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The Cathedral System of Ireland in the Stuart Period,
1603-91
The Political Influence of Ireland in the British House, 1603

By

Vincenzo Mussari

A dissertation submitted for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Bologna.

2007
The Cathedral System of Ireland in the Stuart Period, 1603 – 91

By

Ciaran Diamond

A dissertation submitted for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Dublin.

2007
I, Ciaran Diamond, declare that

(a) This thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other University.
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Ciaran Diamond
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Summary

In 1650 the Commonwealth regime abolished the deans and chapters of the Irish cathedral system, which brought to an end a 500-year tradition of cathedral life in Ireland. This abolition was temporary as cathedral life, with its emphasis on ceremony, music and order, resumed in 1660 with the restoration of the monarchy and hierarchy. This thesis is primarily concerned with the development of cathedral life in the half-century prior to the abolition of the deans and chapters by the Commonwealth regime and the effects of this closure on the cathedrals of Ireland during the Restoration period. It also examines the development of that system during the most significant century of its history when the cathedrals were alternatively lauded and attacked. The thesis contends that cathedrals developed an enhanced role in the life of the church during the early Stuart period and that the ecclesiastical reforms of the 1630s proved to be remarkably durable in the latter half of the seventeenth century where there was the structural capacity to do so. The Laudian experiment of the 1630s represented a re-evaluation of the position of the church in society and sought to enhance the status of the church through beautifying the churches, promoting decency, order and uniformity in worship and restoring its finances and fabrics. In the short term this experiment led to the puritan reaction of the 1640s that resulted in the abolition of deans and chapters in the 1650s, but in the longer term the Laudian sponsored reforms had a permanent effect on the restored cathedrals and provided the basis for the development of ‘Caroline traditions’ in the cathedrals of Ireland. In practice this meant that the ecclesiastical policies of the 1630s that appeared to have been then innovatory became, by the end of the seventeenth century, normative and mainstream in the Irish cathedrals. The significance of this development is underlined by the important role that the cathedrals played in promoting religious best practice as mother churches of their dioceses and as bastions of episcopacy.

The thesis commences with an overview of the historiography of the Church of Ireland in the seventeenth century and the literature on the cathedrals since the 1800s. Chapter two examines the constitutional framework of the Irish cathedral system from its origins in the medieval period through to its development in the period following the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century. Chapter two then considers how the issue of royal prerogative was central to the development of the cathedral system following the extension of English rule throughout the island of Ireland in the century after 1603 when the Stuart monarchs were able to press their claim to the right to present deans. Chapters
three and four focus respectively on the financing of the cathedral system and the physical fabric of the cathedrals and outline how the reforms introduced in the early Stuart period found widespread acceptance or permanence in the Restoration period. During the Stuart period the finances of the cathedral system of Ireland became better managed and with the passing of the 1634 Act for the Preservation of the Church's Inheritance, Laudian economic policies became the norm. In the Restoration period these policies helped to break the stranglehold of long leases, which had afflicted the Church of Ireland in its first century. Although, the general poverty of the church on the one hand and confessional conflict on the other had a negative impact on the fabric of cathedral churches, concerted action was made throughout the Stuart period to restore the cathedrals' fabric. Of particular importance was the ecclesiological shift in the 1630s from the pulpit to the altar. With the Restoration there was a return to the liturgical practices of the 1630s and by the 1690s the altar furnishings and ceremonial practices of the Laudians of the 1630s had become common practice throughout the cathedral system.

Chapter five makes use of a prosopography of seventeenth century cathedral clergymen to analyse the lives and careers of the elite of the Church of Ireland. This chapter examines the changing composition of this group of clergymen as it developed into a group that was mainly British in geographic and ethnic origins and largely university educated. The importance of patronage is also considered and how it impacted on the choice of cathedral clergymen attuned to the principles of hierarchy and loyalty to the regime. Chapter six looks at the function of the cathedrals by exploring the sermons and ceremonies performed in them. As the seventeenth century progressed, there were increasing concerns that sermons and ceremonies should be performed in a due and reverent fashion. The establishment of 'Caroline traditions' in the 1630s was designed to ensure order and decency in cathedral choirs and pulpits. These principles were challenged in the 1640s and 1650s, but a conservative backlash in the 1660s resulted in the restoration of these principles in the cathedrals, with the active support of the crown and the episcopate. Finally, chapter seven discusses the relationship of the cathedrals with lay society and the connections that developed between deans and chapters and local and national communities during the seventeenth century. The thesis concludes with an examination of how the newcomer Protestant community adopted the medieval rights and privileges of the cathedral system to defend their newly acquired position, how the native Catholic community sought to regain those rights and privileges and how the cathedrals of Ireland ultimately became synonymous with Protestant privilege.
Acknowledgements

I wish to take this opportunity to acknowledge the assistance of various institutions and people who have assisted me during the course of my research.

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge the generous financial assistance provided by the University of Dublin in the form of a Trinity College Postgraduate Award, which I held between 1998 and 2000.

Secondly, I wish to thank the staff of the National Library of Ireland; the National Archives; Marsh’s Library; the Royal Irish Academy; the Early Printed Books Department and the Manuscripts Department of the Library, Trinity College, Dublin; Dublin City Library; the Robinson Library, Public Library, Armagh; the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland; and Derry City Archives.

A special thanks is due to the staff of the Representative Church Body Library, including Dr Raymond Refausse, Dr Susan Hood, Mrs Heather Smith and Mrs Mary Furlong.

Thirdly, I would like to thank the following cathedral clergymen and officials who facilitated access to church plate and cathedral records not normally open to public access, including the Dean of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, Revd Norman Lynas; the Dean of St Carthage’s, Lismore, Revd William Beare; the Dean of St Eunan’s, Raphoe, Revd John Hay; Mr Derek Johnson in St Fin Barre’s, Cork; Ms Noeleen Elliker in St Mary’s, Limerick; and Mr Ian Bartlett in St Columb’s, Derry. Mr Bartlett also provided me with copies of various documents and illustration, which were most welcome.

Fourthly, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Colm Lennon and Professor Raymond Gillespie for their assistance and interest in my work and who both provided excellent guidance to the study of early modern Irish history while I was a student at NUI Maynooth. I would also like to thank Dr Mary Ann Lyons for the opportunity to address the Catholic Historical Society of Ireland and Dr John Gibney for the opportunity to present a paper at the Restoration Ireland conference in 2004. My thanks also go to my colleagues in the Office for Social Inclusion, who facilitated me with leave of absence when required, and to Dr David Murphy and Dr Tony Gaynor for their interest and support.
I owe a special debt of gratitude to my friend Dr Anthony McCormack, whose support, assistance and advice is greatly appreciated.

I am particularly indebted to my supervisor, Professor Aidan Clarke, whose insight and counsel over the years have benefited both my work and myself greatly, for which I am extremely grateful.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my family, my parents Brian and Geraldine, my grandmother Maureen Moran, my brothers, Ronan, Garrett and Eamonn, my sister-in-law, Christine, and extended family and friends for their support, encouragement and interest over the years. To my parents and grandmother I dedicate this work with my love and affection.

Michaelmas, 2006
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<td>B.L., Add. Ms.</td>
<td>Additional Manuscripts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bodl. Library</td>
<td>Bodleian Library, Oxford University</td>
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<td>E.H.R.</td>
<td>English Historical Review</td>
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<td>Hist. Jn.</td>
<td>Historical Journal</td>
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<td>H.M.C.</td>
<td>Historical Manuscripts Commission</td>
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<td>I.H.S.</td>
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<td>I.M.C.</td>
<td>Irish Manuscripts Commission</td>
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<td>Ir. Econ. Soc. Hist.</td>
<td>Irish Economic and Social History</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ir. Geneal.</td>
<td>Irish Genealogist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jn. Co. Louth Arch. Society</td>
<td>Journal of the Co. Louth Archaeological Society</td>
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<td>Jn. Cork Hist. and Arch.</td>
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<td>J.R.S.A.I.</td>
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<td>Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire.</td>
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Notes and Conventions

The year has been taken to commence on 1 January while dates are given in Old Style.

Modern spellings of place names are used.

Monetary values are denominated in Sterling unless otherwise stated.

The term Catholic is used to denote members of the Roman Catholic Church.

The terms House of Commons and House of Lords refer to the Irish House of Commons and the Irish House of Lords.

Figures and graphs referred to in the text are located at the end of each chapter.
Map of the Cathedrals of Ireland

On the morning of 27 January 1661 an elaborate service was held at St Patrick’s, Dublin, to consecrate two archbishops and ten bishops for the Church of Ireland. Prior to the service the bishops and bishops elect, the deans, dignitaries and prebendaries of Christ Church and St Patrick’s, and officials from the University of Dublin processed with the choirs of the two Dublin cathedrals from Christ Church to St Patrick’s. During the service Dr Jeremy Taylor, the bishop elect of Dromore, preached a sermon on the role of episcopacy in society and on the duty of a bishop. Above all episcopacy was seen as the great stable mate of monarchy and the great ornament of religion. These sentiments were echoed in an anthem, which followed the consecration of the archbishops and bishops. This consecration anthem was composed by the dean’s vicar and master of the choristers, Richard Hosier, and was set to a text written by the dean of St Patrick’s, William Fuller. This anthem concluded with an exuberant chorus: ‘Angels look down and joy to see like that above a monarchy, Angels look down and joy to see like that above a hierarchy’.

In March 1650 the English parliament had passed an act for the better advancement of the Gospel and learning in Ireland, which provided for the suppression of the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Dublin, and the confiscation of its properties. A further act of 25 December 1650 specified a number of acts of the English parliament, including the statute abolishing the hierarchy and the Book of Common Prayer, which were to be put into force in Ireland and a commission was established to put these laws into execution. These acts and subsequent instructions to the chief governor concerning the lands belonging to bishops or cathedrals provided the only legislative basis for the abolition of the cathedral system in Ireland. Therefore, an *ad hoc* approach was used to abolish the Irish deans and chapters and no statutory instrument similar in nature to the act of the English parliament of 30 April 1649, which abolished deans and chapters in England and Wales, was ever passed for the Irish cathedrals. But just as in England and Wales the Commonwealth...
regime broke a 500-year tradition of cathedral life in Ireland. Cathedral life, with its emphasis on ceremony, music and order, resumed in 1660 with the restoration of the monarchy and hierarchy. Thus, the consecration service of 1661 re-affirmed the principles of hierarchy and the position of cathedrals within the established church.

This thesis is primarily concerned with the development of cathedral life in the half-century prior to the abolition of the deans and chapters by the Commonwealth regime and the effects of this closure on the cathedrals of Ireland during the Restoration period. It investigates the internal history of the Church of Ireland through the framework of a system of related institutions linked together through a common pool of personnel. Furthermore, it examines the development of that system during the most significant century of its history when the cathedrals were alternatively lauded and attacked. The thesis contends that cathedrals developed an enhanced role in the life of the church during the early Stuart period and that the ecclesiastical reforms of the 1630s proved to be remarkably durable in the latter half of the seventeenth century where there was the structural capacity to do so. The Laudian experiment of the 1630s represented a re-evaluation of the position of the church in society. The aim of this experiment was to enhance the status of the church through beautifying the churches, promoting decency, order and uniformity in worship and restoring its finances and fabrics. Although concerns regarding the maintenance of church buildings, prohibiting the alienation of church properties and even the promotion of higher standards of worship had antecedents during the reign of James I, it was the coalescence of these policies in the 1630s and the tactics used to promote them that made the Laudian experiment unique. In the short term these tactics led to the puritan reaction of the 1640s that resulted in the abolition of deans and chapters in the 1650s, but in the longer term the Laudian sponsored reforms had a permanent effect on the restored cathedrals and provided the basis for the development of ‘Caroline traditions’ in the cathedrals of Ireland. In practice this meant that the ecclesiastical policies of the 1630s that appeared to have been then innovatory became, by the end of the seventeenth century, normative and mainstream in the Irish cathedrals. The significance of this development is underlined by the important role that the cathedrals

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played in promoting religious best practice as mother churches of their dioceses and as bastions of episcopacy.

II

Over the past forty years the key issue in the historiography of the Church of Ireland in the early modern period has been why and when the reformation in Ireland failed. The initial Bradshaw–Canny debate argued that the failure of the Irish reformation could be dated to either the reign of Queen Mary, at its earliest, or the nineteenth century, at its latest. More recently, a broad consensus has emerged that suggests the decisive period in the chronology of the failure of the reformation in Ireland was the turn of the sixteenth century and that by the early Stuart period the Church of Ireland commanded the allegiance of only a small proportion of the population of the island. Although the earlier studies tended to consider the ideological and political reasons for the failure of the reformation in Ireland, the studies published in the late 1980s focussed more on the institutional difficulties that could explain why the established church failed to garner the support of the indigenous population in Ireland. Following on from these works, the structural problems of the Church of Ireland have received closer attention, particularly studies on individual dioceses, including Dublin, Kildare, Armagh and Meath. There have also been significant studies on subjects as diverse as ecclesiastical law and the reformation in Ireland, the history of popular religion in early modern Ireland and setting the Irish reformation in an international context.


Most of these studies on the Irish reformation have tended to concentrate on the Tudor period. Some studies do extend their treatment of the subject into the early Stuart period, such as Professor Aidan Clarke’s examination of the Church of Ireland during its first century. The early Stuart period witnessed the creation of a distinct Protestant church, which clearly distinguished itself ‘in structural, racial, theological and political terms from its Roman Catholic counterpart’. The course of this second reformation, which witnessed the transformation of the Church of Ireland into a firmly Calvinist institution, with its own confession and distinct ideological outlook, is dealt with in Professor Alan Ford’s monograph *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, 1590 – 1641*. The Laudian reaction during the 1630s against the creation of an independent and Calvinist oriented Church of Ireland has received less attention by scholars, although the recent works by Dr John McCafferty have done much to fill the gap in our understanding of this period. His studies have sought to comprehend the changes made to the Church of Ireland by focussing on the role played by the Bishop of Derry, John Bramhall, in the attempts to bring the Church of Ireland into line with the ‘best practices’ of the Church of England. Dr McCafferty has also set Bramhall in the context of the wider episcopate of the Church of Ireland, which was fully re-established in the early Stuart period.

The period from 1633 to 1641 was also briefly examined in F.R. Bolton’s study on the origins and development of the Caroline tradition in the Church of Ireland. The bulk of this work deals with the church in the latter half of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century and principally considers how the intellectual life of the church impacted on liturgical developments and church design. This work is also one of the most significant studies of the established church in the Restoration period, as the history of the

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13 Aidan Clarke, ‘Varieties of uniformity: the first century of the Church of Ireland’.
Church of Ireland between the 1641 rebellion and the Williamite victory in 1690 is yet another neglected area of research. An indication of the lack of scholarly interest in this area is the fact that St John D. Seymour's work on the church during the Commonwealth period remains one of the key studies of this period, even after eighty-five years since its publication. On the other hand, it continues to be a classic piece of work: not only did it examine the course of events during the 1650s, but it also considered developments in the Church of Ireland in the 1640s and the restoration of the established church in 1660. Its significance is largely due to the fact that Seymour based this work on the Commonwealth records held in the Public Records Office, which was destroyed in 1922. Seymour lodged his transcripts of these records in the Representative Church Body Library and they were subsequently used by Dr Toby Barnard in his research for his monograph on Cromwellian Ireland, which included separate chapters on religion. Dr Barnard has also examined the role of the established church in politics and society in the period after 1660, although these studies extend into the eighteenth century.

Mr James McGuire employed a shorter time frame in his studies on the return of episcopacy during the years 1660 – 61. More recently Dr Robert Armstrong has done work on the experience of the clergy of the Church of Ireland in the 1640s, which has helped to address the deficiencies in knowledge for this 'lost decade' in the history of the established church. Therefore, it is evident that work on the history of the Church of Ireland between 1641 and 1691 is predominately focussed on the twenty years prior to 1661 and that the Restoration period is almost wholly neglected.

Until recently the cathedrals of Ireland have attracted little scholarly attention. The earliest cathedral history was on St Patrick's, Dublin, and was published by William Monck-Mason in 1820. Monck-Mason also prepared a history of Christ Church, Dublin, as a
companion volume to the history of St Patrick’s. However, this was never printed. Since then there have been relatively few in-depth studies of Irish cathedrals. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the study of local and institutional history began to flourish, the interest of ecclesiastical historians focussed more on diocesan histories, although some of these studies did contain sections on or significant references to cathedral life. Likewise, county histories occasionally devoted sections to cathedral churches, such as Joseph Hansard’s history of the county and city of Waterford. Despite this, a few significant cathedral histories were published including Grave’s and Primm’s study of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, William Sherlock’s history of St Brigid’s, Kildare, James Dowd’s history of St Mary’s, Limerick and William Butler’s history of Christ Church, Dublin. These studies were supplemented by articles, principally of an antiquarian nature, in the local history journals and particularly in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Of a similar nature were the studies of St Colman’s, Cloyne, and St Fin Barre’s, Cork, by Richard Caulfield. Carrying on this tradition into the twentieth century was the dean of Ross, Charles Webster, who published his history of St Fachtna’s, Ross, in 1927 and W.P. Carmody who published a history of Lisburn cathedral in 1926. In turn these monographs of individual cathedrals provided material for anthologies of the Irish Anglican cathedrals, which are effectively gazetteers.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, one aspect of cathedral history received sustained academic interest: the compilation of clerical

25 Ibid., pp 4 – 5.
26 See for example, Philip Dwyer, History of Kilkaoe, from the Reformation to the close of the eighteenth century (Dublin, 1878); St John D. Seymour, The Diocese of Emly (Dublin, 1913); Charles A Webster, The Diocese of Cork (Cork, 1920).
27 Joseph Hansard, History, topography and antiquities of the county and city of Waterford (Dungarvan, 1870).
28 James Grave and J.G. Primm, The history, architecture and antiquities of the cathedral church of St Canice, Kilkenny (Dublin, 1857).
29 William Sherlock, Some account of St. Brigid, and of the see of Kildare, with its bishops, and of the cathedral, now restored (Dublin, 1896).
30 James Dowd, History of St Mary’s cathedral, Limerick (Limerick, 1899).
32 Richard Caulfield, Annals of the cathedral of St Colman’s, Cloyne (Cork, 1882); Annals of St Fin Barre’s cathedral, Cork (Cork, 1871).
33 Charles A. Webster, The cathedral church of St Fachtna, Ross (Cork, 1927).
34 W.P. Carmody, Lisburn Cathedral and its past rectors (Belfast, 1926).
35 T.M. Fallow, The cathedral churches of Ireland (London, 1894); J.G. Day and H.E. Patton, The cathedrals of the Church of Ireland (London, 1932); Robert W. Jackson, Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland (Dublin, 1981); Peter Galloway, The cathedrals of Ireland (Belfast, 1992).
succession lists. The progenitor of this genre was the dean of Lismore, Henry Cotton, who between 1847 and 1878 published his *Festi ecclesiae Hibernicae*.36 This seven-volume set provided succession lists for bishops and cathedral clergymen for each province in Ireland from the earliest times onwards.37 Cotton’s work was subsequently complemented by the diocesan succession lists, which contain further details on the lives of cathedral clergymen. The first of these succession lists was William Maziere Brady’s works on the dioceses of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, published in the 1860s.38 This work was followed by succession lists for the dioceses of Cashel and Emly by St John D. Seymour,39 the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore by William H. Rennison,40 the diocese of Ross by Charles A. Webster41 and the dioceses of Dromore and Down by Henry Swanzy, which was published in the 1930s.42 The latter diocesan succession list was co-authored by James B. Leslie, who took over the compilation of this list following Swanzy’s death in 1933. Leslie was the most significant of this group of clerical biographers, publishing eight volumes of diocesan succession lists and leaving typescript manuscripts for the remaining seventeen dioceses.

Thus, by the mid-twentieth century each diocese of the Church of Ireland had a succession list of its clergy, although the level of detail varied between the lists, with the lists for Cashel and Emly and Waterford and Lismore proving to be the least satisfactory.43 Leslie also compiled a separate succession list for Christ Church, Dublin, which was published alongside the succession list for the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough as part of that diocese’s millennium celebrations.44 A succession list for the other Dublin cathedral, St Patrick’s, was published by Hugh J. Lawlor in the 1930s.45 Lawlor had originally intended to revise Cotton’s *Festi ecclesiae Hibernicae*, but this project was abandoned and his work on St Patrick’s, Dublin, was the only part of that enterprise that was ever

37 Henry Cotton, *Festi ecclesiae Hibernicae. The succession of the prelates and members of cathedral bodies of Ireland* (7 vols, Dublin, 1847 – 78).
39 St John D. Seymour, *The succession of parochial clergy in the united diocese of Cashel and Emly* (Dublin, 1908).
41 Charles A. Webster, *The diocese of Ross. Its bishops, clergy and parishes* (Cork, 1936).
42 Henry B. Swanzy, *Succession list of the diocese of Dromore* (Belfast, 1933); James B. Leslie and Henry B. Swanzy, *Biographical succession list of the clergy of the diocese of Down* (Enniskillen, 1936).
43 Raymond Refausse, ‘Church of Ireland clerical succession lists and their compilers’, p. 38.
44 J. B. Leslie and R. H. Wallace, *Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough* (Dublin, 2002).
45 Hugh J. Lawlor, *The fasti of St Patrick’s, Dublin* (Dundalk, 1930).
completed.\textsuperscript{46} This book was also significant for another reason as it was the only clerical succession list that attempted to create a synthesis on the constitutional history of a cathedral. In this respect it differed from many of the other cathedral histories that had been published prior to then, which consisted principally of outline chronologies and descriptions of the fabric of cathedrals.

From the 1950s onwards a more sustained academic interest in Irish cathedral history developed. Of particular significance was the study on the cathedral system in the Church of Ireland since the disestablishment by Hugh Boyd. Although the focus of this thesis was on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the development of the cathedral system from the medieval period onwards was also discussed.\textsuperscript{47} The medieval period was addressed further in a number of articles by Geoffrey Hand, including studies on the medieval chapters of St Patrick’s, Dublin, and St Mary’s, Limerick, and the rivalry between the two Dublin cathedrals in the late thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{48} Hand also penned a short article providing a general overview of the medieval cathedral chapters of Ireland,\textsuperscript{49} a topic that was further developed in an article by Kenneth Nicholls in 1973.\textsuperscript{50} In the 1980s a number of studies dealt with the history of Irish cathedral music, including an examination of the history of the choir at St Patrick’s, Armagh,\textsuperscript{51} and a general overview of the subject by Harry Grindle.\textsuperscript{52} Then in the 1990s there was a proliferation of studies of individual cathedrals. In 1997 Frederick Rankin published a history of Holy Trinity, Downpatrick.\textsuperscript{53} In 1996 the first book under the aegis of the Christ Church History Project was published, which was a transcription of the proctor accounts for the years 1564 – 65.\textsuperscript{54} Initially, the Christ Church History Project emerged from proposals by Geoffrey Hand to edit William Monck Mason’s history of Christ Church, Dublin.\textsuperscript{55} Although this manuscript was never published, the proposal provided the impetus for a project that

\textsuperscript{46} Raymond Refausse, ‘Church of Ireland clerical succession lists and their compilers’, pp 33, 37.
\textsuperscript{47} Hugh A. Boyd, ‘The cathedral system in the Church of Ireland since the Disestablishment’ (M.Litt. Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1950).
\textsuperscript{52} W.H. Grindle, Irish Cathedral Music (Belfast, 1989).
\textsuperscript{53} J. Frederick Rankin, Down Cathedral: The Church of St Patrick of Down (Belfast, 1997).
\textsuperscript{54} The Proctor’s accounts of Peter Lewis 1564 – 1565, (ed.) Raymond Gillespie (Dublin, 1996).
\textsuperscript{55} Raymond Refausse, ‘Introduction’, p. 10.
produced the first general history of the most significant cathedral in Ireland from its foundations in the eleventh century to the year 2000. The project also produced an eight volume companion documents series, which aimed to make available some of the most important texts relating to the history of the cathedral. In turn this project provided the impetus for other cathedrals to produce their own general histories, including St Brigid’s, Kildare, and St Patrick’s, Dublin, which is due to be published in 2007.

III

The muniments of the cathedrals of Ireland form an important corpus of corporate and ecclesiastical records, although these records were often depleted by the historical events that this thesis seeks to examine. During the 1641 rebellion the records and writing belonging to St Canice’s, Kilkenny, were taken by the Gaelic Irish rebels and at St Brigid’s, Kildare, the chapter’s chest, which contained all the evidence and receipts belonging to the chapter, was taken by the Catholic Bishop of Kildare, Ross McGeoghan. The fact that in ten cathedrals the earliest records dated to the Restoration period clearly demonstrates the fact that the mid-seventeenth century troubles adversely affected the survival rate for pre-1641 manuscripts. Likewise, during the Nine Years War rebels broke open the chapter chest of St Patrick’s, Cashel, and took away the records of the cathedral and see of Cashel. Other cathedral records were stolen or embezzled from time to time, as was the case with a chapter act book from St Flannan’s, Killaloe, and such acts may have been committed in order to conceal alienated church lands.

For those records that did survive the seventeenth century, neglect and improper storage during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also had a detrimental effect on the survival rate for cathedral archives. When St John D. Seymour consulted the chapter act book of St Alibeus’s, Emly, in the early twentieth century, he found that the first few pages had been torn out and the document commenced in the middle of a meeting that adjourned to the 25 July 1715. Seymour speculated that these lost pages could have recorded chapter meetings from the latter half of the seventeenth century. However, this document had been

57 Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *St Brigid’s, Cathedral Kildare: A History*, (Naas, 2001).
58 1641 Depositions, Co. Kilkenny (T.C.D., Ms. 812, f. 203v).
59 1641 Depositions, Co. Kildare (T.C.D., Ms. 813, f. 264).
60 *St Patrick’s, Cashel* (1661); *St Laserian’s, Leighlin* (1661); *St Flannan’s, Killaloe* (1661); *St Brigid’s, Kildare* (1663); *St Carthage’s, Lismore* (1663); *St Colman’s, Cloyne* (1663); *St Mary’s, Tuam* (1667); *Holy Trinity, Waterford* (1670); *St Canice’s, Kilkenny* (1670); *St Mary’s, Limerick* (1682).
61 ‘Complaints and grievances to be made about the present occasions of this Provincial agency into England in the behalf of the clergy of Munster’ (T.C.D., Ms. 1188, f. 18).
62 Killaloe Cathedral Register, 1661 – 1842 (T.C.D., Ms. 1825, f. 11).
transferred to the Public Records Office of Ireland following the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1870 and was subsequently destroyed in 1922. Likewise, a number of cathedrals had transferred some of their records to the P.R.O.I. and amongst the seventeenth century cathedral records destroyed in the shelling of the Four Courts were the chapter acts books for St Mary’s, Tuam; St Brigid’s, Kildare; St Laserian’s, Leighlin; St Patrick’s, Cashel; St Carthage’s, Lismore and St Colman’s, Cloyne. At the end of the twentieth century the earliest chapter act book for St Canice’s, Kilkenny, which commenced in the 1670s, was mislaid and is now deemed lost.

Fortunately, copies were made and extracts were taken from some of these documents. The first chapter act book for St Carthage’s, Lismore, was copied into the second chapter act book, which was retained in the cathedral and is now stored in the chapter’s chest in the cathedral’s library. Similarly, abstracts were made of the chapter acts of St Colman’s, Cloyne, and in 1910 St John D. Seymour presented a paper on the chapter books of Cashel Cathedral to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Likewise, surviving chapter act books occasionally contain extracts from earlier books, which no longer exist: the earliest chapter act book for St Mary’s, Limerick, dates from the early 1680s, but its first few entries refer to acts from the 1660s. In a similar vein, cathedral records that commenced in the early eighteenth century were consulted to see if earlier acts were copied into them including the chapter act books for St Patrick’s, Killala, (1722) and St Laserian’s, Leighlin (1717).

Only four Irish cathedrals have records dating from the first half of the seventeenth century. Although the first chapter act book of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, is lost, abstracts were made of the chapter entries in the 1860s by the Prebendary of Dunstable, Henry Constable. These chapter acts commence in 1624 and run in a continuous sequence, with the exception of the *interregnum*, throughout the seventeenth century. Similarly, St

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65 When the records of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, were transferred to the Representative Church Body Library, the three chapter act books were retained in local custody. However, in 2000 the first chapter act book was discovered to have been misplaced.
66 St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book.
67 R.C.B., C12/2/1.
69 St Mary’s, Limerick, Chapter Act Book, ff 2 – 3.
70 R.C.B., C19/1.
71 R.C.B., C15.
72 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1 – 2, Chapter Act Books, vols i and ii, 1624 – 94.
Patrick’s, Dublin, has a continuous set of chapter records commencing in 1644. This cathedral’s muniment also contains a few legal documents and petitions dating from the early Stuart period.\textsuperscript{73} Petitions, deeds and legal documents make up all that remains of the archive of Holy Trinity, Waterford, and some thirty documents are of a date earlier than 1650. A further hundred individual documents date from the latter half of the seventeenth century and include copies of some of the chapter acts, which appear to have been drafts prior to being entered into the chapter act book.\textsuperscript{74}

The most significant collection of cathedral manuscripts is the archive of Christ Church, Dublin, which was transferred to the Representative Church Body Library in the late 1980s and early 1990s.\textsuperscript{75} This archive includes the earliest chapter acts of any Irish cathedral, which commence in 1574, and contains entries from an earlier, but now lost, chapter act book.\textsuperscript{76} A gap in the series of chapter acts between 1670 and 1686 indicates that a second chapter act book is missing. The chapter acts are complemented by the proctor’s accounts, which set out the cathedral’s annual income and expenditure. Although there are gaps in the series of accounts from the early Stuart period, the series is complete from 1665 to 1738.\textsuperscript{77} Lacunae in these series of records can in part be filled with other collections in the archive, including the lease books,\textsuperscript{78} guard books\textsuperscript{79} and the \textit{Registrum Novum},\textsuperscript{80} which contains copies of deeds and charters and original legal papers and letters.

The archives of Christ Church, Dublin, survived the mid-seventeenth century troubles through the efforts of the chapter clerk, Thomas Howell. He re-organised the archives of the cathedral in the 1630s and in 1665 was awarded an increase in his salary ‘for his extraordinary attendance and pains in the church’s service especially in sorting the records’.\textsuperscript{81} A significant portion of this archive – the Christ Church Deeds – was transferred to the Public Records Office in the 1870s and was subsequently destroyed in

\textsuperscript{73} R.C.B., C2.
\textsuperscript{74} The records of Holy Trinity, Waterford, which have been transferred to the Representative Church Body Library, are in the process of being catalogued. Julian Walton prepared a summary of the cathedral’s records in the early 1980s and citations are based on this list.
\textsuperscript{76} R.C.B., C6/1/26/1; Raymond Gillespie (ed.), \textit{The First Chapter Act book of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, 1574 – 1634} (Dublin, 1997).
\textsuperscript{77} R.C.B., C6/1/26/3; C6/1/15; Raymond Refausse, ‘Introduction’, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{78} R.C.B., C6/1/17/1.
\textsuperscript{79} R.C.B., C6/1/26.
\textsuperscript{80} R.C.B., C6/1/6.
\textsuperscript{81} Raymond Gillespie, ‘The archives of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin’, p. 8; R.C.B., C6/1/8/2, p. 333.
1922. Fortunately, the Public Records Office calendared this material and published it in their Deputy Keeper’s reports.  

Throughout the seventeenth century the province of Ulster experienced greater instability than elsewhere in Ireland and the survival rate for cathedral records reflects this. During the Nine Years War the cathedral muniments of St Columb’s, Derry, and St Patrick’s, Armagh, were lost or destroyed and this gave rise to requests in the 1620s and 1630s for the deans and chapters to be granted new charters of incorporation. The 1641 rebellion resulted in the further destruction of cathedral archives: St Patrick’s, Armagh, was burnt in 1642 along with its books and records. Records from the early Stuart period originating from cathedrals located in the ecclesiastical province of Armagh are scant, although there are copies of documents from this period amongst the Armagh Diocesan papers. There are also very few records from these cathedrals dating from the Restoration period. The most significant are the vestry minutes of St Eunan’s, Raphoe, which commence in 1673. That the working papers of this Ulster cathedral were vestry minutes and not chapter acts is noteworthy. Ulster cathedrals often fulfilled a dual role as parish churches, which were administered by select vestries. Furthermore, Ulster cathedrals did not possess economy estates and their cathedral dignitaries and prebendaries were required to reside on their benefices and only occasionally preached at their cathedral. Therefore, the basis for calling chapter meetings was slight and in most Ulster cathedrals, chapter meetings may only have taken place to confirm their bishops’ leases. Consequently, most Ulster cathedrals probably did not keep chapter act books. There is evidence that vestry minutes from the early eighteenth century once existed for St Patrick’s, Armagh, but these are now lost. The earliest vestry minutes for St Patrick’s, Armagh, now in existence are from the early nineteenth century. Elsewhere, St Columb’s, Derry, has vestry minutes commencing in 1718, although earlier minutes probably existed here also.

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82 Raymond Gillespie, ‘The archives of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin’, p. 3; The original calendar was republished, along with a calendar of seventeenth century material as part of the history of Christ Church, Dublin, project: Christ Church deeds.
85 Armagh Diocesan papers (P.R.O.N.I., DIO 4).
86 St Eunan’s, Raphoe, Vestry Minute Book, (P.R.O.N.I., Mic 1/95).
87 Walter Harris, Some Account of the Cathedral Church of Armagh (P.R.O.N.I., DIO 4/39/2/1/2); Harris’s paper on the history of St Patrick’s, Armagh, contains references to acts of the vestry from 1682. James B. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes (Dundalk, 1911), p. 120.
88 St Columb’s, Derry, Vestry Minutes, 1718 -
Over the last twenty years the records of a number of cathedrals have been transferred to the Representative Church Body library, including the cathedrals of St Patrick’s and Christ Church, Dublin; Holy Trinity, Waterford; St Colman’s, Cloyne; and St Canice’s, Kilkenny. In turn this has facilitated the development of an interest in the history of Irish cathedrals. However, these histories tend to be studies of individual cathedrals and the opportunity to consult a range of sources in one location has not, until now, been availed of. Therefore, this study complements the recent work done on cathedral histories by considering all the cathedrals of Ireland together as a system during the most significant century of their history. The closure of the cathedrals of Ireland was a seminal event and to understand the context and consequences of this action, there is a need to look at the seventeenth century as a whole. Moreover, by considering both the early Stuart and Restoration periods this thesis transcends the somewhat neat periodic division of the seventeenth century that is used in most studies of that century. Furthermore, the importance of the developments in the Church of Ireland in the 1630s, which particularly affected the cathedrals, needs to be understood not only in the context of what preceded these changes, but also the longer term consequences of these developments, particularly during the Restoration period. As a result, gaps in our knowledge of the Church of Ireland during the latter half of the seventeenth century are also somewhat addressed by this work.

The thesis commences with an examination of the constitutional framework of the Irish cathedral system from its origins in the medieval period through to its development in the period following the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century. Chapter two then considers how the issue of royal prerogative was central to the development of the cathedral system following the extension of English rule throughout the island of Ireland in the century after 1603. Chapters three and four focus respectively on the financing of the cathedral system and the physical fabric of the cathedrals. Both of these chapters outline how the reforms introduced in the early Stuart period found widespread acceptance or permanence in the Restoration period. Chapter five makes use of a prosopography of seventeenth century cathedral clergymen to analyse the lives and careers of the elite of the Church of Ireland. This chapter examines the changing composition of this group of clergymen and considers what effects the reforms of the 1630s, the mid-century troubles and the Restoration had on this group. Chapter six looks at the function of the cathedrals by exploring the services provided by cathedral churches. Above all, it was the sermons

89 See the cathedral records finding aid in the R.C.B. library.
and ceremonies performed in the cathedrals that distinguished these churches from parish churches and how cathedral services were organised and regulated indicates the important role cathedrals played in the life of the church. Finally, chapter seven discusses the role of the cathedral in lay society and the connections that developed between deans and chapters and local and national communities during the seventeenth century. The thesis concludes with an examination of how the newcomer community adopted the rights and privileges of the cathedral system to defend their newly acquired position and how the native community sought to regain those rights and privileges.
Chapter II – Constitutional Developments

In 1635 the traveller Sir William Brereton visited Dublin and described a number of the city’s churches. Brereton referred to one of the city’s parish churches, St Werburgh’s, as a kind of cathedral because of its size and architectural style. In a similar vein a number of Funeral Entries recorded by the Ulster King of Arms during the early Stuart period referred to the parish churches of St Peter’s, Drogheda, and SS Peter and Paul’s, Kilmallock, as cathedral churches. Although all of these churches were significant buildings in their own right, none of them were cathedral churches. The word cathedral is derived from the Latin cathedra meaning a throne or a seat, and it is the mere presence of a bishop’s seat or see that makes a church a cathedral. Therefore, a church’s antiquity or style plays no part in assigning a church the status of a cathedral.

This chapter will set out the development of the cathedral system from its initial foundation during the medieval period to the beginning of the religious reforms in the sixteenth century. The chapter contends that the Tudor reforms did not radically alter the cathedral system of Ireland. The constitutional framework that emerged from the medieval period was very similar to the framework that existed in the late sixteenth century. Furthermore, the changes made suggest that policy in relation to the cathedrals was dealt with on an ad-hoc basis and this was evident in the suppression of the regular cathedral chapters. The chapter will then examine how the policies, both religious and political, of the various Stuart monarchs impacted on the constitutions of the cathedrals. Of particular importance was the State’s campaign to control the patronage of the deaneries of the cathedral system. This was a significant development as the cathedrals, constrained by poverty on the one hand and challenged by religious radicalism on the other, lacked the capacity or the willingness to pursue innovatory restructuring. Instead, constitutional changes looked back to the church’s medieval inheritance and by the end of the seventeenth century this had helped to accentuate the hierarchical nature of the Church of Ireland.

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The cathedral system of Ireland was born out of the ecclesiastical reform movement of the twelfth century. At the synods of Rathbreasail, Uisneach, Kells and Cashel it was decided that the Celtic or Irish church would adopt the administrative pattern found in the Western church. Subsequently, the Irish church was divided into dioceses and parishes. As each diocese was established an episcopal see was created at the principal church of each diocese. Sometimes cathedrals were established at the old monastic centres that had previously been the focus of episcopal organisation, such as at Leighlin. Elsewhere new locations, such as at Kilkenny, were chosen. As the cathedrals were established, administrative bodies known as chapters were formed to assist the bishop perform his duties. These bodies subsequently acquired corporate status, which entitled them to hold property in common and to sue or be sued in the common law courts. The duties of cathedral chapters included giving advice to the bishops, aiding in the joint management of the episcopal temporalities, which meant that the leases of episcopal properties had to be confirmed by the chapter, and electing new bishops.

Cathedral chapters were either regular or secular. Regular chapters were organised along monastic lines and some of the oldest Irish cathedrals were of this type. Christ Church, Dublin, possessed a regular chapter, which was established in 1162. In that year the Archbishop of Dublin, Laurence O’Toole, introduced into the cathedral regular canons following the rule of the Augustinian canons of the abbey of Arrouaise. Augustinian chapters were also located at the sees for the dioceses of Oriel and Roscrea, although both of these dioceses were later united with the dioceses of Clogher and Killaloe respectively. The Augustinian community at Bangor claimed to form the chapter of the bishop of Down in the mid thirteenth century, but a papal ruling of 1244 decided that that honour belonged

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5 John Watt, The Church in Medieval Ireland, p. 122.
to the Benedictine monastery of Downpatrick. This monastic house was established by the Anglo-Normans, replacing an Augustinian priory, and was the only other regular chapter in Ireland with a continual history of existence up until the Reformation.

Although the early thirteenth century bishop of Meath, Simon de Rochfort, established his see at the Augustinian priory at Newtown Trim, the prior and convent there never formed a cathedral chapter. In fact the Augustinians hindered an attempt to establish a chapter in this cathedral church in 1397. In this diocese the community of the clergy, otherwise known as the communitas cleri, consisting of the archdeacon and the beneficed clergy, acted as a corporate body and exercised the functions normally associated with cathedral chapters. The diocese of Connor was organised along similar lines and both of these dioceses remained chapterless dioceses throughout the Middle Ages.

The secular cathedral chapter was introduced into Ireland by the Anglo-Normans and was a form adopted in both the newly colonised and Gaelic Irish areas. This new form of capitular organisation emerged between the tenth and twelfth centuries as a result of changes in society, such as the growth of towns and cities and increased levels of trade, and the consequent need for canons to become specialised in their roles. The secular chapter in its most classic form was comprised of four dignitaries otherwise known as the quatro personae or the four pillars, so called because each of the four dignitaries possessed a stall in the four corners of the choir, and an undetermined number of prebendaries. All members of a cathedral chapter were canons and although they initially lived in a community they were not bound by monastic vows of discipline and poverty. Each canon possessed the right to a stall in the choir and a voice and vote in the chapter. In some cathedral churches economy or common funds were established to provide for the maintenance of the fabric of the cathedral and canons were also entitled to a share of these funds.

10 Ibid.
13 Particular questions concerning the Plantation, Mar. 1610 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608 - 10, p. 415): In the early seventeenth century the archdeacon and clergy of the diocese of Meath met every six months ‘to supply the place of a dean and chapter’.
15 Kenneth Nicholls, ‘Medieval Irish cathedral chapters’, p. 103.
16 Kathleen Edwards, English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages (Manchester, 1949), pp 6 - 7.
17 Hugh Boyd, ‘The Cathedral System in the Church of Ireland since the Disestablishment’, p. 38.
18 Ibid., pp 53 - 4.
The *quatro personae* were the highest officials or dignitaries in the secular cathedrals. The most senior dignitary was the dean who was the chief officer or the president of the chapter. The dean presided over meetings of the chapter, possessed the right to inspect and correct the other cathedral clergymen and in the absence of the bishop ensured that the services of the cathedral were performed. To reflect this status, a dean often had two votes in the chapter, while the other canons had one vote. Traditionally the chapter elected the dean.¹⁹ The next ranking officer to the dean was the precentor or chanter and his primary responsibility was to provide choral services in the cathedral and supervise the conduct of the choir.²⁰ Below the precentor was the chancellor who acted as the secretary to the chapter. His duties included receiving and responding to letters and petitions addressed to the chapter, maintaining the chapter’s records and taking care of the chapter’s seal. He was also responsible for the provision of education in the cathedral.²¹ The fourth member of the *quatro personae* was the treasurer. His duty was not, as his name may suggest, the control of the finances of the cathedral,²² but rather the care and custody of the cathedral’s plate, ornaments and vestments. He was also in charge of providing the necessities for the performance of divine services, such as candles, bread and wine.²³ In most Irish cathedral churches the archdeacon was a member of the chapter and classed as a dignitary, although he had little to do with the provision of services in the cathedral. The principal function of archdeacons was to assist bishops in the performance of their diocesan duties, such as undertaking visitations of parishes and examining candidates for ordination.²⁴ The


²² The proctor or economist, who was a member of the chapter and elected for a one-year term to oversee the collection and expenditure of the cathedral’s revenues, carried out this task. See below: Chapter III - Cathedral Finance, pp 71 – 72.


inclusion of archdeacons in Irish chapters differed from the practice in English secular cathedrals where they were not chapter members and this appears to be a distinctive feature of Irish cathedrals. Archdeacons were generally the last in the order of precedence amongst cathedral dignitaries but there were local variations to this practice: in the ecclesiastical province of Armagh and in Cork, Limerick, Clonfert, Killala, Elphin and Kilmacduaghe the archdeacon was ranked next to the dean.  

Below the ranks of the dignitaries in secular chapters were the prebendaries, who were stipendary ministers of the cathedral. Prebendaries derived their income from a parish or a group of parishes, which were known as their prebendal corps. The principal parish of the corps gave the name attached to the prebendary and to the stall that he occupied in the choir. The close connection between the prebendaries and the parochial system gave rise to non-residence in the cathedral close and consequently prebendaries were not always entitled to a share of the common fund. Where they did receive a share of these funds, prebendaries were required to perform occasional duties such as preaching in the cathedral and attending chapter meetings and this required short-term residence at the cathedral.

The fact that a large proportion of canons were non-resident led to the establishment of minor corporate bodies in a number of cathedrals to perform the duties that the canons were originally required to perform. The inferior status of these minor corporate bodies was confirmed by being made subject to the control of deans and chapters. In time these minor corporate bodies developed a choral role and subsequently became known as vicars choral. Initially the vicars were appointed by the canons that they represented but in time the deans acquired the right of nomination of vicars in most cathedrals. Nevertheless, the canons were required to pay out of their livings a stall wage to their representative vicar. The vicars also received a payment out of the common fund or the economy estate and in a number of cathedrals a portion of this estate was set aside for the sole use of the vicars. The formation of their own estates provided the impetus for vicars choral to seek incorporation. In a number of cathedrals the vicars choral organised themselves into colleges, which further enhanced their separate corporate identity. Although the vicars may have lived together, they were not necessarily ordained clergymen. Only in a different type of minor corporate body was there a requirement to be a priest. These were

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minor canons and few Irish cathedrals possessed this kind of body, including St Patrick’s, Dublin and St Brendan’s, Ardfert.26

The classic secular cathedral, with the four dignitaries, prebendaries, decanal elections, economy or common funds, and minor corporate bodies, was primarily found in the ecclesiastical provinces of Dublin and Cashel. These were the wealthiest provinces in Ireland with the highest incidence of Anglo-Norman colonisation and as a result there was little incentive to introduce variations to the secular cathedral model. It did take time for the model to evolve and a case in point is St Patrick’s, Dublin. This church was first established as a collegiate church in 1206 by Archbishop Comyn, who created a chapter comprising of thirteen canonical prebendaries.27 Archbishop Henry de Londres elevated this church into a cathedral and his charter of 1214 established the offices of precentor, chancellor and treasurer.28 A subsequent charter of 1220 created the office of dean and provided for the chapter to elect one of their own number as dean.29 Although the basic form of the secular cathedral was created at St Patrick’s over a fifteen-year period, the number of prebendaries continued to alter throughout the medieval period. It was not until the reign of Henry III (1216 – 72) that the size of the chapter was finally determined: a grant of 1224 established the largest cathedral chapter on the island comprising of 25 canons, including the archdeacons of Dublin and Glendalough.30 The size of this chapter approached the staffing levels that existed in English secular cathedrals, although it placed St Patrick’s at the lower end of that league.31

These grants to St Patrick’s, Dublin, gave rise to the unusual situation of two cathedrals existing in close proximity to one another. This situation arose because the Anglo-Normans preferred the secular cathedral model as it was easier for an archbishop to control by way of his right of nomination to canonical offices. The Anglo-Norman archbishops did attempt to deprive Christ Church of its status but because of this cathedral’s greater antiquity, the prior and convent were able to resist these attempts.32

28 Ibid., pp 3 – 4.
29 Ibid., pp 4 – 5.
30 Ibid.
31 At the top end of the league Lincoln cathedral possessed 58 canons while at the bottom end Wells cathedral possessed 22 canons: Stanford E. Lehmburg, The Reformation of the Cathedrals, p. 5.
32 Hugh J. Lawlor, The Fasti of St Patrick’s, Dublin (Dundalk, 1930), p. 10.
The existence of two cathedrals, one in the city and the other in the suburbs, was a source of great friction in the city and it was not until 1300 that precedence was conceded to Christ Church. In that year it was agreed that the archbishop would be consecrated in Christ Church, but that in matters of financial and political importance the two cathedrals would be of equal status. Consequently, both chapters assumed the joint management of the archiepiscopal estates and so it became necessary for the archbishop of Dublin to obtain the consent and endorsement of both capitular bodies for grants of his leases to be passed.

There is only one other cathedral where the initial constitutional framework is known: St Mary’s, Limerick. In 1205 Bishop Donat O’Briain, established a secular chapter in Limerick and the foundation charter expressly stated that the chapter was in imitation of English custom. This chapter consisted of a dean, archdeacon, precentor, treasurer and eight canons, with the archdeacon ranked second to the dean. Four of the canons were prebendaries, with the parishes of Mungaret, St Munchin’s, St Michael’s and Balimurchada forming the basis of their corps. The other four were canons in residence, who depended on the cathedral’s common fund for their income. Initially no provision was made for a chancellor but this was rectified when Bishop Donat O’Briain’s successor incorporated a chancellor in a grant of confirmation to the chapter. A chapter statute of 1272 confirmed the right of the canons to elect their own dean. In 1279 and 1418 new prebendaries were added to the chapter and by the late fifteenth century the total number of canons was sixteen. This made the chapter of St Mary’s, Limerick, one of the largest chapters in Ireland.

Most of the largest cathedrals in Ireland were located in urban areas including St Fin Barre’s, Cork; Holy Trinity, Waterford; St Canice’s, Kilkenny; and St Patrick’s, Cashel. Foundation charters or grants for these cathedrals do not exist, although there is evidence for deans and chapters operating in each of these cathedrals in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. St Fin Barre’s, Cork, possessed a chapter that equalled the size of St Mary’s, Limerick, while St Canice’s, Kilkenny, possessed a chapter containing eleven

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members. 36 There is evidence to suggest that the chapter at Holy Trinity, Waterford, was founded in 1205 by King John, who endowed the cathedral with lands for the support of twelve canons and twelve vicars. 37 At this cathedral the archdeacon was not formally a member of the chapter but because he held one of the prebendaries in commendam he was entitled to attend meetings of the chapter. In a similar vein the precentor of Holy Trinity, Waterford, attended meetings of the chapter of St Carthage’s, Lismore, in his capacity as prebendary of Kilbarrymeadan. 38 In 1224 Pope Honorius III confirmed the size of St Patrick’s, Cashel, which consisted of a dean and twelve canons. 39 It is probable that the other cathedral chapters in the provinces of Dublin and Cashel were established in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. These cathedrals, located at Ferns, Leighlin, Lismore, Cloyne, Ross, Ardfert, Emly, Killaloe, and Kilfenora, were all located in rural areas and were all ancient Celtic church sites.

One exception to the secular cathedral model in the province of Dublin was St Brigid’s, Kildare. At this cathedral, uniquely in Ireland, there were two chapters, a greater and a lesser chapter. The lesser chapter consisted of the usual four dignitaries and four canons. This lesser chapter was responsible for residence at the cathedral and consequently only they benefited from the division of the common fund of the cathedral’s economy estate. This lesser chapter was augmented for decanal elections with a greater chapter, which consisted of the lesser chapter and the archdeacon and prebendaries. Although all the members of the greater chapter were not accorded equal voting rights, they were all entitled to a stall in the choir of the cathedral. Originally the archdeacon was not a member of the lesser chapter but in time one of the canonries was annexed to his livings and as a result the archdeacon became a member of the lesser chapter. 40

A more complicated picture existed in the other two ecclesiastical provinces of Tuam and Armagh, with greater local variation in the composition of chapters. Several of the chapters of the archdiocese of Tuam possessed a simplified version of the secular

cathedral model. It appears that the model of four dignitaries and prebendaries was initially adopted throughout the Gaelic areas of the west but that in a number of cathedrals particular offices that had been included at their establishment subsequently became extinct.\textsuperscript{41} The province of Tuam also possessed, almost exclusively, an additional dignitary position: a provost. This office was one of great antiquity and was found in some of the earliest cathedral foundations in Western Europe where the provost was ranked next to the bishop as head of the chapter. Why this office existed almost exclusively in the province of Tuam is unknown, as is the function that they initially performed in those cathedrals.\textsuperscript{42} It has been conjectured that provosts fulfilled the role of chancellors in most of these cathedrals, although in Killala and Elphin the provosts evolved into precentors.\textsuperscript{43} Another peculiarity in this province was the presence of a sacrist in the chapters of Clonfert and Elphin. This office was more commonly found in regular cathedral chapters where its function was akin to that of a treasurer in a secular cathedral but it is unclear if they fulfilled this role in the context of Irish secular cathedrals.\textsuperscript{44}

At the archiepiscopal see itself, the composition of the chapter of St Mary’s, Tuam, altered during the period between its foundation and the fifteenth century. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were references to the existence of a chancellor. This office appears to have become extinct sometime in the 1400s and by the end of that century the chapter was comprised of a dean, provost, archdeacon, treasurer and eight prebendaries.\textsuperscript{45} The best example of a chapter in the province of Tuam that reduced in size was at St Patrick’s, Killala. In 1244 this chapter consisted of a dean, archdeacon, archpriest, treasurer, provost and chancellor but by the fifteenth century the chapter consisted only of a dean, provost, archdeacon and an undetermined number of canons.\textsuperscript{46}

In the ecclesiastical province of Armagh there was only one cathedral in the medieval period that possessed the classic secular cathedral structure: St Patrick’s, Armagh. At this cathedral there appears to have been some contraction in the size of the chapter. Here the office of precentor appears to have been merged with the office of the prior of the

\textsuperscript{41} Kenneth Nicholls, ‘Medieval Irish cathedral chapters’, p. 105.
\textsuperscript{43} Kenneth Nicholls, ‘Medieval Irish cathedral chapters’, p. 105; Hugh Boyd, ‘The Cathedral System in the Church of Ireland since the Disestablishment’, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{44} Kenneth Nicholls, ‘Medieval Irish cathedral chapters’, pp 105, 108.
community of the Culdees who supplied choral services at Armagh. Furthermore, an inquisition of 1609 found that there had previously been sixteen prebendaries at this cathedral divided equally between the church *inter Anglicos* and *inter Hibernicos*, although in the late fifteenth century only two of the prebendaries came from the English pale and four came from Gaelic Irish areas.\(^{47}\) It has already been noted that elsewhere in the province of Armagh the dioceses of Meath and Connor were chapterless, while at Down there was a regular chapter in the form of a Benedictine religious house.

Throughout the rest of the province it would appear that cathedral chapters contracted in size during the Middle Ages and by the fifteenth century most of them were composed of a dean, archdeacon and an undetermined number of prebendaries or canons. This was the situation in Dromore, Clogher, Ardagh, Raphoe and Clonmacnoise.\(^{48}\) The last medieval cathedral to be established was at St Fethlimidh’s, Kilmore, where in 1471 Bishop McBrady erected a chapter consisting of a dean and thirteen canons.\(^{49}\)

The variations in the secular cathedral chapter model that emerged in Ireland during the medieval period were mirrored in the minor cathedral corporate bodies. Vicars choral were primarily found in the provinces of Dublin and Cashel and first appeared there in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Most vicars choral were small corporate bodies and usually contained between four and twelve members.\(^{50}\) At St Fin Barre’s, Cork, there were four vicars choral, while at the metropolitan see of St Patrick’s, Cashel, there were eight vicars choral who were also supported by choristers, an organist, a sexton and a steward.\(^{51}\) At St Canice’s, Kilkenny, the vicars choral consisted of four vicars, four stipendaries and four choristers. The four vicars represented the dean, precentor, chancellor and treasurer and were ordained priests while the four stipendaries represented the archdeacon and the prebendaries of Blackrath, Aghoure and Mayne and were laymen. Two of the choristers were stipendaries of the dean and chapter while the other two were maintained by the vicars choral themselves.\(^{52}\) Holy Trinity, Waterford, was originally endowed with twelve vicars, but immediately prior to the Reformation there were six


\(^{50}\) Kenneth Nicholls, ‘Medieval Irish cathedral chapters’, p. 105.


\(^{52}\) Bishop Otway’s Visitation of the Diocese of Ossory, 1679 (N.A.I., M. 2830, pp 19, 45).
vicars choral, six choristers and an organist, to perform divine service in the cathedral. The vicars of Holy Trinity, Waterford, were never incorporated as a college with a separate endowment of their own. The collegiate identity of a vicars choral was often made evident through the existence of a college hall where the vicars lived together. The last remaining example of a vicars' choral college hall stands on St Patrick’s Rock in Cashel. College halls for vicars chorals also once existed in the precincts of St Mary’s, Limerick; St Patrick’s, Dublin; and St Canice’s, Kilkenny. Although vicars choral were primarily charged with performing duties in a cathedral choir, the vicars choral in St Canice’s, Kilkenny; St Carthage’s, Lismore; St Fachtna’s, Ross, St Patrick’s, Cashel, and St Fin Barre’s, Cork, were also responsible for the cure of the souls of their local parishes.

At St Patrick’s, Dublin, the college of vicars choral was established by Henry de Londres in the 1220s and the vicars were granted corporate status by a charter of Richard II. The number of vicars was nominally sixteen, although the actual number was normally twelve. An indication of how the vicars choral of St Patrick’s, Dublin, was organised appears in a report of regal commissioners dated 1539, which provided a model for the reconstitution of Christ Church, Dublin, when its regular chapter was altered into a secular chapter. The regal commissioners reported that the vicars choral lived in a collegiate manner and attended divine services at the cathedral daily. At the head of the vicars choral was the subdean or the dean’s vicar. Both he and the precentor’s vicar, otherwise known as the succentor, possessed seats in the chapter, although this did not mean that they possessed a vote. The four most senior vicars assisted the dignitaries with the performance of their duties in the cathedral. The other vicars represented the non-residentiary prebendaries with some of them representing more than one canon. As already noted, St Patrick’s, Dublin, also had a second minor corporate body, the minor or petty canons. They were established by Archbishop Talbot in 1432 and consisted of six minor canons and six choristers. Their duties included attending morning and evening services in the cathedral and reading lessons. Membership of the minor canons was restricted to those in holy orders.

53 Joseph Hansard, History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford, pp 148 – 49; Notes relating to and texts of W.H. Rennison’s unpublished History of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (R.C.B., Ms. 40/5/1, f. 33).
55 Hugh Boyd, ‘The Cathedral System in the Church of Ireland since the Disestablishment’, pp 313 – 18.
56 Ibid., pp 313 – 22; Extracts by C.A. Webster from documents in the Public Records Office of Ireland regarding the diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross (R.C.B., Ms. 121, ff 9 – 9v).
Consequently, they ranked above the vicars choral, which was open to both clergymen and laymen. At St Patrick’s the two most senior vicars choral, the subdean and the succentor, were also minor canons but continued to be known as vicars choral. Therefore, only four of the six were called minor or petty canons. The grants to the minor canons were subsequently approved by Henry VI and confirmed by the pope. It was not until 1520 that the minor canons of St Patrick’s, Dublin, were granted a separate corporate existence. Minor canons also appear to have served in the cathedrals of St Laserian’s, Leighlin, and St Brendan’s, Ardfert, but at both cathedrals they did not function during the early seventeenth century.

In the provinces of Armagh and Tuam there were only two cathedrals that possessed minor corporate bodies by the late sixteenth century, both of which were the archiepiscopal sees. At St Mary’s, Tuam, it appears that the vicars choral consisted of five members during the medieval period. At St Patrick’s, Armagh, a group of secular priests called the Culdees supplied choral services in the cathedral. The Culdees’ origins predated the formation of the diocesan and cathedral systems in Ireland. They appear to have performed the functions of a vicars choral in St Patrick’s, Armagh, and the prior of the Culdees was effectively the precentor in the cathedral. Just like other vicars chorals, the Culdees lived in a collegial fashion in the vicinity of the cathedral. A college of vicars choral also existed at St Brendan’s, Annaghdown, in the archdiocese of Tuam and in the late sixteenth century four vicars choral provided services in the cathedral there. The college appears to have become extinct by the early seventeenth century.

II

By and large, the constitutional framework of the cathedral system of Ireland that emerged out of the medieval period survived the Reformation of the sixteenth century relatively intact. The size and composition of the secular cathedral chapters remained largely unchanged. The regular cathedrals, namely Christ Church, Dublin, Downpatrick cathedral, and the cathedral for the diocese of Meath, were most affected by the religious reforms.

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60 Hugh Boyd, ‘The Cathedral System in the Church of Ireland since the Disestablishment’, p. 306
The reformation also provided the context to a re-examination by the English administration in Ireland for the rationale behind having two cathedrals in the city of Dublin.

The dissolution of the monastic houses was one of the most distinctive features of the Irish Reformation. The religious houses of Dublin were amongst the first to be affected by this policy and the only monastic house to survive, albeit in an altered form, was the Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity or Christ Church. This survival was as a direct result of a campaign for its retention by the citizens of Dublin. As a result, the prior and convent of Christ Church were reconstituted as a secular cathedral. This mirrored developments in England, where the monastic cathedrals were reconstituted as secular cathedrals. In 1539 the commissioners for the dissolution of religious houses re-organised Christ Church, creating four dignitaries and eight canonical vicars who were styled vicars choral. They also appointed the last prior as the first dean. Shortly after the commissioners’ grant, the newly reformed chapter petitioned the king for letters patent to confirm their new constitution. On 10 May 1541 the king granted letters patent to Christ Church, Dublin, confirming the creation of the dean and chapter and granting to that body the spiritual and temporal livings possessed by the Augustinian priory. The charter also provided for all the dignitaries to be appointed by the crown. The number of canonical vicars was reduced from eight to six who were to be elected by the chapter.

In England the reconstituted regular cathedrals were known as cathedrals of the new foundation, but although these became secular cathedrals, their constitutional framework was different from the medieval secular cathedrals, which were otherwise known as cathedrals of the old foundation. In the case of Christ Church, Dublin, the model for reorganisation was not the English cathedrals of the new foundation but rather the medieval secular cathedral St Patrick’s, Dublin. This is evident in the differences between the reconstituted Christ Church, Dublin, and the cathedrals of the new foundation in England. In Christ Church four dignitaries were created, while these were never instituted in the reconstituted English cathedrals, where the precentor was the head of the vicars choral and

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67 Ibid.
not a member of the chapter. Furthermore, the grant to Christ Church, Dublin, provided the chapter with the right to regulate their own affairs as they saw fit, while the English cathedrals of the new foundation were provided with a set of statutes for regulating the affairs of the cathedral church in their foundation charters. Finally, the vicars choral in Christ Church, Dublin, were given the right to vote in the chapter. In the English cathedrals of the new foundation, the vicars choral, who were styled minor canons, were made subservient to the dean and chapter.\textsuperscript{70} Despite being modelled on St Patrick’s, Dublin, there were some differences in the constitutional framework established in Christ Church when compared to St Patrick’s cathedral. The 1541 Christ Church charter did not provide for any prebendaries and accorded the vicars choral the right to a vote in the chapter, which was a unique situation in the Irish cathedrals. In St Patrick’s, Dublin, there were some nineteen prebendaries and neither members of the vicars choral and minor canons could vote in the chapter. In Christ Church, each of the dignitaries was to be appointed by the crown when a vacancy arose, while in St Patrick’s the dean was elected by the chapter, and the precentor, chancellor and treasurer were all appointed by the archbishop of Dublin. Vesting the right of presentation of the dignitaries of Christ Church in the crown mirrored developments in the cathedrals of the new foundation in England where both deans and canons were appointed by the monarch.\textsuperscript{71}

In the case of the other regular cathedrals, very little is known about their dissolution. The cathedral of the diocese of Meath at Newtown Trim, was dissolved in 1539 and unlike Dublin there appears to have been no local opposition to its dissolution. The absence of local support may account for this cathedral not being reorganised as a secular cathedral. Another reason could lie with the fact that the cathedral at Newtown Trim did not play a part in diocesan administration and that the existence of the \textit{communitas cleri} in the diocese of Meath meant that there was no need to establish a secular dean and chapter in the diocese. The regular chapter at Downpatrick cathedral was probably dissolved and its staff pensioned off in September 1542. Lord Deputy St Leger was then in the vicinity and in October the possessions of the suppressed religious houses of Ulster became a part of the king’s revenue.\textsuperscript{72} Unlike Christ Church, Dublin, Downpatrick was not reconstituted during the course of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. It appears that in this diocese, as in the diocese of Meath, the \textit{communitas cleri} assumed the functions of the

\textsuperscript{70} Stanford E. Lehmberg, \textit{The Reformation of the Cathedrals}, pp 76 – 94.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., pp 93 – 94.
\textsuperscript{72} J. Frederick Rankin, \textit{Down Cathedral}, pp 81 – 82.
dean and chapter in terms of diocesan administration. Therefore, unlike England, there was no centralised policy regarding the reformation of the regular cathedral chapters in Ireland and consequently local circumstances and initiatives dictated the shape of the changes made.

Although local circumstances had led to the survival of Christ Church, Dublin, during the period 1539 – 41, officials questioned the continued existence of two cathedrals in one city. In 1542 a plan was proposed to alter the reconstituted cathedral into a parish church, a school and a residence for the council. The inclusion of education facilities was to act as an inducement to the citizens of Dublin to agree to the proposals. A survey of the cathedral’s income was undertaken. It discovered that this amounted to only £160 6s 8d a year. Meanwhile, the citizens of Dublin mounted a campaign to preserve the cathedral and petitioned the council for its retention. It was argued that suppressing the cathedral would undermine Dubliners’ civic pride and devalue their English identity. Consequently, proposals regarding the provision of education were seen as inadequate. Therefore, because of local support and, perhaps more importantly, the fact that the revenues of the cathedral failed to live up to expectation, the lord deputy and council informed the king in 1544 that they wished to see Christ Church preserved.

Officials then directed their attention to the wealthier St Patrick’s, Dublin, and in 1546 a commission was established by letters patent to dissolve the cathedral. Although the order to dissolve the cathedral was made in the final weeks of the reign of Henry VIII, it was implemented under Edward VI and at a time when the secular colleges of England were being suppressed. St Patrick’s, Dublin, was originally established as a college, but it was its wealth and not its constitutional framework that provided the rationale behind its suppression and it was the only secular cathedral to be dissolved in the kingdoms of England or Ireland during the Reformation. Initially, members of the chapter opposed the cathedral’s suppression and only acquiesced following the imprisonment of the precentor,
treasurer, archdeacon and fifteen of the prebendaries. Subsequently, most of the cathedral’s property was granted to supporters of the lord deputy, Sir Anthony St Leger. Parts of the cathedral’s revenues were used to augment religious services at Christ Church, which now became the only cathedral church for the diocese of Dublin, with an annual grant from the exchequer to support six singing priests and two choristers. The cathedral’s church plate was divided equally between Christ Church, the parish church of St Nicholas Without and the State. Part of the cathedral church was to be used as a parish church, while the other part was to house the courts of law. Finally, the buildings of the cathedral close were to be converted into a grammar school and a hospital for twelve poor men.

The dissolution of St Patrick’s cathedral severely disrupted the administrative structures of the diocese of Dublin and the accession of Queen Mary to the throne provided the conservative clergy of Dublin with the opportunity to promote the restoration of the cathedral. Lord Deputy St Leger and his supporters initially opposed this proposal but Queen Mary believed that the restoration of St Patrick’s would, in part, make amends to the church for her decision not to restore the religious houses in Ireland. In 1554 letters patent were granted restoring the cathedral to its pristine state and returning to the dean and chapter their ancient rights and privileges ‘as if the church was never dissolved’. The charter confirmed the right of the chapter to elect its own dean, which contrasts with earlier Tudor attempts to control the appointment of capitular dignitaries. The Marian charter also provided a continued legal basis for the additional personnel in the choir of Christ Church, Dublin, and for the schoolmaster and almsmen at St Patrick’s cathedral.

As a result of this re-foundation charter, St Patrick’s, Dublin, became closely associated with religious conservatism and following the Elizabethan settlement religious reformers attempted to convert the cathedral into a university. Radical reformers believed that such a project would not only promote the creation of a graduate preaching clergy, but would also destroy the administrative centre of the diocese through which crypto-catholic

76 William Monck Mason, The history and antiquities of the collegiate and cathedral church of St Patrick near Dublin, p. 150; James Murray, ‘St Patrick’s Cathedral and the university question’, pp 5 – 7.
clergymen frustrated the progress of the Reformation. Moreover, secular cathedrals were seen as remnants of a medieval popish past, which served no useful purpose in a reformed church. Despite these beliefs, all the proposals to convert St Patrick’s into a university failed because of disagreements over how the new college would be paid for. Furthermore, the Archbishop of Dublin, Adam Loftus, came to appreciate the importance of St Patrick’s cathedral as the centre of diocesan administration and that through his right of appointing almost all the members of the chapter, he possessed the power to shape the character of the cathedral and potentially the diocese. Consequently, St Patrick’s cathedral was eventually used to promote the Reformation in Dublin and by the 1590s Archbishop Loftus was able to say that the chapter contained as many graduate clergymen as any church in England.79

The Elizabethan religious settlement introduced one significant change to the Irish cathedral system: the abolition of congo d’eliers or licences to deans and chapters to elect archbishops and bishops. By the sixteenth century, licences to elect a bishop usually contained the name of the clergyman that a dean and chapter were required to elect and in these cases the crown possessed a de facto right of appointment to the episcopacy. To reflect this reality, an act of the English parliament of 1547 abolished the issuance of congo d’eliers for the election of archbishops and bishops and made appointments to the episcopacy donative by the monarch. Unusually, this act purported to regulate the appointments of archbishops and bishops not only in England and Wales but also in Ireland.80 On the other hand, the provisions of this act do not seem to have been effected in Ireland. Between 1551 and 1553 congo d’eliers were issued to the deans and chapters of St Brigid’s, Kildare; St Patrick’s, Cashel; and St Canice’s, Kilkenny.81

This act was repealed by an act of Queen Mary’s English parliament but a similar act was passed by the Irish parliament in 1560.82 The text of both the English act of 1547 and the Irish act of 1560 are almost verbatim with the preambles of both acts declaring congo d’eliers derogatory and prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown and a waste of time and

82 The statutes at large of England and Great Britain, 1 Mary sess. 2 c. 2.
money. Furthermore, as deans and chapters had no choice in the selection of candidates for bishoprics, the elections were portrayed by the act as pretences of elections and served no useful purpose. Therefore, the act provided for the crown to make episcopal appointments by letters patent only and made the congé d’élire stage of the process redundant. The English act of 1547 was never re-enacted in England. Instead an Elizabethan statute of 1566 reaffirmed the process of issuing congé d’élire to deans and chapters even though in reality the crown continued to nominate the candidate for election. The passing of this Irish act was a unique feature of the Irish reformation and as a result Irish cathedral chapters were left with only one of their original functions: the joint management of episcopal estates. But despite this act, there were occasionally instructions to the lord deputy for the election, consecration and installation of new bishops, such as Christopher Gaffney to the bishopric of Ossory in 1566 and Richard Meredith to the bishopric of Leighlin in 1588. However, the reference to election in these instructions may reflect the lack of knowledge of English officials with regard to differences between the Church of Ireland and the Church of England rather than the continuation of this practice.

III

The constitutional framework of the cathedral system had altered little by the end of the Tudor period. Where changes were made, the medieval framework of the cathedral system provided the model for the reorganisation of cathedrals, even though the role of the cathedrals were questioned by religious reformers. No attempt was made to reorganise the cathedral system, which is evident in the breakdown of the composition of cathedral chapters in the Stuart period set out in Table 2.1. Instead there was greater State control of that system as deans and chapters lost the right to elect the bishops and the monarch sought to control appointments to the cathedrals. The Stuart kings pursued a similar agenda, particularly in Ulster where the remnants of the church in defeated Gaelic Ireland were integrated into the rest of Church of Ireland in the early seventeenth century.

Enhancing the State’s control and looking back to the medieval framework of the cathedral system was evident in the earliest cathedral constitutional initiative of the Stuart period. In July 1604 a charter was granted to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, which sought to remedy a number of perceived weaknesses in that cathedral’s
constitution. The dean and chapter of Christ Church believed that the Henrician charter of 1540 was defective and had caused problems at the cathedral, including the alienation of the cathedral’s property and the deterioration of the cathedral’s fabric. It was claimed that the principal defect was the inclusion of vicars choral in the membership of the chapter, where they could take part in discussions on important matters, and a new charter was needed to rectify this situation. Although James I issued the letters patent for a new charter, the dean and chapter had sought a new charter prior to the death of Elizabeth I.86 The charter was eventually granted in 1604 and transformed the three most senior vicars choral into canonical prebendaries, making the parishes of St Michael’s, St Michan’s and St John’s their prebendal churches. These three prebendaries were constituted members of the chapter along with the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer and archdeacon of Dublin. The other six vicars choral lost their right to participate in chapter meetings. Consequently, this charter expunged the irregular capitular composition created by the Henrician charter and replaced it with a classically composed secular chapter. However, the charter also confirmed the right of the crown to appoint the dean, precentor, chancellor and treasurer, as originally provided for in the Henrician charter. All the other positions in the cathedral were to be elected by the chapter. Therefore, Christ Church, Dublin, remained an important centre of crown patronage through which the State continued to exert control.87

The State also sought to exert control in the ecclesiastical province of Armagh, which received closer attention from central government during the early Stuart period as a result of the ‘flight of the earls’ and the promotion of a policy of plantation. This closer attention was reflected in the cathedral system through the granting of new charters to almost all of the cathedrals in the province. The first of these charters was granted jointly to the cathedrals of Downpatrick, Connor and Dromore in 1609.88 The lord deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, had earlier made proposals for the reform of cathedral structures in these dioceses in 1607. As both the dioceses of Down and Connor were chapterless dioceses, Chichester suggested that the dean of Dromore become the dean of a united diocese of

87 Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., James I, p. 58; A typescript copy of a charter of James I to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin (N.L.I., Ms. 1618, no. 3); J.C. Erck (ed.), A Repertory of the Inrolments on the Patent rolls of chancery in Ireland; commencing with the reign of King James I (Dublin, 1846), pp 53 – 54.
Down, Connor and Dromore. 89 What eventually transpired was much more traditional as the charter aimed to rectify the absence of cathedral chapters in Down and Connor by incorporating new secular chapters in both dioceses. The charter also provided for the re-incorporation of the chapter of Dromore, which was the only one of the three dioceses that had had a medieval secular chapter consisting of a dean, an archdeacon and four prebendaries. Each chapter was to consist of a dean and four dignitaries and a number of prebendaries: three in Down, four in Connor and one in Dromore. In each cathedral the ranking of the dignitaries followed the same pattern as elsewhere in Ulster, with the archdeacon being ranked next to the dean. In the chapters of Down and Connor the chancellor took precedence over the precentor, possibly reflecting the lack of importance attached to the provision of choral services at these cathedrals. The model for these new cathedral chapters was once again not the cathedral of the new foundation in England but the most classical example of a secular cathedral of the old foundation in Ireland: St Patrick’s, Dublin. This cathedral had previously been the model for the reorganisation of Christ Church, Dublin, during the reign of Henry VIII and this demonstrates that the secular chapter provided a model that was both flexible and adaptable to local needs. Therefore, in Ireland the reorganisation of two of the three regular cathedral chapters in Ireland did not follow the innovations developed during the reorganisation of the English regular cathedral chapters. This provides evidence of the reliance on the medieval ecclesiastical framework by those implementing change within the Irish church and points to the conservative nature of the Irish Reformation regarding institutional structures.

A desire to replicate the secular cathedral model may have been behind the decision of the Bishop of Clogher, George Montgomery, to augment the chapter of St Macartin’s, Clogher, with a precentor and a chancellor. During his episcopacy, Bishop Montgomery had tried to create a new church with anglicised structures 90 and the creation of a classically composed secular cathedral at Clogher modelled along English lines may have been a manifestation of this policy. However, Bishop Montgomery had altered the cathedral’s constitution by means of a verbal agreement and without a warrant from the king. Following the visitation of 1622, the chapter was ordered to petition the king for a new charter of incorporation for the cathedral but in the meantime the ancient cathedral chapter, consisting of twelve canons including a dean and an archdeacon, was to be

maintained. Through the efforts of Bishop James Spottiswoode, the dean and chapter of St Macartin’s, Clogher, received a new charter of incorporation in April 1629. This grant was further perfected by letters patent in February 1630. The charter maintained the number of dignitaries in the cathedral at two, which were the dean and the archdeacon. Six prebendaries were also named in the charter: a departure from the medieval chapter, which had consisted of twelve canons. The charter also provided for a chanter, singing men and choristers, whose maintenance was to be provided by the bishop and his successors. It appears that the chanter was initially not a member of the chapter, as he was not named as a dignitary or a canon in the charter. Therefore, it is probable that he was to be an inferior officer of the cathedral subject to the dean and chapter. A further charter was granted to the dean and chapter of Clogher in 1632, which, in addition to confirming the terms of the earlier charter, enabled the dean and chapter to receive from any person, property worth up to £100 a year to support a choir or a free school at the cathedral or to maintain its fabric. Despite the terms of these charters, what eventually emerged at St Macartin’s cathedral was a chapter consisting of four dignitaries and four prebendaries, as a precentor and chancellor were listed in the triennial visitation of the archdiocese of Armagh in 1661.

In August 1629 the Bishop of Derry, George Downham, and the Archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher, petitioned the Bishop of London, William Laud, for a new charter for St Columb’s, Derry. The church’s tenants in the diocese were anxious that their leases could be undermined by the absence of church records and consequently new letters patent constituting the dean and chapter as a corporate body were sought. In March 1630 the new charter was granted and the chapter was reconstituted as it traditionally had been, consisting of a dean, an archdeacon and three prebendaries. However, this charter was later surrendered because of concerns that errors had been made in the drafting of the original patent, which would make it defective. Consequently, tenants of the bishop were unwilling to get their leases confirmed by the dean and chapter. A new charter was granted in March 1632, which corrected these flaws. Further doubts over the validity of this

91 Copy of returns of bishops in 1622 (Marsh’s Library, Dublin, Ms. Z3.1.3, p. 19); Copy of bishops’ returns for Ulster in 1622, Diocese of Armagh (T.C.D., Ms. 550, pp 176 – 77).
93 Ibid., pp 615 – 16.
94 Triennial Visitation of the province of Armagh, 1661 (P.R.O.N.I., DIO 4/23/1/2, f. 31v).
charter arose and in 1639 the king directed that a fresh grant be made to the dean and chapter of St Columb’s, Derry, although this appears never to have been put into effect.97

Similarly in the diocese of Armagh the tenants of the archbishop were reluctant to improve the lands that they rented because they believed that confirmation of their leases by the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Armagh, was somewhat defective. Owing to the absence of records, there was a belief that the dean and chapter, which then consisted of a dean, archdeacon, chancellor, treasurer and precentor, may not have been the successor of the ancient chapter of the see or that they were ever legally established. Consequently, in December 1628 the archbishop of Armagh and the dean and dignitaries of St Patrick’s, Armagh, petitioned the Privy Council to establish a new dean and chapter at Armagh.98 The Privy Council established a commission and William Crofton undertook an investigation into the legality of the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Armagh. Crofton noted that the archbishop had always held the patronage of the dignitaries and parsonages of the cathedral and that the chapter did not then possess prebendaries. Furthermore, he found that the dean and chapter had in the past given their consent to archiepiscopal leases and that these leases had never been questioned. Nevertheless, he agreed that the current dean and chapter might not represent the old dean and chapter but this was because of the lack of documentary evidence.99 In July 1629 the commission recommended that a new dean and chapter be incorporated by letters patent and that the tenants surrender their leases to the archbishop, who would grant them new leases on the terms of their old leases.100 In November 1630 the king directed the lord justices in Ireland to accept a surrender from the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Armagh, of all their possession and to erect them into a new collegiate body consisting of a dean, archdeacon, chanter, chancellor, treasurer and four prebendaries.101 Problems soon emerged in recovering the lands of the dean and chapter and a commission was established in 1633 to identify where their lands lay and who their tenants were.102 In the autumn of 1634 the Bishop of Derry, John Bramhall, sent a draft of the act to re-establish the dean and chapter of Armagh to the Primate, James Ussher. Ussher proposed that a clause be inserted into the act enabling the lord deputy and council to approve episcopal leases instead of the dean and chapter, as he

101 King to the Lord Justices, 27 Nov. 1630 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625 – 32, p. 587); P.R.O., SP 63/25/115.
102 King to the Lord Deputy, 10 May 1633 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633 – 47, p. 10).
did not want to be reliant on the consent of the dean, George McKeson, for the management of his estate. When the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Armagh, finally received their charter of incorporation in September 1637, the power to confirm the archbishop’s leases was conferred on them, rather than on the lord deputy and council. By then Armagh had a new dean, Peter Wentworth, who had been appointed earlier that year, and this probably enabled Ussher to accept the new act.

In the 1630s there was an attempt to procure a new charter for the dean and chapter at St Eunan’s, Raphoe. Once again the question of the legal basis of the dean and chapter appears to have been the principal motive for re-establishing the cathedral’s constitution. However, those who sought a new charter, including the Dean of Down, Henry Leslie, and the Archdeacon of Raphoe, Thomas Bruce, did so to undermine recently confirmed leases of episcopal lands, which they believed were prejudicial to the bishopric’s future income. Following the appointment of John Leslie as bishop of Raphoe in 1633, a legal dispute, concerning the establishment of a new chapter, was pursued against the dean, Alexander Cunningham, at the council board. This case continued until 1638, although the outcome is not known. Suffice it to say that no charter was granted to re-establish the dean and chapter of St Eunan’s, Raphoe. If a charter had been granted it would probably have confirmed the structure of the old chapter, which was a dean, an archdeacon and four prebendaries. This would have been in keeping with the other charters granted to deans and chapters in the province of Ulster during the reign of Charles I, where there was little by way of innovation in capitular structures. Tendencies to use past forms and structures were present in all the re-foundation charters of cathedrals in the early Stuart period, pointing to the conservative nature of the reformation in terms of the church’s institutional framework.

There was one important exception to these conservative tendencies. This was the attempt by the State to exert control of the appointment of deans. During the medieval period,

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104 Copy of the letters patent for Dean and Chapter of St Patrick’s, Armagh, 22 January 1638 (R.C.B., Ms. 105); P.R.O., SO 1/3 ff 51v-53; A collection of such letters as have passed from His Majesty for business of the church since Wentworth became lord deputy to 14 November 1637 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book, 20/129, f. 2v).
105 P.R.O., SP 63/252/149.
secular cathedrals possessed the right to elect their deans. However, in every cathedral charter, granted to the cathedrals in Ulster and Christ Church, Dublin, the wording explicitly reserved the right to donate deaneries in the crown. Almost all the other dignitaries and prebendaries were retained in the gift of the bishop. The only exceptions to this were the three inferior dignitaries of Christ Church, Dublin, which were in the king's gift.

IV

The crown's attempt to appropriate the right to present or donate deaneries was a trend that spanned the seventeenth century. On 21 December 1605 the chapter of St Patrick's, Cashel, elected Dermot O'Meara as dean. The following day the archbishop of Cashel, Miler Magrath, confirmed O'Meara's election. Five months later the king presented Dr John Todd to the deanery, who challenged O'Meara's possession of that living. O'Meara vacated the deanery sometime in 1606 and it appears he may have been deprived. Nevertheless, the chapter of St Patrick's, Cashel, elected Andrew Donnellan as his successor. This election was noted in the 1607 visitation of the dioceses of Cashel and it was also observed that the archbishop had confirmed this election. However, when the final return for this diocese was made, Donnellan's name was omitted. By then legal proceedings in the court of King's Bench between Donnellan and Todd had commenced to determine if the right to appoint the dean lay with the crown or the chapter.

Although Andrew Donnellan initially received permission from the lord deputy and council to remain as dean while the case was being determined, he was unsuccessful in proving the right of the chapter to elect him as dean. Subsequently, the judges of the Exchequer ordered the sheriffs of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick to put Todd into


\[108\] J. Frederick Rankin, *Down Cathedral*, pp 184 – 200; *Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire.*, Chas. I, pp 519 – 20, 525, 544, 591; Copy of the letters patent for Dean and Chapter of St Patrick's, Armagh, 22 January 1638 (R.C.B., Ms. 105); P.R.O., SO 1/3, ff 51v-53; A collection of such letters as have passed from His Majesty for business of the church since Wentworth became lord deputy to 14 November 1637 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book, 20/129, ff 1 – 2v).


\[110\] Similarly, the right of Trinity College, Dublin, to elect its own provost was undermined during the early Stuart period and the college's statutes of 1637 vested the selection of the provost in the king: Alan Ford, 'That Bugbear Arminianism': Archbishop Laud and Trinity College, Dublin', in Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 138 – 39, 147.

\[111\] Henry Cotton, *Festi ecclesiæ Hibernicae*, vol. i, p. 35.


\[114\] Reeves' copy of 1615 Visitation (T.C.D., Ms. 1066, p. 225).

\[115\] Michael A. Murphy (ed.), 'Visitation of the diocese of Cashel and Emly, 1615', in *Archivium Hibernicum*, vol. i (1912), p. 297.
actual possession of the deanery’s emoluments. Todd was appointed Bishop of Down and Connor in 1607 and upon his promotion the king appointed Lewis Jones to the deanery of Cashel. Moreover, Jones’s patent made it clear that this appointment was in the king’s gift by right of his royal prerogative. Despite this grant and the court rulings, litigation between Jones and Donnellan continued and the dispute over who possessed the right to appoint the dean was noted in the Regal Visitation of 1615. Furthermore, the dispute appears to have continued into the 1630s, but by then the principal issue of concern was the questioning the legality of leases confirmed by earlier deans and chapters and the possibility of breaking long leases if the dean had been appointed illegally. Effectively, the chapter of St Patrick’s, Cashel, lost the right to elect their own dean in the early Stuart period and after the Restoration the crown appointed all the deans of Cashel.

The crown pressed its claim to appoint deans elsewhere in the archdiocese of Cashel. In February 1628, following the death of the dean of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, George Lee, the chapter of St Fin Barre’s cathedral met to elect a new dean. The chapter voted unanimously for Thomas Weight, prebendary of Kilmacdonogh in the diocese of Cloyne. However, the king had already presented the treasurer of St Patrick’s, Cashel, John Fitzgerald, to this deanery and in March 1628 the chapter of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, chose its precentor, Israel Taylor, to go to Dublin to confer with Lord Deputy Falkland on the right of the chapter to elect their own dean. The situation remained unresolved for most of 1628. Although letters patent appointing John Fitzgerald to the deanery were re-issued in June, which claimed the crown’s right of presentation by full right, Thomas Weight did not resign from the deanery until December. Subsequently, John Fitzgerald was installed as dean on 13 December 1628 and held this position until his death in February 1643.

Following the death of Dean Fitzgerald, the chapter attempted to re-assert its claim to elect its own dean. On 9 March 1643 eight members of the chapter assembled to elect a dean.

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118 Henry Cotton, Fasti ecclesiae Hibernicae, vol. i, p. 35.
120 Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. I (N.A.I., 2/446/33, p. 257); A list of all deaneries etc in Ireland to which the crown has presented since 1660 (N.A.I., Msf 42/12, p. 60).
121 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, ff 9 – 10.
122 Ibid.
for which there were two candidates, Dr Edward Worth, vicar of Kilmichael in the diocese of Cork and Markus Pagett, prebendary of Desertmore in St Fin Barre’s, Cork. Dr Worth secured six votes and was elected dean. Although there was a claim that the election was illegal because the bishop had not sanctioned the meeting of the chapter, this claim appears to have been put aside and Dr Worth was installed dean. However, on 24 March 1643 letters patent were issued appointing Neptune Blood, prebendary of Holy Trinity, Cork, and archdeacon of Killaloe, to the deanery of St Fin Barre’s, Cork. This grant was not put into effect and in March 1644 the crown granted the deanery to Henry Hall, prebendary of St Michael’s in Christ Church, Dublin, and prebendary of Mulhuddart in St Patrick’s, Dublin. The following month the prebendaries and dignitaries met and decided to support the election of Dean Worth ‘to the utmost of their powers’ by sending a deputation to the king. Given the unsettled political situation at the time, the State could not press its claim to appoint deans as effectively as it had done so in 1628. Consequently, the State acquiesced with the chapter’s choice for dean and letters patent were issued on 18 May 1645 presenting Dr Worth to the deanery. Following the Restoration the crown was once again in a position to make real its claims to donate the deanery and from 1660 onwards all the deans of Cork were presented by the crown. None of these presentations were ever contested and it appears the chapter resigned itself to the fact that their ancient right to choose their own dean had been lost even though their struggles with the crown on this issue were recorded in the cathedral’s chapter acts.

During the early Stuart period 142 clergymen were appointed to Irish deaneries and of these just under half were presented by the king. In certain cathedrals there was a greater likelihood that the king would make a presentation to a deanery. These cathedrals included Holy Trinity, Waterford, where seven out of the nine deans appointed during the first half of the seventeenth century were nominated by the king, St Mary’s, Limerick, where all the deans were appointed by the king and St Edan’s, Ferns, where both Thomas Ram in

124 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, f. 53.  
125 Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. I (N.A.I., 2/446/34, f. 250).  
126 Ibid., f. 254v.  
127 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, ff 55 – 56.  
128 Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. II (N.A.I., 2/446/37, f. 260).  
129 A list of all deaneries etc in Ireland to which the crown has presented since 1660 (N.A.I., Msf 42/12, p. 75).  
1626 and Robert Wilson in 1629 were appointed deans by the king. These appointments may indicate the cathedrals where the crown was having success in pressing its claims to appoint deans by prerogative right and in the case of St Edan’s, Ferns, legal proceedings in 1608 established that the deanery was donative by the king and not elective by the chapter. On the other hand, there were deaneries that the crown made few nominations to, which may indicate the cathedrals where deans continued to be elected by their cathedral chapters. These cathedrals included St Canice’s, Kilkenny, where only one out of the six deans appointed during the early Stuart period was by nomination of the king, St Colman’s Cloyne, where only one out of four deans were appointed by the king, St Fachtna’s, Ross, where two out of five were appointed by the king, and St Brigid’s, Kildare, where none of the deans of the first half of the seventeenth century were by way of nomination of the crown. Evidence elsewhere would suggest that these cathedrals did indeed maintain the right to elect their own deans. In the case of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, the visitation of 1622 reported that the deanery was elective by the chapter and a list of the deans elected since 1568 was provided. Likewise, the regal visitation of 1633 indicates that both the deaneries of St Colman’s, Cloyne, and St Fachtna’s, Ross were elective. In 1630 the dignitaries and prebendaries ‘presented’ William Bolton to the deanery of St Fachtna’s cathedral. Similarly, at St Brigid’s, Kildare, the 1633 visitation reported that the chapter elected William Clebourne as dean in 1626. Further evidence for capitular elections at this cathedral was provided in William Golbourne’s and William Lightburne’s account of the losses of the dean and chapter of St Brigid’s, Kildare, in 1641, which contains an account of the constitution of the cathedral and the format of the election of a dean.

During the early Stuart period Charles I appointed more deans than James I. Concern that the crown was arrogating to itself the right to appoint deans found expression amongst the ‘Queries’ adopted by the House of Commons in February 1641. These ‘Queries’ were a series of 21 questions about the legality of various administrative practices of the Irish council and sought to establish and delineate the competence of the executive
The fourteenth query asked ‘whether deans or other dignitaries of cathedral churches be properly and *de mero jure* donative by the king and not elective or collative’ and ‘whether the confirmation of a dean *de facto* of the bishop’s grant be good and valid in law’. The principal issue being asked by this question then was whether leases of church lands passed by deans and chapters were legal if the dean was appointed by means other than appointment by the crown, especially when there were no records relating to the appointment of a dean.

The ‘Queries’ were sent to the House of Lords who were requested to demand an immediate answer from the judges. The judges eventually made a reply during the summer of 1641 and confirmed to the commons that deaneries were of all kinds. However, the judges were reluctant to expand on the second part of the question because this part of the question concerned title to lands and estates. On the whole the commons were unhappy with the responses to their queries from the judges and appointed a committee to determine the answers to these questions themselves and in turn define what constituted lawful authority within the State. The head of this committee, Patrick Darcy, systematically examined each query in turn and his analysis was later published in *An argument delivered by Patrick Darcy*. With regard to the fourteenth query he concurred with the judges answer to the first part of the query, but maintained that they should answer the second part. He also maintained that the legality of deans appointed in the past was good in law as were the acts that they passed during their incumbency, even though records may not exist to prove their appointment. In late July 1641 the commons adopted a series of declarations on the ‘Queries’ based on Darcy’s arguments. With regard to the fourteenth query the commons asserted that deans or other ecclesiastical dignitaries were not *de mero jure* donative but that some were donative, some were elective and others were collative according to their respective foundations and the confirmation of a bishop’s grant by a dean with his chapter was good in law. With the outbreak of the rebellion in October 1641, the issues associated with the ‘Queries’ were sidelined.

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140 Commons jn., Ire., vol. i, p. 175.
145 Commons jn., Ire., vol. i, p. 271.
Following the Restoration, the crown was able to make real its claims to appoint the deans in almost all of the Irish cathedrals and over 95 per cent of deans appointed between 1660 and 1691 were by way of a grant from the king. In 1679 the Bishop of Ossory, Thomas Otway, visited St Canice’s, Kilkenny, and his comprehensive report of the state of the cathedral recorded that the king was now the patron of the deanery. By comparing this visitation with the earlier visitation of 1622, it can be demonstrated that this chapter lost its right to elect its dean during the mid-seventeenth century. On the other hand, the chapter of St Brigid’s, Kildare retained the right to elect its own dean. In 1660 Christopher Golborne was elected dean by the consent of the chapter, as was Samuel Digby in 1678. John Worth was elected dean in 1675. He also obtained letters patent for his appointment, and this may have been because he wished to strengthen his title to the deanery. Following the promotion of Samuel Digby to the bishopric of Limerick in 1679, the crown presented Samuel Singe to the deanery. However, this was not by prerogative right but by devolved right, which meant that when the crown promoted a clergyman to another preferment, the crown had the right of presentation to the benefice left vacant even though the patronage to the benefice lay with someone else. His successor John Clayton was elected dean in December 1708.

As the crown possessed the right to appoint bishops and because a significant number of deans were promoted to the episcopacy, the crown frequently claimed the right to nominate deans by devolved right. Consequently, decanal elections were not always required and in the case of the most prestigious deaneries, which were stepping-stones to the episcopate, elections became exceptions rather than the rule. Elsewhere, elections could become formalities, merely rubber stamping crown appointments. Such was the case at St Patrick’s, Dublin, where, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the chapter’s right to elect its own dean was encroached upon by the crown. During the latter half of the sixteenth century the crown nominated the deans of St Patrick’s and subsequently the chapter would elect the crown’s nominee. Furthermore, attempts by the chapter to hold

146 A list of all deaneries etc in Ireland to which the crown has presented since 1660 (N.A.I., Msf 42/12, pp 1 – 91).
149 Ibid. A list of all deaneries etc in Ireland to which the crown has presented since 1660 (N.A.I., Msf.
142/12, p. 41).
150 A list of all deaneries etc in Ireland to which the crown has presented since 1660 (N.A.I., Msf.
42/12, p. 41); Hugh J. Lawlor, The fasti of St Patrick’s, Dublin, p. 20.
151 A list of all deaneries etc in Ireland to which the crown has presented since 1660 (N.A.I., Msf.
42/12, p. 41).
free elections were opposed by the crown. A year after the death of Dean Robert Weston in 1573, the president and the chapter of St Patrick’s issued a decree for the chapter to proceed to the election of a new dean. Subsequently, the Lord Chancellor and Archbishop of Dublin, Adam Loftus, wrote to Lord Burghley informing him that although the chapter had waited for the past twelve months for a nominee of the queen to be elected as dean, they had decided to proceed to an election as set out by their constitution. Archbishop Loftus reported to Burghley that the chapter had elected one of its own members but he would not confirm the new dean until he was instructed by the queen to do so. The name of this elected dean is unknown and he is not recorded in the succession list of the deanery of St Patrick’s, Dublin, suggesting that the archbishop never confirmed this dean. In 1581, following the death of Sir William Gerrarde as dean, the chapter proceeded to elect a Dr Chapman as his successor. This name is also not contained in the succession list of the deanery and in 1582 Thomas Jones was mentioned as dean of St Patrick’s.

Further opposition by the crown to the election of deans was made manifest in a letter of 1594, in which the queen expressly forbade the archbishop of Dublin from placing anyone in the deanery without her prior consent. When the deanery fell vacant in 1597, Archbishop Loftus made reference to this letter and ‘expressly charged’ the chapter not to hold an election. He also wrote to the English court for the queen’s intentions to be made known and requesting permission for the chapter to proceed to elect a dean according to the constitution of their church. The crown eventually nominated John Rider to the deanery. However, the chapter signified that while they were willing to elect the royal nominee, they could not do so until he was a member of the chapter.

Subsequently, Archbishop Loftus collated him to a vacant prebendary and he was then elected dean and in 1604 a catalogue of ecclesiastical livings in the diocese of Dublin noted that although the deanery of St Patrick’s was elective by the chapter, John Ryder obtained the deanery by letters from Her Majesty.

155 J.B. Leslie and R. H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, p. 38.
156 Queen Elizabeth to the Archbishop of Dublin, 8 Dec. 1594 (Cal. S. P. Ire., 1592 – 96, p. 286).
159 William Monck Mason, The history and antiquities of the collegiate and cathedral church of St Patrick near Dublin, p. 180; A catalogue of certain ecclesiastical livings, dignities and prebends in the diocese of Dublin which exceed £30 per annum (Cal. S. P. Ire., 1603 – 06, p. 169).
During the early Stuart period a similar pattern of crown sanctioned appointments followed by capitular elections took place. In 1608 the archdeacon of Meath, Thomas Moigne, was preferred to the deanery of St Patrick’s by Sir Arthur Chichester and was subsequently elected dean.160 In 1619 Benjamin Culme obtained a king’s letter guaranteeing his appointment to the deanery in the event of Thomas Moigne’s death. This reversionary grant was made as a result of Culme’s resignation of the rectory of Trim in favour of the archbishop of Dublin.161 Culme eventually succeeded Moigne as dean in 1625 and was elected dean on 21 October.162 He was also the last dean of St Patrick’s before the closure of the cathedrals during the Commonwealth period. At the Restoration the crown presented William Fuller to the deanery and did so legally as the archbishopric of Dublin was vacant and the chapter was in abeyance. However, Fuller’s patent set a bad precedent as it claimed the king’s right of presentation as an absolute and prerogative right and not as a devolved right. Two of Fuller’s successors, Thomas Seele in 1666 and John Worth in 1678, were appointed following the promotion of the former dean to the episcopate and so the crown legally appointed them by devolved right. When the deanery fell vacant as a result of the death of Thomas Seele in 1675, the crown presented Benjamin Parry to the deanery, even though the chapter should have elected the dean. Parry, himself, may have been was aware of the weakness in his title and he was installed as dean on the very day, 17 February 1675, that his letters patent were issued and did not wait for a chapter to be lawfully summoned.163 In contrast to the early Stuart period, none of the royal appointments were followed by decanal elections and consequently no election took place in the cathedral for the space of over 60 years. As a result, institutional knowledge of this right began to be lost, that is until the chancellor, William King, rediscovered it.164

In 1688 Dean Worth died and on 24 April the chapter selected William King as president of the chapter.165 On 26 April, King and the chapter drew up a petition to the lord deputy

160 P.R.O., SP 63/221/4, f. 4; William Monck Mason, The history and antiquities of the collegiate and cathedral church of St Patrick near Dublin, pp 179 – 80; J.B. Leslie and R. H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, p. 38.
162 William Monck Mason, The history and antiquities of the collegiate and cathedral church of St Patrick near Dublin, p. 181; J.B. Leslie and R. H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, p. 38.
163 A list of all deaneries etc in Ireland to which the crown has presented since 1660 (N.A.I., Msf. 42/12, p. 33); Hugh J. Lawlor, The fasti of St Patrick’s, Dublin, p. 21; Chapter Book of the Cathedral of St Patrick’s, Dublin, 1670 – 78 (T.C.D., Ms. 555, f. 17v).
164 Hugh J. Lawlor, The fasti of St Patrick’s, Dublin, p. 21.
informing him of the death of Dean Worth and requesting permission for the chapter to hold a free election for a new dean. In support of their request the petition made reference to the ancient constitution of the cathedral and in particular the restoration charter of the cathedral dated 1554, which had expressly confirmed the right of the chapter to elect its dean. Further proof that the deanery was elective was provided in the cathedral’s foundation charters of the early thirteenth century and evidence from 1529 when the treasurer, Geoffrey Fynch, was elected immediately after the death of the dean. The chapter also asked the archbishop of Dublin to assist them in prosecuting their case and he delivered the petition to the lord deputy.

In response to their petition the lord deputy called for the chapter’s claim to be determined before a court of law. In June 1688 a hearing was held before the lord deputy and judges, who determined that the dean and chapter had no proof to claim that the monarch did not have the right to donate the deanery. What is apparent is that James II’s real intention was to keep the deanery vacant and as a result the deanery remained unfilled throughout the latter half of 1688. In January 1689 the chapter requested the archbishop to issue a conge d’élire authorising them to elect a dean. On 26 January 1689 the chancellor, the archdeacon of Dublin and the prebendaries of St Audeon’s, Wicklow, Tassagard, Howth, Clonmethan, Monmahynock, Tipperkevin and Stagonil met to elect a dean. They voted unanimously for the chancellor, William King, although the archdeacon of Dublin and the prebendary of Monmahynock were said to have ‘accompanied their votes with a saving to the king of his rights’. On 1 February 1689 William King was installed as dean of St Patrick’s, Dublin. As a result of King’s persistence the chapter held its first free decanal election in over a century and a half. The defence of this right had been made possible largely because St Patrick’s possessed written precedents, which were largely absent in the other cathedrals but the character of King, as a staunch defender of the rights and liberties of the established church, also played a significant role.

In contrast to the early Stuart period, there were few grants amending the constitutional framework of the cathedral system during the latter half of the seventeenth century. In

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166 Ibid., ff 186v – 187v.
167 Ibid., ff 187v – 188.
168 Ibid., f. 188v.
169 Ibid., f. 189v.
170 William King to Anthony Dopping, 14 June 1688 (Armagh, Public Library, Collection of State Papers relating to Meath, vol. 1, no. 80).
1673 letters patent were issued to the two Dublin cathedrals, confirming their possessions and privileges. These letters were issued as a result of petitions from the deans and chapters of Christ Church and St Patrick’s to the king in 1671, which sought confirmation of all their properties and privileges by way of the provisions set out in a king’s letter to the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s dated 10 May 1633. This 1633 letter was the result of a campaign by the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s to strengthen their cathedral’s constitution through statutory means. In this letter, the king ordered the lord deputy to prepare a bill for the next Irish parliament confirming the dean and chapter’s property, privileges and rights mentioned in the Dignitas Decani and in all letters patent granted to the cathedral since an act of 14 Edward IV.

No such bill was ever prepared for the Irish parliament, although in 1642 the dean of St Patrick’s, Benjamin Culme, petitioned the House of Commons. His petition may have referred to the drawing up of a bill for St Patrick’s because the petition was referred to a committee appointed by the Commons to draw up a bill for Christ Church cathedral. The dean and chapter of Christ Church had also been interested in obtaining statutory security for the changes effected in their cathedral’s constitution over the last hundred years, although a prior attempt to get a bill for the cathedral passed in the autumn of 1640 foundered over legal disputes concerning the extent of the cathedral’s property. Their attempt to resurrect the bill in 1642 also proved to be unsuccessful. Therefore, both deans and chapters ultimately sought in their petitions of 1671 statutory security for their cathedral’s constitutions and as a result the king gave an order to the lord lieutenant for letters to this effect to be drawn up. Subsequent to the granting of the 1673 letters patent, there was no meeting of the Irish parliament until 1692 and, despite the intentions set out in the king’s letters of 1673, no parliamentary acts were ever passed granting statutory confirmation of the rights and privileges of the two Dublin cathedrals.

In the 1671 petition of the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, the cathedral was portrayed as the prime church and chapel royal in Ireland, which had enjoyed royal favour

173 Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. II (N.A.I., 2/446/37, p. 58).
174 Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, to the King, July 1671 (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1671, p. 359).
175 The King to the Lord Deputy for the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Dublin, 13 May 1633 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633 – 47, pp 10 – 11, 45); Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland 12th and 13th – 21st and 22nd of Edward IV, (ed.) James F. Morrissey (Dublin, 1939), pp 197, 199.
176 Commons jn., Ire., vol. i, p. 305.
178 Dean and Chapter of St Patrick’s, Dublin, to the King, July 1671 (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1671, pp 359 – 60).
since as early as the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{179} Although Christ Church cathedral had emerged as the preferred place of worship for the State during the Tudor period, this is the earliest reference to Christ Church being referred to as a ‘chapel royal’. The following year a king’s letter to the lord lieutenant regarding the privileges and liberties of the cathedral referred to Christ Church as ‘that our said cathedral church and royal chapel’.\textsuperscript{180} In effect this letter formalised the cathedral’s distinction as a chapel royal, although this distinction would later be disputed in the early eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{181}

The favouritism displayed by the State towards Christ Church, Dublin, placed that cathedral at the pinnacle of the cathedral system of Ireland. Elsewhere, cathedrals had to perform a dual role as both cathedrals and parish churches. Official encouragement for the concept of cathedral-parish churches was displayed in a grant to Christ Church, Lisburn, in 1662 when letters patent were issued erecting this parish church into a cathedral.\textsuperscript{182} This grant created a cathedral with a very unusual constitution as a dean and chapter was not established at Lisburn but instead the deans and chapters of Down and Connor were granted the privilege of assembling at Christ Church, Lisburn, where they could meet to ordain and confirm the bishop’s acts and statutes. This privilege was granted to the deans and chapters of Down and Connor because the cathedrals in both of these dioceses were dilapidated.\textsuperscript{183} Despite this elevation, Lisburn church remained a parish church and rectors, who did not possess cathedral duties, continued to be appointed.\textsuperscript{184}

It was inevitable that in many areas of rural Ireland, where most Irish cathedrals were located, cathedrals came to possess the dual function of being the principal church in a diocese and the local church for the small Protestant communities scattered throughout the country. The fact that there was little attempt to rationalise the cathedral or diocesan

\textsuperscript{179} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{182} Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. II (N.A.I., 2/446/37, f. 140\textsuperscript{)}).
\textsuperscript{183} Charter reprinted in W. Carmody, \textit{Lisburn Cathedral and its past rectors} (Belfast, 1926), pp 93 – 6.
\textsuperscript{184} Hugh Boyd has argued that this charter was never legal because the king’s letter was never developed into an effective mandate and thus it represented a mere proposal that was never carried out. He claims that the charter remained unsigned and unsealed and that it was therefore not a valid charter or letters patent and thus Lisburn was never constituted a cathedral. On the other hand, it is entered into the calendar of patent rolls as a letter patent, which was the legal enacting part, and not as a king’s letter, which was the usual form used to signify an intent. Furthermore the perception since 1662 has been that the church at Lisburn was a cathedral albeit one with a quite unique constitution: Hugh A. Boyd, ‘The Cathedral System in the Church of Ireland since the Disestablisation’, pp 75 – 76; W. Carmody, \textit{Lisburn Cathedral and its past rectors}. 48
system in the early modern period and the failure of the State to take account of the fact that the Church of Ireland was a church for a minority of the population ensured that most cathedrals possessed this dual function. In this respect Irish cathedrals differed from their English counterparts, which usually had no parochial responsibilities and often served as the private chapel of deans and chapters. Consequently, cathedral parish churches in Ireland had to be arranged to accommodate the worshipping needs of the parish and this was reflected in the single room buildings that were built as cathedral churches during the seventeenth century.

The fact that cathedral churches also served as parish churches was noted in ecclesiastical visitations of the early Stuart period. The regal visitation of 1615 observed that St Mel’s, Ardagh, served as the parish church. The 1622 visitation indicated that the cathedrals at Leighlin, Armagh, Dromore and Ardfert were also parochial churches, while the cathedral of Aghadoe had been reduced to the status of a parish church. Furthermore, when the newly built cathedral for the diocese of Derry was dedicated in 1634, it was consecrated as both a cathedral and a parish church. In 1638 a return by the dean and chapter of St Mary’s, Elphin, to the archbishop of Tuam noted that the body (the nave) of the cathedral was being used as a parochial church.

In the Restoration period there is evidence for an increased reliance on the capacity of a cathedral to serve a dual purpose as a parish church. In the 1660s, the bishop of Elphin, writing to the duke of Ormonde, noted that his cathedral was also the parish church for the town of Elphin. St Patrick’s, Armagh, was described as being ‘all parochial’ in the 1660s and its physical appearance was one of a parish church rather than a cathedral following repairs to its fabric in the Restoration period. Furthermore, a vestry maintained the fabric of the cathedral on behalf of the parish and parochial services took place in the

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185 On the failure of the Church of Ireland to reorganise its administrative units in the Tudor and early Stuart periods see John McCafferty, ‘Protestant prelates or godly pastors? The dilemma of the early Stuart episcopate’, in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), The origins of sectarianism in Early Modern Ireland (Cambridge, 2005), pp 58 – 62.
187 Regal visitation, 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836, f. 120v).
188 Concerning the state of the Church of Ireland, 1623 (Marsh’s Library, Dublin, Ms. Z3.2.6, pp 70, 126, 126); Copy of visitation 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 2158, ff 94v, 125v).
190 Henry Cotton, Fasti ecclesiae Hiberniae, vol. iv, p. 133.
191 Bishop of Elphin to Ormonde, 4 May 1662 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 45, f. 137).
body or nave of the cathedral. The parish also paid for the furnishing of the nave and even paid for the utensils and furniture used for the altar. Moreover, the dean of Armagh was also the rector of Armagh and served the cure of the parish. This dual function would ultimately be recognised in a late eighteenth century act of the Irish Parliament, which constituted St Patrick’s, Armagh, as the parish church of Armagh without prejudice to its status as a cathedral. Elsewhere in the province of Armagh, the deans of Ardghe, Raphoe, and Derry also served as the rectors of the parish that their respective cathedrals were situated in, while the dean of St Fethlimidh’s, Kilmore, was vicar of the parish of Kilmore, and the dean of Clogher was both rector and vicar of the parish of Clogher.

Parochial select vestries administered the running of the cathedrals of St Eunan’s, Raphoe, and St Columb’s, Derry. In the 1693 visitation of the diocese of Derry it was noted that the cathedral was also the parish church, which was maintained by the dean and the parishioners. In the same year a visitation was held in the diocese of Meath, which observed that St Ciaran’s, Clonmacnoise, was ‘antiently a cathedral church’ but since that diocese had been united to the diocese of Meath it had served as a parish church.

Elsewhere deans and chapters employed curates to serve the cure in the parishes that their cathedrals were situated in and this was the case at St Flannan’s, Killaloe, and St Carthage’s, Lismore.

The employment of curates not only points to the role of cathedrals as centres of parochial worship, but also to the fact that most cathedral clergymen did not reside at their cathedral but were obliged to be resident in the prebendal parishes that provided the principal source of their income. Residence at Irish cathedrals by prebendaries, and to a lesser extent by dignitaries, had been on the decline since the medieval period and the emphasis placed by the reformed church on residing on the livings that had cure of souls further undermined this tradition in the Irish cathedral system. The poverty of the established church in the early seventeenth century also undermined residency at cathedrals. In 1615 the regal

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192 Walter Harris, Some account of ye Cathedral Church of Armagh (P.R.O.N.I., DIO 4/39/2/1/2).
194 Triennial Visitiation of the province of Armagh, 1661 (P.R.O.N.I., DIO 4/23/1/2, ff 26, 31 – 31v, 38, 43v); Triennial Visitiation of the province of Armagh, 1679 (P.R.O.N.I., DIO 4/23/1/4, pp 64, 76, 88, 102, 114, 180 – 1).
195 James B. Leslie, Raphoe, Clergy and Parishes (Enniskillen, 1940), p. 143.
196 Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, 1693 (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/26, p. 9).
197 Visitation of the Diocese of Meath, 1693 (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/26, p. 44).
198 Killaloe Cathedral Register, 1661 – 1842 (T.C.D., Ms. 1825, ff 23 – 4).
199 St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, ff 7v, 9.
200 F.R. Bolton, The Caroline tradition of the Church of Ireland, p. 188.
201 On the issue of residency and the provision of clerical accommodation in the province of Armagh during the seventeenth century see William Roulston, ‘Accommodating clergymen: Church of Ireland ministers and
visitation found that eight deans out of the twenty-three dioceses visited in that year were
non-resident.\textsuperscript{202} The fact that these clergymen also held other livings \textit{in commendam}
accounts for their absence. For example, the dean of Christ Church, Dublin, Jonas
Wheeler, was also bishop of Ossory and resided at Kilkenny.\textsuperscript{203} At the same time, the dean
of Ardfert, Robert Chaffe, resided at Limerick where he held the prebendary of
Donaghmore \textit{in commendam}, instead of residing at his cathedral church.\textsuperscript{204} Also residing
in Limerick was the dean of Holy Trinity, Waterford, Richard Boyle, where he held the
archdeaconry of Limerick \textit{in commendam}.\textsuperscript{205} Subsequently, the Visitors ordered Dean
Boyle to reside at Waterford for six months of the year.\textsuperscript{206} Lewis Jones was
simultaneously dean of St Patrick’s, Cashel, and St Mel’s, Ardagh, but was reported to be
non-resident at either living in 1615. Jones was threatened with deprivation of his deanery
in Cashel if he was not resident by Easter and the 1622 visitation reported that he was
resident at Cashel and non-resident at Ardagh.\textsuperscript{207} In the 1634 visitation it was observed
that the dean of St Brigid’s, Kildare, William Clebourne, was absent.\textsuperscript{208} Clebourne also
held livings in the dioceses of Armagh and Dublin.\textsuperscript{209}

The poverty of the church was also reflected in manse houses being alienated or out of
repair. During the 1607 visitation of the diocese of Cashel, it was found that a former dean
of St Patrick’s cathedral had alienated the dean’s manse house.\textsuperscript{210} The 1615 visitation
reported that the dean of St Patrick’s, Killala, had no manse house.\textsuperscript{211} At the cathedral
close of St Mary’s, Limerick, two out of the four dignitaries manse houses were out of
repair in 1615\textsuperscript{212} and in 1621 the dean’s manse was leased for a term of 61 years.\textsuperscript{213}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{202} Regal Visitation, 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836).
\bibitem{203} Ibid., f. 33.
\bibitem{204} Michael A. Murphy ‘The Royal Visitation of the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe, 1615’, in \textit{Archivium
Hibernicum}, vol. iv, (1915), p. 182. Chaffe was deprived of the deanery of Ardfert in 1619 because of his
non-residency: J.B. Leslie, \textit{Ardfert and Aghadoe clergy and parishes} (Dublin, 1940), p. 16.
\bibitem{205} Regal Visitation, 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836, ff 41v, 77v).
\bibitem{206} Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitations, Waterford, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/3, p. 193).
\bibitem{207} Regal Visitation, 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836, ff 50v, 120); Copy of bishop’s returns for Ulster in 1622
(T.C.D., Ms. 550, pp 154 – 55).
\bibitem{208} Raymond Gillespie, ‘St Brigid’s Cathedral in the Age of Reform, 1500 – 1700’, in Raymond Gillespie
\bibitem{209} J.B. Leslie and R.H. Wallace, \textit{Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough}, p. 486;
J.B. Leslie, \textit{Armagh clergy and parishes} (Dundalk, 1911), pp 252, 410.
\bibitem{210} Interrogatories propounded by His Majesty’s Commissioners to certain inquisitors in the Dioceses of
Cashel and Emleye (Cal. S. P. Ire., 1606 – 08, p. 238).
\bibitem{211} Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitations, Killala, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/4, p. 1).
\bibitem{212} In the 1615 visitation of the diocese of Limerick, the dean’s house was described as good and the
treasurer’s house was described as well repaired. The precentor was reported as being bound to build his
house while the archdeacon’s house was ruinaded: Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitations,
Limerick 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/3, pp 99 – 100).
\end{thebibliography}
Similarly, the 1615 visitation noted that there were thatched cottages for all the dignitaries and prebendaries of St Brigid’s, Kildare, but in the 1620s the houses of the canons were alienated to the laity.\textsuperscript{214}

On the other hand, there was some degree of residency at most of the cathedrals. The 1615 visitation recorded that at St Brigid’s, Kildare and St Fachtna’s, Ross, all the dignitaries were resident\textsuperscript{215} while in St Mary’s, Elphin, the dean, archdeacon, provost and four of the prebendaries were reported to be resident.\textsuperscript{216} Furthermore, the 1615 visitation observed that there were only two cathedrals out of twenty-three that no clergyman resided at, which were St Mel’s, Ardagh, and St Crumnathy’s, Achonry.\textsuperscript{217} In 1622 the dean, chancellor, treasurer and archdeacon of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, were all observed to be resident by the commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of Ireland, while the bishop of Ossory held the precentorship \textit{in commendam}.\textsuperscript{218} In the same year the dean of St Macartin’s, Clogher, was reported to be residing at a friend’s house in Clogher,\textsuperscript{219} while the dean of St Eunan’s, Raphoe, was noted as being resident, having built a fine stone house on land leased from the bishop.\textsuperscript{220} In Derry, provision had been made from the outset of the plantation for the dean to have a ‘convenient plot of ground’ for a house,\textsuperscript{221} although in 1622 it was observed that the assigned plot was inconvenient, being situated outside the city’s walls and actually situated in the diocese of Raphoe.\textsuperscript{222} By the late 1630s a manse house had been built by the dean in the city of Londonderry for £500.\textsuperscript{223} In 1635 the recently appointed precentor of Christ Church, Dublin, John Brookes, petitioned the lord deputy for the return of his manse so that he could reside at the cathedral and ‘give due attendance in the church’.\textsuperscript{224} In 1634 the Canons of the Church of Ireland set out, for the first time, the minimum standard of residency expected in cathedral churches. Canon 26 required deans to be resident at their cathedral churches for at least ninety days a year.

\textsuperscript{215} Inquisition of the deanery of Limerick, 1619 (P.R.O.N.I., DIO4/4/3, f. 116).
\textsuperscript{216} Henry Cotton, \textit{Fasti ecclesiae Hiberniae}, vol. ii, p. 236; Raymond Gillespie, ‘St Brigid’s Cathedral in the Age of Reform, 1500 – 1700’, pp 52 – 53.
\textsuperscript{217} Regal visitation, 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836, ff15 – 15v, 75).
\textsuperscript{218} Ibid., f. 110.
\textsuperscript{219} Ibid., ff 118, 120.
\textsuperscript{220} Transcript of the return of the Bishop of Ossory to the 1622 Commissioners (R.C.B., GS 2/73/24, pp 1 – 2).
\textsuperscript{221} Canon Leslie Collection (N.L.I., Ms. 2668, p. 2).
\textsuperscript{222} Copy of bishops’ returns for Ulster in 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 550, p. 212); W. Roulston, ‘Accommodating clergymen: Church of Ireland ministers and their houses in the north of Ireland, c. 1600 – 1870’, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{223} Lambeth Palace, London, Carew Ms. 630, f. 13.
\textsuperscript{224} Copy of bishops’ returns for Ulster in 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 550, p. 188).
\textsuperscript{226} Orders of Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Affairs, 1623 and 1633/4 (B.L., Harleian Ms. 4297, ff 163; 217).
and they were to have manse houses or grounds to build manse houses in order to facilitate their residence.\textsuperscript{225} Canon 28 required prebendaries who did not reside in the cathedral close, not to be absent from their cures for longer than a month, while canons who did reside at the cathedral were to agree amongst themselves when they would reside. Furthermore, when a residentiary canon’s term of residence at their cathedral ended, they were then expected to reside on their benefices.\textsuperscript{226} Thus the 1634 Canons promoted residence at cathedrals and the development of cathedral closes with the view to creating dominant centres for the promotion of the reformation but they also recognised the duty of canons to the benefices that they derived their income from.\textsuperscript{227}

In the Restoration period, deans and chapters attempted to implement these new principles regarding residency. In 1660 an account of the temporalities of the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore observed that four out of the five manse houses of the dignitaries of Holy Trinity, Waterford, were in ruins, while the dean’s house was inhabited by a Captain Halsey.\textsuperscript{228} In September 1663 the dean and chapter passed an act setting out new manse houses for the dignitaries and these were confirmed in an Act of State of 25 March 1664, which provided for the Restoration settlement of the cathedral’s estate.\textsuperscript{229} At a visitation of 1673 it was reported that the dean of Waterford resided on his manse and the chancellor and treasurer were resident in Waterford and although they did not live on their manses they ‘constantly attended and officiated at divine service’. The visitation return also reported that the precentor lived near Dublin ‘for the most part’.\textsuperscript{230} At St Patrick’s, Dublin, the dean’s residence was described in 1660 as being ‘utterly ruined and demolished’ and the dean, William Fuller, received special assistance in the form of arrears of rent that accrued before June 1660 to rebuild and repair his house.\textsuperscript{231} In February 1664 the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s cathedral passed an act requiring each dignitary or prebendary to reside at the cathedral in the week after their preaching turn in order to attend daily divine

\textsuperscript{225} Constitutions and canons ecclesiastical (Dublin, 1635), pp 38 – 39.  
\textsuperscript{226} Ibid., p. 41.  
\textsuperscript{227} John McCafferty, ‘John Bramhall and the reconstruction of the Church of Ireland’, p. 129.  
\textsuperscript{229} R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, C.1, Chapter Acts 1663.  
\textsuperscript{230} R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/81. The precentor, James Jerome, was a Huguenot who served as the first minister of the French Church in St Patrick, Dublin from 1666 – 71 and was subsequently appointed prebendary of Donoghmore in the diocese of Dublin in 1672: J.B. Wallace and R.H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, p. 728.  
\textsuperscript{231} The dean’s house was part of the church’s temporalities that the Commonwealth regime vested in a trust for the use of Trinity College, Dublin in 1650: Acts and ordinances of the interregnum, 1642 – 1660, (eds) C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait (3 vols, London, 1911), vol I, ii, p. 356; The King to the Lord Justices of Ireland, 14 Sept. 1661 (Oxford, Bodl., Lib., Carte Ms, 42, p. 382).
service in the cathedral choir. At St Fin Barre’s, Cork, the dean and chapter made an order in 1681 for each dignitary and prebendary to ‘diligently keep his four months turn of residence and at the same time attend morning and evening prayer on holidays and common days performed in the choir of this cathedral church so long as they shall continue in this city.’ The principle of residence at this cathedral was further strengthened when each vicar choral was assigned mensal plots for their houses in 1684.

On the other hand, in 1687 the dean and chapter of St Carthage’s, Lismore, passed an act for the prebendary of Modeligo, Francis Beecher, and the prebendary of Seskennan, John Walkington, to act as economists as they resided closest to the cathedral. The chapter act also reveals that the dean and most members of the chapter lived at a remote distance from the cathedral, which suggests the non-observance of residency by the canons of this cathedral.

In the province of Armagh, dignitaries and prebendaries were generally nominal and, with the exception of the dean, were not required to reside at their respective cathedral. The 1637 charter for St Patrick’s, Armagh, made explicit provision for the dignitaries and prebendaries to reside on the rectories that were the corps of their livings, except when their service was required in the cathedral or when they were required to attend chapter meetings. In the 1693 visitation of the diocese of Derry it was observed that at St Columb’s cathedral the archdeacon and prebendaries were not obliged to attend or reside at the cathedral, except when a chapter was called or when they were required to preach. Instead they were required to live in the parishes where they were rectors. St Columb’s cathedral itself was actually served on a daily basis by the dean with assistance from a curate.

In St Patrick’s, Dublin, and St Fin Barre’s, Cork, the degree of residency can be established by examining who attended chapter-meetings during the Restoration period and by assuming that cathedral clergymen who attended chapter meetings regularly were resident. [See Graphs 2.1 and 2.2] In both cathedrals the deans were almost always resident: the dean of St Patrick’s attended over 80 per cent of chapter meetings while the dean of St Fin Barre’s attended 90 per cent. The dean of St Patrick’s lower attendance rate

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233 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol ii, f. 143.
234 Ibid., f. 184.
235 St Cathage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 24v.
236 Copy of the letters patent for Dean and Chapter of St Patrick’s, Armagh, 22 Jan. 1638 (R.C.B., Ms. 105). P.R.O., SO 1/3, ff 51v - 53.
can be accounted for by his occasional visits to England for extended periods of time, as was the case in 1661-62.237 Most of the other dignitaries at St Patrick’s appear to have resided at the cathedral as they also frequently attended chapter meetings. The only dignitary at St Patrick’s who did not frequently attend chapter meetings was the treasurer, who was recorded as being present at only six meetings during the period 1660–1691. This was because the archbishop of Dublin held the treasurership in commendam and he usually only attended chapter meetings when matters of great importance were dealt with, such as the chapter’s dispute with the State over the free election of a dean during the reign of James II.238 In St Fin Barre’s, Cork, the precentor and chancellor both attended less than 50 per cent of chapter meetings while the treasurer and archdeacon of Cork both attended around 80 per cent of the meetings, thereby suggesting that the latter two dignitaries resided at the cathedral. The attendance pattern for the prebendaries in both cathedrals could be described as erratic, suggesting that they largely resided on their livings and came to the cathedral for chapter meetings. Furthermore, attendance at chapter meetings depended on the canon’s individual level of commitment, for example 73 per cent of the prebendary of St Audeon’s attendance at chapter meetings during the period 1660–91 was accounted for by Christopher Davis, who was prebendary between 1661 and 1669.

As demonstrated above, the poverty of the Church of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had implications for the constitutional development of Irish cathedrals. This poverty also had implications for the size of some of the cathedral chapters and during the seventeenth century a number of cathedral livings became extinct. At St Ciaran’s, Clonmacnoise, the chapter had once consisted of a dean, an archdeacon and twelve prebendaries but the visitation of 1622 reported that all the prebendaries had become wasted and extinct.239 The last archdeacon was appointed in 1639 and at the Restoration only the deanery was left. Consequently, Clonmacnoise became chapterless.240 Deans without chapters also emerged in St Fethlimidh’s, Kilmore, and St Mel’s, Ardagh, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. In both cathedrals the canons had never been endowed and so were allowed to die out after the Reformation.241 In Holy Trinity, Downpatrick, the bishops held the treasurership from its creation in 1609 until the 1620s

237 R.C.B., C2/1/3/2, f. 16.
239 Copy of bishop’s returns for Ulster in 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 550, ff 128–29).
but after that no treasurer was appointed until 1693.\textsuperscript{242} The early Stuart charters for St Macartin’s, Clogher, and St Patrick’s, Armagh, reduced the number of cathedral clergymen by four in Clogher and by twelve in Armagh.\textsuperscript{243} In the early Stuart period the prebendary of Kilronan in Holy Trinity, Waterford, was alienated and effectively became extinguished.\textsuperscript{244} Following the Restoration all four prebendaries of Holy Trinity cathedral appear to have become alienated and although collations to the prebendaries of Kilronan and Corbally seem to have been made in the 1660s, these prebendaries did not make any contribution to the business of the cathedral in recovering or defending the rights of the church or towards the repair of the cathedral’s fabric. No appointments were made to these prebendaries between 1669 and 1871.\textsuperscript{245} Another prebendary that became extinct during the latter half of the seventeenth century was the prebendary of Tymothan in St Patrick’s, Dublin,\textsuperscript{246} while in St Macartin’s, Clogher, no appointments were made to the prebendaries of Dromore and Monaghan.\textsuperscript{247} At St Colman’s, Cloyne, the prebendary of Lackeen was recorded in the visitation books as being vacant during the Restoration period because of its poverty.\textsuperscript{248} However, it was in the archdiocese of Tuam, which was the poorest region in Ireland, that the most prebendaries became vacant after the mid seventeenth century. In 1638 the dean and chapter of St Mary’s, Elphin, reported to their bishop that although they had eight prebendaries, they had heard that four more had previously belonged to the church. Following the Restoration only five out of these twelve prebendaries had appointments made to them. At St Patrick’s, Killala, four out of nine prebendaries were vacant throughout the reign of Charles II while three out of eight prebendaries at St Crumnathy’s, Achonry, effectively became extinct after the Restoration.\textsuperscript{249}

VI

The poor state of the Church of Ireland in the post-reformation period also had implications for the minor corporate bodies in the cathedrals. At Holy Trinity, Waterford,

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\textsuperscript{242} J. Frederick Rankin, \textit{Down Cathedral}, p. 100.

\textsuperscript{243} \textit{Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. I.}, p. 544; Copy of the letters patent for Dean and Chapter of St Patrick’s, Armagh, 22 Jan. 1638 (R.C.B., Ms. 105); P.R.O., SO 1/3, ff 51v-53; A collection of such letters as have passed from His Majesty for business of the church since Wentworth became lord deputy to 14 November 1637 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book, 20/129, ff 1 - 2v).

\textsuperscript{244} A relation of some of the acts and proceedings of Michael Bishop of Waterford and Lismore in his ecclesiastical jurisdiction (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book, 20/153).


\textsuperscript{246} R.C.B., C2/1/3/4, f. 240v.


\textsuperscript{248} Henry Cotton, \textit{Fasti ecclesiae Hibernicae}, vol. i, p. 342.

the use and exercise of the vicars ‘ceased’ at the Reformation and when the dean and chapter passed a chapter act in 1585 regulating the cathedral’s revenue, there was no mention of the vicars.250 Similarly, the vicars choral of St Laserian’s, Leighlin, became extinct during the course of the sixteenth century.251 In the case of St Brendan’s, Annaghdown, the revenue of the college of vicars choral was discovered in 1606 to be in the possession of a Galway merchant.252 Likewise, at St Patrick’s, Armagh, the Culdees, who supplied choral services in the cathedral during the medieval period, appear to have stopped functioning by the early seventeenth century and the priory of the Culdees appears to have been alienated by the dean of Armagh, Owen Wood.253

Nevertheless, in the early Stuart period the royal visitation of 1615 noted the continued existence of vicars choral at St Brendan’s, Ardfert; St Fin Barre’s, Cork; St Colman’s, Cloyne; St Fachtna’s, Ross; Christ Church, Dublin; St Mary’s, Tuam; St Mary’s, Limerick; St Canice’s, Kilkenny; St Carthage’s, Lismore; and St Patrick’s, Cashel.254 Further details on vicars chorals was provided by the commission appointed in 1622 to enquire into the state of Ireland. At St Canice’s, Kilkenny, the college of the vicars choral consisted of eight singing ministers and four choristers who served in the cathedral on a daily basis, while at St Mary’s, Limerick, the vicars choral consisted of an organist and five vicars.255 At St Patrick’s, Cashel, detailed observations were made on the state of the vicars choral in the visitation of 1607 and in the return of the 1622 commissioners. Traditionally, these vicars choral consisted of eight vicars, an organist, a sexton and a steward but in 1607 the number of vicars had been reduced to four, of which only two attended church services. This reduction was due to the alienation of the vicars’ property, although the Visitors reported that the archbishop of Cashel, Miler McGrath, had agreed to augment their livings and provide for four vicars choral, an organist and a clerk.256 By

255 Transcript of the return of the Bishop of Ossory to the 1622 Commissioners (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/24, p. 6); Henry Cotton, Fasti ecclesiae Hiberniae, vol. i, pp 426 – 27.
256 Michael A. Murphy, ‘The Visitation of Cashel and Emly’, p. 297.
1622 the lands of the college were set to Bryan O’Kerny and John O’Kallaran who were charged with providing a stipend for four vicars, an organist and a sexton.257

During the reign of Charles I vicars chorals received closer attention and support from the State, reflecting the administration’s interest in enhancing the liturgy of the church. In 1626 a king’s letter was issued for the recovery of the lands and hereditaments found to belong to the vicars choral of St Patrick’s, Cashel, in any ancient rolls, royal visitation or inquisition.258 Two years later, the vicars petitioned the crown for confirmation of the lands and tithes that they could prove their title to. The vicars also requested a new charter to replace their records destroyed during the wars, which would secure their property and grant them similar privileges enjoyed by the vicars choral of St Patrick’s, Dublin.259 While no evidence for such a charter exists, the king’s letter of 1626 demonstrates that the administration was keen to assist minor cathedral corporations and the petition was referred to officials for consideration.260 The 1629 charter for St Macartin’s, Clogher, freed the dean and chapter from the payment of first fruits, which were instead to be used for the erection of a choir in the cathedral. This choir was to consist of a chanter, who was not a dignitary, singingmen and choristers and the bishop was to procure maintenance for them.261 A second charter for this cathedral was granted in 1631 and made provision for the dean and chapter to receive lands worth no more than £100 a year for the maintenance of a choir, free school and for the adornment of the cathedral church.262 A similar clause was included in the king’s letter dated 25 July 1631 for a new charter for St Columba’s, Derry.263

A more sustained effort at reviving a minor corporate body was made at St Patrick’s, Armagh. During the reign of James I the archbishops of Armagh gained control of the lands of the Culdees and although various proposals were made to use those lands to establish and support vicars choral in the cathedral, these came to nothing, and the income derived from the lands was used instead for repairing the cathedral’s fabric.264 Meanwhile Archbishop Hampton employed in his household an organist and singing men at his own

257 Copy of visitation 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 2158, ff 106 – 106v).
259 ‘Complaints and grievances to be made about the present occasions of this provincial agency into England in the behalf of the clergy of Munster’ (T.C.D., Ms. 1188, f. 18).
262 Ibid., pp 615 – 16.
263 The King to the Lord Deputy, 25 July 1631 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-33, p. 624).
cost with the view to their eventual employment in the cathedral.\(^ {265} \) In April 1627 letters patent were granted incorporating the prior and vicars choral of Armagh. The prior and five vicars were granted the lands of the Culdees and the archbishop of Armagh retained his right to nominate and visit the vicars, a right that he held when the Culdees existed.\(^ {266} \) Shortly after this grant was made, a legal dispute emerged between the church and George Kirke who claimed that the lands of the Culdees had been granted to him. Both sides were required to surrender their titles, although the vicars choral still possessed their grant in 1633.\(^ {267} \) On 23 May 1634 a new charter was granted to the vicars choral of Armagh. This charter created the College of King Charles in the Church of St Patrick’s, Armagh, which was to consist of eight vicars, four choristers and an organist. They were also constituted as a corporate body, known as the vicars choral and organist of the college of St Patrick’s, Armagh. Although the ancient lands and tithes of the Culdees were divested from the new corporation, the vicars were to hold lands that would produce an income of between £115 and £200 a year. Furthermore, the archbishop of Armagh retained his rights to nominate and visit the vicars and he was also granted the right to regulate the government of the college.\(^ {268} \) This relationship between the archbishop and the vicar is the most significant aspect of this charter, as episcopal involvement in the running of a minor cathedral corporation was not found in any other Irish or English cathedral.\(^ {269} \)

There were also significant constitutional developments for the vicars choral at the two Dublin cathedrals. Christ Church, Dublin, was where Laudian best practice was displayed, particularly in the field of music, and in 1637 an act of state augmented the size of the vicars choral. This followed successful proceedings against the religious guild of St Anne’s at St Audeon’s Church, which used its revenues to support recusants during the early Stuart period.\(^ {270} \) The act of state proposed that the guild’s revenues be used to enlarge the vicars choral through the appointment of four supernumerary vicars and thereby the size of the choirs was increased to ten vicars. At least six of the vicars were to be priests. The act of state also provided for two additional boys in the choir bringing their

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\(^ {265} \) Note concerning the late Archbishop of Armagh and the lands of the vicars choral of the cathedral, 1625 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1648 – 60, p. 58).

\(^ {266} \) Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. I, p. 221.


\(^ {268} \) Lodge Mss (N.A.I., Ms 42/3, ff 299-300); Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. I (N.A.I., Ms 2/446/34, ff 27v – 28).


total number to six and two sackbut and two cornett players to accompany the choir every Sunday.271

In 1640 a new charter for the vicars choral of St Patrick’s, Dublin, was granted. This charter reduced the number of vicars from sixteen to twelve, which probably reflected the actual strength of the choir in the early Stuart period. The five most senior vicars, including the dean’s vicar, were all to be priests. The dean’s vicar was the ‘chief’ of the vicars and received £10 a year more than the other vicars as part of his salary and was provided with the right to punish the other vicars for misdemeanours. The dean’s vicar, in conjunction with the dean or the sub-dean, was also given the authority to make regulations for the vicars choral within their college. On the other hand, the dean and the dean and chapter were empowered by this charter to supervise and regulate the performance and conduct of the vicars in the choir. Furthermore, visitation rights for the vicars choral were granted to the dean and confirmed to the archbishop. Finally, the dean was granted the right to nominate the vicars when there was a vacancy, except for the precentor’s, chancellor’s, treasurer’s, and archdeacon of Dublin’s vicars, who each appointed their own.272

Although there is clear evidence for State support and encouragement of the minor cathedral corporations in the 1630s, much of this work was undone by the civil wars of the 1640s and the commonwealth regime of the 1650s. At Christ Church, Dublin, there is evidence for additional appointments being made in the choir subsequent to the act of state of 1638 augmenting the vicars choral with the revenues of St Anne’s Guild, but these proved to be short lived. The provisions of this act of state were incorporated into the proposed parliamentary act for the cathedral that foundered in the 1640s. Consequently, at the Restoration the size of the choir was the same as prior to 1638.273 The developments at St Patrick’s, Armagh, were also short lived and there does not appear to have been a choir at this cathedral in the latter half of the seventeenth century: instead of the eight vicars choral provided in the charter of 1634, there were two reading vicars and two nominal lay vicars.274 Although there is evidence for the appointment of chanters in St Macartin’s, Clogher, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, who appear to have evolved into

274 Walter Harris, Some account of ye Cathedral Church of Armagh (P.R.O.N.I., DIO 4/39/2/1/2).
dignitaries, there is no evidence for the establishment of a choir, as provided for in the charters of 1629 and 1631. Neither was there a choir at St Columb’s, Derry.275

Elsewhere, the size of minor cathedral corporations was significantly smaller in the latter half of the seventeenth century. At St Canice’s, Kilkenny, the vicars choral were reduced to two vicars in 1679, because soldiers, adventurers and the Trustees of the ‘49 Officers possessed their estates.276 In the same year it was reported that since the Restoration, St Fin Barre’s, Cork, had been destitute of all choir services,277 although this is not strictly true as there is evidence in the Chapter Act books for choral services in the cathedral in the 1660s and 1670s.278 At St Mary’s, Limerick, the dean and chapter were reported to have appointed only a single person to the livings of the vicars choral throughout the Restoration period ‘without any reference to the constitution of the old corporate body’.279

To take account of this situation Charles II augmented some of these minor cathedral corporations. In 1668 letters patent were issued confirming the augmentation estate of the vicars choral of St Patrick’s and Christ Church, Dublin, which were the proceeds of forfeited land granted by the king to ‘maintain a fit number of persons qualified for the discharge of so great and solemn a service’ in these cathedrals.280 In 1679 a trust was created out of the rectory of St John’s in the city of Cork to provide an endowment for the vicars choral of St Fin Barre’s, Cork. This was to provide for two vicars choral, one a priest and the other a layman, and as many choristers as possible. The two vicars and choristers were to officiate daily in the choral services at the cathedral. The priest vicar was also to catechise the children of the parish of St John’s in the cathedral. Finally, the bishop of Cork and Ross was granted the right to nominate these vicars and choristers.281 The nomination of the original vicars remained with the dean and between 1672 and 1686 the dean made eight appointments to vacant vicarages.282 However, in 1687 there was a dispute between the dean and the precentor over the right to nominate the second, or precentor’s vicar. The dean claimed that it was his peculiar right to nominate all the vicars.

278 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, ff 73, 85, 98, 114.
279 The King to the Lord Lieutenant, 13 Sept. 1684 (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1684 – 85, p. 143); A list of all deaneries etc in Ireland to which the crown has presented since 1660 (N.A.I., Msf 42/12, f. 64).
280 Copies of documents relating to the stipends of vicars choral and choir men of Christ Church and St Patrick’s cathedrals Dublin, 1623 – 1809 (N.L.I., Ms. 85, ff 9 – 10, 61).
282 Charles A. Webster, The Diocese of Cork, p. 108.
while the precentor claimed the right to present his own vicar. The precentor made a protest in the chapter, but the chapter did not approve his nomination.\(^{283}\) The dean would face a further challenge to his right of nomination in the 1690s and early eighteenth century from the Bishop of Cork and Ross, Edward Wetenhall.\(^{284}\) In 1684 a grant of the revenues of the collegiate church of SS Peter and Paul’s, Killmallock, was made to the dean and chapter of St Mary’s, Limerick to supply choral services in the cathedral.\(^{285}\) Subsequently, the full pre-1641 complement of five vicars was appointed to the college of vicars choral in St Mary’s, Limerick.\(^{286}\)

Throughout the seventeenth century minor cathedral corporations increasingly became subservient to deans and chapters. This is evident in the Christ Church, Dublin, charter of 1604, whereby the vicars choral lost their right to participate in chapter meetings.\(^{287}\) Furthermore, the vicars choral were never incorporated as a separate body from the dean and chapter who not only regulated their behaviour, but also managed their estate.\(^{288}\) As a result of this charter the vicars choral of Christ Church shared a similar constitutional status to the vicars choral of the cathedrals of the new foundation in England, who, following their conversion from monastic cathedrals, were made subject to the rule of capitular authorities and who were unable to hold their own properties.\(^{289}\) In the 1630s the dean and chapter of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, instituted a ‘reformation’ of the vicars choral with the view to improving the performance of their duties in the choir. Although the vicars protested against the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter to make regulation for them, the dean and chapter successfully claimed otherwise.\(^{290}\) A similar state of affairs developed at St Patrick’s, Dublin, where the 1640 charter for the vicars choral enhanced the right of the dean and chapter to regulate and supervise the vicars. One of the vicars, Thomas Lee, claimed that to live under the charter was akin to slavery. Two other vicars, Daniel Wibrowe and William Ballard, initially refused to accept the new statutes, but the inclusion of their names in the charter indicates that they eventually acquiesced with its


\(^{285}\) The King to the Lord Lieutenant, 13 Sept. 1684 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1684 – 85*, p. 143); A list of all deaneries etc in Ireland to which the crown has presented since 1660 (N.A.I., Msf 42/12, f. 64.)

\(^{286}\) St Mary’s, Limerick, Chapter Act Book, f. 11.

\(^{287}\) A typescript copy of a charter of James I to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin (N.L.I., Ms. 1618, no. 3).

\(^{288}\) Hugh A. Boyd, ‘The Cathedral System in the Church of Ireland since the Disestablishment’, p. 299.


\(^{290}\) St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, ff 35 – 37.
In the latter half of the seventeenth century the subservient status of vicars chorals was also evident in constitutional developments. In 1679, to coincide with the creation of a trust out of the Rectory of St John's for the vicars choral of St Fin Barre's, Cork, the dean and chapter issued regulations for the performance of the vicars choral. And in 1687, the reorganisation of the vicars choral of St Colman's, Cloyne, included the vicars being made subject to the jurisdiction of the dean.

VII

During the Stuart period the cathedral system of Ireland faced the most direct challenge to its constitutional framework in its five hundred year history. Despite the closure of the cathedrals during the commonwealth period, the cathedral system in the latter half of the seventeenth century was essentially based on the same constitutional framework as that which had existed in the early Stuart period. Although the extension of English rule over the whole island in 1603 and the restoration of the monarchy and hierarchy in 1660 may have provided the opportunity for change to the constitutional framework of the cathedral system, any changes made were principally modifications to the existing system and were largely based upon pre-existing structures. This is evident in the charters granted during the early Stuart period to the cathedrals in Ulster and in Dublin, which used the medieval secular cathedrals as models for change. On the other hand, there was one important development that had consequences for the entire cathedral system: throughout the Stuart period the State pursued a largely successful campaign to claim the right to present deans. In the early Stuart period this campaign was implemented through the various charters granted to the cathedrals, which contained clauses for the right of the king to present the deans. Furthermore, the closure of the cathedrals during the Commonwealth period later provided the opportunity for the State to extend its claims even further. In 1660 many of the deaneries and bishoprics were vacant and in this situation the king had the right to present, which appeared to establish a precedent. Moreover, the working knowledge of cathedral administration was to a certain extent diminished by the closure of the cathedrals and cathedral clergymen may have been reluctant to oppose the claims of the monarch, particularly when cathedral records were destroyed during the wars of the 1640s. The opposition provided by William King to the claims of the State to possess the right to present to the deanery of St Patrick's demonstrates how important personal conviction was in the defence of the church's privileges and helps to explain why the State was able exert

293 R.C.B., C12/2/1, p. 12.
it claims against clergymen, many of whom sought career progression though State patronage. Similarly, deans and chapters increasingly exerted and extended their control over the minor cathedral corporations. Although there is evidence for opposition to these claims, by the end of the seventeenth century vicars chorals were more subservient to the senior cathedral clergymen than their counterparts were in the early Stuart period.

While the interests of a centralising state was one factor affecting the constitutional framework of the cathedral system in the seventeenth century, another factor was the poverty within the church. Diminishing resources in the church led to a reduction in the size of both cathedral chapters and minor cathedral corporations, a decline in residency at the cathedrals and the emergence of cathedral parish churches. Poverty in the church also led the State to make special provision for minor cathedral corporations. The development of Laudian and Caroline ideals in worship, which attached an increased importance to the liturgy of the church, led to a number of grants in cathedral churches, particularly to churches located in urban areas and these grants sought to encourage choral worship in the cathedrals. Yet poverty was endemic in the Church of Ireland in the seventeenth century and the next chapter looks at the financial state of the cathedral system.
Table 2.1. Breakdown of Cathedral Chapters in the Stuart Period.

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^1 The first number in this column represents the number of prebendaries during the early Stuart period while the second number represents the number during the Restoration period.

^2 Became extinct after 1660.

^3 The two archdeacons of the diocese of Dublin were the archdeacons of Dublin and Glendalough. Both had a stall in the choir and a voice in the chapter.

^4 There were also four canons in St Brigid’s, Kildare, who possessed full capitular rights.

^5 The cathedral positions at St Brendan’s, Annaghdown, remained vacant after 1660.
Graph 2.1 - Chapter Meeting Attendance at St Patrick's, Dublin, 1660 - 91

Sources: R.C.B., C2/1/3/2 - 5; T.C.D., Ms 555.
Graph 2.2 - Chapter Meeting Attendance at St Fin Barre's, Cork, 1666 - 91

Source: St Fin Barre's, Cork, Ms. B 8/2.
Chapter III - Cathedral Finance

The cathedral system of Ireland and its personnel were anciently endowed with lands and tithes, which as properties in common law could be leased and an income derived on the rent reserved.¹ In this way, the cathedral system of Ireland was funded. This chapter will commence with an examination of the endowments of the cathedral system of Ireland and how it evolved over the course of the seventeenth century, particularly in the context of the plantation of Ulster. It will then investigate the attempts by church and state to recover the church’s ancient inheritance that had been alienated during the latter half of the sixteenth century. The introduction of Laudian economic policies in the 1630s made some headway in reversing long leases of cathedral properties, but it was the dislocation caused by the mid-century crisis that enabled the cathedrals to recover a significant proportion of their alienated properties in the Restoration period. Concomitant with this development was the growing consciousness amongst cathedral clergymen of the need to improve the financial management of cathedral estates. In part these improvements will be examined with the aid of a database of leases granted by the deans and chapters of several cathedrals during the period 1603-91. By recovering alienated church properties and managing these properties more effectively, this chapter contends that by the 1690s cathedral clergymen had accepted Laudian economic policies as the normal way of conducting church business.

I

The cathedral system’s income was derived, as was the case with the rest of the church, from temporalities, such as land and houses, and spiritualities, such as tithes and alterages or bookmoney. In secular cathedrals each clergyman possessed his own estate from which he derived an income. In contrast, clergymen based in regular cathedrals held their property in common, although the reformation brought these cathedrals into line with the secular cathedrals. At Christ Church, Dublin, the conversion of the monastic cathedral into a secular cathedral in 1539 resulted in the division of the priory’s lands and livings, which had been held in common for the benefit of the monastic house, between the dignitaries and vicars choral. Furthermore, each dignitary and the three senior vicars were assigned prebendal churches, which formed the nucleus of their livings. Some of the cathedral’s property, principally the urban tenements in the city of Dublin, remained in common

ownership and became the economy estate of the cathedral.2 Economy or fabric estates were used for the maintenance of cathedral buildings, but were also used to support minor officials and provide for the necessities for the celebration of divine services.3 Thus, by the early Stuart period, the cathedral system of Ireland was based on a common financial framework. But there were also local variations that were peculiar to individual cathedrals: at Christ Church, Dublin, the dean held the right to the tithes of fish on the part of the Liffey contiguous with the franchise of the city of Dublin, while the dean and chapter possessed the right to collect the profits arising from butchers' stalls set up on market days in St John's Lane.4

Spiritualities formed the largest source of income for the Irish cathedral system and a sizeable number of appropriated rectories and vicarages supported cathedral personnel. For example, the dean of St Canice's, Kilkenny, possessed the rectories of St Patrick's Kilkenny, Urlingford, and Aghaoe5 while the corps of the deanery of St Fachan's, Kilfenora, consisted of five rectories.6 In St Mary’s, Tuam, the dean held the rectories of Kilnumla and Kilvenan with the vicars choral and the rectories of Clonebirre, Kilkervay, Ardeguile, Killelay and O'Boynagh with the provost. He also held the rectories of Bealaclare and Temple Togher in his own right.7 An unusual situation existed in St Brendan’s, Ardfert, where the tithes of the parish were divided into five equal portions between the dean and dignitaries of that cathedral.8 The vicars choral or college of St Mary’s, Limerick, possessed around ten rectories and vicarages throughout the diocese of Limerick, including the vicarages of St Mary’s and St Nicholas’ in the city of Limerick. They also appear to have possessed the tithes of salmon caught in the River Shannon.9 During the episcopate of Bernard Adams (1604 – 26), the vicars choral were augmented

6 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitation, Kilfenora, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/3, ff 423 – 28).
7 Copy of visitation 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 2158, ff 81 – 87).
8 Ibid., ff 95v – 96v.
9 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Repertory of inquisitions, chancery (N.A.I., RC 4/10, p. 221); Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitation, Limerick, 1615 (RC 15/3, p. 125); Inquisition into the deanery of Limerick, 1619 (P.R.O.N.I., DIO 4/3/4).
with part of the tithes of the bishopric in the following parishes: Kilfentenan, Killealy, Ardpatrick and Emlyrennan. Finally, at the end of the seventeenth century, the vicars choral of St Fachtna’s, Ross, possessed the rectoral tithes of the parish of Ross worth £40 a year, the tithes of the gardens of the town of Ross worth 40s a year and the book money of the parish worth £4 a year.

Spiritualities also formed a significant proportion of the economy or fabric estates. Nine rectories formed the economy estate of St Laserian’s, Leighlin, while at St Canice’s, Kilkenny, the revenue for the economy estate was derived primarily from appropriate livings. In 1679 the estate was comprised of nine rectories while its temporal portion consisted of only a couple of properties in the vicinity of the cathedral. In the diocese of Cashel, the rectory of Ballidowell formed part of the economy estate of St Patrick’s, Cashel, while at St Flannan’s, Killaloe, the rectory of Kilmore and the tithes of various townlands in the parishes of Teake and Magnoe formed the economy estate. Likewise, in the diocese of Tuam, the rectory of Kilbenain was used to maintain the fabric of St Mary’s, Tuam. In 1641 the economy estate of St Brigid’s, Kildare, included the great and small tithes of Kildare, Ballison, Rathwalkin, Knockingalligh, half the tithes of Brownstown and the rectory of Lea. In most cases the spiritualities were located in parishes that were relatively distant from the cathedrals that they supported, but there were cases where the tithes of the parish in which the cathedral was located formed part of that cathedral’s economy estate. This was the case at St Fin Barre’s, Cork; St Colman’s, Cloyne; St Carthage’s, Lismore; and St Alibeus’s, Emly, while the small tithes of the

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11 Visitation of Cork and Ross by Bishop Dives Downes, 1699 (T.C.D., Ms. 562, f. 29v).
12 Copy of visitation 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 2158, f. 125v).
13 Transcript of the return of the Bishop of Ossory to the 1622 Commissioners (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/24, pp 7–8); Bishop Otway’s Visitation of the Diocese of Ossory, 1679 (N.A.I., M. 2830, p. 20).
14 Copy of visitation 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 2158, f. 108).
15 Killaloe Cathedral Register, 1661 – 1842 (T.C.D., Ms. 1825); Philip Dwyer, The Diocese of Killaloe from the Reformation to the Close of the Eighteenth Century (Dublin, 1878), p. 119. The bishop of Killaloe appears to have had a claim to the rectory of Kilmore as part of his episcopal estate and in 1639 Bishop Lewis Jones is reputed to have leased this property to Donough Kennedy for 21 years at £40 a year: A copy of Bishop Worth’s account book of the bishopric of Killaloe, 1661 (St Patrick’s, College, Maynooth, Ms. O’Curry 32, p. 81).
16 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitations, Tuam, 1615, (N.A.I., RC 15/4, p. 4).
17 1641 Depositios, Co. Kildare (T.C.D., Ms. 813, f. 264).
20 Lismore Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 6140, p. 16).
21 Copy of visitation 1633/4 (T.C.D., Ms. 2158, f. 6).
parish of Rosscarberry, consisting of 13 and a half ploughlands, formed the economy estate for St Fachtna’s, Ross.22

Although spiritual livings formed an important role in providing the financial means for the cathedral system in the seventeenth century, there were also substantial temporal properties held by individual cathedral clergymen as well as by the deans and chapters in their corporate capacity. At St Brendan’s, Ardfert, the glebe lands of the parish were divided between the dean and dignitaries. The dean possessed a ploughland in Co Cork, while a parcel of land called Farenceantrush containing 10 Irish acres belonged to the precentor.23 Likewise, the economy estate of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, contained about fifteen ploughlands,24 while the economy estate of St Colman’s, Cloyne, included the lands of Farmamenagh, which contained 48 and a half acres.25 In St Brigid’s, Kildare, the economy estate included 24 acres of glebe land in the parish of Lea, 112 acres in the vicinity of Kildare, 10 tenements, manse houses and half of the custom revenue derived from the fair of Kildare held on 1 February.26 At St Fachtna’s, Ross, the dean and chapter held small pieces of land near Rosscarberry as well as plots for their houses and gardens within the precincts of the cathedral.27

A further indication of the extent of temporal holdings can be gathered from the land surveys undertaken in the mid seventeenth century. According to the civil survey in 1641 the dean and chapter of St Brigid’s, Kildare, possessed 420 acres in the parish of Kilberry, 96 acres in the parish of Kildare, 100 acres in Knavenstown, 120 acres in Killairence, 115 acres in Carne and one castle and four tenements in the town of Kildare.28 At St Alibeus’s, Emly, the dean, chancellor and precentor had 100 acres each while the archdeacon had 180 acres.29 At St Patrick’s, Cashel, the dean possessed 96 acres and the chancellor 31 acres30 while in the diocese of Tuam the dean and provost held about 650 acres between them.31 Even in the remote and impoverished dioceses of Killala and Achonry there were lands held by the deans and dignitaries. The dean of St Patrick’s, Killala, held the

22 Visitation of Cork and Ross by Bishop Dives Downes, 1699 (T.C.D., Ms. 562, f. 29).
23 Lismore Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 6140).
24 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, p. 102.
26 1641 Depositions, Co. Kildare (T.C.D., Ms. 813, f. 264).
27 Visitation of Cork and Ross by Bishop Dives Downes, 1699 (T.C.D., Ms. 562, ff 28, 29v).
30 Books of Survey and Distribution, Co Tipperary (N.A.I., MFS 2/8, ff 74 – 75).
townland of Leadymore, which contained 38 acres, and the precentor possessed Kilgobban, an area of 83 acres. Meanwhile, the archdeacon of St Crumnathy’s, Achnony, held 178 acres and the precentor held 378 acres.

In the case of all of these cathedrals it should be emphasised that the major source of clerical income came from the spiritualities rather than from the temporalities. But this was not the case for every cathedral as there were two capitular bodies that derived the principal part of their income from tenements and manors. These cathedrals were Christ Church, Dublin, and Holy Trinity, Waterford, and their origins in the Viking period, before the establishment of the parochial system, may explain why this was so. In the case of Holy Trinity, Waterford, the cathedral’s principal source of income came from houses in the city. The only spiritualities that the dean and chapter collectively possessed were the tithes of Stonehouse parish, the common lands of the city of Waterford and the rectory of Ballygunner. The lands of Christ Church, Dublin, consisted of 10,538 acres. This was in sharp contrast to the landholdings of St Patrick’s, Dublin, which amounted to only 1,832 acres. The land endowments of Christ Church, Dublin, were mostly made up of the large manors of Grangegorman, Clonkeen and Balscadden but there were also a significant number of urban properties. The lands of St Patrick’s included a farm at Clondalkin called Jesus Farm, the village of Coolmine and a ploughland at Ballyogan while its spiritualities included tithes from Swords, Malahide, Templeogue, Crumlin, Castleknock and Cabra. The late foundation date of St Patrick’s, Dublin, explains why its landed possessions were smaller and why its endowments were principally spiritualities.

Therefore the timing of when a cathedral was established, which in many cases coincided with the creation of the parochial system, may explain why the majority of Irish cathedrals relied so heavily on tithes and altereges for their income.

Originally all cathedral clergymen derived their income from their cathedral’s common estates and a vestige of this tradition was manifest in those cathedrals where the surplus of the economy estate, when all necessary disbursements were made, continued to be divided

33 Books of Survey and Distribution, King’s Co (N.A.I., MFS 2/6, ff 127v – 28, 134).
34 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitations, Waterford, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/3, pp 172 – 76, 446).
36 Abstract of the estate of the Archbishop of Dublin, Dean, Prebendaries and Chapter of St Patrick’s, Dublin (R.C.B., D6/148).
amongst the canons. At Holy Trinity, Waterford, the dean received a dividend of one third while the remainder was divided between the other three dignitaries. Similarly the dean of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, received a double dividend when there was a surplus in the economy fund. At St Brigid’s, Kildare, the dividend was divided amongst the eight members of the lesser chapter, which consisted of the four dignitaries and four canons. A specific formula was used whereby the second and third canons received less than the other six clergymen, as they had no interest in the lands of Glenbrittas. At St Fachan’s, Kilfenora, the dean, chancellor, archdeacon and treasurer all received a dividend of 14s a year, while a further 14s was reserved for the reparation of the church. At Christ Church, Dublin, the surplus of the economy estate was divided between the three prebendaries and six vicars choral, with the prebendary of St Michael’s receiving twice the amount received by the others so as to reflect his seniority. At St Carthage’s, Lismore, the surplus of the economy estate was also divided amongst the members of the chapter, but in 1670 the dean and chapter agreed to devote the entire income from the economy estate towards the repair and maintenance of the cathedral and to no longer subdivide a surplus amongst themselves.

In those cathedrals where economy estates existed, deans and chapters elected a proctor or economist, who was a member of the chapter, to take care of the income derived from the economy fund and to make the necessary payments for the upkeep of the cathedral fabric and pay the salaries of the cathedral’s officials. In 1611 the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, ordered that the proctor was to serve a term of one year and at the end of his term he was to draw up a yearly rent roll and a note of all arrears. This order was re-issued in 1666. At St Fin Barre’s, Cork, the dean and chapter regulated the duties of the economist in 1628. The economist was elected for a year and was required to give a security when he became proctor. In 1664 the dean and chapter of St Colman’s, Cloyne, ordered that every dignitary and prebendary was to serve as economist for a year in turn without any payment, although in 1687 a salary of £5 was granted to the economist.

38 R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/81, f. 2; Dean Butson’s Notebook, f. 13.
41 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitation, Kilfenora, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/3, p. 424).
42 See ordinary disbursements in R.C.B., C6/1/15/1/11; C6/1/26/16.
43 St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 10v.
46 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, pp 11, 15.
47 R.C.B., C12/2/1, ff2, 12.
St Patrick’s, Dublin, the proctor was chosen annually and his accounts were audited by at least two other members of the chapter when details of all rents received, church leases and fines were examined.48 At St Carthage’s, Lismore, provision was made in 1687 for the two prebendaries who lived closest to the cathedral – Francis Beecher, Prebendary of Modeligo, and John Walkinton, Prebendary of Seskenan, – to perform the duties of the economist, as the rest of the chapter lived a distance from the cathedral. The signature of both clergymen was required for payments out of the economy fund and they could expend up to £10 for the use of the church and for buying surplices and books.49

Not every cathedral on the island possessed an economy estate. Most of the cathedrals in the ecclesiastical provinces of Armagh and Tuam did not possess property that was held in common by deans and chapter. In 1722 the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Killala, recorded in their first chapter act book that there was no economy for the maintenance of the cathedral building.50 Similarly, in 1748 Walter Harris noted in his account of St Patrick’s, Armagh, that in the late seventeenth century the cathedral had no economy estate, although in the early eighteenth century Primate Narcissus Marsh granted an economy estate worth £40 a year to the cathedral.51 Instead, these cathedrals received financial support for their fabric and other required expenditure in the parochial manner: through a cess levied by the select vestry. Evidence for this exists at St Eunan’s, Raphoe, where in the late seventeenth century the select vestry levied an annual cess on the inhabitants of the parish,52 while at St Columb’s, Derry, both the dean and the parishioners were responsible for maintaining the fabric of the cathedral.53

Originally, the early Stuart charter for St Columb’s, Derry, made provision for the dean and chapter to receive ‘benevolent gifts’ that could be used for the maintenance of the cathedral’s fabric.54 Similarly, the 1631 charter for St Macartin’s, Clogher, contained a clause permitting the dean and chapter to receive gifts of land worth up to £100 a year that would form the basis of an economy estate, which would pay for a choir and the

49 St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 24v.
50 R.C.B., C19/1.
51 Walter Harris, *Some account of ye Cathedral Church of Armagh* (P.R.O.N.I., DIO4/39/2/1/2); P.R.O.N.I., DIO4/37/2/5/1.
52 St Eunan’s, Raphoe, Vestry Minute Book (P.R.O.N.I., Mic. 1/95).
53 Visitiation Diocese of Derry, 1693 (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/26, p. 9).
maintenance of the cathedral.  

Initially the archbishop, dean and dignitaries of Armagh petitioned for an economy estate for St Patrick’s, Armagh, but the commissioners appointed to consider this petition decided that the dean and chapter should not have the lands that they requested. Instead the 1637 charter incorporating the dean and chapter of Armagh contained a clause for the profits of lands of the dean and chapter to be used to repair the fabric of the cathedral. Despite the intentions of these charters, economy estates were not established at these cathedrals during the seventeenth century. On the other hand, each charter set out and confirmed the sources of income for each cathedral clergyman, which consisted primarily of rectories and vicarages. But the principal objective of these early Stuart charters was to consolidate the plantation of Ulster by making leases of ecclesiastical property secure. The plantation also provided the background to the charter constituting the cathedrals at Downpatrick, Dromore and Connor in 1609 and this charter provided the commissioners for the plantation of Ulster with the power to divide between the bishops, deans and chapters all termon and erenagh lands, and all rectories and improper tithes in the counties of Down and Antrim. However, here again the stated intention of the letters patent was not wholly effected, for in the diocese of Dromore the ancient tenants of termon and erenagh lands managed to retain possession as free holders, and paid only a chief rent to the bishop.

Although the plantation of Ulster altered the system of clerical income in the ecclesiastical province of Armagh, with the introduction of English style tithing and church dues, there was less of an effect on the temporalities as a source of income for the cathedral clergyman of Ulster. For example, in 1609 the only lands that were found to belong to the dean of Raphoe were one eighth of the townlands of Cooleaughin and Carohordeverne and a parcel of glebeland called Fordrialtor. The principal part of the dean’s income was derived from the tithes of three rectories and vicarages located in the vicinity of Raphoe. On the other hand, some cathedral clergyman were more reliant on lands for their income, such as the dean of Derry and the dignitaries and vicars choral of Armagh, and

57 P.R.O., SO 1/3, ff 51v – 52v.
58 J. Frederick Rankin, Down Cathedral: the church of St Patrick of Down (Belfast, 1997); pp 191 – 92; Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., James I, p. 149.
59 Copy of bishops’ returns for Ulster in 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 550, f. 9).
consequently they were affected by the plantation of Ulster to a greater degree. The dean of Derry was assigned, out of the termon lands of the diocese, six balliboes or 375 acres. This was in addition to his ancient lands and livings, which were set out in an inquisition in 1609. This inquisition found that the dean held half of the townland of Ballyowen in the parish of Annagh, where he also claimed the vicarial or small tithes, and a plot of land on the island of Derry. The dean also held a quarter of land to the north of the bog on the island, two quarters in O’Cahane’s country, Templemore, Clonekey and a quarter of Coolecronagh. Despite holding these extensive temporal properties, the principal source of the dean’s income remained his spiritual livings: the rectories of Fuoghenevally and Clandermott and the vicarage of Derry otherwise known as Templemore.

In the diocese of Armagh the plantation of Ulster led to the redistribution of lands and spiritual livings between the archbishop, the dean and the vicars choral. In 1609 an inquisition was held into the rights of the deanery, the chancellorship, the treasureship and vicars choral or Culdees. This found that the dean was rector of Loughgilly, Kilmore, Drumkree and Leelayse and both rector and vicar of the towns of Killchrewe in Toaghy and vicar of Armagh and Clonawle. The vicars choral or Culdees were in possession of the rectories of Creggan, Derrynoose, Tynon, Mounterheny, and Mullaghbragh and the vicarage of Leelayse. The corps of the chancellor was the vicarages of the Kilmore and Drumkree and he also owned houses and lands in the city of Armagh. The treasurer was rector and vicar of Clankarney-owtragh and Clankarney-utragh. In 1612 the king ordered the clergy of St Patrick’s, Armagh, to surrender to the crown their tithes and impropriations as part of the policy of plantation. Subsequently, they were to be recompensed with the termon lands of the see of Armagh. However, it appears that the dean made pleas to the king to retain possession of his rights until the mutual surrenders were made. These pleas seem to have been somewhat successful, for later that year a king’s letter indicated that the dean was to receive the termon lands of Derrynoose, which contained sixteen townlands (c. 1,600 acres), in compensation for the rectory of Loughgilly. The lands of Derrynoose were formerly the property of the archbishop. The letter also re-iterated the call for the dean and vicars choral to surrender their parsonages.

64 Ibid., p. 375.
and vicarages. Some time after this date the dean and chapter surrendered their corps to the crown. The 1622 Visitation reported that the deanery consisted only of lands and a poor house in Armagh. Both the archdeacon and precentor possessed no livings while the chancellor and the treasurer had only small plots of land in and around the city. Five years later, letters patent were issued in favour of the archbishop, granting him the appropriated rectories and vicarages that were once in the possession of the dean and vicars choral. The dean received very little in compensation and petitioned the crown for an examination of the matter. While this was being undertaken the dean was to resume proprietorship of his livings except Loughgilly, since he had already been recompensed for this with the lands of Derrynoose. The issue was finally resolved when the cathedral was re-incorporated in 1637. The dean was to restore to the archbishop the lands of Derrynoose and was to have the rectories and vicarages of Armagh, Clonconhy, Clonawle and Ballymoire. The other dignitaries were granted lands and spiritual livings for their support and four new prebendaries were established.

A more complicated picture emerges with regard to the lands and spiritual livings of the vicars choral or Culdees of Armagh, who had ceased to function by the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1619 king’s letters were issued directing the re-establishment of a choir in St Patrick’s, Armagh, and endowing them with the ancient lands and hereditaments of the Culdees. However, this came to nothing. Three years later the commissioners into the state of Ireland recommended that the vicars choral be re-established and maintained by its endowments. They directed that an inquisition be held into their holdings and that the property was to be sequestered until an effectual restitution could be made. Three years later an inquisition was held. This found that the vicars choral or Culdees possessed seven townlands or balliboes in the barony of Armagh, 172 acres of demesne land, nine rectories and four vicarages. They also held about twenty

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67 The King to Sir Arthur Chichester, 31 July 1612 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1612-14, pp 281 – 82); Collection made by Sir James Ware containing letters from King James and the Council of England to the Lord Deputy and Justices of Ireland, 1603 – 23 (B.L., Add. Ms. 4794, ff 212 – 13); Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., James I, p. 249.
69 Lismore Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 2669, p. 1).
70 Ibid., p. 209.
73 Concerning the state of the Church of Ireland, 1623 (Marsh’s Library, Ms. Z3.2.6, p. 34).
tenements in the vicinity of the cathedral, as well as their college buildings. The inquisition also established that the income derived from these properties had been utilised by the deans and archbishops of Armagh since the disbandment of the Culdees to maintain the fabric of the cathedral and to support vicars or curates.  

In 1626 the Culdees’ properties were sequestered into the hands of Sir George Kirke, one of the grooms of the bedchamber. Kirke was directed to enquire into inappropriate usage of the Culdees income while they were in abeyance and in the meantime he was to ensure the efficient management of the properties until the vicars were re-established. In April 1627 letters patent were granted incorporating the prior and vicars choral of Armagh with eight townlands that were once part of the ancient lands of the Culdees. The following year George Kirke received a king’s letter for the lands not being granted to the new vicars choral to be confirmed to him. However, litigation subsequently developed between George Kirke and the archbishop of Armagh in the court of chancery. Kirke claimed that he had come to an agreement with the archbishop that the spiritual livings belonging to the Culdees were to be surrendered to the church to support singingmen and preaching in the cathedral. Kirke would retain the temporal possessions of the Culdees, including some small parcels of land, tenements in Armagh, the buildings of the priory and some other small properties. However, when the letters patent for the vicars choral were passed, Kirke claimed that the archbishop hindered the passing of letters patent for Kirke’s lands. Eventually Kirke was ordered in 1632 to surrender the properties of the Culdees that he had been granted in 1626.

In 1634 letters patent were granted, creating the Royal College of King Charles in the Church of St Patrick’s, Armagh. These letters established the Culdees former spiritual livings as independent rectories. The newly incorporated vicars choral were to surrender their old patents and were re-granted the temporal properties found in the 1625 inquisition in free alms. They were also empowered to receive or purchase lands to the maximum value of £200 a year. If the rents reserved on these properties did not amount to £115 a year, then the incumbents of their former impropriate rectories were required to pay a

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74 Copy of the Inquisition on Culdees of Armagh, 1625 (R.C.B., Ms. 32).
76 Ibid., p. 221.
78 N.A.I., Chancery Pleadings, G 398.
76
Thus by 1639 the vicars choral of Armagh were funded only by temporal properties, including six balliboes in the Barony of Armagh, 172 acres of land in the vicinity of the cathedral and about twenty five tenements in the town. Therefore, the major development in the period between the inquisition of 1625 and the listing of properties held by the vicars in 1639 was the divestment of their spiritual properties.

II

Alienations of church lands during the Tudor period left a catastrophic legacy for the Church of Ireland in the early seventeenth century. By and large, the fee farms and long leases that caused much difficulty for the church in the Stuart period had been granted during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Seeking to reverse these grants and to limit the capacity of clergymen to mortgage future income for immediate financial gain consumed a great deal of energy on the part of both church and state during the course of the seventeenth century. The extent of the problem can be seen in Holy Trinity, Waterford. In 1610 it was reported to the lord deputy and council that the temporalities and other revenues belonging to the cathedral were either granted in fee farm or for very long leases. In 1615 the Regal Visitation found that all the dean and chapter's lands were leased ‘time out of memory’ and produced a yearly income of £40. A more precise overview of the situation can be seen in a copy of a rent roll from that cathedral dating from the 1630s: not one lease was for a period of less than sixty years and a number of these were granted in reversion for a further sixty or 101 years. Thirty-three leases were granted for periods of between 100 and 120 years. There were three fee farms and one chief rent. The rest of the leases were granted for periods of ninety to 200 years. Furthermore, the rents reserved on these properties were often low and the real value of this income declined during the course of these leases. A further illustration of the problem elsewhere is portrayed in a series of inquisitions into the holdings of the dean and chapter of St Mary’s, Limerick, in 1618 and 1619. This discovered that some ten leases were granted during the 1590s by the dean, vicars choral and prebendary of Donnaghmore, mostly for periods of 99 years. Three of the leases were for tenements or plots in the vicinity of the cathedral and these were granted for terms of 65 years.

80 Lodge Mss (N.A.I., Msf. 42/3, p. 299).
81 Vicars Choral of St Patrick’s, Armagh, 1639 (P.R.O.N.I., DIO 4/4/3, ff 117 – 18).
82 Alan Ford, The Protestant Reformation in Ireland, p. 69.
84 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitation, Waterford, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/3, f. 178).
The extent of the problem faced by the cathedral churches is also evident in the early Stuart ecclesiastical visitations. The 1615 Regal Visitation found that the lands of the dean of St Brendan’s, Clonfert, were demised for 99 years for less than it had been worth. The 1622 visitation discovered that the rectory of Ferns, which formed a part of the economy estate of St Edan’s cathedral, had been granted to Nicholas Turnor FitzPaul in 1571 for 61 years at £6 13s 4d when the true value of the property was £13 6s 8d. The prebendary of Iniskattery in the cathedral of St Flannan’s, Killaloe, Thomas Edens, complained to the 1622 commissioners that the mayor and corporation of Limerick kept the profits of his living ‘by pretence of a charter of James I.’ Meanwhile, at St Brendan’s, Ardfert, it was discovered that a parcel of land containing 15 Irish acres and worth £5 a year was taken from the precentor by the ‘strong hand’ of Sir Edward Denny. The chancellor’s spiritualities were alienated to Sir John Edmond, who also withheld from the chancellor the half tithes of the ploughland of Kilcoan. Furthermore, the late bishop’s son, Maurice Crosby, detained the glebe lands of the chancellor in the parish of Ardfert, which suggests the involvement of a clergyman in the alienation of these lands. In 1634 the dean of St Mary’s, Elphin, made a complaint to the council board that Sir Thomas Nugent detained from him 39 acres of land called Killnaughter in Co Roscommon.

Both the 1622 and 1634 visitations allude to the fact that violence and force on the part of the laity can account for some of the church’s temporalities being withheld or alienated. As a result the clergy often resorted to the law to regain possession. Sometime around 1600 the chancellor of Holy Trinity, Waterford, John Cowan, and the treasurer, Meredith Hanmer, petitioned the court of chancery complaining that one Robert Walsh and some other people withheld the rectory of Ballygunner from them and requested a writ to remove them. In 1621 the precentor of St Mary’s, Elphin, Cornelius Tully, received a decree from the court of Chancery ordering John Taylor of Co Roscommon to restore to the precentor a parcel of land known as the Chanter’s Field. Other properties appear to have been detained through fraudulent means. The archdeacon of Ossory, Henry Mainwaring, petitioned the court of Chancery sometime between 1601 and 1632, claiming that two women of the Irishtown, Anne Seix and Katherine Huson, withheld his manse

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87 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitation, Clonfert 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/4, Clonfert, No. 1).
88 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitation, Ferns, 1622 (N.A.I., RC 15/2, p. 118).
89 Philip Dwyer, *The diocese of Killaloe*, p. 145.
90 Copy of visitation 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 2158, ff 94v – 96v).
91 Orders of Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Affairs, 1623 and 1633/4 (B.L., Harleian Ms. 4297, f. 32).
92 N.A.I., Chancery Pleadings, J 56.
93 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Repertory to chancery decree rolls (N.A.I., RC 6/1, p. 330).
house in the grounds of St Canice’s, Kilkenny. While the two women claimed that they had received a lease from Mainwaring’s predecessor, the archdeacon stated that he did not have a counterpart of the lease. He therefore petitioned the court for the two women to show him the lease and also to relinquish possession of the manse.94

Nevertheless, responsibility for alienations of church lands lay principally with the clergy itself, who granted long leases or fee farms in return for large entry fines. In 1613, the attorney general, Sir John Davys, commented that the clergymen were the only church robbers who often left very little for their successors.95 This can be seen in the dioceses of Cashel and Emly, and Waterford and Lismore, where, in the early years of the seventeenth century, the archbishop, Miller McGrath, presided over and encouraged the alienation of the properties of the cathedrals. In 1607 the rent reserved on the precentorship of St Patrick’s, Cashel, was described as small while the annual income for the chancellorship was only £6 Irish for a living that was actually worth £30 Sterling. Likewise, the prebendary of Fynnor’s income was 40s when its true yearly value was 40 marks. For the passing of this lease, the archbishop received a fine of £30 Sterling. Immediate financial gain in the form of fines, on which no ecclesiastical taxes were paid, was an inducement for clergymen to alienate their church endowments. The need to provide for a family was an added incentive to alienate church property. Archbishop McGrath alienated the archdeaconry of Cashel to his son, Marcus, which produced an income of £30 a year. Another son, Terence, possessed the profits of the prebendary of Molaghenoge, which was also worth £30 a year in 1607. The rent reserved for the vicars choral from their living was only £24 a year and the rest of the profits were held in trust for the benefit of a third son, Redmond McGrath.96 In Emly, Marcus McGrath held the fruits of the deanery and prebendary of Disertlawran, while his brother Terence possessed the profits of the prebendary of Lattyn. The archbishop himself held the profits of the prebendaries of Kilbragh, Ballykerin and Downleske as well as the chancellorship of St Alibeus’s, Emly, and all without the confirmation of the dean and chapter.97 At St Carthage’s, Lismore, Archbishop McGrath obtained a lease of part of the deanery and he subsequently sold this to a merchant in Waterford. The value of the archdeaconry was diminished as a result of the archbishop, dean and chapter confirming a lease of the living for sixty-one years at £6

94 N.A.I., Chancery Pleadings, I 190.
97 Ibid., p. 241.
a year. A chancery pleading of the 1590s indicates that the fruits, profits and commodities of the archdeaconry were actually worth £100.

Personal financial gain was not the only reason for alienating church lands, as some cathedrals occasionally required immediate increases in their income. In the 1560s the leasing policy of Christ Church, Dublin, changed from renting properties for short terms of 31 or 41 years to longer terms of 61 years. These longer leases were granted upon the payment of entry fines, which was then an innovative move by the dean and chapter of this cathedral. Moreover, reversionary leases on a number of properties were granted, again upon the payment of entry fines. The granting of fee farms became more common and consequently the endowments of Christ Church quickly became alienated. The primary reason for this development was the creaking fabric of the cathedral, which suffered extensive damages in 1562 when the south nave collapsed and which was further damaged in 1597 when gunpowder exploded on Wood Quay. Therefore, the dean and chapter found it necessary to mortgage their future for immediate financial gain by way of entry fines. The overall effect of this policy was to extend alienations of the cathedrals properties into the seventeenth century, which emerged as a major cause of concern for the dean and chapter in the early Stuart period.

The first attempts to rectify this situation were made in the dying days of the Tudor period. On 28 February 1603 the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, obtained an order from the crown calling in fee farms and long leases. This directed the tenants of the cathedral to restore the lands to the cathedral but also gave the tenants the opportunity to negotiate with the dean and chapter for new leases. Following the death of Queen Elizabeth new orders were issued to inquire into alienations of the cathedral’s properties. This king’s letter provided for a commission to identify which of the cathedral’s properties had been alienated and enabled new leasing terms to be set with the tenants of those properties. This commission was established in 1605 and its task was to be undertaken

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98 Ibid.
99 N.A.I., Chancery Pleadings, K 126.
101 R.C.B., C6/1/26/1, f. 17.
102 Ibid., f. 17v; Collection made by Sir James Ware containing letters from King James and the Council of England to the Lord Deputy and Justices of Ireland, 1603 – 23 (B.L., Add. Ms. 4794, ff 25v – 26).
within eighteen months. By October 1606 the commissioners had identified eight fee farms. Subsequently, some of these properties were recovered and new and shorter leases were granted, including leases for Grangegorman and Loghlinstown. These properties were assigned to the dean, Jonas Wheeler, for his efforts in recovering the cathedral’s property.

During the early Stuart period the State introduced greater regulation of ecclesiastical leasing. The 1609 charter for the cathedrals of Downpatrick, Dromore and Connor directed the deans and chapters not to alienate any of their ‘manors, lands, tenements or hereditaments’ and that leases of their properties were not to be granted for more than terms of 21 years. Prior to the granting of leases, the true annual value of a property was to be established and a return was to be made to the Exchequer in Dublin. However, at Holy Trinity, Downpatrick, the spiritualities granted in the charter appear to have already been encumbered when the letters patent were issued and cathedral clergymen sought the assistance of the State to remove these burdens. In 1622 the prebendary of St Andrew’s obtained the backing of the lord deputy and council in overthrowing a lease of the prebend’s tithes, which were held by James Hamilton. The visitation of that year also disclosed that the great tithes of the other two prebendaries, Talbotston and Dunsport, and of the dignitaries were all alienated to the Countess of Kildare, Sir Hugh Mountgomery, Sir James Hamilton and a Mr Bagnall. An attempt to make an inquiry into the dean’s rectories, vicarages and glebe lands, had already been made in 1616, when a commission was issued. There does not appear to have been any result from this initiative. In 1628 the dean, Henry Leslie, obtained a license to commence courts proceedings against those who held alienated church lands belonging to the deanery. Dean Leslie also received a commission to discover concealed rectories that could be used to augment the deanery.

In the petition that gave rise to this order, the dean explained that when the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Downpatrick, were granted their new charter in 1609, the impropriate tithes assigned to support the dean had already been leased to the earl of Kildare. This meant that the deans had not received any benefit from their living since 1609, except for the curate’s portion. Leslie also identified a number of rectories that

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106 J. Frederick Rankin, Down Cathedral, pp 197 – 98.
107 Copy of bishops’ returns for Ulster, 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 550, p. 245).
108 Ibid., pp 242 – 53.
109 The King to Sir Oliver St John, 17 Nov. 1616 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615 – 25, p. 140).
110 The King to the Lord Deputy, 10 May 1628 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625 – 32, p. 328).
could be united with the deanery to augment its income. The commission concurred with the dean’s petition. Although it is unclear whether the dean proceeded against the earl of Kildare to recover the properties originally granted to the deanery in 1609, king’s letters were issued in 1631 and letters patent granted in 1632 to augment the dean’s estate with the rectories of Beally, Ternieloghe and Ballycoulter.

Less than a month prior to the granting of the charter to the cathedrals of Downpatrick, Dromore and Connor, the king had issued a proclamation, prohibiting the alienation of the church’s properties and requiring ecclesiastical leases to be granted for periods of less than 21 years. The provisions contained in this proclamation of 1609 were expanded upon in an act of state of 1617. By this act cathedral canons who resided in their manse houses during the past twenty years were not allowed to rent them out and dignitaries and prebendaries of cathedral churches were ordered not to make any leases for longer than their incumbency. This act of state was to remain in force until an act of parliament against alienations was passed. In 1627 this act was cited when the State refused a petition from Sir Robert Meredith for a reversionary lease of the economy lands of St Laserian’s, Leighlin, which he held from the dean and chapter. Even though he offered to raise the rent, an extension of 61 years to his lease was deemed unacceptable. But it was not until 1635 that a statutory basis was provided prohibiting alienations in the form of an act ‘for the preservation of the inheritance, rights, profits of lands belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical’. This act re-iterated the terms of the act of state of 1617 and limited the terms of ecclesiastical leases to twenty-one years or for forty years in the case of dwelling houses in corporate towns. Furthermore, the properties were to be assigned for no less than half the true yearly value.

The act for the preservation of the church’s inheritance was a central element of the Laudian policy of reconstructing the Church of Ireland, which was introduced by the new

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114 The king’s proclamation against alienations by spiritual persons, 3 July 1609 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608 – 10, p. 238).  
115 Act of State restraining the power of ecclesiastical persons in Ireland to make leases, 17 Mar. 1616/17 (T.C.D., Ms. 853).  
lord deputy, Thomas Wentworth, and his chaplain John Bramhall, in the 1630s. Although
the act was based in part upon English statutes, it was also innovative in that it established
commissions to enquire into the true yearly value of church properties, a practice that the
Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, had sought to introduce into the Church of
England. The act therefore sought to bring to an end a century old practice of setting
disadvantageous leases by Church of Ireland clergymen. Wentworth also sought to
bring these practices to an end by making an example of clergymen who alienated the
patrimony of the church. In 1634 Wentworth brought a case against the dean of Derry,
Henry Sutton, in the prerogative court of Castle Chamber. The dean was accused of
alienating one of his parsonages worth £50 a year for a fine of £150 and reserving an
annual rent of only £5. In recompense the dean offered to pay a fine of £200. Similarly, in 1635 Wentworth made the outgoing dean of St Mary’s, Limerick, George
Andrews, cancel a lease of the deanery of Limerick, which Andrews had made to
himself.

Wentworth also sought to make an example of laymen who held alienated church lands
and one of his principal targets was the earl of Cork, who had amassed a large number of
impropriations. One of these impropriations was the land of the prebendary of Killukin in
the diocese of Elphin, which he held by a patent of 1595. No attempt was made to recover
this impropriation until 1635 when the incumbent, William Newport, petitioned the lord
deputy for assistance against the earl of Cork and in 1639 the bishop of Elphin certified
that Killukin was one of the twelve prebendaries of St Mary’s, Elphin. Of more
significance were the impropriations that the earl held in Munster, particularly those in the
dioeceses of Waterford and Lismore. In January 1634 Wentworth wrote to the archbishop
of Canterbury on the subject of the bishopric and the cathedral of Lismore. The lord
deputy reported that the earl of Cork possessed the profits of the deanery, part of the
treasurership and archdeaconry, the lands of the vicars choral, and the economy lands of
the cathedral, which consisted of the great tithes of the parish of Lismore. Furthermore,
the earl of Cork had passed the economy lands and the possessions of the vicars choral to
himself under the commission for defective titles. The alienation of these church

\[118\] John McCafferty, ‘John Bramhall and the reconstruction of the Church of Ireland, 1633 – 41’ (Ph.D.
\[120\] Wentworth to Laud, 3 June 1634 (Ibid., f. 74).
\[121\] Laud to Wentworth, 21 Mar. 1636 (Ibid., f. 167).
\[122\] Petition of William Newport of Sligo, Clerk, 5 July 1637 (N.L.I., Ms. 12813, vol. iii, p. 480); Certificate
of the Bishop of Elphin, 6 June 1639 (Ibid., p. 518); Terence O. Ranger, ‘Richard Boyle and the making of
properties, Wentworth claimed, had a detrimental effect, as they left the dean and dignitaries impoverished, the fabric of the church ruined and the poor vicars choral beggared.\textsuperscript{123} Wentworth intended to establish a commission to enquire into and restore all of the cathedral’s possessions but this does not appear to have taken effect.\textsuperscript{124}

The alienations of these properties had taken place in the late sixteenth century, at around the same time as Boyle first arrived in Ireland. In 1589 the dean of Lismore’s house and gardens had been alienated to Sir Walter Raleigh for 101 years at £1 a year and in 1591 he received the economy lands of St Carthage’s Lismore for 60 years at £2 a year. The area surrounding Lismore was then described as desolate and waste and the granting of the latter lease was designed to encourage the re-population of the area.\textsuperscript{125} The leases were later sold to John Fitzgerald of Waterford who subsequently demised the economy lands, which were then held in fee farm, to Boyle in 1603. Fitzgerald also undertook to defend the title of the economy lands of Lismore.\textsuperscript{126} When the earl of Cork’s possession of these properties was challenged in the 1630s, the economy lands were leased to one of his servant’s, James Foster. The terms of this lease were very favourable to the tenant as the tithes of the parish of Lismore were demised to him for his life without an increase of rent. Meanwhile a Widow Greatricks rented the dean’s house from the earl for 40s a year.\textsuperscript{127} Despite this, the earl believed that there was nothing wrong with his ownership of impropriations, as he claimed to have used his financial gain for godly purposes.\textsuperscript{128} However, in the case of Lismore it was Wentworth, through his clerical protégés on the ground, that ultimately forced the hand of the earl to direct the resources of the economy lands towards the rebuilding of the cathedral.

Although Wentworth had sought to rectify the situation at Lismore in the early years of his administration, it was a further three to four years before there was some progress. In 1637 and 1638 two of the dignitaries of St Carthage’s, Lismore, (the archdeacon and the treasurer) sued a number of the earl’s tenants at the council table. The earl had held the rectories of Kilmolash and Bewley, which formed the corps of the archdeaconry, for the last thirty years and there were a further thirty years left to run on this lease. The case was

\textsuperscript{123} Wentworth to Laud, 29 Jan. 1634 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book vi, ff 10 – 12).
\textsuperscript{125} Lismore Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 6124, p. 151).
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., p. 70.
\textsuperscript{127} Lismore Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 6140, pp 2, 16).
referred to the primate and the bishop of Derry, who ordered that the earl should receive the tithes of these rectories rent-free for one more year and then the lease should be surrendered to the archdeacon.\(^{129}\) The suit between the treasurer and the earl concerned 28 acres of land called Ballynelligan, and the case was resolved when the treasurer agreed to confirm to the earl an old lease of this property, which was made by one of the treasurer’s predecessors, upon the payment of a £20 fine by the earl.\(^{130}\) In 1638 the earl reached an agreement with his servant James Foster to cancel his lease of the economy lands of Lismore. The cancelling of this advantageous lease to Foster became necessary, as a result of action against the earl ordering him to repair the fabric of the cathedral. This followed a petition of the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, John Atherton, complaining to Archibishop Laud that if the income of the economy estate, which was worth at least £80 a year, had been used for the maintenance of the cathedral, then the cathedral would not be in a ruinous condition.\(^{131}\) The earl subsequently made a lease of the economy lands to his cousin, the dean of St Carthage’s, Lismore, John Naylor. The lease was for a term of five years at £130 a year and the profits from this lease were to be used for the cathedral’s repair.\(^{132}\)

In 1640 a new dean, Edward Parry, was appointed, which brought a fresh challenge to the earl’s possession of other cathedral properties. Parry was closely aligned to the Laudian wing of the church, having served on the high commission for ecclesiastical causes and as dean of Holy Trinity, Waterford, since 1638, where the bishop was John Atherton. Both Atherton and Parry had been dignitaries at Christ Church, Dublin, where Atherton made his name in suing for church properties and gained the favour of Lord Deputy Wentworth. It was the lord deputy who recommended Atherton’s promotion to the episcopal bench\(^{133}\) and in turn Atherton appears to have facilitated Parry’s appointment to the deanery of St Carthage’s, Lismore, with the aim of recovering the lands of Ballydecan for the deanery and the lands of Ballysaggard for the vicars choral.\(^{134}\) On 7 May 1640 Parry was installed


\(^{130}\) Ibid., p. 49.

\(^{131}\) Notes relating to and texts of W.H. Rennison’s unpublished History of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (R.C.B., Ms. 40/2/9, pp 19 – 20).

\(^{132}\) Lismore Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 6140, p. 2, Ms. 6242, p. 158); A.B. Grosart (ed.) *The Lismore Papers*, 2\(^{nd}\) Series, vol. v, p. 46.


\(^{134}\) John Walley to the Earl of Cork, 7 Aug. 1639 (N.L.I., Ms. 12,813, vol. iii, p. 533).
as dean in the cathedral and within a week he went to visit Ballydeacan with one of the vicars choral. Dean Parry also appears to have initiated a new claim to the economy lands but given the timing little was achieved.\textsuperscript{135}

Parry achieved more success in recovering alienated church properties while he was dean at Holy Trinity, Waterford. In 1638 the dean and chapter petitioned the lord deputy and council for assistance in breaking the long leases and fee farms of its properties. In their petition they claimed that many of their properties were leased out at undervalued rents. They also believed that many of these leases were forged because the chapter seal had been fraudulently detained from their predecessors. They called for a commission to be established to enquire into all the leases and fee farms of properties held from the dean and chapter. As a result of this petition Bishop Atherton was authorised to call before him the tenants of the cathedral and report back to the council table.\textsuperscript{136} On 19 March 1639 an order of the lord deputy and council was issued. It appears that this provided for the calling in of specified alienated properties. However, the only documentary evidence relating to the recovery of this cathedral’s property relates to the surrendering of a fee farm of the townland of Ballycashel by a Mr Purcell to Dean Parry in 1640.\textsuperscript{137}

It is particularly noteworthy that in the case of Holy Trinity, Waterford, both church and state attempted to break the alienations of church property by questioning the legality of the leases. In England, technical flaws were sought to challenge leases of church properties\textsuperscript{138} and a similar policy was adopted in the Church of Ireland in the 1630s. One mechanism used in this regard was to question whether a dean had been lawfully instituted and installed and if he was not, then the legality of all leases passed by him could be undermined. At this time, the issue was also linked to the crown’s claim that it possessed the right to present or donate deaneries: if a dean was appointed by someone other than the crown during the unsettled times of the sixteenth century then his acts could be questioned. In this way Wentworth and Bramhall hoped to restore the ‘ancient patrimony’ of the church in Cashel to its archbishop and his cathedral.\textsuperscript{139} A similar legal mechanism also appears to have been used by Bishop Atherton in his attempts to restore the

\textsuperscript{135} Thomas Badnege to the Earl of Cork, 28 May 1640 (Ibid., p. 551).
\textsuperscript{136} R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/23.
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid., A/28.
temporalities of St Carthage’s, Lismore, whereby it was argued that the chapter of Waterford had never confirmed the earl of Cork’s leases, even though Lismore and Waterford had been a united diocese since the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{140} Similarly, Bishop Bramhall attempted to prove that the dean of Christ Church, Dublin, John Garvey (1565-95), was not a legal dean because he had not received letters patent for his appointment. If this was the case then all the leases granted during his time were imperfect in law and so could be broken, which was particularly important because many of Christ Church’s long leases and fee farms were granted while he was dean. In this matter he sought the opinion of Sir Henry Marten, Sir Edward Lyttleton and Sir John Lambe. Their verdict, by a two to one majority, was that all of Garvey’s acts were valid, since he possessed the right to do so by dispensation.\textsuperscript{141}

A further legal mechanism employed by Wentworth and Bramhall was to try acts relating to the temporalities of the church before the council board. By doing so, the State sought to quicken the recovery of alienated church lands through prerogative channels that could be used to threaten and intimidate those who held the patrimony of the church.\textsuperscript{142} As noted above the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Waterford, employed the council to recover its alienated lands and tenements in 1638.\textsuperscript{143} Similarly, the dean and chapter of St Mary’s, Tuam, sought the assistance of the council in 1639 to increase the revenue and profits of the cathedral.\textsuperscript{144} At St Canice’s, Kilkenny, Bramhall adjudicated upon a case on behalf of the council, deciding that Edward Comerford of Cull was to pay a rent for lands granted by the vicars choral of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, to his grandfather in 1560, even though no rent was reserved in the original lease.\textsuperscript{145}

The dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, who had strong links with the lord deputy, also received effective support from the council in determining cases relating to its alienated properties. In 1634 an agreement was reached at the council board between the dean and chapter and William Gibbons over tithes in Lecale in Co Down, which resulted in Gibbons agreeing to release his claim to the property in return for a lease of the

\textsuperscript{140} John McCafferty, ‘John Bramhall and the Reconstruction of the Church of Ireland’, p. 61n.
\textsuperscript{141} The Bishop of Derry to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 12 Sept. 1639 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633–48, pp 223–24); P.R.O., SP 63/257/35.
\textsuperscript{143} R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/23.
\textsuperscript{144} Confirmation by the Chapter of St Mary’s, Tuam, of an order by the lord deputy, May 1637 (N.L.I., D. 15,441).
\textsuperscript{145} R.C.B., C3/14/2/34.
property for twenty-one years.\textsuperscript{146} Two years later the dean and chapter obtained from the council a commission to examine witnesses in a case between the dean and Theobold Walsh over the lands of Priorsland, Keatingsland, the Grange of Clonkeen and Monelaugh, which had been demised during the reign of Henry VIII for 150 years at £8 a year. Although Walsh wanted to pursue this case through the common law courts, the council determined the case. In 1638 the lord deputy and council issued an order, directing the sheriff of Dublin to put the lands of Keatingsland and Priorsland into the possession of the dean. The following year a new lease of the disputed lands was granted to Theobold Walsh for 21 years at £8 a year upon the payment of a £32 fine.\textsuperscript{147} However, taking individual cases to recover the cathedral’s alienated properties was proving too slow and so in 1637 a major programme to recover those lands commenced when the dean obtained an order from the council to inquire into the cathedral’s long term leases.\textsuperscript{148} Bramhall was appointed as a commissioner and directed to call the cathedral’s tenants before him with a view to reaching an accommodation with the tenants.\textsuperscript{149} The first of these was William Kennedy and his wife Margaret who, Bramhall reported in 1638, were willing to surrender to the dean and chapter their old lease of a small house in the cathedral precincts, which still had 25 years left. In return they were to receive a new lease, although there was an increase in the rent from 10s to 50s.\textsuperscript{150} Likewise, between 1638 and 1640 Bramhall agreed new leases with about 35 tenants who generally received leases for 61 years at a third or a half of the true yearly value.\textsuperscript{151}

Following the demise of the earl of Strafford, some of the people that were forced to renegotiate the terms of their ecclesiastical leases by the council sought to undermine the council’s decisions. Theobold Walsh claimed in a petition to parliament that he had been forced to take a lease from the dean of Christ Church of lands that he considered to be part of his ancient inheritance. He also noted that the dean, Henry Tilson, had been chaplain of the lord deputy.\textsuperscript{152} Following the Restoration there were further attempts to reverse the improvements to ecclesiastical leases made by the council during the 1630s. It was claimed the improvements were not constitutional because they had been made by the council and not by the common law courts. On the other hand, the restored clergy opposed

\begin{footnotes}
\item[146] Raymond Gillespie (ed.), \textit{The First Chapter Act Book of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin}, p. 267.
\item[147] R.C.B., C6/1/26/7/4 – 8; C6/1/26/8/3.
\item[150] Ibid., pp 115 – 16.
\item[151] R.C.B., C6/1/26/7/16.
\end{footnotes}
this, petitioning the king that the council did possess the jurisdiction to determine such cases.\textsuperscript{153} And in 1660 the newly appointed Archbishop of Armagh, John Bramhall, noted that the clergy had always been heard at the council table.\textsuperscript{154}

III

Following the Restoration in 1660, the restored clergy of the Church of Ireland sought to regain properties lost by the church during the civil wars of the 1640s and the \textit{interregnum} of the 1650s. During the 1640s Catholic clergymen took possession of most Irish cathedrals and took into custody the capitular records and registers of land. Subsequently, leases of cathedral properties were granted to their co-religionists.\textsuperscript{155} During the 1650s the lands of the Church of Ireland hierarchy were set-aside by the Commonwealth regime to promote radical religion and education and steps were taken to ensure that these lands were carefully distinguished from other forfeited lands, which had been set-aside for the adventurers and soldiers.\textsuperscript{156} To this end, the Commonwealth regime sought to have these lands set at the most advantageous terms so that their income could be improved.\textsuperscript{157} The Commonwealth regime also sought to ensure that the lands of the hierarchy were not concealed from the State and alienated into private hands and in 1654 Dr Henry Jones and Dr John Harding were ordered to inquire into the possessions, rents and revenues of the former bishops, deans and deans and chapters.\textsuperscript{158} In 1657 an inquisition into the parishes of Co Kildare indicated that the property of St Patrick’s, Dublin, were then held by Trinity College, Dublin, while the profits of the economy estate of St Brigid’s, Kildare, were held by the State.\textsuperscript{159} Therefore, as a result of the mid-century troubles, the gains made by church and state in recovering the church’s temporal holdings during the 1630s were largely cancelled out.

\textsuperscript{153} Petition of the bishops elect resident in Dublin, Nov. 1660 (Oxford Bodl. Lib., Carte Ms. 45, f. 32).
\textsuperscript{155} See below: Chapter VII – Cathedrals and the Community, pp 304 – 05.
\textsuperscript{157} Orders of the commissioners of the parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the affairs of Ireland, 1651 – 4 (B.L., Egerton Ms. 1761, f. 36); Orders of Council, 1651 – 55 (N.L.I., Ms. 11,959, f. 32).
\textsuperscript{159} Inquisition into the parishes of Co Kildare, 1657 (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/28).
In theory the Restoration land acts restored to the established church all its lands as held by its clergy in 1641. In practice this did not happen, given the scope for concealing church lands during the previous twenty years and the fact that the Commonwealth regime had set leases for many of these properties. For example, the dean of St Mary’s, Tuam, lost his lands in the townland of Lesskewy, containing 30 acres, to George French, while the treasurer of St Fachtna’s, Ross, lost 67 acres to the earl of Orrery. On the other hand, the church was successful in regaining possession of much of its temporal estates. For example, in 1641 and 1661 the dean of St Mary’s, Elphin, owned the lands of Killaster in the parish of Killcorky, and Ganlsegart, Killeineher and Flaskemore in Elphin parish. Similarly the dean of Ardagh possessed 180 acres in the parishes of Ardagh, Moyrahan, Tullyhalfe, Finnure and Lissineske both in 1641 and 1665.

At St Carthage’s, Lismore, the dean and chapter successfully pursued a claim for the return of its properties. In 1661 the new dean, Richard Underwood, familiarised himself with the endowments of the deanery and the cathedral and learnt that in 1641 the earl of Cork’s lease of the economy lands had been due to expire in 1647. Dean Underwood also made a claim for the lands of Ballydecan and the dean’s house in the town of Lismore, while the archdeacon made a claim for the appropriations of Kilmolash. In March 1661 the dean and chapter launched a challenge for all of these properties. In 1662 the issue of the economy lands was referred to the arbitration of the archbishop of Armagh. He recommended that the earl should surrender his old lease of the economy lands and in return he would receive a new lease of the lands for sixty years at half the true yearly value. In June 1662 a commission was established to find out the moiety value of the economy lands, which was estimated to be worth £80 a year. Subsequently, a lease of the economy lands was made to the earl of Cork at £40 a year for 60 years in June 1663.

On the same day that this lease was signed, leases of the lands of the archdeacon, treasurer

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164 *Books of Survey and Distribution, Co. Longford*, (N.A.I., Msf. 2/7, f. 15).
166 Notes relating to and texts of W.H. Rennison’s unpublished History of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (R.C.B., Ms. 40/2/2, p. 27); St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 5.
167 Leonard Gostelow to the Earl of Cork, 17 Jan. 1663 (N.L.I., Ms. 12,831, vol. iv, p. 789); St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 5.
168 Notes relating to and texts of W.H. Rennison’s unpublished History of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (R.C.B., Ms. 40/2/2, p. 28).
and precentor were agreed with the earl, with each lease being for a term of 21 years.\footnote{St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, ff 1 – 4.} And in 1666 the dean, Richard Lingard, leased his lands at Ballydecane and Ballydagan to the earl of Cork for 60 years, a term that would indicate that the earl received a license from the council for a lease after he surrendered his holding of these lands to the dean.\footnote{Ibid., f. 23v; \textit{Stat. Ire.}, 10 & 11 Chas. I, c. iii.} This lease does not appear to have been confirmed by the dean and chapter until 1686. By then the 21-year leases granted in the 1660s by the other dignitaries were up for renewal and in that year the dean and chapter confirmed a lease of the treasurer’s lands to the earl of Cork for a further 21 years with a £1 increase in the rent to £3 a year.\footnote{St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 23v.}

Most Irish cathedrals relied primarily on spiritualities for their source of income and consequently the impact of the Restoration land settlement for these cathedrals was not all that significant. On the other hand, the two cathedrals that did rely heavily on temporalities for their income, Christ Church, Dublin, and Holy Trinity, Waterford, were heavily involved in the process of determining who owned land and property in the Restoration period. In the immediate aftermath of the Restoration the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Waterford, were at risk of losing a substantial proportion of their temporal estates. The threat to the dean and chapter’s estates emerged from the king’s declaration for the ‘49 Officers, which provided for this group of Royalist supporters by granting them, among other things, undisposed properties in corporate and walled towns.\footnote{Kevin McKenny, ‘Charles II’s Irish Cavaliers: the 1649 Officers and the restoration land settlement’, in \textit{L.H.S.}, vol. xxviii, no. 12 (November, 1993), p. 410.} Shortly after the dean and chapter were restored in 1661, they commenced the defence of their estate by obtaining a commission out of Chancery to establish what properties they held in 1641. This took place on 13 July 1661 and it examined Thomas White Fitzpatrick, Richard Naylor and James Ronas, who had been employed as jurors by a Commonwealth commission in 1653 into the proprietors of the city.\footnote{R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/33.} This Chancery commission was in addition to an earlier diocesan inquisition into the temporalities of the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore conducted in April 1661 at the behest of the bishop.\footnote{Ibid., A/32, A/43/3, f. 1; Notes relating to and texts of W.H, Rennison’s unpublished History of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (R.C.B., Ms. 40/5/1, f. 34).} On 13 June 1662 an interim agreement was made between the dean and chapter and the Trustees of the ‘49 Officers. In this agreement the title to all the properties held by the dean and chapter in 1641 was to be determined by the Court of Claims. In the meantime the Trustees of the ‘49 Officers were to set, let and receive the rents of the disputed properties.
Therefore, the rents of properties already demised by the dean and chapter were to be collected by the Trustees of the ‘49 Officers. When the Court of Claims issued its decree, the Trustees were to pay the dean and chapter the rents received for the properties belonging to the dean and chapter. The Trustees were also to pay an advance of £50 to the dean and chapter and a bond of £1000 was signed and sealed between the dean and chapter and the Trustees to ensure that the articles and covenants of this agreement were observed. A further bond of £200 was made between the dean and chapter and Andrew Lynn, who was employed by the dean and chapter to prosecute their case in the Court of Claims.

On 20 July 1663 the decree of the Court of Claims was issued. First and foremost, the decree cited the clause of the Act of Settlement that directed that church lands, demised in 1641 and forfeited to his majesty, were to revert back to their respective corporate body. Therefore, the court found that the lands, as identified by the Chancery commission, were by right the property of the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Waterford. Subsequently, the court ordered that the temporal estate of the dean and chapter as held by them on 22 October 1641 was to be restored to the church. Six houses and two gardens were omitted from the decree because the dean and chapter were unable to prove their right to these properties and they were left to the common law to determine the ownership of these properties. On the 12 August 1663 an injunction was issued to hand over the properties into the possession of the dean and chapter. Shortly after the issuing of this decree and injunction, the dean and chapter petitioned the lord lieutenant and council for a commission to set the rents for their properties. This was accepted and on the 11 December 1663 a commission was issued to George Baker, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Richard Power, William Bolton, Anthony Ovington and Francis Synge, who were to certify the true yearly values of these properties.

Unsurprisingly, the Trustees of the ‘49 Officers, who had seen much of their original security reduced by the Court of Claims, were unhappy with the ruling. When the dean and chapter requested the Trustees to pay the rents that they had received, the Trustees

176 Ibid., A/37.
177 Ibid., A/39.
178 Ibid., A/41.
179 Ibid., A/42.
180 Ibid., A/44.
refused to pay. The Trustees refused to accept the decree of the Court of Claims as a final settlement and petitioned the bishop of Waterford and Lismore and the lord lieutenant and council questioning the decree and seeking redress. In both petitions they pointed out that the previous inquisitions, upon which the courts decree was based, had only listed the properties that the dean and chapter received rents from and did not establish the titles or terms for each property. The Trustees claimed that all fee farms, leases for over sixty years and all chantry lands that lay within corporate towns belonged to the '49 Security. They also viewed the commission recently established to determine the true yearly value of the properties awarded to the dean and chapter by the decree of the Court of Claims as an attempt by the cathedral to get further confirmation of the disputed properties. Therefore, the Trustees wanted the decree of the Court of Claims quashed, the commission into the true yearly value prohibited from publishing its findings and sought a new commission to enquire into the title, yearly value and chief rents of the properties held by the dean and chapter in 1641, which would provide the basis for a new decree from the Court of Claims.182

In response, the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Waterford, expressed their unhappiness that the Trustees had failed to honour the agreement that the Court of Claims would determine the issue. The dean and chapter also said that they had been careful to ensure that fee-farms were omitted from their claim. Finally, they pointed out that there was no precedent for the quashing of a decree of the Court of Claims and suggested that a new commission to enquire into the tenure of the properties held by the dean and chapter in 1641 would be against the law.183 The dean and chapter also petitioned the lord lieutenant and council and on the 5 February 1665, the Trustees were ordered to show ‘just cause’ why the dean and chapter should not publish the findings of the commission into the true yearly value. On 24 February the representatives of the dean and chapter and the Trustees argued their cases before the council. The council ruled in favour of the dean and chapter and ordered for the publication of the commission’s findings, which were then to be referred for final determination by the Secretary, the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, the bishop of Meath and Sir James Ware or any three of them.184 Subsequently these properties were leased out according to the findings of the primate, the Secretary and Sir James Ware,185 which was precisely what the Trustees had attempted to prevent.

183 Ibid., A/43, nos. 3 & 5.
184 R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, Dean Butson’s Notebook.
185 R.C.B., C2/1.
Despite the ruling of the Court of Claims, a number of properties continued to remain out of the possession of the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Waterford, including four houses in St Patrick's parish, two in St Olave's parish, two in St Michael's parish and one in Trinity parish.\textsuperscript{186} As a result of the provision of the Act of Explanation, the dean was successful in recovering only one property, which was located in Arundell St. This property had been sequestered as a result of the 1641 rebellion and a commission found that the dean was entitled to its possession.\textsuperscript{187} In the late 1660s the dean and chapter also intended to gain additional legal confirmation of all their properties when they drafted a petition to the king for new letters patent for the cathedral.\textsuperscript{188} The dean and chapter were concerned that their legal title was not strong in law because their records had been destroyed during the civil wars and the witnesses that they had used in the case against the ‘49 Trustees were dead. They also claimed that a number of their properties remained concealed from them and they were still engaged in ‘vexatious’ suits.\textsuperscript{189} In fact, in 1668 the dean and chapter were ordered by the commissioners for the government of the province of Munster to surrender two houses to Sir John Cole and Andrew Richards, which Cole and Richards possessed under the right of the ‘49 Trustees and which the dean had been successful in detaining from them.\textsuperscript{190} It is therefore unsurprising that the dean and chapter intended to enhance their legal entitlement to their properties, although they were ultimately unsuccessful in getting a new charter.

Holy Trinity, Waterford, was the only cathedral to obtain a decree from the Court of Claims. This court had a specific time limit in which to conduct its business and the final day for the issuing of decrees was on the 21 August 1663. On that day the other deans and chapters were adjudged innocent Protestants, but no decrees relating to their temporal estates were taken out. Consequently, they were left to the common law courts to resolve any disputes.\textsuperscript{191} On the other hand, the court did not disband but continued to sit to hear complaints over the implementation of the Act of Settlement and on 7 September 1663 a case between the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, and the earl of Tryconnell

\textsuperscript{186} R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/50.
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., A/52.
\textsuperscript{188} Ibid., A/68 i.
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid., A/68 ii.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid., A/59.
concerning lands in Ringsend and Simmonscourt was heard. The dispute over these lands had originated in the early Stuart period and centred on the question as to whether Ringsend was part of Simmonscourt, which belonged to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, or whether it was part of the ancient inheritance of Thomas, Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion. In 1639 the lord lieutenant and council examined the case and ordered that the property was to be put into possession of the dean, as Viscount Fitzwilliam could not produce a legal title to the property. However, the inclusion of these lands in legislation to confirm the cathedral’s charter, liberties, rights and properties led the House of Lords committee for acts to dismiss the legislation in October 1640. The lord chief justice was of the opinion that the bill, which the bishop of Derry, John Bramhall, claimed had been drawn up by the best lawyers in town, infringed on the rights of many men and in particular that the title of Viscount Fitzwilliam to his fee simple lands in Simmonscourt would be passed away to the dean and chapter by the provisions of this legislation. Justices Cressy and Rives and Barons Barry and Hilton concurred with this opinion and therefore Viscount Fitzwilliam retained his title to these lands.

Following the Restoration, the question of the ownership of the lands of Simmonscourt was revived in the House of Lords. By then the lands had passed to Viscount Fitzwilliam’s son, Oliver Fitzwilliam, Earl of Tryconnell. With the return of a dean to Christ Church, Dublin, a renewed claim arose and with it a proposal to sort out the conflicting claims by settling the difference in a court of law. Under this proposal of October 1661 the earl was to collect the rents until the case was determined, which he was to return to the dean if the case was settled in the dean’s favour. Furthermore, the dean was to promise the earl a grant of a lease of the lands if the lands were found to belong to the dean. Finally, any remaining disputes between the two parties were to be resolved by the lord lieutenant and the council board. However, the earl did not accept these terms. The following year the House of Lords summoned the two parties to appear in the house so that the matter could be adjudicated upon. This does not appear to have taken place. Instead, in 1663 the Court of Claims judged the earl of Tyrconnell nocent and his claims

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195 Ibid., pp 279, 282.
196 Propositions tending to peace made by the dean of Christ Church to the Earl of Tirconnell relating to the cause between them, 19 Oct. 1661 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte Ms. 221, f. 196).
197 Ibid., ff 332, 335.
to the property were dismissed, but this decision was later reversed as it was adjudged that the lands of Colcott were not otherwise known as Ringsend and consequently the church was left to seek remedy through common law.

The question of parliamentary privilege for the earl resulted in further delays: in 1665 and 1666 the matter was discussed in the House of Lords. The matter was further complicated when a tenant of the dean and chapter, who had made a lease for part of the lands of Simmonscourt, began to pay the rent to the earl of Tyrconnell. In April 1666 the case was heard before the second Court of Claims. During the course of the trial the dean once again claimed that the lands of Ringsend were a part of Simmonscourt and produced the decree of the first Court of Claims as evidence for this claim. But the court provided a different interpretation of the decree, in so far as it confirmed the dean’s rights to lands in Simmonscourt but that it also confirmed the earl’s claim to Ringsend. Once again the issue was left open to be decided by common law. In 1670 the dispute was taken to the King’s Bench, where the dean and chapter attempted to eject the duchess of Tyrconnell from the lands in Ringsend. The duchess claimed that she held the lands by virtue of a fee farm from the city of Dublin. To settle it once and for all it was decided that a jury would view the place but the dean and chapter were unhappy with the findings. They claimed that all the witnesses were papists and so were untrustworthy. The earl of Tyrconnell’s heir, William, third Viscount Fitzwilliam, brought a counter suit of ejectment against the dean and chapter in the court of common pleas. In this case the dean and chapter provided various pieces of evidence going back to 1428 to prove the cathedral’s title to the lands of Simmonscourt. They also procured the services of witnesses including the primate, James Margetson, who was dean when the issue first arose in the late 1630s. The defence of Viscount Fitzwilliam was not as strong and consisted only of one piece of documentary evidence: an ancient conveyance of lands in Simmonscourt by Philip

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200 Ibid., f. 44; House of Lords Jn., pp 392, 401, 405 – 6.
203 R.C.B., C6/1/26/7/34.
204 Ibid.
Fitzwilliam.\(^{206}\) The final verdict was in favour of the dean and chapter and accordingly the lands of Ringsend were considered a part of Simmonscourt.\(^{207}\)

The dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, also faced a challenge to its temporal estates from the Trustees of the ‘49 Officers, who brought a claim against them in 1667. The Trustees claimed two houses in St Stephen’s St, which had been leased in reversion by the dean and chapter to Nicholas Queytrod and who held the property as a Catholic when the Irish rebellion broke out in 1641. Subsequently, the Trustees gained possession.\(^{208}\) On the other hand, the dean and chapter were successful in prosecuting for the return of other parts of the cathedral’s temporal estates: in 1668, in response to a petition from Dean Parry, the commissioners for putting into effect the Acts of Settlement and Explanation issued a certificate confirming the return of the Pole Mill and premises to the dean and chapter. Subsequently letters patent were issued to that effect.\(^{209}\)

These letters patent also contained an important grant to the vicars choral and choirmen of the two Dublin cathedrals, which augmented their income with appropriate and inappropriate tithes forfeited to or vested in the king at the Restoration. The grant was made in pursuance of a clause contained in the Act of Settlement\(^{210}\) and was the result of a letter from the king to the lord justices in 1661, which ordered a survey to be made of all inappropriate and appropriate tithes with a view to further endowing the church.\(^{211}\) However, it was not until 1664 that the duke of Ormonde and the privy council ordered returns to be made by all bishops of forfeited tithes worth more than £40 a year in their dioceses, which could be used to augment the two Dublin cathedral choirs.\(^{212}\) The delay in ordering a survey was due to the activities of the Court of Claims, but there were also bishops, such as Griffith Williams, who opposed the use of appropriations for the

\(^{206}\) Ibid.


\(^{208}\) R.C.B., C6/1/26/13/17.


\(^{211}\) Copies of documents relating to the stipends of vicars choral and choirmen of Christ Church and St Patrick’s cathedrals Dublin, 1623 – 1809 (N.L.I., Ms. 85, f. 6); King to the Lord Justices concerning the maintenance of the Church, 30 Mar. 1661 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1660 – 62, pp 285 – 86).

\(^{212}\) Copies of documents relating to the stipends of vicars choral and choirmen of Christ Church and St Patrick’s cathedrals Dublin, 1623 – 1809 (N.L.I., Ms. 85, ff 10 – 14).
cathedrals of Dublin rather than for their diocesan clergy. A further delay of nearly four years ensued, during which time most of the bishops filed returns. By then the Act of Explanation had been passed. Although this act did not alter the clause in the Act of Settlement that provided for the augmentation estate, it did impose a time limit of two years for the forfeited impropriations to be identified. Subsequently, those impropriate and appropriate tithes were granted to a trust consisting of the deans of Christ Church and St Patrick’s, Dublin, and the archbishop of Dublin, who were to administer the augmentation estate on behalf of the vicars choral and choirmen. On 16 June 1668 letters patent were issued confirming this grant but these letters were later found to contain a number of defects in the name, title and values of the tithes. In 1671 it was discovered that a number of the returns from the bishops had not been inserted into the original grant. The Irish Privy Council reported these problems to the English Privy Council, who ordered the commissioners of the Treasury and the Committee for the Affairs of Ireland to examine the defects. They proposed that new letters patent be issued for the augmentation trust of the vicars and choirmen of Dublin and these letters were granted on 13 September 1671, creating two of the wealthiest cathedral choirs in England or Ireland.

Similar augmentations were made in the Restoration period to the cathedral choirs in St Fin Barre’s, Cork, and St Mary’s, Limerick. At St Fin Barre’s the rectory of St John’s in the city of Cork was granted to the bishop of Cork and Ross to be held in trust for the vicars choral. At St Mary’s, Limerick, the rectories and vicarages annexed to the collegiate church of SS Peter and Paul’s, Killaloe, were granted to the dean and chapter to support the vicars choral. In the petitions that gave rise to these grants the deans and chapters of both cathedrals cited the effects of the mid-century troubles as the

213 Griffith Williams, The sad condition of the church and clergy in the diocese of Ossory, and I fear not much better than in the rest of Ireland (London, 1664), p. 25.
214 Copies of documents relating to the stipends of vicars choral and choirmen of Christ Church and St Patrick’s cathedrals Dublin, 1623 – 1809 (N.L.I., Ms. 85, ff 16 – 28).
216 Copies of documents relating to the stipends of vicars choral and choirmen of Christ Church and St Patrick’s cathedrals Dublin, 1623 – 1809 (N.L.I., Ms. 85, ff 49 – 57).
218 Copies of documents relating to the stipends of vicars choral and choirmen of Christ Church and St Patrick’s cathedrals Dublin, 1623 – 1809 (N.L.I., Ms. 85, ff 91 – 106); P.R.O., S.P. 63/330/103.
219 Copies of documents relating to the stipends of vicars choral and choirmen of Christ Church and St Patrick’s cathedrals Dublin, 1623 – 1809 (N.L.I., Ms. 85, ff 107 – 10); Barra Boydell, A History of Music at Christ Church, Dublin (Wiltshire, 2004), p. 78.
221 The King to the Lord Lieutenant (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1683, pp 143 – 44).
reason behind the decayed state of their choirs. The fact that these minor corporate bodies required financial assistance suggests their inability to recover parts of their ancient endowments during the Restoration period. This was the case in Holy Trinity, Waterford, where there was no choir in the latter half of the seventeenth century because there were no emoluments to support them.222

At St Canice’s, Kilkenny, the number of vicars choral was reduced from twelve in 1641 to two in 1679, a reduction that was attributed to the vicars’ revenues being ‘wholly swallowed up’ by soldiers, adventurers and ‘49 men.223 The vicars’ inability to prosecute those who held their lands was noted by Bishop Griffith Williams in 1667 and he calculated that the vicars’ income from its appropriate rectories and vicarages amounted to less than £5.224 Other sources of revenue for the vicars were granted under the terms of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation to the bishop of Ossory, such as the rectory of St Maules and 140 acres worth £30 a year, which were leased to William Shee in 1641 and sequestered to the crown as a result of the rebellion.225 William Shee also appears to have held from the vicars in 1641 the New Park Lands, an orchard and a meadow in St John’s Parish, which contained 169 acres in total.226 Following the Restoration these lands appear to have reverted to the vicars: in 1661 William Connell was granted a lease of these lands in consideration of his ‘paynes’ for discovering and finding out the lands belonging to the vicars choral.227 However, in 1677 these lands were put into the possession of the duke of Ormonde as a portion of his ‘49 arrears because it was claimed that the lands had been fee farms and so under the terms of the Act of Settlement formed part of the ‘49 security. On the other hand, the vicars claimed that this fee farm was surrendered in the 1630s228 and the fact that the Civil Survey records that these lands were leased in 1641 would appear to support the vicars’ assertion.229 The duke also held other tenements and houses in the city of Kilkenny and town of Callan that had belonged to the vicars choral, because these were chiefries.230 Despite these losses, the vicars did manage to regain some of their properties.

In 1665 the vicars choral petitioned the House of Lords complaining that a Captain

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222 R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/81, f. 2v.
224 Griffith Williams, A sad condition of the church and clergy in the diocese of Ossory, p. 15; ‘A small part of the great wickedness and sacrilegious dealings of the assistants of the great antichrist, in the diocese’, in Four Treatises (London, 1667), pp 3 – 4.
225 R.C.B., C3/1/2/2.
227 R.C.B., C3/10/1.
Thomas Tomlins possessed one of their houses called Brennan’s house. This petition was referred to a subcommittee who ordered Captain Tomlins to return the property to the vicars or prove his legal entitlement to the house within five days, which he failed to do.  

IV  

To illustrate how the developments discussed above in the early Stuart and Restoration periods impacted on leasing activity, the total number of leases granted by the deans and chapters of Christ Church, Dublin, and Holy Trinity, Waterford, have been graphed for each decade from 1600 to 1689, with the exception of the interregnum. [Graphs 3.1 and 3.2] In the 1630s the total number of leases granted by the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, was around the same number granted in the first three decades of the early Stuart period, but what is noteworthy is the increase in the number of leases granted in the 1660s and 1670s. The upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s did more to break the alienations of church properties than the policies pursued by Wentworth and Bramhall in the 1630s: at Holy Trinity, Waterford, 117 leases were granted in the period 1660-69, while at Christ Church, Dublin, 140 leases were granted. Although there is no record of the total number of leases granted by the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Dublin, in the early Stuart period, it seems that there was an increased level of activity in the letting of this cathedral’s properties in the Restoration period, with over 60 leases granted in the 1660s alone. On the one hand the mid-century troubles led to complications regarding the ownership of church’s properties, but on the other it helped to accelerate the move towards better management of the church’s inheritance.

Over the course of the seventeenth century deans and chapters began to manage their estates more effectively and this is evident in the shorter leases granted during the period 1603 – 91. Christ Church, Dublin, was the first Irish cathedral to institute such a policy when in the early 1600s there was an attempt to break long leases and grant new leases of between 21 and 40 years in duration. To try to gauge the extent of changes in leasing policy, a database of extant leases was compiled. During the period from 1603 to 1634, when the Act for the Preservation of the Church’s Inheritance was passed, just under half

233 See above, pp 80 – 81.  
234 The following section is based on a database of 757 leases granted in the following Cathedrals: Christ Church, Dublin; St Patrick’s, Dublin; St Fin Barre’s, Cork; Holy Trinity, Waterford; St Canice’s, Kilkenny; St Mary’s, Limerick; St Colman’s, Cloyne; St Brendan’s, Ardfert; St Edan’s, Ferns; St Laserian’s, Leighlin; St Columb’s, Derry; and St Patrick’s, Cashel.
of all leases granted were for periods of less than forty years. For example, the 1615 visitation of Killaloe, recorded that a lease of the cathedral’s economy estate had been set for the very short term of seven years at £10 a year. Likewise, a lease from the prebendary of Whitechurch in Ferns of his rectorial tithes was demised in 1608 for 21 years. On the other hand, cathedral clergymen continued to pass long-term leases: over half of all long-term leases in the database were granted during the period 1603-33. However, these figures are somewhat skewed, as the vicars choral of St Patrick’s, Dublin, primarily made leases of their properties for terms of 60 years during the Restoration period. The longest lease granted during the early Stuart period was for part of the old monastic buildings in the precincts of Christ Church, Dublin. In 1629 a lease for 1000 years at £12 a year was granted by the dean and chapter to the State for the rooms where the Four Courts had been transferred to in 1609. In 1637 a proposal was made to swap this lease for a grant of lands in the Plantation of Connaught but this did not work out and consequently this portion of the cathedral’s temporal estate remained alienated throughout the rest of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century. During the 1620s leases for three lives were common at St Fin Barre’s, Cork and such leases may have been the traditional leasing arrangement in this cathedral. Similarly, the dean of St Columb’s, Derry granted leases for three lives for some of his temporal properties in the early Stuart period.

In 1634 the length of leases were limited by statute for less than 21 years or 40 years if the property was located in a corporate town. In the database over 90 per cent of leases granted after 1634 conformed to the statute. To illustrate the point, no leases for lives were

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235 96 leases are recorded as being made during this period, with 50 of them for periods of less than 41 years.
237 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitation, Ferns 1622 (N.A.I., RC 15/2, f. 118v).
238 82 leases with terms over 40 years were recorded in the database. 43 of these were made between 1603 and 1633.
239 The vicars choral of St Patrick’s, Dublin, passed 25 leases of 60 year terms, which represents 30 per cent of all long leases (over 40 years) granted between 1603 and 1691 or 70 per cent of all long leases granted between 1660 and 1691.
241 A collection of such letters as have passed from His Majesty for business of the Church since Wentworth became Lord Deputy to 14 November 1637 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book, 20/129).
243 Copy of bishops’ returns for Ulster in 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 550, p. 188).
granted at St Fin Barre’s, Cork, after 1632.\footnote{Ibid., pp 30 – 31.} Therefore, as a consequence of this parliamentary act, the scope for alienating church properties diminished as clergymen were required to manage their estates more effectively. Subsequently, Lord Deputy Wentworth could claim that by 1636 no concurrent leases or leases for lives were being granted but only leases for 21 years.\footnote{Report by the Lord Deputy on the State of Ireland, 21 June 1636 (Cal. S.P. Ire. 1633 – 47, p. 132); Charles McNeill (ed.), Tanner Letters (Dublin, 1943), p. 9.} During the Restoration period the ability of cathedral clergymen to manage their properties more effectively and efficiently is evident in the leasing arrangements of economy estates. At St Colman’s, Cloyne, the dean and chapter rented out the tithes of the parishes of Cloyne and Clonmell, which formed the economy estate, each year from 1660 to 1663.\footnote{R.C.B., C12/1/1, ff 1 – 4.} In 1663 the economy lands were let for a period of 21 years to John Smith.\footnote{Ibid., f. 1v.} When this lease had run its course in 1683 the dean and chapter ordered the economist to set and let the tithes of the economy to ‘the best advantage’ on a yearly basis.\footnote{Ibid., f. 9.} At St Fin Barre’s, Cork, the tithes of the economy were also let to Thomas Hayes on a yearly basis from 1663 to 1666.\footnote{St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, pp 64, 76, 88, 96.} In 1670 Hayes received a lease of the economy for seven years\footnote{St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, f. 22.} and it was not until 1678 that he received a twenty-one year lease.\footnote{Ibid., ff 100 – 101.} Effective estate management can also be seen at St Canice’s, Kilkenny, where, in the 1660s, the economy estate was sequestered into the hands of the prebendary of Kilmanagh, John Kearney, and the archdeacon, Joseph Teate, when the dean, Thomas Ledsham, failed to give an account of the estate. Subsequently, Kearney and Teate leased the tithes of the economy estate to ‘those tenants that were most able and gave most for them’.\footnote{Griffith Williams, A sad condition of the church and clergy in the diocese of Ossory, pp 53 – 54. Bishop Williams had a poor relationship with the deans of St Canice’s cathedral and this may account for the sequestration of the economy estate. In fact, in 1665 Dean Ledsham petitioned the Duke of Ormonde for the recovery of part of the economy estate worth £20 a year, which a tenant had refused to pay the rent for since the Restoration: F.R. Bolton, ‘Griffith Williams, Bishop of Ossory, 1641 – 72’, in Jn. of the Butler Society, vol. ii, no. 3 (1984), pp 333 – 34; The King to the Lord Lieutenant, 4 Nov. 1670, (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1669 – 70, p. 297); Ormonde Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 11,048, no. 47).} The vicars choral of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, also sought to improve their income through effective estate management. In 1684 two un-expired leases were surrendered to the vicars who subsequently re-granted the properties to the lessees for higher rents. The first lease, for the tithes of the parish of Rathkyran, had eight years left to run, but was re-granted for 21 years with an increase from £2 to £3, while the second lease, for a house beside the vicars’ common hall, had nine years remaining and was re-
granted for 40 years with an increase from 14s 4d to 20s a year. Undoubtedly the vicars' tenants saw this as an opportunity to acquire a degree of security of tenure, which the Act for the Preservation of the Church’s Inheritance had undermined. For this reason, the attorney general, Sir William Domville, obtained a fee farm in 1665 from the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Dublin, for the house and garden that he rented from the cathedral. This property was a house built by his father and three acres of lands, for which he paid a rent of £10 a year. Furthermore, Sir William obtained a private act in parliament to make what was effectively an alienation legally secure.

Sir William paid a fine of £200 for this fee farm, which was 20 times his annual rent. At St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Thomas Hayes paid a fine of £120 for his lease of the economy estate, which was eight times the annual rent. John Smith paid a fine of £200 for the lease of the economy estate of St Colman’s, Cloyne, in 1663, which was ten times the rent. However, less than a quarter of all leases in the database had fines recorded. Therefore, while fines for new leases were quite common in English cathedrals in the seventeenth century, this appears not to have been the case in Irish cathedrals. This was a practice that was largely confined to the Restoration period. Only six leases, in the period before 1649, recorded any fines attached. After 1660 a quarter to a third of all leases had fines and this demonstrates a growing consciousness amongst the clergy for the need for effective estate management.

In late seventeenth century England the rate of a fine was generally twice the level of the rent, but on the basis of the leases in the database it appears that there was no guiding principal for the level of fines exacted. In Irish cathedrals the level of fines could vary from one to forty-two times the rent, as was the case in 1674 when the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, let two ruinous houses to Baron Santry. In 1680 the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Waterford, offered its tenants the opportunity to renew their leases for a fine of one year's rent. Most of these leases had been obtained in the 1660s and had at least another twenty to twenty-five years to run. Despite this, the dean and chapter

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253 R.C.B., C3/2/1, f. 8; C3/1/3/1.
254 R.C.B., C2/1/3/2, pp 84 - 86.
258 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, f. 22.
260 Ibid.
sought a license from the lord lieutenant and council to renew the leases. On 6 October 1680 the dean and chapter met their tenants and read the act of state procured by them from the council board. Subsequently, the tenants were asked to advance their rent or pay a fine of a year and a half for a new lease of forty years. During the following two years at least ten tenants cancelled their leases, obtained new ones and paid fines of a year’s rent. Why the dean and chapter pursued this course of action is not entirely clear, but the chapter records refer to the dean and chapter’s efforts in beautifying the cathedral’s interior at this time and this money may have been used to that end.262 Christ Church, Dublin, also charged entry fines for leases and it seems that the general principle employed there was that the fine should be one and a half times the true yearly value.263 This principle was stated in the 1630s but in 1661 the dean and chapter offered potential tenants longer leases, if these were ‘lawfully’ authorised, for additional fines.264 Fines were most commonly exacted at St Patrick’s, Dublin, although these were occasionally omitted if the property being leased had been ‘discovered’ for the cathedral.265

Leases also contained other terms and conditions, such as the payment of a couple of capons or sugar loaves at Christmas, or to build on the property or repair it. The most important condition was the payment of the rent. Generally leases granted in the Tudor period reserved only small amounts for payment from tenants. For example, leases granted by the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Waterford, in the later half of the sixteenth century generally reserved rents of less than 15s to 20s.266 By the seventeenth century the true yearly value of these properties was significantly higher than the rent reserved, which enabled the lessee make a greater profit at the expense of the church. In 1615, the regal visitation noted that the deanery of Holy Trinity, Waterford, was decayed by leases made by former deans and was worth only 40 marks.267 Similarly, the deanery of St Carthage’s, Lismore, was valued at £80 in 1615, but the dean received only £5 in rent.268 Reserving small rents was also a common practice in the early Stuart period: in 1610 a 21 year lease of the prebendary of Tulloh in the diocese of Killaloe was granted for £3 15s a year, whose true yearly value was in reality £30.269 Therefore, church leases were often seen as easy leases, and tended to be granted to family and friends, who were seen as reliable

263 R.C.B., C6/1/26, f. 3.
264 R.C.B., C6/1/7/2, p. 206.
265 R.C.B., C2/1/3/1, p. 75.
267 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitation, Waterford, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/3, p. 165).
268 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitation, Lismore, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/3, p. 247).
269 Philip Dwyer, The diocese of Killaloe, p. 131.
tenants. In the database nearly 10 per cent of all leases were granted to clergymen or church personnel, such as the sexton, verger or members of the choir, usually with low rents reserved.\(^{270}\) For example the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, granted three leases to their chapter clerk, Thomas Howell, in the early 1660s for modest rents, which he subsequently sublet for higher rents.\(^{271}\) On the other hand, lay landlords in early modern Ireland often set long-term leases with low rents so as to attract suitable tenants. Those areas that were designated plantations and which were under populated, particularly Ulster, were in a vulnerable position and had to compete for tenants with favourable terms and conditions.\(^{272}\) Therefore, the easier terms that were synonymous with church leases may have been necessary so as to attract good quality tenants where these were limited.

Nevertheless, the Act for the Preservation of the Church’s Inheritance specified that leases were supposed to be granted at the moiety or half the true yearly value and provided for a commission to determine the true yearly value.\(^{273}\) The emergence of a more commercially attuned clergymen is evident in those clergymen appointed to the precentorship of St Mary’s, Elphin, in the 1630s. In 1633 James Croxton let this living for his incumbency at £50 a year. His successor, Joseph Ware, set this living the following year at £110 and believed that he could get more for it in the near future.\(^{274}\) At Christ Church, Dublin, commissions to determine the true yearly value of properties were established by the dean and chapter when leases were being set in the 1630s. For example, in 1637 a commission was established by order of lord deputy Wentworth to determine the true yearly value of Ballyoghan, Ballintobbr, Ballymulghan, the glebe and tithes of Stillorgan and the great tithes of Carrickmines.\(^{275}\) In 1639 a commission was established to ascertain the true yearly value of lands recently recovered by the dean and chapter in their campaign against alienations.\(^{276}\) These commissions operated by calling deponents familiar with the property, who would estimate the value of the land. To illustrate the workings of one such commission the example of the commission called to determine the value of the farm of

\(^{270}\) The social or occupational background is known for about 35 per cent of the lessees, with the most significant groups being (in descending order) Aldermen & City Officials; Gentlemen & Esquires; Knights & Peers; Tradesmen and Shopkeepers; Merchants; Farmers & Yeomen.


\(^{273}\) *Stat. Ire.*, 10 & 11 Chas. I, c. iii.


\(^{275}\) R.C.B., C6/1/26/13/6.

\(^{276}\) R.C.B., C6/1/26/31.
Kill in Clonekeen in 1639 is cited. In this case three deponents were called, Joseph Smithson, the local curate, Simon Savage and Nicholas Rochford. Two of the members of the commission valued the farm at £40 a year, while the third said that it was worth only £30 a year. Subsequently, the commission resolved that the land was worth £40 a year.\textsuperscript{277} This method of determining the value of ecclesiastical properties continued to be used in the Restoration period and was used in 1662 to determine the rent to be paid by the earl of Cork for his lease of the economy estate of St Carthage’s, Lismore.\textsuperscript{278} Likewise, in 1666 the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, obtained a license for a commission to establish the true yearly value of a plot in the precincts of the cathedral.\textsuperscript{279} Similarly, at Holy Trinity, Waterford, a commission to establish the true yearly value of properties was obtained to set the rents of the properties restored to the cathedral in the 1660s.\textsuperscript{280} Another commission met in 1669 to certify the true yearly value of the ploughland of Ballycashin, which was also part of the estate of the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Waterford. This commission found the property to be worth £23 15s a year. Nevertheless, the prospective tenant offered to pay £16 a year, which was £4 more than the moiety and subsequently the lease was granted for 21 years at £16 a year.\textsuperscript{281}

The net effect of these developments was that the receipts of the cathedrals and their personnel progressed in an upward trend throughout the century. Graphs 3.3 and 3.4 represent the total receipts for Christ Church, Dublin, and St Fin Barre’s, Cork, from the early Stuart period to the late 1680s. In both cases an upward trend can be discerned. This is more noticeable in the case of Christ Church than in St Fin Barre’s: the increase from the first entry to the last entry is seven times in the case of Christ Church and only twice in the case of St Fin Barre’s, although in 1688 arrears due to St Fin Barre’s amounted to £183 10s.\textsuperscript{282} Another example of the upward trend in cathedral receipts can be seen at Holy Trinity, Waterford. Before the 1640s the rent received by the dean and chapter from its tenants was £30 8s 3d. Following the recovery of the cathedral’s property in the 1660s and the setting of new leases this increased to £279 5s, an increase of just over nine times.\textsuperscript{283} By 1681 the rent roll for half a year was £190 1s: a yearly total of £380 2s.\textsuperscript{284}

\textsuperscript{277} R.C.B., C6/1/26/7/9 – 10.
\textsuperscript{278} Notes relating to and texts of W.H. Rennison’s unpublished History of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (R.C.B., Ms. 40/2/12, p. 28); St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 5.
\textsuperscript{279} R.C.B., C6/1/8/2, pp 341 – 43.
\textsuperscript{280} R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, Dean Butson’s Notebook. A/44 is the record of this commission.
\textsuperscript{281} R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/61.
\textsuperscript{282} St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, f. 224.
Likewise, the incomes of the personnel of the cathedrals also increased during the period. Table 3.1 gives the incomes of the deans of Ireland in the early Stuart and Restoration periods. From this it is clear that the financial lot of the deans, on the whole, was improving. There were only two decreases in decanal incomes and these were at the metropolitan cathedrals of St Patrick’s, Dublin and Cashel. Why this was so is not apparent, but it could be related to the fact that the deaneries were amongst the best endowed in the early Stuart period and so the scope for any improvement was less. A similar picture emerges in the visitations of 1622, 1633 and 1679 for the dignitaries and prebendaries in the cathedrals of Down and Connor. [Table 3.2] These developments were all the more significant when the lower inflation rate of the seventeenth century, in comparison to the inflation rate experienced in the Tudor period is taken into account. Overall these trends point to the emergence of more effective and efficient management of the church’s estates.

A further indication of the development of a more proactive estate management policy was the attempt by the deans and chapters of various cathedrals to place the estates of the minor corporate bodies under closer supervision. Traditionally, the dean’s vicar of St Patrick’s, Dublin, acted as steward of the vicars choral and was in charge of the accounts of the vicars’ estate. In the early 1660s he and the steward of the minor canons were ordered by the dean and chapter to bring in their accounts and rent rolls. This followed the discovery by the dean and chapter that vicars had undervalued their leases. They were also ordered not to make any leases without the dean and chapter’s consent. Similarly in the late 1660s the dean and chapter ordered the vicars choral to insert into all their leases a provisio that if the dean and chapter did not confirm a lease then it was void. This order was repeated in 1691. In the 1670s the dean of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, made regulations for the collection of the vicars choral’s rents and ordered the vicars not to make any disbursements without his prior approval. The dean and chapter of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, established a commission in 1674 to enquire into the annual income of the vicars choral.

Following the report of this commission, it was resolved by the chapter that the treasurer

288 Ibid., f. 7v.
289 Ibid., f. 123.
291 R.C.B., C3/2/1, ff 1 – 2.
and archdeacon were to be responsible for setting the vicars choral’s properties, provided all leases received the confirmation of the dean. Provision was also made for the treasurer to collect the vicars choral rents.\textsuperscript{293} It appears that this attempt by the dean and chapter to exert its position over the vicars was resisted, for the following year an act of the dean and chapter enabled the vicars to appoint a proctor from amongst themselves who was to have the power to set and confirm the vicars’ leases and to collect their rent. The proctor was enjoined to set these leases ‘to the best advantage’ and ensure that the properties were not alienated. However, the dean and chapter retained a supervisory role over the vicars’ estate and the vicars had to obtain the consent of the dean and chapter for the appointment of their proctor. If the vicars failed to name a proctor, then the dean and chapter would choose one of their own. Finally, the dean and chapter were to confirm all leases that were longer than three years.\textsuperscript{294}

V

During the Stuart period the finances of the cathedral system of Ireland became better managed and by the end of the seventeenth century significant progress had been made in re-establishing a viable financial underpinning for the cathedrals and its clergymen. Deans and chapters became more willing to recover their ancient endowments and used the institutions of the State to pursue their claims. The State was usually eager to assist the church in pursing its claims and the State’s most important contribution in this regard was the 1634 Act for the Preservation of the Church’s Inheritance. The principles of this act represented Laudian economic policies and these policies were pursued both in the 1630s and in the Restoration period. Before 1634 alienations of church properties were a common occurrence. After the passing of this act alienations were rare. Furthermore, the council of state was instrumental in finding the legal mechanisms to undermine the validity of long leases and in turn helped to break a number of long leases. But it was the wars of the 1640s and the regime change of the 1650s that enabled a number of cathedrals to recover alienated properties in the Restoration period. Consequently, there was a significant increase in the number of new leases granted in the latter half of the seventeenth century. By and large, these leases were set on terms that were beneficial for the church and this was reflected in the rise in the receipts and incomes of the deans and chapters during the Restoration period. It is evident that the cathedral clergymen were able to manage their estates more effectively than their counterparts a century earlier. They also appear to have been imbued with Laudian economic sensibilities, so much so that deans

\textsuperscript{293} Ibid., f. 73.
\textsuperscript{294} Ibid., ff 85 – 86.
and chapters strengthened their role in the management of the estates of the minor cathedral corporate bodies. Therefore, by the 1690s Laudian economic policies in the church could best be described as the standard approach to the financing of the cathedral system of Ireland. Reflecting these developments was the condition of the fabric of the cathedral system, whereby the poverty of the church in the early seventeenth century could be seen in the dilapidated conditions of most cathedrals and the rise in income was displayed in the rebuilding and repairing of cathedrals during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Effective management of the cathedral systems finances was crucial if the fabric of the cathedrals was to be maintained and how this was achieved will be the subject of the next chapter.
### Table 3.1. Value of Deaneries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deanery</th>
<th>1615(^1)</th>
<th>1633(^2)</th>
<th>1668(^3)</th>
<th>Percentage Increase 1615 - 1668</th>
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<tr>
<td>St Patrick’s, Armagh</td>
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<td>£120</td>
<td>£400</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
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<td>£200</td>
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<td>£500</td>
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<td>1000</td>
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\(^1\) Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625 – 32, p. 481.  
\(^2\) Visitation, 1633/34, N.A.I., RC 15/1, RC 15/2, 15/3, 15/4; T.C.D., Ms. 1067, Ms. 2158.  
### Table 3.2. Value of Cathedral Livings in Holy Trinity, Downpatrick, and St Saviour’s, Connor

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<th>1679</th>
<th>King’s Book</th>
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<td>Treasurer</td>
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1. T.C.D., Ms. 550, pp 242 – 57.
2. N.A.I., RC 15/1, pp 223 – 237.
4. *Valor Beneficiorum Ecclesiastorum in Hibernia or the First Fruits of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices in the Kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1780), pp 5 – 6.
Graph 3:1 Total Number of Leases - Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, 1600 - 89

Source: R.C.B., C6
Chapter IV – Cathedral Fabric

The financial constraints of the cathedral system of Ireland in the seventeenth century are evident in the state of its physical fabric. The inability to maintain the edifices of many of the cathedrals was indicative of the financial problems that faced the Church of Ireland during the Stuart period. Financial problems were not the only factor that affected the physical state of the cathedrals. During the Tudor period war had been endemic and the legacy of this situation could be seen in the ruined condition of many of the Irish cathedrals. Moreover, the confessional strife that emerged during the sixteenth century continued to pose a threat to the fabric of the Irish cathedrals throughout the seventeenth century. This chapter will, firstly, examine the physical state of the cathedrals in the 1600s. It will then outline the attempts by deans and chapters to renovate and repair the cathedrals and how these repairs were paid for. In many cases the deans and chapters made a conscious decision to concentrate their resources on only a portion of their cathedral churches: the choir. The choir was where the chapter’s stalls were located and was effectively the chapel of the dean and chapter. It was also where ecclesiological interpretations for worship were most prominently expressed through internal fabric and furnishings. It was therefore the arena where puritan pulpit and Laudian or Caroline altar vied for supremacy. That the altar, appropriately railed in and adorned with silver plate, turned out to be more prominent in the cathedrals indicates the extent to which the Laudian practices of the 1630s became the norm in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Tracing how this evolved in a broad chronological fashion forms the last section of this chapter.

In 1611 a bill for the re-edifying and repairing of cathedral and parish churches was drawn up for the Irish Parliament. The Irish cathedrals were divided into two groups: those standing and not ruined and those that were not standing, ruined and in need of re-edification. Out of the thirty-one cathedrals mentioned in the bill only eight were in the former group. These were the two Dublin cathedrals; St Laserian’s, Leighlin; St Canice’s Kilkenny; Holy Trinity, Waterford; St Patrick’s, Cashel; St Fin Barre’s, Cork; and St Mary’s, Limerick. With the exception of St Laserian’s, Leighlin, all of these could be considered as the principal cathedrals in the Irish cathedral system. Most of them, except for St Patrick’s, Cashel, and St Laserian’s, Leighlin, were located in relatively secure parts of the country and away from the principal arenas of conflict in Tudor Ireland. Yet the bill proposed that the bishops and deans and chapters of these cathedrals were to repair the fabric of their churches, suggesting that even these few cathedrals were in poor condition.
The bill also proposed that some of the cathedrals that were not standing and ruined should be re-established in neighbouring towns. St Mary’s, Tuam, was to be relocated at the collegiate church of St Nicholas in Galway city, while St Edan’s, Ferns, was to be re-established at Wexford. Likewise, St Brendan’s, Ardfert, was to be transferred to the town of Dingle. In the province of Ulster, a number of the cathedrals were to be relocated to the new plantation towns. These included the see of Raphoe being transferred to Donegal town and that of Kilmore being transferred to Cavan town. In the east of the province St Saviour’s, Connor, was to be re-erected at Carrickfergus and Christ the Redeemer, Dromore, at Newry. Such alterations would reflect contemporary settlement patterns, which had changed since these ancient Christian sites had first been chosen as diocesan centres. The rest of the cathedrals were to be re-erected where they stood, although the dioceses that had been united in perpetuity, such as Down and Connor or Waterford and Lismore, had only to ensure that one of their cathedrals was rebuilt. The bill was never enacted, as it was not included in the revised programme of legislation returned by the English Privy Council in 1612.

It is significant that none of the cathedrals identified as standing and not ruined was located in the ecclesiastical provinces of Armagh or Tuam. Almost all of the cathedrals of Ulster were affected by the Tudor conquest. St Patrick’s, Armagh, was used as a garrison by Lord Deputy Sussex and was subsequently attacked, ‘ruinated’ and had its steeple demolished by Shane O’Neill. The cathedral was once again used as a garrison, both by the English and the Gaelic Irish, during the Nine Years War. In 1601 it was burnt by the Gaelic Irish to prevent the forces of Lord Mountjoy taking it. A picture of the cathedral from the early 1600s shows the church unglazed and the nave and south transept uncovered. Evidence of the cathedral’s military use can be seen in the form of a firing platform adjoining the east window. During the rebellion of Shane O’Neill, the English used St Columb’s, Derry, as an arsenal and it was accidentally blown up in 1568. In 1622 Bishop Spottiswood reported that St Macartin’s, Clogher, had been destroyed during the late wars. Therefore, the destruction of most of the cathedrals of Ulster can be dated to the latter half of the sixteenth century. In one case, the destruction can possibly be dated to

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3 Regal Visitation of Armagh, 1622 (N.L.I., Ms. 2669, f. 1).
6 Ibid., p. 42.
as early as 1538. According to the Annals of Ulster, Lord Deputy Grey burnt Downpatrick cathedral in that year. The historian, Richard Stanihurst, claimed that the lord deputy used the church as a stable for his horses. But there is conflicting evidence that the destruction of Downpatrick may have occurred much later. In the 1640s a Jesuit, Father Edmund MacCora, recorded that local tradition maintained that Edward Cromwell, who commanded a garrison at Down during the Nine Years War, set the cathedral on fire.

Although the destruction of most of the cathedrals in the province of Tuam has likewise been attributed to the Tudor conquest, there is little documentary evidence to substantiate this. On the other hand the poor condition of two cathedrals, St Patrick’s, Killala, and St Crumnathy’s, Achonry, was attributed to the carelessness and corruption of the Archbishop of Cashel, Miler McGrath, who held these sees in commendam. In the province of Dublin, the destruction of St Brigid’s, Kildare, was said to have occurred in the last war and in 1622 its nave remained uncovered. In the visitation of 1615 it was reported that St Edan’s, Ferns, had been burnt down during the time of the rebellions. Subsequently divine service was celebrated in an aisle of the church. The O’Byrnes of Wicklow bore responsibility for this destruction in the 1570s and Queen Elizabeth ordered them to repair the cathedral. However, less than half of the cathedral was repaired and what appears to have been rebuilt was the chancel, with the side aisles, transepts and nave left in ruins. [See Fig. 4.1a & Fig. 4.1b] In the province of Cashel, St Carthage’s, Lismore, was reputed to have been destroyed during the Desmond Rebellion by the White Knight, Edmond FitzGibbon.

On the other hand, the poor condition of the Irish cathedrals cannot wholly be attributed to conflict. Most of the cathedrals were ancient structures and their fabrics naturally deteriorated over time. Accidents also happened. In 1562 the south wall of the nave of

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9 The King to the Lord Deputy for the Bishop of Killala and Achonry, 1 July 1629 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625 – 32, p. 458).
10 Copy of visitation 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 2158, f. 122v).
Christ Church, Dublin, collapsed as a result of structural defects, leaving almost half the cathedral in ruins.\(^1\) Over the following two years the dean and chapter tried to hastily repair the creaking fabric. The proctor who oversaw this work was Peter Lewis and his accounts chart the successful attempt to provide a utilitarian solution to the catastrophe.\(^5\) Although the repairs were of little architectural merit and bore little relationship with those parts of the cathedral that remained intact, the speed helped to ensure that the rest of the cathedral did not collapse.\(^6\) The cathedral was further damaged in 1597 when a consignment of gunpowder at Woodquay exploded.\(^7\) The damage incurred by this blast was cited as one of the reasons for the dean and chapter being granted a new charter in 1604.\(^8\) This new charter did little to alleviate the structural problems and throughout the early Stuart period the dean and chapter continued to complain of the decay of the cathedral's fabric. In 1607 three members of the chapter, Nicholas Robinson, Thomas Baugh and Barnaby Bolger, were ordered to view the 'ruinated' places belonging to the church.\(^9\) Little appears to have been achieved, for in the 1620s the dean and chapter used the state of decay to demand the payment of arrears from their tenants, the city and the crown.\(^10\) In a letter to the lord deputy for the rent of the Four Courts, the dean and chapter described the decay as great and dangerous, so much so that in rough and stormy weather, the lord deputy and council went to a private chapel for divine worship. Despite these claims by the members of the cathedral, two visitors to early seventeenth century Dublin observed that Christ Church was in good repair. The first, Luke Gernon, noted that Christ Church was in a better state of repair than St Patrick's Dublin.\(^11\) The second, Sir William Brereton, described a cathedral that was in an adequate state of repair. He also claimed that St Patrick's, Dublin, was the 'best-kept and repaired' church in Ireland. Moreover, at both cathedrals he particularly noted the chancels or choirs and inferred that this was where particular attention had been directed. Even though the naves of both churches were

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\(^2\) Raymond Gillespie (ed.), *The proctor's accounts of Peter Lewis, 1564-5* (Dublin, 1997).

\(^3\) Roger Stalley, 'The 1562 collapse of the nave and its aftermath', pp 221 – 23.

\(^4\) Ibid., p. 223.

\(^5\) A typescript copy of a charter of James I to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin (N.L.I., Ms. 1618, no. 3, p. 1).


\(^7\) Ibid., pp 144 – 45, 151 – 53.

in an adequate state of repair it appears that the deans and chapters of both cathedrals were concentrating their limited resources on the maintenance of their choirs or chancels.22

The subjective nature of observation apparent in the descriptions of the cathedrals suggests differences in what was meant by the terms repaired and ruined. No common standard was set in any of the visitation articles of the early seventeenth century. The differences can clearly be seen in the visitations of St Mel’s, Ardagh, in the early Stuart period. In 1615 the church and chancel were described as repaired and roofed.23 Just seven years later this cathedral church was recorded as ruinous.24 Less than ten years later, during the episcopate of William Bedell, St Mel’s, Ardagh, was described as being down to the ground.25 All of these descriptions were made during a time of general stability and so war cannot be the reason for the deteriorating condition of the cathedral. It would appear that different visitors were applying different standards and that the visitors of 1615 were generally the most optimistic but least accurate observers.26 Similarly, the 1615 visitations of St Colman’s, Cloyne, St Fachtna’s, Ross, and St Brendan’s, Clonfert, described them as in good repair. On the other hand, they had all been classified as decayed in the 1611 bill for the re-edification of cathedrals.27 Likewise, St Fin Barre’s Cork, was described in the 1611 bill as in repair but in the 1620s Luke Gernon described the same cathedral as in decay.28 Therefore, the subjective nature of observation led to different interpretations being applied in reporting on the state of the Irish cathedrals.

Despite these differences of interpretation, there clearly was a gradual improvement of the fabric of the Irish cathedrals throughout the early Stuart period. Rebuilding work at St Patrick’s, Armagh, started as early as 1605.29 During the episcopacy of Christopher Hampton (1613 – 25) the income derived from the properties of the Culdees or vicars choral, amounting to £47 a year, was spent in repairing and building the cathedral.30 By 1622 the cathedral’s steeple was rebuilt, the south and north walls re-erected with ‘fair’

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23 Regal Visitation, 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836, f. 120).
24 Copy of bishops’ returns for Ulster in 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 550, ff 154 – 55).
27 Regal Visitation, 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836, ff 67v, 75, 104v).
30 Copy of the Inquisition on Culdees of Armagh, 1625 (R.C.B., Ms. 32, p. 5).
windows and the south and north aisle re-roofed. The visitation of 1615 recorded that the bishop and clergy of the diocese of Elphin were rebuilding their cathedral. In 1620 it was reported that St Alibeus’s, Emly, had recently been re-roofed and that it had a choir [chancel] and a sacristy. The 1622 visitations recorded that significant progress had been achieved in a number of cathedrals. Christ the Redeemer’s, Dromore, was described as almost fully rebuilt and glazed. Similarly, St Fethlimidh’s, Kilmore, was reported as newly built and repaired. When William Bedell arrived the church was described as built but without a steeple. In 1615 the earl of Cork, who held the economy tithes of St Carthage’s, Lismore, was ordered to repair the cathedral and provide ornaments and other necessities and in 1623 a small portion of the cathedral was standing, furnished and glazed. The earl carried out further repairs in 1627. In 1615 only the chancel of St Flannan’s, Killaloe, was described as in repair. By 1622 the choir was reported as in good repair, the roof well timbered and slated and the church well glazed. Furthermore, the nave of the cathedral was in the process of reconstruction. Materials had been purchased, scaffolding had been erected and it was anticipated that the work would be completed by the summer of 1622. A start was also made to the repair of St Eunan’s, Raphoe. During the two years prior to the visitation the walls were re-erected and a roof was about to be set up. Ten years later the bishop, dean and chapter were still working together to re-edify the cathedral. It was also reported in 1622 that the dean and chapter of St Brigid’s, Kildare, had lately re-edified and decently beautified the chancel of their cathedral. St Mary’s, Limerick, was another cathedral that was repaired in the Jacobean period. In the early 1600s the newly installed Bishop of Limerick, Bernard Adams, found his cathedral to be greatly injured and almost ruined as a result of the wars and rebellions of the sixteenth century. A major restoration programme was initiated and the walls, windows and roof were all restored. The earl of Thomond also assisted in the repair of the cathedral. His will of 1617 bequeathed all the glass and lead not used in the repair of

31 Visitation of the Diocese of Armagh, 1622 (N.L.I., Ms. 2669, p. 1).
32 Regal Visitation, 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836, f. 110).
33 St John D. Seymour, The Diocese of Emly (Dublin, 1913), p. 86.
34 Visitation of the Diocese of Dromore, 1622 (N.L.I., Ms. 2669, p. 1).
35 Copy of bishops’ returns for Ulster in 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 550, p. 142).
37 Regal Visitation 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836, f. 44); Correspondence and notes relating to and texts of W.H. Rennison’s unpublished History of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (R.C.B., Ms. 40/2/10, p. 16).
38 Regal Visitation 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836, f. 86).
39 Philip Dwyer, History of Killaloe from the Reformation to the Close of the Eighteenth Century (Dublin, 1878), p. 129.
40 Copy of bishops’ returns for Ulster in 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 550, p. 212).
42 Visitation of the Diocese of Kildare, 1622 (N.L.I., Ms. 10793, folder ix).
his castle at Bunratty to St Mary's, Limerick, and £20 for the adornment of the choir of the
cathedral.44 These renovations were observed in the 1620s by Luke Gernon who described
the cathedral as not large but very lightsome and ‘fairly beutified within.’45 But not all
attempts to repair cathedrals were successful during this period. At St Fachan’s, Kilfenora,
the dean sought help from the local sheriff and the presidency of Munster. Aid was not
forthcoming and subsequently the dean complained to the lord deputy that the state of the
cathedral church grew worse each day ‘to the dishonour of God’s service, the disgrace of
our profession and to the great sorrow of all religious hearts’.46

While the Jacobean period was one of cathedral restoration, the Caroline period was one
of cathedral construction. The principal cathedral constructed during this period was St
Columb’s, Derry. The 1622 visitation reported that there was hardly any ruins left of the
cathedral and the citizens of Londonderry worshipped in the church of the dissolved
monastery of St Augustine’s.47 The same year a survey was undertaken by Sir Thomas
Phelps to inquire into the state of the Londoners plantation. One of the criticisms
contained in the reports of this inquiry was that the Irish Society had not yet begun to
build a church for the city of Londonderry and the parish of Templemore. The repaired
monastery could not cater for the needs of the parish as it could only accommodate half of
the citizens.48 In 1624 the Privy Council ordered that ‘a fair and convenient’ church be
erected in the city.49 The Common Council of the City of London dismissed this order on
the grounds that the size of the population of the city did not justify the expenditure.
Instead the Council gave orders for the enlarging and repairing of the monastery, which
they envisaged would be sufficient for the needs of the population of the parish.50 In 1625
a revised programme of reform of the Londoners plantation was issued and included
instructions for the immediate preparation for the erection of a new church.51 In 1627 the
attorney general and solicitor general reported to the king that the council and committee

Mary’s, Limerick, were paid for by the citizens of Limerick and not, as Ware asserts, by Bishop Adams:
46 Complaints and grievances to be made about the present occasions of this provincial agency into England
in the behalf of the clergy of Munster (T.C.D., Ms. 1188, ff 17v – 18).
47 Copy of bishops’ returns for Ulster in 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 550, p. 188).
50 Answer of the Common Council of the city of London concerning the alleged defects in their Ulster
of the city were willing to commence the construction of a new church. In August of that year the building of the cathedral started. The work was contracted out to a William Parrott and Sir John Vaughan appears to have been the supervisor. A budget of £3,400 was set and a further £100 was set aside as a bonus for Parrott but the final cost was to be in the region of £4,000. By 1632 the walls of the cathedral were erected but the roof still needed to be set in place. Lead was obtained from London and the cathedral was finished in 1633. This was the first cathedral to be built in the British Isles since the Reformation. It was built in the Tudor gothic perpendicular style and consisted of a short porch, a massive western tower, an aisled nave, and a short chancel that was accommodated within the body of the nave. [Fig. 4.2a] On the exterior north and south walls of the chancel two turrets were built, which were surmounted with cupolas. The cathedral’s most distinctive feature is its perpendicular style east window. [Fig. 4.2b] The cathedral was old fashioned in style and was designed with the parish churches of London in mind, which would have been familiar to the settlers in the plantation. Furthermore, the cathedral contains no classical stylistic conventions, which were then in vogue at the Stuart Court, suggesting a rejection of Caroline sensibilities and its concomitant Laudian religious outlook.

While the cathedral at Londonderry was being completed the reconstruction of another cathedral was commencing. In 1634 the earl of Cork wrote in his diary that he had expended £217 14s 9d on the chancel of St Carthage’s, Lismore. The walls were rebuilt and plastered, new windows were put in and glazed and a new roof was erected and covered with slate. The earl also ordered the nave and aisles of the cathedral to be cleared of debris in order to prepare this section to be ‘new built and re-edified’. The labourers were paid £5 to do this work. Work on the nave and aisles does not appear to have commenced until 1638 when the earl noted in his diary that the old ruins of the cathedral were being pulled down to make way for the rebuilding of the cathedral. The earl employed a stonemason, Thomas Pranker, who was paid in 1638 for making a stone door case for the west end of the cathedral. Pranker also received payment for dismantling the

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54 Ibid., pp 276 – 77.
55 Peter Galloway, *Cathedrals of Ireland*, pp 67 – 69; *St Columb’s Cathedral, Londonderry* (Londonderry, 1938), pp 15 – 16; J.G. Day & H.E. Patten, *The Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland*, p. 34.
58 Lismore Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 6898, Disbursements 14 Dec. 1633).
windows of the North Abbey in Youghal and the abbey of Castileyons, with a view to inserting this masonry into the walls of Lismore cathedral.\textsuperscript{59} This work appears to have been carried out in accordance with an order of the bishop, dean and chapter.\textsuperscript{60} By 1639 the reconstruction appears to have stalled over some legalities in that order. In September of that year the estate agent at Lismore wrote to the earl saying that the dean could not get the chapter act passed and urged him to wait until they could find out who was the cause of the delay.\textsuperscript{61} The following year the earl wrote to the bishop, John Atherton, stating that he had provided all the materials necessary for the reconstruction of the cathedral, but no chapter act had as yet been passed. The earl urged Atherton to obtain a legal act, as the earl was reluctant to commence the project until he was warranted to do so.\textsuperscript{62} It appears that work recommenced in the spring of 1640. In January the builder reported to the earl that the new arch for the crossing had been prepared and that the great window from the abbey at Cork had been brought to Lismore to be incorporated into the cathedral. The builder’s correspondence to the earl also explained that the roof of the cathedral was to be modelled on the roof of St Mary’s collegiate church in Youghal.\textsuperscript{63} Further evidence of work done in 1640 is apparent from the earl’s accounts of that year, whereby the cathedral’s east window was glazed at a cost of 16s 4d.\textsuperscript{64} Further glazing took place in 1641 and in the same year the roof was tiled at a cost of £3 15s 8d.\textsuperscript{65}

The construction of these two cathedrals was the most significant development for the fabric of the cathedral system in early Stuart Ireland. Meanwhile, the repair of other cathedrals continued apace up to the early 1640s. In 1633 a letter from the precentor of St Mary’s, Elphin, James Croxton, to Archbishop Laud described the cathedral at Elphin as in no good condition.\textsuperscript{66} Two years later Lord Deputy Wentworth visited the cathedral and described it as a handsome little church.\textsuperscript{67} Similarly, in the early 1640s a thorough repair of Cloyne cathedral was undertaken. The choir was re-glazed, iron was procured for the west window and a new bell was hung up in the round tower.\textsuperscript{68} There were also proposals to build a new cathedral for the diocese of Down and

\textsuperscript{59} Lismore Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 6899); Rolf Loeber, \textit{A Biographical dictionary of Architects in Ireland, 1600 – 1720} (Southampton, 1981), pp 84 – 85.
\textsuperscript{60} A.B. Grosart (ed.), \textit{The Lismore papers}, 2nd Series, vol. v, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{61} John Walley to the Earl of Cork, 4 Sept. 1639 (N.L.I., Ms. 12,813, vol.iii, p. 537).
\textsuperscript{62} Earl of Cork to the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, 14 Feb. 1640 (R.I.A., Ms. 24 Q 4, f. 1v).
\textsuperscript{63} J. Warren to the Earl of Cork, 28 Jan. 1640 (N.L.I., Ms. 13,237, f. 1v).
\textsuperscript{64} Lismore Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 6239, Disbursements 6 Aug. 1640).
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., Disbursements 24 July 1641.
\textsuperscript{67} Strafford to Laud, 14 July 1635 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book vi, p. 209).
\textsuperscript{68} William Caulfield, \textit{Annals of the cathedral of St Colman’s Cloyne} (Cork, 1882), p. 17.
Connor, Dr Henry Leslie, wrote to Archbishop Laud regarding the rebuilding of the cathedral in his diocese.\(^69\) Subsequently, an act of state provided for the ‘abler sort’ in the diocese to contribute to the estimated cost and directed the removal of the cathedral from Downpatrick to Carrickfergus, ‘for the better convenience of all’. Similar acts of state were intended for the other cathedrals and by doing so the cathedral system of Ireland could be rebuilt within a few years.\(^70\) Wentworth also proposed that the ‘rude, barbarous fabric’ of Christ Church, Dublin, should be pulled down and the cathedral ‘nobly’ rebuilt at the cost of £20,000 - £30,000, a sum that reflected its position as the principal cathedral of the State.\(^71\) To reflect this status a different act of state would be needed to fund this project through which the whole kingdom could contribute. The proposed act of state was to direct the House of Commons to provide two subsidies of £10,000 each while the remaining £10,000 was to be granted by the lords and the council. In 1637 Wentworth claimed that £4,000 had already been raised,\(^72\) but by the following year poor economic conditions had stalled the project.\(^73\) With the fall of Wentworth in 1641, the proposals for a new cathedral in the diocese of Down, the rebuilding of Christ Church, Dublin, and the rebuilding of cathedrals elsewhere came to nought.

Significant progress in the reconstruction of the fabric of the cathedrals had been achieved in the early Stuart period. This progress was threatened by the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion. During the period 1641-2 at least seven cathedrals, mostly in Ulster, were attacked and left ruined. In 1642 St Patrick’s, Armagh, was burned down.\(^74\) Sir Phelim O’Neill has traditionally been blamed, but a Catholic priest observed at the time that when the city was burnt in May 1642, the warm weather and winds helped the flames reach the cathedral.\(^75\) In 1657 an inquisition into the parishes of the diocese of Armagh found that although the ‘enemy’ had burnt the church down, the walls were still standing.\(^76\) Likewise, St Saviour’s, Connor, was badly damaged in the rebellion and in 1657 it was described as

\(^71\) Wentworth to Laud, 10 Apr. 1638 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book vii, f. 83); Laud to Wentworth, 22 June 1638 (ibid., f. 117v).
\(^72\) Laud to Wentworth, 18 Oct. 1637 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book vii, f. 54v).
\(^73\) Wentworth to Laud, 16 Nov. 1637 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book vii, f. 73).
\(^74\) Walter Harris, Some account of ye Cathedral Church of Armagh (P.R.O.N.I., DIO4/39/2/1/2); Edward Rogers, Memoir of the Armagh Cathedral (Armagh, 1882), p. 98; J. Davidson, Notices, Historical and Topographical relating to the Cathedral of St Patrick’s, Armagh (Armagh, 1835), p. 7.
\(^76\) Inquisition into the parishes of Co. Armagh, 1657 (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/28, p. 8).
out of repair.77 Christ the Redeemer's, Dromore, was also attacked in 1641 but the damages it sustained were not as serious, for in 1657 the cathedral was described as partly ruined.78 In the province of Cashel, the nave of St Fachtna’s, Ross, was levelled. Only the choir and two side chapels were left intact and it was reputed that these were used as a slaughterhouse for cows and sheep.79

Some of the other cathedral churches were destroyed accidentally during the 1640s. St Brendan’s, Ardfert, was burnt down when a fire in the neighbouring castle, caused by confederate forces, spread to the cathedral.80 St Brigid’s, Kildare, does not appear to have been damaged as a result of the rebellion, although the rest of the town appears to have been destroyed by the rebels.81 But the cathedral did become a ruin in the early 1640s. Studies of the ruins of the nave and transepts in the nineteenth century suggest that structural defects rather than conflict were the cause of the cathedral’s ruinous condition. It appears that the north wall of the nave fell taking with it sections of the east and west walls. These sections then collapsed on top of the north transept and the choir.82 On the other hand, the conflict prevented any attempts to reconstruct the cathedral and in 1657 the church was described as being out of repair.83

The destruction of Irish cathedrals during the period 1641 to 1660 can be attributed to not only Confederate or Catholic forces but also Protestant or Parliamentarian forces. In September 1647 Baron Inchiquin attacked St Patrick’s, Cashel, because of its strategic and defensive position. Despite the topography of the Rock of Cahel, the parliamentarian forces managed to gain a foothold and proceeded to wreck and burn the cathedral. The destruction does not appear to have been as extensive as portrayed in contemporary description of the event, as the cathedral was re-consecrated by the Catholics the following year.84 Another cathedral that was attacked by parliamentarian forces was Holy Trinity,

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77 Peter Galloway, The Cathedrals of Ireland, p. 56.
78 Ibid., p. 77; E.D. Atkinson, Dromore: An Ulster diocese (Dundalk, 1925), p. 139.
80 Francis Nunan, Kerry’s Ancient See and Shrine (Tralee, 1950), p. 39.
Waterford, but the damages appear to have been superficial. In the immediate aftermath of the Commonwealth victory there was a proposal to pull down this cathedral. One of the Commonwealth commissioners appointed to govern the city, Samuel Wade, believed that it would be better to receive £700 for the materials from the church rather than maintain a ‘steeple house.’ He also claimed that since the congregation was small they could all be accommodated in the Blackfriars church. This proposal was counter argued by another commissioner, Mr Watts, who anticipated a growth in their congregation and consequently the cathedral would be a useful venue in the future. The proposal was dismissed and the cathedral remained. At around the same time St Canices’s, Kilkenny, was attacked and damaged by parliamentarian forces. When the bishop, Griffith Williams, returned to his see at the Restoration he wrote that he found St Canice’s cathedral in ruins and without a roof, windows or doors, with only the walls left standing. Bishop Williams blamed this destruction on the puritans. Amongst the items destroyed was the east window, which depicted the life, passion, resurrection and ascension of Jesus and which was reputed to be the finest example of medieval stained glass in Ireland at the time.

Although the period 1641 – 1660 is best remembered as a period of destruction, it was to a limited extent a period of partial reconstruction of churches. In 1643 St Carthag’s, Lismore, was used in the attack on the earl of Cork’s castle. Shortly afterwards money was expended on its repair. In 1644 £9 was spent on re-glazing the church. During the 1650s the earl continued to take on the responsibility of maintaining the church and among his accounts for 1657 is £10 for repairing the church at Lismore. The earl also indicated that he intended to finish the reconstruction of the cathedral that had been started by his father and was encouraged in this regard by the puritan Walter Gostelow. In the Catholic Confederate areas attempts were made to reconstruct cathedrals. A monument in

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85 R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/34.
86 Proceedings of the Council of Ireland, 1655 (N.L.I., Ms. 839, f. 12).
87 Griffith Williams, Persecution and Oppression ... of John Bale (London, 1664), pp 16 – 17.
88 [Griffith W[illiams], Seven Treatises very necessary to be observed in these very bad days (London, 1661), prefatory remonstrance.]
89 G[iffith W[illiams]], Seven Treatises very necessary to be observed in these very bad days (London, 1661), prefatory remonstrance.
90 William Carrigan, The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory (4 vols, Dublin, 1905), vol. iii, p. 7. The stained glass window so impressed the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, that he wanted to take it back to Italy with him.
91 Lismore Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 6900, Disbursements, 3 Feb. 1644, 27 June 1644, 6 July 1644).
92 Lismore Papers (N.L.I., Ms. 6256, ff 3, 6).
93 Walter Gostelow, Charles Stuart and Oliver Cromwell United (London, 1654), p. 22; Raymond Gillespie, Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland (Manchester, 2005), p. 137.
St Ciaran’s, Clonmacnoise, commemorates the restoring of the cathedral in 1646.\(^{94}\) St Colman’s, Kilmacduagh, was partially restored and re-roofed by Dr Hugh de Burgo in the late 1640s.\(^{95}\) Similarly, Dr Francis Kirwan restored the fabric of St Patrick’s, Killala, when he took possession of the see in 1646.\(^{96}\) These restorations were to a have a limited impact because of the rise to power of the Commonwealth regime in 1649 – 50.

The perception that the Commonwealth regime was a desecrator of church fabric, propagated in part by the attitudes of Griffith Williams, is only one side of the story. It is true that puritans desecrated churches and they may have even stabled their horses in cathedrals.\(^{97}\) On the other hand, once in power they were prepared to expend money on rebuilding churches, some of which had been cathedrals. In 1655 an order was issued for the meeting place at Limerick to be repaired.\(^{98}\) In the Commonwealth account books there was a sum of about £60 expended on St Mary’s, Limerick.\(^{99}\) The same year a further order was made for the great meeting place at Waterford to be repaired at the cost of £500.\(^{100}\) These repairs were carried out in 1656.\(^{101}\) A couple of cathedral villages petitioned the regime to repair their local centres of worship. Killaloe’s petition does not appear to have been effective.\(^{102}\) Cloyne’s petition appears to have garnered more support.\(^{103}\) Moreover, Christ Church, Dublin, as the church of the State, received support from the regime for its maintenance. In 1654 the Commissioner General of Revenue and Stores was ordered to consider how the public meeting place at Christ Church was to be put in to repair.\(^{104}\) The State undertook this responsibility and expended just under £200 in the period 1656-9, thus ensuring the cathedral did not degenerate into a further state of decay.\(^{105}\)

Despite these initiatives undertaken during the *interregnum*, many cathedrals were in a dilapidated condition at the Restoration. The situation confronting the cathedral system in


\(^{98}\) St John D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/20, p. 25).


\(^{100}\) St John D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/20, p. 25).


\(^{102}\) St John D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/20, p. 32).

\(^{103}\) Ibid., pp 45, 53.

\(^{104}\) Ibid., p. 23.

the 1660s was summed up in a petition to the king from the deans and chapters of the two Dublin cathedrals, which mentioned that all the cathedrals were miserably decayed or destroyed by the late invasion.106 Considering the state of Ireland and of the established church it is not surprising for the archbishop of Armagh to express his opinion that this was not an age for cathedral building.107 On the other hand, it was a period for cathedral restoration. St Canice’s, Kilkenny was one of the first cathedrals to be restored. By 1664 a programme of repair had been initiated that was to take ten years to complete.108 In 1664 the restoration of the steeple was completed and by 1665 the choir and the chancel were repaired.109 After these initial developments the restoration programme appears to have slowed down for in 1667 the nave was still ruinous.110 By 1670 it seems that the major work had been completed, as the Chapter Act book, which commences in that year, does not give any evidence for large scale works in the late Stuart period. On the other hand, the cathedral appears to have been kept in good repair from this date by conscientious clergymen. To that end, the chapter employed permanent workmen to preserve the roofs, chancel, chapels and aisles.111

In the province of Armagh, the choir of Christ the Redeemer’s, Dromore, was repaired in the early 1660s.112 The primatial see itself was also restored in the 1660s. By 1663 the choir was repaired and during the primacy of James Margetson the crossing tower, aisles and nave were roofed. Primate Margetson also raised the church's steeple a story higher and placed battlements on the cathedral walls. By 1673 the cathedral was described in a visitation as in good repair,113 but another report from around the same time suggests that parts of the cathedral remained ruined.114 The condition of the fabric of Christ Church, Dublin, was less problematic and it was not until April 1663 that the chapter contracted a
Mr John Mills to begin work on the cathedral’s repair. It was not until the late 1660s and 1670s that the cathedral’s accounts began to show evidence for major restoration activity. Attention was focussed on the choir. In 1675 and 1676 £230 5s was spent on a new roof for the choir. In 1679 Charles II granted the cathedral £100 to repair and adorn the choir, although it is unclear what this actually entailed. It is apparent from these cases that in the Restoration period resources were initially concentrated on the choirs or chancels of the cathedrals. In part, this was dictated by the lack of resources. In many cases it was not economically viable to restore the whole cathedral. But this development also reflected the increased importance of the choir over the nave that had emerged in the 1630s.

In 1679 a visitation enquired whether Christ Church, Dublin, was kept in good order and sufficient repair. No return exists for this visitation and so the only indication of the state of the cathedral in the early 1680s is a drawing of the cathedral by Thomas Dineley. This shows the cathedral in a reasonable state of repair. Dineley also drew a picture of St Patrick’s, Dublin, and this too appears to have been kept in good repair. Immediately following the Restoration, St Patrick’s was in a greater state of decay in comparison to Christ Church. In 1660 an appeal was made to the citizens of Dublin for aid to repair this decayed and ruinous church. Around the same time, the inhabitants of the county of Dublin, concerned that the ‘goodly and vast fabrick’ of the cathedral would fall down on the congregation, formed a committee to fund the repair of the church. Arrangements were also made for the sheriff of the county of Dublin to collect money for the repair of the cathedral and for this money to be audited. How much money was raised or what work was carried out is unclear, but what is clear is that the cathedral continued to have serious structural defects. In 1666 the dean and chapter found that the spire was out of repair and an order was issued to repair it. This damage appears to have been caused by a thunderstorm. In 1667 a survey found that part of the south

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116 R.C.B., C6/1/26/2/14, f. 4; C6/1/15/1.
119 R.C.B., C6/1/26/7.
120 Observations in a voyage through the Kingdom of Ireland by Thomas Dineley, 1680 (N.L.I., Ms. 392).
121 Peter Galloway, The Cathedrals of Ireland, p. 87.
122 Chetham Library, Manchester, Mss. A 677, pp 342 – 43.
side of the cathedral was ruinous and subsequently an order was made for it to be speedily repaired.\textsuperscript{125} The following year the chapter decided not to hold their meetings in the cathedral because they considered it to be too dangerous.\textsuperscript{126} In 1669, following an inspection of the body of the cathedral, it was discovered that the whole roof was likely to fall down. Subsequently, an order was made for the whole roof to be taken down and the lower windows to be reinforced with brick so as to secure the timber in the roof.\textsuperscript{127} In 1671 forty tons of timber was procured from Co. Wicklow and shipped to the city.

Articles were drawn up with a Mr Lucas for the nave and aisles to be roofed and slated.\textsuperscript{128} Further contracts were drawn up with William Cole and Richard Mills to build three buttresses, Richard Lewes to flag and maintain the battlements adjoining the new roof, Thomas Spencer for plastering the roofs of the great aisle, chapter house and vaults of the choir and John Lineagar for slating the aisle.\textsuperscript{129} Ten years later the job of re-roofing the whole cathedral was still not complete as the roof of the choir still needed to be repaired.\textsuperscript{130} Furthermore, in 1684 the roof over the north aisle threatened to collapse and the dean and chapter immediately ordered it to be repaired.\textsuperscript{131}

Thomas Dineley also sketched a picture of St Mary’s, Limerick, which appears to have been well maintained. [Fig. 4.5] He also described this cathedral as a fair church with a large square steeple.\textsuperscript{132} This cathedral appears to have undergone extensive renovations in the 1660s.\textsuperscript{133} In 1672 the Common Council of the City of Limerick, who had responsibility for the maintenance of the cathedral’s nave, ordered a committee to determine what annual charge from the city would be needed to keep the nave in ‘decent order and good repair.’\textsuperscript{134} In 1676 it was reported that part of the south aisle of the cathedral was open to the elements. The bishop of Limerick, John Vesey, proposed to rebuild the aisle and glaze the windows.\textsuperscript{135} The extent of the repairs needed to the south aisle in 1676 is unclear as in 1685 the dean and chapter ordered the windows to be re-glazed and a new roof to be erected in the south aisle beside the choir.\textsuperscript{136} Another

\textsuperscript{125} R.C.B., C2/1/3/2, f. 102.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., f. 107.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., f. 112.
\textsuperscript{128} Chapter Book of the Cathedral Church of St Patrick’s Dublin, 1670 – 78 (T.C.D., Ms. 555, ff 4, 6v).
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., f. 8v; R.C.B., C2/2/60 – 62.
\textsuperscript{130} R.C.B., C2/1/3/4, ff 61v, 72.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid., ff 125v – 126.
\textsuperscript{132} Observations in a voyage through the Kingdom of Ireland by Thomas Dineley, 1680 (N.L.I., Ms. 392, f. 129).
\textsuperscript{133} J.G.F. Day and H.F. Patton, The Cathedrals of the Church of Ireland, p. 154.
\textsuperscript{134} Assembly Book of Limerick City containing minutes, 1672 – 80 (N.L.I., Ms. 89, f. 14).
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., f. 109.
\textsuperscript{136} St Mary’s Cathedral Limerick, Chapter Act Book, ff 15 – 16.
cathedral that Dineley observed on his travels was St Alibeus’s, Emly. The picture of this cathedral shows that the chancel was covered but the rest of the cathedral, including the nave and transepts, appear to have been in ruins. In all probability the chancel was repaired during the Restoration period, as the cathedral was not included in a list of churches in the diocese that were in a satisfactory condition for the celebration of divine services in 1670.

At St Colman’s, Cloyne, minor repairs to the cathedral began in the early 1660s and continued right through to the 1680s. In 1686 a major inspection of the roof of the chancel initiated a total overhaul of the cathedral and the construction of a new chapter house. St Edan’s, Ferns, was re-roofed in the 1670s. Likewise, St Eunan’s, Raphoe, got its roof from the chancel to the west end mended in the 1680s. The dean and chapter of St Flannan’s, Killaloe, made an order in 1676 for the repair of the chancel and roof of the cathedral, which were then described as ruinous. In 1667 the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Cashel, ordered timber to be bought to repair and secure the choir of the cathedral. Two years later the chapter agreed articles for the repair of the choir with a James Blake. Here once again is evidence for a dean and chapter devoting their limited resources to a portion of the cathedral rather than attempting to restore the entire fabric. The only other section of St Patrick’s, Cashel, that was repaired in the Restoration period was the steeple. The intention of abandoning the nave was plainly expressed in a capitular order of June 1688 for ‘a good wall of lime and stone to be erected in the upper corner of the choir and a handsome door and door case to be made and placed there.’ Essentially what this meant was that the most easterly arch under the crossing tower was to be blocked, effectively separating the choir from the rest of the church. It appears that this was not carried out until the late 1690s.

137 Observations in a voyage through the Kingdom of Ireland by Thomas Dineley, 1680 (N.L.I., Ms. 392, f. 119).
138 St John D. Seymour, The Diocese of Emly, p. 89.
139 R.C.B., C12/1/1, ff 4, 7, 8.
140 R.C.B., C12/2/1, p. 11.
141 T.H.C. McFall, An Account of the History of Ferns Cathedral, p. 9.
142 St Eunan’s, Raphoe, Vestry Minute Book (P.R.O.N.I., Mic. 1/95, ff 14, 16).
143 Killaloe Cathedral Register, 1661 – 1842 (T.C.D., Ms. 1825, f. 8).
145 J.D. White, Cashel of the Kings, p. 3.
St Carthage’s, Lismore, was also in a somewhat ruinous condition following the *interregnum*. Initially the choir was the focus for attention and this appears to have been repaired in the early 1660s by a John Nettles. Subsequently, the dean and chapter held their chapter meetings there as the chapter house was in ruins.\(^\text{147}\) A major restoration programme for the cathedral did not begin until the late 1670s.\(^\text{148}\) On 9 November 1679 the dean and chapter ordered the rebuilding of the cathedral church and engaged the architect William Robinson to carry out the work.\(^\text{149}\) A carpenter named Thomas Gent was employed to re-roof the cathedral.\(^\text{150}\) As the work progressed, the dean of Waterford, Dr Stanhope, reported to Dr William Molyneaux that although the cathedral had been in a tolerable condition the repairs would result in the creation of a ‘very faire and comely fabric’.\(^\text{151}\) The work was completed by 1687, cost £1,600 and involved the re-roofing of the nave and transepts, the reordering of the choir, the erection of a tower with a cupola and the building of a chapter house adjoining the north wall of the cathedral.\(^\text{152}\) [Fig. 4.7] Following the completion of the work, Thomas Gent was employed by the dean and chapter to keep the nave, aisles, chapter house and cupola in repair for the next seven years.\(^\text{153}\)

In contrast St Fin Barre’s, Cork, appears to have been in a relatively good condition since the chapter act book for the period following the Restoration contains few orders relating to repairs. In 1671 the dean and chapter decided to construct a tower for the cathedral and this appears to have been completed by 1673.\(^\text{154}\) In the early eighteenth century the chapter feared that the cathedral was in danger of collapsing and by then only the choir was in use. The medieval cathedral was eventually demolished and rebuilt in the 1730s.\(^\text{155}\) Holy Trinity, Waterford, was also in a good condition during the Restoration period. In a visitation of 1673 the choir was described as being in good repair, the nave in reasonable

\(^{147}\) St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 7.

\(^{148}\) Correspondence and notes relating to and texts of W.H. Rennison’s unpublished History of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (R.C.B., Ms. 40/2/13, f. 17).

\(^{149}\) St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 8. Sir William Robinson was the pre-eminent architect in Ireland in the latter half of the seventeenth century and was responsible for the design of the Charles Fort in Kinsale and the Royal Hospital in Kilmainham. As an architect he played a major role in the development of classicalism in Ireland: Rolf Loeberr, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Ireland, 1600 – 1720*, pp 89 – 94.

\(^{150}\) Correspondence and notes relating to and texts of W.H. Rennison’s unpublished History of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (R.C.B., Ms. 40/2/13, f. 18v).


\(^{152}\) St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 24; Peter Galloway, *Cathedrals of Ireland*, p. 168; T.M. Fallow, *Cathedral Churches of Ireland*, p. 67.

\(^{153}\) St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 25.

\(^{154}\) St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, ff 38, 64, 65.

repair and only two of the six side chapels were out of repair. One of these chapels, Our Lady’s, was repaired in 1675. The roof, ceilings and windows of the nave and side chapels were also constantly maintained throughout the 1670s and 1680s. In the 1680s the dean, Arthur Stanhope described the cathedral for William Molyneaux’s proposed natural history of Ireland as a uniform and well-compacted structure with a high tower on the north side of the church. [Fig. 4.8]

Despite Archbishop Margetson’s assertion that the Restoration period was not a time for cathedral building, two cathedrals were rebuilt in the 1670s and 1680s. The first of these was St Patrick’s, Killala, rebuilt during the episcopate of Thomas Otway (1670 – 79). The second was St Brigids, Kildare, which was consecrated on St Peter’s day (29 June) in 1686. Both cathedrals were simple auditory style chapels and both, in ecclesiological terms, represented the choir of the cathedral. St Brigid’s, Kildare, was built on the site of the ancient choir amid the ruins of the nave and transepts. [Fig. 4.9] The cathedral at Killala was constituted a choir despite the fact that a nave and transepts were absent from the surround. [Fig. 4.10] In essence these two cathedrals were further examples of the church concentrating its limited resources on only the most prominent part of a cathedral i.e. the choir. The quality of the fabric of both cathedrals was quite poor. Both were very plain and were generally of little architectural importance reflecting the relative poverty of the Church of Ireland in the latter Stuart period.

The poverty of the church is also evident in the number of cathedrals that remained ruinous in the latter half of the seventeenth century. During the triennial visitation of the archdiocese of Armagh in 1679 Holy Trinity, Down, was reported as ruined. In the province of Cashel the cathedrals of Ardfert and Aghadoe were both recorded in the 1680s as ruinous, although the south transept of St Brendan’s, Ardfert is reputed to have been repaired in the 1670s to serve as a parish church. In 1687 Sir Thomas Crosbie procured timber for rebuilding Ardfert cathedral, but the political instability of the late 1680s and

158 Ibid., pp 229, 231, 276, 279, 280.
160 The whole works of Sir James Ware, (ed.) W. Harris, (2 vols, Dublin, 1731-46), vol. i, p. 655.
161 W. Sherlock, Some account of St. Brigid, and of the see of Kildare, with its bishops, and of the cathedral, now restored (Dublin, 1896), p. 32.
163 Dr Molyneaux’s papers for ‘Natural History of Ireland’ (T.C.D., Ms. 883, vol. ii, ff 93 – 93v).
early 1690s hindered this project and the cathedral was reported as ruined in the visitation of 1693. Other cathedrals reported as being out of repair in this visitation included St Ciaran’s, Clonmacnoise; St Crummynthy’s, Achnony; and St Flannan’s, Killaloe. Killaloe appears to have been damaged in the Jacobean wars of 1689–91, for it had been repaired in the 1670s. During the reign of James II many of the cathedrals that were repaired after 1660 suffered damages once again. In February 1687 the doors of the chapter house of St Patrick’s, Cashel, were broken down and the windows were smashed to pieces. The doors of the cathedral were broken and the body of the cathedral was ‘profaned’. The following month the dean and chapter set about repairing damages caused by this outrage. In May 1689, St Colman’s, Cloyne, was attacked while divine service was being held in the cathedral, with stones thrown at the window and on to the roof. Holy Trinity, Waterford, was similarly attacked that same year when three French soldiers threw stones at the cathedral’s windows. Protestants were also responsible for damaging cathedrals. St Patrick’s, Armagh, was used as a Protestant garrison and the soldiers stationed there destroyed the cathedral’s interior.

A number of the Irish cathedrals occupied strategic positions in besieged cities and as a result were badly damaged. St Columb’s, Derry, which had survived the mid-century troubles relatively intact, was seriously damaged during the siege of 1689-90. The cathedral’s spire was converted into a platform for artillery fire and in 1693 it was described as decayed. Furthermore, the lead lining for the roof was used for bullets, and the roof was hit by cannon fire on numerous occasions. Subsequently King William and Queen Mary granted £200 for the cathedral’s repair. Williamite forces erected a firing platform on the tower of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, to counteract the Jacobite forces lodged in the Elizabethan fort that overlooked the city of Cork. Subsequently, the cathedral attracted

170 An account of the barbarous usage of the Protestants of Cloyne suffered at the cathedral during the time of divine service 11 May 1689 (Public Library, Armagh, Collection of State Papers relating to Meath, vol. i, no. 98).
171 Thomas Wallis to Bishop Dopping, 26 Feb. 1689 (Ibid., no. 89).
172 Walter Harris, *Some account of ye Cathedral Church of Armagh* (P.R.O.N.I., DIO4/39/2/1/2).
174 Derry City Archives, Minutes of the Common Council of the City of Londonderry, Book ii, 1688 – 1704, p. 73.
fire from the Jacobite forces and it suffered significant damages.\[175\] But these damages were not as great as the damages sustained by St Mary’s, Limerick, which was also used for defensive purposes during the siege of 1691. Following the siege the east end and the tower were in a ruinous condition.\[176\] In 1692 a petition from the bishop, dean and clergy of Limerick reported that the cathedral was so ruined that the inhabitants of the city could not worship there. The petition also stated that the clergy were so impoverished that they were unable to rebuild and repair the cathedral.\[177\] In 1695 the archbishop of Tuam petitioned the House of Commons for a bill to raise money to rebuild his palace and repair St Mary’s cathedral, which had been damaged during the ‘late rebellion’. In response the Commons proposed a bill that would transfer the archiepiscopal see to Galway and convert St Nicholas’s collegiate church in the town into a cathedral. However, it appears that the citizens of Galway, who were anxious not to lose their privileges in St Nicholas’s and their right to elect the warden, stymied this proposal and the bill for translating the archiepiscopal see and cathedral church of Tuam was never enacted.\[178\]

II

It is indicative of the poverty of the cathedral system that in many cases the deans and chapters were generally unable to rely on their economy estates to undertake repairs. In 1626 a king’s letter directed the tenants of the economy estates of St Patrick’s, Cashel, and St Alibeus’s, Emly, to pay their rents to the archbishop of Cashel who was to apply this revenue to the repair of the two cathedrals.\[179\] But these resources were inadequate and in the Restoration period the chapter of St Alibeus’s, Emly, could only manage to give a loan of no more than £10 to the chapter of St Patrick’s, Cashel, when they asked for assistance in rebuilding Cashel cathedral.\[180\] Furthermore, in 1662 the vicarages of Adregoole, Liskeevy, Kilconla and Kilbenan in the diocese of Tuam were sequestered to pay for repairs to St Mary’s, Tuam, as were two of the vicars choral places.\[181\] Moreover, the inhabitants of the county of Dublin, before committing themselves to providing financial assistance for the repair of St Patrick’s, Dublin, made enquiries into the condition of the cathedral’s economy estate and deemed it insufficient to pay for the cathedral’s repairs.\[182\]

\[177\] Petition of the Bishop, Dean and the rest of the clergy of Limerick, 9 Aug. 1692 (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1691 – 92, p. 400).
\[181\] Clergy and Parishes of the Diocese of Tuam (N.L.I., Ms. 2687, pp 81, 203); H.T. Knox, Notes on the early History of the Diocese of Tuam, Killala and Achonry (Dublin, 1904), p. 89.
\[182\] Chetham Library, Manchester, Mss. A 677, pp 342 – 43.
As a result of the lack of capitular resources, a number of the bishops of seventeenth century Ireland endowed the cathedrals with their own resources to ensure decent buildings for their sees. In the early Stuart period the Bishop of Limerick, Bernard Adams, paid for the repairs to St Mary’s, Limerick, while Archbishop Christopher Hampton paid for the repairs to St Patrick’s, Armagh. Similarly, the Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Jones, is reputed to have repaired, at his own expense, a large proportion of Christ Church, Dublin, when the tower collapsed during his incumbency. But it was during the Restoration period that bishops took a more proactive stance in giving financial assistance to repair cathedrals. Archbishops Bramhall and Margetson both bore the cost of repairing St Patrick’s, Armagh. When Bramhall died in 1663 he bequeathed £500 for the repair of the cathedral as well as St Peter’s, Drogheda. Margetson had attempted to collect contributions for the repair of the cathedral from the entire archdiocese, but these were insufficient and as result he supplied the deficit from his own pocket. Likewise, Bishop Jeremy Taylor rebuilt the choir at Christ the Redeemer’s, Dromore, at his own expense. Bishop John Parker rebuilt St Mary’s, Elphin, in 1661. His successor, John Hodson, established a trust, half of which was to be used for supporting, repairing and adorning the cathedral. In the 1660s, the bishop of Ossory, Griffith Williams, paid for the repairs made to St Canice’s, Kilkenny. By 1667 he had spent over £600 in repairing the cathedral, £400 of which was spent solely on the choir and chancel. Overall he spent £1,400 on repairs, and he himself estimated that it would cost between £1000 and £2000 to repair the whole cathedral. Bishop Ezekiel Hopkins of Derry expended £1,000 in the 1680s on re-building and improving St Columb’s, Derry. The bishops of Killala and Kildare paid for the rebuilding of the two cathedrals built in the Restoration period. Thomas Otway provided the entire cost for St Patrick’s, Killala. Anthony Dopping provided £50 a year
out of diocesan funds for the rebuilding of the choir of St Brigid’s, Kildare. His successor, William Moreton, was also a generous benefactor and gave £112 6s 4d toward the cost of construction, which was almost a quarter of the final cost. During the 1680s the Archbishop of Tuam, John Vesey expended much of his own wealth on maintaining the fabric of St Mary’s, Tuam, and in 1688 repaired the cathedral following a fire caused by lightning.

In a number of cases the parishes in which the cathedrals were situated were required to make a contribution for the upkeep of the fabric. At St Columb’s, Derry, both the dean and the parishioners were responsible for the maintenance of the cathedral. At St Eunan’s, Raphoe, an applotment was levied annually on the inhabitants of the parish for the maintenance of the church. At St Flannan’s, Killaloe, the parish bore the responsibility for the upkeep of the cathedral’s nave while the economy fund of the church was devoted to the upkeep of the choir or chancel. This division of responsibility was common to parish churches, whereby the nave belonged to the parish and the chancel belonged to the rector but it was an unusual situation for cathedral churches. In 1610 proposals were put forward to assess the diocese of Lismore for the rebuilding of St Carthage’s cathedral and in the 1620s the dean of St Fachan’s, Kilfenora, Higate Love, sought the imposition of a cess on the parishes of the diocese to fund the repair of the cathedral.

At Holy Trinity, Waterford, the dean and chapter were responsible for maintenance of the choir while the corporation was responsible for the upkeep of the nave, the chapels and the outstalls. Throughout the Stuart period these two bodies were often in dispute over their respective responsibilities in maintaining the fabric of the cathedral and it would appear that, as a result of these disputes, the state of the cathedral deteriorated over the course of the early seventeenth century. In 1611 Holy Trinity, Waterford, was mentioned in the re-

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195 Ibid., p. 395.
196 W. Sherlock, Some account of St. Brigid, and of the see of Kildare, p. 32; Raymond Gillespie, ‘St Brigid’s in the age of Reform’, p. 58.
198 Visitation, Diocese of Derry, 1693 (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/26, p. 9).
199 St Eunan’s, Raphoe, Vestry Minute Book (P.R.O.N.I., MIC 1/95, f. 4).
200 Philip Dwyer, History of Killaloe, p. 129.
203 Complaints and grievances to be made about the present occasions of this provincial agency into England in the behalf of the clergy of Munster (T.C.D., Ms. 1188, ff 17v – 18).
edification of cathedrals bill as one of the cathedrals that was in repair. In 1635 Sir William Brereton described the cathedral as not in good repair. In 1615 the corporation claimed that the dean and chapter, under their common seal, had discharged them from maintaining the fabric of the cathedral. Nevertheless, the corporation continued to spend forty marks a year on the cathedral on the understanding that the clergy would bear responsibility for the maintenance of the parochial churches in the city. Despite this, in 1637 an order of the lord deputy and council ratified an agreement between the dean and chapter and the corporation concerning the maintenance of the cathedral. The corporation agreed to repair the body, the side chapels and the steeple, together with the Lady’s Chapel. The upkeep of the choir was to remain the responsibility of the dean and chapter. Furthermore, the corporation was to retain burial rights in their portion of the cathedral. Lastly, a proviso was entered into the agreement that if it was found that the diocese should contribute to the repair of the cathedral, then the bishop was to compel the parishes to do so.

The dispute re-emerged in the Restoration period and in 1667 and 1673 the dean and chapter petitioned the lord deputy and council to compel the corporation to fulfil their duty to repair the body of the cathedral, the side chapels and the steeple. The re-emergence of the dispute seems to have been the result of Bishop Hugh Gore’s insistence, shortly after his appointment, that the corporation fulfil its duties. The dispute eventually led to the bishop summoning the mayor and sheriffs of Waterford to his consistorial court. The mayor and sheriff refused to recognise the bishop’s jurisdiction in this matter. But in December 1673, an order from the council board directed that the corporation was to ‘conform themselves and yield obedience’ to the order of 1637. It appears that the corporation acquiesced, as in January 1674 the Common Council indicated that the city would comply with the agreement of 1637. Subsequently, the corporation pulled down the roof of the Lady Chapel. The corporation then refused to continue with any further work. The dean and chapter once again petitioned the council and complained that the corporation’s action threatened the east end of the church and the choir. The dean and

205 Travels of Sir William Brereton, 1635, p. 401.
206 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitation, Waterford, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/3, p. 198).
208 Ibid., A/82, A/84.
209 The Bishop of Waterford’s case with the Mayor and Sheriff of Waterford Stated and Vindicated (Dublin, 1670), pp 5 – 14.
211 Council books of the corporation of Waterford, 1662-1700, p. 127.
chapter requested the council to enforce its orders.\textsuperscript{212} On 2 November 1674 the council ordered the corporation to finish the work.\textsuperscript{213} In response the corporation claimed that it was impoverished, primarily because of the expense in keeping the quay in repair and also because they had lost part of their estate to the Trustees of the ‘49 Officers. They also claimed that the chapel that they were responsible for was not the chapel adjoining the cathedral but another chapel near the cathedral, which had a similar name. This Our Lady’s chapel was a chapel of ease and was situated on Lady’s Lane. The corporation petitioned the council for a commission to establish which chapel the corporation was responsible for. They also claimed that the chapel in the cathedral was useless and was nothing more than an ornament, as it was not used for the celebration of divine service.\textsuperscript{214} Consequently, instead of repairing the chapel the corporation decided to wall up the east end of the choir.\textsuperscript{215} It appears that the corporation eventually accepted the responsibility: in 1675 the council advanced £30 to the dean and chapter to repair the Lady’s Chapel and further repairs were to be carried out on the roof of the cathedral at the charge of the city revenue.\textsuperscript{216} Throughout the 1680s the corporation paid for the upkeep of those parts of the cathedral that the city was responsible for.\textsuperscript{217}

In other cities local guilds were expected to contribute to the building and upkeep of cathedral fabric. The construction of St Columb’s, Derry, was initially funded by the Irish Society out of its rents but as the costs grew the Society found it necessary to levy the 12 guilds with a special contribution of £100 each to complete the building.\textsuperscript{218} In 1644 the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, sued the Master and Wardens of the Trinity Guild for not keeping the Trinity Chapel in repair, which was reported to have fallen into ruin and decay.\textsuperscript{219} Four years later the Trinity Guild agreed to keep the chapel in repair in return for the confirmation of burial rights in the chapel.\textsuperscript{220} In 1679 the common council of the city of Dublin ordered £50 to be levied on the city’s guilds for the repair of Christ Church cathedral, whose walls and nave were then described as out of repair.\textsuperscript{221} Two years

\textsuperscript{212} R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/84.
\textsuperscript{213} Ibid., A/85.
\textsuperscript{214} Ibid., A/87.
\textsuperscript{215} Council books of the corporation of Waterford, 1662-1700, p. 134.
\textsuperscript{216} Ibid., p. 153.
\textsuperscript{217} Ibid., pp 229, 234, 276, 279, 280.
\textsuperscript{218} T.W. Moody, The Londonderry Plantation 1609-41, pp 264, 266.
\textsuperscript{219} R.C.B., C6/1/8/2, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{220} Copies of charters, registers etc. of the trade guilds of Dublin, 1296 – 1824 (B.L., Egerton, Ms. 1765, f. 39v).
later, the masters and wardens of the guilds had collected less than half of this money and in 1683 the guilds that refused to make a contribution were threatened with the loss of their status in the city assembly.\textsuperscript{222}

During the \textit{interregnum} the State and local government attempted to transfer the responsibility for the upkeep of a number of cathedrals on to the local community. In 1658 the corporation of Kilkenny ordered the citizens to ‘cheerfully’ contribute towards the repair of St Canice’s, which was then described as ruinous. If this failed to bring in sufficient revenue then a cess was to be levied on the citizens.\textsuperscript{223} In 1655 the Justices of the Peace of Co Waterford were ordered to make an apportionment of £200 on the county for the repair of the ‘great meeting place’.\textsuperscript{224} Likewise, an equal and indifferent cess was to be levied by the Justices of the Peace of Co Cork for the repair of the chancel of the meeting place at Cloyne.\textsuperscript{225} Towards the end of the 1650s a return to the traditional method of funding the repair of this cathedral was implied in an order for the Surveyor and Attorney General to certify the names and values of the economy estate of Cloyne.\textsuperscript{226}

Nevertheless, the rents accruing on the economy estates were never enough for the creaking fabrics of the Irish cathedrals in the seventeenth century. This was despite the fact that there was a general rise in receipts.\textsuperscript{227} Occasionally, when the situation was acute, the deans and chapters would seek an advancement of their tenants’ rents. When St Patrick’s, Dublin, set about re-roofing the cathedral in the early 1670s they issued an order for a number of their tenants to advance them their rent.\textsuperscript{228} When the dean and chapter of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, set about building a steeple in the early 1670s they issued an order forbidding the passing of a lease to anyone who did not contribute towards its building costs.\textsuperscript{229} Meanwhile, other building and maintenance costs were derived from recusant fines. When Sir John Davys made a circuit of the province of Munster in 1606, 200 marks was raised from fines on recusants and assigned to the repair of cathedral churches.\textsuperscript{230} One of these cathedrals may have been St Alibeus’s, Emly, as a Catholic observer noted in

\textsuperscript{222} Ibid., pp 215 – 16, 271 – 72.
\textsuperscript{223} Kilkenny Corporation Acts Minute Book 1656 – 1687 (Microfilm N.L.I., pos 5136), f. 15.
\textsuperscript{224} St John D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/20, p. 25).
\textsuperscript{225} Ibid., p. 45.
\textsuperscript{226} Ibid., p. 57.
\textsuperscript{227} Ibid., pp 106 – 07.
\textsuperscript{228} Chapter Book of the Cathedral Church of St Patrick’s Dublin, 1670 – 78 (T.C.D., Ms. 555, f. 3v).
\textsuperscript{229} St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, f. 38.
\textsuperscript{230} Sir John Davys’ observations made by him after a journey through Munster, 1606 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603 – 06, p. 474).
1620 that the cathedral had been 'roofed by the Catholics for the use of the hereticks'.

In 1622 it was reported that St Fethlimidh's, Kilmore, was newly built and repaired and that the cost of £175 was raised through recusant fines. Similarly, recusants' fines partly paid for the rebuilding of Christ the Redeemer's, Dromore. In contrast, the State rarely gave financial assistance to the cathedrals, although in 1679 £100 was given to Christ Church, Dublin from money saved during the riding of the circuits of that year.

Following the Restoration, the army gave up 21 days of pay to be used for the repair of St Patrick’s, Dublin; St Patrick’s Armagh; and St Peter’s, Drogheda, in recompense for the damage done to these churches during the interregnum. But the most unusual initiative to finance repairs to a cathedral was by way of gambling: in 1620 Henry Southey was granted letters patent to set up a lottery, which it was hoped would raise £500 for Christ Church, Dublin. However, the lottery failed to realise that amount, as the following year only £40 had been paid to the dean and chapter.

III

By and large, all religious factions in Ireland in the seventeenth century wanted to see the fabric of cathedral churches maintained and repaired. Where their views diverged was on how the interior of a cathedral was to be liturgically arranged. In the early decades of the seventeenth century the primacy of the word was emphasised through the arrangement of church ornament, furniture and decoration. The Ten Commandments were often to be found in the chancel, as was the case at St Fin Barre’s, Cork, where the Ten Commandments were written up on the wall of the chancel in 1603. In 1617 the wainscoting in Christ Church, Dublin, was mended in order to erect the Ten Commandments. The text appears to have been set up on a screen in the chancel and it was later to serve as a model for a solution to the question of the placing of the earl of Cork’s tomb in St Patrick’s, Dublin, in the 1630s. The earl’s tomb replaced a plastered wall on which the Ten Commandments had been hung in the early seventeenth century in

231 St John D. Seymour, *The Diocese of Emly*, p. 86.
232 Copy of bishops’ returns for Ulster in 1622 (T.C.D., Ms. 550, ff 142 – 43).
233 Visitation of the Diocese of Dromore, 1622 (N.L.I., Ms. 2669, p. 1).
235 Bishop Bramhall to Sir George Lane, 21 Nov 1660 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 221, f. 139), Same to same, 28 Nov 1660 (ibid., f. 141).
237 Concerning the state of the Church of Ireland, 1623 (Marsh’s Library, Z3.2.6.50).
239 R.C.B., C6/1/26/38.
St Patrick’s, Dublin. St Patrick’s also possessed two pulpits: one in the choir and the other in the middle aisle of the nave. The primacy of the word was also emphasised by the lack of decoration in the rest of the cathedral, which was described in the 1630s as the ‘most neatly whited’ church in Ireland. The chancel of Christ Church, Dublin, was also described as very plain at this time.

The furnishings installed in the cathedrals repaired in the 1620s and early 1630s tended to emphasise the importance of preaching, and this was made manifest through the provision of pulpits. In 1622 St Flannan’s, Killaloe, possessed a fair new pulpit with convenient seats. At St Carthage’s, Lismore, the earl of Cork erected a pulpit and wainscoted the chancel in 1623. When the earl had restored the cathedral’s chancel in the early 1630s, he furnished it with seats, pews and a pulpit. Likewise, the newly built St Columb’s, Derry, was a church designed for preaching and the nave could accommodate a congregation of around one thousand. Moreover, the relative smallness of its chancel may indicate the lack of importance given to ceremony and in particular to the sacrament of communion in that cathedral church. The lack of importance of ceremony and the relative importance attached to preaching may also be implied by the spatial arrangement of St Fethlimidh’s, Kilmore, in the early 1630s. When William Bedell arrived to take up his see he found the bishop’s seat located at the upper east end of the chancel where the altar used to be located. Similarly, when Bramhall first came to Dublin in 1633, he wrote to Archbishop Laud about the lax treatment of the communion table at Christ Church cathedral where it was used as a common seat for ‘maidens and apprentices’. This may have been more a sign of thoughtlessness rather than disrespect, but Laudians perceived this type of treatment of sacramental furnishings as disrespect. Laudians attached a greater meaning and significance to the altar on the grounds that the Eucharist was a sacrifice. Therefore, the altar should be treated with reverence and hence the altar needed to be railed in at the east end of the chancel. Fixing the altar in one place and protecting it with rails was very much a practical and not just a theological solution to the problem. But it

243 In England there was a spate of pulpit building during the reign of James I: George Yule, ‘James VI and I: furnishing the churches in his two kingdoms’, in A. Fletcher and P. Roberts (eds.), Religion, culture and society in early modern Britain (Cambridge, 1994), p. 189.
244 Philip Dwyer, History of Killaloe, p. 129.
245 Correspondence and notes relating to and texts of W.H. Rennison’s unpublished History of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (R.C.B., Ms. 40/2/10, p. 16).
also indicated the catholicity of the Laudians, who relied on history and tradition as much as theology in ecclesiological matters.\textsuperscript{249} 

The Laudian altar policy was quickly implemented in Christ Church, Dublin, partially because of its status as the church of the State, but also because the cathedral’s constitution allowed the chapter to be quickly taken-over by State appointees, most of whom were Wentworth’s chaplains. In June 1633 the communion table was removed from the middle of the choir and set up on a platform, railed in and reoriented on a north-south axis.\textsuperscript{250} It was intended that this practice would be implemented throughout the cathedral system. However, at St Patrick’s, Dublin, a vested interest in the form of the earl of Cork’s monument to his wife and her father and grandfather, meant that the implementation of the policy would face difficulties. The plot for the monument was acquired when the earl was a lord justice and it was located in the upper end of the choir. The earl held the plot as a fee farm from the dean and chapter for a ten-pound fine and a rent of one pound a year. Four pounds was to be paid for every internment. This income was to be used by the dean and chapter for the reparation of the choir.\textsuperscript{251} The monument was completed by late 1632 and cost over £400. [Fig. 4.11] It was surrounded with an iron grill and the associated works included the whole chancel being raised up.\textsuperscript{252} The following year the new lord deputy, Thomas Wentworth, called on the earl to take down the monument. In a letter to Archbishop Laud, the lord deputy described the edifice as ‘one of the most scandalous pieces that ever was seen’. What was particularly offensive was the fact that it stood on the site where it was claimed the high altar had formerly been placed.\textsuperscript{253}

Subsequently, the earl fought a rearguard action by obtaining the support of the archbishop of Dublin, William Bulkeley, and the primate, James Ussher. Both archbishops wrote to Laud and Ussher met with the lord deputy to discuss the issue. Ussher, who was precentor of St Patrick’s from 1603 – 21, claimed that the high altar, as far as his memory served, had never been located in the upper end of the choir while the archbishop of Dublin claimed that the high altar had been placed against the extreme east wall of the church in the Lady Chapel. \textsuperscript{254} Both archbishops commended the earl for the works that he had carried out in beautifying the church and supported the earl’s proposals to erect a screen in

\textsuperscript{250} R.C.B., C6/1/26/3/21.
\textsuperscript{252} \textit{Ibid.}, pp 171 – 72.
\textsuperscript{253} Wentworth to Laud, 29 Jan. 1634 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book vi, f. 14).
\textsuperscript{254} \textit{Ibid.}, P.R.O., SP 63/254/99.
front the monument. The screen would display the Ten Commandments and the
communion table would be placed against the screen. The earl also utilised his contacts
at court to enlist support and copies of the letters sent to the archbishop of Canterbury
were forwarded to the lord treasurer, the earl of Portland.

Initially the earl of Cork’s actions appear to have had some success as they led the king to
call for the monument’s retention, on the condition that the earl went ahead with his
proposals to beautify the cathedral’s chancel. On the other hand, Wentworth and Laud
thought that the consequences would be grave if the monument was allowed to stand and
eventually persuaded the king to establish a commission to examine the tomb. This
commission consisted of the lord deputy, the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, four
other bishops and the deans of the two Dublin cathedrals. Following the commission’s
first meeting, the earl agreed to pull the monument down. At this meeting the earl of
Cork was confronted with a number of old people who claimed to remember that the high
altar had been located where the monument stood. As a result the earl was forced to
back down and by the end of the year the monument was in the process of being
dismantled. The following year, 1635, the earl re-erected the tomb at the side of the
choir. The site that the monument had occupied was subsequently renovated, with the
altar returned to its traditional place and the wall behind the altar made ‘handsome’.

The placing of the communion table had, prior to the introduction of Laudian practices in
the 1630s, been open to interpretation. According to the Irish Act of Uniformity (1561),
the order of services, sacraments, rites and ceremonies should follow those set out in the
second Edwardian Book of Common Prayer (1552) while the first Edwardian Book of
Common Prayer (1549) gave directions for the provision of ornaments in the church.

The rubrics of the first Book of Common Prayer do not give any guidance for the position

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257 Minute of the King to the Lord Deputy concerning the tomb put in St Patrick’s, Mar. 1634 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633 - 47, p. 46); P.R.O., SP 63/254/110.
258 Laud to Wentworth, 12 Apr. 1634 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book vi, ff 53 - 54).
262 Lismore Papers (N.I., Ms. 6241, 24 Nov. 1634.)
263 Ibid., Disbursements, 4 Nov. 1635; Wentworth to Laud, 12 Sept. 1635 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book vi, f. 238).
of the altar. However the priest was directed to stand in front of the middle of the altar.\textsuperscript{266} The rubrics of the second book were more precise. The altar, referred to as the communion table, was to be placed in the body of the church or in the chancel. Furthermore, the minister was directed to stand at the north side of the table, which suggests that the table was to be placed in an east-west orientation rather than the traditional north-south orientation.\textsuperscript{267} There was, therefore, a certain degree of latitude in the placing of the communion table. But this latitude was brought to an end by the 1634 canons of the Church of Ireland as Canon 94 specifically ordered that a fair table was to be placed at the east end of the church or chancel.\textsuperscript{268} Thus the status of the altar was enhanced, as it became the focus of attention within the church and represents the special emphasis placed on the Eucharist by the Laudians.\textsuperscript{269}

The initial application of this policy was, as has already been discussed, in Christ Church, Dublin. This appears to have been a makeshift job for in 1638 a major refurbishment of the liturgical settings of the internal fabric of the cathedral was initiated. The altar and altar rails received particular attention and the surrounds of the altar were layered with stones. The choir and its ceiling were coloured with russet and ochre while the chancel and nave were re-glazed.\textsuperscript{270} Similar attention was devoted to the choir of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, when the dean and chapter decided to devote a bequest left to them in 1638 to the ornamenting of the altar.\textsuperscript{271} Elsewhere, an altar was placed in front of the east wall of the chancel of St Columb’s, Derry.\textsuperscript{272} On the other hand, it is impossible to determine the extent of the implementation of this policy in the other cathedrals, but it certainly was not universally adopted. At St Canice’s, Kilkenny, the altar was, in 1641, placed at the west end of the choir, near the entrance to the choir and the bishop’s throne.\textsuperscript{273} While in Kilmore, Bedell was said to have placed the Communion table within the body of the church, without any steps of gradual ascension or any circumvallation of rails.\textsuperscript{274} Nevertheless, it appears that setting up altars in the east end of the church became a

\textsuperscript{268} Constitutions and canons ecclesiastical (Dublin, 1635), pp 107 – 8.
\textsuperscript{270} R.C.B., C6/1/26/3/27.
\textsuperscript{271} St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, f. 43.
\textsuperscript{272} Patrick Adair, A true narrative of the rise and progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1623 - 70, (ed.) W.D. Killen (Belfast, 1866), p. 116.
\textsuperscript{273} William Carrigan, History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory, vol. iii, p. 7.
common practice in the 1630s\textsuperscript{275} and it is likely that in those cathedrals where Laudians were in control altars were erected. One such cathedral was Holy Trinity Waterford, whose bishop, John Atherton, and dean, Edward Parry, were closely aligned to the Laudian wing of the church and where the chapter had been authorised to sell part of its silver plate for the purposes of purchasing £30 a year in tithes for the repair and maintenance of the choir.\textsuperscript{276}

During the 1640s the confession that controlled the locality in which a cathedral was located dictated the style of internal church fittings. Where Catholic forces gained control, the cathedral churches were fitted up for the celebration of the mass. In St Canice’s, Kilkenny, a great altar was set up, the choir was partially restored and holy images were erected.\textsuperscript{277} At St Patrick’s, Cashel, altars were set up by the Catholics, the rood screen was re-erected at the entrance to the choir, and other holy images, including a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and pictures of St Patrick and St Ignatius, were erected.\textsuperscript{278} These ornaments were all destroyed in the sack of the cathedral by Baron Inchiquin in 1647, as were those at St Canice’s, Kilkenny when Cromwell attacked Kilkenny in 1651. Commonwealth officials disposed of the ornaments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, when they took control of the city in 1650.\textsuperscript{279} The altar of St Columb’s, Derry was taken down as early as 1644 when the Presbyterians set up a Lord’s Table in its place.\textsuperscript{280} But it was not until the victory of the commonwealth forces that several tables were erected down the length of the choir in Christ Church, Dublin, and this provided the model for the liturgical setting of worship in the 1650s.\textsuperscript{281}

The Restoration brought with it a return to the liturgical settings of the 1630s for some of the cathedrals.\textsuperscript{282} At the 1661 consecration service in St Patrick’s, Dublin, the consecration

\textsuperscript{275} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{276} The silver that the chapter was authorised to sell was part of the plate that the Corporation of Waterford had been ordered to return to the cathedral in 1637: J. Graves, ‘The ancient fabric, plate and furniture of the cathedral of Christ Church, Waterford’, in J.R.S.A.I., vol. ii (1852 – 3), p. 77.
\textsuperscript{277} C.P. Meehan, The Confederation of Kilkenny (Dublin, 1882), p. 204.
\textsuperscript{278} Denis Murphy, Cromwell in Ireland, pp 390 – 91.
\textsuperscript{279} R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/34.
\textsuperscript{280} Patrick Adair, A True Narrative of the rise and progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{281} Robert Ware, The hunting of the Romish fox and the quenching of sectarian firebrands (Dublin, 1683), p. 228.
of the bishops was administered within the rails.\(^{283}\) In 1662 Christ Church, Dublin, re-erected its altar at the east end of the choir. The importance of the communion table was accentuated by the elaborate work that was used to ornament the altar. Cherubs were used to decorate the surrounds and a screen was placed behind the communion table. But most importantly rails were set up around the altar.\(^{284}\) The importance of the altar at Christ Church during the Restoration period can be traced through the proctor’s accounts. In 1663 the choir and altarpiece were coloured.\(^{285}\) In 1668 – 69 oil was procured for the marble at the communion table and the cherubs’ heads were repaired\(^{286}\) and in 1671 – 72 the east end of the chancel was carved, painted and gilded.\(^{287}\) A reference to altar rails in St Fin Barre’s, Cork, was made as early as 1667.\(^ {288}\) In the late 1660s the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Hugh Gore, ornamented the choir of Holy Trinity, Waterford, with ‘solemn and grave furniture’, which appears to have included altar rails.\(^ {289}\) The altar at St Patrick’s, Armagh, was railed in some time in the late 1670s.\(^ {290}\) Thomas Otway beautified the chancel of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, with altar rails during his episcopacy.\(^ {291}\) In 1685 the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Dublin, contracted with John Barlow, a Dublin bricklayer, to beautify the choir. The contract made specific reference for a decent communion table to be made and rails or banisters to be erected before the altar and painted.\(^ {292}\) By the early eighteenth century altar rails had also been erected at St Fachtna’s, Ross,\(^ {293}\) and St Patrick’s, Killala, although these may have already been erected by the end of the seventeenth century.\(^ {294}\)

The esteem that the altar and the east end of the chancel were held in was also displayed through the provision of other fittings. In St Colman’s, Cloyne, the area surrounding the communion table was wainscoted.\(^ {295}\) This appears to have been erected as early as

\(^{283}\) An order by the Lord Primate, 20 Jan. 1661 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 45, ff 55 – 56); Dudley Loftus, *The proceedings observed in order to and in the consecration of the twelve bishops at St Patrick’s church Dublin on Sunday 27 of January 1660* (London, 1661), p. 6.


\(^{286}\) R.C.B., C6/1/15/1/5.

\(^{287}\) R.C.B., C6/1/15/1/8.

\(^{288}\) St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, f. 19.

\(^{289}\) The Bishop of Waterford’s case with the Mayor and Sheriff of Waterford Stated and Vindicated, p. 5. The painting of the interior of Holy Trinity, Waterford, is the earliest image of the interior of any Irish cathedral and dates from the early eighteenth century. The painting looks west from the high altar and the altar rails are evident in foreground: Eamonn McEneaney (ed.), *Waterford Treasures* (Waterford, 2004), p. 172.

\(^{290}\) Whole Works of Ware, Walter Harris (ed.), vol. i, p. 129.

\(^ {291}\) Ibid., p. 431.

\(^{292}\) R.C.B., C2/2/65.

\(^{293}\) Charles A. Webster, ‘The Diocese of Ross’, p. 40.

\(^{294}\) R.C.B., C19/1, p. 5.

\(^ {295}\) R.C.B., C12/2/1, p. 10.
1661. When the repairs of the chancel of St Flannan's, Killaloe, were undertaken in 1676, the altar was beautified, although it appears that this cathedral did not acquire altar rails until 1716. In the 1680s, Bishop Otway decorated the ceiling of the chancel of St Canice's, Kilkenny. Around the same time, the roof over the altar in St Patrick's, Dublin, was painted an azure colour and inlaid with stars of gold. When the choir of St Patrick's cathedral was renovated in 1685, the plan to direct the work signified that chequered flooring was to be laid around the communion table. At Holy Trinity, Waterford, the high altar had seven steps leading up to it on three sides and the ordered setting of the area around the altar is very much evident in the early eighteenth century painting of the cathedral's interior. Finally, at St Carthage's, Lismore, the choir was totally reordered in the early 1690s.

A further indication of the growing importance of the communion, especially in the 1630s and in the Restoration period, was in the provision of altar plate. Following the reformation attempts were made by Catholics to keep the medieval silver utensils of the mass. In 1577 the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Waterford, gave to the mayor, sheriff and citizens of the city of Waterford the ancient ornaments and jewels of the cathedral, on condition that if these ornaments and jewels were ever allowed to be used in church services again, then the city was to return the ornaments or the value of those ornaments to the dean and chapter. At St Fachtna's, Ross, it was reputed that when Bishop Lyons was appointed to the see of Cork, Cloyne and Ross in 1582, the church silver was taken from the cathedral and hidden in Rosscarbery Estuary. In the early 1600s the dean and chapter of St Patrick's, Armagh, deposited their collection of church plate in St Anthony's College, Louvain.
Given the financial state of the church in the Jacobean period, the provision of replacing the plate was not a priority. On the other hand the reformed church’s need for church plate was not as extensive as the needs of the medieval church: ornaments were confined to what was strictly needed for the celebration of divine services. There are very few references to church plate in the first three decades of the seventeenth century. When William Bedell was appointed to the bishopric of Kilmore and Ardagh in 1630 he found that the cathedral did not possess a chalice. However, a number of cathedrals did acquire plate in this period. In 1612 the widow of the archdeacon of Cork, Philip Gould, restored a censer, two chalices and their patens and a pyx, to St Fin Barre’s, Cork. In 1613 the Irish Society made a free gift of a communion cup and paten to St Columb’s, Derry [Fig 4.13] and in 1630 St Colman’s, Cloyne, acquired a communion cup. [Fig. 4.14]

Canon 94 of the 1634 Irish Canons directed that a cup of silver be provided for the celebration of Holy Communion and that the wine was to be brought to the altar in ‘a clean and sweet standing pot or stoop of pewter, if not of purer metal’. Subsequently, attempts were made to improve the quality and quantity of church plate in a number of cathedrals. In 1634 the dean of Ardagh, Henry Jones, petitioned the lord deputy for assistance in restoring the ornaments and bells belonging to the cathedral. In the same year the dean of Holy Trinity, Waterford, Richard Jones, brought a case against the mayor, sheriff and citizens of Waterford to the council table for the return of the plate or the value of the plate given to the corporation in 1577. In 1637 the lord deputy decided to award the dean and chapter of Waterford the value of the plate, which amounted to £198 sterling. Richard Jones was to receive £50 in costs, since he had prosecuted the case at his own cost. The mayor was also ordered to hand over copes and vestments belonging to the cathedral that were in his possession. It is unclear whether the corporation gave all the money to the cathedral for in 1677 the dean and chapter sought legal advice about retrieving the value of the plate as set out in the order of 1637. What is clear is that the copes and vestments were handed over to the dean and chapter, as these were hidden in

312 Orders of Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Affairs, 1633 – 35 (B.L., Harleian Ms. 4297, f. 37).
314 Ibid., A/89 - 91.
The cathedral's vaults prior to the city's fall to the parliamentarians in 1650 and remained hidden there until 1774 when the medieval cathedral was demolished. In Kilmore Bishop Bedell provided a chalice, a paten and a flagon for his cathedral, and in St Columb's, Derry, the dean, Michael Wandesford, procured another chalice for the cathedral in 1637. [Fig 4.15] At St Fin Barre's, Cork, the ornaments for the altar procured by the dean and chapter in 1638 included altar plate. [Fig. 4.16] At Christ Church, Dublin, an extensive set of church plate was bought to adorn the newly elevated and railed in altar. [Fig. 4.17a, b & c] In 1635 Philip Culme, a brother of the dean of St Patrick's, Dublin, Benjamin Culme, bequeathed £50 to the dean and chapter to procure two silver flagons, a chalice and two silver plates for the use of the cathedral.

The civil strife of the 1640s and early 1650s inevitably led to the disappearance of much of the church plate. The ornaments of St Brigid's, Kildare, valued at ten pounds, were taken in 1641. At St Canice's, Kilkenny, the doors of the cathedral were broken down and the chalices and ornaments robbed. The Catholic bishop seized the plate of St Fethlimidh's, Kilmore, when he took over the cathedral in 1641. Following Baron Inchiquin's assault on St Patrick's, Cashel, in 1647 the sacred vessels of the cathedral were sold to the local people. When Waterford fell to the parliamentarian troops in 1650, the cathedral was sacked and all its ornaments were confiscated and sold. The items that were disposed of included lecterns designed in the form of an eagle and a pelican, two great standing candlesticks, chalices, censers and a variety of other plate. On the other hand Catholics during the 1640s procured a few items for the celebration of mass and the devotion of the Eucharist in the cathedrals. In St Canice's Kilkenny, Bishop Rothe acquired a monstrance, while a chalice for St Patrick's, Cashel was made for the cathedral in 1649. Some church plate did survive the mid-century troubles. In 1660 an inventory

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315 The copes and vestments are the only remaining examples of pre-reformation clerical vestments in Ireland: Eamonn McEneaney (ed.), Waterford Treasures, pp 92 – 107.
316 J.B. Leslie, Derry, Clergy and Parishes, p. 318.
317 St Fin Barre's, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, f. 43.
320 1641 Depositions, Co. Kildare (T.C.D., Ms. 813, f. 264).
321 1641 Depositions, Co. Kilkenny (T.C.D., Ms. 812, f. 203v).
322 Life of William Bedell by his son preserved in Tanner Ms 278, (ed.) John B. Mayor, p. 113.
323 D. Murphy, Cromwell in Ireland, p. 391.
324 R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/34.
of the ornaments possessed by the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, was drawn up. This included two pewter flagons, two brass candlesticks and the standing eagle.  

Following the Restoration, Irish cathedrals procured a significant amount of church plate. The wife of Bishop Jeremy Taylor gave a gift of a chalice to Christ the Redeemer’s, Dromore.  

In 1663 the churchwardens of St Carthage’s, Lismore, acquired a chalice and a paten for their cathedral.  

In 1665 the dean of St Fachan’s, Kilfenora, Neptune Blood, expended £4 15s 3d on a chalice.  

In 1669 the churchwardens of St Eunan’s, Raphoe, provided a chalice, a flagon and a paten for the use of the cathedral, which were decorated with the arms of the dean and chapter.  

When Robert Lesley, bishop of Clogher, died in 1672, he bequeathed £10 to the dean and chapter of St Macartin’s, Clogher, to obtain a chalice and paten.  

In 1681 St Mary’s, Tuam procured a chalice and a paten.  

St Fin Barre’s, Cork, received two patens in this period, one in 1672 and the other from Dean Arthur Pomeroy in 1686. He also gave an alms dish to the cathedral in 1690.  

In 1683 Ezekiel Hopkins presented ‘massy plate’ to St Columb’s, Derry, including two flagons and two silver plates.  

In 1686 Thomas Wilson gave St Brigid’s, Kildare, a paten worth between £6 and £8 to commemorate the consecration of the newly built choir.  

In 1677 the bishop of Ossory, John Parry, bequeathed £200 for a pair of large candlesticks and £100 to procure plate similar in style to the plate of Christ Church, Dublin, for St Canice’s, Kilkenny.  

His successor, Thomas Otway, actually procured for St Canice’s, Kilkenny, the plate of Christ Church, Dublin, at a cost of £116 13s 4d. This collection consisted of four silver gilt chalices and patens and two flagons. Furthermore, the dean, John Pooley, provided at his own expense an alms dish.  

Christ Church, Dublin, replaced the set sold to St Canice’s with an extensive range of altar plate and candlesticks from a Mr Johnston of

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329 Ibid., p. 46; North Thomond Church Silver (Limerick, 2000), p. 48.  
330 John B. Leslie, Raphoe, Clergy and Parish (Enniskillen, 1940), p. 143.  
331 Whole Works of Ware, Walter Harris (ed.), vol. i, p. 190.  
332 Ibid., p. 64.  
333 Ibid., pp 53, 76, 80.  
334 Whole Works of Ware, Walter Harris (ed.), vol. i, p. 295.  
335 W. Sherlock, Some account of St. Brigid, and of the see of Kildare, p. 32.  
336 Whole Works of Ware, Walter Harris (ed.), vol. i, pp 428 – 29.  
London. This collection cost the dean and chapter £350 15s 6d.\textsuperscript{338} Correspondence from the silversmith reveals that the dean and chapter wanted the chalices to be big so that they would be better seen, while the plate was to be unique and very stately.\textsuperscript{339} [Fig. 4.23]

While the procurement of altar plate is significant in itself, there is a further aspect that reveals the changing outlook regarding the significance of communion in the Stuart period and that was the style of the plate. Before 1634 chalices were generally quite plain and were cup like with deep bowls and wide rims. The reason for this style was the need for communion cups to be large enough to distribute the communion wine to the laity. Thus small medieval chalices were impractical and obsolete. Furthermore, flagons were needed to replenish the cup.\textsuperscript{340} An example of this style can be seen in the cup given by the Irish Society to the dean and chapter of St Columb’s, Derry. [Fig 4.13] The cup, which dates from about 1612, has a deep beaker shaped bowl.\textsuperscript{341} This style can also be clearly seen in the St Colman’s, Cloyne, communion cup. [Fig. 4.14] In the 1630s a stylistic revolution occurred. As part of the Laudian programme for the improvement of the standard of worship, chalices became more ornate and began to imitate the late gothic style. Generally these chalices consisted of hexagonal bases, with well-developed knobs on hexagonal stems and hemispherical bowls.\textsuperscript{342} The 1639 chalice at St Fin Barre’s, Cork, is a good example of this style. [See Fig. 4.16] But the most significant chalice made for an Irish cathedral in the 1630s was the one made in 1635 - 36 for Christ Church, Dublin, which is now to be found at St Canice’s, Kilkenny. This chalice has a hexagonal base that is elaborately ornamented at the corners with cherubs, a knob decorated with linear patterns and a bowl just three inches in depth, which is proportionally shallow, relative to its height of nine and a quarter inches and the width of five and a half inches.\textsuperscript{343} [See Fig. 4.17a, b & c] The marked difference between this ornate chalice and the earlier and simpler communion cups points to the changes in the understanding of the importance of the sacraments and their exalted status in the 1630s.\textsuperscript{344}

\textsuperscript{338} R.C.B., C6/1/26/13/45.
\textsuperscript{339} R.C.B., C6/1/26/8/16.
\textsuperscript{341} Col. Vigour’s manuscripts on church plate (R.C.B., Ms. 22/2/2/13 – 14).
\textsuperscript{342} Charles Oman, \textit{English Church Plate}, pp 145 – 49, 156, 205 – 6; James Gilchrist, \textit{Anglican Church Plate}, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{343} Robert Wyse-Jackson, ‘Old Church Plate of Kilkenny City’, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{344} Christ Church, Dublin’s chalice of 1635 – 36 is remarkably similar to the Good Shepherd Chalice of St John’s College Oxford, which was bequeathed to the college in 1631: Nicholas Tyack, \textit{Anti-Calvinists. The rise of English Arminianism} (Oxford, 1987), pp viii, 71, plate 1.

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This style was unique to the 1630s and the church plate that was procured in the Restoration period was simpler and more akin to secular cups. The use of this simplistic style was due to the fact that church plate was only one of the many essentials that needed to be acquired by cathedrals in Restoration Ireland. Furthermore the fabric of the cathedrals required substantial repairs and consequently resources were limited. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that most of the cathedral church plate was acquired through the benefactions of the clergy and laity, a fact attested to by the engraving of the donors' names and arms on church plate. Restoration chalices were generally small and of the one style: deep bowls, proportionally narrow widths, and trumpet stems. [see Figs 4.18 & 4.19] But they also retain a central characteristic of the Laudian chalices of the 1630s: the central knob. There are also some examples of Restoration chalices with hexagonal bases [see Figs 4.20a & 4.23]

However, it would be wrong to suggest that the word was neglected in the Caroline tradition. The pulpit remained an essential component of the liturgical furniture of the church. This is evident in the contract signed between the dean and chapter of St Patrick's, Dublin, and John Barlow to repair the cathedral's choir in 1685, which made specific reference for a pulpit to be made. When the dean and chapter received the counterpart contract from Barlow, they expressed the desire to see the work completed with 'all speed imaginable, especially the pulpit', which was to be made of Danish oak. Likewise, in 1686 the pulpit of St Carthage's, Lismore, was remodelled as part of the cathedral's reconstruction. The commandments and creed were also still important features and continued to be set up in chancels, as was the case at St Flannan's, Killaloe, when its choir was repaired in 1676.

The increasing importance of the choir also had an impact on the seating arrangements of the upper end of the church. Traditionally the choir was reserved for the clergy while the laity sat in the nave. Each member of the dean and chapter possessed separate stalls in the choir. In the early seventeenth century this pattern was re-enforced in the newly renovated cathedral at Armagh when John Symons expended part of the rents of the Culdees of

346 R.C.B., C2/2/6/5.
348 St Carthage's, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 23.
349 Killaloe Cathedral Register, 1661 – 1842 (T.C.D., Ms. 1825, f. 8).
Armagh on erecting four stalls for the dignitaries in the choir of the cathedral. Similarly, a range of stalls was erected in St Mary's, Limerick in the 1630s. The traditional pattern is also very much evident in the visitation of St Canice's, Kilkenny, in 1679. Here the stalls were placed along the north and south walls and returned against the west wall of the choir. On the other hand there were moves to accommodate the laity in cathedral choirs. During the Restoration period Christ Church, Dublin, possessed a long gallery in its choir. When fourteen stalls were built for the dean and chapter of St Carthage’s, Lismore, in 1663, the carpenter, John Nettles, also constructed a seat for himself and his family. The stalls were later remodelled when the cathedral was reconstructed in the 1680s. In the late 1670s the stalls in the choir of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, were rearranged. The number of stalls was reduced and the stalls were compacted into a narrower space. Each member of the chapter was to pay twenty shillings for the repair to their stalls. The stalls appear to have been reordered to make room for pews in the choir. In 1678 rents were set for about twenty pews, while four more were made available by the chapter for their own use. In the 1670s the dean and chapter of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, erected a gallery and put in more seats into the chancel to accommodate the laity. At St Mary’s, Limerick, a gallery was constructed in the south aisle of the choir in the cathedral and was let to the mayor, sheriff and citizens of the city in 1685. When St Patrick’s, Killala, was rebuilt, the stalls of the chapter were placed at the west end of the church and the laity sat between the stalls and the chancel. Seating for the laity in the choir of Holy Trinity, Waterford, is also evident in the early eighteenth century painting of the cathedral’s interior, which shows box pews in the centre and galleries placed at the west end of the choir. Towards the end of the century seating for the laity in a number of cathedrals was extended westward into the nave. During the renovations of the choir at St Eunan’s, Raphoe, in the 1670s the seating for the laity was placed in the nave. At St Patrick’s, Armagh, the seats for the laity were placed in the nave along with a pulpit and a

350 Copy of the Inquisition on Culdees of Armagh, 1625 (R.C.B., Ms. 32, p. 6).
351 Edmund Sexton’s notebook (N.L.I., Ms. 16,085, p. 93).
354 St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, ff 6v, 23, 23v.
356 Ibid., f. 145.
358 St Mary’s Cathedra, Limerick, Chapter Act Book, ff 15 – 16.
360 F.R. Bolton, The Caroline tradition of the Church of Ireland, p. 223; St Eunan’s Raphoe, Vestry Minute Book (P.R.O.N.I., Mic 1/95, pp 4 – 5).
reading desk in 1700. And in 1715 the dean of St Mary’s, Limerick, ordered the choir to be enlarged to accommodate the congregation. Thus the practicalities of congregational worship had an impact on the traditional division of space in an Irish cathedral leading to the abandonment of the traditional pattern and reinforcing the parochial nature of the Irish cathedrals. This led to a flexible approach, which in essence meant that in many places the whole cathedral became the choir.

IV

During the Stuart period concerted action was made in various attempts to restore the fabric of cathedral churches. However, progress was hindered by the general poverty of the church on the one hand and warfare and confessional conflict on the other. Despite these problems, Anglicans, Puritans and Catholics all had a hand in repairing some of the cathedral churches while in their control in the 1640s and 1650s. Furthermore, cathedrals often got financial assistance from elsewhere to pay for repairs, particularly from their bishops. This was despite the fact that there was a general rise in cathedral income throughout the Stuart period. On the other hand, deans and chapters consciously directed their limited resources on the repair of their choirs, particularly in the Restoration period. While concentrating their resources on the choir was principally for practical reasons, the shift to the choir was also the result of ecclesiological developments. This shift had emerged in the 1630s and reflected the growing importance attached to the altar, which was railed in for decency and adorned with silver for beauty. Thus the east end of the cathedral church became a place set apart and the focal point for worship. Nevertheless, preaching was not neglected and the pulpit remained an important feature of internal church fittings throughout the seventeenth century. Thus, these developments demonstrate the increased significance attached to ceremony in the Caroline tradition and, by default, the less important role played by preaching. Consequently, by the 1690s the altar furnishings and ceremonial practices of the Laudians of the 1630s had become common practice throughout the cathedral system. As a result the cathedrals were essentially models for best ecclesiastical practice for the parishes in their dioceses. Linking the cathedrals with the parishes were the cathedral clergymen, who form the subject of the next chapter.

361 Walter Harris, Some account of ye Cathedral Church of Armagh (P.R.O.N.I., DIO4/39/2/1/2).
362 St Mary's, Limerick, Chapter Act Book, f. 63.
Figures for Chapter IV - Cathedral Fabric

Photos taken by author unless otherwise stated.

Fig. 4.1a St Edan’s, Ferns. The structure to the right of the church does not appear to have been part of the cathedral, as its floor is about four feet below that of the cathedral. It may have been the town’s parish church.

Fig. 4.1b St Edan’s, Ferns – 1786. Drawing by Austin Cooper (1759 – 1830). The original nave lay to the right of the tower, with transepts adjacent to the tower as evidenced by the arches on the tower and the remaining walls. Therefore, the reconstructed cathedral represents what was once the cathedral choir. Source: Peter Harbison: Cooper’s Ireland: Drawings and Notes from an Eighteenth Century Gentleman (Dublin, 2000), pp 204 – 5.
Fig. 4.2a. St Columb’s, Derry: J. Ware, The whole works of Sir James Ware, (ed.) W. Harris (2 vols, Dublin, 1731-46), vol. i.
Fig. 4.2b. St Columb's, Derry, East End: J. Ware, *The whole works of Sir James Ware*, (ed.) W. Harris (2 vols, Dublin, 1731-46), vol. i.

Fig. 4.3 Dineley’s sketch of Christ Church, Dublin, c. 1680: F.E. Ball, ‘Extracts form the journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, giving some account of his visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II’, in *J.R.S.A.I.*, vol. xliii (1913), p. 284.

Fig. 4.4. Dineley’s sketch of St Patrick’s, Dublin, c. 1680: F.E. Ball, ‘Extracts form the journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, giving some account of his visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II’, in *J.R.S.A.I.*, vol. xliii (1913), p. 279
St. Mary's of Limerick.

Fig. 4.5. Dineley’s sketch of St Mary’s, Limerick c. 1680: E.P. Shirley, ‘Extracts form the journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, giving some account of his visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II’, in J.R.S.A.I., vol. viii, part 3 (1866), p. 234.

Imolaghum, or Emly.

Fig. 4.6. Dineley’s sketch of St Alibeus’s, Emly c. 1680: E.P. Shirley, ‘Extracts form the journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, giving some account of his visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II’, in J.R.S.A.I., vol. viii, part 3 (1866), p. 434.
Fig. 4.7. St Carthage’s, Lismore: J. Ware, *The whole works of Sir James Ware* (ed.) W. Harris (2 vols, Dublin, 1731-46), vol. i.

Fig. 4.8. Holy Trinity, Waterford: J. Ware, *The whole works of Sir James Ware* (ed.) W. Harris (2 vols, Dublin, 1731-46), vol. i.
Fig. 4.9. St Brigid’s Kildare, choir rebuilt 1686: J. Ware, *The whole works of Sir James Ware* (ed.) W. Harris (2 vols, Dublin, 1731-46), vol. i.

Fig 4.10. St Patrick’s, Killala, built c. 1680.
Fig. 4.11 Dineley’s sketch of the Earl of Cork’s Tomb, c. 1680: R. Loeber, ‘Sculptured memorials to the dead in early seventeenth century Ireland: a survey from Monumenta Eblanæ and other sources’, in Proc. R.I.A., vol. lxxxi, sect c (1981), plate vi.
Fig. 4.12 Interior of Holy Trinity, Waterford, early 18th century. Source: Eamonn McEneaney (ed.), *Waterford Treasures* (Waterford, 2004), p. 172.

Fig. 4.14. Communion Cup, St Colman’s, Cloyne, c. 1630. Source: C.A. Webster, *The Church Plate of the diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross* (Cork, 1909), p. 79.

Fig. 4.13. St Columb’s, Derry, Communion Cup 1612
Fig. 4.16 Communion Cup, St Fin Barre’s, Cork, 1638. Made by Edward Chadsey on a faceted knobbed stem on an octagonal faceted base marked on the lip inside the base stamped with a harp. 23.5cm in height. Inscribed ‘Calicem Salutis: accipiam: et: nomen: Dom: Invocabo Eccliae Cath: S: Finbary Corke ex Dono T.B. 1638
Fig. 4.17a Chalice, Originally purchased for Christ Church, Dublin in 1638. Sold to St Canice’s, Kilkenny in 1672.

Fig. 4.17b Detail of ‘Laudian’ Chalice. Note the ornamentation

Fig. 4.17c Christ Church Dublin. Altar plate purchased in 1638. Sold to St Canice’s, Kilkenny, in 1672.
Fig. 4.18. Chalice, Christ the Redeemer’s, Dromore, c.1662. Source: E.D. Atkinson, *Dromore: An Ulster Diocese* (Dundalk, 1925).

Fig. 4.19. St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chalice 1663
Fig. 4.20a St Eunan’s, Raphoe, Chalice 1669

Fig. 4.20b St Eunan’s, Raphoe, Paten 1669
Fig. 4.21 St Fin Barre's, Cork, Alms Dish 1690. Rim decorated with three figures of doves holding olive branches interspersed with foliage. 34 cm in diameter. Inscribed Ar: Pomeroy Decanus Corcag: D Quid Petribuahm Domino

Fig. 4.22 St Columb's, Derry, Plate donated by Ezekiel Hopkins in 1683
Chapter V – Personnel

The personnel of the cathedrals of Ireland linked these institutions into a system. Although members of the cathedral system were also integrated into the diocesan system at parish level, their rank distinguished them from the parochial clergy. The degree to which the cathedral system was integrated is evident in the extent to which cathedral clergymen held multiple livings and transferred from one cathedral to another. Therefore, the deans and chapters of the Irish cathedrals form a distinct group of clergymen that can be identified as the elite of the Church of Ireland. This chapter will profile the deans and chapters of the cathedrals of Ireland in the Stuart period with the aid of a prosopographical database. To that end, the life cycle of the clergy will be considered from their geographical and social origins to their death. In between, the educational attainment of the cathedral clergy, their career progression and their interests in the worlds of commerce and learning will be looked at. In examining these issues the chapter will consider how the study group changed over the course of the seventeenth century, particularly between the early Stuart and Restoration periods. One of the principal changes was the replacement of both Gaelic Irish and Old English clergymen with highly educated clergymen from Britain. Ireland presented these clergymen with the opportunity for social advancement. The hierarchical nature of the cathedral system provided a route for such advancement and for many clergymen cathedral livings were used for neither promoting reformation principals nor learned leisure but as channels for their own career progression. The cathedral clergy were very much attuned to the changes in doctrinal outlook and consequently it was they who facilitated the development of 'Caroline traditions' in the cathedrals of Ireland.

The prosopographical database of cathedral clergymen that this chapter is based on is modelled on Stanford E. Lehmburg’s studies of the deans and chapters of the cathedrals of England in the Tudor and Stuart periods. Lehmburg’s research was based on the lists of the principal office holders in the Church of England in John Le Neve’s Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae and the revision of this work by the Institute of Historical Research. 1 This database was compiled with the aid of the clergy succession lists of the Irish dioceses. James B Leslie collated most of these lists2, except for the dioceses of Cork, Cloyne and

2 J.B. Leslie, Ardfert and Aghadoe clergy and parishes (Dublin, 1940); Armagh clergy and parishes (Dundalk, 1911); Clogher clergy and parishes (Enniskillen, 1929); Derry clergy and parishes (Enniskillen, 1937); Ferns clergy and parishes (Dublin, 1936); Ossory clergy and parishes (Enniskillen, 1933); Raphoe
Ross, Waterford and Lismore, Dromore, and Cashel and Emly. The scope of information contained in Leslie’s succession lists is more extensive than the detail found in its English equivalent, with comprehensive biographical details for both the principle office holders and the parochial clergy. All of these lists were based upon original sources in the Public Records Office of Ireland prior to its destruction in 1922, such as first fruit returns, triennial visitations and diocesan registers. As a result, the succession lists contain the most complete record of names of Church of Ireland clergymen. From this source a list of all the relevant members of the deans and chapters were identified. This list was then compared with other biographical sources, such as the graduate lists of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

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3 W. M. Brady, Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, (3 vols, Dublin, 1863 - 64); C.A. Webster, The diocese of Ross. Its bishops, clergy and parishes (Cork, 1936).

4 W.H. Rennison, Succession list of the bishops, cathedral and parochial clergy of the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore (Waterford, 1920).

5 H.B. Swanzy, Succession list of the diocese of Dromore (Belfast, 1933).

6 St John D. Seymour, The succession of parochial clergy in the united diocese of Cashel and Emly (Dublin, 1908).

7 The information contained in Canon Leslie's succession lists is also more extensive than the information being collected for the Clergy of the Church of England database, which commenced in 1999 and which was first published on the world wide web in 2005. By mid 2006 the database contained information on clergymen from eight out of 27 dioceses. The aim of the project is to create a relational database covering the careers of all clergymen in the Church of England between 1540 and 1835 from their ordination through to their appointment to ecclesiastical offices and when they ceased to occupy these offices. When the database is completed, it is intended that it will be used to write a major study on the development of the clerical profession, including a separate examination of cathedral chapters. The project co-ordinators recognised the potential of including the material collected by Canon Leslie in the database but decided to exclude the Church of Ireland because of its constitutional distinctiveness and the limited capacity of the project: Arthur Burns, Kenneth Fincham and Stephen Taylor, 'Reconstructing Clerical Careers: the experience of the Clergy of the Church of England Database', in Jn. Ecc. Hist., vol. lv, no. 4 (2004), pp 726 - 37; 'The Historical Public and Academic Archival Research: the Experience of the Clergy of the Church of England Database', in Archives, vol. xxvii, no. 107 (2002), pp 110 - 19. www.theclergydatabase.org.uk

For a critique on these clerical succession lists see R. Refausse, ‘Church of Ireland clerical succession lists and their compilers’, in Ir. Geneal., vol. x, no. 1 (1998), pp 32 - 41.


9 J. Venn, J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses. Part 1 from the earliest times to 1751 (4 vols, Cambridge, 1922 - 27).

10 G.D. Burtchaell, T.U. Sadleir, Alumni Dublinensis: a register of the students, graduates, professors and provosts of Trinity college in the University of Dublin, 1593 – 1860 (Dublin, 1935). The names contained in this publication have been supplemented with the names of early seventeenth century students not contained in Alumni Dublinensis and which have been published in T.U. Sadlier and H.M. Watson, ‘A record of 17th century alumni’, in Hermathena, vol. lxxxix (1957), pp 54 – 58, and the addendum to Alan Ford, ‘Who went...
Further information was obtained from the abstracts of wills in the National Archives of Ireland, the Genealogical Office and the Registry of Deeds, and the Funeral Entries of the Ulster King of Arms. More date specific sources, such as the 1641 depositions and the list of attainted men of 1689, were used to augment the database.  

The database contains the names of 1,245 clergymen who held capitular appointments between the 25 March 1603 and the 30 June 1690. This means that the database includes clergymen appointed in the early Elizabethan period and a few who vacated their livings by death in the mid-eighteenth century. The database excludes bishops and archdeacons who were not by right members of cathedral chapters. In reality most bishops progressed up the capitular hierarchy and so the majority of bishops appointed during the study period are to be found in the database. Those that are excluded are the bishops who were appointed directly from England or Scotland. Most archdeacons were also members of cathedral chapters, either in their own right or because their archdeaconry was held in commendam with a prebendary. One archdeacon in the Church of Ireland did not qualify on either grounds: the archdeacon of Meath. Nevertheless, most of the archdeacons of Meath held cathedral appointments at some point in their careers and are consequently included in the database. Another group that is excluded are the vicars choral and minor canons. These junior members of the cathedrals were generally from a different social and educational background. Nevertheless, the lower status associated with these positions did

to Trinity? The early students of Dublin University', in Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation (Dublin, 1998), pp 71 – 2. In this article Ford mentions a typescript list of 156 additional names of students compiled by M.C. Griffith, which was held in the Manuscripts Room of the Library, T.C.D. This could not be located prior to the submission of this thesis.


13 A catalogue of the graduates in the faculties of arts, divinity and law of the University of Edinburgh, since its foundation (Edinburgh, 1858).


15 The information contained in the clergy succession lists was cross referenced with the information contained in the university graduate lists and abstracts of wills and where doubt exists with the information contained in the clergy succession list, then this information has been classified as unknown, even if the succession lists indicated otherwise. Leslie occasionally included information on clergymen from the graduate lists that does not wholly fit into the life cycle of that particular clergyman and where there was no evidence linking a particular clergyman to a particular graduate. Where this was the case, this information has been omitted from the database. Therefore, the following statistics should all be viewed as the minimum approximations.

16 Adam Loftus was appointed to the vicarage of Painestown in the diocese of Meath in 1561: J.B. Leslie and R.H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, p. 831.

17 Andrew Hamilton died in 1753 after 63 years as archdeacon of Raphoe: J.B. Leslie, Raphoe clergy and parishes, pp 20 – 21.

18 Only 33 out of the 138 bishops appointed in the study period did not hold cathedral appointments in the cathedral system of Ireland prior to their appointment to the episcopate.
not preclude more prominent members of the cathedrals from holding vicar choralships or minor canonries *in commendam* with their other livings. 96 cathedral clergy held such positions at some point in their careers, primarily in their early years. But there were exceptions, as some senior clergymen held these low-ranking positions *in commendam*, suggesting that they were held as sinecures. For example, John Egerton was dean of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, and a minor canon in St Patrick’s, Dublin in 1625\(^1\) and Michael Boyle was bishop of Waterford and Lismore and a vicar choral at St Fin Barre’s, Cork, from 1619-35.\(^2\)

In a number of cases the name and the cathedral position is the only information obtained from the sources. Consequently, the statistical results in this chapter reflect the more prominent members of the cathedral system. The results also reflect the deficit of records from the early Stuart period in comparison to the records from the latter half of the seventeenth century. This chapter does not present a random sample of the cathedral clergymen of seventeenth century Ireland or the typical experience of a cathedral clergyman but attempts to present an examination of this distinct group as comprehensively as the records allow. But given the gaps in the historical record the figures presented below represent approximate results.

II

Information regarding the geographical origins of the cathedral clergy has been found for 51.5 per cent of the study group. The results are set out in Table 5.1 and displayed in percentage form in Graph 5.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Number of Cathedral Clergymen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1. Geographical origins of the cathedral clergy.

England and Ireland were the principal geographic source areas and it is highly probable that most of the clergymen in the unknown category also came from these countries. Scotland and Wales was the place of origin of at least 4 per cent and 2.5 per cent of the cathedral personnel respectively. Of the other twelve cases, five clergymen came from the

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\(^1\) J.B. Leslie and R.H. Wallace, *Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough*, p. 604.

\(^2\) W.M. Brady, *Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, vol. i, p. 311.
Isle of Man, including two brothers John and Patrick Christian who were prebendaries in Dublin and Lismore in the 1680s. Six clergymen are known to have come from Continental Europe: four from France, and one each from Switzerland and Germany. Three of those from France appear to have been of Huguenot origin: Peter Drelincourt, dean of St Patrick’s, Armagh, from 1691-1722, James Jerome, precentor of Holy Trinity, Waterford, from 1667-82 and Moses Viridet, prebend of Kilmaclutway in the diocese of Dublin from 1682-85. The fourth, Henry Ryder, bishop of Killaloe from 1693-95, was the son of a diplomat assigned to Paris. Paul Amyrault, who ultimately became chancellor of St Flannan’s, Killaloe, was born in the Palatinate of High Germany and James Fry, who was dean of St Patrick’s, Armagh, in 1634, was from the Swiss city of Basle. One cathedral clergyman appears to have come from Barbados: William Pullein, prebendary of Kilmainmore in the diocese of Tuam in 1686.

The number of clergymen that came from Ireland is only a partial picture of the geographical origins of the cathedral clergy. By considering the ethnic origins of clergymen from Ireland a fuller picture is revealed. The ethnic origins of 178 clergymen out of the 283 identified as born in Ireland are known. 96 clergymen can be described as Gaelic Irish, 16 as Old English and 67 were the descendents of Tudor and Stuart English newcomers and born in Ireland. Although the figures for the Gaelic Irish are the highest for any ethnic group, most of these held appointments in the early Stuart period: 80 out of 96 were first instituted to their livings in the years prior to 1640 and only 16 were appointed in the Restoration period. The figures for the New English are the reverse. Only 19 of the clergymen who were identified as New English were first appointed before 1640 and more than double that figure, 48, were appointed in the period after 1660. Tables 5.2 and 5.3 give a breakdown of these appointments for both ethnic groups on a decade-by-decade basis.

22 J.B. Leslie and R.H. Wallace, *Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough*, pp 590, 728, 1138.
24 Clerical succession list, Diocese of Killaloe (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/10, f. 41).
26 Clerical succession list, Diocese of Tuam (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/15, f. 42).
27 The difficulties associated with distinguishing different ethnic groups on the basis of surnames in early modern Ireland are discussed in Alan Ford, ‘Who went to Trinity?’, p. 69. Because of these difficulties only those clergymen whose ethnicity is certain were included in the calculations.
Table 5.2. Numbers of Gaelic Irish first appointed to cathedral livings on a decade-by-decade basis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>-1610</th>
<th>1611-1620</th>
<th>1621-1630</th>
<th>1631-1640</th>
<th>1641-1650</th>
<th>1651-1660</th>
<th>1661-1670</th>
<th>1671-1680</th>
<th>1681-1690</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers Appointed</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3. Numbers of New English first appointed to cathedral livings on a decade-by-decade basis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>-1610</th>
<th>1611-1620</th>
<th>1621-1630</th>
<th>1631-1640</th>
<th>1641-1650</th>
<th>1651-1660</th>
<th>1661-1670</th>
<th>1671-1680</th>
<th>1681-1690</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers Appointed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident from the statistics regarding geographical and ethnic origins that the cathedral clergy of seventeenth century Ireland were primarily of English ethnicity and became increasingly so as the century progressed. The importance of importing clergymen during this period was expressed as early as 1607 when the king wrote to Sir Arthur Chichester of his intention to send Englishmen of learning and judgement to Ireland and as late as 1686 when Lord Lieutenant Clarendon wrote that it would be good for the church in Ireland to have some more clergy sent from England.\(^28\) The statistics also demonstrate the gradual abandonment by the Gaelic Irish of service to the Church of Ireland. Moreover, only one in ten of the Gaelic Irish cathedral clergymen came from the archdiocese of Armagh, a proportion that reflected the replacement of the native clergy by a colonial ministry there from 1610 onwards. A similar process of replacement occurred in the archdioceses of Cashel and Tuam, where three-quarters of the Gaelic Irish cathedral clergymen were located, although this process happened over a longer time period, commencing in the south at the turn of the seventeenth century and in the west of Ireland during the 1620s and early 1630s. In these areas Gaelic Irish clergymen were undermined by the strictures of English bishops who saw them as unfit for the ministry and who promoted the establishment of an English ministry to take the place of the Gaelic Irish.\(^29\)

The reliance on recruiting clergy from England or from an English ethnic background is also evident when the cathedral chapters were reconstructed at the Restoration. The civil wars of the 1640s and the \textit{interregnum} of the 1650s seriously depleted the cathedral

\(^28\) The King’s instructions to Chichester with Sir Arthur’s answers, 28 Jan. 1607 (\textit{Cal. S. P. Ire.,} 1606–08, p. 97); Letters of the earl of Clarendon whilst lord lieutenant of Ireland (B.L., Add. Ms. 15,893, f. 114).

system’s personnel and by 1660 only 120 cathedral clergymen were left. In August 1660 cathedral clergymen who had survived the previous two decades of turmoil submitted petitions for the return of their livings. The petitioners included the dean of Achnary, William Buchanan, and Richard Butler, who was prebendary of Laccagh in the diocese of Tuam. These petitions continued to be submitted to the State until early 1661 and, provided the petitioner had written evidence of his claim to a cathedral living, possession of that living was restored to him. On 21 November 1660, the king wrote to the lord justices of Ireland for 30 clergymen to be appointed to cathedral livings, including 18 deans, four archdeacons, the precentor of Limerick, the chancellor and treasurer of Christ Church, Dublin, and five prebendaries. One of these positions, the chancellorship of Christ Church, was, however, not vacant. The incumbent, John Creighton, had been presumed dead and James Vaughan had been installed in his place. Creighton petitioned the dean and chapter of Christ Church for the return of his living and he was duly restored in October 1661. Vaughan was subsequently appointed to the wardenship of St Nicholas’s collegiate church in Galway. By the end of 1661 there had been 166 appointments to cathedral livings made, including 23 deans, 22 archdeacons, 14 precentors, six chancellors, nine treasurers and 92 prebendaries. The swift restoration of the cathedral personnel is evident in Graph 5.2, which sets out when a cathedral clergyman received his first appointment during the 1660s. It is clear from this graph that the pivotal year was 1661 and it was during this year that most chapters resumed their day-to-day business including St Patrick’s, Cashel, which met on 19 March, Holy Trinity, Waterford, which held a survey of their holdings in April, and St Fin Barre’s, Cork, which held its first meeting in June. In England the rapid restoration of cathedral chapters was partially related to the need for a congé d’elire to be issued to each chapter to enable them perform episcopal elections. This procedure had been abolished in the Irish church by a parliamentary act of 1560 and so meetings of capitular bodies were not required prior to

31 The King to the Lord Justices for certain clergymen, 21 Nov. 1660 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1660–62, p. 94).
32 R.C.B., C6/1/8/2, p. 222; Kenneth Milne, ‘Restoration and Reorganisation, 1660 – 1830’, in K. Milne (ed.), Christ Church Cathedral Dublin: A History (Dublin, 2000), p. 256. The initial warrant for the chancellorship of Christ Church was made for a Charles Vaughan, although James Vaughan was the intended recipient. James petitioned for the mistake to be rectified and in February 1661 letters patent appointing him to the chancellorship were issued: Copy of Certificate of John, Archbishop of Armagh, 31 Dec. 1660 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1660–62, p. 149); James Vaughan to John Floyd DD, one of the King’s chaplains in ordinary, 3 Jan. 1661 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1660–62, p. 180); Bramhall to Sir George Lane, 9 Jan. 1661 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 221, ff 152); Same to same, 19 Jan. 1661 (Ibid. f. 150); Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. II (N.A.I., 2/446/37, p. 83).
34 R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/32.
35 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, p. 58.
the consecration of the two archbishops and ten bishops in January 1661. In fact only two chapters appear to have resumed their business in the autumn of 1660: Christ Church and St Patrick’s, Dublin.

Although the geographical origins for about half of the cathedral clergymen that were first appointed in the 1660s is unknown, 21 per cent are known to have come from England, 20 per cent from Ireland and 7 per cent from Scotland or Wales. Nearly half of the clergymen from Ireland were from a New English background while less than a sixth were of Gaelic Irish origins. A significant proportion of both restored and newly appointed cathedral clergymen had served in the Irish ministry during the 1650s. In the Restoration period 109 cathedral clergymen had served as Commonwealth ministers, including 31 who had served as cathedral clergymen prior to the interregnum. Most of the remaining 78 Commonwealth ministers, who conformed at the Restoration and who were appointed to cathedral livings, were of English origin. Therefore, the rapid reconstruction of the Irish cathedral chapters necessitated the recruitment of clergymen from a variety of backgrounds and there was a heavy reliance on clergy with an English background, whether they were directly from England, or from Ireland with New English origins, or from clergy who had migrated from England to Ireland in the 1650s. The capacity of Ireland to supply clergy for these positions was much reduced after the Restoration, particularly as the Old English and Gaelic Irish communities were increasingly reluctant to become involved in the Church of Ireland. The gradual abandonment by these communities of participation in the Church of Ireland that was evident in the early Stuart period was accelerated by the civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century. As a result, the Church was left with little option but to employ those willing and conformable so as to fill the vacancies in the cathedral system during the early 1660s. Ultimately this had the effect of accentuating the Anglican identity of the Established Church in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

It is impossible to quantify why cathedral clergymen who were born outside Ireland decided to migrate to Ireland. Undoubtedly there was a certain degree of missionary zeal, particularly amongst the 78 Commonwealth preachers who came to Ireland in the 1650s. For others they came to Ireland to be educated at Trinity College Dublin and subsequently

37 The archbishops and bishops had initially been selected in August 1660 but were not consecrated until January because there was no great seal: St. John D. Seymour, The Puritans in Ireland (Oxford, 1921), p. 194.
38 R.C.B., C2/1/3/2, p. 3; C6/1/6/2, f. 175.
found posts in the cathedral system of Ireland. In all 88 cathedral clergymen came from England and were educated at Trinity College and 66 of those commenced their university education there. Others were encouraged to go to Ireland: Robert Maxwell, who was dean of St Patrick’s, Armagh, in the 1610s, went to Ireland at the request of James I. Other cathedral clergymen were invited over, such as Thomas Weight, prebendary of Kilnaglory in the diocese of Cloyne from 1620-39, by the earl of Cork. Similarly, Bishop Jeremy Taylor invited Francis Marsh, who was dean of Armagh from 1661-69 and archbishop of Dublin from 1681-93, over to Ireland following the Restoration. Morgan Hampton, prebendary of Donaghmore in the diocese of Dublin from 1661-62, came to Ireland with the earl of Orrery and viscount Massereene. Charles Crow, provost of Tuam from 1679-1726 and bishop of Cloyne from 1702-26, accompanied Dr Andrew Sall as his secretary on Sall’s return to Ireland in the 1670s. Many of the cathedral clergymen also saw Ireland as a place of opportunity for career and social advancement, particularly those with a university education who found it difficult to obtain benefices in England.

There is incomplete evidence for the social origins of the cathedral clergy. The database contains details on the social background of 536 clergymen, derived primarily from the alumni records of the universities. The evidence is skewed in favour of the higher clergy, as information is more forthcoming for dignitaries, deans and bishops than for prebendaries. Furthermore, the information derived from the alumni records is problematic, as the entries may not correctly identify the status of a student. For example, when a student registered, he paid a fee according to his social status and occasionally a lower status was entered so as to avail of a lower fee. A further problem inherent in the alumni records is that each social grouping designated by the universities was not uniform in its composition. In the case of those students who registered as the sons of clergymen, their fathers’ status could range from country curates to archbishops. The lowest status on the college registers was the sizar in Trinity College, Dublin, and Cambridge and the plebian or servitor in Oxford. These students earned their way through their degree courses by performing duties such as waiting on dons or the sons of noble men, who were known as fellow commoners. 154 of the cathedral clergymen were registered as being of

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40 W.M. Brady, Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, vol. i, pp 178 – 79.
42 J.B. Leslie and R.H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, p. 742.
43 Clergy succession list, Diocese of Tuam (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/15, ff 29, 92, 226).
the lowest status. Above this grouping were the pensioners or gents, who were generally the sons of the gentry and the professions. This was the largest single grouping and accounted for 205 of the cathedral clergymen. The highest social group found in the college registers was the fellow commoners and only 30 names in the database were so registered while they attended university.45

More specific detail of the social status of the father or the grandfather was sometimes recorded in the college registers. Such detail is available for 285 of the cathedral clergymen. The largest social sub-group was the offspring of clergymen, which accounted for 157 of the cathedral clergymen. However, this sub-group was not homogenous. Eight of the cathedral clergymen were entered in the university registers as sizars, 28 as pensioners and 15 as fellow commoners. Furthermore, 30 of the cathedral clergymen were the sons of bishops or archbishops. Some of the cathedral clergy came from a military background (14 cases) while others had fathers who were merchants (10 cases). Other social backgrounds, albeit with low incidence, include barristers, crown servants, medical doctors, members of parliament, aldermen, teachers, and tradesmen. Eight clergymen can be identified as being the sons of knights and four were found to be of noble parentage. Interestingly, all of the clergymen who descended from the nobility came from Scotland. It should be stressed that the information on the social origins of the cathedral clergy is confined to 43 per cent of the study group. This information is skewed towards the higher social end of the spectrum and therefore the proportion of cathedral clergymen from more humble backgrounds was probably higher. The numbers from the nobility and from the episcopate were both relatively low and the vast majority of the cathedral clergymen came from families of moderate means. Therefore, it is suggested that the cathedral clergymen were primarily from the middling sort. Furthermore, the range of social origins demonstrates that as in England the cathedral chapters of the Church of Ireland were open elites: open to the most able and fortunate young men from the universities.46

Nearly 70 per cent of the study group attended university and 93 of the cathedral clergymen were educated in more than one university. The numbers of graduates obtaining their first appointment in the Church of Ireland on a decade-by-decade basis is given in Graph 5.3. The increase from 63 in 1601-1610 to 130 in 1611-1620 reflects

46 S.E. Lehmberg, Cathedrals under Siege, p. 108.
government policy in sponsoring a graduate clergy. In the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century the numbers appear to have levelled off in and around the 100 mark. The number of graduates appointed to cathedral livings collapsed during the civil wars and the interregnum. The appointment of 219 graduate clergymen between 1661 and 1670 demonstrates the effects of two decades of religious turmoil and the attempts by the cathedral system to reconstruct its personnel. In the last two decades of the study period, the numbers of cathedral clergymen levelled off, once again, to the 100 mark.

The name of the university that the cathedral clergymen attended is known for 760 of them, but for 106 the only evidence that they attended a university is the possession of a degree. The breakdown of universities attended is given in Table 5.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Andrews</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samur</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4. Universities attended by Cathedral Clergymen.

Dublin, as the home university, supplied the most graduate clergymen, although the combined total of the two English universities was close. Comparing the numbers of graduates from each of these universities before and after the year 1650 produces interesting results. In the case of Trinity College, Dublin, the total number of graduates before 1650 was 167 and afterwards this number increased to 253. In the case of Oxford the numbers decreased from 102 during the years 1603-1650 to 76 during the years 1650-1690, while at Cambridge the decrease was from 120 to 81 cases. Therefore, Trinity College, Dublin, truly became the national seminary for the Church of Ireland for the first time in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The figures also show that Cambridge was the principal contributor of graduate clergymen from England to the Church of Ireland's cathedral system, even though it was the smaller of the two English universities.

[47] Alan Ford, Protestant Reformation in Ireland, p. 73.
The education of students in both Oxford and Cambridge was centred on their constituent colleges and halls. In the early seventeenth century, the relative independence of the colleges allowed them to develop their own particular ethos and the most pronounced ethos that emerged was puritanism. This ethos was principally associated with Cambridge and consequently Archbishop Laud instigated an enquiry into the state of the individual colleges in 1636. The colleges that were found to be ‘unsatisfactory’ included Trinity, Emmanuel, Caius and Sidney Sussex. Out of the 116 cathedral clergymen who attended Cambridge before 1641, 39 attended one of these ‘puritan’ colleges. St John’s, Queens, Peterhouse, Pembroke and Jesus were found to be ‘pleasing’ by Laud’s standards and 48 of the cathedral clergymen were students at one of these colleges prior to 1641. Two colleges were deemed tolerable, Clare and Magdalene, and ten of the Irish cathedral clergymen appointed prior to 1641 attended these colleges. A number of Oxford colleges also developed a puritan reputation, although on the whole puritanism never became as established at Oxford as in Cambridge. These colleges included Exeter, Brasenose and Magdalene and 24 of the cathedral clergymen attended these colleges. The colleges that possessed a Laudian outlook in the 1630s included Laud’s own college St John’s, All Souls, Christ Church and Queens and only 18 cathedral clergymen appointed before 1641 were students at one of these colleges. On the other hand, most of the cathedral clergymen who studied at Oxford prior to 1641 attended colleges that were not exclusivist in outlook, although following Laud’s appointment as chancellor of the university in 1630 attempts were made to bring all the colleges under closer scrutiny.

The majority of cathedral clergy who graduated from the two English universities was not educated in colleges with a purely puritan ethos. In Cambridge slightly more students studied in a college that was ‘satisfactory’ by Laudian standards than those who studied in colleges that were deemed ‘unsatisfactory’. Four of the students went to both ‘satisfactory’ and ‘unsatisfactory’ colleges. These were William Clebourne, dean of St Brigid’s, Kildare, 1626-45, John Deth, prebendary of Dromaragh in the diocese of Down in 1613, Digory Holman, precentor of Christ the Redeemer’s, Dromore, from 1624 to 1661, and William Morris, prebendary of Ardagh in the diocese of Killala in 1639. Only 24 of the 94 cathedral clergymen who studied at Oxford prior to 1641 attended colleges that were

50 J. Venn, J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, vol. i, p. 353; vol. ii, p. 27, 397; vol. iii, p. 216.
purported to possess a puritan character. Furthermore, not all the students who studied at ‘puritan colleges’ could be labelled as a puritan. John Bramhall, who was treasurer of Christ Church, Dublin, from 1633-4 and subsequently bishop of Derry and archbishop of Armagh attended the ‘unsatisfactory’ college of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, and he could only be described as ‘satisfactory’ in the eyes of Laud.51

The number of cathedral clergymen who graduated from the English ‘puritan colleges’ in the early Stuart period was 63 and to this number should be added the 135 cathedral clergymen who only went to Trinity College, Dublin. This college was modelled on Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and developed a distinctive Calvinist character during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.52 Overall, the proportion of cathedral clergymen appointed in the early Stuart period that attended colleges with a puritan outlook was at least 28.5 per cent. In the Restoration period these ‘puritan’ colleges came under pressure as penal laws forced dissenters and those with puritan inclinations elsewhere for their education. The colleges in both Oxford and Cambridge began to reflect the conservatism that emerged in both church and state in the latter half of the seventeenth century, while at Trinity College, Dublin, the intellectual regime moved away from the puritanism of Emmanuel College to the conservatism of post-Restoration Oxford.53 This development had been facilitated by reforms of the college’s constitution in the 1630s, which placed the college under greater control of the king and his administration.54 The end result was that at least 68 per cent of the total post-Restoration cathedral clergy were educated in an environment that was characterised by its loyalty to episcopacy and its attachment to the Book of Common Prayer.

Obtaining a degree was the primary objective for those who attended university. Only 67 of the 866 cases recorded as having been at university appear not to have been awarded a degree. This was a small figure compared with the results of the student body as a whole in the seventeenth century. At Oxford fewer than half the students were awarded a bachelors degree, a little over a quarter of these received a master’s degree, and only one

51 J. Venn, J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, vol. i, p. 204.
in fourteen went on for a higher degree. The distribution of highest degree attained for the study group is set out in Graph 5.4. This distribution differs significantly from the distribution awarded to the general student body. It is evident that those who entered university with the specific aim of obtaining a career in the church, particularly those of a lower social status, recognised the benefits of completing a course of study that could assist in their career progression.

The Master of Arts degree was the highest degree attained by 56 per cent of the graduate cathedral clergymen. In contrast, for only 13 per cent the highest degree was a Bachelor of Arts degree. The graduates in the Irish cathedral system were not as highly educated as their counterparts in the English cathedral system. Lehmberg has calculated that the BA degree as the highest degree was held by only 2 per cent of the graduates in the English cathedrals and that the MA as highest degree was possessed by 35 per cent. More than half of all the members of English cathedral chapters in the Stuart period were awarded a higher degree, principally in divinity. In the Irish cathedrals only 6 per cent of the graduate clergymen possessed a Bachelor of Divinity degree, while 22 per cent had a Doctor of Divinity degree as their highest degree. Lehmberg also calculated that more than 93 per cent of cathedral clergymen in England in the study period possessed a degree. The corresponding figure for the Irish cathedrals in the seventeenth century was 64 per cent. This figure is even lower than the proportion of graduate clergymen in the English cathedrals in the Tudor period, which Lehmberg calculated as 74 per cent. On the other hand, the proportion of cathedral clergymen in Ireland that possessed a degree rose from 55 per cent in the early Stuart period to 76 per cent in the Restoration period. The level of educational attainment within the cathedral system of Ireland was on the rise in the seventeenth century but it was only in the latter half of the seventeenth century that this began to surpass the levels that had been found in the English cathedral system in the sixteenth century.

22 cathedral clergymen held law degrees and one held a doctorate in medicine: William Hill prebendary of Mulhuddert in the diocese of Dublin from 1661-67. Higher degrees were mostly in divinity and were perceived as a necessary qualification for the higher

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55 N. Tyacke, *History of the University of Oxford*, vol. iv, p. 92
57 S.E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals*, p. 239.
ranks within the church, namely deans and bishops.\textsuperscript{59} 54 per cent of those with a DD went on to become deans and 39 per cent attained the rank of bishop. The importance of a DD or a BD for promotion to these ranks is reflected in the figures relating the highest degree attained by deans and bishops in the database. [Table 5.5 and Table 5.6] For both ranks the degree of DD was the highest degree for most, although on a percentage basis there was a large variation between the two ranks: only 37 per cent of the deans had a DD while the corresponding figure for bishops was 67 per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Highest Degree</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Highest Degree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>DD</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>DD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>BD</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>BD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>MA</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>MA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>DCL/LLD</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>DCL/LLD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5. Highest Degree held by Deans.

Table 5.6. Highest Degree held by Bishops.

The possession of a divinity degree was not the only factor in the promotion of a cathedral clergyman to the position of dean or bishop. A clergyman’s career had a significant influence upon whether or not he attained the highest ranks in the church. The higher a clergyman progressed up the career ladder, the greater the probability he would be promoted to the office of dean or bishop. Only 19 cathedral clergymen were promoted directly from the position of treasurer to dean without going up the ranks from chancellor to precentor to archdeacon. The figure for chancellor to dean was 29 cases and for precentor to dean was 36. Those who attained the rank of archdeacon were more likely to be promoted to the position of dean with 48 archdeacons achieving this rank. On the other hand, the number of prebendaries promoted directly to the rank of dean was 46. The high number that were promoted from the lowest capitular rank to the highest may be a reflection of the situation that there were more prebendary positions than there were dignitary positions. On the other hand, there were no prebendaries promoted to a bishopric without attaining a dignitary position beforehand. Only three treasurers, the lowest dignitary rank, were promoted directly to the episcopate. The corresponding figure for chancellors was eight, for precentors three and for archdeacons sixteen. The relationship between deaneries and bishopric was more significant with 71 of the deans in the database promoted to bishoprics. However, this was out of a total of 259 cathedral clergymen who served as deans in the cathedral system in the study period, which represents 27 per cent.

\textsuperscript{59} N. Tyacke, \textit{History of the university of Oxford}, vol. iv, p. 92
of all deans. Both before and after the *interregnum* there was concern at the highest levels of state that clergymen ought not to advance up the hierarchy without the appropriate experience. In 1636 Archbishop Laud wrote that he was against putting young men in to eminent places⁶⁰ and in 1682 the duke of Ormonde expressed his reluctance to promote an archdeacon to a bishopric because he deemed such a promotion as too high a jump.⁶¹ On the other hand, James Ussher believed that this rule should not be strictly observed, as he felt that many Irish deans were too young and qualified clergymen were not necessarily those who had received preferment.⁶² Most deans did not get promoted to the highest ecclesiastical positions. The primary reason for this was that there were fewer bishoprics available than deaneries and not all bishops in the Church of Ireland in the seventeenth century worked their way up through the cathedral system in Ireland. Nevertheless, 188 or 15 per cent of the study group achieved the office of dean as their highest position. The figures for the other ranks are given in Table 5.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Position</th>
<th>Total Number of Cases</th>
<th>Percentage of Study Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prebendary</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>41.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancellor</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precentor</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>8.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provost</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archdeacon</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>13 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dean</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>15 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>8.5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7. Highest position attained by cathedral clergymen.

It is apparent from these figures that once a clergyman was appointed to a dignitary position there was a greater probability that he would progress up the career ladder. Only 13 per cent of the study group remained at the two lowest dignitary positions: that is treasurer or chancellor. The low figure for the position of provost can be attributed to the fact that this rank was only found in cathedrals in the archdiocese of Tuam.⁶³ It is apparent that significant numbers of cathedral clergymen progressed up to the higher offices within the cathedral system, with 28 per cent of the study group attaining the offices of archdeacon or dean. Added to this are those who were promoted to the episcopate and it is evident that mobility to higher offices within the church was common in the careers of the

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⁶³ See above: Chapter II - Constitutional Developments, p. 23.
cathedral clergy. The majority of the cathedral clergy were appointed to dignitary positions and only 41.5 per cent never progressed further than the rank of a prebendary, even though there were more prebendary positions than dignitary positions.

III

Throughout the seventeenth century promotion to the highest positions in the church, principally archbishoprics, bishoprics and most deaneries, were in the gift of the State. In general the chief governor would recommend a clergyman for promotion and the crown’s consent would be granted by letters patent. In 1686 Lord Lieutenant Clarendon sent drafts of letters for the elevation of clergymen to bishoprics and described this as the usual and constant practice of the chief governors. In this system influence and connections were important factors in the career progression of clergymen. These factors are evident in the connection between cathedral clergymen who were chaplains of the lord deputy and the number of these clergymen who attained the rank of deans and bishops. Out of the 55 cathedral clergymen who were chaplains to lord deputies, 41 attained the rank of dean and 21 of these were subsequently appointed bishops. A further four were appointed bishops without ever being appointed deans. Out of the remaining ten cases only three were never appointed to dignitary positions. An example of the close relationship between a lord deputy’s chaplain and rapid advancement in the church is the appointment in 1623 of Lord Deputy Falkland’s chaplin, Robert Dawson, to the deanery of Downpatrick, the precentorship of Connor, the prebendary of Donoghmore and Kiltegan in the diocese of Lismore and the rectories of Maghera and Ballyscullion in the diocese of Derry. In July 1626 the lord deputy wrote to the king recommending Dean Dawson for promotion to the bishoprics of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh. The following month, after hearing ‘good testimonies of his learning and abilities’, Dawson was elevated to the episcopate, although his consecration did not take place until April 1627.

In the 1630s the control of appointments to the principal positions in the church held importance for the programme to reconstruct the church. In the database seven of the cathedral clergymen were chaplains of Lord Deputy Wentworth and each of them was appointed to a deanery or a bishopric. Wentworth specifically brought over Henry Tilson for the deanery of Christ Church, Dublin, and employed him as his chaplain until the Archbishop of Tuam, Randolph Barlow, who held the deanery in commendam, vacated

64 Letters of the earl of Clarendon whilst lord lieutenant of Ireland (B.L., Add. Ms. 15,893, f. 91).
66 The Lord Deputy to the King, 24 July 1626 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p. 143).
this living. In 1639 Tilson was one of two candidates recommended by Wentworth to Laud for the position of bishop of Elphin. The other candidate was Benjamin Culme, dean of St Patrick’s, Dublin, although Wentworth expressed his preference for his chaplain. Subsequently, Laud wrote to the king for Tilson to succeed to this bishopric. The king, however, was anxious to nominate another to the living: the recently ejected bishop of Ross in Scotland, John Maxwell. Wentworth replied that the promotion of Tilson to Elphin was necessary because he required the aid of someone familiar with church affairs in Ireland as part of his plan for the plantation of Roscommon. As for the bishop of Ross, Wentworth suggested to the king that he be granted a pension until the next suitable bishopric became available. The king was persuaded by these arguments and on the 3 August 1639 letters patent were issued for Tilson’s promotion to Elphin.

Wentworth’s desire for trusty servants in key ecclesiastical positions ensured that his chaplains were promoted quickly. In 1634 Laud wrote to Wentworth informing him that Hugh Cressy had arrived in Ireland. In his reply, Wentworth identified Cressy as one of his chaplains and wrote that he hoped to provide Cressy with a living in the near future. The following year Cressy was appointed to the prebendary of St John’s in Christ Church, Dublin, and in 1637 he was promoted to the deanery of St Laserian’s, Leighlin. In 1638 Wentworth persuaded George Synge to resign the deanery of Christ the Redeemer’s, Dromore, to another one of his chaplains, Robert Forward. Although orthodoxy was an important factor in the choice of these clergymen, Wentworth also placed a value on close personal relations. One of his chaplains, Michael Wandesford, was a brother of his friend Sir Christopher Wandesford, Master of the Rolls, and in 1635 Michael was appointed dean of St Mary’s, Limerick and subsequently to the deanery of St Columb’s, Derry.

70 Laud to Wentworth, 2 Apr. 1639 (Ibid., f. 176v).
71 The King to Wentworth, 9 July 1639 (Shef. City Lib., Stratford Letter Book iii, f. 83v).
72 Wentworth to the King, 24 July 1639 (Ibid., ff 84-5).
73 The King to Wentworth, 8 Aug. 1639 (Ibid., f. 96); Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. I (N.A.I., 2/446/34, f. 218v). Julian Davies’s argument that only Charles’s chaplains in ordinary were appointed to the episcopate is here shown to be incorrect, as Tilson had never been a chaplain of the king. Furthermore, the appointment of Tilson to Elphin demonstrates that Wentworth was highly influential in matters of ecclesiastical preferment: Julian Davies, *The Carolinian Captivity of the Church, Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism*, 1625–44 (Oxford, 1992), pp 38 – 40.
75 Wentworth to Laud, 5 June 1638 (Ibid., f. 103).
76 Wentworth to Laud, 13 Apr. 1635 (Ibid., f. 165); J.B. Leslie, *Derry clergy and parishes*, p. 32.
During the Restoration period the duke of Ormonde and the earl of Essex both had household staff that included a considerable number of chaplains. This was significant as both men, while serving as chief governors, were keen supporters of the Anglican Church. The earl of Essex had six chaplains that became cathedral clergymen, even though he was lord lieutenant for only five years. All but one of these chaplains was eventually promoted to deaneries or bishoprics. Ormonde, on the other hand, had a career in which his influence was felt for over forty years and in the database there are 27 cathedral clergymen who were his chaplains while he was the chief governor and a further 12 clergymen when he was not. Only 14 of these cathedral clergymen were not appointed to the rank of dean or bishop. Ormonde was very much candid when promoting the interests of his chaplains. In 1681 he wrote to the earl of Longford explaining that he expected one of his own chaplains to be presented to the deanery of Downpatrick, which was considered to be one of the best deaneries in the kingdom. Subsequently the crown donated the deanery to one of Ormonde’s chaplains, Benjamin Phibbs. That same year Ormonde expressed his unease over the appointment of a clergyman from England to a bishopric in Ireland, as he feared such an appointment would be a ‘great discouragement’ to his chaplains who would have lost out on a promotion.

The desire of Ormonde to advance his chaplains’ interests is evident in correspondence between himself and his son in 1682. In August of that year the earl of Arran wrote to Ormonde recommending Edward Jones, dean of Lismore, for promotion to the episcopate. Jones was one of Ormonde’s chaplains and Ormonde agreed that he would make a suitable bishop of Waterford or Ossory. Later that year, in November, Arran wrote to his father informing him that the bishop of Cloyne was dying and that Dean Jones was willing to accept the bishopric. Ormonde made representations to the king for it and despite the fact that the archbishop of Armagh sponsored the dean of Cloyne for the same

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80 H.B. Swanzy and J.B. Leslie, Biographical succession list of the clergy of the diocese of Down, p. 20
82 Earl of Arran to Ormonde, 1 Aug. 1682 (H.M.C., Ormonde, NS, vol. vi, p. 410).
83 Ormonde to the Earl of Arran, 9 Sept. 1682 (Ibid., p. 440).
84 Earl of Arran to Ormonde, 10 Nov. 1682 (Ibid., p. 476).
position, a warrant was drawn up granting the bishopric of Cloyne to Jones. Following this presentation Ormonde let it be known that another two of his chaplains, Peter Drelincourt and Nathaniel Wilson were to be provided for in the distribution of livings that followed appointments to the episcopate. And in that year Wilson was appointed to the deanery of Raphoe while Drelincourt was presented to the archdeaconry of Leighlin. Therefore, becoming a chaplain to a lord deputy was, just as it had been in the early Stuart period, a significant factor for gaining access to the highest ranks in the Church.

Ormonde’s policy on nominating clergymen for promotions in the church were set out in correspondence to the secretary of state, Sir Leoline Jenkins. In a letter dated 2 November 1681, Ormonde stated that ‘I have been as careful as possible neither to recommend nor advance any man in this church but such as I thought equal to the places they were promoted to’ and that only men of unblemished reputation and competent abilities should be promoted to the highest positions within the church. In a subsequent letter he wrote that he never recommended anyone for promotion whom he did not know or whose character he was not satisfied with. However he did admit that some unsuitable clergymen had been given preferments and they had achieved these positions by seeking advancement in England or by the recommendation of their friends. The earl of Essex also saw attempts by clergymen to procure promotions by recommendations in England as a problem and wrote to Lord Arlington in 1672 to hinder those attempting to do so. He went on to say that the patronage of the principal ecclesiastical livings in the kingdom should remain with the chief governor, concomitant upon advice from the higher clergy. He reiterated these principles two years later when he wrote that the church would be badly served by those who sought promotion at Court rather than those who laboured at home.

One clergyman who found favour with the earl of Essex was Dr Andrew Sall, who was recommended to the lord lieutenant by the bishop of London for the deanery of St Patrick’s, Armagh, in 1676. Sall was a Jesuit from Cashel who converted from Catholicism to Anglicanism and became renowned for his learning and the controversial

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85 Earl of Arran to Ormonde, 27 Nov. 1682, (Ibid., p. 484); Ormonde to the Earl of Arran, 2 Dec. 1682 (Ibid., p. 488); The King to the Lord Lieutenant, 22 Dec. 1682 (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1682, p. 586).
87 J.B. Leslie, Raphoe clergy and parishes, p. 15; Clerical succession list, Diocese of Ardagh (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/12/1, f. 52).
88 The Lord Lieutenant to Sir Leoline Jenkins, 2 Nov. 1681 (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1680 – 81, p. 546).
89 Ormonde to Sir Leoline Jenkins, 1 Feb. 1682 (H.M.C., Ormonde, NS, vol. vi, pp 304 – 05).
91 Lord Lieutenant Essex’s papers (B.L., Stowe Ms. 13, f. 388).
92 Lord Lieutenant Essex’s papers (B.L., Stowe Ms. 210, f. 101).
works that he wrote in defence of his conversion. Essex promised the bishop of London that he would help Sall and made him one of his chaplains. Essex intended to bestow upon him a suitable preferment, but the archbishop of Armagh presented the living intended for Sall to someone else, because the archbishop had been informed, incorrectly, that Sall was dead. The following year, 1677, the earl of Essex returned to England, but Sall remained in Ireland, as he saw his mission was to look after the spiritual welfare of the Irish. In the summer of 1679 Ormonde received a petition from the earl of Anglesey who admonished Ormonde for not patronising Sall. In his defence, Ormonde replied to the earl that he did not know what Sall required as neither Sall nor his friends had taken the trouble to tell him. However, the archbishop of Cashel had written to Ormonde in May 1679, recommending Sall for preferment. Sall had also petitioned Ormonde, but this document is not dated. In this petition Sall wrote of his desire to preach to the natives in Irish and requested Ormonde to provide him with a competent means to continue his labours. Other petitions written on his behalf were addressed to the earl of Ossory from a Mr Ellis. Representations were also made to the king and as a result a letter was sent to Ormonde in 1680 directing him to confer upon Sall the next valuable deanery that should fall vacant and to assist him in the mean time with lodgings in the college. The same letter also gives, perhaps, an indication as to why Sall was never granted such a preferment: by 1680 he was old and infirm. In 1682 there was a suggestion made by the primate that Sall be presented to the deanery of Ferns, upon the transfer of the lord deputy’s chaplain, Benjamin Phibbs, from that living to the deanery of Downpatrick. This came to nothing and the following year Sall was dead. It does appear that Ormonde provided a living for Sall in the diocese of Cashel, as the archbishop of Cashel wrote to Ormonde to thank him for it. Sall was one of the few chaplains of a lord deputy not to attain the highest ranks in the church. He appears to have fallen between the tenure of a number of chief governors and therefore had to resort to a campaign of petitions and representations to get advancement in the church. On the other hand, for the

93 Lord Lieutenant Essex’s papers (B.L., Stowe Ms. 216, f. 154).
94 Lord Longford to Ormonde, 21 Oct. 1679 (H.M.C., Ormonde, NS, vol. v, p. 229); Mr Ellis to the Earl of Ossory, 13 Mar. 1680 (Ibid., p. 289).
95 Earl of Anglesey to Ormonde, 21 Aug. 1679 (Ibid., p. 187).
96 Ormonde to the Earl of Anglesey, 8 Oct. 1679 (Ibid., p. 220).
97 Archbishop of Cashel to Ormonde, 27 May 1679 (Ibid., pp 117 – 18).
98 Andrew Sall to Ormonde, n.d. (Ormonde Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 2485, f. 391).
99 Mr Ellis to the Earl of Ossory, 13 Mar. 1679 (H.M.C., Ormonde, NS, vol. v, p. 289).
100 Henry Coventry to Ormonde, 9 Mar. 1680 (Ibid., p. 288).
101 Archbishop of Armagh to Ormonde, 21 Feb. 1682 (H.M.C., Ormonde, NS, vol. vi, p. 322).
102 Archbishop of Cashel to Ormonde, 13 June 1680 (H.M.C., Ormonde, NS, vol. v, p. 334).
majority of clergymen seeking to gain promotion in the church, petitioning those in high office and seeking the patronage of great men was standard practice.

In 1681 Ormonde commented to Sir Leoline Jenkins that churchmen would ride as hard as any other man for preferment. The usual custom of soliciting the court for promotion was by means of letters of petition, although those with influence at court often made requests for preferment orally. In the Church of Ireland a significant proportion of advowsons were in lay hands and consequently there was a strong tradition of clerics actively seeking preferment. Unsurprisingly, this practice applied equally to those ecclesiastical livings in the hands of the crown or the episcopate. Up to the 1620s the most influential advisers on ecclesiastical preferment were laymen such as Salisbury and Buckingham. Following the accession of Charles I to the throne, power shifted to an influential coterie attuned to the religious outlook of the king, which consisted of Archbishop Laud in England and Lord Deputy Wentworth and Bishop Bramhall in Ireland. Following the Restoration, Charles II was conscious of not alienating support and consequently clergymen were appointed with the intention of pleasing supporters of the government and with less of an emphasis on their ability or suitability.

How this process worked in Ireland is evident in numerous petitions and correspondence throughout the seventeenth century. In 1609 the archbishop of Tuam, Nehemiah Donnellan, wrote to the lord deputy recommending the treasurer of St Patrick’s, Dublin, William Daniel, to succeed him in the archbishopric. This letter was subsequently included in a petition from the lord deputy and council to the English privy council, which recommended Daniel for this promotion. A further petition from the earl of Thomond to Salisbury promoted Daniel’s administrative and preaching abilities. Subsequently

103 Sir George Rawdon to Viscount Conway, 16 June 1680 (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1680-81, p. 518).
109 Earl of Thomond to Salisbury, 6 Apr. 1609 (Ibid., p. 186).
Daniel was appointed to the archbishopric. In 1615 Absolom Gethin obtained the support of Lord Dingwell, one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, who submitted a petition on his behalf for a prebend. The petition emphasised his role as a preacher and in acknowledgement of this role he was to be granted the next vacant deanery. This was duly granted in 1617 when he was appointed to the deanery of St Canice’s, Kilkenny.

In the 1630s petitions continued to be submitted to Lord Deputy Wentworth, even though his administration had notions as to who was suitable for appointment to the principal positions in the church. In 1634, following the death of the bishop of Derry, George Downham, the Primate, James Ussher, recommended his friend, the bishop of Ardagh and the archdeacon of Derry, John Richardson. Instead the preferment went to Wentworth’s chaplain, John Bramhall. In the same year the bishop of Limerick died and Ussher wrote to Archbishop Laud recommending the dean of St Mary’s, Limerick, George Andrews, as a suitable candidate. Ussher had already recommended Andrews for promotion to Laud once before in 1631, although this came to nothing. Andrews himself also petitioned Laud for the bishopric and Laud informed Wentworth that the lord justices had written to him on Andrews’ behalf. Despite these endorsements, the State had already chosen its man: George Webb. Both Wentworth and Laud viewed Andrews as insufficient for the position, principally because he resisted the introduction of new canons for the church. As a result of this opposition, Andrews was later appointed to the poorly endowed bishopric of Ferns and Leighlin. Another clergyman that Laud disapproved of was a secretary of the earl of Leicester, who in 1636 brought a petition from the earl to Laud requesting the appointment of his secretary to the deanery of St Patrick’s, Armagh. Laud commented that the earl’s secretary looked less like a man in holy orders and more like a cavalier with long hair and fashionable clothes. Laud was not only bothered by his appearance but also by his youth, especially as he was only a deacon. Laud indicated to

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110 Collection made by Sir James Ware containing letters from King James and the Council of England to the Lord Deputy and Justices of Ireland, 1603–23 (B.L., Add. Ms. 4794, f. 324v).
111 J.B. Leslie, Ossory clergy and parishes, p. 60.
113 Ussher to Laud, 30 Apr. 1634 (Alan Ford, ‘Correspondence between Archbishops Ussher and Laud’, p. 16). Both Ussher and Richardson were the same age and both had held preaching post in Christ Church, Dublin, while studying at Trinity College: Nicholas Bernard, The life and death of the most reverend and learned father of our Church James Ussher (Dublin, 1656), p. 34.
117 Wentworth to Laud, 18 Dec. 1635 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book vi, f. 131); Laud to Wentworth, 12 Jan. 1635 (ibid., f. 136); Wentworth to Laud, 10 Mar. 1635 (ibid, f. 144).
Wentworth that the appointment of young men to the most eminent positions in the church was inappropriate.\(^{118}\) Subsequently, the living being sought was filled through the nomination of the lord deputy and in this instance the lord deputy’s namesake, Peter Wentworth, was appointed.\(^{119}\) In the 1640s the Primate would have more success in having those whom he recommended promoted. In 1644 encouraged by this success, particularly the promotions for his chaplain Nicholas Barnard and his nephew Henry Jones, Ussher petitioned Lord Deputy Ormond for the promotion of Joseph Travers to the archdeaconry of Kildare. Travers had been chancellor of St Colman’s, Cloyne, but had lost all his possessions in the rebellion of 1641. Subsequently, Travers was appointed to this archdeaconry, which he held until his death in 1664.\(^{120}\)

Following the Restoration the practice of petitioning for ecclesiastical livings resumed. In February 1661 Daniel Wittar petitioned the king for the deanery of St Brendan’s, Ardfert.\(^{121}\) This was granted and his letters patent were issued on 27 March.\(^{122}\) The same year the lord chancellor wrote to the secretary of state, Sir Edward Nicholas, on behalf of his chaplain Thomas Potter and asked for Potter to be considered for either the deanery of Christ Church, Dublin, or of St Patrick’s, Dublin.\(^{123}\) Subsequently, Nicholas wrote to the Primate who replied that Potter had come when all the best preferments had been granted.\(^{124}\) Later that year Potter was appointed to the prebendary of Kilmacthalway in the diocese of Tuam and the following year the deanery of Waterford was donated to him.\(^{125}\) Potter also received a king’s letter promising him either one of the deaneries in Dublin, whichever fell vacant first, although he was never appointed to either position.\(^{126}\) The importance of having influential connections is underlined by the advancement of Capel Wiseman to the highest ranks in the church. In 1676 Wiseman, who was then a chaplain of the lord lieutenant, the earl of Essex, was appointed to the deanery of St Eunan’s, Raphoe. However, Wiseman developed a reputation for being a non-resident, firstly attending the lord lieutenant at Dublin Castle and subsequently returning to England with the earl in

\(^{118}\) Laud to Wentworth, 15 Nov. 1636 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book vi, ff 365 – 66).
\(^{119}\) J.B. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, pp 15 – 16.
\(^{120}\) Archbishop of Armagh to Ormond, May 1644 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 11, p. 30); W. M. Brady, Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, vol. ii, p. 114; Clerical succession list, Diocese of Kildare (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/7, p. 41).
\(^{121}\) Petition to the King from Daniel Wittar clerk, Feb. 1661 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1663 – 65, p. 479).
\(^{122}\) Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. II (N.A.I., 2/446/37, f. 81).
\(^{123}\) Lord Chancellor Eustace to Secretary Nicholas, 12 Sept. 1661 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1660 – 62, p. 419).
\(^{124}\) Archbishop of Armagh to Secretary Nicholas, 16 Sept. 1661 (Ibid., p. 425).
\(^{125}\) W.H. Rennison, Succession list of the bishops, cathedral and parochial clergy of the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, pp 37, 106; Clerical succession list, Diocese of Tuam (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/15, p. 103).
\(^{126}\) P.R.O., SP 63/307(2)/209, 1.
1677. Between then and 1681 he spent less than a year at Raphoe. Although Ormonde believed that Wiseman was not qualified for promotion because of his consistent non-residency, he recognised that his contacts at Court, including the earl of Essex and his brother, who Ormonde characterised as a ‘very active citizen of London and very zealous for the King’, more than compensated for this deficiency. In 1683 the bishop of Dromore died and within days there were ten deans from throughout the kingdom at Christ Church seeking preferment to that bishopric. But it was Wiseman that was eventually appointed despite the concerns of Ormonde, the earl of Arran and the archbishop of Armagh.

The importance of influential connections is also evident in the petitions that were unsuccessful. In 1666 the dean of Chester, Henry Bridgeman, requested Sir George Lane to consider him for the deanship of Christ Church, Dublin, a position that he had his eye on since the 1630s. However, Bridgeman was aware that Ormonde had another person in mind for the position: his chaplain John Parry. Bridgeman suggested that Parry be appointed to his deanship, which was close to a parsonage that Parry possessed in north Wales. As a further inducement, Bridgeman outlined the improvement that he had made to the deanship in increasing the revenue and renovating the residence, which he likened to a bishop’s palace. Ormonde’s thoughts on this petition are unknown but it was Parry and not Bridgeman who was appointed to the deanship of Christ Church later that year. In 1672 the archdeacon of Down, Jeremiah Piddock, petitioned Viscount Conway for assistance in obtaining the precentorship of St Saviour’s, Connor, and asked him to recommend him to the Bishop of Down and Connor. However, Piddock was not appointed to this cathedral living, which went instead to the prebendary of Rasharkin in the diocese of Connor, John Dunbar. Likewise, in 1682 the dean of Kilmacduagh, Dudley Peirce, petitioned Ormonde’s secretary, Henry Gascoigne, for assistance in

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129 Earl of Arran to Ormonde, 15 May 1683 (Ibid., p. 25).
130 Earl of Arran to Ormonde, 2 June 1683 (Ibid., p. 38); Archbishop of Armagh to Ormonde, 9 June 1683 (Ibid., p. 40).
131 Henry Bridgeman to Sir George Lane, 16 Jan. 1666 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 34, f. 559).
132 J.B. Leslie and R.H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, pp 955 – 56.
134 J.B. Leslie, Clergy of Connor from patrician times to the present day, p. 315.
gaining a promotion. This letter was forwarded to Ormonde but Pierce remained where he was until his death in 1700. In 1681 Thomas Bladen, dean of St Brendan’s, Ardfert, requested the archbishop of Canterbury to solicit Ormonde on his behalf for the deanery of Holy Trinity, Downpatrick. Bladen was aware of the disadvantages that he faced in his attempts to gain promotions: ‘I have no friend to put my Lord Duke in mind of me for every man here will speak for their own relation.’ Whether or not the archbishop sent the letter to Ormonde, it would have had no effect, as Bladen was not even considered by Ormonde for the position, which went to one of his chaplains, Benjamin Phibbs.

The positions of most deans and all the bishops were by right in the gift of the king and it is for this reason that petitions to the State were only concerned with these positions. Almost every other capitular position in the cathedral system was in the hands of the bishops and petitions for these positions would have been directed to them. However, the effectiveness of particular candidates soliciting bishops for clerical appointment is unclear, as bishops had a greater pool of clerical candidates to draw from and were less open to intercessions from the outside than state officials. On the other hand, there were exceptions to episcopal selection for cathedral livings and this may give an indication of how the process worked at a lower level. In Christ Church, Dublin, the three prebendaries were in the gift of the dean and chapter, where there is evidence for soliciting for positions. On 6 March 1662 William Reresby petitioned the dean and chapter to be installed as prebendar of St Michael’s. This petition was accepted and he was installed later that day. Less than six months later Reresby resigned this living and subsequently Daniel Wittar petitioned for the prebendar, a petition that was also accepted. Two years later Wittar resigned and John Glendy petitioned to succeed. A chapter meeting was held on 7 February 1665 where it appears that another candidate, John Brereton, prebendary of Clonmethan in St Patrick’s cathedral, had also applied for the position. Glendy supported his application with further letters bearing testimony of his clerical

138 For example, the bishop of Limerick had in his gift the precentorship, chancellorship, treasurership and archdeaconry of St Mary’s cathedral as well as the nine prebendaries in the cathedral: An account of the see of Limerick, c. 1622 (N.L.I., Ms. 18,282, no. 1, f. 10).
141 Ibid., pp 246 – 47.
credentials and his good character. The dean and the majority of the chapter subsequently elected Glendy, with the proviso not to take any salaried lectureship in the city.142

The problem with the system of petitions and patronage was that many clergymen continuously sought preferment and in the words of Dr Sall 'heaped together great livings.'143 In the early seventeenth century the exigencies of the church led to pluralism being the norm. Throughout the reign of James I letters patent often contained commendam clauses, citing the smallness of the income of the living as a reason for the granting of multiple livings. Such a clause was used in 1603 when Meredith Hanmer was appointed to the position of chancellor of St Canice's, Kilkenny, and the rectory of Aglishmartin in the diocese of Ossory144 and also in 1617 when Gerald Fitzgerald was presented to the archdeaconry of Emly, the prebendary of Dollardstown and the vicarages of Aney and Cahirconey in the diocese of Emly.145 Following the Restoration, the bishop of Ossory, Griffith Williams, conducted a thorough investigation into the state of his diocese and gave details of the multiple livings held by the clergy, including ten members of the cathedral chapter. The average value of a living was about £12 and so it was necessary to group the livings together to create some semblance of an adequate income, with some, such as the prebendary of Clonemeary, Thomas Bulkeley, and the prebendary of Kilmanagh, John Kearney, holding nine livings in commendam.146 In 1666 a memorandum on the religion, state and revenue in Ireland reported that parishes in Ireland were two or three times larger than English parishes and that three, four or five of them were united together so as to provide a competent means for the minister.147 The same document identified the total number of clergy as 500 and given that there were just under 2,500 parishes in the kingdom148 the average number of commendams would work out at around five parishes for each clergyman. These figures are consistent with the number of commendams held by the cathedral clergy of the Stuart period, whereby the average number of parishes held by a cathedral clergyman was 5.5 parishes.149 What is especially noteworthy is the difference between the early Stuart and Restoration periods. It would

142 Ibid., pp 323 – 34.
143 Andrew Sall to Ormonde, n.d. (N.L.I., Ms. 2485, f. 391).
145 Ibid., p. 319.
148 Entry Book of 1622 Commissioners (B.L., Add. Ms. 4756, f. 19).
149 To calculate the number of commendams held by a cathedral clergyman, the highest number of livings held by the clergyman in one year was used.
appear from the figures displayed in Tables 5.8 and 5.9 that pluralism was on the increase in the Stuart period, with a higher incidence of above average *commendam* holding in the Restoration period. These figures should be approached with caution, as the visitation records of the early Stuart period are not as extensive as those for the Restoration period. This is evident in the number of clergymen in the database who are recorded as having only one living. Out of a total of 141 clergymen with only one living, 111 were appointed in the years prior to 1650. Many of these clergymen may have possessed livings elsewhere, but these livings are not recorded. The figures for the Restoration period may also be somewhat skewed towards the above average category, because initially there were a limited number of clergymen available for all the parishes in Ireland. The civil wars and *interregnum* had a negative effect on the values of parishes, and this led the clergy to add parishes together to provide competent means, as was the case in Ossory in the 1660s. In the database 178 cathedral clergymen were first appointed between 1660 and 1663 and out of this number 111 or 62 per cent held more than the average number of *commendams* of 5.5 livings. They also represent around one-third of the above average *commendam* holders from the years 1660-91.

<table>
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<th>No. of Commendams</th>
<th>Total No. of clergy</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Less than 5.5</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 5.5</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>27.5</td>
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Table 5.8. *Commendams* before 1650

<table>
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<th>No. of Commendams</th>
<th>Total No. of Clergy</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5.5</td>
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<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 5.5</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 5.9. *Commendams* after 1660

There were five cathedral clergymen who held more than twenty livings in *commendam* at sometime in their careers. One of the top pluralists was John Lancaster, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore from 1608-13, who held 24 livings in 1610. Most of these livings were granted to Lancaster by letters patent dated 26 October 1610 so as to give him an income of £100 a year. A further 30 cathedral clergymen held between 15 and 19 livings *in commendam* and 135 clergymen possessed between 10-14 livings *in commendam*.

150 These were the vicarages of Dunkitt and Jerpoint in the diocese of Ossory; Shanrahan, Templetenny and Ardmore in the diocese of Lismore; the rectories of Drehidtarsha and Newcastle in the diocese of Limerick; Tullaghmelan and Oughteragh in the diocese of Lismore; Kilgullan in the diocese of Cloyne; the prebendaries of St Munchin’s and Effin in the cathedral of St Mary’s, Limerick; Donoughmore in St Colman’s, Cloyne; Donoughmore and Kiltegan, Kilgobinet, Tullaghton, Mora, Kilrossanly, Modeligo, Oughteragh in St Cathage’s, Lismore; Fennor in St Patrick’s, Cashel; Corbally in Holy Trinity, Waterford, the treasurership of St Carthage’s, Lismore and his bishopric: W.H. Rennison, *Succession list of the bishops, cathedral and parochial clergy of the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore*, pp 28, 46, 57, 61, 62, 66, 68, 70, 74, 124, 133, 150, 193; Clerical succession list, Diocese of Limerick (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/13, f. 83).
commendam. Clergymen who held above the average number of commendams were more likely to reach dignitary positions in the cathedral system or be appointed bishops. 54 per cent of all dignitaries in the database possessed more than 5 livings in commendam at a particular time in their careers and the corresponding figure for bishops and deans was 70 per cent. Of the 509 cathedral clergymen who held more than 5 livings in commendam, 78 per cent attained the level of treasurer or higher and 40 per cent were eventually promoted to a deanery or bishopric. Hence, there was a significant co-relation between above average commendam holding and progression to the highest ranks in the church. On the other hand, there was one kind of commendam that became increasingly unacceptable amongst the higher clergy in the seventeenth century and that was holding a deanery with a bishopric.

Throughout the seventeenth century a number of attempts were made to stop the practice of holding the two most senior offices in the hierarchy together. One of the first bishops appointed in the seventeenth century was Thomas Ram, who was appointed bishop of Ferns and Leighlin in 1605. His grant included the vicarage of Balrothery in the diocese of Dublin, the rectory of St Mary’s, Wexford, the precentorship of Christ Church, Dublin, and the deanery of St Edan’s, Ferns, all of which were to be held in commendam.152 In 1613 Thomas Moigne, dean of St Patrick’s, Dublin, sought and received the bishopric of Kilmore and Ardagh, which he was allowed to hold in commendam with his deanery.153 In 1612 Jonas Wheeler, dean of Christ Church, Dublin, was appointed bishop of Ossory and his grant allowed him to retain his deanery in commendam or receive another benefice in lieu of it, if he so desired.154 Lord Deputy Chichester petitioned the archbishop of Canterbury for this commendam to be granted, because the deanery was worth £250 a year and Wheeler had a wife and family to support.155 However, in 1618 it appears that an exchange was made at the behest of the State. Wheeler was appointed to the prebendary of Geashill in the diocese of Kildare after its incumbent, Randolph Barlow, assigned the living to the crown. Subsequently, Wheeler resigned the deanery of Christ Church, which was then granted to Barlow.156 The intention that a deanery and bishopric should not be held together was expressly stated in a grant made the following year to Michael Boyle,
making him bishop of Waterford and Lismore. Boyle had previously held the deanery of Lismore and he was prohibited from holding this living as one of the ‘so many spiritual livings’ amounting to £100 that he had been granted in commendam.\textsuperscript{157} 

No further deaneries and bishoprics were granted in commendam until 1629, when Randolph Barlow was promoted to the archbishopric of Tuam, retaining the deanery of Christ Church, Dublin. In his letters patent, the State explained that granting these types of commendams was usually denied to other clergymen and the patent plainly stated that no precedent for any similar grants in the future was being established. Barlow received this grant because the lord deputy and council had attested to the small value of the bishopric, which was deemed insufficient for the needs of a clergyman of Barlow’s standing.\textsuperscript{158} At first it would appear the king was totally against the granting of this commendam and directed Barlow to find one or more livings of an equal value instead.\textsuperscript{159} But it appears that Laud managed to convince the king of the merits of the grant. Laud solicited the king on two occasions and although he saw such commendams as ‘ill and unfit’, he believed that in this instance such a grant was acceptable as Barlow would be able to discharge much of his episcopal duties in Dublin. Furthermore, Laud reasoned that commendams of this nature were not unusual in the Irish Church, although he emphasised that the patent contained a proviso that there would never be similar grants again.\textsuperscript{160} 

Five years later pressure was put upon Barlow to resign the deanery, so as to create a vacancy for an orthodox minister of Wentworth’s choosing. In April 1634 Laud wrote to Wentworth suggesting that he speak to Barlow about his commendam.\textsuperscript{161} In October of that year Laud received a letter from Barlow agreeing to resign the deanery.\textsuperscript{162} In return for surrendering this deanery, Barlow was to be granted compensationary commendams in the diocese of Tuam.\textsuperscript{163} On 22 December 1634, Barlow resigned the deanery of Christ Church and on the following day Wentworth’s chaplain, Henry Tilson, was appointed as his successor.\textsuperscript{164} The following February Barlow was granted as many spiritual livings

\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., p. 460.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., pp 434 – 35.
\textsuperscript{159} The original correspondence of Henry Cary, Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1622 – 29 (B.L., Sloane Ms. 3827, f. 151).
\textsuperscript{161} Laud to Wentworth, 18 Apr. 1634 (Shef. City Lib., Strafford Letter Book vi, f. 73).
\textsuperscript{162} Laud to Wentworth, 20 Oct. 1634 (Ibid., f. 108).
\textsuperscript{163} The King to the Lord Deputy for the Archbishop of Tuam, 19 Nov. 1634 (Cal. S. P. Ire., 1633 – 47, p. 86).
\textsuperscript{164} Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. I (N.A.I., 2/446/34, f. 54).
amounting to £70, although the number of commendams was to be no more than six and were not to include the deanery of St Mary’s, Tuam. During the 1630s policies concerning the holding of commendams with bishoprics became stricter, as holding archdeaconries with bishoprics became prohibited. In 1635 the primate recommended his kinsman, Robert Ussher, for appointment to the vacant bishopric of Kildare, and suggested that he be allowed to retain the archdeaconry of Meath in commendam because of the poverty of that see. Laud made representations to the king along these lines, but the king was clear that archdeaconries and deaneries were not to be held in commendam with bishoprics. The king felt that holding such posts together would undermine the hierarchy within the church and that the laity would view deaneries and archdeaconries as useless positions.

On the other hand, these positions were particularly useful for the State, whereby a network of clergymen to counterbalance the episcopate was created, which could watch over and report on the activities of unorthodox bishops. Moreover, as the State largely controlled the appointment of deans, model clergy could be placed throughout the cathedral system to keep an eye on developments in the diocesan system. The effectiveness of such an approach is evident in the correspondence of the dean of Holy Trinity, Waterford, in which he outlined the misdemeanours of the bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Michael Boyle, and the abuses of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

A more flexible attitude towards holding bishoprics and deaneries in commendam emerged following the Restoration. This was largely the result of the financial problems of the church following the civil wars and the interregnum. In 1660 the bishop of Raphoe, John Leslie, petitioned for the deanery of Raphoe. In this petition, Leslie set out his financial difficulties, which included a damaged episcopal palace, originally built by him at his own cost in the 1630s and which required £300 for its repair, and his inability to support his family with the reduced income of the see. The commendam was granted in 1661 but within six months Leslie was transferred to the bishopric of Clogher and he

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165 Ibid., f. 58.
166 Wentworth to Laud, 14 July 1635 (Shef. City Lib., Stratford Letter Book vi, f. 208).
167 Laud to Wentworth, 21 Oct. 1635 (Ibid., f. 278).
resigned the deanery of Raphoe. In 1663 the dean of St Patricks, Dublin, William Fuller, was granted the bishopric of Limerick and was allowed to hold his deanery in commendam for two years. Fuller had specifically sought this commendam to help pay his debts. This grant greatly disappointed the chancellor of St Patrick’s, Thomas Seele, who claimed that he had been promised the deanery upon its next vacancy. Through Sir Paul Davys, Seele petitioned Ormonde for a grant of the deanery in reversion. Although it is unclear whether or not this grant was passed, Seele gained possession of the deanery in 1666.

Opposition to deaneries being held in commendam reappeared in 1664 when the bishop of Clonfert died. The dean of Christ Church, Dublin, Robert Mossom, had been promised the next vacancy on the episcopal bench. The deanery was worth more than the bishopric and the archbishop of Armagh, James Margetson, who had held the deanery in the late 1630s, was concerned that Mossom would want to retain the deanery in commendam with the bishopric. Margetson pointed out that it was unfit for deaneries to be held in commendam and recommended Ambrose Jones for the position instead. That same year the archbishop of Dublin, Michael Boyle, wrote to Ormonde opposing proposals to unite one of the Dublin deaneries with either the bishopric of Meath or Kildare. In 1672 the dean of Christ Church, Dublin, John Parry, sought and received a grant of the bishopric of Ossory, retaining his deanery in commendam. In 1682 the lord lieutenant wrote to Secretary Jenkins advocating that Parry’s successor, Robert Moreton, be allowed to hold the deanery of Christ Church in commendam with the bishopric of Kildare. The lord lieutenant believed that the only alternative was for a clergyman of independent means to be appointed, as the income derived from the living was insufficient. Although opposition to the proposal came from the archbishops, it was to have no effect. Moreton

170 Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. II (N.A.I., 2/446/37, ff 83, 122).
174 Ms. Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. II (N.A.I., 2/446/37, f. 324a).
178 Dean John Parry to Caesar Williamson, 30 Mar. 1672 (Cal. S. P. Dom., 1671 – 72, p. 257); Matthew Anderton to Caesar Williamson, 3 Apr. 1672 (Ibid. p. 276); The King to the Lord Lieutenant, 6 Apr. 1672 (Ibid., p. 286).
179 The Lord Lieutenant to Secretary Jenkins, 7 Jan. 1682 (Cal S. P. Dom., 1682, p. 12).
was granted the deanery along with the bishopric of Kildare in commendam. This grant established a link between these two livings, which was to continue right down to 1846.  

The use of commendams implies that there was non-residency on the livings that were used to augment the income of the cathedral clergymen. To ameliorate this problem parishes or livings close to one another were granted together. In 1611 a grant to Thomas Wilson of the deanery of St Carthage’s, Lismore, was granted with the rectory and vicarage of Tubrid and the vicarage of Newcastle, which were said to be all in mutual proximity to one another within the diocese of Lismore. In 1633 William Name was granted the prebendary of Lattyn and the vicarage of Barmane, which were both in County Tipperary and within five miles of each other. In the database 725 cathedral clergymen or 58 per cent of the study group possessed their highest number of commendams in just one diocese. A further 334 cathedral clergymen or 27 per cent of the study group possessed livings in two different dioceses at the same time. The majority of these cases were in dioceses that were effectively united such as Cork and Ross, Waterford and Lismore, Cashel and Emly, Ferns and Leighlin, Killala and Achnony, and Down and Connor. Only 186 cathedral clergymen or 15 per cent of the study group possessed livings in three or more dioceses at the same time and it was amongst this group that the problem of pluralism and non-residency was most acute.

One of the most glaring cases was Thomas Ledsham, who at one stage in his career possessed 14 livings in five dioceses. In 1661 Bramhall railed against his pluralism stating in a letter to Ormonde that it was ‘not proper for him to holding livings in the diocese of Cashel, the diocese of Limerick and the diocese of Lismore and hardly preach in any of them.’ Although Ledsham had requested the deanship of Lismore, the sentiments expressed by the archbishop ensured that he was not granted the deanship, which instead was donated to Richard Underwood. Another pluralist who petitioned for a deanship was Alexander Murray. In 1681 he was already dean of St Patrick’s, Killala, and also possessed rectories in the dioceses of Achnony, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh. His petition
also requested a dispensation for residence on his multiple livings as he deemed it not worth the trouble to ride 140 miles to satisfy visitation dues.\textsuperscript{185} There is no evidence of a reply to this petition, but Murray did not receive the deanery of Holy Trinity, Downpatrick, that he sought and he remained dean of Killala until his death in 1701.\textsuperscript{186} But the fact that a clergyman held multiple livings and was therefore a non-resident did not always inhibit promotion. One of the worst cases of pluralism in the study group was William Smyth who in 1680 held 24 livings in eight dioceses, namely Cork, Cloyne, Lismore, Limerick, Kildare, Meath, Dromore and Armagh. In 1681 he was promoted to the bishopric of Killala and Achonry and was subsequently bishop of Raphoe from 1682-93 and bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh from 1693-99.\textsuperscript{187} Furthermore, the majority, 168 out of the 186 who possessed livings in three or more dioceses at the same time, attained the rank of a dignitary, with 52 becoming deans and 55 becoming bishops. This correlation between high incidence of pluralism and promotion to the highest ecclesiastical ranks demonstrates the abilities of these clergymen to successfully play the patronage system.

To play that patronage system sometimes required complete non-residence. In 1665 the Archbishop of Armagh, James Margetson, wrote to Viscount Conway complaining that it was unreasonable for the dean of Dromore, George Rust, to live in England and hold a dignity in Ireland.\textsuperscript{188} Despite this complaint, Rust became Bishop of Dromore in 1667.\textsuperscript{189} Similarly, the dean of St Eunan’s, Raphoe, Capel Wiseman, was another cathedral clergyman that was constantly non-resident. He frequently received licenses for absence and between 1678 and 1682 was entirely absent from Ireland.\textsuperscript{190} In 1683 he was promoted to the bishopric of Dromore and his presence in England enabled him to effectively pursue this preferment, despite opposition in Ireland to his promotion.\textsuperscript{191} On the other hand, not every non-resident cathedral clergyman was successful in promoting himself. In 1686 Lord Lieutenant Clarendon wrote of a meeting in London with the dean of St Carthage’s,  

\textsuperscript{185} Dean Alexander Murray to Ormonde, 10 Jan. 1682 (N.L.I., Ms. 2417, f. 387).
\textsuperscript{186} Clerical succession list, Dioceses of Killala and Achonry (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/9, f. 19).
\textsuperscript{187} J.B. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, pp 38 – 43; J.B. Swanzy, Succession list of the diocese of Dromore, p. 30; W.M. Brady, Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, vol. i, p. 154; vol. ii, p. 384; Clerical succession list, Diocese of Kildare (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/7, ff 46, 127); Clerical succession list, Diocese of Meath (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/14/1-2, f. 149); W.H. Rennison, Succession list of the bishops, cathedrals and parochial clergy of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{188} Archbishop of Armagh to Viscount Conway, 3 Sept. 1665 (Cal. S. P. Ire., 1663 – 65, p. 645).
\textsuperscript{189} J.B. Leslie, Clergy of Connor from Patrician times to the present day, p. 577.
\textsuperscript{190} Francis Somner to Henry Gascoigne, 29 July 1682 (H.M.C., Ormonde, NS, vol. vi, pp 405 – 06); Memo concerning Dean Wiseman, 6 Feb. 1682 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 39, f. 485).
\textsuperscript{191} See above, pp 190 – 91.
Lismore, Brazillia Jones, who solicited him for a preferment. Jones had spent the last year in England looking for a promotion. This non-residency irked Clarendon who suggested that he would consider his request if Jones returned to Ireland with him. Jones refused to return and never received a promotion, remaining dean of Lismore until his resignation in 1691.192

Cathedral clergymen were often absent from Ireland because they also held livings in the Church of England. As would be expected, serious reservations were expressed about holding commendams in two kingdoms as this meant that the incumbent did not serve the cure in one kingdom. During the reign of James I there was a certain degree of flexibility and in 1620 Anthony Martin was granted a dispensation to hold the archdeaconry of Dublin, the treasurership of St Patrick’s, Cashel, the vicarages of Borris, Leugh, Galbooley, Drum, all in the diocese of Cashel, along with the rectory of Battersea in Surrey.193 In 1635 the chancellor of Christ Church, Dublin, John Atherton, petitioned Lord Deputy Wentworth for a similar dispensation to hold his preferments in Ireland with his rectory of Huish Champflower in the diocese of Bath and Wells. Wentworth was inclined to give his consent to the request because of Atherton’s abilities in gaining revenues for the church and he subsequently recommended the petition to Archbishop Laud.194 Laud on the other hand was against the proposal and had the king’s backing for this position, as it set a bad example to other clergymen.195 Laud’s opinion was resolute and Atherton eventually agreed to surrender his living in Somerset.196 In the Restoration period an Act of Parliament prohibited clergymen from holding benefices in the two kingdoms at the same time.197 Subsequently, those who wished to pursue a career in the Church of England had to resign their livings in Ireland, including the prebendary of St Michael’s in Christ Church, Dublin, William Reresby, who returned to England in 1662198 and the prebendary of Tullowmagimma in the diocese of Leighlin, Samuel Edgiley, who returned to England in 1669.199

192 Letters of the earl of Clarendon (B.L., Add. Ms. 21,485, f. 15); W.H. Rennison, Succession list of the bishops, cathedral and parochial clergy of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore, pp 41 – 42.  
195 Laud to Wentworth, 12 May 1635 (Ibid., f. 188).  
196 Laud to Wentworth, 4 Oct. 1635 (Ibid., f. 253); Wentworth to Laud, 2 Nov. 1635 (Ibid., f. 264); Laud later suspected Atherton of having a simoniacal transaction with his successor to this living: Aidan Clarke, ‘A woeful sinner: John Atherton’, in Vincent Carey and Ute Lotz-Heumann (eds), Taking Sides? Colonial and confessional mentalities in early modern Ireland (Dublin, 2003), pp 142 – 43.  
197 Stat. Ire., 17 & 18 Chas. II, c. x.  
198 J.B. Leslie and R.H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, p. 1005.  
199 Clerical succession list, Diocese of Leighlin (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/12/1, p. 69).
IV

Andrew Sall proposed to use the livings that he obtained through the assistance of Ormonde to write books, which would ‘preach and teach’ after he was dead.2°° During the Stuart period, and particularly in the latter half of the seventeenth century, books were increasingly used to support the pastoral mission of clergymen such as Sall, who was one of 82 cathedral clergymen in the database known to have published books.2°1 Writing and the production of scholarly works was an activity that reflected the function of the clerical profession and was closely associated with the clergy’s reputation for learning.2°2 The educational profile of the clergy who published was, as would be expected, highly educated: 91 per cent are known to be university graduates and 61 per cent possessed doctorates. There is also a strong correlation between this group of clergymen and high positions attained in the church with 43 per cent ultimately becoming bishops and 23 per cent achieving the rank of dean as their highest position. Less than one-fifth of cathedral clergymen in the database who published never attained a rank higher than a prebendary. One of these clergymen was Nicholas Brady, prebendary of Kilnaglory in St Fin Barre’s, Cork, (1688-92). He published some 29 titles, but almost all of these were published after the resignation of his livings in Ireland and migration to England where he became rector of Richmond in Surrey.2°3 Another prolific writer who published most of his works after he had held a position in the cathedral system of Ireland was Charles Leslie. Leslie was a non-juror and was deprived of the chancellorship of St Saviour’s, Connor, in 1690.2°4 He subsequently spent his life writing over 75 publications. All the other clergymen in the database who published in excess of 20 titles had careers that culminated with their appointment as bishops, reflecting the strong intellectual tradition at this level within the

200 Andrew Sall to Ormond, n.d. (N.I.,I., Ms. 2485, f. 391).
202 Raymond Gillespie, ‘The Church of Ireland clergy, c. 1640: representation and reality’, p. 75; T.C. Barnard, ‘Scholars and antiquarians: the clergy and learning, 1600 – 2000’, in T.C. Barnard and W.G. Neely (eds), The clergy of the Church of Ireland 1000 – 2000, Messengers, Watchmen and Stewards (Dublin, 2006), pp 231 – 32...
204 J.B. Leslie, Clergy of Connor from Patrician times to the present day, p. 440; O.D.N.B., vol. xxxiii, pp 452 – 58.
Church of Ireland, particularly following the Restoration. Most of their books were published when they were bishops rather than when they held their cathedral livings.

Of the other cathedral clergymen who published but who did not attain the rank of bishop, 45 published only one or two books, 13 published three or four and 16 published between five and fifteen titles. Not only was their overall output low, but there are examples here too of work published subsequent to careers in the cathedral system. All of Hugh Cressy’s works were published after he converted to Catholicism, which were written in defence of his conversion. All but one of Lemuel Matthews’ nine publications were issued following his deprivation by an ecclesiastical commission in 1694, and were published as part of a campaign to have himself re-instated to his livings, principally the archdeaconry of Down and the prebendary of Cairncastle in the diocese of Connor. Comparing the output of the cathedral clergy in England with the cathedral clergy in Ireland highlights the low output of the Irish cathedral clergy. Lehmberg concluded that one third of the cathedral clergy of England during the Stuart period left published writings and that these published writings amounted to 4,265 separate works. At the same time in Ireland about 6 per cent of the cathedral clergy identified in the database published works and their overall number of published works amounted to 525 individual titles. These figures are even lower than the output that Lehmberg derived for the English cathedral clergymen of the Tudor period, where some 10 per cent of cathedral clergymen produced 824 separate titles. However, the Ireland of the Stuart period inhabited the same intellectual milieu as that of Stuart England and not of Tudor England and that milieu was characterised by a great outpouring of English religious literature. Consequently, the low output by the Irish cathedral clergy should be seen in this context, especially as many of the clergymen possessed a background that was firmly rooted in England. For the vast majority of Irish cathedral clergymen, engagement with the world of print amounted to no more than the mere possession of books.

205 These were Edward Synge, Archbishop of Tuam; James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh; Edward Wetenhall, Bishop of Kilmore; William King, Archbishop of Dublin; John Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh; and William Griffiths, Bishop of Ossory.
208 S.E. Lehmberg, Cathedrals under siege, p. 112.
The extent to which cathedrals established libraries also gives an indication of the limited engagement of the deans and chapters with the world of print. The most significant cathedral library in the early seventeenth century was at Christ Church, Dublin, which even laymen could borrow from. A library was also established in St Mary’s, Limerick, during the episcopate of Bernard Adams and a catalogue from the 1620s indicates that the library then held 250 books and 45 manuscripts. Similarly, Thomas Ram, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, 1605 – 35, established a library at St Edan’s, Ferns and in 1629 the prebendary of Kilnaglory in the diocese of Cork, Richard Owen, granted £20 towards the establishment of a library in St Fin Barre’s, Cork. In the latter half of the seventeenth century a library at St Columb’s, Derry, appears to have been established by Ezekiel Hopkins, Bishop of Derry 1681 – 90. The Bishop of Ossory, Thomas Otway, made provision in his will for the establishment of a library in St Canice’s, Kilkenny, for the use of the cathedral’s clergymen, although this was in the 1690s. Most cathedral libraries were established in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including the libraries at St Patrick’s, Dublin, Cashel, Armagh, Waterford, Lismore and Raphoe and therefore cathedral clergymen in the seventeenth century generally had limited opportunities for engagement with the world of books.

Religious topics accounted for over 60 per cent of all items published by the cathedral clergymen in the database. During the early to mid seventeenth century around one half of all books published were religious in character. These religious publications included liturgical and devotional books, printed sermons and controversial works. Some of the earliest works include Irish versions of The New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer by William Daniels, which he translated into his native tongue while he was treasurer of St Patrick’s, Dublin. Sermons were the most popular genre of religious

212 W.N. Osborough, ‘On selling cathedral libraries’, p. 60; Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Rawlinson B 480 no. 6, ff 69 – 78; Collection made by Sir James Ware (B.L., Add. Ms. 4793, f. 121).
215 W.N. Osborough, ‘On selling cathedral libraries’, p. 68. It should be noted that in the 1660s there existed a small collections of books in St Columb’s, Derry.
216 J.B. Leslie, Ossory clergy and parishes, pp 22 – 23.
218 S.E. Lehmberg, Cathedrals under siege, p. 111.
220 S.T.C., 1475 – 1640, 16433.
works: 51 out of the 82 cathedral clergymen who published had their sermons printed. 18 of these sermons were preached at Christ Church, Dublin, five at St Patrick’s, Dublin, two at St Fin Barre’s, Cork, and one each at St Canice’s, Kilkenny, and Holy Trinity, Waterford.\textsuperscript{221} Theology and subjects of a religious nature were not the only issues that exercised the minds of the cathedral clergy of the Stuart period. In common with other professionals and gentlemen, clergymen had an interest in the world about them and this was reflected in their publications on history, current affairs and literature.\textsuperscript{222} Meredith Hanmer wrote a treatise on Irish history prior to his death in 1604, which Sir James Ware published posthumously as a \textit{History of Ireland} in 1633.\textsuperscript{223} One of the earliest works that dealt with current affairs was John Riders’ \textit{Letter concerning news out of Ireland} printed in 1601.\textsuperscript{224} Most works concerned with contemporary events were related to the mid-century troubles or the revolutions of 1690. Nicholas Bernard, dean of Ardagh from 1637 to 1647, described his experience during the first siege of Drogheda in 1641-2 in \textit{A True and perfect relation of several skirmishes when they raised the siege of Tredagh}\textsuperscript{225} and \textit{The whole proceedings of the siege of Drogheda}.\textsuperscript{226} In 1689 Edmund Arwaker, who had been second canon of St Brigids Kildare from 1682 to 1686 and who would later become archdeacon of Armagh in 1691, published \textit{The apparition or the genius of Ireland complaining of her present misery and imploring relief from England}.\textsuperscript{227} William King penned the most well known publication that dealt with this period: \textit{The State of the Protestants of Ireland}.\textsuperscript{228}

Edmund Arwaker was perhaps the most prolific poet that found a position in the cathedral system of Ireland in the Stuart period. He wrote eight panegyric odes dedicated to the duchess of Ormonde, Charles II, James II, Mary II and Lieutenant General Tolmach, which dedications appear at best inconsistent and at worst opportunistic.\textsuperscript{229} Francis Synge, who later became archdeacon of Ross in 1669, wrote a panegyric for the return of the duke of Ormonde to Ireland in 1669.\textsuperscript{230} Samuel Hinde (prebendary of Tassagard in the

\textsuperscript{221} The contents of some of these sermons are discussed in Chapter VI – Sermons and Cermonies, pp 256 – 66.
\textsuperscript{222} T.C. Barnard, ‘Scholars and antiquarians: the clergy and learning, 1600 – 2000’, pp 231 – 32.
\textsuperscript{223} J.T.C., 1475-1640, 25067.
\textsuperscript{224} J.T.C., 1475-1640, 21030.
\textsuperscript{225} J.T.C., 1641 – 1700, B 2019.
\textsuperscript{226} Ibid., B 2020.
\textsuperscript{227} Ibid., A 3903.
\textsuperscript{228} Ibid., K 538.
\textsuperscript{229} T. Sweeney, \textit{Ireland and the Printed Word}, pp 40 – 41; F.E. Ball, ‘Some notes on the households of the dukes of Ormonde’, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{230} J.T.C., 1641 – 1700, S 6382.
diocese of Dublin from 1672 to 1674), who accompanied Catherine of Braganza, the future bride of Charles II, on a voyage from Portugal to England wrote *Iter Iustanicum; or the Portugal voyage*, which described in verse the stormy conditions on their journey home. There appears to have been two playwrights amongst the cathedral clergymen. Robert Daborne, dean of St Carthage’s, Lismore from 1621 to 1628, printed in 1612 *A Christian Turned Turk or the Tragical Lives and Death of the Two Famous Pirates Ward and Dansiker* and *The poor man’s comfort – a tragi-comedy*, which was published posthumously in 1655. The most successful work by a cathedral clergyman was John Riders’ *English – Latin dictionary Bibliotheca Scholasticae*. First published in 1589, it went through 23 editions, which is a testament to its aim of being ‘very profitable and neceessarie for scholars, courtiers, lawyers and clarks’ etc.

The small number of cathedral clergymen who committed their works to the printing press and the fact that the clergymen in the database who published works primarily did so before or after they held their cathedral benefices suggests that cathedral livings were not being used to support learned leisure. The number of works of a non-religious nature was limited and there were no writings on such subjects as music, travel, science or geography. On the other hand, writings on religious topics suggest that the cathedrals were being used as centres of proselytization and reformation. However, this point should not be overemphasised as many of their works were written in Latin, which suggests that their audience was not the learned laity but fellow theologians and clergymen. Why there was such a low output may be attributed to the lack of printing facilities in seventeenth century Ireland. For much of the early Stuart period there was only the printing press of John Franckton, whose patent was acquired by the Stationers Company of London in 1618. In the 1630s the Dublin press was preoccupied with official business, which left little opportunity for clergymen to publish their writings. It was not until the 1680s that the monopoly of the king’s printer was successfully challenged, which enabled the print trade in Ireland to expand rapidly. Furthermore, regional presses in Cork and Waterford did

not have any significant output during the seventeenth century. As a result only a fifth of the books published by the cathedral clergy in the seventeenth century were published in Ireland. Most were printed in London, which dominated the book trade in Ireland throughout the seventeenth century, with obvious implications for clergymen living in remote areas. This colonial relationship in the printing trade was also reflected in the character of Irish Settler society, which was relatively poor and which lacked a tradition of patronage. Therefore, the nature of Irish society, distant from the metropolitan centre and lacking an outlet for sponsorship, may also account for the low output of publications by the cathedral clergy.

V

The level of education and interests in the world of learning equated the cathedral clergy with the comfortable or professional classes in society. Although information on the wealth of the cathedral clergy is limited, such evidence that does exist reveals the disparities in wealth within the clerical estate. The 1641 depositions is one such source. While the value of this source material has often been questioned, particularly where deponents relied on hearsay evidence to embellish their experiences of the rebellion, the source does have value in providing an indication of deponents’ social and economic activities prior to the outbreak of the rebellion. This value is somewhat mitigated by the geographical imbalance of the depositions, whereby most of those areas where there were high concentrations of Church of Ireland clergymen, such as Ulster, had a lower share of depositions compared to those areas where the Church of Ireland was relatively weaker, such as Leinster. Moreover, the depositions are not representative of the clergy as a whole, with neither the poorest nor the wealthiest generally accounted for. Bearing these limitations in mind, the depositions do give a picture of the economic interests of the middling sort of clergy, many of who held cathedral livings, at the end of the early Stuart period.


239 Raymond Gillespie, Reading Ireland: print, reading and social change in early modern Ireland, p. 78.


Over 180 deponents identified themselves as clergymen in the 1641 depositions. Of these, 80 held cathedral livings and their losses have been incorporated into the database. From this evidence it is apparent that there was a great variation in the amounts lost by these clergymen, the details of which are set out in Table 5.10. Most clergymen's losses amounted to less than £1,000 and only 11 out of the cohort had losses greater than £2000. Of these Michael Smyth, Archdeacon of Clonfert, lost the most, with losses amounting to over £9,000.243 Amongst those clergymen who lost large sums were four deans: Samuel Pullein, Dean of Clonfert (£4,652);244 Henry Jones, Dean of St Fethlimidh's, Kilmore, (£3,019);245 John Fitzgerald, Dean of St Fin Barre’s, Cork (£2,922);246 and Robert Wilson, Dean of St Edan’s, Ferns (£2,300).247

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Amounts Lost</th>
<th>Less than £500</th>
<th>£500 - £1,000</th>
<th>£1,000 - £2,000</th>
<th>Greater than £2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Clergy</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.10. Amounts lost by cathedral clergymen in 1641

In general, the value of church livings was not incorporated into these figures, but it is not always clear whether the deponent included these in the sum of their losses. For instance, Edward Nelson, prebendary of Ballycahane in the diocese of Limerick included his church livings worth £106 in his total losses of £678248 as did Edward Piggott, provost of St Mary’s, Tuam, whose church livings worth £120 a year were incorporated into his total losses of £235 10s.249 On the other hand, Thomas Naylor, prebendary of Kilrane in the diocese of Ferns, specified that his losses of £299 7s excluded the value of his church livings worth £60 a year.250 Likewise John Lylles, prebendary of Kilpeacon in the diocese of Limerick, deposed that his losses amounted to £291 besides church livings worth £70 a year.251 Most clergymen simply stated the aggregate amount that they lost, but it is not clear whether or not these aggregate amounts represent all their possessions. Therefore, a certain degree of caution needs to be exercised with regard to these figures.

243 1641 Depositions, Co. Galway (T.C.D., Ms. 830, f. 143).
244 1641 Depositions, Co. Tipperary (T.C.D., Ms. 821, f. 30).
245 1641 Depositions, Letters and Documents (T.C.D., Ms. 840, f. 32v).
246 1641 Depositions, Co. Clare (T.C.D., Ms. 829, f. 161).
247 1641 Depositions, Co. Dublin, vol. 2 (T.C.D., Ms. 810, f. 50).
248 1641 Depositions, Co. Limerick (T.C.D., Ms. 829, f. 309).
249 1641 Depositions, Co. Galway (T.C.D., Ms. 830, f. 150).
250 1641 Depositions, Co. Kildare (T.C.D., Ms. 813, f. 319).
251 1641 Depositions, Co. Limerick (T.C.D., Ms. 829, f. 532).
Apart from the income from their livings, most of the cathedral clergymen’s wealth was derived from property. Many of the depositions gave details of the lands that clergymen held and the income that these lands generated from agricultural activity, particularly from those who deponed losses in excess of £2,000. The archdeacon of Clonfert, Michael Smyth, valued the income from his temporal estate at £700 a year. This was derived from a farm with livestock worth £1,500, including cattle and sheep, which may have been bred for market.\textsuperscript{252} The dean of St Brendan’s, Clonfert, Samuel Pullein, held leases of the townlands of Desertmartin and Lisnemuck in the province of Ulster.\textsuperscript{253} The first canon of St Brigid’s, Kildare, William Lightburne, held a lease of land in Carne worth £80 a year and another lease of lands in Kilenaigh worth £40 a year. He also lost properties that he held in Co Cavan and £800 worth of livestock.\textsuperscript{254} The dean of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, John Fitzgerald, lost the lands of Kyllineary, Carna, Clandehin and Mahund in Co Cork, which he held by various leases and which were worth £232 a year over and above the rents that he paid.\textsuperscript{255}

Those cathedral clergymen whose losses amounted to less than £2,000 also had extensive interests in land and farming. John Harding, chancellor of Christ Church, Dublin, held leases in Co Armagh worth £100 a year, which had a further 19 years to run in 1641.\textsuperscript{256} William Golbourne, archdeacon of Kildare, possessed a fee farm from the crown of arable lands worth £79 15s over and above the rent of 5s a year. He was also dispossessed of lands in Bodenstown, Sallins and Osbustown worth £250, livestock worth over £250 and corn and hay growing in his fields worth £200.\textsuperscript{257} William Holiday, prebendary of Aghultie in the diocese of Cloyne, held a 30 years lease for lands in Bruheny worth £50.\textsuperscript{258} He was also dispossessed of a farm worth £30 a year\textsuperscript{259} as was Israel Taylor, precentor of St Fin Barre’s, Cork.\textsuperscript{260} The treasurer of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Helzokia Hussey, held leases of two farms that had a combined value of £200 a year, livestock worth £338 10s and hay and corn worth £210. He also held freehold estates in Co Cork, but their individual value was not recorded.\textsuperscript{261} Robert Naylor, dean of St Mary’s, Limerick,

\textsuperscript{252} 1641 Depositions, Co. Galway (T.C.D., Ms. 830, f. 143); Raymond Gillespie, ‘The Church of Ireland clergy, c. 1640: representation and reality’, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{253} 1641 Depositions, Co. Tipperary (T.C.D., Ms. 821, f. 30).
\textsuperscript{254} 1641 Depositions, Co. Kildare (T.C.D., Ms. 813, f. 255).
\textsuperscript{255} 1641 Depositions, Co. Clare (T.C.D., Ms. 829, f. 161).
\textsuperscript{256} 1641 Depositions, Co. Dublin, vol. 1 (T.C.D., Ms. 809, f. 305).
\textsuperscript{257} 1641 Depositions, Co. Kildare (T.C.D., Ms. 813, ff273v – 274).
\textsuperscript{258} 1641 Depositions, Co. Cork, vol. 5 (T.C.D., Ms. 825, f. 72).
\textsuperscript{259} 1641 Depositions, Co. Cork, vol. 2 (T.C.D., Ms. 823, f. 28).
\textsuperscript{260} 1641 Depositions, Co. Cork, vol. 4 (T.C.D., Ms. 825, f. 294).
\textsuperscript{261} 1641 Depositions, Co. Cork, vol. 2 (T.C.D., Ms. 823, f. 144).
included the farm of Killincarrig amongst his losses.\textsuperscript{262} This was leased from the earl of Cork in the 1630s for £12 a year and in 1641 it was worth £100 a year after Naylor had spent £500 on repairing the buildings and making improvements.\textsuperscript{263} Another cathedral clergyman who held lands from the earl of Cork was Richard Germyn, a prebendary of St Mary's, Limerick. In 1641 he held a lease of the lands of Gortroe in Co Limerick with fourteen years to run, from which he derived an income of £150 over and above the yearly rent of £30.\textsuperscript{264}

Deponents also gave details of the loans and bonds owed to them but which were lost in the aftermath of the rebellion. The ability of the higher clergy to gain access to ready cash from their tithes, church lands and farming activity enabled them to invest their surplus incomes as loans, which could then give them a continuous source of income. Moreover, the clergy were one of the principal sources of credit in a society that had limited options for borrowers and this fact alone helped to promote their economic standing in seventeenth century Ireland.\textsuperscript{265} On the other hand, the fact that clergymen were heavily involved in money lending may partly account for the animosity that they experienced during the rebellion.\textsuperscript{266} 20 of the 81 cathedral clergymen identified in the 1641 Depositions had debts due to them. Among the losses of the chancellor of Christ Church, Dublin, John Harding, was £1,263 in debts.\textsuperscript{267} £600 of the dean of St Edan's, Ferns, total losses of £2,300 was listed as debts owed.\textsuperscript{268} Almost two-thirds of the losses of the dean of St Mary's, Limerick, Robert Naylor, were in debts owed and amounted to £1,156 8s 11d. Those who owed him money included the recently deceased bishop of Limerick, George Webb, and Samuel Elliot, archdeacon of Limerick.\textsuperscript{269} William Lightburne, first canon at St Bigid's, Kildare, identified eleven people who had obtained bonds from him at various amounts from £5 to £300.\textsuperscript{270} Michael Boyle, dean of St Colman's, Cloyne, also identified the people that had bonds owed to him. One of these bonds, due from Patrick Gerson and Patrick McEdmund McMahon, was assigned to Dean Boyle by the bishop of Cloyne,

\textsuperscript{262} 1641 Depositions, Co. Waterford (T.C.D., Ms. 820, f. 284).
\textsuperscript{263} Lismore Papers, Rental of the earl of Cork for the half-year ended 1637 (N.L.I., Ms. 6239, f. 26).
\textsuperscript{264} 1641 Depositions, Co. Limerick (T.C.D., Ms. 829, ff 175 – 76).
\textsuperscript{266} Nicholas Canny, 'What really happened in Ireland in 1641', p. 33.
\textsuperscript{267} 1641 Depositions, Co. Dublin, vol. 1 (T.C.D., Ms. 809, f. 305).
\textsuperscript{268} 1641 Depositions, Co. Dublin, vol. 2 (T.C.D., Ms. 810, f. 500).
\textsuperscript{269} 1641 Depositions, Co. Waterford (T.C.D., Ms. 820, f. 284).
\textsuperscript{270} 1641 Depositions, Co. Kildare (T.C.D., Ms. 813, f. 225).
George Synge. Other clergymen, such as the archdeacon of Ferns, Martin Archdale, the chancellor of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Thomas Fuller, Anthony Kingsmill, prebendary of Cahirultan in the diocese of Cloyne, and Thomas Roberts prebendary of Inniskenny in the diocese of Cork, stated that they were owed money from rebels, although it is not always clear if this was for rents due or for loans, as high levels of debt may actually represent an accumulation of rents not paid over the long term because of the relative scarcity of coinage.

A safer method of lending surplus cash existed in the statute staple. This was a credit network that took the form of registered bonds, in which the debtor agreed to repay the creditor the initial loan together with 10 per cent interest. This relatively low rate of interest was attractive to clergymen as it could counteract accusations of usury but it was high enough to obtain a lucrative return on their investment. Throughout the seventeenth century cathedral personnel were more likely to be creditors than debtors. In the database there are 35 cathedral clergymen who were recorded as lending or borrowing money on the staple: 22 as creditors and 14 as debtors. One was both a creditor and a debtor. In 1661 Edward Worth, bishop of Killaloe, borrowed £1,248 and between 1664 and 1666 he lent £7,800. Most of the clergymen who were recorded as creditors and debtors were high-ranking clergymen. Of the creditors only three out of the 22 clergymen were not deans or bishops, as were only three out of the 14 debtors. Amounts invested varied substantially from one clergyman to another. In 1606 John Prendergast, dean of St Carthege’s, Lismore, entered a recognizance of £24. Alexander Coville, precentor of St Saviour’s, Connor, from 1628 to 1670 invested £8,825 in the 1650s and 1660s, which was probably derived from the estates that he had built up in east Ulster.

271 1641 Depositions, Co. Cork, vol. 3 (T.C.D., Ms. 824, f. 3).
272 1641 Depositions, Co. Wexford, vol. 1 (T.C.D., Ms. 818, ff 26 – 27).
273 1641 Depositions, Co. Tipperary (T.C.D., Ms. 821, f. 28).
274 1641 Depositions, Co. Cork, vol. 1 (T.C.D., Ms. 822, f. 67).
275 1641 Depositions, Co. Cork, vol. 3 (T.C.D., Ms. 824, f. 249).
Testamentary evidence also gives an indication of the economic status of cathedral clergymen. Details of lands owned and debts owed in clergymen’s wills reveal the extent of clerical wealth. John Richardson, prebendary of Loughgall and Mullabrack in the diocese of Armagh, mentioned in his will of 1634 that he held leases of lands in the parish of Derrebrock Huest from the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Armagh, and the primate. John Symonds, precentor of St Patrick’s, Armagh, who died in 1637, also held leases from the Primate, as well as freehold lands in Killeive and in Cooley, Co. Louth. These lands were left to his wife and he also bequeathed £1,000 to his first daughter, £500 to each of his other three daughters and £40 to Caius College, Cambridge, to beautify the chapel. Other bequests included 100 marks to the dean of St Patrick’s, Armagh, Peter Wentworth, £200 to his cousin, Dr Edward Parry and his four children, and £50 to the poor of Armagh. Miles Sweeney, prebendary of Kilrane in the diocese of Ferns, who died in 1690, bequeathed to his eldest son the lands that he held in Co Wexford. Similarly, Christopher Vowell, prebendary of Ballyhay in the diocese of Cloyne from 1669 to 1709, left to his eldest son all his real estate in Co Cork and to his second son farms in the vicinity of Charleville. William Hill, prebendary of Castleknock in the diocese of Dublin, listed in his will of 1667 three leases that he held: the first for a house and garden in Finglas, the second for a house in School House Lane in the city of Dublin and the third for the moiety of the tithes of Great Cabra, Little Cabra, Pilltown and Ashtown, which he held from the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s. He also gave details of the losses that he had sustained by the fire of London, which amounted to £80. William Smith, archdeacon of Armagh, who died in 1673, had debts of £1,045 owing to him, owed £1,130 in bonds and possessed an estate in Co Monaghan and lands in Yorkshire. Another clergyman who possessed lands in England was Thomas Tonge, prebendary of Tombe in the diocese of Ferns and prebendary of Tecolme in the diocese of Leighlin. He had purchased lands in both Chester and Lancaster and also possessed a lease of lands from Viscount Killmany when he died in 1683.

280 This section is based on the collection of will abstracts in the National Archives of Ireland, such as the Thrift Abstracts, Crossle Abstracts, Irish Record Commissioners and Prerogative Will Books, located with the aid of Index of Irish wills 1484-1858 records at the National Archives of Ireland – CD-ROM, (eds) Martin Bradley, Brian Donovan, Maia Sheridan (Dublin, 1999); The Genealogical Office located with J. Grenham, Guide to the Genealogical Office (Dublin, 1998); and the Registry of Deeds located with P.B. Phair and E. Ellis, Abstracts of wills at the Registry of Deeds, 1708-1832, vol. i (Dublin, 1954).
281 N.A.I., Crossle Smith 112/40-38.
283 Transcript of wills from the Society of Genealogists, London, (Genealogical Office, Ms. 533).
284 N.A.I., Thrift Abstract 16,159.
285 N.A.I., Prerogative Will Book 1664 – 84, ff255v – 256.
286 N.A.I., Thrift Abstract 1526.
287 N.A.I., Thrift Abstract 1540.
Laserian's, Leighlin, who also died in 1683, held the lands of Annaghmore and Mangoebegg in Kings County in fee simple and the lands of Redcastle and Clonnaduff by leases for three lives from the earl of Mountrath. The evidence would suggest then that many cathedral clergymen did not rely solely on the income derived from their ecclesiastical livings but found it either necessary or desirable to diversify into other economic activities, principally of an agricultural nature.

Some wills give a value of the clergymen's estates as proved by the ecclesiastical courts. John Jones, precentor of St Edan's, Ferns, possessed an estate worth £104 7s 10½d at the time of his death in 1667. The inventory of Richard Jones, prebendary of Fethard in the diocese of Ferns, amounted to £557 14s in his will of 1679. However, most wills do not include this level of detail. Instead the value of an estate can be inferred by where a will was proved. When a person owned property worth over £5 in more than one diocese then his will was to be proved at the prerogative court of the archbishop of Armagh. In the database 166 clergymen had their wills proved at this court. Only 85 clergymen are recorded as having their wills proved by diocesan consistorial courts. Moreover, high status in terms of wealth was closely related to high rank within the church. Of the clergymen who had their wills proved in the prerogative court, 51 per cent were bishops or deans, 32 per cent were other dignitaries, namely archdeacons, precentors, chancellors or treasurers, and 17 per cent were prebendaries. Conversely, those clergymen who had their wills proved in the diocesan court were more likely to be prebendaries, with 50 per cent being of this rank, 40 per cent being dignitaries and only 10 per cent being bishops or deans. For the clergy diversifying their economic base and finding alternative sources of income became a necessity in the period following the Reformation, because the clergy often had to provide for their families. The value of a church living was often inadequate and when a clergyman died the family required an alternative source of income. In the past many clergymen had alienated their livings to members of their family so as to provide for them after their death, but the regulation of ecclesiastical livings in the early Stuart period brought this practice to an end. On the other hand, these developments coincided with a

288 N.A.I., Prerogative Will Book 1664 – 84, f. 508v.
289 N.A.I., Thrift Abstract 2257.
290 A. Vicars, Index to the prerogative wills, 1536 – 1810 (Dublin, 1897), preface.
291 W.P.W. Phillimore, G. Thrift, T.M. Blagg, Index to Irish Wills, (5 vols, London, 1909-20), 'Index to Dublin Consistory Wills' in Report D.K.P.R.I., nos 26 (1894) and 30 (1899). Consistory Will Indexes in the Reading Room of the National Archives of Ireland for the Dioceses of Ardagh, 1695-1858; Armagh, 1666-1837 A-L; Armagh, 1677-1858 M-Y; Clogher, 1661-1858; Clonfert, 1663-1757; Connor, 1680-1846 A-L; Connor, 1636-1857 M-Y; Down, 1646-1858; Elphin, 1650-1858; Elphin, 1603-1838 F-V; Killaloe and Killfenora, 1653-1858; Kilmore, 1682-1858; Meath, 1572-1858, Tuam, 1648-1848.
land market in flux and clergymen with a high level of education and surplus cash were well placed to benefit in these conditions.

The wills of the cathedral clergymen also give an indication of the extent of clerical marriage in the seventeenth century. Only 14 wills make no mention of wives or children as executors or heirs, but instead appoint friends or relations. In the database there are 474 cases of married clergymen, which represents 38 per cent of the study group. This number corresponds to the minimum number of married clergymen and the true figure was probably a lot higher, but deficiencies in the sources hinder the calculation of an accurate figure. For many cases (118) not even the name of the spouse is known and in some of the other cases the Christian name is the only evidence. A feature of clerical marriage that is discernible from the database is endogamy. The daughter of Robert Maxwell, dean of St Patrick’s, Armagh, from 1610 to 1622 was married to the dean of St Macartin’s, Clogher, Robert Barkley.\(^\text{292}\) Two of Bishop Thomas Ram’s daughters married cathedral clergymen. Jane Ram married Richard Jennings, archdeacon of Ferns from 1627 to 1640,\(^\text{293}\) and Susan Ram married Robert Wilson, dean of St Edan’s, Ferns, from 1629 to 1643.\(^\text{294}\) Neptune Blood, who served as dean of St Fachan’s, Kilfenora, from 1664 to 1691, married Elizabeth daughter of Hygate Love, who was dean of Kilfenora during the early Stuart period.\(^\text{295}\) Benjamin Cross, prebendary of Holy Trinity in the city of Cork from 1664 to 1684, married the daughter of John Eveleigh, dean of St Fachtna’s, Ross, from 1661 to 1678.\(^\text{296}\) Finally, Daniel Neilan, dean of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, married Joanna Crofton the sister of Thomas Crofton, dean of St Mary’s, Elphin, from 1666 to 1683.\(^\text{297}\)

Although wills do not contain information regarding the age of the deceased, the date of the document or the probate date can be used to calculate the year in which a cathedral clergyman died. By assuming that those who attended university received their BA degrees at the age of 21 and that those who proceeded on to a MA did so at the age of 24, an approximate birth date for these clergymen has been calculated. Using this method an estimated age for 141 clergymen in the database was obtained. For a further 273 the date of both their birth and death is known. Together these two groups represent around one-

\(^\text{292}\) Funeral Entries, vol. vi, 1622 – 33 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 69, p. 65).
\(^\text{293}\) J.B. Leslie, Ferns clergy and parishes, p. 51.
\(^\text{294}\) Ibid., pp 23 – 24.
\(^\text{295}\) Clerical succession list, Diocese of Killaloe (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/10, f. 91); Funeral Entries, vol. vii, 1622 – 33 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 70, p. 474).
\(^\text{296}\) W.M. Brady, Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, vol ii, p. 308.
\(^\text{297}\) J.B. Leslie, Ossory clergy and parishes, p. 62.
third of the study group, which is probably representative of the study group as a whole. The average age at death for the combined groups is 59.7, while the average age for the 273 whose exact ages are known is 61. Both of these ages are slightly below the average age of English cathedral clergymen that Lehmberg calculated for the Stuart period, which was 63.5 years. The average age of Irish cathedral clergymen in the seventeenth century was closer to Lehmberg’s calculation for English cathedral clergymen in the Tudor period: 61 years. On the other hand, the average life span of an Irish cathedral clergyman in the seventeenth century was greater than the population as a whole, principally because they had survived infancy. They also formed part of a privileged socio-economic group and were therefore less likely to suffer from a poor diet or living conditions, which would have had a negative impact on their life span.

Cathedral clergymen were as susceptible to communicable disease, such as plagues and fevers, as the general population were. Meredith Hanmer, archdeacon of Ross and treasurer of Holy Trinity, Waterford, died in 1604 as a result of plague. Edward Parry, bishop of Killaloe, also died of plague in 1650, as did William Golbourne, bishop of Kildare. Four clergymen in the database are recorded as having died from fevers, and one clergyman, Robert Forward, dean of Christ the Redeemer’s, Dromore, contracted his fever following the 1641 rebellion. In that rebellion the Gaelic Irish killed eight cathedral clergymen, including Robert Fargie, dean of St Patrick’s, Killala, Thomas Walker, prebendary of Killaly in the diocese of Killala, Laurence Robinson, chancellor of St Patrick’s, Armagh, and Robert Aitkin, prebendary of Clondehorkey in the diocese of Raphoe. In 1660 Evan Lloyd, treasurer of St Mary’s, Limerick, drowned in Dublin Bay while on his way to repossess this living from which he had been forcibly ejected during the rebellion. Another clergyman who drowned was Joseph Teate, dean of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, when the packet boat that he was on sank off the Co Wicklow coast in

298 S.E. Lehmberg, Cathedrals under Siege, p. 104.
299 S.E. Lehmberg, Reformation of Cathedrals, p. 262.
300 S.E. Lehmberg, Cathedrals under Siege, p. 104.
301 J.B. Leslie, Ossory clergy and parishes, pp 84 – 85; W.M. Brady, Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, vol. ii, pp 440 – 41.
302 Ibid., p. 666; Clerical succession list, Diocese of Kildare (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/7, ff9 – 10).
303 H.B. Swanzy, Biographical succession list of the clergy of the diocese of Dromore, p. 29.
304 1641 Depositions, Co. Mayo (T.C.D., Ms. 831, f. 151).
305 1641 Depositions, Co. Mayo (Ibid., f. 75).
306 1641 Depositions, Co. Armagh (T.C.D., Ms. 836, f. 52).
307 1641 Depositions, Co. Donegal (T.C.D., Ms. 839, f. 148).
308 St John D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS/2/7/3/20, p. 169).
November 1670.310 An accidental fall from a horse led to the death of Nathaniel Wilson, dean of St Eunan's, Raphoe, from 1683 to 1692 and subsequently bishop of Limerick, in 1695.311 Apart from murders committed during the rebellions, a couple of other cathedral clergy men met with violent deaths. In 1686 an inquiry found that a young Catholic priest had murdered Hugh Anderton, prebendary of Maynooth in the diocese of Dublin and of Effin in the diocese of Limerick, while he read a burial service at Kilmallock.312 In 1712 Robert Echlin, dean of St Mary's, Tuam, was murdered by his servants.313 Another clergyman, John Bradishe, prebendary of Modeligo in the diocese of Lismore and of Kilbrittain in the diocese of Limerick, was condemned to death by hanging in 1621 for the murder of John Roche and Vicar Ledisham.314 But the most notorious death of a cathedral clergyman in the seventeenth century was when the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, John Atherton, was hanged in 1640 for buggery.315

Most cathedral clergy men died natural deaths and remained in their livings until the day that they died. Some vacated their positions earlier, either through their own choice or by the direction of others. In the database there are some fifty cases of deprivation for a variety of reasons including non-residence, absence without licence, simony, and immorality. Most of these cathedral clergy men never held another living in the Church of Ireland. In 1617 Nicholas Todd was deprived of the archdeaconry of Connor by order of the archbishop of Canterbury as he was a tailor by profession and was described as a mere illiterate and an unworthy man.316 Teige McInlowlow was deprived of his livings of the provostship of Kilmacduagh and the prebendary of Disertkelly in the diocese of Kilmacduagh in 1633 because he was also not ordained a priest.317 In January 1642 an intimation was issued against William Carville, prebendary of St Michael’s in Christ Church, Dublin, because he no longer resided at the cathedral. Carville was chaplain to the marquis of Ormond and in May 1642 the marquis presented a petition to the dean and chapter requesting that they refrain from depriving Carville of his living. The dean and

310 Sir George Rawdon to Viscount Conway, 6 Dec. 1670 (Cal. S. P. Ire., 1669 – 70, p. 320).
311 J.B. Leslie and R.H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, p. 1191.
312 Information on Hugh Anderton, Minister of Killmallock, 24 July 1685 (H.M.C., Ormonde, NS, vol. vii, p. 346,); Primate Boyle to Ormonde, 28 Aug. 1685 (Ibid., p. 355); Primate Boyle to Ormonde, 3 Oct. 1685 (Ibid., p. 364).
313 J.B. Leslie, Derry clergy and parishes, p. 60.
314 Correspondence and notes relating to and texts of W.H. Rennison’s unpublished History of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore (R.C.B., Ms. 40/28 no. 9, p. 11).
315 Aidan Clarke, ‘A woeful sinner: John Atherton’, p. 139.
317 Clerical succession list, Dioceses of Kilfenora, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/8, pp 532, 540).
chapter agreed to allow Carville three months to return. On 3 October 1642 the dean and chapter met and when Carville failed to appear they proceeded to deprive him of his living. The deprivation took place despite a further petition from the marquis, dissension within the chapter from Dudley Boswell and John Parker, and a proxy from William Carville himself, although this proxy was declared to be invalid. Ormond subsequently wrote to Carville informing him that his living had been granted to Henry Hall and he promised to help him get a preferment in England.318 Similarly, David Dunster was deprived of the prebendary of Kilpeacon in the diocese of Limerick in 1678 when it was judged that his absence from Ireland meant that he was incapable of serving his cure.319 That same year James Colhoune, prebendary of Drumholme in the diocese of Raphoe, was deprived of his livings for committing adultery.320 A similar charge was presented against Thomas Ward, dean of St Saviour’s, Connor and in 1694 he was found guilty of being a serial adulterer and was deprived.321

Some clergymen returned to England after holding cathedral livings in Ireland for a short period. William Reresby spent less than two years in Dublin as prebendary of St Michael’s, returning to England in 1662.322 Samuel Edgiley spent four years as prebendary of Tullowmagimma in the diocese of Leighlin and returned to England in 1669.323 The rebellion of 1641 left a number of clergymen with little option but to go to Britain for the safety of themselves and their families. Some never returned to Ireland including Gervase Thorpe, prebendary of Wicklow in the diocese of Dublin,324 Martin Tinley archdeacon of Cork325 and Richard Howlett, dean of St Patrick’s, Cashel, who was reported in 1644 to have ‘made his residence in Co Essex amongst those who are now in actual rebellion against us [royalists] and hath from the beginning of the late troubles in Ireland totally neglected his duty’.326 The Revolutions of 1688-90 resulted in another flight of clergymen from Ireland to the safety of England. In April 1689 the earl of Nottingham reported that there was a great number of Irish clergymen driven over to

319 Clerical succession list, Diocese of Limerick (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/13, f. 102).
320 J.B. Leslie, Raphoe clergy and parishes, p. 25.
321 J.B. Leslie and R.H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, p. 1153; J.B. Leslie, Clergy of Connor from patrician times to the present day, p. 643; T.C. Bamard, ‘Almoners of Providence’, the clergy, 1647 to c.1780’, p. 83.
322 J.B. Leslie and R.H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, p. 1005.
323 Clerical succession list, Diocese of Limerick (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/13, f. 69).
324 J.B. Leslie and R.H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough, p. 1110.
325 W.M. Brady, Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, vol. i, p. 312.
England. A list of escaped clergy dated 1689 included the names of seven deans and four archdeacons. The downfall of the Jacobean regime marks the endpoint for this study of cathedral clergymen. Some of those who went to England never returned following the Williamite victory. Out of the fifty or so cathedral clergymen who were attainted in 1689, 20 per cent appear not to have resumed their duties in 1691. Moreover, the new regime created a crisis of conscience for some of the cathedral clergymen, with the result that non-jurors such as Charles Leslie, chancellor of St Saviour’s, Connor, and Brazillia Jones, dean of St Carthage’s, Lismore, were deprived.

VI

The profile of the cathedral clergy of late seventeenth century Ireland was wholly dissimilar to their predecessors of the early seventeenth century. They were mainly British in their geographic or ethnic origins, whereas in the early seventeenth century there was a mixture from Gaelic Irish, Old English and New English backgrounds. Although, the displacement of Gaelic Irish cathedral clergy, and to a lesser extent the Old English, by English and New English clergy had commenced in the early 1600s, this trend was accelerated by the mid-century troubles, so that by the Restoration period personnel with a Gaelic Irish background were uncommon. Concomitant with these developments was the emergence of a university-educated clergy. While the clergy of the Irish cathedral system generally had a lower level of educational attainment in comparison to the clergy of the English cathedral system, they all came from a similar social milieu. Therefore, they saw education as a key to their social advancement, which would assist in their progression up the ranks of the cathedral system. Although Irish cathedral livings were poor by English standards, the opportunities for career advancement were good as clergymen who obtained posts in the Irish cathedral system were more likely to attain dignitary positions than those in the English cathedral system. However, education in itself was not sufficient to obtain lucrative cathedral livings. The importance of patronage was recognised by all, as the flurry of petitions that followed the vacating of a cathedral living attests. The ability to work this system was crucial for those who wanted to attain the highest ranks. On the other hand, where clergymen were able to use this system to obtain multiple livings, then the commitment to promoting reformation principals can be called into question. Furthermore, the diverse business interests that some cathedral clergymen developed, from agriculture to money lending, would also seem to suggest a lack of commitment to

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329 An account of the transactions of the late King James in Ireland. Wherein is contain’d the Act of Attainder past at Dublin in May 1689 (London, 1690).
spreading God’s word. Likewise, the Irish cathedral clergy were not as active as their English counterparts in committing their sermons or theological thinking to print. Neither did most cathedral clergy seek to investigate or discourse on the workings of the world in print.

On the other hand, the need for clergymen to possess *commendams*, diversify their economic interests and their low level of output of published works, may indicate the structural limitations of the Irish economy and the relative poverty of the Irish settler community. Despite this, what is clear is that the Irish cathedrals did not develop into active centres for the dissemination of reformed religion nor centres for learned leisure, as was the case in the English cathedrals. Initially the State’s attempts to promote a preaching ministry created a clerical body with a puritan outlook in the cathedral system. Eventually this outlook in the church was undermined in the 1630s and gave way in the Restoration period to a church in which the principles of hierarchy and loyalty to the regime were held in high esteem. Cathedral clergymen, attuned to the prospects for promotion and the interests that controlled patronage within the church, came to represent these principles. As a result the cathedrals were staffed by clergymen who supported the development of ‘Caroline traditions’ and it was they that ensured that the cathedrals would become models of best practice for their dioceses. How these traditions were developed through the sermons and ceremonies of the Irish cathedrals will be examined in the next chapter.
Graph 5.1 Geographical Origins of the Cathedral Clergy

- Unknown: 48.5%
- England: 21%
- Ireland: 23%
- Scotland: 4%
- Wales: 2.5%
- Other: 1%
Graph 5.2 No. of Cathedral Clergymen who received their first appointment in the 1660s
Graph 5.3 No. of Graduates obtaining their first cathedral living 1600 - 91
Graph 5.4 Highest Degree Attained by Cathedral Clergymen

- MA: 56%
- DD: 22%
- BA: 13%
- Other: 3%
- BD: 6%
Chapter VI – Sermons and Ceremonies

The daily round of services, as provided for by the Book of Common Prayer, provided the raison d’être for the cathedrals. In addition to these religious ceremonies, the cathedrals were venues for sermons preached on Sundays and holydays. These ceremonies and sermons were the most public manifestations of the cathedrals’ role in the community and the splendour associated with their religious services distinguished cathedral churches from parish churches. Furthermore, the cathedrals played an important role in the life of the church and what was sung and said in these institutions was enhanced by virtue of the cathedrals’ status. This chapter examines how cathedral services were organised and regulated and what happened to those who transgressed the rules. The chapter will commence with an assessment of the extent to which the cathedrals were able to provide choral services and what those cathedral choirs sang. The chapter will also consider the relative roles assigned to preaching and singing in the context of changing attitudes to the liturgy and the development of ‘Caroline traditions’. Although the importance of the sermon was downgraded somewhat in the 1630s and from the 1660s onwards, sermons contained important messages throughout the seventeenth century, particularly during the 1650s. Sermons preached in cathedral churches tended to be significant and those that were printed were even more so. Furthermore, cathedrals, as mother churches of the dioceses, provided models of best practice for preaching. Of particular significance were the sermons preached at Christ Church, Dublin, which was the church that the Irish administration routinely attended. The messages contained in these sermons often had an impact that went beyond the immediate audience, particularly when these were printed. Although these sermons did not always reflect the State’s religious policy, they generally reflected the mentalité of the hierarchy of the church and the chapter concludes with an examination of the principal messages contained in these sermons.

The provision of choral services in cathedrals was expensive and only those cathedrals that had endowments for choirs were in a position to provide liturgical music. Most Irish cathedrals had no such provisions. Choral foundations were primarily found in the archiepiscopal sees and in the cathedrals located in urban centres. However, the existence of a fund for a choir in a cathedral does not indicate whether or not that choir functioned. Visitations, particularly in the early seventeenth century, suggest that some of the choral foundations were somewhat inactive. At Holy Trinity, Waterford, the visitation of 1615

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1 The constitutional framework of the cathedral choirs is discussed in Chapter II – Constitutional Developments, pp 24 – 26, 56 – 63.
discovered that the cathedral ought to be served by four chaplains or vicars and an organist. There was no mention of these vicars in the regal visitation of 1633.\(^2\) Forty years later, at a visitation of the bishop of Waterford and Lismore, it was reported that the vicars had ceased to function at the Reformation: a chapter act of 1585, which regulated the affairs and revenues of the cathedral, failed to mention them.\(^3\) At St Patrick’s, Cashel, the visitation of 1607 reported that the estate of the vicars choral had been alienated and only two of the vicars attended the church. The original foundation provided for eight vicars choral, an organist and a sexton. Although the vicars never regained their full strength in the early seventeenth century, the dean, Lewis Jones (1607 – 33), is reputed to have re-established the choir in the cathedral and in 1628 the vicars petitioned the king for a new charter.\(^4\)

In other cathedrals the revenues of the vicars choral were used to augment the salaries of bishops, dignitaries and prebendaries. At St Fin Barre’s, Cork, in 1615 there were four vicars choral, which included the dean, George Lee, the archdeacon, Michael Boyle, the treasurer, John Brocke, and the treasurer of St Colman’s, Cloyne, Thomas Lloyd.\(^5\) Michael Boyle continued to hold a vicars place in 1633, by which time he was Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.\(^6\) At St Factualna’s, Ross, in 1615, the bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross and the treasurer of the cathedral held two of the three vicars choral places.\(^7\) At St Colman’s, Cloyne, two of the vicars choral in 1633, Thomas Davies and Charles Coldwell, were also prebendaries in St Fin Barre’s, Cork.\(^8\) These commendam were clearly sinecures and suggest inactive choral foundations.

The visitations also suggest that some of the choral foundations were partially active. At St Carthage’s, Lismore, the visitations of 1615 and 1633 noted that the places of the five

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\(^2\) Irish Record Commissioners, Calendars, Regal Visitation, Waterford, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/3, pp 165 – 66); Reeves’ copy of 1634 Visitation (T.C.D, Ms. 1067, pp 443 – 6).

\(^3\) R.C.B., C 16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/81.

\(^4\) A note of the several abuses in the dioceses of Cashel, Emily, Lysmore and Waterford, 1607 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1606 – 08, pp 237 – 38); Copy of visitation 1622 and 1633/4 (T.C.D, Ms. 2158, ff 2v, 106 – 106v); Ussher to Laud, 6 May 1629 (Alan Ford, ‘Correspondence between Archbishops Ussher and Laud’, in Archivium Hibernicum, vol. xlvi (1992), p. 10); Complaints and grievances to be made about the present occasions of this provincial agency into England in the behalf of the clergy of Munster (T.C.D, Ms. 1188, f. 18); Cal. Pat. Rolls Ire., Chas. I, pp 153 – 54.


\(^6\) Reeves’ copy of 1634 Visitation (T.C.D, Ms. 1067, p. 369).

\(^7\) Michael A. Murphy, ‘The Royal Visitiation of Cork, and Ross and the College of Youghal’, p. 206.

\(^8\) Reeves’ copy of 1634 Visitation (T.C.D, Ms. 1067, p. 369).
vicars choras were all occupied. The 1622 visitation of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, reported
that the college of vicars chorale consisted of eight singing ministers and four choristers
and that they served in the cathedral on a daily basis. The early seventeenth century
visitations for St Mary’s, Limerick, point to the constant employment of the full
complement of vicars chorale at this cathedral. This was probably the result of the
reforms of Bishop Adams, who during his episcopate (1604 – 25) acquired an organ and
reorganised the choir. Further evidence of the effects of these reforms includes Luke
Gernon’s observation that this cathedral in the 1620s was gloriously served with singing
and organs.

A good indication of the existence of choral services is the presence of an organ,
employment on musical instruments and the employment of organists. This is evident at
Christ Church, Dublin, which was one of the principal centres of musical activity in
Ireland throughout the seventeenth century. In 1609 the dean and chapter appointed
Thomas Bateson as organist to the cathedral. Prior to his appointment Bateson was
organist in Chester cathedral. Subsequently, he became the most prominent musician in
early Stuart Dublin: he was awarded one of the first musical degrees from Trinity College,
Dublin, and in 1618 he published his second book of madrigals, which he dedicated to his
patron, Sir Arthur Chichester. The vitality of church music that accompanied Bateson is
evident in the dean and chapter’s commission to Bateson to construct a new organ in
1616. This vitality developed even further in the 1630s when Laudian policies were
introduced into Christ Church. The importance of the beauty of holiness that lay at the
heart of Laudian policies entailed an enhanced role for polyphonic church music in the
liturgy of the church. In England this enhanced role was evident in some cathedral and

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9 Regal Visitation, 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836, f. 45); Reeves’ copy of 1634 Visitiation (T.C.D, Ms. 1067,
p. 450).
10 Transcript of the return of the Bishop of Ossory to the 1622 Commissioners (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/24, p. 6).
11 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitations, Limerick, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/3, p. 103);
Copy of visitation 1622 (T.C.D, Ms. 2158, f. 98v); Reeves’ copy of 1634 Visitiation (T.C.D, Ms. 1067, p.
315).
1904), p. 353.
14 Barra Boydell, A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (Wiltshire, 2004), Chapters 2 and
3.
15 Raymond Gillespie (ed.), The First Chapter Act Book of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (Dublin, 1997),
p. 128.
16 Barra Boydell, ‘Thomas Bateson and the earliest Degree of Music awarded by the University of Dublin’,
in Hermathena, vol. cxvi (1989), pp 54 – 59; Barra Boydell, A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral,
Dublin, pp 46 – 47.
collegiate churches during the 1620s. Liturgical developments at Durham cathedral led one of the prebendaries, Peter Smart, to criticise, in a sermon preached in 1627, the use of both instrumental and vocal music in divine services. Smart maintained that the excessive use of music led to services being no better understood than if they were in Hebrew or Irish. Despite this criticism, the provision of music was improved in a number of English cathedrals in the 1630s, including the metropolitan cathedrals of Canterbury and St Paul’s and the provincial Ely cathedral. At Christ Church, Dublin, the elevated role played by church music was displayed through the employment of sackbuts and cornet players for services in the cathedral. In 1637 the cathedral was awarded the revenues of St Anne’s Guild to augment the choir. Subsequently, twelve pounds a year was allocated to two sackbut and two cornet players to serve in Christ Church every Sunday. The proctor’s accounts for 1636 – 37 also indicate that violins were used in choral services.

Evidence for the enhanced role assigned to church music in the 1630s is also found in other cathedrals. On 5 November 1633 the dean and chapter of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, ordered that £18 be paid for the erection of an organ in the cathedral. By the early 1640s only one out of the four vicars choral of St Fin Barre’s held another cathedral living in commendam. That they actually sung and were supported by choristers is suggested by the terms of a bequest of 1642, which granted the men choristers four marks and the singing boys five nobles. In 1634, St Patrick’s, Armagh, received a new charter for its college of vicars choral. Its revenues were sequestered for a year in order to provide funds for a new organ. Finally, the names of some of the organists employed by cathedrals in


the late 1630s and early 1640s are revealed by the 1641 Depositions, including a Mr Williams at Holy Trinity, Waterford,\textsuperscript{26} and Richard Fuller at St Mary’s, Limerick.\textsuperscript{27}

These liturgical developments were not universally welcomed. William Bedell was said to be much dissatisfied with the ‘pompous’ services of Christ Church, Dublin, ‘which was much attended and celebrated with all manner of instrumental music as organs, sackbuts, cornets and viols as if it had been at the dedication of Nebuchadnezzar’s golden image in the plain of Dura’.\textsuperscript{28} Instrumental music was not played at his cathedral church in Kilmore and no provisions were made to establish a choir there in the 1630s.\textsuperscript{29} This antipathy to church music became common in the 1630s and culminated with an assault on the choral traditions of the church in the 1640s and 1650s. Many cathedral organs were destroyed or damaged during the mid-century troubles. The organ at St Patrick’s, Armagh, was destroyed when the cathedral was burnt in 1642. The organ at St Patrick’s, Cashel, was smashed by Lord Inchiquin’s soldiers during the assault on that cathedral, on 13 September 1647.\textsuperscript{30} In 1661 depositions were taken on behalf of the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Waterford, relating to the damages inflicted on the cathedral by Commonwealth soldiers ten years earlier. Four of the deponents mentioned that the cathedral’s organ had been broken down and the pipes sold.\textsuperscript{31}

Puritan antipathy to the provision of instrumental music in churches meant that at the Restoration, deans and chapters had to provide new instruments to replace those damaged and destroyed during the 1640s and 1650s. Nevertheless, this situation provided the opportunity for some deans and chapters to build better instruments.\textsuperscript{32} Christ Church, Dublin, used a portable organ belonging to John Hawkshaw during the period 1661-65 as a temporary measure.\textsuperscript{33} In 1665 a new organ was built by George Harris, which was augmented in 1667 with a choir or chair organ constructed by Lancelot Pease, creating a

\textsuperscript{26} 1641 Depositions, Co. Waterford (T.C.D, Ms. 820, f. 246v).
\textsuperscript{27} 1641 Depositions, Co. Limerick (T.C.D, Ms. 829, f. 221). Richard Fuller appears to have been organist at St Mary’s, Limerick, since as early as 1618: Edmund Sexton’s notebook (N.L.I., Ms. 16,085, p. 144).
\textsuperscript{28} \textit{The life of Bishop Bedell by his son preserved in Tanner Ms 278}, (ed.) John B. Mayor (Cambridge, 1871), p. 140.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{31} R.C.B., C 16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/34.
\textsuperscript{32} S.E. Lehmburg, \textit{Cathedrals under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600 -1700} (Exeter, 1996), p. 158.
\textsuperscript{33} R.C.B., C6/1/26/3/30.
full ‘double’ organ for the cathedral.  

Stringed instruments, in the form of lutes and theorboes, were also acquired in the late 1660s. During the 1670s the choir of Christ Church was performing up to date symphonic anthems and by the 1680s special payments were being made to city or state musicians who performed at commemorative services. These developments demonstrate that Christ Church was to the fore in the provision of instrumental church music in Ireland in the Restoration period, but it was a model that few cathedrals had the capacity to emulate.

Lancelot Pease was also active in providing instrumental church music in a number of other Irish cathedrals. Pease was the pre-eminent organ builder in Restoration Ireland. Before coming to Ireland in 1666, he had built organs for King’s College, Cambridge, and Canterbury and Chester cathedrals. It has been suggested that Pease left England as a result of the outbreak of bubonic plague in 1665, but he may also have been attracted by the prospects for organ builders in Restoration Dublin. After settling in Ireland, Lancelot Pease was appointed a stipendiary at Christ Church, Dublin, and a vicar choral at St Patrick’s, Dublin, which he held until 1680. In 1678 the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s drew up a contract with Pease for the construction of a great organ. By 1681 it appears that the new organ was finished as the dean and chapter contracted Pease to keep the organ in repair. Two years later, Pease petitioned the dean and chapter for £10 arrears for his work. In 1682 the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity, Waterford, contracted Lancelot Pease to build an organ at the cost of £100. This appears to be the first organ built in this cathedral since the Restoration. In 1673 a triennial visitation inquired whether there was an organ in the cathedral, to which the dean and chapter replied that they had not replaced

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36 Barra Boydell, A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, pp 83 – 4, 95; Barra Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800: Documents and selected anthems (Cornwall, 1999), pp 138 – 39. 
38 Ibid., f. 3v. 
39 Ibid., f. 82. 
40 Ibid., f. 96v. 
41 R.C.B., C16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, C4, Chapter Act Book, 1680 – 82, f. 4v.
the organ destroyed during the wars. Pease was also involved in repairing the organ at St Colman’s, Cloyne, in 1672 and 1676.

Another cathedral that did not possess an organ in the initial years of the Restoration was St Patrick’s, Armagh. During the primacy of James Margetson, 1663 – 78, this cathedral acquired an organ at the archbishop’s expense. However, this organ had a short life span as it was destroyed when the cathedral was converted into a Protestant garrison in 1688.

A number of other bishops acquired organs for their cathedrals during the Restoration period. Bishop Ezekiel Hopkins purchased an organ for St Columb’s, Derry during the 1680s. This is the first reference to an organ at this cathedral but there may have been an earlier instrument, as its charter of 1631 made provision for the cathedral to receive gifts to support the establishment of a choir. This organ appears to have survived the siege of Derry and is mentioned in Bishop King’s visitation in 1693.

At St Canice’s, Kilkenny, Bishop Otway erected an organ in the early 1680s. There was an organ at this cathedral in the early Stuart period, which is referred to in the 1615 regal visitation and in the 1641 depositions, but it is likely that it was destroyed during the assault on the cathedral in 1650.

Some cathedral organs probably did survive the mid-century conflicts. The cathedral records for St Fin Barre’s, Cork, and St Colman’s, Cloyne, do not suggest that new organs were constructed but do refer to both cathedrals’ organs being restored. In 1681 the dean and chapter of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, ordered that a gift of £2 6s be granted to John Griffiths for ‘his well bestowed trouble in restoring the organ.’ At St Colman’s, Cloyne, the organist, William Voyle, received payments for the repair and upkeep of the organ during the 1670s and 1680s. Other records suggest that some cathedrals did not possess organs during the Restoration period. In 1692 the dean and chapter of St Carthage’s, Lismore, ordered that the space in the choir intended for an organ be walled up with a

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43 R.C.B., C12/1/1, ff 9, 11, 12.
44 Walter Harris, Some account of ye Cathedral Church of Armagh (P.R.O.N.I., DIO4/39/2/1/2).
45 J. Ware, The whole works of Sir James Ware, (ed.) W. Harris, (2 vols, Dublin, 1731-46), vol. i, p. 295.
46 The King for the Bishop of Clogher, 24 July 1631 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625 – 33, p. 624).
48 J. Ware, Whole Works of Ware, vol. i, p. 431.
49 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Regal Visitations, Ossory, 1615 (N.A.I., RC 15/2, p. 159); James Greaves and John G.A. Prim, The history, architecture and antiquities of the cathedral church of St Canice Kilkenny (Dublin, 1857), p. 39; 1641 Depositions, Co. Kilkenny (T.C.D., Ms. 812, f. 193v).
50 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms, B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, f. 148.
51 R.C.B., C12/2/1, ff 4v – 5, 9, 11.
slight wall or board. At St Flannan’s, Killaloe, it was not until the late eighteenth century that the dean and chapter decided to acquire an organ ‘for the dignity of the cathedral church’. Similarly, the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Cashel, appear not to have re-acquired an organ for their cathedral until the late eighteenth century, when Archbishop Agar revived choral services at Cashel. He appears to have also been the impetus behind the establishment of choral services in St Alibeus’s, Emly, when it was decided in 1784 to pay for an organist out of the surplus of the economy fund. In 1664 the Bishop of Limerick wrote to Ormonde on the subject of cathedral choirs and mentioned that St Mary’s, Limerick, had only two members of its choir left. One was an organist, who the bishop said was not needed. This comment suggests the absence of an organ at this cathedral in the early years of the Restoration. The grant to the vicars choral of the revenues of the Collegiate Church of SS Peter and Paul’s, Kilmallock, in 1684 may have been an impetus to the cathedral to acquire an organ: in the 1690s payments were being made to an organist ‘out of the growing rents of the union of Kilmallock’.

Even when there were financial provisions for choirs, they were not necessarily put to that use. In 1662 the revenues of the vicars choral of St Mary’s, Tuam, were sequestered to provide for repairs to the cathedral. Five years later the archbishop of Tuam collated Tobias Pullein to a vicars choral position in St Mary’s but exempted him from serving in that position for six years while he studied at Trinity College, Dublin. When four vicars choral were appointed in 1678, two of the vicars, Edward Price and Thomas Eccleston had livings elsewhere, which suggests that the vicarages were being used as sinecures.

Where there was no financial provision for choral music in a cathedral it was unlikely that an organ would be found. Although the charters for St Macartin’s, Clogher, of 1629 and

52 St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 29.
53 Killaloe Cathedral Register, 1661 – 1825 (T.C.D, Ms. 1825, Chapter Act 15 Aug. 1782).
55 St John D. Seymour, The Diocese of Emly (Dublin, 1913), p. 91.
56 Bishop of Limerick to Ormonde, 13 May 1664 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 33, f. 399).
57 Warrant from the King to the Lord Lieutenant, 13 Sept. 1684 (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1684-85, p. 143); St Mary’s, Limerick, Chapter Act Book, pp 32 – 33; In 1697 Renatus Harris was employed to make an organ for St Mary’s, Limerick: Christ Church deeds, (ed.) M.J. McEnery and Raymond Refausse (Dublin, 2000), p. 429 (no. 1932).
58 H.T. Knox, Notes on the early history of the dioceses of Tuam, Killala and Achonry (Dublin, 1904), p. 89.
59 Calendar of Tuam Diocesan Register, 1665 – 1752 (N.A.I., M 2832, p. 2).
60 Ibid., p. 21; Edward Price was Chancellor of Kilfenora and prebendary of Kilmoyley in the diocese of Tuam: Clerical succession list, Dioceses of Kilfenora, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/8, ff 171, 399); Clerical succession list, Diocese of Tuam (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/15, ff 41, 50, 142, 160, 203, 234). Thomas Eccleston was prebendary of Kilgoglin in the diocese of Elphin and prebendary of Kilmene in the diocese of Tuam: Clerical succession list, Diocese of Tuam (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/15, ff 60, 131); Clerical succession list, Diocese of Elphin (R.C.B., Ms. 61/2/5, f. 45).
1631, contained provisions for the establishment of a choir in the cathedral, these provisions were never effected.\textsuperscript{61} The vestry minutes of St Eunan’s, Raphoe, from the Restoration period contain no references to organs or organ building.\textsuperscript{62} In the 1730s, the wife of the dean of St Patrick’s, Killala, wrote that they had no organ in the cathedral.\textsuperscript{63} Therefore, it is probable that in small, rural Irish cathedrals there were no organs throughout the seventeenth century. In these cathedrals congregational singing may have been the only music provided. In St Patrick’s, Killala, the wife of Dean Delaney in the 1730s described the manner by which music in the cathedral was provided as the ‘bawling of psalms’.\textsuperscript{64} Although she took pride in this manner as being without popish affectations, there were others, such as the precentor of Christ Church, Dublin, in the 1670s, Edward Wetenhall, who believed that the standard of singing in parish churches was obnoxious when compared to cathedral choral music. Wetenhall observed that music in a parochial setting was offensive to the ear because less than one in ten had the ability to sing in a decent, grave and reverent tone. Moreover, the congregation was usually unable to sing in unison and he suggested that this hindered the understanding of the text more than the use of polyphony by cathedral choirs.\textsuperscript{65}

A cathedral’s interest in the provision of sacred music was also displayed in the regulation of the choir to ensure that order and decency was maintained. Christ Church, Dublin, instigated reforms to its choir in 1627 following a visitation by the archbishop of Dublin. Prior to this the choir was regulated by a chapter act of 1574, which contained orders regarding moral behaviour and daily attendance at morning prayers.\textsuperscript{66} Subsequently, the vicars choral and stipendiaries were ordered to attend both morning and evening services and communicate at every communion service. Gowns were to be worn by choristers daily. Vicars and stipendiaries were to wear their gowns on Fridays and gowns and surplices were to be worn by all members of the choir on Sundays and holydays. Penalties for negligence ranged from 6d for not wearing gowns or surplices to 2s 6d for not


\textsuperscript{62} Raphoe Vestry Minute Book (P.R.O.N.I., Micl/95, ff 1 – 25).


\textsuperscript{64} Edward Wetenhall, Of Gifts and Offices in the Public Worship of God (Dublin, 1678), pp 404, 426, 486. The use of polyphony in cathedral choirs attracted frequent complaints during the seventeenth century: see below, pp 249 – 51.

\textsuperscript{65} Raymond Gillespie (ed.), The First Chapter Act Book of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, pp 25 – 27.
receiving communion. In 1633 the dean and chapter ordered the vicars to wear their gowns and surplices on a daily basis. The following year new orders were drawn up for the vicars choral. These orders reflected the concerns of the emerging Laudian power base in the cathedral for order and decency in the church. The vicars were ordered to sit quietly together in the choir, act soberly and reverently, and perform the gestures prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer. The vicars were also ordered to prepare themselves to receive the ‘blessed sacrament’ on every communion day. Any vicar who transgressed these regulations was to be fined 40s for the first offence and £4 for the second offence. A third offence resulted in deprivation. These fines were a significant increase on those instituted in 1627 and were a considerable sum for minor cathedral officials who were relatively poorly paid.

At the same time the dean and chapter of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, instituted a ‘reformation’ of its vicars choral. According to the dean, daily divine services in the cathedral were being neglected by the canons and vicars choral of the cathedral. Consequently, the dean proceeded against the canons and vicars choral ordering them to perform their duties every morning and evening in their proper form of dress ‘according to the praiseworthy custom of all cathedral churches and especially in imitation of the metropolitan church of Cashel’. The following year a comprehensive order regulating the vicars choral was issued. This stipulated that the vicars were to attend the choir every day in their gowns and surplices and read and sing morning and evening prayers as prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer. Furthermore, each vicar was to take turns reading from the Bible according to the seniority of his installation. Fines for negligence ranged from 4d for not wearing a gown or surplice on a working day to 2s for the absence of a reader on Sundays or holydays.

The desire of the senior cathedral clergy to enforce discipline amongst the lower clergy in a cathedral is also evident in the 1640 charter for the vicars choral of St Patrick’s, Dublin. This charter specified that the performance of the vicars choral was subject to the censure of the dean or the dean and chapter. At the first meeting of the dean and chapter following the Restoration, nine vicars choral were appointed and ‘admonished to behave

67 Ibid., p. 148.
68 Ibid., p. 187.
69 Ibid., pp 204 – 6.
70 St Fin Barre’s Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, f. 35.
71 Ibid., ff 36 – 37.
themselves as becommeth members and ministers of the church'. In 1663 the orders and statutes made by the dean and chapter for the governing of the vicars choral were read out at a chapter meeting and the vicars were ordered to subscribe their submission to these orders. Subsequently, at the decanal visitation of 1664 the dean's vicar, Richard Hosier, was ordered to see that the regulations for the vicars choral were put into execution.

At Christ Church, Dublin, new regulations for the choir were drawn up in 1662. These orders display a new emphasis on musical standards: 'that every vicar and stipendiary diligently apply himself to the improving his skill in song, that he may be able to perform his part at first sight in ordinary anthems of the church'. The new orders reiterated the concerns evident in the choir regulations of the 1630s that the members of the choir behave themselves and wear the prescribed vestments during divine services. Vicars and stipendiaries were expected to receive communion at least once every three months and on the principal holydays. The dean and chapter also directed them to live together in peace and not to hit one another. Further orders related to moral behaviour. Those convicted of swearing, drunkenness, or of being an 'incontinent liver' were to be expelled. Members of the choir who were admonished three times were to be deprived of their positions. There were also various monetary fines ranging from 3d for being absent from the beginning of divine services to 40s for a second admonition. Each vicar was to perform the role of monitor on a weekly basis and it was their duty to compile a list of transgressors and give this list to the dean or sub-dean. The members of the choir were also directed to show due reverence to the higher clergy in the cathedral.

The appointment of the former precentor of Christ Church, Dublin, Edward Wetenhall, to the bishopric of Cork and Ross in 1678, provided an impetus for the dean and chapter of St Fin Barre's, Cork, to turn its attention to the deficiencies of its cathedral choir. During the period from the Restoration to Bishop Wetenhall's arrival in Cork, the vicars choral were rarely discussed at meetings of the chapter. In 1679 the dean and chapter adopted a series of resolutions concerning the absence of vicars from divine service and not wearing the prescribed vestments in the choir. The following year the vicars choral, the organist, the singing master and singing boys were ordered to attend all chapter days in their gowns

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73 R.C.B., C2/1/3/2, f. 3.
74 Ibid., f. 48.
76 R.C.B., C6/1/7/2, ff 110 – 11v.
and surplices. In 1683 the dean and chapter ordered that members of the choir who
absented themselves from the church on Sundays, festivals and extraordinary days were to
be penalised. In 1684 Bishop wetenhall ordered the vicars choral, organist and choir to
attend the cathedral on a daily basis and to perform the service in the ‘best melodies they
can according to cathedral use’. The following year a canonical monition was issued by
the dean, which gave the vicars choral nine days to ensure that services in the cathedral
were performed on a daily basis. This concern for the performance of cathedral services
on a daily basis is also evident in orders of the dean and chapter that the organist live
within the city or suburbs of Cork.

The 1680s also witnessed the reorganisation of the vicars choral in St Mary’s, Limerick;
St Colman’s, Cloyne; and St Canice’s, Kilkenny. In 1684 the bishop of Limerick and the
dean and chapter of St Mary’s petitioned the king to augment the choir at their cathedral
with the revenues of the collegiate church of SS Peter and Paul’s, Kilmallock. In their
petition they explained that a full choir had not operated in the cathedral since the
Restoration and that the profits of the collegiate church of Kilmallock could be applied to
the employment of singing and chanting persons in the cathedral. To that end, the dean
and chapter of St Mary’s, Limerick, were granted the rectories and vicarages of the
collegiate church. This grant provided the impetus for the reorganisation and regulation of
the choir and led to the appointment of five vicars choral ‘for the more solemn and decent
performance of God’s worship by chanting and singing’. By the 1690s the vicars were
attending and reading morning prayers in the cathedral on a daily basis. In St Colman’s,
Cloyne, the number of vicars choral was reduced from four to three in 1687. This was
designed to provide a higher income for each vicar. Two of the vicars were to be priests
who were to perform readings, prayers and other duties in the choir. The third member
was to be an organist, who was not necessarily ordained. The vicars choral were also made
subject to the jurisdiction of the dean. In 1679 Bishop Otway of Ossory held a visitation
at St Canice’s, Kilkenny, and found that the revenues of the vicars choral was hardly able

78 Ibid., f. 120
79 Ibid., ff 160 – 61.
80 Richard Caulfield, Annals of St Fin Barre’s Cathedral Cork (Cork, 1871), p. 46.
82 Ibid., ff 203, 208.
83 Warrant from the King to the Lord Lieutenant 13 Sept. 1684 (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1684 – 85, p. 143); St
Mary’s, Limerick, Chapter Act Book, pp 10 – 11; Transcriptions of ecclesiastical records by William Monck
Mason (T.C.D, Ms. 1786, f. 116).
84 St Mary’s, Limerick, Chapter Act Book, p. 33.
85 R.C.B., C12/2/1, p. 12.
to maintain two vicars. By 1684 the college of vicars choral had increased to two vicars and two stipendiaries, with one of the stipendiaries, William Ayres, employed as the
organist.

In contrast to the cathedrals in Dublin, Cork, Cloyne, Kilkenny and Limerick there was little regulation of the vicars choral of St Carthage's, Lismore. In 1663 the dean and chapter apportioned £60 a year to the five vicars choral to discharge the cure in the cathedral and celebrate divine services. Their duties in the early Stuart period were similar: in the 1615 regal visitation five vicars were named whose responsibility it was to serve the cure in the parish of Lismore. Similarly, in 1730 a triennial visitation found that among the duties of the vicars were reading prayers in the cathedral. Although information on the regulation of the vicars is scant, there is evidence that the musical ability of a vicar did matter somewhat. In 1636 the earl of Cork obtained a vicars choral place for his organist, Thomas Webb, and in 1639 the dean of Lismore, Robert Naylor, appointed Strongman Page to a vicarage because of his musical abilities. Naylor also explained, in a letter to the earl of Cork, that he took great care to appoint honest and quiet vicars choral to the cathedral. In the late 1660s Lismore had a dean who preached in defence of the liturgy of the church and the use of musical instruments in divine services. At St Patrick's, Armagh, the estate established in the 1630s to provide a choir for the cathedral was not realising a sufficient income in the Restoration period. By then the income provided for only two reading vicars and another two lay vicars, who were described as nominal. The estate of the vicars choral was also used for the maintenance of the cathedral. Although the cathedral employed an organist at a salary of £25 a year, the choral foundation at St Patrick's, Armagh, was largely defunct. At St Fachi's, Ross, the four vicar's chorals were generally held by one person in the Restoration period and in

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86 Bishop Otway's Visitation of the Diocese of Ossory, 1679 (N.A.I., M 2830, p. 36).
87 R.C.B., C3/2/1, f. 7.
88 St Carthage's, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 7v.
89 Regal Visitiation 1615 (B.L., Add. Ms. 19,836, f. 45).
92 Dean Robert Naylor to the Earl of Cork, 23 May 1639 (N.L.I., Ms. 12,813, vol. iii, p. 513). This appointment followed the deaths of four vicars choral who died from 'a great mortality'.
93 Richard Lingard. A sermon preached in defence of the liturgy of our church (London, 1668). See below, p. 251, for an examination of this text.
94 Joseph McKee, 'The Choral Foundation of Armagh Cathedral, 1600 – 1870', pp 22 – 24; Walter Harris, Some account of ye Cathedral Church of Armagh (P.R.O.N.I., DIO4/39/2/1/1).
the 1690s the duties of the vicar included preaching and serving the cure of the parish. There was no mention of any choral duties.\textsuperscript{95}

The evidence for what was sung in the Irish cathedrals during the seventeenth century is limited. It is probable that the repertory in cathedrals that employed choral music in divine services was similar to the music used in English cathedrals and would have included works by William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and Thomas Tomkins.\textsuperscript{96} There were also some local compositions, which are contained in the only two contemporaneous Irish cathedral music sources: a word book of anthems sung in Christ Church, Dublin, and a manuscript of the dean’s vicar in St Patrick’s, Dublin, Richard Hosier, containing copies of anthems used in the Dublin cathedrals.\textsuperscript{97} During the seventeenth century the significance of the anthem in the liturgy of the church increased and musicians paid particular attention to its composition.\textsuperscript{98} The importance of the anthem was also reflected in the Restoration Book of Common Prayer where its position, after the third collect at morning and evening prayer, was formally defined for the first time.\textsuperscript{99} The precentor of Christ Church, Edward Wetenhall, also ascribed an importance to the anthem and suggested that the approbation of a bishop should be sought prior to the use of any new anthem.\textsuperscript{100}

Most anthems were settings of religious texts. Thomas Bateson, organist at Christ Church, Dublin, from 1608 – 29, set his anthem \textit{Holy God Lord Almighty} to an extract from the epistle for Trinity Sunday: Revelations 4: 8 – 11.\textsuperscript{101} Other anthems contained political messages. Randall Jewet, organist at Christ Church during the 1630s, composed an anthem, \textit{The King shall Rejoice}, which may have been composed while he was in

\textsuperscript{95} C.A. Webster, \textit{The diocese of Ross. Its bishops, clergy and parishes} (Cork, 1936), p. 112; Visitation of Cork and Ross by Bishop Dives Downes, 1699 (T.C.D, Ms. 562, ff 28v, 29v).

\textsuperscript{96} Barra Boydell, \textit{A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin}, pp 57 – 60, 97.


\textsuperscript{99} \textit{Book of Common Prayer} (Dublin, 1665); Lionel Pike, ‘Church Music before the Civil War’, in \textit{Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century} (Padstow, 1992), p. 75

\textsuperscript{100} Edward Wetenhall, \textit{Of Gifts and Offices in the Public Worship of God}, pp 558 – 60.

\textsuperscript{101} W.H. Grindle, \textit{Irish Cathedral Music}, pp 163 – 4. It has been suggested that this anthem may have been composed as an exercise for a music degree at Trinity College, Dublin, and that the text may have been used in honour of both Trinity College Dublin and Christ Church Cathedral, which is also known as Holy Trinity.
Dublin.\textsuperscript{102} Its text contains allusions to princely power and strikes a concordant note with the ecclesiastical policy of the 1630s:

\begin{quote}
The King putteth his trust in the Lord  
And in the mercy of the most highest he shall not miscarry  
All thine enemies shall feel thine hand  
Thy right hand shall finde out them that hate thee  
For they intend great mischief against thee.\textsuperscript{103}
\end{quote}

Another anthem that probably dates from the early Stuart period is John Holmes' *O God that are the well spring of all peace.* This anthem conveys the hopes for unity in the three kingdoms under the munificent rule of Charles I. The anthem singles out unity in religion as a particular aspiration.\textsuperscript{104} Although this anthem may have been adapted in the Restoration period, its message was still appropriate for the 1660s.\textsuperscript{105} The most significant Irish cathedral anthem of the seventeenth century dates from 1661: Richard Hosier's anthem sung at the consecration of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland in January 1661 *Now that the Lord hath re-advanced the crown.* This anthem describes the Restoration of the crown and episcopacy as divinely ordained and expresses a hope that those anointed by God will not be opposed.\textsuperscript{106} Although this was a message that would be shared with many of the cathedral sermons of the Restoration period, its impact would have been limited as most cathedrals did not have the capacity to provide choral music.

II

The expense of choral music led to a significant number of cathedrals foregoing choral services during the seventeenth century. In contrast, the provision of sermons did not require much in the way of expenditure: all decently furnished cathedrals provided a pulpit. Prior to the 1630s there were few regulations for preachers. Following the ascent into power of the Laudian faction in the 1630s, preaching regulations became more common. In 1633 Lord Deputy Wentworth directed the dignitaries and prebendaries of Christ Church, Dublin, to wear surplices and academic hoods while they preached.\textsuperscript{107} The following year the newly adopted Canons of the Church of Ireland directed all deans, canons and prebendaries who were graduates to wear their hoods and surplices during

\textsuperscript{102} Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral Dublin,* p. 60.  
\textsuperscript{103} Anthems to be sung at the Celebration of Divine Services in the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in Dublin, p. 24.  
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., p. 33.  
\textsuperscript{105} Barra Boydell, *A History of Music at Christ Church Cathedral Dublin,* p. 69.  
\textsuperscript{106} An order by the Lord Primate, 20 Jan. 1661 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 45, f. 55); Dudley Loftus, *The proceedings observed in order to and in the consecration of the twelve bishops at St Patrick's church Dublin on Sunday 27 of January 1660* (London, 1661), pp 6 – 7.  
prayers and sermons in cathedrals. The lack of orders in the chapter acts of Christ Church, Dublin, reiterating this requirement or censuring negligent clergymen, suggests that the clergymen of this cathedral complied with these requirements. At St Fin Barre’s, Cork, the dean and chapter did not reprimand any prebendary or dignitary for not wearing a surplice and hood, while the vicars choral were frequently admonished for their tardy appearance. In November 1636 a letter from Laud to Wentworth indicates that most bishops only wore their episcopal attire when they preached before the State in Christ Church, Dublin, and did not do so in their own cathedral churches. Upon the king’s instruction, the archbishop of Armagh wrote to the bishops of Ireland directing them to wear the prescribed vestments in cathedrals and parish churches and to ensure that the rest of the clergy performed their duties in their surplices. During the Restoration period chapter acts ordering dignitaries or prebendaries to be decently attired were infrequent. The only recorded instance was in 1674 when the dean and chapter of St Colman’s, Cloyne, ordered the cathedral clergy to wear their surplices, tippets and hoods while they preached in the cathedral. Those who failed to do so were to pay a fine of 10s for every default.

Regulations directing when a dignitary or prebendary was to preach or pray and the penalties to be levied for negligence were much more frequent. The practice at Christ Church, Dublin, was for preaching duties on Sundays to be shared between the dignitaries and prebendaries from both of the Dublin cathedrals. Throughout the seventeenth century preaching lists were issued to inform the cathedral clergymen when it was their turn to preach. One of the earliest preaching lists dates from about 1604–05. This list suggests that the dean of St Patrick’s was to preach six times a year and the dean of Christ Church was expected to preach five times a year, including on the patronal festival of the cathedral, Trinity Sunday. The other dignitaries and prebendaries were to preach once or twice a year. Preaching lists from 1622 and 1632 reveal that the dignitaries and

109 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i.
110 P.R.O., SP 63/255/150; Chetham Library, Manchester, Mss. A 677, pp 355 – 56.
111 R.C.B., C12/2/1, p. 4.
113 T.C.D, Ms. 575, f. 95: although this document has no date, internal evidence suggests that it dates from about 1604 – 05: the prebendary of Castleknock is identified as the Bishop of Meath and Thomas Jones was Bishop of Meath from 1584 – 1605 and prebendary of Castleknock from 1604 – 19: J. B. Leslie and R. H. Wallace, Clergy succession list of the diocese of Dublin and Glendalough (Dublin, 2002), p. 779.
Prebendaries were expected to preach at both morning and evening services, with the deans of both cathedrals expected to preach more than the other cathedral clergymen. [See Appendix] The dean of St Patrick’s was to preach five times a year in the morning and twice a year in the evenings while the dean of Christ Church was scheduled to preach at four morning prayers a year and three evening prayers. It is significant that in both of these lists the four petty canons of St Patrick’s were each scheduled to preach once a year in the evening. The expectation that petty canons should preach is also evident in a catalogue of ministers dated 1604, which records the names of two petty canons, Tedder and Meredith, who were both ministers and preachers. At the Restoration a new preaching list was drawn up. When compared to the early Stuart preaching lists there are some important changes. The deans of both cathedrals were now only expected to preach at morning prayers and each of them was to do so five times a year. Furthermore, the petty canons were now no longer expected to preach at evening prayers. Orders in the chapter acts of St Patrick’s, Dublin, give an indication of the punishments inflicted for neglecting to serve a preaching turn. In 1661 20s was to be paid by the absent preacher to the clergyman who supplied the turn. Dignitaries and prebendaries were also to give notice to the dean of Christ Church on the Tuesday prior to the Sunday that they were due to preach. Clergymen who neglected to do so would be fined 40s. By 1662 the fine for neglecting to serve a preaching turn had increased to £5. This pattern of preaching in Christ Church continued throughout the Restoration period, but it came to an end in the early eighteenth century. These preaching lists only dealt with preaching on Sundays and the principal Christian festivals. Preaching on holydays in Christ Church was dealt with somewhat differently. In 1664 the clergy of Dublin at their synod confirmed a list for preachers in this cathedral for holydays and this list suggests that the duty to supply preachers for holydays fell to the parochial clergy of the city of Dublin.

115 A catalogue of certain ecclesiastical livings, dignities and prebends in the diocese of Dublin which exceed the yearly value of £30 sterling (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603 – 06, p. 171).  
116 T.C.D, MUN/P/1/400. This preaching list commences on the first Sunday of Advent 1660. It is identical to a table of preaching combinations in the Restoration Chapter Act Book for St Patrick’s, Dublin: R.C.B., C2/1/3/2, f. 11.  
117 R.C.B., C2/1/3/2, f. 11.  
118 Ibid., f. 38.  
120 R.C.B., C6/1/26/13/22.
In addition to the sermons that had to be preached at Christ Church, Dublin, the dignitaries and prebendaries of St Patrick’s, Dublin, were also responsible for preaching at their own cathedral every Sunday. In the 1630s a sermon was preached at ten o’clock in the morning in the middle aisle (nave) of the cathedral and at one o’clock in the afternoon in the choir. In 1684 the dean and chapter drew up a new preaching table for the cathedral. Each dignitary and prebendary was to preach in the choir of the cathedral once every six months and the fine for neglect was set at 20s 9d. In addition to preaching on Sundays there were also sermons in the choir on Wednesdays during Lent. The preaching list for these sermons was set out at the dean’s annual visitation.

The provision of daily prayers in the Dublin cathedrals was dealt with in a different manner. In 1627 the dignitaries and prebendaries of Christ Church, Dublin, were directed to attend prayers in the cathedral ‘as often as conveniently they may resort to the church’. Although the 1604 charter for the cathedral charged the prebendaries with the performance of daily services in the choir, for which they received an allowance of £20 a year, the actual performance of these services devolved on the vicars choral and stipendaries. In 1636 one of the vicars choral, John Allen, petitioned the dean and chapter for the payment of back pay for performing prayers at six o’clock in the morning for four years. By the late seventeenth century the prebendaries had assigned a portion out of their share of the economy estate to pay the readers who supplied their turn, with each reader being paid £6 13s 4d. The role played by minor cathedral officials in reading and praying was reinforced by the Laudian orders of 1634 for the performance of divine services. These orders directed the three lay vicars to read the first lesson and the Epistle at the communion table in weekly turns. The two senior vicars, who were also ministers, were to read the divine services daily in the choir and lead the prayers for the royal family, bishops and state.

121 A catalogue of certain ecclesiastical livings, dignities and prebends in the diocese of Dublin which exceed the yearly value of £30 sterling, 1604 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603 – 06, p. 171).
124 R.C.B., C2/1/3/1, f. 45; C2/1/3/2, ff 26v, 64v, 78v, 87v.
The performance of the second service or Holy Communion at Christ Church, Dublin, was the duty of the dignitaries and prebendaries. In the early Stuart period this appears to have been a separate service, with an interval between morning prayers and the communion service. This separation led to a certain degree of neglect and in February 1639 Lord Deputy Wentworth ordered the second service to be conducted by two of the dignitaries and prebendaries in turns. However, this pattern was impractical as it hampered the dignitaries’ and prebendaries’ parochial duties and in 1641 it was decided that each member of the chapter would perform the task on their own. The Restoration Book of Common Prayer did not specify the need for an interval between morning prayers and the second service. In 1663 the dean and chapter ordered the prebendaries to celebrate the divine offices every Sunday and holyday morning, which suggests that they performed the morning prayers and holy communion without any break. Fines for dignitaries and prebendaries who neglected to attend daily divine services do not appear to have been imposed until 1679. Following the dean’s visitation of that year it was decided that a fine of 10s would be levied for neglecting a week’s duty and for three days in a row the penalty was 5s.

In 1664 the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Dublin, ordered the dignitaries and prebendaries to attend daily divine services in the cathedral in the week that followed their preaching turn at Christ Church. This was designed to remedy the ‘great neglect of daily attendance’ in that cathedral and a fine of 20s was instituted to deter neglect. At the dean’s visitation the following year the dignitaries and prebendaries were enjoined to observe this order and it was made clear that negligence would be punished. In 1667 it was decided that daily services in the choir should be performed by the resident canons. The rota was set as follows: the dean on Wednesdays, the precentor on Sundays, the chancellor on Fridays and Saturdays, the prebendary of Dunlavin on Mondays and Thursdays and the prebendary of Rathmichael or Swords on Tuesdays. By the 1680s daily attendance at the cathedral was once again described as being greatly neglected.

133 Ibid., p. 287.
134 R.C.B., C6/1/26/12/7, f. 1.
136 Ibid., f. 78v.
137 R.C.B., C2/1/3/2, f. 100.
Subsequently, the dean and chapter decided to revert to the practice whereby dignitaries and prebendaries attended divine services in the cathedral in the week that followed their preaching turn at Christ Church. However, the dignitaries and prebendaries appear to have continued to neglect their duties as the order was repeated in 1683 and 1684.\(^\text{138}\)

In the early Stuart period there appears to have been a rota for preaching at St Fin Barre’s, Cork, but in 1643 it was decided that the dean would preach instead of the dignitaries and prebendaries. The dean was to receive a payment of £20 a year. To pay for this the dignitaries and prebendaries were to pay 10s for each of their preaching turns that the dean supplied.\(^\text{139}\) Following the Restoration dignitaries and prebendaries were once again expected to take turns to preach in the cathedral. In 1667 the dean and chapter ordered that canons who failed to supply their preaching turn were to be fined 40s, although if they gave two weeks notice then a fee of 20s was to be paid. In 1674 the dean and chapter agreed that the fine of 40s should be divided in half between the economy fund of the cathedral and the preacher who supplied the turn. If the preaching turn fell on an extraordinary day, then the whole 40s was to be given to the preacher who supplied the turn.\(^\text{140}\) Further regulations were drawn up following Edward Wettenhall’s appointment as bishop. In 1681 it was decided that dignitaries or prebendaries could not ask any ‘extraneous person’ to preach in his place without license from the bishop and the approval of the dean. Cathedral clergymen who failed to comply were fined 20s.\(^\text{141}\)

In 1667 the dean and chapter of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, set out a preaching table of extraordinary days, including secular commemorations such as the birthday of Charles II and the anniversary of the execution of Charles I, when dignitaries and prebendaries were scheduled to preach.\(^\text{142}\) In 1669 the order was repeated and a new list of preachers devised. It is evident from both lists that the dean was the only member of the chapter who was to preach on two of the extraordinary days, one of which was Christmas Day.\(^\text{143}\) In 1673 the dean and chapter compiled a more comprehensive preaching list for St Fin Barre’s cathedral. In addition to the extraordinary days, this list contains Sundays and six church holydays. Each dignitary or prebendarry took his turn in order of precedence, commencing

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\(^{138}\) R.C.B., C2/1/3/4, ff 30v, 97, 111.  
\(^{139}\) St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, p. 54.  
\(^{140}\) St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, f. 70.  
\(^{141}\) Ibid., f. 148.  
\(^{142}\) Ibid., ff 16 – 17.  
\(^{143}\) Ibid., ff 16 – 17, 22.
with the dean, and each one was expected to perform this duty three to four times a
year.\textsuperscript{144}

Following the appointment of Bishop Wetenhall to Cork in 1678, the number of preaching
turns increased. He was an advocate of preaching on holydays and believed that a
cathedral was the most appropriate place to have sermons on those days.\textsuperscript{145} When a new
preaching list was compiled in 1681, twenty-five of the holy days contained in the Book
of Common Prayer were included.\textsuperscript{146} A dignitary or prebendary was to preach on a
holyday if one fell in the week following his Sunday preaching turn: for example the
prebendary of St Michael was expected to preach on 20 March and on the 25 March, the
feast day of the Annunciation. This resulted in most cathedral clergymen preaching four to
two or five times a year, although the dean was appointed to preach at least seven times.\textsuperscript{147} In
1687 a new preaching list was drawn up, which added a further six days to the preaching
calendar. The extra days included the Mondays and Tuesdays following Easter and
Pentecost, which were prescribed as preaching days in the Book of Common Prayer, and
Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, which were not.\textsuperscript{148} In this list the cathedral clergymen
were to serve their turns in strict rotation and each of them was to preach five times a year.
This resulted in the prebendary of Liscleery preaching on Christmas Day, which
traditionally was the dean’s responsibility.\textsuperscript{149} This preaching list was the most
comprehensive for any Irish cathedral in the seventeenth century. However, two years
later the dean and chapter resolved to return to the preaching rota of 1673.\textsuperscript{150} This reduced
the total number of days when sermons were to be delivered by about 25. Why the dean
and chapter decided to make this reduction is unclear, but the decision was made on the
last day that the dean and chapter met during the crisis of 1689–91. The decision may be
related to the constraints on the cathedral and the capacity of its personnel during this
period of crisis.

A preaching list exists for St Mary’s, Limerick, from the 1640s when the cathedral was
under Catholic control. Those appointed to preach included not only the dean and chapter
but also the bishop of Limerick, the diocesan clergy and the various regular orders. Some

\textsuperscript{144} Ibid., f. 59.
\textsuperscript{146} \textit{Book of Common Prayer} (Dublin, 1665), A table of all the feasts that are to be observed.
\textsuperscript{147} St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, ff 133 – 34.
\textsuperscript{148} \textit{Book of Common Prayer} (Dublin, 1665), A table of all the feasts that are to be observed.
\textsuperscript{149} St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, ff 216 – 17.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., f. 234.
76 days were designated as preaching days, including St Patrick’s Day and obvious Catholic feasts such as Corpus Christi. A preaching list also exists from the Restoration period, although this was principally for extraordinary days, as Sundays were not included. This list, which was dated 1668, was repeated in 1680 and contains fourteen extraordinary days including the four secular commemoration days. The number of days was increased in 1683 to include all the holydays that were prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer. Alongside these orders there was an order of 1663 regarding mulcts for negligence. This set down a fine of 40s for neglecting a preaching turn, 20s if there was prior notification of an omission to the dean and the same sum if a surplice was not worn.

At St Colman’s, Cloyne, the first recorded chapter act of the Restoration period related to the supply of preaching turns. On 14 July 1663 the dean and chapter ordered that dignitaries or prebendaries who failed to supply their turns were to be fined 20s for every default, unless they agreed before hand to make arrangements with ‘an orthodox minister of the diocese’ to supply their turn. In 1672 the fine was increased to 40s. In 1686 the dean and chapter ordered that the dignitaries and prebendaries who did not intend to supply their preaching turn themselves were to send 20s to the dean or resident vicar on the Thursday prior to the preaching turn. However, this fee was not required if an approved preacher was provided. Although the preaching lists for St Colman’s, Cloyne, were affixed to the door of the chapter house, there are no details of who preached when in the chapter acts. In 1685 the dean and chapter ordered that the five dignitaries and fourteen prebendaries were each to preach at least once a year in the cathedral.

At Holy Trinity, Waterford, in the early years of the Restoration, it was reputed that the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, George Baker, was a frequent preacher in the cathedral. In a funeral oration for the bishop in 1665, the dean, Daniel Burston, recounted that the bishop preached once every Sunday and on Christmas Day, 30 January, Ash Wednesday, Ascension Day and on 29 May. Nevertheless preaching in the cathedral was the primary

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151 Maurice Lenihan, Limerick: Its History and Antiquities, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, from the earliest ages (Dublin, 1866), p. 588
152 St Mary’s, Limerick, Chapter Act Book, pp 2 – 3, 9.
153 R.C.B., C12/2/1, f. 1v.
154 Ibid., ff 3 – 3v.
155 Ibid., f. 11.
156 Ibid., ff 9v – 10.
157 Daniel Burston, Christ’s Last Call to His Glorified Saints or, a sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Waterford upon the 19th day of November, 1665 (Dublin, 1665), p. 35.
responsibility of the dean and chapter. In 1670 the fine for the omission of preaching duties was set at £6d, which was to be divided between the dean and curate. Later that year there was a further order regarding preaching and praying. The four members of the chapter were to take turns on Sunday in order of precedence, i.e. dean, precentor, chancellor and treasurer. The dean was also to preach on Christmas Day and 23 October, the precentor on 1 January and 5 November, the chancellor on the feast of the Epiphany and 30 January and the treasurer on Good Friday and on 29 May. Failure to supply a turn resulted in a deduction of 20s out of their portion from the economy fund. By an earlier order 10s was to be given to the paupers and the remainder was to be kept in the economy fund. Each member of the chapter was also required to read the prayers and the readings by turn on a weekly basis at the cathedral. A fine of £6d was levied on those who omitted to fulfil this duty.

At St Carthage’s, Lismore, it appears that the dean or a nominee of the dean preached the turns in the cathedral. In 1692 the fee, described as the usual rate, was 10s for each preaching turn supplied by the dean or his nominee. This fee was to be paid every year to the dean on 3 November. At St Flannan’s, Killaloe, the dean appears to have supplied preaching at the cathedral during the 1670s. In 1676 he made a demand to the chapter for 20s for each time that he served the cure in the cathedral. He also demanded that the prebendaries serve their turns on Sundays as set down in a former chapter act book and pay 20s if they failed to do so. By the 1680s the dean and chapter employed a curate whose duties were preaching and reading prayers in the cathedral on all extraordinary and ordinary occasions. However, in June 1688 the dean and chapter dismissed the curate, Daniel Higgins, and decided to discharge the cure themselves by turn. This routine continued until Henry Jennings was appointed curate in November 1688. At St Columb’s, Derry, the archdeacon and prebendaries were not obliged to serve in the cathedral. In 1677 the dean, Peter Manby, asked the bishop of Derry to compel the prebendaries to supply preaching turns in the cathedral. The bishop’s response was that the constitution of the cathedral did not oblige the prebendaries to preach at the cathedral, but that they were responsible for serving their own cure at their prebendal churches. Furthermore, there was never a chapter order issued requiring them to preach in the

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159 Ibid., ff 1v, 3v.
160 St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, ff 29 – 29v.
161 Killaloe Cathedral Register, 1661 – 1842 (T.C.D, Ms. 1825, f. 11).
162 Ibid., ff 23, 49.
cathedral. The bishop concluded that the situation could only be altered through the issuing of a new patent.\(^{163}\) A new patent was not issued and in 1693 the cathedral continued to be served by the dean, assisted by a curate. Sermons were preached every Sunday, mornings and evenings, and there was further preaching on holydays.\(^{164}\) In 1672 the Bishop of Derry, Robert Mossom, remarked in a petition that he took particular care in supplying preaching at the cathedral twice every Sunday.\(^{165}\)

It is likely that in St Macartin’s, Clogher, and St Eunan’s, Raphoe, there were no preaching turns for the dignitaries and prebendaries, as these cathedrals had similar constitutions to St Columb’s, Derry. This appears to have been the practice at St Patrick’s, Armagh, until the primacy of Archbishop Boyle (1678 – 1702). During this period the primate established a table for members of the chapter to preach in the cathedral, which the dean and chapter agreed to. This table was still in use in the mid-eighteenth century.\(^{166}\)

At the end of the seventeenth century the dignitaries and prebendaries of St Fachtna’s, Ross, shared the duty of preaching with the vicar choral, Thomas Goodman. He preached once a fortnight, with the other Sunday being served by one of the members of the cathedral chapter.\(^{167}\) One of the first acts recorded in the oldest chapter act book of St Patrick’s, Killala, which dates from the 1720s, relates to preaching turns in the cathedral. Here it was ‘found by prescription’ that the members of the chapter preached twice a year in the cathedral, usually on the first Sunday of the month. The chapter ordered that this practice be maintained. It could be suggested that this was the practice in this cathedral, following its reconstruction in the 1680s by Bishop Otway.\(^{168}\)

III

More often than not the dignitaries and prebendaries appear to have observed the preaching regulations in the Irish cathedrals. In Christ Church, Dublin, the chapter acts record no mulcts levied for non-observance of preaching turns or for not wearing surplices or hoods,\(^{169}\) although following the dean’s visitation of 1679 it was ordered that non-performance of preaching turns was to be punished according to the statutes.\(^{170}\) Similarly at St Fin Barre’s, Cork, the dean and chapter recorded no infringements of their preaching

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\(^{164}\) Visitation of the dioceses of Derry, 1693 (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/26, p. 10).

\(^{165}\) Petition of the Bishop of Derry, Robert Mossom, to the Lord Lieutenant, 20 Aug. 1672 (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1672, p. 514).

\(^{166}\) Walter Harris, *Some account of ye Cathedral Church of Armagh* (P.R.O.N.I., DIO4/39/2/1/2).

\(^{167}\) Visitation of Cork and Ross by Bishop Dives Downes, 1699 (T.C.D, Ms. 562, ff 28v, 29v).

\(^{168}\) R.C.B., C19/1, pp 3 – 4.

\(^{169}\) R.C.B., C6/1/8/1 – 3.

\(^{170}\) R.C.B., C6/1/26/12/7, f. 1.
regulations. However, in St Patrick’s, Dublin, the repetition of preaching regulations at the dean’s visitations of 1664 and 1683 suggests that some dignitaries or prebendaries failed to supply their turn. At the dean’s visitation of 1665 the proctor was ordered to submit a list of those who neglected to preach at Christ Church and was also ordered to collect the fines. Although in this case there are no details of who neglected to preach, there are other cases where the dean and chapter record the details of those who infringed preaching regulations. In 1662 the prebendary of Malahiddert, Thomas Crofton, was fined £5 for neglecting to serve his preaching turn. In 1685 the prebendary of Donoghmore, William Staughton, failed to supply his Lenten preaching turn. Although he alleged confusion as to when he was due to preach, the dean and chapter ordered him to pay £5 to the minister who preached in his stead, John Barrington. In 1686 the prebendary of Castleknock, Joseph Williamson, paid £5 to the dean and chapter for failing to serve his turn in Christ Church, Dublin. At the other Irish cathedrals there is little evidence for preaching omissions, although at St Colman’s, Cloyne, the dean, in 1673, presented a certificate to the bishop containing the names of members of the chapter who failed to preach their turns. The certificate also sought permission for fines of 40s to be levied.

In contrast, the vicars were not as conscientious and were frequently censured by deans and chapters. In 1607 the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, admonished the vicars choral to attend daily services in the choir. In 1630 and again in 1631 the vicars choral were reminded of the orders for the choir that followed the archbishop of Dublin’s visitation of April 1627, suggesting a tightening of discipline. In 1639 the lord deputy and council complained that the vicars were not performing divine services in the cathedral in a ‘due, formal and becoming manner’. Later that year the dean and chapter ordered the vicars not to laugh or jeer at their colleagues ‘imperfections’ in reading or singing in the choir. Following the Restoration a similar state of affairs prevailed in the

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171 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1 – 2, Chapter Acts, vols i – ii.
172 R.C.B., C2/1/3/2, f. 78v; C2/1/3/4, f. 111.
174 R.C.B., C2/1/3/4, f. 132. As parochial clergy who held livings in commendam were expected to preach in each parish church in turn, the possibility existed for dates to be mixed up and the clergyman failing to come on the appointed day: Marie-Louise Legg, ‘The parish clergy of the Church of Ireland in the eighteenth century’ in T.C. Barnard and W.G. Neely (eds), The clergy of the Church of Ireland 1000 – 2000, Messengers, Watchmen and Stewards (Dublin, 2006), p. 135.
175 Ibid., p. 150v.
176 R.C.B., C12/2/1, f. 3v.
177 Raymond Gillespie (ed.), The First Chapter Act Book of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, p. 121.
178 Ibid., pp 160, 164; Barra Boydell, Music at Christ Church before 1800, p. 259 n. 46.
179 Ibid., f. 93.
180 Ibid., f. 39v.
choir. In 1664 the dean and chapter observed that the vicars neglected to monitor negligence in the choir as directed by the statutes of the cathedral. Consequently, the dean and chapter ordered the vicars to pay £4 in fines for sixteen weeks of neglect. A further £4 4s in fines was calculated from weekly notices of defaults that had been submitted by the vicars.\(^{181}\) A few weeks later the dean and chapter decided to give a six-month reprieve to the vicars, during which time the vicars and stipendiaries were to be treated as probationers ‘in hope of their amendment’.\(^{182}\) Although the chapter acts of November 1664 do not mention that the probationary period ended or that the fines were relinquished, there were other orders that the vicars choral who were absent from morning service be fined 5s and those absent from evening service 10s.\(^{183}\) In 1679 a decanal visitation was held at Christ Church, which gives an indication of the vicars’ level of compliance with the regulations of the choir. The vicars and stipendiaries appear to have been most negligent in wearing the prescribed vestments and observing the prescribed gestures at divine service. As a result it was ordered that non-conformity with these regulations would be punished at the dean’s discretion. Moreover, if the vicars or stipendiaries did not provide new gowns for themselves, then the vicars’ proctor was to purchase new gowns for them out of their stipends. It was also observed that the fines for negligence appeared to be too low and it was suggested that these be increased. Otherwise, there appears to have been general compliance with the choir regulations.\(^{184}\)

A similar situation prevailed at St Patrick’s, Dublin. In 1663 the vicars choral were admonished to perform divine offices in the cathedral properly.\(^{185}\) The following year, at the dean’s visitation, the vicars choral were cautioned to behave themselves and wear the prescribed vestments.\(^{186}\) In June 1665 the dean and chapter fined seven vicars choral 5s each for being absent from an afternoon service in the choir. Two months later the members of the choir were called before the sub-dean and chapter for being negligent in performing their duties in the choir.\(^{187}\) In 1678 the dean and chapter ordered the vicars choral to obtain gowns, which were to be worn under their surplices.\(^{188}\) The other minor corporation in this cathedral, the petty canons, were also frequently admonished to

\(^{181}\) Ibid., f. 298; R.C.B., C6/1/26/12/6 contains a rough draft of the Chapter Act and four of the bills of absence submitted to the dean and chapter.

\(^{182}\) R.C.B., C6/1/8/2, pp 299 – 300.

\(^{183}\) Ibid., p. 319.

\(^{184}\) R.C.B., C6/1/26/7(i); C6/1/26/7(ii).

\(^{185}\) R.C.B., C2/1/3/4, f. 1v.

\(^{186}\) Ibid., p. 65v.

\(^{187}\) Ibid., ff 81v, 82v.

\(^{188}\) R.C.B., C2/1/3/4, f. 1v.
observe the regulations of the cathedral. In 1661 two of the four petty canons, Peter Manby and Joshua Cooley, were ordered to appear in the chapter house to explain their absences from divine services in the cathedral. When Manby appeared he was censured and warned to ‘give a more due attendance at divine services’. Cooley was suspended when he failed to appear at the Chapter House but was readmitted when he appeared two weeks later. In 1664 the dean and chapter noticed Thomas Mallery’s absence without license and they summoned him to appear at the next chapter. At that meeting Mallery appears to have resigned his position. In August 1684 the dean and chapter sequestered the entire estate of the petty canons for neglecting to attend services in the cathedral. One of the petty canons, John Barrington, was singled out to perform his duty or resign. He subsequently vacated his place, as he does not appear in the dean’s visitation of 1686. The dean and chapter eventually relaxed the sequestration of the petty canons’ estate in April 1685.

At St Fin Barre’s, Cork, the chapter acts do not record any actions taken against the vicars choral prior to the reforms of the choir by Bishop Wetenhall in 1679 – 80. Following these reforms admonishments to the vicars became frequent. In 1682 the dean and chapter ordered the vicars choral, organist, choir leader and singing boys to perform their duty in the choir. A further admonition to the vicars choral was issued in 1685, which ordered them to rectify all defects and negligence in the choir. The following year Bishop Wetenhall admonished the vicars choral and choir to attend the daily choral service in the cathedral. And in 1689 the leader of the choir, Daniel Williams, was warned by the dean to obey his commands for the direction of choral services in the cathedral.

This frequent disciplining of the minor corporations in the cathedrals points to the unsuitability of many vicars choral and singing men for life in a religious community. It also demonstrates their reluctance to conform to the high expectations of senior cathedral clergymen. More than any other cathedral, the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, recorded the details of unruly behaviour by recalcitrant choirmen. Although there

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190 Ibid., ff 67 – 67v.
192 Ibid., ff 126, 143.
193 Ibid., f. 132.
195 Ibid., ff 198 – 99.
198 S.E. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, p. 173.
are numerous examples of bad behaviour, the cases of John Allen and Michael Lee will suffice. John Allen was made a stipendiary in the choir in 1620. In 1630 he was convicted of drunkenness and offensive behaviour towards the subdean, John Atherton, and the chancellor, John Bradley. He was imprisoned in the Christ Church liberty prison for fourteen hours, suspended for a week and fined 5s. In 1637 he was fined 10s for not wearing his gown and surplice on a number of occasions. Towards the end of his career, he was still an unreformed character: in 1646 the dean and chapter admonished Allen for being absent from the service of the choir without the appropriate license and for frequently neglecting his duty in the choir. Although the dean and chapter believed he deserved severe punishment as an example to others, they took into account Allen's age and poverty and only gave him a caution to behave. They also directed him once again to perform his duties in the choir. Michael Lee was appointed a stipendiary in 1661. In 1663 the dean and chapter admonished him for singing in a Dublin theatre. Later that year he was reprimanded for neglecting his duty in the choir and 'belching out oaths in the church against the ancient and modern order and constitutions used and allowed in the said church.' He was warned that if he committed the offence again then he would be deprived. In 1667 he was brought before the dean and chapter for hitting one of the choirboys within the precincts of the cathedral. For this misdemeanour, Lee was suspended. A week later Lee petitioned the dean and chapter to relax the suspension and promised a 'new and better obedience.' Upon this promise the dean and chapter reinstated Lee to his place in the choir. The dean and chapter also remarked that their intention was to reform him and not to ruin him.

Both cases demonstrate that the dean and chapter were flexible when it came to punishment and adopted paternalistic attitudes to junior cathedral officers. This was not always the case. Occasionally deans and chapters expelled members of cathedral choirs. In 1634 Richard Hosier was dismissed as a stipendiary in Christ Church, Dublin, because he

199 Raymond Gillespie (ed.), First Chapter Act Book of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, p. 143.
200 Atherton was later involved in a dispute with another choir man, William Ballard. In 1632 Ballard was fined 18s 9d and imprisoned for four days for calling Atherton, 'an asse, idle, base and sawcy fellow': Raymond Gillespie (ed.), First Chapter Act Book of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, pp 170 – 71.
201 Ibid., p. 162.
202 Ibid., p. 49.
203 Ibid., p. 162.
205 Ibid., p. 258.
206 Ibid., p. 276.
207 Ibid., pp 369 – 70.
neglected to attend the choir.\textsuperscript{208} In 1674 one of the vicars choral of St Colman's, Cloyne, Daniel Fitzsimons, was deprived and his vicarage was sequestered, although the reason for his deprivation is not recorded.\textsuperscript{209} In 1685 John Griffith was warned to discharge his duties in the choir of St Fin Barre's, Cork, and when he failed to appear before the chapter to explain his neglect, he was expelled.\textsuperscript{210} In 1687 Bartholomew Isaacs of St Patrick's, Dublin, was deprived of his vicarage because of his neglect in discharging his duties in the choir. Isaacs had converted to Catholicism and claimed that his religion forbade him to officiate in the choir with the other members of the chapter.\textsuperscript{211} On the other hand, this punishment was rarely exercised in the Irish cathedrals during the seventeenth century and most minor cathedral officials performed their duties, if not always conscientiously then somewhat intermittently.

In contrast to the behaviour of minor cathedral officials there were very few cases of prebendaries or dignitaries being involved in disorderly behaviour. The only case in Christ Church was in 1661 when the chancellor, James Vaughan, hit the chapter clerk, Thomas Howell, on the ear during a meeting of the chapter. The dispute between the two concerned who should receive the fees for sealing chapter documents: the chancellor or the chapter clerk. Subsequently, Vaughan was suspended for a period of nearly two weeks and was fined £10.\textsuperscript{212} The only other incident of a similar nature recorded in diocesan records was in 1670 when the prebendary of Laccagh, in the diocese of Tuam, Thomas Radcliffe, was suspended from his office and benefice for beating and striking a layman in Athenry. In this case the suspension lasted a period of four weeks.\textsuperscript{213}

The disorderly behaviour of minor cathedral officials was a problem that was recognised by contemporary churchmen. A number of clergymen suggested that sober and religious living was a more important quality than musical ability. In 1664 the bishop of Limerick proposed a scheme for the reformation of vicars choral in cathedral churches, which would ‘free the minds of men from the scandal some present in the debauchery and ignorance of our common singingmen’. These would be replaced with learned divines who, while not incapable of singing, would perform the offices of reading and praying with the

\textsuperscript{208} Raymond Gillespie, *The First Chapter Act Book of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*, p. 223.
\textsuperscript{209} R.C.B., C12/2/1, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{210} St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, ff 201, 205.
\textsuperscript{211} R.C.B., C2/1/3/4, ff 167, 171 – 72. A more detailed examination of this case will be presented Chapter VII – Cathedrals and the Community, p. 310.
\textsuperscript{213} Calendar of Tuam Diocesan Register, 1665 – 1752 (N.A.I., M 2832, p. 17).
appropriate level of devotion. Edward Wetenhall blamed the mid-century troubles for the corruption of church musicians. During the 1650s they were forced to make a living in ‘miserable and illiberal ways’ and as a result they picked up bad habits. At the Restoration these musicians were responsible for reviving choral music in the cathedrals but Wetenhall blamed them for passing on their bad habits to the junior choristers. The remedy that Wetenhall proposed was for a greater emphasis to be given to the education of choristers. This in turn would result in choir men leading sober and scholarly lives and it would also keep them from being idle. Wetenhall suggested that vacancies in cathedral choirs should be filled with men who were ‘virtuous, grave and learned ... even though their voices be tolerable.’ Therefore, the ability to sing with understanding, gravity and devotion should be the principal qualities sought for in prospective members of cathedral choirs rather than musical skills. The dean of St Patrick’s, Dublin, William King, possessed similar views, which were displayed when he re-admitted a suspended vicar choral, Edward Thornton, to his vicarage in December 1690. King impressed on the vicar that his employment was religious in nature and that his life and behaviour should reflect his calling in the service of God. What militated against this desire was the general poverty of the choral foundations where insufficient wages led to the employment of unsuitable people.

IV

One of the causes identified by Thomas Mace in the 1670s for the insufficiency of choirs was the low esteem and great disregard that most people had for cathedral music. This, he believed, was reflected in the lack of benefactions given to cathedral choirs to augment or to maintain them in the period since the Reformation. Irish critics of cathedral music included Joseph Boyce, a Presbyterian minister in Dublin, who clashed with William King over the practices of the Church of Ireland, including its use of instrumental music. Boyce argued that the use of music in Christian worship had no scriptural or historical legitimacy. He believed that cathedral music was particularly offensive because the laity could not understand what the chanters or choristers played or sang and consequently the

214 Bishop of Limerick to Ormonde, 13 May 1664 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 33, f. 399).
217 Thomas Mace, Musick’s Monument (London, 1676), pp 23 – 24.
218 Ibid.
people were excluded from participating. He also suggested that the use of organs was only acceptable in parish churches to guide the people’s singing, otherwise the use of ‘whistles’ should be turned out of the ‘kirk’.220

These were familiar arguments from opponents of the use of music in church services. In response, King criticised the metrical singing of psalms as practised by Presbyterians in their services and suggested that the use of musical instruments in worship was appropriate, particularly in northern countries ‘where generally people’s voices are more harsh and untunable than in other places’.221 Edward Wetenhall also defended the use of music in divine services and argued that non-conformist critics were themselves guilty of introducing innovations into church services. He also pointed to the fact that cathedrals supplied books of their anthems for the use of the congregation, so that the people could understand what was being sung.222 Evidence for this practice in an Irish context is provided in a book published in 1662 entitled Anthems to be sung at the celebration of Divine Service in the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in Dublin, which contains the text of fifty-one anthems that were sung by the choir.223 Wetenhall also suggested that those who disapproved of church music should instead worship in the parish churches where ‘the practice is plainer’.224

Wetenhall, who was precentor of Christ Church, Dublin, when he published his book on the practice of church worship, was particularly concerned with the practicalities of the use of music in cathedrals. He urged church musicians to ensure that the words of hymns or psalms were intelligible to the congregation and that the meaning of the text was not obscured by the music. Furthermore, the style of music should encourage devotion and piety and avoid popular and secular influences.225 Wetenhall also maintained that the use of instruments in churches enabled better singing to God. He approved of the use of stringed instruments in public worship, when they were used in addition to the organ in the larger cathedrals and on solemn occasions.226 Other Irish cathedral clergymen who

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220 Joseph Boyse, Remarks on a late discourse concerning the inventions of men in the worship of God (Dublin, 1694), pp 18 – 30. Similar points were developed in Robert Craghead, An Answer to a late book entitled a Discourse concerning the inventions of men in the worship of God (London, 1704), pp 17 – 19.
221 William King, A Discourse concerning the inventions of men in the worship of God, pp 17 – 18; Phil Kilroy, Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland, 1660 – 1714 (Cork, 1994), pp 176, 178.
223 Anthems to be sung at the celebration of Divine Service in the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in Dublin.
supported Wetenhall’s stance on the use of church music include Richard Lingard, dean of St Carthage’s, Lismore, from 1666 to 1670 and Nicholas Brady, prebendary of Kilnaglory in the diocese of Cork, from 1688 to 1692 and a chaplain to Bishop Wetenhall. In 1668 Lingard preached a sermon on the liturgy of the church, in which he defended the use of church music. He observed that singing promoted devotion and helped to make people more spiritual.227 Likewise, Brady, who preached a St Cecilia’s Day sermon in 1697 when he had left the Church of Ireland for a career in the Church of England, supported the use of both vocal and instrumental music in churches.228

Although the liturgy of the Church of Ireland and its use in a choral setting received much criticism, Wetenhall observed that those who criticised the practices of the church were more favourably disposed towards preaching in public worship.229 In turn, Wetenhall criticised those who believed in the primacy of preaching and who thought that the whole business of the ministry should be devoted to that end. He was also critical of those who believed that preaching should be in some way restrained because of its association with the mid-century troubles. He believed that reading only the prayers, scriptures and the occasional homily was insufficient spiritual sustenance for the people. Wetenhall advocated a middle way, whereby the pulpit would be used to reform the manners of the people and as a means to secure the church.230 But he also maintained that those who had license to preach could only do so in specific locations, such as parish and cathedral churches.231 Wetenhall also identified cathedrals as the most appropriate venue for sermons on church holydays, where people would be instructed in the importance of the festivals of the church.232 Therefore, frequent preaching on Sundays and holydays was seen as a desirable practice.

Wetenhall’s treatise on worship represents the latitudinarian outlook of the Caroline tradition regarding the role of preaching, liturgy and singing in divine services: each of these offices of worship was important. In the early years of the seventeenth century

preaching was accorded a higher status in the church, with the primary role of the cathedral being to aid in the propagation of the reformed faith. This is evident in the comments of the lord deputy to the privy council in February 1603, which favourably described the quality of preaching in the parish churches of Dublin on Sundays and the weekly lectures in the two cathedrals. The State’s concerns were also displayed in a catalogue of ecclesiastical livings worth £30 or more in the diocese of Dublin, wherein the preaching abilities of the deans, dignitaries and prebendaries of Christ Church and St Patrick’s were assessed. The intention that cathedral clergymen should preach, teach and convert was evident in the preamble to the 1609 charter for the cathedrals of Holy Trinity, Downpatrick; St Saviour’s, Connor; and Christ the Redeemer’s, Dromore, which was to provide these cathedrals with ‘fit pastors imbued with doctrine and knowledge of sacred writings and with gravity of manners, by which labours and exemplary life the people committed to their charge might learn piety and the true religion of Christ.’ The emphasis attached to preaching can also be seen in an order of the State dated 1622 for dignitaries, parsons, vicars and stipendiaries to take special care and diligence to instruct the people in the principles of religion.

The importance of preaching was reflected in the status accorded to sermons at Christ Church, Dublin, which was the church that the chief governors attended. In 1610 the Protestant polemicist, Barnaby Rich, favourably compared the quality of preaching at Christ Church, Dublin, with the churches of the city of London. At this cathedral preaching on Sundays was supplemented by weekly lectures and in the early years of the seventeenth century the State provided a subvention to Trinity College, Dublin, to support these sermons. This support was withdrawn in 1618 because of the State’s financial difficulties. Nevertheless, the lord deputy directed the college to continue to supply the weekly lecture, which was to be paid for out of the grants already bestowed on the college. During the 1620s the college continued to supply lecturers to the cathedral.
In 1628 a petition was submitted to the lord deputy for the restoration of the State’s support for the weekly lecture, but to no avail.\textsuperscript{242} By 1635 the fellows of the college appear to have become neglectful in the performance of this duty and were accused of allowing strangers and youths to undertake the task in their stead. As a result of this development, the dean and chapter ordered that only the four fellows of the college, whose fitness and ability was approved by the provost of the college, could preach at the Friday lectures at the cathedral.\textsuperscript{243} The purpose of this order was to ensure control of the pulpit at Christ Church and formed part of the attempts to make the cathedral a flagship for Laudian reforms.

During the 1630s the status attached to preaching altered as the role accorded to liturgy increased in importance. Above all this was reflected in the numerous orders, discussed above, regarding the vicars choral and the performance of music in divine services. In effect worship was reoriented away from the pulpit towards the altar.\textsuperscript{244} The 1640s witnessed the failure of the Laudian experiment and in 1647 the prohibition of the Book of Common Prayer, along with its settings for the daily round of liturgical worship, struck at the very rationale for the existence of a cathedral.\textsuperscript{245} Subsequently, preaching became the focus of worship. This is evident in the status accorded to preaching in the \textit{Directory for the Public Worship of God}, which maintained preaching of the word as one of the greatest and most excellent works belonging to the ministry of the gospel.\textsuperscript{246} The enhanced status is also evident in the new administration’s support for preaching at Christ Church, which remained the church of the administration during the \textit{interregnum}.\textsuperscript{247}

The Commonwealth regime took great care to appoint suitable preachers to the former cathedral and granted them adequate financial support.\textsuperscript{248} In 1651 John Rogers was appointed a preacher at Christ Church and received a government salary of £200 a year. A similar salary was granted to Nathaniel Partridge for preaching at Christ Church in

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{243} R.C.B., C6/1/8/2, p. 41.
\bibitem{244} Raymond Gillespie, ‘The Shaping of Reform’, p. 197.
\bibitem{245} Ibid., pp 207 – 8; By the Commissioners from the Parliament of England, 24 June 1647 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte Ms. 21, f. 155).
\bibitem{246} \textit{The Directory for the public worship of God throughout the three Kingdoms} (London, 1644), p. 27.
\bibitem{248} Ibid.; St John D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/20, pp 29, 63).
\end{thebibliography}
1659.249 In 1655 Dr Thomas Harrison was granted a salary of £300 a year.250 Readers were also appointed to assist the preachers. In 1655 Thomas Birdsall was granted £30 a year to pray and read psalms at the church. In 1658 Josias Smith was appointed reader at Christ Church and was succeeded by John Golbourne in 1659 and Thomas Kirke in 1660.251 The State also directed preachers when to preach. In December 1652 Samuel Winters and other ministers were ordered to preach in turn at Christ Church on the Lord’s Day.252 In 1655 Dr Thomas Harrison was appointed by the Council Board to preach Sunday morning sermons at Christ Church.253 This order was repeated the following year, along with a direction to Samuel Winter to perform afternoon exercises.254 Following the departure of Harrison in 1659, Samuel Mather, Enoch Grey, Robert Chambers and Edward Baines were directed to preach the afternoon sermons.255 The State also supported weekly lectures in the church. In July 1655 Lord Deputy Fleetwood appointed lectures to be held on Monday mornings at 10 o’clock and a rota for Dublin preachers was drawn up.256 In 1656 there were lectures held in Christ Church on Thursdays.257 The primacy of the word was also reflected in the directions to the mayor of Dublin not to allow prayers and sermons to be disturbed by ‘vain and idle persons’ walking in the aisles and nave of the church.258

Godly ministers were also appointed, at the expense of the State, to preach in some of the other former cathedrals. At St Patrick’s, Dublin, Robert Chambers was appointed the preacher in 1651.259 In December of that year the ministers based at Christ Church were ordered to supply preaching at ‘Patrick’s Church’ while Chambers was in Connaught.260 In 1655 Stephen Charnock was appointed to preach at St Patrick’s along side Chambers.261 That year Charnock, who also preached at ‘Kevins Church’ received a salary

249 St John D. Seymour, Puritans in Ireland, pp 21 – 24; St John D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/20, p. 63).
250 St John D. Seymour, Puritans in Ireland, p. 111.
252 St John D. Seymour, Puritans in Ireland, p. 33; St J.D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/20, p. 25).
253 St John D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/20, p. 38).
254 Ibid., p. 29.
255 Ibid., p. 60.
256 Ibid., p. 25.
257 Ibid., p. 29.
258 Ibid., pp 23, 84.
259 St John D. Seymour, Puritans in Ireland, p. 24.
260 Orders of Council, 1651 – 55 (N.L.I., Ms. 11,939, f. 33); Orders of the commissioners of the parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the affairs of Ireland, 1651 – 4 (B.L., Egerton Ms. 1762, f. 17).
261 St John D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/20, p. 25).
of £200 while Chambers received £140.262 The following year Chambers received further assistance when Edward Baines was appointed a preacher at St Patrick’s. Baines received a salary of £200 a year.263 Both Chambers and Baines were at times also directed to preach at Christ Church.264 In 1656 the preacher at Limerick was Claudius Gilbert, who received a salary of £200. He was assisted by George Burdet, who in 1656 received £160 in payments from the State.265 The preacher at Derry was George Holland whose salary rose from £100 in 1655 to £140 by 1657. Holland’s assistant was Henry Royce who was paid £100 a year.266 In 1656 Edmund Welds was appointed preacher at, ‘Finbar’s’ in Cork at £150 a year.267 That same year weekly lectures were established in Cork.268 Preachers were also appointed to some of the former rural cathedrals. In 1654 Andrew Wyke was appointed to preach at Dromore.269 Francis Bernard was ordered to preach at Lismore in 1656. A salary of £50 a year was appointed to him.270 Preaching at Ferns was supplied by Richard Scott who was paid £121 13s 4d in 1656.271 Robert Highmore was appointed the preacher at Leighlin Bridge in 1656 and he received a salary of £60 a year. He was still preaching there in 1660.272 Other ministers of the word include John Crookshank at Raphoe who received £100 a year from the State and Robert Brown at Elphin who received £60 a year.273

Government salaries to ministers of the word clearly show the Commonwealth regime’s commitment to the primacy of preaching in worship. Following the Restoration, the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer was re-established. As a result the role of preaching diminished once again. In the Restoration period the status of the Anglican Church became more assured and it has been suggested that this led to rigidity in the deliverance of sermons.274 Those clergymen with poor compositional skills could rely on model sermons that could be purchased from booksellers.275 By the late seventeenth

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262 Ibid., p. 186.
263 Ibid., pp 42, 193.
264 Ibid., pp 29, 60.
265 Ibid., p. 196.
266 Ibid., pp 191, 213.
267 Ibid., p. 88.
268 St John D. Seymour, Puritans in Ireland, p. 48.
269 St John D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/20, p. 85).
270 Ibid., p. 67.
271 Ibid., pp 67, 195.
272 Ibid., pp 13, 143.
century the Book of Common Prayer, which provided the rationale for cathedral worship, formed the cornerstone of Anglican identity. This liturgy differentiated the Anglican community from the non-conformists who continued to emphasize the primacy of the word and who saw the practices of the Church of Ireland and its form of public worship as popish and superstitious.276

V

Although most preaching in the Church of Ireland has been characterised as probably run of the mill or worse;277 cathedrals were venues for preachers of all abilities. Preaching lists provided the opportunity for most levels in the hierarchy to preach. Prebendaries probably delivered sermons that they used in their prebendal parish churches when it was their turn to preach in a cathedral. George Studdert, who was prebendary of Kilpeacon in the diocese of Limerick from 1678 to 1687, kept a book of sermons that he preached and recorded when and where he preached those sermons. One of these sermons was preached in St Mary’s, Limerick, on 15 July 1683 and was subsequently used a further 55 times in both the cathedral and various parishes churches up to 1728.278 On the other hand, cathedrals were the principal preaching venues for deans and bishops, whose sermons were usually more significant than those of the lower clergy.279 The fact that these sermons were delivered in cathedrals increased their significance and it is likely that printed cathedral sermons served as models for preaching in the parishes.280

In the early Stuart period sermons concentrated on two related topics: the defence of church and state and anti-catholic rhetoric. In 1618 Robert Daborne, preaching at Holy Trinity, Waterford, on the occasion of the corporation surrendering its charter, raged against the role played by recusants in the city’s government. The duty of the temporal magistrate was to uphold the privileges of the church, but the civic elite of Waterford was actually undermining the church. The civic elite should therefore be drawn away from idolatry by being compelled to attend church.281 In 1622 a similar message emanated from the pulpit at Christ Church, Dublin, where the bishop of Meath, James Ussher, preached at the swearing in ceremony of Lord Deputy Falkland. In this sermon Ussher spoke of the

276 Phil Kilroy, Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland, 1660 – 1714, p. 252.
277 Raymond Gillespie, Devoted People, p. 149.
278 Book of sermons preached by George Studdert, Prebend of Kilpeacon (T.C.D, Ms. 10,743).
279 This is reflected in the number of sermons by bishops and dean that were printed: see section on printing output Chapter V – Personel, pp 202 – 07.
281 Robert Daborne, A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of the Citie of Waterford, in February 1617 (London, 1618), pp 10, 14, 26, 36.
magistrate’s duty to ensure the execution of the laws that promoted God’s service and in particular recusancy legislation. A sermon of George Andrews preached at St Mary’s, Limerick, in August 1624, considered how the church was hindered and how it could be assisted. Andrews encouraged the laity to augment the church’s income and reward effective preachers. However, the church faced challenges from laymen who withheld the church’s income and from clergymen who did not preach. But above all Andrews railed against Catholics. This was a common theme in his other sermons of that year. At Christ Church, Dublin, in May, he castigated ‘popish priests’ and idolaters and urged that the church be cleansed of their influence. A subsequent sermon preached at St Mary’s, Limerick, in July, cautioned the congregation to be wary of that ‘man of sinne, the antichrist of Rome’. Likewise, a sermon preached by Henry Leslie on a day of humiliation in October 1625 saw Catholics as potential enemies: ‘If the pope has their hearts, the Spaniards will have their service’. The theme of this sermon was the need for the community to repent from sin, including the sin of Catholic toleration. Otherwise there would be a calamity, which Leslie suggests could be in the form of a Catholic attack. When in 1627 the prospect of toleration became real, the bishops mounted a campaign against it from the pulpit of Christ Church, Dublin. In April of that year the Bishop of Derry, George Downham, read the text of the bishops’ protest against toleration. This received an enthusiastic reception from the congregation, which included the lord deputy. In the following weeks, the archbishops of Cashel and Armagh preached further sermons from the pulpit in Christ Church against toleration. That the godly wing of the church was increasingly at odds with the crown and its religious outlook was alluded to in a sermon by the earl of Cork’s chaplain, Stephen Jerome, which was ‘first blowne by the breath of preaching before the State in Christ Church Dublin’ in 1631. Jerome maintained that puritans were unjustly stigmatised for not only challenging ‘controverted ceremonies’ but for also opposing ‘the sins of the time both in church and commonwealth’. The

284 Ibid., pp 1 – 25.
285 Ibid., pp 31 – 34.
286 Henry Leslie, *A warning for Israel in a sermon preached at Christ Church, Dublin 30 October, 1625* (Dublin, 1625), p. 11.
287 Ibid., pp 40 – 42.
sermon went on to defend Calvinist theology on salvation and the impossibility of repentance for the ungodly.289

During the 1630s the tenor of the message from cathedral pulpits moderated. In 1634 the Bishop of Kilmore, William Bedel, preached before the lord deputy at Christ Church, Dublin, and concluded that while the faith of Catholics was erroneous it was not anti-Christian. Consequently, Catholics could be saved and they should be converted through active Protestant evangelisation.290 The possibility that salvation was open to all was also expounded by the Arminian Provost of Trinity College Dublin, William Chappel, who preached justification by works in Christ Church cathedral.291 The prebendary of St John’s, Hugh Cressy, also considered Arminian principles when he preached before the State in 1635.292 But following the 1641 rebellion a more extremist viewpoint was expressed in cathedral pulpits. At Christ Church, Dublin, the sub-dean, John Harding, encouraged extremist sermons.293 In March 1642 Edward Dunsterville called on every colonel, officer and soldier to prepare themselves spiritually for battle against the Irish.294 Three months later, Faithful Teate preached a similar message. He also argued that the war against ‘our Antichristian and bloody adversaries in Ireland’ was just and called for the revenge of the massacred Protestants of Ireland: ‘See then what these popish conspirators, Anti-Christ limbs, have done to the Protestants, being instigated thereunto by Romes Emissaries, Priests, Friars, and Jesuits, you may do the like to them.’295

Later that year Stephen Jerome preached a more seditious sermon. Jerome suggested that the king had broken his covenant with his subjects and that Charles I had endangered the kingdom and its religion by marrying Henrietta Maria. Furthermore, he compared the cavaliers of England to the rebels of Ireland and said that they might align themselves

293 The King to the Lord Justices concerning fractious preachers, 29 May 1643 (Cal. S. P. Ire. 1633 – 47, pp 383 – 4).
together. As a result of this sermon the archbishop of Dublin commanded him not to preach. The lord justices reversed this order and on 18 November 1642 Jerome preached once again at Christ Church. The Bishop of Meath, Anthony Martin, claimed that this sermon was no less scandalous than the previous one and therefore Jerome should be brought before the House of Lords and punished. Subsequently, the House of Lords formed a committee to inquire into Jerome’s activities and in the meantime he was committed to the sergeant at arms and later to the sheriff of the city of Dublin. This committee examined members of the congregation, including the archdeacons of Kildare and Dublin. Copies of these examinations were then given to the lord justices for their opinion on how to proceed with the case. On 14 December 1642 the lord justices gave their opinion that the House of Lords should punish Jerome. On that day Parliament was prorogued for four months and the committee of the House of Lords was unable to deal with the case. The committee recommended to the lord justices that they were competent to deal with the case and that a speedy determination was required as an example to others. By then other preachers had followed Jerome’s lead and there was still a problem with ‘seditious and factious’ preachers in May 1643 when the king gave an order for diocesan commissions to punish them.

With the defeat of Charles I and the establishment of the Commonwealth, radical preachers found a base in the pulpits of the former cathedrals to disseminate their message. In 1657 one of the Ministers of the Gospel, Enoch Grey, delivered a sermon in Christ Church, Dublin, with anti-monarchical and anti-episcopal sentiments, professing his belief that ‘hell was paved with king’s crowns and bishop’s mitres’. Another radical figure who preached in Christ Church was the Baptist Thomas Patient, a tailor by trade who accompanied Lord Deputy Fleetwood to Ireland. Although none of Patient’s sermons survive, sermons of those clergymen who opposed Anabaptist principles do. These include Samuel Winter’s sermons on infant baptism, preached before Lord Deputy Fleetwood and the parliamentary commissioners in 1656 in which Winter maintained that

296 Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte Ms. 4, ff 54 – 64.
297 *House of Lords Jn.*, vol. i, p. 190.
301 St John D. Seymour, *Puritans in Ireland*, p. 34.
Anabaptism was not the way of God and that there was no scriptural impediment to the baptism of children.3°2

Thus the pulpits of the interregnum became settings for competing religious doctrines. They were also settings where more routine godly concerns were addressed and in this regard Christ Church was the host for significant sermons on prayer and salvation by faith, both of which were printed.3°3 It is evident from the number of printed Christ Church sermons that the former cathedral retained its early Stuart status as the principal church on the island. Despite the change in its constitutional status, Christ Church remained the church of the Irish administration. Consequently sermons preached before the State were significant statements, which Ministers of the Gospel elsewhere could draw on. Although the message was radically different, Christ Church retained its role as a mother church and a number of preachers commenced their career in Ireland there before moving elsewhere.3°4 Christ Church was also the church where commemorative sermons were preached. In 1656 Samuel Winter was directed to preach on 23 October in commemoration of the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion. The following month Henry Wotton was directed to preach on 5 November to celebrate the defeat of a Spanish fleet by the Commonwealth navy and to commemorate the gunpowder plot of 1605.3°5 In 1659 Thomas Harrison preached a sermon on the death of Oliver Cromwell, lamenting the death of the Lord Protector ‘before Reformation be perfected’.3°6

On 24 May 1660 Henry Jones preached a thanksgiving sermon in Christ Church, Dublin, for the restoration of King Charles. He also prayed for union in the church, as divisions and factions within the church had resulted in troubles for both church and state.3°7 This sermon was preached before the General Convention of Ireland, a body that initially

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3°2 Samuel Winter, *The sum of diverse sermons preached before Lord Deputy Fleetwood and the Commissioners of Parliament for the affairs of Ireland wherein the doctrine of Infant Baptism is asserted and the objections of Mr Tombs, Mr Fisher, Mr Blackwood and others answered* (Dublin, 1656), pp 172 – 81.
3°3 Thomas Harrison, *Topica Sacrae* (London, 1658); John Murcot, *Saving faith and pride of life inconsistent. Delivered in a sermon preached before the then commissioners for the affairs of Ireland at Christ Church Dublin* (London, 1656).
3°5 St John D. Seymour’s transcripts from Commonwealth papers (R.C.B., GS 2/7/3/20, p. 42).
3°6 Thomas Harrison, *Threni Hybernici or Ireland sympathising with England and Scotland on a sad lamentation for the loss of their Josiah represented in a sermon at Christ Church Dublin before the Lord deputy with divers of the nobility, gentry and commonalty assembled to celebrate a funeral solemnity upon the death of the late Lord Protector* (London, 1659), p. 9.
favoured the establishment of a Presbyterian form of church government in Ireland. However within weeks of the king’s return, it became clear that the king’s preference for episcopacy would be put into effect. The Convention subsequently facilitated a rapid return to the traditional system of church government. Subsequently, loyalty to the crown and the need for unity in religion became the principal message preached from cathedral pulpits. At the consecration service, held in St Patrick’s, Dublin, in January 1661, Jeremy Taylor praised the episcopal form of church government, which promoted obedience and ensured peoples’ liberty from ecclesiastical tyranny. Later that year, on the first anniversary of the king’s restoration, the Bishop of Elphin, John Parker, preached at Christ Church, Dublin, on the need for outward and inward loyalty to the king. Parker maintained that unity and stability in the kingdom could only be maintained if people paid complete obedience to the king. This required unity in religion and the avoidance of factions so that all would endeavour ‘to walk by one and the same rule’. Likewise, the dean of Holy Trinity, Waterford, Daniel Burston, preaching on the occasion of the funeral of the bishop of Waterford in November 1665, spoke of the duty of a Christian to pay allegiance to his king. Burston held up Bishop Baker as an example of Christian fidelity, who had been constant in his allegiance to both the king and the church. Joseph Teate, dean of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, also preached of the need for obedience. Preaching in St Canice’s cathedral in 1670, he advised his congregation to stay away from Quakers and sectaries who hid under the cloak of Godliness. The preservation of religion was intrinsically linked with the security of the kingdom, which was provided through its prince.

By the mid 1660s the anniversaries of the death of Charles I, 30 January, and the restoration of Charles II, 29 May, were being commemorated through annual prayers and

309 For an examination on the relations between the Established Church and dissenters see Phil Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland, 1660 – 1714*, pp 171 – 249.
310 Jeremy Taylot, *A sermon preached at the consecration of two archbishops and ten bishops in St Patrick’s Dublin January 27 1660* (Dublin, 1661), p. 34.
311 John Parker, *A Sermon preached at Christ Church, Dublin, before both House of Parliament May 29, 1661* (Dublin, 1661), pp 22 – 27.
312 Daniel Burston, *Christ’s Last Call to His Glorified Saints or, a sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Waterford upon the 19th day of November, 1665*, p. 33.
sermons in cathedral, collegiate and parish churches. In the Restoration period the messages contained in these sermons focussed on the doctrine of divine right of kings and non-resistance to established authority. This is evident in Ezekiel Hopkins’ sermon preached at Christ Church, Dublin, in 1670: ‘Princes rule by vertue of God’s commission and authority and therefore to disobey them is to rebel against sovereign and divine authority by which they reign’. Hopkins argued that there was no reason to justify rebellion against the monarch, even for religion. He believed that it was a tenet of Protestantism that princes were sacred, inviolable and supreme to all under God and accountable to none but Him. Peter Manby preached the following year’s sermon at the same venue. The purpose of this sermon was to: ‘acknowledge before God those national sins that were the cause of it [the execution of Charles I] and by reviewing the matter of fact to repent of past miscarriages’. He also urged his congregation to avoid those who sought to introduce innovations into government. In 1673 Benjamin Parry preached the 30 January sermon at Christ Church, Dublin, and spoke of the continued existence of schism and sedition as evidence of a sinful society. These sins, as well as atheism and a general neglect of God, would lead to divine retribution. Although society needed to repent and pay lawful obedience to the crown in order to avoid a calamity, Parry believed that the same sins that led to the death of Charles I were being repeated. Parry maintained that it was incumbent on the people to ensure the welfare and honour of kings. As God’s vice-regents, kings were sacred and to think of using violence against them was not only treasonous but also sacrilegious. Anthony Dopping raised similar points on the divine right of kings and the duty of obedience in sermons preached in cathedrals during the 1680s. In July 1683, Dopping preached at Christ Church, Dublin, that obedience was always demanded from subjects, even when the prince oppressed them by invading their liberties or religion. As the prospect of a Catholic monarch became real, Dopping called on his congregation to behave themselves as good Christians and dutiful subjects and by doing so peace in the kingdom would be ensured. In 1686 Dopping preached once again

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314 The King to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, 15 Aug. 1666 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1666–69, p. 188).
316 Ezekiel Hopkins, A Sermon Preached at Christ Church Dublin, January 30 1669 (Dublin, 1671), pp 9 – 10.
317 Ibid., pp 31 – 37.
321 Ibid., p. 30.
322 Sermons by Anthony Dopping (T.C.D, Ms. 1688/1, pp 61 – 93).
at Christ Church that the ‘papist and puritan’ doctrines on the right of rebellion should be rejected. He warned the congregation not to endanger the safety and quiet government of the new king. He also reiterated the principle of obedience to kings, princes and all in authority.  

Other cathedral sermons defended the rights and doctrines of the established church. The principle of hierarchical government and the role of bishops were often expounded on in consecration sermons. At the 1661 consecration service for two archbishops and ten bishops, Jeremy Taylor observed that episcopacy was the great stablemate of monarchy and great ornament of religion. Likewise, in 1667 the Bishop of Meath, Henry Jones, preached in Christ Church, Dublin, on the occasion of the consecration of Ambrose Jones as bishop of Kildare and equated order in church and state with episcopacy. In 1681 Samuel Foley preached at the consecration of the bishops of Kildare, Kilmore and Killala, which also took place at Christ Church. Foley maintained that there was no scriptural authority for any form of church government other than episcopacy. He also suggested that this form of church government led to peace in the church and stability in the state. Thomas Hackett defended other tenets of the established church in a sermon preached before the 1661 convocation of the Church of Ireland, which was held at St Patrick’s, Dublin. In this sermon he defended the use of prescribed prayers for morning and evening services and the sacrament of Holy Communion. Peter Manby also defended the prayers and practices of the Anglican Church in an Ash Wednesday sermon, which was preached at St Patrick’s, Dublin, in 1682. Similarly, in 1673 the bishop of Clonfert, Edward Wooley, defended, in a sermon preached before the State at Christ Church, the Anglican usage of the communion table and the esteem that should rightly be bestowed on it.

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323 Ibid., pp 171, 193 - 94.
327 Thomas Hackett, *A sermon preached before the Convocation of the Clergy in Ireland at the Cathedral Church of St Patrick’s Dublin May 9 1661 at the time of their general receiving of Holy Communion* (London, 1662), pp 15 – 17.
328 Peter Manby, *A Brief and Practical Discourse of Abstinence in time of Lent, preached at the cathedral church of St Patrick’s Dublin, on Ash Wednesday 1682* (Dublin, 1682), pp 13 – 14.
In contrast to the early Stuart period, anti-Catholic sermons in cathedrals were not as prominent in the Restoration period. Nevertheless, there continued to be a desire amongst Irish Protestants to commemorate their deliverance from their enemies. This is evident in the 1662 Act of the Irish Parliament instituting a day of thanksgiving on 23 October.\textsuperscript{330} During the Restoration period preaching lists for the cathedrals contained this day and the 5 November as extraordinary preaching days.\textsuperscript{331} The earliest 23 October sermon to be printed was preached at Christ Church in 1661 by the precentor of the cathedral, William Lightburne. He informed the congregation that it was their duty to show thanks to God for their deliverance from the Irish Catholics. He also warned them against complacency and that the act of remembrance would help to maintain their vigilance.\textsuperscript{332} This was the only 23 October sermon printed for about a quarter of a century because the Irish authorities became largely ambivalent about its celebration and were anxious not to accentuate divisions between Catholics and Protestants.\textsuperscript{333} This stemmed from the State’s desire not to destabilise the ecclesiastical settlement of the 1660s and while the Irish authorities generally supported the Church of Ireland, both Catholics and Presbyterians were usually tacitly tolerated. Political necessity occasionally dictated that policies against non-conformists be tightened up, particularly in the aftermath of Blood’s plot of 1663 and the Popish Plot of 1678.\textsuperscript{334} There were therefore some sermons printed during this period that did attack Catholicism and its doctrines. On 1 July 1674 Andrew Sall preached before the State at Christ Church, Dublin. Sall, as a convert to the Church of Ireland, explained that the intention of his sermon was not to insult his former brethren but rather to show them their errors.\textsuperscript{335} In contrast, the Bishop of Meath, Henry Jones, had no such hesitation. On 12 November 1676 he preached at Christ Church, Dublin, and declared that anti-Christ was still at work in Rome and that he could be overcome through the preaching of the gospel. In this sermon, Jones provided a litany of Catholic cruelties throughout Europe, including the ‘bloody butchery of poor Protestants by the cruel Irish’ in 1641. By doing so, Jones reminded his audience of the ever-present danger that confronted the Protestant

\textsuperscript{330} Stat. Ire., 14 & 15 Chas. II, c. 23.
\textsuperscript{331} See above, p. 242.
\textsuperscript{332} W[illiam] L[ightburne], A Thanksgiving Sermon Preached at Christ Church before the Lord Justices and Council upon the 23 of October, 1661 (Dublin, 1661), pp 14 – 19.
\textsuperscript{335} Andrew Sall, A sermon preached at Christ Church Dublin before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, 1 July 1674 (Dublin, 1674), p. 16.
community and contributed to Protestant anxiety, which was a hallmark of their identity during the latter half of the seventeenth century.336

With the accession to the throne of the Catholic James II, the anxiety of the Protestant community was accentuated. This anxiety was displayed in the 23 October commemoration services of 1685, particularly at some of the cathedrals. In that year the dean and chapter of St Colman’s, Cloyne, directed that the anniversary of 23 October be added to the preaching list337 and in Kilkenny the mayor made an explicit order for both 23 October and 5 November to be observed.338 At Christ Church, Dublin, William King blamed the Catholic Church for the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion. He also called on Irish Catholics to repent for their butchery and renounce the pope’s temporal authority.339 The experience of the Protestant community over the ensuing five years was to further radicalise their perception of the Catholic threat. This was reflected in the sermons preached at St Patrick’s, Dublin, for both 23 October and 5 November 1690, which were published with the encouragement of the State. Michael Jephson, chancellor of Christ Church, Dublin, preached the 23 October sermon and suggested that peace in the kingdom could be secured and maintained by taking power away from the Catholics.340 The 5 November sermon was preached by the prebendary of St Audeon’s, John Finglass, and had as its subject matter the untrustworthiness of papists and the Protestants’ recent military successes as evidence of God’s providence.341 Similar points were raised in a sermon preached by William King at a thanksgiving service for the preservation of the king held in St Patrick’s, Dublin, on 16 November 1690. In this sermon King maintained that the accession of William and Mary to the throne was the work of God. He also saw the new king as an instrument of God through which the Irish Protestants were delivered from Catholic enslavement. But the continued presence of national sin could in the future lead to further divine punishment and to avoid this he urged his congregation to reform their lives and thank God for their deliverance.342

339 T.C.D, Ms. 865, ff182 – 190v.
340 Michael Jephson, A sermon preached at St Patrick’s Dublin on 23 October 1690 (Dublin, 1690), pp 9, 12, 16.
341 John Finglass, A sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St Patrick’s Dublin on 5 November 1690 (Dublin, 1690), pp 10 – 21.
342 William King, Europe’s Deliverance from France and Slavery. A sermon preached at St Patrick’s, Dublin on 16 November 1690 (Dublin, 1691), p. 21.
National sin, the mercy of God and a call to repentance were constant themes in Anthony Dopping’s sermons preached in the Dublin cathedrals between the Battle of the Boyne and the signing of the Treaty of Limerick. On 15 August 1690 he preached at St Patrick’s, Dublin, and urged the congregation to show their gratitude to God by amending their lives and by submitting to the new king’s authority. Dopping returned to this theme of submission in a sermon preached at St Patrick’s on 26 October. In this sermon he reasoned that the allegiance of a subject to a prince was based on the prince’s ability to protect the subject and that subjects were not bound to obedience if the prince was unable to protect life or property. Consequently, the people were free to submit their allegiance to a new master. During the spring of 1691 Dopping expressed his concern about the stalemate between Protestant and Catholic forces and attributed this, in two sermons preached at St Patrick’s and Christ Church, to the Protestants not amending their lives. On 6 July he warned in a sermon preached at Christ Church that if private and public sins were not reformed then God would punish the Protestant community and there would be little hope of a second deliverance. When final victory was secured, Dopping preached at the thanksgiving service, which was held at Christ Church, Dublin, on 26 November 1691. This sermon revisited many of the themes that had previously been addressed such as the malice and untrustworthiness of the Irish and the providence of God in saving the small Protestant community. Dopping suggested that the events of the last century, from the Gunpowder Plot to the 1641 Rebellion to the recent defeat of the Irish were evidence of the truth of the Protestant religion. He concluded his sermon by once again calling on the congregation to reform their lives: ‘If we do this we may expect peace and settlement for the time to come’.

VI

Although sermons were preached in every cathedral church, choral services were provided in only a select few. Even where there was provision for cathedral choirs, some were inactive. Nevertheless, in all cathedral churches, as the seventeenth century progressed, there were increasing concerns that sermons and ceremonies should be performed in a due and reverent fashion. Early indications of these concerns are evident during the 1610s and 1620s but it was during the 1630s that numerous regulations were made to ensure order.

343 Sermons by Anthony Dopping (T.C.D., Ms 1688/1, p. 409).
344 Ibid., p. 420.
345 Sermons by Anthony Dopping (T.C.D., Ms 1688/2, p. 16 – 21, 52 – 3).
346 Ibid., p. 68.
347 Ibid., pp 84 – 85, 134 – 38.
348 Ibid., p. 139.
and decency in cathedral choirs and pulpits. The establishment of this ‘Caroline tradition’ was not universally welcomed. The hostile reaction of the Commonwealth regime to prayer book services and its choral settings undermined the rationale of the cathedral churches’ existence and brought to an end a continuous tradition of choral services, at least in the principal cathedrals. Following the Restoration, there was a conservative backlash against the radicalism of the 1650s, which resulted in the principles of order and decency being restored in the cathedrals. To that end, support was given by both the State and the episcopate to ensure that choral music was revived and ‘Caroline traditions’ re-established in the cathedral system. Consequently, the somewhat novel ecclesiastical policies that had been introduced into some Irish cathedrals in the 1630s became mainstream by the end of the seventeenth century. The significance of this development is underlined by the role that the cathedrals played as promoters of religious best practice in their respective dioceses.

Nevertheless, antipathy towards ‘Caroline traditions’ continued into the latter half of the seventeenth century through disputes between Anglican and non-conformist clergy. In these and other disputes the Church of Ireland had an advantage: the control of the principal pulpits of the realm. From there cathedral clergymen preached messages of obedience and loyalty to the king and adherence to orthodox principles in religion. These messages also corresponded with the sentiments expressed in some of the anthems sung during the Restoration period and as a result both cathedral pulpits and choirs can be seen as instruments for the propagation of church and state. Furthermore, these messages had an added significance by virtue of their setting. The sermons preached at Christ Church, Dublin, were particularly significant, as this church was, to all intents and purposes, the mother church of the kingdom. It was here that Arminian principles were expounded in the 1630s and extremist viewpoints were expressed in the 1640s. It was here also that competing sects vied for support and countered each other’s doctrines in the 1650s and where religious orthodoxy was advocated in the Restoration period. The impact of these sermons went further than the immediate congregation, which included the Irish administration. This is evident in the other sermons preached in the Irish cathedrals during the seventeenth century, which in turn had an influence on the parishes and local communities. In this way a downward relationship was established with the local communities. How these communities related to the Irish cathedrals in the opposite direction will be examined in the final chapter.
Chapter VII – Cathedrals and the Community

As the principal churches of the diocesan system, the cathedrals developed unique relationships with both local and national communities. Both sides of the religious divide in seventeenth century Ireland appreciated the status accorded to cathedral churches and their prominent position as mother churches. This final chapter examines the connections that developed between the laity and the capitular bodies over the course of the Stuart period. During this period the Protestant clergy developed an acute awareness of their distinctiveness in the midst of the majority Catholic population. As a result they quickly came to appreciate the value of the privileges and liberties that had been granted to the cathedrals during the medieval period to defend their position. Consequently, disputes and conflict emerged between cathedrals and local civic authorities, particularly in the early Stuart period when Catholics continued to play a significant role in urban government. The standing of cathedral churches in local and national communities was also reflected in the importance that the laity, particularly those of a high social status, attached to being buried in cathedral grounds. However, Protestant newcomers routinely displaced those who claimed traditional burial rights in the cathedrals. The Catholic community hoped that this development was only temporary and that they would regain possession of the cathedral churches. When the opportunity arose this aspiration was put into effect. On the other hand, the experiences of 1603, the 1640s and 1689–90 confirmed the outlook of Protestant clergymen of the threats posed by Catholicism. As a result deans and chapters sought to remove themselves from local society and retreated behind the walls of their cathedral closes. Consequently, cathedrals in both urban and rural areas came to be seen as bastions of Protestant privilege and somewhat removed from the daily lives of the local community, a development that mirrored the emergence of ‘Caroline traditions’ in the cathedrals of Ireland.

During the seventeenth century the Irish cathedrals appear to have become closed communities as deans and chapters sought to defend the ancient privileges that set them apart from local communities. The principal Irish cathedrals were located in urban areas and possessed liberties outside the jurisdiction of civic governments. Cathedrals located in rural areas generally did not compete with other corporate bodies as centres of power and probably dominated their localities. In the case of Clogher, the cathedral’s charter of 1629 also made provision for the incorporation of the town and granted the bishop the right to
nominate the portrieve and twelve burgesses. Elsewhere there is evidence that cathedrals located in rural areas also possessed jurisdictional independence. In Rosscarberry, St Fachtna’s cathedral possessed its own precincts, which were set apart from the town and the parish. Within this precinct, the manses of the dean, dignitaries and prebendaries were located.

In Dublin, Kilkenny, Waterford, Cork and Limerick, civic corporations vied with capitular bodies as rival centres of authority. In general deans and chapters in urban areas claimed exemptions for their cathedral precincts from municipal control. The civic authorities saw these liberties as threats to the rights and privileges of their corporate bodies: they reduced the tax base of the city, undermined the merchant and craft guilds’ monopolies and the ability of the city to regulate trade within their boundaries. The civic authorities also believed that economic migrants moved into cathedral closes in order to trade independently of the guild system and to avoid paying the fees and cesses that freemen were required to pay. Furthermore, cathedral closes were accused of being centres of lawlessness, where criminals hid to avoid the jurisdiction of the civic courts and where the ecclesiastical authorities were unable to keep the peace. Deans and chapters opposed these claims and resisted encroachments on their freedoms and liberties. Disputes between cathedrals and civic corporations were common in English cities, but in Ireland there was the added dimension of religious divisions as many Irish urban corporations were still dominated by a Catholic mercantile elite. During the early Stuart period the State attempted to gain greater control over the urban corporations and the resistance of the corporations to this policy forms the backdrop to the challenging of cathedrals’ liberties by civic leaders.

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2 Visitation of Cork and Ross by Bishop Dives Downes, 1699 (T.C.D., Ms. 562, f. 29v).
During the medieval period, five distinct liberties developed in the city and suburbs of Dublin: St Thomas’ Abbey; St Mary’s Abbey, the archbishop of Dublin’s liberty of St Sepulchre, and the liberties of the deans and chapters of St Patrick’s and Christ Church. Following the Reformation, the archbishop’s liberty and the cathedral liberties remained in ecclesiastical control. During the latter half of the sixteenth century legal and economic disputes between the liberties and the citizens of Dublin developed and these disputes would be a feature of the relationship between the cathedrals and Dublin’s civic community throughout the seventeenth century. Attempts to defend the trading privileges of the city’s guilds from the perceived threats of the ecclesiastical liberties had some initial success. In 1608, following negotiations with the corporation, the archbishop of Dublin and lord chancellor of Ireland, Thomas Jones, allowed his liberty of St Sepulchre to be united to the franchise of Dublin during his lifetime for £120 sterling. The following year, a merchant named Philip Moyle, who resided in St Patrick’s Street, was tried in the King’s Bench for selling goods on the archbishop’s glebe.

This agreement did not extend to the liberty of the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, which retained its separate identity and privileges. The challenges to these privileges also met with some success. In October 1614 a motion brought before the House of Commons by the Catholic M.P., Sir John Everard, calling for the liberty of St Patrick’s, Dublin, to be taken away received some support. Although the issue does not appear to have progressed any further in parliament, the mayor and sheriffs of the city of Dublin obtained in November 1617 an act of state prohibiting the sale of merchandise within the liberties of St Patrick’s. But this success was short lived. In the early months of 1618 the archbishop of Dublin challenged this act, and subsequently the lord deputy and council authorised a review of the liberty’s privileges. Pending the outcome of this review, the former rights and privileges granted to the liberty, including the right to retail, were restored. Although there is no record of the outcome of this review, the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s were still in possession of their liberties in 1623, when the County of Dublin levied a cess upon the liberty for building a county sessions house, county jail and house of correction. The dean and chapter petitioned the State to oppose this, citing extracts from the cathedral’s charters and grants relating to their liberties. The liberty was

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7 R.C.B., C6/1/26/11/2; C6/1/26/14/1.
8 *Common’s In.*, vol. i, p. 16.
also portrayed as a paragon of godly government where there were no Catholics, vagrants, beggars, common criminals or taverns. The dean and chapter also maintained that the liberty shared in the burden of quartering soldiers. In 1634 Lord Deputy Wentworth directed the liberty to provide quarters for seven soldiers, which represented one-tenth of the number billeted on the city. The fact that the State wrote directly to the dean signifies the continued success of the dean and chapter’s defence of their liberties.

In 1612 and 1613 a series of orders of the common council of the city of Dublin prohibited persons who were not freemen of the city from trading or selling merchandise within the city or suburbs. Similar orders were issued in 1616, 1619 and 1620. It was on foot of these orders that the mayor and sheriffs of Dublin prosecuted Arthur Champion in 1628, who was caught selling merchandise in St John’s Parish, which was in the vicinity of the precincts of Christ Church cathedral. Despite a jury from County Londonderry being empanelled, the trial does not appear to have reached a conclusion. Commentary on this case, made in preparation of the defence of the cathedral’s liberties during the Restoration period, noted that the offence took place outside the liberties of Christ Church and that the civic authorities had never successfully prosecuted anyone for retailing within the cathedral close.

The principal instigators behind these challenges to the rights and privileges of the liberty of Christ Church were the merchant and craft guilds, which resented newcomers using the liberties as a cover for trading. In 1613 the guild of tailors brought a case against the dean and chapter of Christ Church, contesting its liberties. Although a verdict was delivered in the King’s Bench in 1614, the following year the common council of the city appointed Alderman Christopher Foster, the city treasurer, Thady Duffe and Thomas Tailor to assist the tailors’ guild in further prosecuting the case against the ‘supposed libertye of Chrystchurch’. The situation remained unresolved and in the 1620s the merchant’s guild

\[11\] Lord Deputy Wentworth to the Dean of St Patrick’s, Dublin, c. 1634 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 37, f. 205).
\[13\] Champion’s mercantile and financial activities made him a wealthy man and by the 1630s he had acquired land in Co Fermanagh. He was elected MP for Enniskillen in 1640 but was killed the following year on the first day of the 1641 Rebellion: Raymond Gillespie, ‘The murder of Arthur Champion and the 1641 Rising in Fermanagh’, in Clogher Record, vol. xiv (1990-4), pp 52 – 66.
\[14\] R.C.B., C6/1/26/11/1, C6/1/26/14/2.
pursued a case against the ‘pretended franchises’ of Christ Church. This guild had already directed its members in 1611 not to buy from foreigners who used the liberties in the city as a trading base.\textsuperscript{16} The guild also received support from the city’s government: in 1624 the common council appointed Walter Brett, Walter Bird and Richard Edwards to solicit the guild’s suit.\textsuperscript{17}

The issue of trade was not the only point of contention between city and cathedral. The civic authorities also challenged the right of the seneschal of Christ Church to maintain manorial courts within the precincts of the cathedral. The city also had concerns about the practice of referring cases from the precinct’s court to the quarter sessions of the County of Dublin, which were held in Kilmainham, rather than to the quarter sessions of the county of the city of Dublin, which were held in the Thosel. In 1625 the common council ordered the city’s law agents to commence a case against these practices.\textsuperscript{18} This issue was still unresolved in 1639 when the dean and chapter sought and received an injunction out of the Court of Chancery prohibiting the sheriffs of the city of Dublin from summoning the inhabitants of the precincts to the city’s courts until the issue of the cathedral’s liberties was fully determined. In a counter petition, the mayor of Dublin highlighted the city’s problems with the liberty of Christ Church. Firstly, its precincts were portrayed as a place of refuge for rogues and sturdy beggars, and secondly, the liberty was being used as a base for merchants and craftsmen who did not adhere to the city or guild’s trading regulations and who therefore undermined the good government of the city.\textsuperscript{19}

As the population of the liberty increased, the dean and chapter of Christ Church found it necessary to regulate the affairs of the cathedral’s precincts.\textsuperscript{20} In 1631 orders were issued to the inhabitants of the liberty, to which 41 householders and shopkeepers gave their consent. Among the provisions of these orders was a cess on the precincts, which was to be used for the maintenance of the liberty’s two gates and the employment of a scavenger. The level of the cess was to be set by the dean and chapter and two of the inhabitants of the precincts, who were to be chosen annually. The majority of the orders were concerned

\textsuperscript{16} Copies of charters, registers etc. of the trade guilds of Dublin, 1296 – 1824 (B.L., Egerton Ms. 1765, ff 28 – 29).
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Anc. rec. Dublin}, vol. iii, p. 167.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, pp 189-90. The claim of the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, that crimes committed within their liberty should be referred to the County of Dublin quarter sessions rather than to those of the City of Dublin would remain an issue of contention in the Restoration period. See below, pp 279 – 81.
\textsuperscript{19} R.C.B., C6/1/26/13/4.
with sanitation, lighting and the regulation of entrances into the liberty.\textsuperscript{21} However, there appears to have been a lack of compliance with these orders: in 1634 the inhabitants of the precincts were called before the dean and chapter over their non-observance of the precinct’s regulations.\textsuperscript{22} Thereafter, compliance with the orders appears to have improved and by the latter half of the 1630s the inhabitants were regularly appointing cessors for the precinct and paying cess.\textsuperscript{23} Developments within the precinct would therefore suggest that, contrary to the perceptions of city of Dublin officials, the liberty of Christ Church, Dublin, was a well-ordered and regulated place.

Disputes between civic authorities and cathedrals also broke out in the early Stuart period in Kilkenny where St Canice’s cathedral lay in the centre of the Irishtown.\textsuperscript{24} The principal issue here was the ‘pristen money’, which was an annuity of six marks paid by the portrieve and burgesses of the Irishtown to the vicars choral of the common hall of St Canice’s cathedral.\textsuperscript{25} In 1605 the dean and chapter of St Canice’s commenced a suit in the Court of Castle Chamber against the Irishtown over arrears in the payment of this annuity amounting to about £15. The Irishtown sought to rectify the problem by calling the collectors of the annuity together in order to identify those who had failed to pay their share of the contribution and to commit them until they paid their share. A lease of a mill and a meadow was granted to Walter Dowly for 101 years on the condition that he would pay the annuity to the vicars choral.\textsuperscript{26} However, in 1630 the vicars choral commenced a suit in the Court of Chancery against the Irishtown, alleging that they were once again in arrears to the amount of 40s. Only when the portrieve and burgesses agreed to cess the inhabitants did the vicars choral agree to cease their legal action.\textsuperscript{27} Further disputes between the two corporate bodies arose in the late 1620s over a cess to maintain soldiers stationed in the city of Kilkenny. Following discussions between the mayor of the

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., pp 165 – 68.
\textsuperscript{22} R.C.B., C6/1/8/2, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., pp 48, 111.
\textsuperscript{24} The Irishtown in Kilkenny was a separate borough to the Hightown of Kilkenny and although the Hightown frequently pressed its claims of jurisdiction over the Irishtown, the patronage of the bishop of Ossory enabled the Irishtown to maintain its separate existence. The dean was lord of the manor of the glebe in which St Canice’s cathedral was situated: W.G. Neely, Kilkenny - an urban history, 1391 – 1843 (Antrim, 1989), pp 34, 81; F.R. Bolton, ‘Griffith Williams, Bishop of Ossory, 1641 – 72’, in Jn. of the Butler Society, vol. ii, no. 3 (1984), p. 336, n. 78.
\textsuperscript{25} This annuity was granted to the vicars choral of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, by an act of parliament in 1475/76. The act also provided for a censure against those who were in arrears for more than two months: Statute rolls of the parliament of Ireland, 12th and 13th to the 21st and 22nd years of the reign of Edward IV, (ed.) James F. Morrissey (Dublin, 1939), p. 315.
\textsuperscript{27} Kilkenny Corporation Archive, Minute Book of the Corporation of St Canice or the Irishtown, 1544 – 1649 & 1661, (microfilm N.L.I., pos. 5143), f. 97v.
Hightown, the portrieve of the Irishtown and the dean of St Canice’s, Kilkenny, it was decided that the precincts or glebeland of the cathedral, where there were some 27 households, would pay 12s for the board and lodgings of two soldiers. It was also decided that two men from the cathedral’s glebeland and four men from the Irishtown would undertake any future assessments. Finally, it was agreed that the rights and liberties of the dean and chapter of St Canice’s would be maintained.28

In Waterford, close relations between the corporation and the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity cathedral were established in the fifteenth century. In 1465 the corporation purchased capitular lands, which they held in trust for the dean and chapter on the condition that an annual payment would be made to the cathedral.29 The corporation also had control over the granting of leases by the dean and chapter and in 1535 permitted leases for terms of 60 years to be granted.30 In the early 1580s a rift emerged between the corporation and the bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Marmaduke Midleton, which had implications for the cathedral. Relations between the zealous reformer and the conservative citizenry were poor from the beginning. The corporation attempted to press charges against the bishop, but the bishop claimed that the bishopric, the cathedral church, churchyard and clergymen’s houses were independent of the city’s jurisdiction. The case was brought before the lord deputy and council, who ruled in favour of the bishop.31 That the independence of the cathedral and its surrounds continued to be recognised in the latter half of the seventeenth century is evident from an account of the bishopric’s temporalities from the early 1660s, which noted that the bishop, dignitaries, prebendaries, their tenants and all other inhabitants living within the precinct of the church were exempt from the jurisdiction of the corporation. Furthermore, the cathedral’s precincts formed part of the bishop of Waterford’s manor called Bishopscourt, which the corporation’s officials could not enter. This liberty had its own manorial courts, seneschal and probably its own prison as well.32 Throughout the Stuart period the principal issue of disagreement between the

29 Joseph Hansard, History, topography and antiquities of the county and city of Waterford (Dungarvan, 1870), p. 89.
30 Ibid.
corporation and the dean and chapter was the corporation’s annual payment to the dean and chapter and the maintenance of the cathedral’s fabric, which the corporation bore partial responsibility for.\footnote{33 See above Chapter IV – Cathedral Fabric pp 134 – 36.}

In the 1590s there was a dispute over the jurisdiction of the liberty and precinct of St Mary’s, Limerick, between the bishop, John Thornburgh, and the dean, Dionysus Campbell. Following arbitration, conducted by Robert Conway and Sir Adam Loftus, the dean of Limerick was awarded temporal and ecclesiastical control over all those living within the boundaries of the precincts of the cathedral.\footnote{34 N.A.I., Chancery Pleadings, I 11.} During the reign of James I, the mayor and corporation of the city of Limerick challenged the jurisdiction exercised by the dean. As in Dublin, the city of Limerick was concerned with the trading activities of the inhabitants of the liberty who were not freemen, although unlike Dublin few New English merchants set up in Limerick during the early Stuart period and the Protestant community remained small.\footnote{35 Colm Lennon, \textit{The urban patriciates of early modern Limerick: a case study of Limerick}, pp 9, 13.} The dean and chapter of St Mary’s, Limerick, managed to fend off this challenge until the early 1620s, when a ‘stirring mayor’ pursued the city’s challenge to the precinct with increased vigour.\footnote{36 This may have been John Stritch who was mayor of Limerick in 1621 and 1622: White’s annals of Limerick (N.L.I., Ms. 2714, p. 12).} Subsequently, the dean and chapter brought a case against the mayor and corporation of Limerick to the Court of Chancery, asserting their immunities and privileges, including the right of inhabitants of the liberty to trade without hindrance from officials of the city, freedom from the imposition of cess by the city and the right of the dean and chapter to correct offences committed in the liberty themselves.\footnote{37 Irish Record Commissioners Calendars, Repertory to chancery decree rolls (N.A.I., RC 6/1, pp 355 – 56).} The decree awarded by Chancery in 1624 was seen as a victory by the dean and chapter, although the city continued to challenge the rights and privileges of the precinct. In 1633 the city sent two agents over to London to promote their claims. To counteract this move the dean, George Andrews, petitioned the Bishop of London, William Laud, to ensure that the rights of the cathedral were not undermined.\footnote{38 Dean of Limerick to the Bishop of London, 26 Mar. 1632 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625 – 32, p. 654); P.R.O., SP 63/253/8.} The city may have continued with this case, as they may have believed that they had certain proprietorial rights in St Mary’s cathedral, as was the case in Waterford.\footnote{39 See above Chapter IV – Cathedral Fabric, p. 127.}
During the 1640s the two Dublin cathedrals continued to defend their immunities from the city’s claims. In 1643 the civic authorities were authorised by the lord justices and council to compel the inhabitants of the liberties of St Sepulchre’s and of the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s to construct defensive trenches on the outskirts of the city. Those who failed to participate in the work were to have their possessions seized by city officials. The following year the inhabitants of St Patrick’s Close petitioned the dean and chapter against the activities of city officials. Subsequently, the dean and chapter ordered that city officials were to be resisted unless a writ had first been delivered to the verger. In contrast relations between the city and the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, appear to have become more cordial. In 1646 the verger of the cathedral executed a writ against an inhabitant of the liberty, Anthony Metcalf, on behalf of the sheriffs of the city of Dublin. The sub-sheriff did not enter the liberty on his own accord, but was rather invited into the liberty to witness the execution of the writ.

The abolition of episcopacy in the 1650s meant that the ecclesiastical liberties in Dublin and elsewhere could no longer be defended. In 1652 the common council of the city of Dublin ordered that those liberties that had previously been exempt from the government of the city were to be brought into the city’s jurisdiction. The restoration of the established church in 1660 saw the re-establishment of the cathedral liberties and in October 1661 the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, issued orders regulating alehouses within the precincts of the cathedral church. This was designed not only to counteract the disorders associated with the sale of beer and ale but also to reassert the privileges of the church. The following month the inhabitants of the precinct were summoned to meet with the dean and chapter and subsequently arrangements were made to re-institute the cess on the precinct’s inhabitants. By 1669 the assessment on the inhabitants of the precinct amounted to £14 16s, which was to be used to pay for a beadle and a scavenger for the liberty. In 1664 the dean and chapter warned the inhabitants of the cathedral close against inviting sub-sheriffs or bailiffs into the precincts, as to do so undermined the cathedral’s privileges and immunities.
The dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Dublin, also endeavoured to reassert control over their precincts in the early 1660s. In February 1662 four inhabitants of the precincts were nominated to help regulate the affairs of the liberty. They were charged with tasks such as cleaning the area around the church, removing non-residents from the cathedral close and organising a watch for the precinct. The following month they were ordered by the dean and chapter to enter into each house within the precinct and find out how many people lived within the liberty and who they were. On foot of this examination, the dean and chapter ordered the inhabitants of the liberty to remove ‘inmates or idle persons’ out of the liberty. In 1663 the dean and chapter attempted to regulate the sale of alcohol within the cathedral close and ordered that nobody could sell ale or beer without a license from them. That same year a cess was instituted to raise money to pave the close and provide for other necessary works. By the late 1670s the rights and privileges of the liberty of the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s were once again threatened. In 1679 the dean and chapter ordered that the rights and privileges of the precinct were to be upheld and directed the liberties’ inhabitants to accept only warrants or orders issued by the dean and chapter or their seneschal. In 1681 the inhabitants were instructed not to appear at the manorial courts of the liberty of St Sepulchre, as they were obliged to attend the court leet and the court baron of the dean and chapter of St Patrick’s, Dublin.

In the Restoration period the principal issue of contention between the city of Dublin and the liberties was the imposition of local taxes by the corporation on the inhabitants of the liberties. By the 1660s the use of the ecclesiastical liberties by economic migrants to circumvent the city’s trading regulations was no longer the problem that it had been in the early seventeenth century. This may have been because of the change in the profile of the city’s population: in the latter half of the seventeenth century most of those who lived within the walls of the city were New English Protestants and their descendants. Therefore, the ethnic distinction that had existed in the early seventeenth century between the inhabitants of the liberties and the rest of the city no longer existed. However, the ancient privileges that the Protestant deans and chapters adopted continued to give rise to tensions. In 1661 the city of Dublin passed an act to cess the inhabitants of the city,

49 Ibid., f. 41v.
50 Ibid., f. 45v.
51 Ibid., f. 55.
53 Ibid., ff 60v – 61.
suburbs and out liberties for the erection of a house of correction. Of the £606 to be raised, £5 was to come from the liberty of Christ Church. Although the dean and chapter of Christ Church agreed to raise the assigned sum, they did so as a voluntary act for what they considered a worthy project. However, they made it clear to the city of Dublin that they saw any attempt to impose assessments on the liberty as an infringement of their privileges.55 Despite this claim, the city of Dublin petitioned the duke of Ormonde in June 1666 for the liberties to be compelled to pay their share of cess for heating and candle light for his majesty's horse and foot guards.56 Similar petitions were forwarded to the lord lieutenant and council in October 1666 and August 1667 and by then it appears that the liberties had not made any contributions towards this cess for the previous seven years.57 In 1672 the city apportioned £18 on the precincts of Christ Church, following an order of the lord lieutenant and council to raise £1,200 on the city of Dublin for its defence.58 The dean and chapter petitioned the lord lieutenant, disputing the right of the city to levy this cess on the cathedral's precincts and requesting that the liberty raise the cess itself. Subsequently, the lord lieutenant and council appointed the cathedral's proctor and five of the inhabitants of the precinct as commissioners to assess the inhabitants residing in the liberty.59

Although this order represents a de facto recognition of the privileges and immunities of Christ Church, a de jure recognition was granted in the same year by means of a king's letter, which directed the attorney general not to proceed with any cases instigated by the city against inhabitants of the cathedral's precincts.60 Nevertheless, the city of Dublin continued to direct the liberties to pay a proportion of local taxation. In 1673 the common council of the city of Dublin ordered that one-eighth of the £150 to be raised for the horse guard's fire and light was to be assessed on the out liberties of the city.61 In 1675 the order to levy a cess for the guards' heating and lighting did not mention the liberties but only that the cess was to be levied on the inhabitants and suburbs of the city.62 Between 1678 and 1684 the orders to impose this cess also omitted any reference to the liberties.63 These

62 Ibid., pp 81 – 2.
63 Ibid., pp 148, 162, 185 – 86, 198, 225, 269, 326.

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omissions may suggest that the liberties were having some success in the defence of their immunities and privileges, although an order to impose this cess in 1688 did direct the inhabitants of the liberties to pay.\textsuperscript{64}

Occasionally tensions between city and cathedral broke out into violence. In 1603 the mayor and officials of the city of Cork entered into the liberty of St Fin Barre’s cathedral and harassed and forced the inhabitants of the liberty to pay the city’s assessment. Subsequently the bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross and the dean and chapter of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, made a complaint to the Presidency of Munster and an order was granted, upholding the cathedral’s liberties and exempting the inhabitants from the payment of cess to the city of Cork. The mayor and sheriffs of the city were also ordered not to disturb the peace of the liberty.\textsuperscript{65} This peace appears to have lasted some 40 years until 1643 when the sheriffs of the city of Cork served a writ, issued in the court of the President of Munster, on Richard French, a merchant residing in the liberty of St Fin Barre’s, Cork. French resisted the attempts to seize his merchandise with force, claiming that as he lived within the cathedral’s liberty the sheriffs were outside their jurisdiction. The sheriffs then withdrew to the boundary between the liberty and the city and it was there that French was arrested when he eventually crossed the boundary.\textsuperscript{66}

In Dublin there were a number of violent incidents between civic officials and inhabitants of cathedral precincts. In 1608 members of the Trinity guild confiscated merchandise belonging to the inhabitants of St Patrick’s Street in a ‘riotous fashion’. The case was tried before the lord deputy and council, who ordered that the goods be returned to the inhabitants of the liberty, although they were prohibited from selling within the liberty or any other place where the city or guild claimed the right for freemen.\textsuperscript{67} In 1670 officers of the city of Dublin attempted to issue a proclamation within the precincts of Christ Church, Dublin. As they entered the liberty through a side door, the verger challenged them and in turn about 16 constables attacked him. The constables used their staves as weapons and managed to force their way into Christ Church Yard. There they assaulted an elderly inhabitant of the liberty and threatened other inhabitants.\textsuperscript{68} In 1684 the most significant

\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 487.
\textsuperscript{65} Munster Council Book, 1601 – 21 (B.L., Harleian Ms. 697, f. 19).
\textsuperscript{66} St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, p. 55; Richard Caulfield, Annals of St Fin Barre’s Cathedral Cork (Cork, 1871), pp 27 – 28.
\textsuperscript{68} R.C.B., C6/1/26/14/6.
riot in a cathedral liberty occurred. That year the dean of Christ Church wrote to the duke of Ormonde’s secretary, Sir Henry Gascoigne, regarding the king’s letter of 1672, which guaranteed the cathedral’s liberties, and his concern that it expired following the departure of the earl of Essex as lord lieutenant. He requested a new grant containing a perpetual guarantee of the cathedral’s liberties. This uncertainty over the liberty’s status may have encouraged the actions taken by the city in the summer of 1684. On 10 July the constable or seneschal of the precinct, George Parsons, was on his way to attend the quarter sessions for the county of Dublin, which were held at Kilmainham. As the liberty of Christ Church claimed exemption from the jurisdiction of the city of Dublin, all felonies committed within the precincts of the cathedral were tried within the county of Dublin. While Parsons made his way to Kilmainham he met the lord mayor and sheriffs of the city. When the city’s officials learnt where he was going, they committed him to the city’s prison. However, Parsons escaped and made his way back to the liberty. Civic officials pursued Parsons and forced their way into the liberty and ultimately into Parsons’ house. Despite the dean ordering the gates into the liberty to be closed, a number the inhabitants of the precinct were ‘barbarously beaten and dragged by the hair of their head’ out of the liberty and two of them were committed to the city jail. They were eventually released following the payment of bail by the dean.

The following day the dean and chapter petitioned the lord deputy and council to examine the violation of its liberty by the city’s officials. As a result the lord mayor and sheriffs of the city of Dublin were ordered to answer the charges laid against them by the dean and chapter. The city’s answer to the council board claimed that the city of Dublin possessed jurisdiction over the precincts of the cathedral. The city also claimed that the inhabitants of the precinct had attended the quarter sessions for the city of Dublin in the past and that the seneschal’s refusal to recognise the jurisdiction of the city’s quarter sessions was a contempt of their court. As a result of this contempt a warrant for the arrest of the seneschal was issued and while officers of the city attempted to execute the warrant, the inhabitants of the precinct attacked them. Because of this riotous behaviour the city’s

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70 R.C.B., C6/1/26/14/9 & 15.
71 R.C.B., C6/1/26/14/8.
72 The city of Dublin had in the past tried to enforce attendance at its quarter sessions. In 1670 the City Council attempted to prevent the inhabitants of the liberties of St Thomas’ Court and St Mary’s Abbey from attending the quarter sessions for the County of Dublin. Instead inhabitants of these liberties were ordered to appear at the city’s quarter sessions when summoned by the city’s sheriffs. Furthermore, the sheriffs were to be indemnified by the Corporation if legal challenges were brought against them for enforcing the writ of the city in these liberties: Anc. rec. Dublin, vol. iv, pp 514 – 15.
officials arrested some of the inhabitants of the precinct and indicted them in the city’s court. The city concluded its answer, with a request to the council board to compel the inhabitants of the precinct to recognise the jurisdiction of the lord mayor and sheriffs over the cathedral’s precinct.\(^{73}\)

In response the dean and chapter rebutted the lord mayor and sheriff’s claim to have jurisdiction over its liberty. They also denied that the inhabitants of the precinct had ever willingly attended the city’s quarter sessions, although there may have been cases where the inhabitants attended accidentally through their own ignorance of the rights and privileges of the cathedral. The pleadings between both sides continued and documentary evidence to prove their respective claims was presented. The city of Dublin referred to the charter granted to the city by Edward VI, which created the county of the city of Dublin, delineated its boundaries and bestowed on the city all lands within those boundaries, except for Dublin castle. The dean and chapter cited grants to the cathedral from Henry II, John III, Henry VI, Henry VII and the charters granted by Henry VIII and James I, which reconstituted the cathedral and confirmed its ancient rights, privileges and liberties. The dean and chapter argued that the charter granted to the city by Edward VI made no specific reference to Dublin Castle and therefore the city acknowledged that not all the land within the boundaries of the city were subject to its jurisdiction. The dean and chapter concluded their case by stating that they did not seek any part of the city’s liberty but endeavoured to preserve their own.\(^{74}\) The case was brought before the council board in December 1684 and subsequently the issue was referred to Sir John Temple, the solicitor general, and Sir John Mead to rule on. While the case was being determined the two sides were ordered not to proceed with any other suits at law between them and to keep the peace.\(^{75}\) Sir John Temple and Sir John Mead’s findings are not recorded, but the liberty of the dean and chapter of Christ Church continued to exist into the eighteenth and early nineteenth century and consequently the reason for conflict between cathedral and city remained.\(^{76}\)

During the dispute, the City of Dublin claimed that the fact that civic leaders entered into the precincts of Christ Church cathedral in all their formalities and with the city sword...
displayed at the head of their procession demonstrated their rights over the dean and chapter. The dean and chapter rebutted this claim and argued that they had permitted the carrying of the city sword before the mayor and aldermen in order to encourage the magistrates of the city to come and hear divine services in the cathedral. Civic symbols were therefore contentious issues, but there were attempts in a number of cities to come to an accommodation on this issue. In the case of Cork, the mayor and civic officials left their sword and other city ensigns at the boundary to the liberty of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, when they attended services in the cathedral. In the case of Kilkenny, the mayor sought and received permission in 1662 from the bishop of Ossory to carry the city’s sword and rod into St Canice’s cathedral when the lord lieutenant, the duke of Ormonde, resided at Kilkenny Castle. However, to get into the cathedral the procession would have to cross into the rival jurisdiction of the Irishtown and the mayor of Kilkenny also required permission from the portrieve and burgesses of the Irishtown to carry the civic regalia into their jurisdiction. One corporation that appears to have had no difficulty in carrying its sword into a cathedral was the Corporation of Waterford. Following the Restoration various orders were passed concerning the procedures for accompanying the sword to church, which revived the city’s traditions as practised in the early Stuart period.

There is also evidence for cordial relations between cathedrals and corporations despite the tensions that may have existed. In a number of cities cathedral clergymen were made freemen. In 1607 the dean of Christ Church, Dublin, Jonas Wheeler, was admitted to the franchise of the city of Dublin and in 1636 the dean of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, John Fitzgerald, was sworn as a freeman of the city of Cork. In the Irishtown of Kilkenny members of the chapter of St Canice’s cathedral were burgesses and freemen of the corporation and in 1669 a list of the members of the corporation included the dean, Joseph Teate, the archdeacon, Hugh Drysdall, and the prebendary of Tascoffin, Jonathan Cull.

77 R.C.B., C6/1/26/14/15, f. 3.
78 Ibid., f. 4.
79 Richard Caulfield, Annals of St Fin Barre’s Cathedral, p. 29; Visitation of Cork and Ross by Bishop Dives Downes, 1699 (T.C.D., Ms. 562, f. 62v).
80 Kilkenny Corporation Archives, Minute Book of the Corporation of St Canice or the Irishtown, 1661–1718 (microfilm N.L.I., pos. 5143), pp 8, 10. In 1680 an attempt to resolve the differences between the Hightown and the Irishtown resulted in confirmation of the corporate status of the Irishtown, although the mayor and corporation of the Hightown were given permission to go into the Irishtown with the city sword carried before them: Kilkenny Corporation Archives, Miscellaneous Papers (microfilm N.L.I., pos. 5143).
84 Kilkenny Corporation Archives, Minute Book of the Corporation of St Canice or the Irishtown, 1661–1718 (microfilm N.L.I., pos. 5143), p. 29.
In Waterford both the bishop and the dean were members of the city council by ancient right. Good relations between the city and the cathedral were also displayed in the granting of the freedom of the city to the dean, precentor, treasurer and chancellor of Holy Trinity, Waterford, in 1684.85

Therefore, conflict was not the only characteristic of relations between cities and cathedrals and the absence of rival jurisdictional claims in some urban areas meant that harmonious relations could be developed. In the late seventeenth century records of the Corporation of Cashel there are no references to disputes between the city and St Patrick’s cathedral.86 This could be attributed to the fact that the cathedral was situated outside the walls of the city and any freedoms that the dean and chapter may have claimed had little impact on the corporation’s business. In the city of Londonderry, the cathedral church of St Columb’s lay within the city walls. Here the Irish Society constructed both city and church in the early seventeenth century and relations between the two were close from the start. Furthermore, medieval liberties did not exist in plantation towns and consequently the scope for conflict was lessened. Therefore, as in Cashel Corporation, the records of the common council of the City of Londonderry in the late seventeenth century do not contain any references to disputes between the city and the cathedral.87 Elsewhere cathedral clergymen were amongst the most educated and prominent people in the smaller urban communities and provided leadership for those communities. Following the Restoration these smaller urban corporations became more Protestant in character. This helped to reduce the scope for conflict with ecclesiastical corporations. For example, in the town of Kildare the dean of St Brigid’s cathedral, Samuel Synge, served as sovereign of the town in 1686. On 29 June of that year, following the consecration of the partly reconstructed choir of the cathedral, Synge held a court in the town and admitted a number of freemen. Synge also served as sovereign for four years during the 1690s, which further demonstrates the close relationship that had emerged between the cathedral and corporation in the late seventeenth century.88

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85 Council books of the corporation of Waterford, 1662-1700, pp 11, 242, 245.
86 Minutes of the Corporation of Cashel, 1672 – 1701 (N.L.I., Ms. 5575).
87 Derry City Archives, Minutes of the Common Council of the City of Londonderry, Book 1, 1671 – 1686, Book 2, 1688 – 1704.
Larger urban corporation also came to be dominated by Protestants in the latter half of the seventeenth century. As a result, the religious divisions that had existed in the early Stuart period between civic elites and deans and chapters became less pronounced. The close connections that developed between cities and cathedrals are evident in civic rituals. In 1662 the Corporation of Waterford directed members of the council, masters of the guilds, sergeants and constables of the city to assemble at the Thosel every Sunday to accompany the mayor to the cathedral for both morning and evening prayers. Members of the council who neglected or refused to do so would be expelled. The following year orders were made for similar processions to the cathedral to commemorate the death of Charles I and the coronation of Charles II. In 1663 the Corporation of Kilkenny ordered the civic leaders to wait upon the mayor in their gowns on Sundays, holydays and station days. The penalty for failing to do so was half a crown for aldermen and 2s for sheriffs and guild masters. In 1672 the aldermen and common council were ordered to accompany the mayor to church every first Sunday of the month. This order was not rigorously enforced until 1680 when the common council ordered the penalties to be levied on the delinquents. Common councilmen who failed to observe the by-law would never progress to the aldermen’s bench. Those who had attained this rank were to be fined £40 sterling. In the city of Londonderry, the common council passed orders of a comparable nature in 1672: aldermen who failed to wear their gowns when accompanying the mayor to the church on Sunday mornings were to be fined 20s, while the fine for burgesses was set at 10s. In 1676 it was decided that only one-third of the members of the corporation were required to accompany the mayor to church on Sundays.

Close relations between city and church were also made manifest through the presence of civic seats within cathedral churches. References to these seats were most often recorded in corporation muniments when repairs were needed. In 1661 the Corporation of the Irishtown in Kilkenny agreed to make up a seat in St Canice’s cathedral for the portrieve and burgesses and 10s was to be paid by each of them to defray the costs. In 1676 this

90 Council books of the corporation of Waterford, 1662 – 1700, pp 7, 11, 23, 39.
91 Kilkenny Corporation Archives, Minute Book of Kilkenny Corporation, 1656 – 87 (microfilm N.L.I., pos. 5136), f. 35v.
92 Ibid., ff 83v, 123v.
93 Derry City Archives, Minutes of the Common Council of the City of Londonderry, Book 1, 1671 – 1686, pp 2, 23.
94 Kilkenny Corporation Archives, Minute Book of the Corporation of St Canice or the Irishtown, 1661 – 1718 (microfilm N.L.I., pos. 5143), p. 7.
seat was described as out of repair and 20s was provided to repair the seat.\textsuperscript{95} Further repairs were undertaken in 1681.\textsuperscript{96} The Irishtown was not the only corporation in St Canices’ cathedral to have its own seat. In 1673 the Corporation of Kilkenny ordered that £10 be spent on the construction of a large seat for the mayor, aldermen and common councilmen of the Hightown and one-quarter of the sum was to be spent on painting and decorating the seat.\textsuperscript{97} The Corporation of Limerick’s seating was in a gallery situated in the south aisle of St Mary’s cathedral. In 1676 this section of the cathedral was in a state of disrepair and appears to have been open to the elements. The corporation agreed to make a contribution of £50 to the rebuilding of this section of the cathedral.\textsuperscript{98} The following year the corporation gave an order for the construction of a seat for the mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the city on the north side of the choir and sought a grant of that space from the dean and chapter of St Mary’s, Limerick.\textsuperscript{99} The mayor, sheriffs and citizens of Limerick were eventually granted their original space in the gallery situated on the south aisle of the choir. The corporation was to hold this space forever, on condition that they repaired and re-roofed that part of the cathedral.\textsuperscript{100} The earliest reference to a civic seat in Christ Church, Dublin, in the seventeenth century was in 1608 when it was refurbished with new cushions.\textsuperscript{101} It was further repaired in 1616 when £4 14s was spent on it.\textsuperscript{102} In 1679 common councilmen of Dublin petitioned for the repair of this seat and subsequently a cess was levied on the city’s guilds. Although the merchants’ guild promptly paid its share, other guilds were not as timely and the corporation was still seeking payment in 1683.\textsuperscript{103} That same year repairs and alterations were made to civic seats in Holy Trinity, Waterford, and St Columb’s, Derry.\textsuperscript{104} Not all urban cathedrals possessed civic seating during the seventeenth century. The parish church of Christ Church in the city of Cork was where the mayor, sheriffs and citizens of Cork worshipped as a civic body and in 1691 the gallery for the lord mayor and aldermen was rebuilt.

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., p. 64
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., p. 90.
\textsuperscript{97} Kilkenny Corporation Archives, Minute Book of Kilkenny Corporation, 1656 – 87 (microfilm, N.L.I., pos. 5136), f. 87v.
\textsuperscript{98} Assembly Book of Limerick City containing minutes from 1672 to 1680 (N.L.I., Ms. 89, f. 109).
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., f. 128.
\textsuperscript{100} St Mary’s, Limerick, Chapter Act Book, pp 15 – 16.
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{Anc. rec. Dublin}, vol. iii, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Anc. rec. Dublin}, vol. v, pp 179 – 80, 220 – 21, 271; Copies of charters, registers etc. of the trade guilds of Dublin, 1296 – 1824 (B.L., Egerton Ms. 1765, f. 550).
\textsuperscript{104} Council books of the corporation of Waterford, 1662 – 1700, p. 236; Derry City Archives, Minutes of the Common Council of the City of Londonderry, Book 1, 1671 – 1686, p. 102.
In the case of Cashel civic seating was not provided in St Patrick’s cathedral until 1700 when £10 was spent on making the corporation’s seat.  

III

Waterford Corporation possessed certain proprietorial rights in Holy Trinity cathedral, which were set out in an agreement with the dean and chapter made in 1637. The corporation was made responsible for the maintenance of the cathedral’s fabric and in return the corporation was granted the control of the ancient burial places in the body and out stalls of the cathedral and in St Mary’s Chapel. As a result it was the common council of the city and not the dean and chapter that regulated burials in the cathedral. In 1683 the sexton was ordered by the common council not to open any graves within the cathedral church without an order of the mayor and sheriffs. The common council also set the fees for burial, which were 13s 4d for inhabitants and freemen of the city and 50s for foreigners. In 1687 it was agreed that past and future mayors, aldermen and members of the common council and their families would be buried in the cathedral for free. These burial orders reflect the close relationship that existed between the local community and this cathedral in the seventeenth century and the distinctions made through the cost of burials marked out the boundaries of that community. By the 1680s the composition of that community was radically different to that of the early Stuart period: it was predominately Protestant and newcomer.

In the early Stuart period the close connection between the Old English community and Holy Trinity, Waterford, can be illustrated through the ownership of the side chapels in the cathedral, which served as burial plots for local families. An account of the temporalities of the diocese in 1660, which gives an accurate description of the state of the church prior to the mid-century troubles, indicates who owned each chapel in the early Stuart period. Nicholas Madden and John Walsh FitzRobert owned St John’s Chapel, while St Nicholas’ Chapel belonged to John Sherlock and Peter Butler. William and Andrew Lincoln possessed St Catherine’s Chapel, while Thomas White FitzThomas and Peter Barren owned St Anne’s Chapel. By the Restoration period the Old English families no longer possessed these chapels and the ruinous physical appearance of some of

106 Minutes of the Corporation of Cashel, 1672 – 1701 (N.L.I., Ms. 5575, f. 137).
109 Ibid., p. 276.
the chapels reflect the disappearance of the Old English community’s customary burial rights within the cathedral. In 1673 a return made by the dean and chapter at the bishop’s triennial visitation described Rice’s Chapel and St Saviour’s Chapel as in a good state of repair and they were maintained at the cost of the dean and chapter. Meanwhile, St Nicholas’ Chapel was put to an alternative use: it served as the location for the diocesan consistorial court. The other chapels were described as being in a ruinous state. In 1675 one of these chapels, St John’s Chapel, was leased to Andrew Richards and Thomas Christmas to hold forever as burial places for their families.

The attempts by the newcomer community to disregard traditional burial rights was made most explicit in Christ Church, Dublin, where the dean and chapter issued an order in 1627, stating that no man or woman was to be buried in the cathedral church by any claim of right from their predecessor already buried there unless they had written evidence in the form of a deed from the dean and chapter. This order was made at a time of increased tensions between the Church of Ireland and the Catholic community and may demonstrate the desire of the dean and chapter to limit traditional burial claims and emphasis the exclusivity attached to a burial in Christ Church cathedral. In the Restoration period the dean and chapter again voiced their concerns about families claiming burial rights in the cathedral. However, in 1663 they made it clear that their concerns were based on the lack of space in the cathedral and that the number of burials in the cathedral needed to be limited. To do this the dean and chapter decided to set high burial fees for internments within the cathedral.

Despite this ruling, at least one family maintained their traditional burial rights: the earls of Kildare. This burial right was established in the early sixteenth century when the eighth earl founded a chantry chapel in the northeast corner of the choir. It was here that in 1664 Wentworth Fitzgerald, seventeenth earl of Kildare was buried, as was his wife, Elizabeth, in 1666. In the years following the dean and chapter’s order of 1627 a number of families, who were on the rise in Irish society, developed a close attachment with Christ

112 Ibid., A/77.
Church, Dublin, as a place of burial. In 1637 Redmond Barry, a former Protestant mayor of Dublin, was buried in the cathedral.116 His descendants were created barons of Santry and the Funeral Entries of the Ulster King of Arms contain a number of references to members of this family being buried in the St Mary's Chapel in the cathedral, including Sir James Barry, First Baron of Santry, who died in 1673 and his son who died the following year.117 Another family that developed a close relationship with Christ Church, Dublin, were the Cootes who attained the title earls of Mountrath at the Restoration. The first earl, Sir Charles Coote, was buried in the cathedral in 1661, as was his heir who died in 1672.118 Two other sons and a daughter of the first earl were also interred in the family vault, which was located in the choir of the cathedral.119

The New English elite was particularly anxious to establish burial rights in cathedrals, where they could be associated with the principal church of a diocese.120 Furthermore, they erected memorials over their tombs to promote their newfound power and status in society.121 On the other hand, the burial practices of those elevated to the peerage by the Stuart monarch may suggest anxiety on the part of the recently ennobled, particularly as their backgrounds and manner of creation was open to question.122 In 1631 the earl of Cork obtained a fee farm grant from the dean and chapter of St Patrick's, Dublin, of a vault in the upper end of the choir. The following year the bones of his wife, her father, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and her grandfather, Dr Weston, were transferred from their old burial place in the choir of St Patrick's, Dublin, and interred in this new vault.123 Those interred in this vault subsequently included the second and fourth daughters of the first earl of Cork, who were buried in 1633 and 1656 respectively, and his grandson, Kildare Digby, Baron Geashill, who was buried in 1661.124 Directly opposite this monument was the family vault of the viscounts and earls of Ranelagh. The first viscount Ranelagh, Roger

116 John Finlayson, Inscriptions on the monuments, mural tablets etc in Christ Church Cathedral Dublin (Dublin, 1878), p. 74; Colm Lennon, Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation, p. 230.
117 Funeral Entries, vol. iv, 1651 – 82 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 67, pp 182, 204, 223).
118 Ibid., pp 67, 174.
119 The registers of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, pp 27, 93.
120 Ibid., p. 11.
Jones, erected the monument over this vault to commemorate his parents, Thomas, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Margaret Purdon. The lease of this ground was re-confirmed in 1679 to Richard Jones, first earl of Ranelagh. Provision was made in this grant for the ground to be held forever by the heirs of the Jones family and the dean and chapter were to be paid £3 for each internment in the vault. Those interred in this vault include the second viscount of Ranelagh, Arthur Jones, who died in 1669, and his daughter Catherine Jones who was buried in 1675. In 1680 the dean of St Patrick’s, Dublin, John Worth, obtained a burial place for himself and his heirs. Other family burial vaults set up in St Patrick’s, Dublin, during the seventeenth century belonged to the Loftus, Domville, Meredith and Lambert families whose forefathers settled in Ireland in the late Tudor and early Stuart period. The Loftus family tomb was located in the choir near the altar while the vault of the Meredith family was located on the north side of the nave near the door to the steeple. The Lambert family vault was also located in the nave.

Although the two Dublin cathedrals were the most significant churches in the kingdom, members of the newcomer elite were also anxious to establish burial rights in cathedrals located outside of the capital. In Holy Trinity, Downpatrick, the Cromwell family acquired a burial place at the east end of the church and the memorial was inscribed with the names of Edward Baron of Okeham, who died in 1607, and his grandson Oliver, who died in 1668. In 1687 Vere Essex Cromwell, earl of Ardglass and viscount Lecale, was buried there and his Funeral Entry described this location as the ancient burial place of his ancestors. These burials took place even though Downpatrick cathedral remained in a state of disrepair throughout the early modern period. In St Fin Barre’s, Cork, the dean and chapter granted a burial place in 1627 to the Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, Richard Boyle. This burial place was located in a side chapel of the cathedral called St

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125 Observations in a voyage through the Kingdom of Ireland by Thomas Dineley, 1680 (N.L.I., Ms. 392, pp 19, 22); Rolf Loeb, ‘Sculptured memorials of the dead in early seventeenth century Ireland’, p. 283.
126 R.C.B., C2/1/3/4, f. 36.
130 Ibid. Funeral Entries, vol. ii, 1597 – 1603 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 65, p. 85); Funeral Entries, vol. xii, 1683 – 91 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 75, p. 207).
132 Funeral Entries, vol. xii, 1683 – 91 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 75, p. 175).
Clements and a fee of 4s was to be paid for each internment in the vault. In a similar vein, Old English and Gaelic Irish families, who cultivated relations with the newcomer elite, adopted similar burial practices. In 1668 Honora, Lady Dowager of Kerry, obtained an assignment of a former chantry chapel in St Brendan’s, Ardfert, from the dean and chapter. She agreed to rebuild this as a chapel in return for burial rights there for herself, her children and their posterity. The fourth earl of Thomond, Donough O’Brien, purchased a burial place for himself and his family in the choir of St Mary’s, Limerick. His family’s traditional place of burial was in Ennis in Co Clare, and O’Brien’s decision to move this to the principal church in the city and diocese of Limerick reflects his alignment with the Protestant and English interest. Furthermore, O’Brien’s acquisition of newcomer sensibilities were displayed in his will, which directed a monument to be constructed over his burial place in the style of Sir Francis Vere’s monument in Westminster Abbey and to ‘bedeck the said tomb by order of heraldry with my coat [of] arms and all other rights due and appertaining to an earl’. Members of the family who were subsequently interred in this tomb included a grandson, Captain Donough O’Brien, who was buried in 1638 and Henry O’Brien, fifth earl of Thomond in 1639.

Other members of the newcomer elite preferred to be buried in parochial churches, which they had often repaired at their own expense. This left a number of cathedrals in rural areas and some in urban areas to the preserve of newcomers at other levels of the social stratum. In 1663 John Nettles was granted a seat in the choir of St Carthage’s, Lismore, and a burial place for his family. These rights were granted to Nettles in return for constructing the dignitaries and prebendaries stalls in the choir. In 1665 the dean and chapter of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, granted to Thomas Mills and to his children, grandchildren and posterity a burial place in the choir of the cathedral forever and in 1680 Alderman William Field was granted a seat in the choir and a burial place in the

134 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, p. 7.
137 Thomas J. Westropp, ‘St Mary’s Cathedral, Limerick, its plan and growth’, p. 47.
140 St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 6v.
141 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i, p. 80.
body of the cathedral. In St Eunan’s, Raphoe, the memorial of the Nesbit family in the nave of the cathedral identified the location of that family’s burial place. In St McCartain’s, Clogher, two significant local families established burial rights in the cathedral in the latter half of the seventeenth century: the Cairnes and the Gledstones.

The extent to which newcomer families became closely connected with burials in Irish cathedrals can be seen in the funerals recorded in the Funeral Entry Books of the Ulster King of Arms. Among the funerals recorded in these books are 339 that took place in Irish cathedrals between 1603 and 1691. The proportion of these funerals that were burials of newcomers and their descendants was 43 per cent. Corresponding figures for the Old English was 15 per cent and for the Gaelic Irish it was just 6 per cent. 36 per cent of the funerals recorded are of people whose origins are unclear. What is especially noteworthy is when the funerals of the Old English and Gaelic Irish took place. Table 7.1 clearly shows that members of both of these ethnic groups had higher incidence of burial in the first half of the seventeenth century compared to the latter part of the century. The number of newcomer burials was already considerable in the early seventeenth century and increased significantly in the period 1650 – 91. These figures demonstrate the appropriation of burial space in cathedrals by the newcomer community and the gradual withdrawal of the Old English and Gaelic Irish from their traditional places of burial.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ethníc Origins</th>
<th>1603 – 49</th>
<th>1650 – 91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newcomer</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old English</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaelic Irish</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1. Burials recorded in Funeral Entry Books by Ethnic Origin and Period.

142 St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/2, Chapter Acts, vol. ii, f. 122.
145 Funeral Entry Books, vols i – xvii (Genealogical Office, Ms. 64 – 79).
146 The details of each funeral have been entered into an Access database and this package was used to calculate the following results.
147 Newcomers are defined as those who came from England, Scotland, Wales during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their descendents, even though the descendents may be the third or fourth generation born in Ireland.
However, figures derived from the Funeral Entry Books should be approached with some caution. Families ‘on the rise’ in Tudor and early Stuart Ireland favoured the heraldic funerals recorded in the Funeral Entry Books because such funerals provided an opportunity to show the wealth and position that they had attained in society. This would account for the higher number of newcomer burials recorded by the Ulster King of Arms as these newcomer families wished to acquire the prestige associated with heraldic funerals. In the latter half of the seventeenth century heraldic funerals gradually fell out of favour, as people opted for simpler affairs and sought to avoid the fees charged by the Ulster King of Arms. This may have had a bearing on the reduction in the numbers of Old English and Gaelic Irish heraldic funerals in the period 1650 – 91. The decline in the number of heraldic funerals is particularly noticeable in cathedrals outside Dublin. In the period 1603 – 49 54 per cent of funerals recorded by the Ulster King of Arms took place in cathedrals other than Christ Church and St Patrick’s cathedrals. By the period 1650 – 91, this figure had reduced to 8 per cent. Therefore, the Funeral Entries cannot be seen as a representative sample of burials in Irish cathedrals and a further illustration of this limitation can be seen at Christ Church, Dublin, where only a quarter of the burials recorded in the proctor’s account in the Restoration period were also recorded in the Funeral Entries.

Despite these drawbacks the Funeral Entries do provide, in one source, examples of burials during the seventeenth century in almost every Irish cathedral. The distribution of burials on a provincial basis is provided in Table 7.2. Cathedral churches were not specifically required to keep registers of baptisms, marriages and burials by the Irish canons of 1634, except where a cathedral also served as a parochial church. A case in point was St Columb’s, Derry, which was constituted as the parish church of the city of Londonderry and which has a continuous register dating from 1642 with occasional references to births, marriages and deaths from the 1630s. Even the two Dublin cathedrals did not acquire registers until the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

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150 The registers of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, pp 92 – 95.
151 There are no cases from the following cathedrals: St Patrick’s, Killala; St Crumnathy’s, Achnory; St Brendan’s, Clonfert; and St Colman’s, Kilmacduagh.
152 The registers of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, p. 14.
centuries. Monumental inscriptions in Irish cathedrals could be used as an alternative source to examine the trends in burial practices amongst local communities in cathedral churches. However, the survival of monuments has been rather haphazard and many monuments were destroyed during the mid-seventeenth century troubles. Therefore, any exercise to quantify information on monuments is hampered by this deficiency. In contrast the Funeral Entries were compiled contemporaneously with the funerals or shortly thereafter and have survived intact as a record series. They also provide much information on the social background of those buried and in some cases where an individual was buried within a cathedral.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ecclesiastical Province</th>
<th>Number of Burials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armagh</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashel</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>259 (Christ Church, Dublin: 117 St Patrick’s, Dublin: 116 Elsewhere 68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuam</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.2. Number of Funeral Entries between 1603 – 91 broken down by ecclesiastical province.

The social background of two-thirds of the 339 people recorded in the Funeral Entries as being buried in cathedrals has been identified. 112 of all the cases were women and for them the social status was determined by the husband’s social status. If they were not married then their social status was determined by the father’s background. The breakdown provided in Table 7.3 clearly indicates that those buried in cathedral churches came from a variety of backgrounds, although a large proportion of them came from the higher end of the social hierarchy. The lowest social status identified were merchants and tradesmen and only 2 per cent came from such a background. Among these was Philip Culme, a draper from London, who was interred in the choir of St Patrick’s, Dublin in 1637. The fact that his brother, Benjamin, was dean of the cathedral at the time would account for his burial there. There are a large proportion of people whose social background is unknown and it could be suggested that most of these were from lower

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154 The registers of baptisms, marriages and burials in the collegiate and cathedral church of St Patrick’s, Dublin, 1677 – 1800, (ed.) J.H. Bernard (Dublin, 1907); The registers of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, p. 11.
156 Funeral Entries, vol. iv, 1633 – 52 (Genealogical Office Ms. 69, p. 277).
down the social scale. The most significant social groups were those who had attained the rank of an earl, marquise, viscount or baron and those who served in the military and the proportion of nobles and those with a military background increased between the first and second half of the seventeenth century. For most of the other social groups the proportions declined between the early Stuart and Restoration periods and this suggests that cathedrals in the late seventeenth century were developing into the preserve of the highest echelons of society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Status</th>
<th>Year 1603 – 91</th>
<th>1603 – 49</th>
<th>1650 – 91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nobility</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baronet</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knight/Esquire</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentleman</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Official</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergyman</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Official</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant/Tradesman</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.3. Social background of the people identified in the Funeral Entries who were buried in cathedral churches, 1603 – 91.

Further evidence for this trend can be seen in the social background of those memorialised in the monuments erected in St Canice’s, Kilkenny, which possesses the most significant collection of early modern funeral monuments in Ireland. An analysis of memorials erected in the sixteenth century has identified three broad social groups who were buried in the cathedral: landed lords, ecclesiastics and the burgesses of the Irishtown of Kilkenny. The analysis established that other social groups were excluded, particularly civic families from the Hightown. Carrying this analysis forward into the seventeenth century suggests that those excluded in the sixteenth century were no longer so in the early Stuart period: at least six of the monuments were for burgess of the city of Kilkenny including Thomas Pembrock whose monument recalls that he was one of the first sheriffs of the city and Patrick Murphy, a former mayor of the city. A broadening out of the social

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background of those buried in St Canice's in the first half of the seventeenth century is also suggested by a memorial for a carpenter, John Brenan, who died in 1646. There are relatively few memorials dedicated to members of the nobility or gentry, although the Funeral Entries do identify people of this rank as being buried in the cathedral, including the earls of Ormond. In the Restoration period there were few monuments erected to those lower down the social scale. Those who did have monuments erected included clergymen, such as Thomas Hill, dean of St Canice's, who died in 1673, and Bishop Thomas Otway who died in 1693. On the other hand, members of the nobility continued to be buried in the cathedral, including Mary, Countess of Ormond whose was buried with elaborate obsequies in 1668.

The majority of those identified in the Funeral Entries as clergymen were members of the episcopacy. This is unsurprising as archbishops and bishops were traditionally buried in their cathedral churches, usually in the choir, which was the most prestigious part of the cathedral for burials. For example, in 1635 the Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Michael Boyle was 'interred near the high altar in his own cathedral church of Waterford'. Likewise, when the bishop of Ossory, Jonas Wheeler, died in 1640 he was buried in the chancel of St Canice's, Kilkenny. Similarly, deans were buried in the choirs of their cathedrals, such as the dean of St Fachan's, Kilfenora, Hygate Love, who was interred in his cathedral's chancel in 1638. A funeral monument in the same cathedral indicates that a successor dean, Neptune Blood, was also buried in the chancel in 1691.

Elsewhere, flagstones in cathedral choirs signify the place of burial of higher clergymen, including Archbishop Barlow of Tuam who was buried under the east wall of St Mary's, Tuam, in 1638 and the dean of St Colman's, Cloyne, Henry Rugg, who was buried in his cathedral's chancel in 1671.

The prestige associated with burials in the choir was reflected in the expense of opening a grave in this space and as one got closer to the high altar the cost rose. In 1663 the dean

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159 Ibid., p. 169.
160 Funeral Entries, vol. iii, 1604 – 22 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 66, p. 46); Funeral Entries, vol. v, 1622 – 33 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 68, p. 201).
164 Funeral Entries, vol. ix, 1640 – 63 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 72, pp 29 – 30).
168 The registers of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, p. 29.
and chapter of Christ Church, Dublin, set burial fees for the cathedral. Adults buried in close proximity to the altar were to pay £10, while those buried outside the altar rails were to be charged £5. For burials in St Mary’s Chapel the fee was set at £3. The cheapest place to get buried in the cathedral was in the Trinity Chapel, which cost £2. The burial of children was between a half and two-thirds of the adult rates. In St Fin Barre’s, Cork, the dean and chapter made a resolution in 1668 that burials between the rails and the altar would cost £5 and burials elsewhere in the cathedral were to cost £3 10s. In St Colman’s, Cloyne, the dean and chapter made an order in 1677 that the proctor was to charge 40s for each burial in the choir and 10s for burials in the nave. In 1683 the Corporation of Waterford set the burial fees for Holy Trinity Cathedral and directed that burials within the choir were to cost twice the amounts set for the nave and side chapels. A similar principle was employed in St Patrick’s, Killala, where in the early eighteenth century the dean and chapter made regulations for burial fees in the cathedral. Those buried in the nave were to pay 10s. 20s was the charge for those buried in the choir between the door of the choir and the pulpit and 30s was the fee set for burials between the pulpit and the altar rails. 23 of the people identified in the Funeral Entries were buried in cathedral choirs and the social exclusivity of burial in this location is evident in the status of these people. Around half of the cases were either nobles or baronets and most of the others were senior clergymen or government officials. Furthermore, three-quarters of the cases were of a New English ethnic origin. Of those cases identified as being buried in Christ Church, Dublin, the location of 20 is known. Six were buried in the choir, all of whom came from a newcomer background. Thirteen were buried in St Mary’s Chapel, most of whom had an administrative background or were women. There is only one case of a person being buried in the Trinity Chapel and this was Captain Edward Pierse who was buried there in 1655.

The two Dublin cathedrals occupied a pre-eminent position within the cathedral system of Ireland in the seventeenth century and this is reflected by the fact that two-thirds of all cathedral burials recorded in the Funeral Entries between 1603 and 1691 took place in either Christ Church or St Patrick’s cathedrals. As the principal city in Ireland, Dublin was home to a large newcomer community, many of whom had found positions in the Irish

171 R.C.B., C12/2/1, f. 5v.
172 Council books of the corporation of Waterford, 1662 – 1700, p. 230.
173 R.C.B., C19/1, p. 4.
administration. Most of these people had not established roots elsewhere in the country and consequently the two Dublin cathedrals were logical places to be buried. A transient population was also present in Dublin in the form of the military and for a number of those who died while stationed in Ireland the place of burial chosen was one of the Dublin cathedrals. This is evident in Tables 7.4 and 7.5, which show the social background of people identified in the Funeral Entries who were buried in the two Dublin cathedrals during the period 1603 – 91. In Christ Church the proportion of those with a military background was 16 per cent while in St Patrick’s it was 11 per cent. Tables 7.4 and 7.5 also illustrate that there was a high proportion of people with a noble social background buried in both cathedrals and that the proportion rose over the course of the seventeenth century. At the other end of the social spectrum there were very few merchants and tradesmen whose burials in the Dublin cathedrals are recorded in the Funeral Entries, although a proportion of those whose social background is unknown may have been from this social rank. The Funeral Entries contain only the names of a few Dublin civic officials who were buried in the Dublin cathedrals. These include two lord mayors: John Arthur who was buried in St Patrick’s cathedral in 1607 and John Preston who was buried in Christ Church cathedral in 1686.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Status</th>
<th>1603 – 91</th>
<th>1603 – 49</th>
<th>1650 – 91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nobility</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baronet</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knight/Esquire</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentleman</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Official</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergyman</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Official</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant/Tradesman</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.4. Social background of people identified in the Funeral Entries buried in Christ Church, Dublin.

175 *The registers of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin*, p. 27.
176 Funeral Entries, vol. i, 1588 – 1617 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 64, p. 50).
177 Funeral Entries, vol. xii, 1683 – 91 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 75, p. 111).
The low proportion of burials of Dublin civic officials recorded in the Funeral Entries is significant, particularly with regard to Christ Church cathedral. The close connections that had once existed between Christ Church and the civic community declined during the latter half of the sixteenth century and by the early seventeenth century this cathedral was no longer the focus of the city's religious worship. Consequently, fewer civic officials were buried in Christ Church cathedral. Parallel to this development was the emergence of an enhanced relationship between Christ Church cathedral and the State. Six per cent of people identified in the Funeral Entries as being buried in Christ Church Cathedral in the period 1603 – 49 have been classified as state officials. But to this number should be added those who had a higher social status, such as baronets, but who also served in the English administration in Ireland. Re-classifying these people as state officials would increase the proportion of state officials to 32 per cent for the period 1603 – 49 and this represents a clear link between the State and Christ Church. If a similar exercise were undertaken for St Patrick’s cathedral the proportion of state officials identified in the Funeral Entries would increase from 13 per cent to 24 per cent for the period 1603 – 49. Therefore, in the early Stuart period government officials established and enhanced their close connections with both of the Dublin cathedrals. Furthermore, most of these officials were newcomers and this is reflected in the fact that in both cathedrals around three-fifths of all those identified in the Funeral Entries as being buried in the Dublin cathedrals in the early Stuart period were of a New English background.

178 The registers of Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, p. 26; Raymond Gillespie, ‘The Shaping of Reform, 1558 – 1625’, p. 188.
In the Restoration period, the majority of those buried in the two Dublin cathedrals were also newcomers by origin. However, the high proportion of state officials being buried in Christ Church and St Patrick’s decreased significantly during the latter half of the seventeenth century and in both cathedrals state officials accounted for between five and six per cent of the people identified in the Funeral Entries between 1650 and 1691. Why this decrease should happen is not clear but perhaps this trend may be due to the newcomer community becoming more settled in Dublin and as a result establishing roots in the individual parishes of the city where they eventually decided to be interred. Another possible reason could be that the high churchmanship that emerged in the Dublin cathedrals during the 1630s and which developed in the Restoration period did not appeal to those lower down the social scale and therefore they chose to be buried elsewhere. Conversely this ethos of hierarchy and ceremony may have appealed to those higher up the social scale and as a result the proportion of those of noble rank being buried in the Dublin cathedrals increased. In this respect, it can be argued that the cathedrals of Ireland in the late seventeenth century developed an ethos that was increasingly exclusivist in outlook.

The Funeral Entries do not provide any indication of the religious outlook of the people that they record. For a large proportion, particularly those of a newcomer background and those who pursued careers in the established church, they undoubtedly held Protestant beliefs. For those who were Old English or Gaelic Irish, their religious sensibilities are ambiguous. For example, it was claimed that John Arthur, who was buried in St Patrick’s, Dublin, in 1607, was pressurised into conforming to the Church of Ireland and if this was so it is reasonable to question Arthur’s sincerity in his religious convictions at the time of his death. In a similar vain Callaghan McCarthy, who was once a monk in France, conformed to the established church when he acceded to the earldom of Clancarthy in 1666 but at the time of his death in 1676 he was said to have been out of communion with the Anglican Church. Nevertheless he was buried in Christ Church, Dublin.

179 The underestimation that was evident in the period 1603 – 49 is not as prevalent for the period 1650 – 91. Incorporating those who were of a higher status into the figures for state officials increases the figure for Christ Church by 1 per cent and the figure for St Patrick’s remains unchanged.

180 Funeral Entries, vol. i, 1588 – 1617 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 64, p. 50); Colin Lennon, The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation, p. 225.

Undoubtedly many of the Gaelic Irish and Old English identified in the Funeral Entry Books retained their old religious beliefs and despite the fact that the Protestant church possessed the churches and cathedrals, they continued to seek burial in their customary places and in consecrated grounds. In the Funeral Entries there are a number of examples of Old English and Gaelic Irish who were buried in their ancestral graves. St Mary’s Limerick has been described as a heraldic monument to Limerick’s elite and in 1636 Alderman James More White of Limerick was interred in the ‘tomb of that sept’ in the city’s cathedral. The following year Edmund Sexton, who was a staunch Protestant and a former mayor of the city, was interred in St Mary’s cathedral in his ancestors’ chapel, which he had assiduously maintained. In 1637 Edmond Butler of Bayonrath in County Tipperary was buried in his ancestors’ monument in St Patrick’s, Cashel and in 1640 Sir John Fitzgerald was laid to rest in the monument of his ancestors in St Colman’s, Cloyne. This ancestral monument was the one erected to his namesake, who died in 1612 as a Catholic. Thus there is evidence that Catholics burials were accommodated in Protestant churches and cathedrals in the early Stuart period. However, for the Restoration period evidence becomes less clear.

The monuments themselves often give an indication of the religious inclination of those being buried. Although the funeral monuments for both Catholics and Protestants were stylistically similar, there were subtle differences in the use of iconography, which reflected the religious outlook of the deceased. On Catholic tombs there were a variety of religious symbols used including the cross, figures of the saints and signs of the passion and whereas Protestant tombs appear to have been erected to honour the family of the patron, Catholic monuments appear to be more a homage to their faith. An example of such a monument in the context of an Irish cathedral is the funeral monument of Nicholas Kenan and Margaret Fyan dated 1616 and located in the burial ground of St Patrick’s, Dublin. This monument displays emblems of Christ’s passion and crucifixion. In St

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182 Clodagh Tait, Death, burial and commemoration in Ireland, 1550 – 1650, pp 78 – 79, 158.
184 Funeral Entries, vol. vii, 1636 – 39 (Genealogical Office, Ms. 70, p. 84).
185 Ibid., p. 154; Edmund Sexton’s notebook, (N.L.I., 16085, pp 90 – 91).
187 Funeral Entries, vol. ix, 1640 – 1663 (Genealogical Office Ms. 72, p. 232).
Brendan’s, Clonfert, the memorial of Richard Callan, who died in 1612, contained a cross, an ‘I.H.S.’ and the word Maria. Similarly, a memorial in Christ Church, Dublin, for Richard Brown, who had served as one of the sheriffs of Dublin in the early seventeenth century, possessed discrete Catholic symbols, including a heart bearing ‘I.H.S.’ and pierced with three nails and a cross. In St Mary’s, Limerick, a slab covering the grave of Dominick and Genete Creagh, dated 1632, contained the inscription ‘I.H.S.’. A more explicit Catholic monument was displayed in St Brigid’s, Kildare, where sometime after 1618 Mary Wogan, the wife of James Fitzgerald, erected a monument to her husband and his parents with an inscription asking for prayers for the souls of those buried there. Likewise, a tomb erected in Clonmacnoise cathedral was inscribed ‘pray for the soul of Cormack McJames Coghlan and his sohn John. They lived many years beloved of their neighbours and their corps here interred in their ancestor’s tomb in 1622’. All of these monuments date from the early Stuart period and the absence of examples from the Restoration period onwards suggest that Catholics do not appear to have been accommodated in churches to the same degree as earlier in the seventeenth century. If Catholics continued to be buried in churches and cathedrals in the latter half of the seventeenth century then their monuments no longer contained these discrete Catholic symbols. Perhaps Catholics took advantage of stylistic changes in the appearance of funeral monuments, which became simpler with a particular focus on the epitaph. As a result Catholics may have been able to memorialise their dead without offending Protestant sensibilities.

IV

The desire of Catholics to continue burying their dead in Protestant controlled churches and cathedrals may indicate a belief that the Protestants enjoyed only a temporary stewardship of these buildings. When the opportunity arose during the seventeenth century, Catholics took active measures to end that stewardship and take possession of churches and cathedrals themselves. Following the death of Queen Elizabeth in March 1603, the corporate towns of Munster spontaneously revolted against the English administration in Ireland. This recusancy revolt was initiated by the incorrect belief that

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193 Ibid., p. 129.
the new king, James VI of Scotland, was a Catholic. Above all, the churches were the focal point of the reassertion of Catholic identity. On 16 April it was reported that the keys of Holy Trinity, Waterford, were taken from the cathedral’s sexton. A week later the mayor confirmed to the lord deputy that masses had been celebrated in the churches of the city. Around this time a Captain Nicholas Strong entered into the vestry of the cathedral and into the house of the chancellor of the cathedral, John Cowan, and took away copies of the bible, Book of Common Prayer and other religious books. These books were subsequently burnt in the cathedral’s churchyard. Further destruction took place in St Fin Barre’s, Cork, where, on 10 April, the Ten Commandments, written on the walls of the chancel, were scraped out and painted over. The next day solemn processions were held throughout the city and masses were sung openly in the churches. At a subsequent service, held in the cathedral, a Catholic priest preached before the mayor, recorder and citizens that the king’s majesty was not perfect until the pope had confirmed him.

As in Cork and Waterford, the churches in Limerick, including St Mary’s Cathedral, were reconfigured for Catholic worship. In Kilkenny a Jesuit from Clonmel, Dr James White, consecrated the churches in the city, prohibited the celebration of the mass in private and encouraged the citizens to hold Catholic services openly in their churches. The recusancy revolt lasted about a month and in the face of overwhelming force from the lord deputy, the corporate towns submitted to central government in early May 1603 without any resistance. In Waterford a garrison of 150 soldiers was placed in the city, which was considered the centre of the revolt, and the corporation memorialised in its records that this was because ‘the priests upon the death of our late sovereign Queen Elizabeth hallowed the cathedral church and sang masse there in publick’. As the established church repossessed the cathedrals, a collective memory was being formed in the Catholic community of masses being celebrated openly in churches and cathedrals.

198 Sir Nicholas Walshe to Cecil, 16 Apr. 1603 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603 – 06, pp 18 – 19).
199 Ro. Walshe, Mayor of Waterford to the Lord Deputy, 25 Apr. 1603 (Ibid., pp 28 – 29).
200 Annals of Ireland 1594-1613 by William Farmer (B.L., Harleian Ms. 3544, f. 43).
Throughout the early Stuart period sectarian tensions were endemic in Irish society and Catholics had to reconcile themselves to the fact that Protestant services took place in churches and cathedrals.\textsuperscript{206} On the other hand, relationships that had evolved between the cathedrals and their local communities did not wither away as soon as confessional identities hardened.\textsuperscript{207} A case in point is the leases that Catholics held from deans and chapters. In Dublin and Waterford the traditional lessees of cathedral lands were the mercantile community who were by and large Old English Catholics. In the 1630s the names on the rent rolls for both of these cathedrals contained surnames such as Plunkett, Fitzsimons and Lutrell in Christ Church,\textsuperscript{208} and Wadding, White and Comerford in Waterford.\textsuperscript{209} Most of these leases had been granted in the early Elizabethan period and were long-term leases with expiry dates in the 1660s. When these leases had been granted the cathedral clergy had close social relations with the local community, but by the early Stuart period that relationship had largely been reduced to a business relationship.\textsuperscript{210} The rent rolls also indicate that there was a shift underway in the recipients of cathedral leases as deans and chapters were increasingly inclined to grant leases to New English Protestants. In the 1641 rent roll for Christ Church, Dublin, there are New English names such as Captain Harper, Steven Palmer, and Mr Pheasant. There are also the names of Church of Ireland clergymen and of those who had close relations with the cathedral such as the dean of St Edan’s, Ferns, Robert Wilson, and the chapter clerk, Thomas Howell.\textsuperscript{211} In the 1620s cathedral clergymen at St Fin Barre’s, Cork, were granting leases to Zachary Travers, Sir Robert Travers, Sir William Hull, Francis Butterfield and Edward Dunscombe. By the 1630s no leases were being granted to persons with Old English surnames.\textsuperscript{212}

The underlying hostility between the religiously divided communities of early Stuart Ireland eventually led to the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion and there was once again an


\textsuperscript{208} R.C.B., C 6/1/26/16/13.

\textsuperscript{209} R.C.B., C 16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/24.

\textsuperscript{210} R.C.B., C 6/1/26/3/28.

\textsuperscript{211} St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i.

\textsuperscript{212} St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Ms. B 8/1, Chapter Acts, vol. i.
opportunity for Catholics to regain ownership of cathedral churches. In St Canice’s, Kilkenny, and St Brigid’s, Kildare, Catholics disinterred the bodies of Protestants from their graves. The removal of the bones of Protestants or ‘heretics’ was seen as a necessary action prior to sanctifying the cathedrals for Catholic worship. In both of these cathedrals the church plate, ornaments and capitolular records were seized by Catholic forces, thus enabling Catholic clergymen to perform services in the cathedrals and administer the cathedrals’ estates. Similarly, in St Fethlimidh’s, Kilmore, the church plate, which had been donated to the cathedrals by Bishop William Bedell, was taken by Edmund O’Reilly and given to O’Reilly’s brother, the Catholic Bishop of Kilmore.

Bishop O’Reilly also took possession of the cathedral and the bishop’s house and on Christmas Day 1641 the cathedral was re-consecrated as a Catholic church. Elsewhere, St Patrick’s, Cashel, was formally re-consecrated as a Catholic church by Archbishop Thomas Walsh on 17 March 1642 and in 1643 St Colman’s Cloyne was taken into Catholic possession.

The extent to which the Catholic Church controlled the cathedral churches of Ireland is evident in the appointments made by Rome to capitular offices during the 1640s. Between 1641 and 1649 Catholic clergymen were appointed to the deaneries of Waterford, Limerick, Killaloe, Cloyne, Kildare, Leighlin, Clogher, Clonfert, Elphin, Tuam and Kilfenora. Appointments were also made to cathedrals that were not under Catholic control, such as Cork, Lismore and Raphoe, indicating that the Catholic Church anticipated taking over these churches. Thus Catholic clergymen slotted into the ecclesiastical structures of the Church of Ireland with relative ease. They also had success in effectively administering the cathedrals. In Cashel the Catholic dean and chapter appointed vicars choral to undertake choral duties in the choir. They also sought to collect the rents and revenues of the economy estate of the cathedral. In Holy Trinity,

213 1641 Depositions, Co. Kilkenny (T.C.D., Ms. 812, f. 203v); Co. Kildare (Ms. 813, ff 260 – 60v).
214 1641 Depositions, Co. Kilkenny (T.C.D., Ms. 812, f. 203v); Co. Kildare (Ms. 813, f. 264).
Waterford, a full complement of Catholic clergymen was appointed to the cathedral’s chapter. Robert Power was appointed the dean, the precentor was Michael Hackett, the chancellor was William Wise and the treasurer was John Brenan. In 1648 they granted a lease of a house near St Olave’s Church to James Geraldine for 60 years at 20s Irish a year. Geraldine was also to pay an entry fine of £20 to the dean and chapter to be used in the repair of the fabric of the cathedral. A functioning chapter was also established in St Canice’s, Kilkenny, and members of the chapter included James Shee, prebendary of Tascoffin and John Shee, prebendary of Mayne, who were both memorialised in a monument erected in the nave of the cathedral. Effective administration at St Canice’s was displayed in a rent roll belonging to the vicars of the common hall, which showed that the vicars’ income amounted to £75 11s in 1643.

One of the vicars choral in St Canice’s, Kilkenny was, prior to the outbreak of the rebellion, the Protestant vicar of Castlecomer. In the 1641 depositions it was reported that James Kevan had ‘revolted to the mass and had joined himself to the popish faction’. Subsequently he became organist in St Canice’s cathedral. The organist of St Mary’s, Limerick, Richard Fuller and his wife and daughter also became Catholics in the aftermath of the 1641 rebellion, as did the organist of Holy Trinity, Waterford, Mr Williams. Other Protestant cathedral clergymen who converted to Catholicism included almost all of the members of the chapter of St Fachan’s, Kilfenora. The dean of Kilfenora, Neptune Blood, deposed that the archdeacon, John Twenbrook, the chancellor, Patrick Lysaght, and the treasurer, John Lowe, had all turned papist since the rebellion. Similarly, the chancellor of the cathedral of St Alibeus’s, Emly, Thaedeus O’Grady, converted to Catholicism at this time. Some of the cathedral clergymen appear to have been forced to convert to Catholicism such as John Walsh, chancellor of St Brigid’s, Kildare. The 1641 rebellion also had an effect on the dean of St Laserian’s, Leighlin, Hugh Cressey. Cressey was part of the coterie of Yorkshire men who were patronised by the earl of Strafford in the 1630s. He had served as prebendary of St John’s in Christ Church, Dublin, prior to his appointment to the deanery of Leighlin in 1638. He could therefore be

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223 R.C.B., C3/12/1/1.
224 1641 Depositions, Co. Kilkenny (T.C.D., Ms. 812, f. 193v).
225 1641 Depositions, Co. Limerick (T.C.D., Ms. 829, f. 221).
226 1641 Depositions, Co. Waterford (T.C.D., Ms. 820, f. 246v).
227 1641 Depositions, Co. Clare (T.C.D., Ms. 829, f. 41v).
228 1641 Depositions, Co. Limerick (Ibid., ff 221, 262).
229 Raymond Gillespie, ‘St Brigid’s Cathedral in the Age of Reform’, p. 55.
characterised as part of the Laudian wing of the church. In 1646 he became a Benedictine monk at Douai and later explained that he converted to Catholicism because he believed the events of the 1640s were the result of God’s judgement for the sacrilege and schism brought about by the Reformation.230

When the cathedrals were taken over by Catholic clergy they were reconfigured for the celebration of the mass and other forms of devotional worship. In St Mary’s, Tuam, the Catholic Archbishop, John de Burgh, placed the relics of St Jarlath in their former resting place.231 The Rothe monument in St Canice’s, Kilkenny, recorded that the Catholic Bishop of Ossory, David Rothe, restored the cathedral to its pristine worship and cleansed it from heresy and schism.232 The work undertaken by Bishop Rothe appears to have included a partial restoration of the choir and the erection of holy images.233 Bishop Rothe also provided the cathedral with liturgical vestments and vessels, including a silver monstrance.234 In St Patrick’s, Cashel, Catholic iconography was erected throughout the cathedral and vestments and chalices were supplied.235 During the 1640s the cathedrals were the settings of splendid Catholic services. The first meeting of the General Assembly of the Catholic Confederation, held on 24 October 1642, was preceded by a service at St Canice’s, Kilkenny, where Bishop Rothe invoked a blessing for the Confederate cause.236 An elaborate service in St Canice’s, Kilkenny, marked the arrival of the Papal Nuncio, Baptisita Rinuccini, in 1645. At the door of the cathedral Rinuccini met Bishop Rothe and the two processed down the nave to the high altar accompanied by incense. A Te Deum was then sung in honour of the Papal Nuncio. At the conclusion of the service Rinuccini gave an apostolic benediction to the congregation.237 While in Ireland Rinuccini promoted the concept of ‘splendore’ in church liturgy and stressed to Irish Catholics the value of carefully constructed and beautiful ceremonies and buildings. These values can be seen in an elaborate procession that took place in Limerick to celebrate the victory of Owen Roe O’Neill. On 13 June 1646 the troops, magistracy, members of the supreme council and

232 These words were subsequently erased from the monument: Clodagh Tait, Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550 – 1650, p. 127.
233 C. P. Meehan, Confederation of Kilkenny (Dublin, 1882), p. 204.
234 St Canice’s Cathedral Kilkenny, Guide for Visitors (Kilkenny, n.d.), p. 3
commonalty of the city proceeded to St Mary’s cathedral while a Te Deum was chanted. The following day a mass of thanksgiving was celebrated in the cathedral. Rinuccini played a key role in the preparation of these ceremonies and the music played included material that he had brought from Italy. While he was in Limerick, the Papal Nuncio also participated in the ceremonial burial of the Bishop of Limerick, Richard Arthur. He also restored the preaching table in the cathedral, which set out the days when the bishop of Limerick, the members of the chapter, and the diocesan and regular clergy were to preach.

The majority of Irish cathedrals fell into Catholic possession during the 1640s. By 1643 the only cathedrals that remained in the possession of Protestant clergymen were the two cathedrals in Dublin, and the cathedrals in Cork, Lismore, Elphin, Derry and Raphoe, although St Columb’s, Derry, was in the possession of the Scottish Presbyterians who were opposed to the concept of cathedral churches. Catholics had particular aspirations regarding the two Dublin cathedrals. In the early days of the rebellion there were rumours that Catholics intended to take over the cathedrals in Dublin and that mass would soon be celebrated in Christ Church. These intentions were manifest in the appointment of titular deans to Christ Church, Dublin, by the papacy during the early 1640s and in the demands made by the Catholics during the negotiation that led to the first Ormond peace that one of the Dublin cathedrals be given to them. St Mary’s, Elphin, eventually fell into Catholic possession in 1645. In 1641 the Protestant defenders of Elphin repulsed an attack by Catholics on the town. During the 1630s the Protestant bishop of Elphin, Edward King, had built a small but strong castle as his episcopal residence. His successor, Henry Tilson and his son, who was a captain, defended the town from this position. In August 1645 they surrendered the castle to Catholic forces and were given free passage to leave. On 7 September the Catholic Bishop, Boethius MacEgan, accompanied by six friars took possession of the castle. The following day the Catholic bishop re-consecrated the

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240 Maurice Lenihan, Limerick: Its History and Antiquities, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, from the earliest ages (Dublin, 1866), p. 588.
241 1641 Depositions, Co. Dublin, vol. i (T.C.D., Ms. 809, ff 6, 261); Co. Dublin, vol. ii (Ms. 810, f. 22v); Co. Wicklow (Ms. 811, f. 135v).
cathedral with incense and holy water. Subsequently he celebrated mass and preached in
the cathedral.243

In the late 1640s the situation began to reverse as Protestant forces went on the offensive,
although many of these Protestants did not favour cathedral worship. In September 1647
St Patrick’s, Cashel, was attacked by Lord Inchiquin and his parliamentarian forces
proceeded to wreck and burn the cathedral.244 In February 1648 the commander of the
parliamentary forces in Ireland, Michael Jones, captured the town of Kildare and
garrisoned his forces overnight in St Brigid’s cathedral. Over the next few years’
ownership of this cathedral would sway between Protestant and Catholic control.245 In
Waterford, Protestant clergymen claimed possession of part of the estate of the dean and
chapter of Holy Trinity cathedral, which was then controlled by Catholic clergymen,
following the second Ormond peace of 1649.246 With the arrival of Cromwell later that
year, Protestant repossessions of Irish cathedrals accelerated. In March 1650 Cromwell
captured the Irishtown in Kilkenny, where St Canice’s cathedral was located. The
cathedral was used as a defensive position for the attack on the Hightown of Kilkenny and
the interior was subsequently gutted.247 Also in 1650 Lord Inchiquin took St Colman’s,
Cloyne, by force.248 The following year, Lord Deputy Ireton took control of Waterford.
Colonel Saddler was appointed governor of the city and under his direction the contents of
Holy Trinity, Waterford, were sold off.249 In October 1651 the city of Limerick was
handed over to the lord deputy, following a four-month siege of the city, and Ireton
subsequently established a court martial in St Mary’s cathedral.250

The Restoration of 1660 led to the re-establishment of the Church of Ireland and the
principle of hierarchical church government, of which the cathedrals played an integral
part. It also restored the status quo ante bellum with regard to the Catholic community and
the cathedrals as many Catholics looked forward to the opportunity to regain control of

632); Certificate of Benjamin Spicer, Sept. 1645 (Ibid, p. 643).
244 Peter Galloway, The cathedrals of Ireland, p. 37; St John D. Seymour, The Storming of the Rock of
Denis Murphy, Cromwell in Ireland, pp 300 – 01.
245 Raymond Gillespie, ‘St Brigid’s Cathedral in the Age of Reform’, pp 55 – 56.
246 Petition of the dean and chapter of Waterford, May 1649 (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Carte 155, ff 162 – 162v);
Petition of Robert Naylor, dean of St Mary’s Limerick and Andrew Chaplin, May 1649 (Ibid., 167 – 167v);
247 Proceedings of the Council of Ireland, 1655 (N.L.I., Ms. 839, f. 12).
248 Commentarius Rinuccinianus, vol. iv, p. 419.
249 R.C.B., C 16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/34.
cathedral churches. But in one important respect the mid-century crisis altered the relationship between the cathedrals and the Catholic community as it brought to an end the leasing arrangements that had existed prior to 1641. The disruption led to the termination of numerous long leases of cathedral property and in the 1660s deans and chapters throughout Ireland granted new leases principally to members of their own community. Rent Rolls for Holy Trinity, Waterford, in the 1660s and 1680s mostly contain New English surnames such as Lynn, Taylor, Cheever and Odway. Similarly, the ordinary receipts of the Proctor’s Accounts for Christ Church, Dublin, during the Restoration period show that a significant proportion of the cathedral’s tenants were Protestant noblemen, knights, aldermen of the city and clergymen. A similar profile is evident in the grantee names of leases from St Patrick’s, Dublin, although at this cathedral there were also significant numbers of tradesmen with names such as Rutter, Poulter, Howell, Briscoe, Cliffe and Arundell.

The accession to the throne of James II brought renewed instability to the kingdom as Protestants recalled the rapid resurgence of the Catholic Church in the 1640s. Despite these fears, the initial mood was one of loyalty. In the aftermath of the Monmouth rebellion of 1685 the dean and chapter of St Mary’s, Limerick, recorded an address to the king in their chapter act book. In this they conveyed their submission to the king and thanked God for the defeat of his enemies and those of the church and concluded by professing their obedience to him. However, 1685 was the only year during the reign of James II that the dean and chapter of St Mary’s, Limerick, recorded a chapter meeting: the next recorded meeting was in 1692. Those most loyal to the new regime were those members of cathedral chapters who converted to Catholicism. The dean of St Columb’s, Derry, Peter Manby, converted in 1686. In March 1687 the earl of Sunderland directed the lord deputy to sequester the revenues of the deanery, which were to be paid into the Exchequer. Manby was to be granted an allowance out of these funds for the maintenance of himself and his family. The following month a warrant from the king to the lord

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251 See above, Chapter III – Cathedral Finance, p. 100.
252 R.C.B., C 16, Muniments of Holy Trinity, Waterford, A/65; A/103.
253 R.C.B., C6/1/15/1.
257 St Mary’s, Limerick, Chapter Act Book, pp 14 – 16.
deputy directed that letters patent be drawn up for a royal dispensation to be granted to Dean Manby allowing him to continue to hold his deanery. In 1688 another royal dispensation was granted to the precentor of St Saviour’s, Connor, Alexander Moore, allowing him to retain his livings despite his conversion to Catholicism. He later served as a captain in the siege of Derry. In January 1687, during the dean’s visitation of St Patrick’s, Dublin, one of the vicars choral, Bartholomew Isaacs, was found to be negligent in his choral duties. Isaacs later explained that he had ‘embraced the Catholic religion being that of his sovereign, which forbade him to pray or to officiate with the chapter in divine service’. In a letter to the Bishop of Kildare, who was also the dean of Christ Church, Dublin, Isaacs explained that the only cause and motive that he had in becoming a Catholic was to save his soul. However, his refusal to perform his duties resulted in his dismissal. In September 1687 Isaacs presented the dean and chapter with a letter from the king, which directed them to restore him to his office. Once restored he was to be granted a dispensation from serving in the choir. The dean and chapter did not reinstate Isaacs to his living but decided to defend their rights by law and in 1688 the dean’s visitation contains the name of Thomas Burnett in the place of Bartholomew Isaacs.

Signs of impending trouble for deans and chapters were evident from early on in the Catholic king’s reign. In 1686 the churchyard of St Carthage’s, Lismore, was ‘riotously invaded’ by a number of people, who challenged the authority of the bishop, dean and chapter. In February 1687 the doors of St Patrick’s, Cashel, were forced open and what were described as several unruly and disorderly persons played at ‘fives’ in the body of the church. The doors and windows of the chapter house were also broken. In October soldiers attached to a regiment raised by Baron Purcell of Loughmore damaged the cathedral’s gates and churchyard. On 13 November 1688 the dean and chapter held their last meeting and their next recorded meeting was not until 28 July 1692. Throughout 1688 the chapter of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, was adjourned at least four times because of the

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259 The King to the Lord Deputy, 25 Apr. 1687 (Ibid., p. 415).
262 R.C.B., C6/1/26/6/22.
264 Ibid., f. 177.
265 Ibid., f. 178.
266 Ibid., f. 182.
267 St Carthage’s, Lismore, Chapter Act Book, f. 23v.
non-attendance of members. This was despite an order of the dean that every member of the chapter who absented themselves on chapter days was to be fined 2s 6d. Between 30 April 1689 and 7 April 1691 the dean and chapter recorded no meetings. During this time the cathedral was in Catholic possession and on 24 October 1689 Dr William King recorded in his diary that St Fin Barre’s cathedral had been broken up and plundered by Catholics.

Similarly in St Colman’s, Cloyne, the chapter meeting of 12 November 1688 was dissolved because there were not a sufficient number of dignitaries and prebendaries present to constitute a full chapter. The chapter next met a year later and after that the cathedral clergymen did not congregate until 14 November 1693. An account of the situation at Cloyne at this time is contained in the papers of the Bishop of Meath, Anthony Dopping. On 7 February 1689 the Bishop of Cork, Edward Wetenhall, wrote to Dopping and informed him that the keys of the cathedral had recently been taken into the possession of the Catholic priest of the parish. Subsequently, a Protestant army officer took the keys off the priest and gave them to one of the Protestant vicars. Bishop Wetenhall also informed Dopping that the preaching turns of the cathedral had not been fulfilled for four months because no payments were being made to its clergymen.

Wetenhall attempted to revive the order of preaching in the cathedral by trying to persuade the dean of St Fin Barre’s, Cork, Arthur Pomeroy, who was also treasurer of St Colman’s, Cloyne, to preach there, but to no avail. He appears to have had more success with the archdeacon and one of the prebendaries who agreed to go to Cloyne to preach. On the 11 May the archdeacon of Cloyne, Dominic Meade, went to Cloyne to celebrate divine service and preach in the cathedral. As soon as the service began Catholics surrounded the cathedral and began to shout and throw stones at the windows and on the roof. They then locked the congregation into the church. The congregation decided to leave the cathedral through a side entrance but as soon as they got out they were pursued by a multitude of men, women and children who threw stones at them, wounding a Protestant soldier. The archdeacon’s account of the attack identified the sister of the Catholic priest of the parish, David Russell, as the main instigator of the disturbance, but the fact the Catholic priest did not attempt to hinder the attack was seen as tacit approval for the actions of the Catholic

community of Cloyne. What occurred at Cloyne was exactly what the dignitaries and prebendaries of the cathedral had feared and as a result they refused to officiate there.\textsuperscript{273}

Bishop Dopping also received correspondence from the Dean of Waterford, Thomas Wallis, regarding the situation at Holy Trinity cathedral. On the 7 April 1689 three French soldiers attempted to break open the doors of the cathedral but failed to do so. Instead they threw stones at the windows and threatened the sexton with a sword. Subsequently, the dean complained to their commander and two of the soldiers were imprisoned for their misdemeanours. Consequently, the Irish soldiers threatened to kill the dean. As a result, Dean Wallis was unable to safely discharge his duties in the cathedral.\textsuperscript{274} Nevertheless, Dean Wallis continued to reside on his cure and in October 1689 he and the precentor, John Dalton, were the only dignitaries of the cathedral that continued to reside in the city.\textsuperscript{275}

The following month, the Catholic mayor of Waterford and the sheriffs of the city seized the cathedral and guards from the city militia used force to keep the dean out. Dean Wallis brought his letters patent to the mayor and demanded that the cathedral be put into his possession, which was refused.\textsuperscript{276} Subsequently, Dean Wallis petitioned James II in the name of the bishop, dean and chapter for the cathedral to be returned into their possession.\textsuperscript{277} By 12 December the dean had received an order from the king for the cathedral to be restored, but the mayor again refused to hand back the cathedral. Instead the mayor consulted with his colleagues in the corporation and appears to have received support from the Catholic archbishop of Cashel. In his correspondence to Dopping, the dean alluded to the pretext upon which the Catholic mayor had seized the cathedral: the corporation claimed to own the cathedral because it was responsible for the repair of the nave of the church and had rights of burial there.\textsuperscript{278} The dean also alleged that the Catholics sought to question their loyalty as another reason for possession of the cathedral. Catholic soldiers claimed to have found flints and gunpowder in the cathedral, although Dean Wallis believed that it was the Catholic soldiers themselves who planted this

\textsuperscript{273} An account of the barbarous usage the Protestants of Cloyne suffered at the cathedral church during the time of Divine Service, May 11 1689 (Ibid., no. 98).
\textsuperscript{274} Thomas Wallis to Anthony Dopping, 26 Feb. 1689 (Ibid., no. 89).
\textsuperscript{275} Thomas Wallis to Anthony Dopping, 12 Oct. 1689 (Ibid., no. 109).
\textsuperscript{276} Thomas Wallis to Anthony Dopping, 11 Nov. 1689 (Ibid., no. 116).
\textsuperscript{277} Thomas Wallis to Anthony Dopping, 30 May 1689 (Ibid., no. 121).
\textsuperscript{278} Thomas Wallis to Anthony Dopping, 14 Dec. 1689 (Ibid., no. 125).
Meanwhile, it appears that Catholic clergymen took possession of the cathedral. Dean Wallis claims that Catholic clergymen promoted the retention of the church and that they asserted it was against canon law to deliver a church to ‘heretics’. The Catholic clergy also appear to have made alterations to the fabric of the cathedral. Images of God, Jesus, the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary were erected in the body of the church, which caused much offence to Dean Wallis.

By the end of December 1689 the cathedral remained in the hands of the Catholics and guarded by their soldiers, even though James II had issued a proclamation against Catholics taking Protestant churches into their possession. William King maintained that the proclamation did not order the restitution of churches already in Catholic possession, but only hindered more churches being seized. The only case cited by King where James II had ordered the restitution of a church to its Protestant clergy was at Waterford, but King suggested that this resulted in the cathedral being converted into a garrison. That this appears to be true was confirmed in another of the dean’s letters, wherein it was reported that the mayor claimed that the cathedral could be used in the defence of the city.

The cathedral was still in the hands of the Catholics on 1 February 1690 when Dean Wallis wrote his final letter to Bishop Dopping. He concluded this letter with a heart-felt plea: ‘We are in a deplorable condition, we are accosted by plotters against the government, I pray God deliver us from their malice and ignorance and passion’.

The Protestant community of Dublin would have shared these sentiments. In the summer of 1688 the lord mayor of Dublin imprisoned two officials of Christ Church, Dublin, John Wolf and Thomas Flood, for not ringing the cathedral’s bells with sufficient vigour to celebrate the birth of the king’s son. They were still in prison in October of that year when the dean and chapter of Christ Church decided to institute legal proceedings in the Court.

279 Thomas Wallis to Anthony Dopping, 18 Dec. 1689 (Ibid., no. 127).
280 Thomas Wallis to Anthony Dopping, 14 Dec. 1689 (Ibid., no. 125).
281 Thomas Wallis to Anthony Dopping, 18 Dec. 1689 (Ibid., no. 127).
282 Orders of the King, Mar. 1689 – June 1690 (Oireachtas Library, Ms. 4.E.62, p. 31).
of Common Pleas to free them from their ‘false imprisonment’. The following year numerous searches were made of Christ Church Cathedral for arms. Then, in the autumn of 1689 mass was celebrated in Christ Church for the first time since the mid-sixteenth century. William King maintained that from the beginning of James II’s reign Catholic priests had told Protestants that they would have mass in Christ Church in a very little time. On 27 October Catholics hindered Protestant clergymen from officiating in the cathedral. Subsequently, the church was reconfigured for the celebration of the sacrament of Holy Communion and a tabernacle and candlesticks were procured to adorn the altar.

The king himself attended mass in the cathedral on 17 November 1689 and he was also present at Christ Church on Ash Wednesday 1690 when a Franciscan, Fr Edmond Dulany, preached before the State. James II also appointed a dean, Alexius Stafford, and a Catholic chapter was formed. During this period cathedral administration continued and rents were collected, although some of the tenants to the cathedral believed that the Catholic clergy extorted them.

The other cathedral in Dublin, St Patrick’s, remained in Protestant control throughout the crisis, although the crown attempted to prevent the chapter from electing its own dean. The chancellor of the cathedral, William King, vociferously defended the rights of the chapter and was subsequently elected dean. Within six months of his election, King was imprisoned and in his absence the chapter was unable to maintain the cathedral’s independence. In fact most members of the cathedral fled to England and as a result the cathedral’s rents were not collected. On 22 October 1689 only three members of the chapter appeared and they summoned the other prebendaries to appear in the chapter house on 24 October. Although the prebendaries were threatened with suspension if they failed to appear, only four prebendaries were present on the day and another three sent proxies. In January 1690 only 12 out of the 25 members of the chapter appeared at the

286 R.C.B., C6/1/15/1/24; C6/1/7/3, f. 7; Wolf would later be paid £2 in 1690 for ringing the cathedrals bells for three days and a night to celebrate the Williamite victory: R.C.B., C6/1/15/1/24.
287 William King, The State of the Protestants of Ireland, p. 208.
289 Kenneth Milne, ‘Restoration and Reorganisation, 1660 – 1830’, pp 269 – 70; R.C.B., C6/1/7/3, ff 8 – 10v; C6/1/26/6/36; Edmond Dulany, A Sermon preached before the King (Dublin, 1690); A diary of events in Ireland, 1685 – 90 (H.M.C., Reports on the manuscripts of the duke of Ormonde, NS (8 vols, London, 1902 – 20), vol. viii, pp 372 – 73); H.J. Lawlor, Diary of William King, pp 72, 80; William King, The State of the Protestants of Ireland, pp 208, 215.
290 See above: Chapter II - Constitutional Developments, pp 45 – 46.

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dean’s visitation. After the middle of February 1690 the chapter did not meet until August 1690, which was a month after the Williamite victory at the Battle of the Boyne.

The cathedrals of Ireland in the Stuart period were to some extent isolated from the communities that lived beside them. During the seventeenth century confessional identities hardened and those who attended services in the cathedrals represented only the minority of the population who adhered to the state religion. As a result tensions developed, particularly in urban areas. In the early Stuart period Catholics continued to be the dominant force in the government of corporate towns and cities, despite the efforts of the English administration. In urban areas where there were cathedral churches, civic authorities attempted to undermine the liberties and privileges of deans and chapters. Aldermen and burgesses believed that the freedoms of the cathedrals that the Protestant clergy adopted undermined the administration of law and trade in their cities and towns. In response to these challenges, deans and chapters sought to defend the ancient privileges and liberties of their cathedrals through legal means and by soliciting the support of the State. While this response was ultimately successful, it also served to enhance divisions between cathedrals and the local community that continued to exist into the later half of the seventeenth century, even when the role of Catholics in civic administration had diminished.

Although cathedral clergymen may have retreated behind the walls of their closes and became somewhat disengaged from the life of the local community, there remained one feature where there was some continuity with the past: burial rights within the confines of cathedral churches. The importance of ancient burial rights to the local community was reflected in the fact that Catholics continued to seek burial in Protestant controlled churches. The prestige associated with being buried in a cathedral church remained an important consideration for both Gaelic Irish and Old English noblemen, although to a lessening degree as the century progressed. This prestige was not lost on the newcomer elite, many of who erected impressive monuments in cathedral churches to publicise the successes they had achieved in life. The desire of Catholics to retain their ancient burial rights in cathedral churches may also reflect the belief that the Protestants had only a temporary stewardship of these buildings. During the seventeenth century, cathedrals played a symbolic role for Catholics who fought and prayed for the re-establishment and

292 Ibid., f. 223.
293 Ibid., f. 224.
restoration of their church. These irredentist hopes were made real in 1603, in the 1640s and in 1689 – 90 when Catholics reoccupied cathedrals, re-consecrated them and celebrated mass in them. The Treaty of Limerick ended Catholic aspirations for the restoration of their church and ushered in an era of legal restrictions against their religion. When the penal laws were eventually relaxed at the end of the eighteenth century there were few who claimed the ancient cathedrals of Ireland for the Catholic Church. The fact that a major cathedral building project was instituted in the early nineteenth century by the Catholic Church and that most of these were built on locations away from the ancient diocesan centres, demonstrates the degree to which the Anglican cathedrals of Ireland became isolated institutions in Irish society.
Conclusion

During the Stuart period the role of the cathedrals was enhanced and provided the basis for the development of ‘Caroline traditions’ within the Church of Ireland. Initially Protestant reformers were critical of cathedrals, which were seen as anachronistic and appeared to be overstaffed with personnel and attached to elaborate liturgical or ‘popish’ practices. Nevertheless, the cathedral system of Ireland was not radically altered by the Tudor reformation and by the early seventeenth century Protestant reformers valued cathedrals as centres of diocesan administration and episcopal patronage. The intention of creating a functioning cathedral system was displayed in the 1612 bill for the re-edifying and repairing of cathedral and parish churches. This ambitious proposal entailed a reorganisation of the medieval cathedral system by transferring diocesan centres away from rural backwaters to urban areas, where active proselytization could be put into effect. Although this bill was never enacted, in 1623 the king ordered the bishops, deans and chapters to repair their cathedral churches and commanded all dignitaries and stipendiary ministers to take special care in instructing the people in the principles of true religion. In the late 1620s and 1630s there was further State support for the cathedral system in the form of grants of incorporations for cathedrals located in the escheated counties of Ulster. While these charters were primarily designed to provide legal security for leases of church lands, they also, in common with earlier charters granted by James I, extended the claim of the monarchy to present deans. The ability of the Stuart monarchs to press their claim to the right to present deans was one of the most significant constitutional developments for the cathedral system in the seventeenth century. It enabled the crown to place model clergy in the centres of diocesan administration to keep an eye on developments at a local level.

The importance of having reliable clergy on the ground became apparent as cathedrals evolved into models of Laudian practice during the 1630s. As the mother churches of their dioceses, cathedrals were expected to comply with the new standards of order and decency in worship and promote the principals of the ‘beauty of holiness’ throughout their dioceses. The concept of a functioning cathedral system was spelt out in the 1634 Canons, with residentiary deans and canons, dignitaries and prebendaries appropriately attired, monthly communion, and educated minor canons and vicars choral. The standard bearer for this programme in an Irish context was Christ Church, Dublin, and it was clearly intended that this cathedral was to be a model for cathedrals elsewhere. That elements of the Laudian programme were implemented in the provincial cathedrals is beyond doubt...
but it is difficult to gauge the extent to which the full programme was implemented throughout the cathedral system in the 1630s.

What is clear is that developments in the 1640s called into question and ultimately undermined the very existence of the cathedrals. The puritan reaction against Laudian 'innovations' that found expression in the English Long Parliament resulted in the gradual dismantling of the episcopal form of church government. In 1647 a parliamentary foothold was established in Dublin and subsequently the Book of Common Prayer, which had provided the rationale for daily divine services in the cathedrals, was outlawed. Those clergymen who protested were mostly cathedral clergymen. Despite this protest, parliament's victory in Ireland in 1650 paved the way for the abolition of the Irish cathedral system, which brought to an end a 500-year tradition of cathedral life in Ireland.

This abolition was temporary and the restoration of the monarchy and hierarchy ushered in a return to the 'Caroline traditions' that were established in the 1630s. Cathedrals resumed their role as mother churches and models of best practice for their dioceses. Both the crown and the episcopate actively supported the revival of choral music and ensured the return of liturgical order and decency in the cathedral churches. Bishops were also instrumental in providing resources for the rebuilding of cathedrals, the erection of altars and altar rails, the provision of silver plate and the installation of organs. That 'Caroline traditions' became normative and mainstream in the Irish cathedrals of the late seventeenth century was largely the result of the patronage of cathedral livings. By the Restoration period the crown controlled the right to present almost all of the deaneries while most of the other cathedral livings were in the gift of the episcopate. Consequently, clergymen who were attuned to the principles of hierarchy and loyalty to the regime were the ones most likely to be promoted into the cathedral system and up its ranks. Nevertheless, the principles of the 'Caroline tradition' were not established throughout the entire cathedral system. They were found primarily in the larger urban cathedrals: the endemic poverty of the church stymied their implementation elsewhere. As the church's finances improved in the eighteenth century the standards that had been achieved by the larger urban cathedrals were emulated by the smaller rural cathedrals.

The genesis of 'Caroline traditions' in the 1630s was designed to enable the church to become a church for the whole community. By the time that these principles became mainstream during the Restoration period, Irish society had become polarized by the mid-
century troubles. While non-conformists saw the traditions of the Church of Ireland as popish and superstitious, Catholics saw the value of a Protestant hierarchy maintaining a working cathedral system, which they could easily reoccupy when the opportunity arose. For these communities the privileged position of the Church of Ireland was reflected in the status accorded to its cathedrals, while for the clergy of the Church of Ireland the cathedrals were seen as bastions of its form of episcopacy. As a result ‘Caroline traditions’ became synonymous with Protestant privilege and the high churchmanship of the cathedrals.
Ordo habit & fact Dominica prima in Adventu

Ann Dom. 1622. de & cum consensu Decanorum & Canonicorum Eclesiae Cathedrale Sancta & Individualis Trinitatis Dublin & Sancti Patricii Dublin pro Concionibus habendis tam matutinis, quam vespertinis, singulis diebus Dominicae Annuales & de Anno in Anno.

Coniones vespertines.

Decanorum Sanctae Trinitatis.
Prebendariorum de Sivorba.
Archidiaconus Dublin.
Concilarii Sancti Patricii.
Prebendariorum Sancti Audoueni.
Prebendariorum Sancti Johannis.
Concilarii Sancti Patricii.
Prebendariorum de Dowlan.
Prebendariorum de Ratnandern.
Prebendariorum de Bamford.
Prebendariorum de Kilmalteay.
Prebendariorum de Sagoni.
Prebendariorum de Houch.
Prebendariorum de Tippperrivan.
Decanorum Sanctae Trinitatis.
Concilarii Sancti Patricii.
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Concilarii Sancti Patricii.
Prebendariorum de Malahide.
Prebendariorum de Stagger.
Prebendariorum Sancti Michaelis.
Prebendariorum Sancti Iohannis.
Archidiaconus Dublin.
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