

THE CARMELITE ORDER
IN
PRE-REFORMATION IRELAND.

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SUMMARIUM. — Brevis delineatio historica Provinciae Iliberniae Ordinis Carmelitarum ab origine (saec. XIII) usque ad suppressionem saeculi XVI. Fontes indicantur quae adliuc supersunt; essentialia dicuntur de provincia; tempora exhibentur foundationum singulorum conventuum; sermo fit de relationibus cum Carinelitis vicinae Angliae; nomina dantur episcoporum ex Ordine assumptorum. Memoria dignurn insuper habetur Missale Kilcormachjense (scripturn mann a. 1458), quod in "Trinity College" Dublinensi adliuc asservatur

INTRODUCTION

The Order had its origins in the Holy Land on the mountain near Haifa which still bears the name Mount Carmel. At the end of the crusades it was clear that if the Order were to survive it would have to seek foundations elsewhere. The Emperor Frederick II had signed a ten-year truce with the Saracens in 1229. Before the ten years had elapsed the Carmelites, according to Vincent of Beauvais, began their migrations to Europe. In all probability the migration was done by groups at various times. There are indications that some groups left in 1235. The path of the migrations can be traced from the order of precedence of Provinces observed in the general chapters and the seniority of the monasteries can be discerned from the lists in the provincial chapters.

On Mount Carmel the type of life was eremitical. Each monk lived in a separate cell within an enclosure. The hermits were to remain in or near their cells engaged in prayer or some suitable occupation. Silence, perpetual abstinence, a fast from September 14th to Easter and poverty were to be observed. In the middle of the enclosure was a chapel dedicated to Our Lady where the hermits were to assist at Mass daily "when this could be done conveniently." Those who could read were to say the canonical hours—the others were to recite Paters and Aves in lieu of the Hours. From early on the name "Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel" which they used from an early date finds its way into Papal documents as early as 1252.

Very soon after their arrival in Europe it was evident that a change was needed and that the Order would have to adapt itself to its new surroundings. It was the era of the Mendicant Orders. Many of the early Carmelite foundations in Europe were in solitary places. As they had no lands nor public churches it was obvious that they could not survive under these conditions. Consequently they sought foundations in towns and gradually became mendicants. It took till 1327 before they had all the rights and privileges of the other mendicant Orders.

The Order was introduced to England by crusaders returning from the Holy Land c.1240. Between then and 1300 some 30 foundations were made there. Tradition indicates that here the first moves were made towards mendicantism. This was not approved by all. Indeed quite a number of the early generals in Europe retired to the desert once their term of office was concluded. By 1270 there were provinces of the Order in Cyprus (continuation of the Holy Land Province), Sicily, Rome, Lombardy, England, three in France and one in Germany.

The first mention of Carmelites in Ireland comes in 1271 when the Order received royal protection for five years.¹ A number of Carmelite historians and others claim that the Order had its first foundation in Clare Island (off the Mayo coast) in 1224.² This had a certain attractiveness as it harmonized well with the eremitical tradition of the Order but it would be extraordinary to find Carmelites on Clare Island before finding them in Sicily, France or England. As this foundation on Clare Island was a cell of the Cistercian monastery of Abbey Knockmoy at the dissolution of the monasteries we may presume that it was always Cistercian. Possibly the fact that the colour white was a distinctive mark in

both Orders led to the confusion.

SOURCES

Before dealing with the Carmelite foundations in Ireland it may be well to indicate the few sources that remain. These are mainly lists. One of these is appended to the petition of a Carmelite, William of St. Patrick, Prior of Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny, in 1645.³ A second list is given in a letter of a Carmelite of the province of Touraine, Fr. Mark of the Nativity, who had made the list on information from an Irish Carmelite who had been in Ireland three months previously.⁴ A third list is found in the archives of the Order in Rome and dates from c. 1750.⁵ We also have the concluding portion of a list of Irish foundations from a Carmelite ins. written in Spain about the same time.⁶ These lists are supplemented by Ware, De Burgo etc. and the odd local reference and tit-bit from Bale, an English Carmelite, who conserved much historical matter relating chiefly to the English Province with an occasional reference to Ireland. He embraced Protestantism and was appointed bishop of Ossory but was driven out of Kilkenny by the people, went to the Continent and died later in England.⁷ The Acts of the general chapters⁸ which exist from 1318 onwards provide us with the names of the Irish provincials and decisions made concerning the Irish province.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY FOUNDATIONS

It is more convenient to trace the foundations chronologically. As English Carmelite foundations had normally about 12 members we may suggest this number also for the Irish ones. The first was at Leighlinbridge at the end of Henry III's reign (d. 1272). The Carew family were the founders⁹ The second foundation was Dublin. (almost certainly). It was being negotiated from 1274 but came finally in 1280 and was donated by Oweyn and Bermingham. In the preliminary enquiries it appears that the neighbourhood round Whitefriars Street was reputed as harbouring evildoers and it was advanced that a foundation would conduce to the profit of souls, and would also be convenient for people going to the Exchequer of Dublin.¹⁰ The fact that the monastery was near the Exchequer probably led to the granting of the chantry of the Exchequer on May 16th 1316 to the Carmelites.¹¹ They undertook to provide the religious services. Between 1316 and 1447 the stipend for these duties was increased at least four times by 100/- a time.¹² The monastery also received extra grants of land in 1329 and 1360.¹³

Between 1280 and 1300 eight other monasteries were founded, Ardee, which Hadcock suggests was founded in 1274.¹⁴ Gwynn suggests between 1272 and 1285.¹⁵ The seal of this community (Our Lady and the child) is the only Carmelite Prior's seal still in existence in Ireland from pre-reformation times.¹⁶ The founder was Ralph Pipard.¹⁷ Drogheda was founded before the end of the century by the townspeople of the English colony;¹⁸ Kildare was given by William de Vesce c. 1290;¹⁹ Ardnacranny, Co. Westmeath c. 1291 by Robert Dillon;²⁰ Borriscarra, Co. Mayo by Adam Staunton;²¹ Loughrea, Co. Galway c. 1300 by Richard de Burgh;²² Thurles by the Butler family²³ and Ballinasmale, Co. Mayo by the Prendergast family.²⁴ Practically all the donors were Norman. In keeping with the general tradition of the Order in Europe all the Irish monasteries, except Knocktopher,

were dedicated to Our Lady. Knocktopher was called St. Saviour's.

THE ERECTION OF A PROVINCE

The 14th century Carmelite historian John Trisse notes that there was a division of provinces in 1291.²⁵ This may well explain the existence of the Hiberno-Scottish province noted in the Constitutions of 1294.²⁶ As far as we know Scotland had roughly six houses at this time²⁷ and Ireland had perhaps eight. There is also evidence of an (unnamed) prior of Carmel travelling from England to Ireland in 1291-2 and again in 1299 for affairs concerning his Order.²⁸

The years 1302-5 saw the difficult birth of the Irish Province. In 1302 Boniface VIII sent two German Carmelites, Conrad of St. George, an ex-provincial and Gobelinus, a provincial,²⁹ hoping they would succeed where a previous visitor had failed.³⁰ The matter came to a head when the general, Gerard of Bologna on May 26th 1303 decreed that the English province be divided.³¹ This decision was opposed by several eminent members of the English Province, including the Provincial William Ludlington and by Irishman David O'Buge, who had quite a standing as a theologian. But the general insisted and in the provincial chapter held in London in 1305 the decision was finally ratified and executed. Those who had resisted were given penances, mostly exile, David of Ireland making his way to Trier where he was appointed to teach.³² In a series of articles in *Rivista storica carmelitana* Fr. Cuschieri held that Scotland was separated from England in 1303. But we do know that Scotland became an independent province in 1324.³³ Benedict Zimmerman says that Ireland, not Scotland is the province which sought independence. The latter would seem to be the correct view though Cuschieri showed the value of Trisse's statement *re* 1291, which Zimmerman discounted. Neither of them knew of the existence of the Hiberno-Scottish province. Zimmerman also states that the division between the provinces was brought about because of studies. He says that the young Irish students were sent to England on the completion of their grammar studies. Higher studies might be pursued later at London, Oxford or Cambridge. Hence an Irish student would be in England for a period of 6 to 10 years. He gives no reference for these statements. He adds that the Irish students were delighted later when a studium was founded in Dublin after the visitation of John Bloxham in 1325. He gives no reference here either. He concludes that English resistance to the erection of the Irish Province was due to the fact that the English authorities and masters feared it would be detrimental to the Irish students and impoverish the English houses of study. After the division the English would not be able to choose the students they preferred and would be liable to have turbulent elements – bearing in mind the Irish temperament and the great number of Irish students. (I am sure he had some basis for these remarks but he gives no indication).

FOURTEENTH CENTURY FOUNDATIONS

The fourteenth century saw ten more foundations: Castelyons, near Fermoy, Co. Cork c. 1309 which came as a grant to the Carmelites of Drogheda from John de Barry;³⁴ Athboy, Co. Meath came in 1317 from De Loundres.³⁵ Caltra-na-pallice, in the parish of Killosofan, Co. Galway, was founded c. 1330 (date suggested by Fr. Counellan) by the

Berminghams of Athenry.³⁶ A second foundation in Cork came when Robert Fitzrichard Balrayne founded Kinsale in 1334;³⁷ Cloncurry, Co. Kildare came through the Roche family in 1347.³⁸ Ballynehinch, Co. Galway was founded by a native Irish family, O'Flaherty, in 1356;³⁹ Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny was founded in the same year by James, the second earl of Ormond.⁴⁰

The others – Crevaghbane, near Tuam, founded by the De Burgos, earls of Clanrickard;⁴¹ Horetown (or Little Horton) near Taghmon, Co. Wexford, founded by the Furlongs;⁴² Ballinegaul, near Kilmallock founded by the Roche family (though this is sometimes called Dominican), but in the grant after the dissolution which gave it to Trinity College, it is called Carmelite⁴³ and Knockmore, Co. Sligo, came through the Irish family the O'Garas.⁴⁴ All these are dated as fourteenth century.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY FOUNDATIONS

Four or five more were added in the fifteenth century. Fr. Counellan has given good reason for believing that the monastery of Eglis in the parish of Ahascragh, Co. Roscommon, was a Carmelite foundation dating from c. 1437.⁴⁵ One of the lists⁴⁶ which I mentioned earlier which has only five or six of the names of monasteries gives a foundation called Aglisutleave which makes Fr. Connellan's identification certain. With this the cell of Bealaneny, near Taughmacconnell (Ballinasloe) must be coupled, as Fr. Egan has shown.⁴⁷

About the same time the monastery of Kilcormac, Co. Offaly was founded by the O'Molloy family.⁴⁸ This monastery is sometimes called Frankford. In the list given by Fr. Mark of the Nativity it is called Beallabuy – Ballyboy is an alternative name for the district. The foundation at Milltown or Ballywullin, Co. Limerick (parish of Aglishcormick) came c.1460 through the O'Molloy family.⁴⁹

Towards the end of the century or at the beginning of the 16th century Rathmuliin, on the shores of Lough Swilly, was founded by MacSweeney of Fanad.⁵⁰ In 1528 we note that Domhnall Óg Mac Suibhne died, having taken the habit of the Order of Mary.⁵¹

DOUBTFUL FOUNDATIONS

There appears to have been a foundation in Clonmel. We have the "extent" of the monastic possession at the time of suppression and the fact that the Carmelites had charge of the parish of St. Mary's prior to the suppression is noted.⁵² The site of the present Protestant church has been suggested as the Carmelite foundation. A monastery at Ardfiunan is mentioned in Mark's list and in the one presented to Rinuccini. Yet any evidence prior to the 1600 makes it Franciscan Third Order.⁵³ Perhaps there was a Franciscan foundation in Ardfinnan itself. Lady Abbey lies about two miles from Ardfinnan.

Cork city is given by De Burgo as a pre-reformation site.⁵⁴ There was a Carmelite residence in the city c. 1740 and at that time they did claim to have had an earlier foundation. This claim was rejected by the other Mendicant Orders in the city.⁵⁵ In the *Extents* of monastic possessions at the dissolution there is no mention of a Carmelite monastery there, whereas the extents of the other Mendicant Orders do appear.

Galway city is also mentioned by De Burgo and in the Rinuccini list. The fact that the

Disalced Carmelites were there c. 1645⁵⁶ may have led to the belief that it was originally a pre-reformation foundation.

RELATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH CARMELITES

Apart from the fact that the Irish foundations must have been manned in the beginning by English Carmelites and from the negotiations concerning the divisions of the two provinces we have only a few instances showing the inter-relationship.

In 1325 the prior general John d'Alerio sent an English Carmelite John Bloxham as his vicar to make a visitation in Ireland. John presided at the provincial chapter which was held in Ardee and introduced statutes to restore discipline.⁵⁷

In 1399 the general Chapter held in Tuscany, which incidentally was not attended by Irish delegates, decreed that the English provincial John Kynyngham should be vicar-provincial of Ireland. He was to provide for the election of a provincial for Ireland by the members of the province or by other means if he deemed it wise.⁵⁸

In 1425 Thomas Netter of Walden, an eminent Carmelite theologian and Provincial of England wrote to the Irish Provincial Philip Rayther asking him not to receive any English apostates.⁵⁹ Thomas also wrote to the Count of Ormond (whom he calls the *tundator Ordinis in Hibernia*) asking him to help the Carmelite sent by the General to reform the Order there.⁶⁰

In 1472 John Milverton was appointed Vicar General for Ireland England and Scotland. A similar appointment was made for different groups of Provinces that year. But these provinces had their own provincials, Donal O'Gormley holding the post in Ireland.⁶¹ The two indications which we possess regarding students show a close link in this field. In September 1348 the Irish Carmelites petitioned the king, Edward III, for permission to send six students to study in England. A Dublin benefactor, John de Grauntsete, was willing to pay the twelve marks annually to the English provincial to support them.⁶² In 1393 the general Chapter at Frankfurt allowed the Irish province send a student to Oxford and one to Cambridge.⁶³

A Carmelite friar was unfortunate to get involved in the political intrigues centering round Richard II. The king was at Salisbury for the Parliament held there in April and May 1384. One morning, when he had heard Mass in the apartment of the Earl of Oxford, he was approached by the celebrant, an Irish Carmelite named John Latimer, who brought charges of treason (which were subsequently rebutted) against John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Pending the investigation of the charges the friar was committed to custody. On his way to Salisbury Castle he was seized by a gang, who, in an effort to extract from him information about the sources of his story, subjected him to a series of tortures which were soon followed by his death.⁶⁴

Two of the monasteries suffered from the fact that they lay on the border of the Pale. Leighlinbridge was in a particularly vulnerable spot and suffered attacks from the Irish a number of times⁶⁵ while Cloncurry was attacked by the Irish in 1405 but the neighbouring people restored it.⁶⁶

The Acts of the general Chapters provide us with the names of the Irish provincials from 1318 onwards. We also have a similar list from the Spanish document already mentioned (*Gopia*). On the whole the names are badly preserved but they indicate that after

Newenham who was the first superior in Ireland following the division of the province in 1305, the provincial till 1327 had an Irish name. O'Buge himself was provincial for about six years till c. 1327.⁶⁷ From that till 1430 the names are mainly English. From 1440 onwards the names are again Irish.

REFORM

The monastery at Ballinasmale, Co. Mayo, has a very interesting feature. There are a number of cells which suggest something like the situation on Mount Carmel but on a smaller scale. It was an early foundation dating from the end of the thirteenth century. If Fr. Egan's suggestion that the cell at Bealaneny is Carmelite is correct, this is an indication of a movement found in Carmelite monasteries on the Continent and in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁶⁸

One other item which gives an indication of a reform movement is a stain-glass window usually associated with the monastery in Ardnacranna.⁶⁹ It depicted the meeting of St. Francis, St. Dominic and St. Angelus a Carmelite martyr and had an inscription relating to Bl. John Soreth who was general from 1452-1471 and was the main instrument in promoting reform within the Order. In passing let us note that the acts of the Irish Provincial Chapter of 1871 record a visit of Soreth's four hundred years previously.⁷⁰ One wonders if the writer of the Acts also knew of this inscription!

BISHOPS

While not directly related to the Irish province a word may be added about Carmelite bishops in Ireland in this period. From 1327 when William Pagham was appointed bishop of Meath till the reformation there were 25 Carmelite bishops appointed to Irish sees: viz., Meath, Drogheda, Dublin, Leighlin, Ossory, Cashel, Lismore & Waterford, Cloyne, Ross, Mayo, Aunaghdown, Elphin, Kilieloe, Kilmacduagh and Derry. Of these 25 bishops only three were Irishmen, William Quapod, Malachy O'Malone and Ralph Kelly. The others were Englishmen who were well-known to the English monarchs, Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV or Henry VI. In fact Richard II and Henry IV had Carmelite confessors.⁷¹

The most colourful Carmelite bishop was Ralph Kelly who in 1327 had risen to the second highest post in the Order, Procurator General.⁷² Bale says that he was born in Drogheda and joined the Order either in Dublin or Kildare. His studies were done in Avignon, Toulouse and Montpellier.⁷³ The Papal Curia was then in Avignon and the Curia of the Order had also transferred there. Kelly retained the post of Procurator General till 1344.⁷⁴ It was during this period i. e. 1342 that Fitzralph archbishop of Armagh preached his famous sermon in the Carmelite church in Avignon.⁷⁵

In 1344 Kelly was appointed to the see of Leighlin but while preparing to take possession he learned that the see was not vacant.⁷⁶ However the problem was solved by the death of the archbishop of Cashel. He took possession of this see in 1346. At a parliament held in Kilkenny that year Edward III imposed a heavy tax on the church to defray the expenses incurred during the war with France. Kelly refused to levy it, pleading that a charter was granted to the Irish Church. Not only did he refuse to levy it but he said that he would excommunicate anyone of his subjects who either paid it or levied it. He convened

an assembly of his suffragans – the bishops of Limerick, Emly and Lismore and they decreed that any beneficed cleric who contributed to the levy should be *ipso facto* deprived of his benefice and that the laity, who were their tenants, who contributed, should be *ipso facto* excommunicated whilst their descendants to the third generation should be declared incapable of holding ecclesiastical benefices. The archbishop and the other bishops openly in the middle of the street and in their pontifical robes excommunicated, at Clonmel, all who fell under the censure, naming in particular, the king's commissioner in Tipperary, William Epworth. The king replied by prosecuting the offence and the archbishop was ordered to pay a fine of £1,000.⁷⁷

He had trouble with one of his suffragans in 1353, when Roger Cradock, bishop of Lismore and Waterford convicted two Irishmen of heresy at Bunratty Castle and had them burned alive. This whole procedure, apparently, needed the permission of the metropolitan, which was not sought. "So" states the account, "on the Tuesday after the feast of St. Francis, the archbishop, a little before midnight, entered the churchyard near St. Catherine's Gate with a great troop of armed and indignant men and wounded the bishop of Waterford and others of his household."⁷⁸

Our research has shown that twenty-five of these foundations may be taken as certain, Ardfinnan is doubtful, Cork and Galway are almost certainly post 1600. The lists also include other names sometimes unidentifiable, sometimes duplicates.⁷⁹ Of the twenty-five certain ones Dublin was in all probability the provincial house. It housed a meeting of the Irish Parliament in 1333. The fact that the Provincial Chapter was held in Ardee and Athboy is noted,⁸⁰ gives further ground for believing that the normal place for holding it was Dublin.

KILCORMAC MISSAL

A missal from the monastery of Kilcormack is still extant in Trinity College.⁸¹ It was written in 1458 and is one of the few relics of pre-reformation times.

Though the Carmelites had their own rite it is interesting to note that they celebrated many Irish saints' feasts. These were mostly connected with the diocese of Meath or were celebrated in the country as a whole. The more interesting names are David, Chad, Kieran, Brendan, Petronilla, Kevin, Colmcille, Moling, Mac Cuilinn, Ultan, Kieran (Seir), Colman, Canice, Laurence O'Toole and Finian.⁸²

Entries in the missal show the close relationship between the monastery and their benefactors the O'Molloys. Their obits are entered from 1410-1568. In 1454 the following obit appears: "On the feast of St. Remigius (Oct. 1) Odo O'Molloy, lord of Fer Cell and founder of the abbey died. He was buried in front of the high altar.

1476: May 5th Charles O'Molloy, a brave man endowed with every human grace died. He was buried in the monastery of St. Mary, Kilcormac, at the third step, near the top of the choir on the north side.

1503: Notice of a deed between Theobald O'Molloy, his wife, and the friars of Kilcormac.

1525: Hugh and Constantine O'Molloy were dragged from the church by Charles O'Molloy and his followers and slain near the gate of the monastery of Kilcormac.

1536: Friar Nicholas O'Brolchain, Prior of Kilcormac died of the plague.

1568: This is the last entry: It is the obit of Friar Rory O'Morrissey.⁸³

The only reference from Rome, apart from those found in the Acts of the general Chapters dates from 1531 and runs – “The Irish Province has many monasteries and many friars but because it is so far away little or nothing is known of it. The provincial is an old man and of sound doctrine.”⁸⁴

To my knowledge the only sizable ruins of Carmelite monasteries as distinct from the churches, dating from pre-reformation times are in Rathmullen and Castlelyons. In Rathmullen the monastery came into the possession of a Protestant bishop Knox,⁸⁵ who added to it and fortified it, so that it is hard to be sure how much is original. In Castlelyons there were two foundations,⁸⁶ one Carmelite, one Dominican. It is difficult to know which Order occupied the site of the existing ruins.

From 1539 onwards the monasteries were being suppressed. Ardee, Athboy, Cloncurry, Drogheda, Dublin and Kildare were lost that year.⁸⁷ In Ardee “no goods or chattels were found as they were stolen and taken away by the friars long before the dissolution.”⁸⁸ Most of the foundations in Munster and Leinster were suppressed by 1541. Kilcormac held out a little longer and those west of the Shaunon or in remote districts were not confiscated immediately. The government of the Province was then removed to Rathmullen where it continued for another half-century under the protection of O'Donnell. The capture of Red Hugh O'Donnell⁸⁹ and the flight of the earls⁹⁰ took place quite close to this monastery. This date may be conveniently used to divide the pre-reformation and post-reformation history of the Province.

Notes:

- ¹ Public Record Office, Patent Rolls C. 66/89.
- ² Hubert Thomas Fox, *The History Of The County Of Mayo To The Close Of The 16th Century*, Dublin, 1908; 94.
- ³ Pater Richardus et Pater Robertus O.F.M. CAP., *Commentarius Rinuccinianus De Sedis Apostolicae Legatione Ad Fcederatos Hiberniae Cat Holicos 1645-9*; Edited By Fr. Stanislaus O.F.M. Cap., (6 V., Dublin, 1932), I, 407.
- ⁴ Archives Departmentals Ile-Et-Vilaine (Rennes) Pond Carmes d’Hibernie 9H12. Letter of Fr. Mark Of The Nativity to his provincial. Dated 27 sept. But the year is not given. It is certainly between 1640-1650.
- ⁵ Elias Magennis, O.CARM., *De Hiberniae Provincia*, In *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, (Hereafter AOC), I (1909), 387-92.
- ⁶ Archives Of The Order (Hereafter AO) Rome, *Copia De Provincialibus Hiberniae* (Hereafter Copia), 7.30.
- ⁷ Lancelot C. Sheppard, *The English Carmelites*, London, 1943, 52-3.
- ⁸ Gabriel Wessels, O.CARM. (Editor), *Acta Capituluoruin Generalium Ordinis Eratrum B. 17. M. De Monte Carmelo* (Hereafter ACG), Roniac, 1912-1934, 2v.
- ⁹ Walter Harris (Editor), *The Whole Works Of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland* (Hereafter Ware), II (1764), 283.
- ¹⁰ S. Sweetman (Editor), *Calendar Of Documents Relating To Ireland*, London, 1877; No. 1609, 1279 Nov. 13th.
- ¹¹ *Calendar Of Patent Rolls* (Hereafter CPR) Edward II 1313.1317, London 1898, 472-3.
- ¹² P. R. Mccaffrey, O.CARM., *The White Friars* (Hereafter MCCAFFREY), Dublin, 1926, 358.
- ¹³ CPR 26 Oct. 1329 Membrane 13; 6 Nov. 1360 Membrane 3.
- ¹⁴ He Makes This Suggestion In A Typescript Which He Sent Me.
- ¹⁵ Aubrey Gwynn, S. J., *Ardee In The Middle Ages In Louth Archaeological Journal* 11, N° 2, (1947), 86.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 87.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 86.
- ¹⁸ Ware, 283. L. Aug. Alemand (Hereafter AL), *Histoire Monastique d’Irlande*, Paris, 1690, 334.
- ¹⁹ Ware, 283, AL 335.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 283, AL 336. Thomas De Burgo, *Hibernia Dominicana*, Koln, 1762, 751 (Hereafter De Burgo).
- ²¹ M. J. Blake, *Notes On The Placenames Mentioned In Brown’s Map Of Mayo, 1584*, In *Galway Historical And Archaeological Society*, 6 (1909.10), 238. Hubert T. Knox, *History Of Co. Mayo*, 95.
- ²² Ware, 284; AL, 337 gives the founder as Richard Harley In 1300.
- ²³ Ware, 284; AL, 336.
- ²⁴ Ware, 284; AL, 337; De Burgo, 751.
- ²⁵ Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D., Era Gerardo Da Bologna E Le Provincie Irlandese E Scozzese, In *Rivista Storica Carmelitana* (Hereafter RSC), 2 (1930), 77.87.
- ²⁶ L. Saggi, O.CARM., *Constitutiones Capituli Burdigalensis Anni 1294*, In *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* (Hereafter AOC), 18 (1953), 184.
- ²⁷ Mccaffrey, 463-8.
- ²⁸ RSC, 82.
- ²⁹ Cosmas De Villiers, *Biblioteca Carmelitana* (1752); Ed. G. Wessels, Romae, 1927, 352.
- ³⁰ *Calendar Of Chancery Warrants 1244-1326*, London 1927, 31 Edward I, 21 Jan. 1303, 168.
- ³¹ Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D., (Editor), *Monumenta Historica Carme. Litana* (Hereafter MHC), L6rins, 1907, 225.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 226.
- ³³ This statement is borne out by a sentence overlooked by Zimmerman from Bale’s text in British Museum Harley 3838: *Una Tunc Erat Provincia Et Scotia Et Anglia, Atque Ad Consilia Anglorum Venientis Scoti (Quod Illis Liberum Erat) Communia Gerebant Officia.*
- ³⁴ CPR, Membrane 39, 11 Aug. 1309.
- ³⁵ Ware, 283.
- ³⁶ Ware, 284. M. J. Connellan, *English Monastery — Abascragh Parish, Co. Galway*, In *Journal Of The Royal Society Of Antiquaries Of Ireland* (Hereafter JRSAL) 73 (1943), 15ff.
- ³⁷ Ware, 284; AL, 336.
- ³⁸ Ware, 283; AL, 335.
- ³⁹ Ware, 284; AL, 337.
- ⁴⁰ Ware, 283.
- ⁴¹ Ware, 284; De Burgo, 751; ALS, 339
- ⁴² Ware, 283; AL 336

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- 43 Ware, 284, AL 230, McCaffrey, 405.
- 44 De Burgo, 752.
- 45 JRSAI 73 (1943), 15ff.
- 46 Copia 7.
- 47 Patrick K. Egan, *The Carmelite Cell Of Bealaneny*, In *Journal Of The Galway Archaeological And Historical Society*, 26 (1954.6), 19-25.
- 48 Ware, 283.
- 49 De Burgo, 752. AO Rome II CO II, 9.
- 50 Ware, 283.
- 51 Annals Of Loch Cé 1528, EM 1529. The notice supplied by the Board of Works on the entrance says that it was built c.1508 by Rory MacSweeney for the Carmelites in 1516
- 52 Newport B. White (Editor), *Extents Of Irish Monastic Possessions 1540-1*, Dublin, 1943, 330-1.
- 53 Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, Dublin, 1786. 640. He Cites Ware.
- 54 De Burgo, 752.
- 55 *Copia* 115.
- 56 James Hardiman, *A History Of The Town And County Of Galway*, Dublin, 1820, 273.
- 57 CPR, Edward II, 113, Apr. 4th 1325; McCaffrey, 361.
- 58 ACG I, 122.
- 59 MHC, 473.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 455-6.
- 61 ACG I, 257-8.
- 62 CPR, Edward III Vol. VIII 1348-1350. Membrane I, 150-1 3 Sept. 1348.
- 63 ACG I, 109.
- 64 L. C. Hector, *An Alleged Historical Outburst Of Richard II*, In *English Historical Review*, 68 (1953), 62. It should be noted that Walsingham in his *Historia Anglicana* takes a dim view of the murder of the friar. Cf. McCaffrey, 373.
- 65 Mccaffrey, 359.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 369.
- 67 He was re-appointed in 1324; ACG I, 24.
- 68 Mccaferey, 66.
- 69 John Healy, *History Of The Diocese Of Meath*, Dublin, 1908, 107-110.
- 70 AO Dublin (Microfilm Of 1871 Provincial Chapter), 1.
- 71 This is a summary of an article by Paul Graham, O.Carm., *Carmelite Bishops in Ireland* in *Zelo*, 9 (1957), 80-103. *Zelo* is the student magazine of the Irish Province of the Order, produced at Gort Muire, Dundrum, Co. Dublin, 1947-
- 72 ACG I, 27.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 27 N. 2.
- 74 *Ibid.*
- 75 Edited By B. Zimmerman, O.C.D., *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, 3 (1931), 163-89.
- 76 ACG I, 27 N. 2.
- 77 Mccaffrey, 353-4.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 355. Cf. Also Patrick Power, *Waterford And Lismore*, Cork, 1937, 10-11.
- 79 Dundalk and Youghal are mentioned. They are probably Discalced Carmelite foundations. Trim and Kilkenny may also have belonged to them. The other names are Felense and Lehense (in Munster). Molingar, Mont Savachu (Ulster), Ross, St. Simon near Naas. Felense might be Clonmel, Lehense possibly Milltown, Molingar (in Mark of the Nativity) may be Milltown also. St. Simon might be Kildare. Others are Belliur Bochminon (Rathmullen?), Balcaccense (in Connaught).
- 80 McCaffrey, 361, 368.
- 81 Ms. B. 3.1.
- 82 Edward Ward, *Kilcormack Missal And Breviary*, In *Zelo* 11 (1959), 28-41.
- 83 McCaffrey, 387-9
- 84 AG Rome II CO II, 31 (End).
- 85 Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary Of Ireland*, London, 1837, II, 505.
- 86 *The Windle Manuscripts* In *Cork Historical And Archaeological Journal* III, 178-9; IV, 61-2; XXXII, 50-1 where the ruins are assumed as Dominican but without sufficient justification.
- 87 McCaffrey, 398-401

⁸⁸ Canice Mooney, O.F.M., *The First Impact Of The Reformation*, Dublin, 1967, 25

⁸⁹ Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, edited by Paul Walsh and Coim O Lochlain, Dublin, 1948, 6-8.

⁹⁰ Tadhg Ó Cianáin, *The Flight Of The Earls*, edited by Paul Walsh, Dublin, 1916, 8.