

Revising Whelan's Model of Tridentine Catholicism in Ireland: The Experience of Cloyne Diocese, County Cork, c.1700 to 1830

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ABSTRACT: In his pioneering research into the geographical development of Tridentine Catholicism in Ireland, Whelan (1988) identifies two contrasting regions. From a core region located mainly in the south and east, innovations in Catholic thought and practice are presented as having diffused outwards geographically and downwards socially. The north and west of Ireland, however, is presented as having been slower in adapting to these changes. This paper finds that Cloyne Diocese may be broadly, yet not totally located within the core region given that the west of the diocese looks more like Whelan's periphery. Further analysis of this diocese suggests that contrasting one region as dynamic and active vis-a-vis another as lagging or passive is misleading since both regions are demonstrated to have been dynamic, albeit in different ways. These different paths were also influenced by the colonial and class relations within and through which Tridentine Catholicism interacted.

In his pioneering research on the geographical development of Tridentine Catholicism in Ireland, Kevin Whelan (1988) identifies two contrasting regions.¹ One, a core region located mainly in the south and east of Ireland, is presented as materially wealthier and more urbanized; with deeply rooted Catholic and crypto-Catholic landed families, a large, commercialized Catholic tenant farming class, merchants and other professionals providing patronage and leadership for their church. Its enduring social, cultural, and economic ties with continental Europe were also significant. From such an advantageous position, innovations in Catholic thought and practice – the practices ratified by the Council of Trent (1545-63) – are presented as having diffused outwards geographically and downwards socially with little resistance to their movement. The north and west of Ireland, however, are presented as having been slower in adapting to these changes. This article finds that Cloyne Diocese, county Cork may be broadly, yet not totally, located within the core region given that the west of the diocese looks more like Whelan's periphery. Further analysis suggests that contrasting one region as dynamic and active *vis-à-vis* another as somehow lagging or passive is misleading, since both regions are demonstrated to have been dynamic, albeit in different ways. These different regions were also clearly influenced by the colonial and class relations within and through which the Tridentine reforms were negotiated.

Given its early adoption of Tridentine Catholic practices, much of Cloyne diocese may be located within Whelan's core region. From the 1750's it was among the first Irish dioceses where parish missions were conducted by its priests.² In 1771 sung vespers on Sundays and feast days in its towns were becoming the norm. By 1775 five of the towns in the diocese of Cloyne and Ross had Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.³ In 1786 Bishop Matthew McKenna observed that "christenings are generally performed at the chapel or the priest[']s house."⁴ This custom only became the norm for the rest of Ireland following the Synod of Thurles in 1850 which required that the administration of sacraments normally take place in a church.⁵ Geographically, the nearby

Catholic archdiocese of Cashel and Emly was described by Coombes as “the best organised rural diocese” in eighteenth-century Ireland.⁶ Although publicly apprehensive and retiring, by mid-century, the Catholic archdiocese of Dublin was also becoming a “quietly dynamic and increasingly assured institution,” albeit one that retained a “culture of caution” until the close of the eighteenth century.⁷

In the north and west of Ireland, however, Tridentine Catholicism entered an environment that was materially poorer and more upland, with comparatively fewer patrons, lower numbers of continentally-trained priests and home to a more robust Gaelic culture. In Enniskillen, county Fermanagh, an Austrian Redemptorist priest observed that, as late as 1852, its people had “never even witnessed Benediction.”⁸ Whelan also pointed to a more organic, less institutionalized dimension to the religious cultures of the north and west.⁹ Its cultures, he suggested, placed greater emphasis upon communal, rather than individual values and facilitated their expression through exuberant religious rituals, characterized, on various occasions, by spontaneity, intimacy and gaiety.

This picture may be over-drawn, however. Identifying leading and lagging regions may obscure the dynamic context in and through which Tridentine reforms were negotiated. Tridentine Catholicism was just one stream among many that entered into a great river of spiritualities that had been flowing in Ireland long before the Council of Trent.¹⁰ By taking Catholic orthodoxy as defined by the Council as the sole benchmark, Hynes has warned that researchers may treat older beliefs and practices as somehow deficient.¹¹ Yet the latter were often remodeled to meet the new demands of the Council.¹² Far from being the passive recipients of orthodox teaching, Catholic communities may have been selective in what they accepted or rejected. Bishops and priests may also have been equally selective regarding which reforms they chose to accept or reject. Instead of assuming uniformity in belief and practice, therefore, Hynes cautioned:

[W]e must be alert for multiplicity in devotional forms . . . We must disaggregate the seemingly homogeneous and homogenising macro-processes of religious change into a variety of disparate processes, moving at different speeds across time and space with their effects perhaps appearing intermittently as often as linearly. We must allow for a variety of origins and antecedents of what might later appear to be uniformity . . . and recognise diverse trajectories from the pasts to the time and place we are investigating.¹³

The Core: the eastern and northern parts of the diocese of Cloyne

Of nineteenth-century county Cork, J. S. Donnelly Jr. observed that “neither the quality of land, nor manner of life of the people was uniform.”¹⁴ In a similar fashion, covering much of the east, north, and middle parts of the county, eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Cloyne diocese held a variety of physical, socio-economic, and cultural environments; each with their associated communities and spiritualities (Figure 1). In 1741, Cloyne’s Church of Ireland Bishop and idealist philosopher, George Berkeley (1685-1753) concluded that, although having been “shaken to pieces” because of its size and the poor condition of its roads, Cloyne was nevertheless akin to Tivoli where “ver ubi longum, tepidasque praebeat Jupiter brumas.”¹⁵ In 1750, Cork’s first published English-language historian, Charles Smith, regarded Imokilly barony in east Cork as “properly the granary of the city of Cork.”¹⁶ In 1800 the average cash income for Cloyne’s Catholic parish priests was estimated at between £100 and £120 *per annum*. In Raphoe diocese, Co. Donegal, it was £55.¹⁷ By 1825 the estimated average yearly benefice for Cloyne’s Catholic parishes was £220-£250 *per annum*. In the same year, Daniel O’Connell thought £150 *per annum*



Figure 1. Catholic Parishes of Cloyne Diocese, county Cork. (Courtesy of Dr. Ronan Foley, Geography Department National University of Ireland, Maynooth)

a high average for a Catholic priest.¹⁸ It must also be pointed out that these figures relate to cash incomes only. When other customary entitlements such as agricultural produce and labor are taken into account, the living standards of Cloyne's priests may have been impressive.

Along with its wealth and favorable climate, the proximity of the diocese to continental European Catholicism was also significant. The early arrival of Jesuits at Youghal in the late 1500s introduced continentally inspired religious practices through this seaport town.¹⁹ Devotional practices associated with the cult of Our Lady of Graces at Youghal (Figure 2) also demonstrate closer links with European traditions of pilgrimage than with local Irish ones. The focus of this devotion was Marian rather than a local Irish saint. The cult's formation was more recent than most Irish pilgrimages, which tended to be older. Legends associated with the arrival of the carved ivory image of Our Lady of Graces were also typically continental. A silver shrine made for the image in 1617 by Lady Honora Fitzgerald of Cloyne further demonstrates closer parallels with continental European patterns than with local Irish ones.²⁰

The presence of the sympathetic Earls of Barrymore at Castlelyons, and that of what Whelan has described as a Catholic "underground gentry," such as the Imokilly Fitzgeralds and the Cotters of Carrigtwohill in the southeast of the diocese helped to provide a sufficiently stable environment for the Catholic church to re-emerge after the repression of the late-seventeenth-century penal laws.²¹ On the Barrymore estates, the operation of penal provisions against Catholics, such as the activities of priest-catchers, was prohibited.²² Catholic families such as the O'Briens of Peelick and Kilcor also retained their lands under Barrymore protection. Coombes maintain that although having conformed to the Church of Ireland, the Barrymore Earls retained "a soft spot for the old faith and turned a blind eye to the fact that junior branches of the Barry family



Figure 2. Our Lady of Graces, Youghal, county Cork. (Courtesy of Fr. Joe Kavanagh OP, St. Marys Priory, Popes Quay, Cork)

still adhered to it.”²³ Upon the death of James, the Fourth Earl of Barrymore, it was reported that there was Protestant “satisfaction” at his passing. “They call him the second Lord Lovat”, it was stated, because “he had . . . a most surprising influence on the Popish party in the country.”²⁴ His indulgence towards priests and other Catholic “underground gentry” such as the Nagles and Coppingers of county Cork very likely earned him this title.

At the Reformation the formerly Catholic cathedrals of Ireland became vested in the Protestant Church of Ireland. Cloyne Cathedral officially became a place of Protestant worship from 1536. As late as 1607, however, the singularly Catholic feature of an altar to the Blessed Virgin was retained at the cathedral, very likely due to the protection of the Imokilly Fitzgeralds.²⁵ In 1642, Edmund Fitzgerald removed the Anglican bishop and returned the cathedral to a Catholic priest who held it until 1650.²⁶ In 1704, Andrew Fitzgerald was parish priest of the extensive parish of Cloyne, Aghada, Ballintemple, Corkbeg, and Inch, receiving two sureties of £50 each from two other Fitzgeralds of the same parish. Píaras MacGearailt/

Pierce Fitzgerald, the eighteenth-century head of the Ballymacoda branch of the Imokilly Fitzgeralds also wrote of his conformity to the Church of Ireland in the following resentful terms:

'Tis sad for me to cleave to Calvin or perverse Luther,
 But the weeping of my children,
 the spoiling them of flocks and lands brought streaming floods from my eyes and
 descent of tears.
 There is a part of the Saxon-Lutheran religion, which . . . I do not like,
 that never a petition is addressed to Mary, the mother of Christ,
 nor honour, nor privilege, nor prayers.
 And yet it is my opinion that it is Mary
 who is the tree of lights and crystal of Christianity,
 the glow and precious lantern of the sky,
 the sunny chamber in the house of glory,
 flood of graces and Clóna's wave of mercy.²⁷

Perhaps not surprisingly, MacGearailt's attendance at a Church of Ireland service was the bare legal minimum of only once a year.²⁸

Such was the Cotter influence in east Cork that conferences and general councils of the early eighteenth-century Irish Catholic Church were held at Sir James Cotter's residence at Ballinsperrig, Carrigtwohill.²⁹ This family also provided the "future natural leader" of early eighteenth-century county Cork's Catholics, Séamus Óg MacCoitir/James Cotter Jr.³⁰ Two centuries later, local folklore re-iterated that Cotter Jr.'s contempt for the Protestant establishment was at least partly responsible for his death in 1720. One account held that "Mr. Cotter used to hunt a fox with an orange lily fastened to it."³¹ Another maintained that "Cotter was hated by the faction of the day in Cork. He was a Catholic. Could not drive horses under his carriage. Used to ride into Cork, his carriage drawn by four bullocks. Around their fetlocks orange ribbons to trample."³² Such accounts align with popular eighteenth-century county Cork Catholic opinion that "the Protestants of Cork were so much against him and hated him so much for his independent spirit and conduct towards themselves that he was executed."³³ Dickson, however, questions this assumption, noting that prominent Cork Protestants had campaigned for clemency on his behalf.³⁴ Arthur St. Leger, for instance, the heir to the Doneraile estate, believed that although Cotter Jr. had been "very much hated by the county," this hatred turned to pity following the passing of his guilty verdict.³⁵

In spite of such events, a young Catholic priest wrote from his nearby parish in 1769: "I am promoted to the care of souls in the pleasant district of Middleton . . . among a peaceable, good, people . . . [T]he walk is cool, and the country so agreeable, that I do not find myself much hardshipped."³⁶ Of the same parish in 1828, Catholic Bishop Michael Collins linked the "zeal and activity" of its Catholics with the fact that they were "more wealthy than generally are found in other parishes."³⁷ In 1802 the Catholic parish priest of Cloyne, Rev. John Scanlon commissioned a map of his parish. This map outlines the civil parishes that comprised the Catholic parish of Cloyne and may be a unique example of a priest's commissioning of the mapping of his parish (Figure 3). By 1828, the parish chapel of Cloyne was referred to by Bishop Collins as: "One of the most respectable and commodious in the diocese . . . The altar is handsome and richly decorated . . . The parish is one of the finest districts in the county."³⁸ At Youghal, Bishop Collins believed that its Catholic Free Schools "excel any schools in Cork, and excel any in the diocese of Cloyne or Ross."³⁹

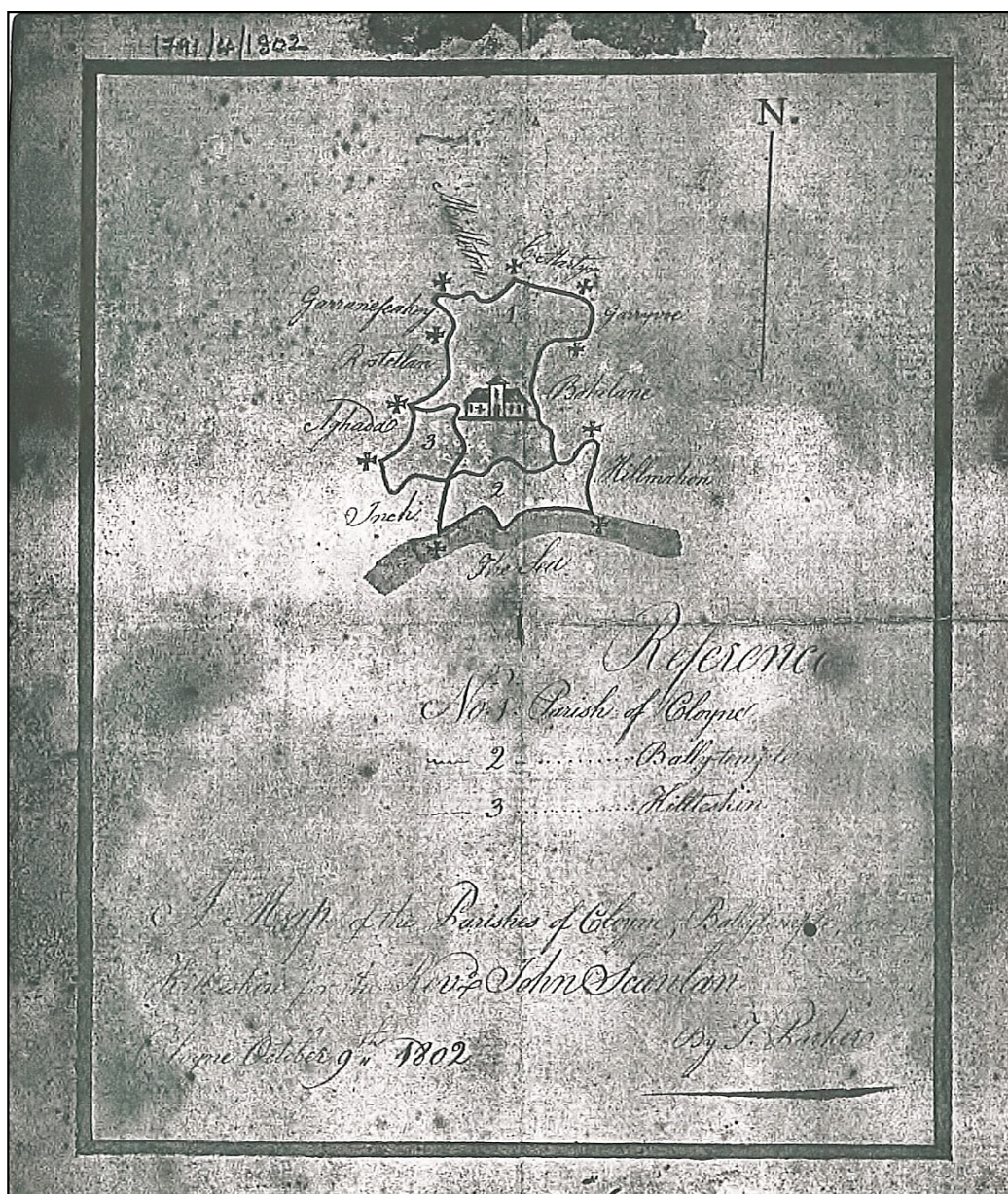


Figure 3. Map of Cloyne Parish by T. Parker. Comissioned by Rev. John Scanlon, 1802. (Reproduced by kind permission of Cloyne Diocesan Archives, Cobh, county Cork)

Divisions within the Core

Unresolved sectarian and social class tensions lay beneath such seemingly favorable circumstances. By the early nineteenth century, east Cork was undergoing such a profound and rapid transition that Miller suggests it could be described as almost schizophrenic.⁴⁰ Intense religious devotion, both modern and customary, co-existed alongside popular anti-clerical traditions and more modern expressions of popular alienation.⁴¹ However dysfunctional this part of the diocese may have become, it is possible that, similar to other parts of the Catholic core region it retained a capacity to “graft innovations onto a traditional stock.”⁴² As seen earlier in the

case of Píaras MacGearailt's blending of the attributes of a pre-Christian goddess (Clíona) onto Mary, such adaptation in the face of change was nothing new.

Following the death of Séamus Óg MacCoitir/James Cotter Jr. in 1720, the center of Catholic political society in the diocese moved northwards from east Cork to the Nagles of the Blackwater Valley.⁴³ This area was dominated by large Protestant-owned estates such as the Aldworths at Newmarket, Percivals at Kanturk, St. Ledgers at Doneraile, Kings at Mitchelstown, and Hydes at Fermoy.⁴⁴ Here, the construction of large estate houses, parklands, tree-planted landscapes, new field systems, and the introduction of new agricultural practices created what Smyth terms a "colonial" landscape.⁴⁵ O'Flanagan refers to north Cork as Munster's most conspicuously landlord-embellished zone.⁴⁶ Old settlements at Rathcormac, Castletyons and Fermoy were revitalized and new planned towns and estate villages built at Mitchelstown, Doneraile, Newmarket and Kanturk. Increased commercialization was also promoted by landlords through the establishment of markets and fairs.⁴⁷

For at least some of its eighteenth-century Catholics, however, this part of the diocese was "particularly repressive."⁴⁸ Such was the hostility of the rural hinterland of Cork city that it led wealthy Catholics to prefer to live in Cork city or elsewhere. That branches of Catholic families from Cloyne thrived in county Tipperary rather than in County Cork is suggested by Cullen as indicative of the challenges they faced.⁴⁹ While visiting her daughter in Galway in 1766, the mother of Edmund Burke (1729–97), a Nagle from the Blackwater Valley, noted the more affluent lifestyle of Catholics in this part of the west of Ireland.⁵⁰ Burke, too, cautioned his Nagle relatives to keep a low profile by staying out of parliamentary politics. Writing to his cousin Garret Nagle in 1768 he expressed his desire that "all my friends will have the good sense to keep themselves from taking part in struggles, in the event of which they have no share and no concern."⁵¹

In spite of their repressive hinterland, Cullen outlines the resilience of a Nagle/Hennessy enclave of propertied Catholic and crypto-Catholic landowners in the Blackwater Valley.⁵² Ó Buachalla memorably refers to it as "an island of Catholic hegemony in a sea of Protestant Ascendancy."⁵³ This enclave provided favorable conditions for the emergence of a number of exceptional individuals such as Edmund Burke, his first cousin Nano Nagle, Cllr. Joseph Nagle, Catholic lobbyist Garret Nagle and Richard Hennessy, founder of the French cognac family. The Annakissy Nagles also provided a home and employment for Irish-language poet Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin. Success came at a price, however, as this enclave also drew the unwelcome attentions of local politicized Protestants during periods of heightened tension.⁵⁴ It may have been for this reason that Nano Nagle wisely chose to challenge the restrictions of the penal laws not in her native Kilavullen but in the relative safety of Cork city. After twelve years of "frustration and failure" in Cork, Richard Hennessy also left for Cognac in 1765.⁵⁵ David Nagle, the wealthiest Catholic landowner in County Cork, also moved permanently to Bath during the 1760's.⁵⁶

Although the presence of a Catholic "underground gentry" such as the Nagles and Hennessys may have helped to provide a secure platform for the diffusion of Tridentine Catholicism, their influence could equally have hindered as much as helped. In 1731 the Catholics of Doneraile stated that their parish priest, John Hennessy, was on such good terms with local Protestants that he preferred their company instead of attending to his pastoral duties. "His chief study daily," they protested, "is, when he can get any pence, which [he'll] seldom earn, then to hasten to the Protestants of Doneraile and drink that in brandy and punch."⁵⁷ The following year, he had turned informer on Bishop Thaddeus MacCarthy of Cork and Cloyne.⁵⁸ Table 1 illustrates the degree of Nagle influence among the priesthood of the Catholic Church in north Cork.⁵⁹ Fear of the socially well-connected parish priest of Glanworth, Dr. Patrick Nagle, however, prevented parishioners from reporting that he had "developed a sexual obsession to a degree that in modern

Name	Parish
Rev. James Nagle	Fermoy & Kilworth, 1720
Dr. Patrick Nagle	Glanworth, 1785
Dr. Richard Nagle	Kilavullen, 1785
Rev. Charles Nagle	Mitchelstown, 1785
Rev. Nagle	Castletownroche, 1814
Rev. M. Nagle	Kanturk, 1824-32

Table 1. Nagle Parish Priests of Cloyne diocese, 1720-1832.

times would suggest the need for psychiatric treatment.”⁶⁰ This may have also intimidated Bishop John O’Brien from taking effective action. On his visitation of Mitchelstown in 1785, Bishop Matthew MacKenna noted that its parish priest, Charles Nagle, was “forbid to say publick Mass being unfit for it”. Unlike the rest of the diocese, his chapels were described as being “in no great order.”⁶¹ In 1814, Rev. Michael Collins, a future Catholic bishop of Cloyne also left his parish at Castletownroche due to pressure from a Protestant branch of the Nagles with whom he had entered into a dispute.⁶²

Interdenominational relations in the Core

Good interdenominational relations were clearly vital to the progress of Tridentine Catholicism. While most of the Catholic priests of County Cork refused the Oath of Abjuration (1709) that rejected the Stuart claim to the throne, a cluster of four priests, located in the northeast of the diocese swore it. It is likely that these priests were influenced by local Protestant gentry to do so.⁶³ By 1745, the Catholic parish priest of Castletyons/Rathcormac, Dr. Thady O’Brien, in his *Truth Triumphant*, argued that Catholics were obliged to be loyal subjects of the Protestant administration.⁶⁴ In a letter attributed to a Catholic gentleman from the same parish in 1750, the author regrets that following a dispute between Bishop John O’Brien and a local Protestant magistrate, a number of Catholic chapels had been closed. This, he lamented “[made] us mourn the loss of that dignity in which we are indulged by the legislative power (God bless them) to exercise and practice all the tenets of our religion.”⁶⁵ Bishop John O’Brien’s *Pastoral Letter to the Whiteboys* (1762) also called for Catholics:

[T]o be more attentive than ever to . . . giving our most excellent and noble minded Lieutenant and all our great and good governors, the best and most solid proofs in our power, of the just and grateful feelings we have and always should have of their lenity and indulgence towards us in our unhappy circumstances, subjected as we are . . . to penal laws whose weight and severity, we already find to be alleviated in great measure through the goodness and clemency of our most gracious rulers.⁶⁶

While McVeigh detected a servile response in this document, earlier research by Coombes pointed to a different strategy.⁶⁷ He argued that it was aimed more at Dublin Castle than at local Whiteboys, in the hope that it would lead to an improvement in the circumstances of Cloyne’s Catholics.

By the mid eighteenth century, Dickson identifies the emergence of “pragmatic toleration” between the Catholics and Protestants of County Cork.⁶⁸ This was, he argues, based not upon the diffusion of more enlightened views, but rather benefited both sides to act more prudently towards each other. Amongst some Catholics, in the hope of greater toleration; deference, or at

least the appearance of it, may have been chosen. Rising land prices and the capacity of the British State to project its power globally from the 1750s had also strengthened a desire among propertied Catholics for accommodation with the Hanoverian regime.⁶⁹ Increasingly “yearning for security of property and quiet times,” the wealth, number, and power of Catholic and crypto-Catholic stakeholders had risen in the county through their taking out of long leases during periods of rising land prices.⁷⁰

Amongst other Catholics, while “popery with attitude” may have been toned down, deference remained optional.⁷¹ In 1766 at Youghal, some of its Catholics taunted their Protestant neighbors that they now had “more correspondents in foreign countries” and, if successful, would not suffer their enemies to “get a morsel of bread” in the town.⁷² Following the death of Bishop Matthew MacKenna in 1791, the Governor of County Cork – Richard Longfield – offered the position to the parish priest of Midleton. The priest responded that it was “the gift of the Pope.” According to the Earl of Shannon, a dialogue followed whereby “Longfield said damn the Pope, he shall not meddle in Co. Cork while I am governor and as you are my tenant I’ll make you bishop, the other said with much contempt he did not look so high.”⁷³

Instead of being viewed with suspicion, Cloyne’s Catholic priests were increasingly seen by Protestant landlords and magistrates as “vital instruments of social control, calming and admonishing their congregations, mediating oaths and contracts, perhaps on occasion passing on warnings to Protestant confidants.”⁷⁴ The cautious introduction of Bishop John O’Brien’s 1765–6 parish missions were welcomed by Protestants who thanked him afterwards for the payment of debts.⁷⁵ By 1775, Bishop Matthew MacKenna linked the progress of Tridentine Catholicism with good political relations. While five towns had Benediction, “others will soon have it,” he believed, “since the government is now more favourably disposed towards us.”⁷⁶ Ten years later he found a Protestant schoolteacher who was teaching the Catholic catechism of the diocese at Mourne Abbey.⁷⁷ Parallels may be made here with the situation in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. In both the Irish and Dutch cases, formal Catholic education had been prohibited in the interests of state security. In the Dutch case, Protestant schoolteachers working in areas with high Catholic populations diluted the confessional content of their teaching so as not to alienate Catholic parents and thereby lose fees, something which was essential to supplement their meagre State salaries.⁷⁸ By 1817, the observations of the Church of Ireland minister of Blarney demonstrate the extent of change that had taken place. He concluded that: “If I cannot make Protestants of the Catholics by whom I am surrounded, I will at least give my support in every measure, which will tend to make them good Catholics.”⁷⁹

Class relations in the Core

Although steady improvements in interdenominational relations may have improved the situation for the diffusion of Tridentine Catholicism, the same cannot be said for social class relations. According to her biographer, Bishop Coppinger, on returning from France in the 1740’s, an encounter between Honora “Nano” Nagle (1718–84) and a family of “poor tenants” on her father’s estate at Kilavullen led her to conclude that:

Under a misconception of their obligations, they substituted error in the place of truth: while they kept up an attachment to certain exterior observances, they were totally devoid of the spirit of Religion; their fervour was superstitious, their faith was erroneous, their hope was presumptuous and they had no charity. Licentiousness, while it could bless itself and tell the beads, could live without remorse, and die without repentance: sacraments and sacrileges went hand in hand, and conscience was to rest upon its own stings.⁸⁰



Figure 4. "The Rightboys Paying Their Tythes" 1785/6. (Reproduced by kind permission of the National Library of Ireland, Dublin)

In parts of Cloyne where socio-economic extremes had not been peacefully resolved, however, recurring cycles of social unrest ensued. Such unstable environments were far from ideal for the diffusion of Tridentine Catholicism. In 1775 at Mallow, its Church of Ireland minister, James Mockler, concluded that the laboring poor of north Cork were "the most miserable and most distressed on the face of the earth."⁸¹ He added that they continued to be marginalized by rising prices because: "The country around Mallow, and all over Munster is of late years, much thinned and stripped of its inhabitants to make room for bullocks, sheep and dairy cows. Rich folks were never half so fond as they have been within these 10 or 12 years past of taking farms and increasing their stocks of cattle."⁸² Ostracized by their own church, the Whiteboys in the 1750s and '60s, the Rightboys in the 1780s, the United Irish in the 1790s, and the Rockites in the 1820s violently vented their anger against the people and processes whom they perceived had played a role in marginalizing and impoverishing them.

Protestant ministers and Catholic priests were included. One Kildorrery Rightboy believed that "The luxurious parson drowned in the riot of his table the bitter groans of those poor wretches that his proctor fleeced, and the poor remnant of the proctor's rapine was sure to be gleaned by the rapacious priest". Such was his anger that he stated "we had reason to wish for our simple druids again".⁸³ Bishop Matthew MacKenna initially assumed Rightboy

activities to have been motivated by spiritual rather than socio-economic forces. "The enemy of mankind," he held, "has sown the seeds of riot and disorder among the lower classes."⁸⁴ He dismissed Rightboy demands as a "pretended cause of complaint . . . which to our knowledge scarcely existed anywhere."⁸⁵ Adopting the same response as that of his predecessor towards the Whiteboys, he initially demanded that priests excommunicate known Rightboys. A more insightful Kerry-based priest, however, thought that the roots of the problem lay more with the behavior of some Catholic priests. He stated:

The clamor against the clergy for exhortations, oppression and tyrannical treatment of the poor has been so violent, and the defection of the people so general, and so long continued, particularly in the Barony of Muskerry that Dr. MacKenna seemed at length to awake from a state of lethargy . . . By the terror of firearms, they strove to intimidate their own parishioners . . . they declared war . . . against their own flocks.⁸⁶

He concluded: "The abhorrence of the Protestant Church and their respect for their own clergy has vanished. All confidence in their parish priests is lost."⁸⁷

On one occasion, only the intervention of Sir John Conway Colthurst, one of the leading "Gentleman White Boy" activists of the Lee valley, protected Bishop MacKenna "from the fury of the populace, together with many other gentlemen of that religion."⁸⁸ Colthurst, it was rumored, had boasted that the "removal of tithes would have led to a 50% increase in the rental income on his estates."⁸⁹ By September 1786, as the movement was becoming increasingly violent and with Colthurst losing control of its direction, it was reported by the Church of Ireland Bishop of Cloyne, that "Sir John Colthurst himself begins to think his pupils have gone too far."⁹⁰ This may account for his alignment with Bishop MacKenna and his priests.

The behavior of priests, rising prices and a Catholic Church undergoing increased professionalism may have weakened or reversed previous gains made by Tridentine Catholicism.⁹¹ At Aghinagh in 1785, its Catholics refused to attend confession or to pay their annual dues. At Aghabullogue, Catholics refused to pay their Christmas and Easter dues.⁹² Others "in several parishes, and especially at Inniscarra and Blarney forsook their own worship, chapels and clergy, and came in great numbers to attend divine service in the Protestant churches."⁹³ At Inniscarra, a group of Rightboys gathered outside the house of a Protestant gentleman, having information that the parish priest lay there that night . . . upon which the clergyman opened the window to know their business, which was to warn him, on pain of death, that not to take at any marriage more than 5s 5d, 1s 7d at christenings."⁹⁴ At Donoughmore, Rightboys threatened to destroy the cattle of a priest and to give him a "warm reception" if he refused to "forgive the curse" that he had placed upon them.⁹⁵ The priest refused.⁹⁶

The events of 1798–9 further aligned the Catholic Church with the Protestant establishment. In 1799 at Mallow, only the last-minute intervention of its Catholic parish priest prevented a massacre equivalent to that of Scullabogue (Wexford, 1798) where United Irishmen murdered some thirty or forty of their prisoners.⁹⁷ After denouncing a planned United Irish attack on the town's Protestants, the parish priest of Mallow was reported to have been "reduced to absolute want" by his parishioners.⁹⁸ Despite being marginalized themselves, at least some of Cloyne's Catholics were clearly capable of marginalizing their own priests. Writing from east Cork, an alarmed county Governor, Richard Longfield, feared: "[W]e are in a most dismal way here—murder everywhere committed and every smith in the country forging pikes, & the mob cutting all the trees for handles, & the French and a massacre expected every night."⁹⁹ Three months later he believed that:

[V]igor and vigilance are all we have to secure our lives and properties, the disposition of the people is hostile to every protestant. The non-residence and inattention of our clergy have made those families all papists, who were sound Protestants in our father's times. We never see the face of a parson, nor would it be safe for him now to show it here.¹⁰⁰

As at Mallow, the position taken by Catholic priests and their bishop may have offered at least some comfort. The parish priest of Midleton stated that he had: "endeavoured to bring back my deluded flock to legal subordination and spared no pains in laying before their eyes, the evil consequences of their persisting in outrages, and atrocities subversive of all law and tranquility."¹⁰¹ Catholic Bishop Coppinger called for Catholics to surrender their arms for their own good.¹⁰² Yet he ridiculed what he perceived to have been the ideals of the United Irish movement. "How can there be cultivation" he asked "when there are no tillers? And where shall you find tillers, if all become gentlemen? Rank and property must go hand in hand, and the inequality of both in every civilised country must be as various as the talents of men."¹⁰³ In 1803 he re-iterated his opinion that "The United Irish Association, organised upon the Gallic model, I well knew it tended, not alone to induce temporal misery, but the total overthrow of religion, which I deem a far greater misfortune."¹⁰⁴ France, he thought, had become a "colossal monster and enemy of all religion."¹⁰⁵

In the wake of the events of the 1780s and '90s, Protestant gentry support for Catholic chapel building underwent a significant improvement. If the French had landed on the Cork coast, it was likely that landlords such as the Earls of Shannon would have needed to rely upon the Catholic majority to protect their properties.¹⁰⁶ In 1799, when requested to do so, Richard Boyle, the Second Earl wrote: "[T]ho' I have no great passion for subscribing towards chapels, yet in consequence of it I desire to be put down for a sum not exceeding 30 guineas."¹⁰⁷ At Youghal, Bishop Coppinger reported receiving £50 as a small token of the Second Earl's "perfect approbation of the undertaking."¹⁰⁸ In 1814 the parish priest of Ballymacoda thanked the Earl for "his most generous gift of a site for a chapel together with his liberal donation towards building it."¹⁰⁹ Lord Midleton remained cautious, however. "I am very desirous that they should have decent edifices," he wrote:

[B]ut for my part I object strongly to bringing them forward to occupy the most auspicious situation in the prospect as I am convinced is the cause with them of engaging into rivalry with the established church.¹¹⁰

In 1811, Bishop Coppinger stated that the Earl of Kingston had not only provided "400 guineas towards the building of Mitchelstown chapel" but had "interested himself in the progress of the work" to such an extent that "he frequently inspected it" and "conducted his guests to the spot, as if to animate them by his own example."¹¹¹ In 1826, Lord Doneraile gave £146 and laid the foundation stone for a Catholic chapel at Doneraile.¹¹² Two years later, Bishop Collins noted that "Sir N. Colthurst contributed £50" towards the building of a new chapel at Ballyvourney.¹¹³ At Banteer, Lord Lismore provided £100 towards the construction costs of its chapel.¹¹⁴

In spite of landlord support, the diffusion of Tridentine Catholicism may have remained limited, especially among the socially marginalized. Tridentine ideals regarding marriage were rejected by the women of Churchtown-Liscaroll whose husbands had been transported, but in the words of Bishop Collins had then chosen to marry "in the Protestant Church with other men, notwithstanding their lawful husbands still living."¹¹⁵ In 1828 at Shandrum, Bishop Collins observed:

The farmers are few in number but comfortable. The labourers numerous and very poor, many being unable to procure work. The consequences of this is that a spirit of popular insurrection, of nightly attacks on the persons and property of the wealthier farmers who charge enormous rents for potato ground (from 7 to 10 pounds the acre) and who are in general unwilling to let any ground for that purpose to poor people except to their domestic labourers, is of older standing here and more obstinate here than in other parishes . . . The result has been as may be expected that the spirit of religion declined among the people and a spirit of disorder and turbulence gained ground.¹¹⁶

In the nearby parish of Charleville, Bishop Collins noted “a disposition to riot among the lower order inhabitants in the town and a reluctance among grown persons who never learned the catechism[,] and this class is represented by the P. P. as numerous[,] to prepare themselves by attending it for their first Communion.”¹¹⁷

In only five of Cloyne’s forty-three parishes was Bishop Collins satisfied with the standards of learning imparted through the Catholic catechism of the diocese. His repeated remark that learners “have the words but not the meaning,”¹¹⁸ or similar, would indicate a relatively superficial penetration of Tridentine Catholicism across much of the diocese. Even where the Catholic doctrine of purgatory had penetrated the popular imagination, Cork antiquarian Thomas Crofton Croker believed that:

[T]he tenet of purgatory or qualification for heaven, held by the Romish church; and on this particular, the general belief of the Irish peasantry is somewhat at variance with the representations of their pastors: the priest describes it as a place of fire, but the people imagine it to be a vast and dreary extent, strewn with sharp stones and abounding in thorns and brambles.¹¹⁹

He continued that although shoes were expensive, they were thought to be “almost indispensable after death” because “much walking has to be performed through rough roads and inclement weather.”¹²⁰ It is possible, of course, that his respondents may have been misleading him. In common with much of the rest of Europe, however, orthodox religious belief was probably more the exception than the rule. Such was certainly the case in much of *Ancien Regime* Catholic Europe.¹²¹ In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, teachers in public schools were required to ensure that the psalms and excerpts from scripture were known, but teaching in the sense of explanation and elucidation was rarely part of their timetable.¹²² The practice of rote-learning may also account for high attendance at Sunday service among nineteenth-century rural Lutherans in Saxony, but belief in life after death was uncommon.¹²³

The Periphery: The western parts of the diocese of Cloyne

Alongside the experiences of the parishes that formed the Catholic core region of the diocese, the nature and development of Tridentine Catholicism in Cloyne’s western parishes presents further opportunities to test Whelan’s model. Richard Hedges, an early-eighteenth-century English settler at Macroom, described the area west of the town as “forty miles of a barbarous country” containing “not an English gentleman of note.”¹²⁴ Its landscape was “all mountains, boggs and rocks,” and “entirely inhabited by Irish.”¹²⁵ Charles Smith identified a similar division when he wrote that Macroom was located “on the frontier of a very wild country, being all rocky and barren to the north.”¹²⁶ Just as these writers failed to appreciate the cultural vitality of this part of the diocese, so too, some of its Anglican and Catholic Bishops misunderstood its spiritual vitality. In 1720, Cloyne’s Church of Ireland bishop attempted to suppress devotion

to St. Gobnet of Ballyvourney on the grounds of idolatry.¹²⁷ In 1785, at Ballyvourney, Bishop McKenna's remark that "this region would want the best and most virtuous missionary" indicates how far he thought it to have been from the high standards of Tridentine Catholicism.¹²⁸

A further distinguishing feature of this part of Cloyne was its reputation as a place where the reach of the civil law was limited. Richard Hedges maintained that this was because of the absence of a resident Protestant elite. Writing from Killarney in 1714 he observed:

[S]ome heads of Irish clans...not only carry arms and harbour unregistered . . . priests in defiance of ye laws . . . but have gained ye ascent over ye civil power by their insolence and principles, so that the ordinary course of ye law cannot be put in force against them, without hazard to ye lives of such as go about it, there being very few protestants and they overawed by ye multitude of papists.¹²⁹

The civil law would certainly appear to have been more effectively enforced in the east of the diocese. In 1758, for instance, when Catholic Bishops John O'Brien of Cloyne and Pierce Creagh of Waterford excommunicated the inhabitants of Mitchelstown for rejecting Bishop O'Brien's choice of clerical appointment, some Catholics turned violent and, not willing to cede control of public order over to Catholic bishops, Baron Kingston, the local landlord, placed a bounty on the bishops. Their excommunication sentence, which was reported to have had "the desired effect of putting an entire stop to all commerce" in the town, was short-lived.¹³⁰

Such exercises of episcopal and/or landlord discipline may not have been as easy to implement in the west. Ó Murchadha's study of Inchigeela identified this part of county Cork as a place fostering the development of "what might be termed anti-establishment personages and events."¹³¹ It was from this part of the diocese that the *Caoineadh Art Uí Laoghaire* (Lament for Art O'Leary) was composed. Traditionally attributed to O'Leary's wife, Eibhlín Dubh Ní Chonaill, the lament bitterly indicted Abraham Morris, a former county high sheriff, as the murderer of Art O'Leary, a flamboyant Catholic ex-Austrian cavalry officer in 1773. Failing to conduct himself "with the deference expected of the conquered Irish," O'Leary refused to sell his horse to Morris, when requested to do so under the terms of the 1695 "Act for the Better Securing the Government by Disarming Papists."¹³² Originally drafted for the purposes of state security, in this instance, such legislation was used by Morris "to keep the likes of O'Leary in his place."¹³³ By implication, the power structures that allowed Morris to murder O'Leary with impunity were also held up to contempt.¹³⁴ For Heaney, this lament spoke powerfully:

[O]n behalf of the oppressed native Catholic population of Ireland, a Gaelic majority placed legally beyond the pale of official Anglo-Irish life by the operation of the penal laws. It was an outburst both heartbroken and formal, a howl of sorrow and a triumph of rhetoric . . . [N]o wonder, either, that it was from the family of such an impassioned silence breaker that the great political silence breaker of early nineteenth century Ireland emerged.¹³⁵

Eibhlín Dubh was an aunt of Daniel O'Connell's, the "great political silence breaker" who successfully helped to secure Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

It is likely that this part of Cloyne may also have offered greater freedom of expression for "Popery with attitude" given the number of its Catholics.¹³⁶ Whilst early eighteenth-century Protestant magistrates could obstruct the construction of Catholic chapels with relative ease in the east and north of the diocese such was not the case in parts of the west.¹³⁷ As early as 1750 Macroom was reported to have had "a splendid mass house" built "on an eminence at the entrance into the town, with a handsome altar, a pulpit and confessional chair."¹³⁸ At Kanturk,



Figure 5. Effigy of St. Gobnet of Ballyvourney, county Cork.

its Catholics simply ignored their landlord's agent and built their chapel on the town's common without his permission.¹³⁹

Spontaneity, intimacy and gaiety were also three of the characteristics identified by Whelan in the "enduring outliers of a robust Gaelic world" such as the west of Cloyne.¹⁴⁰ All were certainly evident during the great "pattern-days" or festivals associated with saints such as Gobnet at Ballyvourney. Observance of her feast day was initially encouraged by the Catholic Church.¹⁴¹ John Richardson's *The Great Folly, Superstition and Idolatry of Pilgrimages in Ireland* (1727), however, castigated these practices:

An image of wood, about two feet high, carved and painted like a woman, is kept in the parish of Ballyvo[u]rn[e]y . . . [I]t is called Gubinet. The pilgrims resort to it twice a year . . . [I]t is set up for their adoration . . . They go round the image thrice on their knees, saying a certain number of Paters, Aves and Credos . . . and they



Figure 6. Effigy of St. Gobnet of Ballyvourney, county Cork.

conclude with kissing the idol, and making an offering to it, every one according to their ability . . . This image is kept by one of the family of the O'Herlehy's, and when anyone is sick of the smallpox, they send for it, sacrifice a sheep to it, wrap the skin around the sick person and the family eat the sheep.¹⁴²

William Shaw Mason observed: "A vast concourse of people . . . from neighbouring parishes and from very distant parts of the country, assemble to perform their religious, or rather their superstitious rounds . . . Indeed, such meetings ought to be discountenanced by every religious and moral person, as they generally terminate in drunkenness and bloodshed."¹⁴³ By 1828, Bishop Collins had suppressed St. Gobnet's pattern day on the grounds of "abuses . . . which I felt necessary to forbid the people to attend in future under pain of excommunication."¹⁴⁴

A further reason for opposition may have been the presence of professional, although perhaps occasionally bogus beggars known as "bacachs" who assembled annually at Ballyvourney on St. Gobnet's feast day. Under the title of "*Cliar Ghobnatan*" (Gobnet's clergy), they circulated their own effigy of the saint and established a school where lessons were given in their chant or "cronawn". In 1825, the Halls observed: "Notwithstanding their outward pretensions to devotion and their constant attendance at places of prayer, they are always conspicuous outside the chapel gates, but who ever saw a *bacach* at Mass? They never receive or attend the sacraments of any church, that of marriage they totally disregard."¹⁴⁵

Given their relative inaccessibility, the uplands of west Duhallow and west Muskerry also provided a safe refuge for a number of Rockite encampments in the west of the diocese during the 1820s.¹⁴⁶ In the winter of 1822, encampments were reported in the uplands outside Macroon.¹⁴⁷ This movement was sustained by the prophecies of Pastorini, an interpretation of the Book of Revelation that envisaged the coming of a new era for the poor.¹⁴⁸ Such prophecies failed to stop the use of violence. In 1823, the parish priest of Doneraile reported that the question asked every morning by his parishioners was "how many fires last night?"¹⁴⁹ Two years later, he was taken to Buttevant barracks to hear the testimony of a man considered the "Captain Rock" of north Cork. Parties of police were subsequently dispatched to surrounding parishes to arrest seventy-five men who had been named to the priest.¹⁵⁰ In 1823, an officer of the First Rifle Brigade stationed at Macroon wrote to Bishop Collins requesting information on the Rockite movement because his horse was lame. The following week, he received what he described as "the most comprehensive and satisfactory information that ever reached me," intelligence which he promised to pass on confidentially to the government.¹⁵¹ The gradual extension of trials, transportations, a new county police force, a program of road construction and rent reduction in the west of Cloyne eventually managed to quell the activities of the movement.¹⁵²

The resilience of socially marginalized groups plus the fact that the civil parishes of the west were largely dedicated to local Irish saints rather than to saints and/or other devotions from continental Europe, would indicate an east-west division in the diocese that long pre-dated the Council of Trent (Figure 7). The remoteness of the west from the standardizing authority of a bishop may also account, at least in part, for the behavior of some of its priests. Following a dispute between Bishop Coppinger and the parish priest of Macroon over the location of a site for a new chapel in 1804, it was reported by Bishop Coppinger that the priest: "[W]ent to his country parishioners and then publicly gave his curse to all who should subscribe or concur to the building of a chapel on the site of my preference . . . Such cursing or ringing bells in this district, without express permission . . . values suspension *ipso facto*, for at my entrance here it was too common."¹⁵³

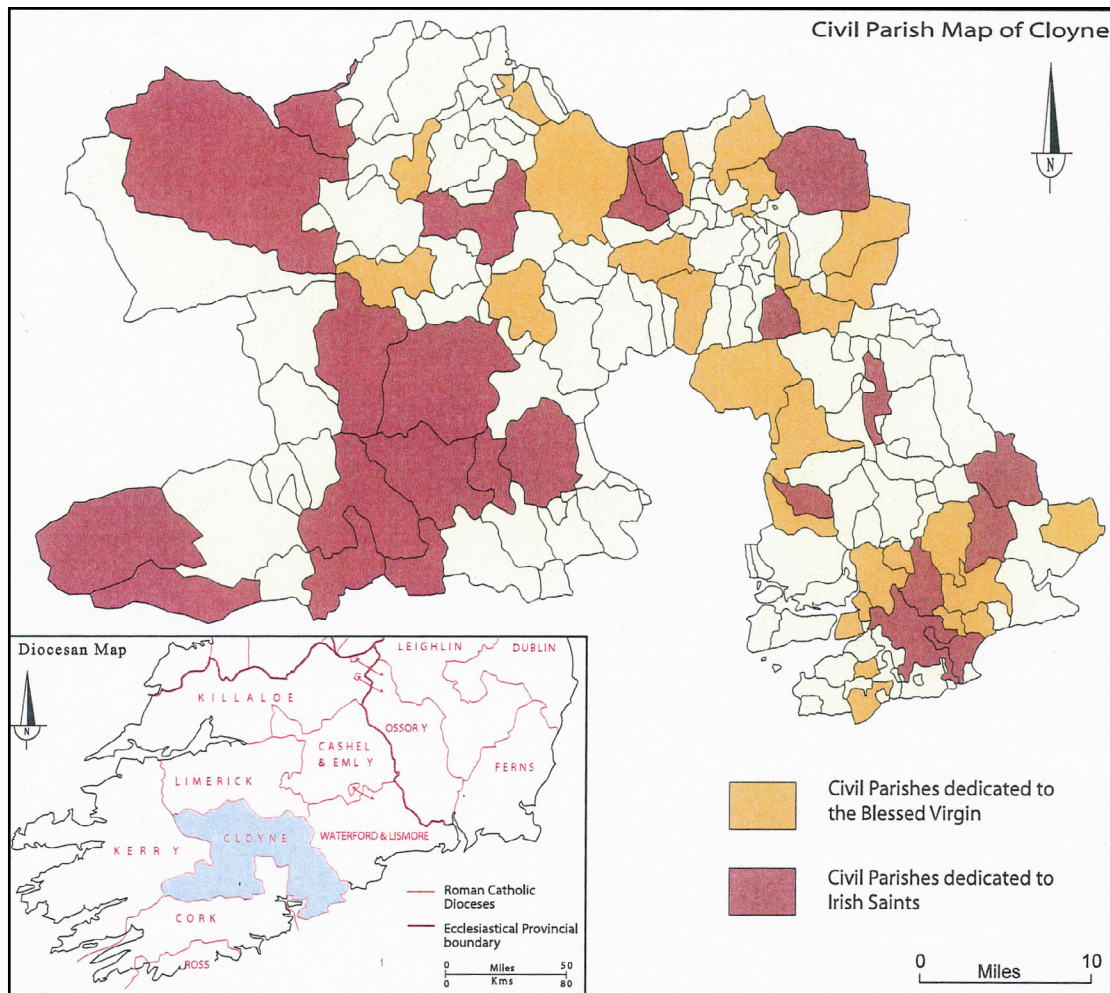


Figure 7. Civil Parish Dedications of Cloyne Diocese taken from Bishop Matthew MacKenna's Visitation Book, 1785, Cloyne Diocesan Archives, Cobh, county Cork. (Map courtesy of Mike Murphy, School of Geography, University College Cork)

Conclusion

Whelan acknowledges that it would be incorrect to dichotomize too rigidly between the two regions identified nationally. The situation of the Catholic communities of east Galway and Galway city, for instance, could certainly be favorably compared with that of east and north Cloyne. To dichotomize too rigidly for eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Cloyne, however, would be to oversimplify a much more complex process of continuity, change, and adaptation taking place. The diocese clearly contained a multitude of different historical, cultural, geographical, and social worlds within which Tridentine Catholicism co-existed. No uniform Catholic experiences can be assumed, therefore, just as no equivalent Protestant ones can. To define one part of the diocese as "introspective, static, self-contained" *vis-à-vis* another as "outward-looking, dynamic and well-connected" would be too simplistic.¹⁵⁴ While some parts of the diocese may certainly have displayed such characteristics more than others, many may well have displayed both, either simultaneously or at different times. Furthermore, the reinforcing of hierarchical control, a central part of Tridentine Catholicism, enabled the Catholic Church to serve as a supporter of law and order in a context where class-based and colonial relations

fomented civil unrest. In the Cloyne case, the diffusion of Tridentine Catholicism was just as dependent upon Protestant elite support and not just upon Catholic plebian acquiescence. Its progress, therefore, may have been as much, if not gradually more reliant upon the alignment of the Catholic Church with the *status quo* as it was upon the factors outlined in Whelan's model.

The assumption that certain aspects of Tridentine Catholicism were archaic is also questionable. Cullen, for instance, describes the excommunication of Mitchelstown in 1768 as "an archaic and in the eighteenth century outlandish measure." However, other censures such as interdict remained an effective disciplinary measure used by the Catholic bishops of Cloyne well into the early nineteenth century.¹⁵⁵ In 1785 Bishop McKenna noted of Burnfort: "One chapel interdicted on account of a quarrel."¹⁵⁶ In 1800, Bishop Coppinger placed the chapel of Ballintotis, Midleton under interdict.¹⁵⁷ In 1828, Bishop Collins noted: "The interdict taken off the chapel" at Donoughmore.¹⁵⁸ Dickson, too, found the work of priests such as Friar O'Sullivan in the neighboring diocese of Kerry in 1750 to have been "curiously old-fashioned."¹⁵⁹ Yet how different individuals or communities formulated their responses within varying sets of circumstances, real or imagined, difficult or otherwise, was a complex process drawing upon an array of physical and spiritual resources. For some, such resources may have been abundant. For others, more limited.

Given that it was not uncommon for priests to have been ordained in Ireland and sent abroad afterwards for further study, it is likely that the number of priests with exposure to continental European Catholicism was higher than Whelan's map of 1704 registered priests suggests.¹⁶⁰ On their return, Bishop John O'Brien warned of the possibility of envy from fellow Catholics. In his own case, he believed that "no man of my low rank in the world could have suffered more from their envious disposition. It was enough that I kept my distance with most of them."¹⁶¹ Optimistic portraits of resilient eighteenth-century Irish Catholics, therefore, "not merely adapting to their situation, but displaying creativity and confidence in the face of varying degrees of opposition" are proving to be more complex.¹⁶² While most historians since the 1960's may have rejected the "penal" paradigm, with its subtext of an heroic, unified and silenced Catholic nation "smarting under unrelenting persecution," to dismiss the suffering, silences and/or enmities involved would be to impoverish our understanding.¹⁶³

Nicholls' observation that eighteenth-century anti-Catholic sentiment in county Cork was high but characterized "more by occasional outbreaks of petty harassment than by steady repression, let alone persecution", fails to appreciate either the suffering involved or its long-term effects.¹⁶⁴ Even if only occasional or seemingly petty, the killing of high-profile Catholics such as Séamus Óg MacCoitir/James Cotter Jr. in 1720 and of Art O'Leary in 1773 generated strong feelings at the time and had no parallels elsewhere in eighteenth-century Ireland. Dickson's reference to "servile" communities on the fringes of farms or estates would also benefit from further research.¹⁶⁵ To what extent might such responses have been the outcome of situations whereby communities were marginalized, their needs neglected and their dignity not upheld? The use of dehumanizing language in referring to the "untamed" Irish or to a "cull" of United Irishmen in the aftermath of 1798 is also regrettable.¹⁶⁶

Nor can the eighteenth- or early-nineteenth-century Irish Catholic Church be viewed as showing "little sentiment and little sense of its distinguished ancestry" in reconstructing its parish network.¹⁶⁷ In the Cloyne case, at least, some of its Catholics drew upon their rich cultural and spiritual heritages. To what extent Catholics in other parts of Ireland drew upon theirs – when, why and to what effects – invites further research. Cloyne's Catholic bishops may also have been just as selective as their congregations when it came to choosing which Tridentine reforms to accept or reject. The XXIV session of the Council of Trent, for instance, recommended that what needed to be uppermost on the minds of bishops while on visitation were to be all things pertaining to the worship of God, the salvation of souls and the support of the poor.¹⁶⁸ Yet the

visitation books of successive late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century bishops contain little, if any evidence of the latter insight. Indeed, Bishop Coppinger's 1824 Visitation Book indicates a greater concern to record the names of the landed proprietors of the parishes that he visited.¹⁶⁹

Clearly then, Cloyne was a place of multi-layered contradictions. While its formal Catholic religious leaders may have suffered "more than their fair share" during the early eighteenth-century, the diocese continued to produce a vibrant Catholic *literati* throughout the period.¹⁷⁰ In the barony of Muskerry alone, at least fifty documented Irish-language poets were active.¹⁷¹ Nor were conditions entirely unbearable. Not all Protestant gentry or magistrates were "hell-bent" on destroying their political enemies, or determined to make a mockery of the law.¹⁷² When trouble might have been expected during the 1740s, Cloyne's Catholics remained "apparently quiescent," influenced, at least to some extent, by the enlightened presence of Church of Ireland Bishop George Berkley.¹⁷³

The emergence of O'Connell's Catholic Association in the 1820s may have offered further hope, at least for some. Unlike earlier movements, this Association was non-violent and hence gained the support of Bishop Coppinger. Rural protest movements were also quieted through its influence, rather than through the forces of law and order.¹⁷⁴ It proved to be a tide that was not for turning.¹⁷⁵ Emancipation opened up the possibility of access to government and, critically, the prospect of Catholics becoming first-class citizens in a society that had been constructed to keep them second. The old sensibility that "there was no law for . . . [the common people] but the will of the magistrates" could fade.¹⁷⁶ Catholic Emancipation "at its dawn, proved to be "a sky of many colours."¹⁷⁷ Perhaps it was fitting that out of a diocese as repressive as Cloyne, its previous darkness, at least for some, may have been in proportion to the light to follow.

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NOTES

- 1 Kevin Whelan, "The Regional Impact of Irish Catholicism 1700-1850" in *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland, Presented to T. Jones Hughes*, eds. William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (Cork: Cork University Press, 1988), 253-77.
- 2 James Coombes, *A Bishop for Penal Times: The Life and Times of John O'Brien, Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, 1701-1769* (Cork: Tower Books, 1981), 86.
- 3 Ibid., 88. The Catholic diocese of Cloyne was managed as a distinct diocese from 1148-1429. It was united with the diocese of Cork from 1429-1747. It was united instead with the diocese of Ross from 1747-1850. From 1850 it has been a separate diocese.
- 4 John Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century Press* (Maynooth: Catholic Record Society of Ireland, St. Patrick's College, 1965), 245.
- 5 Terence P. Cunningham, "Church Re-Organisation," in *History of Irish Catholicism, Vol. 5*, ed. Patrick Corish (Dublin: Gill and Son, 1970), 16.
- 6 Coombes, *A Bishop for Penal Times*, 23.
- 7 James Kelly and Dáire Keogh, *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 161; 172.
- 8 Sean J. Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1780-1845* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1982), 93.
- 9 Whelan, "Regional Impact," 272.
- 10 Seán Ó Dúinn, *Where Three Streams Meet: Celtic Spirituality* (Dublin: Columba Press, 2000).

- 11 Eugene Hynes, *Knock: The Virgin's Apparition in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2009), 101
- 12 Patrick Maume, "Review of Hynes, *Knock: The Virgin's Apparition*," *Catholic Historical Review* 95, no. 4 (2009): 864.
- 13 Hynes, *Knock*, 107.
- 14 James S. Donnelly Jr., *The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century County Cork* (London: Routledge, 1975), 22.
- 15 Arthur A. Luce, *The Life of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1949), 169. This quotation is taken from Horace, *Odes* 2.6, 17-18; referring to Horace's villa at Tivoli, a "where spring is long and Jupiter provides mild winters." I am indebted to Prof. David Scourfield, National University of Ireland Maynooth for this translation. In Ireland at this time the same diocesan boundaries were shared by the Catholic Church as well as by the Protestant Church of Ireland.
- 16 Charles Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork, Vol. I* (Cork: John Connor, 1815 [1750]), 100.
- 17 Connolly, *Priests and People*.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 50.
- 19 In 1575, Cork's Catholic Bishop remarked that Youghal's Jesuits "train their scholars and townspeople in the knowledge of the Christian doctrine, in the frequentation of the Sacraments and in the practice of solid virtue"; Seán Ó Coindealbhain, "Uí MaCaille: its Anglo-Irish and English Schools," *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 50 (1945): 129.
- 20 Mary Lee Nolan, "Irish Pilgrimage: The Different Tradition," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 73 (1983): 432.
- 21 Whelan, "An Underground Gentry? Catholic Middlemen in the Eighteenth Century," in Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the Construction of Irish Identity* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), 3-58. For Barnard this term is problematic, given that the ways by which the Irish defined the concept of gentry may have been different to that of Britain and Europe; Toby Barnard, "The Gentrification of Eighteenth Century Ireland," *Eighteenth Century Ireland* 12, no. 153 (1997): 153. MacBride also finds the term applicable for certain parts of Ireland only; Ian MacBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin, Gill and MacMillan 2009).
- 22 I am grateful to Mgrs. James O'Brien, Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, Rome, for this information.
- 23 Coombes, *A Bishop for Penal Times*, 26.
- 24 David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630-1830*, (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), 235. Simon Fraser, 11th Lord Lovat, was a Scots Jacobite who had first sworn loyalty to the Hanoverian crown but later joined the forces seeking the installation of a Catholic king James II. After the defeat of the Jacobite forces at the Battle of Culloden he was executed.
- 25 Pádraig Ó Loingsigh, *The Book of Cloyne*, second edition (Midleton: Litho Press, 1994), 87.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 John Brady and Patrick Corish "The Church Under The Penal Code," in *A History of Irish Catholicism, Vol. 4*, ed. Corish (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1971), 4.
- 28 I am grateful to a direct descendant of MacGearailts, Mr. Luke Beausang, Ballymacoda, for this information.
- 29 Breandán Ó Buachalla, "The Making of a Cork Jacobite," in *Cork History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, eds. Patrick O'Flanagan and

- Cornelius G. Buttmer (Cork: Geography Publications, 1993), 475.
- 30 Dickson, *Old World Colony*, 268.
 - 31 Ó Buachalla, "The Making of a Cork Jacobite," 486.
 - 32 Ibid.
 - 33 Ibid.
 - 34 David Dickson, *Old World Colony*, 270.
 - 35 Ibid.
 - 36 Coombes, *A Bishop for Penal Times*, 49.
 - 37 Bishop Michael Collins Visitation Book, July 11 1830, Cloyne Diocesan Archives, Cobh (CDA).
 - 38 Bishop Michael Collins Visitation Book, July 9 1828, CDA.
 - 39 Bishop Michael Collins Visitation Book, July 6 1828, CDA.
 - 40 Kerby Miller, Ellen Skerrit and Bridget Kelly, "Stumbling towards Heaven? Edmond Roynane's Responses to the Great Famine and Gilded Age America" (unpublished paper delivered at Radboud University, 2013), 5.
 - 41 Ibid., 6.
 - 42 Whelan, "Regional Impact," 217.
 - 43 Louis Cullen, "The Blackwater Catholics and County Cork Society and Politics in the Eighteenth Century," in *Cork: History and Society*, eds. O'Flanagan and Buttmer, , 541.
 - 44 William J. Smyth, "Social, Economic and Landscape Transformations in Co. Cork from the Mid-Eighteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *Cork: History and Society*, eds. O'Flanagan and Buttmer, 668.
 - 45 Ibid., 667.
 - 46 Patrick O'Flanagan, "Three Hundred Years of Urban Life: Villages and Towns in County Cork c.1600 to 1901," in *Cork: History and Society*, eds. O'Flanagan and Buttmer, 441.
 - 47 David Dickson, "An Economic History of the Cork Region in the Eighteenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Trinity College Dublin, 1977), 519.
 - 48 Cullen, "Blackwater Catholics," 542.
 - 49 Ibid., 558.
 - 50 Ibid., 537.
 - 51 Dickson, *Old World Colony*, 105.
 - 52 Cullen, "Blackwater Catholics."
 - 53 Ó Buachalla, "The Making of a Cork Jacobite", 472.
 - 54 Cullen, "Blackwater Catholics," 538.
 - 55 Cullen, "Blackwater Catholics," 540.
 - 56 Dickson, *Old World Colony*, 279. Cloyne's Catholic Bishop John O'Brien left for similar reasons in 1767. He died at Lyon two years later, declaring himself "an exile from his native land for defending his religion"; Coombes, *A Bishop for Penal Times*, 76.
 - 57 Cullen, "Blackwater Catholics," 563.
 - 58 Ibid., 562.
 - 59 John Wilson, *Cloyne Parish Priests* (n.p., 1959).
 - 60 Coombes, *A Bishop for Penal Times*, 90.
 - 61 Bishop Matthew MacKenna Visitation Book, Mitchelstown, 1785, CDA.
 - 62 Evelyn Bolster, *A History of the Diocese of Cork: From the Penal Era to the Famine* (Cork: Tower Books, 1989), 151.
 - 63 Dickson, *Old World Colony*, 256.
 - 64 T. B. [Timothy O'Brien], *Truth Triumphant: In the Defeat of a Book, Intitled, A Replication to the Rejoinder, &c.* (Cork: O'Brien, 1745).

- 65 "A Letter from a Gentleman of the Church of Rome, in the Diocese of Cloyne to his neighbours of the same profession (1750)," in Hugh Fenning, ed., "Some Eighteenth Century Broad-sides," *Collectanea Hibernica* 12 (1969): 55.
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