicet, Anno Domini A : die vero mensis B : in parochia C : D et E habentes impedimentum F : sed obtentâ gratis, et utrumque acceptatâ dispensatione a G : prius cognitâ auctoritate dispensantis, et approbatâ precum veritate per H, hujus diœcesis I, Ordinarium, matrimonium per verba de præsentî contraxerunt, coram me K, paroco ; et testibus infra scriptis, L and M ; &c.

Si quando contigerit, parochum aliquos matrimonialiter conjungere, non habitâ tunc opportunitate impertiendi illis nuptialem benedictionem, quæ infra missarum solemniam dari solet, moneat verbis gravibus contrahentes, ne ante hujusmodi a se ipso, et non alio sacerdote, acceptam benedictionem, in eadem domo cohabitent, et multo minùs, matrimonium consummare præsumant. Similiter sponso de futuro moneat, ut a nimia familiaritate caveant, et ne se ullatenus carnaliter cognoscant, donec matrimonium de præsentî contraxerint, et benedictionem nuptialem (prout dictum est) obtinuerint.

Parochi diligenter inquireant, quinam in suis parochiis, sub matrimonii specie, aut aliter, in incestu, adulterio, aut concubinato notorio, aut etiam occulto, vivunt ; illosque, et quoscunque alios, alicui peccato gravi, aut vitio, præsertim

notorio addictos, prius (ut decet patres et pastores) charitate, et in spiritu lenitatis privatim corrigant: quod si ab hujusmodi vitiis non destiterint, se illis subtrahant, eorumque familiaritatem devitent, illosque Ordinario denuntient; ut eos, pro sua prudentia, vel ingressum ecclesiæ illis interdicens, vel aliquam aliam censuram infligendo, corrigant, et informant.

De Sacerdotum Stipendio.

Quamdoquidem ecclesiastica beneficia, ex quorum redditibus sacerdotes sustentari debuissent, ab adversariis occupentur; et (quocunque rerum statu) spiritualium ministratores digni sint, qui ex temporalibus vitæ necessaria recipiant, nec justum aut æquum sit quod os bovi trituranți alligetur; statuimus, ut præter emolumenta casualia sacerdotibus obvenientia, assignetur ab ordinario singulis sacerdotibus, animarum curam gerentibus, et solvatur a parochianis congruum, et competens stipendium, quo (habita ratione personæ, loci, temporis, et oneris sacerdotibus impositi, vel imponendi aliarumque circumstantiarum) honeste (judicio Ordinarii) singuli vivere possint: satis enim constat, præscripta a nobis hic, et alia quam plurima, ad suum officium spectantia, nisi convenienter sustententur, ab eis præstari non posse: Ordinarii vero ipsi, ut hæc efficacius sortiantur effectum, personaliter ad singulas parochias accedent, et in unum congregatis parochianis, vel (si magis expedire visum fuerit) singulos sigillatim alloquentes, stipendium persolvendum illis præscribant: quod si concedere aut persolvere noluerint verè poterunt ceuseri magis de mundo, quam de animarum suarum salute solliciti; recteque poterit eis applicari illud evangelii: auferetur a vobis regnum Dei, et dabitur genti facienti fructus ejus. Quod tunc fiet, quando sacerdotes ab illis in alias parochias pastoribus indigentes, et quæ ad hujusmodi temporalia subsidia suæ æternæ salutis ministris præstanda, magis obsequentes fuerint, transferentur; prout in tali eventu (non obstante quacumque in oppositum renitentia), transferendos statuimus.

De Vita et Honestate Clericorum.

Quamvis præcipua nostra cura circa vicarios generales, et foraneos, et alios sacerdotes, qui sub illis animarum curam gerent, et modum quo populo vitæ alimenta ministrent, versetur: nihilominus eo se extendit nostra sollicitudo, ut omnes fidei domesticos attingat; maximè autem omnes eos, qui in sortem Domini segregati, participes sunt hujus divinæ vocationis. Hortamur ergo omnes sacerdotes, et clericos, ut sui status memores, omnibus se exhibeant bonorum operum exemplar non solum a malis, et ab iis, quæ speciem mali habent, sed etiam ab aliis quibuscunque, quæ præter sui status honestatem, et decorum esse possent, abstinentes; ut etiam ii, qui ex adverso sunt, vereantur, nihil habentes mali de nobis dicere.

Imprimis igitur caveant sacerdotes, ne publicè, aut privatim, de negotiis status, aut politiæ temporalis tractent: neve ullo alio modo regiæ majestati, aut aliis, qui sub ipso reipublicæ in temporalibus præsunt, se exosos reddant, aliter quam quæ sunt sui officii erga Deum et populum præstando: nimirum spiritualia tantummodo ministeria exercendo; relinquentes quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari, et Deo reddentes quæ Dei sunt. Pari modo caveant, ne se immisceant

temporali gubernationi aut regimini alicujus sæcularis privatæ domus, aut familiæ: scilicet, ne pro aliquo nobili, aut aliâ cujuscumque conditionis personâ sæculari, vicem, aut officium œconomi, receptoris, magistri computorum, negotiorum gestoris, aut procuratoris suppleant: nec domos, aut prædia, pro quocunque locare, conducere, hypothecare, aut in emphyteusim dare; aut res mobiles quascumque vendere, aut emere; aut pecunias suas, aut alienas, ad lucrum, seu interesse, exponere: aut alearum lusui, aliisve vanis, et omnino sæcularibus conversationibus vacare; aut tanquam nuntii pro tractibus, et contractibus omnino temporalibus proficisci; aut instar asseclarum, aut aliorum, ulli cuiuscumque eminentiæ sæculari inservire velint, aut consentiant.

Hæc autem, et alia huius generis, quæ dispensatores ministeriorum Dei minimè decent, sacerdotibus omnibus omnino interdiciamus: et qui contrarium fecerint, et moniti non destiterint, ab Ordinariis, (iuxta contemptus gravitatem) puniri possunt, et debent. Si vero (quod absit) aliqui sacerdotes fuerint, concubinarij, fornicarij, ebriosi, aut frequenti, et ordinariæ computationi (etiamsi ipsi se ad ebrietatem in illa computatione pervenire non arbitrentur) aut aliis impudicijs, et enormibus criminibus addicti, nisi, moniti, ab huiusmodi excessibus destiterint, per Ordinarium, a missæ celebratione, aliorumque sacramentorum administratione, eoque suspendantur, quousque condignam pœnitentiam egerint, et populo per eos scandalizato sufficientia suæ emendationis, et resipiscentiæ indicia dederint. Et ut hæc, et similia mala quæ ex tabernarum frequentatione nata sunt sequi, facilius evitentur; caveant sacerdotes, ne ullo modo tabernas, ut bibant, ingrediantur, nisi forte ex necessitate in itinere: Qui autem hanc monitionem contemnere non curaverint, ab Ordinario, pro delicti frequentia, et qualitate, puniantur.

De Votis Mulierum.

Sanè licèt virginitatem, aut castitatem vovere, opus sit perfectionis, et supererogationis, ideoque Deo pergratum; atque adeo ad illud hortari in locis, in quibus votum emissum sine incommodis servari posset, valde sit laudabile, tamen quia hac misera tempestate in nostra patria, plus inde (quoad vota mulierum) periculi, et inconvenientiæ timetur, quam utilitatis ordinariè expectatur: statuimus ut nullus sacerdos mulierem ullam ad virginatis, aut castitatis votum faciendum, adhortetur, aut ejus votum, etiam in foro conscientiæ, acceptet, aut recipiat, nisi de consensu episcopi; ipsi vero episcopi, non nisi magna maturitate, rerum statu considerato, et raro, ad hoc consensum præbeant.

Et cum sacri canones, ob varias et justas causas, cohabitationem clericorum et mulierum inhibuerint, ipsaque experientia docuerit, sanctissimos viros, ex mulierum consortio naufragium fecisse, et ad minus, ubi talis fuerit commorantium cohabitatio, “non defore (ut ait St. Gregorius) antiqui hostis stimulos;” proindeque nemo magis tutus ab hujusmodi lapsûs periculo, esse aut censeri possit, quàm qui a mulierum consortio longius fugerit; statuimus, ut de cætero non habeant sacerdotes in suis domibus, aut mensis, ullas mulieres (etiam virginitatis aut castitatis voto adstrictas) aut ullas alias, de quibus suspicio esse posset: Nec hujusmodi fœminarum curam quamvis spirituales suscipiant, absque ulteriori facultate. Non vetamus tamen, quin sacerdotes

in suis domibus habeant eas fœminas, quas sacri canones permittunt; quales sunt, mater, soror, amita et neptis, cum inter hujusmodi personas naturale fœdus nihil permittat sævi criminis suspicari.

De Prædicatoribus.

Cum experimento constet, populum plurimum scandalizari, ex eo quod insufficientes, et indocti, qui sibi munus prædicandi non admissi arrogant, plerumque futilia, et inutilia, nonnunquam erronea, et scandalosa, suis concionibus commisceant; cedat quoque in maximam fidei injuriam, et animarum periculum, quod ignari controversias fidei exponere, et de eis disputare, ac casus conscientiae difficiliorens enucleare præsumant: hisce incommodis remedium adhibere cupientes, statuimus, ut de cætero, nullus sæcularis aut regularis prædicare præsumat, nisi prius ab Ordinario loci fuerit approbatus: ab Ordinariis vero ad prædicandum non approbentur, nisi qui tribus, vel ad minus, duobus annis in aliqua academia theologiæ scholasticæ utiliter operam dederint; et præterea ad tam arduum munus exequendum sufficientes et idonei sint. Cæteri vero sacerdotes ad prædicationis officium non approbati, contenti sint, secundum talentum sibi a Deo datum, populum Dei, catechismum, seu Christianam doctrinam tantum docere. Simili modo, Sacras Scripturas exponere, aut fidei Catholicæ rationem sive hæreticis, sive Catholicis privatim aut publice reddere, aut casus difficiles et intricatos, præsertim novos, et parum in praxi, aut authorum scriptis repertos; et maxime quæ ad fidem, ejusque confessionem spectant, aut reduci possunt, nulli resolvere præsumant, nisi qui etiam utiliter integrum theologiæ cursum persolverint, et per aliquod tempus hujus patriæ praxim didicerint: sed hæc omnia discutienda, et resolvenda remittant ad alios, qui hujusmodi conditionibus, et qualitatibus sunt præditi; aut ad alios, quos locorum Ordinarii ad id muneris idoneos judicaverint.

De Disputationibus, cum Hæreticis et aliis, vitandis.

Non sine justa causa, sancta mater ecclesia, quæ a Spiritu Sancto regitur, disputationes cum hæreticis, et aliis ejus generis, ex quibus seductionis et infectionis periculum suis filiis pertimescebat, cunctis laicis inhibuit. Propterea omnes sacerdotes unanimiter conentur persuadere nobilibus et aliis laicis, quibuscum conversantur, ut ab hujusmodi periculosis disputationibus omnino abstineant. Libros vero hæreticorum, qui de controversiis fidei ex professo tractant; nec non depravatas Sacræ Scripturæ quocunque idiomate editiones, alii quam viri docti, et ad effectum duntaxat eos confutandi, ac de expressa Ordinarii loci licentia, legere non præsumant.

Alios libros hæreticorum, imo etiam ipsos Catholicorum libros, vulgari idiomate, de rebus fidei tractantes, nec laici, nec clerici, sine licentia legere præsumant. Libros etiam adversus hæreticos a quibuscunque conscriptos, convitia potius quam solidam, aut modestam doctrinam continentes, et maxime qui Sacris Scripturis, ad scurrilia eas applicantes, abutuntur (cujus generis est Puritanus) prorsus legi, teneri, aut permitti, vetamus. Colloquia etiam de rebus fidei, quæ inter ipsos Catholicos temporibus non congruis, et in mensis, et inter pocula admisceri solent, tanquam intempestiva, sacerdotes

corrigant, et reprehendant : si qui autem laici de hic enumeratis admoniti, non se emendaverint, aut parere noluerint, locorum Ordinariis, ut eos corrigant (prout in Domino videbitur expedire) denuntient sacerdotes.

Rerum etiam magistra, experientia docuit, plurimum detrimenti, nihil vero utilitatis, aut ædificationis attulisse statui clericali, quod aliqui sacerdotes nimis familiariter cum hæreticis et schismaticis, quos sibi minime infestos judicabant, conversati fuerint : quapropter volumus, ut de cætero, nulli sacerdotes, quantumvis noti, simplices, et ab hæreticis minime impediti, accedant ad mensas, convivia, aliaque conversationis loca, in quibus noverint hæreticos esse, aut brevi superventuros ; ut ita, tum illorum notitiam, tum colloquia, et familiaritatem inutilem devitent : ait enim St. Cyprianus, Epist. 55. ad Cornelium, in fine ; “ Simus ab eis tam separati, quam sunt illi de ecclesia profugi.”

De Dispensationibus super retentione, et receptione bonorum Ecclesiasticorum.

Nullus sæcularis, aut regularis, quarumcunque extraordinariorum facultatum prætextu, dispensare præsumat super retentione et receptione quorumcunque beneficiorum, prædiorum, aut aliorum bonorum ecclesiasticorum, sive immobilium, sive mobilium, quoquomodo de jure, aut consuetudine, ad collationem, aut dispositionem episcopi spectantium, nisi ipse episcopus, quoad hæc, suas vices specialiter committere voluerit : et si quæ dispensationes in posterum aliter fiant, irritæ censeantur : quæ autem hactenus factæ sunt, ut in posterum valeant, denuo ab episcopo specialiter, et sigillatim ratificari debent. Idemque observandum esse sancimus de bonis quorumcunque aliorum ecclesiasticorum ; nimirum, non debere fieri super illis dispensationes, nisi per illos, aut de eorum licentia, ad quos de jure, aut consuetudine spectat ex eis emolumenta percipere : nec dispensationes aliter factæ, tutæ, aut justæ reputari possunt : cum æquitas, ipsa jura, et ratio suadeant *jus suum unicuique esse tribuendum*. Proinde confessariis injungimus, ut suis pœnitentibus, hujusmodi bonorum detentoribus, de eis conscientiam faciant.

De Legatis ad Pios usus, et Ultimarum Voluntatum Executione.

Cum piorum legatorum dispositiones, ac ultimarum voluntatum, et testamentorum probationes et executiones, ad episcopos, tam jure veteri canonico, quam novo sacri Concilii Tridentini, pertineant ; statuimus, ut quæ de cætero ad indeterminatos pios usus tam in ultimis voluntatibus quocunque titulo, quam alias dabuntur, vel legabuntur, a solo diœcesano episcopo ; vel (eo non existente) a solo metropolitano ; et illo non existente, a seniore comprovinciali episcopo ; vel illis omnibus deficientibus, ab illis, ad quos de jure, aut consuetudine, spectat ; non autem ab eorum vicariis generalibus ad certos et determinatos usus pios applicentur. Episcopi vero certos adhibebunt prudentes et pios viros, quorum consilio in his, aliisque ad pios usus applicandis utentur ; aliosque designabunt, qui omnia ad tales pios usus concessa, colligant, et fideliter referant. Vicarii autem generales ex certa scientia, et mandato speciali episcopi, ea, quæ ad certos, et determinatos usus pios relinquentur, quam primum ad eosdem usus pios applicari curabunt ; et casu,

quo commutatio ultimæ voluntatis (quæ non nisi ob gravem et urgentem causam fieri debet) facienda esset, a solis episcopis, ordine supra scripto, non autem ab eorum vicariis generalibus, ea fiat.

De Confraternitatibus, et aliis Piiis Locis.

Et quoniam eadem jura decernunt de quibuscunque piis foundationibus, confraternitatibus (quæ vulgo geeldes appellantur) ac aliis omnibus piis locis, quomodocunque nuncupentur, quæ ad Dei cultum, pauperum sustentationem, aut animarum salutem sunt instituta, etsi eorum cura ad laicos pertineat, aut exemptionis privilegio sint munita, episcopos debere cognoscere; ac rationes computorum, et administrationis ab eorum administratoribus exigere; easdem rationes approbare, aut reprobare, prout in Domino illis expedire videbitur: statuimus, ut episcopi, per se, vel per aliquos specialiter ab ipsis ad hoc deputatos, semel in anno hujusmodi computorum, seu administrationum rationes a prædictis administratoribus exigant, et non reddentes, si laici sint, ingressum ecclesiæ eis interdican; si vero clerici, eos suspendant.

De Regularibus.

Regulares omnes, qui ecclesiasticæ hierarchiæ ornamenta, ac ordinariorum pastorum strenui cooperatores sunt, ab omnibus pastoribus, aliisque nobis subjectis, volumus, ut tales amari et honorari, eisque omnia charitatis obsequia, et subsidia ad ædificationem fidelium præstari: et cum jam in nostra patria in suis regularibus domibus, consuetis religionis exercitiis vacare non permittantur; neque dubitemus, quin illi zelo salutis animarum accensi libenter vellent in messe Dei impendi, et superimpendi, nos alioquin quam maximâ pastorum penuriâ laboremus, volumus, ut durante hoc rerum statu, Ordinarii locorum serio cum superioribus regularium agant, quatenus sibi subiectos religiosos sacerdotes ad munus pastorale gerendum eis concedere velint, communique consilio tum Ordinarii, tum regularium superiores curent, ut, sine detrimento regularis observantiæ, hujusmodi pastoralis cura religiosis commissæ exerceatur.

Uterius declaramus, religiosos suis privilegiis et facultatibus (quatenus locorum ordinariis non præjudicant) uti posse, ac proinde, quoad hæc, a nemine volumus eos molestari. Cum autem certum sit, privilegia quæcunque, in ædificationem, non in destructionem, concessa esse, debitumque ecclesiasticum regimen postulare, ea, quæ sunt fori contentiosi, a solis illis, qui fori illius sunt iudices (quales sunt ordinarii, prout jura determinant) exerceri debere; ac proinde suam Sanctitatem nullo modo per hujusmodi privilegiorum concessionem, hoc rectum regimen pervertere, aut Ordinariorum juri præjudicare velle: monemus omnes regulares, ut in eis, quæ fori contentiosi sunt, privilegiorum, aut facultatum virtute, nihil agant, nisi quatenus Ordinarii hæc illis commiserint, aut eorum ad illa præstanda auxilium requisierint.

De celebratione festorum, quoad cessationem ab operibus servilibus.

A plerisque hactenus, maximè a simplicioribus, dubitatum est, quâ potissimum hora, obligatio ab operibus servilibus cessandi incipiat; nam aliqui paulo post

meridiem præcedentis diei ; alii hora tertia : alii hora sexta pomeridiana, vel sub solis occasum, ab hujusmodi operibus cessabant : ex qua varietate in errore potius quam in ulla consuetudine fundata, fiebat, quòd aliqui hora alioquin minimè vetita laborantes, erroneæ conscientiæ stimulis agitentur : alii nullum talem scrupulum habentes, dum laborabant, pusillis tamen, et infirmioribus, scandalo & offenculo essent : quapropter, ut peccandi occasio, quæ ex istiusmodi varietate oriebatur, de cætero tollatur, et uniformis regula pro omnibus statuatur : praxi totius orbis Christiani fere inhærentes, decernimus, obligationem cessandi ab operibus servilibus in posterum incipere a media nocte præcedente diem festum, continuarique ad mediam usque noctem sequentem.

Et hoc notum omnibus fieri volumus, cum tempore messis contingat ut fruges in die festo colligi possint, quæ aliàs verisimiliter essent perituræ, volumus, ut tali oblata necessitate, sacerdotes concedant suis parochianis hujusmodi fruges colligendi licentiam diebus festivis, audito prius sacro, si haberi potuerit : injunctis omnibus et singulis, qui ea licentia uti voluerint, aliquot orationibus pro statu ecclesiæ, atque patriæ, aut aliquo alio opere pio. In dominicis autem id non fiat, nisi maxima, et urgentissima necessitate cogentur : atque hæc omnia sacerdotes inter missarum solemnias, ad tollendos scrupulos, frequenter populo significant.

De festorum numero.

Dies, in quibus de jure aut consuetudine ab operibus servilibus ex obligatione cessandum est, sunt sequentes ; omnes dominicæ per totum annum. Circumcisio Domini. Epiphania Domini. Festum Stæ. Brigidæ Virginis, in tota diocesi Darensi, prima die Februarii. Purificatio B. Mariæ. Festum S. Matthiæ Ap. Festum Sti. Patritii Confessoris, et Hiberniæ Apostoli, per totum Regnum, 17 die Martii. Annunciatio B. Mariæ Virginis. Secunda et tertia feria paschatis.*

Festum Sti. Marci Evangelistæ, festum SS. Philippi et Jacobi Apostolorum. Inventio sanctæ crucis. Ascensio Domini. Secunda et tertia feria Pentecostes. Festum Corporis Christi. Festum Sti. Barnabæ Apostoli, Nativitas Sti. Joannis Baptistæ. Festum SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Festum B. Mariæ Magdalenæ. Festum Sti. Jacobi Apostoli. Festum Sti. Laurentii Martyris. Assumptio B. Mariæ Virginis. Festum Sti. Bartholomæi Apostoli. Nativitas B. Mariæ Virginis. Festum Sti. Mathæi Apostoli et Evangelistæ. Dedicatio Sti. Michaelis Archangeli. Festum Sti. Lucæ Evangelistæ. Festum SS. Apostolorum Simonis et Judæ. Festum omnium sanctorum. Festum Sti. Martini Episcopi et Confessoris. Festum Sti. Andreæ Apostoli. Conceptio B. Mariæ Virginis. Festum Sti. Thomæ Apostoli. Nativitas domini nostri Jesu Christi. Festum Sti. Stephani protomartyris. Festum Sti. Joannis Apostoli et Evangelistæ. Festum SS. Innocentium.†

* The following words are in the printed copy, but not in the MSS. :—
“ Concilio provinciali habito, anno 1685, sub illustrissimo Domino Patritio Russell, festum Sti. Laurentii Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis, precipitur servandum in toto diocesi Dubliniensi, die 14 Novembris.

† Quibus superaddita sunt. Festum Sti. Josephi. Festum Stæ. Annæ. Festum Sti. Sylvestri. These words are in the margin of the MSS.

Festa quæ ex devotione observantur.

Festum Stæ Brigidæ Virginis, per reliquam provinciam. Visitationis B. Mariæ Virginis. Exaltationis S. Crucis. Commemorationis animarum in purgatorio, usque ad meridiem. Stæ Catharinæ Virginis et Martyris. Quæ omnia, præmissa diligenter de consuetudine inquisitione, scripsimus, ut tam clerici, quam laici conformiter festa observare sciant, et non ignorent modum observationis, nec ad quæ obligentur festa, aut quæ tantum ex devotione eos observare conveniat.

De obligatione aliquorum festorum quoad officia divina.

Quamvis præsentis temporis calamitas non permittat, nos quidquam de festis quorundam sanctorum, quoad cessationem ab operibus servilibus statuere, aut innovare; nihil tamen vetat, eorum festa divinis laudibus et officiis celebrare, quin potius hujusmodi officia tanto promptius et ferventius sunt ab omnibus in eorum honorem persolvenda, quanto eorum suffragia hoc tempore maxime nobis esse necessaria experimur. Quapropter, cum St. Patritius, cujus festus dies in 17mum diem Martii, cadit, non solum sit universalis patronus totius Hiberniæ, sed etiam nostræ civitatis, et ecclesiæ Dubliniensis specialis: statui-mus, et mandamus, ut in prædicta nostra civitate, fiat de eo officium duplex, de communi confessoris pontificis, ad ritum officii de patrono ecclesiæ; in tota autem reliqua diœcesi, et per universam Dubliniensem provinciam ad ritum duplicis primæ classis; et donec proprium ipsius sancti officium emendatius recitandum proponatur, lectiones primi nocturni sumantur de libro ecclesiastici, c. 44. Laudemus viros gloriosos, etc. Lectiones secundi nocturni de sermone sti. Maximi episcopi "ad sancti et beatissimi," etc. Et lectiones tertii nocturni, de Homilia Sti. Hilarii Episcopi, in cap. 24, Matthæi, Vigilate, quia nescitis, etc. etiam de eodem: et tam antiphonæ ad magnificat, et benedictus, quam oratio, da quæsumus, etc., de eodem communi dicantur. De Sta. Brigida Virgine, quæ totius regni censetur patrona generalis, et specialis civitatis, et Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Darensis, mandamus fieri, prima Die Februarii, officium duplex de communi virginum, cum oratione, exaudi nos, etc., ad ritum patroni in ipsa civitate: in reliqua diœcesi, ad ritum duplicis primæ classis: in tota etiam residua provincia, ad modum festi duplicis secundæ classis.

De Sto. Columba Abbate, tertio generali regni patrono, mandamus nono die Junii fieri per totam provinciam, officium duplex de communi confessoris non pontificis; seu de abbate, cum oratione, intercessio, etc., ad instar duplicis secundæ classis. De Sto. Laurentio Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, mandamus etiam, fieri officium duplex secundæ classis per totam provinciam 14^o die Novembris, de communi confessoris pontificis, cum oratione, da quæsumus, etc. Dedicatio ecclesiæ celebretur dominica proxima sequenti festum sti. Remigii prima die Octobris, vel ipsa die sti. Remigii, si in dominicam ceciderit.*

* In the printed copy the words are added:—"Cum octava ex consuetudine."

De jejuniorum et abstinentiarum observatione.

Clemens Papa octavus venerabilibus fratribus episcopis, per universam provinciam constitutis.

Venerabiles fratres, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem.

“Accepimus aliàs piàm, et antiquam inter Catholicos istius Regni Hiberniæ hactenus consuetudinem viguisse, feria quarta a carnibus; feria vero sexta, et nonnullis in locis, etiam Sabbato, ab ovorum et lacticiniorum esu abstinendi: verum postquam hæresis (quod non sine dolore reminiscimur) in eodem regno invalescere cæperit, et penes hæreticos imperii potestas sit, plerique ipsorum Catholicorum, metu hæreticorum eorundem, carnibus feria quarta, et ovis, ac lacticiniis feria sexta, ac sabbato, ac nonnullis in locis, ubi pisces commodè comparari non possunt, in Quadragesima, etiam ovis, et lacticiniis hujusmodi, quandoque ex necessitate vesci solent, quod vos, tuta conscientia ab ipsis Christi fidelibus fieri posse, summopere cuperetis; et ideo nobis humiliter supplicatis ut in præmissis opportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur: nos igitur piorum Catholicorum conscientiae securitati providere volentes, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobis, et cuilibet vestrum, et a vobis delegatis per totam Hiberniam, ut piàm illam abstinendi a carnibus feria quarta, et feria sexta, ac sabbato a lacticiniis, et ovis extra Quadragesimam; in Quadragesima vero a lacticiniorum tantum (nisi aliud vobis episcopis videatur) esu, consuetudinem, in alia pietatis opera, gratis omnino commutare, libere, et licite valeatis, autoritate apostolica, tenore præsentium, facultatem impertimur. Volumus autem, ut præsentium transumptis etiam impressis, et manu alicujus notarii publici subscriptis, ac sigillo alicujus personæ in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutæ, munitis, eadem, quæ præsentibus ipsis, fides adhibeatur.”

Datum Romæ apud Stum. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die 13tio. Martii, Anno Domini, 1598.

Quamvis gratiosum hoc Sedis apostolicæ indultum ab aliquibus bonæ memoriæ rdms dominis episcopis, qui in hoc regno superioribus annis gregi dominico præfuerunt, pro conscientiarum quiete et securitate, acceptatum, et executioni demandatum sit; et nonnulli pii et probi sacerdotes ad commutationem circa lacticiniorum esum faciendam, ab eisdem specialiter, et nominatim, delegati fuerint; tamen quia non omnes eundem conformem modum in hac commutatione faciendâ observabant, et ex ea praxis varietate, nonnulla incommoda orta esse intelleximus; ut de cætero uniformis regula, tam quoad usum hujus indulti, quam quoad observationem omnium jejuniorum, et abstinentiarum, quæ per totum anni decursum, sive ex obligatione de jure aut consuetudine, sive ex devotione, ab omnibus generaliter observandæ sunt; et ad omnes quietandas conscientias idonea præscribatur, hæc sequuntur, statuenda duximus. In primis, illustrissimus ac redmus dominus, D. Fr. Eugenius Matthæus Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, recipit, et acceptat præfatum indultum, et autoritate apostolicâ, sibi per illud concessâ, omnes, et singulos per totam Dublinensem provinciam, in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutos, omnes vicarios generales, ac foraneos, et omnes ab ordinariis approbatos prædicatores, ac sacerdotes omnes animarum curam gerentes delegat ac deputat ad commutationem circa prædictorum lacticiniorum usum,

hoc sequent modo faciendam, viz. ut liceat omnibus per totam provinciam, quibus ipsi, vel aliquis eorum, factâ commutatione, licentiam dederint, vesci lacticiiniis (inter quæ etiam caseus sive recens, sive antiquus, connumerari potest) omnibus diebus quadragesimæ, ac omnibus sextis feriis per annum, ac sabbatis (sicubi contraria consuetudo fuerit) exceptis feria quarta cinerum, feria quarta majoris hebdomadæ, et feria sexta parasceves; ita tamen, ut omnes, quibus hujusmodi licentia concessa fuerit, singulis diebus, quibus hujus indulti beneficio uti voluerint, recitent pro statu universalis ecclesiæ, fideique Catholicæ in his regnis, Angliæ, Hiberniæ, ac Scotiæ, restitutione, Catholicorum libertate, peccatorum conversione, bonoque reipublicæ regimine, quiniæ pater et ave; vel (si ipsi maluerint) singulis annis dent ordinario loci 12 denarios Anglicos, in pios usus convertendos: qui vero opulentiores fuerint, non præfigitur certus terminus eorum liberalitati, ac devotioni, cum ipsis consultius sit, intuitu talis commutationis, ad hujusmodi pios usus juxta suas facultates paulo liberalius cæteris erga pauperes se exhibere.

Ut autem hujusmodi notitia ad omnes deveniat, et uniformiter omnes, quotquot voluerint, hujus commutationis, et licentiæ beneficio fruantur; volumus, ut omnes, et singuli ad hoc delegati, quater in anno, hoc est, circa initium quadragesimæ, circa Pentecosten, circa quatuor tempora Septembris, ac paulo ante nativitatem Domini, ubicunque in tota provincia fuerint, indultum hoc populo denuntient; ac commutationem sibi commissam illis concedant, ac declarent: nec ullâ aliâ particulari licentia, sed tantum acceptatione hujus commutationis cuique opus esse declarent. Commutationem vero cum aliis extra provinciam faciendam, donec ab Ordinariis locorum illorum requiratur, aut significetur, expedire ut fiat; nec non commutationem circa esum carnium feria quarta, aut ovorum, feria sexta extra quadragesimam, adhuc idem illustrissimus dominus Archiepiscopus non committit, neque ad eam faciendam quemquam delegat; si autem progressu temporis visum fuerit expedire, tunc eam delegabit, quibus, et quo modo voluerit, juxta tenorem brevis supra positi.

De Numero Vigiliarum et Jejuniorum Præcepto Obligantium.

Dies, quibus ex præcepto jejunatur, et non licet alicui, nisi sufficienter excusatus fuerit, plus quam unicam refectionem sumere, sunt sequentes. Omnes dies quadragesimæ, exceptis dominicis, quatuor anni tempora, prout occurrant, vigilia Sti. Mathiæ Apostoli, Vigilia Pentecostes, Vigilia Sti. Joannis Baptistæ, quæ si in festum Corporis Christi inciderit, feria quarta præcedenti de ea fiat jejunium, et officium, Vigilia Apost. Petri et Pauli, Vigilia Sti. Jacobi Apostoli, Vigilia Sti. Laurentii Martyris, Vigilia Assumptionis B. Mariæ V, Vigilia Sti. Bartholomæi Apostoli, Vigilia Sti. Matthæi Apostoli et Evangelistæ, Vigilia SS. Simonis et Judæ Apostolorum, Vigilia omnium Sanctorum. Vigilia Sti. Andreæ Apostoli. Vigilia St. Thomæ Apostoli. Vigilia Nativitatis Christi. Et quia, facta diligenti inquisitione, non est inventum, ullam certam consuetudinem fuisse obligantem ad jejunandum feriis sextis per annum, volumus, ut de cætero ab omnibus sacerdotibus populo declaretur, (prout nos nunc declaramus) nullam fuisse, aut esse talem obligantem consuetudinem.

Jejunia Devotionis.

Jejunia, ad quæ nemo obligatur ex præcepto, et tamen laudabiliter ex devotione a multis observari solent, sunt sequentia: nempe vigiliæ quatuor festivitatum B. Mariæ V. videlicet, purificationis, quæ ob honorem festi Stæ. Brigidæ V. pridie ejus diei observari solet. Annunciationis, si extra hebdomadam paschalem inciderit, Nativitatis, et conceptionis; et feriæ sextæ per annum. Monemus sacerdotes omnes, ut his jejuniorum diebus, corrigant, quantum poterunt, et modestè reprehendant abusum exquisitarum et superfluarum collationum.

Abstinentiæ.

Dies, quibus ex ecclesiæ consuetudine obligantur a carnibus abstinere fideles, sunt, omnes feriæ sextæ, sabbata per annum, nisi in Nativitate Domini, feria 2da, 3tia, et 4ta, Rogationum, i. e. feria 2da, 3tia et 4ta, quæ immediate præcedunt Ascensionem Domini. Dies etiam Sti. Marci Euangelistæ: nisi infra hebdomadam paschalem, aut in dominicam inciderit; quia tunc ejus abstinencia eo anno cessat.

De Observatione et Executione harum Constitutionum.

Curent quam diligentissime Ordinarii locorum, et alii, ad quos id spectat, ut hæ constitutiones quamprimum executioni demandentur, et ab omnibus sibi subjectis observentur, prout superioribus rationem sunt reddituri: utque præsens congregatio, ad gloriam Dei omnipotentis cæpta, cum ejusdem laude, et gratiarum actione finiatur, atque in ea decreta (eodem Domino adjuvante) optatum sortiantur effectum; volumus, ut a singulis sacerdotibus per totam nostram provinciam, quatuor missæ celebrentur: prima, pro sua Sanctitate, ac statu universalis ecclesiæ; secunda, pro illustrissimo domino nostro metropolitano, ac pro statu hujus provinciæ; tertia, pro pace, et tranquillitate reipublicæ, et libertate Catholicorum; quarta, pro omnibus hic assistentibus, hujusque congregationis benefactoribus specialibus.

Declaramus, ex modo sedendi, aut incedendi, aut ex quibuscunque actibus in hac congregatione gestis, aut habitis, aut ex ordine, quo eorum, qui interfuerunt, nomina hic subjiciuntur, nullum fieri præjudicium dignitati, juri, aut præminentiæ, vel præcedentiæ sedium admodum dominorum episcoporum, au loco, vel dignitati aliorum quorumcunque; sed omnia eorum jura, et prærogativas, salvas et illæsas esse, atque in eodem permanere statu, prout ante congregationem erant.

No. XXIII. Page 400.

Acta, Conventa, et Ordinata in Concilio Provinciali, habito in parochia de Tyrchogir, in Dicecesi Kildariensi, sub Illustrissimo Domino Fratre Thoma Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, ejusque Suffraganeis, quorum nomina subscribuntur.

Quandoquidem ea pastoralis nostri muneris ratio sit, ut gregem Dei nostræ curæ commissum, ea mente, zelo, ac puritate pascamus, sicuti pasci jubet pas-

torum princeps: pascite, qui in vobis est, gregem Dei; providentes non coacte, sed spontanee secundum Deum; neque turpis lucri gratia, sed voluntarie; neque ut dominantes in cleris, sed forma facti gregis ex animo &c.; nostrum esse censuimus, secundum Deum, et hoc non dominantes in clero, sed summo, paternoque affectu (quantum in nostra potestate est) canones, ecclesiæque sanctiones sequendo, pro temporis, locique conditione, constitutiones, actaque sequentia ordinare, quibus subditi sollicitudini nostræ pastores directi, disciplinæ ac morum rationem nobis reddere queant; nos autem de pastoralis nostro munere justos calculos Deo ponere valeamus.

1. Servetur uniformitas a pastoribus provinciæ in sacramentorum administratione, et disciplinâ ecclesiastica; et pro matrimoniis circumspectius contrahendis, volumus, et ordinamus, ut fiant tres denunciationes tribus festivis diebus juxta Concilium Tridentinum; et si requiri debeat dispensatio in bannis cum incolis diversarum diœcesium, requiri debet ab ordinariis* utriusque diœcesis. Parochus vero omittens bannas, seu earum aliquam, puniatur prima vice, mulctâ 10 solidorum, secundâ vice, mulctâ 20 solidorum, tertiâ vice, suspendatur.

2. Nullus Ordinarius dispenset in matrimonii impedimentis cum subditis alterius Ordinarii, sine approbatione, et postulatione proprii Ordinarii.

3. Nullus Ordinarius communicet facultates alterius diœcesis sacerdotibus nisi cum consensu Ordinarii diœcesis, in qua habitat petens facultates.

4. Volumus, et ordinamus, ut nullus sacerdos conjungat matrimonio eos, qui sunt alterius parochiæ, absque consensu proprii pastoris, aut Ordinarii, idque sub pena suspensionis ipso facto incurrendæ.

5. Volumus, et ordinamus, ut quicumque Catholicus percipiens decimas, aut quoscunque redditus ecclesiasticos, pendat Ordinario de perceptis partem vigesimam; de percipiendis partem decimam: contrarium vero facientes, puniantur ex arbitrio Ordinarii. Insuper volumus, ut omnes provinciæ nostræ confessarii hoc notificent suis pœnitentibus.

6. Volumus, et ordinamus, ut monasteria desolata subiaceant visitationi et omnimodæ correctioni Ordinarii; et ut dispensatio in redditibus dictorum monasteriorum pertineat ad proprium Ordinarium.

7. Declaramus, quod nec jure, nec privilegio, nec consuetudine, regularibus administrare liceat viaticum, Extremam unctionem, aut Baptismi sacramentum, vel matrimonium solemnizare, absque consensu parochi, aut Ordinarii.

8. Volumus, et ordinamus, ut capellani nobilium non administrent viaticum, Extremam unctionem, Baptismi Sacramentum, neque Matrimonium solemnizent, absque consensu parochi; et contrarium faciens reddet parochi totum lucrum inde perceptum, et insuper puniatur ad arbitrium Ordinarii.

9. Declaramus, quod sacerdotes in hac provinciâ animarum curam habentes, sint veri pastores, et tales vocandi.

10. Declaramus, quod venerabilis D. Gulielmus Devoreux ab Illustrissimo Domino Dublinensi, Vicarius Ecclesiæ Fernensis constitutus, sit vere Ordinarius intentus, et intellectus, in facultate administrandi omnia sacramenta (exceptis Confirmatione, et sacris Ordinibus) missionariis Hiberniæ concessa, prout dicta facultas intellecta est, et moderata a sacra Congregatione Cardinalium annis abhinc circiter 18.

* See Eccl. Record for May, 1865, page 391.

11. Cum id vel imprimis episcopis, et ordinariis incumbat, ut parochiis de pastoribus litteratis provisum sit; hinc pars non exigua est nostrae curae, ut ad seminariorum nostrae gentis regimen, disciplinam, et præservationem attendamus; utque in eis servetur æqualitas in scholaribus admittendis, et educandis: cum enim dicta seminaria, seu collegia, erecta fuerint in commune bonum ecclesiæ, ac nationis Hiberniæ, et pro continuanda litteratorum pastorum successionem, fas est, ut (nobis id serio meditantibus) justitia fiat omnibus provinciis, in operariis pro vinea Domini educandis.

Cum igitur nobis non obscure constet, dictam æqualitatem in scholaribus admittendis non esse in quibusdam nostrae gentis seminariis servatam; visum est rationi, nostræque curæ consentaneum, quamprimum litteras ad eos destinare, qui hujusmodi in seminariis deordinationi, et inæqualitati remedium possunt adhibere.

12. Non tantum hæc statuta, et constitutiones hujus nostri concilii provincialis, sed insuper omnia acta, conventa et decreta concilii provincialis, Kilkeniæ habiti die 22^{do} Jnii. 1614,* sub Illustrissimo Domino Eugenio Mattheo piæ memoriæ Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, quæ postea confirmata sunt in concilio provinciali habito Dublinii sub præsentī metropolitano, hoc etiam concilio confirmamus, stabilimus, et innovamus.

F. THOMAS, Archiepiscopus Dublinensis.

DAVID, Ossoriensis.

ROCHUS, Kildariensis.

GULIELMUS DEVOREUX, Vicarius Fernensis.

LAUS DEO, VIRGINIQUE MARLÆ.†

No. XXIV.

Epitaph of Most Rev. Eugene Matthews, Archbishop of Dublin.

This volume was already in type, when we were fortunate enough to meet with the original epitaph which marked the last resting-place of the illustrious Archbishop Matthews.

Near the summit of the Janiculum, in the city of Rome, stands the well-known church of St. Pietro-in-Montorio. It contains many treasures of art, and its paintings recall the names of Raffaele, Michel Angelo, Pinturricchio, Vasari, and other great masters. More dear to the Christian pilgrim is the adjoining shrine, which guards the clay in which was set the cross of the Prince of the Apostles.

It was in this church that the last princes of Tyrone and Tyrconnel were interred. In the second row of tombs with which the pavement of the church is lined, the Irish traveller will find, without difficulty, the epitaph of Hugh baron of Dungannon, who died in September, 1609, and of the two O'Donnells, who died in the autumn of 1608. It is known that Hugh O'Neil, earl of

* In the printed copies this date was changed in these and the statutes of Dr. Matthews, into 1624, at which date Dr. Matthews was already dead, as appears from the following Appendix, No. XXIV.

† In the MS. Per me P. Russell.

Tyrone, was also interred here ; but hitherto his tomb has been sought for in vain. The archives of the adjoining monastery, however, have at length come to our aid. The last great Irish chieftain expired in the Palazzo Salviati, on the 20th of July, 1616, and the register of San Pietro-in-Montorio marks the 24th of July, 1616, as the day on which his remains were, with princely pomp, laid within its vaults. This same register further tells us that his epitaph, now wholly obliterated, held *the first place in the third row* of tombs which mark the pavement of the church, and that it consisted of the simple record—

D. O. M.
HIC QUIESCUNT OSSA
HUGONIS PRINCIPIS O'NEILL.

It was alongside the tomb of Hugh O'Neill that Eugene Matthews, archbishop of Dublin, reposed in death. His epitaph, says the register of the church, holds *the second place in the third row of tombs*. The slab which corresponds with this indication, now only retains some faint traces of letters here and there, it being impossible to decipher even one word of its original inscription. Here again the church register comes to our aid ; it tells us that the following was the inscription on Dr. Matthews' tomb :—

D. O. M.
EUGENIO MATTHEI, ARCHIEPISCOPO DUBLINENSI,
DOCTRINÆ CLARITATE NATALIUM SPLENDORE,
FIDE IN DEUM PIETATE IN PATRIAM SINGULARI
QUI POSTQUAM SOLLICITI PASTORIS,
DIUTURNO AC DIFFICILI TEMPORE IN HIBERNIA,
NUMEROS OMNES ADIMPLESSET,
SUB GREGORIO XV., ROMAM VENIT,
UBI AB OPTIMO PONTIFICE BENIGNE HABITUS,
DUM PATRIÆ SUÆ NEGOTIA PROMOVERET,
EXTREMUM DIEM CLAUSIT KAL. SEPT. 1623.

Thus, as Dr. Matthews was closely allied by blood with the families of Tyrone and Tyrconnel ; as he, in youth, shared with them the perils of the Catholic camp ; as, when bishop of Clogher, he enjoyed with them the hospitality of the great pontiff, Paul V., in the Salviati Palace, Rome ; so was he destined to be united with them in death, and to repose with them beneath the shadow of St. Peter's dome, amidst the sanctuaries and shrines of the Eternal City. We cannot better conclude than with the words of the Four Masters, when registering the death of Hugh O'Neill—" Although he died far distant from Armagh, the burial-place of his ancestors, it was a manifestation that God was pleased with his life ; for the place in which God granted him to be buried was Rome, the capital of the Christians."

HISTORY OF ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN.

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* The question of the succession of the Catholic Bishops, in almost every see in Ireland, is examined with great accuracy and erudition in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, printed by Mr. Fowler, 3, Crow-street. These articles supply a complete answer to the theories of Dr. Todd on this subject, and to the reckless assertions of Mr. Whiteside and others, who, like him, discuss Irish ecclesiastical matters of which they have no knowledge whatever.

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As the author could not correct the press, some mistakes may have crept in, which will be mentioned in the second volume. We give the following corrections for the present :—

Page 67, line antepenultima, *for* Preface *read* Appendix.

„ 90, The three lines placed before the Note should be placed
at the end of it.

„	116,	line	24,	<i>for</i>	Limerick	<i>read</i>	Smerwick.
„	188,	„	20,	„	1569	„	157 ⁸ ₉ .
„	308,	„	17,	„	Charles II.	„	Charles I.
„	424,	„	34,	„	1850	„	1580.

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