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The Mac Giolla Phádraig Laighean

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Abstract

Until recently, the dominant Mac Giolla Phádraig narrative had the surname associated only with the Barony of Upper Ossory, with ancient origins in medieval Osraí (Kingdom of Ossory). Yet, it has now been demonstrated, mainly via sixteenth-and seventeenth century Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland, that there was a Clann Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais present in Clár (County Clare) in the sixteenth century, having been domiciled there since the thirteenth century.

Also, by interrogation of sixteenth-and seventeenth century Fiants and Patent Rolls, it is shown here that Mac Giolla Phádraig resident in Laighean (Leinster) counties had no association with the family of Upper Ossory. Notable from the early sixteenth century are the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Cill Dara (County Kildare), who were once possessed of several discrete territories, including one that bore their name, and at least one castle, evidencing extended kinship, i.e., clanship. Yet, with the demise of the Kildare FitzGeralds ca. 1537, there came an upheaval for the clann.

In the years after the rebellion of 'Silken' Thomas FitzGerald, Mac Giolla Phádraig are found in association with the infamous 'Keating Kern', due to their prior common service with the Earls of Kildare. But after the ninth Earl's attainment, Mac Giolla Phádraig were expelled from their Cill Dara territories. Yet, those Mac Giolla Phádraig re-established themselves – and their network grew. By the 1550s, they had become well-connected with the Uí Tuathail (O'Toole), Uí Broinn (O'Byrne), Caomhánach (Kavanagh), and other notable clanns of the day, of Ceatharlach (County Carlow), Cill Mhantáin (County Wicklow), and Loch Garman (County Wexford). The relationships with Laighean clanns expanded throughout the rest of the sixteenth century while the association with Keatings faded. Significantly, Mac Giolla Phádraig came to hold lands at Cúirt an Phaoraigh (Powerscourt) until they were dispossessed in the early seventeenth century.

This article follows the Mac Giolla Phádraig Laighean from the sixteenth century and identifies their descendants today. Now bearing the surname Fitzpatrick, they belong to an ancient kindred group identified by the surname-specific Y-DNA haplotype R1b-Z255 ... BY2849. Today, these Fitzpatricks reside all over the globe. But true to their 'Irish Sea' Y-DNA modality, i.e., R-Z255, many also live all along Ireland's east, from Aontroim (County Antrim) to Cill Mhantáin, and some families are still domiciled near their ancestor's sixteenth and seventeenth century territories. This speaks to the diversity of Clann Mac Giolla Phádraig Laighean, their distinct kindred identities among their individual septs, and the long endurance of their surname.

Names, styles, edits, historical records, and DNA

This article is written in the English language, but the people and places discussed are Irish. To acknowledge the primacy of Gaeilge (Gaelic) and to allow readers to be able to find locations on modern maps, place names are provided in modern Gaeilge using the most common spelling; for example, An Mhainistir (Monastery), unless the place name is titular or in the genitive, for instance, the Parish of Powerscourt. A map of the key placenames mentioned in this article is provided in Appendix I.

The rendition of personal names and by-names of people referenced in this article requires consistency because there can be variability in historical records even for the same individual, with mixtures of Gaeilge and English forms used and sometimes with spellings imaginatively conjured up via phonetics. The approach here is to use the most obvious and correctly spelt form of the personal name, be it Gaeilge or an English form. Surnames are much less problematic, and preference is for a standard spelling, e.g., as determined and published by authorities such as Mac Lysaght¹.

This article is a living work, i.e., it can be edited by the author, who will retain all versions. Every effort was made to consult all available records related to the period relevant to this article, and Y-DNA data is current to the publication date. Y-DNA dating estimates are probabilistic and considered \pm three generations, i.e., \pm approximately ninety years.

Introduction

The Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland are an extraordinary and largely untapped source of information². Notably, those records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries detail many scores of individuals who have Mac Giolla Phádraig at the terminus of their name, who show no association with the well-known Mac Giolla Phádraig, later Fitzpatrick, family of Upper Ossory³. By far, the majority of occurrences are Laighean, particularly in Ceatharlach, Cill Dara, Cill Mhantáin, and Loch Garman. Yet, careful scrutiny is required to determine if those recorded have Mac Giolla Phádraig as a surname or as a form of patronymic, i.e., mac Giollapádraig.

There are many examples of the latter in the Fiants and Patent Rolls that might first give the impression of being a surname, such as that found for “Morrogh McGillepatricke of Anna-

¹ MacLysaght, E. (1985). *Irish Families: Their Names, Arms and Origins*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

² Fitzpatrick, M (2021). Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland: Part I: a method of approach to mega-data, and a MacCaisín case study. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 2, 66-92, [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621).

³ Under the conditions of their Surrender and Regrant, the Mac Giolla Phádraig of the Barony of Upper Ossory did “utterly forsake and refuse the name of MacGilpatricke” in 1541 and took the surname Fitzpatrick (State Papers, 1834. King Henry VIII Part III: 1538-1546. London: His Majesty’s Commission). Hence, the occurrence of the surname Mac Giolla Phádraig in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland, and other State Papers, after 1541 is often an indication that the kin in question were not of Upper Ossory. It is also notable that some Mac Giolla Phádraig of Upper Ossory, while forbidden to use the surname, chose not to use Fitzpatrick and reverted to other patronymics, such as Mac Fynen (Fitzpatrick, M, 2022. Pátraic surnames in the Fiants 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)).

Reyley⁴, gent, slain in rebellion”, who occurs on multiple occasions. Yet, he is also called “Morogh McGilaptrick McDermot”, and, once the records of him are considered in full, it is clear he was one of the numerous clansmen of the Uí Broinn of Cill Mhantáin and Loch Garman⁵.

However, one way to soundly uncover the use of Mac Giolla Phádraig as a surname is to interrogate its occurrence across several generations in a specific location. In such manner, this article demonstrates there was a family of Mac Giolla Phádraig domiciled at Cúirt an Phaoraigh (Powerscourt, and its surrounds) in modern-day Cill Mhantáin from the mid-sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. Although their lands were later forfeited under controversial circumstances, it is likely they remained nearby, since there are many records of more recent times of Fitzpatricks in the same general area, within just a few miles of the modern-day Powerscourt Estate.

In similar fashion, this article connects Mac Giolla Phádraig of Laighean lands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with their modern-day descendants via an interrogation of Fiant, Patent Roll, and related records, alongside Y-DNA of Fitzpatricks of the Laighean modal Y-DNA haplotype, i.e., R1b-Z255.

The Mac Giolla Phádraig of Fear Cualann

A patent of James I refers to an inquisition of 16 March 1610 concerning what lands constituted the Manor of Powerscourt and, notably, “the exceptions taken thereto by Tirlagh McGilpatrick and other inhabitants of the Manister, returned to be parcel of the said manor”⁶. The inquisition finds more detailed coverage among the rolls of the Court of Chancery of Ireland, albeit in heavily abbreviated Latin⁷ – however, Patrick O’Toole provided a ‘literal translation’⁸, the relevant portions of which are reproduced here:

“All those, the messuages, and lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Templebegan, and le Manister⁹, aforesaid, are in the possession of Donald Ballagh¹⁰, Maurice Boye, Edmond McShane, Gerald McShane, Terence McGilpatrick, Catahoir McGerald, Terence Bain, Maurice Duffe, and Donald McGilpatrick, by virtue of agreement made between them and Phelim O’Toole aforesaid, the aforesaid Donald Ballagh, Maurice Boye, etc., held by virtue of agreement aforesaid, and by the accustomed annuity called ‘Phelomey’, of £6 silver currency ... as much of the terms, limits, and boundaries of the territory of Fercullen¹¹”.

⁴ Inbhear Dhaole, Cill Mhantáin (Ennereilly, County Wicklow).

⁵ Griffith, M (1966). Irish Patent Rolls of James I. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 208.

⁷ *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae* (1826). Ireland: Chancery.

⁸ O’Toole, P (1890). History of the Clan O’Toole and other Leinster septs. Dublin: MH Gill & Son, p. 435-437.

⁹ Teampall Bhéacáin (Templebegan, or Churchtown), where once stood the Church of Saint Béacán (Wingfield, M, 1903. A description and history of Powerscourt. London: Mitchell and Aodhes). Manister is the townland of An Mhainistir (Monastery).

¹⁰ The Irish by-names are: Ballagh (freckled or pock-marked), Boye (Buí, yellow), Bain (Bán, white), Duffe (Dubh, black).

¹¹ Fear Cualann (Fercullen). Price, L (1953). Powerscourt and the territory of Fercullen. The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 83, 117-132.

It is considered that the earliest records of the lands that came to be called Fear Cualann were church lands of the Bishop of Glendalough and that the Uí Tuathail¹² were coarbs – clear context is that in his early career Lorcán Ó Tuathail¹³, before he became Archbishop of Dublin, was Abbot of Glendalough. Following the Norman invasion, the lands of Fear Cualann were possessed by the family le Poer, from whom Cúirt an Phaoraigh derived its name; yet, the Uí Tuathail considered Fear Cualann was theirs, of old¹⁴. Hence, when Tirlagh mac Art, chief of the Uí Tuathail, submitted to Henry VIII in 1540, he argued passionately for the return of his Fear Cualann patrimony, from which the Uí Tuathail had not long been expelled by the Earls of Kildare¹⁵, that it “be divided between him and his sequele [i.e., followers] on condition of their obedience to the King’s laws”¹⁶.

At the time of Tirlagh mac Art’s submission, Henry VIII had only recently granted the Powerscourt Estate to Peter Talbot by patent of 30 October 1538, after it was attained from Richard FitzGerald¹⁷, a brother of the ninth Earl of Kildare. Yet, on 22 January 1541, the king made a decree “to grant Tirlagh O’Toole, gent; of the manor and castle of Powerscourt” and other lands in Fear Cualann, including Teampall Bhéacáin and An Mhainistir, to hold for one knight’s fee and a rent of five marks¹⁸.

The king instructed Anthony St Leger, Lord Deputy of Ireland “to call Talbot before him and in ‘gentle sort’ to get from him a surrender of those lands and give them to O’Toole”¹⁹. Yet, a twist came. Talbot indeed made his surrender of Fear Cualann, but Tirlagh mac Art did not take possession because soon after he was killed in a conflict with the Uí Tuathail tanist Tirlagh mac Seán and his Imael²⁰ sept, who had been aggrieved by earlier encroachments by the Fear Cualann branch and then deeply disaffected following the terms of their chief’s surrender, which saw Imael also granted to Tirlagh mac Art and the western kin²¹.

Hence, a decree was made “touching the lands which we gave to Tirlagh O’Toole, albeit he had not his letters patents out of the same, yet we be pleased that his heirs, doing their duties as appertain, and as the conditions where to the said Tirlagh was bound do require, shall have the same lands, in like sort and form as they were granted to him accordingly”²².

¹² The descendants of Tuathal mac Ugaire, King of Leinster (Jaski, B. (1995). The traditional rule of succession in early Ireland, [thesis], Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland). Department of History, 1995, pp. 326, pp. 275.

¹³ Ó Tuathail, Lorcán (O’Toole, Laurence). <https://www.dib.ie/biography/ua-tuathail-lorcan-otoole-laurence-a8757>, accessed 10 February 2025.

¹⁴ Wingfield, M (1903).

¹⁵ Gearalt FitzGerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, suppressed the Uí Tuathail of Fear Cualann and built the Castle of Powerscourt at a cost of ‘four or five thousand marks’ in the late fifteenth century (Price, 1953).

¹⁶ Morrin, J (1861). Calendar of the Parent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland of the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth: Volume I. Dublin: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office. The young Gearalt FitzGerald, son of the ninth Earl of Kildare, is said to have promised the Uí Tuathail, ca. 1538, Powerscourt if he could ‘obtain his purpose’ (State Papers, 1834).

¹⁷ Ireland Public Record Office (1875). The Seventh Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin: Her Majesty’s Printing Office, Faint 97, p.38.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Faint 548, p. 87.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Faint 283, p. 59.

²⁰ This refers to their patrimony of Gleann Uí Mháil (Glen of Imael), Cill Mhantáin.

²¹ O’Byrne, E (2001). War, Politics and the Irish of Leinster, 1156-1606, [thesis], Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland). Department of Medieval History, pp. 434.

²² State Papers (1834).

Tirlagh mac Art's eldest son, Tirlagh Óg, was killed by Tirlagh mac Seán ca. 1543, and the next heir was Bryan mac Tirlagh Uí Tuathail, upon whom all the lands granted to his father were conferred; yet, Bryan, wary of needing wide clann support, was "shrewd enough to accommodate his younger brother", Féilim (Phelim) mac Tirlagh, with whom he shared Cúirt an Phaoraigh (Powerscourt) and various other Fear Cualann lands. Bryan mac Tirlagh died in 1549²³, and Féilim mac Tirlagh Uí Tuathail then appointed himself sole lord of Fear Cualann.

Based on the inquisition of 1610, Mac Giolla Phádraig cannot have held any Fear Cualann lands before 1549 since their agreement to do so was made with Féilim mac Tirlagh. And that agreement came no later than 1567, since Fiant 994 of Elizabeth I, dated 4 February 1567, is a pardon to "Féilim O'Toole of Powerscourt, gent" along with "servants of the said Féilim", including Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phádraig of An Mhainistir, freeholder²⁴. Among the many other 'servants' are those with obvious surnames, such Richard and Nicholas Archbold, gents of Cill Moling (Kilmalin, in the Parish of Powerscourt).

Hence, the association of individuals with names suffixed Mac Giolla Phádraig at An Mhainistir, but none of Fear Cualann recorded with Giollapádraig as a given name across at least forty-three years, indicates surname use. Fiant 1161 of 6 October 1567²⁵ can be understood in the same manner, being a pardon to Diarmuid (Dermot) mac Tirlagh Ó Tuathail and his retinue, which included Archbolds, O'Nolans, and Mórdha Moyll²⁶ Mac Giolla Phádraig, although no place names are provided.

Having identified townlands of Mac Giolla Phádraig kin among the 'sequele' of the Uí Tuathail of Fear Cualann from the mid-sixteenth to the early seventeenth century, it is next desirable to understand why they came to be present there, and there is little need to speculate. Fiant 1818 of Elizabeth I, dated 22 Jun 1571, is a pardon to 'Fearghal (Farrell) Ó Tuathail of Powerscourt, gent' and his followers, who were all kerns²⁷ of the same place – and among them was Tirlagh Mac Giolla Phádraig²⁸. The subject of the 1571 pardon will come later, but first it is necessary to discuss Laighean kern of the sixteenth century, specifically the notorious 'Keating kern'.

Gearalt FitzGerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, and the Keating kern

After the death of Gearalt Mór (Gerald the Great) FitzGerald, the eighth Earl of Kildare, in 1513, the Kildare succession went to his eldest son, also Gearalt FitzGerald. The ninth Earl

²³ Dictionary of Irish Biography: Bryan O'Toole, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/otoole-brian-a7085>, accessed 2 February 2025.

²⁴ Ireland Public Record Office (1880). The Twelfth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office, p. 149-150.

²⁵ Ireland Public Record Office (1880), p. 172.

²⁶ The Irish by-name, Maol (bald).

²⁷ From ca. 1000-1500 AD, "the single most important development in warfare in Ireland was the increasing reliance on mercenaries ... kerns [from the Irish *ceithearnach*, meaning 'fighting man'] were ordinary able-bodied freeman (i.e., free farmers, lesser tenants, or younger sons of noblemen) turned warrior ... usually part-time soldiers, mainly used as light infantry ... within the Irish kern, there were two sub-groups: (1) the peasant clansman, fighting for a single lord, and (2) the wandering mercenary, employed on an as-needed basis" (Blumberg, A, 2013. Medieval Irish Warriors. Medieval Warfare, 3, 51-54).

²⁸ Ireland Public Record Office (1880), p.47-48.

additionally succeeded his father as Lord Deputy of Ireland. These were tumultuous times, and it was not long before Kildare set about in his father's footsteps, quelling the Irish in the Pale and beyond. Soon, he had defeated the Ó Mórdha (O'More) in Laois, slain fourteen Ó Raghallaigh (O'Reilly) chieftains of Bréifne and destroyed the Castle of Cavan, invaded Gleann Uí Mháil (Imael), killing the tanist Seán Ó Tuathail, who head was afterwards spiked on London bridge, taken Leap Castle from the Éile Ó Cearbhaill (Ely-O'Carroll), and, going north into Ulaidh (Ulster), had stormed the Castle of Dundrum taking the wife and son of Féilim Mag Aonghusa (Magennis) hostage, before, in 1517, breaking down the Uí Néill (Ó Neill) Castle of Dungannon. Afterwards, in 1518, "all Ireland was peaceful"⁸.

But not for long; in 1519, Kildare's rivalry with Piers Butler, the eighth Earl of Ormond, spiraled into a bitter feud, with both parties entering into alliances with Gaelic chieftains in order to aid the advancement of their personal political ambitions. Both Kildare and Ormond maintained large private armies of mercenaries, among whom were horsemen, gallowglass²⁹, and kern. Kildare maintained one hundred and sixty kern³⁰, who fell under the command of William Keating and were known as the 'Keating kern'³¹.

William Keating descended from the old baronial Keating family of Loch Garman, who were much more than their 'relationship' with the Kildares. By 1460 they had become "the principal force in the administration of Wexford and Carlow", and they were also "long associated with the Knights Hospitallers ... a military body and, unlike other religious orders, expected to bear arms and lead men into battle ... they maintained significant strongholds and private armies". As well as being Captain of the Keating kern, William was the last Commander of the Preceptory of Kilcloggan (Knights Hospitaller)³².

Well-known for double-dealing, it was not unusual for kern to change their alliances, and such were the Keating kern – masters of survival via their flowing with the political tide³². The Earl of Kildare's feuding with Ormond eventually wore thin the patience of Henry VIII. Kildare's arrest in February 1534 led to the rebellion of his son, Thomas FitzGerald, then Lord Offaly, which failed dismally as his allies yielded before the forces of the Crown, suffering a demoralising blow with the fall of Maynooth Castle in March 1535, after which William Keating, who had supported the rebellion, was captured. Yet, Keating was released on giving hostages and surety that he would drive Thomas FitzGerald out of Cill Dara, having "allured from him most of the Keating kern, which was his [i.e., FitzGerald's] chief strength" because of their numbers and knowledge of the country³³. Once Keating's kern came into the service of the Crown, Thomas FitzGerald was "forced to retire into Offaly"³⁴, where he surrendered soon afterward – he and five of his uncles were executed in London in February

²⁹ Gallowglass (Irish, gallóglach, meaning 'foreign warriors') who were "selected for their size, strength, and courage ... acting as heavy infantry-men recruited in the middle of thirteenth century from the West Highlands and islands of Scotland. Gallowglass were nearly always portrayed as Scotsmen by the Irish and English. In reality, they were, by the late medieval period, Irishmen, in it for money and the thrill" (Blumberg, A, 2013).

³⁰ FitzGerald, C (1858). The Earls of Kildare and their ancestors. Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Co.

³¹ Cannan, F (2011). Hags of Hell: Late Medieval Irish Kern. History Ireland, 19, 14-17.

³² Donovan, B (2024). Old English Alienation from the Tudor State: a Case Study on the Royal Liberty of Wexford, [thesis], Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland), pp. 312.

³³ Brewer, J and Bullen, W (1867). Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts 1515-1574. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer.

³⁴ FitzGerald, C (1858).

1537 “and all the Geraldines of Leinster were exiled and banished. The Earldom of Kildare was vested in the King; and every one of the family who was apprehended, whether lay or ecclesiastical, was tortured and put to death”³⁵.

The pardon of William Keating, “gent, captain of the kern”, for his involvement in the Kildare rebellion and other transgressions³⁶ are recorded in Fiant 290 of Henry VIII dated 22 April 1542³⁷, and he was also handsomely rewarded. Fiant 364 of Henry VIII, dated 15 June 1543, records a twenty-one-year lease granted to William Keating of Díseart Diarmada (Castledermot), gent or kern, of the site of St John the Baptist of Castledermot, and the lands of Díseart Diarmada, An Ghráinseach Fhuar (Grangeford), Baile Hiú (Hughstown), Baile Choilín (Colin), Cill Chá (Kilkea), and Bré (Bray)³⁸. Those lands had previously been either in the possession of the Earl of Kildare or held by William Eustace, at lease³⁹.

An earlier Mac Giolla Phádraig – Uí Tuathail alliance

Doubtless then, that in 1542 English hopes for peace in Laighean territories would have lifted after several years of bitter conflict, and what better way for that to be realised than via gaining highly experienced local military leadership and the submission of local Irish chieftains, such as Tirlagh mac Art Ó Tuathail. Before that, the Uí Tuathail were constantly taking advantage of the ever-weakening position of the ninth Earl of Kildare, such as by reclaiming their lands in Fear Cualann⁴⁰ or cutting off the flow of the Earl’s income from Imael⁴¹.

But the Uí Tuathail campaigns also reached deep into the Earl’s own territory where, in 1535, it was recorded that out of the eight baronies of Kildare, “six of them were, in effect, all burnt [with] few or no people inhabiting there”⁴². While the destructions of Cill Dara were not, by far, the sole work of the Uí Tuathail, those uninhabited lands bordering Uí Tuathail territory surely were. Among the forfeited lands of the ninth Earl of Kildare, was Rathtorcaill⁴³, now known as Deerpark in the Parish of Blessington, Cill Mhantáin, which was once counted as part of Cill Dara.

³⁵ O’Donovan J, (1856). The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, Volume V. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, & Co.

³⁶ He is named among several accused of “a long list of robberies and assaults” (Gairdner, J, 1891. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 12, Part 2, June-December 1537. London: HMSO).

³⁷ Ireland Public Record Office (1875), p. 60.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.67.

³⁹ White, N (1943). Extent of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540-1541. Dublin: The Stationery Office; Mac Niocaill, G (1992). Crown Surveys of Lands 1540-1541, with the Kildare Rental begun in 1518. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission. The Eustaces of Cill Dara were often deeply divided over political and religious differences. Many of the family took the side of the FitzGeralds in the 1534 rebellion, notably Dame Janet Eustace, who was the foster mother and an aunt of ‘Silken’ Thomas FitzGerald. Murphy, D (1892). The Eustaces of County Kildare. Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society, 1, 115-130.

⁴⁰ In 1535, the Uí Tuathail took Powerscourt Castle from Kildare. State Papers (1834).

⁴¹ Gearalt FitzGerald (ninth Earl of Kildare) levied fees of ‘O’Toole, his country’ called Imael and Glean Cap (Glencap). Mac Niocaill, G (1992).

⁴² State Papers (1834), p.263.

⁴³ Mac Niocaill, G, (1992), p. 145. The family of Meic Torcaill was once associated with the ráth (fort). Stout, G (1989). The Archaeology of County Wicklow. Archaeology Ireland, 3, 126-131.

At the time of its survey by the Crown in November 1541, the prior tenancy of Rathtorcaill stands out. The towns and lands nearby, being around Baile Coimín (Blessington)⁴⁴, that were surveyed at the same time by local ‘honest and lawful men’, were ‘Mounfeyne, Boyston, Knockamyn, and Butlers Court’⁴⁵, and they were described as ‘empty and unoccupied because no one wanted to hire the said lands for the fact that they are adjacent to the borders of the land of the Irish called O’Tooles’⁴⁶. Yet, Rathtorcaill, ‘two messuages and fifty-eight acres arable land and twelve acres pasture that Patrick O’H[a]y and O[we]n McKylpartryck” were leased and returned 58s per year’⁴⁷.

It is significant that Eoghan (Owen) Mac Giolla Phádraig obviously had few concerns about living on the Imael doorstep of the Uí Tuathail, even though he may have been a lessee of the Kildares. Although Eoghan had been ejected from Rathtorcaill by May 1541, when it was recorded as leased to Walter Trott, Vicar of Rathmore⁴⁸, but it is likely he found a new home among the Uí Tuathail. A Patent of Edward VI dated 12 February 1548 records the pardon of Feagh mac Seán of the Imael Uí Tuathail and several of his kin, along with one named Eoghan Mac Giolla Phádraig and those of other surnames⁴⁹. Other Mac Giolla Phádraig were domiciled near the border with Uí Tuathail country in the 1540s and earlier; hence, their presence, to which there was a militia flavour, was not a one-off. The March 1548 pardons of John Barre⁵⁰ and his kin of Cill Dara, include Fearganainm (exotically transcribed Ferdinand) Mac Giolla Phádraig, a horseman of Ballymore⁵¹, which lies less than three miles southwest of Rathtorcaill.

Fearganainm’s pardon came among a swathe of similar relating to the Midlands Rebellion of 1547-1548, which originated in south Leinster, having deeper roots in contentions between Lord Deputy Anthony St Leger and James Butler, the Ninth Earl of Ormond. St Leger feared Ormond’s power would lead to another Kildare-like ascendancy and he also recognised the growing tension within powerful septs of the Uí Tuathail and Uí Broinn. As discussed, the surrender and regrant that favoured clann chieftain Tirlagh mac Art Uí Tuathail, excluded the Uí Tuathail of Imael. In similar fashion, while the Gabhal Raghnaill⁵² sept of the Uí Broinn was joined with the broad 1542 agreements made with their clann in 1542, “much of their territory was not, and was prey to encroachment”⁵³.

⁴⁴ Once known as Comenston.

⁴⁵ Now known as Blessington Demesne (Dímeán Bhalie Coimín), Baltyboys (Bailte Bhúi), Butterhill (Cnoc an Ime), and Oldcourt (An tSeanchúirt).

⁴⁶ “... vacue et inoccupate quia nemo dictas terras conducere voluit pro eo quod adiacent confinibus terre Hibernicorum vocatorum O Thoyles.” Mac Niocaill, G, (1992), p.146.

⁴⁷ Mac Niocaill, G, (1992), p.146.

⁴⁸ Ireland Public Record Office (1875). Fiant 184, p.50.

⁴⁹ Morrin, J (1861), p.173. Diarmuid McDonnell is also recorded, and many Laighean McDonnel kern are recorded in the same era. The McDonnell find frequent reference in the Fiants and Patents as militia, some being among the Keating kern. They are found in Leinster in the fifteenth century in the service of the Earls of Kildare, having arrived after the break-up of the McDonnell lordship in Scotland (O’Byrne, E, 2001).

⁵⁰ Ireland Public Record Office (1876). The Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin: Her Majesty’s Printing Office, Fiant 243, p.51.

⁵¹ Baile Mór, now distinguished in English, being called Ballymore Eustace.

⁵² The descendants of Raghnaill mac Donnchadh Ó Broinn. O’Byrne, E (2001).

⁵³ Bryson, A (2013). Sir Anthony St Leger and the outbreak of the Midland Rebellion, 1547-8. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature, 13C, 251-277.

Consequently, “the Gabhal Raghnaill and O'Tooles of Imael became alienated as a result of their exclusion[s] ... and their relations with their kin groups and the Crown deteriorated sharply in 1546” when Sir William Brabazon, acting while St Leger was in London, organised a hosting in south Leinster and fortified Leighlinbridge Priory. Further, Ormond’s death by poisoning in 1546 led to a power vacuum in Cill Chainnigh (County Kilkenny) and Tiobraid Aránn (County Tipperary) – and striking at the leaderless Butlers, when the time was right, was too hard for the Gabhal Raghnaill Uí Broinn and Imael Uí Tuathail to resist. When Henry VIII died in January 1547 advantage was taken of “the change in government and infancy of Edward VI”, and in April that year the Uí Broinn and Imael Uí Tuathail rebelled, joining with William, Maurice, and Henry FitzGerald, disaffected grandsons of Gearalt, the eighth Earl of Kildare⁵⁴.

The Midlands Rebellion spread to Uíbh Fháilí (County Offaly) and grew legs there, but it was quickly quelled in the south of Leinster, whence came the pardons typical of the day.

Perhaps it should not surprise that among those pardoned were various Keating horsemen – they were Bhuaile Bheag (Boley Little)⁵⁵, a townland that finds mention among William Keating’s possessions. Fiant 24 of Edward VI, dated 7 April 1547, records Keating was granted, while “Captain of the kern ... the manor of Three Castles alias Fontsland, County Kildare, [and] lands in Three Castles, Boley Little, Fontsland, and Rathsillagh in County Kildare, to hold for life at a rent of £4”⁵⁶ – whence comes a Mac Giolla Phádraig connection.

The aforementioned lands were among the great extent of possessions of the ninth Earl of Kildare, and his kin and before their forfeiture, Baile an Fhónaigh (Fontstown), Ráth Saileach (Rathsillagh), and Bhuaile Bheag (Boley Little) were possessed by Sir James FitzGerald, Kildare’s uncle⁵⁷. When Three Castles (i.e., Baile an Fhónaigh), Ráth Saileach, and Bhuaile Bheag were surveyed in 1541, after Sir James’ forfeiture, the latter, which lies approximately ten miles southwest of Baile Mór (Ballymore), was found previously occupied by Muiris (Maurice) Mac Giolla Phádraig and others of his family⁵⁸. Hence, there comes an intriguing locational connection between William Keating and his kin and Mac Giolla Phádraig, as well as there being possible common associates⁵⁹. Therefore, it is apparent there were probably Mac Giolla Phádraig among the Keating kern, or at least active on the same campaigns.

Mac Giolla Phádraig and the Keating kern

There were other pardons granted to several named Mac Giolla Phádraig of south Leinster who participated in the Midlands Rebellion, which add to the understanding of where the wider kin lived and who they were associated with. Again, caution is required while wading through Fiants and Patents of this era since it is not always clear whether a surname or a

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Ireland Public Record Office (1876). Fiant 308, p.59.

⁵⁶ Ireland Public Record Office (1876). Fiant 24, p.29.

⁵⁷ Gairdner, J, and Brodie, R (1898). Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 16, 1540-1541. London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office.

⁵⁸ Mac Niocail, G (1992), p. 206-207.

⁵⁹ As well as the Patrick O’Hay who shared the lease of Rathorcaill with Owen Mac Giolla Phádraig, a person of the same name is recorded in 1537 in the company of William Keating and accused of numerous outrages in Loch Garman; see footnote ³⁶.

patronymic was recorded. Yet, several connections between Keatings and Mac Giolla Phádraig kern are evidenced.

On 6 April 1548 came pardons to Melaghlin Ó Tuathail of Dún Ing (Downings), horseman, Cathaoir O’Hay of Domhnach Mór (Donaghmore), and Diarmuid Boye Mac Giolla Phádraig of Briotás (Brittas), kerns, Donell Ó Cuileáin (O’Cullen) and Diarmuid Mac Giolla Phádraig of Dún Ing, and Andrew Keating of Baile an Talbóidigh (Talbotstown)⁶⁰. And on 16 April 1548, were pardons to “Donald McGilpatricke, Arthur McGilpatricke, and William McGilpatricke, kerns” of no stated location, as well as Patrick Keating, a horseman of Dublin⁶¹.

While there had been clear intent to further reward William Keating and his sons with land grants, and to see a continuation of the Keating kern⁶², understandably, there also came reservations in some quarters regarding their variable loyalties, which are no better exemplified than through William’s heir, Richard Keating, the next captain of the Keating kern³². William Keating had long enjoyed the support from Anthony St Leger, but he was recalled from the office of Lord Deputy in 1548, his successor being Sir Edward Bellingham, who was less willing to trust the Keatings, as was the Bellingham’s appointee to the influential position of Surveyor General of Ireland, Sir Walter Cowley. Bellingham and Cowley advocated a large-scale extension of the garrison system across Laighean territories, with the appointment of [English] captains to govern, and less reliance on local chiefs and Irish kern³².

Cowley surely rattled Richard Keating’s cage soon after his appointment by his resistance to the former’s request to be granted Ferns and Enniscorthy Castles, as well as Paróiste Eoin (St John’s), Baile Hac (Ballyhack) and Cill Chlogáin (Kilcloggan), all in Cill Mhantáin, the latter being referred to by Dr Brian Donovan as “an almost hereditary Keating possession”³². But when Bellingham fell ill in 1549, St Leger was reappointed Lord Deputy, and Cowley soon gave up Cill Chlogáin “to prevent Keating’s importance and constant clamour at the Council Board”, and Baile Hac followed suit⁶³.

By October 1551, St Leger’s efforts on behalf of Keating appeared to have borne fruit when the Privy Council of Ireland recommended he be granted his requests in full⁶⁴, but by then, in May 1551, St Leger had again been recalled, succeeded by Sir James Croft³², and the Council of Ireland’s response came back loud and clear on 6 November 1551. They would not “grant him a lease of the Castle of Ferns and Enniscorthy”, and his lands of Baile Hac and Cill Chlogáin were to be “granted in reversion to Walter Cowley”. By further explanation, the Council stated that the Castles of Ferns and Enniscorthy were not granted since Keating was

⁶⁰ All in the Barony of Upper Talbotstown, Baile an Talbóidigh, lying in or near Gleann Uí Mháil (Glen of Imael).

⁶¹ Ireland Public Record Office (1876), Fiant 72, p.55.

⁶² The Patent of Henry VIII of November 1546 records a letter from the King to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and their Council “enquiring what lands to the value of £10 a-year, can be given to William Keating, Captain of the King’s kern, and after his decease to such one of his sons as shall be found fit to fill the same office”. Confirmation of the Patent came in April 1547. Morrin, J (1861), p.126, 149.

⁶³ Hamilton, H (1860). Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth; 1509-1573. London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, p.18; Hore, P (1911). History of the Town and County of Wexford. London: Elliot Stock.

⁶⁴ Dasent, J (1890). Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume II, 1542-1547. London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office.

not fit to bring those “most ancient strongholds” to the “civility and obedience that is required”⁶⁵.

The Council’s decision drew a frustrated response from Richard Keating. Just a few days earlier, he had received the pardon of Edward VI, along with three of his Keating kin and his retinue of thirty kern of Ceatharlach (County Carlow), among whom were Eamon (Edmund) Mac Giolla Phádraig and Conchobhar (Connor) Mac Giolla Phádraig⁶⁶ – unequivocal evidence, then, that Mac Giolla Phádraig kern served with the Keating kern. Shortly after, Keating renewed his plea asking for a consideration of his “long and faithful services in sundry places”, rejecting the allegation of unfitness since he was “content to serve the king daily with twelve horsemen” – but he was denied again⁶⁷.

Yet, Keating continued in the King’s service. His allowance of thirty kern and their formal commission to Ceatharlach is recorded in State Papers of April 1552: “That William Keating and his sons shall appoint themselves to the number of thirty good and able kern furnished to attend the service of the King’s Majesty continually, especially in the territory appointed to Ceatharlach and Leighlin, and be at the commandment of the Constable or Captain”. Yet, the intent to control the activity of the kern was also served: “nor the said Constable nor Captain shall burden any part of the said territories with any other kern but only those”⁶⁸.

There are other pardons of 1550-1552 to those named Mac Giolla Phádraig in Laighean, some of whom are kern – although none mention Keatings, their associates and locations are important. One example is from 19 August 1550 to Seán mac Réamoinn (Redmund) O’Broinn of Colraneth and several of his kin, including his son Aodh (Hugh), Aodh’s wife, Sabina, a daughter of Art mac Art Ó Tuathail, as well as Tirlagh Mac Giolla Phádraig, Seán Owra⁶⁹ Mac Giolla Phádraig, and Dermot Boye Mac Giolla Phádraig, all gents, and several McDonnell⁷⁰. Tirlagh Mac Giolla Phádraig is likely the same person who was later associated with Félim mac Tirlagh Ó Tuathail, a nephew of the aforementioned Art mac Art. But what the records surely demonstrate is that by the mid-sixteenth century, Mac Giolla Phádraig were in the orbit of members of Clann Uí Broinn.

Richard Keating, doubtless furious at the denial of his land requests, slid into a deeper cycle of acts against the Crown followed by more pardons. In May 1562 State Papers record, “burning committed on Thomas Court, the lands of Anthony Colclough in Wexford. Some malefactors were executed. Richard Keating, the chief doer in this mischief, has departed to his master, the Earl of Kildare, hoping by his means to obtain a pardon. No pardon to be granted him”, and in the following June, “Richard Keating and the rebels of Wexford dispersed”. Yet, still, the Crown could not do with him and his kern, since in August 1564 there came an “appointment of all the kern of the Queen’s retinue, viz., Sir Henry Radcliffe’s

⁶⁵ Hamilton (1860), p.118.

⁶⁶ Ireland Public Record Office (1876), Fiant 894, p.120, dated 2 November 1551.

⁶⁷ Hore P (1911), p.35.

⁶⁸ Brewer, J and Bullen, W (1867), p.233.

⁶⁹ There is no letter w in Irish and it usually replaces bh, mh, or dh. Hence, ‘Owra’ is perhaps a transliteration of Ómra, meaning ‘amber-coloured’ or Odharach, meaning ‘dun coloured’.

⁷⁰ Ireland Public Record Office (1876), Fiants 537-538, p.83.

forty, Jacques Wingfield's forty, Francis Cosbie's one hundred, Owen McHugh's forty, and Richard Keating's forty, to pursue the rebels of the Connors and Mores" ⁷¹.

For his service in the Midlands Richard Keating was granted lands in Laois, "by the service of the twentieth part of a Knight's fee ... [and] ... maintaining three English horsemen" ⁷². His long-sought-after reward of lands in Cill Dara came in 1566 with a "lease, under commission ... to Richard Keating, gent, of the site of the hospital of St John by Tristeldermot, County Kildare, the demesne lands, the lands of Grangeford, Collenston, Tomenston, Culrake, Hueston, and in Kylka, County Kildare, and in Braye, County Dublin. To hold for twenty-one years, at a rent of £7 6s. To maintain one English horseman; not to alien without license, and not to levy coyn" ⁷³. Yet, there came an unhappy ending with the forfeiture of the Patent by Richard Keating on 18 November 1576 "at Dublin Castle before the Barons of the Exchequer ... the rent has not been paid for ten years and the patent is therefore void" ⁷⁴.

The number of Fiant and Patent Roll records of Mac Giolla Phádraig of southern Cill Dara decrease sharply after 1560 while, in contrast, they become numerous in Ceatharlach, Cill Mhantáin, and Loch Garman, where they were very few beforehand. Mac Giolla Phádraig ties with the Keating kern probably marked a diminishing will to be in the pay of the Crown and, perhaps, a great desire to associate with Irish clanns. After the mid-sixteenth century, there are no records of Mac Giolla Phádraig with Keating kern. In contrast, Fiants and Patents evidence a marked increase in associations with the Uí Tuathail and other Laighean clanns. Hence, there were Mac Giolla Phádraig who, after being displaced from their lands in Cill Dara, found welcome among the Uí Tuathail, Uí Broinn, Caomhánach, and others.

Further relations between Mac Giolla Phádraig and Laighean clanns

There are scores of records in Patents and Fiants of those named Mac Giolla Phádraig in Counties Carlow, Wexford, and Wicklow between the middle of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century and mostly relate to events of the 1570s and 1580s. It is certain that there are occurrences of the name as patronymics, but it is also possible to identify many examples of Mac Giolla Phádraig as a surname, which was unrecorded in the said counties before the sixteenth century.

The pardons granted in the 1570s and 1580s to the now Laighean-domiciled Mac Giolla Phádraig are but a drop in the bucket compared with those granted to members of the leading Laighean clanns – for good reasons. A detailed analysis of the conflict and political complexities in Leinster in this era is found in *War, Politics and the Irish of Leinster, 1156-1606* by Dr Emmett O'Byrne ²¹, while a more concise account is found in Patrick O'Toole's

⁷¹ Hamilton (1860), pp.194, 196, 242.

⁷² Ireland Public Records Office (1879). The Eleventh Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office. Fiant 534 of 30 March 1563, p.92.

⁷³ Ireland Public Records Office (1879), Fiant 879 of 8 January 1566, p.128. Most of these lands had previously been held by Richard's father, William Keating, who was probably then deceased, with the addition of Cúil Ráca (Coolrake); refer Footnote 38. Note Bré (Bray) is recorded as in 'County Dublin', which raises the possibility it could refer to a place of the same name on the border of modern day Baile Átha Cliath (County Dublin) and Cill Mhantáin (County Wicklow).

⁷⁴ Griffin, M (1991). Calendar of Inquisitions Formerly in the Office of the Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer. Dublin: The Irish Manuscripts Commission.

*History of the Clan O'Toole and other Leinster septs*⁸. Both works greatly aid the understanding of the lives and times of Laighean Mac Giolla Phádraig, who are recorded in the Fiants and Patents. The key events of the 1570s and 1580s were the renewed efforts to bring Laighean clanns under firm Crown rule, such as evidenced in 1573 by a recommendation of Lord Deputy John Perot to Elizabeth I, to induce a general reformation among the Uí Tuathail and Uí Broinn, and, in 1576, the surveying of their territories ahead their shiring to form Cill Mhantáin (County Wicklow) – the intent being an ‘Anglicisation of the septs’. Also, by 1573, the Uí Broinn of Glean Molúra (Glenmalure) had allied with Ruairí Ó Mórdha in his struggle against the plantation of his lands in Uíbh Fháilí (County Offaly).

The following year, the Uí Broinn revolted under Fiach mac Aodh, the leader of the Laighean, and the subsequent struggle, much related to the bitter animosity between Thomas Masterson, Seneschal of Wexford, and he, left much of Loch Garman in ruins⁷⁵. But by 1578, Fiach mac Aodh Ó Broinn and the Uí Tuathail of Fear Cualann were ‘conforming’. Indeed, Félim Ó Tuathail, their chief, had even taken on an official position with the Crown. An undated Fiant of approximately the same year records a pardon to “Félim O'Toole, of Powerscourt, gent, Sheriff of the County Dublin”, along with Tirlagh Mac Giolla Phádraig and Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phádraig, and others, gallowglass⁷⁶; clearly, Mac Giolla Phádraig were now among Félim’s most experienced and trusted militia.

Yet, Fiach mac Aodh’s conflict erupted again in 1580, in support of the second Desmond rebellion and in response to Masterson slaying “fifty captured Art Boye Caomhánachs” who were Fiach’s kin by marriage⁷⁷. The retaliation of Fiach mac Aodh Ó Broinn, along with James Eustace, the third Viscount Baltinglass⁷⁸, and others such as the Art boye Caomhánachs, is most famously remembered for the heavy defeat of Crown forces under Lord Deputy Arthur Grey at Glean Molúra in 1580. Although, after the surrender of Tirlagh mac Art Ó Tuathail in 1542, the Uí Tuathail were never again the leading force in Laighean campaigns, they were “allies and confederates” of the Uí Broinn and Caomhánach. There were also intermarriages, notably Félim mac Tirlagh married the sister of Fiach mac Aodh Ó Broinn, while Fiach mac Aodh married Róise Ó Tuathail of Cúirt an Phaoraigh – therefore, unsurprisingly, Uí Tuathail supported the Uí Broinn-Baltinglass campaign⁷⁹.

After the surrenders of the Laighean clanns throughout 1581 and 1582, there came numerous pardons, and there are many Mac Giolla Phádraig who received such among the Uí Tuathail, Uí Broinn, Caomhánach, and even English, such as Thomas Masterson. The conflict had bitter internecine components. Hence, Mac Giolla Phádraig, among them kern, gunners, and horsemen, are found recorded among opposing factions⁸⁰. Among the numerous and oft difficult to assign records of Mac Giolla Phádraig, it is productive to follow

⁷⁵ <https://www.dib.ie/biography/obyrne-fiach-macAodh-a6530>, accessed 10 February 2025.

⁷⁶ Ireland Public Record Office (1881). The Thirteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin: Her Majesty’s Printing Office, Fiant 3498, p.107.

⁷⁷ Descendants of Art Buidhe Caomhánach, King of Leinster 1511-1517. Domhall Spainneach Caomhánach, later the last King of Leinster (1590-1632), was leader of the sept at the time of the massacre.

<https://www.dib.ie/biography/macmurrough-Caomhánach-domhnall-a5067>, accessed 16 February 2025.

⁷⁸ <https://www.dib.ie/biography/eustace-james-a2956>, accessed 14 February 2025.

⁷⁹ <https://www.dib.ie/biography/otoole-feilim-a7087>, accessed 14 February 2025.

⁸⁰ Ireland Public Record Office (1881), Fiants 3734, 3904, 3995, 3998, 4015, 4036, (pp.141, 164, 178, 179, 181, 187).

Fiants and Patents that record individuals with distinct names or in the same location because this provides confidence the records are probably for the same person.

For example, a Fearganainm Ruadh ('the red') Mac Giolla Phádraig is found pardoned in 1570, when he is recorded as a horseman of Cnoc Scoir (Knocksquire), being among those militia followers of Cathaoir Ruadh McDonnell of Ráithín Liath (Raheenliegh), in Miséal (Myshall) parish, in the surrounds of the Blackstairs Mountains⁸¹. Fearganainm was, perhaps, the same as the previously mentioned person recorded as a horseman of Ballymore Eustace⁵⁰. The more precisely named Fearganainm Ruadh Mac Giolla Phádraig was also pardoned in 1566, along with Tadhg Ruadh Mac Giolla Phádraig, Síomón Ruadh Mac Giolla Phádraig, and Gearalt Mac Giolla Phádraig – they were among the followers of Gearalt mac Cathaoir Caomhánach of Gharbhchoill (Garryhill) in the Barony of Idrone⁸² – and a 1576 Fiant names Fearganainm Ruadh Mac Giolla Phádraig and Eamon Dubh Mac Giolla Phádraig among seventy-four Kavanaghs " associates⁸³.

A 1582 Fiant records Fearganainm Ruadh Mac Giolla Phádraig, a farmer, along with Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phádraig, Tadhg Mac Giolla Phádraig and Seán Mac Giolla Phádraig, yeomen, all of Ráithín Darach (Raheendarragh), which borders Ráithín Liath, along with 'Katherine ny Gillapatrick', a gentlewoman of Tigh Moling (Saint Mullin's), who were pardoned among a lost list headed by Mórdha mac Brian Caomhánach of Cnoicín (Knockeen)⁸⁴. Finally, a further pardon of Fearganainm Ruadh Mac Giolla Phádraig, gent of Cheapach (Cappagh), is recorded in a 1584 fiant of Elizabeth I, along with Conlaodh Mac Giolla Phádraig of Garretart; the pardons are headed by Cathaoir mac Dallogh Ó Broinn, gent, of Gráig na Spideog (Graiguenaspiddoge)⁸⁵.

Fearganainm Ruadh's records lead to others in and around the Blackstairs Mountains, such as Tadgh Mac Giolla Phádraig, a husbandman of Miséal⁸⁶ who was pardoned in 1586, and there are several other similar records of Mac Giolla Phádraig that tumble out of the Fiants and Patents, most often along with leading members of Clann Caomhánach. These records demonstrate that by the late sixteenth century, Mac Giolla Phádraig had come not only to forge bonds and occupy lands among the Uí Tuathail in Imael and Fear Cualann, they had done similarly in Ceatharlach and Loch Garman among the Caomhánach. In Fiants and Patents, those associated with the Caomhánach are occasionally suffixed with 'Omorry', or

⁸¹ Ireland Public Record Office (1880), Fiant 1746, p.38.

⁸² Ireland Public Record Office (1879), Fiant 857, p.124; Hore, H (1858). The Clan Kavanagh, Temp. Henry VIII. The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, New Series, 2, 73-92.

⁸³ Ireland Public Record Office (1880), Fiant 2858, p.183.

⁸⁴ Ireland Public Record Office (1881), Fiant 4036, p.187. All places are in Ceatharlach.

⁸⁵ Ireland Public Record Office (1883). The Fifteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office, Fiant 4558, p. 67, of 20 December 1584. All places are in Ceatharlach. It is notable that the following Fiant (4558), of the same data, is a record of pardons to the Ó Mórdha of Uíbh Fháilí and their followers, which evidences that assistance was provided by Ó Broinn and his Mac Giolla Phádraig followers, who were probably kern.

⁸⁶ Ireland Public Record Office (1884). The Sixteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office, Fiant 4938, p.17.

similar, and this is a locational reference to ‘the Moroes’ (i.e., Murrough’s) Country⁸⁷, which encompassed swathes of modern-day Ceatharlach and Loch Garman.

For example, in a 1576 case brought before the Pleas Court of Loch Garman, the jury heard that Arthur mac Donnchadh, alias Arthur of the Moroes, a horseman, and several kerns, including Donnchadh Ruadh Mac Giolla Phádraig of the Moroes, went “with force and arms to ‘Orowoke’ in the Moroes, to the house of Esse ballagh Tirlaghe, kern, and assaulted him with their knives and clubs, giving him a mortal wound on the head , killing him instantly”⁸⁸. On one occasion, the published Fiants, which are copies of the now destroyed originals, make reference to the same Donnchadh Ruadh Mac Giolla Phádraig with the surname suffix Omorry, and his kin are named the same way⁸⁹.

It can be readily demonstrated via records of more recent times, such as the Griffith’s Valuation and the Ireland Censuses of 1901 and 1911, that many Fitzpatricks still lived near the aforementioned locations. Hence, many of those Laighean Mac Giolla Phádraig of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Fiants and Patents were almost certainly using a surname, and this provides opportunities to explore later Fitzpatrick occurrences in the same locations throughout Ceatharlach, Cill Mhantáin, and Loch Garman. An example is provided in Figure 1, which shows Fitzpatricks with leases of Baile Réisc (Ballyreask) in the Barony of Talbotstown, Cill Mhantáin, ca. 1810. And Appendix II provides the tragic tale of a Fitzpatrick of Loch Garman, who, perhaps, was following in the footsteps of his Mac Giolla Phádraig kern ancestors. But while many Mac Giolla Phádraig appear to have been able to retain their relationship with the same lands where their ancestors were domiciled from the sixteenth century, those of An Mhainistir in Fear Cualann were not.

The ejection of Mac Giolla Phádraig from An Mhainistir

Returning to the 1610 inquisition concerning the lands of Powerscourt, there is a detailed account in Patrick O’Toole’s *History of the Clan O’Toole and other Leinster septs*⁸. Félim Ó Tuathail’s involvement with the Ó Broinn-Baltinglass rebellion was to have terrible consequences for the Fear Cualann sept. Although the Crown did not consider Félim a leading figure in the hostilities, he and eighty followers were arrested in 1581 – Félim’s chief crimes stated were being ‘married to the sister of Fiach mac Aodh O’Byrne’ and ‘victualling the rebels’⁸. The arrests infuriated Félim’s brother, Bryan, who threatened to ‘spoil the country, even to Dublin’s gates’⁹⁰. Félim and his followers were released with Bryan exchanging places with them in Dublin Castle in pledge for Félim’s future good behaviour. Yet, Félim refused to back down, and Brian was duly hanged⁹¹. Still, Félim would not submit but following the killing of his son, Gearalt, and ten followers, he sought peace – a fiant of March 1582 records his pardon along with almost one hundred followers, among them Margaret, daughter of Tirlagh Mac Giolla Phádraig⁸⁹.

⁸⁷ The territory of the Mac Murchadha Caomhánach, see: Heffernan, D (2017). Robert Cowley’s ‘A Discourse of the Cause of the Evil State of Ireland and of the Remedies Thereof’, ca. 1526. *Analecta Hibernica*, 48, 3-30

⁸⁸ Hore, P (1911), p.388.

⁸⁹ Ireland Public Record Office (1881), Fiant 3844, p.155.

⁹⁰ O’Toole, P (1890), p. 311.

⁹¹ Hamilton, H (1867). *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth, 1574-85*. London: Longman, Green, Reader, & Dyer, p. lxxixii.

Figure 1: A map of the lands of Baile Réisc, let to Bryan Fitzpatrick by Reverend Samuel Synge Hutchison, ca. 1810 – adjacent is the holding of Michael Fitzpatrick.

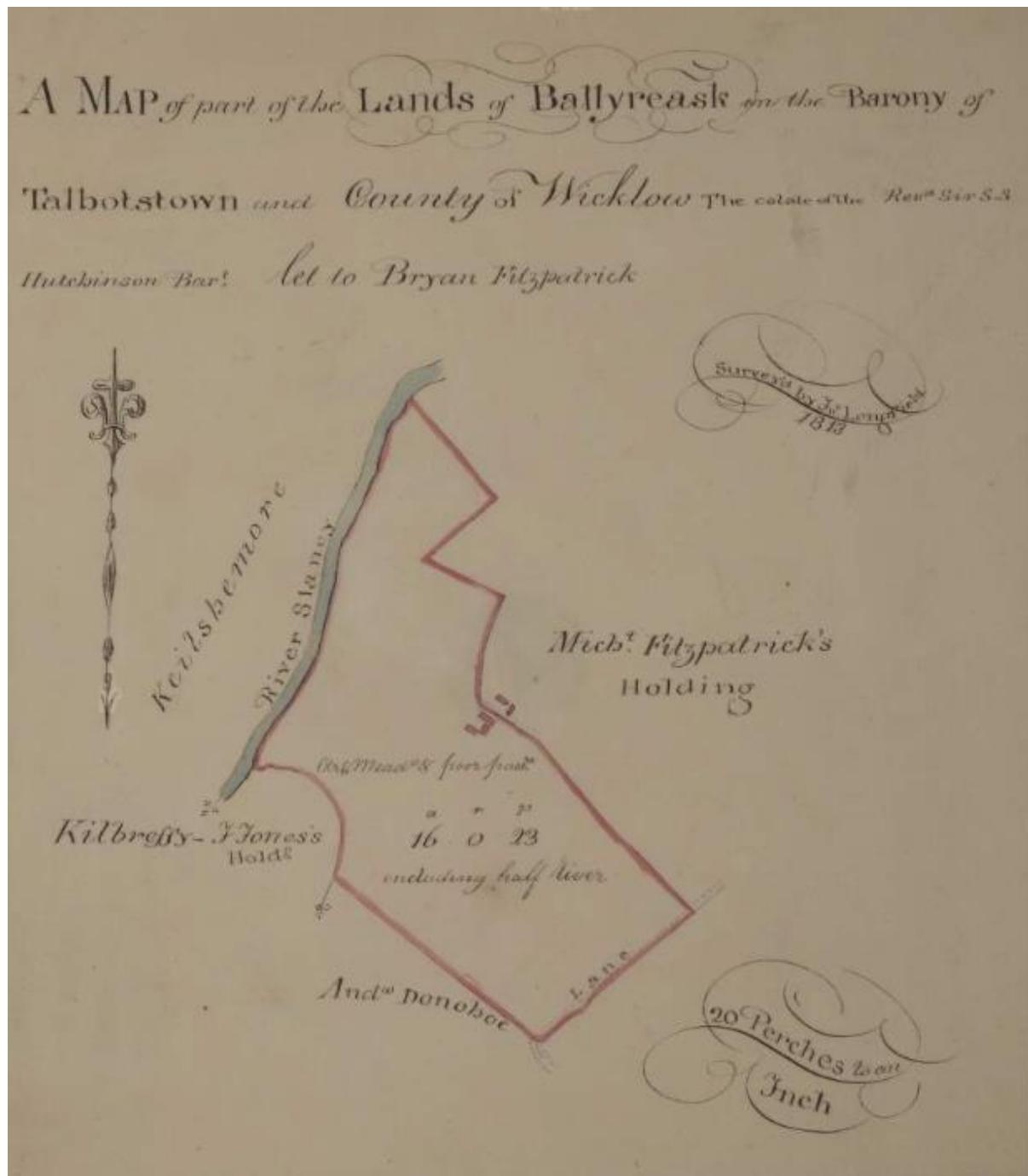


Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland:

<https://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000301056>, accessed 17 January 2025.

A record of 1803 shows the lands were previously leased by John Fitzpatrick from Sir Francis Hutchison, Samuel's uncle.

Despite the pardon of 1582 and another in 1599⁹², Félim Ó Tuathail's activities during the Uí Broinn-Baltinglass rebellion were not forgotten by the Crown. Although Ó Tuathail was not implicated in the Nine Years' War, he was long despised by Sir Richard Wingfield, who, in 1600, was made Marshall of the Crown's army in Ireland. A chance encounter in May 1603 led to Wingfield killing the agéd Ó Tuathail⁹³. Less than six months later, "the late estate of Brian and Félim O'Toole of Powerscourt, deceased" was granted to Wingfield having "devolved to the Crown, as well by escheat as by forfeiture by them"⁹⁴. The lands granted to Wingfield included those held by Mac Giolla Phádraig and the 1610 Inquisition ruled against their appeal – a writ was issued to "secure Sir Richard Wingfield, Knight, in the quiet possession of Manister"⁹⁵.

Perhaps working against the Mac Giolla Phádraig appeal was their participation in the Nine Year's War. A patent of James I dated 30 June 1603 records pardons for Tirlagh Ó Tuathail of Cúirt an Phaoraigh and his followers, who included Tirlagh Mac Giolla Phádraig, farmer, and Eamon Dubh Mac Giolla Phádraig, both of Manister⁹⁶, those being for "like crimes and misdemeanours" part of a general pardon issued first to "Henry O'Neill of the Fews, County Down" – and Dr John Erck, who was a member of the board of the Irish Records Commission, gave the interpretation that the use of Mac Giolla Phádraig was as a surname⁹⁷. It is also noteworthy that, under the same general decree, pardons were granted to Mac Giolla Phádraig of Loch Garman, the name also referred to as a surname "designating the clans that inhabited the respective counties"⁹⁸. Hence, it is likely Mac Giolla Phádraig clansmen of Cill Mhantáin and Loch Garman took part in the Nine Year's War.

Although they were ejected from their lands in Powerscourt parish, it is likely Mac Giolla Phádraig kin remained in the general locale – perhaps, like the Uí Tuathail of Imael and Fear Cualann, they were "reduced to the position of humble farmers" in the land they once owned"⁹⁹. Yet there is the intriguing likelihood some of the clann settled elsewhere.

Mac Giolla Phádraig Laighean Y-DNA

There are many men on the Fitzpatrick Y-DNA project¹⁰⁰ who possess the Single Nucleotide Polymorphism (SNP) R1b-Z255 ... BY2849, the common ancestor of which is estimated to have been born ca. 1150 AD¹⁰¹. R-BY2849 is characterised by high surname specificity (i.e., there are no known examples of intrusion by other surnames, other than a single and

⁹² Ireland Public Record Office (1885). The Seventeenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office, Faint 6338, p.114. Among Félim Ó Tuathail's followers was Eamon Mac Giolla Phádraig.

⁹³ <https://www.dib.ie/biography/wingfield-sir-richard-a9091>, accessed 17 February 2025.

⁹⁴ Griffith, M (1966), p.17.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.208.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.30.

⁹⁷ Erck, J (1846). A Repertory of the Inrolments of the Patent Rolls of Chancery, in Ireland; Commencing with the Reign of James I. Dublin: James McGlashan, pp.31, 73.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.97, 110.

⁹⁹ O'Toole, P (1890), p.550.

¹⁰⁰ <https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/fitzpatrick/about>, accessed 17 February 2025.

¹⁰¹ <https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-BY2849/story>, accessed 17 February 2025.

explicable example of a surname switch or SNS) – and there are no other surname branches immediately prior to R-BY2849 until ca. 350 AD¹⁰².

Those who possess R1b-Z255 ... BY2849, mostly trace their nineteenth-century Irish origins to Dún (County Down), but Ceatharlach, Cill Dara, Cill Mhantáin, and Lú¹⁰³ (County Louth) lineages are also represented. This makes the members the most geographically dispersed Fitzpatrick kin within Éire on the Y-DNA project, and particularly notable is the curious connection between Laighean and Ulaidh (Ulster) Fitzpatricks. R1b-Z255 has long been identified the ‘Leinster’ or ‘Irish Sea’ modal¹⁰⁴ and among men of that haplotype are numerous descendants of the prominent aforementioned Laighean clans, i.e., the Caomhánachs, Uí Broinn, and Uí Tuathail¹⁰⁵. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to posit the numerous Fitzpatricks of Dún¹⁰⁶, all of whom tested to date being R1b-Z255 ... BY2849, had their earlier origins in Laighean territories.

There are no records of Mac Giolla Phádraig of Dún until the 1659 ‘Census’, which records a principal family of that surname in the Barony of Upper Iveagh¹⁰⁷. However, a record among the Patents of James I provides an earlier Ulaidh connection. One of those recorded pardoned in 1607, among the Uí Néill of Éadan Dúcharraige, Aontroim¹⁰⁸, is Naos Owra Mac Giolla Phádraig¹⁰⁹, curiosities being both his uncommon given-name and by-name. Naos (transcribed as Neese or Niece, a pet-name of Aonghus) occurs occasionally in sixteenth and seventeenth Fiants and Patents but almost exclusively in Ulaidh, and especially in Dún. This raises the possibility Naos was either born in Ulaidh or had mother from there. Naos finds later use among Fitzpatricks of Dún, interchangeably with the name Eneas (Figure 2).

The by-name Owra¹¹⁰ also occurs occasionally in sixteenth and seventeenth Fiants and Patents but almost exclusively among Laighean clans. For example, notable are Donnchadh Owra Mac Giolla Phádraig, Tiege Owra Mac Giolla Phadraig, Tiege Ruadh Mac Giolla, Phadraig, gunner, and Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phádraig, a horseboy, who appear among a long list of those pardoned with Thomas Masterson, Seneschal of Wexford in 1582¹¹¹. This raises the possibility Naos descended from, or was kindred of, sixteenth-century Mac Giolla Phádraig Laighean kern who were later associated with clans of Ulaidh. Such a narrative grows since there are two later records of a Naos Mac Giolla Phádraig in Ulaidh: first in the

¹⁰² <https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-BY2851/story>, accessed 17 February 2025.

¹⁰³ The Fitzpatricks with Lú origins, and those who live their today, are not from near the border with Dún, but at the southern border with Baile Átha Cliath (County Dublin), notably in the Barony of Ferrard.

¹⁰⁴ McEvoy, B and Bradley, D (2006). Y-chromosomes and the extent of patrilineal ancestry in Irish surnames. *Journal of Human Genetics* 753, 119: 212–219. This does not preclude that fact there are other Y-DNA haplotypes that are also Laighean. In fact, there are Fitzpatrick kindred lines who also have Laighean ancestry, most notably those of the broad Y-DNA haplotypes J-M172, and R-U106.

¹⁰⁵ Before the arrival of the Normans, the Uí Tuathail and Uí Broinn, who are Uí Dunlainge, also possessed territory in what became known as Cill Dara, but they were driven out. Byrne, F (1973). *Irish Kings and High-Kings*, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

¹⁰⁶ The 1901 Census of Ireland records 743 Fitzpatricks of Dún and a further 285 of Aontroim (mostly Béal Feirste, i.e., Belfast).

¹⁰⁷ Pender, S (1939). *A Census of Ireland circa 1659*. Dublin: The Stationery Office, p.77.

¹⁰⁸ Edenduffcarrick, County Antrim – now called Shane’s Castle.

¹⁰⁹ Griffith, M (1966), p.110.

¹¹⁰ There is no letter w in Irish. Hence, ‘Owra’ is perhaps a transliteration of Ómra, meaning ‘amber-coloured’.

¹¹¹ Ireland Public Record Office (1881) Fiant 4015, p.181.

1663 Hearth Tax Roll for Baile an Ghabhann¹¹², in the Parish of Kilkeel, Dún, and, second, in the 1688 Rent Roll for the Lordship of Mourne (Dún) taken after Naos' death, which states "Ballygowan, formerly let to Naos Mac Giolla Phádraig, the smith, and now let to his son Owen, and the rest"¹¹³. That Naos was a smith is not inconsistent with a background among kern since among the kern were often skilled metalworkers and kern always "equipped themselves with the latest arms and armour"³¹.

Figure 2: An indenture of agreement between Niece (aka Eneas) Fitzpatrick and Robert Barr concerning lands in Ballymoney Parish, dated 9 June 1810

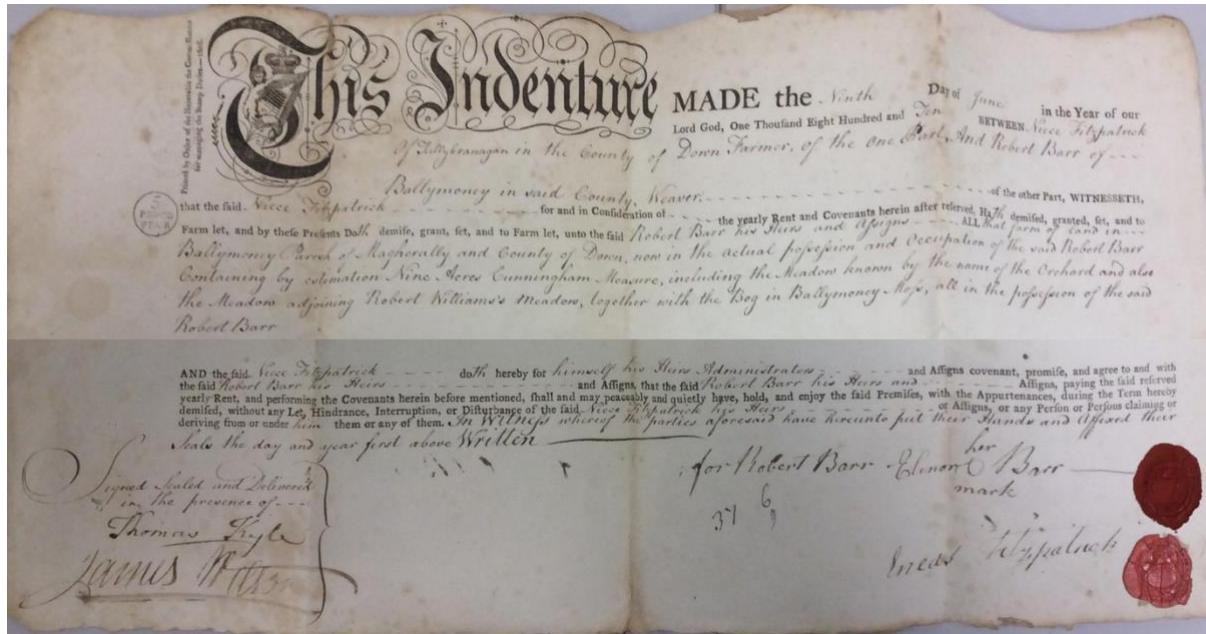


Image courtesy of the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.

The Y-DNA of Dún Fitzpatricks is complex, there being at least four discrete lines under R1b-Z255 ... BY2849 that do not share a common ancestor until before ca. 1400 AD, which means that when several different kin lineages settled in Dún, all probably during the seventeenth century, it was part of a large-scale immigration of a Mac Giolla Phádraig clan. Despite the seemingly convoluted route by which Mac Giolla Phádraig made their way to Dún, there is a genetic clue that points to the earlier origins of the Kilkeel Parish line, who are likely the descendants of Naos Owra Mac Giolla Phádraig, that being their closest kin based on Y-DNA are not other Dún Fitzpatricks, but those who trace their origins to near Mainistir Eimhín (Monasterevin), Cill Dara¹¹⁴.

¹¹² Public Record Office for Northern Ireland. Subsidy Roll, County Down Extracts, 1663, T1046/1. There is also a Hearth Money record for Seán Mac Giolla Phádraig of Carraig Chrúpáin, Ard Mhacha (Carrickcroppan, County Armagh), which is ten miles east of Baile an Ghabhann (County Louth Archaeological Society, 1931. Hearth Money Rolls – Barony of Orior, 1664. Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society, 7, p. 419-431).

¹¹³ Public Record Office for Northern Ireland. Rent Roll of Nicholas Bagenal's Estate, Including the Lordship of Mourne, Co. Down, Newry Town and the Lordship of Newry, Co. Armagh and the Lands of Cooly, Omeath, and Carlingford, Co. Louth, 1688, D619/7/1/1.

¹¹⁴ In analogous fashion, there is also a Dún line of An Pointe (Warrenpoint) that is closer to a Ceatherlach (County Carlow) line, and another Dún line of An tlur (Newry) that is closer to a Lú (County Louth) line.

Early Sixteenth Century Mac Giolla Phádraig of Cill Dara

The surname Mac Giolla Phádraig is embedded in the soil of Cill Dara, since there is a 1567 record of a townland once called Grange Mac Giolla Phádraig, now Cill Phádraig (Kilpatrick), that was within the lands of the Abbey of Saint Evin (i.e., Mainistir Eimhín, Monasterevin)¹¹⁵. Both the Abbey and the surrounding lands were once part of the Uí Diomasaigh (O'Dempsey) Country known as Clan Mailere¹¹⁶ but by the 1520s, they had come to be possessed by the Earls of Kildare, although they were often wasted¹¹⁷.

For a placename to be identified with a kindred group or clann probably requires a multi-generational relationship; hence, Grange Mac Giolla Phádraig likely came to be known by that name in the fifteenth century or earlier. The original monastery of Saint Evin was destroyed by Vikings but later rebuilt by Diarmuid Ó Diomasaigh, King of Offaly ca. 1178. Hence, it is also likely that the Mac Giolla Phádraig association with the lands around Mainistir Eimhín came about via a relationship with the Uí Diomasaigh.

In addition to Grange Mac Giolla Phádraig, there are other records that demonstrate Mac Giolla Phádraig held notable lands and possessions in Cill Dara before the rebellion of 'Silken' Thomas FitzGerald. In 1540, Lord Deputy Sir Anthony St. Leger received a royal commission, part of which was a survey of Irish monastic property that, by the dissolution, had come to Henry VIII, and there are two references to Mac Giolla Phádraig in the survey.

First is a record of Cill Dara, being for Diarmuid Mac Giolla Phádraig who was in possession of the Baile Artúir, which included a castle and lands¹¹⁸. Baile Artúir is near Rathorcaill, where Eoghan Mac Giolla Phádraig was domiciled before 1541. A record of 1326, transcribed by Archbishop John Alen, notes a decrease in rent of a carucate in Baile Artúir, which was "among the Irish, and no one dared to distrain there"¹¹⁹. It is likely that 'the Irish' were the Uí Diomasaigh since, in that era, they had invaded Cill Dara¹²⁰.

A second entry records Seán Mac Giolla Phádraig leased one messuage and four acres of arable land in Ráithín¹²¹, Ceatharlach, which was within the extent of the Abbey of Baltinglass. It is also recorded that there was no income from the lands of Bealach Conglais (Baltinglass) "from the time of the dissolution, 18 May 1537, until Michaelmas in the same year, by reason of rebellion and war of Tirlagh O'Toole his sept and adherents, and the sept and adherents of Mac Murrough"¹²².

¹¹⁵ Ireland Public Records Office (1879), of 28 September 1567, Fiant 1131. p.169.

¹¹⁶ A sept of the Uí Diomasaigh, stemming from their ancestor, Maolughra (Maliere). (Mathews, T, 1903. An Account of the O'Dempseys Chiefs of Clan Maliere. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co., Ltd).

¹¹⁷ Mac Niocaill, G (1994), p.151: 'they lie waste and unoccupied because they lie on the border of the country of the Irish called Dempsey'. Grange Mac Giolla Phádraig is recorded in the possession of the Uí Diomasaigh again in 1624 (Griffith, M, 1966, p.474).

¹¹⁸ Arthurstown in the Parish of Tallanstown. The castle is now destroyed. The arable lands accounted four messuages and one hundred acres. (White, N, 1943, p.40).

¹¹⁹ McNeill, C (1950). Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, ca. 1172-1534. Dublin: Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

¹²⁰ FitzGerald, C (1858), p.31.

¹²¹ Raheen, which is now in Cill Mhantáon, is less than one mile from the Cill Dara border.

¹²² White, N (1943), pp.128, 131.

Yet the earliest record of a Mac Giolla Phádraig of Cill Dara uncovered during this research belongs to Fiach Mac Giolla Phádraig, to whom, in 1523, the ninth of Earl of Kildare gifted a sorrel for the price of twenty-six kern¹²³. There is a further mention, that same year, when Edmund Eustace of Baile Áth I (Athy) received an “haberion that Fiach Mac Giolla Phádraig had”¹²⁴.

Finally, it is worth noting that occurrences of the surname Fitzpatrick in the 1659 ‘Census’ are uncommon outside of Cill Chainnigh (Kilkenny) and Laois. However, there is a record of “Terence Fitzpatrick, gent” of Maoin (Moone) in the Barony of Kilkea and Moone, Cill Dara, along with Edward Davis, esquire, five English, and one hundred and four Irish¹²⁵. No further record of Terrence can be found, neither of him nor via connection to any of his ancestors or descendants.

Summary

There is a plausible narrative of an extended kinship group who bore the surname Mac Giolla Phádraig, who were domiciled in Cill Dara during the sixteenth century. It is likely these Mac Giolla Phádraig had possessed lands in Cill Dara before that since there is a record of 1567 for a townland once called Grange Mac Giolla Phádraig, which was within the lands of the Abbey of Saint Evin.

Cill Dara Mac Giolla Phádraig are recorded in several Fiants and Patents throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the Rental records of the Earl of Kildare, and Crown Survey records ca. 1541. From as early as 1523, Mac Giolla Phádraig can be identified as militia in the service of the Earl of Kildare, both individually and among the Keating kern. With the rebellion of ‘Silken’ Thomas FitzGerald and the forfeiture of their Cill Dara lands, it is likely these Mac Giolla Phádraig kern and their extended kin found refuge among Laighean clans, firstly becoming associated with the Uí Tuathail of Imael and then with the Uí Tuathail of Fear Cualann.

From the mid-sixteenth century come numerous Fiants and Patents recording Mac Giolla Phádraig, often as kern or other militia, in locations of modern-day Ceatharlach, Cill Mhantáin, and Loch Garman – most often they were moving in the same circles as or followers of the Uí Tuathail, Uí Broinn or Caomhánach. Yet, the only records showing possession of lands by Mac Giolla Phádraig kern are for those who held An Mhainistir in the Parish of Powerscourt, via an agreement with Féilim Ó Tuathail of Fear Cualann, from the mid-sixteenth century until 1610, when the lands were forfeited to Sir Richard Wingfield, first Viscount Powerscourt.

Laighean Mac Giolla Phádraig, whose descendants, now called Fitzpatrick, are still found living near where they were recorded domiciled in the sixteenth century, very likely had kin who relocated to Ulaidh, probably as a consequence of the Nine Years’ War (1593-1603).

¹²³ Mac Niocaill, G (1994), p. 336.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 337: haberion, i.e., haubergeon, a small mail shirt, often with short sleeves. This most probably indicates that Fiach Mac Giolla Phádraig died in 1523, with the item of armor passing to another of Kildare’s horsemen.

¹²⁵ Pender, S (1939), p. 404.

Today there are numerous Fitzpatricks who together belong to an ancient kindred group identified by the surname-specific Y-haplotype R-Z255 ... BY2849. True to their Laighean Y-DNA modality, they reside all along the east of Éire, from Aontroim to Cill Mhantáin, and perhaps they will also come to be found in Loch Garman. This speaks to the endurance of Mac Giolla Phádraig Laighean and their ancient clann name, which was still being used in the nineteenth century¹²⁶.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks Dr Esther Fitzpatrick for her helpful assistance in the preparation of the article, and Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile CIOM, notably for his advice relating to *Gaeilge*, people's names and place names. The peer review comments of Michael O'Crowley are much appreciated.

¹²⁶ Mac Giolla Phádraig and Fitzpatrick were used concurrently in Dún until the nineteenth century, refer Appendix III.

Appendix I: Map of the key Laighean placenames mentioned in this article



Edited from [OpenStreetMap contributors](#) ©. Tiles courtesy of [Andy Allan](#). [Website](#) and [API terms](#).

Appendix II: Rencounter between the Killoughrum Yeomanry, and Corcoran and Fitzpatrick



Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland:

<https://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000040132>, accessed 14 February 2025.

James Corcoran of Ballindaggin and the Babes in the Woods, by Michael Fortune

Here's a story that comes into my mind every so often. Especially of late as I was walking in Killoughrum Woods last week and look out on it every day. It's the story of a party of men, led by a group of men from Ballindaggin who evaded capture and hid in nearby Killoughrum Woods from June 1798 until their capture and death in February 1804.

I've been piecing together bits and pieces over the years and with the help of Colum Ó Ruairc from the 1798 Casualty Database and we have built up the best picture yet. The story seems to start in June 1798 during the retreat back into Wexford from Carlow at Scullogh Gap after the failed Battle of Kilcumney. A group of men from the wider Ballindaggin area acted as a rear-guard at the Gap to keep the Yeos and army at bay. These men would have known the area well so you can only assume that is why they chose this task.

One of these men was James Corcoran who we are told lived in a house belonging to Mrs. Nolan of Ballindaggin. Corcoran was an excellent marksman by all accounts and another local man called Coady who lived in a little house where the old school once was in Ballindaggin, now beside the hall. There was another Ballindaggin man called John Fitzpatrick (known as The Hessian) in the group too while Fr. Luke Cullen listed other

members of the party including Jacob, West, Billy Riley, Hamilton and Menchin. There are still Menchins (Minchins) just over the border in South Carlow so probably related.

History and folklore tells us that the men hid in Killoughrum Woods, which was an extensive native oak forest between Scullogh Gap and Enniscorthy - an area the men would have known fairly well. The woods have reduced in size since 1798 but we are told they evaded capture by living in the woods and in safe houses around it. James Corcoran was seen as the ringleader and in a newspaper article (Saunders Newsletter) from December 1798 there was a proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland offering a reward of 500 pounds to anyone who "shall apprehend" him as he was wanted for "repeated acts of High Treason, and with furthering the Rebellion that lately broke out in Ireland." The scale of money involved tells you how much they wanted Corcoran and the use of the words 'repeated acts' and 'furthering the Rebellion' tells you he was a right thorn in their side.

For years they tried to flush them out of the woods and Fr. Cullen claims that in October 1800 Hamilton, O'Reilly and Menchin were taken, not sure if killed or not, while it took another 4 years to get Corcoran and the rest. Father Cullen's accounts are probably the closest we will ever get to the story and he claims, it that on the 11th of February 1804, a Rev. M. Eastwood, a Magistrate and Rector in Kilanne had a party of Yeomen at his house for defence. They got a lead that Corcoran, Fitzpatrick and Brennan were in a safe-house not far away and he gathered a group of 12 yeomen of the Killoughrum Corps, commanded by Captain James of Ballycrystal.

Apparently Corcoran, Fitzpatrick and Brennan were lying in bed in a cabin and were woken up by a woman who saw the Yeomen coming. The men rushed towards the woods but were fired upon. Corcoran was wounded while Fitzpatrick was shot in the knee and arm. Brennan was also wounded by escaped. Not willing to surrender, Corcoran and Fitzpatrick charged, armed with two muskets, two blunderbusses and pistols. Outnumbered, Corcoran was mortally wounded while the wounded Fitzpatrick went into a nearby barn and hid. The Yeos took the easy option with this and torched it with him inside. On the 13 February an inquest was held in Wexford on the body of James Corcoran which established that he "died by wounds he received from a detachment of Ross Rangers and Killoughrum Yeomen". I have no idea whatever happened to Brennan and no idea where James Corcoran or John Fitzpatrick were buried. All I know, is I think of the men when I look out at Killoughrum Woods and anytime I go up to pick up my three daughters from school, I park my car a few feet away from the spot where Coady's home once stood. There's also a house over in Caim that was built in the 1890s using granite from a font/trough that was used by the men to drink from when living in the woods.

There's a song in my head about these men and it'll come out someday.

7 November 2020

Appendix III: 1803 Stock Census of Drumee, Maghera Parish, County Down – showing two versions, one Fitzpatrick and the other a transliteration of Mac Giolla Phádraig

Names of Inhabitants.	LIVE STOCK.				Horses.	C A R RIAGES.	Average Amount of DEAD STOCK.			FLOUR and MEAL.						
	Oxen.	Cows.	Young Cattle.	Sheep and Goats.			Pigs.	Riding	Carts.	Cars.	Bu. Bushels Wheat.	Bu. Bushels Oats	Bu. Bushels Barley.	Loads Hay	Loads Straw	Sacks Potatoes
John Green -	4	5	6	2	3		18	100	52	24	21	40	2			
Edward Flin	2			1							11	2	4			
Dennis Haughain			3								36	3	6			
Hugh Donely	1	2	3	2		1	1				24	2	4	2		
Widow Toner	1	1		2							24	2	4	0		
Bernard Donely	1	2	3	1							60	1	1	10		
Edward Donely	1	2	1	2							12	3	10			
John Turnilly	1	1	1	2							12	3	3			
Widow Turnilly	2	1	1								10	1	2	0		
Laurence Conan	1	1	1			1	1				30	1	4	16		
Arthur Burns																
James Small	1	1	1													
Elinor Burns -	1	1	1													
Hugh Small -	1	1	1													
John Small -	1	1	1													
Joseph Fisher -	2		1	2	1			24	2	4	0					
Daniel Fitzpatrick	1	1									24	4	4			
Laurence Fitzpatrick	1	1	1								24	4	6			

A list of the moveable stock in Drume						
	Cows	Horses	Ba	Pigs	Sheep	Barley
John Green -	3	3	1	2	2	
Widow Donely -	3			1		
Brian Donely -	2			1	1	
Hugh Donely -	3	1	1	2	3	
Widow Flinn -	2			1		3
Dennis Haughain						
Widow Toner	2				2	
James Sinclair -	1				2	1
Felix Conan	1				1	
Jack Turnilly -	2			1	1	1
Laurence Conan -		1	1	1	1	
Arthur Burns -					1	
Kelly Burns -		1		1		
Jack Small -		1			1	
Daniel Small -	2				1	
Daniel McFadrick -	2				2	2
Laurence McFadrick	2				1	

Image courtesy of the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.

Ó Maol Phádraig: the name, the people, and the clans. Part III

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Abstract

The Ó Maol Phádraig surname is virtually extinct, yet the patrilineal descendants of Uí Mhaol Phádraig are unlikely to be so. Rather, it is considered those descendants most likely came to carry the surname Fitzpatrick or another Pádraic-surname form. The series of articles, '*Ó Maol Phádraig, the name, the people, and the clans*', brings focus back to the lost surname.

Part I explored the origins of the Irish given name Mael Pádraic, the patterns of its occurrence that are apparent in early annalistic records, and the connections to the regions of Éire where the name was commonly found. *Part II* (a) collated the records of Ó Maol Phádraig surname and Mael Pádraic given name occurrences in authoritative genealogies; (b) provided context and identified the clan-associated surnames among the population groups in which Mael Pádraic occurs, and; (c) reflected on the alignment of Mael Pádraic in genealogies and annalistic records, and the geographic spread the name, which may have led to the emergence of the Ó Maol Phádraig surname.

Part III, explores the occurrences of the surname Ó Maol Phádraig in historical records from ca. 1550 to ca. 1700 AD, i.e., a good portion of the Early Modern period, which are numerous and most relate to Bréifne and Corcaigh. While Breifne records are richer and give a more structured picture of Ó Maol Phádraig lineages, including the existence of at least one Ó Maol Phádraig clann who had a 'Chief of His Name', Corcaigh records are more scattered across the region and mainly linked to key figures of the Desmond Rebellions and the Nine Years' War. However, it is noteworthy that the surname Ó Maol Phádraig was recorded as early as 1306 in Corcaigh.

Names, styles, edits, and historical records

This article is written in English, but the people and places discussed are Irish. To acknowledge the Gaelic (Gaeilge) and to allow readers to be able to find locations on maps, place names are provided in modern Gaeilge using the most common spelling; for example, An Cabhán (Cavan), unless the place name is titular, for instance, the Barony of Loughtee.

The rendition of given names requires a consistent approach because there can be great variability in historical records even for the same individual. In addition, names found in old

texts are not usually in the singular form¹. The approach here is to use the most commonly recorded given name for the individual in question, be it Gaeilge, English form, or even a hybrid form. Irish clann names or surnames are provided as they appear in the genealogies along with, where possible, a rendition of their English form with preference given to a standard spelling, such as published by authorities such as Woulfe² and Mac Lysaght³. Key places referred to in this article are shown in Appendix I. This article is a living work – it can be edited by the authors and re-versioned. All versions will be retained.

Introduction

In *Part I*, a review of the annalistic occurrences of the given name Máel Pátraic demonstrated clear patterns, although none are considered unequivocal⁴. Many of the occurrences were associated with a religious figure, notably individuals connected with monastic sites dedicated to St Patrick. The geography of Máel Pátraic occurrences in the Annals, on a *pro-rata* basis, is dominated by Armagh, and an imaginary latitudinal drawn through Cluain Mhic Nóis (Clonmacnoise) places 76% of Máel Pátraic given-name occurrences in the Annals to the north of the line.

Such an understanding assisted in interpreting of Máel Pátraic occurrences in genealogies, which was the focus of *Part II*, and in historical records from the Early Modern period⁵, which is this work (*Part III*). The series will conclude with *Part IV*, to follow, which will apply the accrued knowledge base to genetic genealogy in an attempt to uncover modern-day ancestors of Uí Mhaol Phádraig clans, based on the premise they emerged as ancestors of individuals called Máel Pátraic or are connected to Early Modern records.

While goals of the latter type are nothing new, it is not uncommon for Irish surname Y-DNA studies to lack criticality and robustness⁶. The attribution of Irish surnames to single Y-DNA patrilineages can be fraught on many levels⁷, including an at-times dependence on popular publications, such as those of Burke⁸ or O'Hart⁹, beloved particularly by some diasporic genealogists who seek “an ancestral link to a noble Gaelic heritage”¹⁰.

¹ For example, Ceinnéidigh is the genitive and plural form of the personal name, Cinnéideach.

² Woulfe, P (1923). *Sloinnte Gaedheal Is Gall: Irish names and surnames*. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

³ MacLysaght, E (1985). *Irish families: their names, arms and origins*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

⁴ Fitzpatrick, I and Fitzpatrick, M (2023). Ó Maol Phádraig: the name, the people, and the clans. Part I.

The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 4, 1-10. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01223](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01223).

⁵ Approximately the early sixteenth to the late eighteenth century.

⁶ Fitzpatrick, M and Fitzpatrick, E (2024). Gene-Ealogy and the new era of Irish surname, clan, and kindred research. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 5, 62-70. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety02224](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety02224); and Fitzpatrick, M and Fitzpatrick, E (2025). DASTs, CASTs, and the quest to reclaim lost Irish clans: Gene-Ealogy and the new era of Irish surname, clan, and kindred research, <https://blog.familytreedna.com/dast-cast-irish-surname-dna>. Accessed 7 April 2025.

⁷ Fitzpatrick, E and Fitzpatrick M (2023). Decolonising an Irish surname by working the hyphen of Gene-Ealogy. Genealogy, 7, 58. doi.org/10.3390/genealogy7030058.

⁸ Burke, B (1912). *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Ireland*. London: Harrison & Sons.

⁹ O'Hart, J (1892). *Irish Pedigrees*. Dublin: James Duffy & Co. Ltd.

¹⁰ Nash, C (2009). *Of Irish Descent: Origin stories, genealogy, and the politics of belonging*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

Part III first reviews the occurrences of the surname Ó Maol Phádraig in non-annalistic Early Modern records in order to explore locational and kindred associations that may align with occurrences of Máel Pátraic and Ó Maol Phádraig in the annals and the genealogies. In Part IV, Fitzpatrick Y-DNA lineages are interrogated in an attempt to attach the Early Modern records to present day families with the surname Fitzpatrick, or similar.

In this article, it is demonstrated that there was once more than one Ó Maol Phádraig clann and that there is a locational specificity in the surname occurrence in Early Modern records. The surname was not widely distributed in Éire; rather, it was found either in the region known as Bréifne or in Corcaigh (County Cork)¹¹. Hence, we refer here to the respective clanns and kindred groups as Uí Mhaol Phádraig Bréifne and Uí Mhaol Phádraig Corcaigh.

Uí Mhaol Phádraig Bréifne

Before the sixteenth century, the most important records of the Ó Maol Phádraig surname are from two genealogies, which both attach the surname to Bréifne clans¹². Bréifne was a kingdom that was at “its greatest extent during the reign of Tigernán Mór Ó Ruairc (1128-1172 AD)” but after the Norman invasion and before the collapse of the kingdom, the period relevant to this article, became defined by the Diocese of Kilmore, the area “comprising most of Cavan, much of Leitrim, and small parts of Meath, Fermanagh and Sligo”¹³. According to the topographical poem of John O’Dubhagain, the chief kings of Bréifne were the Uí Ruairc (O’Rourke), and the most notable sub-kings came to be the Uí Raghallaigh (O'Reilly). Indeed, Bréifne came to be divided into western (Uí Ruairc Bréifne) and eastern (Uí Raghallaigh Bréifne) kingdoms¹⁴.

The Great Book of Irish Genealogies (GBIG)¹⁵ and the Book of Fenagh¹⁶ record Máel Pátraic, son of Maolgeann, “from whom are the Uí Mhaol Phádraig”¹⁷, who was descended from the Conmháicne¹⁸, specifically of a branch known as the Cineál-Luachain”¹⁹, that line being the descendants of Luachán, the grandfather of Maolgeann, under whose rule came many

¹¹ Formerly part of the Kingdom of Desmond.

¹² Fitzpatrick, M and Mag Fhionnghaile P (2024). Ó Maol Phádraig: the name, the people, and the clans. Part II. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 5, 11-28. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01724.

¹³ MacCotter P (2014). The early history and sub-divisions of the Kingdom of Bréifne, in Cherry C & Scott B [eds.], Cavan: History and Society, 12-35.

¹⁴ O'Donovan, J (1862). The topographical poems of John O'Dubhagáin and Giolla na Naomh Ó h-Uidhrin. Dublin: The Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society. Dublin: Alexander Thom & Co.

¹⁵ Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbisigh (or Duaid Mac Firbis, d. 1671) was an Irish genealogist who completed Leabhar na nGenealach (The Great Book of Irish Genealogies) ca. 1666. The modern translation is published as Mac Fhirbhisigh, D and Ó Muraíle, N (2003). Leabhar Mór na nGenealach. Dublin: De Burca: . I'm not sure the line 'The modern translation is published as Mac Fhirbhisigh, D and Ó Muraíle, N (2003)' makes clear that Ó Muraíle edited and translated the text from the manuscript.

¹⁶ Scott, B (2017). The making of the Book of Fenagh. History Ireland, 25, 18-20. In 1516 the scribe Muirgheas Ó Maol Chonaire revised a manuscript (now lost) known as “The Old Book of [St] Caillín”, which contained various poems and genealogies attributed to Caillín and his scribes.

¹⁷ GBIG 539.4.

¹⁸ The Conmháicne were spread across Connaught, as well as having an “east to west distribution ... across the centre of Ireland” (Byrne F, 1973. Irish kings and high kings, p.71. London: BT Batsford).

¹⁹ Hennessey, W and Kelly, D (1875). The Book of Fenagh. Dublin: Alexander Thom.

clan including the Cineál-Luachain, whose leadership was with clann Mag Dorchaidhe (Dorcey). The Mag Dorchaidhe territory was the Uachtar Achaidh (Oughteragh) parish in eastern Liatroim (County Leitrim)¹⁴. However, O'Dubhagain and the genealogies in Laud 610²⁰ also refer to Teallach Máelpátraic, who were among the Uí Bhrollacháin, a branch of the Cinéal Fearadhaigh of the Cinéal Eóghain. Teallach, i.e., 'the household', has interchangeability with a family name or surname²¹, hence, Teallach Máelpátraic may have given rise to a different clann Uí Mhaol Phádraig on the fringes of Bréifne.

Bearing the genealogies in mind, it is worth noting the two first Early Modern records of Ó Maol Phádraig Bréifne are from Uí Raghallaigh Bréifne (eastern Bréifne). One record is from a survey of Irish monastic property that, by the Dissolution, came to Henry VIII²². In May 1541, an account of the extent of the Preceptory Manor²³ of Kilmainhamwood in An Mhí (County Meath) was made by several jurors, including Nicholas Ó Maol Phádraig and Charles Ó Maol Phádraig, both of Shancor, An Mhí. The manor lay on the extreme limits of County Meath, "between Bréifne where the O'Reilly dwelt and the [Barony of] Farney where the Irish Mac Mahon²⁴ dwelt". A second record is similar; also in May 1541, Nicholas Ó Maol Phádraig and Charles Ó Maol Phádraig were assistants to commissioner Thomas Walsh in his determination of the extent of the Rectory of Ráth Cheannaigh (Rathkenny), An Mhí²⁵.

After the two survey records come many from the late sixteenth century onwards that greatly inform Uí Mhaol Phádraig Bréifne lines and places of abode, being primarily from Fiants and Patents of Ireland²⁶, in documents relating to the 'Plantation of Ulster'²⁷, the '1641 Depositions'²⁸, and the '1659 Census'²⁹.

Fiants and Patents of Bréifne

The association of the surname Ó Maol Phádraig with places in Breifne occurs in Irish Fiants of Elizabeth I and Irish Patents of James I between 1586 and 1610, and the majority of

²⁰ Meyer K (1912). The Laud Genealogies and tribal histories. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 8, 291-338, at p. 300. Laud 610 is a genealogical manuscript based "in part on eighth century materials", which catalogues several Cinéal Eóghain families (MacNeil, J, 1912. Notes on the Laud Genealogies. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 8, 411-419; Ní Bhrolcháin, M, 1986. Maol fosa Ó Brocháin: An Assessment. *Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 12, 43-67.

²¹ Jaski, B (2011). King and household in early medieval Ireland, in Hudson, B [Ed.], *Familia and household in the medieval Atlantic Province*, Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies Publications, 89-122.

²² White, N (1943). Extent of Irish monastic possessions, 1540-1541. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

²³ That is, of the Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem (Barrow, L, 1985. The Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham. *Dublin Historical Record*, 38, 108-112.

²⁴ That is, clann Mac Mathghamhna.

²⁵ Mac Niocaill, G (1992). Crown surveys of lands 1540-1541, with the Kildare Rental begun in 1518. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission.

²⁶ For an introduction to the Fiants and Patents of Ireland see, Fitzpatrick, M (2021). Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland: Part I: a method of approach to mega-data, and a Mac Caisín case study. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 2, 66-92. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621.

²⁷ For a modern general treatise on the Plantation of Ulster, see Bardon, J (2011). *The plantation of Ulster: the British colonisation of the north of Ireland in the seventeenth century*, Dublin: Gill & Macmillan.

²⁸ 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Library (TCD), Dublin: <https://1641.tcd.ie>.

²⁹ Pender, S (1939). *A census of Ireland circa 1659*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

records are pardons granted relating to acts by various leaders of the Uí Raghallaigh, who in this era were beset with internecine rivalries³⁰.

The earliest of such pardons also provides a link with Shancor as well as an Ó Raghallaigh association. Fiant 4908³¹ of Elizabeth I records the pardon of Domhnall mac Seán Ó Raghallaigh of Loch Saileán, An Cabhán³², gent, and numerous of his followers including Cathal Bane³³ Ó Maol Phádraig, a husbandman of Dún an Rí, An Cabhán³⁴, which is just three miles north of Shancor, lending evidence that Conall may have been of the same Ó Maol Phádraig kindred as the aforementioned Nicholas and Charles.

Fiant 5603³⁵ of Elizabeth I from 1591 is a list of pardons headed by Bryan mac Aodha Óg Mac Mathghamhna³⁶ of Rúscaigh, Muineachán (Roosky, County Monaghan), many of his kin, and numerous followers including Philip Ó Maol Phádraig of Ballyneglogh³⁷. Both Rúscaigh and Ballyneglogh are in the Barony of Dartree, which adjoins the central northern border of An Cabhan. And a 1593 Fiant³⁸ of Elizabeth I is headed by Philip Ó Raghallaigh, esquire, of Bellanacarry, An Cabhán, lists many Uí Raghallaigh kin and numerous others, including Moriartagh Ó Maol Phádraig of An Crónach (Creeny)³⁹.

Uí Mhaol Phádraig Bréifne are also listed among general pardons relating to the Nine Years' War (1593-1603). Oliver Plunkett of Baile Ghib (Gibstown), An Mhí, heads Fiant 6271 of Elizabeth I from 1599⁴⁰, which records Owen Ó Maol Phádraig, a horseboy of An Ros (Ross), An Mhí. Most important in the Ó Maol Phádraig context is Fiant 6657 from 1602, which is a pardon to Owen Ó Raghallaigh, called 'Chief of His Name' and numerous of his kin and followers, which included Conchobhar Ó Maol Phádraig, who is also, 'Chief of His Name'⁴¹ – this puts into clear context the existence of a clann Uí Mhaol Phádraig and their closeness of relationship to the Uí Raghallaigh. Also significant in Fiant 6271 is the reference to Hugh mac Prior O'Reilly⁴² of An Damhsraith (Dowra), An Cabhán, since he was domiciled where several Uí Mhaol Phádraig are found in later records.

³⁰ Russell, D & Prendergast, J (1874). *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reign of James I, 1608-1610*. London: Longman & Co., p. 54.

³¹ Ireland Public Record Office (1883). *The Fifteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland*. Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office, p. 166.

³² Lough Sillan, County Cavan.

³³ The Irish by-name Bán, meaning white.

³⁴ Dunaree, in the Barony of Clanree, County Cavan.

³⁵ Ireland Public Record Office (1884). *The Sixteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland*. Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office, p.173.

³⁶ Bryan (d. 1622) was chief of the Dartree sept of the Mac Mathghamhna (Ó Mórdha, P, 1957. *The Mac Mahons of Monaghan, 1603-1640*. Clogher Record, 2, 148-169).

³⁷ A sub-denomination in Coirrín (Currin) parish, Muineachán, that lies ten miles east of Béal Tairbirt (Belturbet), An Cabhán (Schlegel D, 1995. *An Index to the Rebels of 1641 in the County Monaghan Depositions*. Clogher Record, 15, 69-89).

³⁸ Ireland Public Record Office (1884). Fiant 5792, p.222.

³⁹ An Crónach in either Drumlane or Annagh, those parishes both in the Barony of Loughree.

⁴⁰ Ireland Public Record Office (1885). *The Seventeenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland*. Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office, p. 97.

⁴¹ Ireland Public Record Office (1886). *The Eighteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland*. Dublin: The Queen's Printing Office, pp. 82-85.

⁴² Hugh was a son of the "Philip the Prior, son of Owen, who was Sir John [O'Reilly's] uncle". (O'Donovan, J, 1861. *The O'Reillys at Home and Abroad*. Hibernian Magazine, 2, 37-42).

A 1603 patent of James I is a pardon to Richard Tyrrell⁴³, gent, of Baile Breac, An Iarmhí⁴⁴, and his many kin and followers, including Hugh Ó Maol Phádraig, William Ó Maol Phádraig, Conchobhar Ó Maol Phádraig, and Glaisne Ó Maol Phádraig, all yeomen of Mainistir, Leathrátha (Abbeylara, County Longford), as well as Hugh Ó Maol Phádraig, gent, of Corr na gCléireach (Cornagleragh), An Cabhán⁴⁵.

A 1604 patent of James I gives further associational and locational context to the aforementioned Fiant 6657 since it is a pardon headed by Maol Muire Ó Raghallaigh and his followers, who included Cowconnaught Ó Maol Phádraig, Donel Óg Ó Maol Phádraig, David Ó Maol Phádraig, and Cormac mac Seán Ó Maol Phádraig, all of 'The Dower' (i.e., An Damhshraith), and Connacht Ó Maol Phádraig⁴⁶.

Both Uí Raghallaigh and Tyrrells of Coillidh Fearn (Killyfern), An Cabhán, are present in a list of pardons from 1605 headed by John Petit of An Muileann gCearr (Mullingar), Iarmhí (County Westmeath), which also records William Ó Maol Phádraig, yeoman, also of Coillidh Fearn⁴⁷. And Bryan Ó Maol Phádraig of An Damhshraith is recorded in a list of pardons from 1610 to Gearalt Mac Murraigh (Mac Murray) of Killarah, An Cabhán, gent, and his followers⁴⁸. It is noteworthy that the not infrequent occurrence of Ó Maol Phádraig in the Patent Roll of James I led Dr John Erck, who was a member of the board of the Irish Records Commission, to conclude its use was a surname⁴⁹.

In addition, a 1617 patent of James I is the earliest known record of the townland of Ráth Mhaolphádraig, Sligeach (Rathmulpatrick, County Sligo)⁵⁰, and that name is still extant today. The existence of an Uí Mhaol Phádraig ráth⁵¹ is highly significant since it points to an ancient Uí Mhaol Phádraig tuath⁵², yet the patent record makes no reference to individuals called Ó Maol Phádraig and neither do any other records of the Early Modern associate the surname with Sligeach.

The Ulster Plantation in Bréifne

Following the Nine Year's War and the Flight of the Earls, the English Crown set in place a scheme to grant escheated lands in the six Ulaidh (Ulster) counties to English and Scottish 'Undertakers', 'Servitors' in Ireland, and 'Natives'⁵³ as part of a policy became known as the

⁴³ In 1608 Tyrell was lauded as a purchaser of escheated lands "to be respected ... [having] begun a civil plantation already" (Russell, D & Prendergast, J, 1874, p. 56).

⁴⁴ Ballybrack, now known as Rochfort Demesne, in County Westmeath

⁴⁵ Griffith, M (1966). Irish Patent Rolls of James I. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 43-44.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 86.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 173.

⁴⁹ Erck, J (1846). A repertory of the Inrolments of the Patent Rolls of Chancery, in Ireland; commencing with the reign of James I. Dublin: James McGlashan, pp. 31, 73.

⁵⁰ Griffith, M (1966), p. 327.

⁵¹ Most often a circular fort.

⁵² That is, an Irish clann and their territory.

⁵³ Undertakers were English and Scottish settlers who were granted confiscated Irish territory "who undertook to bring in a specified number of families to work the land". Servitors were "army commanders and government officials who served the Crown". Natives refers to Irish whose lands were confiscated (Bardon, J, 2011).

‘Plantation of Ulster’. After several years of planning, surveying, and negotiations, the Plantation began in June 1611 and An Cabhán was the first county selected since there was “more land to be allotted to the natives than elsewhere … and where people were more understanding and pliable”⁵⁴. Land allocations to Irish went to those previously ruling clans and hereditary lines, such as the Uí Raghallaigh. Available records indicate that Ó Maol Phádraig became tenants of undertakers who were allotted lands in An Cabhán near where they were once domiciled before the Plantation, as recorded in the aforementioned Fiants and Patents, whereas some Ó Maol Phádraig were tenants on lands in Fear Manach, where there is no record of them previously dwelling.

In the Barony of Lough tee, Sir John Fishe was granted 2,000 acres of Droim Leathan (Drumlane) parish. An Inquisition of 1629⁵⁵ records that after the death of Sir John in 1623, his son, Sir Edward Fishe, leased to ‘many of the Irish as yearly tenants’ and, from 1 May 1628, this included lands of Feugh⁵⁶ to Domhnall Ó Maol Phádraig. Also in Lough tee, Sir Stephen Butler was granted 2,000 acres in An Cabhán “called Clonose”⁵⁷ and 384 acres “to plant a town at Belturbet” where British tenants, who were mostly tradesmen, had established themselves⁵⁸. Butler’s possessions included “the whole Manor of Dernglush⁵⁹, including the town of Belturbet” and numerous nearby townlands⁶⁰ – notable are Derrnglush, Doire Mhóna (Derryvony), Polenemadre⁶¹, and Cuibhe (Quivvy) since they find later record associated with Ó Maol Phádraig.

Butler also came to hold lands in the Barony of Knocknинny, Fear Manach, where no Ó Maol Phádraig had been recorded previously. At a February 1623 inquisition were recorded tenanted to fifteen Irish, including Philip Ó Maol Phádraig and Bryan Ó Maol Phádraig of Drumdone, and Edmund Ó Maol Phádraig and Brian Ó Maol Phádraig of Droim Ailí (Drummully) and Derrybrick⁶². Michael, first Lord Balfour of Burleigh, was another granted lands in Knocknинny, and a 1623 Inquisition recorded his holdings were with his second son, Sir James Balfour, and tenanted by seventy-four Irish, who included Teige Ó Maol Phádraig of Aghindisert⁶².

1641 Depositions from Bréifne

The 1641 Depositions²⁸ provide the names of approximately thirty men surnamed Ó Maol Phádraig from either An Cabhán or Fear Manach, and significant detail is recorded

⁵⁴ Hunter, R (2012). The Ulster Plantation in Armagh and Cavan, 1608-1641. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.

⁵⁵ *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae* (1826). Ireland: Chancery, 26 Car I.

⁵⁶ There are three townlands called Feugh, i.e., Fíoch, in Bréifne, but the one here is probably that which is two miles southwest of the Town of Belturbet.

⁵⁷ That is, Cluain Eosa (Clonosey).

⁵⁸ Hill, G (1877). An historical account of the plantation in Ulster. Belfast: McCaw, Stevenson & Orr, p. 465-466.

⁵⁹ Béal Tairbirt (Belturbet) was previously known as Dernglush, Dumglush, Derreneglish, and Derrenglush (from Doire an Eaglais, i.e., the wood by the church, also as Castle Butler (Ainsworth J & MacLysaght E, 1958. Survey of Documents in Private Keeping, Second Series. *Analecta Hibernica*, 20, pp. 1, 3-361, 363-393).

⁶⁰ Hill, G (1877), p. 281-282.

⁶¹ From Poll an Madra (Pool of the dog). The modern name and exact location of this townland is unknown, but it was near Béal Tairbirt, see footnote 67.

⁶² Russell, D & Prendergast, J (1880). Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reign of James I, 1615-1625. London: Longman & Co., pp. 465-466.

concerning familial relationships, places of abode, occupations, and roles in the '1641 Rebellion', including their associations with Irish Confederate leaders. Notably, the Ó Maol Phádraig referenced were almost all from either the parish of Droim Leathan, in the Barony of Loughtee, An Cabhán, or the parish of Cill Náile (Kinawley), in the Barony of Knocknininny, Fear Manach.

Those Ó Maol Phádraig who took part in the 1641 sack of Béal Tairbirt were referred to as a sept⁶³ and their most prominent member during the 'Rebellion' was Bryan Ó Maol Phádraig. Bryan is referenced multiple times in the 1641 Depositions, firstly in October 1641 when he is described as the son of Domhnall Óg Ó Maol Phádraig of Aghakillymaud in Cill Náile⁶⁴; both were followers of Captain Rory Mag Uidhir (Maguire)⁶⁵. Afterwards, Bryan is variously called a Gent or Yeoman and a Captain or Commander of the rebels, variously described as previously of Dernglush, of the Parish of Annagh⁶⁶, of 'Polenemadre near Belturbet', and 'now of Belturbet'⁶⁷, being a follower of Captain Philip mac Hugh Ó Raghallaigh⁶⁸.

Bryan Ó Maol Phádraig had at least one brother, Domhnall, and other Uí Mhaol Phádraig named in depositions from the parish of Droim Leathan were Domhnall Boye⁶⁹, gent, and his sons, Thomas and Philip; Hugh Reagh⁷⁰, gent; Conchobhar and his brother, Thomas; Hugh mac Farrell and his brother, Bryan mac Farrell, both gents, Edmund, and Edmund Óg, all of Cuibhe; Patrick; Owen Boye; Tirlagh Óg; Thomas Boye; Cahir Mór⁷¹; Bryan Reogh and his son, Farrell, both gents; Conchobhar Óg; Hugh and his son, Domhnall, both gents; Cormac Óg; Farrell Óg; Philip Mother⁷²; 'the servants' of Thomas, of Corryvony⁷³; Tirlagh Ruadh, a carpenter; and, Philip mac Seán and Tirlagh of Doire Uí Chiaracháin (Derrygeeraghan)⁷⁴.

⁶³ Deposition of Richard Bennett, 4 August 1644. 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 220r-220v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833220r160>. Accessed 18 April 2025.

⁶⁴ Deposition of Thomas Sleman, 6/6/1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 835, folios 222r-223v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=835222r254>. Accessed 19 April 2025.

⁶⁵ Dictionary of Irish Biography: Rory Maguire, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/maguire-rory-roger-a5364>. Accessed 8 April 2025.

⁶⁶ That is, An tEanach, which is adjacent to Droim Leathan to the east, in the Barony of Loughtee.

⁶⁷ Deposition of William Bloxam, 28 November 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 109r-109v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833109r084>. Accessed 18 April 2025; Deposition of William Gibbs, 31/1/1644, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 249r-250v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833249r172>. Accessed 19 April 2025; Deposition of William Raicye, 8 January 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 834, folios 137r-137v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=834137r112>. Accessed 19 April 2025.

⁶⁸ Dictionary of Irish Biography: Philip mac Hugh O'Reilly, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/oreilly-philip-machugh-a6999>. Accessed 19 April 2025.

⁶⁹ The Irish by-name Buí (yellow).

⁷⁰ The Irish by-name Ruadh (red).

⁷¹ The Irish by-name meaning big or great.

⁷² The Irish by-name Mothlach (hairy).

⁷³ Perhaps Doire Mhóna.

⁷⁴ Those An Cabhán and Fear Manach depositions that make reference to Ó Maol Phádraig, which are not previously referenced in this article are: Deposition of William Hoe, 8 January 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 011r-011v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833011r009>;

The Uí Mhaol Phádraig recorded from Cill Náile, Fear Manach were: Conchobhar Ruadh, Edmund and Patrick, all yeoman; Seán Ruadh, a smith; and, Conchobhar of Cill na mBreac (Kilnabrack). In addition, there is a record for Domhnall Boye, gent, of Gabhal Liúin (Galloon) parish in the Barony of Clankelly, Fear Manach.

1659 Census records for Bréifne

Unfortunately, the 1659 ‘Census’ of Ireland contained “no census returns for five entire counties, namely Cavan, Galway, Mayo, Tyrone and Wicklow ; and none for four baronies in the county of Cork and for nine baronies in the county of Meath”²⁹. However reward is found in the returns for Fear Manach, which record eleven “principal Irish”⁷⁵ with the surname Ó Maol Phádraig, who lived in one or more of the parishes of Droim Ailí, Doire Broscaidh (Derrybrusk), Doire Mhaoláin (Derryvullan), Machaire na Croise (Magheracross), and Ennis McSaint – the census does not specify which parish, or parishes, precisely.

Yet, given the previous records of Uí Mhaol Phádraig in Fear Manach, it is likely some were still domiciled in Droim Ailí, and perhaps tenants of the Irish tituladoes in that parish, of whom there were two: Tirlagh Mac Mathghamhna, gent, of Carrowmore and John Mag Uidhir, gent, of Keeran More⁷⁶. Tirlagh Mac Mathghamhna was granted Carrowmore, and Bryan, his brother, was granted Keeran More in 1610⁵⁵.

There are also eleven principal Irish with the surname Ó Maol Phádraig who are recorded in the Barony of Granard, Leathráthá, which brings to mind the four Uí Mhaol Phádraig of Mainistir in the aforementioned patent of James I, of 1603; although it seems likely, a connection to the Uí Mhaol Phádraig in the census cannot be definitively made.

Deposition of Frances and Thomas Lovett, 26 January 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 024r-025v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833024r019>; Deposition of Edmund Sherwyn, 10 January 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 064r-065v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833064r049>; Deposition of Samuel Cotnam, 28 February 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 126r-126v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833126r097>; Deposition of Joanne Woods (the younger), undated, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 832, folio 166v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=832166v162>; Deposition of Joanne Woods (the elder), undated, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 832, folio 167r, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=832167r163>; Deposition of William Smith, 7 July 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 189r-190v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833189r139>; Deposition of Sara Ranson, 22 August 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 835, folios 217r-218v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=835217r251>; Deposition of Nathaniel Clark, 10 July 1643, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 225r-225v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833225r165>; Deposition of Daniel Morris, 18 August 1643, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 835, folios 245r-245v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=835245r271>; Deposition of Thomas Smith and Joanne Killen, 8 February 1644, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 265r-266v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833265r185>; Deposition of Francis Wilson, 19 September 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 208r-208v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833208r153>; Examination of Peter Ricketbee, 1 April 1654, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 833, folios 295r-296v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=833295r206a>; Deposition of John Sleman, 26 July 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 835, folios 162r-163v, <http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=835162r209a>. All accessed 21 April 2025.

⁷⁵ That is, “distinguished occupiers of townlands” (Pender, S, 1939, p. v).

⁷⁶ Today these townlands are in the parish of Gabhal Liúin but at the time of the census they were in the parish of Droim Ailí.

Later, related records

There are several mid to late-seventeenth century records pertaining to Uí Mhaol Phádraig that are found either in undefined locations, which are probably of Bréifne, or from locations at the fringes of the ancient former kingdom.

A patent of Charles I from 1631 is the record of a pardon to Edward Duffe⁷⁷ Ó Maol Phádraig and sixteen others who were '*in forma pauperis*'⁷⁸, with the proviso that "Toole Mac Conway should leave the country in fourteen days, to serve in the war in Sweden"⁷⁹. The war in Sweden refers to the Thirty Years' War, in which Charles I was embroiled early in his reign, in which Irish mercenaries, who were usually from Ulaidh, fought⁸⁰.

There are three tax records of the 1660s that are important since they come in a data-thin period. A Poll Tax return of ca. 1662 records Tirlagh Ó Maol Phádraig and his wife, of Mullaghmossagh in Aghaloo parish, Tír Eoghain (County Tyrone) paid four shillings⁸¹. And two Hearth Tax records are notable since they add to those aforementioned records of Uí Mhaol Phádraig of Muineachán. Bryan Ó Maol Phádraig of An Carragán (Corrackan) in Coirrín parish and Pádraic Ó Maol Phádraig of Droim Lú (Drumloo) in Cill Laobháin (Killeevan) parish the tax in 1663⁸².

A record from 1693 deserves brief mention since it comes near the end of the period relevant to this article, i.e., 1700 AD. The record is from the register of Bill Books of the Irish Court of Chancery and names 'Edmund Fitzpatrick alias Mulpatick' as a petitioner before the Court⁸³. No further information for Edmund is provided, but the record is the earliest yet found in which Ó Maol Phádraig and Fitzpatrick are provided as alternative surnames. Several other such records exist from the early eighteenth century from which it can be deduced that Edmund probably lived near Béal Tairbirt. Those records will be explored further in *Part IV*.

Uí Mhaol Phádraig Corcaigh

The County of Cork was an early post-Norman division of Ireland, although it "did stretch not further than the lands of the English colonies did extend"⁸⁴. A fuller extent of the county

⁷⁷ The Irish by-name Dubh, meaning black.

⁷⁸ That is, in the character of a pauper, who had probably had reason for legal suit but could not afford to pay legal fees.

⁷⁹ Morrin, J (1863). *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Ireland of the reign of Charles I, first to eighth year inclusive*. Dublin: Alexander Thom, p. 583.

⁸⁰ O'Reilly, C (2008). The Irish mercenary tradition in the 1600s, in, France, J [Ed.], *Mercenaries and Paid Men*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 383-394.

⁸¹ Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, PRONI T283/C, Wills, grants, etc., <https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/PRONI-T283-C>, p. 22. Accessed 29 April 2025. Mullaghmossagh is south-eastern Tír Eoghain, near the border with Ard Mhacha (County Armagh) and Muineachán.

⁸² Rushe, D (1921). *History of Monaghan for two hundred years, 1660-1860*, p. 329, 337. Dundalk: William Tempest.

⁸³ National Archives of Ireland. Court of Chancery Bill Books 1692-1696, Volume 11, p. 70.

⁸⁴ Falkiner, C (1902). *The Counties of Ireland: an historical sketch of their origin, constitution, and gradual delimitation*. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature*, 24, 169-194.

gains mention in State Papers of Ireland from 1551⁸⁵, and modern-day County of Cork had its bounds settled in 1606⁸⁶. The lands of Corcaigh were once anciently part of Deas Mhumhan, i.e., south Munster, the ancient Kingdom of Desmond, which was long the domain of the Mac Cártáigh (Mac Carthy) and their septs⁸⁷.

There are no early genealogies and only a single annalistic record of the given-name Máel Pátraic in Corcaigh, from 944 AD – “Cairpre son of Máel Pátraic, King of Uí Liatháin ... was killed by the men of Mag Féine”⁸⁸. However, there is an early record that evidences certain Uí Mhaol Phádraig were among the well regarded of Corcaigh society. In 1306, Robert Ó Maol Phádraig was called to be a juror in Corcaigh in a case between Eustace le Poer and Philip de Barry, but he and several others ‘came not’, it being later recorded that Robert attached “Henry son of Philip” in his place⁸⁹.

The next earliest reference to Uí Mhaol Phádraig Corcaigh comes from a Patent of James I that recounts a deed of Elizabeth I from 1568⁹⁰, and significantly, it comes not as a record of an individual but of a place. The deed is a record of the sale of lands by Gearalt fitz James McSleney⁹¹ “captain of his nation in the Cantred of Imokilly ... to John fitz Edmund de Geraldinis”⁹². The townlands sold included ‘Ballymolpadrig’. Another record of Balie Mhaol Phádraig is also found in the Patent Roll of James I, from 1608, which is a grant from the king to John fitz Edmund; extensive lands in Corcaigh and Ciarraí (County Kerry) were granted him “in recompense for his faithful services”⁹³.

The location of Balie Mhaol Phádraig can be deduced from the aforementioned patents, which places the townland south of (Cloyne) at the southern boundary of the lands granted to Sir John fitz Edmund. Balie Mhaol Phádraig is probably the townland of ‘Ballymacpatricke’, which is recorded in the Down Survey⁹⁴ under the ownership of Edmund

⁸⁵ Hamilton, C (1860). *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1509-1573*. London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts.

⁸⁶ Russell, D & Prendergast, J (1872). *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reign of James I, 1603-1606*. London: Longman & Co., p. 516.

⁸⁷ Gibson, C (1861). *The History of the County and City of Cork*. London: Thomas Newby.

⁸⁸ Hennessy, W. (1887). *Annals of Ulster: otherwise Annals of Senat; a chronicle of Irish affairs*. Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. Uí Liatháin was ‘the name of a territory nearly co-extensive with the present Barony of Barrymore, which is at the north-eastern limits of the City of Cork’.

⁸⁹ Mills, J (1914). *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls of Ireland preserved in the Public Record Office of Ireland. Edward I, Part II, XXXIII to XXXV years*. London: Alexander Thom & Co. Ltd.

⁹⁰ Griffith, M (1966), p. 117.

⁹¹ Gearalt fitz James Mac Sleimhne (i.e., son of Stephen) probably descended from Robert fitz Stephen’s half-brother, William le Walys. The seat of the Mac Sleimhne was Ros Tialláin (Rostellan) (MacCotter, P & Nicholls, K, 1996. *The Pipe Roll of Cloyne. Innygrega, Co. Cork*: Cloyne Literary and Historical Society). The family were one of more than two dozen branches of the Geraldines of the Barony of Imokilly (MacCotter, P. The dynastic ramifications of the Geraldines, in *The Geraldines and Medieval Ireland*, Crooks, P & Duffy, S [eds], 2016, Dublin: Four Courts Press, p. 191).

⁹² Dictionary of Irish Biography: Sir John fitz Edmund FitzGerald, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/fitzgerald-sir-john-fitz-edmund-a3169>. Accessed 18 April 2025; MacCotter, P (2004). The Geraldine clerical lineages of Imokilly and Sir John fitz Edmund of Cloyne, in, Edwards, D [Ed] *Regions and rulers in Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

⁹³ Griffith, M (1966), pp. 130-131.

⁹⁴ The Down Survey of Ireland, Trinity College Dublin: <https://downsurvey.tchpc.tcd.ie>.

FitzGerald of Baile Uí Maolmhuaidh (Ballymaloe)⁹⁵, which was later subsumed into Baile Mhic Anraic (Ballymacandrick), which is larger today than it was at the time of the survey. There are no records that attach Uí Mhaol Phádraig Corcaigh with the townland that was seemingly their once tuath. Indeed no record of the Ó Maol Phádraig surname in Corcaigh in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is even associated with the Barony of Imokilly.

Records of Uí Mhaol Phádraig Corcaigh are almost entirely from the Fiants of Elizabeth I and mostly relate to the Desmond Rebellions (1569-1573 and 1579-1583) and the Nine Years' War. Fiant 3082 of 1577 is a list of pardons to Donnchadha mac Cormac⁹⁶, gent, and his followers, who included Domhnall mac Conchobhar Ó Maol Phádraig⁹⁷. Tiege mac Conchobhar Ó Maol Phádraig and Conchobhar mac Conchobhar Ó Maol Phádraig, likely brothers of the aforementioned Domhnall mac Conchobhar, find mention in a 1585 Fiant⁹⁸ that is also headed by the significant political figures, "Honor Barry, wife of Patrick Condon", along with many other Barrys and Condons⁹⁹. Fiant 5618 of Elizabeth I records Thomas Ó Maol Phádraig of Dún Bolg (Dunbullogue)¹⁰⁰, which was the territory of the Mac Cárthaigh Múscraí (Muskerry).

Patrick Condon is named alongside Donnchadha mac Cormac Mac Donagh; they were duplicitous in the dealings with the Crown, having participated in the Desmond Rebellion, afterwards pardoned, and then considered useful as "good instruments against capital rebels", but rebelled again during the Nine Years' War¹⁰¹. And the clearly indicate the alliance of Uí Mhaol Phádraig Corcaigh during the latter stages of the Nine Years' War was also alongside notable rebel Irish leaders, including Owen Mac Donagh of Ceann Toirc (Kanturk)¹⁰², Callaghan mac Tiege of Carraig na Muc (Carrignamuck)¹⁰³, Domhnall Mac Cárthaigh Riabhach¹⁰⁴ of Cill Briotáin (Kilbrittain), and Donough Ó Nuanáin (O'Noonan)¹⁰⁵ of Deilge (Delliga, once called Delligmore).

⁹⁵ Edmund was the grandson of Sir John John fitz Edmund (MacCotter, P, 2016. The earlier Geraldine Knights of Kerry. *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society* 16), 5-36).

⁹⁶ Donnough mac Cormac was chief of a sept of the Mac Cárthaigh called "Carties of Dowally" who were "ever called Mac Donogh"; they were the "Mac Donagh Mac Carthys of Duhallow", which is a barony in north-western Corcaigh (Brewer, J & Bullen, W, 1869. *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth*, 1589-1600. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office).

⁹⁷ Ireland Public Record Office (1881). *The Thirteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland*. Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, p. 40.

⁹⁸ Ireland Public Record Office (1883), Fiant 4752, pp. 120-121.

⁹⁹ Honor Barry was the sister of David Barry, fifth Viscount Buttevant (Barry, E, 1902. *Barrymore: Records of the Barrys of County Cork*. Cork: Guy and Co. Ltd). The Condons (from de Caunton) were an early Norman family after whom the Barony of Condons and Clangibbon is named. They built the Castle of Cloghleagh near Mainistir Fhearr Maí (Fermoy) in 'Condon's Country' (Gibson, C, 1861).

¹⁰⁰ Ireland Public Record Office (1884), p. 183.

¹⁰¹ Atkinson, E (1895). *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reign of Elizabeth I, 1598-1599*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

¹⁰² Of the Mac Donagh Mac Cárthaigh of Dúiche Ealla (Duhallow).

¹⁰³ He was the brother of Sir Cormac mac Tiege Mac Cárthaigh of Blarney Castle, of the Mac Cárthaigh Mór (Collins, J, 1954. *Some McCarthys of Blarney and Ballea*. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 59, 1-10).

¹⁰⁴ That is, Mac Carthy Reagh of the Barony of Carbery; Domhnall was the last Prince of Carbery.

¹⁰⁵ The Ó Nuanáin were anciently associated with Dúiche Ealla (MacLysaght, E, 1985, p. 137).

Those Uí Mhaol Phádraig Corcaigh named in 1601 Fiants of Elizabeth I¹⁰⁶ are Conchobhar Beg¹⁰⁷, Glaisne¹⁰⁸, and Neal, all of An Chill Mhór (Kilmore); Seán of Cill Liath (Killeagh)¹⁰⁹; Teige mac Seán; William; Seán mac Glaisne; and, Seán mac Teige, who were with Owen Mac Donagh and Callaghan mac Teige; Connor mac Donough of Ros (Ross), who was with Mac Cáरthaigh Riabhach; and, Mathghamhan Beg of Cnocán na bhFairchí (Knocknavorahee), who was with Ó Nuanáin.

There are two further records of the surname Ó Maol Phádraig, which although not of Corcaigh are of locations nearby. Fiant 6505 is a 1601 pardon of Elizabeth I relating to events of the Nine Years' War, headed by Sir John Bourke¹¹⁰ of An Briotás, Luimneach (Brittas, County Limerick). The long list of followers includes Teige mac Diarmaid Ó Maol Phádraig of An Brú (Bruff), Luimneach¹¹¹. Similarly, Fiant 6569 of Elizabeth I is a pardon to 'Edmund Fitzmaurice, brother of the late Lord Fitzmaurice'¹¹², and his followers, including Diarmaid Ó Maol Phádraig of Caladh na Feirse Ciarí (Callanafersey, County Kerry)¹¹³.

Summary

A review of the occurrences of the surname Ó Maol Phádraig in non-annalistic Early Modern records provides numerous accounts of the surname, most notably in Bréifne and Corcaigh. While Breifne records are richer and give a more structured picture of Ó Maol Phádraig lineages, including the existence of at least one Ó Maol Phádraig clann who had a 'Chief of His Name', Corcaigh records are more scattered across the region and mainly linked to key figures of the Desmond Rebellions and the Nine Years' War. However, it is noteworthy that the surname Ó Maol Phádraig was recorded as early as 1306 in Corcaigh.

Part III of the series *Ó Maol Phádraig: the name, the people, and the clans* nicely sets the stage for *Part IV* of this series and reflection on the occurrence Máel Pátraic and Ó Maol Phádraig in the annals and the genealogies, and Early Modern records, versus modern occurrences, including those informed by Y-DNA.

Acknowledgements

The authors thank Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile CIOM for his advice relating to *Gaeilge*, people's names and place names and general peer review comments.

¹⁰⁶ Ireland Public Record Office (1885). Fiant 6499, p. 187-190; Fiant 6516, p. 215; Fiant 6539, p. 248; Fiant 6558, pp. 267-269; Ireland Public Record Office (1886), Fiant 6569, p. 34-36.

¹⁰⁷ The Irish by-name Beag, meaning small.

¹⁰⁸ The occurrence of the name Glaisne, along with Conchobhar and William, raises the possibility they were the same persons recorded of of Mainistir Leathrátha, in the aforementioned 1603 patent of James I.

¹⁰⁹ There are six townlands called Chill Mhór, and five called Cill Liatha, in Corcaigh, making distinction difficult.

¹¹⁰ Sir John was "the most notable member of the Clanwilliam Bourkes". He was called the 'Captain of Clanwilliam' and was "the recognised protector and champion of the Catholics". He was executed in 1607 after refusing to take the oath of supremacy (Barry, G (1887). Bourke of Brittas. The Irish Monthly, 15, 278-284).

¹¹¹ Ireland Public Record Office (1885), p. 193-196.

¹¹² Lord Fitzmaurice, seventeenth baron of Lixnaw and Kerry, d. 1600 (Dictionary of Irish Biography: Patrick Fitzmaurice, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/fitzmaurice-patrick-a3228>. Accessed 27 April 2025)..

¹¹³ Ireland Public Record Office (1886), p. 35.

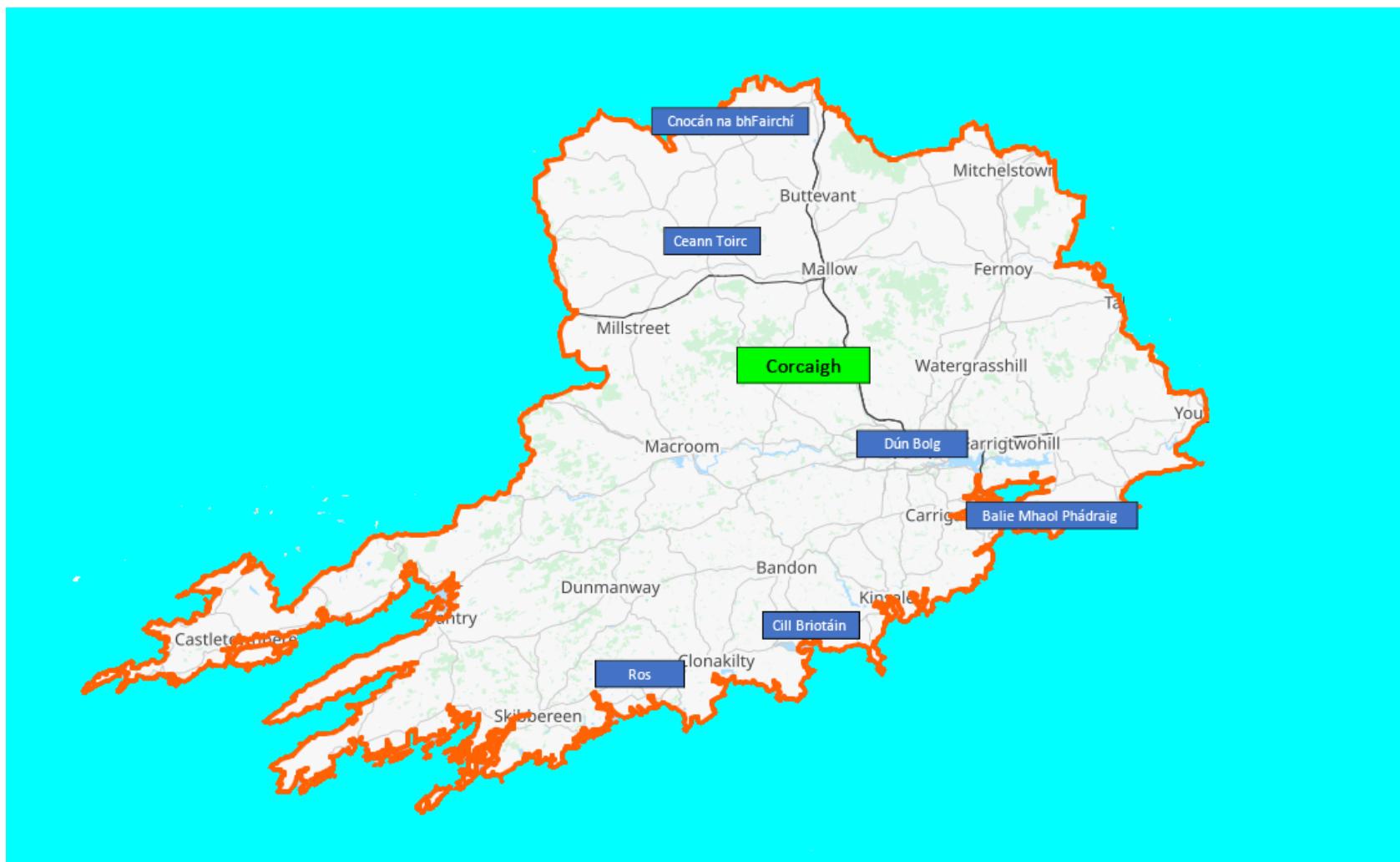
Appendix I

Figure 1: Key placenames associated with Uí Mhaol Phádraig Bréifne



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Figure 2: Key placenames associated with Uí Mhaol Phádraig Corcaigh



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The Will of Colonel John FitzPatrick

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Abstract

Transcribed here are records contained in National Archives PROB 11/430/361, which bears the title, 'Will of the Honorable John FitzPatrick, Colonel of Park Place, Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'. The record contains four documents, being three wills and one probate, which provide understandings of the colonel's estate at the time of his death, his family members, and acquaintances.

The probate was contested by the colonel's sisters, who claimed his last will was a counterfeit. Three further sets of records that are accounted for in National Archives PROB 18/23/52, PROB 18/23/136, and PROB 18/23/137, detail their lawsuit against the Duke of Ormond, an executor of the estate.

Introduction

The National Archives of the United Kingdom at Kew holds '1000 years of history'¹, which includes Public Record Office documents of the Prerogative Court of Chancery, which had various legal powers, including the jurisdiction to grant probate.

Record PROB 11/430/361, entitled, 'Will of the Honorable John FitzPatrick, Colonel of Park Place, Saint James Westminster, Middlesex'. The record contains four documents – three wills and one probate. The overall record provides important understandings of Colonel John FitzPatrick's personal and real estate, his close family members, including three of his sisters Joan, Catherine, and Bridget, as well as his distant kin, viz., Colonel Edward FitzPatrick and Captain Richard FitzPatrick, and his trusted acquaintances.

The will of Colonel John FitzPatrick has previously only been published in part, that being a small extract transcribed by Rev. William Carrigan². PROB 11/430/361 is transcribed here in full, with some punctuation added for clarity. The record of probate is translated from Latin.

The will of the Honourable John FitzPatrick: PROB 11/430/361

Whereas I have by my last will bearing [the] date the first day of June one thousand six hundred and ninety and one disposed of my real estate, which disposition I do hereby confirm, but declare this to be the disposition of my personal estate and desire it may be affixed as a codicil to my former and will imprimus³.

¹ The National Archives: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk>

² Fitzpatrick, M (2024). The Co. Laois Rental Roll of Edward and Richard Fitzpatrick, 1679-1697. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 5, 11-24. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01924; Carrigan Manuscripts, Vol. 83.

³ That is, first or chiefly will.

I will, and my will is that the five thousand one hundred [and] fifty and eight pounds of quit rents granted to the now Earl of Longford⁴, in trust for me, lying in several Counties in the Kingdom of Ireland, for one and twenty years, be disposed of as follows.

I do hereby give to my nephew, Lieutenant John Coghlan, one hundred pounds per annum during the said lease. The remainder to be divided among his younger sisters and brothers, begat on the body of my sister Joan Coghlan.

Item: my will is that my kinsman Colonel Edward FitzPatrick shall have all the rest of my personal estate, he paying thereout the following legarito⁵, to my kinsman Captain Richard FitzPatrick, five hundred pounds.

⁶To my sister Catherine Butler, two hundred pounds. To my sister Bridget O'Bryan, five hundred pounds. To Madam Elizabeth Hamilton⁷, one hundred pounds. To my servant John Jurant, fifty pounds. To [the] rest of my esquires, one hundred pounds. I desire to be decently buried and do hereby nominate and appoint as curate the now Archbishop of Canterbury, Johann Tillotson⁸, my kinsman, the Lord Blessington⁹, and my Lord Chief Justice Reynell¹⁰, my trustees and executors of this as well as my former will.

I witness my hands and state this, the first day of June, one thousand six hundred [and] ninety and one. Sealed, published, and declared as a codicil and part of the last will and testament of the said John FitzPatrick in the presence of the undernamed witnesses who subscribed their names thereinto in the presence of the said Colonel John FitzPatrick.

In the name of God, Amen. I John FitzPatrick, of Park Place in the Parish of St James, Esquire, do hereby declare this to be my last will and testament, and my will is that my kinsman Captain Richard FitzPatrick shall have, hold and enjoy to him and the heirs males of his body the castle, towns and lands of Grantstown, Rahandrick, Bordwell, Court, Curragh, Oldglass, Clonkeenaghan, and Kyletilloge¹¹, also the lands mortgaged to him by me of Ballycolla¹² and other lands mentioned in the said mortgage.

⁴ That is, Francis Aungier, first Earl of Longford. Dictionary of Irish Biography: Francis Aungier, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/aungier-francis-a0276>, accessed 22 August 2025.

⁵ That is, legacy or bequest.

⁶ This paragraph is a marginal note and is in a different hand. Based PROB 18/23/52, discussed later in this article, it was probably added *post-facto*.

⁷ Probably Elizabeth Hamilton neé Colepeper, then widow of Sir James Hamilton who was a well-known socialite of the era and a contemporary of Colonel John Fitzpatrick (Burke, B and Burke, A, 1915. A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage and Baronetage, the Privy Council, Knightage and Companionage. London: Harrison & Sons).

⁸ Archbishop John Tillotson. Lee, S (1898). Dictionary of National Biography. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

⁹ Murrough Boyle, first Viscount Blessington. Dictionary of Irish Biography: Murrough Boyle, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/boyle-murrough-a0851>, accessed 28 August 2025. His kinship relationship with Colonel John FitzPatrick is unknown.

¹⁰ Sir Richard Reynell. Dictionary of Irish Biography: Richard Reynell, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/reynell-richard-a9617>, accessed 22 August 2025.

¹¹ These townlands are Baile an Ghrótaigh, Ráth Anraic, Bordaíol, An Chúirt, Churraigh, and An tSeanghlais, in the parishes of Aghaboe or Bordwell. Clonkeenaghan is now part of Oldglass (Carrigan, W, 1905. The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker).

¹² Baile Cholla in Aghaboe Parish.

And I do hereby nominate and appoint me Baron James Duke of Ormond¹³, the Lord Blessington, and Michael Hill of Hillsborough¹⁴, Esquire, to be my trustees and executors. Witness my hands and state the first day of February 1693.

Published and declared to be the last will and testament of John FitzPatrick Esquire, in the presence of the undernamed witnesses who subscribed their names therein in the presence of the said Colonel John FitzPatrick, Esquire.

In the name of God, Amen. I, John FitzPatrick, of Park Place in the Parish of St James, Esquire, do make this my last will and testament touching the disposition of my real estate in the Barony of Upper Ossory in the Queens County in the Kingdom of Ireland in the manner and form following imprimus.

I do hereby revoke all former wills by me made and annul them, and my will now is that for want of heirs males of my own body that my kinsman Colonel Edward FitzPatrick shall have and enjoy to him and the heirs males of his body all the manors, lands and inheritance belonging to me in the Barony of Upper Ossory aforesaid except what part thereof I have settled on his brother Captain Richard FitzPatrick.

And for want of heirs male of the body of the said Colonel Edward FitzPatrick, the said lands come to his brother Captain Richard FitzPatrick and his heirs male of his body. And for want of heirs males of either of them, the said Colonel Edward FitzPatrick or Captain Richard FitzPatrick, my will is that my estate in the aforementioned Barony of Upper Ossory, the said lands come to my right heirs.

And I do likewise declare and my will is that my kinsman Colonel Edward FitzPatrick shall likewise have and enjoy my house in Park Place with all my furniture and plate, and I do hereby declare his Baron James Duke of Ormond, my Lord Blessington and Michael Hill Esquire to be executors of this my last will and testament and witness my hands and state dated this twelfth day of March one thousand six Hundred [and] ninety three.

Published and declared to be the last will and testament of the said Colonel John FitzPatrick in the presence of the undernamed witnesses who subscribed their names thereinto in the presence of the said Colonel John FitzPatrick, Esquire.

Probate for definitive confirmation of the estate, as was approved and recorded, contained the last will and testament of the honourable John FitzPatrick, Esquire, lately of the parish of Saint James, in the County of Middlesex. The oath was taken by the most faithful servants, James Duke of Ormond and Lord Richard Reynell, knight and baronet; the latter is one of the two executors named in the last will.

On the fourth day of the month of March in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety five, administration was granted of all and singular, the goods and chattels of the

¹³ James Butler, second Duke of Ormond. Dictionary of Irish Biography: James Butler, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/butler-james-a1260>, accessed 27 August 2025.

¹⁴ Michael Hill (1672-1699) of Hillsborough, County Down. Hayton, D, Cruickshanks, E, & Handley, S (2002). The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690-1715. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

deceased, to well and faithfully administer the same, according to the order and Holy Gospel. The oath was taken before James Duke of Ormond, in the presence of the honourable Sir Littleton¹⁵, Lord Richard Reynell, and the honourable John Cooke, Royal College of Physicians.

Substituted by oath, with power reserved to the honourable Lord, and with the direction of the Count Blessington and Michael Hill, two other executors named in the last will, in common agreement with the honourable reverend in Christ, Doctor John Tillotson, lately Archbishop of Canterbury, executors in the last will and testament of the deceased before the death of the deceased.

The controversy

Shearman¹⁶ referred to a lawsuit that Colonel John FitzPatrick's sisters, Catherine, Mabel, and Bridget, brought against the Duke of Ormond¹⁷ concerning the will; however, he did not come close to providing an understanding of the controversy concerning the deceased's estate that erupted after his death. Records PROB 18/23/52, PROB 18/23/136, and PROB 18/23/137 detail the various allegations, witness testimonies, and questioning, and are also reviewed and transcribed or summarised here, with punctuation added for clarity. An example copy of a page from the lawsuit is provided in Appendix I.

In essence, the chief allegation brought by Colonel John FitzPatrick's sisters was that the last will and testament, which instructed his estate go to Colonel Edward Fitzpatrick, was counterfeit, and that they had been illegally deprived since the estate did not belong solely to Colonel John FitzPatrick, but to his family. Ultimately, a compromise was reached via Colonel Edward Fitzpatrick's offer of "two hundred pounds or some other sums ... upon condition that he might meet with no opposition in proving of the pretended will". Colonel Edward Fitzpatrick died in 1696, but his beneficiary and brother, Captain Richard FitzPatrick, is recorded making regular payments to Catherine from 1701 to 1716 and to Bridget from 1701 to 1709¹⁸.

Witness testimony: PROB 18/23/52

There are two discrete records in PROB 18/23/52. The first is dated 'the afternoon of 22 November 1694' and bears a heading in Latin that explains it relates to the business of the probate of Colonel John FitzPatrick of the Parish of Saint James, Westminster, Middlesex. The signatory of the record, Robert Pierson, then explains he was promoted by 'the noble baron James, Duke of Ormond, executor for the deceased' to hear witness testimonies of Catherine Butler, Mabel Thomas, and Bridget Bryan, the natural sisters, and the closest relatives of the deceased. Pierson says he is the nominated procurator for the Duke of Ormond and presents four points for the Duke's case, which he explains, by introduction,

¹⁵ Sir Thomas Littleton alias Poynz, third baronet (1647-1710) of North Ockendon, Essex; Stoke Saint Milborough, Salop. Henning, B (1983). *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660-1690*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

¹⁶ 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.

¹⁷ That is, James Butler, second Duke of Ormond.

¹⁸ Rental of Captain Richard FitzPatrick's estate in Leix, 1700-1719. The National Library of Ireland MS 3000.

are a response to attempts to invalidate the last will of the colonel, which was dated 12 March 1693.

(1) First, that Colonel John FitzPatrick, the testator had an intent to make his last will and testament, and being of sound and fit mind and memory did, on or about the twelfth day of March one thousand six hundred and ninety three, being the day of the date of the schedule testamentary which with his own hands [he] did make and write his last will and testament, being the schedule testamentary in this case, and also subscribed his name at the bottom or end thereof. And of the said will did nominate, ordain, and appoint the most noble James Duke of Ormond ¹⁹ in this case, the right honorable Lord Blessington, and Michael Hill, Esquire, his executors. And afterwards, to wit, on or about the 24th day of August 1694, departed this life and [he] was at the time of his death a widow.

(2) That the schedule testamentary in this case has the name J FitzPatrick at the bottom or end thereof, and are, and was, totally wrote and subscribed by, and with the proper handwriting of Colonel John FitzPatrick, the testator in this case. And this was and is now public and notarised, and so was and is well known to be true by such as those acquainted with him and with his manner and character of handwriting.

(3) That the last will and testament of the said Colonel John FitzPatrick, the testator in the case, now deceased, was found in a strongbox in the dressing room of his house in Park Place at Saint James on the 24th August 1694, being the day whereon he died, among his papers and writings.

(4) That the party proponents, with intent to find a comparison and to all other intents and purposes in law, did and does attain instrument or letter of attorney marked (i), beginning thus: Know all men by this that I, Colonel John FitzPatrick, have hereto put my hands and state this 16 November 1690, and this subscribed J FitzPatrick, and did and does allege: His said instrument or letter of attorney was on or about the day or date thereof, duly signed, sealed, and delivered by Colonel John Fitzpatrick, the deceased in this case, in the presence of the witnesses thereto subscribed, who subscribed their names as witnesses thereto, in the said deceased's presence, and: Colonel John FitzPatrick, in the said letter of attorney and thereto mentioned subscribed, and Colonel John Fitzpatrick, testator in [this] said case, was and are the same persons and not diverse.

The second record in PROB 18/23/52, which is in a different hand to the first, has an introduction in Latin that states it is questions via an administrator on behalf of Catherine Butler, Mabel Thomas, and Bridget Bryan, the legitimate sisters of John Fitzpatrick, deceased, and concerns how they discard the testimony of James Duke of Ormond, one of the executors of the last will of the deceased, as follows:

(1) How long have you known Colonel John FitzPatrick, the pretended testator, and Colonel Edward FitzPatrick mentioned in the pretended will exhibited in this case? What relation were or are you to, or dependence had or have on them, or either of them? At whose request did or do you come to be a witness in this case? What communication and with whom, if any, have you had about what you should receive, showing what you received, was

¹⁹ Archaic, probably meaning 'over'.

promised, and expected to receive? And by and from whom, in case the pretended scroll or papers exhibited should be pronounced for a will, or for your deposition herein, have you [in] any way, and how, sollicised in or applied to any person or paid any money (and to whom and by whose direction and when) in order for the prosecution of this case?

(2) How long did the said Colonel John FitzPatrick continue ill of the sickness of which he died? Did any person or persons, and whom, as you know, followed or have heard speak to him in his said sickness, or at any time before, and whom, about making his will? If yes, what answer did he make thereto? Do you know or have you heard of any will or wills formerly made by him? In whose custody did he put or place such will or wills, if any? Did he at any time after, and when, take out of that custody, and what became of the same, and when, and in what month or months was, or were, such will or wills made by the said Colonel John FitzPatrick, and afterwards delivered by him to be kept, and who remanded and so delivered, as you now believe or have heard?

(3) Did you go to any person or persons, and to whom, and when, and how long after the death of the said Colonel John FitzPatrick, to inquire after the will of the said Colonel? What were the words used by you upon such inquiry? Did you not then declare that no will could be found made by him, or to that effect?

(4) In case any witness should depose to the finding of the paper or writing exhibited for a will in this case, whose, and it what room of the house and place of such room, and at what hour was such pretended will or writing so found, and by whom first, and who besides yourselves were those then present? Did you not then, or at some other time, and when so, find some other will or wills or writing importing a disposition of his estate or giving away of legacies? If yes, what is becoming of the same as you believe or have heard?

(5) John Byrne, were you not sick at the time of the decease of the said Colonel John FitzPatrick, and did not a certain person come, after the said Colonel's death, and how long after the visit, and ask you about the said Colonel, mentioning his will? Did he not tell you that the report in town was that the said Colonel died without a will? Did he not tell you that report was true or not? Did you not make answer that if there was a will that Michael Exham was the writer thereof or wrote the same or that the person or men that went out did write the same? Was that not the said Exham, when that said person came so to visit you, present and with you? And did he not get out presently, or some short time after the said persons coming to him? Let the witness name the person coming so to visit and ask him the said question. And what discourse happened between him and the said person touching the said Colonel making a will?

(6) John Byrne, did you not, upon the day of the funeral of the said deceased Colonel FitzPatrick, or sometime after his death, and when, tell Sir James Butler or someone else, and whom, that there could be no will of the deceased's found, or to that effect?

(7) John Rath, did you not, three days or some time, and how long, after the death of the said Colonel John FitzPatrick, declare and say to Sir James Butler or someone else, and whom, that a will of the said Colonel was some time, and how long, after his death, found in the custody of Madam Hamilton?

(8) John Rath and [John] Byrne, what directions have you had from Colonel Edward FitzPatrick about composing the differences in this suit between him and the sisters of the deceased? Did you not declare that the deceased left a will or paper importing that he had given and devised that his said sisters, or some or one of them, and whom and which, should have two hundred pounds or some other sums and what out of his estate, and that the said Colonel Edward FitzPatrick was ready and willing to pay sums or funds upon condition that he might meet with no opposition in proving of the pretended will now exhibited or to that effect?

(9) Let each witness be put in mind of a false oath: and that they are now as much upon their oath as at the time of their first examination.

Document dated second day of the case, 1694: PROB 18/23/136

The document has an introduction in Latin that states it relates to a lawsuit against James Duke of Ormond, and that Robert Cooke is representing the plaintiffs, Mabel Thomas, Catherine Butler, and Bridget Bryan; the points of allegation being:

(1) That near the twelfth day of March one thousand six hundred ninety and three, being the day of the date of the pretended will exhibited in this case, and more especially in the month of June 1694, Colonel John FitzPatrick the pretended testator had, several times or at least once, in this presence of diverse and credible persons of his intimate acquaintance, declared that he had burnt or cancelled the last will before him he now made, and that he had then no will made and said that he was about to make, or did in a short time intend to make, his last will, or to that effect.

(2) That some days or short time after the day of the death of the said Colonel John FitzPatrick, which happened on 24th August 1694, Colonel Edward FitzPatrick, in the said pretended will named, did declare and say to and before several persons, that diligent search was made in many places for a will but no will could be found, and thereupon did declare and manifest himself doubtful he would be at the charge of burying the said deceased John FitzPatrick because he apprehended there being no last will of the deceased, the said Colonel Edward FitzPatrick was to have nothing by his death.

(3) Point of allegation, that the said pretended schedule testamentary in this case and subscribed John FitzPatrick was not written nor signed by the said deceased, for that the writing thereof not only differs from the handwriting of the said deceased but also in the said pretended schedule testamentary are contained so much ill orthography and other incongruities and solecisms as sufficiently manifest that the said pretended will and schedule could not be proper handwriting of the deceased, who in his lifetime was a well read and knowing man and sufficiently expert in the writing and true orthography of the English tongue.

(4) Point of allegation, that the said pretended schedule testamentary or any other last will of the said deceased John FitzPatrick was not found in the house of the said deceased on the day whereon that he died. For that several persons who put up the said pretended schedule as the last will of the defunct and who affirm to have found the same the day of

the deceased's death, have severally and publicly acknowledged and declared some one or more days after the day of the death of the said deceased, that search was made in all parts of the defunct's house for the last will but all to no purpose and that no will of his was found. Then messages were sent to several persons of note and quality in and about London and Westminster for the will of the said deceased, and no will could be found.

(5) That at Michaelmas 1694, about the beginning of this contest, a copy of the pretended will of the deceased was brought in and produced in this Court by the proctor of the pretended estate of the deceased, and it was then alleged and affirmed by him, the said proctor, as is supposed by direction from his client, and also by one John Burns a prolonged witness in this case, that the said paper by him produced was a true copy of his, the deceased's will, and that the will was in Flanders in [the] custody of his Grace the Duke of Ormond, one of the supposed executors, and that for some years before the same was sent to the said Duke [when] the same was in Ireland, and that the same pretended will could not then for no reasons be brought to Court. Which copy so produced the said proctor did not register with this Court as he might, which matters, together with a second pretended will in writing and a written codicil lately discovered upon cross examination in this case, and not brought in with the schedule testamentary, [it is] sufficiently manifest the said pretended schedule testamentary is not the last will of the deceased John FitzPatrick, nor found at the time and place as the proponents also affirmed.

(6) That the handwriting of the deceased was and is easy to be counterfeited and has been often counterfeited by one John St John and others, and the handwriting of the pretended copy mentioned in the foregoing estate was more alike to the handwriting of the deceased than the pretended will exhibited in this case, and therefore the party present does pray that the same may be brought and lodged in the registry of this Court.

(7) That no faith or credit, at least sufficient in law, is to be given to the sayings and depositions of John Byrne, a witness sworn and examined in this case, for that he has been various and contradicted himself in his sayings, sometimes declaring that the deceased had made no will, at other times declaring that there was a will and that he himself found it in the strongbox of the deceased, and Michael Exham drew it, and at other times that the will was found in the hands of the Lady Hamilton, and that he the said John Byrne has made the aforesaid declaration in the presence of several credible witnesses with several proclamations.

(8) That no faith or credit, at least sufficient in law, is to be given to the sayings and depositions of John Nash another witness sworn and examined in this case, for upon the Saturday after the day on which the deceased died, he, the said John Nash being asked whether the deceased had made a will, answered that he had twice made a strict search among the deceased's papers but could find no will and the said Colonel [Edward] FitzPatrick affirmed the same at the same time.

(9) That it was not in the power of the said deceased to dispose of his real estate by will or otherwise, for all that of the said estate mentioned in the pretended will was entailed²⁰.

²⁰ That is, it legally belonged to a family group, so limiting the inheritance.

The conclusion in Latin is a plea for swift law and justice.

There follows, also in Latin, a statement relating to a key handwriting witness brought by Mabel Thomas, Catherine Butler, and Bridget Bryan, who was questioned, as follows:

(1) John Juront²¹, how long did you know Colonel John FitzPatrick, the testator in this case? How and by what means did you become acquainted? Were you very conversant with him? If yes, on what occasion? Of what age was he? Describe his person and declare your truth by virtue of your oath.

(2) John Juron, where do you now live or lodge, at or near what sign, in what street, or place, in what parish, at whose house, and how long have you so lived or lodged? Declare yourself by virtue of your oath and answer for where you have lived or lodged for these three years last past. And if a lodger, at whose house or houses?

(3) John Juron, were you acquainted with the manner and character of handwriting of the said Colonel John FitzPatrick, the donor in the case? If yes, how came your so acquainted knowledge? Did you oversee him write, or review any letter from him, which you could swear were wrote by him? If yes, let the original will of the said donor, pleaded on behalf of his Grace the Duke of Ormond, be showed to said witness. And further, answer this if do you not believe. If yes, is the will his and totally handwritten and subscribed by and with the proper handwriting of the said Colonel John FitzPatrick?

(3) Do you know Brigadier Edward FitzPatrick? If yes, how long have you so known him? Have you not heard Colonel John FitzPatrick, the deceased in this case, speak very kindly of him, and make great profession of kindness towards him and his brother, Captain Richard FitzPatrick? If yes, speak the same, and how, and after what manner did the deceased so speak himself? And when, and how long before his death?

Document dated 5 December 1694: PROB 18/23/137

The introduction in Latin explains that the record is the response of the Duke of Ormond to Mabel Thomas, Catherine Butler, and Bridget Bryan, through Dominic Covington, and includes an introduction to Richard Fitzpatrick, who, by law, provides a response to the allegation that the deceased's estate has been stolen, according to the following:

(1) That John FitzPatrick, Esquire, the deceased in this case, and the said Richard FitzPatrick, Esquire, were Cousins German once removed²², and so accounted, reputed, and taken; and the said deceased had for several years before, and until the final of his days, agreed to lease and license to the said Richard Fitzpatrick, Esquire.

(2) That the said John FitzPatrick, Esquire, did usually make a will in writing for the in-lieu discharge of his full estate and another will, a codicil for the full and in-lieu disposal of his

²¹ Likely the same person recorded in PROB 11/430/361 as John Jurant.

²² That is, Richard FitzPatrick is said to be the child of one of Colonel John Fitzpatrick's first cousins, either paternal or maternal.

personal estate, and this was and is now publicised and notarised and well known to all persons who were well acquainted with the said deceased.

(3) That the said deceased, being of sound and perfect mind, and memory, did on or about the first day of June 1691 make his will in writing bearing date the same day, and therein gave and devised his real estate, and was therein contained a subclause of which will the yearly provision does have, or provide, and prays the same may be paid and invested, and assigned, that the same was wrote and transcribed from the said original will and agreed with the sums or the subclause or effect thereof.

(4) That the said deceased did at or about the time of his making his said will, make his codicil in writing bearing date the same first day of June 1691, which was lately exhibited and now remains in the registry of this Court. And the same gave, bequeathed, and disposed of his personal estate and nominated and appointed his Grace Doctor Tillotson, deceased, late Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Blessington, and the Lord Chief Justice Reynell, his trustees and executors, and did give, will and bequeath in all things, and is therein contained, which codicil was wrote by his order and according to the directions and instructions of the said deceased and he well liked and approved thereof and signed tested, published, and declared the same as. And for his Codicil or part of his will in the so same presence of persons, who at his request and ruling so also subscribed their name as written. And at all and singular times, he, the said deceased, was of sound and perfect mind, memory, and understanding.

(5) That after those things, to wit, on or about 1 February 1693, being the day of the date of four of the wills or schedule testamentary presented in this case, and now remaining in the registry of this Court, the said deceased annulled and abridged his said will bearing date first day of June 1691 mentioned in the third item of this allegation but proved and kept unaltered his said codicil mentioned in the fourth item of this allegation.

(6) That at, or shortly after the death of the said deceased, there were found in his dressing room, in his dwelling house in Park Place where he died, among his writings and papers, the said codicil bearing date the said first day of June 1691, and the said will or schedule testamentary bearing date the first day of February 1693, and the said will or schedule testamentary bearing date the 12 day of March 1693, wrapped up together in one and the same group of papers, which said two schedules testamentary and codicil the said deceased intended should be, and used as and for his last will and testament and codicil, and his said two schedules testamentary and the said codicil were, and are, and did, and do contain the last will and testament of the said deceased and common was, and is, well known or firmly believed to be such by several persons who were well acquainted with the said deceased and his intentions.

A Subsequent lawsuit

An Exchequer bill book entry of 29 November 1695 records Mabel Thomas brought a lawsuit against Catherine Butler and Bridget O'Bryan²³ – clearly whatever compromise was reached regarding Colonel John FitzPatrick's will was not satisfactory to all of his sisters.

²³ Ireland Court of Chancery Records, 1633-1851: <http://www.ancestry.com>. Accessed 31 August 2025.

Appendix I: an example page from the lawsuit records

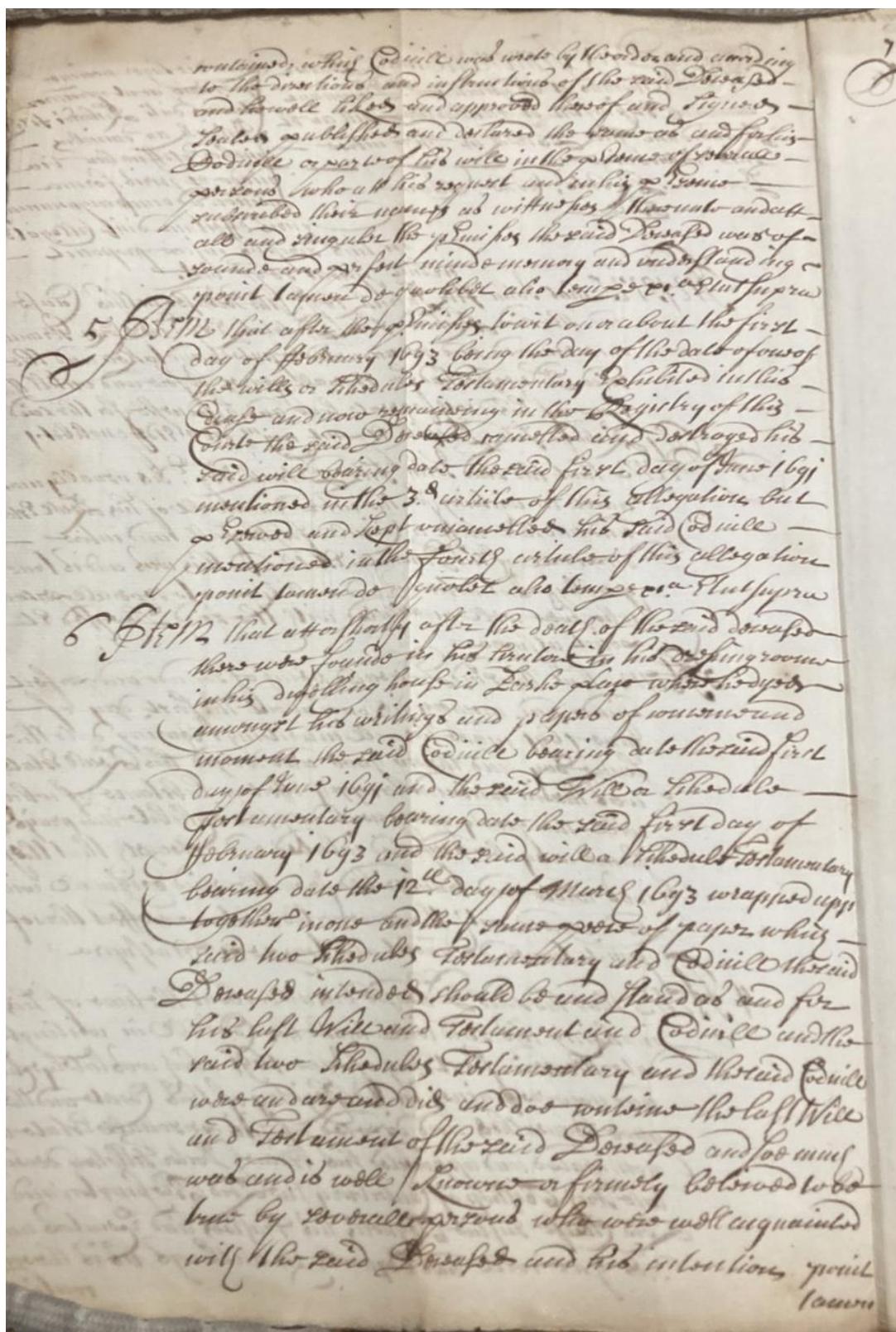


Image courtesy of [The National Archives](#)

The County Laois Rental Book of Captain Richard Fitzpatrick, 1700-1719

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Abstract

The National Library of Ireland holds manuscript 3000, which is catalogued as the 'Rental Capt. Richard Fitzpatrick's estate in Leix, 1700-1719'. The manuscript provides details of tenants, townlands, which were mainly in the Parishes of Aghaboe, Killermogh, and Rathdowney, land areas, terms, and conditions of the leases, which often included covenants to make improvements, as well as extensive details of the estate expenses.

In addition to insights of the estate workings, there are mentions of individuals with the surname Fitzpatrick, some of whom can be identified as relatives of Colonel John Fitzpatrick, from whom Captain Richard Fitzpatrick gained most of his holdings in Upper Ossory.

Names, styles, and edits

This article is written in English, but the places discussed are Irish. In order to acknowledge the Gaelic (Gaeilge), place names are provided in the modern language using the most common spelling; for example, An Lios Dubh (Lisduff). This article is a living work – it may be edited by the author and re-versioned. All versions will be retained.

Introduction

The manuscript transcribed here is NLI 3000, the 'Rental Capt. Richard FitzPatrick's estate in Leix, 1700-1719.' The manuscript is in good condition and consists of medium-gauge foolscap folio leaves bound as a book inside a heavier-gauge cover. The coverage of the rental is continuous across almost two hundred pages, in a regular biannual pattern¹ of debtors, rents received, other income, and disbursements paid, with some loose pages of notes interspersed.

The importance of the rental book comes severally, but mainly because it provides records of leaseholders and their holdings in the 'record thin' period between the Books of Survey and Distribution², ca. 1680, and the nineteenth century, as well as insights into the day-to-day operation of a large Irish estate during the early eighteenth century. Also noteworthy are entries relating to persons with the Fitzpatrick surname, some of whom can readily be identified as relatives of the infamous Colonel John Fitzpatrick³, from whom Captain Richard FitzPatrick gained most of his holdings in Upper Ossory.

¹ With account summaries taken at Lady Day (25 March) and Michaelmas (29 September).

² The Books of Survey and Distribution record the persons whose lands were confiscated after the Irish rebellion of 1641, and to whom those lands were distributed under the Act of Settlement, 1662. The Commissioners for executing the Act did not deliver their survey records to the Auditor-General "until 1680, or thereabouts" and the final entries appeared after "the sales of the estates forfeited in 1688" (Simmington, R, 1949. Books of Survey and Distribution. Dublin: Stationery Office).

³ Carrigan, W (1905). The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker.

Intrigue surrounds the lineage of Captain Richard Fitzpatrick, later Lord Gowran⁴, which is no better exemplified by the earliest publication of his pedigree that states he was the son of Colonel John Fitzpatrick⁵; this is easily dismissed on account of the latter's will⁶. It is bemusing the false parental narrative gained traction, being repeated in the authoritative Burke's Peerage⁷, the Dictionary of National Biography⁸, and Cockayne's Complete Peerage⁹, since it was first published during the lifetime of Richard's son John, Second Lord Gowran, who surely knew the narrative was false: the suggestion being the Second Lord Gowran desired to be known as a direct descendant of Bryan, First Baron of Upper Ossory¹⁰.

Modern sources correct the error but do not convince. The Dictionary of Irish Biography calls Richard Fitzpatrick the "son or grandson of Andrew Fitzpatrick of Castlefleming"¹¹. The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography is even less certain, stating he "may have been the son or grandson of Andrew Fitzpatrick of Castlefleming", while rejecting the notion Colonel John Fitzpatrick was his father¹². Neither of the modern sources supply reference to Andrew Fitzpatrick, but there are several firm accounts of him, although he is most always called Andreas – he was high-ranking among confederates of Upper Ossory who took part in 1641 rebellion, notably the siege of the castle at Buirós-Mór Osraí (Borris-in-Ossory)¹³.

While Andreas is described as 'of Castlefleming', his family's earlier residence was Buirós-Mór Osraí – during the siege, Andreas is said to have "complained and exclaimed that none was so wronged as he in having that Castle so detained from him, and to be so long kept out of his right"¹⁴. Indeed, Buirós-Mór Osraí has been subject to various changes in possession, culminating in its grant in 1624, among some 3785 acres of land, to George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham¹⁵, yet once it was the ancestral home of the descendants of Donnchad Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig, a line distinct from the Barons of Upper Ossory who descended from

⁴ Richard Fitzpatrick gained the title Lord Gowran on 27 April 1715 (Draft Grants E containing grants of arms, funeral certificates and pedigrees ca. 1630-1780. Genealogical Office Manuscripts Collection, National Library of Ireland). See Appendix I.

⁵ Lodge, J (1754). The Peerage of Ireland. Dublin: William Johnson, Bookseller.

⁶ Fitzpatrick, M (2025). The Will of Colonel John Fitzpatrick. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 6, 42-52. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety02525. Richard is described either as a kinsman or "Cousin German, once removed"; hence, it is apparent he descended from either the Colonel's paternal or maternal grandparents.

⁷ Burke, J and Burke, J (1848). A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire. London: Henry Colburn.

⁸ Stephen, S (1889). Dictionary of National Biography. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

⁹ Cokayne, G (1892). Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom. London: George Bell & Sons.

¹⁰ Fitzpatrick, M (2024a). The County Laois Rental Roll of Richard and Edward Fitzpatrick, 1679-1697. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 5, 11-24. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01924.

¹¹ Dictionary of Irish Biography: Richard Fitzpatrick, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/fitzpatrick-richard-a3241>, accessed 30 August 2025.

¹² Matthew, H and Harrison, B (2004). Richard Fitzpatrick, First Baron Gowran. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹³ Andreas, is variously referred to as a "kinsman" of rebel leader Florence Fitzpatrick, who was a grandson of Teige, third baron of Upper Ossory, and his fellow "Commander-in Chief", 1641 Depositions, Trinity College Library (TCD), Dublin: <https://1641.tcd.ie>, accessed 1 September 2025.

¹⁴ Deposition of Samuel Franck, 1 February 1643. 1641 Depositions, TCD MS 815 folios 323r-327v, <https://1641.tcd.ie/deposition/?depID=815323r387>, accessed 1 September 2025.

¹⁵ Clarke, A (1967). Irish Patent Rolls of James I. Facsimile of the Irish Record Commission's Calendar. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.

Finghin Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig¹⁶. A grandson of Donnchad Mór was Brian na liireach Mac Giolla Phádraig, who was the sixth great-grandfather of Captain Richard FitzPatrick according to Carrigan's transcription of the only known primary source of his pedigree, which names Richard's father as Terence¹⁷. The pedigree finds no place for Andreas, but he was also likely descended from Donnchad Mór, since he held an ancestral claim to Buiríos-Mór Osraí.

The Rental

The 1700-1719 rental follows approximately from when the National Library of Ireland manuscript 3316, the 'Rent roll of the Co. Leix estate of Capt. Richard Fitzpatrick, Early 18th c.', which records similar leases between 1679 and 1697, left off¹⁰. Comparison of the 1700-1719 rental book with the 1679-1697 rental roll reveals that the land denominations recorded in the former are parcels of several townlands grouped under one main townland heading, whereas the older rental specifically recorded all townland names.

General observations from the rental book indicate the estate was profitable and became increasingly so. Income from rents grew from approximately £1150 per annum in 1701 to approximately £2600 per annum in 1719, due only in small part to gradual increases in rental fees – more significant rental income growth came from the addition of leases on lands that were previously untenanted. Likewise, there was little subsidiary income from the estate recorded early in the rental. Still, by 1719, this had grown to approximately £900 per annum via a variety of channels, such as sales of livestock and wool, and interest on rent arrears and loans that Richard Fitzpatrick had made.

From the first records of disbursements, it is apparent that Richard Fitzpatrick was intent on investing income back into the estate, as evidenced by payments for building repairs and improvements, and livestock for his tenants. The successful management of the estate led to a solid source of income for Richard Fitzpatrick, whose personal cash drawings exceeded £15,000 over the entire rental period, increasing from approximately £160 per annum in 1701 to approximately £4200 per annum in 1719; and that does not include the regular payments he received for personal or household expenses.

Three accountants were engaged: William Gray (1700-1706); Symon Bradstreet (1706-1710); and Thomas Symons (1710-1719). The auditor across the entire rental period was Peter Archdekin. Summary transcriptions of the leases are provided in chronological order of townland appearance, with edits made for clarity. Tenancy, acreages, rents, and rental progression are provided as text with notes, as required. An example page from the rental is provided in Appendix II. The townlands recorded in the rental, by parish are:

Abbeyleix Parish

Dunmore (An Dún Mór)

Aghaboe Parish

Ballycolla (Baile Cholla)

¹⁶ 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).

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

Kilminfoyle (Cill Mhaolphóil)
 Kyletilloge (Coill tSaileoige)
 Tintore (Tigh an Tuair)
 Knockamullin (Cnoc an Mhuilinn)

Bordwell Parish

Grantstown (Baile an Ghrónaigh)
 Curragh (An Currach)

Donaghmore Parish

Donaghmore (Domhnach Mór)

Durrow Parish

Coolnabehy (Cúil na Beithe)

Dysartenos Parish

Loughteeog (Leacht Tíog)

Erke Parish

Graigueadrisly (Gráig an Drisliugh)
 Kyle (Coill Ghort Riain)
 Ros Darach (Rossdarragh)

Killermogh Parish

Ballygauge (Baile Dhabhag),
 Coolderry (Cúldoire)
 Killermogh (Cill Dara Maí)

Offerlane Parish

Baile an Chaisleáin (Castletown)
 Cuddagh (Codach)

Rathdowney Parish

Ballaghgarahin (Bealach an Ráithín)
 Cappalinnan (Ceapach Uí Leannáin),
 Clonburren (Cluain Boireann)
 Clonmeen (Cluain Mín) and Templequain (Teampall Chuáin)
 Errill (Eiréil)
 Graigueavallagh (Gráig an Bhealaigh)
 Lisduff (An Lios Dubh)
 Templequain (Teampall Chuáin)

Also transcribed are occurrences of individual Fitzpatricks, those of surnames derived from Mac Giolla Phádraig lineages, such as Fynen/Kynen/Kinin¹⁸, or those of surnames familiarly associated with Fitzpatricks of Upper Ossory, such as Cashin¹⁹ and Costigan²⁰.

¹⁸ Fitzpatrick, M (2022). Pátraic surnames in the Fiants 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).

¹⁹ Fitzpatrick, M (2021) Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland: Part 1: a method of approach to mega-data, and a Mac Caisín case study. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 2, 66-92. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621).

²⁰ Costigan, C, Fitzpatrick, I, and 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).

Baile an Ghrótaigh (Grantstown)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Palmer and Fletcher ²¹	Lady Day 1701	Lady Day 1713	£122 8s	
William Viccars ²²	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719	£197 17s 6d	
Captain Fitzpatrick ²³	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719	£17 6s	Part of

Ros Darach (Rosdarragh)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Richard Archbold ²⁴	Lady Day 1701	Lady Day 1702	£20	
Richard Archbold	Michaelmas 1702	Lady Day 1709	£22 10s	
Richard Archbold	Michaelmas 1709	Lady Day 1713	£25	
John Ryan	Michaelmas 1716	Lady Day 1717	£81	Includes Clonburren rent
John Drought ²⁵	Michaelmas 1717	Michaelmas 1719	£69 18s 9d	

Ceapach Uí Leannáin (Cappalinnan)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Pierce Bryan ²⁶	Lady Day 1701	Lady Day 1710	£8 10s	
Edmund Fitzpatrick ²⁷	Michaelmas 1710	Lady Day 1710	£8 10s	
Edmund Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719	£13 19s	

²¹ The 1679-1697 rental records a lease of Grantstown and other townlands dated 23 April 1695 for twenty-one years to Paul Palmer and Thomas Fletcher.

²² A deed of 10 June 1713 records the sale of Grantstown and other lands by Richard FitzPatrick to William Viccars for the term of the natural lives of Viccars and his sons; the renewal fee is that in the rental. FitzPatrick retained rights to minerals and game (FamilySearch: Transcripts of memorials of deeds, 1708-1929: Ireland (hereafter, Irish Deeds), 26.352.15679, accessed 2 September 2025. Carrigan (1905) notes the Viccars family occupied Grantstown House until the end of the eighteenth century.

²³ Richard Fitzpatrick sub-leased part of Grantstown and part of Ballycolla from William Viccars.

²⁴ The 1679-1697 rental records a lease of Rosdarragh dated 23 September 1695 for twenty-one years to Richard Archbold.

²⁵ Carrigan (1905) notes "Oldglass House, now Grantstown Manor, was built by the Drought family".

²⁶ The 1679-1697 rental records an undated lease of Cappalinnan for twenty-one years to Pierce Bryan.

²⁷ An Edmund Fitzpatrick is recorded holding the tenure of Ceapach Uí Leannáin in a deed dated 27 June 1744. Irish Deeds, 122.1.81976, accessed 12 September 2025.

***Baile Cholla (Ballycolla)*²⁸**

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Thomas Bellew ²⁹	Lady Day 1701	Lady Day 1703	£65 2s	
Thomas Ringwood ³⁰	Michaelmas 1703	Lady Day 1704	£33 13s 6d	Part, includes Killermogh rent
Thady Kinin ³¹	Michaelmas 1703	Lady Day 1704	£23 8s	Part
Alexander Viccars	Lady Day 1704	Lady Day 1704	£3 11s 3d	Part, held by tenants and graziers
Thomas Ringwood	Michaelmas 1704	Lady Day 1705	£28 1s 3d	Part, includes Killermogh rent
Thady Kinin	Michaelmas 1704	Lady Day 1706	£19 10s	Part
Alexander Viccars	Michaelmas 1704	Lady Day 1705	£2 19s 4½d	Part
Thady Kinin's widow	Michaelmas 1706	Lady Day 1707	£15 12s	Part
Charles Evers	Lady Day 1708	Lady Day 1713	£65 2s 4d	
John Hutchinson	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719	£20 16s 3d	Part
Captain Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719		Part

Cill Mhaolpóil (Kilminfoyle)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Carbery Keagan ³²	Lady Day 1701	Lady Day 1708	£13	
John Phelan	Michaelmas 1708	Lady Day 1713	£18 2s 10d	
John Phelan	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1715	£20 15s	
John Phelan	Lady Day 1716	Michaelmas 1719	£23 6s 10d	

²⁸ Ballycolla is not in the 1679-1697 rental.²⁹ The 1679-1697 rental records a lease dated 25 August 1697 for 21 years, made by Captain Richard Fitzpatrick to Thomas Bellew of Ballygauge, for lands of a total 1302 acres.³⁰ The 1679-1697 rental records a lease dated the 4 September 1697, made by Captain Fitzpatrick to Thomas Ringwood of Tintore.³¹ The 1679-1697 rental records that the lease transferred to Thady Fitzpatrick in November 1704, perhaps exemplifying the interchangeability of Kinin and Fitzpatrick surnames, see Fitzpatrick, M (2022).³² The 1679-1697 rental records a lease dated 3 September 1697 made by Captain Fitzpatrick to Carbery (also Kerbery) Keagan, for Kilminfoyle and part of Cloranduff for thirty one years.

Baile an Chaisleáin (Castletown Offerlane)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Thady Fitzpatrick Esquire ³³	Lady Day 1701	Michaelmas 1701	£65	
Thady Fitzpatrick	Lady Day 1702	Lady Day 1706	£75	
Thady Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1706	Michaelmas 1710	£75	His executors
William Gray ³⁴	Lady Day 1711	Lady Day 1715	£75	
'Several tenants'	Michaelmas 1715	Lady Day 1716	£132 4s 11½d	
'Several tenants'	Michaelmas 1716	Lady Day 1717	£129 2s	
'Several tenants'	Michaelmas 1717	Lady Day 1718	£131 2s 6d	
'Several tenants'	Michaelmas 1718	Lady Day 1719	£136 19s	
'Several tenants'	Michaelmas 1719	Michaelmas 1719	£137 14s	

Coill tSaileoge (Kyletilloge)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Thady Fitzpatrick, farmer ³⁵	Lady Day 1701	Lady Day 1703	£12	
Thady Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1703	Lady Day 1713	£3	Part
William Bergin	Michaelmas 1703	Lady Day 1711	£6	Part
William Mitchell	Michaelmas 1703	Lady Day 1704	£5 10s	Part
Daniel Hourihan	Michaelmas 1704	Michaelmas 1704	£5	And William Kennedy, part
Mrs Bryan ³⁶	Lady Day 1705	Lady Day 1710	£5	Part

³³ The 1679-1697 rental records a lease made by Brigadier Edward FitzPatrick dated 31 May 1695 to Thady Fitzpatrick of Castletown Offerlane and other townlands for twenty one years. From a compilation of records, this is Thady Fitzpatrick, Esquire, who was a Counsellor-at-Law well-known to both Colonel John Fitzpatrick and Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Seventh Baron of Upper Ossory, appearing, for example, in both of their wills (See Appendix III for the latter). Of unknown lineage, although perhaps descended from Florence, Third Baron of Upper Ossory, Thady died ca. 1706 and his lease holdings passed to his executors, which infers he may have been without heirs.

³⁴ Probably William Gray, the accountant who appears in the rental book.

³⁵ This is a different Thady Fitzpatrick to the one held Castletown Offerlane. The 1679-1697 rental records an undated lease for Kyletilloge thirty one years to Thady Fitzpatrick.

³⁶ Bridget Fitzpatrick who married of Murtagh O'Bryan; she was a sister of Colonel John Fitzpatrick (Fitzpatrick, M, 2025). There are several entries in the rental book that concern her; refer to the narrative later in this article.

Francis Lodge	Michaelmas 1710	Lady Day 1711	£6	Part
Mrs Butler ³⁷	Michaelmas 1711	Lady Day 1717	£6	Part
Francis Lodge	Michaelmas 1711	Lady Day 1718	£7 10s	Part
Thomas Crawly	Michaelmas 1714	Lady Day 1716	£3 14s	Part
William Sullivan	Michaelmas 1716	Michaelmas 1719	£4 12s 6d	Part
Mr Dempsey	Michaelmas 1717	Lady Day 1718	£6	Part
Florence Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1718	Michaelmas 1719	£8 12s 6d	Part

Gráig an Bhealaigh (Graigueavallagh)³⁸

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Thomas Fitzpatrick ³⁹	Lady Day 1701	Lady Day 1701	£7 10s	
Thomas Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1701	Lady Day 1702	£15	
John Molloy ⁴⁰	Lady Day 1705	Michaelmas 1710	£13	
Widow Molloy	Lady Day 1711	Lady Day 1713	£13	
Mrs Molloy	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719	£15	

Cluain Mín (Clonmeen) and Chuáin Templequain (Teampallquain)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Mortogh Griffin ⁴¹	Lady Day 1701	Lady Day 1704	£47 10s	
Mortogh Griffin	Michaelmas 1704	Lady Day 1710	£52 10s	
Mortogh Griffin	Michaelmas 1710	Michaelmas 1710	£57 10s	
Mr Pike	Lady Day 1711	Michaelmas 1713	£57 10s	His executors

³⁷ Catherine Butler, neé Fitzpatrick; another sister of Colonel John Fitzpatrick (Fitzpatrick, M, 2025). There are several entries in the rental book that concern her; refer to the narrative later in this article.

³⁸ There was a sizeable sheep farm at Graigueavallagh – the rental records 700 hundred sheep were sheared there in 1702.

³⁹ The 1679-1697 rental records a lease for Graigueavallagh dated 30 August 1679 for twenty one years to Thomas Fitzpatrick.

⁴⁰ The Graigueavallagh lease was taken up in 1705 by John Malloy, who died in 1711, then passing to his wife, Elizabeth Malloy. Elizabeth was a sister of Bryan Fitzpatrick the disallowed eighth Baron of Upper Ossory; she died in 1754 aged seventy-five years (Carrigan, W, 1905).

⁴¹ The 1679-1697 rental records a lease for Clonmeen and Templequain dated 2 January 1696 for twenty-one years to Mortagh Griffin.

Mr Pike	Lady Day 1714	Lady Day 1717	£78 13s 3½d	His tenants
John Stapleton & partners	Michaelmas 1717	Lady Day 1718	£9 7s 6d	Part
John Hyatt	Michaelmas 1717	Michaelmas 1719	£30	Part
Patrick Kelly	Michaelmas 1717	Michaelmas 1719	£3 17s	Part
John Stapleton & partners	Michaelmas 1718	Michaelmas 1719	£10 6s	Part

Gráig an Drisliche (Graigueadrishly)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Henry Ringwood ⁴²	Lady Day 1701	Michaelmas 1719	£50	

Tigh an Tuair (Tintore)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Thomas Ringwood ³⁰	Lady Day 1701	Lady Day 1707	£35 2s	
Richard Fitzpatrick ⁴³	Michaelmas 1707	Lady Day 1716	£35 2s	
Lord Gowran	Michaelmas 1716	Michaelmas 1719	£67 17s 6d	Included Codach and Ballycolla

Cnoc an Mhuilinn (Knockamullin)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
William Mitchell ⁴⁴	Lady Day 1701	Michaelmas 1701	£10	
William & Thomas Mitchell	Lady Day 1702	Lady Day 1719	£10	
William Cullen	Michaelmas 1719	Michaelmas 1719	£15	

⁴² The 1679-1697 rental records a lease for Graigueadrishly and Kyle dated 3 February 1692 for twenty-one years to Thomas and Henry Ringwood for 800 acres, at a total rent of £100.

⁴³ Richard Fitzpatrick, Esquire from Michaelmas 1707, Captain Fitzpatrick from Lady Day 1708, and Lord Gowran from Lady Day 1715 – in Irish Deeds between 1710 and 1719 he is described as living in either of Castletown or Tintore.

⁴⁴ The 1679-1697 rental records the Knockamullin was set to William Mitchell for twenty one years on 1 May 1698.

Bealach an Ráithín (Ballaghgarahin)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Maurice Moore ⁴⁵	Lady Day 1701	Michaelmas 1701	£132 9s 9d ⁴⁶	
George Southern	Michaelmas 1707	Lady Day 1713	£24 9s 7½d	
George Southern	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719	£27 10s 10½d	

Cluain Boireann (Clonburren)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Richard Hutchison ⁴⁷	Lady Day 1701	Lady Day 1702	£15	
Richard Hutchison	Michaelmas 1702	Lady Day 1709	£17 10s	
Richard Hutchison	Michaelmas 1709	Lady Day 1713	£20	
John Ryan	Michaelmas 1713	Lady Day 1716	£45	
John Ryan	Michaelmas 1716	Lady Day 1717	-	See Rossdarragh
John Moore	Michaelmas 1717	Michaelmas 1719	£34 14s 2d	Part
Edmund Fitzpatrick ⁴⁸	Michaelmas 1717	Michaelmas 1719	£7 10s	Part

Cuddagh (Codach)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
William Gray ⁴⁹	Lady Day 1701	Lady Day 1701	£140	Paid to Mr Wise
William Gray	Michaelmas 1701	Lady Day 1706	£70	

⁴⁵ The 1679-1697 rental records a lease dated the 18 of July 1681 to Major Lawrence Byrne for more than 1328 acres that included Ballaghgarahin.

⁴⁶ A memorandum in the rental records Maurice Moore, by order of Richard Fitzpatrick, cleared his rent and arrears for the Michaelmas 1701 period by payment of £140 4s to Christopher FitzSimon.

⁴⁷ The 1679-1697 rental records the lease of Clonburren was made to Richard Hutchinson by Brigadier Edward Fitzpatrick, dated the 30 of September 1695.

⁴⁸ The lineage of Edmund Fitzpatrick is unknown. Clonburren was part of lands leased to various others in 1719. Irish Deeds 24.27.12927, accessed 23 September 2025.

⁴⁹ The rental book of Richard Fitzpatrick, 1700-1719, demonstrates Gray acted in various means as manager of Richard Fitzpatrick's Laois estate. And the 1679-1697 rental records a lease made by Captain Fitzpatrick of Cuddogilmore, Cuddughbegg, Rathphelan, Carrigin, Clonfadda, Ballycliere and Inchkile, with 48 acres of Kilbrickane, Coole and Camilone, dated the 21 day of July 1697 to William Gray, for twenty one years from the first day of May, at the "rate a Mr Fisher took the farm off Mr Wise".

William Gray	Michaelmas 1706	Lady Day 1713	£40	
Lord Gowran	Michaelmas 1716	Michaelmas 1719	-	See Tintore

Baile Dhabhag (Ballygauge)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Alexander Viccars	Michaelmas 1703	Lady Day 1704	£15 12s 11½d	His tenants and graziers
Mr Dixon	Michaelmas 1704	Lady Day 1705	£33 18s 6d	
None	Michaelmas 1704	Lady Day 1713	NA	Waste
Charles Evers	Michaelmas 1713	Lady Day 1716	£30 6s 3d	
Charles Evers	Michaelmas 1716	Lady Day 1717	£1 17s 6d	Part, 30 acres
Bartholomew Evans	Michaelmas 1716	Lady Day 1717	£5 2s 6d	Part
John Hyatt	Michaelmas 1716	Lady Day 1717	£14 17s 6d	Part
William Langridge	Michaelmas 1716	Michaelmas 1717	£15 8s	7 acres; rest with his tenants
John Phelan	Michaelmas 1717	Michaelmas 1719	£8 4s	Part
John Hyett	Michaelmas 1717	Michaelmas 1719	£15	Part
William Langridge	Michaelmas 1717	Michaelmas 1719	£14 10s	Part of, his tenants

Leacht Tiog (Loughteeog)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Bowen Brereton	Michaelmas 1704	Lady Day 1705	£220 2s 5d	
Bowen Brereton	Michaelmas 1705	Lady Day 1717	£100	
Lewis Moore	Michaelmas 1717	Michaelmas 1719	£100	

Cill Dara Mai (Killermogh)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Thomas Ringwood ⁵⁰	Michaelmas 1703	Lady Day 1705		See Ballycolla

⁵⁰ The 1679-1697 rental records a lease dated the 4 September 1697, made by Captain Fitzpatrick to Thomas Ringwood of Tintore.

None	Michaelmas 1705	Lady Day 1713		Waste
Patrick Moore	Michaelmas 1713	Lady Day 1717	£11	Part
Edward FitzGerald	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719	£20 9d	Part
Patrick Moore & partners	Michaelmas 1717	Michaelmas 1719	£8 14s	Part

Eiréil (Errill)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Joseph White	Michaelmas 1707	Lady Day 1709	£17 10s 8½d	Part
Ralph Bridges	Michaelmas 1707	Lady Day 1713	£15 6d	And Isaac Thompson, art
Joseph White's widow	Michaelmas 1710	Lady Day 1713	£17 10s 8½d	Part
Bridges & Thompson	Michaelmas 1713	Lady Day 1716	£16 18s	Part
Thomas Southern	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719	£19 14s 6d	Part
Bridges & Thompson	Michaelmas 1716	Michaelmas 1719	£18 15s 7d	Part

An Lios Dubh (Lisduff)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Richard Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1707	Lady Day 1716	£67	
Lord Gowran	Michaelmas 1716	Lady Day 1717	£84 7s 6d	Lisduff, etc. 675 acres

An Dún Mór (Dunmore)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Lady Upper Ossory ⁵¹	Lady Day 1708	Lady Day 1716	£2 10s	
Lady Upper Ossory	Michaelmas 1716	Michaelmas 1719	£2 10s	Coldbushes ⁵² , etc.

⁵¹ That is, Dorothy Dowager Baroness Upper Ossory (née Wagstaffe), wife of Brian Fitzpatrick, seventh Baron of Upper Ossory (Carrigan, W, 1905).

⁵² Of uncertain location but probably in Durrow parish. Charles Evers is recorded holding Coldbushes from Lady Day 1711 to Michaelmas 1712, at the same time he held Coolnabehy.

Domhnach Mór (Donaghmore)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Philip Rawson ⁵³	Lady Day 1709	Michaelmas 1719	£73 17s 6d	

Cúil na Beithe (Coolnabehy)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Charles Evers	Lady Day 1713	Lady Day 1713	£4 15s	And other lessees
Patrick Delaney	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719	£4 13s 6d	

Cúldoire (Coolderry)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Edward FitzGerald	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719	£20 9d	Part
John Palmer	Michaelmas 1713	Michaelmas 1719	£8 14s	Part

Coill Ghort Riain (Kyle)⁵⁴

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Robert Steele	Michaelmas 1715	Michaelmas 1719	£50	

An Currach (Curragh)

Tenants	First entry	Last entry	Half-year's rent	Notes
Lord Gowran	Michaelmas 1716	Michaelmas 1719		See Lisduff

⁵³ The 1679-1697 rental record has Donaghmore and associated townlands leased to Gilbert Rawson.

⁵⁴ Earlier in the rental it was included in Graigueadrisly.

Other occurrences of Fitzpatrick and related surnames

Most of the disbursements recorded in the rental relate to estate and maintenance and agricultural affairs, such as purchases of trees and livestock from numerous individuals, some of whom are Fitzpatricks or have associated surnames, such as Kynen¹⁸ and Costigan²⁰. Yet, among the disbursement records are payments to individuals that are not for any services rendered or goods provided, but annuities or ‘charities’ paid by the direct order of Richard Fitzpatrick. Some such recipients were Fitzpatrick by name, while others, not Fitzpatrick by name, were part of Fitzpatrick kinship groups. It is posited here that the latter were probably either kindred of Colonel John Fitzpatrick or Brigadier Edward and Richard Fitzpatrick – in some cases, this can be shown unequivocally.

The first record of personal payments in the rental is in the Michaelmas 1700 “to the Coghlans”, £14, and similar payments follow: £30 in the Lady Day term of 1701 “to the three Mrs Coghlans”⁵⁵ and £15 “to the Coghlans” in the Michaelmas term of 1701. The relationship between “the three Mrs Coghlans” is readily understood via a codicil to the will of Colonel John Fitzpatrick, which records he directed payment of £100 *per annum* for twenty-one years to his nephew, John Coghlan. A further sum of approximately £240 *per annum* for twenty-one years, was “to be divided among his younger sisters and brothers, begat on the body of my sister Joan Coghlan”⁶.

Joan Coghlan neé Fitzpatrick of Castletown had married John Coghlan, who descended from Sir John Mac Coghlan of Cloghan, of the well-known ‘Devlin-Mac Coghlans’⁵⁶. In addition to John, the eldest, the couple had at least three other sons – James, Garret, and Felix⁵⁷. Of the sons, only Felix finds mention in the rental: on 14 May 1707, he received a payment of £15 5d for unspecified reasons.

Of Garraí an Chaisleáin, Uíbh Fhailí (Garrycastle, County Offaly), Felix Coghlan also appears in several deeds from 1710 to 1711 that pertain to his purchase of lands in Garraí an Chaisleáin, which were held by his father and settled first, in 1688, on Felix’s uncle, Cornelius Coghlan, and, later, in 1693, on his father’s second wife, Cowly⁵⁸ neé Dowling, to be held in trust for Felix⁵⁹. Captain Richard Fitzpatrick is named among some of the same deeds as providing part of the purchase funds, doubtless those held in trust for Felix as his portion from the personal estate of Colonel John Fitzpatrick. The names of two of the daughters of John Coghlan and Joan Fitzpatrick, i.e., two of the ‘Mrs Coghlans’, can be derived from the rental, which records a payment to Mrs Margaret Coghlan in 1704 and payments to Sisly Coghlan, including, in 1708, as “part of the money she demands to the sum of £118 9s 8½d”.

⁵⁵ Mistress is the root word of both the abbreviations Mrs and Miss “and was once used to adult women, married or otherwise, who were of high status in society” (Erickson A, 2014. Mistresses and Marriage, or a Short History of the Mrs. History Workshop Journal, 78, 39-57).

⁵⁶ FitzGerald, W (1913). Notes on Sir John Mac Coghlan, Knight, of Cloghan, Chief of Delvin-MacCoghlan, who Died in 1590. The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 3, 223-231.

⁵⁷ Lowry-Corry, R (1887). Parliamentary Memoirs of Fermanagh and Tyrone from 1613 to 1885. Dublin: Alex Thomas & Co. Ltd.

⁵⁸ From the Irish name, Cobhlaith.

⁵⁹ Irish Deeds, 5.290.1873; Irish Deeds, 6.303.2188; Irish Deeds, 6.315.2203; Irish Deeds, 8.184.2544, accessed 15 September 2025.

There are also regular payments, generally made biannually or annually, to “Mrs Butler” recorded between 1701 and 1716, which amounted to £30 *per annum*. Likewise, there are payments of £20 *per annum* to “Mrs Bryan” between Michaelmas 1700 and Michaelmas 1709, half of which was to cover the cost of her portion of the Coill tSaileoge lease, which is recorded in her tenure until Michaelmas 1710 – presumably she died ca. 1710. While Shearman did not identify Joan Coghlan as Colonel John Fitzpatrick’s sister, he did identify Catherine Butler, Mabel Thomas, and Bridget Bryan⁶⁰, who brought a lawsuit relating to the Colonel’s will before the Duke of Ormond⁶¹; but Shearman’s reference only provides a hint of the controversy surrounding the will.

The lawsuit centred on the claim that Colonel John Fitzpatrick’s will could not be found immediately after his death, on 24 August 1694, and that documents later produced, and were claimed to be his various wills, were counterfeited. The lawsuit was resolved by virtue of an offer Colonel Edward Fitzpatrick, the major beneficiary, made to Colonel John Fitzpatrick’s sisters, of “two hundred pounds or some other sums … upon condition that he might meet with no opposition in proving of the pretended will”. More specifically, a codicil of Colonel John Fitzpatrick’s will directed payments be made to his “sister Catherine Butler, two hundred pounds; to my sister Bridget O’Bryan, five hundred pounds”⁶. It is not surprising that the arrangement found disfavour with Mabel Thomas, the remaining sister, who received nothing. An Exchequer bill book entry of 29 November 1695 records Mabel brought a lawsuit against her sisters, Catherine Butler and Bridget O’Bryan, wife of Murtagh O’Bryan⁶² (Appendix IV) – the outcome of which is unknown. However, Mabel Thomas does not appear in the rental book that is the subject of this article.

In addition to the legata⁶³ paid to Catherine Butler and Bridget Bryan, there were occasional living costs provided to them, such as on 1 April 1707, “for clothes to Mrs Butler and Mr Bryan … £9 13s 3d”. And then there are numerous allowances, personal expenses, and disbursements made to other individuals, the most relevant of which are presented in the tables that follow. Later in the rental record, disbursements to individuals, which can be identified as one-off allowances or personal expenses, are recorded in less detail. Hence, there is found, for example, in 1715, an entry that notes, “by cash to several persons in charity … £28 18s 6d”, a not insignificant sum.

Finally, a summary of additional income, i.e., non-rental income, from relevant persons, is also provided.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks Marianne Mielke for photographing the rental book.

⁶⁰ 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.

⁶¹ That is, James Butler, second Duke of Ormond.

⁶² Ireland Court of Chancery Records, 1633-1851: <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>, accessed 31 August 2025. Mabel was the wife of Edward Thomas and had previously brought a lawsuit against her brother, Colonel John Fitzpatrick, on 24 January 1662, *ibid*, accessed 10 September 2025.

⁶³ That is, legacies or bequests.

Allowances and personal expenses

Recipient	Date	Sum received	Notes
The three Mrs Coghlans	Lady Day 1700 – Michaelmas 1701	£15 per term	Allowance
Mrs Butler	Lady Day 1701 – Michaelmas 1716	£15 per term	Allowance, by order
Mrs Bryan	Lady Day 1701 – Michaelmas 1709	£10 per term	Allowance, by order, and for her rent
Thady Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	Michaelmas 1701	£5	By order
Clement Byrne ⁶⁵	Michaelmas 1701	£5	By order
Daniel Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	Michaelmas 1701	£2 6s	By order
Henry Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	Michaelmas 1701	£65 2s	By order
Thady Fitzpatrick	Lady Day 1703	15s 6s	Several times for clothes
Lady of Upper Ossory	Lady Day 1703	11s	Coffin and sheet for Lord of Upper Ossory's daughter ⁶⁶
Mabel Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	Lady Day 1703	£1	Allowance
Margaret Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	Lady Day 1703	£1	Allowance
Bryan Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	Lady Day 1703	£5 12s	In several payments
Clement Byrne	Lady Day 1703	£5 8s	By order
Daniel Fitzpatrick	Lady Day 1703	£3 15s 6d	Order to pay, via William Cashin
Margaret Coghlan	4 December 1704	£1	By order
Thomas Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	6 March 1706	£2	Allowance
Mrs Butler & Bryan	1 April 1707	£9 13s 3d	For clothes
Felix Coghlan	14 May 1707	£15 5d	Allowance
Kate Eustace ⁶⁴	24 May 1707	£1	Allowance

⁶⁴ These individuals, while clearly kin to Colonel John Fitzpatrick or Richard Fitzpatrick, are not immediately able to be associated with a particular Fitzpatrick lineage. However, there are several unnamed close kin of the seventh Baron of Upper Ossory mentioned in his will (Appendix III), as there are close kin of another Colonel John Fitzpatrick of Coolowly, a cousin of Richard Fitzpatrick¹⁰, who were probably living 1700-1719. As such, they could have benefited from Richard Fitzpatrick's generosity.

⁶⁵ Clement Byrne is named twice in pleadings before the Palatine Court of County Tipperary 1662-1690. First, as a defendant alongside Thomas Butler in a case brought by Geoffrey Fanning in 1673 and, second, as a defendant alongside Pierce Butler, Second Viscount Ikerrin, in a case brought by Richard Kearney in 1677 (Ireland Public Record Office, 1874. The Sixth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office).

⁶⁶ That is, the daughter of Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Seventh Baron of Upper Ossory, who was mentioned in his last will, see Appendix III. Carrigan (1905) states she was Mary, born to Barnaby's first wife, Margaret Butler.

Cisly Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	24 May 1707	£1	Allowance
Thady Kinsallagh ⁶⁴	1 November 1707	£1	By order
Kate Eustace	7 November 1707	£1	Allowance
Edmond Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	6 February 1708	8s 2d	For coat and pumps
Cisly Fitzpatrick	19 February 1708	£1	Allowance
Kate Eustace	2 April 1708	£1	Allowance to November 1707
Thady Kinsallagh	29 June 1708	£1	Allowance
Mr Bryan Fitzpatrick	14 July 1709	£5	In full of year allowance ordered him to May 1708
Mr Bryan Fitzpatrick	10 August 1709	£5	Full year of his allowance ending May 1709
Thady Kinsallagh	25 August 1709	£2	In full of his allowance at Michaelmas 1709
John Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	Michaelmas 1711	£5 15s	Cash as a gift, which is allowed
Cisly Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1711	£5	As charity
Mrs Butler	Michaelmas 1712	£6	To Mr Evers for part of Ballycolla held by Mrs Butler
Mr Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	Michaelmas 1713	14s 5d	Cash for expenses
Florence Fitzpatrick ⁶⁴	Michaelmas 1716	£46 3d	By order
Mr Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1719	£7 13s 10½d	Tailor, liveries for the boys by order Florence Fitzpatrick

Disbursements

Recipient	Date	Sum received	Notes
Kinsallagh	Lady Day 1703	£6 11s 13d	For a horse and two cows
Cisly Fitzpatrick	Lady Day 1703	£2 4d	For one cow
Kate Eustace	Lady Day 1703	£2 3s	For one cow
Ned Fitzpatrick	Lady Day 1703	15s 6s	For frieze for Kinsallagh
Ned Fitzpatrick	Lady Day 1703	£6 11s 13d	Two cows for Kinsallagh
Patrick Kynen	Michaelmas 1704	£5 10s	40 barrels of oats
John Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1704	13s 6d	4½ barrels of oats to sow
Tirlagh Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1704	4s 6d	1½ barrels of oats to sow
James Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1704	1s 6d	1½ loads of straw
Ned Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1704	1s	Two years grazing of Mrs Eustace's cow

Joseph Fitzpatrick ⁶⁷	24 May 1707	£1 12s 6d	Oats
Edmund Fitzpatrick	8 November 1707	£20 8s	Tithe bond
Joseph Fitzpatrick	22 December 1707	£9	40 barrels of oats and 21 barrels of beer
Thady Fitzpatrick	6 February 1708	6s 3d	Going to Waterford for oser, i.e., willow
Kevian Kynen	18 February 1708	£2 10s	21 weathers
Thady Fitzpatrick	12 May 1708	£1 1s 2d	Going with wool to Kilkenny
Fitzpatrick	2 August 1708	4s 5d	The Smith for mending locks
Florence Fitzpatrick	2 August 1708	4s 5d	Mending locks
Florence Fitzpatrick	10 December 1708	£5 13s	Paid to Mr Cormick
Thady Fitzpatrick	27 September 1709	2s 8½d	Going to Mr Wyse
Tirlagh Fitzpatrick	12 October 1709	14d	Paid to [x] Southern for Tirlagh's house for one year
Thady Fitzpatrick	29 November 1709	£5 13s	Going to [Mr] Rutledge
Edmund Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1710	£7 14s	9 bullocks
Bryan Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1710	£2 5s 6d	A bullock sold to Captain Fitzpatrick
Bryan Fitzpatrick	Lady Day 1712	£3	A bullock and a ram
Denis Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1712	£11 6d	The mason, and partners
Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1712	£3 18s 1d	The mason
Widow Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1713	£1 3s	Wife of Bryan Fitzpatrick, cash for one cow
Terence Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1713	£2 11s 11½d	The mason
Joseph Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1713	£11 7s 6d	70 barrels of oats
Costigan, merchant	Michaelmas 1714	£4 2s 11½d	By cash several times
Thady Kynen	Michaelmas, 1715	£1 2s 9d	And others, to buy straw
Costigan	Michaelmas 1716	£11 7s 6d	The merchant, several times
Counsellor Fitzpatrick ⁶⁸	Michaelmas 1716	£20	For his receipts
Thady Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1716	8s 11d	And others, for charges at assizes
Mr Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1716	10s 10d	Horse farrier

⁶⁷ It is considered Joseph was probably the father of John Fitzpatrick, who later took the lease of Ballaghaharin (Fitzpatrick, M ,2024b. The Fitzpatricks of Ballaghaharin, County Laois. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 5, 43-61. doi:[10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety02124](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety02124)).

⁶⁸ Probably the well-known Counsellor-at-Law, John Fitzpatrick of Dublin (Fitzpatrick, M, 2024b).

Terence Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1716	£13 9s 2d	For this year's mason work
Florence Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1717	£335	Cash to buy cattle
Counsellor Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1717	£10 18s 11½d	By cash
Costigan	Michaelmas 1717	£5 2s 8d	The merchant
Mr Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1717	£2 15s	Wood ranger at Castletown
Thady & Mort Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1717	6s 6d	Charges relating to FitzGerald's corn
Thady Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1717	1s 1d	Charges at Kilkenny
Geoffrey Costigan	Lady Day 1719	£12 2s 5d	For iron
John Fitzpatrick	Lady Day 1719	10s	Horse farrier
Costigan	Lady Day 1719	£8 10s 6d	The merchant, for goods
Costigan	Michaelmas 1719	£4 5s 1d	The merchant, for goods for houses
Geoffrey Costigan	Michaelmas 1719	£4 10s 9d	For iron
Costigan	Michaelmas 1719	£1 12s 3½d	By cash
Edmund Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1719	6s 8d	Labourer, by cash

Income

Payee	Date	Sum	Notes
Edmond Fitzpatrick	19 April 1707	£6 10s	Also, Donogh and Edmond Fitzpatrick, for a bond
Donogh Fitzpatrick	24 Jan 1708	£6 10s	Discharge of a bond
Florence Fitzpatrick	1708	£1 16s	For grazing at Lisduff
Edward FitzGerald ⁶⁹	1715	£16	For interest
Edward FitzGerald	7 February 1716	£200	On account of debt and interest
Florence Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1717	£196 16s	For bullocks sold
Florence Fitzpatrick	Lady Day 1719	£442 14s 8d	For bills
Florence Fitzpatrick	Michaelmas 1719	£338 2s	On his account

⁶⁹ Edward FitzGerald occurs as a lessee of Coolderry and Killermogh, first appearing in entries of Michaelmas 1713; the £20 9s rent due was immediately in arrears. From the schedule of rental payments and the cashbook entry of 7 February 1716, it is apparent he borrowed from Richard Fitzpatrick to cover the first several years of rent.

Appendix I: Lord Gowran

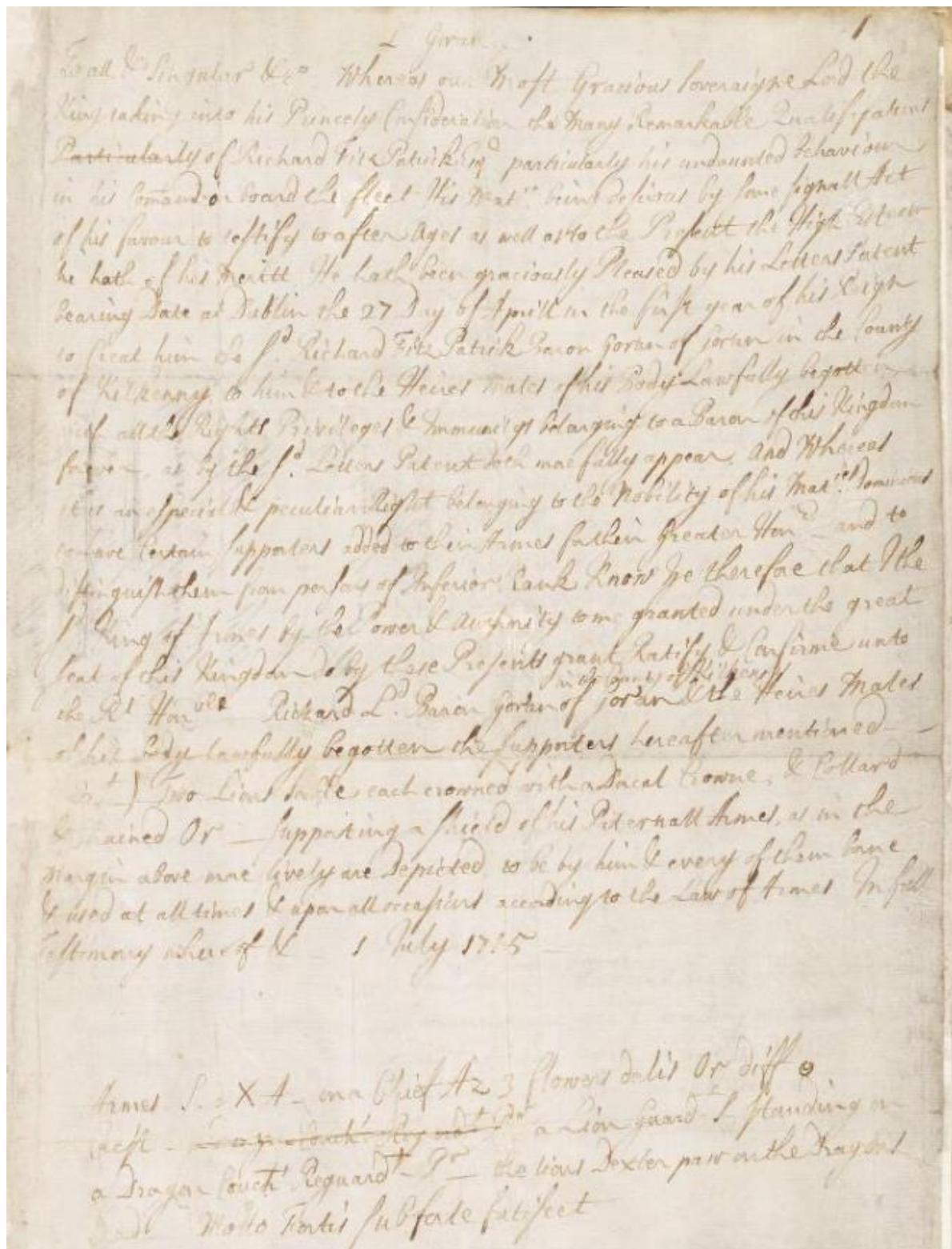


Image courtesy of the [National Library of Ireland](#).

Appendix II: Page 3 of Richard Fitzpatrick's 1700-1719 rental book

*The severall Tenants that are Debts
for the half Years Rent ended at
Lady-day 1701.*

Tenants Names	Denominations	half years Rent
Palmer and Fletcher	Grantstowne	£ 8 0
Richard Archbold	Rosdree	122 8
Peirce Bryan	Cappallenan	20
Thomas Bellew	Ballycolla	8 10
Kerbery Keagan	Kilmulfoile	65 2
Thomas Gray	Fythes	13
Thady Fitz Patrick	Castletowne	20
Thady Fitz Patrick	Kiletullog	65
Thomas Fz Patrick	Gragawalla	12
Mortogh Griffin	Conmeen & Templequan	7 10
Henry Ringwood	Graigdrisly	47 10
Thomas Ringwood	Fentore	50
William Mitchell	Knockmullin	35 2
Maurice Moore	Ballaghraheen	10
Richard Hutchison	Conburrin	132 9 9 per
<i>Wm Gray for - Coldough 1/2 Years Rent at £ 140. per Annum paid to Mr Wifes off order and so not included in this Gale.</i>		15
		623 11 9

Image courtesy of the [National Library of Ireland](#).

Appendix III: Transcript of the will of Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Seventh Baron of Upper Ossory

'The will of Barnaby, Seventh Lord of Upper Ossory. As Barnaby, Lord Baron of Upper Ossory intends to make a voyage to England he deems it well before doing to make his last will: and first of all he bequeaths all his estates in this kingdom to his nephew Bryan Fitzpatrick and his heirs male; remainder to James son of his (the testator's) uncle James Fitzpatrick, deceased; remainder to the heirs male of his (the testator's) uncle Derby Fitzpatrick, deceased; remainder to the heirs of Thady, once Lord Baron of Upper Ossory; remainder to the heirs of Florence, once Lord Baron of Upper Ossory. To his (testator's) wife he leaves on third of his real estates during her life and all his personal estate.

Item, I devise to my only and unfortunate daughter five pounds yearly during her natural life in full satisfaction of all portions to be paid to her out of the profits of my real estate. I do appoint my kinsman Brigadier Edward Fitzpatrick, and my wife, and Thady Fitzpatrick of Castletown, Esquire, to be executors of this my last will and testament, published, made, and given under my hand and seal the third day of February 1695.

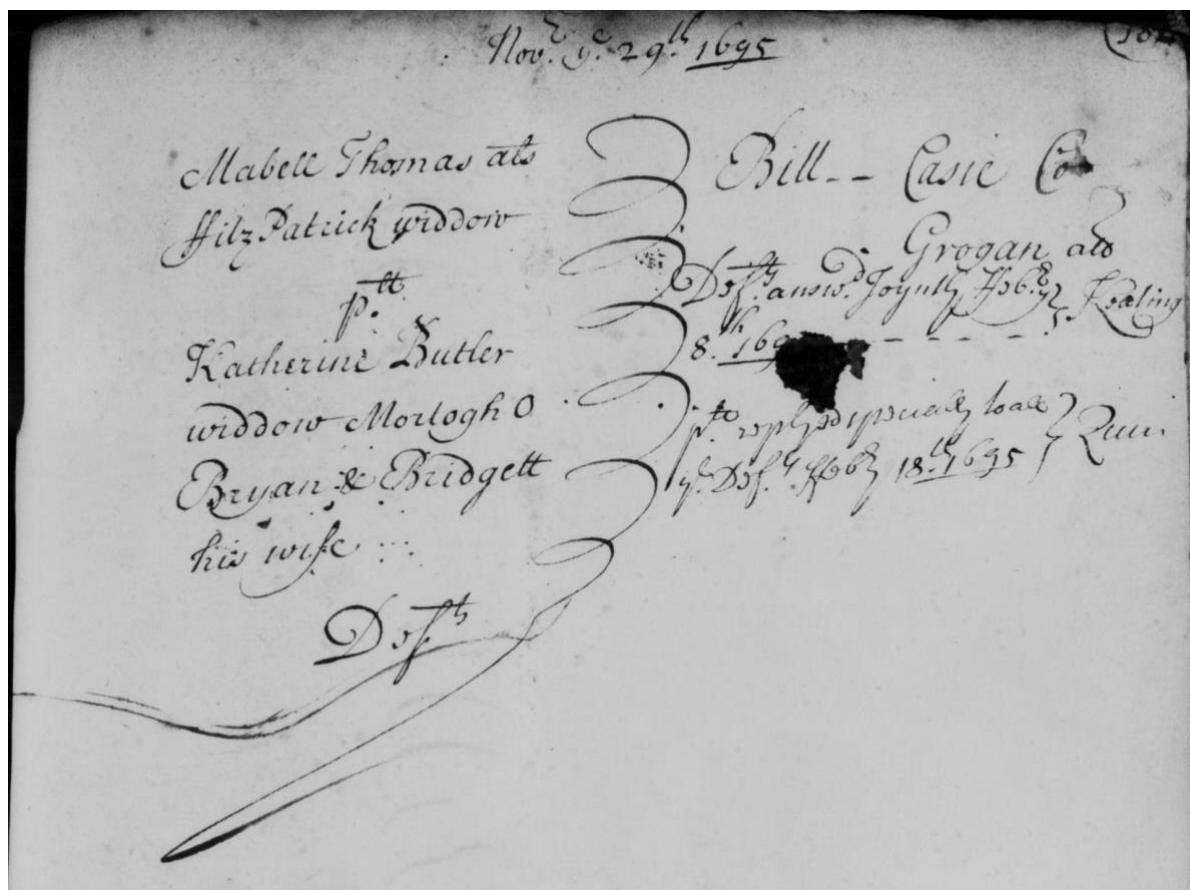
Item, I devise that if my nephew shall recover my estate that was in my family in the year 1640, that he thereout pay all the debts due by me or my said father.

Witnesses: T. Fitzpatrick, Kenny Prendergast, Mary Prendergast, Dorothy Gascoigne, John McDermott'

Proved the third of June 1698 by Thady Fitzpatrick, Castletown, Esquire (and City of Dublin at same date)⁷⁰.

⁷⁰ Carrigan Manuscripts 83, 'Wills' p. 214-215. For an introduction to the Carrigan Manuscripts 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).

Appendix IV: Chancery record of a lawsuit brought by Mabel Thomas, neé Fitzpatrick



FindmyPast

Origines Phantasticus: The Norman Y-Haplotype, R-FGC5494 ... FT265133

Editorial

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Some fantastic stories swirl around the sphere of genealogical and Y-DNA research. And it makes sense that among the best are those that relate to the Irish, who, by self-admission, are never short of a good yarn. Yet, we Irish know not to be too cynical of the fantastic, from words attributed to the Hibernophile Lord Byron, in *Don Juan*:

“‘Tis strange – but true; for truth is always strange;
Stranger than fiction; if it could be told,
How much would novels gain by the exchange!”

Fitzpatricks have recently learnt a thing or two about fiction, since our broad surname narrative has been exposed via Y-DNA as a gross invention, which gained momentum after our many-clan stories were lost during the turmoil of seventeenth-century Ireland. But thanks to Y-DNA, it's partly possible to reconstruct Fitzpatrick narratives. Inspired by genetic clues, and fragments of records, such as fiants and patents, lease records, and depositions, now widely accessible, which have afforded the piecing together of our clan puzzles. Yet, such research necessarily involves elements of the imagination, since we sometimes need to imagine to guess where to search for truth.

Therefore, a little Fitzpatrick fiction is affordable now and then, and an end-of-year editorial is an appropriate platform – aimed at humouring as well as informing, and providing subject matter for some end-of-year debate, all in fantastic fashion. And the narrative surrounding the origins of R-FGC5494 ... A1488 Fitzpatricks is fantastic regardless of what version you subscribe to. Yet, a fundamental truth is that, when using Y-DNA, such origins can be understood only by accounting for common ancestral connections under R-FGC5494 ... FT265133, a haplogroup a little upstream of R-A1488.

There is a theory that goes around by word of mouth known as the *Cerball Nexus*¹, which posits the common connection (hence, the Latin, *nexus*, meaning connection) is Cearball, King of Ossory (843-888), since three connected surnames under R-FT265133, Fitzpatrick, Costigan, and Branan, are said to be Cearball's descendants. But a more considered opinion would likely result in a re-branding of the theory to the *Nexus Ridiculus*, of obvious meaning, since there is no attempt by *Nexus* adherents, the *Nexians*, to connect all

¹ Unpublished, unfortunately, but AI was typically good value when asked, on 2 December 2025, “What is the Cerball Nexus”, responding:

The *Cerball Nexus* appears to be the name of a specific musical track or video rather than a widely known general concept or place. Search results suggest:

- It is the title of a video or music track with a duration of just over an hour.
- It may be associated with the musician Brian Kellock.
- It does not appear to be a common or established term in history, geography, or mainstream culture.

The name likely refers to a fictional or artistic creation, possibly related to the Irish king Cearball of Osraige.

prominent surnames under R-FT265133, only those three surnames that suit their purposes; hence, conspicuous by their absence from the *Cerball Nexus* are the surnames Dalton and Cody.

Good-natured ridicule is warranted since *Nexians* draw their Fitzpatrick-Costigan-Branan genealogy from former policeman, teacher, and part-time historian John O'Hart², while ignoring by far the most important Irish genealogies recorded ever, *The Great Book of Irish Genealogies* (GBIG), written by Ireland's last, and greatest, hereditary *sennachie*³, Dubhaltach Óg Mac Fhirbisigh (Duald Mac Firbis, 1585-1670)⁴. While citizen scientists may consider simple genealogies, such as O'Hart's, sufficiently reliable to support the Y-DNA analysis of the Irish, solving complex Irish lineage mysteries in scholarly fashion demands a much greater degree of genealogical rigor⁵.

Therefore, presented here is a scholarly alternative to the *Nexian* origins story of FGC5494 ... R-A1488 Fitzpatricks of Ossory, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, yet endeavoring to connect all the modern-day R-FT265133 surname groups, i.e., Fitzpatrick and Costigan (under R-A1488), 'Dalton' (under R-FT12974), 'Branan' (under R-BY140757), and 'Cody' (under R-FTF46424), and drawing on the great Mac Fhirbisigh. The new theory is christened *Origines Phantasticus*, i.e., Fantastic Origins.

It is essential to understand that there is no surname-specific Single Nucleotide Polymorphism (SNP) for R-A1488 Fitzpatricks. Instead, there is an association of various surnames under the haplogroup. And it is easy to understand why some with R-A1488 paternity may have taken Mac Giolla Phádraig as a surname in Upper Ossory, since it was a territory dominated by a clan of that name, particularly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, much in the same way West Ulster clans with links to the Uí Néill, or West Breifne clans with links to the Uí Ruairc took the Ó Néill or Ó Ruairc surnames, respectively, without being of patrilineal descent from the eponymous ancestors – in such fashion were dynastic influences expressed⁶.

And there is evidence, discussed later, that Mac Giolla Phádraig of Upper Ossory may have stemmed from a Costigan line, since the former was a higher-ranking surname. But *Origines Phantasticus* does not attempt to unravel the complexity of R-A1488; rather, the focus is on earlier surname connections. It is sufficient to note that there are currently seven named descendant lineages under R-A1488, of which only two provide evidence of singular surname use: (1) R-A18403 is a line that shows, based on FTDNA's dating scheme, that the surname Mac Giolla Phádraig came into use among R-A1488 ca. 1450, and surely not before 1200⁷, while (2) R-BY116564 is a solely FitzGerald line, with that surname being adopted by

² O'Hart, J (1892). *Irish Pedigrees*. Dublin, James Duffy and Co. Ltd.

³ That is, historian and genealogist.

⁴ Ó Muraíle, N (2004). *The Great Book of Irish Genealogies*. Dublin: de Búrca.

⁵ Fitzpatrick M, and Fitzpatrick E (2025). Fitzpatrick Gene-Ealogy and the case for working the hyphen. *Journal of the Genealogical Society of Ireland* 26: 121-127.

⁶ DePew K, Gleeson M, and Jaski B (2023). Tracing the sons of Brión: The R1b-A259 Y-DNA subclade and the Uí Briúin dynasty of Connacht. *Peritia* 34: 9-45.

⁷ Family Tree DNA Haplotype Story: R-A18403, <https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-A18403/story>, accessed 3 December 2025.

1650⁸. Of the remaining five named descendant mixed-surname lines, the evidence is that Mac Giolla Phádraig and R-A1488-associated surnames, such as Costigan, were probably in wide use among R-A1488 descendants not long after ca. 1450⁹.

Understanding R-A1488's origins requires similar dating analysis of surnames in nearby haplotree branches, where it is immediately noticeable that there is a high degree of surname specificity compared with the surname soup under R-A1488. Hence, it is much easier to define when the surnames of the cousins of R-A1488, the County Kilkenny 'Branans', 'Daltons', and 'Codys' were adopted. R-BY140757 demonstrates a remarkably high degree of association with Branan-like surnames, and Y-DNA analysis of descendant branches indicates the earliest adoption of the surname occurred ca. 1100-1250¹⁰. Similarly, Y-DNA suggests the patriarch the Daltons, in whom R-FT12974 originated, lived ca. 1200-1350¹¹, while the common antecedent of those haplotype R-FTF46424, who came to have Cody-like surnames, flourished after ca. 750¹², and probably at the fringe of when surname use arose in Ireland or England.

At this juncture, it 'is also important to lock in correct surname origins. On the authority of William Carrigan, the County Kilkenny Codys once bore the surname 'Archdekin', from a Norman family called L'Ercedekin (i.e., The Archdeacon), but during the fifteenth century, they "adopted an Irish patronymic and called themselves Mac Ódo or Mac Óda, from one of their ancestors", Odo L'Ercedekin. Mac Óda later became "anglicised Cody and under this form of the name, all the members of the family became known. Similarly, of the Daltons of Kilkenny, Carrigan noted their name was "written incorrectly" and was really a version of Daton or D'Autun¹³. The forbear of the County Kilkenny Daltons was probably Richard de Anton, who was Sheriff of Waterford between 1291 and 1293¹⁴.

Understanding the L'Ercedekin-de Anton connection comes with the knowledge of their common pre-Irish conquest origins—the Parish of Antony in Cornwall where the L'Ercedekin held lands and a manor house; prominent members of the L'Ercedekin family used the toponym de Antone¹⁴. With such a clear Norman *nexus*, it is little wonder *Nexians* avoid Cody-Dalton conversations. Yet, the death-knell of the *Cerball Nexus* comes with learning there is no connection between Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory and O'Braonáin of Idough, as proposed by O'Hart, since the authority of Mac Fhirbisigh positions the two clans far apart in his genealogical schema; the latter were not among the Osraige, but of the Uí Failghi¹⁵.

⁸ Family Tree DNA Haplotype Story: R-BY116564, <https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-BY116564/story>, accessed 3 December 2025.

⁹ Refer to the R-A1488 descendant lineages: Family Tree DNA Haplotype Story: R-A1488, <https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-A1488/story>, accessed 3 December 2025.

¹⁰ Refer to the R-BY140757 descendant lineages: Family Tree DNA Haplotype Story: R-BY140757, <https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-BY140757/story>, accessed 3 December 2025.

¹¹ Refer to the R-FT12974 descendant lineages: Family Tree DNA Haplotype Story: R-FT12974, <https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-FT12974/story>, accessed 3 December 2025.

¹² Family Tree DNA Haplotype Story: R-FTF46424, <https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-FTF46424/story>, accessed 3 December 2025.

¹³ Carrigan W. (1905). The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory. Dublin, Sealy, Bryers and Walker.

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ GBIG, Volume II, 478.7

The Branans of County Kilkenny are a completely different family to the O'Braonáin of Idough, having their origins in another Norman family, the de Braham of Suffolk, whose Irish branch probably began with Robert de Braham, Sheriff of Kilkenny ca. 1250¹⁶. The de Braham family came to hold lands in the Parish of Tullaroan, and the surname last occurs in Kilkenny with John Braham of Brahamescourt, Seneschal of Kilkenny, in an Irish exchequer memoranda roll ca. 1414¹⁷.

While this is all too much for *Nexians*, the leading Branan scholar, Thomas Brennan, recognised something odd among the thirteenth and fourteenth century Kilkenny records – there were men with ‘Branan’ surnames of high-ranking positions who possessed “Norman Christian names ... not yet generally in use among the Irish”¹⁸. *Nexians*, therefore, are confronted with a Norman trifecta, but how could the Cornish families of L’Ercedekin (*quo* Cody) and de Anton be paternally connected with de Braham of Suffolk in the pre-Irish conquest era, as indicated by Y-DNA?

Underpinning *Origines Phantasticus* is the Latin-derived term *lignage*, which the Norman nobility used to describe ancestry, descent, or blood relations. And, unsurprisingly, when the Normans embarked on their conquest of England, they ‘kept things in the family’ to maintain an hereditary ruling class, as both nobility and gentry¹⁹. Hence, when English lands were being dished out after 1066, William I the Conqueror gave himself the largest portion by far, approximately 20%, while the combined Norman nobility gained 50%. For the remainder, the Church retained, mostly unchanged, approximately 25%, replacing English with Norman appointees when the time came, and the English nobility held approximately 5%¹⁹. And there is no better person to start an *Origines Phantasticus lignage* discussion than with William the Conqueror and his kin.

After William I, the next largest estates in England granted to individuals were to his maternal half-brothers, Count Robert of Mortain and Bishop Odo of Bayeux. The Count gained lands mostly in Cornwall, and he became Earl of Cornwall. By 1272, those possessions had come to Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, who later gifted the L’Ercedekin their best-known house, the Manor of Veryan²⁰, to which the imposing Castle of Ruan Laninhorne was attached²¹, which leads to the need for an in-depth interrogation of the L’Ercedekin surname and particularly how it came to Ireland from Cornwall.

The L’Ercedekin are recorded as definitively coming to hold Ruan Laninhorne, then in the parish of Varyan, by 1303²¹, but their presence in Cornwall more than one hundred years

¹⁶ Fitzpatrick M and Fitzpatrick I (2021). The Similar-Sounding Surnames of Haplotype R-BY140757. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 1-41. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00421

¹⁷ Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland. William Lynch’s repertory of Irish exchequer memoranda rolls held in the Chief Remembrancer’s Office, <https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/COA-Lynch-5>, accessed 12 September 2025.

¹⁸ Brennan, TA (1979). A history of the Brennans of Idough, County Kilkenny. Lebanon, New Hampshire, Whitman Press Inc.

¹⁹ Hudson, J (2012). The Oxford History of the Laws of England, 871-1216. Oxford: Oxford Academic. Noble, from the Latin *nobilis*, which came to mean of high-birth, aristocratic, etc. Gentry: from the old French *gentil*, meaning high-born, which stemmed from the Latin, *gentis*, meaning clan, extended family, etc.

²⁰ Maxwell Lyte, H (1916). Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) Preserved in the Public Records Office. London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office.

²¹ Whitley, M (1889). Lanyhorn Castle and its Lords. Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 9, 425-448.

prior is well documented by the Cornish historian, Sir John MacLean²². MacLean's narrative of the L'Ercedekin was thorough at the time of publication and is summarised here, with the addition of several previously unrecognised key records between 1222 and the era of the well-known Sir Thomas L'Ercedekin, from ca. 1271.

MacLean posited that 'Ralph Lercedekne', recorded in a charter²³ of 1230, was one of the earliest of that surname in Cornwall, being the same person as 'Ralph, son of Ralph Archid' of 'Hyrmene', who is found in Pipe Roll records of Richard I, dated 1189-1190 – Hyrmene being a variant of Varyan²⁴. It has been suggested by Elliott-Binns that Ralph senior may have been Ralph Luce²⁵, a mid to late twelfth-century Archdeacon of Cornwall²⁶. MacLean's consideration that Ralph Lercedekne was the son of Ralph Archid', is not implausible, but by 1230, he would have been advanced in years. Notably, MacLean did not uncover that, in 1233, there was a 'Radulfo le Arcediacne' who was Sheriff of Cornwall²⁷, and the Sheriff's position was generally not for an older man.

It is not possible to establish the correctness of Elliott-Binns' theory, but, presumably, there was once an Archdeacon of somewhere near Cornwall, from whom the surname L'Ercedekin came, and another early post-conquest candidate who stands out is the first recorded Archdeacon of Exeter, that town once being the seat for both Cornwall and Devon. He is recorded simply by the name of Odo, and he died in 1083²⁸.

MacLean also noted that 'Odo Le Archedekne' appeared as an assizes' justice at Launceston in 1235, but there are earlier records of him. 'Odo Archidiaconus' is recorded in a patent of 1229, as a justiciar and witness at an assize in Bodmin concerning a claim that Robert FitzWalter successfully brought against Henry de Bodrugan, regarding the tenement of Treworrick²⁹. Earlier still, in 1222, 'Odo le Archidiakne' and others were sent to the Bishop of Exeter to have him revoke the sentence passed by him 'against the King's sheriffs and bailiffs of Cornwall'³⁰.

The Cornwall Feet of Fines³¹ make several mentions of L'Ercedekins, which provide important insights into where they held land. A Fine of 1244 records that 'Odo le Ercedekne'

²² MacLean, J (1879). *Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor in the County of Cornwall*, Volume III, pp. 253-260.

²³ Thompson, J and Story-Maskelyne, A (1902). *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds Volume IV*. London: Mackie and Co. Ltd.

²⁴ MacLean's citation, *Rotulus Pipae 6 Richard II*, is clearly incorrect. The correct citation is *Rotulus Pipae 1 Richard I*, see Hunter, J (1844), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the First Year of the Reign of King Richard the First, AD 1189-1190*, London: Eyre and Spottiswood, p. 112, 116.

²⁵ Elliott-Binns, L (1955). *Medieval Cornwall*. London: Methuen

²⁶ Ralph Luce held the office between 1161 and 1184 (Hardy, T, 1854. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, Oxford: University Press).

²⁷ Maxwell Lyte, H (1905). *Calendar of the Close Rolls of Henry III, AD 1231-1234*. London: Mackie and Co. Ltd.

²⁸ Hardy, T (1854).

²⁹ Maxwell Lyte, H (1903). *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, AD 1225-1232*. London: Mackie and Co. Ltd.

³⁰ Maxwell Lyte, H (1901). *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, AD 1216-1225*. London: Mackie and Co. Ltd.

³¹ The Fines being a record of lawsuits, which were more friendly agreements of land transference than serious litigations, that were "begun merely in order that the pretended compromise might be made" (Rowe, J, 1914).

was granted lands in Rinsey in Breage parish, for £24³², and a Fine of 1249 records the agreement between 'Odo Le Archedeken' and 'Thomas Le Archedeken' concerning disparate lands they held in Bodwen in Helland parish, Kestle and Landrine in Ladock parish, and Killigorrick in Duloe parish³³. **Figure 1** shows the said locations, along with others mentioned in Cornwall in thirteenth-century records of L'Ercedekins.

Outside of Cornwall, Pole considered Shobrooke, Devon, was the inheritance of Michael le Ercedecne ca. 1242³⁴, i.e., in the same era as Thomas and Odo, and that is passed to Sir Thomas. While Pole's assertion cannot be verified via primary sources, it is generally plausible since a deed records that Michael Archdeacon gained "possession of Shobrooke manor and the advowson of Shobrooke church" in 1276, and that the manor had passed to Sir Thomas Archdeacon by 1327³⁵.

In addition, Sir Michael, 'having the name le Arcadiacne' succeeded Robert de la More as sub-deacon of Glasney Collegiate Church, at Penryn, Cornwall, in 1276, and was previously Rector of Offwell, in east Devon³⁶, which is approximately fifteen miles east of Shobrooke. A Thomas Le Ercedecne is recorded as a 'knight, of Shogbroke' ca. 1264, which strengthens the Devon connection and probably indicates there were multiple family members of the given names Michael and Thomas across at least two generations³⁷.

There are many records of Sir Thomas L'Ercedekin during the latter years of Henry III and the reign of Edward I, following his rise to prominence, and it is clear he had affairs in Cornwall. He participated in 'Lord Edward's Crusade'³⁸, being recorded in 1271 as a crusader who received a grant to appoint Ralph de Arundel as his attorney³⁹. By 1275, he had 'lands and chattels' in Cornwall and in 1276 Edward I ordered that the Sheriff of Cornwall pay him "£20 for his expenses about the expedition of certain of the King's affairs on those parts"⁴⁰.

Sir Thomas L'Ercedekin is recorded as Sheriff of Cornwall between January 1279 and November 1280⁴¹, which evidences *lignage* among the L'Ercedekins, from 'Radulfo le Arcadiacne', in 1233²⁹, to Sir 'Warren Ercedekne' in 1382⁴², since the position was occupied quasi-generationally, and probably in direct hereditary fashion.

Cornwall Feet of Fines Volume I: Richard I to Edward III, 1195-1377. Exeter: The Devon and Cornwall Record Association).

³² Rowe J (1914), pp. 47-48.

³³ *Ibid.* pp. 57-58.

³⁴ Pole, J (1791). Collections Towards a Description of the County of Devon. London: J. Nichols.

³⁵ National Archives: Copy of deeds relating to the manor and advowson of Shobrooke, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/a1756560-4b01-4fb4-91dc-82b96d253e91>, accessed 1 December 2025.

³⁶ Thurston, P (1903). The History of Glasney Collegiate Church, Cornwall. Camborne: Camborne Printing and Stationery Co. Ltd., p.111.

³⁷ Dallas J and Potter H (1897), The Notebook of Tristram Risdon, Elliot Stock, London.

³⁸ That is the crusade of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall.

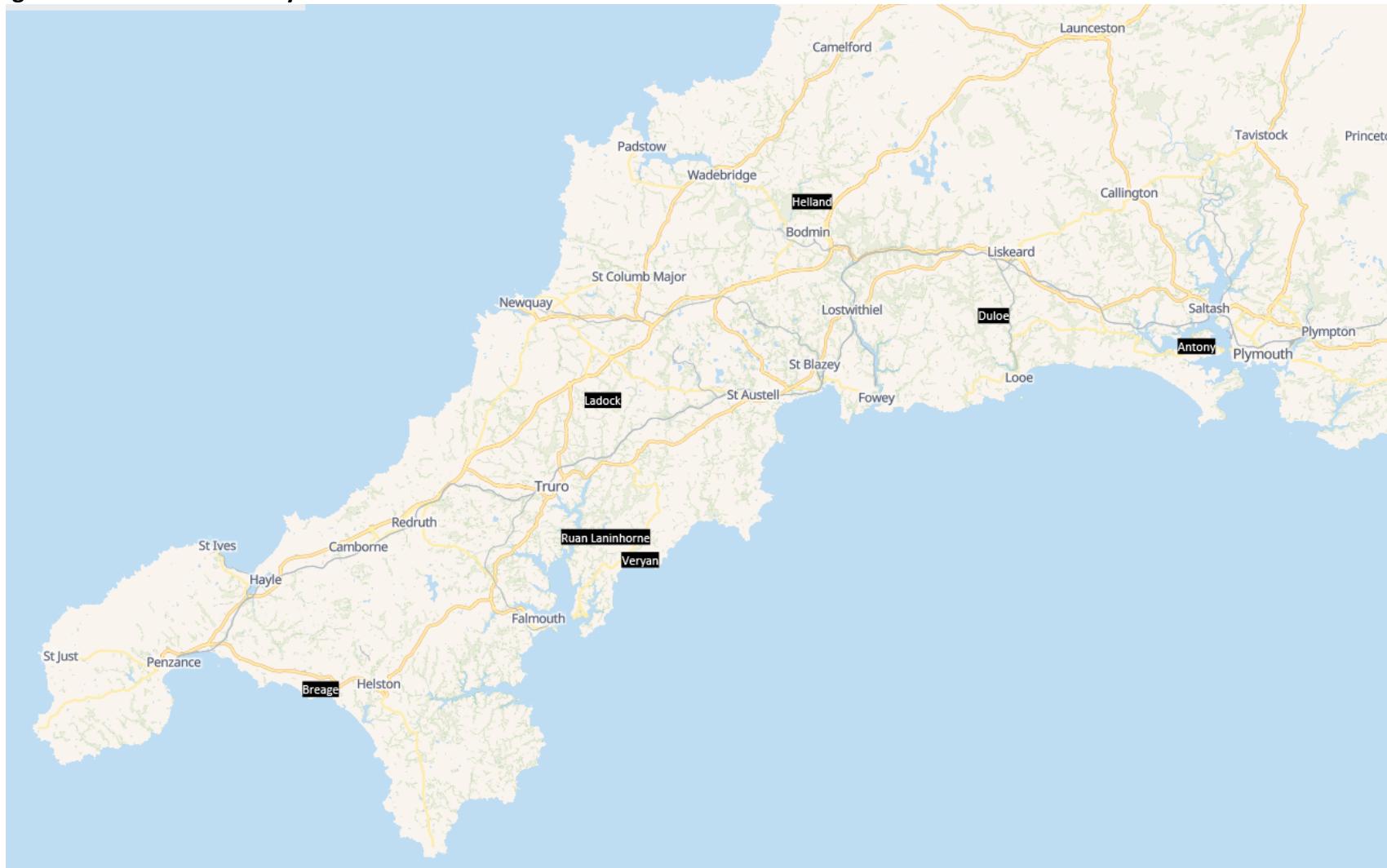
³⁹ Maxwell Lyte, H (1913). Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Henry III, AD 1266-1272. London: Mackie and Co. Ltd.

⁴⁰ Maxwell Lyte, H (1900). Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward I, AD 1272-1279. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

⁴¹ Maxwell Lyte, H (1898). List of Sheriffs of England and Wales. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

⁴² *Ibid.*

Figure 1: Thirteenth century L'Ercedekin locations in Cornwall



Reference: [OpenStreetMap](#)

MacLean also gave a summary of the branch of the L'Ercedekin in Ireland, starting with Stephen de Archedekne, who had married Desiderata Fitz Thomas, a daughter of the early administrator Thomas Fitz Anthony. Fitz Anthony, who, in 1215, held hereditary titles to the Crown lands in Waterford and Desmond, died ca. 1227, and his inheritance was split between his five daughters⁴³.

Stephen and Desiderata are recorded in the Sheriff of Waterford's account for 1231-1232 – 'Stephen Ercedekne and his wife Desiderata shall pay an account of 20s for their relief which falls to them from the aforesaid inheritance, and they are freed in the treasury for two tallies and are quit'⁴⁴. Stephen is recorded as enfeoffed in Ireland by 1228, probably shortly after the death of Fitz Anthony, since between then and 1218 he granted the Church of St Mary and St Columba and the Augustinian Priory of Inistioge, County Laois, and the Church of Kilcormac, County Offaly, 'in pure alms'⁴⁵.

St John Brooks considered that Stephen L'Ercedekin descended from 'Odo Archidiacono' and was probably his son⁴⁶. More certain is that 'Odo Archidiacono' is the first of his surname to occur in a record relating to Ireland, being a deed of Hugh [de Rous]⁴⁷, 'minister of the Church of Ossory', that he witnessed in 1203, the translation of which, from Latin, reads:

'Know for certain that I was present when William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, granted and confirmed to the Church of St Mary of Kells in Ossory in pure and perpetual charity two carucates of land in Ardaloo [Ard Lú], and one carucate of land with appurtenances which is between the land of Andrew L'Archier and Kilkenny'⁴⁸.

The grant and confirmation were made at Hamstead, England, in 1203, and it is likely that Odo came to Ireland with Bishop Hugh de Rous in the Spring of 1204⁴⁹ since the quit claim by Geoffrey Fitz Robert⁵⁰ in respect of the lands of Duiske, for the founding of Duiske (or Graiguenamanagh) Abbey, to William Marshal, was witnessed by him, the bishop, and others that year⁵¹. Regardless of when Odo L'Ercedekin was first in Ireland, there is, aside from his name, circumstantial evidence he was from Cornwall, since Geoffrey Fitz Robert gave explicit instructions that the Priors of Kells should be 'chosen from the same house [i.e., Kells] or from Bodmin'; indeed, Hugh de Rous was one of four Augustinian canons of Bodmin handpicked by Fitz Robert for Kells Priory⁵¹.

⁴³ Dictionary of Irish Biography: Thomas Fitz Anthony, <https://www.dib.ie/biography/fitz-anthony-thomas-a3128>, accessed 30 November 2025.

⁴⁴ Parker C (1992). The politics and society of County Waterford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries [thesis], Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland). Department of History, pp. 512, p.462.

⁴⁵ Curtis, E (1932). Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1172-1350 AD. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

⁴⁶ St. John Brooks, E (1950). Knights' fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

⁴⁷ An Augustinian canon who became Bishop of Ossory in 1202 (Leslie, J, 1933. Ossory Clergy and Parishes. Enniskillen: RH Ritchie.

⁴⁸ White, N (1936). Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

⁴⁹ Crouch, D (2015). William Marshal the Elder, Earl of Pembroke. Royal Historical Society Camden Fifth Series, 47, 63-183.

⁵⁰ Fitz Robert was a knight of William Marshall and Seneschal of Leinster (Butler, C and Bernard, J, 1918. The Charters of the Abbey of Duiske. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. Ltd).

⁵¹ Butler, C and Bernard, J (1918).

Returning to England, it is likely that the family L'Ercedekin of Cornwall and Ireland descend from an eleventh-century cleric of Exeter⁵². The later abodes of the L'Ercedekin are inextricably linked with lands held, immediately after 1066, by Count Robert of Mortain or the Church, which was under the direct authority of William I, although the practical reality is that Odo of Bayeux exercised day-to-day control.

The emergence of the eponymous L'Ercedekin in a region under Odo of Bayeux's governance, and the intergenerational recurrence of persons named Odo L'Ercedekin, to the extent 'Odo' was immortalised in Ireland in the surname Cody, leads to a fantastic question that is central to the title of this editorial. Was the patriarch of the L'Ercedekin family in Cornwall, Devon, and Ireland, Bishop Odo of Bayeux?

While such a question will likely never be definitively answered, there are key factors to consider that make Odo of Bayeux a plausible candidate as the common ancestor of R-FT265133. There is no question that Odo was a man of great power, influence, wealth, and unbridled ambition. Between 1066 and 1082, Odo was the second most powerful person in England, to whom the king entrusted the government of his realm as his vice-regent⁵³. Odo gained swathes of land in twenty-two counties, mainly in the southeast of England, and he earned the title Earl of Kent. Odo's lands drew in £3000 per annum, and he travelled widely throughout England, attesting many charters and quelling revolts⁵⁴, oppressing the populace and destroying monasteries⁵³.

Odo's fall from grace was spectacular; he was imprisoned by William I in 1082 for raising an army illegally, but released in 1087, shortly before the king died, the dying monarch reputedly saying, 'my brother Odo is a man not to be trusted ... ambitious, attached to fleshly pleasures and immense cruelties'. After his loss of status as the 'number two' in England, Odo sought after the ultimate job, the Papacy, but failed. Odo's character is summarised this way: 'He ruled laudably, however, the flesh miserably ruled the spirit. Driven by worldly desire, he fathered a son named John, whom we now see at the court of King Henry, eloquent and distinguished in probity'⁵³.

Odo's opportunities to pursue his carnal desires, perhaps fathering other children, could readily have presented themselves in Devon and Cornwall. While it has been demonstrated Robert Count of Mortain held large estates in those counties, the Count was "essentially an absentee landlord ... [who] did not have the inclination, or perhaps the aptitude, to engage in post-Conquest English politics ... his loyalties were to Normandy and the Norman duke"⁵⁵. Although the Count was materially obliged to remain in England to complete the conquest from a military standpoint, ca. 1070, Odo maintained the administration of his brother's territories⁵⁶.

⁵² The See of Cornwall was united with Devon, i.e., Exeter Cathedral, ca. 1040 (Hardy, 1854).

⁵³ Congregation of St. Maur (1759). *Gallia Christiana, in Provincias Ecclesiasticas Distribute*. Paris: Coignard.

⁵⁴ Hollister, C (1977). *Magnates and Curiales in Early Norman England*. *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 8, 63-81.

⁵⁵ Golding, B (1991). Robert of Mortain. *Anglo-Norman Studies XIII; Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1990*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, p. 144.

⁵⁶ Du Lattay, G (1939). *Robert, Comte de Mortain et ses Successeurs 1048-1792*. Rocher: La Collégiale de Mortain.

Hence, the Fantastic Origin of the L'Ercedekin of Devon, Cornwall, and Ireland, later named 'Cody', and their cousins under R-FGC5494 ... FT265133, the de Anton, later Daltons, of Counties Waterford and Kilkenny¹⁴, is not implausibly Bishop Odo of Bayeux (Figure 2).

But what of the de Braham, later Branan, of the same broad haplotype? It is considered that the de Braham had their seat at Braham Hall, in the Parish of Brantham, Suffolk, in the early thirteenth century¹⁶. The Domesday Survey records that Brantham was held by several Tenants-in-Chief, including Bishop Odo of Bayeux⁵⁷, and while this does prove the *Origines Phantasticus* are with Odo, the theory would have been weakened had the bishop not held Brantham.

Figure 2: Perhaps an early R-FT265133 family portrait, with Bishop Odo waxing eloquent



Reference: from the Bayeux Museum, <https://www.bayeuxmuseum.com/en/the-bayeux-tapestry/discover-the-bayeux-tapestry/the-characters>

While not critical to the *Origines Phantasticus*, the occurrence of the surname Costigan, alongside Fitzpatrick under R-A1488, considered vital to *Nexians*, warrants comment. It is a case of not mattering so much who the originator of R-A1488 was, since the haplotype is not surname-specific, and there is ample evidence that the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory clerical lineage, which was probably the line that led to the first baron of Upper Ossory, may have stemmed from the cleric John Mac Costigan⁵⁸. Concerning the Mac Costigans (Mac Oisticín), it is important to reflect on their assumed genealogy, which fails to recognise that

⁵⁷ Open Domesday: The Domesday Book Mapped, <https://opendomesday.org/name/bishop-odo-of-bayeux>, accessed 1 December 2025.

⁵⁸ Fitzpatrick, M. (2020a) Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part II. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 1, 40-71. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00320.

the clan was based around Ballyhasty⁵⁹ ca. 1400, well before the surname is first recorded in Upper Ossory, in 1481⁶⁰. The tenuous Costigan origins, popularised by John O'Hart², can be compared with the only authoritative clan Costigan genealogy and narratives recorded by Mac Fhirbisigh in his section on Norman-Irish genealogies, as follows:

'Another tract here from the books of Clann Fhir Bhisigh ... Hoisteagh s. Meimhbhreac from whom are Clann Hoisteigh (Hosty)'⁶¹. Another tract calls Uilliam ... by whom Cusack was slain, 'Uilliam Breathnach', and when Caisléan na Circe was built by this Uilliam Mór (Breathnach) of An Mhaighean, he divided the country between his own immediate brethren. First he gave Gleann Oisteigh to Oisteagh s. Meireac (or Meimhbhreac)'⁶².

Hence, while only a mere comment on Costigans, not an entire thesis, it is noteworthy that the only clan with an authoritative version of the surname is from a Norman lord who gained Glenhest, in the Barony of Tirawley, County Mayo (Gleann Hoiste, Tír Amhlaidh, Maigh Eo), being among the Norman-Irish force that invaded Connacht ca. 1235⁶³. Hosty is a not uncommon surname still found in Connacht, wherefore Y-DNA could provide insights of their associated surname and deeper origins, though not as many insights that could be gained from the ancient Y-DNA of Bishop Odo of Bayeux or Count Robert of Mortain.

Another worthy genealogical pursuit would be the symbols of Odo of Bayeux, since Count Robert of Mortain used a slain dragon symbol well-known among Fitzpatricks of Upper Ossory (**Figure 3**).

Figure 3: A depiction of the Count of Mortain's banner at the Battle of Hastings



From Dumain, L (1883). *Tinchebray et sa région au Bocage Normand*. Paris: H. Champion.

⁵⁹ Baile Hoiste, i.e., Hosty's town, Hoiste being a diminutive of Oisticín – Woulfe stating that the surnames related to Costigan are Mac Costy, etc. (Woulfe, P (1923). *Irish Names and Surnames*. Dublin: MH Gill & Son.

⁶⁰ 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.

⁶¹ *GBIG*, Volume III, 841.1, entitled 'The Welshmen in Uí Amhalghaighd meic Fiachrach'.

⁶² *GBIG*, Volume II, 841.4.

⁶³ Freeman, A (1941). *The Annals of Connacht, 1224-1544*. Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.