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The Franciscans in Carrick-on-Suir

By Patrick Conlan, O.F.M.

James, the first Earl of Ormond, gave his castle at Carrick-on-Suir to the Franciscans as a friary on 3 June 1336.¹ They took possession on Saturday, June 29, the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Stephen Barry was provincial with William Nash as custos. John Clyn was the first guardian, i.e. local supervisor. We know this because Friar John Clyn left a diary or annals. He later moved to Kilkenny, where he probably died during the Black Death of 1347-49.

The friars came to Ireland in or soon after 1226.² Given the synergy of Franciscan vision and Celtic imagination, it is not surprising that a half-century of rapid expansion followed. Some thirty friaries were founded before 1300. Problems arising from cultural differences between the Irish and Anglo-Irish led to stasis. Only three houses opened between 1300 and the Black Death. Carrickbeg was the last of these, in fact the last on a new site until well into the fifteenth century.

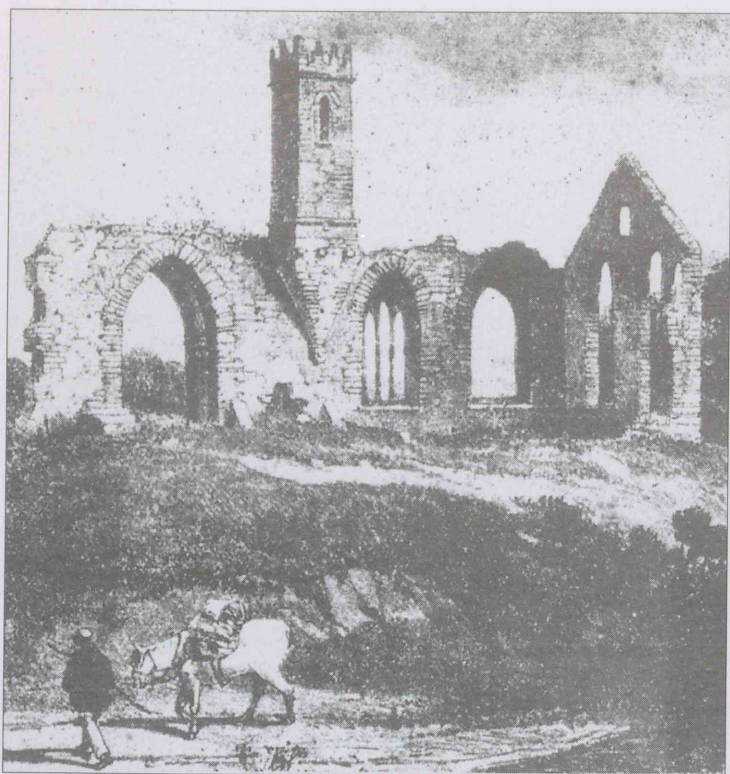
James, son of Edmund Butler and husband of Eleanor, was created Earl of Carrick in 1315. This title was extinguished at the parliament of Shrewsbury in 1328 and James became the first Earl of Ormond. He was granted the County of Tipperary as his palatinate, with its capital at Clonmel. This may have been the reason why he was free to give his castle in Carrick to the Franciscans. James died at Ballygavern on Tuesday, 18 February 1336, and was buried in the collegiate chapel at Gowran. His father, Edmund, had founded a college for four secular priests or vicars there in 1312. The tomb slab of James and Eleanor is still at the site.

The early death of James left the friars without legal title. His son, also James, and widow Eleanor applied to the Holy See for permission for the new foundation.³ Pope Element VI granted it on 29 October 1347. This enabled the 2nd Earl to approach King Edward III for royal assent to alienate a messuage and ten acres to the friars for their new house. The fact that Eleanor was a granddaughter of Edward I must have expedited the application.

The king gave his consent on 20 February 1348. Even then the legalities were not perfect, for Richard II took some of the land back in 1385. Eleanor died in 1363 and left nearly three thousand pounds to be divided among religious houses in Ireland and England.⁴ The Irish ones included the Carmelites in Cloncurry, Knocktopher and Thurles, the Augustinians in Tullow, the Dominicans in Arklow and the Franciscans in Nenagh and Carrick.

Was the friary in Carrickbeg built around an old castle? We have seen that the castle may have been surplus to the Earl's needs. No mention of it is made in the royal licence. The site above the Old Bridge was ideal to defend the river crossing. The ruins of the friary were incorporated in the parish church of Saint Moleran when it was built in 1828. The unique tower riding on the north wall of the church hints at a castle. The typical medieval friary had a church running east to west, with the high altar under the east window and a tower dividing the choir from the nave. Old drawings of the friary suggest that the east window was a triple lancet, common in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century.

Parts of the old west door, including some lovely carved heads, are incorporated in the present church door. The cloister and living quarters were to the south of the church rather than to the north. This exception and the unique tower could indicate previous use as a castle.



Ruins of Franciscan abbey, c. 1702.

The only certain adaptation of an Irish castle into a Franciscan friary is that at Quin in 1433. It is more than likely that Carrickbeg was another.

Along with Clonmel, Kilkenny, New Ross, Waterford and Youghal, Carrickbeg was in the Anglo-Irish custody of Cashel for administrative purposes. Little has come down about the lives of the friars in Carrick.⁵ As with other houses, they were probably in demand as confessors and preachers. It seems that Edmund MacRichard Butler of Paulstown helped renovate the friary in 1447 as well as build the present Old Bridge.

Led by such saints as Bernardine of Sienna and John of Capistrano, a reform began among the Franciscans early in the fifteenth century.⁶ The movement was officially approved at the general chapter of Assisi in 1430. It soon reached

Ireland with the foundation of Quin in 1433. The native Irish were attracted to the Observants, who favoured a simple life of prayer in a quiet atmosphere removed from the bustle of life in towns and cities.

In Ireland they opened houses in the country areas of the west and north. The province was split into two, Observant and Conventual, in 1517. Typical of Anglo-Irish houses, those of the custody of Cashel were slow to adopt the Observant reform. While Youghal changed in 1460, Cashel, Clonmel and Waterford only became Observant in the decade before the Reformation, while Kilkenny, New Ross and Carrickbeg remained Conventual until they were seized by the authorities.

The suppression of monasteries in Ireland began in 1537.⁷ The aim, under Henry VIII, was to raise cash for the Crown. The suppression commission, headed by Sir John Alen, Lord Chancellor, with George Brown, Anglican archbishop of Dublin, slowly made its way around the safer parts of the country. It started in the Pale, then mounted a campaign against images and statues. It passed through Meath and Louth before returning to Dublin during the winter of 1539-40. The commission next moved into the territories of Ormond in South Leinster in March and East Munster in April 1540. Summoned back to Dublin, it ceased to function.

The Franciscan houses in the Suir Valley were taken over during this last phase in 1540; Clonmel on March 8, Waterford on April 2 and Carrick-on-Suir on April 7.⁸ William Cormoke, the guardian of Carrick, surrendered the church and steeple, the chapter house, dormitory, hall,

three chambers, kitchen, stable, garden etc., amounting to four acres, as well as twelve messuages, ten gardens and 146 acres to a value of fifty three shillings and four pence.

The buildings were ruinous and of no value. The jurors charged with valuing the property reported in January 1541 that the Church and buildings were worth one-hundred shillings plus sixty-six shillings and eight-pence for the one hundred and twenty acres of land. The lot was rented to James, 9th Earl of Ormond. On his death in 1546 it passed to Black Tom, 10th Earl, who retained it until his death in 1614.

The large assets associated with the friary were typical of a Conventual house, which should be self-supporting and not dependent on alms. It would appear that morale was not very high in the community. James, the late Black Tom, probably allowed the friars to remain in hiding for a while. Lacking recruits, they soon died out. In contrast, the Observant friars of Clonmel established a place of refuge in the area between Kilsheelan and Kilcash, remaining active right through the Elizabethan period.

With a few exemptions, the Conventuals had died out in Ireland by the end of the sixteenth century. The Observants were there but not in good fettle. They had about fifteen communities, not all well organised. Training of young friars was haphazard. The general chapter of the order appointed Florence Conry as Irish provincial in 1606.⁹ He began re-organising the friars in line with the thinking of the Council of Trent and the Counter-Reformation. Starting with the College of Saint Anthony in Leuven, Belgium, in 1607, Conry put in place a new system of formation for candidates to the province. The flow of new friars from the continent enabled the Franciscans to re-open thirty-two of their medieval houses by 1629, rising to forty-seven by 1639.

The friars returned to Carrickbeg in 1645 when Anthony Sweetman was appointed guardian.¹⁰ We know little of his earlier career, but he soon became an associate of Peter Walsh, a friar who supported the royalist Earl of Ormond against the papal nuncio, Rinuccini. Walsh also promoted Gallican ideas whereby the government would have some control of church affairs. He and Sweetman were suspended and excommunicated in June 1649. They were called fugitives from the religious life and propagators of national disunity who preached against the pope. Both went into exile and died abroad.

The guardian in Carrick-on-Suir from 1647 to 1650 was Joseph Sall.¹¹ A native of Cashel and a companion of Blessed John Kearney (below), he joined the Franciscans in Kilkenny in 1634 and studied in Leuven before his ordination in 1643. Persecution forced him to flee to Spain about a year after he finished his term in Carrickbeg. We know that he was in Avila in 1654 and that he had returned to Cashel some years later. He became guardian of the friary at Galbally near the Glen of Aherlow in 1669 and was elected a definator (adviser to the provincial) in 1672. Appointed guardian of Waterford in 1681, he was declared a jubilarian in 1684 and died soon afterwards.

The next guardian of Carrickbeg was John Kearney, born in Cashel in 1619.¹² He joined the order in Kilkenny the year after Sall, also studied in Leuven and set out for Ireland following his ordination in September 1642. Captured at sea by English Parliamentarians and taken from Bristol to London, he was imprisoned, tortured and condemned to death. Helped by an English Catholic, he escaped to France on the eve of his execution and reached Ireland through Calais and Wexford. He spent two years teaching philosophy in Cashel before going to Waterford as master of novices.

His mother was among those slaughtered by Inchiquin in Cashel cathedral in September 1647. Her beatification is under consideration. The arrival of Cromwell forced John to flee from Waterford in 1650. Appointed guardian of Carrick-on-Suir, he ministered in the Suir Valley despite the persecution. In March 1652 he was captured at Cashel and taken to Clonmel. At his trial before Colonel Jerome Stankey he proclaimed that he was a Franciscan priest whose duty

it was to say mass and administer the sacraments. He was hanged in his religious habit on March 21 and his body brought back to Cashel for burial in the chapter hall of the ruined friary. Blessed John Kearney was among the Irish Martyrs beatified by John Paul II in 1992.

The friars who went into hiding when Clonmel was captured by the English attempted to go back around the time of Cromwell's death in 1658. They did not return to Carrick for another ten years, when a couple of friars took up residence in a thatched cottage. There were two friars there in 1687. Bishop James Phelan of Ossory left them nine shillings in his will drawn up in 1693.

The Treaty of Limerick brought new problems for religious. The authorities were convinced that they presented a threat to peace. The "Banishment of Religious Act" was passed in 1697 and came into operation in May 1698. Friars could do one of three things – register as parish clergy, hoping that their religious identity would remain hidden, go into hiding or leave for the continent. Father Anthony Mandeville, probably a native of Ballydine, went into hiding near Carrick and was joined by Father Francis Doyle in 1700.

Father Richard John Hogan, guardian of Carrick-on-Suir from 1736 to 1739, became parish priest of Kilcash in or around 1742.¹³ He preached at the funeral of Lady Margaret Bourke of Clanrickard, Viscountess Iveagh, in July 1744. She was the widow of Colonel Thomas Butler of Kilcash. The catholic line ended with her death. Hogan also preached at the funeral of Archbishop Christopher Butler of Cashel (who often stayed near Kilcash) in 1757. There is some evidence that he lived in Thurles while in charge in Kilcash. He went on to become parish priest of Drumcannon, outside Tramore in 1750 and died in 1764 after a couple of years as guardian in Waterford.

We know that there were two friars using a thatched chapel below the present friary in 1766 while living nearby in a cottage. Such chapels were normal in the eighteenth century. Newly-ordained friars often returned to their own area. Martin Anthony Fleming, ordained in Prague in 1776, came back to his native Carrick as guardian in 1785 and remained there until his death in 1831. Another local, Richard Francis Power, ordained in Belgium in 1790, came home to replace a friar of the same name who died in 1791. Father Richard stayed in Carrick until his death in 1814.

The number of friars in Ireland fell during the second half of the eighteenth century. The opening of the college in Maynooth meant that there were fewer parishes where they could work. There was rationalisation, including closures, early in the eighteenth century. The friaries in Waterford diocese – Aghlish, Carrick, Clonmel and Waterford – remained open. But the friars in the latter three had problems moving from parish ministry towards the concept of a service church.

Barn churches replaced thatched chapels early in the nineteenth century as catholics emerged from the darkness of the penal period. These buildings got the name from their rectangular ground plan with high walls. They were often extended later in the century by putting a similar structure across the top of the original. Saint Nicholas's in Carrick-on-Suir was built in 1804 and Saint Molleran's in Carrickbeg in 1823. The people decided that their friary would not be left behind.

According to tradition, Father Martin Fleming and his nephew, Father Michael Anthony Fleming, were away one night in 1820 when the locals pulled the roof off the old chapel.¹⁴ The friars were told when they returned that a storm had blown it away. Work began in May 1820 on a new church at the top of the hill. The contractor was Thomas Walsh of Carrickbeg, who also built Fermoy Army Barracks and Carrick-on-Suir Union workhouse. Lord Duncannon gave fifteen tons of timber on behalf of his father, the Earl of Bessborough. Twelve of the largest

trees, with a value of sixty pounds, were cut down. Local farmers provided thirty-six horses and carts to bring the wood to the site. The new church was ready in 1822.

The following year Father Michael Anthony Fleming accepted an offer to work in Newfoundland.¹⁵ From the Carrick area, he joined the friars in Wexford, was ordained in Ferns in 1815 and came back to work with his uncle in Carrickbeg. After going to Newfoundland, he was the first priest consecrated as a bishop there and took over as Vicar Apostolic of Newfoundland in 1830. There were only three priests on the island then, but by 1837 Fleming had ten parishes, seventeen priests and the first convent of nuns. The vicariate was erected into a diocese in 1847. Fleming felt that he had done his best, had a coadjutor appointed and retired until his death in 1850.

In the meantime a couple of friars continued to staff the house in Carrickbeg. Father Daniel Louis Hourigan, who had been guardian in Limerick, came to Carrickbeg in the same capacity in 1831. His companion in the friary was Father William Peter Quirke. Used to working in a city, Father Louis tried to develop a ministry independent of the parish. He also performed funerals in the friary graveyard without permission from the parish priest. Hoping to renovate the friary church, he went on a fundraising trip to England in 1832. Trouble broke out in his absence.¹⁶ The Bishop of Waterford, William Abraham, suspended his faculties for hearing confessions and preaching. The provincial removed him from office at the request of the bishop and put Father William in his place. He favoured working closely with the parish clergy. Father Louis was re-instated as guardian after an internal investigation but the bishop would not restore his faculties. Father William moved to Thurles.

The matter was appealed to Rome, where it became tied up in another dispute between the friars and the bishop over the opening of a new Franciscan church in Waterford. Archbishop Slattery of Cashel was called to investigate. The dispute, which was part of a long process defining the proper relationships between friars and diocesan clergy, rumbled on until the deaths of the bishop and Father Louis in 1837. It is worth noting that the friars in Clonmel withdrew from parish work after their new church opened in 1828.

Despite the favourable aspects of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 it also contained provisions distinctly unfavourable to orders such as the Franciscans, and it took a decade before the friars realised that these parts of the Act would remain inoperative. Major renovations began in many friaries around 1840. Father Joseph Killian came to Carrickbeg as guardian in 1836 and began converting the church from barn to extended barn type. He was joined in 1837 by Father William Peter Gibbons, who would remain in Carrick until his death in 1866.

The extension was complete by the time Father Killian left after his election as Irish provincial in 1842. The painting of the Crucifixion by Guido Reni, purchased in Rome for thirty pounds in 1834,¹⁷ was placed over the high altar. Father Gibbons went on to erect the belfry and complete the purchase of the church grounds. He installed an organ in 1856.

Father Laurence Bonaventure Shiel came as guardian in 1845 and spent three years decorating the sanctuary, where he put in a new marble altar. He later went to Australia, became Bishop of Adelaide and was the only Irish Franciscan at the First Vatican Council. The main income came from the Sunday mass collections, quest of wheat with oats and candles, and the sale of graves.¹⁸ Expenses included staff and paying off the friary debt.

The visitor sent from Rome in 1864 reported that there were three friars in Carrickbeg, one of whom was inactive.¹⁹ The church was sound, but needed cleaning. The house was suffering from neglect. The friars did not preach often but spent six months going around neighbouring areas on the quest. They had two housekeepers.

The situation had improved by 1873, when there were three active priests and two tertiaries. While they tried to live a common life, they did not recite the divine office together. Benediction on Friday evenings was introduced in 1872. The Franciscan Third Order was re-established in 1880. Good Stations of the Cross were erected in 1888.

Given the poor condition of the building in 1864, it was inevitable that the friary would be rebuilt. Plans were drawn up in 1872 when Carrickbeg was on the short list of sites for an Irish Franciscan novitiate. Nothing happened. Its adaptation as a classical academy (second-level school) was considered in 1878. Finally the provincial chapter in 1892 ordered the incoming guardian, Father Clement O'Neill, to take action. The intermediate congregation in 1893 decided that Walter G. Doolin would be the architect.²⁰ Plans were drawn up by Doolin of Ely Place, Dublin, who had just finished rebuilding Clonmel church (1884-86) and friary (1892). He would go on to design the National Shrine of Saint Anthony in Dublin (1912). The new house in Carrickbeg was ready in 1896. The builder was a local, P. Loughman.

The Irish Franciscans emerged from the Penal Period lacking a clear idea of what should be their ministry. Their continental brethren, decimated during the French Revolution, rebuilt their lives around the theme of regular observance, i.e. a return to an almost monastic style of life. It was decided to impose this vision on the Irish friars in 1888.

The older men, who lived like priests in a presbytery, used money and employed housekeepers, would be allowed to die out. They were called the Black Friars because they wore clerical dress. The reformers lived a strict community life, would not touch money and wore the habit at all times. Thus they were called Brown Friars. Both groups based their ministry around a service church, where the people would be offered the sacraments and popular devotions.

A report in 1895 indicated that there were three friars in Carrickbeg.²¹ They were trying to live a common life and kept the cloister, but had little interest in regular observance and occasionally omitted the recitation of the divine office. There was a debt of six hundred and seventy-five pounds. Father Thomas Joseph Rossiter came to Carrick as superior in 1900 and remained there until he was admitted to hospital in Waterford in 1927, where he died the following year. He erected the outdoor Stations in 1912, which were renovated in 1951-55 and again in 1978. In practice he was the last Black Friar in Carrick.

While Father Anthony Maloney was officially superior in 1921-24, he spent most of this time recuperating in Florence acting as an English-speaking chaplain. Of the other Black Friars then in Carrick, Father Vincent O'Grady retired to Waterford around 1923, while Father Richard O'Connor went to Australia in 1922. He returned to Carrickbeg in 1936 and lived as a black among the brown until his death in 1952.

In the words of the time, Carrickbeg was proclaimed for the reform after the provincial chapter of 1924.²² Father Benignus Gannon came as superior with Father Kieran Duffy, while Father Rossiter remained in the community. Benignus was a moderate reformer who had fallen out with the stricter friars when he was provincial in 1903-04 and 1908-11. Yet he sold all the old furniture in the friary because it was not in line with poverty! He changed the seating in the church, installed new gas lighting, recessed the confessionals and put up many statues. He planned the Lourdes Grotto which was opened in November 1928. Brothers Bonaventure Slattery and Kevin Flannery used stones from the bed of the Suir to build it. The statues were done by Deghini of Dublin. Father Benignus introduced the Corpus Christi procession in 1925.

The next superior was Father Peter Begley, appointed in 1930. A strict reformer, he built the passage linking church and friary and was responsible for the stained glass windows of Saints Clare and Margaret of Cortona in 1934. By then there was a community of four priests and a

brother. Father Christopher Cunniffe was appointed guardian, and not just superior, in 1936. Carrick resumed the status of a full friary because there were sufficient friars there to form a legal community. Father Christopher installed central heating in the church in 1939.

Father Paschal Grey became guardian in 1939. He had been in Carrick as a young priest in 1927, when he began a long association between the friars and the Carrick Swans hurling club. He was behind the appointment of Agnes Jacques as choirmistress. The friary choir became famous under her direction until she retired in 1971. Father Dominic Enright arrived as guardian in 1945. An ex-provincial with a great sense of history, he opened the back gate into the friary grounds and also bought the last horse for the friary for eighteen pounds. The friary at Multyfarnham gave him the trap. Horse and traps were still the normal way of travelling sixty years ago.

Both church and friary were looking a little tired. The guardian appointed in 1951, Father Benedict O'Leary, began by re-building the Outdoor Stations. He then re-floored both church and friary and started a weekly draw, which ran from 1952 to 1959, to cover the expense. Father Silverius Condon took over in 1954 and finished the re-building in the following year. With him was Father Mel Duffy, a big powerful man famed for his outdoor activities. Father Peter Benjamin O'Grady took over in 1960 with a community of four priests and three brothers. He installed an amplification system in the church, modernised the organ and put in storage heaters which had been removed from the friary church in Clonmel.

By now the Second Vatican Council was in full swing.²³ Father Joachim Kelleher became guardian in 1966 and began the process of adapting the sanctuary to the new liturgy. He retired because of ill-health in 1967 and was replaced by Father Michael Alban Doherty. He completed the initial adaptation of the church and installed central heating. At this time Brother Agnellus Whelan began his tremendous work with youth.

Father Walter Crowley arrived in 1972 and resumed the quest over a wide area, seeing it as a means of pastoral contact with the people. While improving the grounds and cleaning the graveyard, he also repainted the church and adapted two confessionals to the new rites of reconciliation. He also arranged for the friars to donate the top field to Carrick U.D.C. in 1974 as a site for housing for the elderly.

Father Herman John Kealy came in 1978 and continued improvements in the church. He was succeeded in 1984 by Father Fidelis McEinri, who modernised the friary building. There were still three priests and two brothers in the community. Father Joseph Walsh came in 1987 and continued adapting the church to the liturgical vision of the Second Vatican Council. Again it was a matter of making the quality of religious service offered by the friars to the people of the area a priority.

By now the friars were conducting a serious analysis of their ministry as the deeper message of the Second Vatican Council sank in. There was also a decline in vocations. For one hundred and fifty years after breaking out of the mould of parish ministry, a handful of friars in Carrickbeg had provided the services people felt they needed – blessings, confession and special devotions.

Father Fergus McEveney came in 1993 when the concept of a service church was still in vogue. The provincial chapter of 1996 decided to experiment with traditional structures. The three houses in the Diocese of Waterford were gathered under one superior resident in the city. It was hoped that this would provide more efficient administration, freeing friars to spend more time with people. Father Fergus moved to Clonmel. Carrick-on-Suir was served on a part-time basis from there and Waterford.

There has been another development in Carrickbeg friary. As far back as the 1960s, a small

group of friars felt a need for a deeper level of prayer. Using the title HOPE (House of Prayer Experience), they spent months during the summer in the isolation of the Knockmealdowns. More recently some friars went regularly for a hermitage experience in such places as Kilgarvan in the mountains of Kerry or an isolated farm in Carlow. By the 1980s, the whole order was trying to renew its prayer life.

A conviction emerged that each province should have a hermitage. The provincial chapter of 1996 decided that this should happen in Ireland. Carrickbeg was chosen for this experience. There were nice grounds, cut off from the outside, and pastoral demands would not distract too much. Three friars took up residence during 1998 and the hermitage is now operating normally. Other friars come for a few weeks. This should be a powerhouse for spiritual growth in the whole area of the Suir valley.

As we survey six hundred and seventy years of Franciscan life in Carrickbeg, we stand on the edge of new developments. The friary began as a typical Anglo-Irish foundation which vanished at the Reformation. Re-opened by the Observants in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, it flourished until penal laws forced the friars into hiding. They found a role as parish clergy, but were forced out of this early in the nineteenth century. Their response was the development of a service church. The Brown Friars followed the Black Friars in this tradition.

As cars made travel easier in the latter part of the twentieth century, more people found their way to the friary. Recent changes in shopping practice meant that they were inclined to go to the bigger cities for their services. Thus Carrickbeg declined at the expense of Clonmel and particularly Waterford. The flexibility of a unified administration in the three friaries in the Suir Valley should mean a better service. The opening of the hermitage, while not a direct influence on local people, should lead to spiritual growth in the next millenium.

The Franciscans in Ireland have gone through four cycles of growth, status and decline over nearly eight hundred years. They are now searching for that vision which will inspire them to grow into that love which is God and provide spiritual leadership over the next hundred years. One of the key words is "sincerity". The friars are looking forward to sharing the wisdom of their faith, the energy of their hope and the quality of their love with the people of the Suir Valley for another seven hundred years.

Footnotes

1. Richard Butler: *The Annals of Ireland* by Friar John Clyn (Dublin, 1849).
2. Patrick Conlan, O.F.M.: *Franciscan Ireland* (Mullingar, 1988), pp. 7-11; Francis J. Cotter, O.F.M.: *The Friars Minor in Ireland from their arrival to 1400* (New York, 1994), pp. 11-30; Walter Crowley, O.F.M.: *The Story of the Franciscan Church and Friary in Carrickbeg* (Carrick-on-Suir, 1978).
3. E. B. FitzMaurice, O.F.M., and A. G. Little: *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province in Ireland, A.D. 1230-1450* (Manchester, 1920).
4. FitzMaurice and Little, op. cit., p. 105.
5. For a general indication of the life of the friars, see Colman Ó Clabaigh, O.S.B.: *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400-1534* (Dublin, 2002), pp. 106-29.
6. Ó Clabaigh, op.cit., pp. 42-57.
7. B. Bradshaw: *The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1974).
8. Bradshaw, op. cit., pp. 110-21.
9. Conlan, pp. 35-6.
10. Cathaldus Giblin, O.F.M., ed.: *Liber Lovaniensis* (Dublin, 1956), p. 22.
11. Giblin, *passim*.

12. Benignus Millett, O.F.M.: *Four Franciscan Martyrs of Ireland* (Dublin, 1990), pp. 25-9.
13. Canice Mooney, O.F.M.: *The Franciscans in Waterford*, in JCHAS lxi (1964), p. 90.
14. James Healy: *History of the Franciscan Church, Carrickbeg* (Clonmel, 1925), pp. 10-11.
15. Patrick Conlan, O.F.M.: "The Irish Franciscans in Newfoundland", in *The Past*, 15 (1984), pp. 73-4.
16. Archives of Propaganda Fide, ACTA 198 (1835), ff. 62-5 and 75-8; SOCG 950 (1835), ff. 197-202 and 251-2.
17. Healy, pp. 14-15.
18. House Account Book for 1836-41 in Franciscan Library, Killiney.
19. The visitor was Emmanuel Kenners, O.F.M.: his report is in the General Archives of the Order, Hibernia 1, p. 343: calendared by P. Conlan, O.F.M., in Coll. Hib. 18-9 (1976-7), pp. 163-4.
20. General Archives . . . Hibernia 4, pp. 336-9 and 448-9.
21. General Archives . . . Hibernia 5, p. 146-54; calendared by P. Conlan O.F.M., in Coll. Hib. 27-8 (1985-6), p. 209.
22. Crowley, op. cit., p. 35.
23. Crowley, op. cit., passim., and personal observations.