The Post-Reformation Catholic Bishops of Kilfenora

MARTIN COEN

The origins of the diocese of Kilfenora are obscure. At the Synod of Rath Breasail the area was included with the diocese of Killaloe. It appears among the episcopal churches recognised by Cardinal Paparo at the Synod of Kells. The diocese survived until 1750 when it was united with Kilmacduagh. Of the pre-Reformation bishops, there is only an incomplete list (see Appendix). It is possible to trace in greater detail the story of the post-Reformation prelates.

The position of the Tudor bishops of Kilfenora in relation to the Reformed Faith is uncertain. As in the case of many prelates of that era, there is some doubt about their allegiance. After the death of Bishop John O’Neylan in 1572, the lines are clearly drawn. The division between the followers of the State Church and those loyal to Rome had become permanent. For many years of the Elizabethan era, the Established Church was ruled by the bishop of Limerick. It is not known who had jurisdiction over the priests of Kilfenora during this same period but there are indications of a close relationship with the adjoining diocese of Killaloe. Priests were interchangeable and one Killaloe priest, Daniel O’Griffy, ruled Kilfenora for much of the seventeenth century.

Born before 1600 in Dysert O’Dea, where he was later parish priest, he was precentor of Killaloe and prior of Lorrha in 1620. Florence Conroy, Malachy O’Queely and Luke Wadding were friends of his. On 16 May 1625 he was provided by the Pope as commendatory abbot of Corcomroe. As there was a vacancy in the metropolitan see of Cashel, a suffragan bishop appointed O’Griffy as vicar general of Kilfenora. John Roche, bishop of Ferns, in a letter to Rome of 11 August 1628, sought to have the appointment confirmed by the Holy See. On 1 March 1629, nine Kilfenora priests petitioned the Holy See to have O’Griffy appointed vicar apostolic. Malachy O’Queely asked Wadding on 26 June 1630 to “forward Mr Grypy his bisines who is sincerely your friend,” but the request was unnecessary as he had been appointed vicar apostolic on the previous 1 June.

1 Archiv. Hib., 3 (1914), 19.
3 G.D.A., Kilfenora file (cf. footnote 8).
4 Information from Revd. Martin Ryan, P.P., Dysert and Ruan, Co. Clare.
6 Cal. S. P. Ire., 1623-33, p. 11.
8 Copy in G.D.A., Kilfenora file, of the original in Dún Mhuire, Killiney. It was signed by Hugo Cargy, Dermotius Conighor, Johannes Mc Gilliesaghga, Donatus Mc Gillipatrick, Christopherus Crutten, Patricius Donalain, Jacobus Conoyl, Thomas Carrigy, Rogerius Normoyle. The latter two, when later parish priests of the diocese of Killaloe, were hanged without trial on 12 October 1652.
10 Brit. Chron., p. 397.

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Thomas Walsh, appointed to Cashel in 1626, visited Kilfenora in 1631. On 3 May 1632 he sent a report to Propaganda about the condition of the Church in Munster. There was a vicar general in Kilfenora, he wrote, whom he had placed there. The diocese of Kilfenora had never been able to maintain a bishop. In present conditions one archbishop and at most two bishops would be enough for Munster.

Kilfenora was at that time recovering from the impact of the Reformation and the leaders and supporters of the old Faith were asserting themselves once again. By this time the Aran islands had come under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Tuam, having originally been in the diocese of Kilfenora. The new bishop of the Established Church, James Heygate, who was consecrated in Saint Patrick’s cathedral, Dublin, on 9 May 1630, was having difficulty in gaining possession of his endowments.

I have seen Kilfenora but would never go there again if it were not for duty. The endowments, however, would be good, but they are swallowed up by recusants and others. I hope we may be able to turn these people out. They simply came in at the time of the war and remained in possession.

In 1632, the king ordered the Lords Justices to recover the lands for the bishop of Kilfenora; “land”, wrote the king “they hold now by some tenure for which they have coined the term Chiefery.” The dispute continued into late 1632 when the tenants sought a meeting with the bishop. The outcome is unknown. Daniel O’Griffy also had financial problems. While administering Kilfenora he had retained the parish of Dysert because of the poverty of his diocese. In 1634 he sought permission from the Pope to absolve himself for lengthy periods from his parish and to leave one or more curates in his place. The Pope confirmed a decision of Propaganda of 13 March 1634 that he be granted his request, provided he not absolve himself for more than four months at a time. He took part in the deliberations of the Confederation, both in Kilkenny and Waterford.

When Andrew Lynch was appointed bishop of Kilfenora, O’Griffy faded from the scene. In 1669 at the age of seventy he was listed among the candidates for the episcopate and described as a man of sanctity, exemplary life, great experience and sufficient learning. But his old age told against him. The date of his death and the place of burial are unknown.

Andrew Lynch was the only seventeenth century bishop of Kilfenora. Born in Galway before 1600, he was closely related to leading Galway families such as the de Burgo and the Bodkins. He was educated in France where, it was later claimed, he imbued some French ecclesiological views of doubtful orthodoxy. By 1632 he was

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11 Fran. MSS., p. 53.
15 Ibid., King to Lords Justices, 17 June 1631.
16 Ibid., p. 637.
18 A.P.F., Acta 1634, f. 38.
21 Archiv. His., 6 (1917), 69.
22 A.V., Nuova di Pianara, vol. 52, f. 337.
appointed vicar apostolic of Killala, although the legality of his position was challenged by Daniel Gildea who claimed to have been appointed *viva voce* by the archbishop of Tuam. The claim must not have been sustained, as Lynch was present in his representative capacity at provincial synods in Galway on 9 December 1632 and 23 July 1640. He also held the position of dean of Kilfenora.23

Dr. Lynch inevitably became involved in the complex politico-ecclesiastical struggle surrounding the mission of Rinuccini. On the recommendation of the nuncio24 and through the influence of Wadding,25 Lynch was appointed bishop of Kilfenora on 11 March 1647, and consecrated by the nuncio in Kilkenny on 27 April 1648. Although "rather inclined to Christian simplicity than to arduous activity,"26 he nonetheless firmly opposed the policy of the nuncio and was one of the few bishops who attended a meeting in Galway Franciscan abbey on 10 June 1648 in support of Clannrickarde.28 In the short interval before the collapse of the rebellion, he had time to restore his Cathedral of Saint Fachtman in Kilfenora. During the siege of Galway he was in the town, and from there fled to Inishbofin and later to San Malo. About 1656 he became assistant bishop of Rouen. He sought, through the French government, to have Cromwell allow the return of Irish Catholics but the Protector replied that the request was unnecessary since there was no religious persecution in Ireland.29 Because of poverty and infirmity, he was compelled to make his 1657 *ad limina* visit by procurator.30

Lynch, who had strong and well-known Anglo-Irish sympathies, was one of those who cooperated with Charles II and the Duke of Ormond in the controversial effort to secure the loyalty of Catholics by their acceptance of the famous Remonstrance. On the invitation of the Duke and Father Peter Walsh, Dr. Lynch spent Summer 1666 in Ireland, engaged in negotiations. He secured a safe-conduct from Ormond for the clergy to meet in Dublin,31 and engaged in deliberations there without consulting the Holy See.32

A representative gathering of ecclesiastics in Dublin on 11 June 1666 elected Lynch chairman. The assembly refused to accept Ormond's terms with the result that on 25 June he dissolved the meeting.33 He ordered Lynch not to leave Dublin34 and sent an officer to arrest him. The door was opened by Dr. Lynch himself and the officer mistaking him for a servant, asked was the bishop at home. He replied in the affirmative and the officer rushed in to secure his intended captive. Without a moment's delay the bishop quitted the house and made his escape to the Continent.35 By October he was in Paris. The circumstances of his escape caused comment; people wondered how he succeeded in procuring a ship in Ireland which brought him immediately to

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28 S. O'Riordan, "Rinuccini in Galway," *JGAHS*, 23 (1948), 40 ff.
34 A. V., *Num. di Fiandra*, vol. 52, f. 58.
France at a time when Ireland was hostile to the French. 35

The Roman Curia looked on the activities of Kilfenora with some disquiet. On 10 July, Rospigliosi, the Brussels internuncio, forwarded to Rome the views expressed by Lynch at the Dublin meeting. Dr. Lynch, writing from Paris to Rospigliosi on 6 December 1666, felt compelled to declare his loyalty to the Holy See. 37 He argued that his loyalty to Rome was evident from the threats made against him in Ireland, where he was followed wherever he went. But he was not frightened and he intended to go back to his flock. He asked Rospigliosi not to allow anything in the province of Cashel which would be prejudicial to his rights there. 38 Later, the question of the Remonstrance was discussed by Propaganda. Instructions were sent to the nuncio in Paris to reprimand Lynch. Kilfenora apologised, stating that the resolutions adopted in Dublin under his presidency were signed conditionally, and subject to the approval of the Holy See. The bishop declared that he always wished to be obedient to the Holy See. 39

The internuncio in Brussels suggested that since Kilfenora had only four priests, it should be united with Kilmacduagh or Killaloe. Dr. Lynch could be transferred to the vacant see of Cork. Oliver Plunket, in a letter to Rome of 31 January 1672, agreed, suggesting that Kilfenora and Killaloe be united. 40 Yet no such action was taken.

There is evidence that Lynch performed an ordination in Rouen in 1676. 41 By 1677 he was back in Ireland as he ordained Murtagh Egan, (later parish priest of Ennistymon) in Oranmore and John Tully (subsequently parish priest of Craughwell) in Creggclare, Ardrahan, Co. Galway. In the following year he ordained, in Ennistymon, Conor O'Brien, 42 (later parish priest of Kilshanny and Killaspuglinane). Later in 1677, an effort was made to exile him once more, but it failed. He was living in the residence of the mother of Lord Clare, was aged eighty-three, and was scarce able to leave his bed. 43 In 1681 he died in his own diocese. 44

It is not known who ruled Kilfenora for the following forty years until the appointment of William O'Daly as bishop. He was born in 1652 and, apparently, at some stage educated abroad as he possessed doctorates in canon and civil law. 45 He was ordained in 1671 in Clonbur, Co. Galway, by James Lynch, archbishop of Tuam. In 1704 he was parish priest of Kilfenora, Kiltoraght and Noughaval, and resided at Ballykinvar. 46 In 1712 he spent some time in jail in Ennis. 47 He was vicar general of Kilfenora when appointed bishop on 7 August 1722, on the recommendation of James II. As he was seventy-four years old when appointed, it is not surprising that his episcopate was short.

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35 A.V., Nunc. di Fiandra, vol. 52, f. 337.
36 Ibid., vol. 51, f. 10.
37 Ibid.
46 W. P. Burke, op. cit., p. 400.
Kilfenora had, about this time, at least eight parish priests. There were thirteen churches or places where Mass was publicly celebrated. Most of them were old buildings. Between 1714 and 1730 one church was built and another rebuilt. In 1731 Kilmanahcen (Ennistymon) church was built. There were ten Catholic schools.48

James Augustine O’Daly, O.S.A., was the next, and last bishop of Kilfenora. Born in 1676, he joined the Augustinian Order and was educated in Paris. In 1705 he entered the French army as a chaplain, with the permission of the Augustinian Prior General.49 Eventually he became senior chaplain to the Dowager Queen of Spain, and also a canon of the diocese of Lyons. On the nomination of the exiled Stuart king, he was appointed bishop of Kilfenora on 27 July 172650 and consecrated in Paris. Having failed to secure a benefice there, as he had no intention of taking up permanent residence in his own diocese, he tried to obtain a canonry at Tournai. This was at first opposed by the archduchess governor of Flanders on the grounds of his being a foreigner.51 Eventually, however, he succeeded in getting court permission to hold, not just one, but two benefices, canon and treasurer of Tournai chapter. The bishop of Tournai, the Prince de Lowenstein, named him canon on 26 December 1727, and next day the chapter elected him treasurer. He took possession of his prebend on 15 September 1728. As the Prince de Lowenstein was ill, O’Daly became his auxiliary bishop and was in receipt of a salary of 200 florins per month.52

On 13 February 1728, the nuncio in Brussels, Spinelli, received a letter from Cardinal Lercari, Secretary of State, which gave the impression that Rome was unhappy about O’Daly’s continued absence from his diocese. The nuncio availed of a visit of Kilfenora to Brussels in April to query him. O’Daly boasted that, although a foreigner, he had obtained the consent of the court to enjoy quietly the benefits of a canonry and other dignities conferred on him by the bishop of Tournai. The nuncio explained that such continued absence required a papal dispensation. O’Daly, thereupon, produced an authentic testimonial by Mr Lesinaut, the royal expeditor in Paris, declaring that O’Daly’s petition had already been signed by the Pope and that nothing remained but the despatch of the bulls. Spinelli, however, was not convinced and asked the cardinal if this were so.53 Apparently it was not, as the matter came before a meeting of Propaganda on 23 August 1728. Information from the nuncio in Brussels that Kilfenora had no intention of returning permanently to his diocese was discussed. Since O’Daly was resident in Paris, it was arranged that the nuncio there would interview him and inform him that unless he had a good reason, he should proceed forthwith to his diocese.54 Under this pressure O’Daly relented and made his one known visit to Kilfenora, from May to November 1729,55 during which period the Tournai chapter paid him his canonical stipend.56

49 Register of the Prior General, Dec. 145, p. 185 (from Fr. Stanislaus Roche, O.S.A., St. Patrick’s College, Rome).
50 C. Eubel, loc. cit.
52 A.P.F., Acta 1732, f. 461.
53 J. J. Vos, loc. cit.
54 A.P.F., Acta 1732, f. 461.

57
It was an abbreviated tour, and he was dispensed from completing his visitation. He used his surplus money to alleviate the misery of the Faithful and to defray the expenses of the long and arduous journey. There were only seven priests then in the diocese, and up to 1730 two of them acted as vicars general and corresponded with him every three months. After 1730, Bishop Sylvester Lloyd of Killaloe acted for him, but this was not satisfactory.

But Dr. O'Daly was not content to remain in Tournai. In 1732 he applied for a dispensation from capillary residence in order, he wrote, to visit his diocese. He asked Propaganda to direct Tournai chapter to pay him his emoluments whenever he was absent, adding that the chapter was in agreement with his request. The Propaganda decided, however, on 1 April, to seek information and advice from the nuncio in Brussels before giving any direction. Dr. O'Daly informed Propaganda at the end of the year that some of the canons were objecting to his being paid while absent. The nuncio, he continued, agreed with his request for a toties quoties permission for payment during absences so that he would not have to seek a dispensation each time he wished to go to Kilfenora; thus his departures for Ireland would not be publicised and the consequent dangers would be avoided. A meeting of Propaganda on 1 December agreed to put the matter to the Pope. But the matter was not proceeded with even when O'Daly asked for a renewal of faculties in January 1733. On 28 March Propaganda again discussed the petition. The Tournai chapter objected strongly to granting the petition on the grounds that capillary duties required that the members be resident. As a result, a non expedit decision was sent to the Secretary of State. But it was too late.

The dilatory procedure of Propaganda was too slow for the impatient O'Daly. He had already gone himself to Rome, seen the Pope, explained his case in detail, and on 21 March received permission from him to draw his Tournai emoluments whenever absent, the dispensation being valid for a period of four years. He also secured, on 23 March, a commendatory letter from the Secretary of State to the nuncio in Brussels. Clearly, Kilfenora was a match for the cumbersome Roman Curia.

On 18 June 1733 the victorious O'Daly presented himself to Valenti-Gonzaga, the nuncio in Brussels, with his dispensation and accompanying letter. The nuncio promised to help although he knew that the Tournai chapter was very opposed to making payment to an absentee, especially to O'Daly who had boasted that if he were not paid, he would use influential friends in court to secure execution of the papal decree. O'Daly refused to listen to the nuncio's advice to be more diplomatic. Meanwhile the chapter appealed to the civil authorities against the Pope's dispensation; they had no objection to paying him while absent provided he resided in his diocese.

Dr. O'Daly in turn appealed to the archduchess and she referred the matter to the privy council. Before granting the usual placet, the council consulted the chapter. Their opposition rested on the accusation that O'Daly had not told the Pope that his real aim was to live in Paris and not Kilfenora. He had often stated that he had not the

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47 A. P. F., Acta 1736, f. 62.
48 Ibid., Acta 1732, f. 189.
49 Ibid., f. 461.
50 Ibid., Acta 1733, f. 37.
53 Ibid., vol. 132, f. 195.

58
slightest intention of living in Ireland. When the privy council failed to support O'Daly, he appealed to the nuncio to issue a decree compelling the chapter to withdraw opposition. Fearing lest the authority of the Pope would be compromised by a refusal from the chapter, the nuncio did nothing except urge O'Daly to try to reach a peaceful settlement. He suggested that the archduchess might persuade the chapter to pay emoluments during reasonable absences. The nuncio himself approached the archduchess and they decided that a Count Von Harrach would act as intermediary. The canons willingly agreed to pay O'Daly—but only when resident in Ireland. Neither the archduchess nor the nuncio were impressed by Kilfenora's insistence that he be allowed to live wherever the spirit led him. The nuncio informed Rome, on 21 August 1733, that he could not support O'Daly, but it is clear from the tone of the correspondence that he feared the bishop's influential friends in court. Bishop O'Daly did not, in fact, return to his diocese, but left it in the continued care of the bishop of Killaloe. He was compelled to live in Tournai, though he did manage to pay annual visits to Paris.

A deterioration in the health of Bishop Lloyd of Killaloe in 1735 brought the matter to a head again. Dr. Lloyd passed through Brussels in June, on his way to the waters of Spa, and called on Archbishop Valenti-Gonzaga. He told him that even in good health—he was now almost blind—his administration of Kilfenora was unsatisfactory. The diocese, though small, needed a resident bishop because Dr. O'Daly could not delegate those faculties which were granted specifically to himself.

On 29 June 1735, the nuncio complained to Cardinal Fiaero, Secretary of State, that O'Daly was still resident in Tournai. He was strong and robust and should be taking care of his flock. When the Pope was informed of the position, he ordered O'Daly to return to his diocese under pain of deprivation of office. On 14 October, Valenti-Gonzaga again told Fiaero that he would try to persuade O'Daly to go to his diocese. The case of O'Daly and the canons was still sub judice, he added. He suggested that O'Daly be deprived of his see, and proposed to do so unless specifically forbidden by higher authority.

The cardinal instructed the nuncio to ask O'Daly how he intended to provide for the needs of his diocese during his absence in Tournai. The nuncio replied, on 2 December, that he would act as directed; he would deal with the matter gently but firmly. He asked the Secretary of State to inform James III of their intentions; he should be warned to turn a deaf ear to pleas O'Daly would probably make to circumvent the nuncio's plans. Valenti-Gonzaga, therefore, wrote to O'Daly on 14 December stating that the Secretary of State wished to ascertain whether he intended to go to Kilfenora or be relieved of his obligation to do so; the Pope was anxious to canonically provide for the needs of the people of his diocese.

Apprehensive and on the defensive, O'Daly replied on 23 December. He claimed it was always his intention to visit his diocese whenever he could go there without hindrance. Kilfenora was under the watchful care of a neighbouring bishop, which
arrangement was satisfactory as there were only seven priests and, he claimed, eight hundred adult Catholics. Each priest had to pay him thirteen florins annually, but he set this money aside for the adornment of churches in his diocese. O'Daly pointed out the inconvenience of residence in Kilfenora: no bishop's house, no safe living quarters and no means of providing food. He was in poor health and over sixty years of age. However, should his health improve and should he be able to collect sufficient money for the journey, he was prepared to set out immediately for his diocese. He would travel despite the fact that the ruined town of Kilfenora—more properly called a village, and the only one, at that, in the whole diocese—had a non-Catholic dean and two ministers. He expected that the Pope would fix on him an annual income to enable him to live comfortably. He intended to send a detailed account to the Pope to help him make a decision, he concluded.68

On 30 December, the nuncio sent his report to Rome. He was clearly unhappy with O'Daly's reply and noted that he had failed to mention the poor health of Dr. Lloyd. The nuncio also criticized the request for money: O'Daly, with his Tournai prebend and his pension from Paris, was much better off than most Irish bishops.69

O'Daly, too, wrote to Cardinal Fierao, explaining that poverty and ill-health prevented him from travelling. The sea-locked diocese would affect his health and he was enclosing medical certificates. He complained that despite a four year papal dispensation, the bishop, chapter and civil authorities had refused to pay him while absent from Tournai; he had no other source of income, no patrimonium. The yearly pension of 1,000 scudi from the Queen of Spain had not been paid for seven years. He was in receipt of not a soldo from his diocese. The parish priests should pay him a guinea each, but in fact did not do so.

The city of Kilfenora, he continued, was reduced to a village of thirty straw-covered shacks occupied by miserable Catholics. The rest of the inhabitants were heretics. The few Catholics, spread around the country, were for the most part impoverished sheep-farmers depending on the bishop for sustenance. The diocese was so poor that, on the death of the present occupant, it was intended to join it to Killaloe.

Bishop O'Daly said that the Dublin parliament had recently forbidden bishops under pain of death from exercising their functions; one hundred guineas was the reward for an informer on a bishop entering the country. The bishop ended the letter by stating that, if he were ordered to return to Kilfenora, proper provision should be made for him.70

The matter was discussed at a plenary session of Propaganda on 28 February 1736. Cardinal Imperiali suggested that O'Daly be given money and sent to his diocese at once. But a decision was postponed. The Pope agreed on 2 March that the bishop be instructed to go to his diocese, having first ascertained from him what viaticum he expected. If it were impossible for him to go, he should ask for a coadjutor bishop. In the absence of the nuncio, Francis Goddard, administrator, conveyed the Pope's ultimatum. While awaiting a reply, Goddard informed Cardinal Fierao on 30 March that the excuse about lack of money was ridiculous. O'Daly was quite wealthy, drawing two salaries in Tournai, with apparently also a pension from Paris. He could quite

68 Ibid., f. 492.
69 Ibid., f. 490.
70 A.P.F., Acta 1736, f. 62.
easily pay his way to Ireland as he had been able to undertake a costly trip to Rome and made annual excursions to Paris. Other Irish bishops were in much greater distress.\textsuperscript{71}

O’Daly agreed to accept a coadjutor while remaining an absentee. From 1736 he acted as auxiliary to Archbishop Charles de Saint-Albin of Cambrai. During the Summer of that year he was asked by some Irish bishops to negotiate some business for them in Paris.\textsuperscript{72} Bishop Lloyd, still in bad health, was back on the Continent for the second half of 1736, so that a new arrangement for Kilfenora had to be made. In November, Father Laurence Slyne, O.F.M., was recommended for Kilfenora.\textsuperscript{73} James III agreed that a coadjutor be appointed, yet nothing was done.\textsuperscript{74}

A temporary solution was found in 1737 when Dr. Robert Lacy, rector of the Irish College, Bordeaux, was appointed bishop of Limerick. On his return to Ireland, he administered Kilfenora despite many difficulties.\textsuperscript{75} There is no evidence of any further moves to compel O’Daly to return to Kilfenora. On 7 May 1748 he resigned his Tournai benefices in favour of his nephew, Thomas Charles O’Daly. In the early morning of 20 August 1749 he died in Tournai and was buried in the ambulatory of the cathedral retro-choir, where an inscribed flag-stone marks his grave.\textsuperscript{76}

It was clear for many years that Kilfenora was too small to retain its independence. There was an obvious case for union with the adjoining diocese of Kilmacduagh, ruled since 1744 by Bishop Peter Killikelly, O.P. But there was a canonical difficulty in that the dioceses were situated in different provinces. However, because of the poverty of both sees, and on the urging of Cardinal Corsini, Protector of Ireland, who consulted both the archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, a solution was found by Propaganda. By a decree of 22 September 1750 the two dioceses were perpetually united and the first bishop under the union (Dr. Killikelly) was to be bishop of Kilmacduagh and apostolic administrator of Kilfenora. The second was to be bishop of Kilfenora and administrator of Kilmacduagh. The succession was to continue with similar alternations. Priests from either diocese could receive benefices only in their own diocese. Canonical appeals would be made to the respective archbishops. On 12 November, Benedict XIV issued the Bull of union.\textsuperscript{77}

In that manner the dioceses were merged, and the situation continued thus until the diocese of Galway was added in the nineteenth century.

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Appendix I, which follows, contains a list of the known names of the pre-Reformation bishops of Kilfenora. The inscription (followed by a translation) on Bishop O’Daly’s tomb in Tournai is given in Appendix II.

\textsuperscript{71} A.V., Nunti. di Flandria, vol. 182, f. 123.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., f. 263.
\textsuperscript{73} James Frost, The History and Topography of the County of Clare, Dublin 1893, p. 104.
\textsuperscript{74} C. Giblin, "The Stuart Nomination of Irish Bishops," I. E. Record, 105 (1966), 46. I find no evidence for his statement that a bishop was, in fact, chosen.
\textsuperscript{75} John Begley, The Diocese of Limerick from 1601 to the Present Time, Dublin 1838, p. 211.
\textsuperscript{76} See Appendix II; inscription kindly supplied by l’Abbé Jean Dumoulin, Archiviste du Chapitre Cathédral de Tournai.
\textsuperscript{77} C. Hubel, op. cit., p. 201.
APPENDIX I

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<td>F.</td>
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<td>John</td>
<td>ante 1226</td>
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<td>C.</td>
<td>ante 1254</td>
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<td>Anon.</td>
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<td>Maurice</td>
<td>post 3 March 1265</td>
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<td>Florence, O. Cist.</td>
<td>ante 18 Sept. 1273</td>
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<td>Congalach</td>
<td>ante Sept. 1281</td>
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<td>Simon</td>
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<td>Maurice O Briain</td>
<td>post 24 April 1299</td>
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<td>post 16 March 1303</td>
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<td>Cornelius</td>
<td>ante 17 April 1323</td>
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<td>Patrick</td>
<td>ante Feb. 1390</td>
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<td>Denis O Cathain</td>
<td>17 Nov. 1434</td>
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<td>(?Denis) O Tombaigh</td>
<td>ante March 1476</td>
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<td>Maurice O Briain</td>
<td>12 Dec. 1491</td>
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<td>Maurice O’Kelly</td>
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<td>John O’Neylan</td>
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APPENDIX II

SUB HOC MARMORE JACET ILLUSTRISSIMUS ET REVERENDISSIMUS DOMINUS D. JACOBUS AUGUSTINUS O’DALY EPISCOPOS PENIBORENSIS HUJUS ECCLESIAE THESAURARIUS ET QUONDAM CANONICUS QUI ANNUM AETATIS DECURRENS 83 EXTREMUM CLAUSIT DIED 20 AUG 1749. IN HIBERNIA NATUS PRO FIDE CATHOLICA A PATRIAIE SOLO EXULAVIT AD EPISCOPEM DIGNITATEM EVECTUS CANONICATUM ET THESAURARII DIGNITATEM IN HAC ECCLESIA OBTVINIT. GREGEM SIBI COMMISUM CVM VITAE DISCRIMINE NON SEMEL VISITAVIT IN TORNACENSIBI ET CAMBRAENSIBI DIOCESEIBUS EPISCOPIA MUNIA SAEPUS EXERCIT QUASI REPARANS IN EXTERNIS QUOD SUIS PRAESTARE NON POTERAT R.I.P.

Under this marble lie the remains of the Most Reverend James Augustine O’Daly, bishop of Kilfenora and sometime canon and treasurer of this church, who died on 20 Aug. 1749, at the age of 83. Born in Ireland and exiled because of his Catholic faith, he was appointed canon and treasurer of this church after he became a bishop. Because of danger to his life, he did not once visit the flock committed to him but performed episcopal functions in Tournai and Cambrai dioceses. Thus among foreigners, he almost compensated for what he was unable to do for his own. R.I.P.

*Clearly the person who drafted the inscription was unaware of O’Daly’s 1729 visit to Kilfenora.*