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By
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DOWNNEY & Co., WATERFORD,
1917.

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*Extract from letter, received by J. J. O'Flynn,
from Most Rev. Dr Hackett, Bishop of Waterford.*

“ The History of the Irish Catholic Bishops during the period treated by you should appeal strongly to every Irish Catholic. I am glad you are providing us in your little book with information that is sure to instruct and edify. I wish it every success.

PREFACE.

THE two centuries covered by the following sketches are in many respects the most tragic but withal the most glorious in the ecclesiastical history of our diocese and of all Ireland. During the greater part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, her and her ministers' policy towards the Catholic Church in Ireland, and especially towards bishops and priests, was guided more by cunning schemes for "conversion" through bribery, titles, positions of state, etc., than by the plans of her successors from James I to George III (except for the brief reign of James II). Theirs was a policy of confiscation, massacre, proscription, spoliation, exile and degradation. Waterford city and the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore came in for a large share of the results of these measures towards the Catholics of Ireland. The city of Waterford was known far and near, especially during the 17th century, for the unflinching devotion of its Catholic citizens to their faith, and they received very special attention at the hands of all those whose fervent desire it was to stamp out the Catholic religion and clear Ireland completely of every Papist, young and old, lay and clerical. In the Confederate War of 1641 and the nine years following our city was looked to from all over Ireland by Catholics—whose hopes of deliverance from oppression and persecution, so high at the beginning, were waning fast—as the bright spot in the darkness which they felt was slowly falling upon them owing to the bickerings of the Supreme Council of the Confederation, the differences on questions of policy between the Nuncio and some of the bishops, and the intriguing and temporising of the "moderates" with Ormonde, Inchiquin and others. In Rome and all over Europe the great learning, piety, and statesmanship of the Waddings, the Whites, the

Lombards, the Comerfords and other renowned sons of Waterford had made our city known as *Pacca Roma*—Little Rome. Rinuccini, the Papal Nuncio to the Confederation, has recorded that of all the cities he visited during his stay in Ireland Waterford was the one that impressed him most favourably and came nearest to his ideal as a Catholic city. The fame of his friend, Father Luke Wadding, in Rome would alone have been quite sufficient to make the Nuncio think very highly of Luke's native city. The accounts of Waterford as a Catholic city the Nuncio had heard from Father Luke Wadding before he left Rome were more than justified by his reception when he visited the city in February, 1646, and later on by the grand reception given him by the Bishop, Dr. Comerford, and the clergy, and all the leading citizens at the ancient Cathedral of Holy Trinity which had been restored to the Catholics after having been for nearly a century in the hands of the Protestants. Right through the succeeding two centuries Waterford got more than its share of the proscription and spoliation from which all Ireland suffered. In the sketches of Dr. Comerford (1629-1652) and Dr. Brennan (1671-1693) that follow we get some idea of what bishops, priests, and people suffered from the coming of Cromwell to the Penal Laws that followed the violation of the Treaty of Limerick, and in the short accounts of their successors we see how the Penal Enactments, from William to George III, pressed upon those who came after Dr. Comerford and Dr. Brennan as Bishops of the Diocese.

It was a feeling that the heroic sufferings, devotion, and sacrifices of these truly great men should be known to all of us who to-day enjoy the religious and civil freedom which we owe to the sacrifices and heroism of those who went before us, that impelled the writer to compile for publication these short sketches of the Catholic Bishops of Waterford and Lismore for the two centuries 1629-1829. He cannot help feeling that such a work is no small impertinence on his part in a diocese that has two such able and scholarly ecclesiastical historians as the Rev. Patrick Power, M.R.I.A., Professor of Archæology, University College, Cork, and Rev. W. P. Burke, C.C., Cahir. The splendid work of these two learned

and painstaking writers, as well as such works as Mr Edmund Downey's excellent and reliable "Story of Waterford," are beyond the reach of the real "man in the street," on the road, and in the cabin or small farm-house, who cannot afford to invest more than 6d. or 1s. in a book, and for whose information and enlightenment the following pages are mainly intended.

I doubt very much if the work of such men as Father Power, Father Burke, Mr. Edmund Downey, Mr. M. Fitzpatrick (author of "Waterford During the Civil War"), Mr. M. Butler, (author of "The Barony of Gaultier," "Memoirs of Pierse Baron," etc.), Dr. Grattan Flood, author of numerous interesting and scholarly articles on local ecclesiastical history in the Waterford Archæological Journal and elsewhere, have been even slightly appreciated by the people of the city and the diocese. Father Power, in the course of a very busy life, has given us "Place-Names of Decies," a monumental work that gives every field, road, townland, and parish in the Decies a new interest for those who read it; "A Parochial History of Waterford and Lismore," which supplied a truly long-felt want in our diocese. A very valuable and little-known part of Father Power's writings in local ecclesiastical history in his magnificent work as Editor of, and contributor to, the "Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society," especially the series, "The Ancient Round Churches of County Waterford," that appeared in the journal during the first six years of its existence. These articles might be truly described as an Ecclesiastical History of the Diocese from the earliest times to the Reformation. Then we have the "Lives of SS. Declan and Mochuda," edited by him for the Irish Texts Society, a most valuable addition to Irish hagiology and to the early history of Christianity in the Decies of which Mochuda, afterwards christened Carthac, was the first Bishop and Declan the first Christian saint. Father Burke, C.C., Cahir, began his work in the domain of local ecclesiastical history more than twenty years ago in the pages of the "Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society." Since then, in the midst of the pressing duties of a busy

C.C. in Waterford, and later on at Cahir, he compiled his monumental "History of Clonmel" (published 1907), and "Irish Priests in the Penal Times" (published 1914). The "History of Clonmel," apart from its great value and interest as a local history, is a very valuable addition to the ecclesiastical history of the Tipperary portion of the Diocese. The accounts of the splendid resistance of the Catholics of Clonmel to the assaults of Cromwell's army, and all the new and interesting light thrown on the case of Father Nicholas Sheehy who was hanged in Clonmel in 1766, give the work a very special value. In "Irish Priests in Penal Times" we have a striking testimony, if such were needed, to Father Burke's ability and industry as a worker in the field of Irish ecclesiastical history. In this work he has given us over 400 pages of copies made by him of State papers in the Carte Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the State Paper Department of the Irish Record Office, the British Museum, and other places, vividly illustrating the conditions under which the bishops and priests of Ireland had to live during the Penal times from Charles II to George III. May we hope that Father Burke and Father Power will ere long do for our Diocese what Rev. Dr. Carrigan has done for a neighbouring diocese in his splendid "History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory" (4 vols.). Mr. Edmund Downey, in his own valuable "Story of Waterford," and in the encouragement he has given every writer on Waterford topics, has done more than one man's share in helping towards the creation of a library of local ecclesiastical and secular history. Dr. Grattan Flood of Enniscorthy, in the pages of the "Waterford Archæological Journal," "The Irish Ecclesiastical Record," and elsewhere, has given us numerous valuable and interesting contributions.

The writer is painfully aware of the scant encouragement the efforts of compilers of local histories, ecclesiastical or other, receive at the hands of the general public—even at the hands of those to whom one would naturally look for support and appreciation, viz., the well-to-do merchants and farmers, the professional classes, and clerks in fairly well paid positions. Many of all classes named above would

think half-a-crown or five shillings far too much to pay for any of the valuable works named above, but they would have no hesitation about spending as many pounds at a horse-racing or coursing meeting, or some other form of sport or gambling. Let us hope that a better time is coming, and that the manifestations of the new soul that has come into Ireland which we see all around us at present, will, in the near future, result in blessing our country with a sober, cultured, studious, and truly patriotic people who, in their leisure hours, will study with interest and pleasure her history, language, and literature, and derive inspiration to work for the social, intellectual, and material uplifting of their native land, from the lessons of the lives and heroic sacrifices for Faith, Conscience, and Fatherland of the men and women who went before them.

JOHN O'FLYNN.

Carrick-on-Suir,

October 1917.



DR. PATRICK COMERFORD (1629-1652.)

DR. Patrick Comerford, who was Catholic Bishop of Waterford and Lismore from 1629 to 1652, and his successor, Dr John Brennan, were in many respects the two most notable prelates that ever ruled the ancient Diocese of SS. Otteran and Carthage. Dr. Comerford was born in Waterford about 1586, and was son of Robert Comerford and Anastasia White. The great Luke Wadding, a life-long friend of Dr. Comerford, was born in the same city two years afterwards (1588). Dr Comerford's mother was a faithful friend to the persecuted priests of those dark days, and her son, Patrick, the subject of our sketch, received his early instruction in religion and the rudiments of education from Father Dermot O'Callaghan, one of the priests sheltered by his mother. He went to the famous school kept at Kilkenny by Peter White, and had there as his fellow-pupils Luke Wadding, Peter Lombard, Richard Stanihurst and others, who, in later years, became men of European fame as scholars and churchmen. From Kilkenny he went to a famous college at Lisbon, established for the education of Irish priests by the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux. He entered the Novitiate of the Austin Hermits at Lisbon, and was ordained priest in 1610,* and in the following year took up the Chair of Theology at the college of the Austin Hermits at Brussels. He went to Rome a few years later to attend a general Chapter of his Order, and was appointed by Pope Paul V to the post of Prior of the monastery of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Kells, County Kilkenny, founded by Geoffrey

* Dr. Comerford's name in religion was Patrick de Angelis. When he became a Bishop he was obliged like other Irish Bishops to assume an alias and to date his letters "ex loco refugii nostri" (from our place of concealment). His alias in his correspondence with Rome and with Ecclesiastics in Ireland was generally "William Browne" and sometimes William Poore. See for numerous interesting references to Bishop Comerford and some of his correspondence over the two aliases "Report on Franciscan MSS. at the Convent, Merchants Quay, Dublin."

Full title of book is from "Report to Dublin."

FitzRoberf in 1193. The monastery at Kells, like all the Irish monasteries of the period, had been stripped of its temporalities, but continued to occupy an important position in the Catholic life of Ossory and Ormonde. The once stately monastery, with its splendid church, was then little better than a mere ruin: but the Augustinians continued to live in the vicinity, although they had neither lands nor revenues, and were always facing banishment or death. Father Comerford used to come to Waterford from Kells or Callan occasionally, and in one of his visits he learned that a brother of his had been captured by an Algerine cruiser and carried off to Magador to be sold as a slave. Father Comerford set out at once for Spain to enlist the aid of the Trinitarian monks for the redemption of his brother out of the hands of the barbarian raiders. He found his brother at Gibraltar, but he died soon after Father Comerford's arrival. Father Comerford then proceeded to Rome to attend to some matters relating to the Irish Augustinians, and there he learned that Pope Urban VIII intended to appoint him Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, which diocese had been for many years without a bishop. The See of Waterford and Lismore was at that time (1628) poor and persecuted, and its future bishop knew too well the hardships, persecutions, and imminent risk of life that awaited him in his new dignity of chief pastor of his native diocese which had been without a bishop since the death in 1578 of Dr. Patrick Walsh. Dr. Comerford was consecrated Bishop of Waterford and Lismore at St. Sylvester's, Rome, in March, 1629. Amongst those present at his consecration was his fellow-citizen, Father Luke Wadding, who was then Guardian of the Franciscan Church of St. Isidore, Rome, and had gained world-wide renown as a writer and scholar. Dr. Comerford arrived in Waterford about two months after his consecration, and set at once about the discharge of his episcopal duties. He was closely watched by the bigoted Lords Justices, Sir Adam Loftus, and Boyle, Earl of Cork, and by the Protestant Bishops of Waterford, Boyle and Atherton,* who harassed

* Michael Boyle was Protestant Bishop of Waterford from 1619 to 1635, and John Atherton from 1636 to 1641 (Sir James Ware's *Irish Bishops* 1705 edition).

and persecuted the Catholic people and the priests of the diocese. In spite of the unwearied vigilance of his persecutors, who denounced him as "a hinderer of truth," Dr. Comerford continued to hold synods, ordained priests, and confirmed great crowds of young people by day and night, in private houses and in the shelter of the woods. In 1641 Dr. Comerford assisted in framing the Oath of Association and establishing the Confederation of Kilkenny. He was one of the first of the Irish Bishops to declare that the war which the Catholics were about to wage was just and necessary, and he became a member of the Supreme Council of the Confederation. In 1642, following the success of the Confederate Movement, the temporalities of Waterford See, including the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, were restored to him, and he devoted himself with great energy, assisted by the Catholics of the city, in restoring the ancient splendour of the despoiled Cathedral Church and the other churches of Waterford. He bestowed the church of St. Catherine and the oratory of the Blessed Virgin on the Augustinians, of which Order he was such a devoted and distinguished member. When Rinuccini, the Papal Nuncio, visited Waterford to protest against the peace advocated by the Ormondists, he was received with great enthusiasm by the people of that city, headed by the Bishop, who, like him, were warm supporters of the Nuncio and opponents of the proposed "patched-up" peace. Dr. Comerford remained true to Rinuccini, the Papal Nuncio, to the end, and the latter lived with him in Waterford for several months. Accompanied by Dr. Comerford, the Nuncio used to set out from Waterford for Duncannon fort for which he had purchased large quantities of arms and gunpowder and in which much of his hope for the success of the cause of the Catholics in these parts centred. When the Nuncio pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the framers and abettors of the unsatisfactory peace with Inchiquin, Dr. Comerford adopted his views and enforced the sentence in Waterford. The revolted Supreme Council were very angry with Dr. Comerford for having enforced the Nuncio's sentence of excommunication in Waterford, and wrote to him setting forth their disapproval of his

conduct in strong language, and threatened to deprive him of his temporalities. Dr. Comerford replied: "If I were to be stripped, justly or unjustly, of all the world could give for my submission to the decrees of Holy Church, I will, nevertheless, persevere in obedience, nor will I cease to pray God that you may well and faithfully guide the Councils of the Confederation of this Kingdom." After this, Dr. Comerford was sorely harassed by Inchiquin and his followers, and he had to take shelter in the fort of Duncannon. Later on, while the city was besieged by Cromwell, the Bishop had to remain at Duncannon, from whence he frequently sent messages of encouragement and consolation to his devoted and persecuted people. When the city had to yield to the unmerciful and ferocious Ireton, Dr. Comerford, knowing what fate awaited him if he attempted to return to Waterford, or if he should be captured at Duncannon, embarked for St. Malo, where he arrived in August, 1650. Two years later he went to Nantes, where he died in 1652, aged 66 years. His remains were interred in the grand Cathedral of Nantes with all the homage and honour due to such a great churchman. Ten years afterwards the remains of his friend and colleague, Dr. Robert Barry, Bishop of Cork, who like Dr. Comerford had to fly from Ireland, were laid to rest in the same sepulchre. Father Power, in a lengthy and most interesting sketch of Dr. Comerford in the "Catholic Record of Waterford and Lismore," April and May, 1915, states that when the grave was opened for the interment of Dr. Barry the body of Dr. Comerford was found quite intact and uncorrupt. Father Power adds: "His grave, however, cannot be discovered wherein, far from the land he loved and served so well, he waits the resurrection. On that day when the crooked ways will be made straight, and all who bore as he did persecutions and misrepresentation for justice sake will be vindicated, his place will be with Declan and Carthage and Colman—among the hosts of saints of Decies."

DR. JOHN BRENAN

(Bishop of Waterford & Lismore, 1671-1677.
Archbishop of Cashel, 1677-1693.)

THE See of Waterford and Lismore was without a Catholic Bishop from the death in 1652 at Nantes of Dr. Comerford until the appointment of Dr. John Brenan in 1671. During these 19 years the vacant See was administered by the Rev. Robert Power, Dean and Vicar-General, a kinsman of the Powers Barons of Curraghmore. The delay in appointing a successor to Dr. Comerford will be easily understood by the student of the Cromwellian and the Restoration periods of Irish history. He will know of the appalling state of misery and poverty to which the Catholics of this and every other Irish diocese had been reduced during the Cromwellian wars and the following years. Indeed it might be said that Cromwell left no Catholic flock in this or any other diocese through which he passed for bishop or priest to administer to. Those who were not slaughtered or sent as slaves to the Barbadoes were banished to the bogs and mountains of Connacht. An order was issued in 1651 directing all the Irish and Catholic inhabitants of Waterford to quit the town within three months, and so complete was the clearance that some years later Waterford was declared to have "no natural Irish in it." A census of Waterford taken in 1658 showed there were only 950 people inside the walls of Waterford. Of these 538 were foreign adventurers—mostly English—the rest being menials—and therefore could not be dispensed with, had been permitted to remain in the conquered, plundered and despoiled city. (For an excellent account of the Cromwellian period in Waterford and the condition of the city during and subsequent to the siege and surrender, see Mr. E. Downey's "Story of Waterford.")

The appalling condition of Waterford city after the scourge of Cromwell and Ireton was typical of the entire diocese and of almost all Ireland:

“ Stern gloom and desolation were o’er the mountain and the vale.

And the wild hare brought forth her young on the hearthstone of the Gael.”

Large sums of money were offered for the apprehension of a Catholic priest, and such a rare catch as a Catholic bishop in Waterford or elsewhere would fetch a small fortune or perhaps a big slice of one of the confiscated estates for the informer who would deliver him into the hands of the pious Puritans. The Restoration in 1660 and the accession of the profligate Charles II brought little or no relief to the Catholics of Ireland. It merely abolished Cromwell’s Puritanism and Presbyterianism and restored the wealth and pomp of the Episcopal Protestant Church in England and Ireland. Hence it will be easily understood why from the flight into France in 1650 of Dr. Comerford until 1671, no attempt was made to appoint a Catholic bishop for Waterford. During these twenty-one years the affairs of the diocese were looked after by Vicars-General in so far as they could dare to attend to anything relating to the Catholic Faith and Catholic worship. The celebration of Mass, the instruction of the faithful, administration of the Sacraments, etc., had to be carried out with the strictest secrecy in the woods and in friendly houses, and attended by every conceivable hardship and danger. At length, when it was felt that there was a slackening of the reins of proscription and persecution, it was decided to attempt to provide Catholic bishops for some of the long-orphaned dioceses. The Holy See, in response to a petition from a National Synod of the Irish bishops held in Dublin on June 18th, 1670, decided to appoint Dr. John Brennan to the long-vacant See of Waterford and Lismore. His appointment as bishop of our diocese was decreed by Propaganda on May 12th, 1671, and he was consecrated in Rome the same year.

Dr. John Brennan was born in Kilkenny city in 1625. He belonged to the old Ossory clan of the O’Brenans of Ui Duach. He and Oliver Plunkett the martyred Arch-

bishop of Armagh, accompanied Father Scarampo from Ireland to Rome in 1645. Father Scarampo came to Ireland from Rome on a mission to the Catholic Confederates about whom we had a good deal to say in our notice of Dr. Comerford. John Brennan was about eighteen years old and Oliver Plunkett sixteen years when they left Ireland for Rome with Father Scarampo. Later on, as we shall see, when Dr. Brennan had to fly to save his life, from Waterford diocese, he found shelter at the home of his old friend, Oliver Plunkett, who had become Archbishop of Armagh. In 1657 Dr. Brennan was appointed Professor of Philosophy in the Propaganda College, and in 1666 he was advanced to the Chair of Theology in the same renowned College. He also held the position of agent of the Irish clergy in Rome, to which he was appointed in 1669, on the promotion of his friend, Oliver Plunkett, to the Archepiscopal See of Armagh. Dr. Brennan set out for the Diocese of Waterford soon after his consecration towards the end of 1671, and arrived in Waterford city early in 1672. He set immediately about visiting the parishes of the Diocese, ordaining priests, providing for parishes that had long been vacant, and in the woods and in friendly houses he administered Confirmation and preached to his persecuted and despoiled flock. His exertions soon attracted the attention of the enemies of his race and creed in Waterford and elsewhere, and he became a marked man. In 1673 there was a violent outburst of persecution against the Catholics. The outburst was specially directed against the priests and bishops. At that time there were thirty priests labouring under Dr. Brennan, and Rev. Robert Power, the kinsman of the Earl of Tyrone, mentioned above, was the Catholic Dean of the Diocese. Dr. Brennan, finding himself unsafe in any part of our Diocese, where he was hunted down at every turn by spies, fled to Armagh and was sheltered by his old friend, Archbishop Oliver Plunkett. Ere long the storm of persecution spread to Armagh, and Dr. Plunkett and Dr. Brennan had to go into hiding. The terrible plight of the two prelates during the time they were "on the run" is vividly set forth in Dr. Plunkett's letters to Propaganda quoted in the Rev. Dr. Carrigan's *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*.

Dr Plunkett wrote:—"I am in concealment, and Dr. Brennan, Bishop of Waterford, is with me. . . A secret order was given to all magistrates and sheriffs that the detectives were to seek out both in the cities throughout the country, the other bishops and the regulars. When we heard this on Sunday, 18th inst., after vespers, we deemed it necessary to take to our heels. The snow fell heavily mixed with hailstones which were very hard and large; a cutting north wind blew in our faces, and the snow and hail beat so dreadfully in our eyes that to the present we are scarcely able to see with them. Often we were in danger in the valley of being lost and suffocated in the snow."

In 1674, on the death of Dr. Burgat, Archbishop of Cashel, the Sacred Congregation decided to translate Dr. Brennan to the Archiepiscopal See of Munster. Dr. Plunkett wrote to Rome strongly urging that owing to the poverty of Cashel Diocese Dr. Brennan should be allowed to retain Waterford Diocese also *in commendam*. Dr. Plunkett wrote:—"Had I not myself witnessed the poverty of the Catholics, both ecclesiastics and laity, in the districts of Cashel, I could with difficulty have believed it. In the city of Cashel there is not a single Catholic that could give lodging for one night; there is but one parish priest in the whole city; in the surrounding districts the soldiers and officers of Cromwell hold all the lands, having expelled the Catholic tenants . . . The Episcopal revenue is no more than £20 per annum; the late Archbishop had at his death only £5, whilst his debts exceeded £50." The Holy See allowed Dr. Brennan to retain the administration and the revenues of Waterford Diocese.

In 1678, the year after Dr. Brennan became Archbishop of Cashel, the "Popish Plot" purported to have been discovered in England by the disreputable Titus Oates and the wretches, Carstairs and Bedloe, was made the excuse for a fierce onslaught on the Catholics of Ireland, the bishops and the regular clergy being singled out for special attention. The Council of Ireland met on 14th October, 1678, and issued a proclamation commanding "all titular popish bishops and dignitaries, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by authority from the See of Rome, all Jesuits and other regular priests," to depart from the King-

dom before 20th November following. A reward of £10 was offered for the capture of a bishop and £5 for that of a priest after November 20th. Orders were also issued that all "popish societies, seminaries, and convents and schools should be forthwith dissolved and utterly suppressed," and "all masshouses and meetings for popish services" were to be suppressed. Waterford and Clonmel were mentioned among the towns in which "too many precautions could not be taken" to rigorously enforce the enactments of the Council. Dr. Brennan, like his friend, Dr. Plunkett of Armagh, did not obey the order to leave the Kingdom. His movements in the Diocese of Cashel and Waterford were closely watched and reported upon by the wretched informers, McNamara, Fitzgerald, and Nash; but, although his activity was felt everywhere throughout the diocese, his place of hiding was never discovered by the informers or their masters. The learned author of the "Parochial History of Waterford and Lismore" says he probably found shelter at Curraghmore and Kilcash and in the wood of Rehill under the shadow of the Knockmealdown mountains.

In 1685, on the accession of James II., the Catholics of Ireland believed that the long dark night of proscription and persecution was about to end. During that and the following three years Dr. Brennan, like other Irish bishops, came more into the open, and in October, 1685, he convened a Provincial Synod at Thurles. In the sketch of Dr. Brennan in that very valuable book "Collections of Irish Church History," by the Rev. Dr. Renahan, there are given amongst a good deal of very interesting matter relating to Dr. Brennan, the decrees of that Synod, in which he sought to restore to the people of the dioceses over which he ruled some of their long-denied rights—to hear Mass, receive instructions and the Sacraments with some degree of safety and comfort, etc. King James II. granted to Dr. Brennan, out of the Irish revenues and out of the Church properties unjustly seized by a succession of Protestant Archbishops of Cashel, from Myler McGrath onwards, a pension of £200 a year. This he probably drew until 1690. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to fix the terms which should be demanded in connection with the historic Treaty, and

on September 21st, 1691, and 28th September the same year, he acted in the preparation of the negotiations for the surrender, in conjunction with the Primate, Archbishop Maguire, and Lords Galway, Westmeath, Dillon, Sarsfield, Sir Theobald Butler and others.

Following upon the violation of the Treaty of Limerick the night of persecution again settled down upon the Catholic Church in Ireland. Dr. Brennan remained faithful to his flock and to his duties as their shepherd when almost all the other bishops were driven into exile. Where he resided was kept secret, and all was known about him by his exiled colleagues or by the authorities at Rome was that "he was supposed to be still in Ireland." In September, 1692, he conferred the priesthood on Rev. William Hurrin at Rehill whither he often went for the purpose of administering Confirmation, meeting his priests, and conferring Holy Orders. He died in the vicinity of Rehill in the early part of the year 1693, and was buried, at his own request, in the tomb of Dr. Geoffrey Keating at Tubrid near Cahir close to his favourite retreat at Rehill, where Geoffrey Keating fifty years before found shelter from the persecutors of his race and creed, and where he wrote a great part of his "*Foras Feasa ar Eirinn*" and other works.



DR. PIERSE, DR. LLOYD, DR. CREAGH, DR. WM. EGAN.

ON Dr. Brennan's death, Rev. Paul Bellew was elected Vicar-Capitular of the diocese, and continued to act in that capacity until the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Richard Pierse as Bishop of Waterford and Lismore in 1696. Dr. Pierse was a native of Ardfert, Co. Kerry, and the name is still common in the district and in other parts of Kerry. Dr. Pierse, we learn from that very useful work, "Parochial History of Waterford and Lismore," and from "Two Last Century Bishops of Waterford" (Dr. Richard Pierse and Dr. Sylvester Lloyd), contributed to the Waterford Archæological Journal in 1897 by Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood and Rev. Dr. Carrigan, had been an army chaplain in the service of King James II., who nominated him for the See of Waterford and Lismore as early as 1694. Dr. Pierse followed his royal master into exile, and remained attached to the Court from 1690 to 1696. He was a graduate of the Sorbonne, Paris, and was only thirty-five years old when he was appointed Bishop of our diocese. Soon after his consecration, owing to the relentless bigotry with which the Catholic bishops were pursued in those days, Dr. Pierse had to fly to France. His associations with the army of King James laid him open to grave suspicion on the part of the Protestant Ascendancy. We get glimpses of him in France up to 1715. Scarcely more than three or four bishops remained in Ireland after the Statute of 1697 ordering all the bishops to leave the Kingdom. Dr. Pierse held ordinations in Waterford in 1697, and in Thurles in 1700, but there are no records of episcopal work to show that he was in Ireland after the latter date. Three notorious priest-hunters, named Tyrell, Dawson, and McGrath, gave information that Dr. Pierse was in hiding in Kilcash near Slievenamon in 1713. Many a hunted

prelate and priest found shelter from the Butler family, whose piety and generosity are commemorated in the well-known "Lament for Kilcash." It is believed, notwithstanding the informers' statements, that Dr. Pierse never returned to the diocese after 1701. He was Vicar-General of Sens in France, and Honorary Canon and Treasurer of the Cathedral there, where, by his will, his body was interred. He died about 1736. In the *Waterford Archaeological Journal* for 1913 (145) Father Power gives the following piece in the Irish language in praise of Dr. Pierse—

Mas comartha ar easbog bheith geannaide comsiasach,
 Mordha fhaithcamhail ceannasach caoin righlach
 Eolgach greannmhar taitheamhach binn briathrach
 Do-bheir Fodla barra don tsagart do Cloimn Phiarais.

Translation:—

If it is characteristic of a bishop to be modest and conscientious,
 Noble, princely (generous), commanding, gentle in ruling,
 Learned, pleasant, estimable, well-spoken,
 Fodla (Ireland) gives the prize to the priest of the family
 of Pierse.

The above verse was copied from an Irish MS. by Father Magnus O'Rourke, who probably knew Dr. Pierse when he was attached to the court of King James at Paris. The MS. is in the Library of the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin. Until 1739 the Rev. William O'Mara, afterwards Bishop of Kerry, and subsequently of Killaloe, acted as Vicar-General of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore. We should have mentioned, in connection with Dr. Pierse's bishopric, that it was during his time (in 1699) that a plot of ground near Bailey's Lane was granted by the Corporation as a site for the erection of a church by the Catholics. In the record of the grant of the piece of land, we are told that the Protestant Bishop Foy made no objection, as the place in which it was proposed to build the church for the Papists was not on any thoroughfare and would not offend the eyes of the Protestant populace.

By Brief dated 29th May, 1739, Dr. Sylvester Lloyd, a member of the Order of St. Francis, who had been Bishop of Killaloe since 1729, was translated to Waterford and Lismore. Very little matter is available from which to write a notice of any length of Dr. Lloyd. The Rev. Dr. Carrigan, now P.P. of Durrow, Queen's County, the learned author of the "History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory," gave in No. 1 of the "Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archæological Society" for 1897, a copy of the Last Will and Testament of Dr. Lloyd which he found among the Wills of Waterford and Lismore in the Public Record Office, Dublin. He had only a few shillings to bequeath. He bequeathed his soul to God and his body to earth to be buried as private as possible. The will is dated 9th August, 1743. Dr. Lloyd died a refugee in Paris in 1747. On account of the annoyance and persecution to which all Catholic bishops of his day were subjected in Ireland, Dr. Lloyd had to spend most of the years of his Episcopacy in France. In his will we read that he bequeathed his gold watch to Mr. Richard Quane, Bankier, of Paris. On page 369 of Father Burke's "Irish Priests in Penal Times," we find the following, which throws some interesting light on the conditions under which Irish bishops lived in Dr. Lloyd's time, and the doings of the Mayors and Sheriffs of our city in these days. In 1744 the Mayor and Sheriffs of Waterford wrote to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland:—

Sir,—In obedience to the order of the Lord Lieutenant and Council transmitted to us by you, we have made diligent enquiry within our jurisdiction for the names and places of abode of all persons being, or reputed to be, Popish Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars-General, Deans, Jesuits, Monks, Friars, or other regular Popish clergy and of all Papists exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and we find that Sylvester Lloyd, reputed to be the Popish Titular Bishop of Waterford, resided in the City of Waterford for some time past, but upon search being made for him, pursuant to the proclamation, we find he has lately absconded and cannot be found. We find that William O'Meara, reputed to be the Popish Dean of

Waterford, resided in the city for some time past, but upon search for him he has absconded as aforesaid. We find that John St. Leger, Felix Cleary, William Sexton, Peter MacNamara, Peter Costello, Luke Kelly, William Shee, John Bray, and William Brown to be reputed Monks, Friars, and Jesuits, and that they or some member of them, dwelt together for some time past in a house in Stephen Street, called the friery, but upon search made in aforesaid house and other places, we find they absconded as aforesaid. Which we humbly certify and return this 14th day of April, 1744.

Cornelius Bolton, Mayor. John Morris and Thomas West, Sheriffs.

When Dr. Lloyd was Bishop of Killaloe the Duke of Grafton, in the Irish Parliament, introduced a new Bill against unregistered priests and bishops, the heads of which were unanimously adopted by the House. The Bill proposed to provide for an unspeakably horrible and revolting form of punishment in place of the penalty enacted in 1720 which provided for having a large "P" branded with a red hot iron on the unregistered priest's or bishop's cheek. The historian, Dr England, writes:—

"The Irish clergy, horrified at the anticipation of this Bill passing into law, despatched the Right Rev. Dr. Lloyd to wait on the Duke of Orleans, then regent of France, and solicit his interference with the King of England on the subject. The relations between England and France at the time were so critical that the Government were only too anxious to conciliate the Duke. The Bill accordingly was, at his remonstrance, doomed to the fate it deserved; it never obtained the royal assent."

Dr. Lloyd translated into English the great Catechism of Montpellier, which was printed in London in 1712, and was re-issued in 1723. He also wrote smaller works, chiefly in English and Irish. I am indebted to the never-tiring research of my friend, Dr. Grattan Flood, Euniscorthy, for most of the matter I have used in the above notice of Dr. Lloyd.

Thomas Stritch, a native of Clonmel, was appointed by the Holy See as Coadjutor to Dr. Lloyd in 1745, but he was never consecrated owing to ill health.

Dr Peter Creagh, Dean of Limerick, was appointed Coadjutor to Dr. Lloyd in 1746, and was consecrated the same year. Dr. Creagh, like his predecessors, found Waterford city then one of the greatest strongholds of Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland and an unsafe place in which to live and from which to administer the diocese, and he took up his residence in Carrick-on-Suir in a small house at Westgate, now the business premises of Mrs Henebry. Dr. Creagh was a most zealous bishop. He took scarcely any part in secular affairs, but devoted himself unsparingly to provide priests for every part of the diocese and arranging for the spiritual welfare of his long-persecuted and down-trodden flock. He died in Carrick-on-Suir in 1774, and was interred in the old churchyard at Carrickbeg, which was closed a few years ago. His resting-place there can be easily identified by a large table tomb bearing an inscription in Latin. Dr. Creagh was Bishop of the diocese when Father Nicholas Sheehy was hanged in Clonmel in March 15th, 1766, and we can easily conceive how greatly distressed he must have been at seeing one of the bravest and most pious and zealous priests of his diocese hanged like a dog in public in Clonmel to satisfy the bigotry and hatred of the Bagwells, the Baganells, the Hewitsons, the Mauds, and all the other members of that awful gang of Orange bigots who pursued Father Sheehy with relentless determination and bribed the notorious Moil Dunlea and her depraved companions to swear away the priest's life because he had dared to stand between his poor people and their Orange oppressors and despoilers. Such was the awful condition of our people in those days, and the terrible power of the Bagwells and their kind, that if Dr. Creagh or any other churchman had dared to stand up against the murder of Father Sheehy, he would probably lay himself open to have a bogus charge trumped up against him and a jury empanelled by the Ascendancy High Sheriff that would convict him and have him hanged or transported. Dr. William Egan, a native of Waterford, who had been parish priest of St. Mary's, Clonmel, and Coadjutor to Dr. Creagh since 1771, became Bishop in 1774 on Dr. Creagh's death. During Dr. Egan's episcopate, the Whiteboy movement was at its

height, especially in the County Tipperary portion of the diocese. Dr. Egan disapproved very strongly of the outrages associated with the movement, and denounced them and their perpetrators in unmeasured terms, and perhaps too harshly. We must remember that it was the type of men who had Father Sheehy hanged, and who at every Assize Court brought at least thirty innocent men to the gallows, that provoked the Whiteboy reprisals. In those days the Ascendancy landlords and agents could act as "judge, jury, and hangman," and following every Assize the bodies of half-a-dozen men could be seen dangling from places—men most of them innocent, on whom a "set" was made by understrappers of the Ascendancy folk, and even the guilty ones were driven to desperation by rack-renting, heartless evictions, and every form of persecution and oppression.

It was during Dr. Egan's time as Bishop that the present Cathedral of Waterford was erected, simply as a parish church, by the sole exertions of the Parish Priest, Father Thomas Hearne. An effort was made in 1791 to promote Dr. Egan to the Archbishopric of Cashel, but he declined the appointment. Dr. Egan died in July, 1796, and was buried in St. Mary's Church, Clonmel.



DR. HUSSEY, DR. JOHN POWER, AND DR. ROBERT WALSH.

ON the death of Dr. William Egan in 1796, the clergy of Waterford and Lismore Diocese sent a deputation to Dr. Bray, Archbishop of Cashel, praying that a priest of the diocese might be appointed bishop. Dr. Bray informed the deputation that Dr. William Egan, the late Bishop had a very high opinion of Dr. Thomas Hussey, the first President of Maynooth College, then only a few years in existence, and that he (Dr. Egan) had spoken of Dr. Hussey as a person well qualified in every way to succeed him in the See of Waterford and Lismore. Dr. Hussey was appointed Bishop of the diocese in 1797. Before his appointment as President of Maynooth he had been Chaplain to the Spanish Embassy in London, and was well known to, and highly esteemed by, Edmund Burke and a number of the statesmen of the day. His strong personality, outstanding culture and fearlessness in advocating the rights of his Catholic people made themselves evident soon after his appointment as Bishop. In his Pastorals he dwelt, in language that more or less alarmed his episcopal colleagues, on the numerous injustices and hardships to which Irish Catholics were subjected. During his time in London and in Maynooth, and, later on, as Bishop of Waterford, he was in correspondence with the great Edmund Burke on Catholic questions, and his interesting and fearless letters to Burke, and the latter's replies, are given in the correspondence of Edmund Burke. Dr. Hussey may be said to have been the first Catholic Bishop of Waterford since the Reformation who dared to reside openly in the city and to publicly perform his episcopal duties throughout the diocese. The Catholic Relief Bill had just been passed.

and the Penal Laws, that had so greatly oppressed and persecuted his predecessors, were then practically at an end. He was able to assume some of the outward marks and dignity befitting the office of bishop, and to live in a fair-sized, comfortable house. He resided in a house at Grace Dieu Road, just above Morley Terrace, which Mr. Ross, of the firm of Messrs. Street, fishmongers, lived in when the writer last knew the residents of that district. During Dr. Hussey's time as Bishop, convents, almshouses, and schools sprung up all over the diocese. He introduced the first teaching Order of Nuns into Waterford (the Presentation Nuns) and gave the greatest help and encouragement to Edmund Ignatius Rice, the Great Founder of the Order of the Christian Brothers.

Any case of oppression or persecution of a Catholic on account of his creed brought forth the fearless nature of Dr. Hussey as the guardian of his flock. On hearing that a Catholic soldier was court-martialled in Clonmel for refusing to attend Protestant service, Dr. Hussey proceeded immediately to the barracks and demanded the soldier's release. Such an action at a time when the military despots were all powerful, in the wake of the cruelly suppressed Insurrection of 1798, was attended with the greatest danger, even to the Bishop. The officer in command of the barracks at Clonmel insolently refused the Bishop's demand for the release of the soldier, and added that he would horse-whip him through the town were it not for his clerical coat. The Bishop replied, "You wear the coat of a brave man, but it covers the heart of a coward, only a coward could utter such a threat." "You shall not remain here, sir," furiously retorted the officer. "Nor the soldier either," quietly added the Bishop "for I shall this day obtain his release and report your conduct." Dr. Hussey reported the whole case to the Duke of Portland, and the soldier was liberated. (This incident, characteristic of Dr. Hussey's fearlessness, is related in Renchan's "Collections on Irish Church History.") In July, 1803, Dr. Hussey was staying at **Dunmore**, where he used to bathe every morning at 6 o'clock. On the morning of July 11th, 1803, as he was dressing after bathing, he was seized

with an apoplectic fit and died at 9 o'clock without regaining consciousness. He was buried in Waterford Cathedral, where there is a tablet to his memory. Further particulars of Dr. Hussey's career as President of Maynooth in the first year of that great ecclesiastical college will be found in the Most Rev. Dr. Healy's History of Maynooth College.

Dr. John Power, P.P., St John's, Waterford, succeeded Dr. Hussey. It was Dr. John Power who established St. John's College on the Cork Road (College Road) where the college carried on its work until the present college on John's Hill was completed about 1866. Dr. Power lived in the house in Manor Street now used as a police barrack. He died January 17th, 1816, and was buried near the sacristy entrance to the Cathedral. It was during Dr. John Power's time that the parish of St. Michael* in Waterford was abolished on the death of its parish priest, Father Thomas Flynn, in September, 1815. In "An Antiquary's Note Book"—a series of most interesting sketches contributed in 1909-10 to the "Waterford Archæological Journal" by the Rev. P. Power, M.R.I.A., we find the full text of the letters written by Dr. John Power to the P.P. of St. Patrick's (Father Pat Kearney), and the Adm. of Trinity Within (Cathedral Parish). Rev. Father Quirke.

The letter which is given below, we feel sure, will be read with interest by the priests and people of these two parishes to-day

Waterford. 8th September, 1815.

Rev Dear Sir,—Considering that the present St. Michael's with its annexa, now vacant by the death of the Rev. Thomas Flynn, is too unproductive for the decent support of one clergyman, I have resolved to suppress it and to divide it between the parishes of Trinity Within and St. Patrick's, so that the latter may be sufficient for the support of a pastor and one assistant or coadjutor. Wishing also to have the bounds and limits of the parish

*Michael St., Stephen St., Peter St., and Olave St., Waterford, commemorate the names of City Catholic Parishes that no longer exist. The ruins of St. Michael's Church are behind some of the shops on the East side of Michael's St. St. Stephen's, St. Peter's, and St. Olave's, existed as separate parishes up to the middle of the 17th century.

clearly distinguished and ascertained. By due authority and with the approbation of such as may be concerned the following arrangement is made and concluded:—The parish of St. Olave's and all houses and places heretofore belonging or annexed to St. Patrick's in High Street, Peter Street, Lady Lane, or The Quay, with the exception of Peter Street as hereafter mentioned, are taken and separated from St. Patrick's and added to Trinity Parish, together with any house or place belonging to St. Patrick's between Trinity Chapel and The Quay on the same or east side of Barroustrand Street.

“ As a compensation for all this, and for the purposes above mentioned, I hereby add to St. Patrick's Parish the south side of Great Patrick Street, the whole of Stephen Street, and the north side of New Street and the west side of, viz., from the corner of New Street to the corner of Great Patrick Street. I further add to St. Patrick's the west side of the Square, etc., so as to have the whole of the Island bounded by Broad Street, by Peter Street, by the Square and the lane opposite the old blue school leading to the Square belonging to St. Patrick's Parish.

“ It is at the same time to be understood that the clergymen attached to St. Patrick's Chapel are to consider themselves as usual bound to attend on solemn occasions at vespers, etc., in the Chapel of Trinity or Cathedral of the Diocese, and also to preach there in rotation or when required by the Bishop to do so.

“ ✠ JOHN POWER

“ Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.”

Dr. Robert Walsh, P.P., Dungarvan, succeeded Dr. John Power in July, 1817. He died in Rome in 1821, and was succeeded by Dr. Patrick Kelly, who had been Bishop of Richmond, U.S.A., and was translated to Waterford in February, 1822.

DR. PATRICK KELLY (1822-1829.)

DR. Robert Walsh, as stated previously, died in Rome on 1st October, 1821. He had to go to Rome on some matters regarding his administration that gave rise to unrest and dissatisfaction in the diocese. Although he was a man of the most absolute integrity, piety, and excellence of character, he lacked the firmness and judgment so essential in a bishop in dealing with the various matters, lay and clerical, that confront him in his administration of his diocese. When a bishop dies at Rome the Holy See can, without any reference to the clergy of the vacant diocese, appoint his successor. As a rule, however, before the Propaganda and the Pope appoint a bishop in such a case, an intimation is sent to the clergy of the diocese, through the Vicar-General, of the person intended to be appointed bishop. A letter dated Rome, October 2nd, 1821, was sent to Rev. Dr. Garrett Connolly, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore, stating that if the clergy met and postulated for the Most Rev. Dr. Patrick Kelly, Bishop of the Diocese of Richmond, Virginia, U.S.A., then but a short time formed, where Dr. Kelly had been for about two years, he would be created Bishop of Waterford. The priests of Waterford gladly postulated for Dr. Kelly who was known to most of them during his time in the adjoining Diocese of Ossory prior to his appointment as Bishop of Richmond in August, 1820. Dr. Kelly was accordingly translated from Richmond to Waterford and Lismore by Brief dated February 9th, 1822, and, on his arrival in the city of Waterford, in July of the same year, he was accorded a great reception. Before proceeding to deal with Dr. Kelly's arrival in Waterford and the great event in the history of our county within which he took such a manly and memorable part, viz., "The Stuart Election," we shall give a few biographical details of the last of the bishops of our diocese who lived under the shadow of the Penal Laws.

Dr Patrick Kelly was born in Maudlin Street, Kilkenny, April 16th, 1779 After having spent some time at a classical school at Lisdowney, and at the old academy, Kilkenny, he entered St. Patrick's College, Lisbon, in 1797 and was ordained there in 1802. He filled the Chair of Professor of Philosophy at Lisbon College for two years after his ordination, when, owing to ill-health, he returned to his native diocese. He served as C C. in the diocese until 1811, when he was appointed Professor of Philosophy, and later on Professor of Theology at Birchfield College, Kilkenny, which was then the ecclesiastical college of Ossory Diocese. He became President of the college in 1816, and in 1820 he was appointed Bishop of the newly-formed Diocese of Richmond, U.S.A.

Dr. Kelly's energy and great administrative abilities were soon evident in every phase of the work of the diocese. The Catholics of Ireland, although not then finally emancipated from the oppressive and degrading Penal Laws that had scourged and persecuted them for more than 200 years, had got, during the preceding twenty years, through the efforts of Edmund Burke, Grattan, Flood, and others, measures of relief that enabled them and their bishops and clergy to come out into the open without fear of persecution and to improve their churches, educational institutions, and social and commercial standing. They were engaged, headed by Daniel O'Connell, in the great struggle for complete religious and civil freedom that had such a glorious culmination in 1829 with the passing of the Emancipation Act. The Catholic Association was formed by Daniel O'Connell and Richard Lalor Shiel in 1823*, the year after Dr. Kelly arrived in Waterford. The County Waterford election of 1826 gave the Catholic Association a chance of trying its strength and testing the Catholic voters

* Thomas Wyse, a member of the family of the Wyses of the Manor of St. John, Waterford, wrote a "History of the Catholic Association," which was published in two vols., by Henry Colburn, London, in 1829, a few months after the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed. In vol. I (pp. 262-290) Mr. Wyse gives a full and very interesting account of the "Stuart Election" of 1826, and in vol. II (appendix) the texts of the Election Addresses of Mr. Villiers Stuart and Lord George Beresford, Waterford. A reprint of all the matter in Mr. Wyse's book on this historic election would be a very welcome addition to the literature of our city and county.

willingness to make the sacrifices required to break the power of the bigoted Beresfords who, since the coming of the first of them (Sir Marcus) to Curraghmore in 1717, had, through their wealth and power over the unfortunate peasantry, ruled the county, and had regarded its parliamentary seats as a family heirloom. A Catholic could not then hold a seat in Parliament, so it was resolved by the Catholic Association to put up against Lord George Beresford, and all others like him who were bitterly opposed to Catholic Emancipation, a Protestant of Liberal views who would support the Catholic claims. The very thought of defeating a Beresford in Co. Waterford and carrying the seat in favour of Catholic Emancipation was looked upon even by the most of the Catholics as something most fervently desired, but utterly impossible of accomplishment. The Catholic Association selected Villiers Stuart of Dromana, Cappoquin, as their candidate against Lord George Beresford. The Stuarts of Dromana then, as always, cultured, liberal-minded and charitable gentlemen, were warm advocates of the Catholic cause. O'Connell came to Waterford and had himself nominated for the vacancy. This was a mere ruse, as he knew well that as a Catholic he could not be allowed to enter Parliament even in the very unlikely event of his election. However, his nomination gave him what he wanted—a chance to address the immense crowd that had gathered for the nomination. Dr. Kelly and a large number of priests of the city and county were present. O'Connell spoke in his best style for two hours to the vast throng, and when he had finished speaking he had killed, by his wonderful eloquence, all chance of the success of Lord George Beresford. The peasantry and all the other Catholics who heard him resolved that, no matter what it would mean for them, they would vote for Villiers Stuart. Well they knew what would follow. Most of them were tenants at the will of the Marquis of Waterford, and those were days of open voting. Every man who voted against Lord George knew well that the mark opposite the name of Villiers Stuart meant for him and his family the roadside and their home in ruins next day.

Dr. Kelly after the nominations resolved to throw himself with all his might into the fight against the Beresfords and their bigoted followers, who in those days regarded as mere dirt every Catholic around them from the bishop down to the humblest tenant, on the fruits of whose sweat and blood they maintained and kept their Irish and London mansions, their hounds and horses, and their well-supplied tables at which they drank perdition to the Papists and long life to their own Ascendancy. Dr. Kelly travelled from end to end of the county exhorting the people to vote for the candidate of the Catholic Association, and helping, by his eloquent appeals, to give strength and courage to the people who would have to sacrifice all they had for voting against Beresford and Protestant Ascendancy. It is related that he travelled fifty miles out of his road one day to procure the title deeds of two freeholders who were to vote for the Catholic cause. Dr. Kelly was ably assisted by the priests of the diocese, and, needless to say, O'Connell's great courage, inspiring eloquence, and ingenious organising powers were a big factor in the fight which resulted in a smashing defeat for Lord George Beresford and the election of Villiers Stuart. The Stuart election was followed by the famous Clare election in 1826, when O'Connell was returned, and in 1829, the year of Dr. Kelly's death, the last link of the chain that had for centuries bound in slavery, poverty, misery and degradation the Catholics of Ireland was destroyed. The figures at the poll were—Mr. Power, 1,424, Mr. Villiers-Stuart, 1,357; Lord George Beresford, 528. Mr. Power and Mr. Villiers-Stuart were elected. Writing of Dr. Kelly in his valuable work, "Collections on Irish Church History," Rev. Dr. Reuchan says "In the struggle for Catholic Emancipation Dr. Kelly used his immense influence in opposing the faction that held the representation of the county, and perhaps promoted more than any other Catholic bishop the cause of the Liberal Party. No prelate ever applied himself with more energy to the spiritual interest of his flock, and no one was regarded with more reverence by the clergy over whom he presided."

Dr. Kelly lived to see the passing of Catholic Emancipation in 1829.* He died on the 8th October in that year, and is buried in Waterford Cathedral. With him ended the two centuries of Catholic Bishops of Waterford and Lismore beginning with Dr. Comerford in 1629-1652, and ending with Dr. Kelly 1822-1829—two centuries during which the Catholics of Ireland were relentlessly persecuted and proscribed, but from which they emerged triumphant and free

The following is a list of the Catholic Bishops of the diocese after Dr. Kelly:—

Dr. William Abraham—1830-1837.

Dr. Nicholas Foran—1837-1855.

Dr. Dominick O'Brien—1855-1873.

Dr. John Power—1873-1887.

Dr. Pierse Power—1887-1889.

Dr. John Egan—1889-1891.

Dr. Richard A. Sheehan—1892-1915.

Dr. Bernard Hackett appointed February, 1916, consecrated March 19th, 1916.



*The third reading of the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed in the House of Commons on March 30th, 1829, by 320 votes to 142. The third reading in the House of Lords was passed on April 10th, 1829, by 213 to 109, and it received the Royal Assent (by Commission) April 13th, 1829.

Diocese of Waterford & Lismore.

LIST OF BISHOPS BEFORE DR. PATRICK COMERFORD (1629-1652.)

The present united Dioceses of Waterford and Lismore constituted two separate and entirely independent dioceses up to the year 1362, when they were united under one bishop on the death of Roger Craddock the last Bishop of Waterford only. The See of Lismore was established about 630 by St. Carthage, and that of Waterford in 1093 by the Danes. The Diocese of Lismore comprised practically all the present united dioceses, with the exception of the City of Waterford and roughly the districts to Dunmore East, Passage Tramore, and Kilmacaden. Thus it will be seen that Waterford Diocese was very small and extended only six or seven miles outside the city. The Danes of Waterford Diocese had no love for their Celtic neighbours in the Dioceses of Lismore and Ossory. Like the Danes of Dublin, they sent their first Bishop, Malchus, to Canterbury for consecration instead of having him consecrated by the Archbishop of Cashel. It was during the Episcopacy of Malchus (1096-1110) that the Cathedral of Holy Trinity was erected by the Christian Danes of Waterford. The Cathedral, of course, passed into the hands of the Protestants at the time of the Reformation. On the accession of Queen Mary, and again following the success of the Confederate rising, the Cathedral passed back for a brief period to the Catholics. The present Catholic Cathedral in Barronstrand Street, Waterford, was built in 1793 at a cost of £20,000 raised by the people of the diocese, poor as well as rich. In 1700 the Catholics of

Waterford were given permission to erect a small chapel at Bailey's Lane, which occupied part of the site of the present Cathedral Church. The foundation stone of St. John's College, John's Hill, was laid on 27th October, 1868, St. Otteran's Day by the Most Rev. Dr. Dominick O'Brien, Bishop of the diocese, and the college was opened in 1871. The college cost £23,000. The late Right Rev. Monsignor Flynn, P.P., Ballybricken, raised £4,000 towards the cost of erecting the college during a very successful tour in America. The balance was subscribed by the bishops, priests, and people of the diocese. Its first president was the late Very Rev. Canon Delany, D.D., who died in Carrick-on-Suir in May, 1916. The old college stood on College Road where the Good Shepherd Orphanage now stands. All the Catholic churches in the diocese except St. Patrick's and the Cathedral, Waterford, are 19th century structures. They replaced the old thatched chapels of the previous century. For further information on the parochial history of our diocese during the 18th and 19th century, the reader is referred to that very interesting and informing work, "Parochial History of Waterford and Lismore" published by Messrs N. Harvey and Co., Waterford, at 5/-



BISHOPS OF LISMORE DIOCESE

From 630 to 1362.

(From Sir James Ware's Irish Bishops.)

- St. Carthage, or Mochuda, 630.
Hierologus died January, 698.
Colman, son of Finbar, died January, 702.
St. Cronan died February, 717
Colman O Liathan died 725
Mocogius died 746.
Ronan died 763.
O Mailsluaig died 1025.
Moriertach O Selhae died 1034
MacAirthir died 1064.
Mael Duin O Rebecain died 1091.
Mae Mic Aeducan died 1123.
Giolla Mocuada O Rebaecain died 1129.
Malchus, 1140-1150.
Christian O Conarchy, a Cistercian, 1150-1137
Foelix, 1179. Foelix was present at the Lateran Council, 1179
O'Heda, 1206.
Robert De Bedford, 1218-1222.
Griffin Christopher, 1223-1246.
Alan O Sullivan, 1248-1252.
Thomas, 1253-1270.
John De Rupe or Roch, 1270-1279
Richard Cox, 1279-1308.
William le Fleming, 1308-1321
John Leynagh, 1323-1354.
Thomas le Reve, 1358-1362.
Thomas Le Reve, Bishop of Lismore became Bishop of the United Diocese of Waterford and Lismore on the death in 1363 of Roger Cradock who was the last Bishop of the separate Diocese of Waterford.

BISHOPS OF WATERFORD DIOCESE from its foundation by the Danes 1096 to the amalgamation of the Dioceses of Waterford and Lismore in 1362 :—

Malehus, a monk of Winchester, consecrated Bishop of Waterford at Canterbury at the request of the Danes of the city, 1096.

Maeliffao Famine died 1135

Tostius, a Dane, 1152.

Augustin, an Englishman, 1175.

Robert, 1200.

David, 1204.

Robert, 1210.

William Wace, 1223.

Walter, a Benedictine monk, Prior of St. John the Evangelist, Waterford, 1227.

Stephen, 1238-1246.

Henry, 1249-1285.

Walter, 1255-1272.

Stephen de Fulburn, 1273-1286.

Matthew, 1307-1322.

Nicholas Welifed, 1323-1337.

Richard Francis, 1338-1348.

Robert Elyot, 1349.

Roger Cradock, 1350-1362.

BISHOPS OF UNITED DIOCESES OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE (1363-1578.)

Thomas Le Reve, 1363-1393.

Robert Reade, a Dominican, 1384-1396. He was translated to Carlisle in 1396.

Thomas Sparkford, a priest of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, 1396-1397.

John Depping, 1397-1399.

Thomas Snell, 1399-1405

Roger, 1406-1409.

John Geese, a Carmelite, 1409-1425.

Richard, 1426-1446.

Robert Poer, 1446-1471.

Richard Martin, 1472-1474.

John Bolecomp, 1475-1479.

Nicholas O Henisa (O Hennessy), 1480-1485

Thomas Pursell, 1486-1517

Nicholas Comin (Comyn), translated from Ferns to Waterford, 1519. resigned 1551, "very aged and infirm." says Ware.

Patrick Walsh, 1551-1578

The See was vacant from the death of Patrick Walsh in 1578 to the appointment of Patrick Comerford in 1629. The Catholic Bishops from 1629 to the present year (1917) are given in the foregoing sketches.

THE PROTESTANT BISHOPS OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE

(From Elizabeth to William III.)

The first Protestant Bishop of Waterford and Lismore was Marmaduke Middleton who was appointed by Queen Elizabeth in 1579, and was translated to St. David's in Wales in 1582. His successor was the notorious apostate, Miler McGrath, then Protestant Archbishop of Cashel. He was given the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore *in commendam* (the revenues being, of course, the great attraction for Miler). He was deprived of this Diocese in 1589 by Elizabeth for neglect and mismanagement, and Thomas Wetherhead, Guardian of the new College of St. Mary's, Youghal, was appointed Bishop. He was consecrated by Miler McGrath in 1589. He died in 1592, when Miler, who was probably "hard-up" for cash, was again given the See of Waterford *in commendam*. He resigned in 1607, when John Lancaster, Chaplain to King James I., was appointed Bishop. John Lancaster died in Waterford in 1619, and was succeeded by Michael Boyle, Dean of Lismore, who, Ware says, "was a man of great ingenuity." He died in 1636, and was succeeded by John Atherton who, Ware tells us, "was degraded and executed on 5th December, 1640, for a crime which he always denied to have committed." He was succeeded by Archibald Adair, Bishop of Killala, who, Ware says, "by favour of Charles I., obtained the See of Waterford and Lismore on 13th July, 1641, notwithstanding his sentence of deprivation." He died in Bristol in 1647. The next Protestant Bishop of Waterford in "Ware's Bishops" is George Baker, who was born in Dublin. He was appointed

in January, 1660, and died in Waterford, November, 1665. Hugh Gore, D.D., Dean of Lismore, was appointed Protestant Bishop of Waterford in February, 1665, and died in 1675. The next Protestant Bishop of Waterford given in "Ware's Bishops" is Nathaniel Foy, appointed in July, 1691. He was a Senior Fellow of Trinity College before his appointment to the Bishopric of Waterford.

A short time after his arrival in Waterford, Marmaduke, the first Protestant Bishop of the Diocese, sent the following letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretary to Queen Elizabeth:—

" Waterford, June 29th. 1580

" Such is the miserable state of this wretched city that all things are done contrary to the sacred and blessed will of the Lord and also Her Majesty's most godly proceedings in causes spiritual. The Gospel of God utterly abhorred—the church in time of divine service of all kinds eschewed (*nisi a paucis et id forma tantum*)—the sacraments contemned and refused—massing in every corner—no burial of the dead according to the Book of Common Prayer, but buried in their houses with dirges and after cast into the ground like dogs. Rome runners and friars maintained among them—public wearing of beads and praying upon the same. Worshipping of images and setting them openly in their street doors with ornaments and deckings. Ringing of bells and praying for the dead and dressing their graves divers times in the year with flower-pots and wax candles. No marriage agreeing with God's law and Her Majesty's proceedings. The windows and walls of the churches full of images. They will not deface them and I dare not for fear of tumult. None of the women do come either to service or sermons. And to conclude virtue is rejected and all vice embraced. This, Right Honourable, is the lamentable condition of this proud and haughty City of Waterford. God convert their hearts."

(State Papers concerning the Irish Church in the time of Queen Elizabeth, by Maziere Brady, pp. 39-40.)

On April 16th, 1577, Sir William Drury, Lord President of Munster, wrote to Walsingham from Waterford:—

“The proud and undutiful inhabitants of this town are cankered in Popery, undutiful to her Majesty, slandering the Gospel publicly as well this side of the seas as beyond in England, that they bear not God nor man, and hath their altars, painted images and candlesticks, in derision of the Gospel every day in their Synagogues, so detestable that they may be called the unruly neuter rather than subjects. Masses infinite they have in their several churches every morning, without any fear. I have spied them, for I chanced to arrive last Sunday at 5 o'clock in the morning and saw them retreat out of these several churches by heaps. This is shameful in a reformed city, but I judge them rather enemies than subjects.”

The limit of the size of this pamphlet makes it impossible to give further extracts from State Papers and other sources throwing very interesting light on the ecclesiastical and secular history of our city and diocese during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Many such documents will be found in “Irish Priests in the Penal Times,” by Rev. W. P. Bourke, C.C., Cahir, and “The History of Clonmel,” by the same learned writer; “Spicilegium Ossoriense,” “Persecutions of the Irish Catholics under Cromwell”; and “Catholics of Ireland under the Penal Laws of the 18th century,” by Cardinal Moran. “Collections on Irish Church History,” by Rev. Dr. Renchan, edited by Rev. Dr. McCarthy; numerous interesting contributions to the Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society” from the Rev. P. Power M.R.I.A., the Rev. W. P. Burke, C.C.; Rev. W. H. Gratian Flood and others, the pages of the “Irish Ecclesiastical Record”, the “Parochial History of Waterford”—to name only a few sources easily available to the general reader.

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