

THE CARMELITE ORDER
IN
POST-REFORMATION IRELAND

*Peter O'Dwyer, O.Carm.
Gort Muire, Dublin*

Contents

Summarium	2
The Seventeenth Century	2
Canonical Re-Erection of the Province	4
Developments in the Nineteenth Century	7
Expansion	9
Appendix I	11
Appendix II	13
Footnotes	16

SUMMARIUM. – *Auctor prosequitur brevem delineationem historicam provinciae Hiberniae Ordinis Carmelitarum (of. Carmelus, 16 [1969], 264-278) a tempore Reformationis usque ad hodiernum diem. Saeculo XVII nonobstante persecutione religiosa nonnulli inveniuntur Carmelitae in Hibernia qui fidem Catholicorum confirmare satagebant. Juvenes Ordinis extra patriam in continenti Europae studiis incumbabant. Anno 1737 provincia Hiberniae iterum erecta est. Saeculo XIX initium dedit provinciis Australiae et Neo-Eboraci necnon provinciam restituit Angliac. Anno 1946 missionem in Rhodesia Africae accepit.*

When the General Chapter of the Order immediately subsequent to the Council of Trent met in Rome in 1564, it was noted that the unfortunate (*miseri*) English and Irish members were not present.¹ The situation was not as bad as they thought, since six years later (1570) Mahon McSweeney of Rathmullen was appointed Vicar Provincial.² He had a master's degree in theology and actually attended the General Chapters in Piacenza in 1575 and in Rome in 1580 where he was confirmed in office.³ He was considered worthy of special mention by chroniclers because of his work for the Order in Ireland in those troubled times⁴ and he was still active as late as 1600.⁵ An interesting and intriguing entry is the death at an advanced age of Fr. Hugh from Ireland in the monastery of San Martino in Rome on July 30, 1591.⁶

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Communication with Rome was established through the good services of an Irish Franciscan who called on the General Henry Silvius c. 1610 and informed him that the Order had still quite a number of members in its Irish foundations. He suggested to the General that Fr. John Duane might be appointed Superior. This advice was followed; Duane was given the post of Commissary General and was renewed in the assignment in 1616.⁷

Between this year and 1640-1 the number of Carmelites in the country diminished very considerably. There are indications that they had a chapel in Dublin in 1631 which was later closed.⁸ This did not prevent them from remaining in the neighbourhood and in 1697 they acquired a house in Cornmarket where they lived until they came to live in Ash Street c. 1728.⁹

But it was clearly evident that aid, if possible in the form of manpower and certainly in the provision of educational and formation facilities for Irish aspirants, would have to be provided. The outcome of lengthy discussions and negotiations with the French and Belgian Carmelite Province was a small number of foreign volunteers and the provision of educational facilities from 1630 onwards. By 1641 we note the presence of a few Belgian Carmelites in the country. In the following year Fr. Robert of the Visitation, an Irish Carmelite in Nantes, solicited the General for priests and money. He mentioned that they had succeeded in building a monastery, but it was destroyed forthwith by the heretics.¹⁰ The names of Irish Carmelite priests at this time, e.g., Fr. William of St. Patrick, and the correspondence between the Province of Touraine and Rome on the subject of Ireland indicate that the Irish accepted the Touraine Reform. Fr. William was the Carmelite

representative at the Confederation of Kilkenny in 1642.¹¹ The General Chapter of 1645 entrusted the task of reopening the Irish monasteries to Leo of St. John, the Provincial of Touraine,¹² a saintly man, who was court preacher to Louis XIII and Louis XIV and friend and confessor to Richelieu on his deathbed. It is not easy to discern the extent of the assistance, but we do know that in 1645 two priests were sent¹³ and probably more followed in the next year.¹⁴

A letter written by the Provincial of Touraine, Urban of the Ascension on June 10, 1649 tells of two Irish Carmelites, Columban of St. Patrick and Joseph of St. Edmund, who were apparently educated in the Flemish Province. On their way to Ireland they passed through Touraine and received £200, which had been donated for the Irish mission.¹⁵ A citation from a letter in the Rennes Archives says “that it is absolutely necessary for the religious who go to Ireland to have the altar ornaments (*missal, charts, candlesticks etc.*) and cloths, as such things are not found in that country... some books also, because one should not hope to find any there.”¹⁶

While we have no account of the effect of the Cromwellian persecution 1649-52 on the few Carmelites who were in the country, the ancient Carmelite church in Drogheda was the scene of the opening attack.¹⁷ Rome’s anxiety to help the mission is seen in its efforts to have priests available for the opportune moment.¹⁸

A very notable member of the Province at this period was Fr. William Shee who was born in 1634, went to Seville for his studies in 1657 and returned to Ireland after ordination,¹⁹ where he received a number of youths into the Order in 1684, when the short Jacobean respite allowed such possibilities.²⁰ There are also indications of Carmelites outside the country at this period.²¹ One was Fr. Bernard of St. Mathew who was sent to preach the gospel in England and died in London 20 March 1661.²² Another, Fr. Edmund (of the Angels) Butler went farther afield and taught philosophy in the Carmelite monastery in Louvain from 1653 to 1663 and perhaps even longer. His death is recorded on 5 June 1668.²³

In a letter written on April 8, 1684 the General Angelus Monsignani says that Fr. Shee is the sole survivor of the Order in Ireland at the time,²⁴ though many Irish Carmelites had been professed in the Belgian Province during the preceding thirty years and had since died.²⁵ He had received the four youths (mentioned above), one of whom was Peter Hughes, and had sent them abroad for studies.²⁶ On St. Patrick’s Day 1686 he received five youths and asked the General, Paul of St. Ignatius, for priests to help him, but the General was not able to come to his aid.²⁷ Two more youths had been received before May 1688.²⁸ These Irish youths were divided between Dol and La Fleche as they pursued their studies in the province of Touraine.²⁹

This year (1688) saw the revolution which ousted James II from England. As a result Fr. Shee was forced to flee to France.³⁰ A letter from the Discalced Carmelites in Ireland to the Superior General in Rome in 1698 states that for fourteen years there had only been one member of the Carmelites of the Ancient Observance in Ireland, Fr. Shee, but that he had received many novices, while acting as Vicar General, Provincial and Prior. In consequence he then had three times more friars than the Discalced Fathers.³¹ Decrees for the Irish Carmelites were sent on 5 January 1697 to Fr. Germanus of St. James, Provincial of Touraine.³² Perhaps Fr. Dillon of Drumraney near Ardnacranna was one of these.³³ In 1697 all regular priests and clerics were banished.

The Province of Touraine sent a mission to England in 1688 which was not very successful due to the succession of William of Orange and to the preparations for the mission. Quite a number of Irish Carmelites were participants – Frs. Vanderberg (!), James Finn, Thomas and James Fitzmorris. This English mission correspondence also mentions Carmelites in Ireland and some Irish Carmelites in France.³⁴

We hear of an Irish Carmelite Fr. Malachy Stanton who was confessor and preacher to the Irish soldiers in the bodyguard of the Duke of Parma on 1 June 1703. He was discharged on January 16, 1706, having received a salary of 25 lire per month and a daily ration of bread.³⁵

On the death of William of Orange 1702 Fr. Peter Hughes returned to Ireland and re-opened the monastery in Ballinasmale, Co. Mayo, where he received youths and sent them to be educated in France and Spain.³⁶ Eleven years later Fr. Anselm Jackson was appointed Commissary General of the mission in Ireland.³⁷

An interesting detail is supplied by the *Notes* which relate that Fr. Bartholomew McDonagh, who was betrayed by his Mass-server in 1723, was banished for celebrating Mass after an imprisonment of eleven months with the rider that if he returned he would be put to death. He and Fr. John O' Neill, who travelled with him, arrived at the monastery of Lisbon, where they were provided with habits and money, before they finally found accommodation in Spain.³⁸ We will hear of John O'Neill again.

Undoubtedly Fr. Mathew Lyon, who had become a Master of theology after “a rigorous examination,” was one of the more outstanding members of the Order in Ireland in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. On March 21, 1729 he was appointed Commissary General of the Irish Province and given the duty of and faculties for recovering the Irish monasteries and for clothing youths with the habit.³⁹

CANONICAL RE-ERECTION OF THE PROVINCE

A report dating from c. 1731 says that the Order has many monasteries and thirty-eight members in Ireland.⁴⁰ At the General Chapter of the Order held in Rome that year the Irish fathers petitioned that the Irish Province be canonically re-established. Clement XII did so six years later, on October 18, 1737, placing it under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception and St. Patrick.⁴¹ The General thanked the bishops of Cork, Dublin and Tuam for their kindness to the Order.⁴²

At this time also Fr. Francis Leahy, a very controversial figure, opened the Carmelite church, monastery and school in Ashe St. Dublin.⁴³ A foundation was begun in Moate (1735) and was transferred to the present site c. 1770.⁴⁴

During the eighteenth century Irish Carmelite students were educated chiefly in Spain, though a number also went to Italy and France and other Provinces.⁴⁵ The French and German Provinces complained at the Chapter of 1738 about Mathew Lyon's practice of sending to them Irish postulants who had no preparation for the religious life. This was done without due notice or financial support. The General promised to arrange the matter to everybody's satisfaction.⁴⁶ Two years later the General wrote to Mathew, encouraging him to receive postulants whose families could pay for them, so as to alleviate difficulties raised by Provinces which educated them. The connection with Spain was certainly closest. One

document promoting the re-erection of the Province suggested that “when restored it would belong to the Spanish nation, as happens in civil affairs, because they derived from Spain and as such they are treated” (in Spain).⁴⁷ On July 12, 1738 a Commissary General, Fr. Joseph of the Virgin Mary was appointed in Spain to manage the affairs of the Irish.⁴⁸

The Irish Provincial Mathew of St. Eliseus Lyon and two delegates, Patrick of St. Mary Magdalen Mahony and John of St. Elias Mehigan, were present at the General Chapter of the Order in Rome in 1738. This was their first appearance at a Chapter since 1580. They were given charge of the Scottish mission also, but they never began any work there.⁴⁹

In order to make the dates for the Provincial Chapter and General Chapter concurrent it was decided to defer the Provincial Chapter from 1739 to 1741. On May 25 that year it opened. Fr. Patrick Hughs, as a mark of respect for his venerable years, was appointed Assistant to the new Provincial, Fr. Patrick Mahony. The four definitors⁵⁰ were John Burke, Raymond Burke, Eugene Sweeney and Maurice Stanford. The Custos⁵¹ was John O’Neill, while James Barry and Peter Prendergast were selected as delegates to the General Chapter.

The following were appointed Priors:

Dublin:	Mathew O’Lyon (Ex-Provincial)
Ballinsmale:	John Burke
Caltranapallice:	Bernard Feely
Horton:	Patrick Martin
Knocktopher:	Peter Prendergast ⁵²
Cork:	Michael Lovelock
Leighlinbridge:	Raymond Burke
Crevaghbane:	John Burke
Kinsale:	Denis Mahony
Thurles:	Richard Prendergast ⁵³
Ballinveillin (Milltown):	Raymond O’Connell
Knockmore:	Henry Prendergast
Ballynahinch:	Ambrose Corkery
Castlelyons:	John O’Neill. ⁵⁴

This makes a total of fourteen monasteries. Nineteen priests are mentioned either as officials of or appointments by the Chapter. Possibly all these houses were not re-occupied, but this was a big incentive to the men to try to get them functioning. If each prior did go to his appointment, the average community would have been two or three with perhaps four or five in Dublin.⁵⁵

The foundation in Cork city became the object of ecclesiastical legislation. A venerable and aged inhabitant, Ignatius Pole, testified that a ruin in the city had been the site of the monastery, and added force to the Carmelite claim was given by the fact that in 1732 the bishop allowed a chapel and dwelling to be erected in which Fr. John O’Neill had officiated from 1734. The Jesuits and Capuchins however maintained that there had been no pre-Reformation Carmelite foundation in the city, and the monastery was closed.⁵⁶

The only indications that remain to us of literary activity in the Province in the eighteenth century are two works, *The Mysteries of Mount Calvary*⁵⁷ and *The Trumpet of*

Heaven. These were translated from French or Spanish into Irish by Fr. Timothy O'Connell,⁵⁸ Prior of the monastery of Kinsale.⁵⁹ Many of the clergy undertook similar labours to try to provide spiritual reading for the faithful.

Just at this time Rome decreed that aspirants to the religious Orders in Ireland were forbidden to do their novitiate in Ireland due to the difficulty of having regular observance. A statement by the Regulars to Propaganda Fide in 1750 reveals that in the monasteries (they are called *domuncula*) in country parts the practice was to keep one or two members permanently at home to catechise, etc., and maintain the services of their church, while the others were sent out for long periods to preach and help in parishes, to catechise and to quest for their own monastery also. In the cities they served their churches, preached, conducted special devotions, etc. They were supported, fed, clothed and boarded at times by their relatives and generally by the people.⁶⁰

This decree concerning native novitiates was particularly hard on the Carmelites as they had no Irish monastery anywhere in Europe. It is not surprising that the Province requested the General Chapter of 1756 to use its influence to have the decree suspended in their case, until they could find a suitable novitiate in Europe, but without success.⁶¹ The General Pontalti tried to induce the Flemish Province to provide an Irish novitiate, but he failed. It was the Spanish Province which once again gave the greatest assistance to the Irish postulants. They never succeeded in establishing their own novitiate abroad, though for nearly twenty years the General and the Province tried all the means in their power and had collected a large sum of money with a view to financing the undertaking.⁶² A letter written by the General Ximenez on December 8, 1777 shows that there were fourteen Irish youths in the Order in Spain, three in Naples, and others in Siena, Turin, France and Flanders.⁶³ There were forty-two members in the Province.⁶⁴

Occasionally some of the priests took up duty abroad. Fr. Stephens, a Carmelite, died in Dunkirk in France on 26 Oct. 1756 where he had lived for twenty-five years, "which he employed in acts of goodness and charity to all people without any distinction of country or religion."⁶⁵ Fr. Patrick Fitzmaurice was given permission to become an army chaplain in 1758.⁶⁶

In addition to church duties in Ashe St. the community maintained a school "where twenty boys were clothed and instructed.... Its only support is a Charity Sermon and some subscriptions. The expense from 1 January 1786 to 1 January 1787 for clothes, linen, woollens, shoes, stockings, hats, books and paper was f 73. 19. 1; master's salary 12. No rent was paid for the schoolroom, being part of the chapel besides the master has about 40 pay boys."⁶⁷

Two Irish Carmelites turn up in America towards the end of the eighteenth century. Constantine McCaffrey who had studied at Seville, came to Florida in 1791 and went to Havana for health reasons in 1796, while John Brady who had studied at the Irish College in Salamanca came to Florida and worked in Louisiana till c. 1818.⁶⁸

Though the Carmelite chapel in Moate was used as a barracks for soldiers during the 1798 Rising,⁶⁹ the community at Kildare suffered most. Fr. Farrell, a friar of the local monastery, was murdered in the massacre of Gibbet Rath on the Curragh.⁷⁰ The Prior also suffered. He "was hanged by the soldiers in 1798 but fortunately for the good priest, a woman named Mrs. Kenedy assisted by others had him cut down before life was extinct and (he) lived for many years afterwards as Prior of the Convent."⁷¹

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The oldest record-book in the archives of the Irish Province is the Accounts Book from Ashe St. 1788-1818. From the entries we can see that regular contributions were gathered from places like Blessington, Balrothery and many places within a radius of about thirty miles of Dublin. These, in all probability, indicate activities of Carmelites based in Dublin but living for periods in the remoter districts where they ministered to the people.⁷² Devotion in honour of Our Lady and membership of the Third Order are also evidenced in documents from 1750 onwards.⁷³

A return dated January 1801 notes ten Carmelite monasteries which were occupied by twenty-eight priests.⁷⁴ During the Provincialate of Fr. Myles Prendergast c. 1818 the Irish students went to Rome for their novitiate and studies. In 1819 we find two novices, John Colgan and Elias Costello there.⁷⁵ The following year saw the death of the 103-year old Fr. Geraghty in Knocktopher.⁷⁶ About this time Fr. Prendergast, the Provincial, was promoted by the Holy See to be Vicar General of Malabar.⁷⁷ Members of the Province were anxious to assist in the missionary effort but could not find the necessary finances at the time.⁷⁸

At the period 1821-2 there were eight houses in the Province with about thirty priests, six of whom lived in the Dublin monastery, which since 1806 had been moved to French St.⁷⁹ A member of the Province who had recently completed his studies in Spain returned and was appointed Prior of French St. at the Provincial Chapter 1823. His name was John Francis Spratt. Born in Dublin in 1796, he had been sent to do his novitiate and studies in Spain in 1816. On his return to Dublin he had become involved in education, in conversions and in charitable works. He acquired the site occupied by the Order in pre-Reformation Dublin and built a church there, 1825-7, in which he restored the statue of Our Lady of Dublin, recently purchased in an antique shop.⁸⁰ Between 1830 and his death in 1871 he was Honorary Secretary to the Sick and Indigent Roomkeepers' Society for almost thirty-six years; he built the church and schools at Whitefriars St., founded the Dublin branch of the Catholic Young Men's Society, was instrumental in founding the Catholic Women's Blind Asylum, did much work on behalf of street-girls, founded St. Joseph's Night Refuge, was a great temperance promoter chiefly in Dublin and Belfast, published a sizable amount of devotional literature, had antiquarian interests, founded the General Relief Committee during the Famine years, organised the first collection for the Catholic University, promoted societies for the distribution of Catholic literature, preached many Charity sermons and was highly esteemed by all, including Protestant laymen and clergy.⁸¹

By 1823 the number of monasteries had dropped to nine, namely Dublin, Kildare, Moate (Co. Westmeath), Kinsale (Co. Cork), Knocktopher (Co. Kilkeuny), Tohergar (Co. Roscommon), Leighlin (Co. Carlow), Crevaghbane (Co. Galway), and Ballinasmale (Co. Mayo).⁸² In 1837 the present Carmelite church in Kinsale was built by Fr. Lulem. By 1840 Leighlin and Crevaghbane had been closed and the Province had only 26 priests.⁸³

The people were naturally very opposed to paying tithes to the Protestant church, once emancipation had been granted. One of the friars in Knocktopher Fr. O'Keefe, organised the opposition in that area.⁸⁴ Round this period (1840) a great wave of enthusiasm of devotion to Our Lady through the Brown Scapular showed itself.⁸⁵ Faculties to bless them were requested regularly by diocesan and regular priests.⁸⁶

The first meeting of the Committee of the Catholic College for Foreign Missions (All Hallows) was held in 1842 with the Carmelite R. J. Colgan acting as chairman.⁸⁷ He was one of the Committee members authorised to receive subscriptions for it and was the Secretary – Fr. John Hand was the other Secretary.⁸⁸ In 1843 a Carmelite who had studied in Louvain, Fr. T. A. Beunett, was appointed professor of Scripture and Church History in the college and in 1856 he became Vice-President. In 1862 he was named President of All Hallows.⁸⁹

From the middle of the eighteenth century the church in Knocktopher had been a thatched cottage, but on June 20, 1843 a new church which had been built in record time, was consecrated.⁹⁰ This church was renovated in 1958.

On December 1, 1849 the Irish Province was honoured when Fr. Colgan was chosen to be Assistant General of the Order.⁹¹ He was the first Irishman to hold that office. We are grimly reminded of the Famine years by the fact that in 1850 the Province had no novices and no students,⁹² though there was a Bro. Pat Dunne in Kinsale at the time, who attended a Tenant Right Meeting in Belgooly with Fr. Lulem in April 1850.⁹³ In this year also Fr. Tobin, the Provincial attended the Synod of Thurles. Evidence of Colgan's work in Rome is seen in the appointment of Bennet as Commissary General on 12 April 1851.⁹⁴ The following New Year's day saw the opening of a Carmelite Seminary in Knocktopher by Fr. Scally.⁹⁵ It should be noted that Fr. Andrew Day requested General Joseph Lobina on October 16, 1852 for permission to go on the American mission to serve the Irish emigrants.⁹⁶

By 1854 practically all monasteries had a school attached. An Academy had been opened that year at Dominick St., Dublin, by Fr. Bennett, who had been appointed Provincial in 1852. Under his guidance the number of vocations increased, and the intellectual training of the students was better catered for. Being anxious to concentrate the Order's educational activities in Dublin, he told Fr. Scally, Prior of Knocktopher, to close the seminary there. The latter appealed both to the Holy See and to the General. The Holy See referred the matter to the General, and he persuaded Bennett to allow the seminary in Knocktopher to continue its good work.⁹⁷ Bennett acquired the site for Terenure College and opened a school there in 1860.⁹⁸ It began with 21 pupils, among whom were seven sets of brothers. It was hoped that Terenure would also serve as a novitiate, but it was not feasible at the time, so we find the Irish novices in Italy in 1864.⁹⁹ They were settled in Traspontina, and it is worth noting that at least seven of them went to work in America between 1867-1880.¹⁰⁰ Ballinasmale seems to have closed c. 1865 and Tohergar, whither the Carmelites had removed from Caltranapallice since c. 1775, closed about a decade later. The last Carmelite there, Fr. J. A. Hopkins, refused to close the little monastery and church though he lived in dire poverty. On his death in 1873 it was closed.¹⁰¹

The Dutch Province had begun a mission in Merthyr Tydvil in Wales in 1864. As it was not very successful, and the Catholic population was almost completely Irish, the General asked Fr. Spratt who was then Provincial to send Fr. Bruton, the Prior of Knocktopher, to help out.¹⁰² It was a tremendous sacrifice both for the Province and the church and school in Knocktopher. Bruton was a very hard worker, and his life in Wales was very short. He died at the age of 36.¹⁰³

The new church in Moate, built by Fr. McDonnell, was opened in 1868, and two years later he undertook to build a new monastery.¹⁰⁴ At this date (1870) there were 41 members

in the Province (excluding novices) with 19 priests and 11 students based in Dublin. Knocktopher had four priests, Moate three, Kinsale and Kildare two each.¹⁰⁵

In May 1871, Fr. Spratt, who had been appointed Provincial in succession to Fr. Bennett, died, while in the act of giving the temperance pledge. He was honoured with a public funeral, and his grave was donated by the city of Dublin as a tribute for his charitable work on behalf of the poor.¹⁰⁶ General Savini came to preside at the Provincial Chapter held that year in Terenure College and it was noted that this was the first visit of a General of the Order to the Province in 400 years (since John Soreth).¹⁰⁷ This Chapter decided to open a novitiate in Terenure and appointed Fr. Michael Gilligan Novice Master.¹⁰⁸

Fr. A. E. Farrington was appointed President of Terenure College. He had already taught in Knocktopher and had spent a short period on the mission in Wales. He was the most prolific writer in the Province and engaged himself chiefly in translating the lives of many of the saints of the Order.

It is good to think that reports from the Province were very satisfactory in 1873-4, when the General had suffered great losses in Italy, his own monastery in Traspontina, Rome, included. Terenure College was full, having 80 boys. Eight novices had entered, and 4 others were due to be received in August 1874.¹⁰⁹ There were 50 boys at the school in Kildare that year. The schools merited not only the praise of Cardinal Cullen but also of a Protestant periodical.¹¹⁰

The score of years 1860-80 saw an intensive building effort. Moate had a new church and monastery, Terenure had an extension and Kinsale had erected a new monastery. The country houses were financially sound, but the two Dublin houses had big debts.

EXPANSION

As a result of an invitation by Dr. Reynolds, a bishop in Australia, who was a native of Dublin, 5 Irish Carmelites, Frs. Butler, Carr, Leybourne, Byrne and Shaffrey, travelled out on the *Lusitania* to open a mission there.¹¹¹ In a period of three months, Fr. Butler, who was the Superior, had preached 225 sermons and travelled nearly 8,000 miles on his apostolic journeys.¹¹² Three more Carmelites, Frs. Moore, Kelly and Stone joined them in 1882.¹¹³ Australia received the status of a General Commissariate in 1930 and became a Province in 1948.

In November 1881 Fr. Parr died in Kinsale, and the townspeople erected the monument which may still be seen in the old Abbey. They expressed their appreciation of the friars in the inscription: "The people of Kinsale have erected this monument in testimony of their respect for him and of their appreciation of the services rendered to religion by him and the other priests of the Carmelite Order whose remains are interred within the precincts of the ancient abbey of Our Lady of Mount Carmel."

A return dated 19 November 1881 lists 43 priests (22 of whom were living in Dublin), 11 students and 543 tertiaries.¹¹⁴

On December 8, 1884 work on a new church in Kildare commenced.¹¹⁵ The church at that time was situated inside the graveyard near the wall running from the road to the present friary.

Three years later (1888) negotiations were in progress for a foundation in New York.

After lengthy discussions a parish of 8,000 Catholics, which was offered by Archbishop Corrigan was accepted.¹¹⁶ In 1889 the Carmelites acquired a field on which they built a church and monastery, the whole project costing \$70,000.¹¹⁷ This property was to be held in the name of the Archbishop, the Vicar General, the Carmelites and two laymen till the debt was paid, at which time it would belong to the Order.¹¹⁸

In 1922 New York became a General Commissariate and in 1931 it attained full stature as the Province of St. Elias.

Fr. Savii wrote to Fr. Bartley, the Irish Provincial, in 1888, asking him to send some priest to Brazil. Bartley promised to send Fr. Joseph Geohegan "to look after the Order there."¹¹⁹ We do not know if he went, but three years later Fr. M. A. Moore, who had been Irish Provincial (1878-1881), and Fr. McDonnell (who had rebuilt Moate), were sent to South America to gather funds for St. Albert's International College in Rome.¹²⁰

Two foundations were acquired in Dublin since 1900. The earlier, Ardavon, was acquired as a house of formation in 1908.¹²¹ When the present house of studies at Gort Muire was opened in 1944, Ardavon (which had been renamed Mount Carmel) was gradually vacated for the sisters of the Little Company of Mary, who now have their hospital on the site.

The first step towards the re-erection of the English Province occurred in August 1926 when Fr. J. J. Cogan and Br. Franco took possession of the parish of Faversham in Kent.¹²² Other foundations followed in England and Wales, so that by 1952 a General Commissariate was formed, and in the present year (1969) the Province was re-established with the ancient foundation Aylesford (re-opened since 1949) as the Provincial-house.

A further and very significant step was taken in 1946, when the Province, at the invitation of the Jesuits, took over a mission in Umtali, Southern Rhodesia. In the twenty-four years that have elapsed this mission has become a diocese with 52 Carmelites working there.¹²³ Another venture in the mission-field was taken when Fr. Alban Kelleher went to the Carmelite mission in Sicuani, Peru.

Before terminating this short account of the Province, special mention must be made of one member, Fr. Peter Elias Mageunis. Born in Tanderagee, Co. Armagh on Feb. 19, 1868 he joined the Order in 1887 and was ordained in 1894 in Dublin. As a priest he had a most valuable and varied experience as teacher and president of the school in Dominick St., as a teacher in Knocktopher, as a missionary in Australia 1898-1906, as Master of Novices in the Province, as Assistant General of the Order 1908-19 and as the first Irish General 1919-31. His labours for the Order were specially evident, not only in Ireland, but in America, Australia, England, Italy, Poland, Brazil and Portugal. It is surmised that the numbers in the Order were trebled as a result of his efforts.¹²⁴ Despite his administrative occupations he found time to write half a dozen books, some dealing with the Order, some fiction, and a number of articles. He was a very close friend of the late President of Ireland, His Excellency, Seán T. O'Kelly. He officiated at his wedding on September 1, 1936 and Mr. O'Kelly and his wife were present at his bedside in St. Vincent's Hospital, Dublin when he died on 26 August 1937.¹²⁵

APPENDIX I

On two occasions Mr. O’Kelly left us his recollections of Fr. Magennis. The first was a speech at a dinner in Gort Muire on 21 July, 1955. Fr. Aloysius Ryan jotted down all he could remember of it immediately after the dinner. Here is his report:

“Thim fíor-bhuidheach dibh mar gheall ar an bhfáilte a chuir sibh romham. Nil aon Ord níos aoirde im’ghrádhna na Ord na gCarmeiteach, agus gach uair a thagaim in bhúr measc méadúigheann mo ghrádh don Órd. Ní raibh a fhios again go mbeadli orm cainnt a dhéanamh agus dá bhrígh sin ní fhios again cad ba chóir dom a rádh. I will say this much. My connections with the Carmelites go back a long number of years. I will be 73 years of age next week and I can say that I was friendly with and known to the Carmelites for 60 of these, ever since the time I used to take my holidays on the south side of the river. It was then that I made my first visits to Whitefriars St. And I was very surprised to be befriended by Fr. Peter Magennis, whom I was later to meet in Rome. Some years later I was in Rome on important business. I was not an official representative of Ireland to the Vatican. I made myself representative and this was later officially confirmed. While in Rome I met Fr. Magennis and another defender of Irish independence, Mgr. O’Hagan, Rector of the Irish College. Fr. Peter was, to my mind, the greatest Irish Republican of his time. We got word of a document that was being sought by England from the Vatican, condemning the Irish Government and the fight for independence. Something had to be done to prevent the issue of that document, which would have been very prejudicial to Ireland and to the Church in Ireland. So Fr. Peter Magennis and Mgr. O’Hagan told me that I must get an audience with the Pope (Benedict XV), give him the true picture and thus prevent the issue of the document. I protested that I was unequal to the task, but they insisted all the more. They said, ‘We cannot do it – we are clerics. It will be much better if it is done by a layman.’ So there was I with this beautiful task of getting an audience with the Pope, even though I was not an official representative nor an envoy. They told me that I was Speaker in the Government and that I must go as representative of the people. How was I to get an audience with the Pope? Well, I knew Mgr. Cerretti, who held the position Tardini now has. So I set out to see him. I told him that I wanted him to arrange a Papal audience for me.

‘What for?’ he asked. I then told him about the document and our fight for independence.

‘How do you know about this document?’ he asked. I told him that I had it from reliable sources. He then cross-examined me very thoroughly, much to my embarrassment. He asked me some very exacting questions. When this was over he promised to arrange an audience.

‘But,’ he said, ‘there is one thing I want you to do. I want you to prepare a written statement to give to the Pope. Write out *briefly* all the claims of the Irish to their independence. The Pope will ask you a lot of questions. But before you leave him make sure that you give him the written account *and get a promise from him that he will read it*’. A nice job for me!

Well, I came home to *the Irish College* and when Fr. Magennis and Mgr. O’Hagan heard the news they were absolutely thrilled.

‘But,’ I said, ‘I have to prepare a written statement.’

‘That will be all right,’ said O’Hagan, ‘I’ll do that for you.’

They came to my bedroom and between them they banged it out on a typewriter. When the paper was handed to me I was stunned. I said I couldn’t give it to the Pope... everything in it was a dig at the Pope.

‘But,’ said Mgr. O’Hagan, ‘it has to be brief., we must give him the facts.’ The whole thing was a series of blows at the Pope.

I had my audience and was received most cordially by Benedict XV. He also questioned me very severely. He asked me every question which Mgr. Cerretti had already asked me. It looked as if he had prepared a list of questions for His Holiness and had already primed me for the answers. I was now very glad that I had such a severe examination from Mgr. Cerretti.

I was with the Pope for a very long time – 45 minutes – during which he asked me, for example.

‘What do you mean by ambush?’ I tried to explain as best I could that a very good method of warfare was to take the enemy by surprise. It was also quite a good idea when short of arms to acquire them. The Pope could not see the reason for this. He couldn’t see why an Irish army was not able to appear in uniform and fight the English on the battlefield. Nor could I persuade him of the necessity or explain adequately to him the meaning of *ambush*.

At the end of the audience he said to me ‘The Irish have every right to their independence, and every right to fight for their independence; but be careful of the means you use.’ I asked him what he meant by this remark about methods and again he got back to the ‘ambush.’

I told the Pope that this was the first time in 350 years that we had got such a declaration in favour of our fight for freedom. We fought and we freed seven-eighths of our country and, please God, we’ll free the other eighth.

I’ll tell you another incident. Cardinal Logue and Fr. Magennis were guests at a dinner once in Rome. When the Cardinal was speaking he said he had a word for ‘this little boy’ (Fr. Magennis). ‘My boy,’ he said addressing him as one of the youngest, ‘I’m an old man with one foot in the grave (he was 83), and I want to say this much. I have heard talk now for a good many years about an independent Ireland but it hasn’t come yet. It won’t come in my lifetime. I will be dead when it comes (if it does come). I may be dead a long time when it does come, but I say this – that the day Ireland declares herself an independent country no soul will rise in joy more than that of Michael Logue.’

I’ve had a lot of associations with the Carmelites in my lifetime in Dublin, Rome and elsewhere. Since I have been made President I have not had the same opportunities as I used have of coming in contact with you, so that on my visits now I am all the more endeared to you. And if I have achieved anything in my public capacity I attribute it to the influence of the Carmelites of Dublin and Ireland.”

APPENDIX II

The second recollection is contained in a letter which Mr. O'Kelly sent to Fr. D. M. O'Callaghan O.Carm., with whose kind permission it is here published for the first time.

Roundwood Park, Roundwood, Co. Wicklow.
Eanair 8adh 1961.

A Athair dhílis agus a chara,

Please forgive the delay in replying to your letter dated Decr. 14th last. I have been laid up for a few weeks and therefore unable to deal with correspondence.

I am delighted to learn that an effort is to be made to collect material for a life of Fr. Peter Magennis. He deserves this tribute from many angles. I can mention two; firstly, his work for the Church and incidentally for his own Order, and secondly his work in helping the fight for the liberation of Ireland.

Unfortunately, though, it is not in my power to be of much help to you in your praiseworthy work of getting material for the writing of his life.

I arrived in Rome in the first days of February 1920. I went there on a holiday visit on the invitation of Rt. Rev. Mgr. John Hagan, then Rector of Collegio Irlandese. I had resigned from Paris where I had been acting as a representative of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic. I was ill, broken down after a very hard year's labour. The afternoon I arrived at the Irish College, then at Via Mazzarino, I was welcomed by Mgr. Hagan and immediately introduced to Dr. Peter Magennis, Father General of the Carmelite Order and to some other priests of different communities – a very select few – gathered in the Irish College for the usual cup of afternoon tea as well as for the exchange of news and views of the latest events, in Ireland, Rome and elsewhere.

I was not long in the College when it was noticed that I was really ill. I was put to bed & a doctor was called. The upshot of it was that I spent fourteen weeks in bed. I suffered an attack of rheumatic fever. Twice during that illness I was anointed, it being believed I would not live till morning.

During my illness I was visited frequently by Fr. Magennis as well as, of course, Mgr. Hagan and the newly arrived Vice Rector, Mgr. Curran, a former school fellow of mine.

At this period there came to Rome on a private visit, Mr. Balfour, British Cabinet Minister. He was received in audience by the Holy Father, Benedict XV. Naturally many rumours circulated as to the purpose of Balfour's visit. There can be little doubt that the subject of the fight then in progress in Ireland was mentioned and the British Government's views on this subject laid before His Holiness.

My health was improving about this time. I was able to take part in discussions with the visitors who called to see me. One afternoon I was informed by Mgr. Hagan that he had learned from an authoritative source that a document had been prepared for submission to His Holiness dealing with the Irish struggle for freedom. He was further told that this

official document condemned strongly the Irish and especially their methods of warfare. Judging by the gossip then circulating in Rome it would appear that this alleged document was a British inspired one.

A day or two after this news arrived Mgr. Hagan came to my room and said to me that I must get up and go to see the Holy Father immediately so as to prevent the adoption and publication officially by the Vatican of this – said to be – anti-Irish document. I did not fancy this task. I urged that Dr. Hagan himself or Fr. Magennis should ask to see the Pope, that I had no status in Rome, I had not been sent to Rome by my Government and that as a nobody I would not be received or listened to. Dr. Hagan's reply to all this was firstly that no cleric in Rome would be listened to on this subject. Secondly that I was still Speaker of the Dáil and in such official capacity had a right to speak and be listened to. Thirdly, I had the useful advantage of being a friend of Mgr. Cerretti, Assistant Secretary of State, whom I had met many times in Paris during the Peace Conference. Dr. Hagan insisted I should go to see my friend Cerretti and that I should ask him to secure for me a private audience with the Pope. I did see Mgr. Cerretti who was most kind. He duly arranged for the audience with Pope Benedict. I talked with the Holy Father for nearly an hour. Luckily I was able to converse with him in French, my Italian at that time was not so good. At the end of the audience the Pope said to me "Ireland has every right to its freedom. Ireland has every right to fight for its freedom, but I feel I must say to you, you must be careful of the methods you use."

There is – or was – a lot more to this story. I wrote a full account of it years ago. I will try to find a copy of this & if I succeed I will send it to you.

As to Fr. Magennis's share in this work. I can say that he was the closest friend and counsellor of Mgr. Hagan at that time. He came to the Irish College every afternoon & he was consulted and was privy to every move that took place. Speaking from my own experience I can say that his advice was always sound. He stood for bold, courageous action and no surrender.

I went to the U.S.A. in Sept. 1924 to represent the Republican Party. I had heard much about the Carmelites in New York and the active help they had at all times given in the fight for freedom. In particular, I had heard how they assisted De Valera in 1919/1920. Also how they had permitted their hall in 29th St. to be used as a Republican H. 2. and how it had been used as a storehouse for arms – even tho' such activity was sometimes frowned on by higher ecclesiastical authority. All this I had learned from people like Joseph Begley R.I.P., Liam Pedlar, Jim McGee of the clan, Sean Nunan, Dan Doran of San Francisco and many others. I presented myself to the Carmelites & was at once warmly received by them and was often hospitably entertained at their table by Fr. Larry Flanagan and his colleagues.

Since these days of long ago I am ever mindful of the loyalty of the Carmelites to Ireland and of course of their gracious and generous friendship to me personally. I have been and still am a frequenter of Whitefriar St. in Dublin. I am happy to record I have often been an honoured guest of that Community.

My wife and I speak with pride of the fact that it was Fr. Peter Magennis who married us on Sept. 1st 1936. We remained close friends of his and his ardent admirers until the hour of this untimely death, R.I.P.

With many apologies for the length of this letter and with warmest personal regards

and most sincere best wishes for your health, happiness and prosperity in 1961 and afterwards and with best wishes to Fr. Reid and every memory of the great kindnesses received by me from your whole community.

Ever sincerely yours,

Seán T. O Ceallaig.

NOTES:

- ¹ Archives of the Order (hereafter AO) Rome, II Hibernia II 1, p. 45. this volume is a fragment of a work by an unknown 18th century writer, consisting of notes on the history of the Irish province. It will be referred to hereafter as Notes.
- ² Gabriel Wessels, O.Carm., ed. *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Fratrum B. V. All. de Monte Carmelo* (hereafter AUG) (2 v., Romae, 1912-1934), I 495. Pr. Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D., adds in a footnote from an unspecified source: "We were delighted to hear that four of five monasteries or foundations still exist." All were instructed to gather into these places and live there.
- ³ *Ibid.*, 495, 546.
- ⁴ Pietro Luigi Bagnara, O.Carm., *Annales Carmelitarum*, t. IV, AO Rome, II C 0 II 16, pt. 2, pp. 432-33.
- ⁵ *Archivium Hibernicum* (hereafter Arch. Hib.), Dublin, 1913, II, 293.
- ⁶ Archivio S. Martino, Rome, *Campione* 295.
- ⁷ AO Rome, II C 0 1 (14), Register of Henry Silvius 1608-12, 14r.
- ⁸ James Collins, *Life in Old Dublin*, Dublin, 1913, 134. He is not a very reliable author in the matter of accurate dating.
- ⁹ *Ibid.* Other references to Carmelites in this period are Benignus Millett (General Editor) *Collectanea Hibernica* 10, (1967), 20, where mention is made of a Pr. Columbanus, a Carmelite, travelling either to Brussels or Rome in 1632. Cf. also J. J. Buckley, *Some Irish Altar Plate*, in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 73 (1943), 50, where there is reference to a Carmelite chalice c. 1640.
- ¹⁰ Archives Ile et Vilaine, Rennes, *Couvents et missions des Carmes en Irlande* 9H7b (hereafter Rennes), Letter 7/7/1642.
- ¹¹ Pater Richardus et Pater Robertus, O.F.M.CAP., *Commentarius Rinuccinianus de Sedis Apostolicae legatione ad foederatos Hiberniae catholicos* 1645-9; edited by Fr. Stanislaus, O.F.M.Cap., (6 v., Dublin, 1932.1949), I, 407.
- ¹² ACG, II, 131.
- ¹³ Leo à S. Joanne, O.Carm., *Epistolae Selectae*, Romae, 1661, 324, 1/1/1646.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 299, 23/7/1647.
- ¹⁵ Rennes, 10/6/1649.
- ¹⁶ *Histoire missionnaire du diocese de Rennes*, Rennes, 1938, 36.
- ¹⁷ Denis Murphy, S.J., *Cromwell in Ireland*, Dublin, 1883, 93.
- ¹⁸ AO Rome, II CO 2 (1) [Acta Consilii Ordinis], p. 98. Meeting of 21 July 1661.
- ¹⁹ AO Rome, II CO 1 (33), Regestum Variarum Expeditionum ab anno 1666, f. 265r: "after profession." Letter of the prior general, Paul of St. Ignatius, to Patrick of St. George, provincial of the Plandro-Belgian province, August 9, 1687. Notes, 47, say c. 1680.
- ²⁰ AO Rome, II CO 31, Epistolae Variarum, 1675-1687, f. 783v-784r. Letter of the prior general, Angelus Monsignano, to William Shee, April 5, 1684, giving him permission to receive four youths. Pr. Shee was also known by the name Fernandez.
- ²¹ P. R. McCaffrey, O.Carm., *The White Friars*, Dublin, 1926, 449, says that friars from Ardnacranna fled to the Continent after the Cromwellian campaign.
- ²² *Necrologium Bruxellense* 1616.
- ²³ cf. J. Reusens, Documents relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Université de Louvain, V, 363-4.
- ²⁴ AO Rome, II CO 31, Epistolae variarum 1675-1687, f. 783v-784r.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 828v. Letter of 11 August 1685.
- ²⁶ Notes, 47.
- ²⁷ AO Rome, II CO 1 (33), Regestum variarum expeditionum ab anno 1666, f. 264v, Letter of 9/8/1687.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 464v. Letter from Paul of St. Ignatius to Mark of the Nativity, 29/5/1688.
- ²⁹ Rennes, 10/8/1688.
- ³⁰ Notes, 47.
- ³¹ OCD General Archives, Rome, (*Prov. Hiberniae*, 272). I am indebted to Rev. Prof. P. X. Martin, University College, Dublin, for this reference.
- ³² AO Rome, II CO 1 (43), Reg. Generalium 1686-1731, f. 129v.
- ³³ McCaffrey, *Whitefriars*, 433. Cf. also *Reportorium Novum*, Dublin, 1955, I, i, 141, 142 and 153 where other Carmelites, possibly Discalced, are mentioned.
- ³⁴ AO Rome, II Anglia 1, Letter 8/7/1701. Cf. Wilfrid McGreal, O.Carm., *Carmelites in London*, in *Aylesford Review*, 7 (1965), 66-74. For a draft of the Constitutions for the missioners cf. Peter O'Dwyer *Constitutiones fratrum beatissimae Dei Genetricis de Monte Carmelo, missionibus consecratorum*, in *Zelo*, 8 (1956), i, 30-40.
- ³⁵ Archivio di Stato di Parma, *La Compagnia franca irlandese*. Lettere Ducali, 1703, Maggie 31, with a memorial

enclosed. I am indebted to Miss Patricia O’Sullivan for this reference.

³⁶ *Notes*, 47.

³⁷ AO Rome, II Hibernia 3, Letter 1/5/1715. — On July 21 Pr. Alexius of St. Charles was confirmed as Commissary General of the missions in England, Scotland and Ireland. AO Rome, Reg. Pizzolanti, II CO I (51), f. 37r. Probably there were no Carmelites in Scotland and few if any in England at that period.

³⁸ *Notes*, 47-51.

³⁹ AO Rome, Reg. Spain 1728-88, II CO I (52), f. 2v.

⁴⁰ AO Rome, II CO 40, Documenta 1700-1719. This is a collection of documents marked (1700-1719) but that dating is incorrect as some of the documents are of the 19th century.

⁴¹ ACG II, 348. Cf. also Baptist Kenny, O.Carm., *Documents*, in *Zelo*, 5 (1953), i, 37-40.

⁴² *Notes*, 101.

⁴³ McCaffrey, *Whitefriars*, 438. Cf. also Baptist Kenny, O.Carm., *Documents*, 41.

⁴⁴ McCaffrey, *Whitefriars*, 436, 451.

⁴⁵ ACG II, 361-2; AO Rome, II CO 42, Documenta 1720-1739, has a *littera obedientialis* for a student in Italy (26/11/1736).

⁴⁶ ACG II, 361-2.

⁴⁷ AO Rome, II CO 40, Documenta 1700-1719.

⁴⁸ AO Rome, Reg. Spain 1728-88, II CO I (52), f. 52r.

⁴⁹ ACG, II, 353-4.

⁵⁰ A definator is one of the four councillors to the Provincial.

⁵¹ The custos of a province took charge while the Provincial was at the General Chapter.

⁵² Pacificus Macarten, Exprovincial of Touraine in a letter to General Ximenez dated 19/9/1768 suggested that the Irish Province was due to have a bishop as other Irish mendicant Orders had one. He suggested Peter Prendergast (probably this man). Prendergast was keen to get a mitre and in a letter to the Assistant General Audras in 1774 Prendergast mentioned that at the moment the see of Kerry was vacant. In 1776 he let him know that Achonry was vacant and also that the bishop of Clonfert was almost a hundred years old and that his own people came from that district. (AO Rome, II Hibernia 3, Letter 14/5/1776).

⁵³ He may be the same person as “James Prendergast, a friar in Thurles 9 March 1743-44,” William P. Burke, *The Irish Priests in the Penal Times (1660-1760)*, Waterford, 1914, 359. Richard may have been his religious name and would be used in Order affairs.

⁵⁴ *Notes*, 110-4. These are not the official Acts of the Chapter but are more like a set of notes made from them.

⁵⁵ As the number of priests and students c. 1731 was 38 it had probably increased in the intervening years. Cf. also Burke, *Irish Priests*, 307 where the Regulars in Dublin have 6 or 7 priests in each chapel (Nov. 1751).

⁵⁶ *Notes*, 114-15.

⁵⁷ Peter O’Dwyer, O.Carm, *Riindiamhair Chnoic Chealbhair*, in *Zelo* 1 (1947), i, 63-75; ii, 44-55.

⁵⁸ His religious name was Raymond of St. Patrick. Cf. Peter O’Dwyer, O.Carm, *Fr. Raymond O’Connell*, in *Zelo* 1, (1941), ii, 41-50.

⁵⁹ Cf. Cecile O’Rahilly, *Trompa na bhFlaitheas*, Dublin, 1955, vii-xxxi, and Carmelus 3 (1956), 306-8.

⁶⁰ AO Rome, II Hibernia 4, response of the Mendicant Orders against complaints by Irish bishops. Dated c. 1750. This document also refers to the inability of the city police to stop the contest of stone-pelting across the Liffey on Sunday afternoons. The Regular clergy managed to have it discontinued by appealing to the people involved.

⁶¹ ACG II, 397.

⁶² AO Rome, II Hibernia 3, Letter 16 Dec. 1760; 29/4/1762. — It is worth noting that replies to the Irish Provincial Fr. Mannin were not to be sent to Ashe St. but to John Ward, Usher’s Island, Dublin. Perhaps the Penal Code was still liable to be applied.

⁶³ AO Rome, II Hibernia 3, Letter 8/12/1777.

⁶⁴ AO Rome, II CO 51, Documenta 1780-1789. This document dates from c. 1780. Figures for the number of members in the Province during the 18th century show that the average was about 40.

⁶⁵ *Arch. Hib.*, XVI, 91. He may have been a Discalced Carmelite.

⁶⁶ AO Rome, Reg. Spain 1728-88, II CO I (52), f. 14’~. A few decades later, Fr. Thomas Higgins, who had been Lector and Regent in Naples and who had published an English-Spanish Dictionary, was attached to the Spanish Nuncio’s office as confessor and was made a Master of Theology by the General on 22/4/1795, AO Rome, II CO I (63), Reg. Generalium 1791-1825, f. 91v.

⁶⁷ *Reportorium Novum*, I, i, 195.

- ⁶⁸ Alfred Isaacson, O.Carm., *John Brady, Carmelite Missionary in Spanish Florida (1795-1824)*, in *Carmelus*, 14 (1967), 255-268.
- ⁶⁹ McCaffrey, *Whitefriars*, 451.
- ⁷⁰ Freeman's Journal, 7 June 1798. Cf. also Peadar Mac Suibne, *The Priest's Grave at French Furze*, Naas, 1967.
- ⁷¹ AO Dublin, Fr. Leybourne's Scrapbook 76. This corresponds with a tradition handed on to me by Fr. J. S. Megannety, O.Carm.
- ⁷² AO Dublin, *Ash Street Confraternity Register 1789- passim; Ash Street Cash Book 1788-1815 passim*. Cf. also McCaffrey, *Whitefriars*, 438.
- ⁷³ McCaffrey, *Whitefriars*, 438-9
- ⁷⁴ Oliver J. Burke, *The History of the Catholic Archbishops of Tuam*, Dublin, 1882, 223, 227.
- ⁷⁵ AO Rome, II Hibernia 3, Letter 19/7/1819. But note that there were Irish novices in Spain in 1824 (AO Rome, II Baetica 7, if. 79v, 80v, 81r.
- ⁷⁶ His plaque is in the Carmelite Church in Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny.
- ⁷⁷ AO Rome, II Hibernia 3, Letter 15/5/1819. For further information on Prendergast cf. Ambrosius à S. Theresia, O.C.D., *Hierarchia Carmelitana*, in *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, 13 (1938), 225-23 1, and also John Fitzgerald, O.Carm., *Myles Prendergast*, in *Zelo*, (1950), i, 27.
- ⁷⁸ AO Rome, II Hibernia 3, Letter 17/8/1822.
- ⁷⁹ AO Rome, II CO 2 (2), Reg. Decisionum 1704-1856, f. 370r. Cf. also Dillon Cosgrave, O.Carm., *Centenary of the Carmelite Church, Whitefriars Street*, Dublin, 1927, 15. This pamphlet is a very reliable statement on the history of Whitefriars Street. Cf. also Baptist Kenny, O.Carm., *Carmel in 19th century Dublin*, in *Zelo*, 5 (1953), ii, 13-31.
- ⁸⁰ Adrian McLoughlin, O.Carm., *A Statue (Our Lady of Dublin)*, in *Zelo*, 7 (1955), ii, 67-72.
- ⁸¹ Peter O'Dwyer, O.Carm. *John Francis Spratt, O.Carm., 1796-1871*, (hereafter Spratt), 257-260. This is an unpublished Doctorate thesis submitted at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome, 1968.
- ⁸² AO Dublin, *Acta Capituli Provincialis 1823*. Ed. Peter O'Dwyer, O.Carm., *Actorum Codex (Provincial Chapter 1823)*, in *Zelo*, 2 (1948), i, 27-30.
- ⁸³ McCaffrey, *Whitefriars*, 436.
- ⁸⁴ Patrick O'Donoghue, *Opposition to the Tithe Payment in 1830-1*, in *Studia Hibernica*, 6 (1966), 30. Cf. also Norbert Heaslip, O.Carm., *Carmelites and the Tithe War*, in *Zelo*, 5 (1956), ii, 60-67.
- ⁸⁵ Mr. & Mrs. S. C. Hall, *Ireland, Its Scenery, Character, etc.*, London, 1841 Vol. I, 222 n. 2 "There is among the peasantry a religious order called "the Order of the Virgin" the members of which, male and female, are always buried in a brown habit. The duties of this Order are to say daily certain stated prayers. The garment is always prepared long before death." Cf. also Peter O'Dwyer, O.Carm., *The Scapular in Ireland*, in *Zelo*, 3 (1951), iii, 19-24.
- ⁸⁶ AO Rome, II CO 1 (64) Reg. Aloysii Scalabrini 1825-1832, if. 52-55 and 130-4 passim.
- ⁸⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 16/6/1842.
- ⁸⁸ W. J. Battersby, *The Irish Catholic Directory 1843*, 409-410.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1844, 332; 1857, 161; 1862, 310. cf. also Peter O'Dwyer, O.Carm., *Fr. Thomas Albert Bennett*, in *Zelo*, 2 (1948), i, 1-6; and *Letters of Fr. Bennett*, in *Zelo* 1, (1948), iv, 36-42.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1844, 324-5.
- ⁹¹ AO Rome, I CO I (66), Reg. Jos. Cataldi, f. 25v.
- ⁹² AO Rome, II Hibernia 3, Tobin to Lobina 13/3/1850
- ⁹³ *Freeman's Journal*, 25/4/1850. Cf. also Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger*, London, 1962, 295, "In Kinsale the Superior of the Carmelite Convent complained that the starving were being given 'soup' made with only ten ounces of meal and rice to a quart of water, and that the four-ounce slice of bread which went with it was very small because the bread was made with one-third Indian meal, which weighed heavy."
- ⁹⁴ AO Rome, II CO I (67), Reg. Ord. 1850-1863, 27. Cf. II Hibernia 3, Letter 17/1/1850 and also II CO 2 (2), Reg. Decisionum V.O.C., f. 414 (insert), 5/6/1851.
- ⁹⁵ Battersby 1853, 314.
- ⁹⁶ AO Rome, II Hibernia 3, Letter 16/10/1852.
- ⁹⁷ AO Rome, II Hibernia 3, Letter 30/7/1858.
- ⁹⁸ *Terenure College 1860-1960 (Centenary Record)*, Dublin, 1960, 16.
- ⁹⁹ AO Rome, II CO 62, *Documenta (1864-9)*, 18/6/1864. The General Savini asks the Pope to allow the transfer of these novices from Palestrina to Rome.
- ¹⁰⁰ AO Rome, II CO I (68), Reg. Savini (1863-81), if. 65v, 67v 68r 99v.
- ¹⁰¹ Elphin Episcopal Archives. Letter of Card. Cullen to Dr. Gilooly 17/11/1870. AO Rome, II ilibernia 1, Letter 19/7/1873.

¹⁰² AO Rome, II ilibernia 3, Letter 11/12/1867. Cf. also Peter O'Dwyer, O.Carm., *The Carmelite Mission at Merthyr Tydvil 1864-79*, in *Aylesford Review*, 7 (1965), 75-86.

¹⁰³ His tombstone at Merthyr Tydvil has this inscription: "The remains of this most indefatigable, revered and lamented priest, lie on this chosen field of his arduous labours and 'his memory is in benediction'. By love of the poor, so cherished, and untiring zeal in every public interest — like a flower just closed — he still sheds fragrance and influence around; and his schools are a lasting memorial of the efforts he made in the cause of education."

¹⁰⁴ AO Rome, II ilibernia 1, Letter 20/2/1870.

¹⁰⁵ Battersby 1871 *passim* gives 32 priests but the other reference, now seemingly lost, was from an Order source and more reliable.

¹⁰⁶ O'Dwyer, *Spratt*, 263.

¹⁰⁷ AO Dublin, *Acta Capituli Provincialis 1871*, 1. The following are the monasteries Merthyr Tydvil, Tohergar, Moate, Knocktopher, Kinsale, Kildare, Terenure, Dominick Street, Dublin. But the Prior of Dublin (Whitefriar's) was also Prior of Terenure and Dominick St. Cf. also Peter O'Dwyer, O.Carm., *From the Diary of Fr. Angelus Savini*, in *Zelo*, 12 (1960) i, 46-49.

¹⁰⁸ AO Rome, II ilibernia 1, Letter 7/2/1872. The novitiate was opened in 1873 (4/7/1873).

¹⁰⁹ AO Rome, II Hibernia 1, Letter 24/11/1873; 1/6/1874.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 19/7/1873.

¹¹¹ AO Rome, II Hibernia, 1 Letter 15/4/1881; 22/4/1881.

¹¹² AO Rome, II Hibernia 1, Letter 23/12/1883.

¹¹³ AO Rome, II Hibernia 1, Letter 13/5/1882. Cf. also Leo Gallagher, O.Carm., *Carmel in Australia*, in *Zelo*, 6 (1954), i, 1-15.

¹¹⁴ AO Rome, II Hibernia 1, 19/11/1881.

¹¹⁵ McCaffrey, *Whitefriars*, 454.

¹¹⁶ AO Rome, II Hibernia 1, 29/12/1888.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8/3/1889.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1/2/1889. Cf. also Norbert Heaslip, O.Carm., *Building a Province*, in *Zelo*, 6 (1954), i, 16-25.

¹¹⁹ AO Rome, II Hibernia 1, Letter 16/5/1888.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 28/8/1891.

¹²¹ Dominic McCouaig, O.Carm., *Four Decades of Carmel*, in *Zelo*, 2 (1949), ii, 8-11.

¹²² Cleophas Bowe, O.Carm., *The Friars Return*, in *Zelo*, 6 (1954), i, 26-35.

¹²³ Cathal O hAinle, O.Carm., *Carmelites in Africa*, in *Zelo*, 10 (1958), i, 33-40; *Zelo*, 10 (1958), ii, 79-89.

¹²⁴ This information could easily be checked from returns in the archives in the Generalate in Rome.

¹²⁵ M. Damian Ryan, O.Carm. [et al.], *Fr. Peter Elias Magennis*, in *Zelo*, 5 (1953), ii, 3-12. Cf. also *Whitefriars*, Dublin, Oct. 1937, Memorial Number on the death of Fr. Magennis.