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The Fitzpatrick Clan Society: Carrigan MSS Supplement

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Cover image: William Canon Carrigan (1860-1924), born Ruthstown, Ballyfoyle, Co. Kilkenny; pupil of St Kieran's College. 1873-78; student at St Patrick's College, Maynooth, 1878-83; ordained priest by Bishop Moran, 24 February 1884; staff member, St Kieran's College, 1883-86; granted Doctor of Divinity by Pope Leo XIII, 6 May 1906, died 12 December 1924.



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The Carrigan Manuscripts: the will of Thady Fitzpatrick, MD, 1674

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Abstract

The will of Thady Fitzpatrick MD (d. 1674) was transcribed by Rev. William Carrigan and is recorded among his notebooks, collectively known as the Carrigan Manuscripts. Carrigan made only a brief mention of Thady in *The History and Antiquities of Diocese of Ossory* (*The History*), but his record of Thady's will adds significantly to what is known of Thady's family connections and land holdings. Notably, the will refers to Thady's previously unknown brother, Florence, and four nephews. Moreover, among other notebooks, Carrigan recorded details of a family of Fitzpatricks in the parish of Rathdowney, possibly the descendants of Florence, brother of Thady Fitzpatrick MD.

Introduction

Rev. William Carrigan (1860-1924) is the preeminent scholar concerning the history of Ossory. According to Phelan, in addition to his published works, material Carrigan collected for the four-volume *The History*¹ could have 'filled 12 volumes'². Carrigan planned a fifth supplementary volume, but it did not come about, and neither did a proposal to publish his collection of research material in *Archivium Hibernicum*². Carrigan's research notes are known as the Carrigan manuscripts (Carrigan MSS), which comprise 167 volumes, written primarily in small notebooks, now housed at the archives of St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny³.

The volume and scope of the Carrigan MSS are far too large for a single scholar to review thoroughly, even in an entire lifetime. However, readers of *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* (*The Journal*) can note that the future reproduction of Carrigan MSS, still largely unpublished, pertaining to Fitzpatricks and related families, such as the Mac Costigan, is not such a daunting task. Carrigan's interest in documenting the history of Ossory and 'the collection of the materials ... was commenced by me immediately after my ordination, in February, 1884'¹, and this is apparent from his notebooks; although many are undated, among them there is evidence enough of Carrigan's tenure as a researcher. The numbering classification of the notebooks, made after Carrigan's death, is distinctly non-chronological. For example, Volume 87 has the note, 'Rev. W. Carrigan C.C. [i.e., Catholic Curate] Ossory 1886. This MS written 1885-88', while Volume 40 is 'Early Notes', 'William Carrigan C.C. Ossory 1892'; 'This MS begun in 1887 written for most part in 1891 and finished in 1892'. Carrigan was prolific at this time of his 'Early Notes', an era which is notable for his use of many of the same type of black-backed notebook, and this is doubtless because, 'in 1890 Dr

¹ Carrigan, W (1905). *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker.

² Phelan, M. (1976). William Canon Carrigan, 1890-1924. *Old Kilkenny Review* 1976, 148-157.

³ Whelan, K. (1990). Review of Kilkenny: An Urban History 1391-1843, by W. G. Neely. *Irish Economic and Social History*, 17, 119-120.

Abraham Brownrigg, then Bishop of Ossory, approached Father Carrigan and suggested he write a history of Ossory, with the bulk of the writing occurring between 1897 and 1903².

Carrigan's activity was unabated after the publication of *The History* in 1905, although at times he seems to have lost track of when, exactly, he undertook some of his work; for example, the inside cover of notebook 30 is dated '1920?' And the intense review Carrigan was conducting on *The History* is evident in his later last years, such as is found in the untitled notebook 8, 'Rev. W. Carrigan P.P. [i.e., Parish Priest] Durrow 1922'. At times it seems Carrigan must have copied every record he ever came across, as Phelan notes 'much time also was devoted to copying extracts from historical manuscripts and collections'¹. Such dedication to preserving public records, even in his final years, is no more evident than in Volume 21, which contains various notes commencing with 'Funeral Entries', and is dated 1923. Here, therefore, is one element that makes Carrigan's notebooks so valuable; Irish researchers are no strangers to the loss of irreplaceable material, and within Carrigan's manuscripts is material no longer found anywhere else.

But in addition to previously unpublished material, Carrigan's documented intended revisions to *The History* provide fascinating insights into his thought processes with subject matter that clearly caused him consternation. Of particular interest to Fitzpatrick researchers will be Carrigan's edits, comments, and corrections to various Mac Giolla Phádraig and Fitzpatrick pedigrees, as well as his grapplings with the inscriptions on the 'Kilpatrick' mensa tomb at Grangefertagh; this since some of *The Journal's* previous publications have touched on these topics critically^{4,5}. And while some material found in the Carrigan MSS has already been published in *The Journal*, that being the highly prized 'Letters from the Baron of Upper Ossory, and his son Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, AD 1571: Carrigan's transcriptions'⁶, this article on the will of Thady Fitzpatrick MD is the first in the dedicated Carrigan MSS supplement to *The Journal*.

Carrigan's notebooks follow no numeric pattern, and inter-related material is frequently spread across more than one notebook, making the order in which *The Journal* will publish Carrigan's MSS an editorial choice. Exploring Carrigan's transcription of Thady Fitzpatrick's will is an excellent place to begin because Thady's pedigree was published in Shearman's *Loca Patriciana*⁷ and Thady was also referenced in Carrigan's *The History*; yet, for reasons known only to himself, Carrigan chose not to publish his transcription of Thady's will even though it is clear he had it at hand. Regardless, readers here will gain an appreciation for the Carrigan MSS and how they can add the meat of narratives to existing skeletal material, making them a priceless resource for those researching the histories of Fitzpatrick families of Ossory and seeking to make connections between ancient and modern lines.

⁴ Fitzpatrick, M (2020) Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part II. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 1, 40-71. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00320](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00320).

⁵ Fitzpatrick, M (2022). On Fitzpatrick Scholarship. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 3, 73-77. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01022](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01022).

⁶ Fitzpatrick, M (2022). Letters from the Baron of Upper Ossory, and his son Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, AD 1571: Carrigan's transcriptions. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 3, 46-57. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00822](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00822).

⁷ Shearman, J. (1879). *Loca Patriciana: An Identification of Localities, Chiefly in Leinster, Visited by Saint Patrick and His Assistant Missionaries and of Some Contemporary Kings and Chieftains*. Dublin: M. H. Gill.

The will of Thady Fitzpatrick, MD⁸

‘Thady Fitzpatrick of City of Dublin, Doctor of Phiscke: to be buried in St James’ Churchyard⁹, Dublin if I die here, and if in Kilkenny in the chancell of the Abbey of St Frances, and if in Ossory in the same grave with my father and mother¹⁰ in Errill, and if I am buried in St James’ I desire my executors to cover my grave with a marble stone: to wife Julian Martin one third of property: his medical books to his son Patrick¹¹ or nephew John whichever should be a Doctor of Phisicke first: all rest of his books to his son Patrick: to his son John his heirs he leaves Kilmademoge in Co. Kilkenny; remainder to his son James and his heirs: to his son James the lands¹² of Shanbally and Coroghmore¹³, Tomcroagh¹⁴, Feetowne¹⁵ and his lease of Addergowre¹⁶ from the Corporation of Waterford; remainder to said John and his heirs: to said John he leaves Ballyboodin, Gorteen, Mainbogg¹⁷ and my part of Cullahill, Chinech-canbegge¹³ and Monemore¹³ alias Bogmor and my house in Kilkenny¹⁸ after death of my wife until such time as my wife Julian, my brother Florence Fitzpatrick and cousin Peter Martin shall appoint the said last rented premises to my eldest son Patrick; remainder of these premises after Patrick to John my son; remainder to my son James; to my daughter Christian Fitzpatrick £200; to my daughter Anne Fitzpatrick £200. (All testator’s children still minors). Should testators male issue fail, then all to go to issue of his brother Florence Fitzpatrick viz. Kilmademoge to my nephew John Fitzpatrick, remainder to my nephew Kieran Fitzpatrick, remainder to my nephew Donogh Fitzpatrick, remainder to my nephew Darby Fitzpatrick: as to my lands in Ossory they go to my nephew Kieran Fitzpatrick, remainder to said John, Fitzpatrick, remainder to said Donogh and Darby, successively: £10 to my nephew John Fitzpatrick to enable him to go to study beyond the seas: £20 for his soul: Will made June 12 1674 and proved July 11 1674.

Executors Julian his wife and brother Florence.

Witnesses: Edward Wesly, Peter Martin, Redmond Ledwit, and John O’Connor.’

⁸ As transcribed by Rev. William Carrigan (Carrigan MSS, 83, Wills).

⁹ Thady was buried in Dublin (D’Alton, J. 1860. King James’s Irish Army List. Dublin: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office; Murphy, S. (n.d). Burying Poor and Gentry: St James’s Church and Graveyard, Dublin, Twelfth to Twenty-First Centuries. <https://ucd.academia.edu/SeanMurphy>) as was his son Patrick (Carrigan MSS, 83).

¹⁰ Probably Catherine Fitzpatrick of Aghmacart parish who died in 1665, passing her property to her son, Thady Fitzpatrick (Carrigan MSS, 55).

¹¹ Patrick’s will of 1719, states ‘Patrick Fitzpatrick, City of Dublin, Esq. Doctor of Physick’ (Carrigan MSS, 83).

¹² Portions of which were with Thady’s son, Patrick, in 1674 (NAI QRO 1/1/3/13/19/6, Books of Survey and Distribution: Queenes County part of Aghmacarte parish Upper Ossory Barony, National Archives of Ireland), in 1686 (NAI Lodge/8/721, Manuscripts of John Lodge, 1692-1774, records of the rolls Vol. VII, Charles II, National Archives of Ireland), and 1697 (Shaw W. 1933. Calendar of Treasury Books, Volume 12, 1697. London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office).

¹³ Or Curraghmore; along with Monemore (alias Moneymore, Bogmor, and Rathmor) and Clonkeen-Clonbegg (or Chinech-canbegge) were denominations of Gorteen and Cullahill (NAI Lodge/8/721).

¹⁴ Also known as Tomecroe: The Down Survey for Aghmacart parish parcels Shanbally and Tomecroe within a larger denomination called Grace’s Castle (Down Survey, 1656. Trinity College Dublin). <http://downsurvey.tcd.ie>. Accessed 30 May 2023).

¹⁵ Probably Fiatan, a parcel of Ballyboodin (Down Survey, 1656. Accessed 30 May 2023).

¹⁶ Addergoole in Aghmacart parish.

¹⁷ Maynebogg in Aghmacart parish.

¹⁸ This was in St Patrick’s Parish, Kilkenny town (NAI/Lodge/7/391, Manuscripts of John Lodge, 1692-1774: records of the rolls Vol. VII, Charles II. National Archives of Ireland).

The pedigree and family of Thady Fitzpatrick, MD

Thady's will is a definitive source detailing his immediate family; his wife was Julian Martin, and his children were Patrick, John, James, Christian, and Anne. Shearman⁷ accurately recorded the same in his 'Fitzpatricks, of Ballyboodan', and 'Fitzpatricks, of Ballogh' pedigrees, but Shearman errs with Thady's ancestry. Sherman probably understood Thady's family not from his will but from his funeral entry¹⁹ (Figure 1) and *Linea Antiqua*²⁰ (Figure 2): he was the son of Teige Og Fitzpatrick of Akipe (Akip), Dermot Fitzpatrick of Ballirellin (Ballyreilly), son of Teige Og Mac Teige of Muindrihid (Mondrehid). Hence, Thady's ancestry was in the Parish of Offerlane. For reasons known only to Shearman, he makes the father of Teige Og mac of Mondrehid the son of 'John Mac Brian of Ballygihen' (Ballygeehan, in the Parish of Aghaboe), who was a son of Brian, the first Baron of Upper Ossory. John Mac Brian did reside at Ballygeehan in the era of his father, as attested to by Fiant 897 of Elizabeth I dated 1566²¹, but Thady's ancestor Teige Og Mac Teige was not of John's line, which had no direct Mondrehid connection.

Yet, Carrigan³ recorded Thady's ancestry accurately and knew Mondrehid was with a line of Mac Giolla Phádraig who were not apt to go by Fitzpatrick as decreed²²; from the same 1566 fiant Carrigan wrote, 'Teige McFynne [Fitzpatrick], of Moydrehed, gentleman, and Fynne McTeige [Fitzpatrick], of same, kern, had pardons' on 30 June, 1556'²³. Evident here is that the Mondrehid line probably descended from Mac Giolla Phádraig sept known as the Mac Fynen, and further support for a Mac Fynen being the progenitor of the Mondrehid line is found in a 1601 fiant that names Sadhbh Ny Kynen²⁴ of that townland²⁵. As for the Mac Fynen, it has been postulated they may have arisen in Offerlane from the first Baron's little-known brother, Donogh Dubsúilech (i.e., *the black-eyed*)¹⁹, who rejected Fitzpatrick and chose a patronymic in honour of their grandfather, Fynen Mac Giolla Phádraig (d.1469)²⁶. Carrigan also made this connection and noted that Thady descended from Fynen²⁷.

Finally, it is curious that Shearman did not refer to Florence, the brother of Thady, and his sons, although they are found in *Linea Antiqua*, which is a source Shearman cited. For comparison, the connection between Thady and Florence, as seen in *Linea Antiqua*, is provided here (Figure 2).

¹⁹ Genealogical Office. (1681). Funeral Entries, Volume 11.

²⁰ O'Ferrall, R. (1709). *Linea Antiqua*, a collection of Irish genealogies compiled by Roger O'Ferrall, with index. Genealogical Office Manuscripts Collection MS 155.

²¹ HMSO (1879). The eleventh report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Printing Office.

²² State Papers of Henry VIII. 1541. 291, Certen Articles and Condictions, Whiche Mac Gilpatricke Did Promesse Duely to Observe and Perfurme, at Suche Tyme as He Made His Submyssion to the Kinges Majestie.

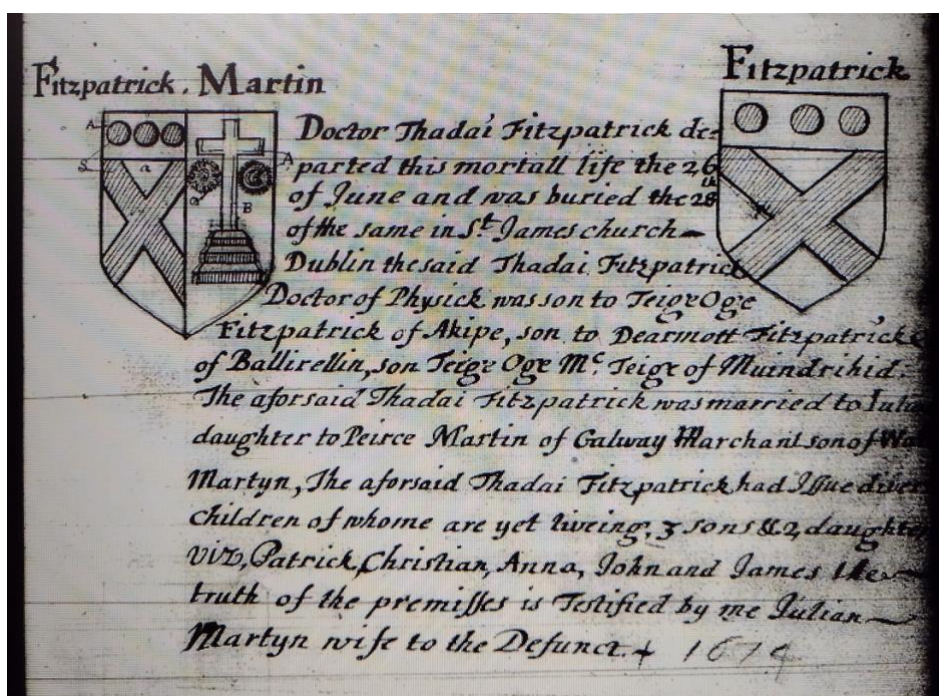
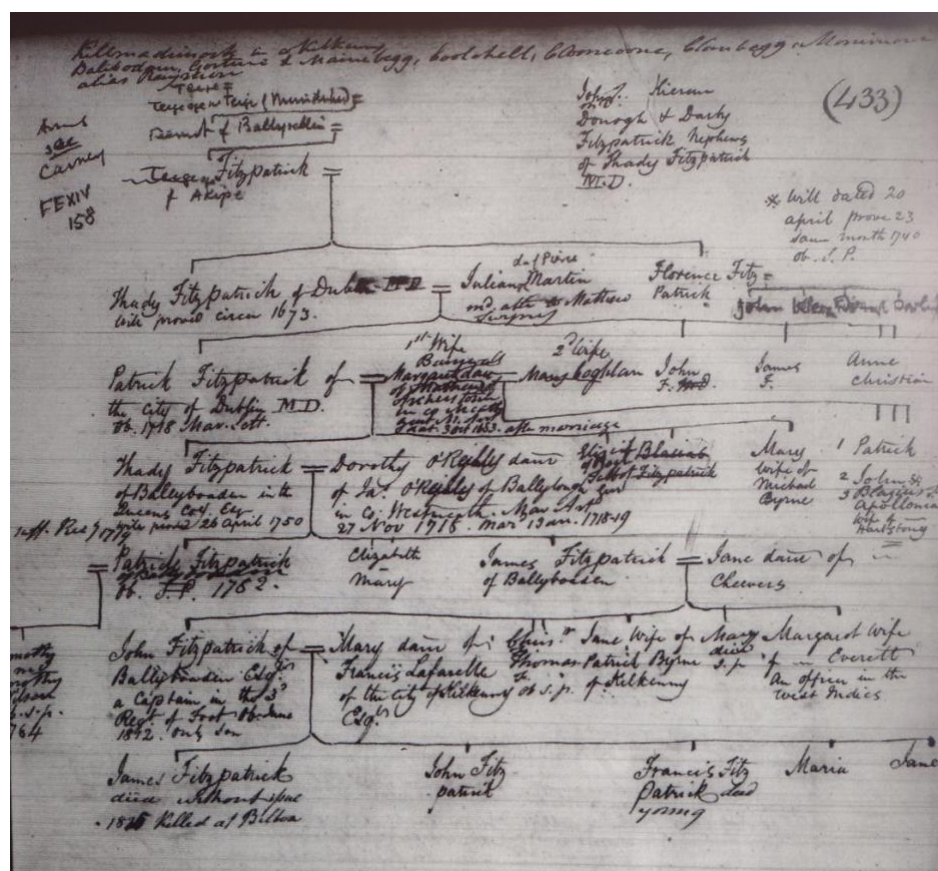
²³ Carrigan erred with the data of fiant 897 of Elizabeth I, which is dated 30 June 1566 and is headed by a pardon to 'Barnaby Fitz Patryck baron of Upperossory'.

²⁴ Kynen here being analogous with Fynen, see ²⁶.

²⁵ HMSO (1885). The seventeenth report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Printing Office.

²⁶ Fitzpatrick, M. (2022). Pátraic surnames in the Fiantes and Patent Rolls of Ireland, Part II: The Mac Fynen of Upper Ossory. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 3, 58-72) [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00922](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00922).

²⁷ Carrigan MSS, 60, Some Ecclesiastical Fiantes (Henry VIII).

Figure 1: Funeral entry of Thady Fitzpatrick, MD¹⁹Figure 2: A portion of the pedigree of Thady Fitzpatrick MD from *Linea Antiqua*²⁰

Images courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

The lands of Thady Fitzpatrick and his ancestors

The temporality of the movement of Thady's ancestors from Offerlane can be understood from various fiants, patents, and inquisitions. As mentioned, Teige Mac Fynen lived in Mondrehid in 1566, and Thady's great-grandfather died there¹⁹. A 1607 patent records the townland as the residence of Fynen Mac Dermot in 1607²⁸, while an inquisition of 1613 records Mondrehid was held in part by Fynen Mac Dermot and Teige Mac Donnell by right of ancient possession²⁹, which infers Thady's grandfather, Dermot, was a junior member of the Mac Fynen sept at that time. Shortly after, the Mac Fynen lands in Offerlane were lost via successive dispossessions, which Carrigan¹ attributed to the displeasure in which the Crown viewed the various rebellions and feuding of Teige Fitzpatrick, the fourth Baron of Upper Ossory, and his associates, among whom were the Mac Fynen. Teige was attained in 1615 and 1616, and he lost much of his estate. Although there is no record of the exact losses in Offerlane, in 1624 came a 'grant from the crown to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham' from James I of 'the castle and lands of Borries' (i.e., Borris-in-Ossory) that amounted to 10,788 acres (including Mondrehid). Although part of Mondrehid was in Fitzpatrick possession by 1656³⁰, in the interim period some Mac Fynen, at least, appear to have moved on.

It is curious that Carrigan recorded among his notes on the 'Family of Mundrehid, Akip and Ballybooden', 'Barnaby Fitzpatrick, knight, of Watercastle and Thomas Hovenden, by virtue of the commission for the plantation of the Queen's County, were granted lands in Queen's County, in trust for Dermot Mac Teige Og of Akip'²⁷. But it is doubtful that Carrigan saw the patent because his summary is erroneous. Rather, Carrigan may have relied on *The Peerage of England*³¹, which is worded similarly, wildly inaccurate, and severely truncated; although the true record does mention a grant to Dermot Mac Teige, there is no mention of Akip or other townlands or that the grant was made 'in trust'³². That Dermot was of Ballyreilly^{19,33} affords aid since the Books of Survey and Distribution record that in 1641 it was possessed by Major John Piggott³⁴ and of similar acreage to what Dermot was granted in 1626.

²⁸ Clarke, A (1967). Irish Patent Rolls of James I. Facsimile of the Irish Record Commission's Calendar. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission.

²⁹ Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Asservatarum, Repertorium, Volume I (1826). Erscheinungsort nicht ermittelbar.

³⁰ Down Survey, 1656. Accessed 30 May 2023.

³¹ Brydges E. (1812). Collins's Peerage of England; Genealogical, Biographical, and Historical. London: Rivington, Otridge and Son, *et al.*

³² Two patents of Charles I demonstrate the grant was to Bryan, son of Teige the third Baron of Upper Ossory, who became fourth Baron of Upper Ossory. Dated 13 October 1625 is the instruction to grant letters patent to 'Brian Fitzpatrick, and his father, the now Baron ... so as he shall for the most part be eased of the loss' of lands granted to Buckingham. And dated 20 November 1626 is the patent detailing large land grants directly to 'Brian Fitzpatrick, of Watercastle' (which amounted to 10,380 acres in Upper Ossory) and, jointly, to the same Brian and Thomas Hovenden (who was Brian's brother-in-law) for use by several named Fitzpatrick, and the erection of the manor of Castle Fleming. In addition there were smaller grants to several parties, including 'Dermot McTeige oge Fitzpatrick and his heirs for ever, as a native of 130 acres arable, and 29 acres wood and bog'. (Morris J., 1863. Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts.

³³ The Irish is Balie Raighleáin, which adds sense to why it was transcribed as Ballirellin.

³⁴ NAI QRO 1/1/3/13/19/10, Books of Survey and Distribution: Queenes County Aghavoe Parish Upper Ossory Barony, National Archives of Ireland.

Yet, Ballyreilly was with the Buckingham from 1628 to at least 1636²⁹, which infers Dermot died between 1626 and 1628. It is unclear why Ballyreilly reverted to the Buckingham, but it is apparent how Akip came to be held by Dermot's son, Teige, who had possession in 1641³⁵ and in 1656³⁰, which Carrigan noted correctly²⁷. In 1613 Akip was held by Dermot's father, Teige Mac Teige, as well as Donough Mac William [probably a Mac Costigan^{1,36}], and Thady O'Phelan, of ancient possession²⁹. Teige Mac Dermot probably died between 1656 and 1659 since the Census of Ireland has the title of Akip with Doctor Conly Cashin, gentleman³⁷, which provides a nice indication why Thady may have chosen a medical career.

Coming to the lands of Thady Fitzpatrick described in his will, there is no evidence he gained them by inheritance, but he most likely gained Akip from his mother¹⁰. A 1668 inquisition records the transfer of Akip to Daniel Byrne³⁸, so if Thady gained Akip from his mother he sold it not long after she died in 1665. Clearly, Thady had acquired some wealth, and perhaps it was the proceeds from the sale of Akip that that allowed him, also in 1668, to purchase lands associated with Gorteen and Maynebog, and 30 acres of Shanbally, alias Grace's Castle, as well as a house in Clonmoran, St Patrick's Parish, Kilkenny town, from Stephen Hales for £254 (Figure 3)³⁹. The purchase from Hales covers all properties mentioned in Thady's will apart from Kilmademoge and Ballyboodin, which Shearman has Thady purchasing 21 December 1667 and 23 September 1672, respectively, from Hales.

It is clear (Figure 3) Shearman confused the vendor of Kilmademoge, although the indenture is dated 21 December 1667. Kilmademoge was in the hands of Garret Blancheville in 1641⁴⁰. He was a captain in the Confederate army, and his lands were declared forfeited but restored to his brother, Edmund, in 1660⁴¹. There is no evidence Hales held Kilmademoge; the Books of Survey and Distribution record ownership still being with Edmund Blancheville ca. 1665 and then with Patrick Fitzpatrick, son of Thady ca. 1674⁴⁰. Shearman also stated that Thady purchased a portion of Ballyboodin 'from Colonel John Fitzpatrick of Castletown'⁷. Colonel Fitzpatrick's land grants of 1663 were re-affirmed in 1670⁴²; the previous year, he made a petition to the Crown seeking relief from quit rents he had been discharged of by patent¹² but resumed under the Act of Explanation⁴³; his petition was heard, and he was granted relief in large part⁴⁴. In 1674 Ballyboodin was held by Thady's son, Patrick, in 1674⁴⁵, so Sherman's 1672 date of purchase is probably correct.

³⁵ NAI QRO 1/1/3/13/19/13, Books of Survey and Distribution: Queenes County Rathdowny Parish Upper Ossory Barony, National Archives of Ireland.

³⁶ Costigan, C., Fitzpatrick, I., Fitzpatrick, M. (2022). The Mac Costigan of Ossory: dismantling an assumed genealogy. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 3, 78-100 [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01122](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01122).

³⁷ Pender, S. (1939). Census of Ireland circa 1659. Dublin: The Stationary Office. The Mac Caisín were medics of the Mac Giolla Phádraig (Fitzpatrick, M. 2021. Pátraic surnames in the Fiantis and Patent Rolls of Ireland: Part I. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 2, 66-92. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621).

³⁸ Irish Record Commission (1825). Fifteenth Annual Report.

³⁹ NAI/Lodge/7/391.

⁴⁰ NAI QRO 1/1/3/12/15/5. Books of Survey and Distribution: County Kilkenny, Kilmodimoge and part of Donmore parish Fassadining Barony. National Archives of Ireland

⁴¹ Kenealy, C.(1955). Blanchfield house and demesne. *Old Kilkenny Review*, 8, 24-29.

⁴² PROI C 1/91/1/191. Patent Roll, 15 Charles II, Part II. Public Record Office of Ireland.

⁴³ Shaw W. (1908). *Calendar of Treasury Books*, Volume 3, 1669-1672. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office.

⁴⁴ Shaw W. (1909). *Calendar of Treasury Books*, Volume 4, 1672-1675. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office.

⁴⁵ NAI QRO 1/1/3/13/19/6. Books of Survey and Distribution: Queenes County part of Aghmacarte parish Upper Ossory Barony. National Archives of Ireland.

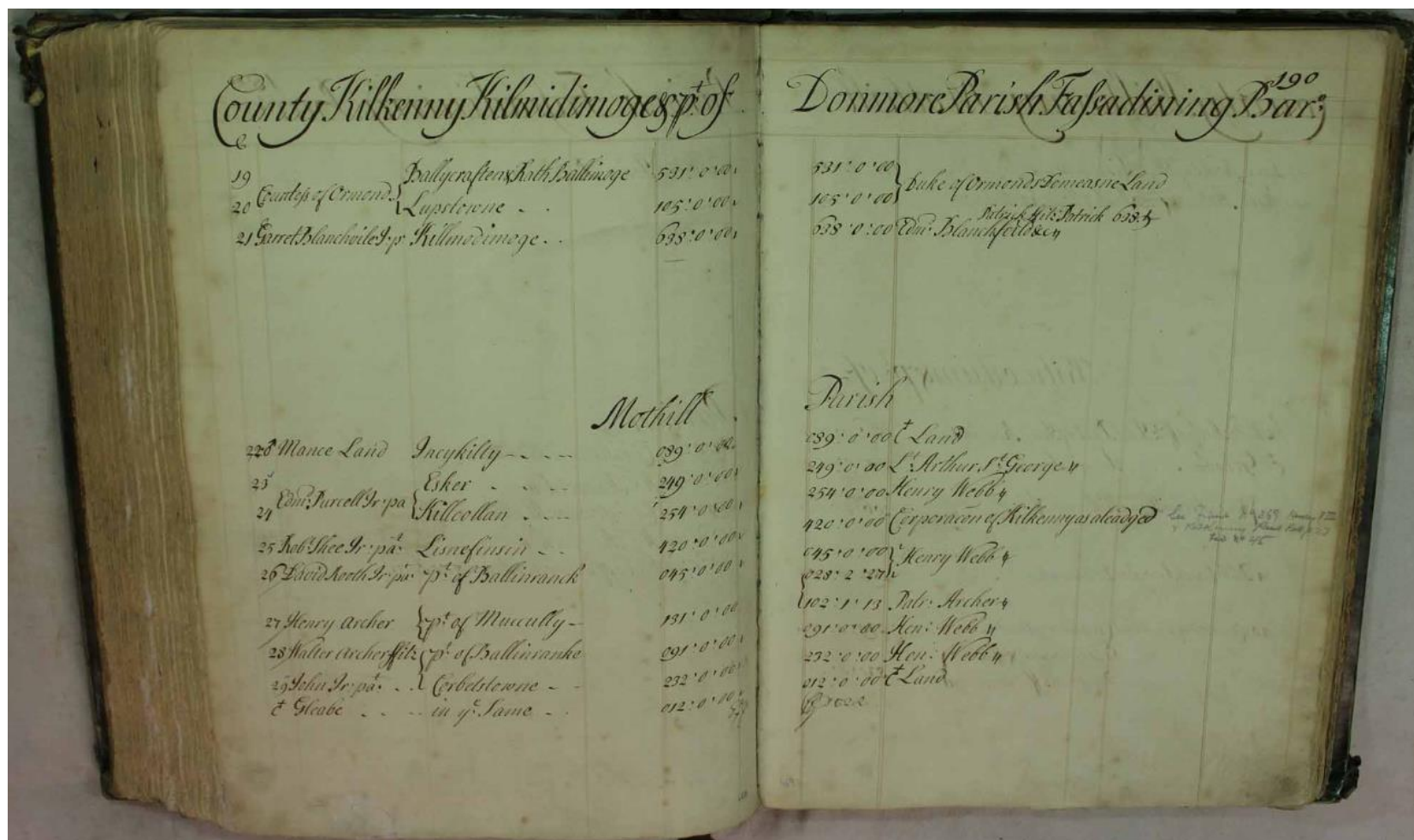
Figure 3: Books of Survey and Distribution entry for Kilmademoge⁴⁰

Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

The lands that passed to Patrick when Thady died in 1674 were re-affirmed in 1686⁴⁶, which requires some reflection because Thady's will instructed that either his sons John or James receive the real estate, with only those leased by Thady passing to Patrick. Noteworthy here is that all testator's children were still minors, which indicates Thady was probably not advanced in years when he died and that John and James had either not reached majority at that time or had not survived past childhood. Shearman does not record James but has John as the founder of the 'Fitzpatricks of Ballogh'⁷. *Linea Antiqua* does not show descendants from either James or John but does show a correction to the latter's entry by crossing out MD. Recalling from Thady's will that he had a nephew, John, who was earmarked for the medical profession and 'study beyond the seas' – one wonders if Shearman confused son with nephew. In any case, 'Ballogh' (Ballagharahin) was not part of any lands possessed by Thady and only appears in Shearman's pedigree at John Fitzpatrick, who Shearman states was a great-grandson of Thady's (via his son John and grandson Joseph), who 'died in May 1784'⁷, although no evidence is provided to support the link. Carrigan recorded more detail but the step from John to Joseph was still unproven: all he wrote was '1778, November 1, died Joseph Fitzpatrick, Ballagh, Queen's Co., Esq'⁴⁷ without any mention of who his father was.

So how did Ballagharahin come to Joseph? It didn't – it was leased. The townland was among the grants to Colonel John Fitzpatrick in 1663 and 1670⁴², whose will, dated 12 March 1693, stated 'for want of heirs males of his own body' his real estate was to pass to Colonel Edward Fitzpatrick and Edward's brother, Captain Richard Fitzpatrick, and after them to their heirs. The will of Edward, by then a Brigadier, proved 1 November 1697, left all to his brother, or in default among his several cousins provided they were 'brought up in the Protestant religion'. Richard, who became Lord Gowran, had an heir, John (1719-1758), later the Earl of Upper Ossory, from whom was John (1745-1818), second Earl of Upper Ossory, who held Ballagharahin. Although Carrigan noted John (d.1784), the son of Joseph, was 'a most respectable man and a catholic too ... owned the whole townland of Ballagh and lived in an old thatched residence or mansion, high and lofty, built up against the east side of Ballagh castle', he also wrote, 'in their best days the Fitzpatricks can only have held Ballagh by lease, at a low rent, from the Earls of Upper Ossory'^{8,45}.

On balance, that *Linea Antiqua* records no sons of John, son of Thady, and that Ballagharahin was never possessed by Thady or his descendants, it is suggested that the 'Fitzpatricks of Ballogh' are not with certainty related to the 'Fitzpatricks of Ballyboodan'. But what of Thady's brother, Florence, and his four nephews?

The Fitzpatricks of Rathdowney

For Fitzpatricks who trace their origins to Rathdowney, Carrigan's notes provide the tantalising prospect they descend from the same line as Thady Fitzpatrick, MD. Carrigan recorded details of the 'Fitzpatricks of Rathdowney'⁴⁸, as follows.

⁴⁶ NAI Lodge/8/721

⁴⁷ Carrigan MSS 76, Some North Kilkenny Families.

⁴⁸ Carrigan MSS 44, Rathdowney and Camross.

'Old Mick Fitzpatrick of Rathdowney was born September 29 1811; his sister Mrs Dunne of Foxrock⁴⁹, now dying, was born November 12 1808: their father Tom Fitzpatrick, born in Rathdowney died in 1826 aged 45, was son of Kyran Fitzpatrick of Rathdowney who was born in Kilcoran, married a Miss Twist⁵⁰, and died in 1817 aged 87: Kyran's father was Mr John Fitzpatrick who erected the headstone in Coolkerry to his son Mr Michael Fitzpatrick deceased 19 August 1771 aged 45 years.

Above Mick informs me that a house stood where Rathdowney chapel stands now; that it had been built of the stones taken from Ballabuigga⁵¹ church; that this house was being taken down to make room for the chapel when his grandfather was waking [i.e., lying in wake] in the end in 1817; and that the stones of the said old house formerly taken from Ballabuigga church were again used in building present Rathdowney chapel'.

The appearance of Kyran – an uncommon name among Upper Ossory Fitzpatricks of the era – who must have been born ca. 1730 – whose father was John, intrigues since Thady named a nephew, Kieran, in his will. It is trivial to trace the descendants of Kyran Fitzpatrick and Anne Twist to the present day via vital and land records, but not possible to connect Florence, brother of Thady, with Kyran and his father, John. However, it is important to note that Kyran of was born in Kilcoran, and his father was of Coolkerry.

The earliest civil records for Coolkerry, after the possession of the ninth Earl of Kildare, are found in fiants. In 1601 Fynen Mac Jeffrey Mac Fynen²⁴ was resident, and in 1606 William Mac Fynen, yeoman, was there²⁸. And the earliest fiants or patents for Kilcoran place Kellagh Mac Teige there in 1591, 1601, and 1605, Melaghlin Mac Teige there in 1591, Donell Mac Teige there in 1601, and Donagh Mac Teige, brother of Kellagh, and John Mac Teige there in 1605^{25, 28, 52}. Most notable is a 1613 inquisition, which names Kellagh Mac Teige as holding possession of Kilcoran, of ancient possession²⁹. Hence, there are sure links between inhabitants and possessors of Kilcoran and Coolkerry to Teige Mac Fynen of Offerlane. Therefore, it is considered not unreasonable to suggest Carrigan's 'Fitzpatricks of Rathdowney', found there from the nineteenth century onwards, particularly those who descend from Kyran and Anne Twist, may be the descendants of Florence, the brother of Thady and of the Mac Fynen of Offerlane.

Acknowledgements

The author expresses deep gratitude to St Kieran's College, particularly Martina Lawlor, for providing access to Carrigan's manuscripts. Thanks also to Dr Esther Fitzpatrick for helping to photograph the manuscripts.

⁴⁹ In Dublin.

⁵⁰ The Rathdowney parish registers record joint birth/baptism of children to Kyran Fitzpatrick and Anne Twist (John b. 1765 at Heath; Kyran b.1769 at Castle Fleming; Abigail b.1772 at Clonmore; Edward b.1776 at Clonlahy; and an un-named child b.1779 at Lisduff). It is possible the 1779 birth is Tom. There is also a record of a child to Kyran Fitzpatrick and Betty Twist (Daniel b.1785 at Rathdowney). It is notable that addresses recorded are different for all the six children, although the 'Castle Fleming lands' were also known as 'The Heath' (Lalor, J., 1838. Annotation in Ordnance Survey Parish Namebooks. Lámhscríbhinn Bliain: 1838).

⁵¹ Ballybuggy in Rathdowney Parish.

⁵² HMSO (1884). The sixteenth report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Printing Office.

The Carrigan Manuscripts: The Pedigrees of the First Baron of Upper Ossory

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Abstract

The pedigrees of Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig (ca. 1478-1575), who was created the First Baron of Upper Ossory in 1541 and from whom emerged the line of later barons, feature prominently in several important publications relating to the Mac Giolla Phádraig Lords of Ossory. Pride of place among the pedigree authors goes to the renowned Ossory historian, Rev. William Carrigan (1860-1924), who he published his *magnum opus*, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, in 1905. Early in his research career, Carrigan adopted the position of two scholars who had gone before him, viz., Dr John O'Donovan and Rev. John Shearman, notably, that Brian's father was Brian na Luireach (i.e., 'of the coats of mail') Mac Giolla Phádraig. However, by 1922, toward the end of his life, Carrigan's opinion had changed, and he came to the position that the father of the first baron was not Brian na Luireach, but Seaán Mac Giolla Phádraig. Here, a review of Carrigan's Manuscripts reveals his research journey to uncover the true identity of Brian's father.

Taking everything into account

Among the Carrigan Manuscripts¹ is much material pertaining to genealogies. Indeed some of his notebooks are almost entirely dedicated to the subject, such as Carrigan MSS 16, which bears the title *Genealogies of Ossory and Leix*. Yet, the titles of Carrigan's notebooks can sometimes belie what is contained within – MSS 60 has the title *Some Ecclesiastical Fiants (Henry VIII)*, but it includes a gold mine of genealogical information.

The importance of the Carrigan Manuscripts for researchers of the genealogies of various Mac Giolla Phádraig and Fitzpatrick families of Ossory cannot be overstated; Carrigan's notebooks contain material not found elsewhere. In addition to the dates, facts, and narratives that comprise the lineages and pedigrees, are Carrigan's side-notes – his thought processes, his logic laid bare, and, at times, his frustrations and struggles with the subject matter.

For readers familiar with *The History*², Carrigan's grappling with the pedigree of the Barons of Upper Ossory will come as nothing new; he dedicated pages 76-78 of Volume I to the

¹ For an introduction to the Carrigan Manuscripts and The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society Supplementary Series see: Fitzpatrick, M. (2022). Letters from the Baron of Upper Ossory, and his son Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, AD 1571: Carrigan's transcriptions. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 3, 46-57. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00822](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00822), and Fitzpatrick, M. (2023). The Carrigan Manuscripts: the will of Thady Fitzpatrick, MD, 1674. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* S1, 1-10. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01423](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01423).

² Carrigan, W (1905). *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, hereafter referred to here as *The History*.

topic, drawing on Keating³ (two sources), Lodge⁴, and O'Donovan⁵, before constructing his own versions of the pedigree of 'Brian na Luireach Mac Gillpatrick, Lord of Ossory'. For good measure, Carrigan also added the 'Pedigree of Brian Fitzpatrick, claimed as eighth Lord Baron of Upper Ossory' at page 100 of *The History*, although he did not cite the source – remarkably, the pedigree did not match the one summarised earlier in Volume I; there was no place for 'Brian na Luireach', which led Carrigan to add the following to the *Addenda and Corrigenda of The History*.

'Brian "na Luireach" Mac Gillpatrick, who died about 1511, and is buried at Fertagh, should have found a place in the pedigree given here. He was the son of Seaghan⁶ Mac Gillpatrick, and the father of Sean Brian Mac Gillpatrick. All three were Lords of Ossory'⁷

Hence, Carrigan underlined the pedigree of Brian na Luireach and, with that, hoped he had removed any apparent confusion for his readers. Yet, interrogation of Carrigan's four sources does not support his in *The History* – neither Lodge nor Keating makes any mention of Brian na Luireach, and while O'Donovan (whose source was Mac Firbis⁸) does, he was in error. O'Donovan's mistake was that he linked the Mac Firbis pedigree 480.7, of Colonel John Fitzpatrick, with the 480.1 genealogy of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Lords of Ossory, via the barons of Upper Ossory. But no such link exists. And while Carrigan's later notes have the Mac Firbis' pedigrees recorded correctly, at the time *The History* was published, Carrigan replicated O'Donovan's error.

Here, therefore, we explore Carrigan's notes on the pedigrees of the Barons of Upper Ossory and their related lines. We look at Carrigan's thought processes and the various pedigrees he considered until he arrived at his final position. In his MSS 60, Carrigan wrote,

'Taking everything, pedigree etc into account, Shawn McGillpatrick was father of Bernard, the first Lord of Upper Ossory and husband of Honora O'More, Margaret Butler, and Elizabeth O'Connor, whose son Bryan Oge, the second Lord of Upper Ossory, died in 1581'.

The 'everything' that led Carrigan to position the descent of Bryan Óg, second Baron of Upper Ossory, from Bryan, First Baron of Upper Ossory and husband of at least three wives, the son of Shawn, or John, Mac Giolla Phádraig, was much. Several of Carrigan's notebooks detail pedigrees of the first baron and related lines, two record correspondence between

³ Dr Geoffrey Keating (1569-1644), an Irish historian who completed *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (known commonly as History of Ireland) in 1634; the original manuscript has not survived.

⁴ John Lodge (1692-1774) was Deputy Keeper of the records in Bermingham Tower, Dublin. He compiled *The Peerage of Ireland* (1754). Dublin: Leathley, Ewing, Smith, Smith, Faulkner, Bradley and Moore.

⁵ Dr John O'Donovan (1806-1861), an Irish language scholar and historian known for many works, including *A Grammar of the Irish language* (1845). Dublin: Hodges and Smith, as well as others referenced here.

⁶ The pedigrees discussed have several spelling variations, including Seaán, Seaghan, Shane, Shawn, and John. In the body of the text, Seaán or John is used, while quotations are verbatim. In similar fashion, Brian is used in the text for the variant forms, such as Bryan.

⁷ *The History* Vol. IV, p. 435.

⁸ Duald Mac Firbis (Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbisigh, d. 1671) was an Irish genealogist who completed *Leabhar na nGenealach* (The Great Book of Irish Genealogies) ca. 1666.

the first baron and his son Barnaby (second baron), and two provide historical data on the first baron and his children. At times Carrigan's notes are heavily annotated, and even his summary position was not spared, being later struck through, in part. Still, his manuscripts allow the reconstruction of Carrigan's pedigree knowledge journey, from his earliest records in MSS 56, which is denoted 'William Carrigan Maynooth College November 13, 1881' to some of his last, such as MSS 8, which reads 'Rev. W. Carrigan P.P. [Parish Priest] Durrow, 1922. Carrigan's journey is recounted here, starting with a summary of his starting position.

Carrigan's starting position

MSS 56 sets out Carrigan's early considerations into the pedigree, and life and times of Brian, First Baron of Upper Ossory. As his research career advanced, Carrigan set about critically reviewing the published material that already existed, as well as unpublished matter. But his knowledge platform and early position were, quite understandably, based on the works of those who had published before him, viz., Keating, Lodge, O'Donovan, and Shearman⁹, which is reviewed here.

There is no indication from Carrigan's early notes that he accessed any of the mid-seventeenth-century Irish transcriptions of Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* or Lynch's Latin Translation of Keating¹⁰, which Carrigan referred to in *The History*. Instead, Carrigan's early notebook reference is simply 'Following Keating'. The pedigree copied by Carrigan is the descent of Brian, Fifth Baron of Upper Ossory: 'Bryan, son of Teige, son of Florence, son of Bryan, son of Bryan, son of John, son of Florence of na Cul Choille [Cullohill]', etc.

Less important than Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, is the *Peerage of Ireland* since Lodge was not active when the Barons of Upper Ossory were living, and nor does Lodge cite genealogical manuscripts, such as those of Keating or Mac Firbis. Lodge was, however, Deputy Keeper of the records in Bermingham Tower, Dublin, and referred to several state documents relating to the barons. While Lodge's pedigree of the Mac Giolla Phádraig is not contiguous, he offered narrative pedigrees, which Carrigan copied verbatim:

John or Shane Mac Gill Patrick who by the daughter of O'Malley had Bryan, Bernard or Barnaby Mac Gill Patrick or Fitzpatrick, chief of Upper Ossory, living in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII to the latter of whom in 1522 he sent an express messenger¹¹ [who taking an opportunity to meet the King as he was going to chapel, delivered his Embassy in these words; *Sta pedibus, Domine Rex, Dominus meus Gillapatrius me misit ad et, et jussit dicere, quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum, ipse faciet bellum contra te*]¹². He

⁹ Rev. John Shearman (1831-1885), who is known for his 1879 publication, *Loca Patriciana: an Identification of Localities, Chiefly in Leinster, Visited by Saint Patrick and his Assistant Missionaries and of some Contemporary Kings and Chieftains*. Dublin: M. H. Gill.

¹⁰ Dr John Lynch (1599-1677), whose translation is said to have been completed by 1650. See, D'Ambrières, R. and Ó Ciosáin, E. 2003. John Lynch of Galway (ca. 1599-1677): His Career, Exile and Writing. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 55: 50-63.

¹¹ Here, Carrigan truncated Lodge.

¹² That is, 'Stand on your feet, oh King, my Lord Gillapatrius sent me and commanded me to say, if you don't want to chastise Peter the Red, I will make war against you', see Gordon, J. (1806). *A History of Ireland, from the earliest account to the accomplishment of the union with Great-Britain in 1801*. London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme.

married the daughter of O'More, Lord of Leix, and was father of Bernard, who 8 October 1537 made his submission to the King'¹³.

Carrigan's *The History* has a portion of Donovan's pedigree of Fiacha Foibhtic¹⁴ and provides 'The Genealogy of the Mac Gilla Patrick', which has the father of Brian (first baron) as 'Sen Brian', and grandfather as 'Brian na Luirech'. From a son of Brian, Finghin [third baron], come two lines: (1) to 'Tadhg [fourth baron], Brian [fifth baron], Brian [sixth baron], and Brian [seventh baron] (living in 1666)', and (2) to 'John, Finghin, and John (living 1666)'.

Carrigan also replicated, in an exact hand, Shearman's '*Ossorian Genealogy – No. III*' that is found in *Loca Patriciana*, which was published in 1879, although its chapters appeared in serialised form in the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* from 1873; Part XII¹⁵ – *The Early Kings of Ossory*, which contains four genealogical charts, appeared in the journal in 1878. The charts are much more comprehensive than O'Donovan's pedigrees, which are mostly focused on the line of succession, although Shearman provided few citations for his source material. The pages that follow the copies of Shearman's charts have Carrigan's summaries of the vital data for the first baron and his predecessors, and his starting position from the first baron back three generations was:

'Finghin na Cul Choile [Cullohill] slain 1443;
Sean (d. 1468);
Brian na Luireach (living 1522, d. 1537);
Brian Oge, or Barnaby (d. 1551)'¹⁶

In summary, Carrigan's early research relied on copies from published sources, not primary sources. To recapture Carrigan's research and gain insight into the evolution of his understanding of the pedigrees of the First Baron of Upper Ossory, it is necessary, as Carrigan did, to visit more closely the aforementioned published works, and then consider other sources that Carrigan uncovered. And it did not take Carrigan long to discover some things that were amiss.

Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirnn*

Carrigan's initial review of Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirnn* was based on an uncited printed version. Yet in *The History*, Carrigan referred to two manuscript versions, (1) 'from a transcript of Keating's History of Ireland, made in the seventeenth century, and now in the Royal Irish Academy'¹⁷, and (2) 'Dr John Lynch's translation of Keating's History, made about

¹³ Carrigan MSS 16, *Genealogies of Ossory and Leix: from Book of Leinster, Lecan, Mac Firbis, O'Clery etc.*

¹⁴ O'Donovan, J. (1850). Ancient Tribes and Territories of Ossory No. II. *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society* 1: 247-257.

¹⁵ Shearman, J. (1878). *Loca Patriciana*: Part XII. The Early Kings of Ossory: The Seven Kings of Cashel Usurpers in Ossory: The Kings of the Silmaelodra of the Clan Maelaithgen - Maelduin Mac Cumiscagh-Cearbhall Mac Dungal: The Anglo-Norman Invasion of Ossory, &c., &c. Martin the Elder, a Patrician Missionary in Ossory: his Churches. *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* 4: 336-408.

¹⁶ Carrigan MSS 56, *Genealogies and Old Notes*.

¹⁷ The manuscript now known as RIA MS 24 O 19, transcribed by Iollan Uí Mhaolchonaire, or similar; see Cunningham, B. (2000). *The World of Geoffrey Keating: History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-century Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

1650', which Carrigan also called 'Archdeacon Lynch's Latin translation of Keating's History of Ireland'¹⁸. Carrigan also cited 'Mahony's Keating'¹⁹ in the body of his text.

Carrigan's copies of the manuscript versions follow the same course as plain lineages, starting with 'Brian mc Seain' (or 'Brianus filius Joannis', in Lynch) until they reach 'Sganlain mac Giollapatruig' (or 'Scanlani fili Gillepatrick') after ten generations, with zero narrative content. Curiously, Carrigan chose not to reproduce the narrative pedigrees provided in Mahony's Keating in *The History* – he knew of them, and they are found in his earlier²⁰ and later¹³ notebooks. The narratives add much to the understanding of Brian, First Baron of Upper Ossory, but they would have instantly complicated Carrigan's early position. Carrigan's transcription of the Mahony Keating pedigree reads,

'Brian, son of Tadg, son of Finghin (this Finghin had an elder brother named Brian Og, Lord of Ossory, but he died without issue, with the exception of an only daughter who was the grandmother of Lord Dunboyne. Another brother of his was Domnall of Gort-na-Clethi [Gortnaclea], and Seaфра or Godfrey of Baile-Ambhlamibh [Beckfield]. Margaret Butler, daughter of the Earl of Ormond, was the mother of these. Brothers also to this Finghin were Tordelbach and Dearmaid whose mother was the daughter of O'Connor Failghi. Seaghan, or John of Baile-Ui-Gaeithin [Ballygeehan], Killach and Tadg who dwelt at Coill-Uachtarach [Upperwoods], were the natural brothers of Finghin)²⁰.

There is no mention of Brian na Luireach in Mahony's Keating, and there is a clear indication from the narrative of Bryan Óg (second baron), the heirless brother of Finghin (third baron), that he is positioned in baronial succession. Also, the father of Bryan (first baron) is given as Seaán. Carrigan ultimately opted not to reproduce the Mahony Keating pedigree in *The History*, and perhaps that was because he preferred to cite Keating's pedigrees from older manuscript versions that he could verify, over those later published versions he could not.

It is not known which Royal Irish Academy Keating manuscript Carrigan copied. Still, his notes reveal he recorded the title as 'Giniollac Mic Giolla Padruig anso i tigearna Osruidhe'¹³ (i.e., the genealogy of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Lords of Ossory). It commences with Bryan (fifth baron) and descends in a linear fashion without narrative. There are several such transcripts held by the Royal Irish Academy and in other repositories, such as University College Dublin, and an exegesis of their scribes, translators, and readers in the seventeenth century is provided by Cunningham¹⁷. Most transcriptions provide linear pedigrees, however some, such as RIA MS 24 P 23²¹ (Figure 1), from 1641-46, provide narrative pedigrees that differ from the Mahony's Keating and add understanding to the familial connections of the Barons of Ossory. For example, Seaán Mac Giolla Phádraig is recorded with four sons; Bryan, William of Formaol (Fermoyle), Donogh Dubsúilech (i.e., the black-

¹⁸ Now known as RIA MS 23 I 5.

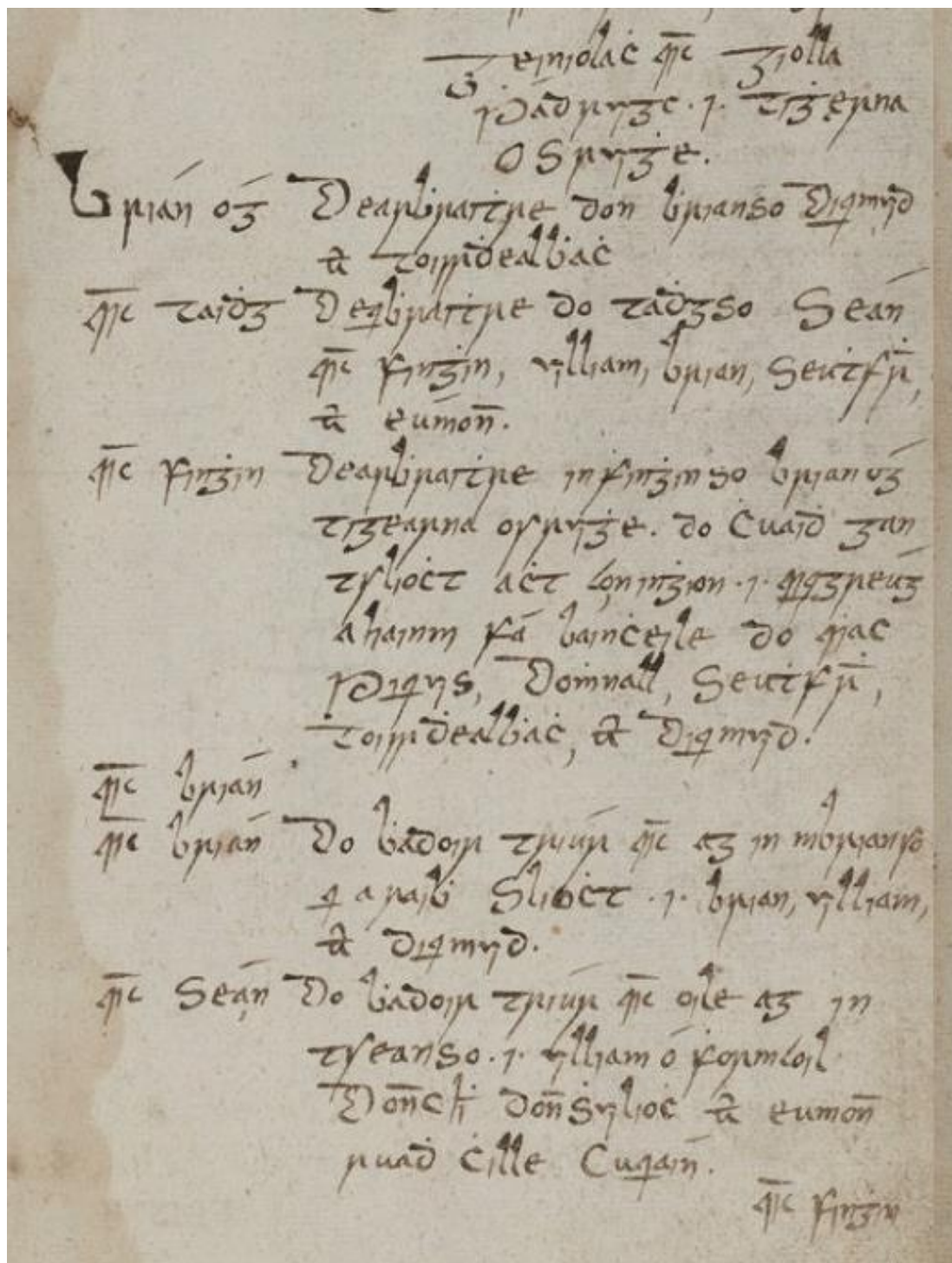
¹⁹ O'Mahony, J. (1857). *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn, The History of Ireland from the Earliest Period to the English Invasion by the Reverend Geoffrey Keating D.D. Translated from the Original Gaelic, and Copiously Annotated by John O'Mahony*. New York: P.M. Haverty.

²⁰ Carrigan MSS 7, untitled.

²¹ RIA MS 24 P 23 is considered to more closely reflect Keating's orthography compared with those made by other scribes¹⁷, i.e., other scribes may have abridged the Mac Giolla Phádraig genealogies. However, scribes also annotated Keating (B, Cunningham, pers. comm., 27 July 2023), such as by adding narrative.

eyed), and Edmund Ruadh (i.e., the red) of Cill Chrónain (Kilcoran), i.e., similar to that recorded by Roger O'Farrell²², and Shearman, albeit incorrectly by the latter²³.

Figure 1: Genealogy of Mac Giolla Phádraig Lords of Ossory, RIA MS 24 P 23



By permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA

²² O'Ferrall, R. (1709). Linea Antiqua, a collection of Irish genealogies compiled by Roger O'Ferrall. Genealogical Office Manuscripts Collection MS 155. O'Ferrall's pedigree drew on RIA MS 24 P 23, or a similar transcript.

²³ Shearman mistakenly placed William, Donnchadh and Edmond as brothers of Seaán, instead of sons.

RIA MS 24 P 23 provides a baronial pedigree and clearly shows the position of Bryan, the second baron; he was the brother of Finghin, without a male heir, and the son of the preceding Bryan, the son of Seaán. Important also is that there is no mention of Brian na Luireach. That Carrigan attributed two pedigrees to Keating in his *The History* is a fact, but that he afforded them the titles, 'Pedigree of Brian na Luireach' has no basis, which he came to reflect on after *The History* was published in 1905. That reflection also included a critical assessment of Lodge's narrative pedigree.

Lodge's narrative pedigree

An important element of Lodge's narrative pedigree is that 'Barnaby Mac Gill Patrick' who sent a messenger to Henry VIII in 1522, was said to be the father of the First Baron of Upper Ossory. Although Carrigan initially adopted Lodge's position, he later wrote, bluntly, 'this is wrong'²⁴. What caused Carrigan to change his mind was a letter the first baron had written to his son, Brian (second baron), in 1571²⁵. The letter states the first baron came into his inheritance, which included the castles Rathpiper and Cullohill, ca. 1511. Carrigan realised the first baron's father must have died around that time and, therefore, that the 'Barnaby Mac Gill Patrick' of the 1522 event cannot have been the first baron's father.

Carrigan's position in *The History* was that the Barnaby of the 1522 event was the first baron. But such a stand is problematic; central, here, is the question, if the first baron came into his inheritance ca. 1511, did he also become 'The Mac Giolla Phádraig Lord of Upper Ossory' at that time? In *The History*, Carrigan stated he did. Accordingly he also needed to attribute a 1517 account to the first baron, in which the iron gate of 'the castle of Bernard then McGillpatrige, called the Cowlkyl [Cullohill], in Ossory' was removed 'by the sovereign and community of the town of Kilkenny, then in a hostile army with Sir Peter Butler'²⁶.

Yet, the first baron was patently not 'The Mac Giolla Phádraig' in 1517. Although Carrigan had access to the Rental Book of the Earl of Kildare and referred to it²⁷, he failed to make key connections that are obvious therein. In 1518, the Lord of Upper Ossory was not Brian who later became the first baron, but Brian mac Toirealach mac Donnchadh, since the latter gave tithes to the Earl of Kildare for 'McGyllepatrikis countre'. And neither did the future first baron have sufficient status to be referred to as 'The Mac Giolla Phádraig' or receive gifts of horses from Kildare between 1513 and 1515²⁸. It has been proposed the Lord of Ossory in 1522 was still Bryan mac Toirealach mac Donnchadh, who likely met his end not long after making his ill-advised threat against Henry VIII²⁹. From the annals of the family Montmorency, we read Oliver Morres, Baron de Marisco and de Montmorency, engaged the 'Chieftain of Ossory ... cast him and his horse headlong down the rock on which the

²⁴ Carrigan MSS 60, *Some Ecclesiastical Fians (Henry VIII)*.

²⁵ Gilbert, J. and Sullivan, E. (1874). *Facsimiles of national manuscripts of Ireland*. Dublin: Public Record Office of Ireland.

²⁶ Otway-Ruthven, J. (1961). *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis*. Kilkenny: E. Smithwick and Sons.

²⁷ *The History* Vol. I, p.79.

²⁸ Mac Niocaill, G. (1992). *Crown surveys of lands, 1540-41: with the Kildare Rental Begun in 1518*. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, pp.443.

²⁹ Fitzpatrick, M. (2020). Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part II. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 1, 40-71. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00320.

castle stands, into the river Nore that flows underneath, in which they perished', and then possessed Castletown castle ³⁰.

There is also the issue of the mensa tomb at Fertagh to consider. Carrigan's notebooks are replete with his research on the tomb. His 1905 position was that Fertagh was the resting place of Brian na Luireach and his wife, who he said, was Katherine Mulloy, as well as his father, John, who Carrigan maintained died in 1468. However, deeply problematic is the tomb is authoritatively dated to 1510-1540³¹, which means if John was buried there, he was exhumed some forty-two or more years after his death. And there are problems with Carrigan's interpretation of the tomb inscriptions in *The History*, some of which he tried to negotiate in his detailed tomb research notes made in 1920³²; these are discussed in a forthcoming article in *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society*.

Furthermore, Lodge's reference to the various wives of the Lords of Ossory, which Carrigan said had come from 'valuable family records', provided Carrigan the opportunity for critical review and further elucidation of the pedigree of the first baron. Lodge said the parents of Brian of the 1522 event were 'Shane (John) Mac-Gill-Patrick' and 'the daughter of O Mulloy', that his wife was the 'daughter of O'More, Lord of Leix', and that his son, later the first baron, took for his wife 'Margaret, eldest daughter to Pierce, Earl of Ormond', and second, after her, 'Elizabeth, third daughter to Bryan O'Connor of Offaly'. Elizabeth was said to have survived the first baron and then, in 1551, 'had a licence to go into England'⁴. In his early research notes, Carrigan accepted Lodge's position concerning the wives' identity and the first baron's death date as ca. 1551.

Yet, both the wives of the first baron and his death date fell under Carrigan's gaze. On a page entitled 'Of Bernard First Lord Baron of Upper Ossory', he commenced, 'Bernard (son of John Mac Gillpatrick) Lord of Ossory' before posing a number of questions in a seven-page narrative that summarising the first baron's key life events. In MSS 60, he wrote:

'His first wife must be she who is mentioned on the tomb in Fertagh and she must be (Norina alias Honora) the daughter of O'More whom Lodge incorrectly gives as the wife of another Bernard whom he makes the father of the Bernard, of whom there's question here'.

Carrigan's position when he made his notes in MSS 60 contradicts what he had published earlier in *The History* because they (a) discard the notion that Brian na Luireach was the father of the first baron and (b) infer those buried at Fertagh are the first baron and his father, Seaán. In *The History*, Carrigan did not specifically state which Brian was at rest at Fertagh, only transcribing that John was there with 'Bryan his son' along with 'Pray for Honora wife of Bryan', but the clear inference is that Carrigan considered Fertagh was the final resting place of Brian na Luireach.

³⁰ De Montmorency-Morres, H. (1817). *Genealogical Memoir of the Family of Montmorency, Styled De Marisco or Morres, Ancient Lords de Marisco and de Montemarisco, in the Peerage of England and Ireland, Most Respectfully Addressed to his Majesty Louis XVIII, King of France and Navarre*. Paris: Plassan.

³¹ Rae, E. (1971). Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages. Part II the O'Tunney Atelier. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 101, 1-39.

³² Carrigan MSS 30.

There is sure corroboration via a source of high reliability, viz., the Papal Registers, that there were marriages between the Mac Giolla Phádraig and Ó Mórdha (O'More) in the era relevant to this article, which supports Carrigan's later position that the first baron was married to an O'More before his marriage to Margaret Butler. In 1493, a Bernard Mac Giolla Phádraig was dispensed by Pope Alexander VI to marry his half-sister, Catherine ny Ó Mórdha. Bernard had previously been in two relationships, firstly in a *de facto* marriage with Catherine's half-sister, who died, and, secondly, to a first cousin of both he and Catherine, in a marriage that was annulled. At the time of the dispensation, Bernard and Catherine were living as man and wife and had started a family^{29,33}.

Carrigan had no access to the Papal Registers in question. Still, he deduced the first baron had children in relationships before his marriage to Margaret Butler ca. 1533³⁴, when he was 'a widower'²⁴, noting in *The History* that he had a daughter old enough to be married to Robert Grace in 1537 or earlier, and a son, Teige, old enough to be a distinguished captain in 1546. Rejecting Lodge's 1551 date, Carrigan deduced the first baron died in 1575 when he was 'ninety years of age or upwards'². In his notebooks, Carrigan recorded the latest possible birth date for the first baron as 1490, based on his having reached his majority in order to come into his inheritance by 1511³⁵, but a birth data close to 1478 is more likely²⁹.

O'Donovan's pedigree derived from Mac Firbis

It is also necessary to review O'Donovan's position; although he provided no citations for the barons' pedigree, it soon became clear to Carrigan, once he embarked on his critical review of O'Donovan, that he had followed Mac Firbis. O'Donovan was a scholar of the highest order and knew Mac Firbis' work well, having published translations of Mac Firbis' *Annals of Ireland* (1443-1468)³⁶ and *Fragmentary Annals*³⁷. In O'Donovan's treatise on Clan O'Dowda³⁸, he wrote, 'The following account ... is printed from the Genealogical MS of Duaid Mac Firbis³⁹ – the original of which is preserved in the Library of the Earl of Roden, and a good copy in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy'. O'Donovan accessed the original³⁹, but Carrigan likely accessed the copy at the Academy⁴⁰, which he transcribed portions of throughout his manuscripts; the Mac Giolla Phádraig genealogies are found in Carrigan MSS 7.

³³ Fuller, A. (1998) *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 17-2, 1492-1503*. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.

³⁴ In *The History* Vol. I, Carrigan cites State Papers as they appear in Graves, J. and Prim, J. (1857). *The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St Canice, Kilkenny*. Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Co. (p.277).

³⁵ Carrigan MSS 8, untitled.

³⁶ O'Donovan, J. (1846). The Annals of Ireland, from the Year 1443 to 1468, Translated from the Irish by Dudley Firbis, or, as he is More Usually Called, Duaid Mac Firbis, for Sir James Ware, in the Year 1666. *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society* Vol. I, 198-302. Dublin: The Irish Archaeological Society.

³⁷ O'Donovan, J. (1860). *Annals of Ireland. Three fragments, Copied From Ancient Sources by Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh*. Dublin: The Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.

³⁸ O'Donovan, J. (1844). *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, Commonly Called O'Dowda's Country*. Dublin: The Irish Archaeological Society.

³⁹ The modern translation published as Mac Fhirbhisigh, D and Ó Muraíle, N. (2003). *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*. Dublin, De Burca.

⁴⁰ When Carrigan was writing *The History*, the original was in the hands of of William Henry, the Sixth Earl of Roden³⁹.

Mac Firbis' Mac Giolla Phádraig genealogies are presented on page 480 of *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach* in seven distinct, i.e., unconnected, sections, which are now denoted:

‘480.1 The genealogy of Mac Giolla Phádraig, lord of Osraighe.

480.2 A reference to the Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phádraig, Kings of Leinster, and a marginal note to those regnal lists at pages 426 and 427.

480.3 The genealogy of Mac Giolla Phádraig still.

480.4 Mac Giolla Phádraig still.

480.5 The genealogy of Mac Giolla Phádraig still.

480.6 The lord baron of Ossory still.

480.7 Colonel John Fitz Patrick’.³⁹

Noteworthy are the distinctions Mac Firbis made between the genealogies of the Lords or Barons of Ossory and other genealogies of Mac Giolla Phádraig. Also important is that Mac Firbis' compiled his manuscript between 1649 and 1666, which is why 480.5-480.7 are updates of 480.1, being lines that emerged in Mac Firbis' lifetime, as follows:

480.1, from Finghin (third baron), to Brian (first baron, Finghin's father), to Seaán (Lord of Ossory, Brian's father) and back numerous generations to Oilill Glas, i.e., the pedigree of the third baron back via the Lords of Ossory;

480.4, from Maol Seachlainn, to Scannlán, to Donnchadh, to Uilliam Clannach, to Domhnall Mór of Magh Laoighse, i.e., a branch from Domhnall Mór (Lord Of Ossory), which is distinct from 480.1 and is via another son of Domhnall Mór, i.e., Séafraidh Bacach (Lord of Ossory);

480.5, being a very short pedigree of Brian, son of Finghin (third baron);

480.6 from Brian (seventh baron) to Brian (sixth baron), to Brian (fifth baron), to Tadhg (fourth baron), to Finghin (third baron), to Brian (second baron), to Brian (first baron), to Seaán (Lord of Ossory);

480.7, that is Seaán, to Finghin, to Seaán, to Finghin, to Brian, to Brian Óg, to Sein-Bhrian, to Brian na Luireach.

Hence, while 480.1 and 480.6 are purely baronial or regnal (in the same manner as RIA MS 23 O 19 provides), 480.4, 480.5, and 480.7 are not. It should also be noted the genealogy provided at 480.3 fails because it has the grandfather of Bryan (first baron) as Domhnall Dubh, not Finghin of Cullohill, as is widely accepted. Carrigan transcribed Mac Firbis verbatim, adding only ‘vivarius anois 1666’ (i.e., we know was living in 1666) as a note to Colonel John Fitzpatrick. Important is that while O'Donovan inexplicably connected the Colonel's pedigree (480.7) to 480.1, making Brian na Luireach the son of Seaán (Lord of Ossory), Carrigan made no such connection in his research notes; rather he simply transcribed Mac Firbis perfectly and without annotation.

Shearman's wayward pedigrees

If Carrigan noted the tapestry of error that is Shearman's ‘*Ossorian Genealogy – No. III*’, and there is easily sufficient evidence to suggest he did, he made little direct criticism in either *The History* or his research notes. Among Shearman's many failures are the following, most of which are redressed by Carrigan in *The History* and his manuscripts:

- The date of death of Finghin of Cullohill being 1443 – it was 1468^{29,41};
- Three brothers of Seaán Mac Giolla Phádraig being William of Fermoy, Donogh Dubsúilech, and Edmund Ruadh of (Kilcronan) – as discussed, they were Seaán's sons;
- Brian na Luireach being the son of Seaán Mac Giolla Phádraig – as discussed, no such connection exists;
- Brian na Luireach 'giving up' his brother, Diarmaid in 1532 – Diarmaid was given up by the first baron, who was his brother⁴²;
- Brian na Luireach's second wife being Elizabeth O'Connor – as discussed, she was a later wife of the first baron;
- Brian na Luireach having a daughter who married Robert Grace – as discussed, she was the daughter of the first baron;
- The father of the first baron being Brian na Luireach – as discussed, his father Seaán;
- The date of death of the first baron, ca. 1551 – as discussed, it was 1575.

Shearman is an unreliable source regarding the pedigree of the first baron, and one who Carrigan, ultimately afforded little consideration. After reviewing his early position Carrigan did, however, seek out unpublished sources that he viewed as high value.

Carrigan's other considerations

Carrigan's Manuscripts contain several remarkable Mac Giolla Phádraig pedigrees published here for the first time. A 'Fitzpatrick Pedigree from a lithographed copy in Granston [i.e., Grantstown] Manor', 'in Lord Castletown's⁴³ possession'⁴⁴ (Figure 2), is notable on several counts. The pedigree is of Richard Fitzpatrick 'First Lord Gowran; died 1727 ... brother of Colonel Edward, drowned in 1696' – he is recorded as the son of Terence, son of Edmond, son of Finghin, son of Brian, son of Brian oge, son of Sin-Brian, son of Brian na Luireach.

Notable is that on the lithograph, the father of Richard is Terence, whereas elsewhere he is given as Andrew^{2,9}, and that Brian na Luireach is not connected to Richard's line but is on a separate pedigree that follows, which is that of 'Finghin [third baron], fitz Brian [first baron], fitz John [Lord of Ossory]' and back. In other words, the lithograph accurately replicates Mac Firbis 480.1, and also provides an extension of the branch found in 480.7 – Richard Fitzpatrick was the second cousin of a Colonel John Fitzpatrick at Finghin, son of Brian⁴⁵. And

⁴¹ It is impossible that Finghin died in 1443. First, he was referred to seventy four years afterwards in a 1517 legal hearing, which made reference to him and his wife. At the hearing, Tadeus, who was aged seventy years and more, bore witness that he recalled in detail an argument between Finghin and Edmund McOde. If Tadeus was born by 1443, he would have been a young child unlikely to have such detailed memory, see: Curtis, E. (1937). *Calendar of Ormond deeds Vol. IV*. Dublin: The Stationery Office. Second, Finghin's wife was Margaret, the daughter of Edmund mac Richard Butler (1420-1464); she was too young to have been married in 1443 (see, *Family Papers of Lord Dunboyne*, Victoria Library, Buckingham Palace Road, Westminster, London). Third, a 1468-1478 entry in the *Red Book of Ossory* states Finghin had died recently²⁹. A Finghin Mac Giolla Phádraig did meet his demise in 1443; he was not clan chieftain but the tanist son of Donnchadh Mór²⁹.

⁴² Curtis, E. (1937), *ibid*.

⁴³ That is, Bernard Fitzpatrick (1848-1937), Second Baron Castletown.

⁴⁴ Carrigan MSS 17, *Pedigrees of Fitzpatrick (from Trinity MSS) and of Kavanaghs*.

⁴⁵ Carrigan MSS 12, untitled; this contains a transcript of the will of Colonel John Fitzpatrick, which makes reference to Richard as his kinsman.

although not the subject of this article, the 480.1 replication inserts 'Fingin the father of Donogh Errig' between Finghin of Cullohill and Domhnall Dubh, giving recognition to Donogh 'airrí' (i.e., the tributary king⁴⁶, also known as Donnchadh Mór), who was a Clan Chieftain, an older brother of Finghin of Cullohill, and father of the brothers slain by Edmund mac Richard Butler in 1443, who is afforded scant recognition elsewhere⁴⁷.

Figure 2: Fitzpatrick Pedigree from Carrigan MSS 17

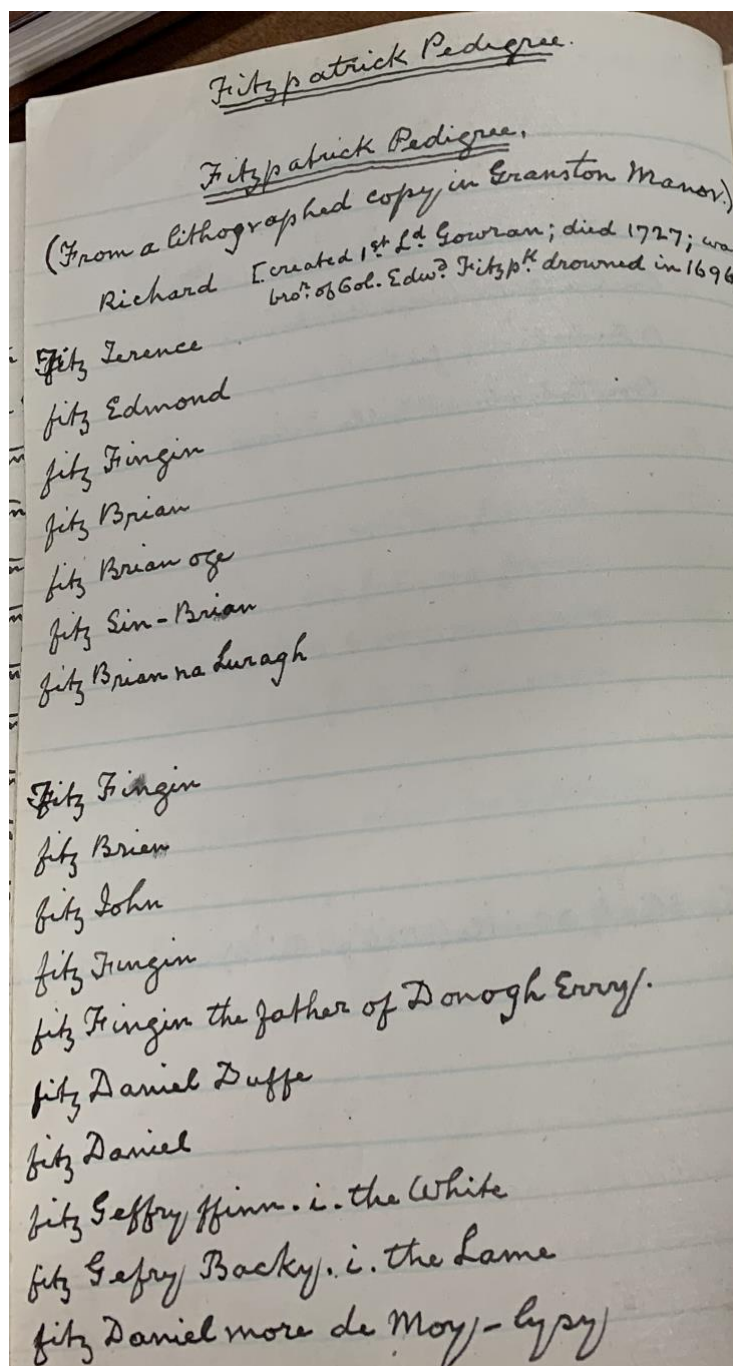


Image courtesy of the Carrigan Archives

⁴⁶ [The Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language](#), accessed 4 July 2023.

⁴⁷ Fitzpatrick, M (2020) Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part I. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 1, 1-17 [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00120](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00120).

Similarly, the ‘Pedigree of the mac Gillapatricks (Lord Castletown’s chart)’¹³, provides clear corroboration the descent of Finghin (third baron) was from Brian (first baron), then son of John, son of Finghin of Cullohill. The chart does not connect the barons with Brian na Luireach, who appears separately in the chart as the most distantly recorded ancestor of the aforementioned Richard Fitzpatrick.

Another⁴⁸ of Carrigan’s pedigree considerations were those of Cucogry O’Clery⁴⁹, which were probably completed by 1636. O’Clery’s main ‘Genealogy of the Mac Giolla Phádraig’ (at §1783) differs from Mac Firbis primary genealogy (480.1) because it does not begin with any of the Barons of Upper Ossory. Instead, it starts with Maol Seachlainn and dovetails into the line of the Lords of Ossory at Domhnall Mór of Magh Laoighse, in the same way as Mac Firbis 480.4. O’Clery provides only one other related genealogy, also called ‘Genealogy of the Mac Giolla Phádraig’ (at §1785), which Carrigan dismissed – although it does contain a valuable reference to the grandfather of Bryan (first Baron) as ‘Finghin of Cullohill, it adds a third Finghin and omits Séafraidh Fionn in the post-Norman section of the pedigree. Notable is that O’Clery made no reference to Brian na Luireach.

As well as O’Clery, Carrigan also transcribed from two manuscripts held at Trinity College, Dublin – TCD F.I.18 and TCD H.II.5, which are recorded in Carrigan MSS 15⁵⁰ and again in Carrigan MSS 17⁴⁴. TCD F.I.18 is a seventeenth-century manuscript, ‘*Miscellaneous Collection of Genealogical and Historical Tracts*’⁵¹. It provides the unattributed pedigree of Brian Óg (second baron) and gives his descent from Brian (‘married to Margaret Butler’), son of Brian (‘married to O’Moore’s daughter’), son of John (‘married to O’Molloy’s daughter’), i.e., it matches Carrigan’s early position except there is no mention of Brian na Luireach, and it confounds the first baron, being unable to unravel his multiple marriages.

TCD F.I.18 cannot simply be ignored because it doesn’t align with authorities, such as Mac Firbis; however, the manuscript can be assessed for veracity. Among the pedigrees are those attributed to Tuileagna Ó Maoil Chonaire, who is noted as an ‘interpreter and editor of the texts he was examining, a role for which the traditional Gaelic scribe is well known ... [he was] ... an editor and interpreter of the text before him’, and, at times, he resorted to ‘guesswork’⁵²; and such are, at times, the nature of pedigrees whose authorship is unknown.

In contrast, TCD H.II.5 was definitively written by ‘Dermot O’Connor for Thomas Prundivill in 1712’⁵¹. It is a straightforward baronial list that descends from Brian Óg (sixth baron), as discussed earlier.

⁴⁸ Carrigan MSS 18, which as the title, *A Few Ossory Wills and Genealogies in Irish from the Book of Leinster, O’Clery etc.*

⁴⁹ Or Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh (d. 1664), an Irish historian who assisted in transcribing the *Annals of the Four Masters* from 1332-1608 (Connelan, O. 1846. *The Annals of Ireland translated from the original Irish of the Four Masters*. Dublin: Bryan Geraghty). O’Clery is also well-known for his *Book of Genealogies* (Pender, S. 1951. *The O’Clery Book of Genealogies*. *Analecta Hibernica* 18: x-200.

⁵⁰ Carrigan MSS 15, *Annals, Extracts from Book of Leinster, Tigernach, Inisfallen, and Trinity MSS*.

⁵¹ Abbott, T. and Gwynn, E. (1921). *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Dublin*. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co.

⁵² Ó Macháin, P. (2010). Tuileagna Ó Maoil Chonaire and the Book of Pottlerath. *Ossory, Laois & Leinster*. pp. 244-248.

Carrigan's final position

Carrigan MSS 8, untitled from 1922, contains his final position concerning the pedigree of the First Baron of Upper Ossory (Figure 3). The pedigree, in his aged hand, is notable for its simplicity, and it speaks to the fact Carrigan, near the end of his life, had assessed all the material at his disposal and reached a conclusion he was both confident and comfortable with – he asked no more questions and provided but little narrative.

Figure 3: Descent of Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig ca. 1490-1575

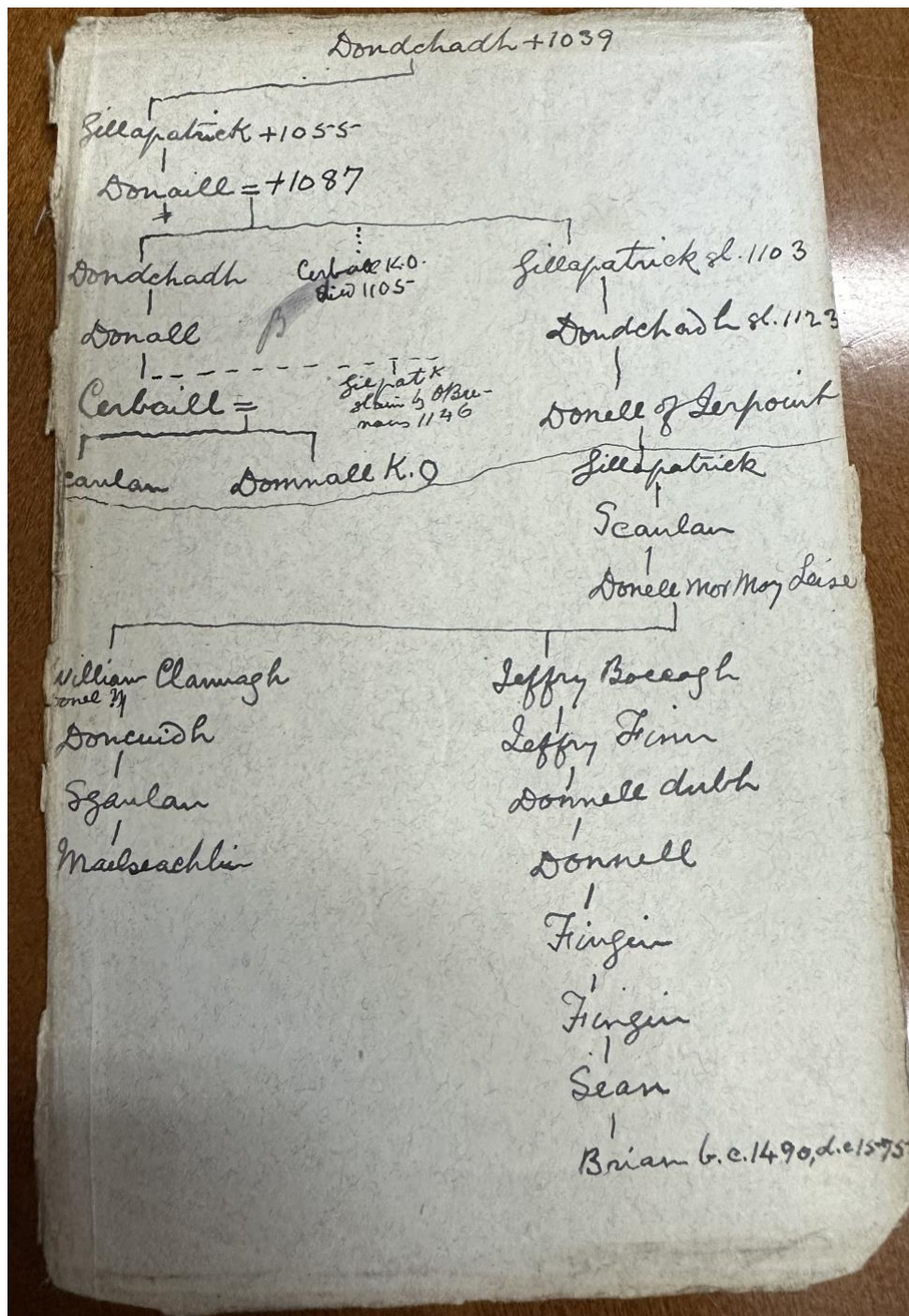


Image courtesy of the Carrigan Archives

Hence, Carrigan's final position regarding the descent of Bryan Mac Giolla Phádraig was:

Finghin', etc.

Finghin

Sean

'Brian (b. ca. 1490, d. ca. 1575)

Hence, ultimately Carrigan rejected his early considerations – O'Donovan, Lodge, and Shearman⁵³ – and found no place for Brian na Luireach in the pedigree of the Barons of Upper Ossory. But Carrigan embraced Mac Firis alongside an array of corroborating evidence, such as that found in State Papers and private letters. A true scholar, Carrigan was able to recognise genealogical scholarship. His great lesson is to be true to the facts and to run a profoundly critical eye over the work of others.

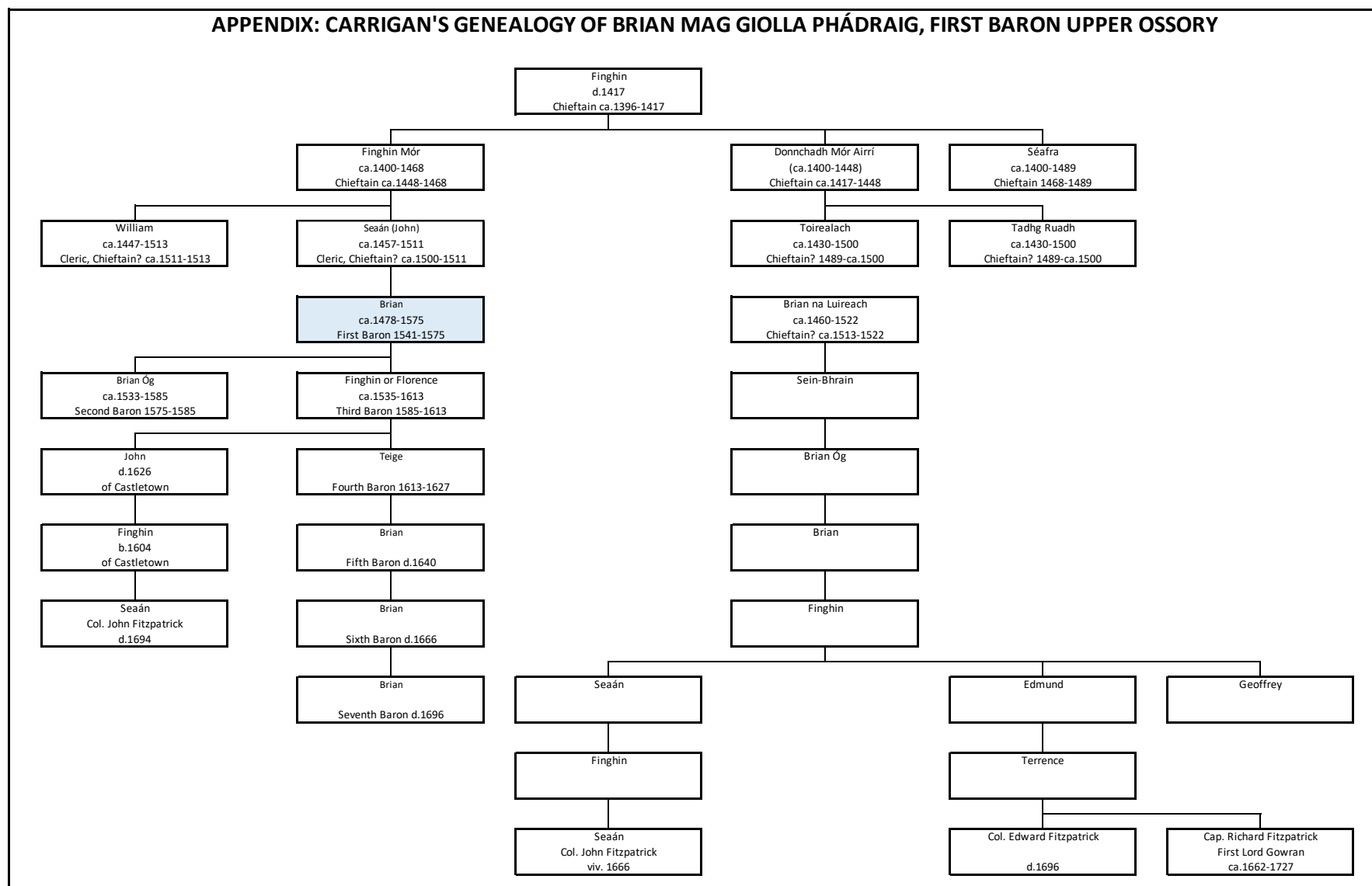
The appendix provides the pedigree of Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig, First Baron of Upper Ossory, derived from Carrigan's final position and corroborating facts.

Acknowledgements

The author expresses deep gratitude to St Kieran's College, particularly Martina Lawlor, for providing access to Carrigan's manuscripts. Thanks also to Dr Esther Fitzpatrick for helping with the photography.

⁵³ Noting that Carrigan accepted various transcriptions of Keating.

APPENDIX: CARRIGAN'S GENEALOGY OF BRIAN MAG GIOLLA PHÁDRAIG, FIRST BARON UPPER OSSORY



The Carrigan Manuscripts: the Fitzpatricks of Raheen and Kilcready, Co. Kilkenny

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Introduction

Among Carrigan's Manuscripts¹ are his notes on several Fitzpatrick families of Co. Laois and Co. Kilkenny, who are not clearly connected with the Barons of Upper Ossory, that provide sixteenth to nineteenth century narratives and genealogies mostly unavailable elsewhere.

Carrigan's records of Fitzpatricks of southern Co. Kilkenny are noteworthy, since at the time of the 'Census of Ireland'², ca. 1659, there is no evidence of the surname being present further south than Kilkenny City. Rather, Carrigan's records indicate the first Fitzpatricks probably "came down" to southern Co. Kilkenny in the late seventeenth century.

In Volume 47 of the Carrigan Manuscripts, entitled, 'Mainly West Kilkenny County', are records of Fitzpatricks of Monachunna³ (Móin an Chonnaidh) and Kilcready⁴, as well as those of other connected families, such as Aylward, Barron, Daton, and Forestall. A full transcription of the records is presented here. A map showing the location of key places referenced is provided in Figure 1.

The Fitzpatricks

The first of the Fitzpatricks of Monachunna was a carpenter who came from the Queen's Co. and settled down in Milltown⁵ about the creamery⁶ where his descendant, Dick [Fitz]Patrick (died ca. 1815 or 1820s, 80, [who is] buried inside [the] old chapel of Templeorum⁷), a

¹ For an introduction to and overview of Carrigan Manuscripts, see Fitzpatrick, M (2023). The Carrigan Manuscripts: the will of Thady Fitzpatrick, MD, 1674. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society S1, 1-10. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01423](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01423).

² Pender S (1939). A Census of Ireland circa 1659. Dublin: The Stationary Office.

³ Monachunna in Dunnamaggan (Dún Iomagáin) parish, in the Barony of Kells. Unless stated, Irish placenames are according those at the Placenames Database of Ireland, <https://www.logainm.ie>.

⁴ Kilcready, a sub-townland of Castlegannon (Caisléan Geanainn) in Derrynahinch (Doire na hinse) parish, in the Barony of Knocktopher. There are church ruins at Kilcready, which are considered the oldest in Knocktopher (Carrigan, W, 1905. The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory. Dublin, Sealy, Bryers and Walker).

⁵ Milltown (Baile an Mhuilinn) in Muckalee (Maigh Coillí) parish, in the Barony of Knocktopher.

⁶ Carrigan (1905) noted, the "creamery now occupies the site of the old mill".

⁷ "The first chapel erected in this district since the Reformation stood on Raheen hill, at the point of meeting of the townlands of Raheen, Templeorum and Corbally. It consisted of two parallel walls 60 feet long and 17 feet apart, built of very large rough stones without any mortar whatever, and covered overhead with furze and fraech; there were no end walls. Mass may have been said in this chapel as far back as the days of Queen Elizabeth; it was certainly the 'Mass house' of the district down to about 1720. Michael Fitzpatrick of Raheen, born in 1811, informed the writer that his great-great-grand-mother, a Mrs Daton of Tobernabrone, was present, when a young girl, at the last masses celebrated here. Being open at both ends, this chapel became a favourite haunt of the goats, then numerous along the hills, and from this circumstance it came to be known by its present name of Shaypealnangouer, or the Goats' Chapel" (Carrigan W, 1905, Volume IV, p.250-251).

farmer and living in the same spot married Mary Walsh of Toor, Co. Tipperary: this man's name was Richard Fitzpatrick and his son James Fitzpatrick (aged 77) of Corbally⁸ (where Carroll lives) married Mary Barron and their son Michael Fitzpatrick, born in 1811 still lives in Monachunna⁹.

Mary Barron wife of said James Fitzpatrick was daughter of Martin Barron and Aylse Poor of Condonstown¹⁰ his wife: Martin Barron was first cousin of Rev. James Lalor P.P. Templeorum, said Martin Barron's mother's name being Kennedy. The Barrons lived originally at Oldcourt¹¹, Inistioge, but I suppose on his marriage, Martin leaving the old place, settled down in Potstown¹², Inistioge, and owned all that townland. He was leader of a faction and worsted [the] Bishop's faction of Kells, and in revenge for it [the] Bishop's wife got his landlord to evict him one year and a half after his marriage with Aylse Poor, about 1780. After his eviction Martin Barron came to Templeorum where he got a farm of 34 acres and set up a shop, and afterwards died; here too Ayles Poor died aged about 80 about 1826.

Ayles Poor was born in Condonstown, the daughter of Mickel Poor and [Miss] Daton, of Tobernabrone¹³, his wife. The said Mrs Poor alias Daton's parents lived where the Walshes now live in Tobernabrone and owned all their land, but when her father died the Walshes got a lease over her mother and the landlord or agent taking her case into kind consideration gave her the Jamestown¹⁴ farm, that next became vacant, instead, and the Datons of Jamestown now are her descendants. It was this old Mrs Daton of Tobernabrone and Jamestown who heard mass in Chapel na gower⁷.

Father Mike Daton's father was born in the house now occupied by Ned Daton in Ballygown¹⁵ and went thence to Tinlough (Co. Tipperary). [The] present Ned Daton's people next lived in that house, having removed thither from the north side of Ballygown, but these

⁸ Corbally (Corrbhaile) in Fiddown (Fiodh Dúin) parish, in the Barony of Knocktopher.

⁹ Michael's baptism record is from 22 October 1811. The baptisms of Michael's siblings are also recorded: Richard (2 September 1810), Anne (27 December 1816), Ellen (10 April 1822), and John (29 September 1825). The baptisms record the family were living in Raheen (Ráithín, formerly Templeorum parish, now Fiddown parish), which is approximately one mile southwest of Milltown. Carrigan (1905) referred to the same Michael as "of Raheen". Michael died 11 February 1906, aged 95 years. He married Bridget Dalton and they had at least five children. The 1901 Ireland census for Raheen, Templeorum, has Michael as a widow and head of house, aged 90 years (<https://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Kilkenny/Templeorum/Raheen>, accessed 7 May 2024) – with him is his son, James, daughter-in-law, Ellen, and five grandchildren. Michael's father, James, is found in the Griffith's Valuation for Raheen as lessee of 38 acres from Peter Walsh (<https://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation>, accessed 5 May 2024). It is considered that, in his manuscripts, Carrigan confused Raheen of Templeorum with Raheen of Dunnamagann; the latter is but one half a mile from Monachunna.

¹⁰ Condonstown (Baile na gCondúnach) in Aghaviller (Áth an Bhiolair) parish, in the Barony of Knocktopher.

¹¹ Oldcourt (An tSeanchúirt) formerly in Inistioge (Inis Tíog) parish, now in Clonamery (Cluain Iomaire) parish, in the Barony of Ida.

¹² Potstown (Baile an Chorcáin), is a sub-division of Owing (Ónainn) parish, in the Barony of Iverk (O'Kelly, S, 1985. The placenames of County Kilkenny. Kilkenny: The Kilkenny Archaeological Society).

¹³ Tobernabrone (Tober na Brón) in Fiddown parish.

¹⁴ Jamestown (Baile Shéamais) in Fiddown parish.

¹⁵ Ballygown (Baile an Ghabhann) in Fiddown parish.

two families of Datons [were] not related, nor was there any relation between them and the Datons of Jamestown, and none of them were related to Kathleen Daton.

The real Datons, heirs to Bessborough¹⁶, were gentle folks living in Co. Wexford; they used to come have a look at their ancestral estate, sometimes even in Michael Fitzpatrick's time.

The Kilcready Fitzpatricks are related to Michael Fitzpatrick but their ancestor came down from the Queen's Co. sometime before his, perhaps one generation before. The Gortrush¹⁷ Fitzpatricks [are] nothing at all to these. Michael Fitzpatrick's mother died in 1831 aged ca. 48. The first of the Kilcready Fitzpatricks also came down poor.

Fitzpatricks of Kilcready

There were two brothers of them in Kilcready where they held between them 90 acres: their father was probably Ned Fitzpatrick: these two brothers who were first cousins of Father Geoffrey Fitzpatrick P.P.¹⁸, Dunnamaggan, were Peery Fitzpatrick and Jemmy Fitzpatrick both of whom lived and died in Kilcready, their father's 90 acres having been divided among them¹⁹. These two brothers had also two sisters viz. Anne and Mary.

Peery Fitzpatrick above of Kilcready died aged 87 about 1833, his wife was Mary Aylward of Ballytarsna²⁰, aunt of Rev. John Aylward P.P. Mooncoin²¹: they married when both very young about twenty years each; their son Ned Fitzpatrick who predeceased them, lived in Kilcready also, married a Miss Malloy of Kells, and their daughter is Bridget Fitzpatrick now Mrs Carroll of Brenar²², born about 1821; their descendants now completely cleared out of Kilcready, and even their house in Kilcready is completely disappeared and the land in possession of their relative John Fitzpatrick²³, grandson of Jemmy Fitzpatrick.

¹⁶ Bessborough House, in Kildalton (Cill an Dátúnaigh), Fiddown Parish, was built in the mid-eighteenth century for Brabazon Ponsonby, first Earl of Bessborough, on the site of Kildalton Castle. Kildalton, formerly Kilmodalla, i.e., Cill Modalla, the Church of St Modailbh (Carrigan, W, 1905) took its name from the family of Dalton (otherwise, Daton, and previously de Antōn) who were domiciled in the Barony of Knocktopher from the late thirteenth century and Kilmodalla from the early fifteenth century (Fitzpatrick, M. 2024. The Daltons of Kildalton: a Norman-Irish gentry family, Part I. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 5, 1-10 [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01624](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01624); Curtis, E. 1934. Calendar of Ormond Deeds Volume II. Dublin: The Stationary Office). In 1641, Kildalton was held by Edmund Dalton, afterwards forfeited to Sir John Ponsonby, the grandfather of Brabazon (The Down Survey of Ireland. Trinity College, Dublin: <http://downsurvey.tcd.ie> accessed 7 April 2024).

¹⁷ Gortrush (Gort an Rois), in Fiddown parish. The 1901 census has one family of Fitzpatricks living in Gortrush (<https://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Kilkenny/Fiddown/Gortrush>, accessed 8 April 2024), James Fitzpatrick, a farmer, his wife Margaret (née Power), and six children. James (baptised 21 November 1831) was the son of James Fitzpatrick and Margaret Foley, of Gortrush. James senior is found in the Griffith's Valuation for Gortrush as a lessee of 36 acres from the Earl of Bessborough (accessed 12 May 2024).

¹⁸ "Rev. Geoffrey Fitzpatrick, born in Mooncoin, in his native parish from 1806 to 1818, and was subsequently C.C. in Callan and Slieverue, until July 10th 1829, when he was promoted to Dunnamaggan. He died April 7th 1835, and is buried in Dunnamaggan chapel" (Carrigan W, 1905, Volume IV, p.86).

¹⁹ The Griffith's Valuation has Edward Fitzpatrick, son of Jemmy, leasing 72 acres in Castlegannon from Anthony Cliffe (accessed 3 May 2024).

²⁰ Ballytarsna (Baile Tarsna) townland is immediately east of Castlegannon.

²¹ Mooncoin (Móin Choinn) in Ballytarsney (Baile Tarsna) parish, in the Barony of Iverk.

²² Brenar (Bréanair) in Fiddown parish.

²³ John, of Castlegannon, is found in the 1901 census, head of house, widower and farmer, living with his five children <https://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Kilkenny/Castlegannon/Castlegannon>, accessed

Jemmy Fitzpatrick, Peery's brother, married Owner alias Nora Forestall of Castlebanny²⁴, and their son Ned Fitzpatrick²⁵ of Kilcready was father of John Fitzpatrick who lives in Kilcready and owns all the Fitzpatrick land, 90 acres, there and of Mrs Aylward of Knockmoylan²⁶ (Father Pat Aylward's mother) and of the two nuns in [Castle]comer convent: Jemmy Fitzpatrick's daughter, sister to Ned, was the late Biddy [Fitz]patrick, mother of the late Rev. William Brenan P.P. Mooncoin; she died.

Another son of Jemmy Fitzpatrick was Pierce Fitzpatrick. Mary Fitzpatrick sister of old Peery and Jemmy married John Barden of Lismateige²⁷.

Anne Fitzpatrick, sister of old Peery, Jemmy and Mary, married John Forestall of Castlebanny, brother of Jemmy's wife. The said John Forestall of Castlebanny had a brother, born in Castlebanny, who in his youth went to travel, and becoming a clerk or book-keeper to a rich Spanish merchant in the Peak of Tenerife, got married after his master's death, and by the latter's special wish to his only child, an heiress, the dying man recognising that no one but Forestall understood at the time the state and conduct of his business affairs. By his Spanish marriage Forestall had but one child, a son and he was an idiot. Forestall on a visit with his wife and son, to Castlebanny took cold and died, having bequeathed his means after death to his wife and son, to his nephews and nieces in Castlebanny and Kilcready. The wife and son died in Tenerife and it was some time after that Kenny Purcell recovered his money for his legatees, among them his nephews Ned Fitzpatrick of Kilcready and John Forestall, Castlebanny, who died in 1882 aged 80 leaving three daughters mistresses Green, Walsh, and Martin.

In 1767 John, son of Mr Peter Forestall, merchant in the Canaries, aged 10 years, entered Kilkenny College. This Mr Peter Forestall was probably the first of the family who went abroad, and was perhaps the brother of John Forestall, Castlebanny, who died in 1792 aged 74. The said John Forestall who died in 1792 being apparently father of Pierce who died in 1792 aged 21; of Patrick Forestall esquire and merchant of Island of Tenerife who died in Kilkenny in 1819 in his 74th year; and of John of Castlebanny who died in 1824 aged 64 leaving a son the late John Forestall above of Castlebanny who died in 1882 aged 80 years, and another son Peter of Castlebanny who died in 1847 aged 49.

Kilcready

The church is dedicated to St Bridget, and it is on the account of Mrs Carroll was called Bridget. The altar flag [is] still there in the church. Some generations of the Fitzpatricks of Kilcready [are] buried inside the church. One Protestant headstone [is] in the graveyard. Bridget, daughter of Edmond Fitzpatrick and Bridget Miller, Cashel, born 1820. In Irish Kilcready is called Kyle-chreddhya [Cill Créada] i.e., Church of Faith.

5 May 2024). John was the son of Edward (also recorded as Edmond) Fitzpatrick and Margaret Walsh, baptised 10 December 1839. His wife was Ellen Doyle, and they married 24 November 1868.

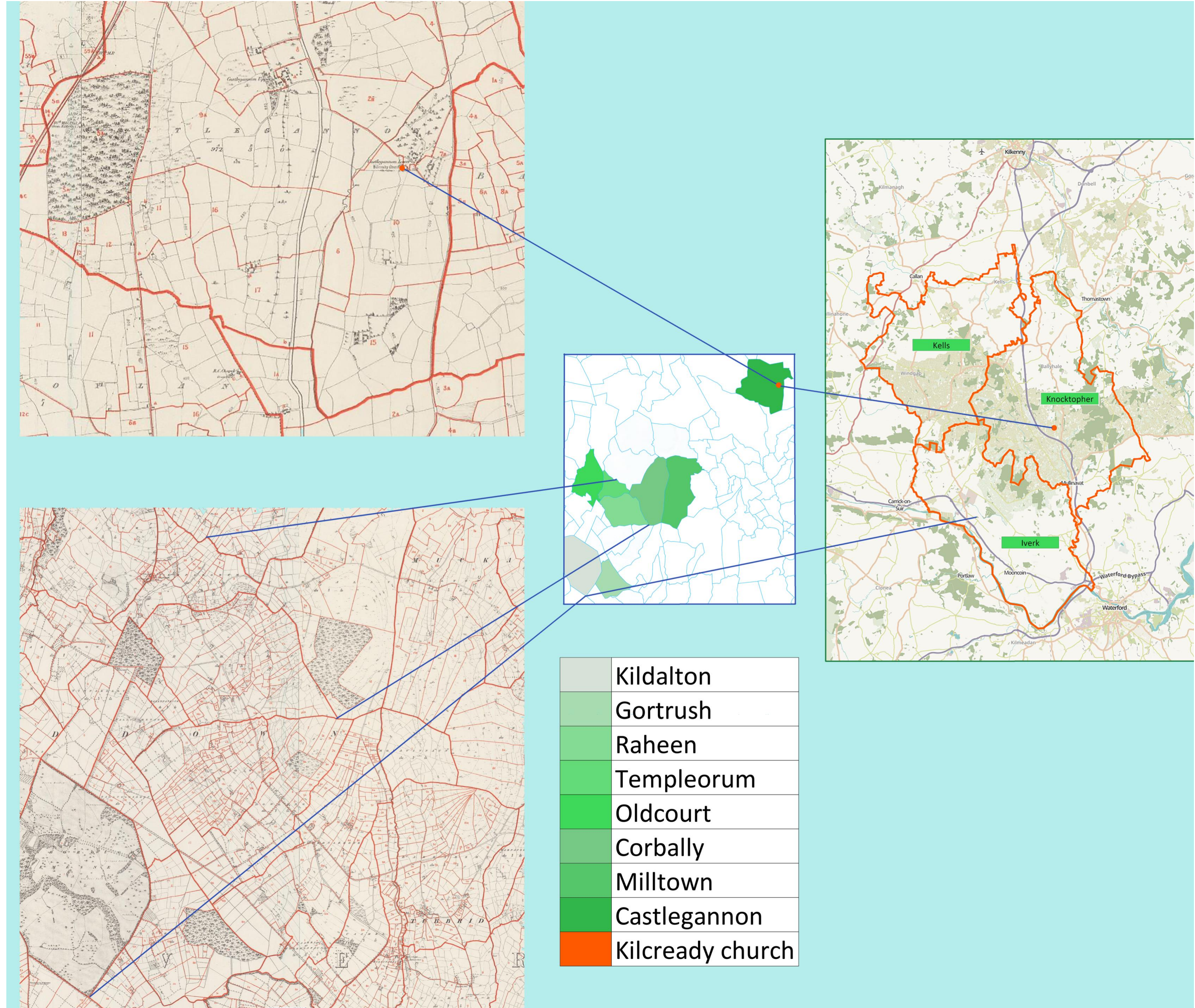
²⁴ Castlebanny (Caisléan an Bhainne) in Derrynahinch parish.

²⁵ Edward, or Edmond, Fitzpatrick, farmer of Kilcready died 20 June 1878 aged 86 years.

²⁶ Knockmoylan (Cnoc Maoláin) in Kilkeasy (Cill Chéise) parish, in the Barony of Knocktopher.

²⁷ Lismateige (Lios Mhic Thaidhg) parish, in the Barony of Knocktopher.

Figure 1: Locations of places, showing key baronies, townlands, and detail.



Barony Map edited from OpenStreetMap: © [OpenStreetMap contributors](#). Tiles courtesy of [Tracestrack](#). [Website and API terms](#).

The Carrigan Manuscripts: the Fitzpatricks of Gorteen and Coolcashin

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Introduction

Among Carrigan's Manuscripts¹ are his notes on several Fitzpatrick families of Co. Laois and Co. Kilkenny, not obviously connected with the Barons of Upper Ossory, which include seventeenth to early twentieth century facts, narratives and genealogies unavailable elsewhere.

Volume 73, is titled 'Extracts from Wills, Castlecomber etc' but this does not fully describe the contents, which provide much useful information on the Fitzpatricks of Gurteen² and Coolcashin³.

Volume 45 has the title 'Durrow and Aghaboe' but this also belies what lies within the black-backed book, which contains notes on the Fitzpatricks of Coolcashin and Ballyboodin⁴.

Full transcriptions from Volumes 73 and 45, which relate to Fitzpatricks of Gorteen and Coolcashin are presented here. The records provide a way to connect descendants of Gorteen and Coolcashin Fitzpatricks to lineages of the sixteenth century, and earlier.

Volume 73: The Fitzpatricks

Mr John Fitzpatrick was born and lived in Gurteen (between Cullohill and Durrow), married Miss Fanny Roche of Wexford Co., had many children, died in Gurteen, and his widow and children were then either evicted or gave up the place and came to live in Coolcashin and they were the first of the family who lived in Coolcashin⁵.

¹ See, Fitzpatrick, M (2023). The Carrigan Manuscripts: the will of Thady Fitzpatrick, MD, 1674. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society S1, 1-10. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01423](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01423).

² An Goirtín (Gorteen) in Laois, now in the Parish of Aghmacart.

³ Cúil Chaisín in Cill Chainnigh (Co. Kilkenny).

⁴ Baile Uí Bhuadáin in Laois.

⁵ Carrigan considered Coolcashin Fitzpatricks descended from Geoffrey Fitzpatrick of Tintore (Tigh and Tuair in Laois) since, by Inquisition of 1631, Geoffrey (d. 1630) had held land near Gorteen and was buried at Aghmacart – and the burial vault there “belongs to the Fitzpatricks of Coolcashin” (Carrigan W, 1905. The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker). Fiant 6551 of Elizabeth I, dated 10 June 1601, records pardons granted to Florence Fitzpatrick, third baron of Upper Ossory, and his retinue, among whom are Shane and Brazell (i.e., Breasal) mac Tirlagh óg, residents of Gorteen; also recorded are Tirlagh óg Fitzpatrick and another son, William óg, who were domiciled at Gracecastle (HMSO, 1885. The Seventeenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Printing Office; Grace's Castle was once a large denomination in Aghmacart parish (see footnote 1). The Books of Survey and Distribution have Gorteen held by Keallagh mac Shane Fitzpatrick prior to being

John Fitzpatrick and Fanny Roche's children⁶ were:

I. Daniel Fitzpatrick (1727-1802) who married Honor Shee of Grangemacomb⁷ (aunt to Biddy Shee, his brother Denis' wife) lived [and] was [a] broker in Lisdowney⁸, then came to live in Freshford⁹ [and] became an agent and died there in 1802 leaving one son Shawn oge, or John of the Chapel who never married, so that his line is extinct.

II. Ellen or Elleanor Fitzpatrick who married Mr William Maher of Freshford, the grandfather of old Mrs Mary Maher now of Freshford.

III. William Fitzpatrick who studied in the College of Coimbra or Salamanca¹⁰ and died a few days after his ordination in Spain.

IV. Charles Fitzpatrick who died unmarried.

V. Denis Fitzpatrick of Coolcashin who married Mrs Biddy Shee of Grangemacomb, niece of his brother Daniel's wife Honor Shee, and had the following children:-

1. John Fitzpatrick the eldest married Catherine Scully, Tipperary.

2. William Fitzpatrick of Freshford father of Mr Jeremiah Fitzpatrick, now of Coolcashin¹¹.

3. Richard Fitzpatrick.

4. Michael Fitzpatrick.

granted to Colonel John Fitzpatrick in 1663 (NAI QRO 1/1/3/13/19/10, Books of Survey and Distribution: Queenes County Aghavoe Parish Upper Ossory Barony, National Archives of Ireland), and reaffirmed in 1670 (PROI C 1/91/1/191. Patent Roll, 15 Charles II, Part II. Public Record Office of Ireland). Thady Fitzpatrick, MD, purchased Gorteen from Stephen Hales in 1668, and the bequeathed it to his son, John, a minor when his father died in 1674, which infers Coolcashin Fitzpatricks descend from Thady Fitzpatrick, MD, of the Mac Fynen line of Monhedrid (see Footnote 1 for the discussion of Thady Fitzpatrick's will in which he names the benefactors of his estates).

⁶ As well as those recorded by Carrigan, there was Mary Fitzpatrick (1735-1809) who married Michael Byrne of Bayswell House. The marriage bond of 22 January 1761 records Mary's father as John Fitzpatrick, gentleman, of Gorteen. Mary is buried in Erke graveyard (Byrne-Rothwell D, 2010. The Byrnes and the O'Byrnes. Scalasaig: House of Lochar). She is erroneously positioned in Linea Antiqua as the daughter of Patrick Fitzpatrick, MD, son of Thady Fitzpatrick, MD. Thady also had a son, John, recorded in Linea Antiqua who has no associated wife or issue (O'Ferrall, R, (1709. Linea Antiqua, a collection of Irish genealogies compiled by Roger O'Ferrall, with index. Genealogical Office Manuscripts Collection MS 155). While some evidence points to Mary as the daughter of John, son of Thady, she would have been a child of his later years; it is possible Mary was the daughter of John, son of Patrick Fitzpatrick, MD, but this would require there to be a generational error in Linea Antiqua.

⁷ Gráinseach Mochuma (Grangemacomb), Cill Chainnigh.

⁸ Lios Dúnaigh, Cill Chainnaigh.

⁹ A parish, town, and townland in north Cill Chainnigh.

¹⁰ Universities in Portugal and Spain, respectively (de Hinojosa y Naveros, E, 1908. The Catholic Encyclopaedia. New York: Robert Appleton Company).

¹¹ Jeremiah, son of William Fitzpatrick died in 1895, hence it can be inferred that Volume 73 was written before this.

5. Denis Fitzpatrick of Freshford who married Mary Fogarty and was father of Father John Fitzpatrick P.P. [of] Clough¹².

Daniel Fitzpatrick above, and his wife Honor Shee of Grangemacomb, had besides a son John of the Chapel, [a] daughter Mary Fitzpatrick who married (as his second wife) Mr Emanuel Murry of Kilkenny and so was step grandmother of old Miss Mary Maher, now of Freshford.

John Fitzpatrick and Fanny Roche, had, I believe, another son John Fitzpatrick who lived in Urlingford¹³ or Ballyroe¹⁴, and was succeeded by his son John, and he in turn by his own son John who was the last of the family there.

The Fitzpatricks of Gurteen, Coolcashin, and Freshford were related to the Ballyboodan Fitzpatricks¹⁵ but not the Ballogh Fitzpatricks.

Volume 45: Fitzpatricks of Coolcashin

Dinny Fitzpatrick¹⁶ of Gurteen had a big farm, and a great factory, and lived in Gurteen where James Bergin¹⁷ lives now; [he] was a tenant under the Ballybooden family. He gave up his farm and place in Gurteen and removed to Coolcashin, having taken the farm there: it was [he] who built the vault in Aghamacart graveyard¹⁸.

He had (by his wife Biddy Shee of Grangemacomb), with other children, a son Shawn Caol¹⁹ who succeeded him in Coolcashin House; Shawn Caol (married Catherine Scully, of Co. Tipperary) had an only daughter who married a big hunting man named Egan²⁰ from

¹² An Chloch, or Clogh, in Laois. In Volume 87, written 1885-1888, Carrigan noted, "Father John Fitzpatrick P.P. [Parish Priest] Clough was born in Freshford town about 1823. His mother was Fogarty. He was of the Coolcashin family, and Dinny Fitzpatrick now of Coolcashin is his first cousin".

¹³ Urlingford (Áth na hUriann) is a townland and parish in Cill Chainnigh.

¹⁴ Ballyroe is a denomination of Rahandrick Lower (Ráth Anraic Íochtarach), a townland in Laois

¹⁵ Carrigan (1905) understood the Ballybooden Fitzpatricks to be the descendants of Thady Fitzpatrick, MD.

¹⁶ That is, Denis Fitzpatrick, son of John Fitzpatrick and Fanny Roche.

¹⁷ James Bergin of Gurteen died 11 November 1902 aged 79 years; the informant was his son, also James. James (senior) married Anastasia Cormack and they had several children; he appears in the 1901 Census of Ireland in the Kilnaseer electoral division (<https://www.census.nationalarchives.ie>, accessed 3 July 2024).

¹⁸ The Aghamacart vault bears the inscription 'Pray for the souls of the Fitzpatrick family interred in this vault', and is dated ca. 1770 (Carrigan W, 1905).

¹⁹ Caol, meaning thin or slender, anglicised Kyle.

²⁰ William Egan and Margaret Fitzpatrick were married 1 Dec 1832 in Lisdowney Parish and they also had two sons: Daniel (baptised 1 July 1836) and John Fitzpatrick Egan (baptised 30 July 1839 and living in March 1850) – the residence is provided as Coolcashin, and a sponsor, by proxy, was William Fitzpatrick. Notable on the marriage record is the bride's mother was murdered ca. 1850. Daniel and John's baptism records also note 'the grandmother of both sons, Mrs Fitzpatrick, was murdered ca. 1850'. The murder of Catherine Fitzpatrick née Scully received much newspaper coverage at the time and featured across the entire front page of the 20 March 1850 edition of the Kilkenny Moderator; that coverage is provided, in part, in Appendix 1.

Mouthrath²¹; at her death Egan and her little child went to America leaving Coolcashin²² to the late Jerry Fitzpatrick²³.

Coolcashin Fitzpatricks [are] not related to the Fitzpatricks of Ballybooden²⁴.

September 1st 1800. Died Denis Fitzpatrick Esq. Coolcashin.

1802 died his brother Daniel Fitzpatrick of Freshford aged 75.

Acknowledgements

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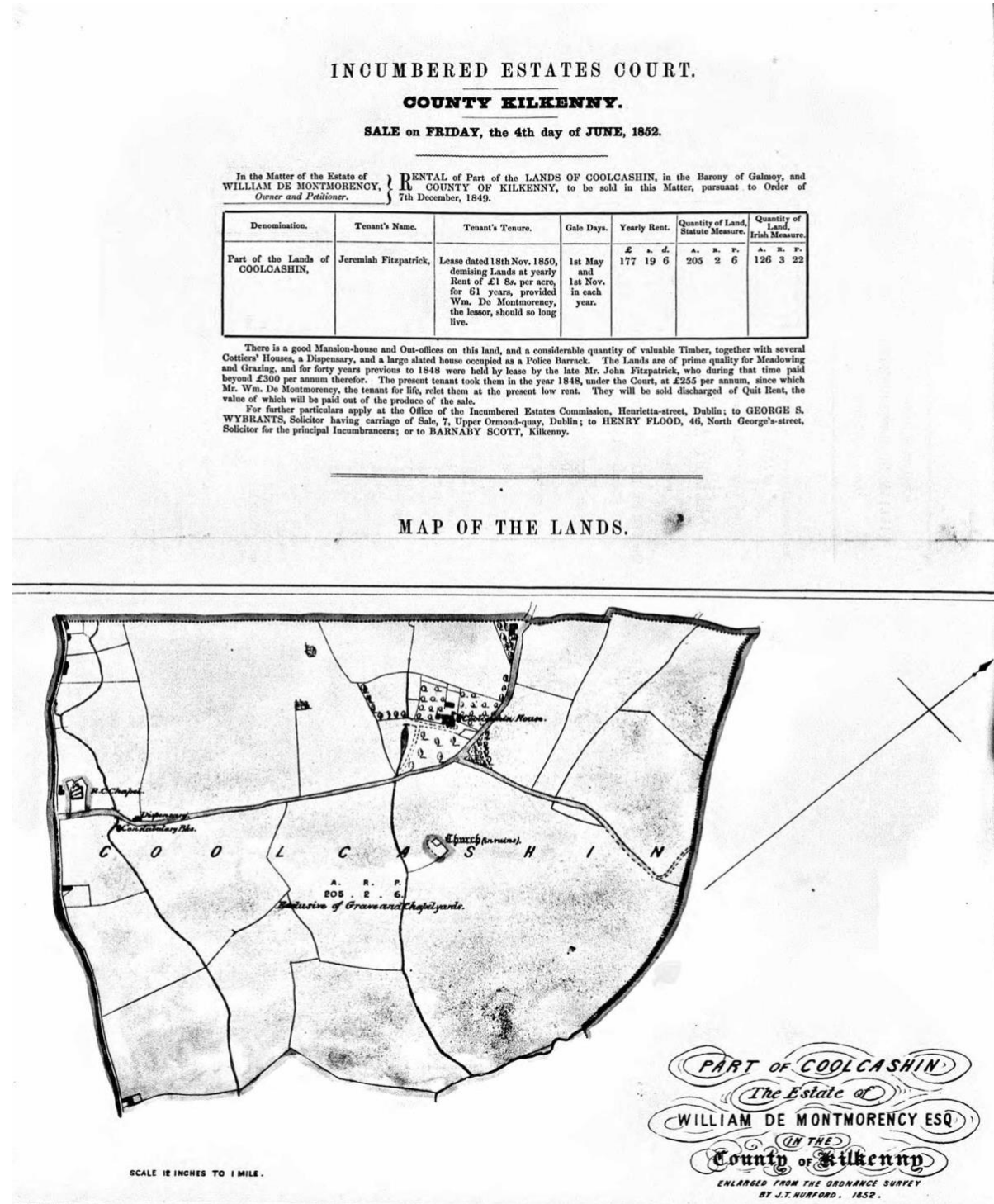
²¹ Maighean Rátha, Laois.

²² The Griffith's Valuation of Kilkenny (ca. 1849) has William Egan holding approximately 204 acres in Coolcashin from William de Montmorency (<https://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation>, accessed 5 July 2024). This matches well the 205 acres advertised 1852 for sale by decree of the Incumbered Estates Court, the lease for which having been held by John Fitzpatrick (i.e., Shawn Caol) from 1808 until his death ca. 1848, and with Jeremiah Fitzpatrick in 1852 (Figure 1). It is notable that an 1812 survey of part of Coolcashin also showed some lands held by representatives of Daniel Fitzpatrick, son of John Fitzpatrick and Fanny Roche (Longfield Map Collection, National Library of Ireland. A survey of part of the lands of Coolcashin in the Barony of Galmoy and County of Kilkenny part of the estate of Sir William Morris. Surveyed in October 1812, by John Longfield).

²³ This is Jeremiah, son of William Fitzpatrick, who died in 1895. Hence, Volume 45 was written after this, but probably before 1902, which was when James Bergin senior died, unless Carrigan was referring to James junior (see footnote 17).

²⁴ Carrigan provides no evidence or explanation for changing to the opposite view he presented in Volume 73.

Figure 1: Coolcashin rental Incumbered Estate Court sale notice



Appendix 1: an account of the murder of Mrs Catherine Fitzpatrick, née Scully

From the Kilkenny Moderator, 20 March 1850 – abridged.

MURDER OF MRS. FITZPATRICK

Thomas Cullenan and Philip Dullard were placed at the bar and arraigned for the murder of Catherine Fitzpatrick, committed on the 1st of February in the 12th year of the Queen (1849). The indictment recited that the said Catherine Fitzpatrick had been choked and suffocated by some person or persons unknown, and that such person or persons unknown was or were incited, moved, procured, caused and commanded to the murder by the prisoners at the bar. Another count charged the murder to have been committed by drowning.

The prisoner Cullenan was rather a good looking person, dressed as a comfortable farmer, and apparently between forty and fifty years of age. Dullard, is a younger man, and apparently, from his dress, of the labouring class. The expression of his countenance is forbidding in the extreme.

Messrs. Scott, QC, Sausse, QC, and Rollestone, QC, appeared for the Crown.

Messrs. Armstrong and Maher appeared for the defence; Mr. Delany as agent.

Mr. Scott, QC, proceeded to state the circumstances of the case to the jury. He mentioned that the murder had been committed on the first of February, 1849, the unfortunate lady, who was very old, having been found dead with her head sunk in a well of water, situate in the immediate neighbourhood of her residence. She was found in a position that would clearly demonstrate, he believed, to their full satisfaction, that she could not place herself in, as she lay, on her back with her head sunk under water, and her feet resting on the stone step. Her boots, in particular, were quite clean, although it was swampy and miry all round, and they must have been dirtied had she walked to the well. She had been living for a long time at the house of Coolcashin, and there farmed 150 acres of land, being a person of some wealth and respectability. Her farm servant was named Kavanagh, but she was in the habit of receiving advice and assistance in all her farm arrangements and business transactions from a neighbouring farmer, Thomas Cullenan, one of the prisoners at the bar.

The learned counsel then went into a detail of the evidence which would be produced to bring the case home to the prisoners; mentioning that several witnesses would prove that they saw the parties lurking in the neighbourhood about the time of the commission of the murder, and one man would depose that Cullenan had previously endeavoured to bribe him to commit this murder. The motive for the deed he referred to the circumstances that Cullenan had a short time previously effected an insurance for £450, on the life of the old lady, which sum he would be entitled to receive if she was put out of the way; and it was a very suspicious fact that a day or two before the murder Cullenan had gone to the agent of the Assurance Company, paid up a balance of a few shillings which he had been in arrear, and ascertained that the entire transaction was securely perfected. The case was purely circumstantial, but they would see how strong the circumstances were against Cullenan, and in addition it would appear that he (Cullenan) had endeavoured after his own arrest to fasten the crime on innocent individuals, the servants of Mrs. Fitzpatrick.

Mr. Armstrong addressed the jury for the defence in a very able and highly argumentative speech.

At eight o'clock the jury retired to their room, and were scarcely ten minutes in consultation when they returned, and handed in the issue paper, finding prisoners Not Guilty, amidst the most intense interest.

The spectators had been prepared by the tenor of the judge's charge for the acquittal of Dullard, but the fate of Cullenan held them in doubtful suspense, and on the announcement of a verdict a low murmur of many voices sounded through the court, but no other indication of feeling was expressed.

Cullenan, upon having his acquittal pronounced, slapped the front of the dock smartly with his hand, producing a loud noise; and soon after, addressing the governor, he observed, with rather a triumphant air, "Well, I didn't behave bad." Dullard said nothing, and did not appear much moved by the nature of the verdict.

The Court was adjourned.