

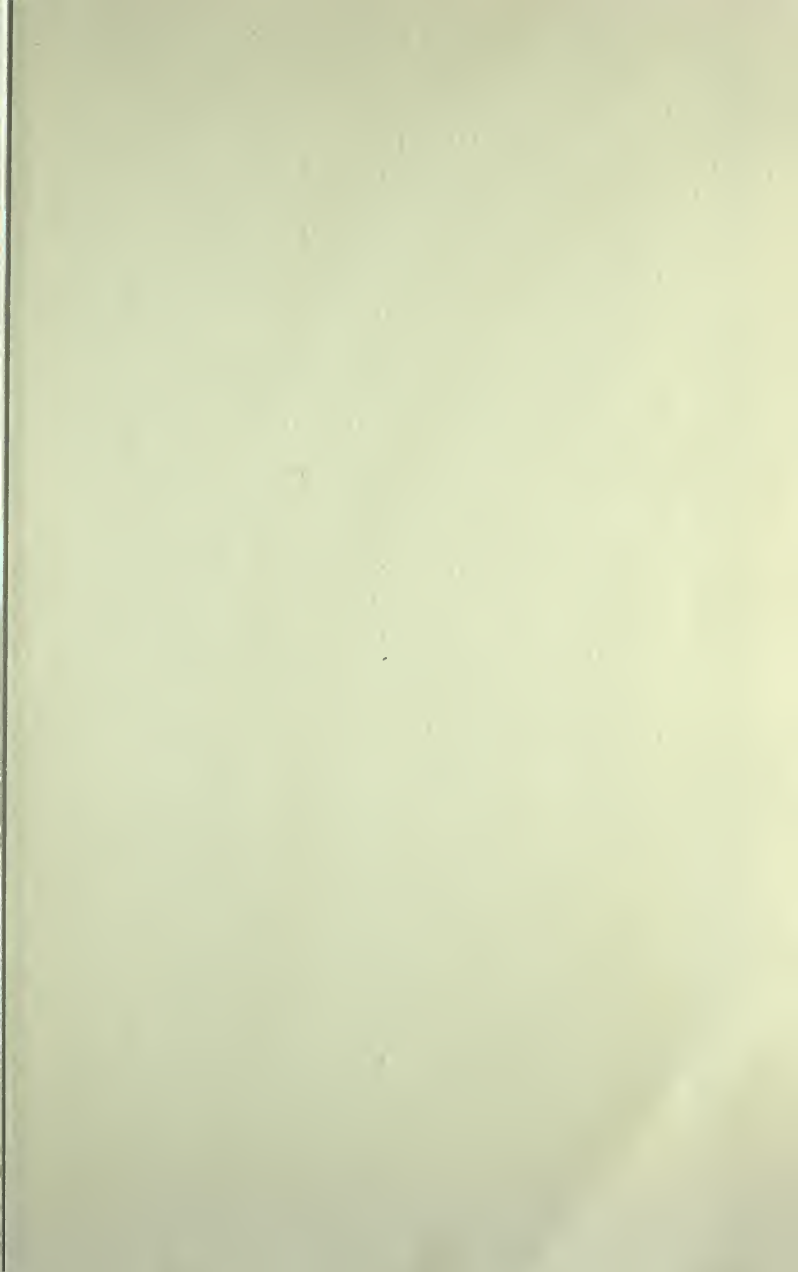
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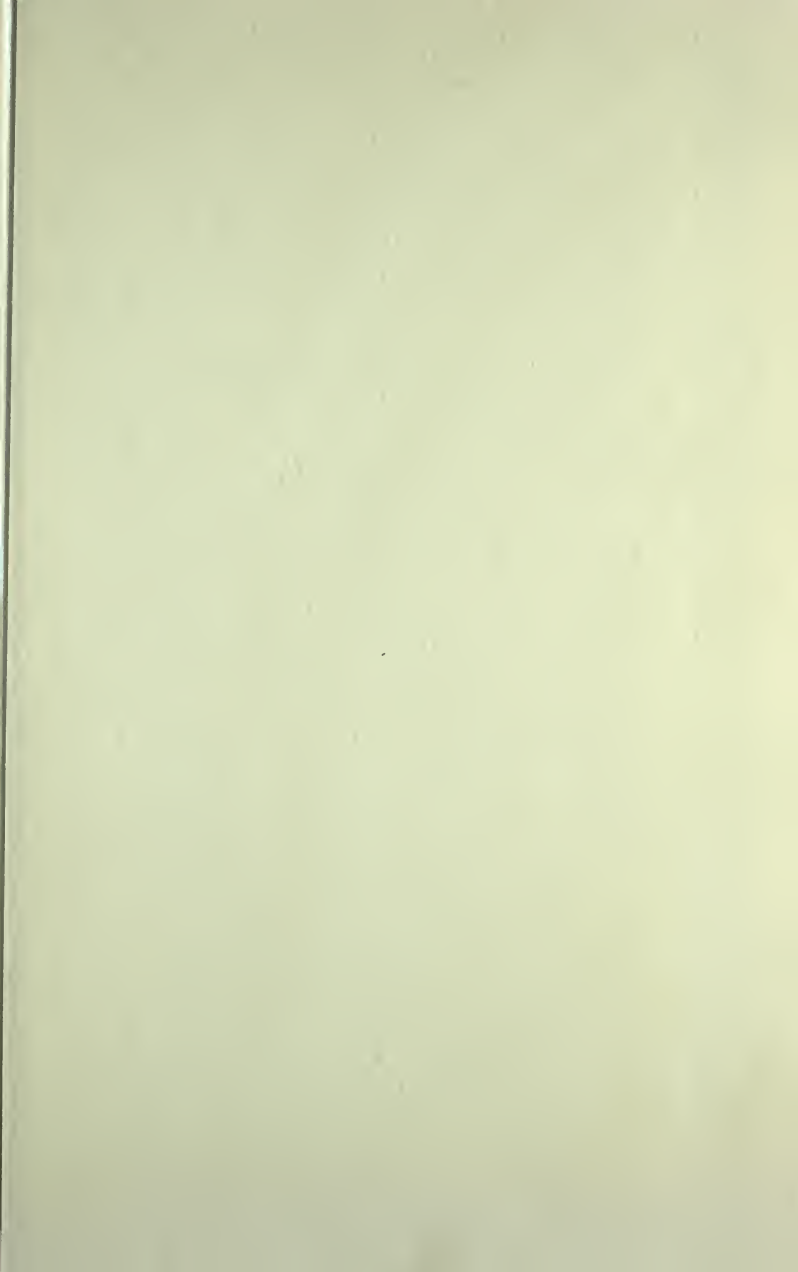


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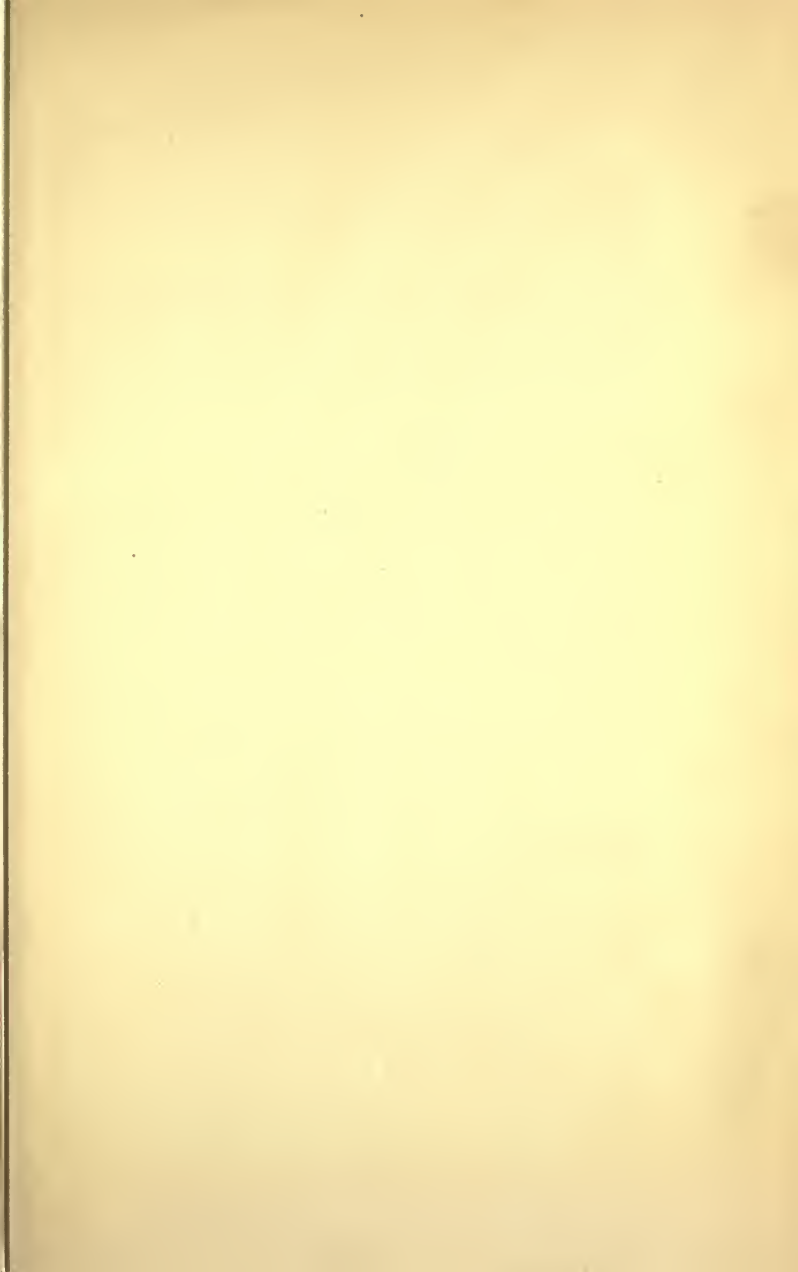


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BY
W. MAZIERE BRADY, D.D.,

VICAR OF DONOGHPATRICK AND RECTOR OF KILBERRY, DIOCESE OF MEATH; AND FORMERLY CHAPLAIN TO THE
EARLS OF CLARENDON, ST. GERMAN, AND CARLISLE, LORDS LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND;

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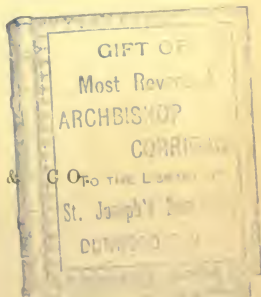
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PREFACE.

To men of candid minds it will not be necessary to offer an apology for speaking the truth. To some persons, however, the following pages may seem an attempt to undermine and demolish what they have hitherto regarded as one of the bulwarks of the Established Church in Ireland. It becomes necessary therefore to explain the reasons and motives which have induced the author to publish that which might appear hostile to the Church of which he is an ordained and beneficed minister. In collecting materials for the "Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross," the writer was necessarily engaged, for many years, in examining the published works and unpublished archives relating to the Reformation period, and could not fail to remark that no documentary evidence was forthcoming to verify the received opinions touching the asserted conversion of the Irish Bishops, and the descent of the reformed episcopate from the ancient Irish Church. Failing to discover in this country any proofs of the asserted facts, and knowing that a search amongst Continental and especially Roman records, would be the most likely means of obtaining accurate information on the subject, the author resolved to seek admission to the archives at Rome, which he had reason to believe would supply many details relating to Irish bishops, in addition to what WARE, HARRIS, and COTTON have published, and might even fill up the too frequent interruptions which occur in the successions to the various sees, as recorded in the pages of those painstaking and judicious antiquaries. Upon making inquiries, with this object in view, he found that other persons, possessing far greater advantages for this purpose than himself, had already in part accomplished the work, and were likely to complete it satisfactorily. The results of the researches of one of these gentlemen, a distinguished archivist named Theiner, have lately been published. They come down to the date 1547. The other labourer in the same field, Dr. Moran—sometime Vice-Rector of the Irish College at Rome—kindly permitted the author to use his yet unpublished transcripts from the Roman archives, which exhibit the succession in the Irish sees during the remainder of the sixteenth century. It is presumed that the accuracy and fidelity of Theiner and Dr. Moran, in the matter of transcribing those records, are above

suspicion. If, however, any Protestants should be so prejudiced as to refuse to receive evidence derived from such sources, or should venture to disparage it, they ought to remember that upon them lies the *onus probandi*, and that, until they can themselves bring forward evidence in support of an assertion which is *primâ facie* improbable they ought not to expect any rational man to believe that the Irish Established Church can fairly claim a more unbroken succession than that of the English Church.

To those who, without being prepared to impeach the good faith of the authorities adduced, wish for further information, it will be satisfactory to learn that in many instances their evidence is verified by independent and indirect testimony from manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the State Paper Office. Such inquirers after truth will probably attach much weight to the deliberately pronounced decision of Mr. Froude, the historian of England, whose opportunities for forming an impartial judgment have been singularly favourable, and whose evidence, as quoted hereafter, fully bears out the conclusion at which the author had long since arrived.

It would be an unmanly and almost a dishonest course on the part of the writer to conceal the facts thus ascertained, and allow the stereotyped assertions to be any longer employed, without refutation, as weapons of party warfare. If the Church in Ireland is to be preserved, that cannot be done by stifling and suppressing the truth, and it is better that an admission of error should come from within the Church itself, than that the charge of its being upheld by falsehood should be hurled against it, with more damaging force, by hostile hands. Under these circumstances, the author hopes he may be pardoned for the part he now takes in contradicting what has been described to him, by perhaps the highest living authority, as "the most impudent falsehood in all history."

DONOGHPATRICK, NAVAN,
July, 1866.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN this, as in former editions, the disproof of the alleged conversion of the Irish bishops at the accession of Elizabeth, and of the assumed descent of the present Established Hierarchy in Ireland from the ancient Irish church, has been treated entirely without reference to matters of doctrine, and as a question of history and morals alone. No topic affecting the articles of the Anglican faith has been introduced, and care has been taken, it is hoped successfully, not to offend Roman Catholics by wanton attacks upon their church, although in quoting from the State Papers it was impossible to avoid repeating expressions which every one in these days must acknowledge to be needlessly offensive. It has been assumed, as a fact which Roman Catholics will not dispute, that the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland from the year 1560 to the present century have never been lawful bishops in the parliamentary sense, as they never had the direct sanction and protection of acts of parliament, nor possessed any status by virtue of English law in Ireland. Measured by the standard of that law they were, and are still, confessedly intrusive prelates, but intrusive they are not in the estimation of that Irish people which has ever adhered to them in spite of the English laws, and in spite of the penalties inflicted upon their persistent adherence to the Roman Catholic religion.

It has also been assumed, as a fact which it does not here concern Protestants to discuss, that Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland from the Reformation to the present day, although not lawful bishops in the eye of the English law, have been *de facto* bishops in the estimation of the Irish people, and bishops *de jure* according to the law of the Roman church. If occasional foreign consecrations and consecrations by a single bishop be considered to invalidate their ecclesiastical position, it must be remembered that such things were common in the ancient Irish church, as has been abundantly shewn by Dr. Todd, as well as in most parts of Christendom.

As it has been asserted, in the *Contemporary Review* for November, 1866, by Dean M'Donnell, of Cashel, that "in the reign of James I. the Roman Catholic Hierarchy was reduced to a single prelate—Ryan of Killaloe," it has been thought useful to give a brief account of the Roman Catholic episcopate in Ireland during the three centuries which have elapsed since the accession of Elizabeth. This has been done with great minuteness in the case of the four metropolitan sees, in which the Anglican and the Roman Catholic successions have been arranged side by side. In the other sees the successions of Roman Catholic bishops have been given, but without the particularity of dates observed in the case of the Archbishoprics. These dates of the accessions and deaths of Irish Roman Catholic prelates have been taken from the manuscripts of the late Dr. Renehan, President of Maynooth, revised for the author by the Rev. Dr. M'Carthy, the editor of Dr. Kelly's "Dissertations on Irish Church History," and of Dr. Renehan's "Collections." Many of the dates, it will be observed, given in the tables of the Roman Catholic successions to simple bishoprics are merely dates of the years in which certain bishops are known, from De Burgo and others, to have been sitting in their sees, and not of the years in which they succeeded or vacated. It is probable that future enquiry will fill up many defects and vacancies in these tables. In the case of these dates of Roman Catholic successions, and especially in the case of archbishoprics, care has been taken to notice any difference between the dates given by the Renehan Papers and those from Dr. Moran's works. In the case of Armagh the dates have often been taken from Stuart, a Protestant authority, and in some instances the State Papers have decided conflicting evidences. That the successions of Roman Catholic bishops have not hitherto been accurately recorded by Roman Catholics themselves will appear less surprising to Protestants, when it is remembered that Irish Roman Catholics, since the accession of Elizabeth, possessed in their native land no diocesan registries and no public offices, protected by the State, wherein to preserve consecration and other records. The possession of such documents would, for a long series of years, have exposed the

owners to imprisonment, exile, or even death. The zeal of the religious orders has preserved, in the Dominican and Franciscan annals, most of what is known concerning many Roman Catholic prelates. An examination of the succession tables now published will show that at no time whatever, since the year 1558, was the Irish Roman Catholic Hierarchy reduced to a single prelate.

At the accession of James I., when it was asserted [Church Institution Pamphlet on "the Irish Episcopal Succession," p. 69], that "the Irish Roman Catholic Episcopate was reduced to two bishops, and they were living abroad," there were living—besides Oviedo, of Dublin, and O'Melrian, of Killaloe—Archbishop Lombard, of Armagh, and the Bishops of Kilmore, Down, Raphoe, Cork, and Achonry. There may have been periods when, in consequence of the penal laws, only two or three Roman Catholic bishops were known to be resident in Ireland, for they frequently had to conceal themselves in secure hiding places or to fly for refuge to the continent. When the Protestant episcopal succession is similarly examined, it will be found that at one period the Anglican hierarchy, resident in Ireland, was reduced to almost a single prelate. It is worth remarking that although many Roman Catholic prelates were tortured and hanged, or slain in battle by the English, since the year 1558, yet not a single Anglican prelate was either tortured or put to death by the Irish Roman Catholics when they obtained power, whether in the reign of Mary, of James, or even during the civil wars of Charles I. The Roman Catholic bishops possessed courage enough to exercise their functions in Ireland in periods of danger, and to meet death on the scaffold with a bravery which, if exhibited in the cause of the Reformed faith, would have given them a conspicuous place in the list of Protestant martyrs.

But Roman Catholic prelates have had the misfortune to bear, not only the poverty and persecution which the penal laws inflicted in past years, but also the calumnies which prejudiced writers of Irish Church history have invented, and which are repeated at present for party purposes. These Roman Catholic prelates were stigmatized as rebels, but they were rebels in no

dishonourable sense. They were required by the English monarch to renounce their faith and to cease to teach the doctrines of their church, to reject the Mass and abjure the Pope, the earthly head of their church. The law made their existence and vocation a crime, and they resisted the law and conspired against the Government which presented them the alternative of exile or conformity. They held fast to the Pope and their church, and suffered for so doing. But they do not therefore deserve to be held up to odium as "vile and vicious persons, unlearned, being murderers, thieves, and of other detestable dispositions," nor do they deserve the description which has been lately given them by the English "Church Institution." In pages 15 and 16 of a pamphlet—written by Dr. A. Lee and "published for the Church Institution, by Rivingtons," London, 1867—occurs what Dr. Lee calls "a characteristic description of those Irish Priests, who in the days of Elizabeth and James I. flocked to Rome to obtain mitres and benefices in Ireland." This description—which is said to be taken from Peter Lombard, but was really written by a far different author, Dr. O'Connor, or "Columbanus ad Hibernos"—is given as follows by the Church Institution :—

"They are," says Peter Lombard, titular Primate of Armagh (from 1601 to 1625) "of *the very vilest classes of our people*; men who obtain preferment by every species of low cunning, drivelling sycophancy, and hypocrisy. They come carrying their shoes and stockings in their hands, over Alps and Appennines, *illotis pedibus, on pretence of persecution* or of pilgrimage to Rome, from the most barbarous parts of Ireland—ignorant, clownish, vile fellows, whose manners are utterly disgusting to all who see them, from their base servility and uncouthness of garb and address. When they arrive in Rome, they do not employ themselves in learning, but pass their days in scheming amongst each other how they may obtain bulls of presentation to livings and preferments at home; and as soon as they succeed in obtaining a title to a benefice, they run back to Ireland; commence a lawsuit for possession, in virtue of the briefs obtained at Rome, and having finally succeeded, after a scandalous litigation, instead of attending their Dioceses, they

travel into Spain, France, and Germany, *on pretence of persecution* at home; and their whole study consists in soliciting pensions from the foreign Courts, to enable them forsooth to live abroad on a footing of grandeur suitable to the episcopal dignity, which they have obtained by sycophancy, intriguing, and adulation. This is extremely prejudicial to our country, and disgraceful to us in foreign parts, as well as disgusting to our own (Roman) Catholic nobility at home; because those bishops are appointed without any regard to the elections or recommendations of our gentry or clergy, but against the express desire of both.”—Peter Lombard, “*Commentarius de Regno Hiberniæ*,” p. 296, Lovan. 1632, quoted in *King’s Irish Church History*, p. 908. Perhaps the injustice of ascribing the authorship of the foregoing alleged quotation to Peter Lombard will appear sufficiently if it be compared with the words of Lombard himself in the original Latin, accompanied by an English translation:—

“Ex vitiis quibusdam præsertim rudioris institutionis et conversationis incivilis, notatis ab externis nationibus, in Hibernis aliquot, etiam sacerdotibus. Quod ut particularius demonstretur, sciendum est, quod dum Praefecti Angli regionem hanc et Catholicam in eam religionem iis modis quibus antea declaratum est, opprimunt et oppugnant; plures ex indigenis, relicto natali solo, contulerunt se ad externas regiones, alii sponte sua, alii a parentibus et amicis destinati, ut in Catholicis Universitatibus, præsertim Belgii, Galliae, et demum Hispaniæ, in litteris et religione solidius ac securius

“Some faults chiefly of defective education and of incivility of manner, have been noticed by foreigners to belong to some Irishmen, and even to some Irish priests. To explain how this has happened, it must be remembered that the English governors continue to oppress Ireland and oppose the Catholic religion in the ways before mentioned, and that, in consequence, many of the inhabitants, of their own accord, or at the solicitation of their parents and friends, leave their native land, and seek in the Catholic Universities of Belgium, France, and even Spain, instruction in religion and

instruerentur. Successit hoc in plerisque admodum feliciter, adeo ut multi ex iis, qui sic bene instituti, postea ordinati Presbyteri, quidam etiam Romae Episcopi consecrati, in patriam reversi, insignem ibi fructum fecerint, uti antea indicatum, homines passim verbo suo et exemplo instituendo, et iis quae ad Catholicam fidem et ad Christianam vitam pertinent: sed una prodierant etiam alij et quidem sacerdotes, aliqui ex minus cultis Hiberniae partibus, qui, cum essent scientiarum expertes, moribus incompositi, in conversatione rudes, ac proinde graves omnibus melioris educationis, quibuscum convivebant aut tractabant, mala sorte suae patriae, statim accurrerunt ad orbis Speculam Urbem Romanam, ubi, non aliquibus addiscendis nec imbibendis bonis moribus se dederunt, sed uti advenerunt illotis pedibus et, verendum, etiam manibus, si non et ipso capite, ingesserunt se expiscandis Beneficiorum titulis, quorum, cum certo modo impetrarent provisionem, ad eorum possessionem obtinendam, lites postea scandalosas in patria moverunt. Nec quibusvis contenti beneficiis, etiam ad primas Dignitates, adeoque ipsos Hiberniae Episcopatus

literature. This has, in most cases, been attended with happy results, for many of those persons, so educated, who have been ordained priests, and some who have been consecrated bishops at Rome, on returning to their country, have there produced glorious fruit by teaching the people, by word and example, the things which pertain to the Catholic faith and to Christian life. But, from the less civilized parts of Ireland, went forth also other persons, some of whom were even priests, but who had no learning or manners, and whose ignorant conduct was not such as to recommend them to those of superior education, with whom they might chance to have dealings. These persons, unhappily for their country, went straight to Rome, but not to acquire knowledge or manners; and, as they arrived there, with feet, and it is to be feared, with hands and even head unwashed, betook themselves to seeking titles to benefices; and, afterwards, having gained provisional appointments, commenced law-suits at home for immediate possession. And not content with benefices, they spread their nets to catch the chief dignities

aucupandos retia sua tendebant. Quod cum iis pro voto nonnunquam successisset, consecrati Episcopi postea, vel non sunt in patriam profecti (quod tamen polliciti erant) vel, ea quasi in limine salutata, statim sunt reversi, metu seu praetextu persecutionis, et partim, circumvagantes per alias regiones, partim in Hispania desidentes, totam, quae de ipsis erat, expectationem converterunt in sollicitationes pensionum, quibus scilicet, secundum dignitatem sui gradus, possent ibi degere. Horum igitur Presbyterorum et Episcoporum, *tametsi ii pauci*, cum mores et decursus vitae passim essent noti, imo et notati multum, in iis praecipue locis, unde auxilia expectari poterant, sive spiritualia sive temporalia, ad Hiberniae liberationem, id sine dubio in eorum animis, qui facile possent ea praebere et alioqui et etiam forte vellent, cum abiectum de natione hac iudicium, tum minus promptum in eam affectum, videtur inseuisse. Quod ipsa tamen natio sine ullo accessisse merito, audet plane affirmare, quippe quae non tantum non probavit ejusmodi hominum promotiones, sed et optavit ut non fierent, et quando factas intellexit, indoluit et ingemuit; praesertim cum tot

in Ireland, even the very bishoprics. When success, in some instances, gratified their desires, they either neglected, after consecration, to fulfil their promise of returning to Ireland, or, perhaps, they merely paid it a visit, and then left it through fear or pretence of persecution. Afterwards, wandering through various countries, or lingering idly in Spain, they turned all their attention to soliciting pensions to enable them to live suitably to the dignity of their order. When the character and conduct of these priests and bishops, albeit they were few, became widely known, and, unfortunately, they became well known in those places chiefly where spiritual or temporal aid towards the liberation of Ireland was to be expected, there was, undoubtedly, produced a low estimate of the Irish nation, and a less cordial disposition towards it, in the minds of the very persons who had the power, and who, perhaps, otherwise would have had the will, to afford it help. But the Irish nation may plainly say, that this misfortune happened through no fault of Ireland, which did not seek, but rather protested against the promotion of per-

haberet alios, qui in prædictis Universitatibus optime instituti, multo magis idonei essent. Ex quibus, qui sunt assumpti, illi sine ullius ex iis, aut lapsu aut scandalo, probati sunt ætatis huius, uti etiam antea dictum est, constantissimi Confessores vel Martyres fortissimi. Quorum proinde merita, cum multo magis ponderanda sint, quam *paucorum quorundam vitia* quales in omni gente facile est ut inveniantur, ex illis potius quam ex istis, de hac natione et informandum iudicium et affectus in eam confirmandus.”

sons of that kind, before they were appointed, and afterwards, when the appointments became known, grieved and sorrowed. And, Ireland had the more cause to grieve, because she had so many other and worthier sons, educated in the before-mentioned Universities, and of whom all, who were promoted, were guiltless of any lapse or scandal, and proved themselves to be, as heretofore noted, the most constant Confessors, or else the bravest martyrs whom this age produced. And, as their merits are of far greater weight than the vices of some few individuals of a description easy to find in any country, so should the former, rather than the latter, be chosen as a guide for forming and confirming a favourable estimate of the Irish nation.”

It is now easy to see that Lombard's observations were applied to a very small and exceptional number of his contemporary bishops. It also appears that Lombard used no words which can be rendered into “drivelling sycophancy,” “carrying shoes and stockings in their hands over Alps and Appennines,” “base servility,” and “disgusting to our own Catholic nobility at home.” In fact, the application of such a description to the Roman Catholic episcopate is just as unreasonable as it would be to apply to the Reformed episcopate generally the very severe language which Bishop Mant and others have used when recording the fraudulent misappropriation of church property, and other immoralities of some Anglican bishops in Ireland.

The Church Institution has also made an elaborate attempt through Dr. Lee [pamphlet, pp. 43 to 48, and 77 to 85], to "show that Hugh Curwin was possessed of the old Irish succession, and therefore handed it on to those bishops whom he consecrated." This very erroneous statement is otherwise worded as "The episcopal descent of Archbishop Curwin by seven distinct lines of succession, from the old Irish episcopate."

It is, of course, evident that these "lines of succession," whether true or false, are useless either to prove the conversion of the Marian bishops, or to transmit the least title to represent the ancient church of Ireland. Through "similar lines of succession" the Anglican Church might, with equal absurdity, claim the right to be the representative of the church of France, or Spain, or Italy. But these lines of succession are inaccurate, as well as irrelevant, and a few remarks upon them may be useful, not only to prove their inaccuracy, but also to show the absurdity of the arguments by which the Church Institution tries to connect the modern Protestant episcopate of Ireland with the ancient Irish Church.

The first line of succession pretends to trace an Irish descent through Luke Dublin and John Ferns, who assisted at the consecration of Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1234. But these two bishops of Irish sees were the last two assisting prelates out of eleven then present. Their part in that consecration—omitting the question whether, according to the Roman ritual, assisting bishops are consecrators at all—may have been limited to holding a book or settling a cushion during the ceremony. Besides, they were Englishmen, and probably were themselves consecrated in England or in Rome by English or Italian bishops. That they were consecrated in Ireland by Irish bishops cannot be proved. Therefore they cannot be truly said to have had Irish orders to transmit. This first line of descent, not to notice a link which has been omitted by accident, is also defective in the year 1425, when William Lichfield is said to have consecrated John Bath. This William Lichfield is one of five *supposed assistant* consecrators whose names are printed by Stubbs in italics, to show that they are not drawn from any register, but are "careful deductions from evidence," or are in-

serted by "comparison of various records." [Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum. By Rev. W. Stubbs. Pp. 1 and 65.]

Line the second pretends to trace an Irish succession through Robert, Bishop of Clonfert, who is said to have consecrated, in 1322, Roger Lichfield. But this Robert cannot be proved to have been consecrated in Ireland or by any Irish bishops, and therefore cannot be said truly to have had Irish orders; besides, he was not Bishop of Clonfert in 1322, for he had been deprived of that see in 1321. He was not the principal consecrator of Roger Lichfield, but only the last of five assisting bishops.

Line the third pretends to trace an Irish succession through John Llandaff, who was originally consecrated to the see of Bethlehem, in Judea. Stubbs correctly records that John Llandaff was an assisting prelate at the consecration of Robert Sarum in 1330, which statement is altered by Dr. Lee, so as to make John of Connor consecrate Robert Sarum in 1322! It is clear that this John had no Irish orders to transmit, and was not possessed of even the title of an Irish see when he assisted at the consecration in question.

Line the fourth pretends to trace an Irish succession through John Bangor, who was an assisting prelate in 1382 at the consecration of Robert, Bishop of London. But this John was not possessed of the title of any Irish see at that time, and it cannot be proved, nor has it ever been asserted, that he was consecrated in Ireland, or by Irish bishops. He was English by birth, and was a friar in Norfolk.

Line the fifth pretends to trace a succession "from the old Irish Episcopate" through John, called by Dr. Lee Bishop of Down, who, in 1422, is said to have consecrated John, Bishop of Rochester. But no such name as John Down appears in Stubbs. John Dromore was an assisting prelate at that consecration, although at the time he was not bishop of Dromore, for he resigned that see in 1419. As the consecrators of this John are unknown, he cannot be said to have had Irish orders to transmit.

Line the sixth affects to trace an Irish succession through "Richard, Bishop of Ross," who, in 1444, is said to have consecrated Reginald St. Asaph. But the lawful Bishop of Ross in Ireland at that time, and the only one recorded by Ware and

Cotton, was Cornelius, who was consecrated in 1424, and died in 1448. The "Richard, Bishop of Ross," mentioned by Stubbs as the last of four assisting prelates at the consecration of Reginald in 1444, never was asserted to have possessed Irish orders.

Line the seventh pretends to trace an episcopal descent from the old Irish episcopate through Thomas Halsey, bishop of Leighlin, who, in 1519, assisted at the consecration of John, bishop of Exeter. This Thomas Halsey was an Englishman by birth, who lived much at Rome, where he was penitentiary of the English residents. He had no Irish orders; was not consecrated by Irish bishops, and never saw the diocese of Leighlin.

This Thomas Halsey is mentioned in a letter copied by the author out of the Rawlinson MSS., in the Bodleian, some years ago. The letter bears date the 17th of January, 1518, and was written from Rome by the Bishop of Worcester, who speaks of Halsey in terms of pity and contempt:—"Here is the Bishop of Leighlin, *als.* named Bishop Tho., and by his bishopric of Ireland hath nothing. The Cardinal of York, that was, with his fair promises caused him to take the habit of a bishop, saying that he would have provided for him of benefices, albeit he never had nothing for him; and likewise the Cardinal Adrian took him in his service, and also with fair promises deceived him, for that the poor bishop hath nothing save the penitentiaryship, of the which he may not live as a servant." [Rawlinson MSS., 484.]

An eighth line of descent is pretended to be traced through John, Bishop of Dromore, but this line is identical in its origin with the fifth line already noticed. This John was not bishop, but ex-bishop, of Dromore. His orders cannot be proved to have been Irish. Besides, the descent fails in 1425, for John Rochester, who then appears as one of five assisting bishops, is only a supposed link, his name, as well as those of the other four assistants, being printed in italics by Stubbs.

The ninth line of descent, through Thomas Lancaster, if we suppose him to have been bishop of Kildare, and afterwards promoted to Armagh, will not give a descent from the old Irish episcopate. Lancaster was consecrated to Kildare by George Browne, and Browne was consecrated by the archbishop of

Canterbury, assisted by the bishops of Salisbury and Rochester. Lancaster was consecrated to Armagh in 1568, by Loftus Dublin, Hugh Meath, and Robert Daly, whose line of consecration merges in that of Curwin.

Dr. Lee observes that "many other lines of Irish succession might be traced if perfect records existed;" and in a note (pages 47-8) gives ten instances of Irish bishops assisting at English consecrations. Dr. Lee does not venture to trace an Irish descent through one of these consecrations, nor is it possible to do so with the least regard to truth or accuracy. Indeed, several of these alleged transmitters of Irish orders had no Irish orders to transmit, having been themselves consecrated by English or Italian bishops, and several were not in possession of the sees to which they are said to have belonged, at the periods quoted by Dr. Lee. Thus Richard, said to be bishop of Meath in 1249, had resigned that see in 1235, from scruples of conscience, and his consecrators are unknown. John, archbishop of Dublin in 1283, had English consecrators. Roland, erroneously called archbishop of Armagh in 1332 and 1333, had resigned Armagh in 1321, or, to speak plainly, was excommunicated for flogging his clergy, pawning his church plate, and repeated acts of incontinence. He was not capable of transmitting Irish orders for another reason, namely, that he had been himself consecrated in Italy. John, Bishop of Ossory, in 1363, was consecrated "per Raymundum Penestrinum Episcopum" and other Italian bishops. The consecrators of Simon, bishop of Achonry; of Robert, bishop of Cork; and of Robert, said to be bishop of Down in 1541, are unknown. Thomas, called bishop of Ardfert in 1474, was not bishop of that see, for John Stack was the lawful bishop, and John Pigg was a claimant of Ardfert at that time.

It is clear that all these pretended "lines of descent" of Dr. Lee are useless to prove the asserted conversion of the Marian bishops in 1558. It is also clear that those "descents" do not reach higher than the year 1234, at which time the old Irish hierarchy, according to Dr. Todd, had disappeared. Dr. Lee, therefore, draws his proofs of a descent "from the old Irish Episcopate," out of a church which, he has asserted, "cer-

tainly ignored the old Irish Church, and the succession of St. Patrick."

A great many other irrelevant topics have been employed by various writers, who endeavour to support the old assertions to which they have long given credence. Thus circumcision, differences of race, Magna Charta, passages of Holy Scripture, Sir Armoric de S. Laurence, and Thermopylæ, have all found a place in the "Answer" written by one archdeacon in reply to the former editions of this treatise. The Canon and Parliamentary law, and repetitions of the unsupported statements of Mant, Bramhall, Elrington, and King, form the staple of other "Strictures" and "Remarks." In fact, the efforts of the author's opponents have been directed to prove by indirect methods a point which would not, if proved, affect the question at issue. For evidence, which might possibly induce a belief that Curwin had one or two bishops to assist him in his consecrations, will neither prove that those assistant bishops were lawful bishops of the Irish church nor that they had themselves Irish orders to transmit. Magennis of Down, who was consecrated at Rome, and Bodkin, consecrated in France, even supposing it could be shown that they acted as assistants to Curwin, yet had as little claim to Irish orders as Curwin himself.

It is a remarkable circumstance, and one the importance of which will not escape the intelligent reader, that the very learned and distinguished persons who have issued pamphlets and written letters in newspapers and articles in the Contemporary Review against the author, have, unconsciously to themselves, perhaps, altogether changed their ground. Their present allegation that one or two Marian bishops *may*, possibly, have consecrated Protestant bishops in Elizabeth's reign, is wholly different from their former confident assertion that all but two conformed. These writers have not adduced a single passage from the State Papers, which makes the slightest allusion to the asserted conversion of the Marian bishops, nor a single document to prove their participation in an Elizabethan consecration. But they persist in saying that Irish bishops, some of whom beyond doubt neither recognised Elizabeth's authority in civil or ecclesiastical matters, were scrupulous in obeying acts of

parliament which the Queen herself seems to have disregarded and suffered to lie dormant on many occasions. And they persist in maintaining that the Queen's power, which confessedly was inadequate to compel the nobles and peasantry of the Pale to attend Protestant worship, was nevertheless strong enough, in parts beyond the Pale, where no English law was observed, to force the Marian Roman Catholic bishops to violate their principles by the consecration of Protestant prelates.

The fact that some of the Marian bishops acted on civil commissions for the Queen, and even—as appears by the Hanaper and Twentieth-parts Rolls, lately examined by the author with the kind permission of Mr. Hardinge—in some few instances acted as collectors of the sums due to the Treasury by the clergy, is perfectly consistent with what might, *a priori*, have been anticipated, viz., that some of the Marian prelates who were thus ready to serve Queen Elizabeth in modes which did not amount to what they regarded as apostacy, restricted their compliance to civil matters. This inference is further confirmed by the fact that no single document is producible to show that they acted on ecclesiastical commissions—albeit one or two of them were named in such commissions—or to shew their approval, in any way whatever, of the Reformed faith. It was thus that during the last century Roman Catholic priests notified to their flocks the day on which the Protestant clergyman was to call for his tithes, and that, at the present day, both in Ireland and other countries, the Roman Catholic clergy exercise important functions more or less connected with the Protestant Government, the *ecclesiastical* authority of which they of course repudiate. On these subjects it was not unnatural that misconceptions should have prevailed in past years, but they are dispelled by our more recent information. The following work includes abundant evidence to prove such facts as that Roman Catholic bishops received the Royal pardon and yet continued Roman Catholic—that they remained such although employed by the Queen in various ways—that when legally deprived by the Queen they continued to act as bishops and to rule their dioceses—that, notwithstanding, they were appointed by the Pope, and occasionally translated, censured, and absolved by

him—nay, that several of those supposed to have conformed, actually assisted at the Council of Trent. It appears that whereas Protestant writers have sometimes strangely confounded the oath of allegiance with that which asserted the Royal supremacy in things spiritual, some of those bishops who had no scruple in taking the former, were yet accounted as the most zealous Roman Catholics by their co-religionists. Very various opinions, doubtless, prevailed among the Roman Catholic bishops as to the Queen's claims on their civil obedience. It is probable that some of them pushed compliance as far as was possible without actually compromising their faith as Roman Catholics, while it is certain that the Queen was glad, on her part, to avail herself of their aid in those large parts of Ireland where her authority was but nominal. It was but by slow degrees that the laws, enacted at the beginning of her reign, could be practically carried out. Her authority was confessedly limited in her episcopal appointments by the power both of Norman nobles and Gaelic chiefs.

That Roman Catholics, who were so ready to impugn the validity of Parker's consecration in England, should have refrained from assailing the Curwin consecrations in Ireland, is easily explained. In England the nation conformed, and Roman Catholic controversialists attacked the English national church through what they supposed to be its weak points of detail ecclesiastical and theological. But the Irish nation did not conform; the Marian bishops did not become Protestants, nor did the clergy or people of Ireland accept the Protestant bishops or the Protestant church. Roman Catholics cared nothing for a national as distinct from a Roman Catholic succession; and the Anglican settlers, often Puritans, cared little for episcopal succession, whether Irish or foreign. The Roman Catholics had no great motives for proving their own episcopal succession, for they were charged, not with "irregularity," but with superstition and idolatry. The penal laws gave them more anxiety than any violations of the canons committed by Curwin. It was not their claim to the Irish episcopal succession that they had to defend, but their claim to be Christians and their right to live.

It is singular how much misapprehension on Irish ecclesiastical subjects continues to exist among persons who profess to study them.

Mr. Nugent, a writer in the *Contemporary Review*, for January, 1867, who attributes to Mr. Froude "a strange obliquity" and "an equally strange fatuity," and who himself entertains an equally strange belief that the Roman Propaganda existed in 1541 [Review, p. 449], and compares the Pope to an individual named Danaus,—["They feared Danaus even when he brought gifts." Review, p. 450],—has had "his long and deep research" duly commemorated by Archdeacon Stopford. In return for this compliment, Mr. Nugent, who, it is to be supposed, has not heard of Dr. Reeves, Dr. Todd, or Archdeacon Cotton, pronounces the Archdeacon of Meath to be "probably the greatest living authority on Irish Church History." How the Archdeacon has dealt with the Lynch MS. in the Bodleian is related under the Clógher diocese [Infra, p. 54], and how he deals with printed books may be noted here. At page 83 of his "Unity of the Anglican Church," the Archdeacon says:—"When Pope Clement V. consecrated Walter de Jorse at Rome, A.D. 1307, he wrote to King Edward I., 'ac postmodum per venerabilem fratrem Nicholaum episcopum Ostien. manus consecrationis impendi.' (Rymer, iii. 4.) And again, when the Pope consecrated Roland de Jorse to Armagh, A.D. 1311, 'ac postmodum per venerabilem fratrem nostrum Berengarium episcopum Tusculanum sibi fecimus manus consecrationis impendi.' (Rymer, iii. 289.)" To this passage the Archdeacon appended a foot-note: "For this Walter de Jorse had to pay £1,000; see p. 20." On referring to page 20, as directed by the Archdeacon, it is said that "Walter de Jorse, of Armagh, paid £1,000, A.D. 1257." And at page 20, and also at page 11, of his work, the Archdeacon gives "Harris' Ware, p. 71," as his authority for his statement concerning this fine. It may seem presumptuous to differ from one who is described as "the greatest living authority on Irish Church History." But it is a fact, notwithstanding, that Rymer, when examined, will be found to furnish no grounds for the assertion that Pope Clement V. consecrated Walter de Jorse in 1307, or in any other year, or that he wrote to Edward I. in the terms quoted. Nor is it true that the Pope used the word "manus" in that sentence. It is likewise incorrect to say that the Pope consecrated Roland de Jorse to Armagh in 1311, or wrote "manus" in the passage from Rymer. The

word used by the Pope in both passages was "munus," not "manus," and those very passages afford the information that neither of these bishops—Walter or Roland—was consecrated by the hands (manus) of the Pope; for the office (munus) of consecrating Walter was assigned to the bishop of Ostia, and that of Roland's consecration to the bishop of Tusculum. The statement that Walter de Jorse paid £1,000, in 1257, for an offence committed in 1307 might fairly be left to refute itself, but it happens that the Archdeacon's own authority—"Harris' Ware, p. 71"—informs us that Walter de Jorse—although he went through the form of entering into recognizances—never paid a farthing of this fine at any time whatever.

On a more painful topic, a very few words will suffice. Some of the author's opponents have resorted not only to irrelevant and inaccurate assertions, but also to open, as well as covert, personalities. Personalities and petulance proceed from maintaining a false position, instead of generously searching after truth. No credit need be taken for not retaliating this mode of controversy, which must be very distasteful to those who find themselves reduced to it. They who have no confidence in the righteousness of their own cause may be tempted to support it by invective or insinuation, but, in calmer moments, they will regret the adoption of such methods. Partizanship is not loyalty. To renounce traditions and prepossessions is an essential part of all genuine homage to truth; and it is a moral duty incumbent on Anglican clergymen, even when pursuing investigations which may have an indirect bearing on theology, to produce the facts of history in their integrity, irrespective of consequences to the Ecclesiastical position of the Established Church in Ireland.

Do these persons, who have thrown out inuendoes against the author, as unfaithful to his Church's interests, mean to affirm the proposition, that those who belong to an Establishment are required, in loyalty to that Establishment, to serve it by the concealment or distortion of historic facts? If so, they are at least bound to state distinctly that such is the opinion they have formed of their duty in relation to historical research. The public will then know how to estimate the views of history which they put forward. The author's conviction is, that such

an estimate of duty is in the highest degree dishonourable to the Establishment so aided, and that an *entire allegiance* to truth is not only consistent with our allegiance to our Church, but is a part of that allegiance.

The author has been attacked for not concealing the scandals of Protestant bishops, and for divulging truths favourable to Roman Catholic bishops. But Mant and others are liable to the former charge, and the latter is scarcely worthy of a serious confutation. The penal laws are past, and Protestants can now inflict persecution on Roman Catholics by one way only, viz.—the maintenance of old calumnies, and by the circulation of mis-statements, such for instance as those lately repeated by the member for the Dublin University, who affirmed, before the House of Commons, that the Irish Church was never in communion with the Roman see until the year 1172. To carry on this petty warfare is inconsistent with honour as well as with morality. For the degree in which it may embitter social relations, and inflict a wound upon charity, there will remain, it must be recollected, an account to be rendered, at a later day, and before a higher tribunal, than that of public opinion.

The author begs now to express his obligations to those persons who have rendered him assistance. His thanks are offered to the "Keeper of Records," W. H. Hardinge, Esq., V. P., M. R. I. A., for his continued courtesy in facilitating the examination of important documents; to John Reilly, Esq., "Deputy Keeper of the Rolls;" to James Morrin, Esq., "Clerk of Inrolments," for many references to the Patent Rolls of Chancery; to the gentlemen in charge of the Records in the Probate Court; and especially to those many friends in England and Ireland by whose aid the author has been enabled to place before the public the results of an examination of the State Papers for the entire period from the year 1558 to the year 1583, when the last survivor of the Marian bishops closed a career certainly not marked by an acceptance of Queen Elizabeth's authority, whether spiritual or temporal.

DONOGHPATRICK, NAVAN.

June, 1867.

THE

ALLEGED CONVERSION OF THE IRISH BISHOPS,

ETC.

AN opinion is prevalent among Protestants that the Anglo-Irish Church, upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, accepted the Reformation. That opinion is supported by the statements of various writers, who confidently assert that the entire Anglo-Irish episcopate, with two exceptions, conformed to the new tenets. Thus, the author of the historical preface to the *Liber Munerum*—a work published under the auspices of the Imperial Government—declares:—"Of the bishops all except Walsh and Devereux (sic) are represented to have been persons who merely sought to enjoy their sees in quiet by occasionally conforming to the reigning mode of religion." [*Lib. Mun.* Part I. 38.] Dr. Mant, Bishop of Down and Connor, in his History of the Irish Church, both in the body of his work and in the appendix, defends the popular view by statistical details, and says it may be confidently asserted of all the bishops except two that they conformed to the Protestant tenets. The Rev. Robert King, author of "A Primer of the Church History of Ireland," which is in the list of books to be read by Divinity students in Trinity College, Dublin, observes:—"These two, Walsh and Leverous, are the only Irish prelates that appear to have been deprived of their sees during Elizabeth's reign." [Primer, vol. ii. 758.] Mr. King adds [*Ibid.* p. 761-2]:—"With the exception of these two individuals all the Irish bishops of that time remained in their several sees, and from them the present bishops of the reformed or orthodox faith have derived their orders, being the true and unquestionable successors of the prelates of the ancient Irish church."—"The Romish prelates did not refuse, at the period of the Reformation, to transmit their

episcopal office to Protestant successors." Mr. King further states [Ibid. 918]:—"But at length, when the prelates of this church, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, agreed in discarding the power of the Pope, and his doctrines also, it was deemed necessary by those who were in love with the old superstitions and former corruptions to found a new church here, which they accordingly did, as we have seen, in the reign of James I., about 1200 years after the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland; and thus a part of the people, separating themselves from the ancient church and ancient line of bishops, placed themselves under the patronage and guidance of the bishop of Rome." A host of minor writers has followed in the train of Mr. King; and quite recently a pamphlet, by a Mr. Roc, "proving the present Established Church in Ireland to be the same church as founded by St. Patrick more than fourteen hundred years ago," has found such favour with the Irish public as to reach a second and revised edition. In the tables of the "Apostolical Succession," forming Part III. of the English Church Union Kalendar for 1864—published under the sanction of the "Union"—the Irish succession is shewn in a tabular form, deduced from St. Patrick down to Primate Beresford, without the least hint of a break in the succession of consecrations; and in the text it is stated that "the Irish Church (succession) is derived direct from Rome: Palladius, the first Archbishop of Armagh, having been consecrated by Pope Celestinus, A.D. 423." [Sic. 432?]

The Rev. Dr. Todd, in the preface of his valuable Memoir of the Life and Mission of St. Patrick [p. iv.], has asserted that "the original Irish Church, properly so called, having merged into the Church of the English Pale, has adopted the Reformation," &c. The Venerable Dr. William Lee, Archdeacon of Dublin, formerly Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and now Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in Dublin University, in his sermon at the consecration of Dr. Trench to the see of Dublin [p. 22], described that consecration as "an occasion on which that Apostolic Commission, unfolded on these (Irish) shores fourteen hundred years ago by the founder of the Irish Church, is to be handed on, in unbroken succession." Archdeacon Wordsworth, in his sermons preached in Westminster

Abbey, has adopted the same theory as Mr. King; and has lately published four sermons on the Church of Ireland, preached before the University of Cambridge, in which he has not hesitated to assert that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth "the Reformation was accepted, with *scarcely a dissentient voice*, by the *whole* Irish Episcopate." [The Church of Ireland, &c., by Archdeacon Wordsworth. London: Rivingtons, 2nd edition, page 48.] The Archdeacon of Westminster also says:—"The bishops of the Church of Ireland at that time accepted it (the Reformation). The bishops of the present national church of Ireland are the legitimate and only successors of St. Patrick and his followers in Ireland." [Ibid. page 58.] And, at the recent Cuddesden Annual Festival, Archdeacon Wordsworth appears as a "speaker for the Church of Ireland," and "recognises the two Archbishops [Armagh and Dublin] as the true, undoubted successors of St. Patrick." [Clerical Journal, vol. xviii. 547.] In his "Occasional Sermons on the History of the Irish Church" [pp. 206-218] the Archdeacon assures his readers that "it is well known that twenty Irish bishops *were present* in the Irish Parliament of 1559-60, when the usurped power of the bishop of Rome was renounced," &c., and that "*all the bishops* of Ireland took the oath of supremacy and conformed to the Liturgy except two." . . . "Thus," continues the Archdeacon, "the Irish bishops accepted the Reformation." "Nor did they accept it only; they authorised and propagated it in Synod and singly." [See Whiteside's Lecture on "the Church in Ireland," pp. 51-2.]

Still stronger language, if possible, has been used on this subject by the Rev. Alfred Lee, an English clergyman not long beneficed in Ireland, who, for his writings on the Irish Church, and apparently for them alone, received from the University of Dublin the honorary degree of LL.D. [See the Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette for February, 1866.] Dr. Lee's "Facts Respecting the Present State of the Church in Ireland" have been printed and largely circulated at the expense of the Church Institution, who have advertised them as "declared *perfect* by the Lord Primate," &c. This advertisement appeared only once, having been withdrawn by the Honorary Secretary of the

Church Institution for the Province of Dublin. At page 3 of these "Facts" [5th edition], Dr. Lee observes:—"At the time of the Reformation the continuity of Episcopal succession was not broken; the bishops then in possession of the Irish sees continued to exercise their function in the Reformed Church, and thus the regular and ancient succession of bishops from St. Patrick has descended continually in the Church in Ireland to the present day." When the truth of these "Facts" was called in question in the public correspondence between the present writer and Dr. Lee, the latter appeared to consider their authenticity completely proved by the alleged conversion of the bishops at the period of the Reformation:—"The real point is," said Dr. Lee, "which of the two Churches—the Reformed Church or the Roman Catholic Church—can trace its episcopal succession back through the ages which preceded the Reformation to the primitive Irish Church? It is in the succession of its bishops that the corporate identity of the Church consists. I maintained," continued Dr. Lee, "that all the bishops of the Established Church in Ireland can trace back their succession to the church that existed in Ireland before the reign of Henry II." Again, in his "Remarks on Sir John Gray's speech," at page 15, Dr. Alfred Lee repeats the frequent assertion that, "in Queen Elizabeth's reign, all the Roman Catholic bishops (with the exception of two) conformed." . . . "*The bishops who had been ordained by Roman Catholic prelates, on their becoming Protestants, handed on the succession to Protestant bishops, whom they consecrated as vacancies occurred in the Episcopate, and the Irish Church after the Reformation thus remained the same body corporate as before the Reformation—reformed indeed, but its corporate identity unaltered.*" And, not content with claiming Episcopal descent from St. Patrick for the Reformed Church in Ireland, Dr. Lee is particular in denying the same privilege to the Roman Catholic Church. "It is a well-known fact," observes Dr. Lee, "which no amount of sophistry can hide, that none of the present Roman Catholic Bishops can trace their succession to the primitive Irish Church. Romish orders they may have: Irish orders they have not. Not having these orders, on all true principles of Catholic antiquity, they

are intruders into sees already occupied by lawful bishops of the *old Irish Church*." [Ibid. page 16.] These statements of Dr. Lee, reiterated at the Diocesan Conference held at Oxford on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of July, 1866, were fully endorsed by the Bishop of Oxford.

Primate Bramhall and Bishop Elrington are likewise reckoned among the upholders of the received tradition, although they seem not to go quite so far as others in their statements on this subject. Bramhall, writing in reference to Parker's Consecrators says:—"They might have had seven more out of Ireland, archbishops and bishops, for such a work as a consecration." [Works iii. 52]. Elrington, in his "Validity of English Ordinations," &c., page 111, observes:—"There were in Ireland, within the power of the Queen to summon, Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin; Baron, of Cashel; and Bodkin, of Tuam; together with the bishops of Ferns, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Killaloe, who all took the oaths and conformed to the new liturgy."

This alleged conversion of the Marian bishops to the Protestant religion has been brought forward as the basis of several political and controversial arguments by various writers and speakers of the present day, who seem to regard the statements of King, Mant, Palmer, Perceval, and others as undisputed and indisputable. It is not easy to perceive how modern questions of state policy can be affected by this asserted episcopal conversion; for if all the Marian bishops adopted the Reformation on the accession of Elizabeth, the claims of the Reformed clergy to the Irish Ecclesiastical property would not be a whit stronger or weaker than they are at present. Supposing that the parliament list of 1560 is genuine, which it is not—supposing that it proves—what it does not even pretend to prove—that all the bishops mentioned in the list were not only present, but consenting parties to the acts of that Parliament, yet such an Episcopal transformation, from Romanism to Protestantism, could not be regarded as the voluntary act of the bishops themselves, much less of the clergy and laity; nor could it bind the clergy and laity—the greater part of the church—to surrender their faith, and follow into Protestantism their Episcopal guides.

There was not even the show of free action in the ordering of that parliament, nor the least pretence that liberty of choice was to be given to it. The instructions given to Sussex, on the 10th of May, 1559, for making Ireland Protestant, by act of parliament, were peremptory, and left no room for the least deliberation. "Sussex had also other instructions (says Cox), to him and the Council, to set up the worship of God as it is in England; and to make such statutes next parliament as were lately made in England, *mutatis mutandis*." [Hist. Angl., part i., 313.] If all the English prelates, under similar compulsion, voted with parliament to-morrow for the adoption of Presbyterianism, that Episcopal vote would not be recognised or looked on for a moment as the act of the English Church, nor could such an act of parliament be imposed upon the church, except by force; only a military despotism could transfer, under such circumstances, the church revenues of England from the Episcopalians to Presbyterians. But Roman Catholic writers deny that the Marian bishops (Curwin, of course, being an exception) voted for the passing of the Reformation Acts in that parliament. They say that the acts which affected religion were passed on a day when the bishops were expected to be engaged elsewhere, and that the bishops remonstrated afterwards against the passing of those acts in their absence, but were cajoled by the Deputy's assurances that the acts in question were never intended to be enforced. Be that statement true or false, it is undeniable that the Irish people were no party to that Reformation legislation. In the first place, the members of the House of Commons in that parliament were mere nominees of the Crown, and in no sense whatever can be regarded as the honestly-elected, *bona fide* representatives of the Irish people. In the next place, it is notorious that the parliament of 1559-60 did not pass, except by compulsion or fraud, those acts which introduced the Reformation. The Loftus MS., in Marsh's Library, gives a true account of this pretended Reformation parliament:—"This year, 1559, a parliament sate in Christ Church, the 12th of January, which was dissolved y^e First of February, by reason of aversion to Protestant religion, and their ecclesiastical government." Somewhat to the same effect is the testimony of Sir James Ware:

“January the 12th began the parliament to sit in Christ’s Church, which also ended in the beginning of February following, having enacted the act of uniformity and several other laws. . . . At the very beginning of this parliament, Her Majesty’s well-wishers found that most of the nobility and Commons were divided in opinion about the ecclesiastical government, which caused the Earl of Sussex to dissolve them, and go over to England to consult Her Majesty about the affairs of this kingdom.” [Ware’s *Antiq.* Edition of 1705, page 2.] The convocation of 1560 has as little claim to be thought the representative assembly of the Irish Church as the parliament had to represent the people. “This year, 1560 (says the Loftus MS.), was held a convocation of bishops, at y^e Queen’s command, for establishing y^e Protestant religion.” But it is not recorded that the bishops obeyed Her Majesty. It is plain that Her Majesty’s command is not sufficient warrant for a national change of faith, and that a convocation of bishops only is not the proper or legal representative assembly of the church. It is also plain that the acts of an unwilling parliament, and that parliament one which does not deserve the name of a parliament, cannot be justly considered as the acts of either the Irish Church or the Irish people.

As a matter, however, of historical interest, the alleged conversion of the Irish bishops requires examination. Much light, since Mant wrote his *History*, has been thrown upon Irish church matters by the labours of Dr. Cotton, author of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, a work which Mr. King appears not to have quoted from. The State Paper Office in London supplies much information on the same subject. The Patent Rolls of Ireland, printed by Mr. Morrin, are very useful, and so are some tracts published by different antiquarian societies. Very recently Augustine Theiner, an ecclesiastic who is known as the author of several collections of records concerning foreign churches, has published a most valuable work called “*Vetera monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum historiam illustrantia.*” This volume, printed at Rome in 1864, contains extracts from the Vatican archives concerning the appointments of Irish bishops, and supplies many blanks in the episcopal succession to Irish sees in the

first half of the sixteenth century. Dr. Moran, sometime Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome, has also made many extracts from the Vatican MSS., and has published some of them in the Introduction to his "History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin," and in the pages of the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record." His quotations from the Acts of the Roman Consistories give the dates of many Papal appointments to Irish sees during the latter half of the sixteenth century. It has been observed that Dr. Moran ought to have produced the bulls from the Vatican Register as evidence of these appointments, and not the Consistorial entries. But this cavil at the authenticity of these Consistorial extracts was written in ignorance or forgetfulness of the fact that copies of the briefs—for they are not properly entitled to be called bulls—for the appointment of papal bishops in countries not in diplomatic intercourse with Rome, are not necessarily entered in the Roman Register. It has also been objected that these appointments are only partially given, and that many blanks in the Papal succession are unnoticed. It is forgotten that these Consistorial entries from the archives at Rome do not pretend to be complete. The Vatican records themselves were plundered, and eighty volumes of the official archives of the Inquisition, purchased in France, now belong to Trinity College, Dublin. The Consistorial records in the Barberini and the Corsini palaces at Rome contain chiefly the acts of those Consistories which were attended by cardinals of those families respectively. The clerk of the Consistory furnished each cardinal with a note of the business transacted at each Consistory when the cardinal was present, and these notes became part of the cardinal's family archives. When the family cardinal was absent on embassies to foreign countries, or on other business, notes of Consistories held in his absence were not furnished to him. The blanks thus occasioned may be filled by extracts from the archives of other cardinals in some cases. Often these notes of Consistories vary from each other in form and in the spelling of the names. The Augustinian Library and the Vallicellian, which latter contains all the papers of Baronius, are now also open to visitors; and even the Prefect of the secret archives of the Vatican, M. Theiner, will afford literary enquirers an oppor-

tunity of verifying any document of which the date and nationality may be specified. From these and other sources ample materials may be collected for investigating, without reference to controversy or religion, but simply with a view to ascertain historical truth, the conduct of the Marian bishops at the Elizabethan period. For this purpose it will be convenient to give a short account of the occupants of Irish bishoprics in 1558, the year of Elizabeth's accession, with brief notes of the immediate successors of the Marian prelates, and with references to the several authorities for each statement advanced. Several extracts from the Barberini and other archives are given in full, by permission of the transcriber, the Rev. Dr. Moran, as they have not been hitherto published. Omitting some minor sees of which no notice need be taken in the present inquiry, the following are the facts relating to the several dioceses:—

ARMAGH.

The reign of Elizabeth commenced on the 17th of November, 1558, at which time the see of Armagh was vacant by the death of Primate Dowdall, which happened on the 15th August, 1558.

One of the last official acts of George Dowdall, was to draw up the "Archbishopp of Armachane's opinion touchinge Irelande: Delivered in July, 1558," which appears in the catalogue of the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. Upon Dowdall's death, Terence Daniel, Dean of Armagh, was appointed "Guardian of the Spiritualities," and "on the 3rd of July, 1559, held a synod of the English clergy of the diocese in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda." [Stuart's Armagh, p. 246, ex. Reg. Dowdall, p. 218.] Daniel does not appear in the alleged parliament list of 1559 as guardian of the see. After a vacancy of nearly a year and a-half the see was filled by the Pope, who appointed, in the Consistory of February the 7th, 1560, a presbyter of the diocese of Limerick, named Donatus MacTeige, otherwise called Fleming, to this, the Primatial see of Ireland, then vacant "per obitum bonæ memoriæ Georgii Dowdalli." The pallium was granted to MacTeige on the 17th of March, 1560. [Vatican MSS.] The name of this Roman Catholic primate has been passed over

in silence by many writers, who either ignore or deny his existence, which, however, admits of no rational doubt, so numerous are the authorities which speak of Primate Donat. There is a foot-note in page 47 of the 3rd volume of the Works of Bramhall (Anglo-Catholic Library edition), where it is asserted, on the authority of Courayer, that "Donat O'Teig, who was consecrated by the Pope to the see of Armagh on the death of Dowdall, did not come to England until the latter part of the year 1560." Courayer, in his "Defense de la Dissertation," &c., tome i. part i., p. 257 (Bruxelles, 1726), thus mentions O'Teig:—

"En effet, il paroît par une Histoire manuscrite des Evêques d'Irlande, composee par M. Linch Prestre Irlandois, qui se trouve parmi les manuscrits que le P. de Sainte Marthe a lequez à S. Magloire & où l'on voit la succession des Evêques Catholiques d'Irlande, dressee sur les Archives Romaines, que ce ne fut point Richard Creagh, qui succeda à Dowdall, mort en 1558, mais un nomme Donat O'Teig, qui ne vint en Angleterre que sur la fin de 1560. L'Auteur n'y marque ni le lieu ni l'année de la consecration, mais il y a lieu de croire que ce fut à Rome, & selon toutes les apparences en Fevrier 1560. Mais quoiqu'il en soit du tems de la consecration, il est toujours certain par cet Auteur, qu' O'Teig ne revint en Angleterre qu'à la fin de 1560 et que par consequent il n' étoit pas prisonnier a la Tour a là fin de 1559. O'Teig mourut en 1562 et ce fut à lui qui succeda Richard Creagh pour continuer la succession Catholique. Ce fut Pie IV. qui l'ordonna selon notre Auteur en 1563."

It appears, accordingly, that Courayer had access to a manuscript history of Irish bishops, written by Lynch, an Irish priest, and referred to in the margin of Courayer's book as "Lynch de Præsulibus Hybernæ." This manuscript is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The author, according to Courayer, gives the succession of the Catholic bishops of Ireland, drawn up from the Roman archives, and states that Donat O'Teig, and not Richard Creagh, was the successor of Dowdall. Lynch omits the place and year of Donat's consecration, but Courayer says there is ground to believe that it was at Rome, and in all likelihood in February, 1560. "A citation of Donatus, archbishop of Armagh, for his clergy to appear before him," written in

Latin, and dated "Armagh, November 22, 15—," appears in a list of the Cottonian MSS., British Museum, Vespasian F. xii., 3-5. A Wadding MS. of the year 1620, preserved among the archives of S. Isidore, at Rome, mentions O'Teig as sharing in person the perils of his flock in Ireland, during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. Mr. Froude, in his *History of England*, [vol. i. of the reign of Elizabeth, p. 22] describes the Roman Catholic primate as present, in July, 1561, with the army of O'Neil:—"Shan himself," so writes Mr. Froude, on the authority of Sussex, who sent an account of the affair to the Queen, on the 16th of July, 1561, "suddenly appeared, accompanied by the Catholic archbishop, on a hill outside the walls" of Armagh. . . . "The monks sung a mass, the primate walked three times up and down the lines, willing the rebels to go forward, for God was on their side." From the letter of David Wolf, the apostolic commissary, quoted at page 88 of Dr. Moran's "*Archbishops of Dublin*," and dated the 13th of October, 1561, Donat O'Teig appears to have been alive and in Ireland at that time. The death of Donatus occurred, according to Lynch de Præsulibus and Courayer, as above quoted, about the end of the year 1562, and—according to the State Papers—just before the departure of Richard Creagh from Ireland on his way to Rome. [See Shirley, p. 172.]

Richard Creagh, as Courayer testifies, was O'Teig's successor "pour continuer la succession Catholique," and he was ordained archbishop by Pius IV., according to Lynch, in 1563. The Consistorial records and Lynch de Præsulibus give the date of his appointment more precisely as the 22nd of March, 156 $\frac{3}{4}$, according to the Roman computation, that is the 12th of March according to the English style, and assert that Creagh succeeded to Armagh, then vacant "per obitum Donati." The bull likewise mentions Creagh's predecessor in the church of Armagh, "cui bonæ memoriæ Donatus Mac Teige, Archiepiscopus Ardmacchanus, dum viverat præsidebat," and observes that Donatus died "extra Romanam curiam." Creagh is described as a presbyter of Limerick diocese and a Bachelor in Theology. This bull is dated from Rome on the 22nd of March, 156 $\frac{3}{4}$. A copy of it is printed at page 118 of

Lenihan's "History of Limerick." It appears from Creagh's own words—see Shirley, p. 173—that he was consecrated in the Sixtine chapel at Rome by "Lomellinus and another bishop," during the Easter of 1564. He received the pallium, as the Consistorial records testify, on the 12th of May following. The various imprisonments which Creagh suffered both in England and Ireland are well known. He died in the Tower of London on the 14th of October, 1585, having been, so it is said, poisoned by his keepers. [See Lenihan's "Limerick," p. 119.] Edmund MacGauran, after an interval of nearly two years, succeeded Creagh. MacGauran was translated to the primacy from the see of Ardagh on the 1st of July, 1587. Two accounts are extant of the death of MacGauran. The "Annals of the Four Masters," Lynch's MS. de Præsulibus, and the Rev. C. P. Meehan in his "Noctes Lovanienses" (papers published in Duffy's *Hibernian Magazine*, and based on the Mooney MSS. in the Burgundian Library at Louvain), agree in stating that Primate MacGauran was killed on the 3rd of July, 1593, in a battle fought near Tulsk, barony of Roscommon, between M'Guire, Prince of Fermanagh, and the English under Bingham, President of Connaught. On the other hand the author of the "Analecta" says that Primate MacGauran was killed in 1598, while administering confession to a wounded man. Wadding, tom. xxiii., p. 294, sub. anno 1598, gives the date as February the 15th, 1598. The latter date is adopted by De Burgo, *Hib. Dom.* 602, and by Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, p. 121, and by Dr. Renchan's "Collections on Irish Church History." Sir Richard Bingham, himself, however, has proved that MacGauran died in 1593, although not on the 3rd of July. In his letter to the Privy Council, dated the 28th of June, 1593, he thus narrates the death of MacGauran :—

"M'Guire was on horseback; and all their principal men and himself escaped so narrowly, and the very next unto him, round about him, were stricken down; amongst whom his ghostly father, the Titulary Primate MacGauran, lost his life, a man of more worth in respect of the villany and combinations which he hath wrought with the ill Irishry than the overthrow of divers

hundreds of the other Beggars; and so generally is his death lamented as if the same were their utter overthrow. And, assuredly (right honorable), he was the only stirrer and combiner of their mischiefs towards in Ulster—and the primer of M'Guire to come forward in their two journeys, making the Irishry full of belief that they should have the aid this summer of Spaniards—and another champion of the Pope's, like Doctor Allen, the notable traitor; but, God be thanked, he hath left his dead carcase on the Maugherie, only the said Rebels carried his head away with them, that they might universally bemoan him at home." The celebrated Peter Lombard was appointed to Armagh, vacant by death of MacGauran, in the Consistory of the 9th of July, 1601. Lombard died at Rome in 1625. Hugh M'Cawell, a native of the county of Down, was consecrated Primate at Rome (in succession to Lombard) on the 7th of June, 1626. He died on the 22nd of September, same year, and was buried in the crypt of St. Isidore's. [See Stuart's Armagh, p. 273.]

Hugh O'Reilly was the next Primate. He was translated by the Pope from Kilmore to Armagh, in the Consistory of the 21st August, 1628, according to Dr. Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 394, but did not receive the pallium till 1630. He died, according to Dr. Renchan, on the 7th of July, 1651; but according to Dr. Moran, in February, 1653, at the age of 72 years. He was buried at Trinity Island, in Lough Erne. Edmund O'Reilly, in 1654, became successor to Hugh. He was sent prisoner to England in 1666, and died in March, 1669. [See Stuart's Armagh, p. 357-358.] Oliver Plunket succeeded Edmund O'Reilly. He was consecrated at Ghent by the bishop of that city, assisted by the bishop of Ferns and another prelate, on the 30th of November, 1669, and arrived in Dublin in March, 1670. In 1679 Plunket was imprisoned in Dublin Castle; and towards the end of October, 1680; was sent to London, kept for seven months a close prisoner in Newgate, and tried on the 8th of June, 1681, for high treason. Jeffries was counsel against him, and MacMoyer and Duffy, two friars, whom Plunket had corrected, bore false witness against the archbishop. How "this good and loyal man fell the innocent

victim of their murderous rancour" is told in Hume's History of England, viii. 160; in Stuart's *Armagh*, 363; and more largely in Dr. Moran's memoir of Dr. Plunket. The Primate, having been found guilty, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on the 1st of July, 1681.

Dominic Maguire succeeded Plunket in the year 1681. He and other Roman Catholic prelates were instrumental in saving from destruction the valuable library of Trinity College during the commotions of the revolution in 1688. [Stuart's *Armagh*, 399, and 401]. In 1691 Maguire fled to France. He died in Paris in 1708, and was buried in the Irish seminary called the "College of the Lombards." [Hib. Dom. 499]. Upon Maguire's death the primacy was offered to Richard O'Heain, who declined it. [Ib.] Hugh MacMahon, bishop of Clogher, was nominated by the Pope to be Archbishop of Armagh in 1708, according to Stuart, p. 402. Dr. Renchan's Collections give the date of his translation as 1709: but according to Dr. Moran (who in his *Archbishops of Dublin*, page 336-7, has printed an account of the Diocese of Clogher, sent to the Propaganda in 1714 by Hugh MacMahon), the date of that translation was 1715. Primate MacMahon died on the 2nd of August, 1737, aged 77. [Stuart, 405, ex Harris' Ware's *Writers*, 195.] Bernard MacMahon was translated in 1738 from Clogher to Armagh. He lived many years at Ballymascanlon, in the County of Louth, under the feigned name of "Mr. Ennis" [Stuart], and died on the 27th of May, 1747. [Renchan] Ross MacMahon, brother of his predecessor, was translated to Armagh from Clogher in 1747, and died on the 29th of October, 1748. He and his brother were buried in Erigail churchyard, County Monaghan. [Renchan.] Michael O'Reilly, in 1749, was translated from Derry to Armagh. He died in 1758, and was buried near Drogheda. [Renchan and Stuart.]

Anthony Blake, grand uncle to Walter Blake Kirwan, the eloquent Dean of Kilfenora, was translated to the primacy from Ardagh in 1758. [Stuart.] He died in December 1787. [Renchan ex Walker's *Hib. Magaz.* for Dec., 1787.] Richard O'Reilly, who had been consecrated in 1781 as coadjutor bishop

of Kildare, and in April, 1782, became coadjutor of Armagh, succeeded to the primacy on the death of Blake in 1787. O'Reilly died on the 31st of January, 1818, and was buried at Drogheda. [Stuart.] Patrick Curtis, successor to O'Reilly, was consecrated on the 28th of April, 1819, and died on the 26th of July, 1832. [Renehan.] Thomas Kelly, coadjutor to his predecessor from the 23rd of December, 1828, succeeded, upon the death of Curtis in 1832, to the primacy. Kelly died on the 13th of January, 1835. [Renehan.] William Croly, on the 8th of May, 1835, was translated to Armagh from Down and Connor. He died on the 6th of April, 1849. [Renehan.] Paul Cullen, on the 24th of February, 1850, was consecrated to Armagh. He was translated to Dublin on the 3rd of May, 1852. Joseph Dixon was consecrated on the 21st of November, 1852, to the primacy, and died on the 29th of April, 1866. Michael Kieran was consecrated on the 3rd of February, 1867, to the primacy.

For four years and a half, dating from the death of Dowdall, or for four years and three months, dating from the accession of Elizabeth, Armagh was without even a nominal Protestant Archbishop. Queen Elizabeth, on the 30th of October, 1561, wrote to the Deputy, acquainting him that she "sends" letters to the Dean and Chapter of Armagh in favour of our "wel-beloved chapleyne Mr. Adame Lofthouse professor in Divinitye." In this letter, which is dated from S. James's—and which may be seen in the "King's Letters" from 1560 to 1574, now among the records under Mr. Hardinge's care in the Custom House, Dublin—the Deputy is ordered to "addresse" to the Dean and Chapter "a sufficient conge deslyer" for the election of Loftus. It is then commanded that a certificate of the election be made out, and the Deputy is to issue "our royall assent and direct commission to such archbusshopps and busshopps as shall thinke convenient for this consecracon and delive[ry] unto him of his Pall and thaccomptinge of all our laudable ceremoneyes accustomed; and theruppon to restore him to the temporaltyes of the said archbusshopricke, and further to doe all things requisite, wherebye he may be fullye and duelye invested," &c. This Adam Loftus is probably the same person who received a

presentation (dated 13th of May, 1557,) from Philip and Mary, to the vicarage of Godney in Lincoln diocese. [Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. xv. p. 464.] The register of Godney parish begins in 1558, but the first clerical signature is that of a curate, in 1573; so Loftus was perhaps a non-resident and a mere lay incumbent. Queen Elizabeth's intentions regarding Loftus were not fulfilled in 1561. The Armagh chapter consisted chiefly of "temporall men and Shane O'Neil's horsemen," and refused to obey the conge d'elire, which had in fact been abolished by the parliament of 1560. The chapter were, it is said, too much "sparkled and out of order," [Shirley, 120], and besides the see was already occupied by Donatus the Papal primate. Terence Daniel, moreover, the Dean of Armagh, was himself desirous of getting the primacy from either the Pope or the Queen. It is possible also that the archbishops and bishops of Ireland may have thought it not "convenient" to consecrate Loftus at that time. After the lapse of two years her Majesty made another and a successful attempt to make Loftus the primate. Donatus O'Teig was now dead, and two Elizabethan bishops, Craike and Skiddy, sat in the sees of Kildare and Cork. On the 20th of January, 1563, the Queen wrote from Westminster to the Irish Government, stating that she had "heretofore named and appointed" Adam Loftus to be Archbishop of Armagh, and commanding "uppon syght hereof" . . . "such and so many of our letters" to be "made forth as shalbe sufficient and requisite for his consecration and investinge in the said archbishopric," "with all manner of rights, duties, and pre-eminences thereunto appertaining, and as in such case is accustomed and ought to be done by the order of our laws and the late act of Parliament passed there for the making of archbishops and bishops within the said realm." [King's Letters, Custom House, Dublin.] Loftus was accordingly consecrated in Dublin by Hugh Curwin on the 2nd of March, 1563. He was consecrated two years before he had arrived at the canonical age, and as far as has been ascertained, without "any dispensation from both the ancient and modern law of the Church, which prescribes that any man, which is to be ordained or consecrated bishop, shall be full thirty years of age." [Mant, i. 269.] This defect,

which Mant tries to explain away, was remedied, perhaps, by the general and *ex post facto* dispensation of the 8 ELIZ. c. i. The consecration of Loftus is twice mentioned by Ware "*De Præsulibus Hiberniæ*," Edition of 1665. At page 27 he says: "Consecratus ab Hugone Curwino Archiepiscopo Dubliniensi & aliis episcopis, sub initium Martii, anno 1562 (stylo Anglicano) desinente." But at page 120, Ware omits the "aliis" and for the date gives "sub exitum anni 1562." It is singular that Ware, who had "the advice and assistance" of archbishop Usher, and who published his book "*De Præsulibus Lageniæ*" in 1628, not seventy years after the events, should have been either unable or unwilling to place upon record the precise date of consecration, and the names of the consecrators of so important a personage in Irish Church affairs as Loftus. It is, however, very probable that Craike, bishop of Kildare, was one of the consecrators of Loftus. He had written to recommend Loftus for preferment, and is almost proved to have been near Dublin at the time, by his letters dated from Deaneath, Dec. 7, 1562, and May 10, 1563. [Calend. State Papers, 211, 217.] The name of the other consecrator, it is hopeless even to conjecture.

There is no evidence that the Dean and Chapter of Armagh ever enthroned Loftus in the Cathedral, which in 1561 was used as a military storehouse. [Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, p. 174.] "Loftus, the representative of the Established Church, had never been established in his nominal archiepiscopal place, but resided either at Termonfeighan, or in the metropolis." [Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. vii. p. 56. Paper by Herbert Francis Horc.] Indeed Loftus resided chiefly in Dublin, never in Armagh, and but seldom ventured to go to Termonfeighan, Primate Dowdall's "chief dwelling place" [Shirley, p. 83], near Drogheda, where he had a "bare house and fourscore acres of ground" [Shirley, p. 279], and where he had the shelter of the neighbouring garrison. But it was not often that Loftus risked himself within the bounds of his diocese. Out of more than twenty letters, written by Loftus when archbishop of Armagh, and printed by Shirley, two only were dated from Termonfeighan. The rest, excepting five dated from England, were written from Dublin. Mr.

Froude, in his *History of England*, vol. x. p. 481, observes that "when Adam Loftus was made Archbishop of Armagh, the primacy became titularly Protestant." The epithet "titular" seems singularly appropriate to Loftus during his primacy. He never had any real power over the spiritualities of Armagh. Of the temporalities he possessed, according to his letter of the 3rd of November, 1566, "only £20 a year out of his see" with the "bare house" and land at Termonfeighan. In that letter he expressed his prayer to God, that he might "obtain the Queen's Majesty's gracious favour" and Cecil's "good will, to resign the Archbishopric, for neither (says Loftus) is it worth any thing to me, nor I able to do any good in it, for that altogether it lieth among the Irishe." [Shirley, 279.] Primate Loftus was supported partly by a "pension" and partly by the Deanery of S. Patrick's. The Queen herself was conscious that Loftus was but a titular primate, when she thus wrote concerning him:—"The archbishopric which he hath is a place of great charge and in name and title only to be esteemed, without any worldly endowments of any moment coming towards him." Her Majesty's letter containing that statement was dated from Westminster, the 7th of January, 1565, and has been printed in Mason's *History of S. Patrick's Cathedral*, page 166. In about two years from the date of that letter Loftus was translated to Dublin by other letters of her Majesty, dated from Westminster, the 10th of June, 1567. [Ib.]

Loftus was the first Elizabethan primate, and the second Elizabethan prelate, consecrated in Ireland. For nearly half a century his was the guiding spirit of the Irish Reformation. His character is written plainly in the State Papers. His religious principles—whatever his early training may have been, and his obtaining preferment from Philip and Mary, argues him to have been once a Roman Catholic—were those of a Puritan of the worst kind. He was one of the few "preachers" commended by the Irish governors; indeed Sir H. Wallop, in 1581, informed Walsingham that there were but "three preachers in the whole realm, the bishop of Dublin (Loftus), of Down (Hugh Allen), and Mr. Jones." [S. P. O.] The preaching of Loftus was full of threatenings and slaughter, and his zeal was like that

of Saul before, not after, his conversion. Loftus went rather too "thorough" even for the Deputy. He seems to have been in some trouble in 1565, on account perhaps of excess in furthering his views of Reformation. In that year Brady, in a letter to Sussex, on military matters chiefly, observes:—"But yet I fear me, poor Adam, if he be taken, goeth to the gibbet, that is already indited and laid for to be tried." [MSS., Brit. Mus., Cottonian, Titus B. xii. 149]. In 1575 a complaint was made by N. White, Master of the Rolls, to Burghley, against Loftus, "the Keeper Archbishop of Dublin, for opening his letters to secretary Smith." [S. P. O.] In 1577 Loftus writes a letter, dated the 16th of March, to Walsingham, stating that he had been advertised of Her Majesty's heavy displeasure, and had embarked for England to exculpate himself, but was driven back and learned that the matter was not so heinous. Loftus professes himself ignorant of what the term and accusation of a Puritan means. [S. P. O.] The cruelty of Loftus is shown in his procuring the torture and death of the Papal archbishop of Cashel [*infra*, under that see]; and his ideas of the Gospel and its propagation will appear from his own words, written with deliberation, to the Queen's minister:—"Your lordship," said the archbishop to Burghley, "hath most wisely considered that the sword alone, without the word, is not sufficient to bring the people of this realm from Popery—a thing whereto they are misled ever from their cradles. But I assure your lordship that unless they be forced, they will not ever come to hear the word preached, as by experience we observed at the time appointed by the Lord Deputy, 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, although the sheriffs of every county did their duties with all diligence, and warned all men to repair to the principal church, where order was taken for public prayers and thanksgivings unto God, together with a sermon to be preached by choice men in every diocese, yet very few, or none almost, resorted thereto; 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. It is bootless labour for

any man to preach in the country, out of Dublin, for want of hearers; but in mine opinion this may be easily remedied, if the Ecclesiastical Commission be put in force, and if liberty be left to myself to imprison and fine all such as are obstinate in Popery—nay, and to send such of them as are able to bear their own expenses to England, for example sake. The sooner this course of Reformation is begun the better it will prosper, and the longer it is deferred the more dangerous it will be." [Loftus to Burghley, 22nd September, 1590, S. P. O.] "The word," however, did not succeed, even though assisted by the sword, the prison, fines, and exile. In a few years Loftus himself acknowledged the failure of brute force, and recommends for an alternative a deceitful conciliation. "I see no other course," writes the mortified archbishop, "for this cursed country, but pacification, until hereafter, when this fury is passed, Her Majesty may with more convenience correct the heads of these traitors." [Loftus to Burghley, 18th October, 1597, S. P. O.] Ireland, after all, was not so "cursed a country" for Loftus, who was "ambitious and covetous," and "amassed a large amount of Church property." [Cotton, ii. 20.] He was able to found a prosperous family, whose honours, including a Marquisate, are still enjoyed by his descendants. Loftus has been sometimes praised as the founder of Trinity College, Dublin, but with singular absurdity. Loftus delayed instead of facilitating the erection of that University, fearing lest he should be compelled to disgorge, for its maintenance, the spoils of the Cathedral of S. Patrick's, the possessions of which Church were granted by long leases to the archbishop, his children, and kinsmen. [Mant, i. 311.]

Elizabeth was inclined to fill Armagh, now vacant by the translation of Loftus, by appointing the dean of Armagh, Terence Daniel or O'Donnnyll, one of O'Neil's "fostred brethren," who had been recommended to the Pope for the primacy, when vacant in 1563. [Shirley, 169.] Dean Daniel was also recommended at that time by the Queen's advisers as a proper archbishop of Armagh on account of his great influence with Shane. There is a minute in Cecil's handwriting, dated 7th August, 1563, wherein it was proposed to remove Loftus to Kildare, and make

the dean of Armagh primate. [Shirley, 124.] The same plan was recommended in 1565 [Ib. 223 and 230], and in July, 1567, the Queen actually authorised the appointment of Daniel to Armagh, and the Dean wrote to Cecil, on the 5th of October, accepting the primacy. [Shirley, 307 and 310.] The appointment, however, most probably through the interference of the Deputy, never took effect. Terence Daniel continued to serve Shan and the Queen as messenger or mediator, and died dean, not archbishop, of Armagh. A copy of his last will and testament, dated the 10th of August, 1585, and proved before John Long, archbishop of Armagh—"J. Annachan"—in the Church of St. Peter's, Drogheda, is preserved in the Dublin Probate Court. The original of this document was written in "Edward Cornel's house in the new street at the Blackwater, in the presence of Patrick O'Melee, chaplin; Melaghlene O'Falaghane, chapline; and Hugh O'Shenan, chaplen, with divers others." The dean left eleven pounds "towards the building of the Church of Armagh," to be "used at the discretion of the Mr. of the works of the said church," and his nephew Barnabye Dannyell. The said nephew and John Cusack of Truble were his sole and residuary legatees.

It appears by a letter of Bishop Grindall to Cecil, dated the 19th of November, 1567, that one "Mr. Dorrell" was thought of for the Irish primacy, but the bishop thought Dorrell's "appointment as Primate of Armagh" would "hinder the cause of religion in Ireland" [State Papers, Domestic—Elizabeth, p. 302], and Elizabeth eventually chose Thomas Lancaster, who was appointed by the Queen's letter, dated 12th of March, 1568. [Morrin, i. 511.] It has been disputed whether Lancaster was consecrated once or twice. Her Majesty, in a letter of the 28th of March, 1568, describes Lancaster as one who was heretofore bishop of Kildare, and Cecil (who elsewhere called him "a lusty good priest") added the words "and therein for the time proved very laudably." [State Papers.] If Thomas Lancaster the archbishop, and Thomas Lancaster the Kildare bishop were one person, then he would seem to have been twice consecrated, first as bishop of Kildare, by George Browne, in 1550; and secondly, as Archbishop of Armagh, by

Loftus, of Dublin, Brady, of Meath, and Daly, of Kildare, on the 13th of June, 1568. This latter consecration is described in Mason's *S. Patrick's Cathedral*, page 170. Lancaster, it seems, preached his own consecration sermon, which was on the subject of regeneration, and afterwards entertained in his house, in the cathedral close, the archbishop and the two assisting bishops. Two days afterwards he wrote to the Queen, mentioning the date of his consecration. The Loftus MS. in Marsh's Library, thus records the event, under the date 1568, June 13:—"Thomas Lancaster, Treasurer of Salisbury, consecrated by Loftus; Hugh, bishop of Meath, and Robert, bishop of Kildare, being at the consecration." Ware, however, distinctly states that the bishop of Kildare and the archbishop of Armagh, although bearing the same name, were different persons. Primate Lancaster's death was in 1584, according to Cotton, but it took place more probably in March or April in the year 1583. On the 18th of March, Loftus wrote from Dublin to Walsingham that "the Primate of Armagh is alive," and said he would himself remain in his Dublin see. [*State Papers.*] In the codicil to Bishop Brady's will that prelate bequeaths to "John Prendergrose the gown I had at my L. Primate his funeralls." Bishop Brady's will was proved in May, 1583, so the Primate's funeral must have taken place in 1583. [*Cork Records*, iii. 277.] Lancaster's successor, John Long, was consecrated, probably in Dublin, upon the 13th of July, 1584. (See letter of W. Johnes to Walsingham, dated the 14th of July, in that year, preserved in the State Paper Office, London.) Primate Long held strong views on some matters of English policy towards Ireland, and used strong language on some occasions. He thus wrote to Walsingham on the 20th of January, 1585:—"Your godly parliament in England hath somewhat, tho' not sufficiently, bridled the court of faculties—the corruption of the clergy; but in this poor island it sendeth young and old clergy, and laity, in a wild gallop to the devil."

The succession of Protestant prelates is given in the pages of Ware, Harris, and Cotton. It will be sufficient to give the names of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Primates, with the dates of their accessions and removals in the following table,

which exhibits the two successions side by side, the nationality and University education of the Anglican prelates being denoted by initials:—

ARMAGH ARCHBISHOPS.

ROMAN CATHOLIC.	ANGLICAN.
Vacant, 15th Aug., 1558 This vacancy lasted for one year and a half.	1558, August 15, Vacant. This vacancy lasted for four years and a half.
Donat O'Teig, succ. 1560, died 1563.	1563, March 2, Adam Loftus (E., Cam.), succ. 1567, Aug. 7, trans.
Richard Creagh, succ. 1564, died 14th Oct., 1585. Vacancy of one year and nine months.	1568, June 13, Thos. Lancas- ter (E., Ox.), succ. 1584, died.
E. MacGauran succ. 1587, died in 1593. Vacancy of eight years.	1584, July 13, John Long (E., Cam.), succ. 1589, died.
Peter Lombard, succ. 1601, died 1625.	1589, March 24, J. Garvey (I., Ox.), succ. 1595, died. 1595, Aug., H. Usher (I. Cam.), succ. 1613, April 2, died.
	1613, May 8, Christopher Hampton (E., born at Calais, Cam.), succ. 1625, died.

- Bernard MacMahon, succ. 1738,
died 27th May, 1747.
- Ross Mac Mahon, succ. 1747,
died 29th Oct., 1748.
- Michael O'Reilly, succ. 1749,
died 1758.
- Anthony Blake, succ. 1758,
died Dec., 1787.
- Richard O'Reilly, succ. 1787,
died 31st Jan., 1818.
- Patrick Curtis, succ. 1819,
died 26th July, 1832.
- 1714, Jan. 4, Thomas Lindsay
(E., Ox.), succ.
1724, July 13, died in
Dublin.
- 1724, Aug. 31, Hugh Boulter
(E., Ox.), succ.
1742, died in London.
- 1742, Oct. 21, John Hoadley
(E.), succ.
1746, July 16, died near
Dublin.
- 1747, March 13, George Stone
(E., Ox.), succ.
1764, Dec. 19, died in
London.
- 1765, Feb. 8, Richard Robinson
(E., Ox.), succ.
1794, Oct. 10, died near
Bristol.
- 1795, Jan. 27, W. Newcome
(E., Ox.), succ.
1800, Jan. 11, died in Dublin.
- 1800, Nov. 22, Hon. W. Stuart
(S.), succ.
1822, May 6, died in London.
- 1822, June 17, Lord J. G.
Beresford (I., Ox.), succ.
1862, died.

Thomas Kelly, succ. 1832,
died 13th Jan., 1835.

W. Croly, succ. 8th May, 1835,
died 6th April, 1849,

Paul Cullen, succ. 1850,
trans. to Dublin in 1852.

Joseph Dixon, succ. 1852,
died 29th April, 1866.

Michael Kieran, succ. 1867.

1862, M.G. Beresford (I., Cam.)
succeeded.

It appears, according to the foregoing list, that the number of Roman Catholic and Anglican primates of Ireland from 1558 to 1867 has been equal. There were twenty Roman Catholic and twenty Anglican primates. One Roman Catholic and one Anglican primate vacated Armagh by translation, and that to the same see; Paul Cullen, in 1852, being removed to Dublin, and Adam Loftus, in 1567, having made a similar change. Of the twenty Anglican primates, more than one-half died out of the Armagh province; for six of them (Bramhall, Margetson, Boyle, Lindsay, Hoadley, and Newcome) died in or near Dublin, and five others (J. Usher, Boulter, Stone, Robinson, and Stuart) died in England. Of the Roman Catholic primates, the greater number died in Armagh province. Six only appear to have died out of it. Creagh died in prison in London; Oliver Plunket was legally murdered at Tyburn; M'Gauran was killed in battle; M'Caghwell died at Rome soon after his consecration; Lombard and Maguire died in exile—the one at Rome, the other at Paris. The twenty Roman Catholic primates were Irish by birth, and were educated in Ireland or in Irish colleges abroad. Of the twenty Anglican primates, only six were Irish by birth, the others being Englishmen or Scotchmen. Only two of the twenty Anglican primates were educated at Trinity College, Dublin, the other eighteen having belonged either to Oxford or Cambridge. Since the year 1702, that is, for a space of 165 years, no alumnus of T.C.D. has been advanced to the Irish Primacy.

CLOGHER.

Raymund MacMahon was bishop of Clogher in 1558. He had been consecrated to that see, according to Herrera [*Alphabetum Augustinianum*, part ii. p. 108] in opposition to Hugo, or Otho, O'Cervallan, who was appointed by Henry VIII., to please the Irish chieftain, Con O'Neil, to whom O'Cervallan was chaplain. [See *Morrin's Patent Rolls*, i. 79.] But O'Cervallan seems not to have been recognized by the Pope. It is true that (according to *Harris' Ware*, p. 187) there were "some ecclesiastical constitutions promulgated by this prelate, on the 26th day of October, 1557;" but it would appear that O'Cervallan was deposed and repudiated by the Pope in 1556, or previously. The *Foreign Calendar of State Papers* [Mary, p. 289] contains the following:—"1557, February 22nd. The cardinal of Augsburg to Queen Mary. The bearer, Raymond, bishop of Eloch (Clocher?), in Ireland, who returns, having succeeded in his business of deposing and denouncing as a heretic and schismatic his intrusive adversary, Otho, as Her Majesty will see by the bulls of Pope Julius III., to which the cardinal testifies, having been at Rome when the matter was discussed and decided. The bearer also carries with him the gift of the Priory of S. Mary, in Louth, belonging to the order of Canons Regular of S. Augustine, in the diocese of Armagh. The cardinal requests Her Majesty will give orders that the good and poor old man may be put in possession of his see and priory." Dr. Moran has not found any consistorial act for the appointment of Raymund MacMahon; and Lynch, in his manuscript *History of the Irish Bishops*, quoted from a copy of Roman archives, which, unfortunately, did not contain the year when MacMahon succeeded. That copy of the archives gave "August 27" as the date, and made no mention of Hugh O'Cervallan, but stated that MacMahon succeeded "per obitum Patricii." This Patrick need not be considered the same person as Patrick Cullen, the bishop of Clogher, who died in 1534, but was perhaps some later bishop, of whom—as in the case of Thomas and Matthew, two bishops of Clogher, who are said to have flourished circa 1541—there may be no other trace

remaining. Even supposing, however, that O'Cervallan survived Queen Mary, and was one of the Irish bishops in office at her death, there is no ground for alleging that he conformed in ELIZABETH'S reign. No bishop of Clogher appears in the asserted list of those present at the Irish Parliament of 1560.

Raymund MacMahon, who died at Rome, as the consistory records testify, was succeeded by Cornelius Mercadell, a clergyman of the Clogher diocese, who was appointed in the consistory of May 29th, 1560:—"Die Mercurii 29^o Maii 1560, referente cardinale Morone, sua sanctitas providit ecclesiæ Clogherensi, in Hibernia, vacanti per obitum bonæ memoriæ Raymundi Mumathuna, apud sedem apostolicam defuncti, de persona Cornelii Mic Cardill, clerici Clogherensis, cum retentione Canonatus et Prebendæ ac aliorum compatibilium." [Barberini Archives, Rome.] This statement, as previously published, has been thus strangely commented on:—"Dr. Brady makes Mercadell the immediate successor of MacMahon; so does the Irish Ecclesiastical Record; this they do on two widely varying transcripts of one document. But Lynch, the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, in an unpublished MS. history in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, fo. 138, &c., gives a different account:—

"1557. Tabulæ Romanæ tradunt Clocherensem episcopatum, per obitum Patricii, D. Raymundo Mac Mahuna collatum fuisse, 27 Aug.

"Nellanus

"Huic succedisse videtur quidem Monthenna. Cornelius Macadel, 29 Maii (nescio quo anno). Longo post hunc intervallo, anno scil. 1645, vel 1646, episcopatum hunc Emerus Matthæus, Hibernice MacMahun, inivit."

The foregoing quotation, or rather alleged quotation, has been here given at length, as a sample of the unfair and untruthful criticism to which this treatise has been subjected by Archdeacon Stopford. It happens that Mercadell's succession after MacMahon depends—not on "two widely varying transcripts of one document"—but on two separate and independent transcripts of different documents in different libraries. The alleged extract from Lynch's MS., which represents Lynch as

stating that MacMahon was appointed bishop of Clogher on 27th of August, 1557, is simply untrue, as will appear by comparing the real with the alleged words of Lynch:—

THE LYNCH MS.

“Hugo . . . 1557. Quam diu sederit non comperi. Tabulæ Romanæ tradunt Clocherensem Episcopatum per obitum Patricii D. Raymundo MacMahuna 27^o Augusti collatum fuisse. Annus non apponitur: illarum exemplar, quod est penes me, superioris Hugonis non meminit, et multis præterea defectibus laborat.”

THE ALLEGED QUOTATION.

“1557. Tabulæ Romanæ tradunt Clocherensem Episcopatum per obitum Patricii D. Raymundo MacMahuna collatum fuisse 27 August.”

It thus appears that the Archdeacon has taken the year 1557 from a paragraph belonging to Hugh O’Cervallan, and added it to a paragraph belonging to MacMahon. He omitted the intervening and important words “quandiu sederit non comperi;” stopped short before the words “annus non apponitur,” which would have told the truth; and failed to communicate the information that Lynch’s copy of the Roman archives was very defective. Truth-seekers may judge for themselves how far such a mode of quoting a manuscript is creditable to the learned Archdeacon.

Cornelius Mercadell, whose appointment has been already noticed as having been made in the Consistory of May 29, 1560, is the same person whom Lynch, Latinizing a familiar form of his Christian name, calls “Nellanus.” This same Cornelius was “the bishop of Clogher,” of whom the State papers, quoted by Mr. Froude, vol. viii. p. 406, inform us that he was a “rebel,” and out with Shane O’Neil in the field in September 1566. Mercadell died in 1568.

The private archives of the Vatican contain a petition from the chieftain of Fermanagh, Con Maguire, dated 28th of March, 1568, who recommends, for the Clogher see, Miler Magrath, the

then papal bishop of Down and Connor. The same archives contain a minute of Cardinal Morone, in reference to a letter of the Roman Catholic primate, dated the 15th of May, 1568, in which archbishop Creagh disapproves of Miler Magrath, and advises the appointment of some other person. The successor of Mercadell is thus alluded to by Lynch:—"Huic succedisse videtur quidem Monthenna." This "Monthenna," who ever he was, sat, if at all, only for a short time, for in 1569 or 1570 Cornelius McBardell, or Macadel, as Lynch calls him, was bishop of Clogher. Lynch gives the date of his appointment as "29 Maii," adding "nescio quo anno." Perhaps Lynch confounded McBardill with "Nellanus," or Cornelius, Mercadell, whose appointment was really dated 29th of May. The following extract from a paper among the Rawlinson MSS., C. 98, f. 20-29, has been printed in "The Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society," vol. i., New Series, 1856-57, p. 80.—The document from which it is taken, is dated "28th July, 1592, Greenwiche," and is headed "A Memorial of sundry things commanded by her Majesty to be well considered by the Lord Deputy," &c.:—"There is one Cornelius McBardill, Buisshoppe of Clogher those xxii yeres past, using the like authority alwaies, saving for the space of three yeres in Sir Jo. Perrott's tyme that he hath bene restrayned from the most parte of the dyoces by vertue of a comissyon from the said Sir Jo. Perrott. And this Cornelius hath bene diverse tymes before diverse governours, and ys not yet reformed or compelled to yeald any obedyence to her Majesty's lawes." From the foregoing it may be collected that McBardill held from 1570 to 1592 without conforming. "The Busshoppe of Cloghronen" appears indeed in the list of those "answerable" and "sommomed" to the parliament which Perrott held in 1585, but it is not likely that this parliament was attended by bishop McBardill, who, a year or two later, joined the bishops of Derry, Raphoe, Down and Connor, Ardagh, and Kilmore in publishing the decrees of the Trent Council throughout the province of Armagh. [See Dr. Renchan's Collections on Irish Church History, p. 139.]

The date of McBardill's death is unknown. The next bishop

of Clogher whose name is recorded is Eugene Mac Mahon, or Matthæus, who was appointed on the 31st of August, 1609, and was translated to Dublin on the 2nd of May, 1611. [Dalton's Abps. of Dub. 384, and Consistorial Acts, Dr. Moran's Abps. of Dublin, p. 237.] Heber Mac Mahon, a near relative of Eugene, seems to have succeeded him in Clogher, but after an interval of some thirty years. Heber Mac Mahon was Vicar-Apostolic of Clogher from 1637 to 1640. Another Vicar-Apostolic of Clogher, Thomas Kiernan, resigned that office in 1642 [Moran's Abps. of Dub., p. 350 to 355], when Heber Mac Mahon, then bishop-elect of Down and Connor, but not consecrated to that see, was appointed to Clogher. [An Aphorismical Reflection, &c., M.S., T.C.D.] Ever or Heber Mac Mahon, whose activity in the military affairs of the Confederate Catholics is matter of history, was, in April, 1650, appointed, by the Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to be General of his Majesty's forces within the province of Ulster. He had been chosen by the general consent of the gentry of that province to succeed Owen O'Neal, deceased. He engaged, on 20th June, 1650, with Sir C. Coote's parliamentary army near Londonderry, and was defeated; and next day fell in, in his flight, with Major King's force, near Enniskillen. He was wounded, taken prisoner, and soon after, by the "positive order of Sir Charles Coote, whom within less than a year he had relieved when in great extremity, hanged." [Borlase, Hist. Irish Rebellion, p. 312.] The archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, with the Roman Catholic bishops of Clonfert, Clonmacnoise, and Cork, wrote to the Roman Court on the 18th of December, announcing the death of Mac Mahon, who, "after many wounds and imprisonments," was beheaded about the middle of autumn, and whose head was fixed "on a spike at the gate of Enniskillen." In this letter, which is dated from "the place of our refuge," the Catholic prelates request that Thomas Kiernan should be appointed bishop to succeed Mac Mahon, but he declined that honour, and, in 1651, Phillip Crolley, nephew of the deceased bishop Mac Mahon, was appointed Vicar-Apostolic. [Moran's Abps. Dub., p. 354-5.] After a vacancy of twenty years, Patrick Duffy, a native of the diocese, was appointed

bishop on the 12th of May, 1671. He was objected to by the Viceroy, as one who had been a favourer of Cromwell, but the Catholic primate asserted that Duffy was calumniated in this respect. He sat for about four years and died. [Moran's Plunket, p. 157.] Patrick Tyrrell, a native of the county of Meath, succeeded Duffy in 1676. [Ibid.] He was translated to Meath in 1688-9. [Cogan's Meath, i. 405.] After an interval of eighteen years, Hugh Mac Mahon was appointed in 1707. The other Roman Catholic bishops of Clogher are named in the following :—

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF CLOGHER FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1560.—Raymond Mac Mahon.
 1560 to 1568.—Cornelius Mercadell.
 1569 to 1592, and afterwards.—Cornelius M'Bardill.
 1609 to 1611.—Eugene Mac Mahon.
 1642 to 1650.—Heber Mac Mahon.
 1671 to 1675.—Patrick Duffy.
 1676 to 1689.—Patrick Tyrrell.
 1707 to 1715.—Hugh Mac Mahon.
 1715 to 1738.—Bernard Mac Mahon.
 1739 to 1747.—Ross Mac Mahon.
 1747 to 1778.—Daniel O'Reilly.
 1779 to 1801.—Hugh O'Reilly.
 1801 to 1824.—James Murphy.
 1824 to 1844.—Edward Kiernan.
 1844 to 1865.—Charles M'Nally.
 1865 —James Donnelly.

Queen ELIZABETH made no attempt to place a Protestant bishop in Clogher, except in the case of Miler Magrath. It has been already noted that upon the death of Mercadell, in 1568, Miler Magrath, bishop of Down, petitioned the Roman See to be translated to Clogher. [Vatican MSS.] The Pope refused his request, and Miler applied, with better success, to the Queen, who appointed him to Clogher on the 10th of September, 1570. [Cotton, iii. 78.] The affair is thus chronicled by Ware, edition of 1665, p. 173 :—Magrath, "authoritate Pontificia, Dunensis renunciatus est Episcopus. Postea Protestantium religionem

professus ad sedem Clogherensem per Elizabetham Reginam translatus est 8 September, 1570." On the 3rd of February, 1571, Magrath was translated by the Queen to Cashel, [Cotton, i. 11], so that his incumbency of Clogher lasted for less than six months. It is almost certain that Magrath was merely a titular bishop of Clogher, and derived nothing but the mere title from Elizabeth's grant. Leland [i. 248] gives Clogher as one of the three Northern Sees which "were still granted by the Pope without control." Mant. [i. 283] says that Miler "received little or nothing out of the See of Clogher," which, "after his translation," continued "vacant for many years, during the whole of the remainder of Queen Elizabeth's reign." And Sir John Davis asserts that "King James was the first King of England that ever did supply" Clogher with a bishop. It is beyond doubt that no Protestant bishop sat in Clogher between 1558 and 1605, unless the six months of Magrath's titular incumbency be counted. The see was without a Protestant prelate for forty-four years and a-half of Elizabeth's reign, and two years of that of James. George Montgomery, who, in 1605, obtained the three bishoprics of Clogher, Derry, and Raphoe, was a Scotchman of the Eglinton family. In July, 1607, the Deputy visited Ulster, and Sir John Davis, the Attorney-General, wrote a narrative of the journey, from which extracts were printed by Mant. [Vol. i. 353-357.] From this narrative it appears that an inquiry into "the state of the church in these unreformed counties" was held. "The inquisition, presented unto us" (proceeds Sir John) "in this county (Monaghan) was in Latin, because the principal jurors were vicars and clerks. It appeared that the churches, for the most part, are utterly waste; that the King is patron of all; and that their incumbents are popish priests, instituted by bishops authorised from Rome; yet many of them, like other old priests of Queen Mary's time in England, ready to yield to conformity."

"When we had received" (so the narrative continues) "this particular information, it was thought meet to reserve it, and to suspend and stay all proceedings thereupon, until the bishop of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher (which three dioceses comprehend the greatest part of Ulster, albeit they be now united for one

man's benefit) shall arrive out of England, whose absence, being two years since he hath been elected by His Majesty, hath been the chief cause that no course hath been hitherto taken to reduce this poor people to Christianity, and therefore *majus peccatum habet.*" It does not appear that Montgomery resided much in Clogher; he took Meath instead of Derry and Raphoe in 1610, and lived mostly at Ardracean. "It is noticed in the Ulster Inquisitions, dated 1608, that it was customary for the bishop of Clogher to visit his diocese twice a year, viz., in May, and at All Hallow-tide" [Cotton, iii. 78]; and perhaps the bishop continued this custom, if only to collect the profits of the see.

From 1605 to 1850, when the see was merged into Armagh, under the Church Temporalities Act, there were seventeen Protestant bishops of Clogher in uninterrupted succession, excepting a short break of three years, from December, 1687, to 1691, when James II. left unfilled the vacancy caused by the death of Boyle, and "applied the revenues of the see to the payment of his Popish bishops." [Cotton, iii. 80.] There was no break in the succession in this see during the Cromwellian period, nor during the troubles of 1641, when it was "reported that the bishop of Cloher is turned to the rebels." [See "Worse and Worse Newes from Ireland."—London, 1641.] Perhaps this latter quotation refers to Emerus Mac Mahon, the Papal bishop, and not to Spottiswood.

Of the seventeen Reformation bishops of Clogher—one of the richest of the Irish sees—six, namely—Montgomery, Spottiswood, J. Lesley, Garnett, Hotham, and Porter, were natives either of Scotland or England. Five others were of immediate English descent. Of the remaining six, none can be said to belong to families of Irish descent, although members of families some time settled in Ireland. The three last bishops were Beresford, Jocelyn, and Loftus, all sons of peers.

MEATH.

In 1558 William Walsh was bishop of Meath; and, in May, 1559, was appointed by Elizabeth a Commissioner of Musters, &c., in the county Meath. [Pat. Rolls, Morrin, vol. i. p. 411.]

He was also in the same year a Commissioner for granting freedoms. [Ibid. p. 427.] He forfeited the Queen's favour in 1560, when "a convocation of bishops, at the Queen's command (was held) for establishing the Protestant religion. But William Walsh, bishop of Meath, would not conform thereunto, but for preaching against it was committed to custody, afterwards imprisoned, and at length deprived of his bishopric." [Loftus MSS., in Marsh's Library, Dublin, *ad an.* 1560.] His deprivation took place in 1560, for in the presentation of Garvey to the archdeaconry of Meath, dated July 14th, 1560, the see is said to be vacant. [Morris, vol. i. p. 432.] Walsh was confined, in this year, 1560, by the Lord Lieutenant, until the Queen's order for his imprisonment arrived. [Ware's Annals, *ad an.*] Walsh was, it would appear, subsequently enlarged, and continued to act as bishop, for he was again cast into prison in 1565. On the 16th of July, 1565, Adam Loftus, the archbishop of Armagh, wrote to Sir W. Cecil, announcing the arrest of Walsh:—"The 13th of this month, by virtue of our commission for causes ecclesiastical, we committed, to the Castle of Dublin, Doctor Welche, late bishop of Meath, there to remain until the Queen's Majesty's pleasure were known. He refused the oath, and to answer such articles as we required him; and besides that, ever since the last parliament, he hath manifestly contemned, and openly shewed 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 service should be ministered, for it was against his conscience, and, as he thought, against God's word. If it shall seem good to your honour, and the rest of Her Majesty's most honourable council, in my opinion it were fit he should be sent to England, and, peradventure, by conferring with the learned bishops there, he might be brought to some conformity. He is one of great credit amongst his countrymen, and upon whom, as touching causes of religion, they wholly depend." [Shirley, 220.] Walsh escaped from prison "about Christmas, 1572, and fled to France." [Moran's Abps. of Dub. p. 131.] He appears to have returned to Ireland and resumed his Episcopal

functions in 1575, or previously, as, on the 8th of April, 1575, he had a brief from Rome empowering him to act for the dioceses of Armagh and Dublin, as well as Meath, during the absence of the primate :—

“Gulielmo Episcopo Medensi pro sua Diœcesi, et pro Provinciis Armachana et Dublinensi quamdiu Richardus Armachanus abfuerit a sua sede.” [Ex Archivis Secret. Brev. Vatican.]

Walsh died at Alcala, in Spain, on the 4th of January, 1577. [Cotton, iii. 115.] Perhaps this last-mentioned date should be the 4th of January, 1578, for in a Vatican list, said to have been written in 1580, Meath is described as “vacant by the death of William Walsh, who died in Alcala, two years ago, suffragan of the archbishop of Toledo.” [Dr. Moran’s “Episcopal Succession in Ireland,” p. 29.] After an interval of 45 years from the death of Walsh, Thomas Dease was consecrated to Meath, on the 22nd of May, 1622, at Paris. [Rev. C. P. Meehan, ex Mooney MSS., Burgundian Library, Louvain.] He was of an ancient Irish family, and lived for twenty years of his episcopate in the house of his relative, the Baron of Delvin, whose political views agreed with those of the bishop, until the Baron yielded to the persuasions of the primate, and joined the Confederate Catholics. Then Dease, who persistently refused to obey either the primate or the Nuncio, withdrew to his house at Turbotstown. Bishop Dease vainly strove to save the library of the Protestant bishop of Meath, Anthony Martin, during the troubles of 1641. Dease proved himself a staunch enemy to the Confederates, and eventually retired to Galway, where he died in 1652, aged 72 years. He was buried under the threshold of the sacristy of the collegiate church of St. Nicholas, Galway. [Rev. C. P. Meehan, ex Mooney MS.] Anthony Mac Geoghegan, bishop of Clonmacnoise, appears to have been translated to Meath soon after the death of Dease. Mac Geoghegan’s name appears in Dr. Renahan’s papers as bishop from 1655 to 1662. De Burgo, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, mentions Mac Geoghegan as a bishop of Meath, and in *Oliver’s Collections* is a letter written by this prelate, and dated 26th of August, 1660, “ex loco nostri Refugii in Hibernia.” Bishop Mac Geoghegan, in this letter,

says:—"Vivo in cavernis adhuc sicut et ceteri meæ vocationis et status." Mac Geoghegan vacated Meath in 1664, according to Rev. A. Cogan, and the Rev. Oliver Dease, as Vicar-General, governed the see until the year 1669. Patrick Plunket was translated, on the 21st of January, 1669, from Ardagh to Meath [Moran's Life of O. Plunket, pp. 4 and 27], and he anticipated, on this appointment, a happier lot than his predecessor's "caverns," for he expected to dwell in his own home. [Ibid. 3.] He was second son of the ninth Lord Killeen, and possessed private means to sustain his rank. He had also in some degree the protection of the Government, his nephew being married to the niece of the Viceroy, the Duke of Ormond. Plunket for some years was almost the only Catholic bishop in Ireland, the rest having fled during the Cromwellian persecution. He died on the 18th of November, 1679, aged 76 years [Ibid. 161.] James Cusack, a member of an old county family, succeeded to Meath on the death of Plunket, having been appointed by the Pope on the 5th of October, 1678, as bishop of Casensis and coadjutor of Meath, in compliance with the petition of the infirm and aged Plunket. [Ibid. 162.] Dr. Renchan did not discover the date of Cusack's death, but he was alive on the 3rd of August, 1681 [Ibid. 307], and sat, according to Rev. A. Cogan, until the beginning of the year 1685. After his death the Vicar-General administered the see for a space of three years.

Patrick Tyrrell, in the beginning of the year 1689, was translated from Clogher to Meath. James II. addressed to this bishop, in June, 1690, a letter containing several presentations to vacant livings. [Cogan's Meath, p. 407.] In 1692 bishop Tyrrell was "put to death by the Williamites," and Dr. Michael Plunket, P.P. of Ratoath, governed the see as Vicar-General Apostolic until Luke Fagan's appointment. The names of Fagan's successors appear in the following:—

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF MEATH SINCE 1558.

1558 to 1577—William Walsh.

1577 to 1622—Governed by Vicars-General Apostolic.

1622 to 1652—Thomas Dease.

1655 to 1664—Anthony Mac Geoghegan.

- 1669 to 1679.—Patrick Plunket.
 1679 to 1685.—James Cusack.
 1688 to 1692.—Patrick Tyrrell.
 1692 to 1713.—Governed by a Vicar-General Apostolic.
 1713 to 1729.—Luke Fagan.
 1729 to 1756.—Stephen Mac Egan.
 1756 to 1778.—Augustine Cheevers.
 1778 to 1827.—Patrick Plunket.
 1827 to 1830.—Robert Logan.
 1830 to 1867.—John Cantwell.
 1867 —Thomas Nulty, *Coadjutor* from 1864.

The first Elizabethan bishop of Meath, and the third Elizabethan prelate in Ireland, was Hugh Brady, or rather O'Grady, the younger son of one of the chieftains of Clare, Sir Denis O'Grady, who, in 1543, submitted to Henry VIII., and surrendered the lands of his sept, which were not his own to dispose of, to the King. A grant of these lands was made to Sir Denis, and subsequently to John, his son, with remainder, however, to the heirs of Hugh, the bishop. Hugh Brady was born at Dunboyne, within the English pale, his father, perhaps, not wishing to reside in Clare, after giving his adhesion to the English power. Hugh was educated in England, and became rector of S. Mary Aldermary, London. His first wife was a relative of Sir W. Cecil [Cork Records, i. 180]; and Brady carried on a constant correspondence with Cecil, acknowledging him as his patron and "the only mean and instrument of his calling to this function" of a bishop. [Letter of Brady to Cecil, Oct. 27, 1567, S.P.O.] The Queen's letter, appointing Brady to Meath, is dated the 21st of October, 1563 [Morrin, i. 485], and his consecration took place on the 19th of December, following. [Shirley, 131.] Curwin, Loftus, and Craike were then in Dublin, and were, doubtless, the consecrators of Brady. The materials for forming an estimate of Brady's character are abundant. Ten of his letters are published in Shirley's "Letters on the Church," and many more are deposited in the State Paper Office, and in the British Museum. He was not three months a bishop before he confessed to Cecil that there was more labor than honour in a bishopric, and that if "quietness of

life, and contentment of mind" were regarded, he would rather be a "stipendiary priest in England than a bishop of Meath in Ireland." "O what a sea of troubles have I entered into," exclaims the bishop, who, however, seems then to have had some slight hope from the fact that "a great number of the simple people, and specially where he was born, were greedy hearers." [Shirley, 135-6.] Bishop Brady was called, by Sir H. Sidney, "honest, zealous, and learned," and his good qualities are praised by other correspondents of the government in similar strains. [Letter of Sidney to Queen Elizabeth, dated 28th April, 1576, Cotton MSS., Titus, B. x.] He did not escape altogether from malicious reports, but no tangible charge was made against him, until a few years before his death, when one Andrew Trollope, being "*Reipublicæ benevolus*," sent Walsingham a letter filled with false and scandalous information. In Usher's visitation of Meath diocese, drawn up in 1622, it is stated that Brady had made some leases of his see lands to one Conan, for the benefit of his son; but Brady's will proves that his children inherited none of the Episcopal lands of Meath. He seems to have been hospitable to such an extent as to have had "often a heavy heart and an empty purse" [Shirley, 189], and to have "spared neither charge nor life to do her Majesty's service." [Ibid.]

The bishop did not confine himself to spiritual duties. His letters make more mention of civil and military affairs than of religious. His position as a Privy Councillor sometimes entailed upon him the harassing duties of taking part in the frequent expeditions, made beyond the Pale, to curb the Irish chieftains, and terrify the mere Irish into submission. The spirit with which Brady executed these incongruous functions, inseparable from the lot of an Elizabethan bishop, may be illustrated by the following letter, written on the 2nd of August, 1572, to the Chief Baron:—"I have received this letter now at one of the clock and past. The messenger brought more hasty news than the letter, for he saith assuredly that Sir Leynaghe, with a great force, is in readiness to invade us this night. The place we should repair to is Monalt. I have written to the Sheriff, so have I to the portrieve of the Navan. I have sent

for Michael Cusack or his son. God grant they be to be found. I will make what numbers I can ready. I pray you send what number you can out of Trim and elsewhere, that they may be with the rest at least in the morning before day. I wish you would take pains yourself to be here very early, our rising out will be very vain else." [State Paper Office, London.] The bishop, it seems, made war or defended himself partly at his own cost. After his death, his widow was "charged with an arrear of £160, or thereabouts, for the debt of her husband, growing for munitions which he had out of the store in these late dangerous times." [Letter of Fenton to Walsingham, dated 11th of May, 1584, S. P. O.]

From 1563 to 1867 there were twenty-eight bishops of Meath in unbroken succession, excepting one break of eleven years, between 1650 and 1661. Of the twenty-eight bishops five were translated to richer sees, and six died in Dublin or London; and of the twenty-eight, eighteen were Irish, six were English, three were Scotch, and one was a Welshman. Three belonged to the University of Cambridge, five to that of Oxford, thirteen to Trinity College, Dublin, and of seven the University degree is not recorded by Cotton.

CLONMACNOISE.

Peter Wale or Wall, was bishop of Clonmacnoise in 1558, having been appointed in the Papal consistory of 4th May, 1556. He was a Dominican, and, as the consistorial record remarks, was re-absolved on this occasion of his appointment to Clonmacnoise from every guilt of schism or heresy which he might have contracted in his past career. [Dr. Moran, I. E. R.] His name does not appear in the pretended list of those present at the parliament of 1559, nor in the list of the members of the Ecclesiastical Commission appointed for Westmeath in 1560.

Wall is called "bishop of Meath" in the presentation directed to him for the admission of John Dillon to the vicarage of Balleloghlowe, bearing date September the 4th, 1560. [Morrin, vol. i. 431.] He died in 1568, when the see of Clonmacnoise was joined to that of Meath by the Queen. [Cotton's Fasti.] In the act of parliament effecting this union, the

motives are assigned for such an incorporation of this see, and amongst them is the announcement that "of long time the people have been kept in ignorance, as well of their duties towards God as also towards the Queen's Majesty and the commonwealth of this realm, to the great danger of their souls." [Cotton, iii. 133.] On the death of Wall, who is mentioned by De Burgo, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, as a Catholic prelate, Clonmacnoise was placed by the Pope under Vicars-Apostolic. It has been alleged that this placing of bishoprics under the administration of Apostolic Vicars is a proof that the Pope deliberately abandoned the intention of preserving a separate episcopal succession in those sees; but it is rather a proof that the Pope only intended to suspend the succession for a short time, and afterwards to restore the line of bishops in each separate see. The permanent union of two or more bishoprics might more justly be regarded as a proof that a separate succession was deliberately abandoned, in all but one of the united dioceses. The Pope appointed Anthony McGeoghegan to the bishopric of Clonmacnoise, on the 22nd of January, 1647, and translated him to Meath in 1654. The see of Clonmacnoise was generally administered by the bishops of Meath or Ardagh. Dr. Renchan's papers assert that Gregory Fallon, in 1686, and Ambrose O'Connor, in 1709, were bishops of Clonmacnoise as well as of Ardagh. The last Roman Catholic bishop who held Clonmacnoise as a separate see, was Stephen Mac Egan, whose consecration is recorded in the *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 501, as having been performed in the Quirinal Palace, on the 29th of September, 1725, by Pope Benedict XIII., assisted by "Fr. Vincentio-Maria de Aragonia, e Ducibus Alessanentibus, archipræsule Consentino, in Calabria, et Fr. Hyacintho-Cajetano Chiurlia, Bituntino, Episcopo Juvenacensi, in Apulia." Mac Egan was, in 1729, translated to Meath, and since that year Clonmacnoise has been always united to Meath or Ardagh.

KILMORE.

John Brady, or Mac Brady, was bishop of Kilmore, or the Brenny, in 1558. He had been appointed to that see in 1550, when he was recommended to the English council by the

Deputy and the members of the Irish Privy Council, in a letter dated the 28th of October. He is there spoken of as suitable for that bishopric because he was “born in those parts” and had been, on a former vacancy, chosen by the Pope to fill that see, but surrendered the bulls to be cancelled and permitted another bishop quietly to enjoy the same. He also was “well-frended” and likely to maintain peace. [Shirley, p. 43.] This John Brady is the same person who is called John Macpadin or Macnadin in the defective copy of the Roman archives, from which Lynch, *de Præsulibus*, quoted. No bishop of Kilmore appears in the parliament list of 1559. John Brady died in 1559, and his successor Hugh O'Sheridan was appointed—“per obitum bonæ memoriæ Joannis MacBrady, extra Romanam curiam defuncti”—in the consistory of the 7th of February, 1560. Upon the death of Hugh O'Sheridan—called sometimes Odo Ogenridan, or O'Jeridan, in copies of the Roman archives—Richard Mac Brady was translated from Ardagh to Kilmore, in the consistory of the 9th of March, 1580. On the 12th of March same year, Gregory XIII. sent a brief to Richard Mac Brady conferring on him the same faculties as were enjoyed by his predecessor Hugh “of happy memory.” [I. E. R., ii. 488.] Richard Brady was deprived by the Queen, in 1585, and her Majesty appointed John Garvey in his room [Cotton, iii. 156], but Brady continued to act as bishop. In a State Paper of 1592, Rawlinson MSS., c. 98, f. 20, is the following account:—

“In O'Reilly his country, being but xxx myles, or thereabouts, from Dublin, is Richard Braday, Buishopp of Kilmore, and although there is a kinde of custodium granted to a Preist there, in her Majesty's name, yet he is in the possession, useing all manner of jurisdiction therein, although the country is governed by Englishe laws and officers.”

In 1601 the English soldiers, commanded by Francis Rochfort, surprised the Friars at Multifernan, when they were repairing part of their monastery, and also captured bishop Brady, whom they carried to Dublin. In the following year he was again arrested and beaten, and cast for dead into a brake of briars. The bishop was arrested three times by the English, and twice paid a heavy fine for release. He died in September, 1607, and

was buried at the usual burial place of the friars at Multifernan, namely, in the cloister, and immediately under the door leading to the church. The above particulars are taken from "Noctes Lovanienses," a paper by Rev. C. P. Meehan in Duffy's *Hibernian Magazine*, ii. 129. See also *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 602, where it is stated that Brady, a short time before his death, was anxious to resign his see. After an interval of eighteen years from the death of Brady, Hugh O'Reilly was appointed bishop, in the consistory of the 9th of June, 1625, and in July, 1626, he was consecrated in S. Peter's, Drogheda, by Fleming, archbishop of Dublin. [Moran's *Abps. of Dub.* 394.] O'Reilly was translated to Armagh in the consistory of the 21st of August, 1628 [Ibid], but did not receive the pallium until 1630, when Eugene Sweeny was appointed to succeed him in Kilmore. Sweeny died in October, 1669, and was buried in Kilmore cathedral by permission of Maxwell, the Protestant bishop. [Rev. C. P. Meehan in Duffy's *Hibernian Sixpenny Magazine* for January, 1864, p. 6, and Moran's *Plunket*, p. 204.] The see of Kilmore was, between the years 1669 and 1728, governed by the bishops of Clogher as administrators, owing to the poverty of the Catholic sees, which compelled unions of several dioceses.

The *Hibernia Dominicana*, pp. 504 and 421, relates that Michael Mac Donogh was consecrated to Kilmore by Benedict XIII., in the Vatican palace on the 12th of December, 1728. Mac Donogh was then only 29 years old. He did not return to Ireland until 1730. He died, aged 48, at Lisbon, on the 26th of November, 1746, and was buried there in the church of the Irish College. The successor of Mac Donogh was Laurence Richardson, who was consecrated to Kilmore, in succession to Michael Mac Donogh, in Dublin, on the 1st of May, 1747, by John Linegar, archbishop of Dublin, assisted by Stephen Mac Egan of Meath, and James O'Gallagher, of Derry. Richardson died in Dublin, aged 53, on the 29th of January, 1753, and was buried in St. James's cemetery. [Hib. Dom. 510.] The other prelates of this see are named in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF KILMORE SINCE 1558.

- 1558 to 1560.—John Brady.
 1560 to 1580.—Hugh O'Sheridan.
 1580 to 1607.—Richard Brady.
 1607 to 1625.—Governed by Vicars.
 1625 to 1630.—Hugh O'Reilly.
 1630 to 1669.—Eugene Sweeny.
 1669 to 1728.—Vicars.
 1728 to 1746.—Michael Mac Donogh.
 1747 to 1753.—Laurence Richardson.
 1753 to .—Andrew Campbell.
 1669 to 1800.—Denis Maguire.
 [1793 to 1800.—Charles O'Reilly, *Coadjutor*.]
 1800 to 1806.—James Dillon.
 1806 to 1829.—Fergal O'Reilly.
 [1819 to 1826.—Patrick Maguire, *Coadjutor*.]
 1827 to 1865.—James Browne.
 1865 .—Nicholas Conaty.

Kilmore was without a Protestant bishop during forty-one years of Elizabeth's reign. In the year 1585, Sir John Perrott "took notice" of Richard Brady, the Roman Catholic bishop, who was accordingly deprived by the Queen of the temporalities of the see, although he continued to act as bishop until his death in 1607. [Cotton, iii. 156, and State Papers as already quoted.] On the 27th of January, 1585, John Garvey, afterwards Primate, had a patent for this bishopric, and held it until 1589, although Richard Brady was in possession. Garvey was an Irishman who held various preferments, and on the 27th of January, 1561, received "letters of denization" from the Crown. [Cotton, ii. 180.] From 1589 to 1603, the see was without a Protestant bishop, and was placed under Custodiam. [Cotton, iii. 157.] In 1604 Robert Draper became bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, being selected, as the letter of James I. states, for his capability of instructing the people in the Irish tongue. [Ibid.] Draper's wife "turned recusant," that is, became a Roman Catholic, after her husband's death, and possessed some church leases. [Elrington's Usher, i., Appendix lvii.] From 1604 to 1867 the succession of Protestant bishops of Kilmore has been unbroken. They were

twenty-one in number, of whom nine were translated to richer sees. Thirteen of the twenty-one were Irish, and the remaining eight were English by birth.

ARDAGH.

The see of Ardagh was occupied, in 1558, by Patrick Mac Mahon. There is extant, in the State Paper Office, a bull of Pope Pius V. for deprivation of Patrick Mac Mahon [Patricius Magmathgamna] for simony, non-residence, leaving his Cathedral in ruins, &c. The bull is dated from St. Peter's, Rome, January 26, 1568. [State Papers, Elizabeth, p. 362.] This bull, or rather brief, may have been a forgery, or obtained by fraud. In Strype's *Life of Parker*, edition of 1711, Appendix No. lxxxviii., is printed a letter, from "Malachias quondam Ardachaden Episcopus Hibernus," to the Privy Council. In this letter, which is dated "Ex Marseolsey, 28 Februarii, 1572," the "quondam" bishop Malachy confesses to have been once in papistical superstition, but "ex ignorantia potius quam malitiâ." He promises loyalty and obedience, especially in matters of religion, to the Queen and her Deputy in Ireland. Malachy seems, however, to have no place in either the Papal or the Protestant succession. In the *Fasti of Archdeacon Cotton* is a statement that Mac Mahon died in 1572 [iii. 183], but Dr. Moran [I. E. R., i. 16] gives the date of his death as 1576. Perhaps the Queen's letter, afterwards to be quoted, dated in 1572, which mentions Ardagh as "void," was the reason for placing Mac Mahon's death in the earlier year. In the Papal consistory of the 23rd of January, 1576, Richard Brady was appointed to Ardagh, vacant "per obitum Patriciû." "Die Lunæ 23^o Januarii, 1576, referente Cardinale Alciato, sua sanctitas providit ecclesiæ Ardacadensi in regno Hiberniæ, vacanti per obitum Patricii, de persona fratris Ricardi O.S.F., et cum solito decreto quod non possit exercere pontificalia in aliis ecclesiis etiam de consensu episcoporum; alias, si exercebit pontificalia, ipso facto sit suspensus; et cum clausulis opportunis et consuetis." [Barberini Archives, Acta Consistorialia, vol. xvii.] Brady, according to Ware, came from Rome with Papal bulls, instigating the Irish Catholics to oppose by force of

arms the English Government, but this statement is contradicted by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, out of the Franciscan Annals by Mooney. [See Duffy's Hibernian Magazine, ii. 129.] It is there distinctly stated that Richard Brady never left Ireland. If this be true he must have been consecrated in Ireland by Irish bishops. Brady was translated by the Pope to Kilmore in the consistory of the 9th of March, 1580, and Edmund Mac Gauran, in a few years, namely, in 1584-5, was appointed his successor. Mac Gauran, in the consistory of the 1st of July, 1587, was translated to the primacy of Armagh. [See Moran's Abps. of Dub., 289, n.]

From 1587 to 1644, or later, Ardagh was probably administered by Vicars Apostolic. In the Synods of the Roman Catholic dignitaries, held in 1626 at Drogheda, and in 1632 in Ardagh, the "Vicar Apostolic" of Ardagh" was present. [See Moran's Abps. of Dub., pp. 341 and 399.] Oliver Darcy appears to have been bishop of Ardagh before the year 1647. De Burgo, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, mentions an Oliver Darcy who was bishop of Ardagh "circa 1649," and was subsequently translated to Dromore. But this date 1649 must be an error, for Patrick Plunket himself wrote a letter to the Propaganda dated 22nd of June, 1669, in which he stated that he had ruled the diocese of Ardagh for twenty-two years. [Moran's Life of Plunket, 2.] This would place the commencement of his episcopate in 1647, and this date is confirmed by the *Hibernia Dominicana*, where it appears, at page 657, that Plunket was not bishop of Ardagh in 1646, but that the diocese was then represented by a Vicar-General. In June, 1648, however, Plunket duly appears as bishop of Ardagh, and Oliver Darcy as bishop of Dromore. [Hib. Dom. 895.] Patrick Plunket was translated to Meath on the 21st of January 1669, [Moran's Plunket 20, 27], and Ardagh was again placed under Vicars, for, in 1675, the Catholic primate reported to the Propaganda that Ardagh contained twenty-four parish priests, two convents of Franciscans, one of Dominicans, only four Catholic gentlemen of property, all the rest being tenants, and stated that the Vicar-General was Gerard Ferrall, who was appointed by Apostolic brief. [Moran's Plunket, p. 150.] In 1678 Ardagh was described as many years without a bishop. [Ibid. 153.] Gregory

Fallon was appointed to Ardagh in 1686, according to Dr. Renehan's papers; and, in 1709, Ambrose O'Connor was nominated to Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, but died in London on the 20th of February, 1711, before the brief for his consecration arrived. [Hib. Dom. 870.] Thomas MacDermott Roe then succeeded; and from his time the series of Roman Catholic bishops is unbroken.

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF ARDAGH, FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1576.—Patrick MacMahon.
1577 to 1580.—Richard Brady.
1580 to 1584.—Vacant.
1584 to 1587.—Edmund MacGauran.
1587 to 1644.—Under vicars.
1644 to 1647.—Oliver Darcy.
1647 to 1669.—Patrick Plunket.
1669 to 1686.—Under vicars.
1686 to 1709.—Gregory Fallon.
1711 to 1737.—Thomas MacDermott Roe.
1738 to 1746.—Thomas O'Beirne.
1751 to 1756.—Augustine Cheevers.
1756 to 1758.—Anthony Blake.
1758 to 1788.—James Brady.
1788 to 1815.—John Cruise.
1815 to 1829.—James M'Gauran.
1829 to 1853.—William O'Higgins.
1853 —John Kilduff.

The Protestant succession in Ardagh was commenced in 1583, although the Queen had made several attempts before that to introduce a nominee of her own choice. Her Majesty, writing on the 6th of November, 1572, from Windsor, gave directions for the appointment of "Mr. Garvey, now dean of Christ Church, to the bishopric of Ardagh, at present void." Garvey was to be also a privy councillor. [King's Letters, Custom House, Dublin, and Patent Rolls, 15^o Elizabeth, Membrane I.] In June, 1573, the Queen again wrote for the appointment of Garvey. [Calendar of State Papers, 511.] But Garvey was

never consecrated to Ardagh. "In fact he was consecrated to Kilmore in 1585." [Cotton iii. 183.] On the 13th of June, 1576, Sidney wrote from Dublin a letter to Walsingham, recommending John Pettit, clerk, for the see of Ardagh, vacant by the death of Patrick Macmahon, and asking for him also the parsonage of Pierstown, in commendam. [State Papers, Irish MSS., Rolls Office, London.] But this appointment, like that of Garvey, never was carried out. Ardagh was without a Protestant bishop for twenty-five years from the date of Elizabeth's accession. Lisach Ferrall, who at last was appointed by the Queen's Letters Patent, dated the 4th of November, 1583, has left no trace of his consecration.

From 1603 to 1633 Ardagh was held with Kilmore; from 1633 to 1654 it was held by John Richardson, an Englishman; from 1654 to 1661, the see was vacant; from 1661 to 1692 it was held with Kilmore; in 1692, Ulysses Burgh, an Irishman, held it for less than a year. From 1693 to 1742, Ardagh was held with Kilmore again. From 1742 to 1839 Ardagh was held with Tuam, and from 1839 to 1867 it has been united to Kilmore. Thus from Elizabeth's accession to the present time there have been but three Protestant bishops of the see of Ardagh alone.

DOWN AND CONNOR.

The see of Down was held, in 1558, by Eugene Magennis, who had been consecrated by the Pope in 1541. [Cotton's Fasti, vol. v. 234.] On the 1st of May and the 25th of October, 1559, he was pardoned by the Queen. [Morrin, vol. i. p. 400 and 407.] These pardons were mere formalities, and were granted frequently to the officers of Elizabeth, and sometimes to her own bishops. Magennis was present in the parliament of 1559-60, but nothing is known of his conduct in that assembly. Magennis died probably in 1563, for Richard Creagh, in his examination in the Tower, mentions that when he was at Rome, Shane O'Neil's messenger, "a priste from O'Neil's country," applied to have the bishopric of Down and Connor bestowed on "Shan's brother, a young man unlearned, not passing 23 year old." This request the Pope refused, but sent a letter with Creagh for a

pension to be given to Shan's brother on the bishopric. [Shirley, 166-169.] Eugene Magennis, in 1552, had assisted in consecrating Goodacre to Armagh. This act of conformity was pardoned by Queen Mary, and Magennis held his see under her reign. There is no evidence that Magennis assisted at any Elizabethan consecrations. He was reckoned among Roman Catholic bishops by the Pope, for his successor, Miler Magrath, was appointed in the Consistory of the 12th of October, 1565, to Down, vacant "per obitum Eugenii." [Irish Eccles. Record, vol. i. p. 269.] It is not unlikely that Miler Magrath was the "priste" sent by O'Neil to Rome, whom Creagh met there, and who "feigned to come at once with Creagh to Ireland, but tarried nevertheless there." Shan's brother, under colour of the grant of the pension on the see, possessed, no doubt, in May, 1565, the temporalities [See Shirley, 192], but was not the Papal bishop mentioned by Creagh as "a friar, the bishop of Down," who accompanied Creagh in August, 1566, in his visit to Shan. [Shirley, 326.] Miler Magrath was a native of Fermanagh and a Franciscan friar [Cotton's Fasti, i. 11], and thus answers to Creagh's description. Miler, although Shirley draws a different conclusion, was the bishop alluded to by Thomas Lancaster, in his letter to Cecil dated from Drogheda, May 31, 1567. Lancaster says:—"The 29th of this month (May) there came unto his honor, Sir H. Sidney, M'Gwyer to Drogheda, the third beast in all Ulster, and with him the feigned bishop of Down, who of late came from Rome, notwithstanding he shewed an humble submission: God grant that it be from their hearts, as they declare it outwardly." [Shirley, 306.] This occurrence is noticed in a State Paper of June, 1567, where the papal bishop of Down is said to have "craved to be restored." [Calend. State Papers, Elizabeth, p. 334, 337.] Queen Elizabeth's acceptance of Miler's conformity was thus expressed in a State Paper dated the 6th of July, 1567:—"We like also (says her Majesty) of the submission of the bishop of Down, and think it good that he and others, whom you shall not find meet to expel, be induced to submit themselves and to take their bishoprics of us." [Shirley, p. 307.] Magrath's submission was probably owing to his having had at the time small interest in

the Down bishopric, the temporalities of which were enjoyed by O'Neil's brother. Miler does not appear to have been the Queen's bishop of Down in 1569, when Merriman was consecrated, but, in 1570, received Clogher from her Majesty. [Cotton.]

The disturbed state of the northern dioceses was perhaps the reason why no immediate notice was taken by the Pope of Miler's conduct in 1567, or of his acceptance of Cashel from the Queen in 1571. Magrath is said to have had great influence with the Irish chieftains. It was not until 1579 that Miler was formally deposed by the Pope; and in 1580, Donatus O'Gallagher was translated from Killala to Down. [Vatican records quoted in Irish Eccles. Record. vol. i. p. 269.] O'Gallagher died in less than two years, and was succeeded by Cornelius O'Devany, or O'Dubhana, who was appointed to the see of Down and Connor, "vacantem per obitum," in the Consistory of the 27th of April, 1582. He was then present at Rome, and was probably there consecrated. O'Devany's episcopate lasted for thirty years. His name occurs in MS., T.C.D., E. 3, 8, as one of the correspondents in 1591 of Cardinal Allan. A Vatican archive, written circa 1579, describes Down and Connor as a diocese wherein Roman Catholic bishops or vicars could safely and without peril reside. But O'Devany suffered many dangers. He was arrested in June, 1611, and was imprisoned in Dublin Castle. In January, 1612, he was tried in the King's Bench, and on the 1st of February, 1612, was executed, being then about eighty years old.

After an interval of twelve years, Edward Dungan was appointed, in 1625, to succeed O'Devany, as bishop; and in July, 1626, he was consecrated at Drogheda. [Moran's Abps. of Dub., 394.] In 1628 he was arrested, and in 1629, he died a prisoner in Dublin Castle. [Ibid., 344.] Hugh, or Bonaventure Magennis, succeeded in 1629. [Ibid., 345.] He was Penitentiary of the Lateran Church at Rome, a member of the most noble and ancient family of the Magennises, cousin german of the Earl of Tyrone, and nearest kinsman to O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, who, in 1626, and 1627, wrote from Brussels to the Pope, warmly recommending Magennis for a bishopric. These

letters of O'Donnell were printed by John O'Donovan, M.R.I.A., in Duffy's *Hibernian Magazine*, i. 8, in a paper entitled "The O'Donnells in Exile." Bonaventure Magennis was consecrated in a Church near the Salarian gate at Rome, in 1630, and died on the 24th of April, 1640. [See Moran's *Abps. of Dub.*, 367; and Mooney's *History of the Irish Franciscans*, quoted in Duffy's *Hibernian Sixpenny Mag.* for May, 1864, page 312.] Emer, or Heber Mac Mahon, was appointed in succession to Magennis, in 1640 or 1641. He held the see for two years without having been consecrated, and was translated to Clogher in 1642. [*Ibid.*, 352.] His name, "Emer, bishop of Down and Connor," is attached to the declaration of the Roman Catholic clergy who met at Kilkenny in May, 1642. [Dalton's *Abps. of Dub.*, p. 404.] Arthur Magennis was probably the immediate successor of Emer Mac Mahon. Bishop Magennis was sitting, as the *Hibernia Dominicana* records, from 1648 to 1651. The same author narrates that Magennis "expiravit in mari" [p. 490]; but Dr. Moran—from a letter of the bishop of Clonfert, dated 31st August, 1652—says he was frightened to death by Puritan sailors who fired off a cannon at the bed-side of the aged and sick prelate. [See Moran's *Persecution of the Irish Catholics*, p. 210.] In 1670, there was no bishop in these sees, but a Vicar-General named Patrick O'Mulderig. [Moran's *Plunket*, p. 140.] Dr. Daniel Mackay was appointed bishop by the Pope, in 1672. [*Ibid.*, 124.] He was sitting, according to Dr. Renchan, in 1673. By comparing p. 182 of Dr. Moran's *Plunket* with page 207, it may be concluded that Mackay died in the Christmas of 1674 or 1675. The other Papal prelates are named in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF DOWN AND CONNOR,
FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1563.—Eugene Magennis.
- 1565 to 1569.—Miler Magrath.
- 1580 to 1582.—Donatus O'Gallagher.
- 1582 to 1612.—Cornelius O'Devany.
- 1625 to 1629.—Edward Dungan.
- 1629 to 1640.—Bonaventure Magennis.

- 1640 to 1642.—Emer Mac Mahon.
 1642 to 1652.—Arthur Magennis.
 1672 to 1675.—Daniel Mackay.
 to 1725.—James Shiel.
 to 1739.—Roger Armstrong.
 —Francis Stuart.
 1751 to 1760.—Edmund O'Doran.
 1760 to 1778.—Theophilus M'Cartan.
 1779 to 1794.—Hugh M'Mullin.
 1794 to 1824.—Patrick M'Mullin.
 1825 to 1835.—William Croly.
 1835 to 1865.—Cornelius Denvir.
 1865 —Patrick Dorrian, *Coadj.* from 1860.

The Queen was petitioned to appoint a worthy person to the see of Down, in a paper which Shirley supposes to have been dated in 1563, and which he considers to have been written by William Piers, the constable of Carrickfergus. This petition calls on her Majesty to “prefer some worthy learned man to the bishopric of Downe, within that pale (a goodly benefice), to the intent that he, being assisted by certain Irish prelates near adjoining, who are very zealously affected, may with special severity establish order in the church.” [Shirley, 132, 133.] The author of this petition entertained very different ideas from those of Elizabeth’s ministers concerning the zeal and usefulness of “Irish bishops,” who seem to have been generally looked on as utterly useless and contemptible in those days, from the mere fact of their being “Irish.” On the 6th of January, 1565, Queen Elizabeth nominated James McCaghwell, to Down, with instructions for his “election, consecration, and full investing,” “according to the laws and usages of that our realm.” [Morrin, i. 493, and Shirley, 157.] He was, however, afraid of Shane O’Neil, whose brother, as before stated, had a claim on the temporalities. M’Caghwell “durst not travel to Down for doubte of bodily harm” [Shirley, 192], and was never consecrated.

In 1569 another nominee of Elizabeth was more successful, for, on the 19th of January, John Merriman, an Englishman, was consecrated to Down and Connor. He died in 1571; and two

years afterwards, namely, in 1573, Hugh Allen, another Englishman, one of Sir Thomas Smith's colonists of the district called the Ards, was appointed. He was translated to Ferns in 1582. There was again a vacancy of eleven years, till Edward Edgeworth, a third Englishman, was appointed, in 1593. From that year to 1867 there has been an uninterrupted series of Protestant bishops in Down and Connor. From 1569 to 1867, there were, in all, twenty-six bishops, of whom thirteen were English, four were Scotch, one was of dubious nationality, and only eight were Irish. Eight of the twenty-six bishops were translated to richer sees, and two were deprived for misconduct.

DROMORE.

Arthur Magennis was bishop of Dromore in 1558. He had received his appointment from the Pope; and on the 10th of May, 1550, was pardoned on surrendering his bulls, and swearing that he would hold his see from his Majesty alone, and obey the laws in all things. [Morrin, i. 205.] Yet he was not a Protestant, for he is instanced by Cox (History, vol. i. 288) as a Catholic bishop whose continuance in his see was a proof that at this time "the Reformation made small progress in Ireland." On the death of Magennis, the Pope was inclined to unite Dromore to Ardagh, and in the Consistory of the 16th of January, 1576, Richard Brady was nominated to the "*Ecclesia Ardacandensis et Dromorensis, in Hibernia.*" But this union did not take place then, for, in the Consistory of the 23rd of January, same year, Patrick Maccual was appointed to Dromore as a separate see. This Consistorial entry is in the following terms:—

"Romæ apud sanctum Petrum die Lunæ 23^o Januarii, 1576, referente Cardinale Alciato, sua sanctitas providit ecclesiæ Dromorensi in regno Hiberniæ, vacanti per obitum Arturi, de persona Patricii Maccual ipsumque illi in episcopum præfecit." [Barberini Archives, Rome. *Acta Consistorialia*, vol. xvii.] It is not known how long Patrick Maccual sat. In a Vatican list of the year 1580, quoted by Dr. Moran, I.E.R., iii. p. 148, there appears a bishop of Dromore who had not taken the oath of allegiance. If the parliament list of 1585 is to be looked on as

evidence, there was a “busshopp of Dromoren” in that year, who was not certainly an Elizabethan bishop. In 1626 and 1632 Dromore was governed by Vicars-Apostolic. [See Moran’s *Abps. of Dublin*, 341 and 349.] Oliver Darcy appears as bishop of Dromore on the 4th of June, 1648 [*Hib. Dom.* 895], and was bishop probably for some years before that date. Some correspondence of this bishop of Dromore was printed in “*Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanrickard*” (Dub. 1744), pp. 38–110, from which it appears that he was alive in March and October, 1651. Dr. Renchan’s papers assert that Oliver Darcy was sitting in 1664. It is probable that this Darcy died before 1669; as, in 1670, another Oliver Darcy seems to have been appointed. In Echardus, *Scriptores Dominicani II.*, xxix, there appears “*Olivarius Darcis, Hybernus, Episcopus Dromorensis, electus anno 1670.*” In [1671, however, there was a Vicar-Apostolic in Dromore. [Moran’s *Plunket*, 144.] Perhaps the Oliver Darcy of 1648 and the Oliver Darcy of 1670 were one and the same person. [See *Hib. Dom.* 491.] Patrick O’Donnelly sat from 1701 to 1716, and was succeeded by bishop Maguire, according to the Renchan Papers. The same authority states, that Anthony O’Garvey was bishop from 1747 to 1763. This O’Garvey appears in the *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 361, as assisting at a consecration in 1759. O’Garvey was succeeded by bishop Brady, who died, according to Dr. Renchan, at Capranica, near Rome, in 1780. The succession of the other bishops appears in the following list :—

ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF DROMORE, FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1576.—Arthur Magennis.
- 1576 to 1585?—Patrick Maccual.
- 1585? to 1648?—Vicars-Apostolic.
- 1648 to 1670—Oliver Darcy.
- 1670 to 1701.—Vicars-Apostolic, or Administrators.
- 1701 to 1716.—Patrick O’Donnelly.
- 1716 to 1747?— — Maguire.
- 1747 to 1763.—Anthony O’Garvey
- 1763? to 1780.— — Brady.
- 1780 to 1801.—Matthew Lennan.

- 1801 to 1819.—Edmund Derry.
1820 to 1825.—Hugh O'Kelly.
1826 to 1832.—Thomas Kelly.
1833 to 1854.—Michael Blake.
1854 —John Pius Leahy.

Queen Elizabeth made no appointment to Dromore during her reign. Dating from her accession, the see was without a Protestant bishop for forty-eight years, until James I. gave it, in commendam with Down and Connor, to John Todd, in 1606. This Todd was an Englishman, according to Rothe, who, in his *Analecta*, censures Todd severely. Todd was brought up a Roman Catholic and a Jesuit, and, in 1606, conformed to the Established religion, and was made Treasurer of Lismore, Dean of Cashel, Dean of Ossory, &c., &c., and immediately afterwards became bishop of Down and Connor, with Dromore in commendam. "In the year 1611, being called to account for some crimes he had committed, he resigned his bishopric, and a little after died in prison, in London, of poison which he had prepared for himself. The crimes of which he was accused were incontinence, the turning away his wife, and taking the wife of his man-servant in her room, to which may be added subornation of witnesses." [Harris' *Ware*, p. 207.] In the letters patent concerning the deprivation of his brother, a tailor, whom the bishop made a dignitary of one of his dioceses, John Todd is said to have been deprived of his see "for notorious causes both of insufficiency of learning and corruption in manners." [Cotton's *Fasti*, and *Pat. Rot. James I. 22°*, part I., dorso cxiv., 47.] In 1613, Theophilus Buckworth was appointed, and during his incumbency, namely, in 1622, "the cathedral, which serveth also for the parish church, is (said to be) almost now builded, covered, and glazed, and in part furnished with seats, with the recusants' fines." [Visitation Book, Marsh's Library.] From 1613 to 1842, when the see was united to Down and Connor, there were twenty-three bishops of Dromore, without any break in the succession, except a vacancy of nine years duration between 1652 and 1661, and another break between 1661 and 1667, when Dromore was held in commendam with Down and Connor. Of the twenty-three bishops of Dromore,

thirteen were translated to richer sees. Fourteen out of the twenty-three were Englishmen, nine only were Irishmen.

DERRY.

Eugene O'Dogherty was bishop of Derry in 1558. The following document gives the date of his appointment:—"Die Lunæ 25 Junii, 1554, referente Reverendissimo Carpensi, sua sanctitas providit ecclesiæ Derensi in regno Hiberniæ vacanti per obitum Rurici Ydomnael extra Romanam curiam defuncti, de persona Eugenii Odochartaid Abbatis monasterii Cellæ nigre et Derensis ordinis Sancti Augustini, de nobile genere ex utroque parente, ita tamen quod non desinat eidem monasterio præesse, Taxa flor. CXX." [Barberini Archives.] No bishop of Derry appears in the parliament list of 1559. Redmund O'Gallagher succeeded O'Dogherty, as appears from another extract from the Acts of the Papal Consistory:—"22º Junii, 1569, referente Cardinale Morone, sua sanctitas absolvit Reverendum patrem dominum Edmundum O'Galhur, Episcopum Alladensem, a vinculo quo ecclesiæ Alladensi tenebatur, et eum transtulit ad ecclesiam Derensem, vacantem per obitum Eugenii Idhocharti, ipsumque illi in episcopum præfecit, cum retentione prioratus de Eachinis ordinis canonicorum regularium sancti Augustini cum suis annexis Alladensis diocesis valoris XXIV. marcarum sterlingorum." [Barberini Archives.] This Redmund O'Gallagher received a faculty from the Pope, in 1575, to exercise certain jurisdiction in Armagh during the absence of the primate. This faculty was thus registered in the "Secretaria Brevium," in Rome:—"Venerabili fratri Redmundo Episcopo Derrensi pro sua Diœcesi et tota Provincia Armachana quamdiu Ven. Frater Richardus Archiepiscopus Armachanus impeditus, a Diocesi et Provincia Armachana abfuerit." 13th Apr., 1575. [I. E. R. iii., 147.]

Again, in 1580, O'Gallagher is mentioned in a Vatican list as a bishop of Derry who had not taken the oath of allegiance. The name of the bishop, or see of Derry is entirely absent from the parliament list of 1585. But in the Rawlinson MS., C. 98, folio 26, printed in the *Kilkenny Archæological Journal* for 1856-7, there is the following account of O'Gallagher, from a State Paper, dated 28th of July, 1592:—"First in Ulster is

one Redmundus O'Galligher, buishopp of Dayrie, alias Daren, legate to the Pope and Custos Armaghinen, being one of the three Irish Buishoppes that were in the Councell of Trent. This Buishopp used all manner of spirituall jurisdiction throughout all Ulster, consecrating churches, ordeyning Preists, confirming children, and geving all manner of dispensacions, rydeing with pomp and company from place to place, as yt was accustomed in Queen Marye's dayes. And for all the rest of the clergy there, they use all manner of service there nowe, as in that tyme; and not only that, but they have changed the tyme according [to] the Pope's new invencion. The said Buishopp O'Galligher hath bin with diverse governors of that land upon proteccion, and yet he is suffered to enjoy the Buishoprick, and all the aforesaid auctorities, these XXVI. yeres past and more, where-by it is to be understood that he is not there as a man without authority or secretly kept," &c. Bishop O'Gallagher was killed in O'Kane's country on the 15th of March, 1601. [Cotton, iii. 315, and Four Masters, 2239.] Derry was without a Papal bishop after O'Gallagher's death for a space of one hundred years, during which time it was administered by Vicars-Apostolic. The following list of Derry Roman Catholic bishops is drawn up from Dr. Renehan's papers and the Hibernia Dominicana.

ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF DERRY FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1569.—Eugene O'Dogherty.
 1569 to 1601.—Redmund O'Gallagher.
 1601 to 1700?—Vicars-Apostolic.
 1700? to 1720.—Terence Donnelly.
 1727 to 1738.—Neal M'Conway.
 1739 to 1749.—Michael O'Reilly.
 1750 to 1752.—Patrick Brullaughan.
 1752 to —John M'Colgan.
 1766 to —Philip M'Davitt.
 1798 to 1823.—Charles O'Donnell.
 1823 to 1840.—Peter M'Laughlin.
 1840 to 1864.—John M'Laughlin, Cons. 1837.
 [1846 to 1849.—Edward Maginn, *Coadjutor*]
 1864 —Francis Kelly, *Coadjutor* from 1849.

There was no Protestant bishop of Derry until the year 1605. The statement made by Archdeacon Stopford and Mr. Hardinge, that there was a Protestant bishop of Derry in 1553, arose from confounding "Thomas Darenis" (Lancaster, bishop of Kildare, one of the assistant consecrators of Goodacre), with an imaginary "Thomas Derensis," bishop of Derry. But Edward VI. and Elizabeth made no appointment to the see of Derry, which was without a Protestant bishop for forty-seven years, dating from her accession. James I. gave, in 1605, Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, to G. Montgomery, a Scotchman. From 1605 to 1867, there have been twenty-three bishops of Derry, five of whom were translated to other sees. Of the entire number of Derry bishops, but four or five out of twenty-three were natives of Ireland. During a space of 245 years, from 1558 to 1803, only two Irishmen held Derry, and that but for twelve years between them. Of seventeen Derry bishops, who occupied the see until their deaths, five died in Dublin, and five others in England. Eight of the Derry bishops were Oxford men, and eight were of Cambridge. Only five were of Trinity College, Dublin.

RAPHOE.

Art O'Gallagher was bishop of Raphoe in 1558. His appointment is thus registered in the Acts of the Consistory of the 5th of December, 1547:—

"Romæ apud S. Petrum, die Lunæ, 5^o Decembris, 1547. Referente Reverendissimo Carpensi, S. sanctitas providit Ecclesiæ Rapotensi vacanti per obitum bonæ memoriæ Edmundi O Galenbait (sic), extra Romanam curiam defuncti, de persona Arthuri etiam O'Galenbait, Decani Ecclesiæ Derrensis, in ætate legitima et presbyteratus ordine, cum retentione Decanatus Ecclesiæ Derrensis." This Art O'Gallagher, according to a catalogue of Raphoe bishops preserved in the British Museum, "was a spirited gentleman, and always went with a troop of horsemen under his colours." No bishop of Raphoe appears in the parliament list of 1559. The Four Masters thus record the death of bishop Art:—"Art MacFelim Fin O'Gallagher, bishop of Raphoe, died at Ceann-Maghair on the 13th of August, 1561.

He was much lamented in Tyrconnell." Ceann-Maghair is now Kinnaweer, a town in Kilmaecreana parish, in the county of Donegal. On the 12th of October, 1561, David Wolfe wrote from Limerick to Rome, recommending the bearer of his letter, Donald MacComghail, for the vacant see of Raphoe, and stating that about fourteen persons had started from Ireland without Wolfe's directions to seek for that bishopric. [I. E. R. ii. 456-7.] The Pope complied with Wolfe's request, and appointed Donat or Donald McCongail to this see, vacant "per obitum bonæ memoriæ Arturi," in the Consistory of Jan. 28, 1562, as is thus recorded:—

"Die 28^o Januarii, 1562: Referente D. Cardinali Morone, S.S. providit ecclesiæ Rapotensi, vacanti per obitum bonæ memoriæ Arturi, extra Romanam curiam defuncti, de persona D. Donaldi Magongail, Hiberni, presentis in curia, commendati itidem litteris Reverendi patris David, cum retentione rectoriæ Kyllatay [Killagtee], Diocesis Rapotensis." Mac Congail was consecrated at Rome. [I. E. R., ii., 456-457.] He was present at the Trent Council in 1563. [Cotton.] In 1566 "Donald Magonnell, bishop of Raphoe," is a witness to a treaty between the Lord Deputy and Calvagh O'Donnell, wherein it was stipulated that "her Majesty shall have the donation of all bishops and other ecclesiastical persons in Connalia." By witnessing the signatures to this treaty, Mac Congail by no means testified his own acceptance of the Reformation, as has been asserted by some writers. In Cardinal Morone's papers in the Vatican is a minute of 1568 or 1569, mentioning that the bishop of Raphoe did not go to the Armagh Provincial Council of 1568, in consequence of being prevented by the war [I. E. R., i. 358], and on the 4th of May, 1575, special faculties for the government of his diocese were granted to:—"Donato, Rapotensi Episcopo, pro Diocesi Rapotensi." [I. E. R., ii. 147.] He is reckoned in the Vatican list of Irish bishops in 1580. "The busshopp of Rapoten" appears in the parliament list of 1585, but this document is of small authority. In 1587, "Donaldus Rapotensis" was at the Ulster Provincial Council, to promulgate the decrees of Trent. [See Renshan's Collections, i. 139.]

In the State Paper, preserved among the Rawlinson MSS.

at Oxford, and dated 1592, the bishop of Raphoe is thus described :—"There was one Rapotences Buishopp, who dyed three yeres, used the like auctorite there sithens he came from the Council of Trent, being with diverse governours of that land, and never reformed, nor brought to acknowledge his dutye to her Majestie." Bishop Mac Conghail died, according to the Four Masters, on the 29th of September, 1589. Niall O'Boyle, whose name is given in various records as Nigel Obceill, or Cornelius Buill, was appointed by the Pope to succeed Mac Congail, in the Consistory of the 5th of August, 1591. The following is the Consistorial entry :—"Anno 1591, die 5^o Augusti, Referente Cardinali Senonensi, provisum fuit ecclesie Rapotensi in regno Hibernie, vacanti per obitum Donaldi Mac Comagill, de persona Nigellani Obceill cum dispensatione super eo quod non sit Doctor." [I. E. R., ii. 459.] O'Boyle was imprisoned in 1597, and suffered many dangers. His episcopate lasted for twenty years. His death, which, by mistake, is given by Cotton as having taken place in 1601, occurred on the 6th of February, 1611. On that day, say the Four Masters, from whom Cotton quotes, "Niall O'Boyle, bishop of Raphoe, died at Gleann Eidhnege, and was interred at Iniscaoil," now Iniskeel, in the county of Donegal. Mooney's MS. history of the Franciscans places O'Boyle's death in the same year, namely, in 1611.

After an interval of fifteen years, John O'Cullenan appears bishop of Raphoe. The Renehan papers say, that he sat from 1626 to 1655, but the Rev. C. P. Meehan, in his "Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century," page 426 of Duffy's Hib. Sixpenny Mag. for Dec., 1863, asserts that O'Cullenan, after being released from Carrickfergus Castle, in 1647, resided in Ireland along with the Catholic archbishop of Tuam, till both prelates were compelled to go into exile. O'Cullenan, he continues, went to the monastery of the Regular Canons of S. Augustine, in Brussels. He died there, on the 24th of March, 1661, and was buried under the chapel of the B. V. M., in the church of SS. Michael and Gudule. The next Papal bishop of Raphoe was James O'Gallagher, translated to Kildare, according to the Renehan papers, in 1736, but no date for his

accession to Raphoe is given. In 1736, Daniel, or Bonaventure, O'Gallagher succeeded. He was consecrated at Rome, in the private residence of a Cardinal, according to the *Hibernia Dominicana*, page 231. The account is as follows:—

“I was present” (narrates De Burgo) “at the consecration of O'Gallagher, which was performed on the 29th of December, 1737, by his eminence *D. Antonio Xaverio Gentili, Tituli S. Stephani in Monte Celio Presbytero Cardinali, in œdibus suis Romæ privatim.*” Bishop O'Gallagher died in 1749, at Sligo.

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF RAPHOE FROM 1558.

1558 to 1561.—Art. O'Gallagher.

1562 to 1589.—Donald Mac Congail.

1591 to 1611.—Niall O'Boyle.

1611 to 1626.—Vicars-Apostolic.

1626 to 1661.—John O'Cullinan.

1661 to 17 .—Vicars-Apostolic.

17 to 1736.—James O'Gallagher.

1736 to 1749.—Daniel (Bonaventure) O'Gallagher.

1750 to 1757.—Anthony O'Donnell.

1759 to 1780.—Philip O'Reilly.

1780 to 1803.—Anthony Coyle.

[James Dillon, *Coadj.*]

[John M'Elroy, *elect.*]

1802 to 1819.—Peter M'Laughlin.

1820 to 1861.—Patrick M'Ettigan.

1861 —Daniel M'Ettigan, *Coadjutor* from 1856.

Raphoe was without a Protestant bishop for forty-seven years dating from the accession of Elizabeth. No appointment to this see was made by the Queen, but in 1605, James I. gave Raphoe, Derry, and Clogher to George Montgomery, one of his chaplains, and Dean of Norwich, by letters dated 15th of February, 1605. [Pat. Rot. 3^o James I., part 2, dorso L. 4.] From 1605 to 1834, when the see was suppressed under the Church Temporalities Act, there were twenty bishops of Raphoe, of whom nine were translated to richer sees. Only eight of the twenty bishops were of Irish birth, eight others being English, and four others being Scotch by birth.

DUBLIN.

Hugh Curwin was Archbishop of Dublin in 1558. He had been selected, in Queen Mary's reign, to succeed George Browne, a zealous reformer who was deprived on the ground of his being a married man. [Cotton.] He was consecrated on 8th September, 1555, at London House, by Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and Maurice Griffin, bishop of Rochester. [Stubbs' Reg., Sac. p. 81.] In the same year (1555) he "called a provincially synod, as hee pretended, for Reformacon of religion" [Loftus MSS.], that is, to further Papal authority. Under Queen Elizabeth, Curwin's principles, if he had any, changed, and he was truly described by the Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes in 1563, as "civile and conformable" and ready to do "what auctoritie shall commaunde." [Shirley, p. 140.] His moral character was assailed by Loftus, who was "almost ashamed to mention" the "open crimes" of Curwin. [Strype's Life of Parker, i. 221.] As these crimes were not mentioned it is to be presumed they were not proveable, for Curwin had many enemies who would gladly have accused him if possible. Brady, bishop of Meath, complained of him as not *willing to go thorough*, and as an *old unprofitable workman*. [Shirley, p. 201.] And Loftus says he used to "swear terribly" in open judgment. [Ibid, p. 275.] Perhaps Curwin was averse to the severe measures which Loftus was anxious to introduce. After repeated requests, the Queen permitted Curwin to resign in 1567, and gave him the bishopric of Oxford. Curwin sailed for England on the 11th January, 1567, and Loftus was invested in the see of Dublin on the 24th August same year. [Ibid, p. 304.]

The Roman Catholic succession of Bishops, although almost unbroken, during Elizabeth's reign, in the rest of Ireland, suffered, at this period, in the see of Dublin a lengthened interruption.

An attempt to appoint a Roman Catholic archbishop in place of Curwin, appears to have been made about the year 1564, from a passage in a printed volume to which the author's attention was called by the Rev. Dr. M'Carthy, of Maynooth College.

This work (of which a copy is in the library of T.C.D) is entitled "Imago Primi Sæculi Societatis Jesu." It is in folio, and bears the imprint of Antwerp, 1640. It is an account of the Jesuits, and their progress, in the first century after the foundation of the society. At page 789-790 is the following passage:—

"Anno 1564, Dubliniensis Præsul, vir domi suæ nobilis ac prudens, postquam Lovanii apud nos pie hæc obivisset exercitia, omni studio et contentione persuasit Stephano, Mariæ Stuartæ Scotorum reginæ ad summum Pontificem legato, ex prima nobilitate, sed nescio qua causa a nostrorum consuetudine prorsus abhorrenti, ut et ipse commentationibus illis aliquantisper vacaret. Vix gustaret Stephanus, cum cœpit tanto animi affectu Societatem prosequi, ut ex ea nonnullos ardentissime peteret secum deinde in Scotiam profecturos. Haud diu post, quasi nexu quodam constricta teneretur transmarinorum Præsulum pietas, Richardus Archiepiscopus Armacanus ex eisdem domi nostræ obitis exercitiis vires vigoremque hausit, tanto muneri fructuoseque sustinendo pares."

The foregoing extract is corroborated by other testimonies so far as regards the Armagh bishop, who undoubtedly did visit Louvain in the summer or autumn of 1564. But the name of the Dublin prelate of the same date has not, so far as published researches testify, been ascertained. That there was an archbishop of Dublin, appointed by the Pope long before Oviedo's time, is extremely probable. In 1569 the "Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis" appears in the petition brought by the Papal archbishop of Cashel to Spain. "Le Comte De Falloux, de l'Académie française," in his "Histoire de Saint Pie V.," gives a letter from Marie, Queen of Scots, to the Pope, dated from Chatsworth, October, 31, 1570, in which she mentions the Archbishop of Dublin as her agent, and fully acquainted with her affairs. De Falloux refers to Bzovius as his authority for this letter. The part relating to the Dublin bishop is as follows:—"Et comme il est très difficile de tout confier a une lettre, j'ai instruit de toutes mes affaires l'evêque de Dublin, attendu qu'il a toujours été pour moi un nonce tres fidèle et en même temp tout dévoué a Votre Sainteté et au Saint-Siège

apostolique. Votre Sainteté pourra lui accorder assurément une foi entière dans toutes les choses qu'il traitera en mon nom." [De Falloux, Hist. Pie V., p. 338: Troisième Edition. Paris, 1838.]

In 1575, on the 10th of April, special faculties were granted to the Papal bishop of Cork and Cloyne, not only for his own diocese, but also for Dublin and Cashel, as long as the archbishops of those sees should be absent from their provinces—"Pro universa provincia Dublinensi ex qua es oriundus et Casselensi, quamdiu Archiepiscopi et suffraganei sui a suis provinciis et ecclesiis, civitatibus et diocesis respectue abfuerint." [I. E. R. iii. 147.] But in a Vatican paper of 1580, there is a passage which would induce the belief that no Papal archbishop had been appointed to Dublin from 1558 to that time. "Dublin," so says this archive, "is vacant by the demise of its bishop in the reign of Henry VIII. The whole city, however, continues to be devoted to the Catholic faith, although it is occupied by an heretical bishop." [I. E. R. iii. 149.] In 1587, however, there seems to have been an archbishop of Dublin, for the Pope in his brief for Ribera's appointment to Leighlin, exhorts his "venerable brother, the archbishop of Dublin, to whom he has written letters to the same effect," to favour and protect Ribera his suffragan: "Rogamus quoque et hortamur Venerabilem patrem nostrum archiepiscopum Dublinensem et per similia scripta mandantes quatenus te et præfatum ecclesiam ejus suffraganeam . . . sic te sui favoris præsidio prosequatur." [See Leighlin diocese, postea, and I. E. R. ii. 550.] The Rev. C. P. Meehan (in Duffy's Sixpenny Hibernian Magazine for November, 1863, page 338, footnote) has noticed a tradition "that two archbishops of Dublin governed the see of Dublin, immediately after Curwin's apostacy." He has also quoted from the Lynch MS. which asserts that "The Tabulæ Romanæ mention one Andrew, archdeacon of Dublin, as successor to James" in the see of Dublin. Mr. Meehan, indeed, considers this a palpable error, and Lynch, it appears, did not place much reliance on the defective copy which he had of extracts from the Roman archives. However, it seems unlikely that so many

references should be made to Archbishops of Dublin between Curwin and Oviedo unless they really existed. Farther researches in the Roman archives may yet bring to light some documents which may clear up the difficulty.

With the exception, however, of the foregoing authorities, no trace exists of any Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin between the conversion (or, as Roman Catholics call it, the apostacy) of Curwin and the succession of Matthew de Oviedo in the year 1600; excepting that in the bull for the appointment of Matthew, the see was described as being destitute of a pastor by the death of Donaldus, Archbishop of Dublin, of happy memory. [Bulla Clementis VIII., 3 Nonas Maii, 1600, ex Archiv. Secret. Brevium.] The English Government were strong enough in Dublin to make it unsafe, at that time, for any Papal bishop to adventure himself within the central garrison of the Pale. Even the Commissary Apostolic, or Nuncio, David Wolfe, found it necessary to delegate his powers, "*vicem nostram*," to a Dublin priest; and, being afraid to travel to those parts of Ireland, "*ob discrimina itineris*," he conferred in the year 1563, on Thadeus Newman special authority to absolve from all grave crimes and reconcile offenders to the church—"omnem potestatem absolvendi in hac parte." [Shirley, 129.] Upon the longest computation, that is, placing Curwin's defection from Roman Catholicism in the year 1558, and allowing nothing for the episcopate of Donald, and any other predecessors of Oviedo, Dublin was without a Roman Catholic prelate for a space of forty-two years. This break in the Roman Catholic succession was, however, almost confined to this one diocese and was exceeded in length by breaks in the Protestant succession in six other dioceses, namely, in Clogher, Derry, Kilfenora, Dromore, Raphoe, and Achonry, where the interruptions lasted for periods, respectively, of 46, 47, 47, 48, 48, and 50 years. It is to be observed also, that if the Roman Catholic succession was interrupted in Dublin, the Protestant Episcopal succession, although continued through the consecration of Loftus by Curwin, was completely severed from all connection, by consecration, with the ancient Irish episcopate. Curwin is the link

by which apostolical succession is preserved to the Reformed Irish Church [Mant, i. 269, 270]; but Curwin had himself only English and Papal orders, to which alone those whom he consecrated may lay claim. Irish orders, it is evident, cannot be deduced from an English source.

The names of the Dublin prelates are given in the following

LIST OF ANGLICAN AND ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS OF
DUBLIN, FROM THE YEAR 1558.

ANGLICAN.	ROMAN CATHOLIC.
Hugh Curwin (E., Ox.), 1558, trans. to Oxford.	
Adam Loftus (E., Cam.), 1567, died 1605.	1600, May 5, Matt. d'Oviedo. 1609, died.
Thomas Jones (E., Cam.), 1605, died 1619.	1609, Aug. 31, Eug. Matthews, 1622, died.
Lanct. Bulkeley (W., Ox.), 1619, died 8th September, 1650. Vacant from 1650 to 1661.	1623, Thomas Fleming. 1656? died. 1656 to 1669 vacant.
Js. Margetson (E., Cam.), 1661, trans. to Armagh, 1663.	
Michael Boyle (I.T.C.D.) 1663, trans. to Armagh, 1678.	1669, Peter Talbot. 1680, died.
John Parker (I.T.C.D.), 1679, died in Dublin, 1681.	
Francis Marsh (E., Cam.), 1682, died 1693.	

- 1683, Patrick Russell.
1692, died.
1693, Peter Creagh.
1705, died.
- Narcissus Marsh (E., Ox.), 1694,
trans. to Armagh 1702.
- Wm. King (I., T.C.D.), 1703,
died in Dublin 1729.
- 1707, Edmond Byrne.
1723, died.
1724, Edward Murphy.
1728, died.
1729, Sept. Luke Fagan.
1734, died.
- John Hoadley (E.,) 1730,
trans. to Armagh 1742.
- 1734, John Linegar.
1757, died.
- Charles Cobbe (E., Ox.), 1743,
died in Dublin 1765.
- 1757, Richard Lincoln.
1763, died.
1763, Patrick Fitzsimons.
1769, died.
- Hon. W. Carmichael (S.), 1765,
died in Dec., 1765, at Bath.
- Arthur Smyth (I., Ox.), 1765,
died in Dublin 1771.
- 1770, John Carpenter.
1786, died.
- John Cradock (E. Cam.), 1772,
died in Dublin 1778.
- Robert Fowler (E., Cam.), 1779,
died in Essex in 1801.
- 1786, John Thomas Troy.
1823, died.
- Rt. Hon. C. Agar (I., Ox.), 1801,
died in London in 1809.

Euseby Cleaver (E., Ox.), 1809,
died in Kent 1819.

J. G. Beresford (I., Ox.), 1820,
trans. to Armagh 1822.

Wm. Magee (I., T.C.D.) 1822,
died, near Dublin, 1831.

Richd. Whately (E., Ox.), 1831,
died, near Dublin, 1863.

Rd. Ch. Trench (I., Cam.), 1864.

1823, Daniel Murray.
1852, died.

1852, Paul Cullen.

According to the foregoing list, there were, between the years 1558 and 1867, sixteen Roman Catholic, and twenty-two Anglican Archbishops of Dublin. Of the Anglican prelates, five were translated to other sees, and four, namely, Carmichael, Fowler, Agar, and Cleaver, died in England. Only four of the Anglican Archbishops were of Trinity College, Dublin, and those four were Boyle, Parker, King, and Magee. Of the remaining eighteen, eight were of Oxford, eight of Cambridge, one of a Scotch University, and another, Hoadley, belonged to either Oxford or Cambridge. There was one Welshman, one Scotchman, twelve Englishmen, and only eight Irishmen among the twenty-two Anglican Archbishops of Dublin.

KILDARE.

Thomas Leverous was bishop of Kildare in 1558; and on the 11th December, in that year, signed the Council order for the appointment of Sir H. Sidney as Lord Justice. [Morrin, vol. i. p. 396.] "Thomas Darenensis, Episcopus," appears in the parliament list of 1559-60. Leverous was nominated in May, 1559, with others, as a Commissioner to muster the inhabitants of the county Carlow, and assess them for military supplies. [Ibid., p. 412.] In January, 1559-60, he was deprived for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. [Cotton.] He acted, however, as Papal bishop until he died, aged eighty years, in 1577. He was buried at Naus, in the parish church of S. David. [Ware.] Fifty years elapsed from the death of

Leverous, before another bishop was appointed. During this period, Vicars-General Apostolic administered the see. At length, in 1627, Roche Mac Geoghegan was appointed by the Propaganda, and was consecrated, in 1628, by the archbishop of Mechlin, at Brussels. [See Moran's *Abps. of Dublin*, 344 and 400; and Rev. C. P. Meehan's "Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century," in *Duffy's Hib. Sixpenny Mag.* for January, 1864, p. 3.] Mac Geoghegan is mentioned in terms of great praise by De Burgo, who assigns his death to the year 1642. [*Hib. Dom.* 487.] But Invernizi, a companion of the nuncio Rinuccini, writing to the Pope, in 1645, describes Kildare as "nuper Antistite suo orbata." A Wadding MS. of 1644, also quoted by Dr. Moran, at page 400 of his "*Archbishops of Dublin*," has the following entry:—"Roccus Mac Geoghegan moritur anno 1644, ante mensem Junium." From 1644 to 1674, or 1675, Kildare was again placed under Vicars. In 1677, Dr. Forstall appears as bishop of this see, [Moran's *Plunket*, p. 181], and he shortly afterwards received the administration of Leighlin in addition. He was imprisoned in 1679, and on his liberation, fled to the Cashel diocese, where he died, in 1683. [*Ibid.* 170.] The immediate successor of Forstall was Edward Wesley, who was present at a provincial Synod held at Dublin, on the 24th of July, 1685. He was styled "Episcopus Kildariensis et Administrator Lechlinensis." [*Hib. Dom.* 815.] The other bishops of this see, according to Dr. Renchan's papers, are given in the following

LIST OF KILDARE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS, FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1577.—Thomas Leverous.
 1577 to 1627.—Vicars-General Apostolic.
 1627 to 1644.—Roche Mac Geoghegan.
 1644 to 1675.—Vicars-General Apostolic.
 1676 to 1683.—Dr. Forstall.
 1683 —Edward Wesley.
 1707 to 1724.—Edward Murphy.
 1736 to 1739.—James O'Gallagher
 1752 to 1787.—James O'Keeffe.
 [1781 to 1783.—Richard O'Reilly, *Coadjutor*.]

- 1787 to 1814.—Daniel Delany, [*Coadjutor* from 1783.]
 1815 to 1818.—Michael Coreoran.
 1819 to 1834.—James Doyle.
 1834 to 1837.—Edward Nolan.
 1838 to 1855.—Francis Healy.
 1856 —James Walshe.

The first Elizabethan bishop of Kildare, and also the first Elizabethan bishop appointed to an Irish see, was Alexander Craike, whom Archdeacon Cotton supposes to have been a Scotchman. Bishop Mant [i. 276,] asserts that Craike was dean of S. Patrick's before he became a bishop; but erroneously, for he got the deanery and the bishopric by the same patent, succeeding to both preferments by the deprivation of the Marian bishop, Leverous. The Patent Rolls contain the Queen's letter, for Craike's advancement to the bishopric and deanery, dated the 17th of May; her Majesty's nomination, dated the 22nd; and the Restitution, dated the 21st of August, 1560. [Morrin, i. pp. 435, 433.] In Mason's History of S. Patrick's Cathedral, it is stated at page lxxviii of the "Notes," under the account of the Prebendaries of Clonmethan, that in "1559, Alexander Craike was elected Dean." This entry would seem to indicate that Craike was a Prebendary of that Cathedral before he became bishop, but his name does not appear before the year 1559, and it is most likely his appearance as Prebendary, and his election as Dean, were owing to the attempts of the chapter to secure their undoubted rights, and preserve the shew of an election to which they dared not proceed freely. By making Craike a Prebendary, and then electing him Dean, they evaded the surrender of their rights, which her Majesty perhaps did not know at first, but which she would not have suffered to stand in her way for a moment, if she had known them.

It may be useful to give, in a brief form, the facts, so far as they have been ascertained respecting Craike's consecration, which was the earliest Elizabethan consecration in Ireland. The sees which first came to the Queen's disposal were those of Armagh and Cork, vacant, at her accession in 1558, by death,

and Kildare and Meath, vacant, in 1560, by deprivation. Kildare was filled by the consecration of Craike in August, 1560, Cork by that of Skiddy in October, 1562, and Armagh by that of Loftus in March, 1563. It is curious that Craike should have been consecrated before Skiddy or Loftus whose sees had been so much longer vacant. Craike was consecrated in S. Patrick's Cathedral, of which church he was Dean, by Hugh Curwin, "sub exitum Augusti 1560." [Ware, Edition of 1665, page 129.] This item of intelligence was taken from the Register of S. Patrick's—"Ex Regist. San. Patritii," as may be seen in Ware's works, edition of 1705, at page 4 of the Transcripts from the papers of Sir James Ware. This almost proves that Ware saw the register of Craike's consecration belonging to the Cathedral where the consecration took place. It is curious either that Ware should have only extracted the name of the principal consecrator in this the first of the Elizabethan consecrations, or that the Register should have contained, if we adopt such a supposition, only one name. It has been asserted that Ware's usual custom was to give the name of the principal consecrator only, but an examination of his works, printed in his lifetime, will prove the contrary. Between the year of Elizabeth's accession and 1640 or 1641, when the disturbance of wars arose, Ware, out of all the instances where he names a consecrator at all, has given in seventeen cases either three or four consecrators to each bishop, and in six cases only has confined himself to naming one consecrator. Of these latter six, three are instances of consecrations in the provinces of Armagh or Cashel, and the other three are the most important cases of Craike and Loftus, and the less important one of Cavenagh in 1567. In the case of the sixteen or seventeen bishops consecrated between 1640, and 1665, the date of Ware's last edition, there occurs scarcely one instance of his omitting to give the names of either three or four consecrators. It may fairly be concluded that Ware, when he quoted from documents, gave the names of all the consecrators he could find, and that the fact of his not recording more than one consecrator in the cases of Craike and Loftus was not occasioned by any carelessness on his part.

The character of Craike, to judge by his own letters, and his actions as recorded by Ware, is not much to be admired. Seven of his letters are printed by Shirley, all of which were dated from his Deanery house, near Dublin, excepting one, which was written from the Marshalsea. The first letter of the series is truly pitiable. Craike, about nine months from his appointment, writes to his patron, Lord Robert Dudley, in terms of bitter mortification, "craving," as the endorsement states, "to be discharged of his bishopric." His functions seem "a heavy burden of his conscience," and he upbraids Dudley as "the instrument of this his continual and daily torment," namely, "his preferment unto a bishopric in such place in Ireland, where neither he can preach unto the people, nor the people understand him." He complains that he has no preacher to assist him to set forth God's word, or the Queen's proceedings, except Loftus. He does not omit to solicit a remission of his first fruits. The other letters are of the same stamp, containing requests for removal, or leave of absence, and for remission of his first fruits, which he neglected to pay. He speaks favourably of Loftus and mentions his own labours in preaching. There is no indication in any of these letters that Craike resided in, or visited, his diocese of Kildare, but Ware relates that he reduced that see to a most shameful poverty. In fact all the time that he was writing begging letters to England, for remission of his first fruits, he was alienating the possessions of his bishopric by making leases of the see lands. Eventually he was thrown into the Marshalsea for nonpayment of the sums due for his first fruits. No charges of immorality or cruelty were brought against Craike, and in this respect he was more fortunate than his contemporary brother bishops. He died in the early part of the year 1564.

Her Majesty, on the 16th of April, 1564, appointed Robert Daly, a man "able to preach in the Irish tongue," to the bishopric, vacant by the death of Craike, but at the same time gave the deputy permission to stay the appointment if he should think Daly "unfit, for any reasons unknown to her Majesty." The terms of this letter prove that the Queen still forgot the abolition of the conge d'elire in Ireland, for she commands "you our Lieutenant and you our Chancellor (*i. e.* Curwin) to pro-

ceed by such warrants and other commissions as the cause shall require to prefer him to be elected, instituted, and installed as bishop of Kildare, according to the laws and usages of our realm in that case requisite." [King's Letters, Custom House, Dublin.] The see of Kildare possessed an unbroken succession of Protestant bishops (excepting a break of eleven years between 1650 and 1661), from the year 1560 to 1846, when the see was suppressed under the provisions of the Church Temporalities Act. For the last 164 years of its separate existence as a Protestant bishopric, Kildare was occupied by nine prelates, of whom eight were English and one Scotch by birth. Seven out of the nine were graduates of Oxford and two were graduates of Cambridge. Not a solitary Irishman, either by birth, or education in Trinity College, Dublin, appears in the list of Kildare bishops during that period of more than a century and a half. During the entire period between 1560 and 1846, there were eighteen bishops, of whom five only were Irish by birth, the rest being Scotch, English, or Welsh. Eight of the eighteen were translated to other sees. Eight of these bishops were of Oxford, two of Cambridge, and five were of Trinity College, Dublin. The remaining three were not of the Dublin University, and probably were members of either Oxford or Cambridge.

OSSORY.

Ossory was held, in 1558, by John Thonery, who in May, 1559, was one of the Commissioners appointed for civil and military purposes for Kilkenny county. [Morrin, vol. i. p. 412.] He seems to have been deprived about the year 1561, as appears by a memorandum in the State Paper Office which describes Ossory, Armagh, and Cashel, as being then vacant. [Shirley, p. 101.] Thonery's name appears in the parliament list of 1560, but yet he seems not to have conformed in any degree to Protestantism. In a State Paper of 1561-2 [See Shirley, 101], Ossory is counted as one of "the Bisshoppericks voyde" in Ireland, although both Bale, the bishop deprived by Mary in 1553, and Thonery were then alive. In the "Instructions given to Sir H. Sidney" by the Queen, in July,

1565, "her Majesty, understanding that the archbishopric of Cashel and the bishopric of Ossory have been long void, whereby hath grown lack to the ecclesiastical government there," proposes the union of those two sees, in order to make a provision for a bishop who might serve as a counsellor in Munster. [Shirley, 207.] John Thonery, in a First Fruit Roll of the year 1567, and later, is returned as a defaulter. His recusancy extended to a neglect to pay his First Fruits due "in quindena" Michaelmas, 1554, and "in quindena" Michaelmas, 1555. The total amount unpaid at his death was £68 6s. 8d. [Custom House Records, Dublin.] Ware and Cotton assert that Thonery died in 1565, but Dr. Moran says that he died in 1567. The year of his death may be disputed, but not his place among Roman Catholic bishops. De Burgo, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 869, traces through O'Thonery the line of the Ossory bishops, and says that he was succeeded by Thomas Strong, who, as the Consistorial entry [I. E. R. i. 571.] testifies, was appointed within fifteen or seventeen years of the death of Thonery. The entry is as follows:—

"Die 28° Martii, 1582. Sua Sanctitas, referente Cardinali Senonensi, providit ecclesiæ Ossorien. in Prov. Dubliniensi, a pluribus annis vacanti per obitum Joannis O'Thonery, in dicta diocesi defuncti, per Thomam Strong, Presbyterum Waterfordiensem, Doctorem Theologiæ, in curia presentem." Strong was consecrated at Rome, and succeeded in reaching Ireland. The Roman Catholic bishop of Killaloe, in a letter of the 29th of October, 1584, relates that Strong remained a few months in Ireland, in a secular garb, to avoid apprehension, and subsequently betook himself to Spain. [I. E. R. i. 572.] He became suffragan to the bishop of Compostella, and died there on the 20th of January, 1602, and was buried in the cloister of the cathedral of S. James. [Hib. Dom. 602, and I. E. R. i. 572.] There was another interval of sixteen years, until David Rothe, the famous author of the *Analecta*, succeeded. He was appointed in the Consistory of the 1st of October, 1618, according to Dr. Renchan. De Burgo, *Hib. Dom.* 869, thus records the event, "ex archivo Vaticano":—

"Item in Consistorio Octobris 1618, Sedente Paulo V.

Pontifico Maximo, proponente vero Fabritio Cardinali Verallo, Regni Hiberniæ Protectore, fuisse ad prælibatam Ossoriensem ecclesiam, sub invocatione Sancti Canici Abbatis et Confessoris, vacantem per obitum Thomæ Strong, a pluribus annis in Hispania defunctum in munere Suffraganei tunc existentis archiepiscopi Compostellani, quo aufugerat causa persecutionis Hereticorum, promotum Davidem Roth, presbyterum Ossoriensem, ætatis quadraginta quinque annorum, Magistrum in Theologia," &c.

Rothe was consecrated in Paris a few months after his appointment, and died on the 20th of April, 1650, in prison at Kilkenny. [See Moran's Plunket, xxvii.] Renchan gives James Phelan as Rothe's successor, in the year 1654. This is confirmed by the Hib. Dom. p. 815, where it is noted that Phelan, who attended a synod in Dublin, on the 24th of July, 1685, had been then forty years bishop of Ossory, but Dr. Moran gives the 21st of January, 1669, as the date of Phelan's nomination. [Moran's Plunket, p. 20.] In March, 1689, Phelan attended King James in Kilkenny. [Hib. Dom. 142.] The other bishops of this see appear in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF OSSORY FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1565 or 1567.—John Thonery.
- 1567 to 1852.—Vicars-General Apostolic.
- 1582 to 1602.—Thomas Strong.
- 1602 to 1618.—Vicars-General Apostolic.
- 1618 to 1650.—David Rothe.
- 1654? to 1698.—James Phelan.
- 1698 to 1711.—William Dalton [Hib. Dom. 815.]
- 1712? —Malachy O'Delany.
- 17 ? to 1735?—Patrick O'Shea.
- 1736 to 1748.—Colman O'Shaughnessy.
- 1748 to 1758.—James Dunne.
- 1759 to 1776.—Thomas De Burgo.
- 1776 to 1786.—John Thomas Troy.
- 1787 to 1789.—John Dunne.
- 1789 to 1812.—James Lanigan.
- 1814 to 1827.—Kyran Marum.

1829—1845.—William Kinsella.

1846 Edward Walsh.

The first Protestant bishop appointed by Elizabeth was Christopher Gafney, who was nominated by Queen's letter of 4th December, 1565. [Morrin, i. 499], but whose patent did not pass until 1567, nine years after the accession of the Queen. From 1567 to 1867, there have been twenty-seven bishops of Ossory, of whom fourteen were natives of England or Wales, thirteen being of Irish birth. Ten of the twenty-seven bishops were translated to richer sees.

FERNs.

Alexander Devereux was bishop of Ferns in 1558, and in May, 1559, was a Commissioner for civil and military affairs in Wexford county [Morrin, vol. i., p. 412], and on the 13th April, 1562-3, received a similar commission. [Ibid., p. 477.] He was the last Abbat of Dunbrody; and, as he was not deprived of his see for marriage during Queen Mary's reign, his sons, to whom he "putt awaye the moost p'te of the living of his buss-hoprick" [Shirley, p. 237], were probably illegitimate, as Sir H. Sidney alleged. [Ibid., p. 265.] As Alexander Devereux received his consecration from George Browne, archbishop of Dublin, who had been consecrated in England by the Archbishop of Canterbury, it is evident that no ancient Irish orders could have been transmitted by Devereux, if he assisted—but of this there is no trace—Curwin in his consecrations. He died in 1566.

Alexander Devereux, the bishop who, in 1558, was recognized by the Crown, is not reckoned among Roman Catholic bishops of Ferns. The Roman Catholic line begins at an earlier date. Bernard O'Donnell, in opposition to Devereux, was appointed in the Consistory of the 30th of March, 1541, and in the same year, on the 3rd of June, exchanged sees with Hubert Iseranen, who resigned on the 5th of May, 1542, when Dermitius Fitzpatrick succeeded. [Vatican MS. and Moran's *Abps. of Dub.* 184.] In a Vatican archive of 1580, Ferns was said to be vacant by the demise of its bishop (Fitzpatrick), and to be occupied by a certain man (John Devereux, whose death was not then known at Rome), who, though Catholic in sentiment,

yet, having been instituted by the Queen, administers the see as a heretic. [I. E. R., iii. 149.] Peter Power was appointed successor to Fitzpatrick, in the Consistory of the 27th of April, 1582. [Moran's Abps. of Dub. 184.] This Peter Power seems to have been nearly terrified into conformity when the bishop of Emly was tortured. He repented, however, and was cast into prison. "Episcopus vero Fernensis, prius consentiens Anglis, penitentia ductus ultro se obtulit pro fide, qui jam teterimis carceribus sine foramine lucis detinetur." [Letter of Cornelius, bishop of Killaloe, dated 29th Oct., 1584, printed in I. E. R., i. 476.] Power died in 1587, a suffragan to the bishop of Compostella, in Spain. [Hib. Dom. 602.] The other Papal bishops appear in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF FERNS, FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1580.—Dermotus Fitzpatrick.
 1582 to 1587.—Peter Power.
 1587 to 1627.—Vicars-General Apostolic.
 1627 to 1636.—John Roche. He died on the 9th of April.
 1636 to 1643.—Vicars-General Apostolic.
 1643 to 1678.—Nicholas French. [Renehan Papers.]
 16—? to 1687.—Luke Wadding.
 16—? to 1709.—Michael Rossiter.
 1709 —John Verdun.
 1729 to 1744.—Ambrose O'Callaghan.
 1744 to 1786.—Nicholas Sweetman. [He died Oct. 19, 1786.]
 [1775 to 1781, 30th Sept.—John Stafford, *Coadjutor*.]
 1786 to 1814.—James Caulfield. [*Coadjutor* in 1782.]
 1814 to 1819.—Patrick Ryan, [*Coadjutor* in 1804.]
 1819 to 1849.—James Keatinge.
 1850 to 1856.—Myles Murphy.
 1857 —Thomas Furlong.

The first Elizabethan bishop of Ferns was John Devereux, appointed in 1566. His character does not seem to have been good. Archbishop Loftus wrote of him, "an unfitter man cannot be; he is now of late deprived of his deanery, for "confessed whoredom," yet he got the bishopric and the deanery of

Ferns in commendam from the Queen. [Shirley, 271.] From 1566 to 1835, when the see was suppressed under the Church Temporalities Act, there were thirty bishops of Ferns in succession, the only vacancy being one of thirteen years between 1648 and 1661. Out of the thirty bishops, only eleven were Irish by birth, eighteen being English, and one being of doubtful nationality. Fifteen of the thirty bishops were translated to richer sees, and of the fifteen who were not translated, eight died, away from their sees, chiefly in England or Dublin.

LEIGHLIN.

Thomas O'Fihel, Fyllyc, or Field, was bishop of Leighlin in 1558, and, according to a state paper, dated 28th May, 1559, took the oath of allegiance and abjuration of all foreign authority and jurisdiction in that year. [Shirley, p. 93, and Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, p. 154.] O'Fihil was then in England, for he signed the articles of submission to the Queen, and renunciation of the Pope, at Greenwich, before the Council, on the 23rd of June, 1559. These articles are not merely equivalent to an oath of allegiance, which Catholic bishops might fairly take, but amount to a denial of the Pope's authority and jurisdiction throughout the Queen's dominions, in matters temporal, spiritual, or ecclesiastical. In consideration of his surrendering his bulls, Her Majesty gave him the temporalities of his see, and ordered a suitable recompense to be made him for some lands near the fort of Leighlin, which Her Majesty required for her own service. [Shirley, p. 93.] O'Fihil was nominated by the Queen on 6th of October, 1564, along with archbishop Loftus, bishop Brady, of Meath, bishop Daly, of Kildare, and others, to be a Commissioner for inquiry into heretical opinions, offences against divine service, and other ecclesiastical crimes, &c. [Morrin i. p. 489.] But there is no evidence that O'Fihil acted on that commission, and in fact his name is omitted from the list of Commissioners whom the bishop of Kildare names in his letter to Cecil, dated the 2nd of July, 1565. [State Papers.]

Perhaps O'Fihil, who was so humble and submissive before the Queen's council at Greenwich, was a much less conformable

person in his own diocese, where he was safe from the palesmen, but at the mercy of the O'Mores and the Cavanaghs, who would ill brook interference with their religion, if O'Fihil had any leaning towards the reformed tenets. The death of O'Fihil occurred on the Friday before Palm Sunday, 1567, according to Ware; but in a letter to the privy council, dated the 18th of May, 1566, Sidney mentions the recent decease of the bishop of Leighlin. [Shirley, 247.] The true date was, accordingly, the Friday before Palm Sunday, 1566.

On the last day of April, 1567, the deprived and imprisoned Roman Catholic bishop of Meath, William Walsh, wrote from Dublin to Rome, soliciting the vacant bishopric for Daniel O'Ferral. Walsh says nothing to indicate any defection from the faith on the part of the deceased prelate, whose name is not mentioned in that letter. Daniel O'Ferral, however, did not get the sec. It was given to a "William," the date of whose appointment is not known. The see was again vacant in 1580, when it was described in a Vatican list as "occupied by the heretics for many years past, its true bishop being long since deceased." [Leghlinensis a pluribus annis ab hereticis occupatur, defuncto jampridem vero Episcopo.] Francis Ribera was next appointed in the consistory of the 11th of September, 1587. The entry is as follows:—"Die 11^o Septembris 1587, Cardinalis Senonensis proposuit ecclesiam Leghlinensem in regno Hiberniæ vacantem, et omnibus annuentibus fuit expedita." The brief, dated 14th of September, 1587, is addressed—"Dilecto filio Francisco Ribera, electo Laglinensi," and proceeds thus to mention the vacancy:—"Cumque ecclesia Laglinensis, cui bonæ memoriæ Gulielmus, Episcopus Laghlinensis, dum viveret presidebat, per obitum ejusdem Gulielmi, qui extra Romanam curiam a multis annis diem clausit extremum, pastoris solatio destituta sit." The Pope next describes Ribera as "Presbyterum Toletanum ordinis fratrum minorum de observantia professorem," &c. The next clause is remarkable as shewing that an archbishop of Dublin was then in existence. "Rogamus"—so writes the Pope—"Rogamus quoque et hortamur venerabilem fratrem nostrum Archiepiscopum Dubliniensem, et per similia scripta mandantes, quatenus

te et præfatam ecclesiam ejus suffraganeam habens pro nostra et sedis prædictæ reverentia propensius commendatos, in ampliandis et conservandis juribus vestris sic te sui favoris præsidio prosequatur quod tu per ipsius auxilium in commisso tibi ejusdem ecclesiæ regimine possis deo propitio prosperari, ipseque Archiepiscopus perinde divinam misericordiam nostramque et præfatæ sedis benedictionem et gratiam valeat exinde uberius promereri."

There is next a clause prohibiting Ribera from exercise of his Episcopal functions out of Ireland; and the brief thus concludes;—"Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo septimo. Tertio Id. Septemb. Pontificatus nostri anno tertio." Ribera, it is said, never came to Ireland. He died in 1604. [See I. E. R. ii. 549, 551.] The see of Leighlin since that time has been always administered by Vicars-General Apostolic, or else held in union by the Catholic vicars or bishops of Kildare.

The appointment of the first Elizabethan bishop of Leighlin may be thus traced in the State Papers:—Sidney, writing to the English Privy Council on the 18th of May, 1566, mentions the recent death of the bishop of Leighlin, of which he heard "at his late return out of his journey made in Leinster." Sidney recommends for the vacant see Daniel Cavenagh, then Chancellor of Leighlin, as one "enabled by the wealth and strength of his friends in those parts to be a good servant to the Queen, for the preservation of justice, whereof that country hath great need." [Shirley, 246.] In the month of November, 1566, the Queen approved of Cavenagh for this see, but on the 10th of March, 1567, Sidney again wrote to Cecil, stating that "through the negligent suit of the party, the matter hath lien dead without resolution." He informs Cecil that a young man of the county of Kilkenny had gone to England to seek the bishopric "by another man's commendation." Cavenagh is again praised "as an apt man, for his alliance in the diocese, to be a minister of justice, and not uncommended by the clergy here for his learning and conformity in religion." [Shirley, 292-3.] Cavenagh was recommended by the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, and by the bishop of Meath. [Shirley, 247.] On the 10th of April, 1567, the Queen's assent was

given [Shirley, 298], and the letters patent for Cavenagh's appointment were granted on the 7th of May, 1567. [Cotton, ii. 387.] The Queen's letter to the same effect, dated the 10th of April, 1567, is printed by Shirley (p. 298), and contains directions "to cause all things mete and requisite by the order of our lawes for electing, confirming, consecrating, and installing" of Cavenagh "to be devised, made," &c. Ware states that Curwin consecrated Cavenagh in S. Patrick's cathedral. Two whole years elapsed between the death of O'Fihil, or his avoidance, and the succession of Cavenagh. In the Custom House records under Mr. Hardinge's care, are preserved some rolls of the Hanaper, containing the accounts of the sums paid as "twentieth parts" by Irish dioceses in various years. In the roll for the years 1566 and 1567 occurs, under Leighlin diocese, the following entry:—"Compus dermicii Cavenagh decani ibm collectoris XX^{mo} p't's omn' p'mocon' sp'ual'm et dignitatum in d'c'o dioc' existen' sede ep'us jam vacante, p' duob' ann' integris finitis ad ffm S'c'i Michi's Arch', Anno regni sui nu'c reginae Elizabethae [blank], ante quod festum Thomas nup' Ep'us ibm est computaturus." Thus it appears that Dermot Cavenagh, the Dean of Leighlin, collected the payments of the clergy until his kinsman, the Chancellor of the same cathedral, obtained the see. Forty-two years previously another member of the same family, and of the same chapter, Archdeacon Maurice Cavenagh, had been hanged for murdering his bishop. [Cotton, iii. 387.] Elizabeth's ministers, no doubt, thought it good policy to apply the temporalities of Leighlin in propitiating so powerful a clan. Bishop Daniel Cavenagh left behind him a good character for charity and hospitality. His own Protestantism and his efforts to spread the Reformation have not been praised, and probably he was one of the "mere Irish bishops" who were appointed for their local influence—not their religious zeal. He died on the 4th of April, 1587.

For two years after Cavenagh's death Leighlin lay vacant. In 1859, Richard Meredyth, a Welshman, chaplain to Sir John Perrott, and Dean of S. Patrick's, was promoted to the see by letters patent, dated the 13th of April. [Cotton, iii. 388.]

Queen Elizabeth, in her letter of Privy Seal, dated on the 11th of January, from Richmond, observes "that the bishopric of Leighlin is seated in the borders between the O'Mores and the Cavenaghs;" that it was then void and "requisite to be supplied by a man of quality, able as well for life as learning, by good example and teaching, to draw those people to a better knowledge of their duties to God and to us, as also for his behaviour by good hospitality to become the more acceptable unto them;" and also directed that Meredyth should retain his deanery of St. Patrick. [Morrin, ii. 177.] Meredyth's first care was to fortify himself against the attacks which he apprehended from his flock. On the last day of April, 1589, he "took possession of the see house at Leighlin, and re-built the house, which from its situation in the midst of hostile clans he was obliged to surround with a strong stone wall." [See Mason's Hist. of S. Patrick's Cathedral, p. 176.]

The lawless state of this part of Ireland may be conjectured from the following account, written by Sir John Perrott on the 3rd of October, 1590, in his "trewe reasons that made him to propose a course against Feaghe M'Hugh":—"What envyouis traitores, and p'illous firebrondes to all Leynster, Hugh McShane and Feaghe McHugh, Lords of the Glynes, have byne, who allwayes have combyned with the O'Connors, Moores, Tooles, Byrnes, and Cavenaghes, in Kinge Edward's tyme, Queene Marye's tyme, and her Ma'ties tyme that now is, all auncient counsellors dothe knowe the same; and what persons of gent. they have taken and put to ransome, what knightes, gent. captaines and souldiers they have killed will not be forgotten; what daylye incurcions, what prayes, bordrages, bornings, murthers and stelthes they have made upon the subjects of the pale, the most of the cuntrye wyll wyttnes, and divers maye prove the same. Yea, although they lyve but XXV myles from Dublin, yet their cuntrye is so faste and stronge as the state hathe byne gladd to tollerate whatsoever, and to gyve them pardonnes at their owne wylles, for they lyve lyke wolves, foxes, and bears, that praye upon all thynges, and when most parte of Ireland hathe byne brought to some quy-etnes, then would those people break out into open warre."

Sir John Perrott adopted means of quieting the Irish, very suitable for quieting of wolves and foxes. One Tady Nolan offered to "poison Feagh McHugh and his son," and was sent by Perrott to Walsingham, who told him to "use his discretion." Perrott proceeds to justify his resort to such abominable means by the example of Sussex. "And yet," (says Perrott) "for example in the lyke cause, before my tyme, the late Earle of Sussex, being Governour of that realme as well as I, caused Thomas Smythe, potticarye, now maior of Dublin, to delyver to a servaunt of the said Earle's [Sussex], called John Smythe, otherwyse called Bottle Smythe, certaine poysons, which was delyvered in a double drinkinge bottle, w'ch he gave to Shane O'Neale, who escaped verie hardlie after the receipte of yt." [State Papers, Elizabeth.] Perrott's chaplain had good reason to fortify his see house in a country such as Perrott described, and among people with whom he had thus dealt. Bishop Meredyth died in Dublin on the 3rd of August, 1597, vacating the bishopric, the Deanery of S. Patrick's, and the rectory of Killadorie in Kildare diocese. [Cotton: and Morrin ii. 425.] After another interval of three years, the bishopric of Leighlin, together with that of Ferns, was conferred on Robert Grave, a native of Kent, who was also to hold the deanery of Cork, the precentorship of Christ Church, Dublin, the precentorship of Limerick, and the prebend of Tullybrackey, in Limerick. Grave was consecrated in August, 1600, but in October of the same year was shipwrecked in the bay of Dublin. Since his time Leighlin has been united to Ferns.

CASHEL.

Roland Fitzgerald, or Le Baron, was archbishop of Cashel in 1558, and his name appears on the alleged parliament list of 1559. He was nominated in a Commission for Gaol delivery in Munster and Thomond, dated 2nd August, 1560. [Morrin, i. 433.] He died on 28th October, 1561. [Cotton.] He was succeeded by Maurice Gibbon or Mac Gibbon, whose "election" is thus recorded by the Rawlinson MSS.:—"Mauritius Gibbon, Abbas de Magio (St. Mary de Mayo) electus Archie'pus Cassel. 1567, die 23 Maii." [Rawlinson MSS. 484. Bodleian, Oxon.]

This Maurice Mac Gibbon was appointed by the Pope to the see of Cashel, vacant "per obitum," in the consistory of 4th of June, 1567. The entry is as follows:—"Die Mercurii 4^o Junii, 1567, referente Cardinale Morone, ecclesiæ Metropolitanæ Casselensi in regno Hiberniæ, vacanti per obitum extra Romanam curiam defuncti, de persona fr. Mauritiæ Macgibon ordinis Cisterciensis Abbatis monasterii S. Mariæ de Mayo, presentis in Urbe, et cum retentione in commendam præfati monasterii ad unum annum tantum, a die adeptæ possessionis ecclesiæ Casselensis et cum clausulis opportunis." Mac Gibbon was then in Rome, and was there consecrated. He left Rome however before the pallium was petitioned for by his proctor:—"Die 10^o Septembris, 1567, Archiepiscopus Casselensis in Hibernia, per suum procuratorem et unum ex advocatis consistorialibus, petivit a sanctitate sua tradi sibi pallium sumptum de corpore Beati Petri Principis Apostolorum ad plenitudinem potestatis; et sua sanctitas mandavit Remo. Dno. Cardinali Simoncello tanquam Archidiacono, ut illud ei cum solitis et consuetis ceremoniis traderet."

Mac Gibbon committed an outrage on his Protestant rival soon after his arrival in Ireland. The affair is thus recorded by the Loftus MS. in Marsh's library, Dublin:—"1567. This year complaint was made to y^e State at Dublin, how Morris Reigh (or M'Gibbon), an Irishman, having lately been at Rome, and there consecrated by y^e Pope's Bull Arch B^p of Cashel, arrived in Ireland and made challenge to y^e same See, w^{ch} being denied unto him by y^e Arch B^p w^{ch} was there placed by his (sic) Majesty, y^e said pretended B^p suddenly with an Irish skayne wounded y^e B^p and put him in danger of his life."

There is another version of this violent conduct of the Roman Catholic archbishop:—Lancaster, Archbishop of Armagh, writing to the Queen on 12th November, 1568, says that "Morish Rioghe M'Gebbon, who came from the Pope, has taken the Archbishop of Cashel traitorously out of his own house and carried him into Spain." [Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, p. 394.] Lynch, *De Præsulibus*, in his MS., folio 394, gives an account which differs from either of the former ones, and says the only violence to which M'Cagwell, the Protestant

prelate, was subjected, consisted in his having been brought to the cathedral and compelled to assist in choir while Mass was chaunted by the Catholic archbishop. In a petition prepared in January or February, 1569, the Irish archbishops and eight bishops appear as solicitors of Philip of Spain and the Pope to save them from England and heresy, and to give them a king of the family of the King of Spain. [Froude x. 495.] Of this petition Mac Gibbon was the bearer, and he was escorted to his ship with solemn pomp by James Fitzmaurice and other Irish chieftains in February, 1569.

Two years later Mac Gibbon was in Paris, and sought an interview with the English ambassador. "The twenty-fourth of this month," wrote Walsingham to Burghley in March, 1571, from Paris, "the archbishop of Cassels sent unto me two of his servants," to request an audience, and "the next day, being the 25th, he repaired unto me." The archbishop justified himself, before Walsingham, "for departing out of Ireland without her Majesty's leave, saying that being deprived from his living, and another substitute in his place, whom he confessed to have outraged before his departure, necessitie enforced him to depart, to seek maintenance some other where; and the rather for that in respect of the said outrage he had justly incurred the Lord Deputy's displeasure." Archbishop Mac Gibbon then told Walsingham that he left Ireland "about two years past," and offers information to the Queen if she will restore him to his bishopric. "If it might please her Majesty"—so said Mac Gibbon to Walsingham—"as for that my successor is dead, to restore me to my country and place, I will then give in writing, to you, her ambassador here, both the manner of the conspiracy as also the remedy."

The subsequent career of Mac Gibbon forbids the supposition that he was at all sincere in making this proposal to the Queen's minister. Her Majesty returned to it a cautious reply which exhibits her doubts of the archbishop's good faith, and her desire to get the archbishop's person into her power. On the 8th of April, 1571, she thus wrote to Walsingham about Mac Gibbon, whom she call "an Irishman naming himself the archbishop of Cassels":—"If you shall find it likely," observes

Elizabeth, "that he meaneth dutifully to ask pardon, as he pretendeth by his speech, then you shall give him comfort to continue with the same dutifulness and loyal meaning, and provoke him to make repair hither into England, where you may assure him he shall not find lack of grace, if he humbly desire it, and by his truth hereafter deserve it." But if these general words should not avail to entice the archbishop into England, then Walsingham is to assure him of a safe conduct, and to promise him as good a living as Cashel, which, on the 3rd of February preceding, had been given to Miler Magrath. "As ye have power from us to warrant him to come into this our realm safely, and to make his means unto us for our favour; if he shall shew himself repentant of his former fault, and disposed to live hereafter dutiful, he shall be provided of as good a living as heretofore he hath had." [The Compleat Ambassador, as comprised in "Letters of Sir F. Walsingham, her Majesty's resident in France, &c.," collected by Sir Dudley Digges, Knight, late Master of the Rolls, London, 1655, pp. 58 and 76.]

The archbishop, in the year following, was in prison in Scotland. On the 26th of June, 1572, as the State Papers (Domestic—Elizabeth) record, Robert Hogan writes from Milk-street to the Earl of Leicester of the "treasonable dealings in Spain of Maurice, archbishop of Cashel, now prisoner in Scotland." In 1573, Mac Gibbon is found endeavouring to stir up the Duke of Alva to assist the Irish, and, in 1575, he writes to the Pope, "ex civitate Portuensi," alleging his toils and imprisonments, and the consequent injury to his health as an excuse for not visiting the Pontiff at Rome ("debilitas corporis post creberima vincula et labores"). [I. E. R. ii. 408.] He may have returned to his see, for on the 8th of April, 1575, special faculties were granted from Rome:—"Mauritio, Episcopo Cassellensi, absolventi ab heresi," &c., "per totam provinciam Cassellensem." [I. E. R. iii. 147.] Bruodinus asserts that Mac Gibbon was many years confined in the prison of Cork, and died on the 6th of May, 1578. De Burgo, Hib. Dom. 601, says that he died in exile in that year "apuâ civitatem Portuensem." Ware also says that he died at Oporto in 1578.

Dermod O'Hurley was appointed in the consistory of the 3rd

of September, 1580, to succeed Mac Gibbon. [Act. Consist. See Moran's Abps. of Dublin, 132.] He was compelled, from the day of his arrival in Ireland to the day of his arrest as a spy, to wear a secular dress, in the vain hope of eluding detection. [Letter of "Cornelius, Laonensis Episcopus," dated 29th Oct., 1584. I.E.R., i. 475.] On the 12th of August, 1583, the Government, as appears by the "examination" of Christopher Barnewall, were on the track of Hurley, the newly created archbishop of Cashel. [State Papers, Ireland, Rolls Office, London.] O'Hurley took refuge in the house of Fleming, the Baron of Slane, and there for some time escaped his foes. But, Lord Chancellor Dillon, unfortunately for the archbishop, went to dine with the Baron, and during dinner, some remarks, derogatory to the Roman Catholic faith, were made, which the archbishop, although disguised, was imprudent enough to answer with such ability, as to alarm the Chancellor, who, on his return to Dublin, reported the occurrence to the Lords Justices, Loftus and Wallop. A troop was then sent to arrest the archbishop, who had, however, fled. He was followed to Carrick-on-Suir, and there captured. [O'Sullivan's "Historiæ Cathol. Ibernix Compendium."] The foregoing account by the Roman Catholic historian is, in its main points, amply confirmed by a despatch of the Lords Justices, dated from Dublin, the 10th of October, 1583, and addressed "to Robert Beale, Esq., supplying the place of her Majesty's Chief Secretary." This State Paper mentions the arrival of Dr. Hurley, and says, that he was entertained in the house of the Baron of Slane, and leaving the Pale, departed into Munster with Mr. Piers Butler, base son to the Earl of Ormond. O'Hurley's "apprehension" is then noticed. The Lords Justices remark, that it was most certain that he was "leidger" or ambassador at Rome a long time, soliciting all matters that have been there attempted to the prejudice of her Majesty's proceedings in Ireland. [State Papers, Ireland, Rolls MSS. London.] There was, however, no evidence on which even a Dublin government jury would convict Hurley of high treason. In vain was the torture applied to the Papal archbishop, with a view to extract materials for the victim's indictment. After repeated examinations, martial law was

resorted to, and Hurley was executed, without trial by jury, after an imprisonment of six or seven months. Roman authors, namely, O'Sullivan and Rothe, give an account of the tortures inflicted on O'Hurley, which are described also by an Irish missionary in Scotland, named M'Geoghegan, and by the letters of the Roman Catholic bishop of Killaloe. The archbishop, according to these authorities, was tied to a block, and his legs were forced into long boots, filled with oil, pitch, and turpentine. His feet were then placed on an iron grate, under which a fire was kindled, causing a terrible agony. The further details of this torture are too sickening to repeat, and the whole story has been recklessly pronounced, by Irish Church historians, to be a fiction. Mr. King, in his "Primer" [iii. 1367], calls it a "most apocryphal narrative, retailed with all solemnity by Mr. Brennan, but passed over, with all its kindred, in expressive silence, by another historian of the Roman Church, and one of at least equal respectability to this our author; viz., Mr. T. Moore." Archdeacon E. Stopford, referring to the cases of O'Hurley and O'Hely, as related by O'Daly and De Burgo, observes, "What credit can be given to writers who make such statements? And, as far as I can find, the particulars of these executions were first written by De Burgo, long after the event. Is this historical evidence?" [Stopford's Reply to Sergeant Shee, p. 89.] But a writer, far superior to either Mr. King or Archdeacon Stopford in learning and ability, has adopted a similar tone of incredulity respecting the veracity of Roman Catholic authors. The Rev. C. R. Elrington, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, Dublin, a man of deep learning, and during his life deservedly loved and admired by Anglican Churchmen in Ireland, regarded the account of Hurley's tortures as a myth. In his valuable *Life of Usher* [page 35, footnote], Dr. Elrington thus alludes to the sufferings of Hurley and another Papal prelate, Creagh:—

"The deaths of these two martyrs, put forward by Stanihurst, and embellished by the author of the *Analecta*, has formed a fruitful source of declamation for Roman Catholic writers from that period to the time of Dr. Milner. That Bishop Hurley was guilty of treason, and was hanged for that crime, and not

for his religion, can admit of no doubt. That he was tortured previous to his execution, in direct violation of the law, must require stronger evidence than the testimony of two witnesses, who contradict each other, as to the mode in which the torture was inflicted, in such a manner as would invalidate their testimony in any court of justice."

But the testimonies to the substantial truth of the Roman Catholic tradition are not two, but many. Dr. Lynch's MS. in the Bodleian, at folio 397, confirms that tradition:—"Atrocissimum tormenti genus excogitarunt [says Lynch] adipe, pice, resina liquatis ebullientibus crura pedesque nudos induunt, luculento foco admovent, torrent, ossant, ustulant; carnibus ad ipsa ossa diffluentibus, in ipsis ossibus medulla coquitur."

Another witness, whose evidence is irresistible, puts the truth of the Roman Catholic account beyond further questioning. Adam Loftus, the first Elizabethan Primate of Ireland, and then archbishop of Dublin and a Lord Justice, was a leading actor in this horrid transaction. The signature of Adam Loftus appears to the State Papers, still preserved, which narrate the torture and execution of Hurley. On the 10th of December, 1583, Loftus and Wallop write from Dublin to Walsingham. They say "they have neither rack nor other engine of torture in Dublin Castle to terrify Dr. Hurley. The Tower of London, they think, would be a better place for one so inward with the Pope and Cardinals to be examined."

Again Loftus and the Council write to Walsingham on the 7th of March, and describe the result of the torture prescribed by the Queen's Minister.

Dr. Hurley, on "examination," would not, it appears, confess that he had brought from Rome the Pope's letters of comfort to Desmond till "he knew by us that we had intercepted the said letters with other testimonials of his consecration, and were already possessed of them, so as not finding that easy manner of examination to do any good, we made commissions to Mr. Waterhouse and Mr. Secretary Fenton to put him to the torture, such as your honour advised us, which was to toast his feet against the fire with hot boots." They send his confessions as well upon the torture as at sundry times before. They

recommend that he should be executed by martial law, as the best lawyers doubt whether he can be found guilty, his treasons having been committed in foreign parts, and the law not stretching so far in Ireland as it does in England.

On the receipt of this communication, Walsingham, on the 28th of April, 1584, acquaints the Lords Justices that Her Majesty referreth the trial of Dr. Hurley to their discretion, and informs them that it is thought meet to have no further tortures used against him. The last document in this disgraceful series is dated the 9th of July, 1584, and was written by Loftus and Wallop from Dublin. "We thought meet"—said they—"according to our direction, to proceed with him [Hurley] by court-martial, and for our farewell, two days before we delivered over the sword, being the 19th of June, we gave warrant to the Knight-marshal, in her Majesty's name, to do execution on him [Hurley], which was accordingly performed, and thereby the realm well rid of a most pestilent member, who was in an assured expectation of some means to be wrought for his enlargement, if he might have found that favour to have had his time prolonged to the end of our government." This State Paper encloses "the opinion of her majesty's learned council that treason committed in foreign parts cannot be tried in Ireland." [State Papers—Domestic—Elizabeth. Rolls MSS. London.] It thus appears that archbishop Loftus and Sir Henry Wallop were anxious to despatch Hurley lest Sir John Perrott, their successor in the government of Ireland, should be induced to pardon him. Archbishop Hurley's execution took place privately, at an early hour on the 19th of June, 1584, and he was buried in the old churchyard of S. Kevin's, Dublin. [O'Sullivan.]

The Roman Catholic succession of Cashel prelates, although for the time extinguished in the blood of Dr. Hurley, was revived twenty years afterwards in the person of David Kearney. The names of subsequent Roman Catholic bishops will presently be given.

The Protestant succession of Cashel archbishops has been asserted, and no doubt truly, to have commenced with Hugh M'Cashwell. The "First Fruit" and "Twentieth Part"

Rolls, preserved in the Dublin Custom House, contain signs of an archbishop between Roland Le Baron and M'Caghwell. The name indeed of Roland Le Baron does not, so far as the author has observed, appear, but there is entered more than once under the head of Cashel, the "Comp'us reverendi in christo patris, Edi, archiepi ibm. collectoris." For the year ending Christmas, in the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign, that is, in 1565, there is a distinct entry of the payment, of £17 10s. for one year's twentieth parts of Cashel diocese, by the said "Edm" (either Edward or Edmund) "dioc. predict. Epum. collector." From 1527 to 1551, an Edmund Butler, natural son of the Earl of Ormond, was Archbishop of Cashel, and his name appears in the earlier rolls of the "Sub-Treasurer and Receiver-General," as paying for the lands and possession of the dissolved house "Fratrum minorum ville de Cashel." The name of this "Edi archiepiscopi Cassilensis" may have been inserted in the later rolls through inadvertence. Often in these rolls there is a blank where the name of the person, who may have collected, ought to appear. Sometimes the name of a bishop long dead is given, although it was his executor or surety who made the payment. At all events the see of Cashel is noted as "long void," in her Majesty's "instructions" to Sir II. Sidney, dated the 4th of July, 1565, and it is there added that "lack had grown to the ecclesiastical government" through that vacancy. [Shirley, 207.] This "lack" continued for a longer period. On the 22nd of January, 1567, her Majesty's letter of Privy Seal was issued to appoint James M'Caghwell to Cashel, who a little time before was disappointed of the Down bishopric through terror of Shane O Neil. [Cotton, and Shirley.] On the 12th of February, same year, her Majesty again sent orders to the deputy to the same effect. [Morrin i. 497.] There was some delay on the deputy's part in carrying out the Queen's wishes; and on the 3rd of July, Adam Loftus writes from Dublin to Sir W. Cecil, urging the appointment of M'Caghwell. [Shirley, 261.] On the 31st of July, the Queen again requests the deputy to arrange for M'Caghwell's consecration, stating that he was "born of that country" (Ireland), and was recommended by the Archbishop

of Armagh, "to whom the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Salisbury wrote to informe you of his sufficiency upon conference," &c. [King's Letters, Custom House, Dublin.] The letters patent for M'Caghwell did not pass until the 2nd of October, 1567. [Cotton, i. 11.] Archdeacon Cotton erroneously states, on the authority of Dr. Elrington, that M'Caghwell was consecrated by Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin, who, however, had, before that date, resigned his Irish see. M'Caghwell's wounds or insults which he received from his rival MacGibbon have been already noticed. He or his sureties appear to have duly paid First Fruits due "in quindena Michis," 1568, 1569, and 1570, amounting in all to £63 and upwards. [First Fruit Rolls, Custom House, Dublin.] He died in 1570. [Cotton.]

The successor of M'Caghwell was the famous Miler Magrath, the Papal bishop, whom the Pope, in 1565, sent to Down, but who conformed, and was removed to Clogher by Elizabeth, and afterwards was translated to Cashel by letters patent of the 3rd of February, 1571. [Cotton, i. 12.] During the first year of Miler's incumbency his position at Cashel was unpleasant. On the 19th of July, 1571, Fitzmaurice acquainted the archbishop that "unless the friars were at once released, he (Miler) should be hanged, and that any man who supported him or paid him rent or cess should have his house burnt over his head." [Froude's Hist. Eng. x. 538.] Archbishop Miler Magrath was the eldest son of Donogh, otherwise called "Gillagmana" Magrath, chief of his name in Ulster, and lord of Termon Magrath, and some fifty denominations of land, situate mostly in a parish now called Templecarn, which is partly in Lurg barony, in the county of Fermanagh, but chiefly in the barony of Tir Hugh, in Donegal. [See Morrin, ii. 361.] Miler Magrath, being an Irishman, has for that reason been made a convenient scape-goat for the vices and the sins of Curwin, Craike, Loftus, and the other English or Scotch prelates, whom Elizabeth favoured. Miler was no doubt a hypocrite, avaricious, unprincipled, and importunate. He had four bishoprics at one time, and wasted them all. He had two wives, but not, as was the case with Dixon, bishop of Cork, at the same time, and

plundered his bishoprics to enrich his family. He was a political tool of the English Government; and, as Sir H. Wallop certified in his letter to Burghley, dated 3rd of June, 1591, "furthered her service by all the means he could, especially by giving intelligence and advertisements to the State, which he always did in sound manner and to very good purpose." [State Papers, Rolls Office, London.] He was "used" by Sir John Perrott and other Deputies, and earned the praise of being "of his sort and birth, the best affected to the State of any in Ireland." [Ibid.] He considered two bishoprics an insufficient requital for his services, and sought for the deanery of S. Patrick's, the preferment once so much coveted by Loftus. Failing this, when Limerick and Waterford were vacant, he seeks for one or other of these sees, and conveys his wishes in a letter to the Lord Treasurer of England, written on the 15th of March, 1592. In this epistle he humbly beseeches his honour to enable him "to live in some convenient sort, and serve God and the prince according to his calling;" he naively reminds his "honour, that Limerick is nearer to Cashel, and more addicted to the Irish tongue than Waterford," and, therefore, the fitter for him; and humbly prays his honour to revive his "pristine opinion" of his petitioner. "I may say with the prophet," proceeds Miler, utterly unconscious of any irreverence in his quotation, "Thy rebuke hath broken my heart; I am full of heaviness; I look for some to have pity on me, but there was no man, neither found I any to comfort me." The archbishop concludes by stating that he had been then eleven months in England doing and hoping to do nothing till his suit prospers, and moderately requests to be helped to "some of her Majesty's money to be paid in the Exchequer in Ireland." [State Papers, Elizabeth, Rolls Office, London.] This piteous appeal was successful. Waterford and Lismore, which formerly for six years, namely, from 1583 to 1589, had been in Magrath's possession, were again placed at his mercy, and were subjected to his rapacious hands for sixteen years more, between 1592 and 1608. [Cotton.] But Magrath was not without enemies to depreciate his merits. Fitzwilliam, the Deputy, had reason to suspect that Magrath was not entirely

faithful to the Queen, but secretly favoured the Irish Catholics, whom he affected openly to abhor. Fitzwilliam communicated his suspicions to Burghley and the English ministers, and thereby deeply pained Magrath, who with a virtuous indignation defends himself in a letter addressed from London to Sir Robert Cecil, on the 8th of June, 1593. "What other remedie might be left me," asks the Archbishop, "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 safeguard of my poor innocent life, thus infinitely and by infinite means sought after, to appeal hither to the uncorrupted seat of justice," &c. [State Papers, Rolls Office, London.]

More credit was given to the Archbishop than was agreeable to Fitzwilliam. The Deputy, writing from Kilmainham on the 31st of July, expresses his "no small grief" that so much countenance had been shewn to the archbishop of Cashel, whom he styles "a fugitive friar reclaimed, and a person in time past, and now, deeply charged." Magrath (he insinuates) was an "underhand" favourer of traitorous "members," although proofs of his dealings were "somewhat obscured by his great countenance there." [State Papers, Rolls MSS., London.] The truth seems to be, that Miler Magrath was somewhat like Curwin, an "unprofitable servant" in many respects, and unwilling to "go thorough." He connived at the escapes of the Roman Catholic primate, Richard Creagh, and of other noted ecclesiastics. Darby Creagh, the Papal bishop of Cork, was similarly favoured by Miler, who, while pretending to assist in his capture, assisted him privately to baffle his pursuers. How this was managed may be conjectured from the following letter of Archbishop Miler, addressed to "my loving wife, Any Magrath":—"Loving wife—I have already resolved you in my mind touching my cousin Darby Creagh (bishop of Cork and Cloyne); and I desire you now to cause his friends to send him out of the whole country, if they may; or if not, to send my orders, for that there is such search to be made for him, that unless he be wise, he shall be taken; and to send from my house all the priests that you are wont to have. Use well my gossip Malachias, for that I did as much as I was able to bring

him out of his trouble here. Accomplish the contents of my other letters, and burn this presently, and all the letters that you know yourself. Fail not of this, as you love me and yourself. From Greenwich, this 26th of June, 1592. Your loving husband. Milerius Ar. Cashel." [State Papers, Rolls MSS., London.]

This letter, which was intercepted, probably, by the Government, was not burnt by the loving wife "Any," or Amy (who was a daughter of John O'Meara, of Lisany, county Tipperary), but remains to confirm the Roman Catholic tradition that Magrath and his family were concealed Romanists. The archbishop was, however, a favourite with Elizabeth. Her Majesty not only gave him, by patent of the 9th of August, 1592, a second grant of the revenues of Lismore and Waterford, but, on the 22nd of August, 1592, wrote to order him a grant of the Kilmore bishopric, along with that of Clogher, in case the southern sees of Lismore and Waterford should chance to be otherwise filled. [Morrin, ii. 244.] Again, on the 5th of May, 1596, her Majesty granted to Miler's father, all his ancestral lands in Ulster, with remainder to Miler himself, and then to Miler's sons in order of birth, namely, Terence or Turlough, Redmond, Barnaby or Bryan, Marcus and James. On the 7th of May, 1597, Miler got a license of transfer to himself, by letters patent, of the monastery of the Franciscan Friars of Killahie or Killaly, in Tipperary county. [Morrin, ii. 361 and 432.] After the death of Elizabeth, Magrath no longer enjoyed the favour of the court. He had to resign Waterford and Lismore, in 1608, to the disposal of King James. His Majesty proceeded by a royal letter of the 25th of September, 1610, to deprive Miler's son, who was a recusant, of the jurisdiction which he exercised, and to place over Miler one William Knight, as coadjutor bishop of Cashel, with right of succession upon the vacancy of the see. [Pat. Rot. 9°, James I., part i. dorso, xlvi. 19.] On the 27th of April, 1611, a King's letter was sent to grant Miler the sees of Killala and Achonry, which he had possessed from 1607; but, on the 26th of July, same year, William Knight had a grant of the office of coadjutor bishop of Cashel during Miler's life, with "all the synodals, fees, and profits arising from the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisprudence."

[Pat. Rot. James I., 9^o, part i. dorso, xlvii. 19; and part 2, facie, xxi. 17.] Knight, however, soon grew weary of his office, and returned to England, according to Ware; but, according to a marginal note to Ware's Latin edition, in the handwriting of Archbishop King, the cause why Knight quitted his coadjutorship was, "that Knight had appeared drunk in public, and thereby exposed himself to the scorn and derision of the people." [Harris' Ware, 484.] In 1615, Miler Magrath "held four bishoprics and a great number of benefices in various dioceses," but gave "no satisfactory information respecting his revenues" to the King's commissioners. [Cotton, i. 12.] Magrath's sons became Romanists, and he himself is said to have returned to his first faith long before he died. Pope Paul V. granted, on the 7th of August, 1608, a faculty to O'Kearney, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, for absolving Miler Magrath, on condition of his ceasing to exercise any episcopal functions. [See Duffy's Sixpenny Hib. Mag. for October, 1863, p. 278.] Archbishop Magrath was bed-ridden for some time, and died, aged 100 years, in December, 1622. [Cotton, i. 13.] By his "arts and connivance," Cashel and Emly were left worth but £60 a year—the vicars-choral were stripped of their lands—and Miler's sons and executors were "grown men of great estates," "by the robberies made upon the church by their father." James I. endeavoured, with little success, to compel the sons, who were Roman Catholics, to make restitution. [See Pat. Rot. James I., 22^o, part 2, dorso, lv. 19.] Magrath's successors in the archbishopric are named in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC AND ANGLICAN ARCHBISHOPS OF
CASHEL FROM 1558.

ROMAN CATHOLIC.	ANGLICAN.
Roland le Baron, 1558, died 1561.	
Vacancy of six years.	
Maurice McGibbon, June, 1567, died 1578.	
	1567, Oct., James McCaghwell (I.) was appointed 1570, died.

Darby O'Hurley, 1580, executed 1584. Vacancy of 20 years.	1571, Miler Magrath (I.) succ. 1622, died.
David Kcarney, 1604, died 1625.	1623, Malcolm Hamilton (S. Glasgow,) succ. 1629, died.
Thomas Walsh, 7 June, 1626, died 1654. Vacancy of 15 years.	1630, Archibald Hamilton (S. Glasgow,) succ. 1659, died.
	1661, Thomas Fulwar (I.), succ. 1667, died.
William Burgatt, 1669, died 1674.	1667, Thos. Price (W., T.C.D.) succ. 1685, died. Vacancy of five years.
John Brennan, 1677, died 1692. Vacancy of five years.	1690, Nar. Marsh (E., Ox.) succ. 1694, translated. 1694, Wm. Palliser (E., T.C.D.) succ. 1727, died in Dublin.
Edward Comerford, 1697, died 1705. Vacancy of seven years.	1727, W. Nicholson (E., Ox.) succ. 1727, died in Derry.
Christopher Butler, 1712, died 1757.	

		1727, Tim. Godwin (E., Ox.) succ.
		1729, died in Dublin.
		1730, Theo. Bolton (I., T.C.D.)
		1744, died in Dublin
		1744, Arthur Price (I., T.C.D.) succ.
		1752, died near Dublin.
		1752, John Whitcombe (I., T.C.D.) succ.
		1753, died at Cashel.
		1754, Michael Cox (I., Ox.) succ.
		1779, died at Castletown.
James Butler, died 1774.	1757,	
James Butler, died 1791.	1774,	
		1779, Charles Agar (I., Ox.) succ.
		1801, translated.
Thomas Bray, died 1820.	1792,	
Patrick Everard, died, 1821.	1820,	1801, Hon. Charles Brodrick, 1822, died in Dublin.
		1822, Richd. Laurence (E., Ox.) 1838, died in Dublin.
		Cashel became now a bishopric united to Waterford, Lis- more, and Emly
Robert Laffan, died 1833.	1823,	
Michael Slattery, died 1857.	1834,	
		1839, Stephen Creagh Sandes (I., T.C.D.) succ.
		1842, died in Dublin.
Patrick Leahy,	1857.	1843, Robert Daly, (I., T.C.D.)

From 1558 to 1687 there have been sixteen Roman Catholic archbishops and nineteen Anglican prelates (seventeen archbishops and two bishops) of Cashel. Of the sixteen Roman Catholic archbishops, one died in Spain an exile, and another was illegally executed in Dublin. Of the nineteen Anglican prelates two were translated to other sees. Nine Cashel prelates (Palisser, Nicholson, Godwin, Bolton, Price, Cox, Brodrick, Laurence, and Sandes) died out of the diocese. Not more than seven or eight of the Cashel prelates were educated at Trinity College, Dublin. There were six Oxford archbishops and two from the Glasgow University. Nine, or ten Cashel prelates were Irish by birth, and there were six Englishmen, two Scotchmen, and one Welshman among the archbishops of this see.

EMLY.

Raymund De Burgh was bishop of Emly in 1558. His appointment is thus recorded:—"19^o January, 1551, referente reverendissimo Carpensi, provisum est ecclesiæ Imelacensi in Hibernia, vacanti per obitum bonæ memoriæ Thomæ Yorrulli, extra Romanam curiam defuncti, de persona religiosi viri Raymundi De Burgo ordinis fratrum minorum de observantia professoris. Redditus floren. MCC. Taxa flor. CXX." [Barberini Archives, Acta Consistorialia.] In the parliament list of 1560 the "Imolacensis Episcopus" appears, but without any Christian name, although Christian names appear for the bishops before and after him in that list. [Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, I.A.S., p. 135.] De Burgh died on the 28th of July, 1562 [Ware, 181], and was buried by his brother Franciscans in the Monastery of Adare. [Wadding xiii. 364.] After an interval of five years, Raymund, "of happy memory," was succeeded by Maurice Mac Brien, whose appointment was as follows:—"Anno 1567, 24^o Januarii, referente Cardinale Morone, sanctissimus dominus noster providit ecclesiæ Imolacensi in regno Hiberniæ et provincia Casselensi, vacanti a quatuor annis circa per obitum bonæ memoriæ Redmundi a Burgo Hiberni, extra Romanam curiam defuncti, de persona Mauritiæ Mac Brien presbiteri Hiberni, dictæ ecclesiæ Archidiaconi, nobilis et honesti, eruditi in jure canonico et sacris literis. Commendatus literis patris

Davidi Wolfe et testimonio aliquot episcoporum Hiberniæ.” [Ex Actis Consistorialibus Romæ.] The bishop of Emly was one of those sent over in 1568 “to the King of Spain and the Pope, by Desmond and his confederates in Munster, to implore their aid in securing their religion and country from oppression.” [Ware’s Annals of Elizabeth, p. 12]. On the 10th of April, 1575, special faculties were granted by the Pope to Bishop Maurice:—“Mauritio Episcopo Imolacensi pro Diocesi Imolacensi.” [Secretaria Brevium. Rome.] On the 26th of March 1578, President Drury writes from Waterford, to Walsingham, to inform him that a vessel of Liverpool has brought from Calais some “Papistical garments” belonging to Murrough M’Brien, the pretended bishop of Emly, who has landed at Galway. Drury encloses an inventory of the two budgets belonging to the bishop. [State Papers. Rolls MSS., London.] This Maurice, or Murtagh, was imprisoned in Dublin Castle in 1584. The Roman Catholic bishop of Killaloe, in a letter to the Cardinal de Como, dated 29th of October, 1584, asserts that the boots (ocreas plumbeas) employed for the torturing of Dr. O’Hurley were in preparation for Murtagh of Emly. [Vatican Archives. I.E.R., i. 476.] Maurice, or “Moriartus” O’Brien, bishop of Emly, died in prison in 1586. [Hib. Dom. 602, footnote.]

In 1591, there seems to have been another bishop appointed by the Pope, for the Rawlinson State Paper printed in the Kilkenny Archæological for 1856–57, mentions, under the year 1592, “there is one James Karney supposed buishopp of Emly, that came over from Rome the last year.”

The remaining Roman Catholic bishops of Emly which have been recorded were: (1) Maurice Hurley, who held from 1622 to 1626, according to Dr. Renehan’s Papers. (2) James O’Hurley, appointed in 1638, according to Dr. Renehan, but in 1641, according to De Burgo, Hib. Dom. 488. He died in August or September, 1646. [Rev. C. P. Meehan. Duffy’s Sixpenny Hib. Mag. for April, 1864.] His successor was (3) Terence Albert O’Brien, who was appointed in 1647, and was hanged, after the siege of Limerick, by order of Ireton, on the 31st of October, 1651.

The see of Emly was subsequently united by the Pope to Cashel. There is no trace of any appointment by Queen Elizabeth to this see, which was united by Act of Parliament to Cashel in 1568 [Cotton], while the Roman Catholic bishop, Maurice Mac Brien, was in possession.

WATERFORD AND LISMORE.

Patrick Walsh was bishop of Waterford and Lismore in 1558. On the 22nd of November in that year, when the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, made his first entrance into Waterford, the Earl was met by the Mayor, and by the bishop of Waterford "in his Pontificalibus," with the clergy in their copes. The deputy then went to the Church "and there offered, and being sensed (incensed), according to order *Te Deum* being sung, repaired to his lodging." [MS., T.C.D., E., 3, 18.] This service was before the news of Queen Mary's death had reached the Earl of Sussex. The name of bishop Walsh appears in the list of those alleged to be present in the parliament of 1559. Bishop Walsh, on the plea of infirmity and age, resigned the deanery of Waterford, which he held in commendam during the earlier years of his episcopate, in favour of the Rev. Peter White, whom the bishop, in his letter, dated the 15th of June, 1566, and addressed to Sir H. Sidney, described as "a man very well learned, past degrees in schools, and of virtuous sober conversation." By his industry—proceeds the bishops—"a great part of the youth both of this country and of Dublin have greatly profited in learning and virtuous education." The bishop's request was granted by the deputy's letter of the 22nd of the same month, June. [Morris, i. 494.] This letter, and the resignation of the deanery, have been considered signs that bishop Walsh was a Protestant. But this Rev. Peter White was a strenuous opponent of Protestantism, and was known as such to the bishop. He was a schoolmaster at Kilkenny, and also at Waterford; and Richard Stanyhurst and Peter Lombard were among his pupils. He was ejected from his deanery in 1570, for non-conformity. [Cotton, i. 139.] And Antony a'Wood relates that he "continued notwithstanding in his beloved faculty of pedagogy, which was then accounted a most

excellent employment in Ireland by the Catholics, especially for this reason, that the sons of noblemen and gentlemen might be trained up in their religion, and so consequently keep out Protestantism." [Cotton, ii. 415]. Roman Catholic authors say that Bishop Walsh recommended White to the deanery, in order that White might the more effectually oppose the reformed tenets in that Cathedral city. If such was the bishop's motive, his plan was decidedly successful, for the Reformation made no progress in Waterford during his episcopate. In December, 1579, the year after bishop Walsh's decease, H.M.S. Achates was in Waterford haven, and Captain Gilbert Yorke, on the 5th of that month, wrote to Walsingham, describing the "superstition and idolatry" of Waterford, where "neither bishop nor preacher dare tarry, unless the Lord Justice or some great person be there to guard them." "The city of Waterford," said bishop Middleton, writing to Walsingham on the 29th of June, 1580, was "thoroughly given to Rome runners and friars." "Rome itself"—so wrote the same prelate, on the 21st of July, same year—"holdeth no more superstition than Waterford." [State Papers, Rolls MSS., London.]

It has been argued that Patrick Walsh conformed because his son Nicholas became bishop of Ossory. Fathers and sons, however, often take opposite sides in religion, and Nicholas Walsh, so far as is known, got no living in his father's diocese. Of course Nicholas was born before Queen Mary's accession, else Patrick Walsh, as a married man, would have lost his see. Patrick may have been a widower when he first became a priest. Bishop Patrick Walsh was of great repute for learning and religion. Little else is recorded of him during Elizabeth's reign. He was appointed one of the Commissioners for arbitrating between the Earl of Ormond and the Earl of Desmond, in November, 1563. [Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, p. 320.] He died in 1578. [Cotton.] The Rev. John White was appointed vicar apostolic on the 4th of November, 1578. [Dr. Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 18.]

The bishops appointed to this see by the Pope appear in the following

CORK AND CLOYNE.

The sees of Cork and Cloyne were vacant in 1558. Roger Skiddy "had Queen Mary's letters," in 1557, "to the bishop of Rome, and had bulls returned from thence for the bishopric of Cork." [Shirley, 115.] The accounts given of Skiddy's consecration are contradictory. On the 18th of September, 1557, Queen Mary wrote to the Deputy, directing restitution of the temporalities of the sees of Cork and Cloyne to be made to Roger Skiddy, and stating that her Majesty "had addressed letters commendatory to his Holiness the Pope, a good while since, in his favour, and it was hoped he should shortly receive his bull and expedition from his Holiness." [Morrin, i. 377.] Ware (Edition of 1665, p. 212), states, that Roger Skiddy had restitution of his temporalities on the 18th of September, 1557. In a list of the consecrations of Irish prelates, by the Rev. C. H. Davis, which had been "carefully examined and corrected by the late Rev. C. R. Elrington, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity at Dublin," and which Mr. Davis lately published in the "Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette," the date of Skiddy's consecration is fixed, from "Records lost in 1641," as having occurred in October, 1557. Restitution of the temporalities was again given to Roger Skiddy, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, by letters patent of the 2nd of November, 1557. [Morrin, i. 373. See also Ware *De Præsulibus*, 212.] Of this alleged consecration there is a confirmation in Ware's Annals (Edition of 1705, page 141.) "Shortly after" Lacy's appointment to Limerick in the beginning of the year 1557, "Roger Skiddy, dean (if I be not mistaken) of Limerick, was consecrated bishop of Cork." But, on the other hand, there is evidence of a stronger kind that Skiddy was not consecrated until Elizabeth's reign. "Corke" appears among the bishoprics marked void in a State Paper, dated the 3rd of July, 1562. [Shirley, 116.] On the 31st of July, 1562, the Queen wrote to Sussex and the Chancellor, directing the admission of Roger Skiddy to the bishoprics of Cork and Cloyne, to which he had been previously elected, and commanding the Chancellor to cause letters to be addressed to the proper authorities for his consecration. [Morrin, i. 472.]

On the 7th of September, 1562, John Miagh was confirmed, by letters patent, in the title and possession of the office of Economist and Proctor of the Cathedral of S. Finbar, Cork, to which he had been presented by the dean and chapter during the vacancy of the see. [Morrin, i. 466.] And, on the 29th of October, 1562, Roger Skiddy obtained confirmation of his nomination to Cork and Cloyne, to which he had been presented by the Dean and Chapter. On the same day his mandate for consecration was directed to all the bishops of Cashel province, that archbishopric being then vacant, and they were commanded in all ways to give letters for his consecration as bishop of Cork and Cloyne. ("Elizabetha universis et singulis episcopis infra et per totam provinciam Cassel., sede ibm. vacante, mittit salutem."

. . . "omni modo litteras et scripta pro consecratione in Episcop. Core. et Clonen.") On the same day (29th of October, 1562) Skiddy had restitution of the temporalities, for the third or fourth time, of Cork and Cloyne [Rot. Pat. 4^o Eliz., m. 14, 62-63. See Morrin, i. 466.]. Roger Skiddy is said to have been consecrated *papali ritu* on the 30th of October, 1562. [Cotton, iv., Appendix, p. xxiii.] The foregoing evidences are sufficient proof that Roger Skiddy was consecrated in 1562, if at all, and consequently that Skiddy was the first Elizabethan bishop of Cork and Cloyne. But Skiddy was not a reformed bishop. His name, indeed, appears in the parliament list of 1560, as "Rogerus Coreagensis et Clonensis Episcopus." In that year, however, Skiddy was not bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and if he had attended that parliament as "bishop elect," or as "guardian of the spiritualities," it would have been so stated in the roll, if the roll were authentic. Nothing decisive concerning Skiddy's religious views can be drawn from the fact that he acted as Queen's Commissioner in a civil cause in June, 1566, [Morrin, i. p. 501], and in March following resigned this bishopric for the Wardenship of Youghal. [Ibid., p. 500.]

In the year 1567, the Deputy was at Youghal, and went to the parish church, where the service was sung in Latin, as the priest had not learned English. When service was ended, the Deputy exhorted the Mayor of Youghal to get a proper book of service in English; and a day or two afterwards, Mr. Lancaster,

the Queen's chaplain, said service in English. [MS., T.C.D., E. 3, 18.] Skiddy's name is not mentioned in this account of the Deputy's visit to Youghal. But that Skiddy was always a Roman Catholic at heart, may be reasonably concluded, from his conduct in relation to the Roman Catholic Church plate of Cork Cathedral, of which he was found in charge, twenty years after resigning the Cork bishopric. On the 8th of September, 1587, "Sir Roger Skiddy, preste, now Warden of Youghal," handed over to Archdeacon Gold—another dignitary who held benefices from Elizabeth, and fostered Romanism at one and the same time—the censer, challices, pattens, and pix, of S. Fin Barry's Cathedral. The archdeacon's widow, when handing over, in 1612, other matters belonging to the Church, to the Registrar of the diocese, did not give up this plate to that official, nor is there any entry to that effect in the archives of the Diocesan Registry. But, in the Roche MSS., now in the British Museum, but formerly in the possession of a Roman Catholic family of Cork, are the facts recorded both of Skiddy's custody of the plate in 1587, and of Archdeacon Gold's receipt of it from him; and, lastly, of Mrs. Gold's transfer of the same plate, in 1612, to another custodian, who, doubtless, received it on the same terms as the others, namely, to keep it safely until again required for Roman Catholic service. [Cork Records, i. 310.]

After Skiddy's resignation, the bishopric lay vacant for four years. In 1570, Richard Dixon, the second Elizabethan and the first undoubtedly Protestant bishop of Cork and Cloyne, was appointed. He sat for one year only, and was deprived for "having married a woman of bad character while his lawful wife was living, and for endeavouring to induce another young lady to be married to him." [Cork Records, iii. 47.] From 1570 to 1867, the see of Cork has been continuously occupied—excepting a vacancy of eleven years in the Cromwellian disturbance between 1649 and 1660—by Protestant bishops. Of these there were, in all, from 1558 to 1867, twenty-five. Of the eighteen bishops, who sat between 1558 and 1793, twelve were Englishmen. The bishops from 1794 to the present time were all of them Irishmen.

The See of Cloyne was united to Cork from 1558 to 1638. From 1638 to 1652, it was held by an Englishman, G. Synge. It lay vacant for nine years between 1652 and 1661. From 1661 to 1678 it was held with Cork. From 1679 to 1835 Cloyne was a separate see, and had nineteen bishops. Of the twenty bishops of Cloyne between 1558 and 1835, when the see was finally suspended under the Church Temporalities Act, nine were translated to richer sees, ten were English, and ten were Irish by birth.

The Roman Catholic line of Episcopal succession in Cork does not include Roger Skiddy, either on account of his having been consecrated by virtue of the Queen's mandate, or perhaps on account of the conflicting claims concerning the succession at an earlier period. When bishop Bennet died in 1535, the Pope refused to acknowledge Dominic Tyrry, the King's nominee, and appointed Lewis MacNamara in 1540; and in the same year, on MacNamara's death, John Hoyedan or O'Heyne. It is not known when O'Heyne died, but it was probably before 1557, in which year Skiddy's bulls came from Rome. During Skiddy's time no other Papal appointment took place, but on his resigning these sees Nicholas Landes was chosen by the Pope to Cork and Cloyne, vacant "per obitum Joannis Hadican (O'Heyne) ultimi episcopi." The consistorial entry of the appointment of Nicholas Landes is as follows:—

"Die 27^o Februarii, 1568 : referente Cardinali Alciato, S. Sanctitas providit ecclesie Corcagiensi et Cloinensi invicem unitis, per obitum bonæ memoriæ Joannis Jadican, ultimi episcopi, vacanti, de persona Rev. D. Nicholai Landes, Hiberni, et litteris episcoporum Catholicorum ejusdem provinciæ atque etiam testimonio Reverendi Patris Wolf S. I. commendati, cum retentione rectoriæ cum cura donec possessionem episcopatus adeptus fuerit."

On the 5th of November, 1574, Edmund Tanner was appointed by Papal brief to the bishopric of Cork and Cloyne, vacant per obitum Nicholai Landes. Large extracts from this brief are given in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record, i. 316, 317. Tanner was consecrated in Rome. In April, 1575, he received special faculties, not only for his own diocese, but also for

Dublin and Cashel, in the absence of the archbishops of those sees—"pro universo provincia Dublinensi ex qua es oriundus, et Casselensi quamdiu Archiepiscopi et suffraganei sui a suis Provinciis et Ecclesiis, civitatibus et Diocesisibus respective abfuerint." [Secretaria Brevium. Rome. I. E. R. iii. 147.]

In May, 1575, Tanner set out from Rome on his return to Ireland, fortified by a letter from the Pope. In a Vatican list of Irish bishops in 1579, the bishop of Cork and Cloyne appears "pulsus tamen episcopatu." He died on the 4th of June, 1579. [I. E. R. i. 318.]

Dermitius Graith, otherwise called Dermod M'Creaghe, or Darby Creagh, a cousin of Miler M'Grath, succeeded by appointment of the Pope in the Consistory of the 7th of October, 1580. On the 11th of the same month his election was confirmed. "Die 11^o Octobris, 1580, Cardinalis Ursinus prænuñciavit ecclesias Corcagien. et Cloinen. invicem unitas in provincia cuidam principi Catholico subjecta, pro Hyberno scholari Collegii Germanici." [Ibid.] The arrival of Dermitius Grath or M'Grath in Ireland was probably kept for some time from the knowledge of the English government. On the 8th of April, 1582, the Deputy, Grey, wrote to Walsingham, giving tidings of "a bishop come from the Pope, appointed for Cork and Cloyne." [State Papers, Rolls MSS., London.] In a State Paper of the year 1592, printed by the Kilkenny Archæological Society's Journal for 1856-57, is the following notice of bishop Creagh or M'Grath:—"In Mounster also are these persons following—first Doctor Creagh, Buishop of Cloven and Corck, who came into Irelaund in the tyme of the late rebellion of the Earl of Desmond, being in accion of rebellion with him. He is kept in the country these xi or xii yeres past without pardon or proteccion, and although he appear not at any public assembly, where Englishmen be present, yet he useth all manner of spiritual jurisdictions in the whole Province, being the Pope's legate, consecrating churches, making priests, confirming children, deciding matrimony causes," &c.

From another State Paper, dated 17th of May, 1593, it appears that exertions were made to capture Bishop Creaghe. The deputy writes to Burghley that "great shams of service"

were made by Miler Magrath, who pretended to compass the apprehension of Dr. Creaghe, the bishop of Cork. But archbishop Miler had no idea of putting his cousin Creaghe into Elizabeth's power, and privately warned Creaghe of his danger. [State Papers Rolls MSS., London. See also Miler Magrath's letter to his wife, already given in the account of the archbishops of Cashel, p. 120.] In 1595, Dr. Creaghe exercised jurisdiction in Ferns and Ossory. A manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin, relates that in June, 1595, he gave to Helena Whyte, a widow of Ross, whose conscience was uneasy, a dispensation or license to hold some lay rectories in Ferns and Ossory. The bishop thus signs this document:—"Dat. in Loco mansionis nostræ nonis Junii, 1595. Dermitius Cluonensis et Corkagensis epus." [MSS., T.C.D., E. 3, 15.] In November, 1600, the bishop had a narrow escape. The Earl of Thomond, Sir George Thornton, and others, were led by spies to Drumfinnin woods, and had scarcely entered the fastness, when a cry was raised by some sentinels, which "roused the Earl of Desmond and Dermot Mac Craghe, the Pope's bishop of Cork, who were lodged there in a poor ragged cabin. Desmond fled away barefoot, having no leisure to pull on his shoes, and was not discovered; but Mac Craghe was met by some of the soldiers, clothed in a simple mantle, and with torn trousers like an aged churl, and they neglecting so poor a creature, not able to carry a weapon, suffered him to pass unregarded." [Hibernia Pacata, p. 190.] Bishop Dermitius lived many years after this adventure. The time of his death is not fixed by Roman Catholic historians, but in a report presented to the Propaganda, in 1623, by Eugene Matthews, the Papal archbishop of Dublin, he is said to have lived for some years under James I., and to have faithfully discharged the functions of his office in spite of danger and persecutions. [Moran's Archbishops of Dublin, i. 289.]

The other Roman Catholic bishops of these sees appear in the following lists:—

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF CORK AND CLOYNE
SINCE THE YEAR 1558.

- 1558 to 1568.—Vacant.
 1568 to 1574.—Nicholas Landes.
 1574 to 1579.—Edmund Tanner.
 1580 to 1606.—Dermod M'Craghe.
 1606 to 1623.—Vicars-General Apostolic.
 1624 to 1640.—William Terrey.
 1646 to 1666.—Robert Barry.
 1676 to 1693.—Peter Creagh.
 1693 to 1710.—John Baptist Sleyne.
 1712 to 1725.—Denis or Donat M'Carthy.
 1726 to 1747.—Timothy M'Carthy.

CORK ALONE.

- 1747 to 1763.—Richard Walsh.
 1763 to 1787.—John Butler [Dunboyne.]
 1787 to 1815.—Francis Moylan.
 [1802 to 1810.—Florence M'Carthy, *Coadj.*]
 1815 to 1847.—John Murphy.
 1847 —William Delany.

CLOYNE ALONE.

- 1748 to 1769.—John O'Brien.
 1769 to 1791.—Matthew M'Kenna.
 [1779 to 1783.—Simon Quin, *Coadj.*]
 1791 to 1830.—William Copinger, *Coadj.* from 1787.
 1830 to 1832.—Michael Collins, *Coadj.* from 1827.
 1833 to 1846.—Bartholomew Crotty.
 1847 to 1849.—David Walsh.
 1849 to 1856.—Timothy Murphy.
 1857 —William Keane.

Ross.

Mauritius O'Fihely was probably bishop of Ross in 1558. He was appointed by the Pope in the Consistory of January, 1554, to succeed to Ross, vacant *per obitum Dermittii McDomnuil*,

otherwise called Macarius. "Die 22^o Januarii, 1554, providit sanctitas sua ecclesiæ Rossensi in Hibernia, vacanti per obitum Dermitii Macarii, de persona D. Mauritii O'Fihely, ord. FF. Min. et Theologiæ professoris." [Acta Consist. I.E.R., i. 108.] Maurice O'Hea, the next bishop, was appointed in the Consistory of March 15th, 1559, as successor *per obitum bonæ memoriæ Mauritii O'Fihel*. "Die 15^o Marti, 1559, referente Reverendissimo Dno. Cardinale Pacheco, fuit provisum ecclesiæ Rossensi in Hibernia, per obitum bon. mem. Mauritii O'Phihil pastoris solatio destitutæ, de persona R. D. Mauritii Hea, presbyteri Hiberni." [I.E.R., i. 109.] And, in the Consistory of 17th Dec., 1561, Thomas O'Herlihy was appointed to Ross, vacant *per obitum bonæ memoriæ Mauritii O'Hea*. "Die 17^o Decembris, 1561, referente Cardinale Morono, sua sanctitas providit ecclesiæ Rossensi in Hibernia, per obitum bon. mem. Mauritii O'Hea, extra Romanam curiam defuncti, vacanti, de persona D. Thomæ O'Hierlahii, presbyteri, de nobili genere ex utroque parente procreati, vita ac scientia idonei, in curia presentis, quem pater David, sacerdos Soc. Jesu in Hibernia existens, suis litteris commendavit, cum retentione beneficiorum competentium et jurium quæ obtinet." [Ibid.] O'Herlihy, whose consecration took place in Rome, attended the Trent Council.

Sir W. Sentleger, writing from Cork to Lord Deputy Sydney, on the 14th Feb., 1569, mentions that the bishop of Ross in Carbery, and the usurped bishop of Cashel, Maurice Reagh M^cGibbon, were conveyed into Kerry by James Fitzmaurice, who intended to send them into Spain. [Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, p. 401.] In 1571, O'Herlihy was captured by a son of O'Sullevane More and given up to Sir John Perrott, who sent him to London. There he was imprisoned for three years and seven months in the Tower, but was released, and returned to Ireland in company with Cormac Mac Carty, prince of Muskerry. [Rothe's Analecta, ii. 73.] Ware says that O'Herlihy resigned his bishopric in 1570, but this resignation was rather a deprivation. In 1575, O'Herlihy had special faculties conferred on him by the Pope. "Venerabili fratri Thomæ, Episcopo Rossensi, Die 13^o Aprilis, 1575." [Secretaria Brevium, I.E.R., iii. 147.] O'Herlihy died in 1579,

according to Ware, or on the 11th of March, 1580, according to Sanders. He was buried in the Observantine Franciscan Abbey of Kilcreagh, in the county of Cork. [Ware.] A successor to O'Herlihy was appointed without delay by the Pope, but his name has not been discovered in any Roman archive. The State Papers supply the deficiency. There is extant an "information" of William Lyon, the Elizabethan bishop of Ross, dated the 9th of October, 1582, in which he states, that about half a year previous to the date of his information, there had been sent over to the Pope, one Brigyn, nominated by him bishop of Rosse in Carbery, and a great "practiser" of mischief to the State. [State Papers, Rolls Office.] On the 22nd of July, 1583, Francis Touker, the English agent in Italy, wrote to Burghley, informing him that "in April there came from Rome to Naples, an Irishman, whom the Pope created bishop of Ross, in Ireland." [State Papers.] This bishop was also mentioned in a letter of Cornelius, bishop of Killaloe, dated the 29th of October, 1584. [I.E.R., i. 110.] The see of Ross was subsequently governed by Vicars-General Apostolic, excepting from 1647 to 1650, when it was held by Boetius Egan, who was, in the latter year, hanged by the English troops. The other Roman Catholic bishops of Ross were likewise bishops either of Cork or Cloyne, until the year 1851, when William Keane, who was translated to Cloyne in 1857, was appointed. Keane's successor in Ross is Michael O'Hea, who was consecrated in 1858.

An attempt was probably made by Queen Elizabeth, in 1576, to appoint a Protestant bishop to Ross, while O'Herlihy was alive, for, on the 13th of June, 1576, Sidney wrote to Walsingham from Dublin, recommending "Cornelius O'Breinion to be preferred to the bishopric of Ross Carbury." [State Papers, Rolls MSS., London.] But this recommendation was not acted on. On the 22nd of March, 1581, Fenton wrote to Walsingham, from Beaumaris, respecting the "confirmation of the lately elected bishop of Ross Carbury;" and in a letter of July, 1581, there is another mention of the new bishop. [State Papers Rolls, MSS., London.] This new bishop of Ross was William Lyon, who had the Queen's letter for his appointment on the 30th of March, and his patent

on the 12th of May, 1582. He received the sees of Cork and Cloyne, in commendam, in the following year. [Cork Records, iii. 140.] From that time to the present, Ross has always been held with the see of Cork, in the Protestant succession. As William Lyon, the first Protestant bishop of Ross, was consecrated in 1582, it follows that Ross was for twenty-four years, dating from Elizabeth's accession, without a Protestant prelate.

LIMERICK.

Hugh Lacy was bishop of Limerick in 1558. His name appears in the parliament list of 1559. He was named in a Commission, dated 2nd August, 1560, for gaol delivery in Munster and Thomond. [Morrin, i. p. 433.] But he seems to have been marked out for deprivation as early as 1562, for in a State Paper of July 3 in that year it is noted "Lymerike may be void by Deprivacyon." [Shirley, 116.] In or about this year, 1562, Lacy assisted Richard Creagh, afterwards the Papal primate, by giving him "twelve markes" to enable him to go to Rome. [Shirley, 173.] In 1563 Lacy was recommended, in a paper presented to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, as a fit person to succeed to the vacant see of Armagh. He is called in that paper "vir in fide Catholica constans," &c. [Moran's Abps. of Dublin, i. 420.] Notwithstanding, his name appears as the principal signature to a decree of the Queen's Commissioners, dated 29th Sept., 1564. [Morrin, i. 492.] Again, in the instructions given to Sir H. Sydney, dated the 4th of July, 1565, inquiry was directed to be made whether Limerick was void, with a view to appoint a successor who might serve as counsellor to the local government. [Shirley, 208.]

In March, 1567, the Lord Deputy journeyed through Munster, and visited Limerick. He went to the Cathedral "where the bishop of Limerick received him in the churchyard, with a pressione [procession?] in Latin singing, and the said bishop was in his pontificals after the Popish fashion, and all the rest of the priests and clerks in their copes, and a cross borne before them, and so they entered the said church," and the bishop sang in prayer for the Lord Deputy. [MS. T. C. D. E. 3. 20.] Bishop Lacy, in 1568, received letters from the Commissioners

in Munster declaring that he was joined with them in commission, and at their request brought the Countess of Desmond to them to Cork. [Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, pp. 360, 361, 364, &c.] His political services were not sufficient to prevent the threatened deprivation, and in 1571 the temporalities were taken from him; and William Casey, a former bishop, deprived in Mary's time, was restored by Queen Elizabeth. [Cotton.] Lacy continued to act as Papal bishop and was in frequent communication with Rome. On the 3rd of May, 1575, Lacy received special faculties from Rome, not only for Limerick diocese, but for the province of Cashel:—"Hugoni Episcopo Limericensi pro Diocesi Limericensi, necnon pro tota Provincia Casselensi, quamdiu Venerabilis frater noster Archiepiscopus a sua Diocesi et Ecclesia et universa Provincia abfuerit." [I. E. R. iii. 147.]

Holinshed [Chronicles, vi. 429] mentions the imprisonment, in 1579, of the Chancellor of Limerick, in whose lodgings "manie masse bookes and other Popish trash" were found, and adds:—"the bishop likewise was upon some suspicion committed prisoner unto his own house." In the year following, the see of Limerick was noted in a Vatican list as vacant *per obitum Ugonis Lacy in sua ecclesia defuncti*. The Papal successor of Lacy was Cornelius Nachten, as he is called in a Roman archive, or O'Neil as he is named in the "Interrogatory of Bernard O'Donnell," a State Paper now preserved in the Public Record Office, London. In this document appears "Cornelius O'Neill, Hybernus, Episcopus Limericensis." He was appointed in 1581, and in 1583 and 1584 he was in Spain, as appears from his letters still preserved in the Vatican. According to the State Paper already quoted, O'Neil was in Spain in the year 1591. The year of his death is unknown. The next Roman Catholic bishop of Limerick was Richard Arthur, who so early as the year 1613 was bishop elect. In a list of Papal bishops in Ireland in 1613 who were "elected but not yet consecrated," appears "Richard Arthur, elect of Limerick, and there resident—relieved by special friends and kinsmen and privie tythes." [MS. T. C. D. E. 3. 15.] Arthur was not consecrated until the 7th of September, 1623. He died on the 23rd of May, 1646;

his funeral was attended by Rinuccini, the Papal nuncio, and all the clergy; and he was buried in the Limerick Cathedral. [Lenihan's Limerick, 590.]

The other Roman Catholic bishops of this see appear in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF LIMERICK
FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1580.—Hugh Lacy.
 1581 to 1591.—Cornelius O'Neil.
 1591 to 1623.—Vicars-General Apostolic.
 1623 to 1646.—Richard Arthur.
 1646 to 1654.—Edmund O'Dwyer, *Coadjutor* from 1645.
 1654 to 1670.—Vicars-General Apostolic.
 1670 to 1684.—James Dowley.
 1684 to 1687.—J. O'Moloney, bishop of Killaloe, was administrator.
 1687 to 1702.—John O'Moloney.
 1702 to 1720.—Vicars-General.
 1720 to 1737.—Cornelius O'Keeffe.
 1738 to 1759.—Robert Lacy.
 1760 to 1778.—Daniel O'Kearney.
 1779 to 1796.—Denis Conway.
 1796 to 1813.—John Young, *Coadjutor* from 1793.
 1815 to 1828.—Charles Tuohy.
 1828 to 1864.—John Ryan, *Coadjutor* from 1825.
 1864 —George Butler, *Coadjutor* from 1861.

Queen Elizabeth, during the first thirteen years of her reign, left Limerick without a Protestant bishop. In 1571 she deprived the Papal incumbent, and restored W. Casey, a former bishop, whom Queen Mary ejected. She gave Casey a coadjutor in 1588, one Dennis Campbell, a Scotchman. [Ware.] From 1571 to 1867, there have been twenty-six Protestant bishops of Limerick, of whom eight were translated to richer sees. Twelve out of the twenty-six bishops were Englishmen. Of the seventeen Limerick bishops who were not translated, eight died outside the limits of their bishopric. After Casey's death, in

1591, the see was held by eight Englishmen, mostly graduates of Oxford, in succession.

ARDFERT AND AGHADOE.

James Fitz Richard Pierce, otherwise called James Fitzmaurice, was bishop of Ardfert in 1558. In the pretended parliament list of 1559, the bishop of Ardfert is included. His sons are mentioned by the Four Masters. In 1582, "a gentleman of the Clan Sheehy . . . was slain before the door of the monastery of O'Torna (O'Dorney) by the sons" of "James Fitzmaurice, bishop of Ardfert, who were aiding the Queen's people on that occasion." And in the same year these sons of the bishop, James and Gerald, were slain by the sons of Edmond MacSheehy, to avenge their brother Murtogh, who had been formerly slain by the sons of the bishop of Kerry. [Four Masters.] These sons were born to the bishop before he became a priest, for otherwise he would have been deprived of his see by Queen Mary for being a married bishop. It is not singular to find mention in Papal times of the children of bishops. In 1589 died Dermot, son of Dermot, son of Denis, son of Dermot, whose father was Cornelius O'Dea, bishop of Limerick from 1400 to 1426. [Four Masters.]

That James Fitzmaurice was a Roman Catholic there can be no doubt. On the 4th of May, 1575, he obtained special faculties from Rome, which were granted "Jacobò, Episcopo Ardfertensi pro diocesi Ardfertensi." [Vatican MSS.] He accompanied the Earl of Desmond's army in the war against Elizabeth, in the year 1579. [Letter of the Papal nuncio to Rome, dated in 1580.] He was attainted, and his possessions were granted by the Queen to George Isham. [Morrin ii. 413.] From a Vatican list of Irish sees it would appear that Fitzmaurice died in 1580 or thereabouts, but the Four Masters, who style him "a vessel full of wisdom," place his death in 1583. [Cotton.] The bishop of Ardfert appears in the parliament list of 1585, although Fitzmaurice was then dead, and no Protestant bishop was appointed until 1588. Michael Fitzwalter was appointed, in the Consistory of the 5th of August, 1591, to Ardfert, vacant *per obitum Jacobi Idorni*. "Fuit provisum ecclesiæ Ardfertensi, in

regno Hiberniæ, vacanti per obitum Jacobi Idorni, de persona Michaelis Gualterii, 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 adeptus fuerit possessionem pacificam ecclesiæ Ardfertensis aut majoris partis diocesis." [Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*, 188.] James "Idornus" refers of course to James Fitzmaurice of Odorney, or Abbey O'Dorney, in Kerry, belonging to the Fitzmaurice family. How long Michael Fitzwalter was bishop of Ardfert is not known. In 1611 Richard Connell appears as Vicar-General Apostolic of Ardfert, and in 1646 became bishop of that see. He died in 1650. The other bishops of this diocese are named in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF ARDFERT AND AGHADOE
SINCE 1558:—

- 1558 to 1583.—James Fitzmaurice.
- 1591 to 1610?—Michael Fitzwalter.
- 1611 to 1646.—Vicar-General Apostolic.
- 1646 to 1650.—Richard Connell.
- 1650 to 1702.—Vicars-General Apostolic.
- 1702 to 1737.—Denis Moriarty.
- 1731 to —Owen O'Sullivan.
- 1747 to 1753.—William O'Meara.
- 1753 to 1774.—Nicholas Madget.
- 1775 to 1787.—Francis Moylan.
- 1787 to 1797.—Gerald Teahan.
- 1797 to 1824.—Charles Sughrue.
- 1824 to 1856.—Cornelius Egan.
- 1856 —David Moriarty, cons. 1854.

The see of Ardfert and Aghadoe was thirty years without a Protestant bishop, dating from the accession of Elizabeth. Nicholas Kenan was appointed in 1588, and from that year to the year 1661, when this see was united with that of Limerick, there were five bishops of Ardfert and Aghadoe, without any

break in the succession except one short vacancy between 1637 and 1641. Of these five bishops three were Irish by birth.

KILLALOE.

Terence O'Brien was bishop of Killaloe in 1558. The record of his appointment is as follows:—"Die Lunæ 25^o Junii, 1554. Referente Reverendissimo Carpensi, sua sanctitas providit ecclesiæ Laonensi vacanti per obitum bonæ memoriæ Jacobi Corrin, extra Romanam curiam defuncti, de persona Domini Theoderici O'Brien, decani ecclesiæ Duacensis cum dispensatione super defectu natalium. Taxa floren. C." [Barberini Archives.] This extract corrects, it will be observed, a statement made in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record concerning Dr. Corrin. The bishop of Killaloe "episcopus Laonensis" appears in the pretended parliament list of 1559. This, however, is no proof of conformity. In 1568 Terence O'Brien was one of those Irish bishops named in the petition to the Pope and the King of Spain. Bishop O'Brien died, according to the Four Masters, in 1569. His sons were said to be "outlaws" in a document dated 26th of October, 1569. [State Papers, Elizabeth, Calendar, p. 422.] These sons of the bishop of Killaloe are mentioned by Cox, who relates that, in 1575, the Deputy was in Limerick, and having, among other exploits, "ruined the rebellious Mac an Aspigs, bastard sons of the bishop of Killaloe, by name O'Briens, went to Galway." [Cox, i. 345.]

The successor of Terence O'Brien was Malachy O'Molony, who was appointed by Papal provision, "per obitum Terentii," on the 10th of January, 1571 [Barberini Archives], and on the 22nd of August, 1576, was translated to Kilmaeduaigh, when Cornelius O'Melrian was appointed to Killaloe. [Vatican MSS.] Cornelius O'Melrian is noticed in the State Papers. On the 30th of March, 1579, Lord Justice Drury incloses to the Privy Council a statement about two Romish bishops—namely, "Conoghur O'Mulrian (of Killaloe) and Donough Oge O'Gallagher" (of Killala), with 300 soldiers and Stucley's well-appointed ship at Lisbon. On the 27th of September, 1580, the Commons of Lixnawe (in Kerry) sent a despatch to Her Majesty's attorney and recorder at Limerick, announcing the

presence of "Friar Mattheus Oviedo, Commissarius Apostolicus, and Donel Ryan's son, the bishop of Killaloe." In 1582, on the 26th of November, Sir W. Sentleger writes from Cork to inform the Queen that "Desmond has sent the bishop of Killaloe and the Chanter of Limerick, called Pursell, into Spain, to hasten the foreigners over." Nicholas Nangle makes a declaration at Limerick, on the 20th of April, 1583, that "Connogher O'Mulrian," pretended bishop of Killaloe, and Robert Lacy, pretended Chancellor of Limerick, are bringing help to Desmond. Next, the "examination of Dermod M'Donnell," taken on the 11th of January, 1584, narrates that "the usurped bishop of Killaloe has another great ship on the west coast." Fenton, alarmed by these tidings, writes from Dublin, on the 21st of January following, to Burghley, advising an effort to intercept the supposed bishop of Killaloe, and to entrap William Nugent, who are said to have arrived from Rome. [State Papers, Rolls MSS., London.]

This Cornelius Ryan, or O'Mulrian, was a bitter opponent of Elizabeth, and a frequent correspondent of the Roman Court. Many of his letters, written in Latin, have been printed from the Vatican archives, and there are also several unpublished letters of his, signed "Cornelius Laonensis," in the State Paper Office. Copies of them are in the author's possession, but they are not sufficiently interesting for publication. Cornelius died at Lisbon, in the year 1616, according to O'Sullewane. No bishop was appointed by the Pope from the date of his death until the year 1632. The other Papal occupants of this see appear in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF KILLALOE, FROM 1558.

1558 to 1569.—Terence O'Brien.

1571 to 1576.—Malachy O'Molony.

1576 to 1616.—Cornelius O'Melrian.

1616 to 1632.—Vicars-General Apostolic.

1632 to 1650.—John Molony.

1650 to 1671.—Vicars-General Apostolic.

1671 to 1702.—John O'Molony. He was also bishop of Limerick.

- 1702 to 1729.—Administrators or Vicars-General.
 1729 to 1739.—Francis or Sylvester Lloyd.
 1741 to 1745.—Patrick MacDonagh.
 1745 to 1753.—Nicholas Madget.
 1653 to 1764.—William O'Meara.
 1765 to 1807.—Peter MacMahon.
 1807 to 1829.—James O'Shaughnessy, *consec.*, 1798.
 1829 to 1836.—Patrick MacMahon, *cons.*, 1819.
 1836 to 1850.—Patrick Kennedy.
 1851 to 1858.—Daniel Vaughan.
 1858 to 1866.—Michael Flannery.
 1866 —Nicholas Power, *Coadj.* from 1865.

The first Elizabethan bishop of Killaloe was Maurice O'Brien, consecrated, as alleged, in 1576, eighteen years after the Queen's accession, the see being then occupied by a Papal incumbent. The State Papers and Patent Rolls give the following account of Maurice O'Brien. On the 26th of December, 1569, Sidney wrote to Cecil requesting that the bearer of his letter, "Morgan, son of M^c-I-Brien Arra, might have the profits of the bishopric of Killaloe to keep him at Oxford, that he might be more fit to enjoy the place. Otherwise (he continued) the profits will be utterly converted to temporal uses for want of men to serve as bishops." [Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, p. 424.] Queen Elizabeth, in a letter to Sir H. Sidney, dated 17th of May, 1570, directs that Morgan, the son of M^cBrien, shall have the profits of the see for his maintenance and sustentation in learning, "so as when he should arrive at maturer years, if he should be found meet to have the said bishopric, he might be admitted thereto." Her Majesty remarks that "no person could enjoy the profits of the bishopric without the good will of the said M^cBrien Arra." [Morrin, i. 539.]

The Queen seems to have issued an order, in 1570, for the consecration of Maurice O'Brien as bishop of Killaloe, but it was not carried into effect. [Cotton MSS., Brit. Mus. Titus B. xii. 49.] This Morgan, or Maurice O'Brien, was at Magdalen College, Cambridge, in September, 1572, according to the Catalogue of the Lansdowne MSS. quoted in Liber Mun. Hib.

vol. i. Part 3, p. 13, where it appears that "Maurice O'Brien, elect bishop of Killaloe," wrote to the Lord Treasurer in behalf of an Irish bishop confined in the Marshalsea. In the Appendix to Strype's *Life of Parker* (folio, London, 1711) No. lxxxviii. p. 143, there is a letter of "Mauritius Obrien filius Domini Mac I Brien Arra" to Cecil. In this epistle, signed "Mauritius Obrien electus episcopus de Killalowe," the young bishop elect displays little "Christian charity," for he inveighs in fierce terms against Malachy O'Molony, his Papal rival, whom he calls an "egregius Papista," faithless both to God and his prince. Malachy is said to be notorious for his crimes; and, not to speak of the bull he had from the Pope for the see, he is accused of feigning himself a bitter enemy of Popery. Oiten, says O'Brien, the hungry wolf pretends to be asleep in order to deceive his prey, and so Malachy, hungering after the bishopric, becomes a professor of the truth, although in reality a whited sepulchre and a "vetusque et senex Papista." This letter is dated by O'Brien "ex meo Musæo in Magdalensi Collegio, Cantabrigiæ, 24 Oct., 1572." In 1573, on the 3rd of December, Maurice, Bishop elect of Killaloe, writes to the Deputy, and on the 16th of August, 1574, the Deputy writes from the camp beside Darnilare, to Burghley, to get "the bishopric of Killaloe for Maurice, alias Morgan, M^c-I-Brien Ara." On the 8th of March, her Majesty informs the Deputy that "Morrough M^c-I-Brien Arra" was too young to be consecrated. [State Papers. Rolls MSS., London.] Morgan M^cBrien is said to have been consecrated in 1576, but no date or place of consecration is mentioned. [Cotton, iv. Appendix, p. xxix.] He subsequently became, by the death of an elder brother, chieftain of his house. He resigned the see in 1612, and died in the year following. [Cotton, i. 463.]

Between 1576 and 1867 there have been thirty-two Protestant bishops of Killaloe, in uninterrupted succession, excepting one break of eleven years between 1650 and 1661. Eighteen of these bishops were translated to richer sees. Only fifteen out of the thirty-two were Irishmen, eighteen out of the thirty-two were graduates of either Oxford, Cambridge, or a Scotch University.

KILFENORA.

John O'Niallan was bishop of Kilfenora in 1558. His appointment is thus recorded:—"Die Lunæ 21^o November, 1541. Referente eminentissimo Cardinale Gambara, sua sanctitas providit ecclesiæ Finnaborensi in dicta Hibernia, vacanti per obitum Mauritii extra Romanum curiam defuncti, de persona Johannis O'Niallan abbatis monasterii beatæ Mariæ de Ciltz ordinis Sancti Augustini, cum retentione obtentorum reddituum." [Barberini Archives.] Unless the "Episcopus Coranensis" be considered as a bishop of Kilfenora, no bishop of this see appears in the parliament list of 1559. In 1572, the bishop of Kilfenora, *i.e.* John Oge, the son of John, son of Auliff O'Niallan, a preacher of the word of God, died and was interred at Kilfenora. [Four Masters.] Some persons strangely imagine that the Four Masters, themselves Roman Catholics, in calling O'Niallan "a preacher of the word of God," testified to his Protestantism. But the expression is frequently used in praise of Roman Catholics by Roman Catholic writers. Henry VIII., when petitioning, in 1518, Pope Leo X. to confirm Henry Standysh in the see of S. Asaph, styles Standysh "a preacher of the word;"—"verbique Dei predicatorem haud incelebrem." [Theiner, *Vet. Monumenta Hib. et Scot.* p. 531.]

There is no trace of any Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilfenora, or of any bishop at all until 1585, when "Daniel," elect of Kilfenora appears. In the Burgundian list of 1617, Fr. Hugh Mac Lanchus of the order of S. Francis is named as bishop of Kilfenora. [I. E. R., ii. 220.] From 1647 to 1673, or thereabouts, Dr. Andrew Lynch was bishop. [Moran's *Plunket*, 171.] In 1750, James O'Daly, bishop of Kilfenora died. [Hib. Dom., 510.] The see of Kilfenora seems to have been afterwards administered by the Roman Catholic bishops of Kilmaedugh.

Queen Elizabeth, on the death of O'Niallan, made no appointment to Kilfenora. Murtough O'Brien, son to Sir Donnell O'Brien, was recommended for the vacant see by the Lord Deputy and Council in a despatch dated 10th of May, 1573. He was approved of by the archbishop of Dublin and the bishop of Meath. [Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, 502.] But

there is no other trace of his appointment or consecration. "Daniel, elect bishop of Kyllffynnraghe," was a party to a treaty, dated 17th of August, 1585, between the Queen and the chieftains of Thomond [Morrin, i. 138], but there is no record either of his appointment or of his consecration.

Forty-eight years, dating from Elizabeth's accession, elapsed before the see was given, in commendam, to a Protestant prelate, Bernard Adams, bishop of Limerick, who held it from 1606 to 1617. Between 1617 and 1642, there were four bishops of Kilfenora, not one of whom was a native of Ireland. Steere was English, Murray and Heygate were Scotch, and Sibthorpe was English by birth and education. For nineteen years between 1642 and 1661, this see lay vacant. From 1661 to 1742 it was held with Tuam, and from 1742 to 1752 with Clonfert, in commendam. Finally it was united to Killaloe in 1752.

TUAM.

Christopher Bodkin, who was consecrated to Kilmacduagh at Marseilles in 1533, and, in 1537, received Tuam also from Henry VIII., was in possession of these sees in 1558, and retained them till his death in 1572. [Cotton.] His consecration is thus recorded by Ware:—"Consecratus est episcopus Duacensis, Massiliæ in Gallia, 4^o Novembris, 1533, a Gabriele archiepiscopo Dyrachiensi, assistentibus Hieronymo Aburtino et Marco Antonio Tiburtino episcopis." [De Præsulibus 282, Ed. 1665.] Bodkin was in Dublin on the 2nd of February, 1557, on which day the Deputy was "in Christ Church, viz., Thomas, Earle of Sussex, at High Mass," along with the Lord Chancellor (Curwin), the High Treasurer "and his lady," the Earl of Kildare, the Earl of Thomond, "and y^e Arch B^p of Tuam." They "went a procession," and Sir H. Sidney bore the sword before the Lord Deputy." [Loftus MSS.] "Christopherus Tuamensis archiepiscopus" appears in the parliament list of 1559. Bodkin, who had taken part in State affairs under previous monarchs, in 1560 recommended to Queen Elizabeth William Laly for confirmation to him of the deanery of Tuam and his other church preferments. [Morrin, i. 448.] On the 2nd of October, 1567, he signed, as

Queen's Commissioner in civil causes, an injunction to the Sheriff of the county of Connaught. [Ibid. 505.]

In the same year, 1567, the Lord Deputy visited Galway, and "in the churchyard the bishop of the town received him in his pontificals, accompanied with divers priests and clerkes in copes, singing." The Deputy "entered the church of Our Lady, and there remained until *Te Deum* was sung in Latin," and after prayer went to his lodging. The Deputy did not evince much gratitude for the bishop's welcome, but was pleased to commend highly the sermon preached a few days later in the same town by "a priest of Ireland, who was sometime a friar," who gave his preface in Latin, and afterwards delivered "a godly lesson" to his hearers, and was in consequence recommended to Clanrickarde in warm terms of approbation. [MS. T.C.D., E. 3, 18.] Bodkin acted as interpreter of what Bodiclogh, an Irishman, said before the council in 1570, and in May, 1571, went to Dublin with the Lord President of Connaught. [Calend. State Papers, Elizabeth, pp. 428 and 448.]

From an investigation held at Lambeth on the 18th of September, 1555, before the Papal legate, Cardinal Pole, touching the dioceses of Tuam and Kilmaeduaigh, some interesting information may be gathered. Tuam cathedral then possessed one great and two minor altars; a choir with books necessary for the divine office; a baptistery; a sacristy supplied with crosses, chalices, altar cloths and other vestments; a cemetery; a "campanile dirutum;" three dignitaries, namely, a dean, archdeacon, and provost, and ten or twelve canons. Bodkin is mentioned as having intruded himself into Tuam by the King's authority, but at the same time he is described as a man born in wedlock, of noble family, aged about fifty, and skilled in theology and the Canon law, which he had studied at Oxford. He is also called a very great opponent and pursuer of heretics, and his falling into the error of schism, as many others had done, is ascribed to fear rather than inclination. [Vatican MSS., Moran's Archbishops of Dublin, Appendix, p. 414.] David Wolfe, the apostolic delegate, writing from Limerick to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland on the 12th of October, 1561, gives great praise to Bodkin, although he had "taken the oath of allegiance to the Queen."

He thinks him much better suited for the diocese than Arthur O'Frigi, the rival claimant, on account of his being skilled in administration and having great influence with the gentry of the district. In fact, the church of Tuam was for 300 years used as a fortress by the gentry, without the Mass or other divine office, until Bodkin took it out of their hands by force and at the great peril of his person: and where horses and other animals were formerly 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 Tuam (in quella terra Tuamense). [Ibid. 418.]

Bodkin, although a Roman Catholic, and always so reckoned by Roman Catholic writers, was sometimes regarded with suspicion as having opposed O'Frigi, the Papal nominee. In a Vatican list of the year 1579 or 1580, is the following remark:—“As to Tuam, Christopher Bodkin was generally considered its archbishop. He held four sees, and contended for that of Mayo, so that it is doubtful which was his true see.”

Under the year 1572, the Four Masters thus record Bodkin's death:—“The archbishop of Tuam, *i. e.* Christopher Boidicin, died, and was interred in Galway.”

Upon Bodkin's death, no bishop was appointed to Tuam by the Pope for a space of eight years. The see was governed by Vicars-General. On the 4th of May, 1575, special faculties were granted to Eugene O'Harte, bishop of Achonry, for the province of Tuam:—“Eugenio Episcopo Accadensi pro Diocesi Accadensi, necnon pro tota Provincia Tuamensi.” 4 Maij, 1575. The names of the other archbishops of this see are given in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC AND ANGLICAN PRELATES OF TUAM
SINCE THE YEAR 1558.

ROMAN CATHOLIC.	ANGLICAN.
Christopher Bodkin, 1558, died 1572.	
Vicars-Apostolic, 1572-1580.	
	1573, W. Laly (I., Ox.) was appointed.
	1595, died.

Nicholas Skerrett, died 1583.	1580,	
James O'Hely, died 1587.	1585,	
Marianus O'Higgin, died 1597.	1593,	
		1595, Nehemiah Donnellan, [I., Cam.] 1609, resigned.
Florence Conry, died 1629.	1608,	
		1609, Wm. Daniel [I., T.C.D.] 1628, died. 1629, April, Randolph Barlow [E., Cam.] 1637, died.
Malachy Queely, died 1645.	1631,	
		1638, Richard Boyle [E.] 1645, died in Cork. 1645, John Maxwell, [S., S. Andrews] 1647, died.
John De Burgo, died 1666.	1647,	1647 to 1661, vacant
		1661, Samuel Pulein [E., Cam.] 1667, died. 1667, John Parker, [I., T.C.D.] 1679, trans. to Dublin.
James Lynch, died 1715.	1669,	
		1679, John Vesey [I., T.C.D.] 1716, died. 1716, Edward Synge [I., T.C.D.] 1741, died.
Bernard O'Gara, died 1739.	1724,	

Michael O'Gara, died 1748.	1740,	1742, Josiah Hort [E., Cam.] 1751, died in Dublin.
Mark Skerrett, died 1782.	1749,	1752, John Ryder [I., Cam.] 1775, died at Nice. 1775, Jemmet Browne [I., T.C.D.] 1782, died at Cork. 1782, Hon. Joseph D. Bourke [I.] 1794, died in Co. Meath.
Philip Philips, died 1787.	1783,	
Boetius Egan, died 1798.	1787,	1794, Hon. W. Beresford [I.] 1819, died.
Edward Dillon, died 1809.	1798,	
Oliver Kelly, died 1834.	1815,	1819, Hon. W. Le P. Trench [I.] 1839, died.
John Mac Hale,	1834.	
		TUAM BISHOPS.
		1839, Hon. Thomas Plunket [I. Cam.] 1866, died. 1867, Hon. C. B. Bernard [I., Ox.]

According to the foregoing list there were sixteen Roman Catholic and sixteen Anglican archbishops of Tuam and two Anglican bishops of Tuam between the years 1558 and 1867. Of the Anglican prelates thirteen were Irishmen, four were

English, and one was Scotch. Two were graduates of Oxford, six of Cambridge, and at least five belonged to Trinity College, Dublin. There was but one translation from Tuam—that of Parker to Dublin. Six of the sixteen Anglican archbishops, namely, Boyle, Maxwell, Hort, Ryder, Brown, and Bourke, died outside the Tuam province.

KILMACDUAGH.

Kilmacduagh was governed from 1558 to 1572 by Christopher Bodkin, archbishop of Tuam. The Consistorial Acts give, however, a Papal succession which excludes Bodkin. A bishop Cornelius was appointed on the 5th of May, 1542, per obitum Matthei, as if the consecration of Bodkin in 1533 was ignored. This Cornelius is supposed by Dr. Moran to have lived until the year 1576. [I. E. R. ii. 216.] In that year Malachy O'Molony was translated by the Pope from Killaloe to Kilmacduagh. The Consistorial entries relative to this translation are as follows:—
 “1576 4^o Julii, Cardinalis Alciatus prænuntiavit translationem Episcopi Laonensis in Hibernia ad Episcopatum Duacensem.” [Corsini Archives.]
 “1576, 22^o Augusti; referente Cardinali Alciato Malachias episcopus Laonensis translatus est ad Duacensem.” [Corsini Archives.]

“Die, 22^o Augusti, 1576, referente Reverendissimo Cardinali Alciato, sua sanctitas providit ecclesiæ Duacensi in Hibernia, vacanti per obitum Cornelii, de persona Rev. D. Malachiaë episcopi Laonensis, cum decreto solito quod non possit exercere Pontificalia extra limites suæ Diocesis, etiam cum consensu ordinariorum possit tamen in Hibernia exercere Pontificalia in locis contiguis, in quibus nulli adsunt episcopi Catholici, dummodo non absit a sua diocesi ultra tres menses concessos a Concilio Tridentino.” [Barberini Archives.]

Malachy O'Molony, when bishop of Killaloe, was accused by Maurice O'Brien, the Queen's nominee, of pretending to abandon Romanism in order to obtain favour with her Majesty. [See p. 147 supra.] The State Papers give several notices of O'Molony. On the 17th of November, 1580, Sir N. Malbie writes from Athlone to Walsingham to say that “Ulick Burke has joined himself with John by means of O'Malone,” [O'Molony] con-

stituted by the Pope bishop of Killaloe [but then translated to Kilmaedduagh.] They, the Burkes, proclaim "hanging to all priests that will not say mass." In 1583, on the 16th of April, Sir N. Malbie writes from Dublin to Walsingham, and says he has obtained a protection for Malachi O'Molona, the Popish bishop of Killaloe [Kilmaedduagh?] to come to Dublin. Malbie incloses to Walsingham a Latin letter from O'Molona dated "Loughreagh, April 10, 1583," in which O'Molona expresses a desire to converse with Malbie in order to "reveal certain matters perilous to the State." On the 6th of August, 1584, the Deputy incloses to the Privy Council an account of Perrott's doings in Munster, which contains a statement that "the suspected bishop Malachias Amalone (O'Molony) and a friar, brother to M^r William Eighter, did openly renounce the Pope, swear to the supremacy, and the friar gave over his habit presently, and both made public profession of their faith and recantation." [State Papers, Rolls MSS., London.]

The foregoing extracts from the State Papers would seem to leave no doubt remaining that Malachy O'Molony conformed, in Elizabeth's reign, to the State religion; but, according to the Roman Catholic historians, O'Molony was a staunch upholder of the Pope and the Papal faith. Mooney, the Franciscan annalist, records the death, about the year 1610, of Malachy O'Molony the then last bishop of Kilmaedduagh, who suffered many persecutions, and was imprisoned by the heretics. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, in a report presented to the Propaganda in 1623, mentions O'Molony as a few years deceased at an advanced age. Bruodinus (vol. i. 471.) places the death of O'Molony on the 20th of July, 1603. [1613?] But the strongest evidence of O'Molony's Roman Catholicism is to be found in the State Paper, supposed date 1582, wherein "Malachias O'Melone, pretending to be buishop of Killalowe from the Pope," is specially exempted from pardon [Renchan MSS., ii. p. 131.], and in the *Hibernia Pacata*, page 381 of the edition of 1633, where a letter from the "popish bishop" of Kilmaedduagh is printed under the date 1602. This letter, signed "Malachias Duacensis Episcopus," is addressed to the King of Spain, and Oviedo the Roman Catholic Archbishop of

Dublin, in favour of John Burke, Sir George Thornton's son-in-law, who wanted to go to Compostella to become a priest. Perhaps these contradictory statements about O'Molony may be accounted for by the existence of two persons bearing the name "Malachy O'Molony." David Wolf, writing to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland in 1561, mentions "a certain Malachy O'Molony, Canon of Kilmacduagh" who "granted forged dispensations," and was "a forger of apostolic letters." [Moran's *Abps. of Dublin*, p. 86.]

ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF KILMACDUAGH FROM 1558.

1558 to 1572.—Christopher Bodkin.

1572 to 1576.—Cornelius ?

1576 to 1613 ?—Malachy O'Molony.

16 ? to 1640.—Oliver De Burgo.

1647 to 1653.—Hugh De Burgo.

1744.—Milo De Burg. [Hib. Dom. 509.]

KILMACDUAGH AND KILFENORA.

1744 to 1783.—Peter Killikelly. [Ibid.]

1783 to 1795.—Laurence Nihill.

1795 to 1799.—Edward Dillon.

1800 to 1824.—Nicholas Arsdekin.

1825 to 1853.—Edward French.

1853 —Patrick Fallon.

The first Elizabethan bishop of Kilmacduagh was Stephen Kirwan, appointed by letters patent of the 13th of April, 1573, and supposed to have been consecrated in that year. Kirwan was translated to Clonfert in 1582. From 1582 to 1587 the see was placed under a custodiam. Sir John Perrott granted the custodiam to Thomas Bankes, a Franciscan friar, who, in 1585, as "elect bishop of Kilmacduagh," was party to an indenture between the Deputy and Lord Clanrickard. On the 14th of June, Roland Lynch was appointed bishop of Kilmacduagh, and he was translated to Clonfert in 1602, with license to hold Kilmacduagh in commendam. Since that time the two sees have been always united. The Protestant bishops of Kilmacduagh accordingly were, since 1558, but two, namely Kirwan and Lynch, both Irishmen. Kirwan was educated at Oxford.

KILLALA.

Redmund O'Gallagher was bishop of Killala in 1558. The "Episcopus Aladenensis" appears in the parliament list of 1559. He was translated to Derry by the Pope in 1569. [See page 78.] On the 4th of September, 1570, Donatus O'Gallagher, a Franciscan, was appointed his successor. In 1575, on the 4th of May, special faculties were granted by the Pope to "Donato, episcopo Alladensi pro Diocesi Alladensi." [I.E.R. iii. 147.] This Donatus, according to Dr. Moran's authorities, "took an active part in organizing the Spanish expedition in aid of the Desmond chieftains in 1579. We meet with him in Madrid, on the 4th of October, 1578, on which day the Nuncio of his Holiness ordered some funds to be supplied to him; and on 10th of November, 1579, we find Colonello Sebastiano surrendering his ship to him and to John Fleming, by order of the same Nuncio. (*Ex Archiv. Vatic.*) In the following year he was translated by Papal authority to Down and Connor. [I.E.R., iii. 57.] John Hubert, continues Dr. Moran, was proclaimed successor to O'Gallagher, in the see of Killala, in the consistory of 19th July, 1580, and for many years continued to rule the flock entrusted to his charge. A special faculty of absolving from heresy was granted to him by the Pope's Brief of 5th September, 1583. [*Ex Archiv. Sec. Brevium.*]

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF KILLALA, FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1569.—Raymund Gallagher.
- 1570 to 1580.—Donatus O'Gallagher.
- 1580 —John Hubert.
- 16 . . to 1644.—Vicars-Apostolic?
- 1645 to 1661.—Francis Kirwan.
- 1661 to 1740.—Vicars?
- 1740 to 1742.—Thaddeus O'Rorke.
- 1743 to 1748.—John Brett.
- 1748 to 1749.—Mark Skerrett.
- 1749 to 1760.—Bonaventure M^cDonnell
- 1760 to 1776.—Philip Philips.

- 1776 to 1779.—Alexander Irwin.
 1779 to 1813.—Dominic Bellew.
 1814 to 1834.—Peter Waldron.
 1834 to 1834.—John M^cHale, *Coadjutor* from 1815.
 1835 to 1839.—Francis O'Finan.
 1839 —Thomas Feeny.

Killala was without a Protestant bishop for thirty-three years, dating from the accession of Elizabeth. Owen O'Connor had, indeed, a custodiam of the see in 1585, and in that year was party to an indenture made between Sir John Perrott and the chieftains of Mayo; but he was not consecrated until the month of December, 1591, [Ware], in which year he was also made administrator of Achonry. Between 1591 and 1834, when the see was suppressed under the Church Temporalities Act, there were twenty-four bishops of Killala. In this succession there was a break of sixteen years between 1607 and 1623, when Miler Magrath had Killala in commendam, and another break of sixteen years between 1645 and 1661, during the Cromwellian troubles. Of the twenty-four bishops, sixteen were translated to richer sees. The first Elizabethan bishop of Killala was O'Connor, an Irishman, after whom came three Scotchmen, and after them three Englishmen, to occupy the see. Out of all the twenty-four bishops, only eight are said by Cotton to have been Irishmen, and thirteen were natives of England or Scotland.

ACHONRY.

Cormac O'Coyne or Quin, who had been appointed by the Pope in 1556, was bishop of Achonry in 1558. His name does not appear, nor that of his see, in the parliament list of 1559. He died in 1561. His nephew, Eugene O'Harte, was appointed in the Consistory of the 28th of January, 1562, to this see, vacant "per obitum bonæ memoriæ Cormaci." "1562, die 28^o Januarii: Referente Cardinale Morono, sua sanctitas providit ecclesiæ Achadensi, vacanti per obitum bon. mem. Cormaci O'Coyn, nuper episcopi Acadensis, extra Romanam curiam defuncti, de persona D. Eugenii O'Harte, Hiberni, ordinis prædicatorum Professoris, nobilis Catholici et concionatoris egregii,

commendati a R. P. Davide." [Acta Consist. I.E.R., i. 211.] The date of O'Harte's appointment appears also in Echardus—Scriptores Dominicani II. xxix. The testimony to O'Coyné's Catholicity, given by the Consistorial entry, is confirmed by David Wolfe's letter of the 12th of Oct., 1561, who speaks of Achonry as then vacant per la morte della buona memoria di Cormaco O'Coyn del detto ordine di S. Francesco. Wolfe mentions that the church of Achonry was then used as a fortress by the gentry and had not a vestige of religion, and he recommends O'Harte as likely, by his good life and by aid of his friends, to take back the church and deal with it as Bodkin had done with Tuam. O'Harte took an active part in the Trent Council in 1563, and was, in 1568, recommended for the administration of Armagh diocese during the imprisonment of Dr. Creagh. [Vatican MSS. and Dr. Lynch's History of the Irish Church, MSS. Bodleian.] In 1575, on the 4th of May, special faculties were granted to O'Harte by the Pope, not only for Achonry diocese but also for the whole province of Tuam—"Eugenio episcopo Accadensi, pro diocesi Accadensi, necnon pro tota provincia Tuamensi." [I.E.R., iii. 147.] The bishop of Achonry is not reckoned in the parliament list of 1585. Dr. Long, archbishop of Armagh, on the 4th of June, 1585, wrote to Walsingham that O'Harte, who had been "committed unto" him by Sir John Perrott "to be conferred with," was "brought by the Lord's good direction to acknowledge his blindness," to resign his bishopric, and to a thorough persuasion that "the man of sin sitteth in Rome." [State Papers, Irish Correspondence, vol. 17.]

But the primate was deceived. O'Harte, on the 3rd of September, 1585, was party to a treaty between the Queen and the Sligo chieftains [Morris, ii. 146], which confirmed the possessions of his see. [Ibid. 149, 150.] In 1587 O'Harte formed one of the seven bishops who met in Ulster to promulgate the Trent decrees throughout the northern province. According to Lynch's History [Bodleian MSS.], the bishop of Killala, Eugene O'Connor, was appointed by the Queen on the 1st of December, 1591, administrator of Achonry, and, being an old friend of O'Harte, allowed him quiet possession of the see for the sum of 180 marks annually. "Owen O'Harte, of Accadensis,

bishop," was admitted to pardon by James I., along with the other inhabitants of Sligo. [Pat. Rot. 1° James I. (19th April, 1603), Part 3. Facie vii. 5.] O'Harte died in 1603, being one hundred years old, and was buried in his cathedral "prope aram principalem suæ ecclesiæ in cornu Evangelii." Achonry seems to have been governed by Vicars-General from the death of O'Harte, in 1603, until the year 1641, when Ludovic Dillon, son of Viscount Dillon, was proposed by Cardinal Barberini for the see of Achonry. Bishop Dillon died in or before the year 1645. The other Papal incumbents of this see are named in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF ACHONRY FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1561.—Cormac O'Coyne.
 1562 to 1603.—Eugene O'Harte.
 1603 to 1641.—Vicars-General.
 1641 to 1645.—Ludovic Dillon.
 1645 to 1725.—Vicars ?
 1725 to 1735.—Dominick Daly.
 1735 to 1739.—John O'Harte.
 1740 to 1752.—Walter Blake.
 1758 to 1776.—Patrick Robert Kirwan.
 1776 to 1783.—Philip Philips.
 1787 to 1787.—Boetius Egan.
 1787 to 1789.—Thomas O'Connor.
 1803 to 1809.—Charles Lynch.
 1809 —John O'Flynn.
 1818 to 1852.—Patrick M'Nicholas.
 1852 —Patrick Durcan.

Queen Elizabeth made no appointment to Achonry during her reign. In 1608 James I. gave Achonry, in commendam, to Miler Magrath, the archbishop of Cashel. Achonry was accordingly without a Protestant bishop for fifty years, dating from the accession of Elizabeth. From 1623 to 1834 Achonry was held in union with Killala, and from 1834 to 1867 with Tuam.

ELPHIN.

Bernard O'Higgins was bishop of Elphin in 1558. Ware says he was appointed in 1544, and was sitting in 1552. But he was appointed in the Consistory of the 5th of May, 1542. "Anno 1542, die 5^o Maii, S. S. providit ecclesie Elphinensi in Hibernia, vacanti per obitum quondam Bernardi, de persona fr. Bernardi Presbyteri Eremitarum Sancti Augustini." [I.E.R., ii. 152.] Bernard O'Higgins was deprived of his temporalities under Henry VIII., and obliged to leave Ireland. In 1545, the administration of Elphin was given to the bishop of Cork and Cloyne. [I.E.R., i. 314.] In Queen Mary's time, O'Higgins again governed his see, until the year 1561, when he resigned it. On the 12th of October, 1561, David Wolf, writing to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, mentions that Bernard O'Higgin, bishop of Elphin, had resigned his bishopric in favour of a Dominican father, the prior of Sligo, named Andrew O'Crean, and that O'Crean was on his way to Rome, bearing with him the resignation of O'Higgins, who, it seems, was not acceptable to the people. [Moran's Abps. of Dublin, 86.] O'Higgins died in 1563, in the monastery of Villavittosa, in Portugal, where he had taken refuge from the Anglican persecution. [Herrera, *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, 108.]

O'Crean was appointed in the consistory of January 28th, 1562:—"Die 28^o Januarii, 1562; referente Cardinali Morone, Sua Sanctitas providit ecclesie Elphinensi in Hibernia, vacanti per resignationem Rev. Domini O'Huyghuin, ordinis Sancti Augustini prof., de persona Domini Andreae O'Crean, Hiberni, ordinis Prædicatorum prof., quem R. P. David, presbyter, Soc. Jesu., in Hibernia commorans, per suas litteras commendavit." [I.E.R., ii. 153.] This Andrew O'Crean is named Andreas Xerea, by De Burgo. [Hib. Dom. 486.] Lynch, "de præsubilibus," relates that Andrew O'Crean, in 1566, with O'Gallagher, of Killala, and O'Hart of Achonry, received, in the name of the Tuam province, the Trent decrees. [MS., Bodleian.] There is the following notice of O'Crean in an Irish manuscript, under the year 1584:—"James Lynch was made bishop of Elphin, Andrew O'Cridan (O'Crean), who was before him, having been

put back." [Annals of Loch Cé Codex., MSS., T.C.D., H. i. 19.] Lynch, the author of the Manuscript History of the Irish Bishops, already quoted, says, that O'Crean steadily refused to take the oath of supremacy, and died in the convent of Sligo, in 1594. Another Roman Catholic bishop of Elphin, in Elizabeth's reign, was "friar Demetrius Heily, of the Franciscan order, bishop of Elphin and Martyr." [Moran's Abps. of Dublin, 290.] There was also "Raymundus Galvirius," slain, circa 1612, by the heretics, as appears by the Consistorial entry recording the appointment of Boetius Egan, in 1625:—"Die 9^o Junii, 1625: referente Cardinale Francisco Barberini, Hiberniæ protectore, Sua Sanctitas providit ecclesiæ Elphinensi, vacanti per obitum bonæ memoriæ Raymundi Galvirii, ab hereticis pro Christi fide occisi, de persona Rev. Fr. Boetii Egan, presbyteri Tuamensis ordinis minorum S. Francisci de Observantia." [I.E.R., ii. 155.]

The other Papal bishops of this see are named in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF ELPHIN SINCE 1558.

- 1558 to 1561.—Bernard O'Higgins.
 1562 to 1594.—Andrew O'Crean.
 —Demetrius Heily.
 —Raymundus Galvirius.
 1613 to 1625.—Vicars-General Apostolic.
 1626 to 1650.—Boetius Egan.
 1650 to 1670.—Vicars-General.
 1671 to 1704.—Dominick De Burgo.
 1707 to 1770.—Ambrose Mac Dermott.
 1748.—Patrick French.
 1748 to 1756.—John Brett.
 1756 to 1785.—James O'Fallon.
 1786 to 1819.—Edmund French.
 1819 to 1843.—Patrick Burke.
 1844 to 1858.—George Joseph Plunket Browne.
 1858 —Laurence Gillooly, cons. 1856.

Queen Elizabeth appointed no bishop to Elphin for at least a quarter of a century, dating from her accession. Thomas Chester, a Londoner, was her first nominee. On the 25th of

May, 1582, Sir N. Malbie wrote to Walsingham, from Dublin, requesting that Thomas Chester's name should be inserted in her Majesty's warrant to the Deputy, for the bishopric of Elphin. [State Papers, Ireland, Rolls MSS., London.] This was two years after the death of De Burgo, the alleged crown nominee, and the see was already filled by the Papal bishop, Andrew O'Crean. On the 4th of June, 1582, the see was granted in custodium to John Harvey. [Harris' Ware, 634.] It is stated in a list of Irish consecrations, "carefully examined and corrected by" the late Dr. Elrington, that John Chester was consecrated to Elphin in 1584. Ware says that Chester died in June, 1584. But Elrington and Ware are contradicted by the Patent Rolls. There is extant a letter of Queen Elizabeth dated the 4th of November, 1583, in which the Queen orders, in compliance with the request of Loftus and Wallop, that John Linch should have the see of Elphin, then vacant by the death of the last incumbent. [Morrin, ii. 66]. The consecration of Linch is likewise set down for 1584, and he appears, as bishop of Elphin, to have been a party to an indenture between Sir John Perrott and the lords of Sligo, dated the 4th of March, 1587. [Morrin, ii. 146.] Linch (who was of Irish birth, but educated at Oxford), "it is said lived a concealed, and died a public Papist." [Harris' Ware, 634.]

From the year 1582 to 1841, when this see was merged into Kilmore under the Church Temporalities Act, there were seventeen bishops of Elphin without any break in the succession, excepting a short one of six years, between 1655 and 1661. Of the seventeen bishops, six were translated to other sees. Seven out of the seventeen were Englishmen.

CLONFERT.

Roland De Burgo, originally appointed by the Pope to Clonfert, in 1534, obtained, in 1551, the see of Elphin in addition. [Cotton.] "Rollandus, Clonfert et Elphin episcopus," appears in the parliament list of 1559. Roman Catholic writers say that De Burgo resigned his claim to Elphin during Mary's reign, and their statement is confirmed by the letter of David Wolf, the Apostolic Commissary, to the Cardinal Protector of

Ireland. In that letter, which is dated the 12th of October, 1561, it is stated that De Burgo had taken the oath of allegiance. [Moran's *Abps. of Dublin*, p. 86.] This oath of allegiance seems not to have been regarded by Wolf as any proof of Protestantism, or conformity, for in the same letter he recommends Bodkin, who also took the oath, as deserving of Papal favour. The following extract from Ware shews that in the early years of Elizabeth's reign the Pope's power was exercised in Clonfert, and submitted to by the bishop:—"There arose a great controversy between bishop Burgh and some of the sept of the O'Maddens, concerning the revenues of the abbey of Clonfert; and one William O'Cormacain went to Rome, and obtained a grant of the abbey from the Pope, and kept possession of it until about the 10th year of Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1568. The dispute concerning the abbey was referred to an arbitration, and, by an award made, both the spiritualities and temporalities of the abbey were divided between the bishop and the Pope's grantee, who was called Abbat, after whose death in 1571, the bishop continued in the quiet enjoyment of all the possessions of it."

De Burgo was uncle to the Earl of Clanrickard, and was a man of great influence in those parts. [Shirley, p. 51.] In 1561, he is found recommending to the Queen the confirmation of Laly in the deanery of Tuam [Morrin, i. 448], and in May, 1571, accompanied the Earl of Clanrickard to Dublin. [Calend. State Papers, Elizabeth, p. 448.] In 1574, on the 5th of March, Roland De Burgh, bishop of Clonfert, wrote to Sir E. Fitton on civil matters. [State Papers, Rolls MSS., London.] On the last day of March, 1579, a State Paper was issued from Westminster by Mr. Secretary Walsingham, in which a plan was sketched for making a college at Clonfert; and Sir Nicholas Maltby was ordered to report "what maintenance the bishoprics of Clonfert and Elphin, if they were united to that College, might give towards the exhibition of learned men there." [Morrin, ii. 22.] It has been supposed from the foregoing that the sees of Clonfert and Elphin were void and at her Majesty's disposal in 1579. De Burgo died in June, 1580 [Ware], and the Four Masters thus chronicle his death:—"Roland, the son

of Redmund (Burke), son of Ulick of Knock Tuagh, bishop of Clonfert, died, and the loss of that good man was much lamented in his own country.”

The next Papal bishop of Clonfert appears to have been Thaddeus O'Ferrall, appointed by Sixtus V. in 1587. He was active in support of the Roman Catholic faith, and died at Kinsale in the year 1602. [Hib. Dom. 487.] De Burgo quotes Fontana “ex Regestis Cancellariæ Apostolicæ” for the date of O'Ferrall's appointment. The other Papal incumbents of this see are named in the following

LIST OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF CLONFERT FROM 1558.

- 1558 to 1580.—Roland De Burgo.
 1580 to 1587.—Vicars-General.
 1587 to 1602.—Thaddeus O'Ferrall.
 1602 to 1639.—Vicars-General.
 1639 to 1647.—John De Burgo.
 1647 to 1660.—Walter Lynch.
 1660 to 1671.—Vicars-General.
 1671 to 1687.—Thaddeus Keogh.
 1687 to 1691.—Vicars-General.
 1691 to 1701.—Maurice Donnellan.
 1704 to 1721.—Ambrose Madden.
 1721? to 1732.—Edmund Kelly.
 1732? to 1778.—Peter O'Donnellan.
 1778 to 1787.—Andrew O'Donnellan *Coadj.* from 1776.
 [1786 to 1787.—Thomas Costelloe, *Coadjutor.*
 1787 to 1815 ?
 1816 to 1847.—Thomas Coen.
 1847 —John Derry.

Queen Elizabeth translated the bishop of Kilmacduagh, Stephen Kerovan, a Galway man, but educated at Oxford, to Clonfert in 1582. From that year to 1836, when the see was suppressed under the Church Temporalities Act, there were twenty-five bishops of Clonfert, of whom seventeen were translated to richer sees. Of the twenty-five bishops fifteen were Irish, the others being English or Scotch.

From the foregoing details it appears that the statement hitherto received, namely, that all the Marian bishops, but two, conformed and assisted at Protestant consecrations, is plainly false. There is not a particle of evidence to prove that any Marian bishop, except Curwin, took part in any Elizabethan consecration, or to prove that any Marian bishop, except Curwin and O'Fihil, took the oath of abjuration. Consequently it would be nearer the truth to say that all the Marian bishops, except two, declined to conform, and continued Roman Catholics. Twenty-six bishops, recognized both by the Crown and the Pope, were in possession of Irish sees in 1558. Four of these prelates, namely, the bishops of Meath, Kildare, Ossory, and Limerick, were deprived by Queen Elizabeth. The bishop of Killala was translated by the Pope to a different Irish see. Thirteen other bishops, namely, those of Clogher, Kilmore, Ardagh, Down, Dromore, Derry, Raphoe, Cashel, Emly, Ross, Ardfer, Killaloe and Achonry, died in full communion with Rome, as is testified by the Italian records appointing their successors, which speak of the vacancies as having occurred "per obitum," or "per obitum bonæ memoriæ," and not "per deprivationem." The bishops of Elphin and Kilfenora appear, from the obituary notices by the Four Masters, to have died in Roman Catholicism. David Wolfe, the Papal delegate establishes the orthodoxy, in a Roman Catholic point of view, of another prelate, Bodkin of Tuam. Twenty-one bishops, upon evidence as detailed under the several sees, and more or less conclusive, are proved not to have conformed. Exclusively of Curwin, archbishop of Dublin, there remain but four bishops of whose constancy to the Roman see there can be any doubt entertained. To the bishop of Clonmacnoise a presentation is said to have been directed, but under a wrong title, that of Meath. Devereux of Ferns and Walsh of Waterford, received, it seems, various commissions from the Queen for civil and judicial affairs. But this is not a proof that they accepted the reformed tenets. Bodkin of Tuam, who also accepted the Queen's commission, was, notwithstanding, a great opponent of the Reformation and daily attended Roman Catholic worship. From a despatch of Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy, dated the 6th of July,

1567, it may be concluded that she was not over strict in admitting the bishops to royal favour:—"We like also (says her Majesty) of the submission of the bishop of Down, and think it good that he and others, whom you shall not find meet to expel, be induced to submit themselves and to take their bishoprics of us." [Shirley, p. 307.] The bishops of Ferns and Waterford can hardly be reckoned as Protestants upon the grounds just mentioned, but the bishop of Leighlin's conduct is, it will be said, more open to suspicion. He, so early as 1559, took the oath, not only of allegiance, but of abjuration. This conduct of O'Fihil, if voluntary, would be conclusive of his Protestantism, but he made this recantation in England, where he was in her Majesty's power, and liable to be deprived and imprisoned. His nomination in 1564 to a place on the ecclesiastical commission proves nothing, for it does not appear that he acted on that commission, and his name was omitted in the commission of 1565. The situation of his see makes it unlikely that O'Fihil could have professed in Leighlin any conformity with safety to his life. He and the other Marian bishops, excepting Curwin, were contemptuously described, in 1564, by the Royal Commissioners for Ecclesiastical causes, as "all Irishe," which epithet was then considered to imply utter worthlessness and the reverse of Protestantism. [Shirley, p. 140.] Bishop Brady, also, in 1565, makes no exception of these Marian bishops when he called all the Irish clergy, "from bishop to petty canon," "disguised dissemblers," "dumb dogs," and "living enemies to the truth." [Ibid. p. 162.] Indeed the measures adopted by the government for the spread of the Reformation were well calculated to produce dissemblers and hypocrites. In the Loftus manuscript [Marsh's Library], at the year 1563, it is stated:—"Thomas Earle of Sussex set forth a proclamation about y^e end of this year against y^e meetings of y^e Friars and Popish priests in Dublin and that none should lye within y^e gates of y^e city; allsoe a Tax upon every house keeper that mist coming to church on Sundayes, and had it collected. How much y^e s^ume was, I cannot (says Loftus) tell, but being exactly gathered in his time many came to church rather than pay that tax. At first they would goe to Masse in y^e morning and to church in y^e afternoon,

but, to prevent that, a Rolle of y^e house keepers' names was called by y^e wardens of each parish."

In 1565 the only reforming prelates in Ireland mentioned by the Deputy and Council in their report to Elizabeth were the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh—Curwin and Loftus—and the bishop of Meath—Brady. [Shirley, 234.] In 1566 the Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, told Cecil that with the exception of Loftus and Brady, he could "find few or none of the bishops either worthy to walk in his function, willing to reform their clergy, or able either to teach any wholesome doctrine or to serve their country or commonwealth as magistrates." [Shirley, 265.]

It is not surprising to find "the Irish" described by Weston in 1568 as "universally drowned in idolatry and infidelity." [State Paper Office. Letter of Weston to Cecil, dated 3rd of April, 1568.] In 1570 "all the lawyers" were "thwarters and hinderers of the Reformation," according to a letter of bishop Brady, dated February the 6th. [Ibid.] In short there is not a particle of evidence upon record to prove that any of the Marian bishops, except Curwin and O'Fihil, became Protestants. One of the chiefest of living historians, Mr. Froude, who is eminently qualified to pronounce an opinion on this subject, thus expresses his views in a letter to the writer from which an extract is now, with his permission, published:—"I have examined, I believe thoroughly (observes Mr. Froude), all the Irish State Papers in the Record Office during and from the time of Henry VIII. to 1574, and it is from them, in connection with the voluminous MSS. in Spain on the same subject, that I draw my conclusion respecting the supposed conversion of the Irish bishops and clergy to the Reformation. *I am thoroughly convinced that (with the exception of the archbishop of Dublin) not one of Queen Mary's bishops nor any one of the clergy beyond the Pale went over to the Reformation.* Of the clergy scarcely any within the Pale went over. The English government, as their powers extended, appointed new bishops to the Irish sees, but it was not till late in the reign of Elizabeth that even this was done."

Mr. Froude has also stated in his History of England, vol. x.

p. 481, foot-note :—“ I cannot but express my astonishment at a proposition, maintained by bishop Mant and others, that the whole Hierarchy of Ireland went over to the Reformation with the Government. Dr. Mant discovers that the bishop of Kildare and the bishop of Meath were deprived for refusing the oath of supremacy. The rest, he infers, must have taken the oath because they remained in their places. The English Government, unfortunately for themselves, had no such opportunity as Dr. Mant's argument supposes for the exercise of their authority. The archbishop of Dublin, the bishops of Meath and Kildare, were alone under English jurisdiction. When Adam Loftus was made archbishop of Armagh, the Primacy became titularly Protestant. But Loftus resided in Dublin, the see was governed by a bishop in communion with the Pope, and the latter and not the former, was regarded in Ireland, even by the correspondents of the English Government, as the lawful possessor of the see.

“ In a survey of the country, supplied to Cecil in 1571, after death and deprivation had enabled the Government to fill several sees with English nominees, the archbishops of Armagh, Tuam, and Cashel, with almost every one of the bishops of the respective provinces, are described as ‘*Catholici et Confoederati*.’

“ The archbishop of Dublin, with the bishops of Kildare, Ossory, and Ferns, are alone reckoned as ‘*Protestantes*.’”—
[MSS. Ireland. Rolls House.]

These statements of Mr. Froude have been contradicted by one or two persons whose acquaintance with the documents, which concern the history of Elizabeth's reign, is slight, but who have a firm belief in the assertions of Mant, King, and other controversial, rather than historical, writers. Mr. Froude has been particularly censured for placing reliance upon the “ survey of the country supplied to Cecil in 1571,” which it appears was “ a Note of the Confederates in Ireland, by William Herle,” whose evidence is thought to be of no value because he was a spy. Spies, however, in those days, were not always of low rank or inferior education and capacity. Indeed, some spies and informers, or secret emissaries and agents, as they might prefer to be termed, were found, in Elizabeth's reign, among men of family, and were

even promoted to superintend Colleges. In 1572, it is recorded by Strype, in his life of Parker, vol. ii. p. 101, that one Herle was engaged in a plot against the Queen's ministers, and betrayed his fellows. In 1576, Thomas Herle, perhaps the same person who gained favour by informing, against his fellow conspirators, appears as Chaplain to the Queen and Warden of Manchester College. He was, however, an "ill Warden," who embezzled the College revenues, and was deprived in consequence. [Ibid., vol. ii. 12.] Somewhat later in Elizabeth's reign, two famous spies lived in Dublin, of whom Dr. Elrington gives an account in his Life of Usher, vol. i. p. 3:—"James VI. of Scotland, doubtful of succeeding quietly to the throne of England on the death of Elizabeth, sent over to Dublin, in the year, 1587, two clever emissaries, James Fullarton and James Hamilton, to keep up a correspondence with the Protestant nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood of Dublin: and they, to conceal more effectually the object of their mission, opened a school in which Fullarton acted as the master, and Hamilton as the usher." These two "clever emissaries," or spies, were both among the first Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin. Fullarton was knighted and made a gentleman of the royal bedchamber; Hamilton was created Viscount of Clandeboye. William Herle's evidence is not to be deemed worthless, simply because he followed a vocation which is now considered, and that deservedly, to be dishonourable. He was a secret agent of Cecil, and on such intimate terms with him, that in some letters Cecil calls him "his loving friend." He was an informer, with the good and bad qualities of the race, honoured by many years of confidential intercourse with a principal minister of the Queen. He was true to the English government always, though not always to Cecil, who at last found him out to be a good-for-nothing toad-eating scoundrel. In all matters, however, where he was set to procure accurate statistics, Herle was most exact and valuable. The information supplied by him in his report of 1571, in whatever way it was obtained, is interesting, and carries with it all the signs of truth. This survey, or note, describes the state of Ireland and the attitude of the Irish chiefs towards the English government. Six "principal parts," or divisions of

the country are mentioned, namely, the Anglican part "Media" or the Pale, Ulster, Connaught, Leinster, and Desmond and Ormond, the two sub-divisions of Munster. In the English part, the lords are said to be dissemblers and hypocrites, and Catholics, waiting for an opportunity to throw off the mask of obedience to English rule. This description is applicable to the Barons of Delvin and Slane, the Barnewalls, Plunkets, and other chiefs named by Herle. In Ulster, all the chiefs are styled "most ardent Catholics," and are said to be animated by a spirit of hatred against the Queen. In Connaught, also, the chiefs are Catholics, and especial enemies of the English name and power. In Desmond, all are Catholics, banded together, under Fitzmaurice, in order to shake off the English yoke. In Ormond, the chief lord is reported as a supporter of the English. In Leinster, the princes are described as waiting for an opportunity, and as inclined to side with the stronger party, although deeply attached to Rome—"fortiori cedentes et addictissimi sedi Romanæ."

Not less important is the ecclesiastical intelligence given by this "Note" of Herle's, for it confirms the accounts given by other documents. In Armagh diocese, the primate and seven suffragan bishops are called "Catholici et confederati." Creagh was the primate alluded to, and the bishops were, Arthur Magennis, of Dromore; Shane O'Neil's brother, of Down and Connor; Walsh, of Meath, still living, though deprived; O'Sheridan, of Kilmore; M^cBardill, of Clogher; M^cCongail, of Raphoe; Redmond O'Gallagher, of Derry, lately from Rome with despatches, "qui nuper venit ex Roma cum multis mandatis;" and the bishop of Ardagh, "Malachias," who, in 1572, seems to have become "converted" in the Marshalsea. The only bishops in this Armagh list, mentioned by their names, are O'Gallagher and Malachias—the one on account of his business at Rome, the other because of his being, as is probable, but a pretended bishop. The only Marian bishops in the list are Magennis, of Dromore, Walsh, of Meath, and O'Gallagher, then of Raphoe, but, in 1558, of Killala.

In Dublin province, the prelates are all given as Protestants. They are five in number, namely :—Loftus, of Dublin, who has

under him the bishops of Kildare, Daly; of Leighlin, Cavenagh; of Ossory, Gafney; and, of Ferns, Devereux. Herle erroneously adds a bishop of Carlow, or Catherlagh, or, as written, most likely after some mis-pronunciation of the Irish word, "Couthierewagh." But there was no see of Carlow separate from that of Leighlin.

In Cashel province, among the list of Catholic and confederate prelates, is the archbishop, by name Maurice Macgibbon, then in Spain "cum magno stipendio," and, as it were, the head of the conspiracy. The bishops of Waterford (Patrick Walsh), of Ross (O'Herlihy), of Ardfert and Aghadoe (James Fitzmaurice), of Cork (either Landes, the Papal bishop, or Dixon, the Elizabethan bishop, who by some is said to have been deprived for Catholicism), of Emly (Maurice MacBrien), and of Killaloe (Malachy O'Molony) are likewise counted as Catholics and confederates. Walsh, of Waterford, and Fitzmaurice, of Ardfert, were both Marian bishops.

In Tuam the Catholic and confederate prelates were the archbishop, the bishops of Clonfert and Elphin, of Mayo, Achonry, and Killala. Three of these were Marian prelates, namely, Bodkin, of Tuam; De Burgo, of Clonfert; and Eugene MacBreohan, of Mayo. The other bishops were O'Harte, of Achonry, and O'Gallagher, of Killala. It is mentioned of O'Gallagher that he was a follower of Mac William Burg, who in another part of this document is described as a particular enemy of England and a partner in the conspiracy. Bodkin's intimacy with Clanrickarde, and his daily mass at Tuam, have been already noticed. In this "survey" Clanrickarde is called "addictissimus Catholicæ religioni."

Another document, namely, the petition prepared in 1569 and brought to the Spanish King by Maurice MacGibbon, which Mr. Froude mentioned in his *Hist. Eng.*, vol. x. 494-5, has been sharply criticised in the pages of the *Contemporary Review*, by a writer who charges Mr. Froude with having described mere names or titles as signatures, and with giving the titles of three archbishops instead of four. But the transcript, which this reviewer has obtained, is that of the copy or duplicate of the petition, not of the petition itself, which was in the hands of the

King's confessor, as appears by the memorandum in the handwriting of Philip. The original petition was, no doubt, regularly signed, and, if preserved, would give the Christian names of the prelates. The memorandum made by the King upon the document laid before his council is evidently no answer to the original petition, although the reviewer seems to think it to be one; nor is there much difficulty in conjecturing the names of those who signed the petition. The twelve prelates whose names are given in this paper as those of persons devoted to the Papacy are Creagh, of Armagh; a Papal archbishop of Dublin, whose name as yet has not been found; Mac Gibbon, of Cashel; Bodkin, of Tuam; Walsh, of Meath; Leverous, of Kildare; Walsh, of Waterford; Landes, of Cork; Lacy, of Limerick; O'Herlihy, of Ross; and a bishop of Ossory, who seems to have been inserted in the list by mistake, for Gafney was a Protestant, and there was no Papal bishop of Ossory in that year.

The petition to Philip and Herle's "note" or "survey" contain no contradiction of the facts already detailed concerning the Irish bishops under the various sees. The arguments which have been urged against Mr. Froude's view and that of the writer have not shaken Mr. Froude's belief. As the attainment of historical truth is the chief end of all honest investigation, the acknowledgment of errors, if clearly pointed out, would no doubt be frankly made. Mr. Froude's reply to the attacks which have been made upon him is given in the following letter, which he addressed to the author:—

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Mr. Lee's pamphlet on the conduct of the Irish bishops in the 16th century requires some notice from me; although, as the controversy is one in which I have little interest, and in which I took part but accidentally, what I have to say will be very short. I have given no opinion as to the claims of the present episcopate to the descent from St. Patrick. The observations, which I made, referred entirely to alleged conversions to the Reformation, or conformity, or submission, or however else the behaviour might be described, of the great body of the Irish hierarchy at the accession of Elizabeth. The

condition of the country appeared to me to render any such submission on the bishops' part, if not impossible, yet in a high degree improbable. I had found no contemporary evidence, or evidence at all, which appeared to me to deserve attention, that the bishops had so submitted. I did not believe it, and when I was asked for my opinion I gave it as plainly as I could. I said that there was no record in the State Papers of any Marian prelate in Ireland, except the Archbishop of Dublin, having abjured the Pope and taken the oath to Elizabeth. I was mistaken. I had overlooked the Bishop of Leighlin. Two bishops, and not one, as I supposed, can be proved to have conformed; but whether one or two affects but very slightly the bearing of the question; while the conformity of this particular bishop would have borne out, had I observed it, only more completely the general grounds on which I found my opinion. The see of Leighlin was in the principality of the Earls of Ormond, the only Protestant noblemen in Ireland. Except in the English Pale, at Cork or Waterford, and in this one district, the Irish Catholic prelates had not only no inducement to forsake their religion—they had not only nothing to dread by refusing to abjure their allegiance to the see of Rome—but they would have exposed themselves gratuitously to the vengeance of their own people. Elizabeth could not have protected them, and they would either have been murdered or sent to Spain to the Inquisition.

“Dr. Lee appears—he must forgive me for saying so—ill-informed of the secular state of Ireland at the period with which alone we are here concerned. He complains of me for saying that the English Government had no jurisdiction beyond the Pale. I did not mean, of course, that the English Queen claimed less than the allegiance of all the Irish people, but simply that English law did not exist beyond the Pale. The septs were governed by their own chiefs, under their own customs; and every attempt which was made by the Government to extend their authority remained, till the last quarter of the century, an absolute failure. Sir Edward Fitton was sent as president into Connaught; on his first circuit his train was dispersed; he was defeated in the field, and shut up in the fortress of Athlone, till his funds were exhausted, and the scheme was abandoned as hopeless.

“Lord Sussex planted a garrison in Armagh Cathedral, and tried to reduce Shan O’Neil. Sussex was again defeated. Shan O’Neil was allowed to treat on equal terms with Elizabeth : he continued to the end of his life to defy her power, and was for several years the absolute sovereign of Ulster. In what condition was Elizabeth to force unwilling bishops to submit to her ecclesiastical authority in provinces where her sword was powerless ?

“Dr. Lee selects, as an instance of my disposition to romance, a description of Ulster which he tells us that truth compels him to correct. Who, he asks, would have imagined that the country which I describe as in so wild a condition had been conquered a few years previously by Sir H. Sidney ? I might answer that anybody would imagine it who had read what I had written. I have myself related Sir H. Sidney’s expedition in great detail. I gathered my conception of the state of the country chiefly from a narrative of that very expedition drawn up by a friend of Sidney’s who accompanied him, and who described it as ‘comparable only to Alexander’s journey to Bactria.’ Sidney marched through the country, laying it waste as he went—he left behind him O’Neil’s castles which he could not take. He went up by Armagh, he descended by Sligo, he left a garrison at Derry which was destroyed soon after by famine and disease. In a few months later the English held not an inch of ground in Ulster beyond the frontier of the Pale except the few acres within the lines of Carrickfergus, and this Dr. Lee calls a conquest.

“He finds occasionally that correspondents of the Government speak of the country as quiet ; and he infers that in that case the Queen could have deposed a bishop if she had pleased ; and whenever she did not, he concludes the bishop must have been obedient. If Dr. Lee will read carefully the dispatches of the Irish Council, of Sir William Fitzwilliam, of Lord Sussex, or Sir H. Sidney, or Sir Nicholas Arnold, he will find that the supposed quietness existed only for a few weeks after some violent English raid, when the Irish combinations had been dispersed, or more often when the English were sitting still doing nothing, in Arnold’s language, ‘not stirring sleepy dogs till they had a staff prepared to beat them with.’

“Dr. Lee quotes a passage from Dr. Lingard to shew how Elizabeth dealt with refractory bishops; but Ireland was not England. Elizabeth’s policy in Ireland was not her policy in England. When Essex went to Ulster in 1573, she told him ‘that he should not seek too hastily to bring people that had been trained in another religion from that in which they had been brought up.’ [Lord Essex to Burghley. Wright’s Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 485.]

“In 1563 she even thought of removing Loftus from Armagh, and allowing Shan O’Neil to nominate another Primate more agreeable to himself and the people. [Instruction to Sir T. Cusack, August 7, 1563, MSS., Ireland. State Paper Office.]

“These arguments are presumptive merely, and will yield to positive evidence if positive evidence there is, and on the other side. I will not say that Dr. Lee has produced none at all. He has shewn that there was a tradition in the 17th century that the Irish Bishops had submitted, and that must pass for what it is worth. To me it seems worth but little in the absence of contemporary confirmation, while the silence of the State Papers—a silence utterly incomprehensible if we are to believe that the bishops became sincere converts to Protestantism, as some ardent controversialists have asserted—is a fact on the other side which Dr. Lee must attempt to explain. For it is not merely negative. Through the first two years of Elizabeth’s reign, there are incessant complaints, in the letters of the correspondents of the Government, as to the little progress which Protestantism was making without the Pale or within it. Is it conceivable that if the great body of the Prelates had been converted, as is pretended, and were making efforts to spread the Reformation, so remarkable a phenomenon should never have been alluded to. Dr. Lee, indeed, quotes a letter of Elizabeth, addressed in 1571 to the bishops of Ireland, and thanking them for their services in the late session of Parliament; but inasmuch as Elizabeth had at that time several bishops* of her own

* There were at that time eleven or twelve Elizabethan bishops in Ireland to whom, no doubt, and not to those “dumb dogs,” the Marian prelates, her Majesty’s thanks were addressed. These Reformation bishops were Loftus, of Dublin; Brady, of Meath; Daly, of Kildare; J. Devereux, of Ferns; Gafney, of Ossory; Cavenagh, of Leighlin; Magrath, of Cashel; Lancaster, of Armagh; Merriman, of Down; Dixon, of Cork; Maurice O’Brien (although not consecrated), of Killaloe; and perhaps Casey and Campbell, of Limerick.

appointment in Ireland, I should myself suppose (it would never have occurred to me to think otherwise), that these useful persons were the object of her gratitude.

“The Synod of 1560–1561, is not more conclusive to me. Nothing is more likely than that Sussex should have invited as many bishops as would come to him to deliberate on the change of faith which it was proposed to introduce into the country. Nothing is less likely—nothing is less in harmony with Elizabeth’s general policy, than that he should have threatened violent measures against those who made difficulties about conformity.

“The Bishops of Meath and Kildare were within reach of his control. He could depose them without difficulty, and he could protect the substitutes with whom he replaced them. The rest who came to Dublin (and we know not who came), must have known the length of his arm as well as he knew it himself. They may have gone through the farce of submission. The Irish chiefs were ready to swear any number of oaths, upon their knees, when in the Deputy’s presence, and break them without scruple when safe among their own people again. The spiritual lords need not have been more scrupulous, as they may have qualified their submission and taken the oath of allegiance with a saving clause. That any promise of conformity with the doctrine of the Reformation was made by them, which was supposed to be serious on either side, I shall believe when I see evidence produced to make it credible to me. The loose traditions of the next century are not evidence at all.

“There was the patent fact, that the Bishops were not generally deprived. Ireland is not a country in which legends find it difficult to grow, and in the absence of the contemporary State correspondence, which would have explained the condition of the country to them, both Protestants and Catholics may easily have drawn from it the same inferences which Dr. Lee now insists upon. Protestants believed it as a conformity which seemed to strengthen their cause; Catholics were disappointed that the Prelates of Ireland had seemed to want the courage which had distinguished their English brethren.

“In the absence of proof, contemporary evidence of any kind

becomes valuable, and the document to which I alluded in the Record Office, is of more value than Dr. Lee supposes. Dr. Lee complains of my calling it a "Survey of Ireland." If he likes it better, I will call it a "Review of the State of Parties in the Different Provinces of Ireland." Whatever it be, and whoever was its author, it was procured for Lord Burghley by a secret agent, whose business for many years was to supply him with information on the movements and combinations of Elizabeth's Catholic subjects. The author of the paper knew Ireland well, and was intimate with distinguished Irish leaders. He says, that in or before 1571, the archbishops and bishops of the province of Dublin, were Protestants. He says, that the Archbishops and Bishops of the three other provinces, were "Catholici et Confederati." In the short allusion which I made to this document, in a note in my history, I enumerated four only of the Protestant Bishops. I ought to have added one other—the Bishop of Leighlin—not two, as Dr. Lee maintains—Leighlin and Carlow are identical. The omission is of no consequence, except that I have been more disrespectful to this bishop than I ought to have been by twice passing him over.

"The only point on which I wished to insist is that the provinces of Armagh, Tuam, and Cashel, with all their suffragans, are then said to be Catholic.

"Dr. Lee tells me that this is absurd, for there were Protestant archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and a Protestant bishop of Meath appointed by Elizabeth herself. Again this objection is of no consequence to the argument. In these three sees there were rival prelates of the two creeds; but the question is, what had become of the Marian bishops of the other three provinces who had not been removed by either Elizabeth or the Pope? They remained in their dioceses, and they are here described as 'Catholici.' It is to be observed—1st. That the writer does not deny the name of bishop to Protestants of the province of Dublin—the Pope, as it appears to me, did not attempt to send Papal bishops where they would be arrested and put to death. Just as Elizabeth, as far as her action can be traced, only removed Catholic bishops and substituted Protestant for them, as the power of the English arm extended.

“2. The writer, in speaking of the barons of the Pale, calls them Catholic, but he says they concealed their faith. *Hypocritizant tamen.*

“If the Marian bishops had remained, as Dr. Lee thinks—Catholic at heart, but pretending to conformity—he would naturally have used the same expressions about them.

“In an article in a late number of the *Contemporary Review* I am accused of being inconsistent with myself. In a report on the State of Ireland, by Diego Ortiz, which I found at Simancas, and from which I made extracts in my history, there is a statement that the Irish were good Catholics, but said Mass in their houses. Diego Ortiz was writing from Waterford—a town, the municipal liberties of which the inhabitants protected as zealously as they could from the English—but where at times they were compelled to admit English forces. At such times, Ortiz says, the Franciscan and Dominican monks in Waterford left their convents and took refuge in the hills, returning when their enemies were out of the way.

“It is not to be supposed that these monks used the English service in their chapels. Diego Ortiz seems to me to mean that wherever the English garrison were in occupation, either in town or country, the inhabitants heard Mass behind the shelter of their own walls. His story carries on the face of it that wherever the English were not, the Catholic ritual had its way.

“And now, my dear Sir, having said more than I intended, I must leave the subject in your hands. Controversy is at all times disagreeable to me, and in this question about the bishops I have not the satisfaction of caring about the result of the discussion. If Dr. Lee can prove that the Irish bishops abjured the Pope in 1560, I have no objection to believe it. If he can discover that they signed the articles and introduced the English Church Catechism into their village schools, and preached in their cathedrals the pure doctrine of Justification by Faith, he will interfere with no cherished convictions of mine. I shall accept without reluctance what will be but one more anomaly in your extraordinary country.

“As yet, however, I see no reason to believe it, and I must continue in the same opinion, which I expressed in my first

letter to you, till I see evidences to the contrary, stronger than any which as yet have been produced.

“I remain, my dear Sir,

“Your faithful Servant,

“J. A. FROUDE.”

It is scarcely necessary to observe that the fact of many of the Marian bishops having held their sees without being deprived by Elizabeth is no proof of their having conformed, but is rather an evidence that Elizabeth's power was too weak to deprive them. Much stress has been laid by some writers on the alleged presence of all the Irish bishops in the parliament of 1560. But there is no evidence that they were present at all in that parliament, nor that they, if they did attend on any day, were present on that particular day when the penal laws of Elizabeth were said to have been passed. The roll, which is the only document relied upon as evidence of the attendance of the peers, is a list, not of the peers who were present, but of the peers who were said to have been summoned.

That record cannot now be examined at the Rolls Office, Dublin, for the Keeper and Deputy Keepers of the Rolls know nothing of it. But, according to the copy printed for the Irish Archaeological Society, by Mr. Hardiman, at the end of his account of the “Statute of Kilkenny,” page 135, the list purports to give the names of the members of a parliament summoned and held in the second year of Elizabeth's reign (*Nomina Dominorum spiritualium et temporalium ac Communium in quodam parlamento summonito et tento.*) The words of the list are general, and it appears impossible to argue from them, that every person, whose name appears, must have been present as well as summoned. But, besides, the list bears the name of no clerk or officer of the parliament to verify it, or vouch for its authenticity. The names of the sees are said to be the same as those given in a parliament list of 1541 with three exceptions, which are explained by the vacancy of Armagh and by the holding in commendam of Kilmacduagh and Elphin by the bishops of Tuam and Clonfert. The list bears internal evidence of its untrustworthiness. Six sees are

mentioned as being represented in that parliament, but no names of the incumbent bishops are given in this list although it is said to be an official record of those present. One of these unnamed bishops, the "Episcopus Coranensis," is conjectured to mean the bishop of Corcomroe, or Kilfenora—"Fyneborensis, id est Corkumroht." [MS. T. C. D. E. 3, 20]—a see not likely to have claims to parliamentary representation superior to those of Mayo and other bishoprics which have no place in this list.

Another of these unnamed bishops, the "Episcopus Rossensis," convicts the list of falsehood, for Maurice O'Fihely, the Marian bishop of Ross, was dead at the time, and his successor, fresh from Rome, would not have been recognized by the Deputy as entitled to sit in the Irish House of Peers by virtue of a Papal appointment, which her Majesty never confirmed. The bishop of Cork and Cloyne likewise appears in this list as "Rogerus Corcagensis et Clonensis Episcopus." But this parliament began its sittings on the 11th of January, 1560, and Roger Skiddy was not consecrated to Cork and Cloyne until October, 1562, that is for more than two years and eight months after he sat as bishop! It is said that Skiddy might have sat as the guardian of the Spiritualities during vacancy, but if he sat as guardian of the Spiritualities it would have been so stated in the list, if authentic. It happens, however, that "Guardians of Spiritualities" had no place in that list, for Terence Daniel, the Dean of Armagh, who was, at the time, guardian of the Spiritualities of the primacy, is not named.

It has also been urged, as a proof of the conformity of the Marian bishops, that they took the oath of supremacy. Now it may be true, as the author of the *Liber Munerum* says, that "the oath of supremacy, purposely framed, and explained to mean nothing more than an acknowledgment of the sole jurisdiction of the Crown over all persons and all causes ecclesiastical and civil, and a renunciation of all foreign power and jurisdiction, was freely accepted and taken by the Irish chieftains in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign." [Lib. Mun., vol. i. part i., p. 45.] The oath of supremacy, as interpreted by Elizabeth herself, might have been readily taken by Roman Catholics. "The royal supremacy in matters spiritual," according

to the Queen, "meant no more than this, that she being, by lawful succession, Queen of England, all persons born in the realm, were subjects to her, and to no other earthly ruler." [Froude, Hist. England, x. p. 7.] King James interpreted the oath of allegiance as containing nothing more than a mere secular and civil obedience to the supreme magistrate. "Primum est ut probarem," [says the Royal author of a defence of the oaths imposed on Roman Catholics, published in 1607, at page 615], "in sacramento Fidelitatis nihil aliud quam obedientiam mere civilem et secularem summis principibus a subditis debitam contineri." Accordingly, the oath of supremacy and abjuration was offered and taken within the Pale, but with modifications and a free use of the maxim that oaths are to be interpreted *ex animo imponentis*. Outside the Pale, it was not offered during the first part of Elizabeth's reign, for English law did not prevail beyond the limits of the English colony, although martial law, or a "Course of discretion," was administered in the neighbourhood of garrisons, and during the occasional military expeditions of the Queen's Lieutenants. Edmund Spenser, the poet, once secretary to the Lord Deputy, and a man of "deep judgment," wrote, in his "View of the State of Ireland" in the year 1596, that in many parts of Ireland "the laws of England were never established," nor any law obeyed except the Brehon law. Sir John Davis, Attorney General for Ireland to James I., stated that the English Government was not in use among the inhabitants of Munster and Connaught for the space of 200 years before Sydney's time, while in Ulster the "Irish were permitted to take all the profits" of the province, without "rendering any duty or acknowledgment for the same." He also asserts that "King James was the first King of England that ever did supply" the sees of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher with bishops. Thus, in three Irish provinces, at the time of the early Elizabethan consecrations, the "presumption of law," on which the alleged taking of the oath of supremacy rests, had no foundation. The other oath of fealty, taken by bishops after consecration, and said by Mant (i. 270) to have been introduced about the year 1563, was the same oath, *mutatis mutandis*, that was taken by Irish bishops in Mary's reign. [Ware. De Præsul.

Ed. 1665, page 188]. "There is no evidence that any of the bishops" in Ireland, who were in "office at Queen Mary's death," with the exception of Curwin and O'Fihil, of Leighlin, "either accepted the reformed Prayer-book, or abjured the authority of the Pope." [Froude. *Hist. of England*, vol. x. 481.]

The supposition that the act of uniformity, or the decrees of the ecclesiastical commissioners, were enforced throughout Ireland in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, is opposed to the evidences of official documents. Daly, bishop of Kildare, writing to Cecil on the 2nd of July, 1565, confesses the inability of himself, the Primate, and the bishop of Meath, to carry out the objects of the commission in ecclesiastical causes. We "dare not be so bold now in executing the said commission as we have been on to this time." [Shirley, 204.] In the instructions given to Sir H. Sidney, on the 4th of July, 1565, the execution of that commission is spoken of as having been exercised only within the English Pale. [Ibid., 209.] And in 1566, it is mentioned that although "the commissioners for the ecclesiastical causes have travailed with some of the bishops, and other their 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." [Ibid., 235.] The English Pale, in 1560, embraced but a small portion of Ireland, for the commission issued in that year to Curwin and others, for the government of the Pale in the absence of the Lord Deputy, was "for the government of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Louth, Meath, and Westmeath." [Morris, i. 457.] In 1576, "the King's writ did not run in the new baronies of Westmeath," and there were "scarce any churches or curates to be found" in Ireland. [Cox, 346, 347.] The testimony of Sir H. Sidney, given in the year 1583, in a letter to Walsingham, proves beyond doubt that the provisions of the penal legislation of 1560 were not generally carried out in Ireland, and that bishops were not, during Elizabeth's reign, always deprived for non-conformity and delay in taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Sidney, referring to the year 1576, after describing his progress into Munster, and his successes in quieting the people, narrates an

incident which occurred at Cork. "When I was at the city of Cork," wrote Sidney, "there came three or four bishops to me of the provinces of Cashel and Tuam, which bishops, albeit they were Papists, submitted themselves to the Queen's majesty and to me her Deputy, acknowledging that they held all their temporal patrimony of the Queen's majesty; and desired humbly that they might be by her Highness inducted into their ecclesiastical places. Here was some hold between the bishops and me, too long here to be recited, for they stood still upon salvo suo ordine, and I on the Queen's absolute authority." Sidney, in his letter to the Council from Cork, although he describes the submission of the chiefs, does not mention these bishops. Perhaps he failed to bring them to such terms as he could report to the Queen. It is impossible to conjecture the names of these bishops. But if they were Marian (and two Marian bishops of those belonging to Cashel and Tuam provinces, namely—Walsh of Waterford, and De Burgo of Clonfert, were alive in 1576), then it is proved that Marian bishops remained without molestation in their sees for eighteen years of Elizabeth's reign, without submission or deprivation "albeit they were Papists." If these bishops were not Marian, then it is proved that bishops appointed by the Pope enjoyed the temporalities of their sees, without submission to the Queen, and were actually admissible to the oath in their capacity of bishops, and to the presence of the Deputy, who was willing to recognize them, "albeit they were Papists." [State Papers, Domestic. Elizabeth. MSS. Record Office, London.]

X Another statement, to the effect that the Marian bishops "did not refuse at the period of the Reformation to transmit their office to Protestant successors," is devoid of truth, except so far as Curwin is concerned. Not one of the Queen Mary's prelates, except Hugh Curwin, can be proved to have had any part in the consecration of an Elizabethan bishop. It has indeed been alleged, but untruly, that the wording of the Irish act of parliament, the 2nd Eliz., ch. 4, precludes the supposition of any consecration performed by Curwin singly or without the presence of two assisting Irish bishops. The wording of that act

prescribes that when a bishopric is vacant the Sovereign shall signify, by letters patent, to the metropolitan of the vacant see, or to some other archbishop, if the metropolitan see be also vacant, the person to be consecrated. The archbishop, to whom such letters patent may be directed, is bound to consecrate; and, if he refuses, he becomes liable to *premunire*. So far as that act is concerned, the archbishop, who is ordered to consecrate a bishop, may consecrate either singly or with the assistance of English bishops, or of bishops who need not be Irish. It is different in the case of a vacant archbishopric, for then the royal nomination must be signified to one archbishop and two bishops, or to four bishops, all of whom are liable to *premunire* if they decline to consecrate. But it is curious that the first two Irish consecrations in Elizabeth's reign were those of bishops in whose case no plurality of consecrating bishops, Irish or otherwise, was prescribed by the act. Craike and Skiddy were first consecrated, notwithstanding that the archbishopric of Armagh was vacant from the accession of Elizabeth. It has been said that the direction of the statute, that an archbishop should consecrate, implies that he should consecrate according to the Canon law of the Church, which requires three consecrators at the least. But the statute makes no provision for enabling an archbishop, to whom the letters for consecration may arrive, to compel other bishops to assist him. The English act, 23rd Henry VIII., ordained, in case of hindrance or delay on the part of Rome, that a bishop should be consecrated by an archbishop, and that an archbishop should be consecrated "by any other two bishops within this realm," whom the King may select. In this act, which was ratified some time after its passing through parliament, by the King's letters patent of the 9th of July, in the 25th year of his reign, there is no limitation to English bishops, and no reference to the Canon law; and the supposed requirement of three consecrating prelates seems plainly ignored by the express mention of the two bishops. It happens, moreover, that the Canon law does not require a plurality of consecrators in cases of necessity. Before the Reformation there were numerous cases in Ireland of consecrations by a single bishop. Since the Reformation the instances of such single consecrations performed by Roman Catholics have

been frequent both in Ireland and England. It is unreasonable to imagine that Elizabeth and her parliament should entertain greater scruples against violating the strictness of the Canon law of the universal church than Catholics themselves. It rather seems a principle of the Reformed Anglican church to compel the Canon law of the Catholic church to yield to the statute law of the Protestant realm. That the affair of the Elizabethan consecrations was precisely such a case of necessity, in which the royal dispensing power was to supply the place of the Papal dispensing power, is proved by the language of the mandate for Parker's consecration, in which the Queen supplies of herself, *ex mero motu*, whatever was deficient in the consecrators, and whatever was required by statute or ecclesiastical law. This dispensing power is said to have been exercised owing to the emergency and the necessities of the time—"Temporis ratione et Rerum necessitate id postulante." [Rymer Foed. xv. 550.] The preamble to the English statute 8 ELIZ. c. i., is said to include Ireland, and it declares that her Majesty, in her letters patent for consecrations, used "other general words whereby she dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection; so that to all who will consider the effect of said laws and statutes, and of the supreme authority of the Queen, and which she by her said letters patent used in the making and consecrating the said archbishops and bishops, it is evident that no cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt can justly be objected against the said consecrations." [See *Strictures on Dr. Brady's pamphlet*, by William Lee, D.D., archdeacon of Dublin, pp. 33, 38, &c.] This gracious exercise of her Majesty's dispensing power was of course convincing "to all who" duly considered "the effect of said laws and statutes and of the supreme authority of the Queen." "As the Royal supremacy took the place of the Papal usurpation," it is difficult to set limits to the force of this Parliamentary process of removing "all cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt." To most persons this very Act (8 Eliz. c. i.), being plainly an *ex post facto* attempt to remedy supposed irregularities and stifle doubts, affords, if applied to Irish consecrations, a presumption that some irregularities had been believed to have taken place.

It has been urged that the Irish Elizabethan consecrations must have been performed by three consecrating prelates, inasmuch as Roman Catholic writers never brought any accusation against the regularity of Elizabeth's Irish, although they did against that of her English, consecrations. But the silence of Roman Catholic writers in this matter is easily accounted for. In England the clergy and people quickly accepted the Reformation, and it was an object of importance to the Protestant bishops to establish, and to the Pope to overthrow, the popular belief in the regularity and canonicity of the English Episcopal succession. But the Irish Protestant Episcopal succession was of little consequence to the Pope, for he had the clergy and people of Ireland on his side, and the main object with Roman Catholics was to obtain, not converts, but toleration. In England it was useful to the Papal cause to assail the validity of English ordinations, but in Ireland it was wholly unnecessary to depreciate the Elizabethan consecrations in the eyes of Roman Catholics who were in no danger of choosing an Elizabethan before a Papal succession. If, indeed, the Irish people had become Protestants, then it would have been useful to Roman Catholic writers to try to make them discontented with the succession of their bishops, and to persuade them that the Reformed Episcopate was of irregular descent. Besides, it must be remembered, the question is not whether any prelates, but whether any Irish Marian prelates, assisted Curwin in his Elizabethan consecrations. Bodkin of Tuam and Magennis of Down might have assisted Curwin, although there is no evidence whatever that they did so. As both Bodkin and Magennis were themselves consecrated in Italy or France, they could not transmit Irish Episcopal orders which they had not received. Some deprived bishops of Irish sees, whose own episcopal orders were of dubious origin, might have assisted Curwin without being able to transmit any Irish episcopal orders. Thus the apostolical succession, somewhat irregularly it may be, was doubtless transmitted by Curwin without the accompaniment of that Irish and national episcopal succession of which S. Patrick was supposed to be the author. Irish Roman Catholics, however, do not place the same value as Protestants do, upon a national as distinct from a Catholic succession.

But, at all events, whether Curwin did or did not consecrate singly or irregularly, it happens that no document such as a consecration record, a mandate for consecration, or letters patent notifying an episcopal consecration, has yet been produced relating to the early Elizabethan consecrations, in which any Marian bishop but Curwin appears as consecrator, or which is directed by name to any other bishop, so as to bring such other bishop under the penalty of *premunire*, if he refused to assist in a Protestant consecration.

Indeed USHER, WARE, and HARRIS, and, recently, MR. W. H. HARDINGE, although fully alive to the importance of such a discovery, were unable even to name a single Irish bishop who could be said to have assisted Curwin, and to have thus transmitted a dubious claim to the Irish succession. It is vain to allege in excuse that the records were destroyed in 1641, for WARE had published his history of the bishops of the Leinster province thirteen years previously, namely, in 1628. It is vain to say, that some of these Marian prelates had received their appointments from Henry VIII., or Edward VI., and were, therefore, ready to conform to the Reformation under Elizabeth. Of the Marian prelates whom Elizabeth found in office, fourteen had received their appointments from Mary herself or the Pope, and of the twelve who had been appointed to their sees in the time of HENRY or EDWARD, only two—Devereux of Ferns, and Magennis of Down—have been ascertained to have assisted at Protestant consecrations in Edward's reign. Those two bishops were reconciled, under Mary, to the Pope, and received pardon, as did other bishops, for past offences. If they had again sinned against the papacy, under Elizabeth, by consecrating her bishops, the circumstances would have been, no doubt, recorded. But the name of Curwin, and of Curwin alone, appears in the consecration records of the bishops whom Elizabeth appointed during the first eight years of her reign. Curwin himself was consecrated in London by bishop Bonner, and thus the episcopal succession of the Reformed church in Ireland must be traced to an English source, and not to the ancient Irish, or Anglo-Irish, episcopate. No testamentary document, it may be observed, of any of the Irish bishops appointed by Queen Mary, can now be

found, although the wills are yet preserved of some of their immediate successors, such as Hugh Brady, whose will has been printed in "Cork Records;" Adam Loftus, whose descendants enjoy a marquisate; and Miler Magrath, who left seven children.

Not one of the Marian bishops founded a family or left estates to their descendants. There is no trace of the offer to any one of them of promotion to a higher see, nor did any of them apply for leave of absence or remission of twentieth parts or deaneries or rectories to be held in commendam with their sees. Curwin, Craike, Loftus, Daly, and Miler Magrath were not backward in requesting from the Crown favours of various kinds; but the State Papers contain no instance of a Marian bishop, Curwin excepted, presuming to ask either money or promotion. The Deputy constantly forwarded to England the recommendations of the Elizabethan bishops for this or that person to be made a bishop, and the Queen constantly mentions such recommendations among her reasons for her selections for vacant sees. But not one of the Marian bishops ventured to advise either the Deputy or the Queen in the matter of Episcopal promotions, nor did her Majesty and her Deputy, in a single instance, solicit or adopt the advice of any Marian prelate but Curwin in the appointment of a bishop.

It is also a fact of some significance that of the twenty-five Irish bishops in 1558, all were of Irish birth except Hugh Curwin, and not one of them, except Curwin, can be proved to have joined in the consecration of a bishop appointed by Elizabeth. As Curwin was English by consecration and birth, the present episcopate of the Reformed Anglican church in Ireland cannot be now connected, as far as consecrations are concerned, with the Pre-reformation Irish hierarchy. All the more modern bishops in Ireland, except those who may have been translated from English sees, must trace their ecclesiastical pedigree backwards to one or other of those eight bishops who formed, at the Restoration in 1660, the entire episcopate of the Established Church in Ireland. Those eight bishops, who are the immediate forefathers of the present hierarchy, were—John Leslie of Raphoe, Bramhall of Derry, H. Leslie of Down, Williams of Ossory, Fulwar of Ardfert, Maxwell of Kilmore, Bayly of

Clonfert, and H. Jones of Clogher. The consecrations of these bishops were as follow :—

1. JOHN LESLIE received Scotch consecration, as bishop of the Isles, in 1628, and was translated to Raphoe in 1633.
2. JOHN BRAMHALL was consecrated to Derry in 1634 by James Usher (16) of Armagh, Antony Martin (14) of Meath, Robert Echlin (21) of Down, and Richard Boyle (17) of Cork.
3. HENRY LESLIE of Down was consecrated in 1635 by James Usher (16) of Armagh.
4. GRIFFITH WILLIAMS of Ossory was consecrated in 1641 by Lancelot Bulkeley (18) of Dublin, John Richardson (12) of Ardagh, and Robert Sibthorpe (10) of Kilfenora.
5. THOMAS FULWAR of Ardfert was consecrated in 1641. Archibald Hamilton (15) was Abp. of Cashel.
6. ROBERT MAXWELL of Kilmore was consecrated in Dublin in 1644. Lancelot Bulkeley (18) was Abp. of Dublin. James Usher (16) was Primate.
7. WILLIAM BAYLY of Clonfert was consecrated in 1644 by James Usher (16) of Armagh, Henry Lesley (3) of Down, and John Maxwell (13) of Killala.
8. HENRY JONES of Clogher was consecrated in 1645 by Lancelot Bulkeley (18) of Dublin, William Golborne (9) of Kildare, and George Synge (11) of Cloyne.
9. William Golborne of Kildare was consecrated in 1644 by L. Bulkeley (18) of Dublin.
10. Robert Sibthorpe of Kilfenora was consecrated in 1638 in Dublin. L. Bulkeley (18) was Archbishop of Dublin. Archibald Hamilton (15) was Abp. of Cashel.
11. George Synge of Cloyne was consecrated in 1638 by James Usher (16) of Armagh.

12. John Richardson of Ardagh was consecrated in 1633 by James Usher (16) of Armagh.
13. JOHN MAXWELL of Killala received Scotch consecration to Rosse in 1633, and was translated to Killala in 1640.
14. Antony Martin of Meath was consecrated in 1625 by L. Bulkeley (18) of Dublin, W. Daniel (24) of Tuam, and W. Pilsworth (26) of Kildare.
15. Archibald Hamilton was consecrated to Killala in 1623 by Christopher Hampton (20) of Armagh.
16. James Usher of Armagh was consecrated (to Meath) in 1621 by Christopher Hampton (20) of Armagh, Thomas Moygne (23) of Kilmore, R. Echlin (21) of Down, and Theophilus Buckworth (19) of Dromore.
17. Richard Boyle was consecrated to Cork in 1620. Miler Magrath (30) was Abp. of Cashel, but was 98 years old. The other archbishops were Hampton (20) of Armagh, Bulkeley (18) of Dublin, and Daniel (24) of Tuam.
18. Lancelot Bulkeley of Dublin was consecrated in 1619 by Christopher Hampton (20) of Armagh, T. Moygne (23) of Kilmore, and Theo. Buckworth (19) of Dromore.
19. Theophilus Buckworth of Dromore was consecrated in Dublin in 1613. Hampton (20) was primate. T. Jones (28) was Abp. of Dublin.
20. Christopher Hampton of Armagh was consecrated in 1613 by T. Jones (28) of Dublin, G. Montgomery (25) of Meath, W. Pilsworth (26) of Kildare, and John Rider (22) of Killaloe.
21. Robert Echlin of Down was consecrated in 1613. Henry Usher (27) was primate. T. Jones (28) was Abp. of Dublin.
22. John Rider of Killaloe was consecrated in 1612. Miler Magrath (30) was Abp. of Cashel. H. Usher (27) was Primate, T. Jones (28) was Abp. of Dublin, and Wm. Daniel (24) was Abp. of Tuam.

23. Thomas Moygne of Kilmore was consecrated in 1612 by Henry Usher (27) of Armagh.
24. William Daniel of Tuam was consecrated in 1609 in Dublin. Thomas Jones (28) was Archbishop.
25. George Montgomery of Meath was consecrated in 1605 Henry Usher (27) was Primate.
26. William Pilsworth of Kildare was consecrated at Balsoon, Meath, in 1604. Thomas Jones (28) was bishop of Meath. Loftus (34) was Abp. of Dublin. Henry Usher (27) was Primate.
27. Henry Usher of Armagh was consecrated in 1595. Loftus (34) was Abp. of Dublin.
28. Thomas Jones of Dublin was consecrated to Meath in 1584 by Loftus (34) of Dublin, and Nicholas Walsh (29) of Ossory. Thomas Lancaster (31) was Primate.
29. Nicholas Walsh was consecrated in 1576-7. Loftus (34) was Abp. of Dublin.
30. Miler Magrath was appointed in 1565 (according to the Consistory Records at Rome) to Down. Loftus (34) was then Primate. But, according to Cotton, he was not appointed by Queen Elizabeth until 1568, in which year Lancaster (31) was Primate.
31. Thomas Lancaster of Armagh was consecrated in 1568 by Loftus (34) of Dublin, Hugh Brady (33) of Meath, and Robert Daly (32) of Kildare.
32. Robert Daly of Kildare was consecrated in 1564. Hugh Curwin (35) was Archbishop of Dublin.
33. Hugh Brady of Meath was consecrated in December, 1563. Loftus (34) was Primate.
34. Adam Loftus was consecrated in 1563 by Hugh Curwin (35) Abp. of Dublin.
35. HUGH CURWIN was consecrated in 1555 at London House by Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and Maurice Griffin, bishop of Rochester.

On examining the foregoing list it will be found that of the eight bishops of 1660, some were Scotchmen, some were Englishmen, one was a Welshman, but not one was of an Irish family. It will also appear strange that of the entire number of thirty-five bishops not more than five were Irishmen. John Leslie and John Maxwell, both Scotch bishops by consecration, and Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, seem to be the episcopal progenitors of the present Anglo-Irish Church, instead of S. Patrick and his successors, as is by some believed. It will be observed that the name of John Leslie does not occur in any of these consecrations before 1660, and as he died soon afterwards, he had little share in consecrations subsequent to the Restoration. Maxwell's name also is not often repeated in the Irish lists of consecrations. Hugh Curwin, therefore, who was consecrated, in 1555, in London, by Bonner, assisted by the bishops of Ely and Rochester, is the chief among the episcopal fathers of the Irish Protestant bishops, and from him and not from any bishops of the ancient church of Ireland is the present Anglican hierarchy in Ireland derived.

The claims to the Irish succession, which the present Roman Catholic Episcopate possesses, require a brief notice. At the accession of Elizabeth, the Marian bishops were, beyond dispute, the true bishops of the Church in Ireland, which was then thoroughly Roman Catholic in its clergy and people. Of the twenty-six bishops alive in 1558, twenty-five were natives of Ireland, and continued Roman Catholics. No documents of an official and formal character, such as extracts from a register, have it is true, been produced to show that any of those twenty-five prelates laid hands in consecration upon any one of their successors whom the Pope appointed. The loss of Records of the consecrations in Ireland of Irish Roman Catholic bishops during the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, and her immediate successors, has been almost complete. The names of the consecrators of all Mary's bishops, except Curwin, are unknown. Penal laws, the Cromwellian and Williamite wars, caused the concealment and loss of Roman Catholic Church records in Ireland, and compelled Roman Catholic bishops-designate to seek consecration in foreign parts,

but not necessarily at the hands of foreign bishops, for Irish prelates were often resident abroad and sometimes went from Ireland purposely to assist at such consecrations. Sometimes Roman Catholic bishops destroyed their own consecration papers, lest they should furnish evidence against themselves and lead to their imprisonment or banishment.

No Irish consecration roll has been preserved, if indeed any such was, in those disturbed times, regularly kept. The Roman archives contain, it is to be presumed, no list of *consecrations* performed in Ireland by Irish bishops. There is, however, ample documentary proof that successors to the Marian bishops were appointed by Papal provision to the different Irish sees, and it is of course unlikely that the twenty-five Marian prelates refused to consecrate those whom the Pope designated—or to recognize and receive those whom the Pope consecrated—to the various bishoprics as they became vacant.

But even accepting as true such an improbability, and supposing what is equally improbable, namely, that the immediate Papal successors to the Marian bishops were, one and all, consecrated by the Pope or foreign prelates, there yet remains the presumption, which no evidence is forthcoming to disprove, that these successors to the Marian bishops were of Irish birth, spoke the Irish language, had been educated in Ireland, held office as beneficed ministers in the Irish church, had received the holy orders of deacon and priest by the imposition of the hands of Irish bishops, and were accepted by the Irish bishops, clergy, and people, as the bishops of the Irish church.

Curwin was Irish in no respect. He had neither Irish birth, parentage, or education. His orders of deacon, priest, and bishop were all of them English. It may be asserted that some of the Irish Marian bishops assisted him in consecrating Craike to Kildare, Loftus to Armagh, or Brady to Meath. But such an assertion is wholly unsupported by evidence, and there are strong reasons for disbelieving it. Craike and Loftus, the first Elizabethan bishops in Ireland, were bitter opponents of the Papacy. The Queen's authority, at that time, although nominally extending throughout Ireland, was in reality obeyed only within the limits of the English Pale, then confined to the

counties of Dublin, Kildare, Louth, and Meath. As Leverous and Walsh had been deprived by Elizabeth, Curwin could have had no assistance from the Marian bishops of the Pale, and it is difficult to believe that any of the bishops without the Pale, in the absence of power on the part of the Queen to compel them, would participate in the consecration of such enemies of Roman doctrine as Craike and Loftus. Besides, if any of the Marian bishops did assist Curwin in these consecrations the fact could hardly have escaped the notice of Usher, who would have loudly proclaimed it, or of Dudley Loftus, the compiler of the manuscript annals in Marsh's library, who was vicar-general of Ireland and judge of the Prerogative Court, and had access to official documents in the Ecclesiastical courts. The Irish records suffered, no doubt, great injury during and before the wars of 1641, and the church registers before that date were in great part destroyed. But the particulars of such very important transactions as the consecration of Craike and Loftus could hardly, within the space of forty or forty-five years from their occurrence, have perished so completely from men's recollection as to baffle the diligent researches of Usher, who at an early period of his life applied himself to the study of Irish Church history. Again, the records in the State Paper Office, London, and in the English depositaries of manuscripts, were not destroyed by Irish wars, and they contain no statement that any Irish prelate assisted Curwin in consecrating the Elizabethan bishops.

There are some considerations very necessary to bear in mind, but which are sometimes wholly forgotten, when the question is discussed whether the Anglican or the Roman Catholic church is the successor to that church which Elizabeth found in Ireland at her accession. It is, indeed, remembered, that the Anglican church has succeeded to the church property of Ireland, and that the law recognised no other church of Ireland than the Anglican. But, it is forgotten that, in 1558, the bishops, clergy, and people of Ireland were in full communion with Rome, and that the Irish church was thoroughly Roman Catholic. The laws and the force which took away the church temporalities, and made the existence of a Roman Catholic bishop or priest in

Ireland a crime, could not extirpate that church. The laws which the English government enforced in Ireland, when it had power, against Roman Catholic bishops and priests, made it impossible for those bishops and priests to be well affected to the State, which sought, not to employ or recognize them, but to destroy them and their church. As a matter of course the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, clergy, and people, were ill-disposed towards Elizabeth, who had at one time no partisans in Ireland, except a few lords of the Pale, and the Butlers, together with the English settlers or colonists in the Pale and in the towns garrisoned by English troops. Consequently, many of the Papal bishops in the earlier years of the Reformation, were rebels against the English monarch, and many were called rebels who did not deserve the name, being truly anxious to submit to any regulations which would enable them to perform their functions, if possible, under the sanction and protection of the law; but, if complete legal recognition were denied, as denied it has been to this day, at least with personal safety, and in peace and quietness. During Elizabeth's reign, some of the Papal bishops were in arms against the Queen, and were warriors rather than bishops. It has been objected against these fighting prelates, that the "proper mission" of a bishop or priest is not to fight. Some of the Elizabethan bishops are liable to a similar charge of forgetting their functions for secular objects. Even within the last hundred years, there were in Ireland several instances of Anglican priests and prelates whose avocations were anything but clerical. In a Memoir of the last archbishop of Tuam, it is recorded of that eminent prelate, that in the early years of his ministerial career he was a popular preacher, held two livings, one in Galway, the other in Kildare, was land agent over the vast estates of his father, was an active magistrate, and a captain of yeomanry, and held these various offices all at the same time. "During the rebellion of 1798," observes his biographer, "he scoured the country, night and day, hunting the rebels." [Memoir of the Last Archbishop of Tuam, by Rev. Joseph D'Arcy Sirr, D.D., pp. 11 and 12.] Deep poverty was the lot of many of the Papal bishops, and some of them subsisted upon the charity of

foreign princes. Peter Lombard asserts that a few Irish bishops acted meanly in trading upon the charitable feelings of foreigners, who pitied the miseries of Irish bishops in exile; but it is false to say that Lombard's description applies to more than a few of those bishops, and it is equally false to represent the language of the veto-ist, O'Connor, as a translation of what Lombard wrote. Bishops, however, do not cease to be bishops when they become poor or cease to be acknowledged by the State. The Papal hierarchy, illegal or not illegal, poor or rich, has continued from 1558, to 1867. The Pope was from the first quick to seize on opportunities of supplying the vacancies as they arose among the Irish sees, and succeeded in putting in his nominees, in many cases, before Elizabeth had time to appoint. Thus in Armagh, Cashel, Clogher, Kilmore, Ardagh, Down, Dromore, Derry, Raphoe, Emly, Ross, Killaloe, Kilmfenora, Killala, Achonry, and Elphin, namely in sixteen of the Irish sees, the Pope had the priority in filling vacancies. The succession which the Queen established in Meath, Kildare, Limerick, Kilmore, and Ossory, was undeniably established by deprivation. The Roman Catholic bishops, in part of Elizabeth's reign, enjoyed the temporalities of their sees, but in after years they had no revenues except what they received from the voluntary contributions of the people. They were frequently imprisoned and banished, and some of them were tortured and hanged. Nevertheless the Roman Catholic have been as numerous as the Anglican bishops in Ireland during the three centuries which have passed since the year 1558. In Armagh the Primates of the two churches were equal in number: in Dublin there were sixteen Roman Catholic to twenty-two Anglican archbishops; but five of the latter, and of the former only one, were translated to Armagh. In Cashel there were sixteen Roman Catholic to nineteen Anglican archbishops. In Tuam the Roman Catholic archbishops were sixteen in number against eighteen Anglican prelates. In the other sees the Roman Catholic succession of bishops was in one respect less numerous and in another respect more numerous than the Anglican. Taking each see by itself, the Roman Catholic bishops are less in number than the Anglican in most cases, because the Pope

designedly appointed Vicars-Apostolic, or else made alternate unions in consequence of the poverty of the bishoprics. Thus the bishop of Clogher, for instance, would have Raphoe in administration, and on the next vacancy the bishop of Raphoe would have the administration of Clogher. But on the other hand the permanent unions of sees made by the Pope were not as numerous as those made by the English government. Roman Catholic bishops of Clonmacnoise, Ardagh, Emly, Ross, Ardfer, Kilmacduagh, and Achonry number collectively sixty-eight, while the Anglican bishops of the same sees amount to only nine. The total number of Anglican bishops from the year 1558 amounts to 320 against about 330 Roman Catholic. The consecration of many of these Roman Catholic prelates took place, no doubt, at Rome, or abroad, but this foreign consecration often occurred in the case of the pre-reformation Irish bishops. S. Patrick and many other ancient bishops of Ireland are recorded by Ware and Cotton to have been consecrated abroad, and consecration at Rome was regarded by the bishops themselves as a privilege and not a blemish. The Pope sometimes desired to provide consecration for Irish bishops outside Rome, in order to conceal the fact of consecration from the English agents, and to lessen the risk of capture to which the new bishops were exposed from the English ships. But sometimes the candidate bishops pleaded hard for Roman consecration, and despised the danger. Other Irish bishops, it is true, were consecrated in Ireland by one prelate, assisted by priests instead of bishops. This irregularity, arising from necessities caused by penal legislation, does not amount to invalidity, and was committed by virtue of special orders from Rome. The similar irregularity which Augustine, by permission of the Pope, committed in the year 604, has never been held to vitiate the English succession or to affect injuriously the character of the national episcopate of England. Indeed it has been argued, and with great force, that episcopal orders are transmitted through one principal consecrator only, and not through the assistant bishops, who are witnesses, and stand by (*adsisto*) to share in the joy and unite in the prayers of the church rather than to give efficacy to, or supply any want in, the consecrating bishop. Pope Gregory,

when asked by Augustine whether he might consecrate without the presence of other bishops, in case it were not easy, through distance, to assemble them, gave an answer which contains no hint that assisting prelates were at all concerned in the transmission of apostolical succession. He simply compares assistant bishops to witnesses "qui in ordinatione episcopi testes adstant," and likens their presence to that of married persons assembling at a wedding to rejoice with the newly-married couple. Why, says Gregory, should not other bishops assemble in like manner to rejoice at the advancement of a brother to the episcopate, or to pray to God for his safe keeping? "Cur non ergo et in hac spiritali ordinatione, qua per sacrum ministerium homo Deo conjungitur, tales convenient, qui vel in profectu ordinati episcopi gaudeant, vel pro ejus custodia omnipotenti Deo preces pariter fundant?" [Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, sect. iii., ch. 27.] Pope Gregory, if he judged assistant bishops necessary to the transmission of episcopal orders, would no doubt have consecrated Melitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Ruffianus before sending them to Augustine in the year 601, along with the sacerdotal vestments and vessels which he deemed requisite for divine worship. [Ibid, ch. 29.]

The Roman Catholic hierarchy, in spite of all difficulties, has never ceased to exist in Ireland, even though at particular times the number of Papal bishops actually in Ireland may have been small. The Anglican bishops in Ireland were reduced to a very small number during the Cromwellian period; and, when the rigour of the penal laws was at the highest pitch of severity, the number of Roman Catholic prelates who escaped arrest and exile was similarly small. In spite of the cruelty of the penal laws, a large number of the Romish clergy were never absent from Ireland, and the Irish people never ceased to be Roman Catholic. In point of fact, the Irish nation from 1558 to 1867 has continued in communion with Rome, never having ceased to be, in its clergy, priests, and people, as thoroughly Roman Catholic as at the accession of Elizabeth. Of course, the whole Roman Catholic church has been, from 1558 to 1867, a proscribed church for the most part, and only in late years a tolerated church. But it has been in the eyes of all those, who

do not believe the favour of the State to be essential to the existence of a church, the national church of Ireland.

Upon the whole, there seems no valid reason to doubt that the Irish succession remains with the Roman Catholic bishops of the Irish Church, while the bishops of the Anglican Church in Ireland, whose orders are not derived from the ancient Irish Church, but from the English succession through Curwin, have the same apostolical succession as the Established Church of England. This displacement of the common theory regarding the independent origin of the two churches, proving, as it does, a more intimate union than has hitherto been believed to exist, will no doubt prove acceptable to that numerous class of persons who delight to proclaim the legal and historical unity of the Church of England and Ireland.

THE END.

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