

Scattery: An Unknown Part of the Diocese of Limerick

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An examination of the claims of the Dioceses of Killaloe, Limerick, and Ardfert to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Inis Cathaigh (Scattery Island, Co. Clare), which was itself created a diocese in 1152 at the Synod of Kells (it is named as one of the suffragan Sees of Cashel in Cardinal Paparo's list). Despite it at present being part of the Diocese of Killaloe, Limerick's claim is argued here.

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There is one part of the Diocese of Limerick, which, although it did play a large role in past centuries, has not figured much since the beginning of the 19th Century. In 1992 Father Ignatius Murphy published the first volume of his magisterial work, *The Diocese of Killaloe in the Eighteenth Century*. In it he devotes a short piece dealing with a dispute between the dioceses of Limerick and Killaloe as to which precise jurisdiction Scattery island is under. To a Limerickman his conclusion is bizarre. He says: "At a practical level the controversy had come to an end long before that (18th Century), as no attempt to enforce the claims of Limerick diocese seems to have been made after Bishop Young's death in 1813."¹

It is true that no attempt by these two neighbouring dioceses to assert their respective claims by force has since been made. The days of armoured jousting Bishops are over. But historical claims are alive and well, although as might be expected the views of the opposing schools of thought are not exactly free from prejudice. The principal diocesan protagonists in the debate have been Very Reverend Sylvester Malone, P.P., V.G., Kilrush, and Very Reverend John Begley, Archdeacon of the Dioceses of Limerick, the former in articles in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*² and elsewhere, the latter in *The Diocese of Limerick (Vol. 1): Ancient and Medieval*³ both written about a century ago.

The first contemporary mention of this Scattery problem is recorded in the modern source journal *Archivium Hibernicum*⁴ which contains a reference to it concerning the year 797 A.D. Reference to Senan occurs in many ancient lives of him including one published by the Bollandists. From these we learn that he was born about the year 488 A.D. We gather too that at about the age of forty he was assigned the island of "Inis Cathaigh" - the original name of the place - by the king of the Hy-Fidhginte, the local kingdom of the area. This, like other similar anecdotes, may well be linked with legend but is not to be held in contempt just for that reason.

Senan's parents were Christian. Given the custom of those times, it is not surprising that he should have founded a small semi-monastic place on the island. Shortly afterwards, he and his companions joined a community near Kinsale and finally, a rather famous one in Ossory under an abbot called Natalus or Natan.

Then began his education proper, akin to that of the 'genus peregrinandi', the Irish monks of the period who roamed throughout Europe, both imbibing and diffusing scholarship. Senan's wanderings took him to the seats of St. Martin of Tours and St. David of Minevia, both noted scholars of their time. But his real achievements were to be on Scattery Island

*Kilmoyle, North Circular Road, Limerick.

where he erected - around the year 534, or so we are told - a more formal type of monastery. There he lived until sometime in the later 6th century; different dates are given in different accounts.

St. Senan must have been an able administrator and politician in the pure sense of that term. In the course of his abbacy at Scattery, he was not only abbot and bishop but also had at least six other bishops in a consortium which consisted on an average of sixty friars, thirty priests and seven bishops; some say their number could be eleven. Each bishop had his own small church. Things remained thus until the Synod of Rathbrasil in 1111 when the number and boundaries of Irish dioceses was defined.

The See over which Senan ruled in his heyday was considerably larger than the island itself. It included a hinterland which on the Kerry side embraced some of what is still the Diocese of Ardfert, also the shoreline and its annexes on the Killaloe side. Now and then Scattery endeavoured to secure a footing in the diocese of Limerick. By the time of the Synod of Rathbrasil, the bishop-abbot of Inis Cathaigh was ruler of the monastery and its dependent churches on both sides of the Shannon⁵. These are some of the reasons for multiplicity of monastic bishops in its suzerainty. On the other hand, the surrounding dioceses, notably Limerick, Killaloe and Ardfert, were not remiss in pursuing expansionist plans of their own at the expense of the territory of Scattery. The most prominent among these was Killaloe, naturally, because of its close proximity to the island. But it never succeeded in establishing control over the island as a whole.

Daniel Mescal, who brought out *The Story of Inis Cathaigh* (1902) is much in favour of extending the ancient boundaries of Killaloe, yet can say nothing beyond the bland assertion that: "The limits assigned at Rathbrasil to Killaloe were what they are now, and embraced the Clare portion of the ancient See of Inis Cathaigh. As to the island itself, Limerick ecclesiastical authorities would have it that, according to their records, it was ceded ecclesiastically to Limerick, as it was ceded commercially afterwards"⁶. He adds that "it is curious, if not amusing, how the Bishops of Limerick contended for their supposed right to Inis Cathaigh down to a comparatively few years ago"⁷. There is no mention of Ardfert. Father Malone's contentions are best presented in his 1874 article about the matter⁸.

One could not expect other than a strong Killaloe stake in Scattery. Against that background, one cannot but be intrigued by Father Malone's 1874 article, which says that St. Senan, the founder of Iniscathay in the middle of the sixth century, was succeeded by others who extended ecclesiastical jurisdiction "to considerable portions of the present dioceses of Limerick, Kerry and Killaloe"⁹. Most of that article is based not on historical data but on bits and pieces of old Roman law which, whatever may be their intrinsic merit, simply should not be applied in the way which the writer uses them. Unless used within a historical framework that stands up, they are not relevant.

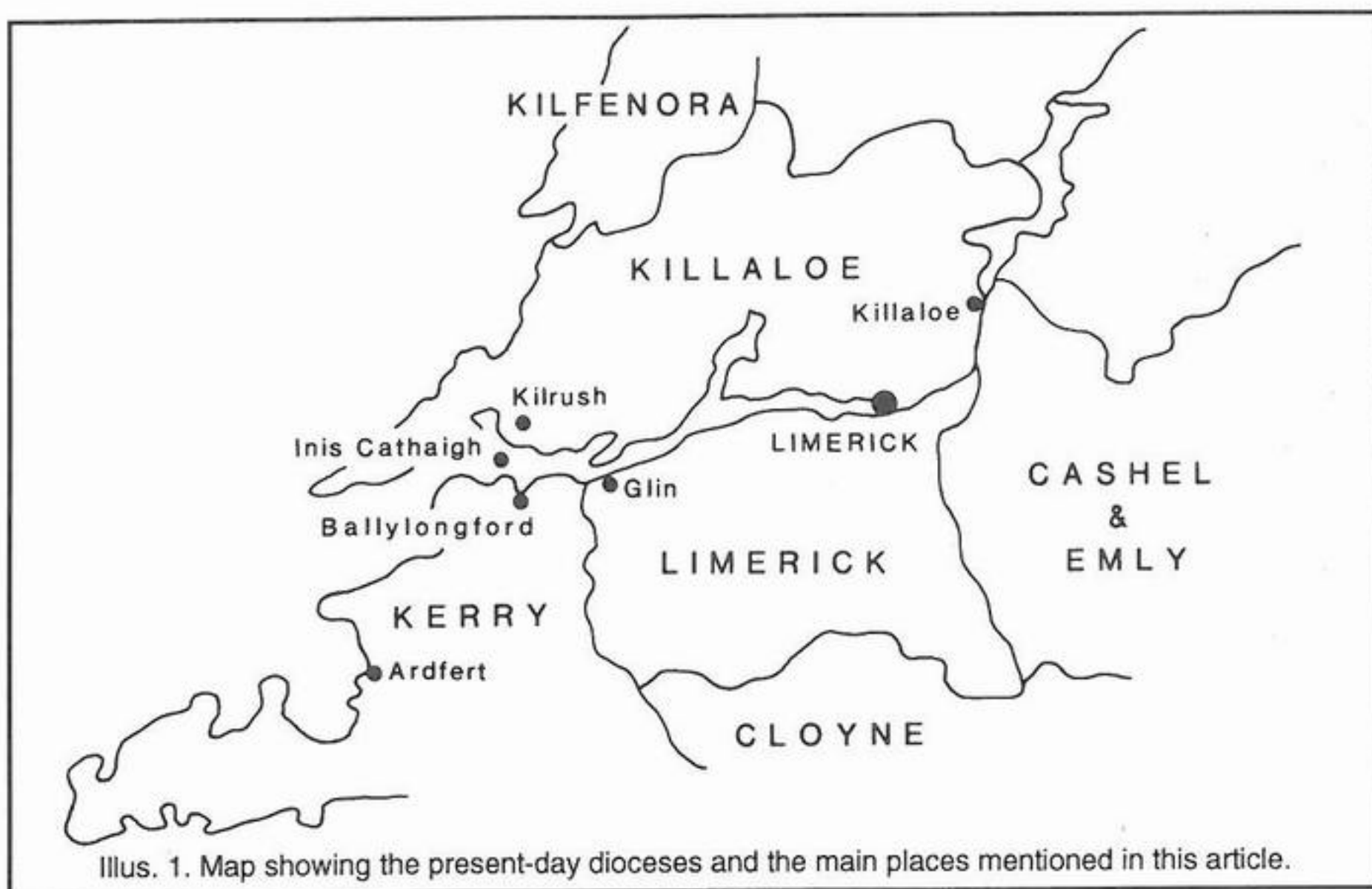
Fr. Malone's best effort to use them to prove his main point is that if on their basis, which he maintained must have been the case, the other islands on the river Fergus and the Shannon, less, or more or less, distant from the mainland as is Iniscathay, were ceded to Killaloe, "there should be very strong evidence for believing that, an exception being made in regard to Iniscathay, it had been annexed to Limerick diocese, the nearest point of which, north of the Shannon is forty miles from Iniscathay"¹⁰. In no way could he accept that this might actually have happened.

As a matter of fact, the boundaries of the diocese of Limerick were broadly described by the Rathbrasil settlement. Within them are included the greater part of the See of Iniscathay. The remainder was added to the diocese of Killaloe¹¹. They can be found in Keating - stretching on the east from near the present Borris in Ossory, on the north to the Atlantic

Ocean, on the west to what is now known as Loophead, on the south to the Cratloe mountains. There is no mention of Scattery. After all, the Shannon Estuary is not the Atlantic Ocean. But since then there seems to have existed an ambition to have a diocese centred on Killaloe, covering the whole of Thomond. Westropp tells us¹² that ten parishes, south of Quin, in Tradree, which were given to Limerick by Rathbrassil were taken possession of by Killaloe. Tullylease, belonging to Limerick in 1201, was later assigned to Cloyne, and Donaghmore, though annexed to Killaloe after 1201, was restored to Limerick about 1280¹³.

At the Synod of Kells in 1152, Iniscathy recovered some of its ancient prestige¹⁴, as it was again recognised as a See*. The last undisputed bishop of Scattery was Aodh Ó Beacháin, who died in 1188¹⁵. Between then and the mid 18th century, our knowledge of its history is sparse, some of it even contradictory. For example, Domhnall Mór Ó Briain the "King of Limerick" bestowed Inis Cathaigh on Clare Abbey immediately after Ó Beacháin's death¹⁶, whereas an inquiry made by Meyler FitzHenry in 1201 reiterates the existence of territory on the island that "pertained to the church of Limerick"¹⁷ part of the island's entire extent. *The Black Book of Limerick* has the same to say¹⁸. Ussher similarly, in his later *Britannicum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (1639), retails the same view, as does Ware in his history of Ireland (1658)¹⁹.

The most likely explanation of the whole question is Ware's and Ussher's, namely that when the monastic bishopric of Inis Cathaigh was finally suppressed, its territory (as we learn



*Established at Kells-Mellifont at the expense of Killaloe, Ardfert, and Limerick, to represent the interests of the Corco Baiscinn in west Clare and the Uí Fidgente of west Limerick, it did not survive the twelfth century. Afterwards its church became collegiate, with traditional rights over certain churches on both banks of the Shannon. – From *A New History of Ireland*, (eds. T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, F. J. Byrne), vol IX, Oxford 1984, p. 307, fn. 25 – E. R. Hon. Editor.

from Keating) was divided into three parts, belonging respectively to the diocese of Limerick, Killaloe and Ardfert. This had both political and ecclesiastical overtones. The Irish were always there, and there had been a Norse colony there well before the end of the 10th century²⁰. In fact, after the great battle of Sulcoit in 968, the Vikings overcome by the Irish Brian Boromha and his brother Mahon of Limerick, largely betook themselves to Scattery, which, instead of Limerick, they made their headquarters²¹.

Much the same thing was to happen again when in 1205 the then Magistry of Limerick assigned part of the city of Limerick and its portion of Scattery Island to the English, the other part of the city to the Irish and the portion of Scattery that pertained to Killaloe to that diocese. It is quite possible that in this way, the island of Scattery as such was apportioned between two dioceses, those of Limerick and Killaloe. In this way, the political as well as ecclesiastical interest of the upper estuary were co-ordinated and contained (*Illus. 1*).

The distinction between the See as a whole and the island has been a cause of confusion in the debate. Father Malone says that the Bishops of Limerick and Ardfert "were ready to maintain the boundaries fixed by the Synod of Rathbrassil, and, consequently to yield Iniscathay, as an *island*, to the diocese of Killaloe; but we have no evidence that (they) interfered with Scattery otherwise than as an independent See"²². Westropp, following Ussher, says that "on the death of Bishop Aed Ó Beagháin, the See was divided between Killaloe, Limerick, and Ardfert; the actual island being assigned to Limerick"²³. In a piece in the same Journal for 1905²⁴, he comes back to the question with a vengeance.

Noting that the main basis of the Killaloe contention was a grant of the lands of Inisketty to Clare Abbey, this grant being described in support of that basis as "a most authoritative statement that Iniscathy belonged to Killaloe" (Fr. Malone, *loc. cit.*), he (Westropp) underlines a more basic fact, namely that "when we examine the charter, we find that it does not state that Scattery belonged to Killaloe.It is, in fact, a mere grant of lands... It is a chief's grant, not an episcopal pronouncement"²⁵. True, it was witnessed to by the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishops of Killaloe and Limerick as well as some chieftains, but "the prelates are mere witnesses"²⁶ a custom that "is the case in so many grants of the period"²⁷. He adds, significantly, "We look in vain in the numerous published state papers, papal documents and petitions, or in the lay rolls, for any lawsuit, petition, or protest of any bishop of Killaloe, against the assignment of Scattery to Limerick"²⁸, even though the Inquisition of 1201 was a formal attempt of the Government "to define the churches and lands of the See of Limerick"²⁹. And it was based on the sworn findings of thirty-six men of three nations (represented in Limerick City). The Bishop of Killaloe witnessed it and no recorded effort was made by De Marisco (one of the witnesses) to secure its annulment in favour of his uncle, Bishop Travers of Killaloe, after 1226. It would have been difficult for him to have done so anyhow, as the bishops and clergy had been exhorted by Papal Letters to obey the Governments in such matters.

During these days the great schism was dividing the Church from top to bottom and it is not surprising in that context that strange decisions should have been made. One certainly was the declaration of Pope Boniface IX when, in 1390, he declared the Church of "Iniskathi of St. Senan" to be in the diocese of Killaloe. But Cornelius O'Dea appointed Bishop of Limerick in 1400, himself a friend of the Bishop of Killaloe and actually Archdeacon of that diocese, did not accept this and allowed the Inis Cathaigh affair to subside.

Westropp admits that there are difficulties in trying to straighten out the matter, recalling that - even according to Limerick's historians Lenihan and White - it could be thought that the island had been lost to Limerick at the time of Bishop O'Dea³⁰. This could indeed be so, in some respects, given that Bishop Hubert (Limerick: 1222-1250) granted with the consent of

his chapter the church of "St. Mary of Iniskefty" to the abbot and convent of Iniskefty³¹.

But, even if so, all it would prove is that something happened in the 13th century not unlike that of the 19th when Bishop Lacy of Limerick assigned the inhabitants of the island to the care of the parish priest of Ballylongford. One should note too that whatever arrangement was made by Bishop Hubert was with an abbot not a bishop.

Nothing that we have discovered gives any credence to the idea that the Diocese of Limerick does not have jurisdiction over at least part of Scattery island.

The efforts that have been made to date to establish the contrary have been shown to be unproved. Without doubt, the whole matter is full of controversy. That is natural and inevitable in much historical disquisition. What is annoying is a suggestion made in 1875 by Father Malone to the effect that the evidence in the *Black Book of Limerick* (circa 1420) about the matter is a forgery by one of the Protestant bishops to recover the island from its lay grantees³².

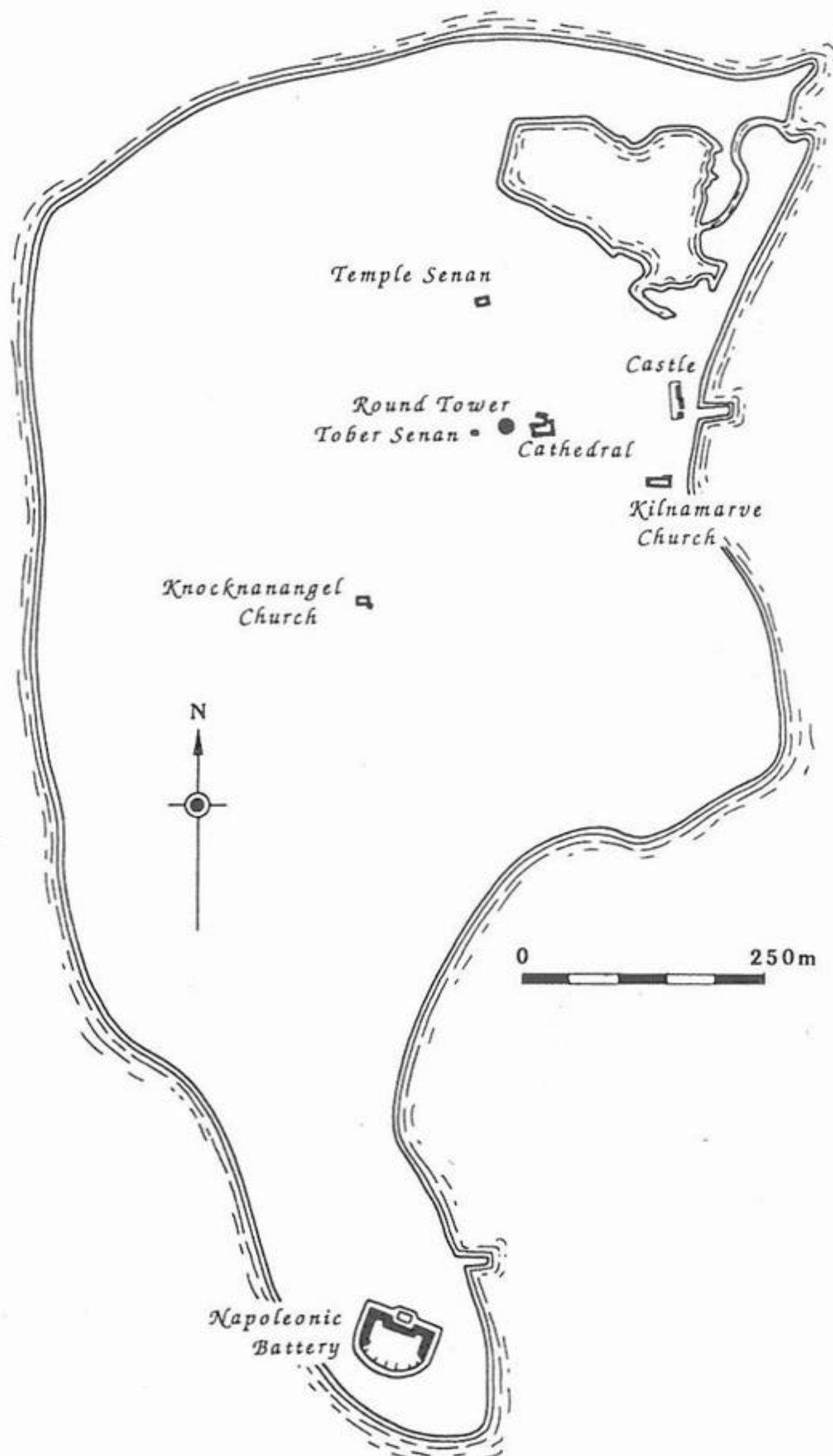
This suggestion has been very bluntly rejected by Westropp³³. Recalling Meyler FitzHenry's Inquisition of 1201 and the undeniable record that Iniscatha was connected with the deanery of Rathkeale in the See of Limerick (Plea Rolls, XIX, Ed. 1): "In Iniscathy, Limeric Dioc., 1409", he vigorously insists that until these sources of evidence are discredited "I must continue to hold the views based on them, and refuse to hold the allocation of Iniscatha to the See of Limerick to be a mere figment supported by forgery"³⁴.

Westropp repeats that "the suggestion made that the entries in the *Black Book of Limerick* relating to Iniscatha as in that See, are forgeries. No satisfactory proof of this statement has hitherto been given, while several facts seem to tell in favour of the received history. Two undoubted entries in the *Black Book* (though sometimes interpreted otherwise) are to this effect: - XXI, Hubert Bishop of Limerick (1222-1250), grants the church of St. Mary of Iniskefty; and XXII, the Abbot of St. Senan (temp. Wm. de Burgo, Deputy Governor, c.1310), holds half Iniscathy, with its appurtenances. This being evidently a document preserved as affecting the interest of the See of Limerick"³⁵. The church in question was originally known as that of the Angels (*De Alto Angelorum*; marked *Knocknanangle Church* on the Ordnance Survey map – see Illus. 2 for this and other ancient sites on the island). The Diocese of Ardfert also had an interest in this church of the Height of the Angels, though to what extent this was formally acknowledged by Limerick is obscure.

It should be noted that the church 'De Alto Angelorum' was quite distinct from a church of 'St. Mary the Virgin', also on the island and which later was erected into a Collegiate Church, sometimes called the Cathedral, but itself distinct from the latter, if the latter ever existed. (There was once a Collegiate Church in Kilmallock even though there was no Cathedral there). When exactly the Bishop of Limerick was given a right to a 'custos' over that on Scattery is not clear but it is definite from the manuscripts, of Irish Annals and also the *Black Book* as early as 1201. At the same time the Bishop of Killaloe managed to hold on to an interest in it too - also contributing to the Annats (First Fruits) and appointing twelve out of the twenty four Canons who staffed the Church, also possibly at times the Prior. The two communities lived separately.

Dr. Gleeson, historian of the Diocese of Killaloe, gives us a very interesting account of the nature of the Collegiate church which, as we know, existed on Scattery Island. What he has to say in no way substantiates claims made by Father Malone. On the contrary, Gleeson has to admit that, even if half of the canons of that church were nominated by the Bishop of Limerick and "lived separately", "the Bishop of Limerick up to the Reformation had temporal rights over that portion of the island (dimidia pars?) in which lay the Church of the Angels. These rights the late Professor John Ryan, S.J., has suggested to me arose out of the original

SCATTERY ISLAND



Illus. 2. Map showing the ancient monuments on Scattery, Co. Clare.

occupation by the Limerick Norsemen, a point which had not occurred to me or anyone who has yet written on the subject"³⁶. It is strange that Dr. Gleeson did not remember that, in his 1902 publication on Scattery, Daniel Mescal made reference to the Norse withdrawal to Scattery following Sulcoit. Dr. Gleeson's final remarks on the question are rather curious. He says: "Further, it is possible, though very unlikely, that he (that is, the Bishop of Limerick) did enjoy some spiritual jurisdiction over this Church as well, though of this there is not substantial proof". And he adds, without any logic to back the contention: "Subject to the foregoing, the island lay at all times since 1188, in the diocese of Killaloe!"³⁷.

While it is undisputed that North Kerry is part of the ancient Diocese of Inis Cathaigh, nothing comparable is said about the Diocese of Limerick.

It is a pity that historical investigation into the whole matter has been so biased and at times very inaccurate, especially given the excellent relations that have prevailed for centuries between the Dioceses of Killaloe and Limerick. But facts are facts and there is no argument about the fact of some Limerick jurisdiction over Scattery - including the last one by Dr. Gleeson that has been referred to here - that can stand up, even given the subtle distinction between the 'island' and the more extensive former 'diocese'.

At best, all that Father Malone was able to support with any credibility as is acknowledged by Mescal, is that "up to the close of the 14th century, there continued to be titular Bishops of Scattery"³⁸.

But if Inis Cathaigh became a Titular See within what diocese is the question. There are many such Sees within Irish Dioceses: Ard Carna, Ard Mor, Ard Sratha, Rath Truim, Cenannus More, Cluain Iraird, Cunga Feichin, Daimlaig, Donhmach Sechnaill, Glendalocha, Inis Cathaigh, Lugmad, Mageo and Ros Cré, that is, in Anglo-Irish translation - Ardcarra, Ardmore, Ardstraw, Trim, Kells, Clonard, Cong, Dunleek, Dunshaughlin, Glendalough, Scattery, Lough, Mayo and Roscrea. But such proves nothing as regards Scattery not being within the ambit of the Diocese of Limerick still.

The dispute continued to fester into the 15th century. In 1418 we find the Bishop of Limerick again claiming jurisdiction over the part of the island which had been assigned to Limerick but had been allowed to fall into disuse for many years. It was situated towards the south of the island.

The Ardfert portion (which also seems to have been allowed to drift away from Kerry control) was to the south west³⁹. That the Diocese of Limerick possessed part of the island at the south side is further testified to by Papal documents relating to Kerry (1507)⁴⁰ and Killaloe (1446)⁴¹, and it is clear from the annates of Killaloe that the latter held the northern half. These sources make it clear too that at the latest by the beginning of the 16th century, the Dioceses of Limerick and Killaloe were in effect the two custodians of the Church on the island.

The Ardfert connection is rather vague, though that it existed is certain from Rathbrassil. But it was a small portion of the island and from early on seems to have been closely linked whether juridically or de facto with that of Limerick. In the first quarter of the 13th century, a cleric called John from Limerick was with the support of the justiciar, consecrated Bishop of Ardfert⁴². Again in 1408 Nicholas FitzMorris was elected Bishop of Ardfert by a number of Ardfert noblemen together with Alan Lynch, then guardian of the Collegiate Church of Iniscathy, "in the diocese of Limerick"⁴³. Nevertheless, the Ardfert claim to jurisdiction over some of the island is indisputable.

Cloyne had an interest in Scattery too, although much more tenuous. For the original possessions of the See of Cathay (of Iniscathy) extended not only into the counties of Limerick, Clare and Kerry but also Cork, where, in the Diocese of Cloyne, St. Senan had

evangelised and set up some small religious house/s and/or district/s, over which his bishopric was supposed to carry jurisdiction. Such had been assigned to Cloyne by Rathbrassil.

During the Avignon Papacy, Pope Innocent VI in 1358 or thereabouts nominated a monk - a Franciscan, Brother Thomas of Nenagh - as Bishop of Scattery Island. From this and other incidents it would appear that the said Brother Thomas had considerable power and influence. The appointment was rejected jointly by the Bishops of Killaloe, Limerick and Ardfert⁴⁴. But to no effect. Needless to say, the bishops of the former territories of Scattery did not give up and in 1363, together with the Archbishop of Cashel, again blocked him on the grounds that the church at Inish Cathaigh was not a cathedral. Although a decision one way or another has not come down to us, with the exception of Cloyne, which was too distant to be interested to that extent, they once again took over their due portions as fixed by Rathbrassil.

Father Malone, in his famous 1874 article, while not forgetting this, still managed to try to convince his readers that "there is very little doubt that the result only confirmed the arrangements made nearly 200 years previously in reference to Iniscathy, and that its pretensions as an independent See had been set aside"⁴⁵. Well, if they were, who said that this meant total incorporation into the Diocese of Killaloe?

While the main contenders on either side as regards the "Scattery" question are the Very Reverend Sylvester Malone and the Very Reverend John Begley, we have frequently referred to the very important contributions made by T. J. Westropp, the noted Protestant antiquarian at the end of the last and beginning of the present century.

It was in 1874 that Father Malone first advanced the defence of Killaloe's claim that has already been outlined here⁴⁶. In 1904, in the same *Journal*, that thesis was again taken up and defended by W.H. Grattan Flood, to wit that Scattery was indeed in the Diocese of Killaloe in the 14th century, despite the claims of the Bishops of Limerick, Ardfert (and Cloyne)⁴⁷. The thesis is based on a letter by Pope Urban V in 1363 (still during the Papal period of residence in Avignon, whither Brother Thomas had gone to get confirmation of his appointment by Pope Innocent VI around 1360. Then both the Pope and the Archbishop of Cashel died, after which Flood says the "Iniscathay was annexed to Killaloe, but some of its possessions went to Limerick and Ardfert."

Flood goes on, however, to record that in January, 1390, Pope Boniface IX "issued a mandate to the Abbot of Iniscathay, in the Diocese of Killaloe". He ends by saying: "Thus, at Rome, Iniscathay was regarded as a separate diocese from 1358 to 1370 and when it was no longer an independent See, it was annexed to Killaloe ... This view supports the opinion of the Rev. Sylvester Malone"⁴⁸.

It is hard to follow the logic of this sequence. So it is interesting to find Westropp, in the same issue of that *Journal*, taking Flood to task. He writes: "Mr. Flood does not, I think, touch the position for which I contend, viz. that Scattery Island was assigned to Limerick. He accepts the theories published in the *Journal* of 1874 but he does not even attempt to prove (any more than the author of that paper) the forgery of any of (still less all) the very definite records of the *Black Book* ... (His argument) narrows the evidence to a possible claim to, or even a temporary possession of, Iniscatha Island by the See of Killaloe, and in no way touches my contention that Archbishop Usher is right as to its allotment, and that it (the island) was certainly held by Limerick in 1201, 1290, 1409 and 1419"⁴⁹.

That Limerick relentlessly continued to exercise an interest in Inis Cathaigh is obvious from the fact that in 1408 one Alan Lynch is listed as guardian of the collegiate church of Inis Cathaigh in the diocese of Limerick. However, the most convincing proof of all relating to the Limerick connection comes from Cornelius O'Dea, Bishop of Limerick, 1400 to 1426. In

1418 he penned an extensive account of how he visited Scattery Island, recovered lands there which rightly belonged to the Diocese of Limerick and made suitable arrangements for their enfeoffment to a Mr. Gilbert Cahill. This ancient document is of such importance as to merit reproduction in full.

In the meantime, the custodianship of Scattery or parts of it was shared in turn by a variety of clerics from a variety of dioceses - in 1397 on Papal mandate by the abbot of the Augustinian monastery of Clare, the prebend of Iniscathaigh, in 1400 on a mandate underwritten by the Pope to Prior John Hogan and the chaplains of the collegiate church, the members of that collegiate church, in 1400 by the canonry and prebend of Scattery on a mandate (underwritten by the Pope), in 1405 by a canonry on a mandate from the Bishop of Killaloe, and so on

The original O'Dea document is to be found, though legible only with the help of another copy, in the Black Book of Limerick. It runs as follows in translation:

"The church of Inishcathy, the rector whereof is the precentor, and the dean and chapter Eaglas Montin (i.e. the Church of the Little Bog) and he (precentor) presents the vicar of Iniscathy and appoints the guardian to the convent there for the purpose of receiving the ecclesiastical dues there, and confers twelve portions on the south side, and corrects the excesses of the portionary priests, who in fact reside in the diocese of Ardfert, ought by right to reside personally in the conventual church in the diocese of Limerick.

And I, Cornelius O'Dea, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, have enfeoffed Mr. Gilbert O'Cathill, once vicar there, with lands belonging to the church of Limerick in the island of Iniskathi which I have recovered by inquisition made by me, and which for many years before me have not been in the possession of the church. The form of enfeoffment in this viz, that Mr. Gilbert, his heirs, assigns must pay to me and my successors, canonically entering (the island) every year as an annual rent 12d., viz., one half at Easter and one half at the feast of St. Michael; and whatever night I or my successors shall put into said island they should refresh us with meat and drink and all other necessary things, and as long there-after as I or my successors should tarry therein they shall supply fire, light and straw at their own cost and expense, and carry us victuals by water at our own expense, and in boats and by labourers of their own from Limerick and the out villages of our said diocese, and from Iniscathigh, in like manner to all our manors of Leamkyle (Loughill), Dromidle (Toomdeely), Mungret and Limerick"⁵⁰.

Not that he always succeeded in defending his boundaries. The de facto clerical occupants of Scattery were ever in search of aggrandisement. *The Black Book* tells us that at one stage they even penetrated the Deanery of Rathkeale (obviously in pursuit of booty). In 1427 Rome found it necessary to issue a Bull attaching the perpetual vicarage of the parochial church of Dunmylyn (i.e. Dunmoylan) on the banks of the Shannon near Mungret, to Limerick. In 1446 the cleric in the charge of the church of the Angels (already referred to) belonging to the Diocese of Limerick in Scattery bound himself to contribute its first fruits to Rome - an early type of Peter's Pence. In 1505 the arrangements concerning the church of the Angels, Diocese of Limerick, were confirmed, although the cleric then in charge was himself a cleric of the Diocese of Ardfert⁵¹. Which goes to show that the latter diocese, even by devious ways, was still endeavouring to avoid relinquishing its old links with Scattery Island.

It is interesting to note that, when Bishop O'Dea visited Scattery in 1418, he found that the Limerick clergy who should have been living in the Limerick portion of the island, were in fact residing on the mainland in Ardfert (*Black Book of Limerick*)⁵². There were twelve of them, - conventual clerics - sustained out of the twelve portions (hence their title portionary clergy) assigned to them by the guardian, who himself, representing the Bishop of Limerick, was appointed by the precentor of the diocese. These portionary clergy were known by various titles in different countries but at that period they were always canons of one kind or another. *The Black Book* tells us that the Limerick portions in Scattery were on the south side.

Unfortunately, we cannot identify them all as the Ms is illegible in the part relating to this. The names of a few can be established from it - Karongaro, Gortynnatagyll and Alyntagyr. Incidentally the first two occur also just across the Shannon in the termon of Shannaway, Co. Kerry, showing "how dependent the conventual clergy were on the Bishop of Limerick, although residing in the Diocese of Ardfert"⁵³.

The trans-Shannon relationship had many facets. Begley has drawn our attention to a bundle of parchments in the Record Office, Dublin, written in Latin, which refer to an ancient Celtic pagan feast which used to be held every August at what is now Knockpatrick in the Diocese of Limerick but which became Christianised under the influence of the See of Iniscathy and became a festival which people from both Limerick and Ardfert attended, under the aegis of the patronage of St. Patrick, who was allegedly closely connected with St. Senan⁵⁴.

At the time of Elizabeth I, an inquisition on Scattery taken in 1576⁵⁵, shows the extent of Limerick's dominance over the island by the fact that all members of the Commission were prominent citizens of the city, that all boatloads of oysters and herrings had to pay a yearly tribute to the Bishop of Limerick as also was an obligation on the owners of substantial stone houses on the island, all subject to the Queen's overriding rights, presumably over the Bishop. Incidentally, whenever the ancient documents relating to Scattery make mention of a 'custos' or 'guardian' of its collegiate church, they always refer to the collector of ecclesiastical fees due to the Diocese of Limerick.

The 'canonry' of Scattery did not appear on the scene until after the suppression of the See of Scattery, when some of the possessions that formerly lay within the territorial boundaries of Killaloe were given to it as an endowment. Not until a quarter of a century (?) later is there a reference to the 'Prior' of Scattery, when these possessions were confirmed by Rome as a perpetual endowment to the collegiate church on the island which is said to have been constituted in 1400 and in 1408 was under the guardianship of Alan Lynch in the Diocese of Limerick⁵⁶.

That Limerick held its own tenaciously is evident from a description of Scattery, written during the reign of Henry VIII by Edmund Sexton, Mayor and merchant of the city of Limerick, in which he tells us that many merchants of Limerick dwelt there and had castles and storehouses⁵⁷. Needless to say, the bishop was among such in one way or another.

White, in his *Ms. Annals of the Diocese of Limerick*, informs us that in 1742 Bishop Lacy of Limerick recovered (*recuperavit*) Scattery from the See of Killaloe and once more annexed it to the Diocese of Limerick. White did this as Apostolic Notary. And Young acted on this too, because a note added in 1801 in this part of the MS declares that he had visited the island and found there two families whom he placed under the care of the Reverend Michael Sullivan, P.P. Ballylongford. In consequence, in November 1801, he received the following letter from Father Sullivan, giving a detailed account of his missionary labours in Scattery⁵⁸. The documents dealing with this matter are contained in a volume of Dr. Young's correspondence, entitled 'Home Correspondence', now preserved in the Diocesan Archives, Bishop's Residence, Kilmoyle Limerick City.

Fr. Sullivan writes:

My Lord,

Impressed with every sense of gratitude, I return you my heartfelt thanks, for your kindness to me at all times and especially while on my late excursion in your city, on my return from whence (in consequence of the wish you zealously expressed of having the Scattery people properly attended to), I immediately dispatched a pious catechist I have here to instruct the young and old of that holy island and entreat them to

prepare for sacraments against last Wednesday, on which day Mr. Kearney and I landed there very early, satisfied by the help of the Almighty, the good example of our precursor we may reap a good harvest in that little vineyard of the Lord. But to our grief they would not hear to us. Amazed at the extraordinary change, from being so happy at being enlightened and instructed the last time we were with them, our poor pious man informed us the day he was sent, the Reverend Mr. Fitzpatrick of Kilrush was there after baptising a child and churching the mother, and on his asking what necessity was there for sending for the coadjutor of Kilrush, the weather being so favourable, the child strong, and the parish priest willing to attend to them, their answer was, they did not know who was their pastor, and during the twenty days he remained there he would not be attended to, consequently on our arrival no one was prepared for confession. Still we remained until the following morning, thinking during that interval (after exhorting them thereto) they may attempt to make some reparation and seriously reflect on their situations and our perseverance attempting to serve them. The result of their nocturnal deliberations was a candid acknowledgement that their only motive for acting in the manner they have was solely owing to the Revd. Messrs. Considine and Fitzpatrick of Kilrush, who have assured them they would in a few days produce a letter from their bishop, by which they would convince them they for certain were as usual to be their pastors.

You will have the goodness my Lord to believe it is not my fault that the few souls you had the kindness to commit to my care have not profited thereby. Any future attempt on my part must in my opinion be also fruitless so long as the Kilrush clergymen pretend to any authority in Scatterry.

There is no alternative; your Lordship will be kind enough to exonerate me from the onus, or convince those clergymen they cannot have jurisdiction in that island, in the latter case *non recuso laborare*, nay I should be always happy in being so blessed as to be a subject of yours, and as such to have the honour of subscribing myself.

Your obliged and devoted servant,

Michael Sullivan

Ballylongford, November 14th 1801.

Dr. Young wrote the following note on the above letter:-

Received this 26th or twelve days after it was written. Wrote the same day to Rev. Mr. Considine that I exonerated him from the care of the island which letter was sent to the post and the expenses of postage along with it. Wrote the same day also to Dr. McM. [Dr. MacMahon, Bishop of Killaloe] requesting he would inform Rev. M.C. of Kilrush that Scatterry made part of the diocese of Limerick which Dr. McM. postponed doing. Wrote to Rev. Mr McDonnell of Glin on the 15th December, commissioning him to go to the island in my name, to order the inhabitants to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Rev. Mr. Sullivan, and not to apply to any other especially the Kilrush clergy under pain of excommunication to be incurred *ipso facto*. Desired Mr. McDonnell would inform me of the success of his mission".

Rev. Mr. McDonnell's reply:-

Glin,

31st December, 1801.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's letter of the 15th was handed to me by Rev. M. Sullivan on the 24th inst., we fixed on Monday 29th, to execute you Lordship's commission.

We accordingly arrived about 12 O'clock that day, not being able to execute our business to my satisfaction as the principal inhabitant had been in Kilrush accompanied by the other inhabitant, we pursued Kearney to Kilrush. On meeting him I acquainted them with the nature of your Lordship's commission, they then expressed a wish to answer me in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Considine, in consequence we called on

Mr. Considin who first appeared a little warm on the occasion but when I insisted on a decisive answer from the people he cooled and recommended them to submit which they did and accepted of Rev. M. Sullivan. In the interim he told them if his bishop should qualify him he would call them back; though the holidays were not all over I did not delay the execution of your Lordship's commission, knowing you wished to know as soon as possible the success of the business. We had no delay, we were home the same night. Wishing your Lordship the compliments of the season and many happy years.

I remain, with the greatest esteem,
Your Lordship's most dutiful and obedient subject,
Michael McDonnell de Glin.

The Rev. M. Sullivan informs Dr. Young how he fared with the Scatterry people after Rev. M. McDonnell's visit to the island:-

My Lord,

It is not owing to a want of the sense of the honour you have done me, by deigning to write to me or the many other favours I received from your Lordship ere now, but to disappointments I met with in endeavouring to bring the good people of Scatterry to a sense of the obedience they owed their worthy bishop of which I could give your Lordship no proper account until now, as they promised every submission the day the Rev. Mr. McDonnell was with them, but could not be prepared to approach sacraments, they said, the day I then appointed for them, I instructed to let me know exactly when they would be prepared, this they assured me they would do so as soon Patrick Kearney (who seems to be their chief) would return from Limerick. I received no account from them for a considerable time after though I sent them different messages to that effect. Astonished at their conduct I then wrote to Patrick Kearney and entreated him to let me know when I should go to administer sacraments there; no answer to either.

At last on the 24th of May, I went to Scatterry and enquired of them, in as mild a manner as I could, why were they so unhappy as to have neglected to approach the fountains of grace for so long a time.

Patrick Kearney in the name of the others assured me they confessed twice since Mr. McDonnell and I were with them to Mr. Fitzpatrick of Kilrush, who told them after his return from a meeting of his clergy that the jurisdiction of Scatterry was not yet decided, I enquired if Mr. Considen told them so, they answered they did not ask him. I then described to them in as feeling a manner as I was able of the impropriety of their conduct, the evident danger they were of bringing down upon themselves the sever anger of their worthy bishop who had the salvation of their souls so much at heart. The only apology they could make for their disobedience to your Lordship's mandate, was that Mr. Fitzpatrick declared to them that unless the jurisdiction of Scatterry was totally given up to him, the parish priest, he would not come to them on any emergency, that is to say in case there may be a dying person at a moment when they might have not time or could not possibly come to Ballylongford, and this they told me did and may frequently happen, and therefore they hoped your Lordship would leave them in the same position they were in, as it was impossible for them to change pastors without running the risk of having some of them die without the benefit of sacraments, so I quitted them, but shall not let you quit attempting to read this miserable and tedious scribble without assuring your Lordship how much

I am
Your Lordship's ever obliged and devoted servant,
Michael Sullivan.
Ballylongford, June 7th, 1802.

It is clear that the Revds. Fitzpatrick and Considine of the Diocese of Killaloe were, so to speak, the villains of the piece, either for personal reasons of their own or a jaundiced reading

of the ecclesiastical history of Scattery. Everything points to their browbeating the island people who themselves had no doubt about where their loyalty should lie. This is quintessentially clear when, shortly afterwards, they submitted the following petition to the Bishop of Limerick:

A petition from the inhabitants of Scattery to Dr. Young:-

To the Right Rev. Dr. Young, Bishop of Limerick, the humble Petition of the undersigned inhabitants of Scattery island most humbly sheweth that your Lordship's petitioners feel themselves in the most distressing and dangerous condition with respect to their eternal salvation owing to your Lordship's orders preventing them from any recourse to the chapel or clergy of Kilrush to fulfill the Christian duties required of them by our holy church, and by which they are debarred by the positive orders of Rev. Mr. Considen, P.P. of Kilrush. Your Lordship's petitioners, with humility and confidence, beg leave to remonstrate to your Lordship that it is more than probable that they would not have it in their power to attend divine service every eighteenth Sunday throughout the year if obliged to attend in Kerry, and that the petitioners dread and shudder at the painful thought and mortifying reflection that they or theirs may die without the benefits of rites of that Church they were born in and hope to die.

Petitioners humbly beg leave to refer your Lordship to the most skillful pilots in the river Shannon, whose testimony before a magistrate (if required). Petitioners will obtain that it is their belief to the best of their knowledge, when no sailing boat could cross the channel from Ballylongford, a row boat with ease and safety could row back and forward from Scattery to Kilrush. Petitioners, from your Lordship's well known paternal care of our holy Church, submit their pitiful case to your humane and charitable consideration, and hope for relief at your Lordship's hands for which they will as duty bound for ever pray.

Patrick Cartney

Thomas Mor[an].

Canon Begley's comment on the matter is barbed: "Dr. Young evidently acceded to this request and allowed the inhabitants of Scattery, as heretofore, to attend Kilrush, and gave the priests of that parish the necessary faculties - an arrangement which is likely to last until such time as a Bishop of Limerick may deem it feasible to have a resident priest on the island to minister to the spiritual wants of the good people of that portion of his diocese"⁵⁹.

Mr. Mescall, on the other hand, being prone to taking a "Killaloe interpretation" of the events, says that the bishops of Killaloe did not apparently acquiesce in this arrangement⁶⁰, and thus the contention continued down to the time of the late Bishop Butler of Limerick, who according to Dr. Malone (the great defender of the Killaloe claims) actually proceeded to the island to take ecclesiastical possession of it. According to a writer in *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*, a compromise was effected by the Bishop of Limerick having the nomination of one of the Kilrush curates.

This arrangement, if it ever existed, did not, however, appear to be in force in 1902. Dr. Malone concludes this discussion by asserting that at present (i.e. since 1902), Killaloe has the undisputed ecclesiastical possession of the island.

Possession is one thing; undisputed possession another. Canon Begley pointed out that actual possession by Killaloe in the case of Scattery is in any case unclear even if the Limerick claim to part of the island was not actively pressed. The last time a Bishop of Limerick went to the island for the purpose of taking formal ecclesiastical possession of it would appear to be when Bishop Butler did so. As relations between the Dioceses of Limerick and Killaloe are close and very friendly, there has been no trouble about the matter since. But the Limerick claim remains. The parts of the island to which it pertains were originally granted by the Apostolic See and so the claim remains intact as it has not been

expunged by the canons of the *New Code of Canon Law* (See Canon 4). Therefore implementation of the claim could be resurrected juridically if thought beneficial to the Diocese of Limerick.

By way of conclusion to this historic-legal excursion, it is interesting to note that the Diocese of Limerick's claim to jurisdiction in relation to Scattery has, over the centuries, been accompanied by a secular claim on the part of Limerick City. This was only natural of course, in the days in which civil and church powers were intermixed.

But the Limerick City claim was always pursued with the utmost pertinacity and forcefulness. Undoubtedly it had a lot, if not everything, to do with securing for Limerick a hegemony over the estuary such as would benefit the city's coffers, through financial tariffs on incoming shipping and other customs of an excise nature. But its very existence and exercise also inevitably constitutes a link with the claim of the Church of Limerick.

The interest of the civil authorities of Limerick in Scattery goes back very far. As early as the beginning of the 13th Century, the Anglo-Norman de Burgo plundered the island and assigned its possession to the city of Limerick, to the dismay of the Chaplain to King John. We have already alluded to the Inquisition of 1201 as an attempt by the Limerick civil authorities, in the name of the Government, to define the churches and lands of the See of Limerick in Scattery. In this respect we should not fail to notice that a claim to any fief in the island was never advanced by the Church of Kerry because no civil corporation there, such as that of Limerick, sought after it. An Inquisition of 1576 stated that the island was in the county of Limerick and was granted to the Corporation of Limerick. Actually, the situation would seem to have been that around that time the Queen was thinking of making such a grant, at the request of the Mayor, Corporation, and the Earl of Thomond.

In an enquiry into Municipal Corporations, the First Report of the Commissioners of 1835 says that on 24th April, the 20th year of Elizabeth 1578, the monastery and island of Scattery and numerous acres of woodland and pastureland were granted to the Mayor and citizens of Limerick.

This was confirmed in the charter of James I (1609): the whole island was stated to be an inheritance of the City, and the Mayor and other officials of the Corporation constituted into an Admiralty of the Shannon. In November 1854, Scattery was annexed by order of the Privy Council to the Barony of Moyarta, Co. Clare⁶¹.

But the City managed to hold on to its privileges over many years, sometimes admittedly interrupted with considerable violence. The claim of the Mayor to the Admiralty of the Shannon still remains. Canon Begley has a colourful account taken from White's *History of Limerick* - of how, in September 1764, at the instance of the Mayor, the populace were invited to visit all the franchises and liberties of Limerick, which they duly did. The procession of city servants, bailiffs and major's sergeants went horsed, accompanied by military bands and dignitaries suitably robed and carrying their rods of office, the with corporation standard bearer and other mounted gentlemen wearing cockaded hats, followed by the recognised trades of Limerick, each with its own coloured standard and coat of arms. This they did on a Friday through South Liberties and on a Saturday from St. John's Square to the King's Island⁶².

On the Thursday of the following week the Mayor, together with the chief officer of the city went down the river in the King's yachts "in order to assert and make good his right of being admiral of the river Shannon⁶³. In early times the Shannon, as Dermot Gleeson has put it, "was much the path of entry to the heart of Ireland as the Seine was to the heart of France"⁶⁴.

It is a position that held throughout the history of maritime sail craft and was certainly



Illus. 3. The Mayor of Limerick, Alderman G. E. Russell exercising his ancient rights as Admiral of the river Shannon, by casting a two-foot long silver dart into the river, one mile off Scatterry Island, on the 16th of March, 1956, to mark the limit of his rightful claims to suzerainty. These rights were conferred on the mayor by a charter granted to Limerick on the 3rd of March, 1609. Note that Alderman Russell has donned the centuries-old cocked hat, with its plume of red and gold, as traditionally worn by Admirals of the Shannon. (Photo: "Limerick Leader")

very much alive in the 18th century. Hence the reason for the Corporation's concern that its rights in the matter be secured. "When they arrived at Scatterry Island the mayor held a court of Admiralty, and the next day set sail for the mouth of the Shannon, where they threw a dart into the sea to point out the limits of his jurisdiction; at the same time it happened that a sloop of war entered the river, whom the mayor compelled to lower her colours and her fore top-sail in acknowledgement of his power of Admiralty in the said River Shannon. The mayor and corporation returned to Limerick on Saturday with the ringing of the bells, etc.". That was in 1764.

This latter claim has been rehabilitated by the Harbour Commissioners on two occasions in recent years. Mayor Russell and Mayor Bromell symbolically cast silver darts into the Shannon near its mouth. (Illus. 3)* The question is now a delicate one. For although nobody now resides on Scatterry, the potentialities for industrial concentration make possibilities realisable that were not even imagined until recently. Obviously, against a backdrop of such developments, the interest of Limerick in the place would also undergo a pragmatic revival.

*This ceremony, dating back to the 1400s, also takes place in Dublin Port – see photograph of the city's Lord Mayor, in his capacity as Admiral of the Port, casting a spear into the sea published in *The Irish Times* for the 25th of November, 1994. It was also practised by the Mayor of Cork as recorded by W. G. Wood-Martin in *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, vol. I, London 1902, p. 283: "The celebration of the old ceremony, performed by the Mayor of Cork, who takes possession of the Lee by the act of throwing a dart into the sea near the river's mouth, probably owes its origin to some ancient water rite practised by the Druids of Pagan Ireland. The marriage which Venice annually celebrated with the Adriatic is a world-wide known example of a water rite." – E. R. Hon. Editor.

And so, the situation remains. Even long-time possession were to be proved, prescription for even a hundred years or more could not delete the force of immemorial rights. Limerick's efforts to assert its rights in Bishop Young's time are not by any means beyond the memory of people in both the Dioceses of Limerick and Killaloe. Actually he went there on two occasions (1801 and 1812) in an endeavour to settle the matter. To no avail. Father Malone says that his second next successor Bishop Ryan used to treat the matter as a good joke, but if he did his own successor, Bishop Butler, did not. We have already recorded that Father Malone admits this. Dr Butler was Bishop of Limerick until 1886. No so very long ago really.

Westropp's conclusion is compelling. While granting that the island was most likely held by Killaloe between around 1350 until about 1410 or 1420, "I would however claim that the theory that Scattery (whether held by Killaloe or not in 1189) was in Limerick diocese from 1201 to perhaps 1350⁶⁵. And we know that since 1418, Limerick has not given up its right to continued possession. Father Malone concludes his article with this amusing passage about Scattery:

"As it was nearly 600 years ago in relation to the diocese of Killaloe, such is it at the present time; and it is likely to continue so, unless from some great commercial or political change, at present unforeseen, Kilrush became a packet station - an Irish New York - and Brooklyn be reproduced on the island of Cathay"⁶⁶.

I wonder whether this is entirely amusing or a flight of fancy. Analogous things might happen and Limerick may yet strike oil there!

Acknowledgements

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FOOTNOTES

1. Ignatius Murphy, *The Dioceses of Killaloe in the Eighteenth Century*, Dublin 1992, p. 121.
2. Sylvester Malone, "Iniscathy after Ceasing to be a See", *J. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Ireland*. 35 (1905), 152-160.
3. John Begley, *The Dioceses of Limerick, Ancient and Medieval*, Dublin 1906, pp. 38-43 and 388-409.
4. *Archivium Hibernicum*, 10 (1943), 17, fn. 48.
5. Dermot F. Gleeson, *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe*, Dublin 1962. p. 22.
6. Daniel Mescal, *The Story of Inis Cathaigh*, Dublin 1902, p. 39.
7. *Ibid.*, p.40
8. Sylvester Malone, *J. Roy. Antiqs. Ireland*, 13(1874-75) 106-117 and 115-278.
9. *Ibid.*, p.107.
10. *Ibid.*, p.112
11. John Begley, "The Termons of St. Patrick", *Irish Eccles. Record*, 6(1915), 236-247.
12. T.J. Westropp, *J. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Ireland*, 35(1905), 140.
13. James McCaffrey (ed.), *The Black Book of Limerick*, Dublin 1907, p.xi.
14. Begley, *op. cit.* (1906), p.78.
15. John O'Donovan (ed.) *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. III, 2nd ed., Dublin 1856, p.81.
16. T.J. Westropp, *J. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Ireland*, 30(1900), 118-119.
17. Begley, *op. cit.* (1906), p.112
18. McCaffrey, *op. cit.* p.26.
19. James Ware, *The History of the Bishops*, Dublin 1739, p.502.

20. Gleeson, *op. cit.*, p.20.
21. Mescal, *op. cit.*, p.48.
22. Malone, *op. cit.* (1874-75), p.117.
23. T.J. Westropp, *J. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Ireland*, 27(1897), 279.
24. Westropp, *op. cit.* (1905), p. 410.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, p.411.
29. *Ibid.*, p.410.
30. Westropp, *op. cit.*(1897), p.297, fn.5.
31. McCaffrey, *op.cit.*, pp.47-48.
32. Malone, *op. cit.* (1874-75), 272-274.
33. T.J. Westropp, *J. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Ireland*, 34(1904), 384.
34. *Ibid.*, p.385.
35. T.J. Westropp, *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, 22(1900-1902), 112.
36. Dermot F. Gleeson, *Nth. Munster Antiq. J.*, 2(1940), 14-30.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
38. Mescal, *op. cit.*, p.41.
39. J. Haren(ed.), *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. XXIII, pp. 363-364.
40. M. Moloney, "Obligationes pro Annatis Diocesis Limericensis", *Archivium Hibernicum*, 10(1943), 156, fn. 126 which refers one to the Ardfert annat of 31 July 1505.
41. Dermot F. Gleeson(ed.), "Obligationes pro Annatis Diocesis Laoniensis, 1421-1535", *Archivium Hibernicum*, 10(1943), 34.
42. *A New History of Ireland*, vol. IX, Oxford 1984, p. 291.
43. Malone, *op. cit.* (1874-75), pp.272-274.
44. A. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, Rome 1864, pp.316 (DCXLI), 318 (DCXLVI), and 324 (DCLX).
45. Malone, *op. cit.* (1874-75), p. 116.
46. *Ibid.*, pp.106-117 and 244-278.
47. W.H. Grattan Flood, *J. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Ireland*, 34(1904), 384.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Westropp, *op. cit.* (1904), 384-385.
50. Begley, *op. cit.* (1906), pp. 393-394.
51. *Ibid.*, p.394.
52. *Ibid.*, p.393
53. Begley, *op.cit.* (1915), pp .236-247.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.
55. *Ibid.* (1906), pp. 395-397.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 391.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 396-397.
58. *Ibid.*, pp.403-408.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 408-409.
60. Mescal, *op. cit.*, p. 40; there is no mention of Butler's visit in Malone, *op. cit.* (1874-75).
61. Maurice Lenihan, *History of Limerick*, Limerick 1866, p. 512, fn.
62. John Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick from 1691 to the Present Time*, Dublin 1938. p.114.
63. *Ibid.*, p.115.
64. Gleeson, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
65. Westropp, *op. cit.* (1905), p. 411.
66. Malone, *op. cit.* (1874-75), pp. 277-278.