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Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais

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## Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society

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Cover image: Aillte an Mhothair (Cliffs of Moher) by Stefan Thiermayer



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# Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais: an ancient clan rediscovered

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## Abstract

Y-DNA analysis of Fitzpatricks has turned traditional historical narratives of how the surname was taken on its head. The attachment of the surname Fitzpatrick to the Barons of Upper Ossory, who were supposedly the descendants of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí and, in turn, of an ancient Laighin (Leinster) lineage, is no longer sustainable.

DNA insights and critical assessment of historical records have demonstrated that those who claim to descend from the barons have a Y-haplotype consistent with them emerging from a line of clerics out of a Norman-Irish origin ca. 1200 AD. Questions arise, therefore, regarding the origins of other large Fitzpatrick groups who, based on Y-DNA, can be shown to descend from ancient Irish. Could any of these lines descend from the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí of old, those of Annalistic fame?

For the first time, this article introduces the Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais in a scholarly narrative. Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais are, unquestionably, an ancient Pátraic surname clan. But are they also a Mac Giolla Phádraig lineage that arose in Osraí in ancient times? Such a question radically disrupts traditional narratives, yet the answer is 'maybe' – sound historical, genealogical, and name occurrence evidence supports the view that there is no need to adhere to a singular patrimony for the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí and that a Dál gCais line was well positioned to have territory in Osraí and adopt Mac Giolla Phádraig as a surname.

With certainty, the Mac Giolla Phádraig who are the subject of this article are Dál gCais on a genetic basis since, via their paternal haplotype, they share common ancestry with Brian Bóruma, High King of Ireland. The descendants of those Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais feature through ancient records for An Clár (Clare) are still found in the County, yet many derive from lines that were dispersed from their ancient An Clár homelands in the seventeenth-century. From An Clár to Oileáin Árann (Arann Islands), and Gaillimh (Galway), and – one way or another – on to Maigh Eo (Mayo), and Ros Comáin (Roscommon), they are a great and ancient Mac Giolla Phádraig Clan, who at times held much wealth, power, and influence.

And some were smugglers!

## Names, styles, edits, historical records, 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, Clann Mhuiris (Clanmorris), unless the place name is titular, for instance, the Earl of Thomond.

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 being 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 Lysaght (1985).

Quotations are italicised, and long or textually significant quotations are also indented. This article is a living work, i.e., it can, and most likely will, be edited by the authors who will retain all versions. Every effort has been 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 should be considered  $\pm$  two generations, i.e.,  $\pm$  approximately sixty years.

## Introduction

The Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais are a clan who have only recently been identified as distinct among those of the surname Fitzpatrick, although it is better to say revived in our hearts and minds rather than discovered for the first time since the clan, once upon a time, knew full well who they were – where their ancient cliffs rose and where their mighty rivers flowed. The power of Y-DNA analysis has brought together and connected Fitzpatricks from across An Clár, who have strayed from their home. And it has also alerted their cousins – many who trace their post-seventeenth-century origins to Gaillimh (Galway) and further afield to Maigh Eo (Mayo) and Ros Comáin (Roscommon) – that the bones of their common ancestors lie in An Clár.

This article is a big sprawling narrative that should be read over more than one sitting. Take time to breathe and enjoy a patchwork of pieces that could be stitched together in several ways. There is no '*correct way*' to recount the history of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais, not the least of reasons being there is still so much to uncover, still so much to learn; and future adjustments will surely occur. But a good start has been made to the celebration. Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais who stand one day, perhaps, and gaze out from Aillte an Mhothair (Cliffs of Moher) across the North Atlantic can do so with a fresh understanding that their ancestors did the same. There, on a clear day, the not so distant Oileáin Árann (Islands of Arann) will be in full view. For some Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais, Árann was a place of sojourning, yet some live there still. And so, we travel first, to Árann.

## The Fitzpatricks of Árann

One early and well-known reference to the Fitzpatricks of Árann, and one that can give the impression the family had ancient associations with the Islands or were long domiciled there, is with Hardiman. Hardiman's '*A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught*', published by the Irish Archeological Society in 1846, is an edited, much annotated, and illustrated version of '*The Territory of West or H-Iar Connaught*', which was written by Roderic O'Flaherty in 1684 but not published at that time. If anyone knew the history of Árann in the late seventeenth-century, it was Roderic O'Flaherty (1629-1718) – the '*Scholar Chieftain of the West*' and famous for '*Ogygia*', his magnum opus. Long the possession of the Mac Teige Uí Briain, the O'Flaherty clan laid claim to Árann ca. 1580, and by 1586 Sir Morrogh O'Flaherty had '*the lordship and rents of Aran*' and had '*driven most of the O'Briens back to Clare*' (Lynam, 1914). Roderic was of the Uí Flaithbheartaigh of Maigh Cuillin (Moycullen) (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003), the last '*chief of his name and captain of the nation of O'Flahertys*' (Madison, 1922).

That neither Roderic nor any of his contemporary scholars made mention of any Fitzpatrick of Árann testifies that, ca. 1684, they had yet to rise to great prominence in the region. But rise they did, although after less than a century of greatness on Árann there followed a decline, until only a remnant was left. The Fitzpatrick of Árann took ownership of the islands for only a passing moment in the general scheme of things. They were not of Árann of old – as will be demonstrated, they were a great clan before Árann, and Hardiman's work is key to understanding where the Fitzpatricks of Árann originated. Yet, a critique of Hardiman's narrative is worthwhile, not because it comes across in any way as markedly flawed, but because the author appears to hint that there is more to know about the Fitzpatricks of Árann than he is inclined to say. That much is apparent from his introduction: '*several extracts relating to the islands of Aran ... have been omitted, rather than trespass on the indulgence of the Society*' (Hardiman, 1846).

Hardiman's discourse on the Fitzpatricks of Árann, suggests the family had earlier An Clár origins since he relates that just one generation before they appeared on the islands, there were Fitzpatricks domiciled in the Barony of Uí Bhreacáin (Ibrickan), An Clár. However, on the evidence Hardiman presented – simply that '*Ibrickan lies next to Aran*' – his case seems tenuous and, by extension, his consideration that there was '*some probability*' the Fitzpatricks of Árann were '*supposed to be a branch of the ancient and noble stock of Upper Ossory*' is also evidentially lacking. But did Hardiman know more than he was letting on? Was he mindful of narratives, unfit for the formality of a book or article published by the Irish Archeological Society, perhaps something handed down in hushed tones in dimly lit corners of Gaillimh inns over a porter or poitín, or both?

While he leaves readers to ponder possible An Clár origins, Hardiman leaves nothing to the imagination when he details the '*opulence*' of the Fitzpatricks of Árann. Hardiman's proposed patriarch of the Árann line, John Fitzpatrick, died in Gaillimh town in 1709; a cenotaph to John and his wife, Sarah MacSweeny, stands tall on Árann as a testimony to his wealth and status. John left '*chattels to the amount of £6000, and £1500 in silver and gold, which he kept in a cellar of his in that town*' (Hardiman, 1846), which is equivalent to an

estimated £800,000 in the modern-day (<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter>). How might such wealth have been derived? Surely, it was not a result of a lifetime of frugality; John Fitzpatrick had wealth at least twenty-five years before his death. Hence, some general historical background is needed for this narrative to come to life. An Clár background, Árann background, and Gaillimh background – and the latter will come first.

### **Gaillimh: a connection with ‘The Tribes’**

Before the late fifteenth-century, Gaillimh town was under the religious jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Tuam, but its citizens successfully petitioned for its release from diocesan authority. In 1484, by a Bull of Pope Innocent VIII, the parish church of Gaillimh (St Nicholas) was granted Collegiate status. In the same year, a charter secured from Richard III of England gave authority to govern the town as a Corporation to an elected mayor and bailiffs. It is considered the independence gained from *‘any exterior ecclesiastical power’* and the *‘interference of the De Burgos’* enabled Gaillimh to develop further as a port town, so it became *‘the most distinguished of any in the kingdom for wealth and trade, and that it ranked amongst the most considerable for strength and population’* (Hardiman, 1820).

At the nucleus of the Corporation Town of Gaillimh were long-standing merchant families, who were mostly Norman in origin (Martyn, 1922). Hardiman was convinced that Gaillimh took its name from the Irish word Gailibh, meaning *‘tribes of merchants’*. The number of families of *‘The Tribes’* is generally taken as thirteen: Athy, Blake, Bodkin, Browne, D’Arcy, Ffont, French, Joyce, Kirwan, Lynch, Martin, Morris, and Skerrett (Hardiman, 1820). The families were *‘connected together by the ties of kindred ... augmented by frequent intermarriages’* and became known as *‘The Tribes of Galway’*, a term sardonically coined by Cromwellians (Hardiman, 1820). From 1484 until Cromwell’s conquest, Gaillimh generally enjoyed peace and prosperity; its wealth was built mainly on wine, wool, and leather trade. Parliamentary forces besieged Gaillimh in August 1651, and the town surrendered eight months later. The Corporation contained to exist, but the town charter was taken from the *‘Irish and Papists ...[and] ... put into the hands of the English and Protestants’* (Blake, 1908).

As is apparent from abstracts of forfeits, the merchant families suffered colossal losses of Gaillimh lands and property at that time, much never to be regained. Despite the restoration of 1660 and England having, in Charles II, an openly Catholic sympathising monarch who decreed a reinstatement (Hardiman, 1820), Irish Papists of Gaillimh were ultimately denied, by the 1665 *‘Act of Explanation’*, any chance of *‘getting back, even by purchase, any estate or interest in their former houses in the town’* (Blake, 1908). Moreover, the Royal Charters that had granted customs, market duties, and lands to the Corporation of Galway were deemed, by the 1662 *‘Act of Settlement’*, seized by the monarchy due to the town’s prior support of the Irish Confederation (1643-1648). So when, in 1673, a favourite of Charles II, Sir James Hamilton, the Groom of the Bedchamber, petitioned the king for the Corporation *‘lands and hereditaments’*, and was granted such on 3 May 1673 (Daniell, 1901), it spelled potential calamity for the Corporation because *‘its whole revenue would have been taken away’* (Blake, 1908).

Hamilton died on 6 June 1673, after being mortally wounded in the naval battle at Schoonneveld. Charles II confirmed to his widow, Elizabeth Hamilton, with a marked extension of the grant made to her husband, '*not only all the landed property of the Galway Corporation and of its mortgagees, which had become forfeited to the king, but also all the estate, right, title and interest in, the charter-customs, market, and other duties*'. Hamilton then '*proceeded to levy and collect the charter-customs and other duties for her own use and benefit*' (Blake, 1908). However, the Corporation managed to avoid financial ruin by persuading the wealthy former Cromwellian Colonel, and mayor of Galway, Sir Theodore Russell, to purchase from Elizabeth Hamilton '*the charter, market and petty duties for £2,500*'. Russell then, in 1676, secured a new charter for '*the town and borough of Galway*', which afforded, on the succession of James II to England's throne, the re-admission of Catholics as freemen and, ultimately, in 1686, a return to the ascendancy of '*the ancient names and natives*' among the Corporation (Hardiman, 1820). '*The Tribes*' were back.

It was against this backdrop that the first record of a Fitzpatrick with Galway Corporation interests is found. Hardiman (1820) cites a deed, now seemingly lost, from early in the reign of James II, ca. 1685. The Deed recorded that Elizabeth Hamilton sold the lands to the Corporation of Galway to John Fitzpatrick, of Árann, who then assigned them to John Kirwan, mayor of Gaillimh town from 1686 to 1688. Hence, it is noteworthy that by ca. 1685, John Fitzpatrick, of Árann, (a) had amassed wealth, and (b) was well connected to the Gaillimh mercantile network. The Kirwan family were one of '*The Tribes*,' but it is not apparent what Fitzpatrick may have received in return for providing the funds for the lands purchased; he is not named among the many named Corporation officials in either the 1676 Charter of Charles II or the 1688 Charter of James II (Hardiman, 1820; Hardiman, 1846).

That John Fitzpatrick appears, seemingly out of nowhere, with funds, connections and a Gaillimh status established, leads to a want to know more and to understand the Fitzpatricks of Árann much better. However, based on their eighteenth-century sphere of influence, the family could equally well be described as the '*Fitzpatrick of Gaillimh*'. While Hardiman stops short of telling us more about how the Fitzpatrick fortunes were gained and why he considered there was an earlier connection to An Clár, not so English writer and cartographer Tim Robinson, who settled on Árann in 1972 and went on to produce several works on the Islands. In Robinson's '*Stones of Aran - Pilgrimage*' (1986), he dedicates an entire chapter to '*The Fitzpatricks*'; Robinson draws primarily on Hardiman (1820; 1846) but does bring some new evidence to the table by presenting monument inscriptions for John and other Fitzpatricks. Overall, Robinson's narrative of the origins of the Fitzpatricks of Árann deviates little from Hardiman's, i.e., John Fitzpatrick, of Árann, was probably the son of Richard Fitzpatrick, once the Seneschal of Uí Bhreacáin, and receiver to Barnaby Ua Briain, the sixth Earl of Thomond.

The Uí Bhreacáin to Árann narrative is explored next because it holds the key to answering some fundamental questions. Who, exactly, was John Fitzpatrick, of Árann? Was he from a Mac Giolla Phádraig clan, or was his surname otherwise derived? The second part of that question is important because in the seventeenth-century male members of the Gaillimh '*Tribes*' were apt to identify themselves using a Norman-style patronymic. For example, the well-known merchant Andrew Blake FitzPatrick was Andrew Blake, the son of Patrick Blake.

But if John Fitzpatrick was a Mac Giolla Phádraig, were his ancestors domiciled in An Clár from ancient times, or were they a more recent introduction? If the former is so, is there any demonstrable ancient relationship between John's ancestors and the well-known Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí? Or did John's line, as asserted by Zalewski and Fitzpatrick (2013), simply arrive on Árann directly from Laois in the second half of the seventeenth-century?

### Uí Bhreacáin clues, and the siege of Tromráth Thoir

As noted previously, the case both Hardiman (1820), and Robinson (1986), present for the Fitzpatricks of Árann having prior origins in An Clár is considered weak – limited to the theory that John's father was probably Richard because '*Richard was from Uí Bhreacáin*', and '*Uí Bhreacáin is next to Árann*'. But it is not such a compelling case given there were mass upheavals of families across Éire following the Cromwellian invasions. However, the fact that John Fitzpatrick, of Árann, called one of his sons Richard, not a common given name among Fitzpatricks of any description before the eighteenth-century, is unlikely to be a coincidence. It will be demonstrated that John's father was not Richard, but this is of little consequence – Richard could have been a brother, an uncle, a grandfather, etc. But what would convince further is evidence of associations between Fitzpatricks of Uí Bhreacáin and the O'Flaherty of Árann, or the merchant '*Tribes*' of Gaillimh, before John Fitzpatrick's emergence ca. 1685. And, as it turns out, there is plenty of evidence just like that.

Records of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Fitzpatricks in An Clár, more often called Mac Giolla Phádraig throughout most of that period, have mainly been unconsidered by Irish historians, generally, and Fitzpatrick researchers, specifically. McNerney does considerable favour to both groups with his articles entitled, '*The Earl of Thomond's 1615 Survey of Ibrickan, Co. Clare*' (2013), '*Six Deeds from Early Seventeenth Century Thomond*' (2017a), '*A List of Freeholders of Kilfenora Diocese in 1601*' (2018), as does Breen (2014), with his transcription of '*The 1626 Rental of Thomond Property*'. These, along with various depositions relating to the '*1641 Rebellion*' (Dwyer, 1878; 1641 Depositions), certain Fiants of Elizabeth I (HMSO, 1883; HMSO, 1884; HMSO, 1886), the Fiants of James I (Clarke, 1967), the various inquisitions published by Frost (1893), the 1659 Census (Pender, 1939), several documents within the Inchiquin Manuscripts (Ainsworth, 1961), and the Books of Survey and Distribution for County Clare (Simington & Mac Giolla Choille, 1967), means there is an abundance of records for the Mac Giolla Phádraig of An Clár.

Hence, the stitching together of fragmentary sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mac Giolla Phádraig An Clár records into a meaningful narrative is not a difficult task. The only difficulty comes with deciding when to begin the tale – at the beginning of the records, and telling the story forwards, or the end and tracing it backwards? Since most of the records under consideration here stretch from ca. 1585 to ca. 1700, somewhere in the middle is a good compromise. And 1642 is appropriate – it was the year of the siege of Tromráth Thoir (Tromra), which provides essential Uí Bhreacáin clues. In their discussion of Richard Fitzpatrick, Seneschal of Ibrickan, both Hardiman (1826), and Robinson (1986) cite various depositions relating to the 1642 siege of Tromráth Thoir Castle, Uí Bhreacáin, during which Peter Ward was killed by men under the command of Colonel Edmund O'Flaherty. Both authors note that O'Flaherty was assisted by Richard Fitzpatrick, as well as Teige Fitzpatrick,

a gentleman of Fahanlunaghta Beg, An Clár, along with several others. Yet more can be gleaned, and inferred, from the Depositions. It is the relationship between the Fitzpatricks and both the O'Flahertys and Barnaby Ua Briain, the sixth earl of Thomond, that cannot be understated – the O'Flaherty attack on Tromráth Thoir wasn't something that simply emerged unplanned or without the knowledge of Fitzpatrick and Ua Briain.

On 17 April 1642, Edmund O'Flaherty '*came by sea from Iar Connaught in the County of Galway accompanied with five other boats well manned with armed men*' (1641 Depositions). Seneschal Richard Fitzpatrick was not just said to have given '*assistance*' to O'Flaherty; his deponent, John Ward, the son of Peter, who was present at the start of the siege, accused him of far more than that. Ward stated Richard relieved O'Flaherty '*with all manner of necessary instantly upon his landing*' even though he was, by order of the Earl of Thomond, commander of seventy men and '*powerful enough to withstand*' the attack. After the assault on Tromráth Thoir, John Ward complained to the Earl before Sir Henry Stradling, who was commander of the pinnace '*Bonaventure*' sent to break the siege of Luimneach in May 1642. Before that, and just after the siege of Tromráth Thoir, Stradling had feasted with Ua Briain at his Bun Raite (Bunratty) stronghold (Wiggins, 2001). Ward claimed the Earl '*gave order*', before Stradling, that Richard Fitzpatrick be committed for being a '*traitor and rebel*' – and yet immediately after Stradling's departure, Ward asserted Ua Briain about-faced, '*caused the said Richard to be enlarged*', released him on bail to the '*great discouragement*' of Ward and other English protestants, and in '*a rage and fury*' threatened to strike Ward. Ua Briain then set Fitzpatrick at liberty and made him '*his receiver and chief servant within the Barony of Ibrickan*' (1641 Depositions). Hence, it is evident that at the time of the siege, Richard Fitzpatrick had a nearly unbreakable relationship with Ua Briain; he was the Uí Bhreacáin collector of monies, and the Earl's '*heavy*' – Richard Fitzpatrick was not a person to be messed about with, and by 1642 it is not inconceivable he would also have grown considerable wealth via his roles.

However, whatever strong bond there was between the Earl of Thomond and Richard Fitzpatrick in 1642, it could not be sustained; the Earl was caught between two worlds, whereas it is apparent Richard Fitzpatrick was not. Barnaby Ua Briain's father, Donnough the Fourth Earl of Thomond, was Protestant and enjoyed favour with the English despite retaining '*some of the trappings of a Gaelic lord*'. Likewise, Barnaby was raised to be a Protestant; he spent much of his early life in England and was educated in Oxford and London, but he progressively spent more time in Éire, particularly after his succession to the Earldom in 1638. On the outbreak of the 1641 Rebellion, and '*in spite of the support given to the confederacy by his kinsmen, Barnaby did not sign the oath of association*' (Pollard & Cunningham, 2004). And yet Barnaby's actions relating to Tromráth Thoir indicate he did not want to be dragged into actively opposing his Uí Briain kin; Barnaby's allegiances '*continually waver[ed] to suit the occasion*' (Breen, 2014). Retribution for Tromráth Thoir, though not immediate, eventually came one way or another. After the cessation of the Confederate Wars in 1653, Edmund O'Flaherty found himself a marked man and went into hiding in Iar-Connaught, only to eventually be found holed-up in a '*cavity in a rock*'; he was taken to Gaillimh, examined, tried and executed (Hardiman, 1820). Of Richard Fitzpatrick, nothing was heard of ever again. Yet, repercussions followed for those who were party to the siege of Tromráth Thoir, which was '*remembered to the disadvantage*', via land

confiscations after the Cromwellians had prevailed (Westropp, 1911). As will be seen, An Clár Mac Giolla Phádraig were among those dispossessed of their lands.

But first, with much of the focus of the Tromráth Thoir depositions being on Richard Fitzpatrick, it is easy to forget there was another Fitzpatrick who stood accused. Teige Fitzpatrick was also named by John Ward, and Teige provides a nice springboard by which to understand Mac Giolla Phádraig and Fitzpatrick lands and lineages before and after 1642, which were not solely in Uí Bhreacáin but throughout West An Clár.

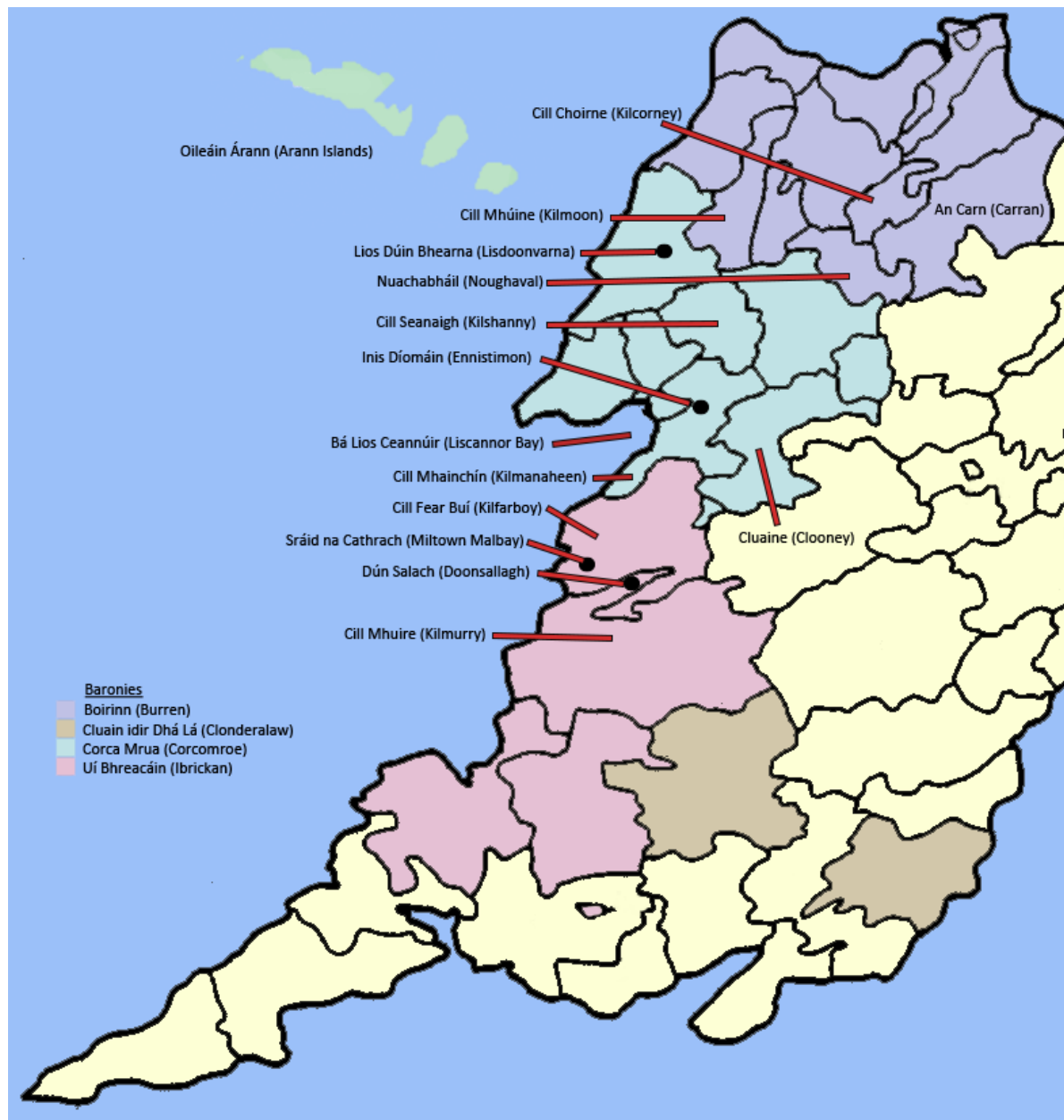
### The Mac Giolla Phádraig of West An Clár

Teige Fitzpatrick stood accused by Ward not only of being complicit at the siege of Tromráth Thoir but also of being one of seven men who were in debt to Ward to the tune of £185 (1641 Depositions). Teige held land in Fahanlunaghta Beg, on An Clár's west coast; hence a deposition by Captain Robert Brayme, who claimed that while on route from Virginia to London, his ship laden with tobacco, was caught in a storm and he was forced to land at Malbay, takes on significance and leads to a genealogical journey. Brayme's shipment, worth £150, was forcibly taken by Teige Ua Briain, the son of Sir Daniel Ua Briain, and his men, and among them was Michael Mac Giolla Phádraig (1641 Depositions; Dwyer, 1878). Malbay is immediately north of Spanish Point, and the name likely comes from the Gaeilge Meall Bhaigh, meaning '*treacherous bay*'. The town of Sráid na Cathrach, in the parish of Cill Mhuire (Kilmurry), in Uí Bhreacáin, takes its English name (Miltown Malbay) from the bay, which is less than two miles to the west of the town. Fahanlunaghta Beg is only five miles northeast of Sráid na Cathrach (Miltown Malbay), but in the parish of Cill Mhainchín (Kilmanaheen), at the northern boundary of Uí Bhreacáin with the barony of Corca Mrua (Corcomroe). The Books of Survey and Distribution indicate that ca. 1641, Fahanlunaghta Beg was held by Michael mac Teige mac Dermot Mac Giolla Phádraig (Simington & Mac Giolla Choille, 1967). Hence three generations are captured by one entry in the Survey that is consistent with the Depositions.

Early seventeenth-century land records reveal Mac Giolla Phádraig land holdings in Uí Bhreacáin were only in the two northern parishes of Cill Fear Buí (Kilfarboy) and Cill Mhuire (Kilmurry). Still, they were only part of the story. Mac Giolla Phádraig also occupied territories to the north in the barony of Corca Mrua (Corcomroe), not only in the bordering parish of Cill Mhainchín (Kilmanaheen) but also in the parishes of Cluaine (Clooney) and Cill Seanaigh (Kilshanny). And, further still to the north, the clan held lands in the barony of Boirinn (Burren) in the parishes of Cill Mhúine (Kilmoon), Nuachabháil (Noughaval), Cill Choirne (Kilcorney), and An Carn (Carran), the latter being at Boirinn's northern limit. Therefore, in the early seventeenth-century the full extent of the domicile of the Mac Giolla Phádraig of West An Clár cut through a swathe of lands from northern Uí Bhreacáin to the border of An Clár with Gaillimh (Figure 1). And, in a return to the theory that the 'Fitzpatrick, of Árann' may have originated in Uí Bhreacáin, because of proximity, it is worth noting that Sráid na Cathrach (Miltown Malbay) is, indeed, but fourteen miles distant from Árann's southeast shore as the crow flies, yet a Mac Giolla Phádraig stronghold at Lios Dúin Bhearna (Lisdoonvarna) was closer still – just nine miles away.

### Figure 1: Túath of Mac Giolla Phádraig West An Clár 1585 - 1652

Showing the baronies, parishes, and major townlands of their possessions.



Edited from: Thomas Gun, 2009. CC BY-SA 3.0.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Parishes\\_of\\_County\\_Clare.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Parishes_of_County_Clare.png)

Hence, in the early to mid-seventeenth-century it is best to think of the Mac Giolla Phádraig ancestors of the Árann line as not restricted to Uí Bhreacáin, but being of Uí Bhreacáin-Corca Mrua-Boirinn (Ibrickan-Corcomroe-Burren), i.e., of West An Clár. And before the land records of the early seventeenth-century, it is possible to understand further the various lineages of the West Clár Mac Giolla Phádraig, and where they lay, and this thanks to several entries in the Fiants.

### The Mac Giolla Phádraig of West An Clár in the Fiants

The Fiants are a rich source of information for researchers of Pátraic surnames in Éire and are remarkable in terms of the sheer number and scope of records; the combined extractable knowledge of locations, temporalities, family associations, occupations, and the like, can seem endless (Fitzpatrick, 2021a). The Fiants contain several hundred references to Pátraic surnames that help uncover Mac Giolla Phádraig lineages and clans that have not previously been understood, and this includes the Mac Giolla Phádraig of West Clár.

In particular, Fiant 4806 of Elizabeth I (HMSO, 1883) from 1585 gives much. It relates to the pardon of Teige Mac Giolla Phádraig of Liagard (Leagard), yeoman, and his followers, who include Dermot mac Rory Mac Giolla Phádraig of Maigh (Moy), Dermot mac Fynin Mac Giolla Phádraig of An Cheathrú Chaol (Carrowkeel), and Dermot mac Donnell Mac Giolla Phádraig, also of Liagard. All towns are in the parish of Cill Fear Buí (Kilfarboy) in Uí Bhreacáin. Liagard and An Cheathrú Chaol (Carrowkeel) are near Sráid na Cathrach (Miltown Malbay), while Maigh in the far north of the barony at the border with Corca Mrua (Corcomroe), overlooking Bá Lios Ceannúir (Liscannor Bay). There are other followers of Teige who may also be Mac Giolla Phádraig, but it isn't easy to discern whether their names are patronymics or surnames. Yet much can be extracted from those other followers of Teige whose surnames are more easily identified, and one stands above the others in this narrative. Second on the list behind Teige is Dubhgall MacSweeney, hinting at a MacSweeney kinship bond and jogging a memory; the wife of John Fitzpatrick, of Árann, was Sarah MacSweeney.

Pardons recorded in the fiant often pertain to the same events or circumstances, and in such cases, they are frequently found consecutively and are date-stamped similarly. Fiant 4806 is dated 8 January 1586, and the preceding Fiant (4805) is dated 28 December 1585. What curiosity that Fiant 4805, a pardon, is headed by Teige O'Flaherty '*of Aran*' along with a host of his O'Flaherty kin. Others are with the O'Flaherty, but, once again, it is only one who captures the attention – Scanlan mac Teige Mac Giolla Phádraig (HMSO, 1883). Not only is Scanlan's father identified, his entry also provides evidence of a Mac Giolla Phádraig relationship with the O'Flaherty, and therefore with Árann, some one-hundred years before John Fitzpatrick's appearance on the island. And there is more – via the Fiants Scanlan proves a similarly early relationship with '*The Tribes*'. In Fiant 4753 of Elizabeth I, also from 1585, Scanlan is among a long list of the entourage of Sir Turlough Ua Briain who were granted pardons. This included Lynch and Kirwan '*merchants*' of Gaillimh (HMSO, 1883). Sir Turlough Ua Briain, of the Inis Díomáin (Ennistimon) Uí Briain, was married to Annabella Lynch, the daughter of Sir James Lynch of Gaillimh. The latter, by 1590, had also obtained lands Boirinn (Burren) (Ainsworth, 1961).

The Lynches were not alone among *'The Tribes'* who held land in Clár. In 1605 Valentine Blake of Gaillimh acted as attorney for Donnough Ua Brian, Fourth Earl of Thomond, concerning lands in Corco Mrua (Corcomroe), and a certain Fynin Mac Giolla Phádraig was a witness (Ainsworth, 1961). Subsequently, *'the Blake family developed interests in County Clare, and by 1638 numerous lands were under their proprietorship'* (McInerney, 2013). Notably, in 1615 Valentine Blake held Freagh in Uí Bhreacáin rent-free, at the same time as Fynin Mac Giolla Phádraig held nearby Dún Salach (Doonsallagh). And between 1618 and 1621, Melaghlin O'Loughlin conveyed lands in Boirinn to seven parties, including Valentine Blake, Oliver Martin, John Lynch, and Fynin FitzPatrick; the latter took Cregavockoge, which is just east of Lios Dúin Bhearna (Lisdoonvarna) (Frost, 1893; McInerney, 2013). Hence, there were likely numerous ways the Mac Giolla Phádraig of West Clár were in the orbits of members of *'The Tribes'* long before their descendants appeared on Árann and in Gaillimh, and it is also clear, via his land purchases and monies others borrowed from him, that Fynin Mac Giolla Phádraig had no small amount of funds at his disposal.

The Fiants provide further evidence of connections between Mac Giolla Phádraig of West An Clár, and Árann and Gaillimh, before the appearance of John Fitzpatrick, of Árann. There is a record of several MacSweeny of Uí Bhreacáin alongside Scanlan mac Teige in Fiant 4753 (HMSO, 1883), and a record of Scanlan mac Teige, a yeoman of Liagard, in Fiant 6765 from 1603, along with his wife, Mary ny Heidhin (HMSO, 1886); the surname Uí hEidhin arose in Aidhne in southern Gaillimh (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003). A deeper exploration of Mac Giolla Phádraig of West An Clár in the Fiants is provided in the forthcoming article *'Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland Part II: Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais'*. But for now, armed with compelling evidence of a West An Clár origin for the Fitzpatrick, of Árann, it is important to discuss the events of 1585 that required pardons. 1585 marks a defining moment in the history of western Éire, the year known for the *'Composition of Connaught'*.

### The Composition of Connaught

The *'Composition of Connaught'*, has been described as the best example of the policy of surrender and regrant under Elizabeth I, it being *'the great settlement of the landed property in Clare and Connaught'* (Butler, 1925). Much of the outcome of the Composition of Connaught can be found in a transcription of *'The Compossicion Booke of Conought'* (Freeman, 1936), which is a detailed record of inquisitions of land holdings and corresponding indentures in Cúige Chonnacht and An Clár at the time of the proceedings. The Calendar of Carew Manuscripts (Brewer & Bullen, 1868) provides the contemporary summary made by Sir John Bingham, Chief Commissioner of Connaught and Thomond of the *'Composition for Cesse in Connaught'*:

*'Whereas the said province is torn by the dissensions of the lords and chieftains, who challenge authorities, cuttings, and cessings, under pretext of defending the people under their rules ... we authorise you to call before you all the nobility, spiritual and temporal, and all the chieftains and lords of the countries, and thereupon, in lieu of the uncertain cesse borne to us and of the cutting[s] and spendings of the lords, to*

*compound for a rent certain to us upon every quarter or quantity of land within that province'. (p.405).*

Apart from the book, extensive references to the composition return of 1585, as well as events leading to *'a division of the province of Connaught into counties and baronies, with notes of the chief counties they contain and the special castles'*, can be found in the State Papers of Ireland. Notable is the list of the *'forty-one Mc's (Macks) and twenty-six O's (Oe's) who surrendered their Irish names and customs of inheritance, and received their castles and lands by patent, to them and their heirs, in English succession'* (Hamilton, 1867). Of those later works that provide much to inform, Hardiman's edition of *'A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connuaght'* (1846) stands out because it reproduces, in the Appendix, virtually complete indentures for Iar-Connaught (also known as O'Flaherty's Country, which became the newly created County of Gaillimh), as well as an introduction to the indentures for Thomond. And, more recently, McInerney (2011) has brought some helpful commentary: the Composition aimed to replace payments exacted from the common people of Chonnacht by Irish lords and the English alike, with a land rental, that *'process was part of a wider push of spreading English law and [encouraging] local sept-heads to pursue freeholder status and break the client-patron dependence with their overlords'*.

Determining the nature and extent of their land-holdings in West Clár is key to understanding the client-patron relationship between the Mac Giolla Phádraig and their overlords in 1585, who were the Earls of Thomond. McInerney (2008) has used a forgotten and unpublished inquisition of the Court of Exchequer to shed light on such relationships and the general structure of Gaelic lordship in the sixteenth-century in An Clár, immediately after the Composition of Connaught and before the *'collapse of the Gaelic system'*. In simple terms, there were four categories of land division *'that had implications for inheritance'*: mensal lands, demesne lands, church lands, and sept-lands. Mensal lands were the Chief Lord's, and any tenants thereon provided to support the Lord's household. Demesne lands were also attached to the Chief Lord but were occupied by freeholders. Church lands, also known as termon lands, were not part of the secular landholding system, and the tenants were typically hereditary erenaghs who administered the lands on behalf of the bishop. This leaves sept-lands, to which there was some complexity but to which there were also some patterns of how the lands were distributed among sept-heads.

### **Sept-lands of the Mac Giolla Phádraig of West An Clár**

The lesser vassal-septs held a Baile (home, town) of various denominations. The smallest of which in An Clár was typically two quarters, and one quarter was usually 120 acres, although this could vary widely. The greater vassal-septs held larger túath (territories) of at least thirty Baile. In a ca. 1585 context, McInerney (2008) refers to the Mac Giolla Phádraig as among the most *'important retainers and followers'* as evidenced by the size of their holdings. In 1615 Mac Giolla Phádraig held, in fee from the Earl of Thomond, 13.5 quarters of the barony of Uí Bhreacáin, which was approximately 21% of the total area (McInerney, 2013). What is also evident, however, is that Mac Giolla Phádraig occupied much more extensive lands north of Uí Bhreacáin. Via a 1601 freeholder survey, it can be seen a further

23 out of 141 quarters (16%) were held in Corca Mrua (Corcomroe) in 1601 (McInerney, 2018). Records from the first half of the seventeenth-century indicate there were also several quarters, the exact number not quantifiable, held in the barony of Boirinn (Ainsworth, 1961; Simington & Mac Giolla Choille, 1967). And there are other considerations – not only was the size of the landholding significant but so was proximity to the seat of the overlords. *‘Sept-lands tended to be on the margins of the lordship’*, that being an expression of the *‘genealogical distance from the ruling clan’* (McInerney, 2008).

At the *‘Composition of Connaught’* the Earl of Thomond claimed the entirety of Uí Bhreacáin for himself with his demesne lands in the north of the barony, being at his *‘Castle[s] of Ibrickan, Cahaircrush, and Downegane’*, which refers to the castles at Tromráth Thoir, elsewhere referred to as Ibrickan castle (Proceedings, 1901), Cathair Rois (Caherrush), and Dún Ógáin (Doonogan) (Freeman, 1936), which were all close to each other. Tromráth Thoir was a tower house five miles east of Oileán Caorach (Mutton Island). At Cathair Rois point was a promontory fort that overlooked Spanish point beach to the east and Oileán Caorach three miles to the southwest. Westropp (1900) referred to the fortified structure at Dún Ógáin, which is five miles south of Sráid na Cathrach (Miltown Malbay), as a *‘lesser castle’* or *‘peel tower’*. And in 1585 The Earl of Thomond’s claim over Uí Bhreacáin was not new, although Uí Bhreacáin was distant from his stronghold at Bun Raite (Buratty), and cadet branches were the Uí Briain proprietors (McInerney, 2013). There is no sure understanding of the old extent of Uí Bhreacáin but considered it as part of the rural deanery of Corca Baiscinn (Corcovaskin), being its northern extremity, where the Mac Mathghamhna (Mac Mahon) Lordship had been established by the end of the twelfth-century. The Mac Mathghamhna of Uí Bhreacáin were descendants of Mahon Uí Briain, who was a grandson of Brian Bóruma; their Lordship ended after their chieftain, Teige Mac Mathghamhna, was declared an outlaw for his part in the Nine Years’ War, and the line became extinct after Teige’s death in 1601 (Westropp, 1902; Mac Mahon, 2020).

Hence, it is clear that a Mac Giolla Phádraig presence in Uí Bhreacáin was significant to Donnough Ua Briain, Fourth Earl of Thomond, in 1585. Fortified structures were predominant at all of Mac Giolla Phádraig occupancies in Uí Bhreacáin, and those that were particularly notable were at Clochán Insí (Cloghauninchy) ring fort; Dún Salach (Doonsallagh) ring fort; Fintra promontory fort; and Maigh Castle (Breen, 1995). It is important to grasp that the main septs under the Uí Briain lordship fulfilled specific roles, which were hereditary, and which also afforded territories according to status. For example, the McClancy were brehons, the McEnerhiny were erenaghs, the O’Mulconry were poets and chroniclers, the O’Hickey were physicians, the McBrody were historians and poets, and the O’Rodan were stewards (McInerney, 2008). The Mac Giolla Phádraig are not recorded as holding any such specific hereditary roles in West An Clár, but with the sept holding lands with fortifications, coupled with Teige Mac Giolla Phádraig’s title of yeoman in 1585, his son Scanlan’s same title in 1603, and Richard Fitzpatrick’s position as seneschal in 1642, this clearly hints at a military role. Seneschals in Éire were men who well understood the need to uphold their Lord’s rights even by force, if necessary – *‘it was not uncommon for these men to have military backgrounds or even violent, criminal pasts’* and the evidence of *‘seneschals using violence for financial and material gain’* is also plentiful (Foley, 2017).

As for the lands held by Mac Giolla Phádraig in Corco Mrua (Corcomroe), the Uí Lochlainn (O'Loughlin) were dynasts in the north of Corco Mrua (later, the barony of Boirinn), and the Uí Chonchobhair (O'Connor) were dynasts in the south (later, the barony of Corco Mrua). Still, both clans had become vassals of the Uí Briain by the middle of the eleventh-century (McInerney, 2018). Hence, it is likely that Mac Giolla Phádraig held lands in Corco Mrua would have come via pre-1585 relationships with the Uí Chonchobhair, and post-1585 relationships with the Uí Briain, who came to possess 114 out of 141 quarters of the former, and 104 out of 127 quarters of the latter (Freeman, 1936). Mac Giolla Phádraig holdings in Corco Mrua followed a similar pattern to Uí Bhreacáin – many contained commanding fortified structures, such as those castles at Lios Dúin Bhearna (Lisdoonvarna), Porsoon, and Baile Átha an Ghabhann (Ballygowan, i.e., Smithstown).

In 1585 the minor Irish septs of Thomond, long resistant to anglicisation, were about to see surrender and regrant first hand. *'Succession by primogeniture was to replace the Brehon system of tanistry and the earls of Thomond had to decide on how best to survive as proprietors of their lands'* (Breen, 2014). The surrender and regrant policy was a *'concealed system of confiscation'* (Butler, 1913) and the Uí Briain moved to exploit their *'kin and clientage network'* and increase their landholding (McInerney, 2016). McInerney provides an example of how the Uí Briain set about reducing freeholders to tenants. The McGilleragh, trusted servants the Uí Briain, were present at the 1585 Composition; their representative, Connor McGilleragh, is called chief of his name but 1589 saw his hereditary land conveyed to the Fourth earl of Thomond, reducing his clan *'to tenants on the earl's estate [and] relinquishing their position as freeholders in any meaningful sense'* (McInerney, 2018). And a parallel is found in Corco Mrua, where the lands of the ancient Uí Chonchobhair dynasts were granted to Sir Turlough Ua Briain. It must have been an ominous sign for the Mac Giolla Phádraig since *'a Machiavellian instinct'* could see Irish septs would *'later rebel, and so the whole possessions of the clans could be seized'* (Butler, 1925).

It is evident the Mac Giolla Phádraig of West An Clár had signaled a rebellious intent in 1585. Despite their significant land holdings, they are not listed among the *'Macks'* of the Composition. Why? Because they didn't sign up to the agreement. Pardons came nevertheless, but by the mid-seventeenth-century, the Mac Giolla Phádraig had all but disappeared from their West An Clár lands, and the actions of Richard Fitzpatrick at Tromráth Thoir were probably among those used to further evidence Mac Giolla Phádraig rebellion. The sept was not recorded in West An Clár the 1659 Census, either as titleholders or among the *'principal Irish names'* (Pender, 1939), and the last record of landholding relates to a 1665 petition of Daniel Ua Briain before the Court regarding his claims to Baile Uí Cill Choirne (Kilcorney), Thaidhg (Ballytiege), and Lios Dúin Bhearna (Lisdoonvarna): the former was mortgaged to Ua Briain 1647-1649 by Florence Fitzpatrick of Lios Dúin Bhearna, and the latter two assigned to Ua Briain by Florence in 1652 (Ainsworth, 1961). Between the late sixteenth- and mid-seventeenth-century it is possible to see how various West An Clár Mac Giolla Phádraig lines developed. Still, records are far from complete, and it will never be possible to create exact genealogical trees. Proposed connections and pedigrees for the Mac Giolla Phádraig of West An Clár are discussed in detail in the forthcoming article *'Pátraic surnames in the Fiant's and Patent Rolls of Ireland Part II: Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais'*.

The lines of the notable individuals that will be discussed in that article are:

- Teige Mac Giolla Phádraig of Liagard in Uí Bhreacáin and his sons, Bryan of Corca Mrua, and Scanlan of Uí Bhreacáin, who was living in 1602;
- More ny Chonchobhair, who, at the end of the sixteenth-century, held lands around Bá Lios Ceannúir (Liscannor Bay) and Inis Díomáin (Ennistimon) in Corca Mrua. More was married first to a Mac Giolla Phádraig (probably Teige), and second to an Uí Briain.
- Dermot mac Gilleduff Mac Giolla Phádraig of Dún Salach (Doonsallagh) and his son, Fynin Mergagh (i.e., the freckled), later of Lios Dúin Bhearna (Lisdoonvarna), whose floruit was 1601-1622; and,
- Mahon Mergagh mac Dermot Mac Giolla Phádraig of Uí Bhreacáin and Cluain idir Dhá Lá (Clonderalaw), who flourished ca. 1591-1619, and his son, Dermot, also of Cluain idir Dhá Lá.

The Mac Giolla Phádraig of West An Clár were largely dispersed by the mid-seventeenth-century, to be re-established on Árann, in Gaillimh, and further afield. Other key An Clár Mac Giolla Phádraig lines include the well-known clerics, and their relationship with the West An Clár lines is among that discussed next.

### Other Mac Giolla Phádraig An Clár

There are various other Mac Giolla Phádraig An Clár who are mentioned in several categories of early Irish records. The most notable are the clerics who are commonly associated with Oileán na gCanánach (Inisgad, or Canon's Island), who enjoy in-depth discussion in the works of Gwynn and Gleeson (1962) and McNerney (2014). It is important to note those works are limited to the diocese of Cill Dalua (Killaloe) and An Clár, respectively. The Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics who appear in An Clár are not either a line of hereditary coarbs or erenaghs or a secular lineage; that they settled at the Augustinian Abbey of Oileán na gCanánach and remained there for more than a century is for reasons '*unknown*' (McNerney, 2014), but perhaps not unknowable. The key to uncovering the possible origins of the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Oileán na gCanánach is the fact that the first Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric to be found in the Papal Registers was not appointed to a benefice in Cill Dalua; instead, his appointment was in the neighbouring diocese of Luimneach (Limerick) (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902; Fitzpatrick, 2021b).

And that first Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric to find mention in the Papal Registers is Matthew, who appears in 1394 in Cill Churnáin (Kilcornan) in the barony of Caonraí (Kenry), in the diocese of Luimneach (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902). This entry is also the first for Cill Churnáin, which is approximately thirteen miles southwest of the modern-day city of Luimneach. The main secular clerical lineage in An Clár was the Uí Briain and in West An Clár their clerics '*dominated high-status posts at the cathedral chapters of Killaloe and Kilfenora*'; in East An Clár, parish appointments were also dominated by Mac Conmara (Mac Namara) (McNerney, 2014). However, the Papal directive for Matthew's appointment was made to

the Dean of Limerick and two other Luimneach canons, and in the diocese of Luimneach the right to present was with one or another branch of the Geraldines of Deas Mumhan (South Munster), with the FitzMaurices of Ciarraí (Kerry) in competition with FitzGerald of Uí Mhic Coille, Corcaigh (Imokilly, Cork) (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902; Bliss & Twemlow, 1904a; Bliss & Twemlow, 1904b; Twemlow, 1912; MacCotter, 2004). The distinction is important because it evidences where Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig's familial alliances lay, i.e., with Geraldines, not with Uí Briain or Mac Conmara. And via Y-DNA analysis, it can be demonstrated that there is remarkable shared paternity from ca. 1220-1370 AD between R-A1488 Fitzpatricks and men of surnames associated with powerful Deas Mumhan clerics, not only FitzGerald (e.g., Nicholas FitzMaurice, Bishop of Ardfert, or Gerald FitzGerald, Bishop of Cloyne and Cork), but other such as Purcell (e.g., Jordan Purcell, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne), and Hennessey (e.g., Nicholas O'Hennessey, elected Bishop of Lismore and Waterford). Hence, it has been speculated that the paternal lineage of R-A1488 Fitzpatricks, at least from the mid-fourteenth century, is with the house of the Geraldine FitzMaurice clerics of Ciarraí (Fitzpatrick, 2021b).

Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics are discussed further in the forthcoming article '*Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD, Part II*', but some commentary on 1416-1650 records is provided here for an An Clár context. It is not possible to directly link the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lineage of Oileán na gCanánach (Inisgad, or Canon's Island) with West An Clár. Yet, it is possible to link Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig. The advowsons of most West An Clár rectories were with the Uí Briain. Still, the rectory of Cill Mhuire (Kilmurry) Uí Bhreacáin, which was of lay patronage (Twemlow, 1906), was specifically within the Mac Mathghamha branch of the Uí Briain general '*sphere of influence*' (McInerney, 2014), which provides an explanation why, in 1346, the cleric Thomas Mac Mathghamha was presented with the church of Uí Bhreacáin, by Edward III, King of England (Crooks, 2012, Fitzpatrick, 2021b). The Mac Giolla Phádraig of Uí Bhreacáin were undoubtedly part of that Mac Mathghamha '*sphere of influence*' and Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig's appointment to the rectory of the united parishes of Cill Fear Buí (Kilfarboy) and Cill Mhuire (Kilmurry), of lay patronage, was in the early fifteenth-century, at most. The rectory became void on his death ca. 1416 (Twemlow, 1906) and his association with Uí Bhreacáin intrigues given his first noted appointment was in Luimneach – Matthew held both benefices at the time of his death (Fitzpatrick, 2021b), and it was uncommon for clerics to do so, particularly in different dioceses and at some distance from each (L. McInerney, pers comm., 10 October 2020).

Another Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric, Charles (i.e., Cathal), was appointed rector at Cill Fear Buí-Cill Mhuire (Kilfarboy-Kilmurry) in 1432 but with opposition from Donald Uí Chuinn (O'Quinn). The pair clashed again, in 1443, over Cill Fear Buí-Cill Mhuire and the canonry of Rathbláthmaic (or An Ráth, Rath) in Inse Uí Chuinn (Inchiquin) barony; as the name suggests, the Uí Chuinn were the hereditary coarbs in that barony, notably in the parishes of Rathbláthmaic and Cill Iníne Baoith (Killinaboy). The Uí Chuinn were also long-time subjects of the Uí Briain. They relied on them for their clerical appointments, as exemplified in 1442 when Donald Uí Chuinn sought to unify the rectory of Cill na Móna (Kilnamona) with the canonry and prebend of Rathbláthmaic, arguing that 'divine worship would, with the help of his friends, who were powerful in those parts, be much increased' (Twemlow, 1909;

Twemlow, 1912; Gleeson & Costello, 1943; Gwynn & Gleeson, 1962; McInerney, 2012; McInerney, 2014).

Advancing an *‘enemy of my friend is my enemy’* argument implies Charles Mac Giolla Phádraig faced opposition from the Uí Briain of An Clár and perhaps had support from the Geraldines of Deas Mumhan, as Matthew did. It is likely that Matthew was the father of Charles and that he probably fathered at least two other clerical sons, including Dermot, the long-serving Abbot of Oileán na gCanánach (Inisgad, or Canon’s Island). Clerical lineages commonly masked their identities, and one way of achieving that was by taking the surnames of family members, such as their mothers, some of who may well have been in a concubinage relationship with their cleric father (Fitzpatrick, 2021b). As for the concubines, it is no exaggeration that they could be sourced from convents (Twemlow, 1915), which could be – as this was certainly the case with the Uí Briain – populated by the daughters of nobles and those of nobles’ households (O’Dálaigh, 1990). Charles is described as *‘by both parents of noble race’* and his brother, Dermot, *‘by both parents of noble birth’* (Twemlow, 1906; Twemlow, 1912). Hence, there are clues to how the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics may have first come to take their surname – such as from a Mac Giolla Phádraig An Clár nun who was a concubine to a Geraldine cleric – and why they were able to simultaneously successfully move within the two different political spheres of Cill Dalua and Luimneach. Several other Mac Giolla Phádraig An Clár clerics appear in later records, and they will feature in the forthcoming *‘Pátraic surnames in the Fianta and Patent Rolls of Ireland Part II: Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais’* and *‘Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD, Part II’*. Notable, aside from the fifteenth-century Abbots of Inisgad, is the later occurring Donnough FitzPatrick, who witnessed land transactions, mortgages, and wills relating to the Uí Brian between 1637 and 1650; he is described as the Archdeacon of Kilfenora (Ainsworth, 1961).

Aside from the clerics, there are several Mac Giolla Phádraig from the mid-seventeenth-century who are difficult to attach to older lines. Teige Mac Giolla Phádraig is notable because he earns an epithet in O’Mollony’s *‘Anatomicum’* (1671). While exalting the Mac Bruodin of An Clár, saying *‘shout out in envy if you wish’*, O’Mollony records *‘Daniel Bruodin ... [married] Elionor FitzPatrick, daughter of the celebrated master Thaddeus FitzPatrick’* (McInerney, 2017b), but the original Latin, *‘praenobilis domini’*, is more literally translated *‘most noble lord’*. It is likely Teige is the grandson of Mahon Mergagh mac Dermot Mac Giolla Phádraig of Uí Bhreacáin and Cluain idir Dhá Lá (Clonderalaw), who appears in the 1641 Depositions and is described variably as a shoemaker or a merchant (1641 Depositions).

## A Return to Árann

After their exodus from West An Clár by ca. 1652, the Mac Giolla Phádraig established themselves elsewhere. In Gaillimh and on Árann, where they had connections from at least the late sixteenth century – that much is clear from the various relationships previously mentioned. John Fitzpatrick, and his MacSweeny wife, were no late sixteenth-century newcomers. And there is another smoking gun pointed directly at West An Clár as their place of origin because there is a Seán Mac Giolla Phádraig, perhaps the grandfather of John Fitzpatrick of Árann, in 1615 land records for Uí Bhreacáin (McInerney, 2013). Neither did

John arrive without kin. As will be demonstrated, John was with his father and other Mac Giolla Phádraig – after the Cromwellian era taking the surname Fitzpatrick. And, after their arrival, the Fitzpatricks of Árann, were soon to further network themselves into the families of ‘*The Tribes*’, via mutual business ventures, intermarriage, and politics. Parallel relationships with the O’Flaherty, it seems, became a thing of the past, although the families reengaged in the nineteenth-century.

There is a gap in records between the Mac Giolla Phádraig leaving West An Clár and their settling on Árann, and so it becomes vital to understand the history of Árann before their arrival. The O’Flaherty announced their claim to possession of the islands in 1586, but their control proved short-lived. Elizabeth I responded by declaring Árann belonged to the Crown, and in 1587, despite the Corporation of Galway appealing they be returned to the Uí Briain, granted them to John Rawson on condition he retained ‘*constantly on the islands, twenty foot soldiers of the English nation*’. But Rawson’s tenure was also short-lived and there followed a complex series of transactions that saw the islands pass through several hands – invariably associated with ‘*The Tribes*’.

At the cessation of the Cromwellian War in 1653, the proprietor, Sir Robert Lynch, of ‘*The Tribes*’ was ‘*declared a forfeiting traitor*’ and Árann passed to Erasmus Smith, a merchant who supplied Cromwell’s army during their Irish campaign. Smith sold the islands to Richard Butler, son of James the first Duke of Ormonde, who now possessed lands to go with his title, the ‘*Earl of Árann*’; the annual rent to the Crown was £14 7s ½d (O’Flaherty, 1825). Butler sought the services of Sir Stephen Fox to secure leases for the islands. Butler’s daughter had married Fox’s grandson (Millar, 1995), and Fox was the greatest English financier of his era; ‘*the richest commoner in three kingdoms*’ (Clay, 1978), his wealth ‘*honestly gotten and unenvied*’ (Bray, 1850), Fox was highly skilled at ‘*making the most of legal opportunities*’ (Haley, 1979). And that Fox did – sometime between 1670 and 1685 Fox purchased Árann and granted leases to John and his son, Richard Fitzpatrick, at £500 per annum (Hardiman, 1820).

From the late sixteenth century, it is possible to build a robust narrative around the Fitzpatricks of Árann. The commentaries of Hardiman (1820; 1846) include important transcriptions of several marriage records, land transactions, wills, and Corporation records, while Robinson’s publication of several Oileáin Árann monument inscriptions also bring much insight. Also necessary to assess are the Fitzpatricks of Árann pedigrees proposed by Zalewski and Fitzpatrick (2013), which rely heavily on the ‘*Statement of the Pedigree of Nicholas Fitzpatrick, Esquire, Claiming the Title, Honour, and Dignity, of Baron of Upper Ossory*’ (Bell, n.d), which differ from Hardiman’s and Robinson’s because they have John Fitzpatrick of Árann as the son of Denis, not Richard. Zalewski and Fitzpatrick’s suggestion that Denis, an ‘*unproven*’ son of Florence Fitzpatrick who participated in the 1642 siege of Buiríos Mór Osraí (Borris-in-Ossory) (Carrigan, 1905) and, therefore, a great-grandson of Florence the third Baron of Upper Ossory, also infers the Fitzpatricks of Árann were a lineage that left Laois around the time of the Cromwellian conquest (1649-1653).

However, there are Gaillimh records that include *bona fide* transcriptions of prerogative wills, and the ‘*Tuam Grant Book, 1696-1748*’ made by Dr Francis Crosslé (Crosslé, 2021) –

many of the originals being lost in the 1922 Dublin Public Record Office fire – as well as family sketches found in *'Betham's Genealogical Abstracts'* (Betham, 2021). Hence, it is possible to build a much more complete and accurate pedigree for John Fitzpatrick of Árann than him being speculatively connected to Osraí. In one of the early records of John's connection with the islands, he is not referred to as *'of Árann'* but, more specifically as *'of Arannmore'* i.e., Árainn Mhór, largest of the islands, today is formally known as Árainn (Inishmore). The record is of a will proved 3 Nov 1696, which details the administration of goods passing to John Fitzpatrick from his father, who was named as neither Richard nor Denis, but Patrick, a yeoman (refer Figure 2 for pedigree). Remarkably, on the same date, another will was proved for the hitherto unrecognised Daniel Fitzpatrick *'of Arannmore'*, yeoman, with administrative rights passing to his son, Moriertagh Fitzpatrick.

Many records, several previously unconsidered, follow. Moriertagh married Elenor Browne (of *'The Tribes'*) on 11 May 1700, which is around the same time John's children also married (1696-1706). This infers Patrick and Daniel were father and son who died around the same time, if not on the same day – deaths at sea, perhaps. John certainly had a sister, Mary, who married Patrick Mollineaux (Crosslé, 2021). And the marriages of John's children were not simply just families of Norman extraction, but into those predominantly of *'The Tribes'*, securing alliances among the merchant families of French, Morris, and Martin, and providing more evidence of John's status. In 1686 Richard married Joan French of Spidéal (Spiddle) (Hardiman, 1820), who was likely the daughter of Anthony French, Sheriff of Galway in 1654 – Anthony's name remembered by successive generations of Fitzpatricks of Árann and found in an individual from the 1911 census (Census of Ireland, 1911).

John's daughter, Bridget, married George Morris, also of Spidéal, 31 December 1696; notably, Bridget's marriage record has John *'of Loghamore'*, i.e., An Loch Mór on the easternmost island, Inis Oírr (Inisheer). Bridget died, and her sister Catherine married Morris on 7 May 1698 – the year of that marriage given by Burke's Peerage (Burke & Mosley, 1999) is 1684 but without citation is, undoubtedly, incorrect in the face of Crosslé's transcription. From George and Catherine descended Michael Morris, 1st Baron Killanin (Burke & Mosley, 1999). There are marriage records for two further sons of John – Edmond to Annabel Martin on 22 April 1704 and Florence to Ann Butler on 27 November 1706 (Crosslé, 2021). In both cases, the Fitzpatrick abodes are given as the difficult to interpret *'Sellarnymore, Parish Killanyn'*, which refers to the village of Cill Éinne (Killeany) on Árainn Mhór, formerly part of Cill Éinne parish, and where monuments exist to John Fitzpatrick, his wife, and several their descendants (Robinson, 1991).

John's son Richard cannot have been old when he died on 9 October 1701 (Robinson, 1991), preceding his father and leaving John to administer the estate left to Joan and her children, who were minors: Scander, Denis, Patrick, and Peter, as recorded by Hardiman (1820), in addition to three previously unrecognised siblings – Anthony, Margaret, and Mary (Crosslé, 2021). Following John's death on 3 Feb 1709 (Robinson, 1991), the administration of Richard's estate passed to his brother Edmund. From that document, dated 13 Nov 1710 it is apparent that Joan and Anthony had died, and Mary had married into the French family (Crosslé, 2021). John's wife, Sarah MacSweeny, died on 5 November 1709. When John and Sarah's son Florence, a merchant of Gaillimh, died on 6 January 1709 (Robinson, 1991), he

must also have been relatively young; he and Ann Butler were childless, and the administration of Florence's estate passed to the aforementioned Sir John Kirwan and George Martin. Florence's will instructed that, after the death of his wife, his nephews Scander Fitzpatrick (or Denis, should Scander be dead – hence, identifying the oldest sibling) and Andrew Morris (or Bridget Morris, should Andrew be dead) should, on reaching 21 years, receive £100 (Crosslé, 2021). As a side note on the appearance of the relatively uncommon name Scander: it is a variant of Scanlan/Scannal, i.e., Scannlán (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003), and a copy of O'Ferrall's *'Linea Antiqua'* annotated by successive Ulster Kings of Arms, Sir William Betham and Sir John Burke, records Richard's son of that name as Scanlan (Betham & Burke, 1860); a hint that Scanlan mac Teige Mac Giolla Phádraig, and perhaps a more ancient ancestor, was a clear memory in the minds of Árann Fitzpatricks.

The remaining son of John's to consider is Edmond, yet another not advanced in years when he died in 1717. It is well documented by Hardiman (1820, 1846) that Edmond had a son, Richard, who went on to be a Sheriff of Galway in 1730, Mayor in 1738, Deputy Mayor in 1747, and member of the Irish parliament, representing Galway, from 1761 to 1767, the year he died (Hardiman, 1846). Edmond had other children, who have mainly been unaccounted for. Catherine, married Walter Blake (of *'The Tribes'*) – she bore him three sons; James, Edmond, and Francis (Betham, 2021); her brother, James, had a son, Edmond. Among the descendants of Edmond senior (d. 1717), several went on to be members of the Galway *'common council'*, and were Sheriffs of Gaillimh (Hardiman, 1846).

There are many other details of the lives of John's grandchildren that can be extracted from Hardiman, Robinson, and others and then extended somewhat. There are monuments on Árainn Mhór erected in 1754 by Richard's son Patrick and his wife, Margaret, in memory of three of their sons who died over the winter of 1753-54: Denis, aged twenty-three years; John, aged twenty-five years; and Peter, aged seventeen years (Robinson, 1991). Árann is not known for sun-kissed sands, and winter of 1753-4 was particularly cold across Europe; the *'extraordinary frequency of explosive volcanic eruptions ... maintained dust veils high up in the atmosphere'* were likely responsible for a period of cooling, in 1753 the Taal volcano in the Philippines entered a phase of intense activity from 1749 until 1754 (Lamb, 1995). So not for balmy climes, but Árann is, however, known for piracy and smuggling, as are other islands dotted along the west and southwest coast of Éire. And with that fact comes a need to explore the source of the wealth of John Fitzpatrick and subsequent Fitzpatricks of Árann and Gaillimh.

As for the claim of Nicholas Fitzpatrick, who was a surgeon in the British Army, it is little wonder it was disallowed. Nicholas stated his ancestor Denis Fitzpatrick left Laois and settled in An Clár, and *'afterwards retired to the Island of Arran'* where he *'married Margaret O'Brien, a near relative of the Earl of Thomond, and died 21 October 1679'*, leaving one son, the aforementioned John Fitzpatrick, of Árann. From John, Nicholas claimed descent via Richard and Joan French, to Patrick Fitzpatrick, whose wife was Elizabeth Lynch, who resettled in An Clár. From Patrick and Elizabeth came Nicholas' father, Denis Fitzpatrick (d. 1812) of An Clár, who married Mary Dwyer in 1760. But Patrick, the son of Richard, did not resettle in An Clár – he died on Árann in 1757, and his son, Denis, died there in 1753 (Betham, 2021; Robinson, 1991). Hence, Nicholas claim failed on two counts – as it turns out

Nicholas' *'Statement of Pedigree'* was prepared by his counsel, Henry Nugent Bell (Bell, n.d), who was known for his *'suspicious luxuriance of imagination'* (Goodwin, 2004).

### Mac Giolla Phádraig smugglers

The taking of Árann by the O'Flaherty in the 1580s was due in no small part to the assistance of the O'Malley, who were *'warlike and fond of the sea'*, and it was the pirate *'Queen of the West'* herself, Grace O'Malley, who was at the forefront of several of the forays; Grace had married Domnall O'Flaherty, clan tanist, and she bore him three children (Maguire, 1943). Sea trade out of the Gaillimh region to far-off ports in Spain, France, and beyond had occurred for many centuries, long before the *'Christian era'* and long before the arrival of *'The Tribes'* (Discursive, 1882), but *'The Tribes'* greatly expanded operations such that they were able to establish a base of great wealth and power; *'The Tribes'* became *'classed amongst the most considerable merchants of Europe'* (Hardiman, 1846). Of course, simply trading goods might not have necessarily resulted in such wealth ... or even have been a permitted activity.

From the first introduction of high wool duties in Britain in 1275, the English monarchy *'derived a large income from the duty paid on every sack of wool exported'* (Discursive, 1882). Before they could be exported, woolen goods had to be taken to selected ports, known as *'Staples'*, and customs duties paid. Only certain towns, decreed by *'Statute Staple'*, could be centres for collecting wool duties. Early in the reign of Edward III, ca. 1336, he decreed Statute Staples be appointed at *'Dublin, Drogheda, and Cork'* (Longman, 1869), and in 1353 this was expanded to *'Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda, and not elsewhere'* (Given-Wilson et al., 2005). Gaillimh was added in 1375, although there followed a somewhat blotted record concerning payment of duties to the English Crown (Hardiman, 1846): *'high tariffs and prohibitions created many incentives for merchants to avoid the legitimate avenues of commerce [and] the result ... smuggling could, at least in some commodities, account for the bulk of total trade'* (Jones, 2001). After the accession of James I, the Gaillimh Corporation established a *'Guild of Merchants of the Staple'*, consisting of the mayor, Ulick Lynch, and two constables – Walter Martin and Peter Lynch – the collection of the Staple was, then, formally, and firmly, under the control of *'The Tribes'*. The effects of the Cromwellian conquest on Gaillimh have already been discussed; needless to say, there was a disruption to the mercantile population. The Charter of Charles II, in 1676, restored the Guild of Merchants of the Staple, *'consisting of one mayor, two constables, and of such a number of merchants ... as the mayor and constables ... shall think fit'* (Hardiman, 1846). *'The Tribes'* were back in business.

At this juncture, it is fitting to again consider the source of John Fitzpatrick's wealth. Robinson (1986), while pondering this over, and with Richard Fitzpatrick, Seneschal of Ibrickan, firmly in mind as John's father, considered John's wealth had come because Richard *'had done well out of the war'*, meaning Richard profited from his tenure under the Earl of Thomond and whatever he may have been able to plunder during the Irish Confederate Wars of 1641-1653. This may well be correct, but as previously discussed, perhaps it was only part of the story – seneschals did not need wars to amass wealth. It is considered plausible that John, who, in any case, was not the son of Richard, inherited

wealth from his An Clár ancestors and gained further via involvement in the '*smuggling trade*'. As discussed, for a late medieval merchant of Gaillimh, the trade was wool, wool, and more wool. It was a commodity in very high demand; there were big profits to be made, and even more so if ways could be found to avoid the heavy duties. To be sure, the Fitzpatricks of Árann found a way. John Fitzpatrick's relationship with Sir John Kirwan, to whom he had assigned the lands of the Corporation of Galway, bears the hallmark of a mutual business favour. Whatever dealings were involved, one thing is sure – Sir John Kirwan was a highly successful wool merchant and one known to break the rules, having been implicated in the issue of false wool export certificates (Cullen, 1956; Lynch, 2006).

It's not as though it is easy to ascertain what the ins and outs of wool smuggling were in Éire in the eighteenth-century, and earlier. By its very nature, the '*smuggling trade*' was not well documented; smugglers were not ones to '*have kept detailed records of their own activities*' (Jones, 2001). Yet some records exist, including a letter from Michael McDonagh, who had worked for the Gaillimh wool runners but turned informant. In McDonagh's letter, dated 15 April 1737, to an English officer at the Gaillimh garrison by the name of Littleton, he wrote '*Richard FitzPatrick of Aran, esquire, has so much a year from the King and he sees all this wool transporting and he gives the runners no hindrance; for he has done well by the runners, he gets good bribes from them*'. Moreover, McDonagh claimed Fitzpatrick had seen his brother, Bryan, a revenue informer when Bryan had been kidnapped by smugglers who were under directions from Thomas Blake, '*a man of considerable fortune*'. Yet Richard had turned a blind eye; at that time, Richard Fitzpatrick was the incumbent Mayor of Galway, and one of Blake's partners in the smuggling trade was Patrick Fitzpatrick, of Árann (Cullen, 1962).

It is possible to stretch the smuggling narrative further and back in time to An Clár. That Mac Giolla Phádraig occupied promontory castles, the perfect bases for launching smuggling operations, such as that at Fintra overlooking Oileán Caorach, an island so famed for sheep it was named accordingly – this, perhaps, to the mutual benefit of the Earls of Thomond. However, there is little need to speculate because the point is made. The Fitzpatricks of Árann knew the smuggling trade and benefited financially from their involvement in it. Robinson (1986) remarked that Árann was '*an eccentrically reclusive address*' for the rich man that John Fitzpatrick was, and that it commanded '*a principal opening of Galway Bay*' and saw much traffic. But John was no recluse; he was merely enjoying the view – and watching his ships come in. And wealth indeed must have flowed into John's treasure chest, to be inherited by his son, Edmund. In 1713 Sir Stephen Fox, frustrated that his requests for '*the fort be repaired, and a foot company sent*' had gone unheeded (Walsh, 1990), sold Árann to Edmund Fitzpatrick and Patrick French for £8,200. French was acting for Simon Digby, Bishop of Elphin, who then leased his portion of the islands to Edmund for £280 per annum. But whatever wealth gained by the Mac Giolla Phádraig of An Clár, and then grown by the Fitzpatricks of Árann was, ultimately, diminished. In 1744 Edmund's son, Richard Fitzpatrick, sold his portion of Árann for £2,050 (Hardiman, 1820) – a marked loss.

As discussed, the Fitzpatricks of Árann were still prominent in Gaillimh in 1797, when an Edmund was sheriff (Hardiman, 1846), but Hardiman's consideration that the Fitzpatricks of Gaillimh, formerly '*of Árann*', may have ceased to exist was not fully informed. It is likely

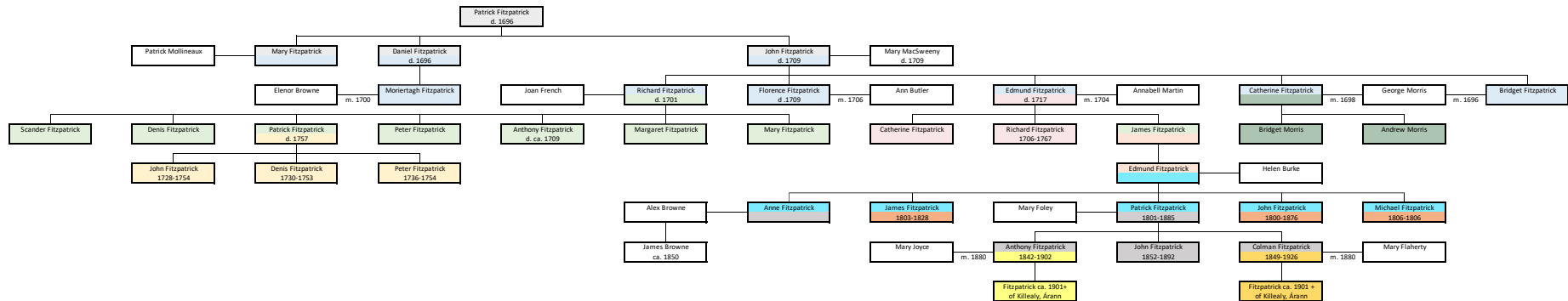
Edmund the sheriff was the same person as Edward Fitzpatrick esquire, who was the deputy mayor of Gaillimh at the time of his death in 1817 (Fitzpatrick Edward, 1817). This may be Edmund, grandson of Edmund ‘of Aran’, but there was another Edmund who had died earlier, in 1787, whose wife Margaret died in 1813 (Crosslé, 2021). And Haddon and Browne (1893) made a note of roadside memorials on Árann, undiscoverable by Robinson (1991), that dated to 1875 – notable were those of James Fitzpatrick, his son John, who died aged twenty-six years in 1828, and his daughter, Bridget, who were related to the various Fitzpatricks of Cill Éinne (Killeany) village who are recorded in 1821 Census and the Griffith’s valuation (Census of Ireland, 1821; Griffith, 1864). Although beyond the scope of this article, it is likely trivial to link the numerous Árann and Gaillimh vital records, and land records, from the nineteenth-century back to the lines of the Fitzpatricks of Árann and forward to Fitzpatrick still living in the general area (refer Figure 2). That conversation will continue in ‘*Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland Part II: Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais*’. But there are other considerations relating to the survival of descendants of the Fitzpatricks of Árann, Gaillimh, and An Clár. Compelling historical records evidence that some found homes in Maigh Eo and Ros Comáin.

### To Maigh Eo and Ros Comáin

As mentioned previously, following the taking of Gaillimh by Cromwell’s forces, there was a mass eviction from the town of many families of ‘*The Tribes*’. Denied their estates by the 1665 ‘*Act of Explanation*’, there were, however, reinstations and compensations made. Notable concerning this article were certain lands outside of Gaillimh granted to two families of ‘*The Tribes*’ – the Blake and the French.

John Blake of Aird Fhraoigh (Ardfry), Gaillimh, had, before 1636, obtained by mortgage in right of his wife the four quarters of Baile Glas (Ballyglass) in the Parish of Crois Bhaoithí (Crossboyne) in the Barony of Clann Mhuiris (Clanmorris), Maigh Eo. In 1677, under the Act of Settlement, John’s eldest son, Francis Blake of Moreagh (later called Páirc Mhuirlinne, or Merlin Park), Gaillimh, received a confirmatory grant of Baile Glas, which was just a fraction of his total 1,880 plantation and 3,046 statute acres. From Francis (d.1711) the Blake descent and inheritance went to his son Martin (d.1744), to his son Francis (d.1763), to his son Charles (d.1769), to his son Charles (d.1845), and then to his son Charles Kilmaine Blake (d.1867) (Blake, 1905; Rabbitte, 1926).

It is Charles Kilmaine Blake who appears in Griffith’s Valuation as the owner of 816 out of 894 acres in Baile Glas; there, several Fitzpatricks are lessors of a combined approximate 238 acres from Blake. And there are descendants of those Fitzpatricks still living in Maigh Eo today and elsewhere across the globe. Civil and Parish records infer Fitzpatricks were domiciled in Baile Glas by at least the late eighteenth century and, since Mac Giolla Phádraig is not an Irish clan name associated with Maigh Eo from ancient times, the most obvious avenue for Fitzpatricks arriving in Baile Glas is as part of a Blake settlement out of Gaillimh, some time after 1677. It is beyond the scope of this article but uncovering any existing pre-1800 estate records of the Blakes of Clann Mhuiris would be one way to inform further when Fitzpatricks first settled in Baile Glas.

**Figure 2: Proposed pedigree of Patrick Fitzpatrick of Árann****Notes:**

This pedigree has several elements that are tentative, which will be shored up in the forthcoming article, *‘Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland Part II: Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais’*.

Naming patterns hint that it is possible Nicholas Fitzpatrick descended not from Patrick Fitzpatrick (d. 1757), but from Patrick’s brother Denis, who is not found in any Árann records after 1701.

Some descendants of Anthony Fitzpatrick (1842-1902) emigrated to the United States of America, while others still live on Árann today.

A not dissimilar narrative serves to account for an extant line of Fitzpatricks whose ancestors appeared in Ros Comáin, post-Cromwell, surely via a settlement by a branch of the French family of Gaillimh. Under the Act of Settlement, Dominick French, the Sheriff of Galway in 1636 (Hardiman, 1846), ‘*secured a grant of considerable portion*’ of land in Ros Comáin –approximately 6,000 acres in the Barony of Mainistir na Búille (Boyle) (D’Alton, 1847), which was Mac Dermott’s Country (Freeman, 1936), i.e., never the territory of any Mac Giolla Phádraig clan. Eventually, the French family came to possess such extensive lands in Mainistir na Búille that the southwest portion was cleaved off to form a new barony, which bore the family name – Frenchpark. Numerous Fitzpatricks appear in Griffith’s valuation on lands in the parish of Tigh Baoithín (Tibohine), in Frenchpark, and much of that was in the hands of the Reverend Lord John French, second baron de Freyne, who was a 3x great-grandson of Dominick French (D’Alton, 1847).

As with the Fitzpatricks of Baile Glas, it would be advantageous to extend this research to uncover estate records of the French of Frenchpark to understand better when Fitzpatricks may have first settled there. However, it is already possible to demonstrate Fitzpatricks were domiciled in Tigh Baoithín from the mid-eighteenth century. The 1749 ‘*Census of Elphin*’, which was a religious survey of the diocese organised by Bishop Edward Synge (Legg, 2004) lists four Fitzpatrick households in Tigh Baoithín; all four male heads were Smiths, and that occupation continued with the Tigh Baoithín Fitzpatricks until at least the time of Griffith’s Valuation – Michael Fitzpatrick is recorded as leasing a house and forge (Griffith, 1864).

It is proven, via Y-DNA analysis, that the Fitzpatricks of Baile Glas, Maigh Eo, share recent direct paternal ancestry with the Fitzpatricks of Tigh Baoithín, Ros Comáin from ca. 1650, which is consistent with time Mac Giolla Phádraig were ejected from An Clár. Whether or not their route to Maigh Eo and Ros Comáin was via Árann or Gaillimh cannot yet be determined because both Clann Mhuiris and Mainistir na Búille (Boyle) were common destinations for those transplanted from all corners of Éire under Cromwell (Prendergast, 1865). But deeper Y-DNA analysis reveals more about the origins of the Maigh Eo-Ros Comáin Fitzpatrick clan because a direct paternal connection from a more ancient time can be made with other Fitzpatrick lines of Gaillimh and An Clár. And since the clan members, as a whole, fall under haplotype R-Z253 ... L226 ... ZZ31\_1, they can rightly be identified, genetically and territorially (Wright, 2009). They are the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Maigh Eo and Ros Comáin, of Árann and Gaillimh, and of West An Clár. And, as will be demonstrated by Y-DNA, they are a Clan who emerged in ancient times, having a close kinship bond to the line of Brian Bóruma, High King of Ireland, of Dál gCais. Hence, they are Clan Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais.

### **Fitzpatricks of haplotype R-Z253 ... L226 ... ZZ31\_1**

Until recently, that Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais should be considered among the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí of annalistic fame, would have been viewed with skepticism by some. There has been no shortage of those, such as Nicholas Fitzpatrick, who have claimed descent from the Mac Giolla Phádraig dynasts, and a common trait among those who desire to exact a form of identity elitism is to ignore evidence, such as new DNA insights or newly

uncovered historical records, that undermines their own claims (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020b). Yet dualistic descent from the barons of Upper Ossory and, by inference, the mere Irish Mac Giolla Phádraig dynasts is deeply problematic for those claimants who have either Germanic (R-U152), Levantine (J-M172), or Celto-Norman (R-FGC5494 ... A1488) haplotypes, none of which support the emergence of a mere Irish Pátraic-surname clan in Osraí ca. 1000 AD. This does not mean such claimants might not be descendants of the barons of Upper Ossory, only that the patrimony of the barons may have been elsewhere, such as with a Norman clerical lineage (Fitzpatrick, 2021b). And it is considered the notable claim of dynastic descent for R-FGC5494 ... A1488 Fitzpatricks (Fitzpatrick, 2005) fails on several counts, mainly that the line appears Norman-Irish and that there is no Pátraic-surname specificity evident within the haplotype before ca. 1500 AD (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021).

A potentially Viking dynastic patrimony might also be argued for R-FGC5494 ... A1488 (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021) given the well-established links Cearbhall (King of Ossory 843 - 888 AD) had with Norse (Todd, 1867), and there is also a strong Norse link to the name Giolla Phádraig (Fitzpatrick, n.d.). But a Viking patrimony does not currently support R-FGC5494 ... A1488 or U152 Fitzpatrick lineage origins because Scandinavian lines do not feature among their ancient genetic matches, whereas Norman and Germanic lines do. In addition, R-FGC5494 DNA from ancient times has not yet been found in Éire, although it has been in England. A large-scale analysis of ancient DNA (Patterson et al., 2021) has uncovered R-FGC5494 haplotypes in samples collected from five distinct, mostly coastal sites in the southeast and southwest England. One sample came from well-studied remains and archeological effects found at Thanet Island, Kent. The Island was a special '*place for the necessary interactions between locals and mariners*' and a burial ground for '*non-local people*' (Needham, McKinley & Leivers, 2014).

Isotope dating and analysis indicated the R-FGC5494 individual lived ca. 400 - 200 BC (i.e., during the early mid-Iron Age), that they were not born locally and had been mobile. Norway was ruled out as a place of origin, but two alternatives were offered: the '*southern margins of the North Sea, the Baltic region, or southern Sweden*', or the '*Alpine foreland*', since there had been a long-term connection at the '*two ends of the Rhine*' with Thanet lying at the western extremity, across the southern North Sea, and opposite the mouth of the Rhine. Therefore, Thanet was a hub for European goods to Britain and vice versa (Needham, McKinley & Leivers, 2014). Hence, the first documented appearance of R-FGC5494 in the British Isles and Ireland is far too late for R-FGC5494 ... A1488 Fitzpatricks to sustainably claim mere Irish descent.

Yet the same cannot be said of Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais. The case that they are an ancient Pátraic-surname clan that may have arisen in Osraí is compelling based on their histories and strong Y-DNA heritage. The Y-DNA pedigree of R-Z253 ... L226 ... ZZ31\_1 Fitzpatricks, i.e., those Dál gCais, indicates they share their ancient patrilineage with the ancestor of Brian Bóruma, High King of Ireland; this established since the terminal haplotype of Conor O'Brien, Eighteenth Baron Inchiquin, '*The O'Brien*', is a sub-haplotype of R-ZZ31\_1 (Wright, 2009; Swift, 2014). Based on Y-STR and Y-SNP analysis, haplotype R-ZZ31\_1 is estimated to have emerged ca. 500 AD, and surname diversity under R-ZZ31\_1 also

correlates with that age estimate, i.e., that it was before the age of surnames, but not so distant that kinship relationships are indiscernible within the surname mix. Hence, as it stands, R-ZZ31\_1 is like a *'Who is Who'* of Dál gCais surnames, Uí Briain kin and their associates, such as Kennedy and Mac Mahon. Several of the later emerging R-ZZ31\_1 sub-haplotypes also envelop surnames such as Lynch, Browne, and Morris, which provides evidence for post-surname era Uí Briain Y-DNA insertion into lineages of *'The Tribes'*. The pattern of high surname diversity, as well as high membership, under R-ZZ31\_1 is unsurprising for pre- and post-Uí Brian surname patrimonies that would have been prolific in the medieval ages. By way of example, *'Turlough an fhíona Ó Donnell, lord of Tirconnell had eighteen sons (by ten different women) and fifty-nine grandsons in the male line'* (Nicholls, 1972); such 'super-progenitors' left large genetic footprints, even if they are not as large as first imagined (Fitzpatrick, 2021a; Zhabagin et al., 2021). Hence, a large genetic footprint is entirely expected for the Uí Brian and their Dál gCais kin.

There is a notable branching at R-ZZ31\_1 ... FGC5628, which possibly marks a divergence after the Bóruma ancestor Mathghamha (fl. ca. 750 AD), from who comes the surname Mac Mahon, five generations before Ceinnéidigh (d. 951 AD), the father of Brian Bóruma (d. 1014 AD), but Y-SNP-dating calibration is unreliable here because pedigrees indicate there could have been several ways the surname Mac Mathghamha was taken. However, R-ZZ31\_1 ... FGC5659>ZZ34\_1 marks a more certain genetic split for the surnames Kennedy and O'Brien that matches the genealogical Uí Ceinnéidigh (O'Kennedy) and Uí Briain divergence (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003). As such, calibration of R-ZZ34\_1 to ca. 1000 AD is helpful in determining when Fitzpatrick sub-haplotypes of R-ZZ31\_1 developed in parallel.

There are two distinct Fitzpatrick surname lineages under R-ZZ31\_1. One line is defined by R-ZZ31\_1 ... FT159770, and that terminal haplotype is shared by two men, both Fitzpatricks. There is no evidence from Y-STR-matches of any other surname intrusion into their lines; hence, based on current data, R-FT159770 Fitzpatricks are considered an ancient Pátraic-surname lineage that diverged from what became Brian Bóruma's line within approximately one generation on either side of the historical figure Anluan mac Mathghamha (Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003), ca. 800 AD. Shared ancestry within R-FT159792 is from before ca. 1770; in recent times, one traces to An Clár and the other to Gaillimh, which fits well the narrative of one line exiting An Clár in the Cromwellian era, while one line remained. Based on Y-STR-matches, there is a third Fitzpatrick member of the line, and they trace to An Clár.

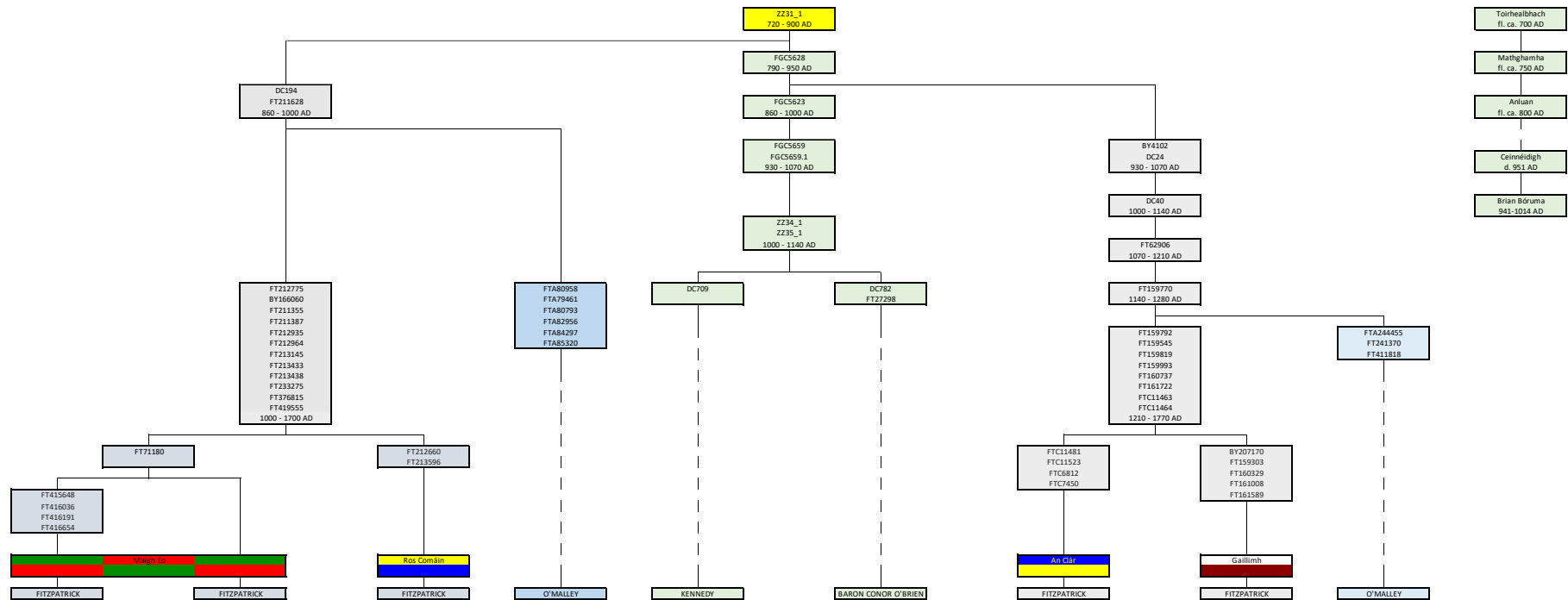
The other distinct Dál gCais Fitzpatrick surname lineage is defined by R-ZZ31\_1... FT212775, which is shared by three men. Based on Y-STR-matches, there is evidence for post-surname era matches with the surname Callahan; that surname is common across Éire and was taken for various reasons – hence, clarification of the Fitzpatrick-Callaghan relationship can only come via Next Generation Sequencing (NGS) testing. However, based on current data, R-FT212775 Fitzpatricks are considered an ancient Pátraic-surname lineage that diverged from what became Brian Bóruma's line within approximately one generation either side of the historical figure Mathghamha mac Toirhealbhaich (Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003), ca. 750 AD. Under R-FT212775 are two lines. One line, R-FT212775> R-FT71180, emerged after ca. 1750 – both members trace in recent times to Maigh Eo. The second line is R-FT212775\*,

and its single member traces to Ros Comáin. In addition, there are two Fitzpatricks whose Y-STR data indicates they will also be under haplotype R-FT212775 – in recent times, one traces to Gaillimh and the other to Maigh Eo. The five members of FT212775, defined either by Y-SNP or Y-STR data, share a common ancestry from ca. 1700. The proven nineteenth-century genealogies of the group indicate they are without doubt the Fitzpatricks who became part of the Baile Glas settlement by the Blake and the Frenchpark settlement by the French – it seems certain that both groups were previously of Gaillimh and are likely the descendants of the Fitzpatrick of Árann. Figure 3 provides a haplotree overview for R-ZZ31\_1, which evidences the ancient emergence of two distinct Pátraic-surname groups within the general Dál gCais genetic signature. The pre-1650 Mac Giolla Phádraig links to An Clár ultimately leads to questions regarding their Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais surname origins. And fortunately, there are solid Mac Giolla Phádraig An Clár pedigrees that reach back from the seventeenth- to the thirteenth-century. This leads to a remarkable finding.

### The mysterious origins of Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais

The presence of Mac Giolla Phádraig in An Clár, at least as far back as 1585, coupled with extant ZZ31\_1 Fitzpatrick lines in An Clár, Gaillimh, Maigh Eo, and Ros Comáin, indicates an ancient Dál gCais origin. What, then, can be learned of the pre-1585 origins of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais? Few have offered up ideas. The genealogical and annalistic giants – Mac Fhirbhisigh, Cú Choigcríge Ó Cléirigh, and Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, and O'Donovan – are silent, and the unrivaled Fitzpatrick historian, Carrigan, makes no comment either; his tomes firmly focused on the Diocese of Ossory. However, the not always reliable Shearman does help with a partially-cited funeral entry he found among the records of the Ulster Office of Arms. Shearman (1879) provides the pedigree of Derby (Dermot) Fitzpatrick, of Lios Dúin Bhearna (Lisdoonvarna), who died in 1637, which states he was the direct descendant of *'Connor, brother of Donel Mór, formerly Lord of Ossory'*. The inference is clear; Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais had ancient surname origins in Osraí. O'Hart, alerted to Shearman's findings, summarised the funeral entry in a little more detail. Derby was the son of Florence (Fynin), the son of Florence (Fynin), the son of Derby, the son of Gilleduff, who, although the descent is not detailed, was from *'Connor', brother of 'Donall Mór'*; without evidence, O'Hart said Connor was the *'ancestor of Fitzpatrick, of Limerick and Clare'* (O'Hart, 1892).

Even so, poor scholarship around the origins of the Mac Giolla Phádraig of An Clár continues today by those who believe the Fitzpatricks of Árann were descended from Barnaby Fitzpatrick, first Baron of Upper Ossory, who somehow arrived in An Clár only at the start of the seventeenth-century. Such a finding is readily dismissed via the irrefutable Kenneth Nicholls via Luke McInerney. McInerney (2013), who verifies O'Hart with an extended version of Derby Fitzpatrick's pedigree, and in doing so provides greater connectivity between Gilleduff and Connor of Osraí. A copy of the funeral entry of Derby (Dermot) Fitzpatrick, which provides an extended pedigree of his father, Florence (Fynin), from the Genealogical Record Office Manuscripts Collection, or GRO, is provided, with annotations, in Figure 4 (Funeral Entries, 1639). Understanding the mystery of how the Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais could have arisen in Osraí requires more critical consideration of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí than has been undertaken, to date.

**Figure 3: Haplotype overview for R-ZZ31\_1****Notes:**

The R-ZZ31\_1 haplotree shows Fitzpatrick descent and sub-branching, along with the notable surnames O'Brien and Kennedy, as well as O'Malley for context.

Y-DNA dating estimates are probabilistic and SNP occurrence estimated as 0.43 – 0.60 per generation.

**Figure 4: Pedigree of Derby Fitzpatrick, recorded by Thomas Preston, Ulster King of Arms**

Darby firtz Patrick of Lissdonwarney in the County of Clare  
gent deaeled eldest sonne & heire of Florence firtz Patrick of  
the same gent, eldest sonne and heire of Florence firtz Patrick  
of Downesallagh in the said County gent, onely sonne of  
Darby firtz Patrick of Downesallagh aforesaid, eldest sonne &  
heire of Gilleduffe firtz Patrick of the same gent, <sup>ch</sup> ~~which~~ Gille-  
duffe descended from Connor firtz Patrick second brother of  
Daniell more latelye called m Gillepatrick Lord of Vpper Ossory  
The said first mentioned Darby tooke to wife Inigin Duffe  
alias Any daughter of Thomas mac Morragh Caume mac  
Mahon of Shyan in the said County gent, by whome hee  
hath issue 2. daughters vidz. Onora eldest daughter died an  
Infant Mary 2<sup>d</sup> daughter Mary married to James Gould  
of Culeany in the said County, The said first mentioned  
Darby departed this mortall life at Limerick the first of  
September 1637. and was interred in our Ladies Church the  
4<sup>th</sup> of the same Moneth. The truth of the premisses is testified  
by the subscription of Florence firtz Patrick brother heire  
& Administrator of the said Defunct, Whoe hath returned  
this Certificat into my Office to be there recorded Taken  
by me Thomas Preston Esq<sup>r</sup> V Luester King of Armes the  
16<sup>th</sup> of February 1638.

Funeral Entries (1639). Reproduced courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

#### Notes:

Derby FitzPatrick of Lios Dúin Bhearna, An Clár, gent, died 1 September 1637 in Luimneach; eldest son and heir of Florence FitzPatrick, gent, of Lios Dúin Bhearna, An Clár; eldest son and heir of Florence FitzPatrick, gent, of Dún Salach, An Clár; only son of Derby FitzPatrick, of Dún Salach, An Clár; eldest son and heir of Gilleduff FitzPatrick, gent, of Dún Salach, An Clár; descendant of Connor FitzPatrick, second brother of Daniell Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig, Lord of Upper Ossory. Derby's wife was a daughter of Thomas mac Morrogh Cam ('the crooked') Mac Mahon of An Sián (Sheeaun), An Clár, who bore Derby Honora (died an infant) and Mary, who married James Gould of Cluaine (Clooney), An Clár. The brother of Derby was Florence Fitz Patrick.

## Origins of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí

Having a Dál gCais Mac Giolla Phádraig king with pre-thirteenth origins in the west and southwest Laois cuts right to the core of traditional thinking regarding Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí identity. It seemingly prompts more questions than there are answers. And yet, once the complexities of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí origins are understood, it becomes clear that primary historical records offer no contradiction to Y-DNA findings.

The Book of Leinster (O’Sullivan, 1983) is one such primary source, and it provides a list of ‘*Reges Ossairge*’, the Kings of Ossory, many of whom can be correlated via various Annals of Ireland entries. Following a period during which the reigns of kings were relatively lengthy, there followed, between 1087 and 1185, more than a dozen Kings of Ossory. And yet the Annals make mention of several more kings and chieftains of Osraí than can be accounted for via regnal lists, or the direct line of descent genealogies offered by the likes of Mac Fhirbhisigh, or Ó Cléirigh, or contained in Rawlinson MS 502 (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003; Pender, 1951; O’Brien, 1976).

Making sense of the rapid succession of the kings through the twelfth-century is complicated because after Gillapattrick Ruadh (King of Ossory 1090 –1103) was slain at the battle of Magh Cobha (O’Donovan, 1856), Osraí was partitioned, and there came to be Mac Giolla Phádraig rulers of Tuaisceart (northern) and Deisceart (southern) Osraí, as well as Clandonagh, ‘*Magh Lacha*’ and Slieve Bloom (i.e., Upper Ossory) (Carrigan, 1905). After this, from 1151, came marked political interference by Dermot Mac Murough, King of Leinster (1126-1171), and from then until the Norman invasions, the chieftainships of the former two territories were variably contested by rival Mac Giolla Phádraig lines, and the chieftainship of the latter was contested (and at times shared) by the Mac Giolla Phádraig and the Uí Caellaide (O’Kealy) (Carrigan p.55).

Is there evidence of possible R-L226 intrusion into Osraí that would make sense of Donal Mór having Dál gCais paternity? That answer is yes because in the era immediately before Domnall Mór emerged, there were close bonds between the Mac Giolla Phádraig and the Uí Briain, expressed via intermarriage and military alliances. From various annalistic records, we learn that, in 1075, Toirdhealbhach Ua Briain (King of Munster 1068-1086) and his son, Muircheartach, allied with ‘*Meathmen, Connaughtmen, the foreigners [i.e., Danes], the Leinstermen, [and] the Osraighi*’ campaigned against the Oirghialla and the Ulidans. The Uí Briain-Mac Giolla Phádraig alliance was secured via the marriage of Toirdhealbhach Ua Briain to Dearbhforgaill, the daughter of Tadhg Mac Giolla Phádraig; Muircheartach, who went on to be King of Ireland (1086-1119, with opposition), was their son. Other conflicts involving Muircheartach, with Ossorians among his allies, are recorded in the Annals: in 1084 against the Ua Ruairc (O’Rourke) and his ‘*allies of East Connaught*’; in 1094 against Godfrey, King of Áth Claith (Dublin); in 1101 during his ‘*circuitous hosting*’ of Éire; and in 1103 at Magh Cobha – not only did Gillapattrick Ruadh Mac Giolla Phádraig fall there, but there was a mass slaughter of the Osraige (O’Donovan, 1856; Murphy, 1896).

It is also noteworthy that one of the most significant Normans in Éire before the invasion of 1169 was Arnulf de Montgomery, who married Lafracoth, a daughter of Muircheartach; the

alliance forged with the Uí Briain was part of a Cambro-Norman scheme for the '*conquest of Ireland through an Irish marriage*'. The alliance existed from at least 1103 (Curtis, 1921), and this evidences an '*ally of my ally*' relationship between a notable Cambro-Norman line and Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí. From there, later Norman-Mac Giolla Phádraig-Uí Briain connections could have become highly intertwined – Arnulf was Lord of Pembroke, where his '*chief man*' was Gerald of Windsor, and Gerald's son, Maurice, married Alice, the daughter of Arnulf and Lafracoth (Curtis, 1921).

That a Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí line could have had a Dál gCais Y-haplotype is not extraordinary – if anything, it is entirely expected. Unlike some of the large Irish population groups, such as the Dál gCais (R-L226), the Laighin (R-Z255), or the Éoganachta (R-CTS4466), there is no such proven Y-haplotype for the Osraige, and nor will there ever be. The lineages of the Osraige are mythical and are not defined by a common patriarch. Instead, they are defined by the túath (territory) the paternally unconnected Osraige clans occupied. And the Osraige emergence myths are not atypical. Although there may be some truths hidden in the tales of how Celts came to Éire, the arrival myths are not supported by modern science. However, sagas such as the Milesian conquest, espoused by popular and politically motivated writers of romantic Irish histories, such as Geoffrey Keating in the seventeenth-century, were understood to be fiction long before the likes of carbon-dating, isotope analysis, or fine-scale DNA analysis came on the scene. The Leabhar Gabhála (Book of Invasions) and other '*myths of ancient arrival*' were falsehoods contrived by the powerful dynastic groups, probably to provide a parallel between the sojourns of the Irish and the Jews and to bring an alignment with Christian thinking (Morgan, 1991).

Such mythologies reach to the core of the origins of the Osraige, who are said by some to be the descendants of Loegaire Bern Buadach (whose descendants were the Dál mBirn), the son of Oengus Osrithe who, in turn, came from a Laighin line and, ultimately, from one of the five sons of Míl Espáine (Keating, 1723). But, away from the fiction, regurgitated by the likes of Carrigan and Shearman, the scholars teach the Osraige were not Laighin by descent. And Professor Thomas O'Rahilly was no mere scholar – in his day he was regarded as '*the leading authority on the language and literature of Ireland*' (Bergin, 1957); whose mastery of Gaeilge and other languages gave him the ability to see common patterns and themes in diverse ancient documents. O'Rahilly (1946) considered the affiliation of the Osraige with the Laighin was completely '*artificial*' and a novel doctrine propagated by ancient genealogists, not out of any belief in common ancestry but because the Osraige considered they had '*the same right to the name Laighin as had the Laighin themselves*'. O'Rahilly determined that the identity of Loegaire Bern Buadach was borrowed from the Corcu Loígde, who arose in Corcaigh (Cork).

Francis Byrne, another academic giant (Ó Cróinín, 2018), considered it was the rise in status of Cearbhall (King of Ossory, 843-888) that likely led genealogists to be '*persuaded to forge a Leinster pedigree for the Osraige*' (Byrne, 1973), and the theme of fabrication and falsification of Osraige lineages can be demonstrated right up to the High Middle Ages via the erasures and additions in the regnal lists of the Book of Leinster (O'Brien, 1976); Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, lineages were '*obviously manipulated in favour of the later dominant*

*dynastic group*’, that group being the descendants of Giolla Phádraig mac Donnchada (Lord of Osraí, 1039-1055) (Ó Corráin, 1977; Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021b).

Hence, it is considered that searching for Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí origins ca. 900-1200 AD requires looking beyond the myths and searching beyond one direct patrilineage. There is nothing uniquely Osraige about the name Giolla Phádraig in that period, and neither was the name particularly common in Osraí compared with other túath. Mac Fhirbhisigh (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003) records fifty-six discreet occurrences of Giolla Phádraig, and only three are among the Osraige. Easily the greatest number of occurrences (fourteen) is with Oirialla (Oriell) clans, i.e., the mid-Ulster tribal confederation based mainly in Ard Mhacha (Armagh), Fear Manach (Fermanagh), and Muineachán (Monaghan), and parts of adjacent counties; there, notable clans with Giolla Phádraig usages are the Mág Uidhir (Maguire) and Mac Maghnusa (Mac Manus), but one-off occurrences are found in a variety of other clans. Single Giolla Phádraig occurrences are also plentiful among the Ceinéal Éoghain (an Uí Néill an Deisceart, i.e., North O’Neill) dynasty (seven occurrences in total), and the Síol Ír, who are found especially in Mumhan (Munster) and the Irish midlands (also seven occurrences). There are also five occurrences among the Laighin and two among the Mumhan (Munster) dynasts, the Eóghanachta. The aforementioned territories reflect the main Fitzpatricks population centres found in the 1901 census (Census of Ireland, 1901) as well as that which is expressed heavily on the Fitzpatrick DNA project (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

However, among Mac Fhirbhisigh’s genealogies, the clan that has the most occurrences of Giolla Phádraig are of the Mac Mathghamha Dubh branch of the Uí Ceinnéidigh (O’Kennedy) via Aodh Álainn, ‘*who seized the kingship of Urmhumha*’ (i.e., Ormond), and whose brother was Brian Bóruma (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003). Hence, as well as strong familial and political connections in Osraí, a prevalence of the name Giolla Phádraig among Dál gCais clans can be added to the narrative of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí origins not being singular. With Osraí at the intersection of Mumhan to the west, Laighin to the east, and An Mhí to the north, it is also fully expected that the several patrilineal origins of Osraige clans, as described by O’Rahilly and Byrne, would be reflected in a melting pot of Y-haplotype expression, which is borne out by Y-DNA projects that inform the haplotypes of those clans who claim Osraige descent.

Hence, on a Y-DNA-basis, there is also no reason to subscribe to the idea the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí were of a singular patrimony – the intense Mac Giolla Phádraig intra-rivalry that is apparent across numerous annalist accounts is, perhaps, an expression of that. The mysteries of the ancient origins of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí are discussed further in the forthcoming Journal article ‘*Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí: from ancient times to 1384 AD, Part I*’, which draws on Y-DNA analysis and historical records to account for several modern Fitzpatrick lineages that, like the Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais, may have origin stories in Osraí.

But returning to Domnal Mór, and his emergence in an era of confused linages and Mac Giolla Phádraig fracture; the monocular view of Carrigan (1905) that only one ‘*great*’ Domnal existed in Upper Ossory in the early to mid-thirteenth-century is as unnecessary as

it is surely incorrect. A *'Domnall Mór'* is found in the pedigrees of Mac Fhirbhisigh and was of *'Magh Lacha or, Laoighis'* (i.e., Laois). His father was Scannlán, his grandfather was Giolla Pádraig, and he had a son called Séafraidh Bacach (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003). There is no extant pedigree for *'Donnell Clannagh'*, i.e., of Clann Donncha (Clandonagh), also known as *'King of Slieve Bloom'*, but he is revealed in the annals and is mentioned to have a son, Séafraidh (Murphy, 1896; Hennessy, 1871). *'Donnchadh son of Anmchadh son of Donnchadh'*, of that short pedigree alone, was *'the captain of greatest honour and prowess that had come of the men of Osraighe'* (Hennessy, 1871). The titles and deeds of all three are fitting for an epithet attesting to greatness just as much as Domnal is sometimes rendered Donnell or Donnchadh by even such esteemed Gaelic linguists as Carrigan.

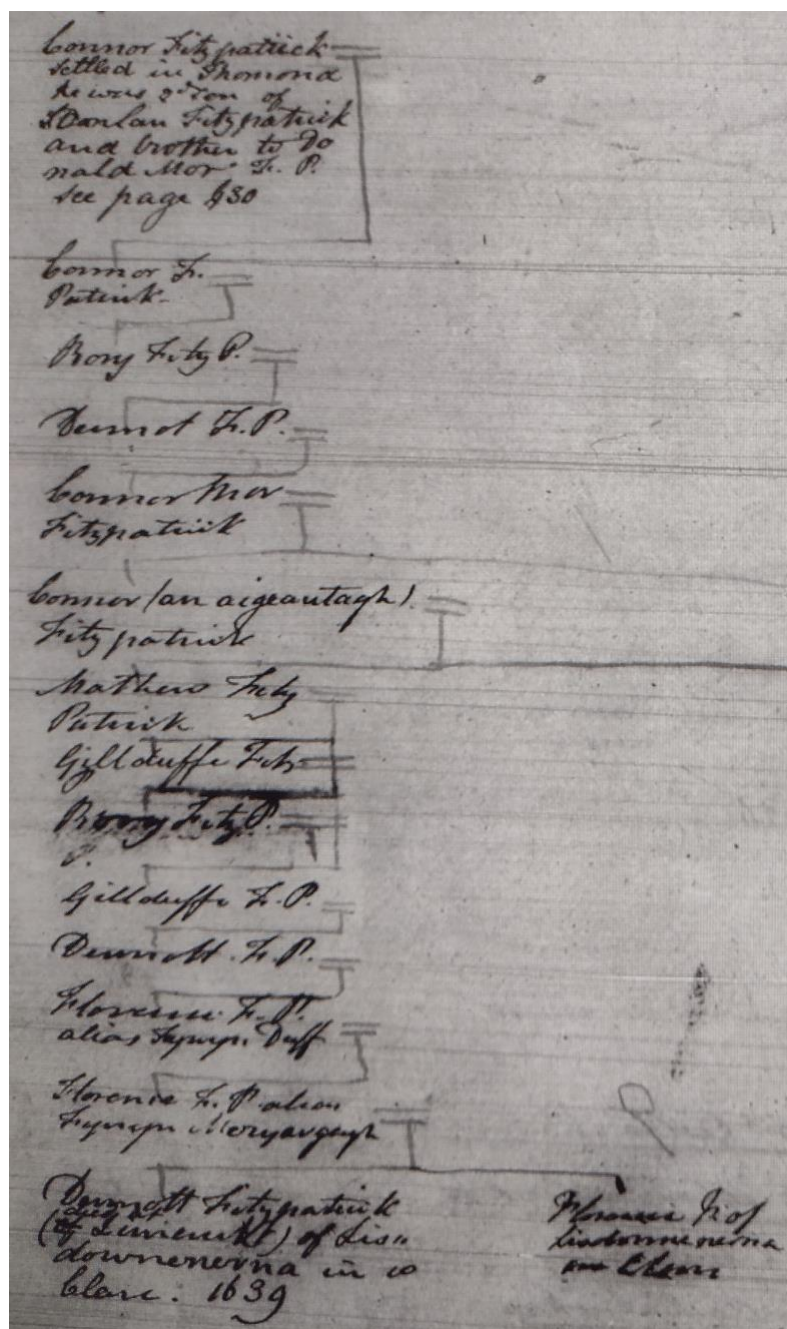
It seems that *'Domnall Mor'* can be applied to two, or possibly three different people. It is notable that the modern scholar Bart Jaski (1994) unsurprisingly also adjudges three lines – one, the unspoken son of Scannlán, one the son of Anmchadh, and one *'Domnall Clannach'*, the latter being ancestrally detached from any prior Mac Giolla Phádraig line. One of the three was likely the brother of the progenitor of the Mac Giolla Phádraig An Clár, and there is a clear indication of which one he was.

### The origins of Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais revealed

Any uncertainty regarding the exact progenitor of Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais is swept away by Roger O'Farrell in his *'A Genealogical, Chronological, and Historical Account of the Gaelian, Milesian, Scottish, or Irish People or Nation from the beginning of time, to this yeare of our Lord 1709'*, which is more commonly known as *'Linea Antiqua'* (Ó Canann, 2012). O'Farrell makes Connor, who *'settled in Thomond'*, the *'son of Scanlan'* and *'brother to Donald Mór'*, hence attaching the An Clár line to Scannlán mac Giolla Pádraig Mac Giolla Phádraig (O'Farrell, 1709).

Hence, Derby Fitzpatrick (d. 1637) of Lios Dúin Bhearna (Lisdoonvarna) was the son of Fynin Mergagh of Lios Dúin Bhearna, the son of Fynin Dubh of Dún Salach (Doonsallagh), the son of Dermot of Dún Salach, the son of Gilleduff Dún Salach, the son of Rory, the son of Gilliduff, the son of Matthew, the son of Connor an aigeantagh (i.e., the cheerful), the son of Connor Mór, the son of Dermot, the son of Rory, the son of Connor, the son of Connor of Osraí, the second brother of Domnall Mór of Magh Lacha (Laois).

A copy of the *'Linea Antiqua'* pedigree, with annotations, is provided in Figure 5, and Figure 6 provides a schematic to expand on the relationships of Fynin Mergagh of Lios Dúin Bhearna. The temporality of Domnall Mór, based on annalistic dates, indicates that his brother, Connor, was born ca. 1200 AD, which is consistent with the fourteen (or perhaps fifteen) generational steps required to get from Connor to Derby (d.1637). Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais descendants, dispersed to Maigh Eo, Ros Comáin and Gaillimh, while some remained in An Clár, have a remarkable and seemingly irrefutable claim to stem from a sept of the Mac Giolla Phádraig dynasts of Osraí, of long recognised deeds found in annalistic accounts.

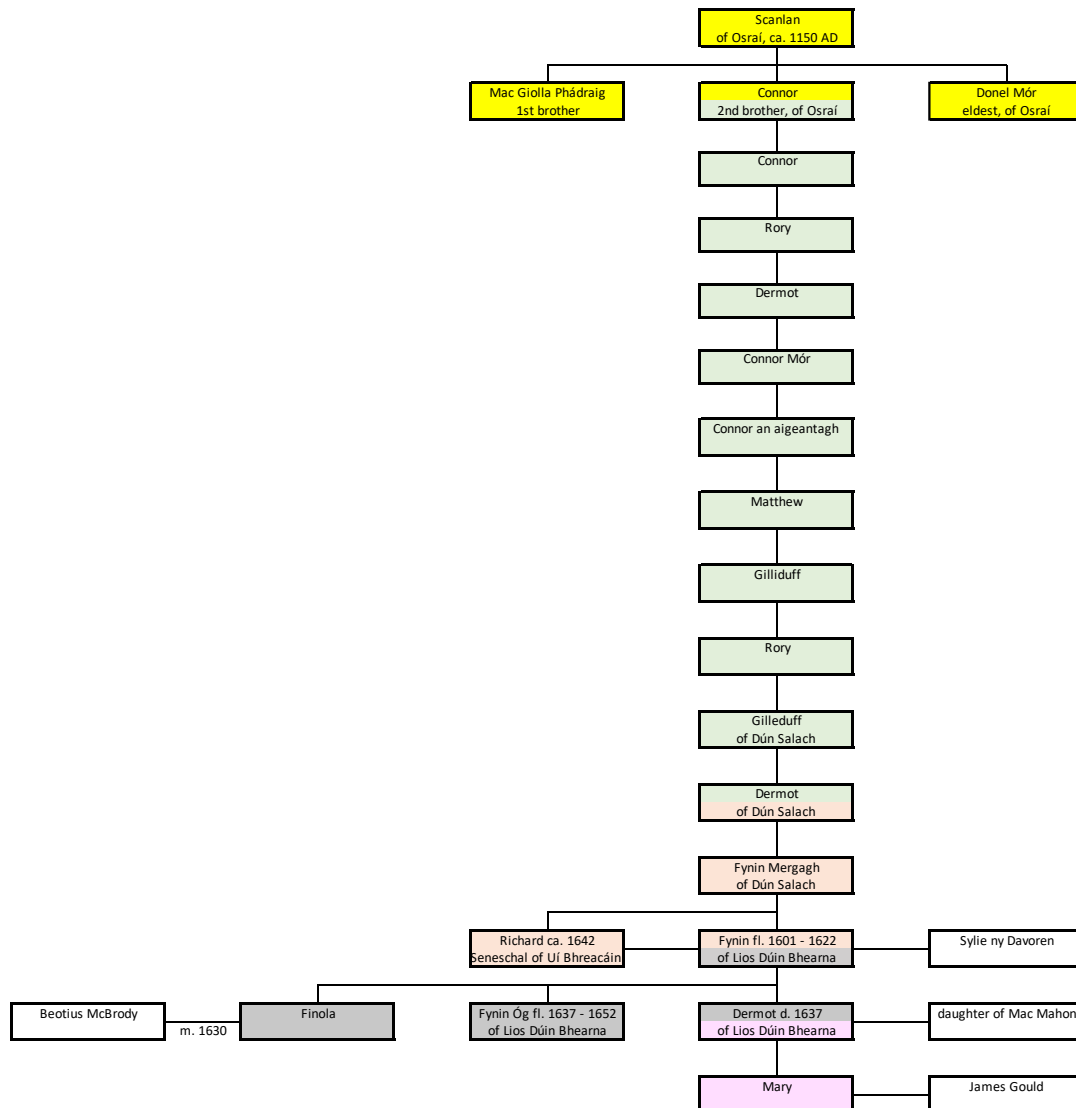
**Figure 5: Pedigree of Derby Fitzpatrick, recorded by Roger O’Ferrall**

From 'Linea Antiqua' (O’Ferrall, 1709). Reproduced courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

#### Notes:

The lineage from Scannlán to Derby Fitzpatrick of Lios Dúin Bhearna (Lisdoonvarna) is repeated among documents of Sir William Hawkins, Ulster King of Arms 1670-1736 (Miscellaneous pedigrees and letters, n.d), with a single difference being the insertion of Matthew after Connor, 'the first that went to Thomond'.

At Connor an aigeantagh there are two sons; Matthew (as shown) and Teige (not shown). The line of Teige is discussed in the forthcoming article 'Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland Part II: Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais'.

**Figure 6: Proposed pedigree of Dermot Mac Giolla Phádraig of west An Clár****Notes:**

This pedigree will be expanded in the forthcoming article, *‘Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland Part II: Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais’*.

Richard Fitzpatrick, seneschal of Uí Bhreacáin is made the son of Fynin Mergagh of Dún Salach because there was probably a familial relationship between Fynin Mergagh and Richard Wingfield. Fynin Mergagh’s land dealings with Richard Wingfield provide the timeframe for when Mac Giolla Phádraig first gained an interest in Lios Dúin Bhearna, ca. 1613-1615 when Fynin Mergagh relieved Wingfield of a mortgage (Ainsworth, 1961).

## Loose ends to follow

Mention here has been made of various Mac Giolla Phádraig and Fitzpatrick lines of An Clár, Árann, Gaillimh town, Maigh Eo, and Ros Comáin. There are other lines for which records exist from the eighteenth-century that are probably connected to the lines discussed but need further exploration. Once such line is that of Thomas Fitzpatrick who at the time of his death in 1747 held *'The Farm of Coole'*, which included extensive lands in the parish of Cill Tartan (Kiltartan), Gaillimh (Crosslé, 2021).

And links to other locations in An Clár are also intriguing. A 1621 Fiant of James I details the grant of An Clár lands from the king to Donnough Ua Briain, the Fourth Earl of Thomond, including the half-quarter of *'Ballyclenymcgillapattrick'* (Clarke, 1967), the name likely stemming from Baile Cluain Mac Giolla Phádraig, i.e., the settlement of Mac Giolla Phádraig's meadow. Although the exact location of the small townland (a sub-denomination) is lost, the general area can be understood from other townlands listed immediately before and after; it was in the parish of Inse Chrónáin (Inchicronan) in Bun Raite (Bunratty) barony (L. McNerney, pers.comm., 18 January 2022). Lands in Éire that incorporate Mac Giolla Phádraig are not common (Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick, 2020b), and Baile Cluain Mac Giolla Phádraig points to an important presence of a Mac Giolla Phádraig sept in Inse Chrónáin, and perhaps a line quite distinct from that of any from West An Clár.

The forthcoming article *'Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland Part II: Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais'* will do much to further inform the personalities, relationships, temporalities, and territories of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais.

## Conclusion

This article has introduced, for the first time, the Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais in a scholarly narrative. Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais are an ancient Pátraic surname clan or, more accurately, they are ancient Pátraic surname clans.

Resident in An Clár from the thirteenth-century, during the Cromwellian era many Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais were dispersed to Árann and Gaillimh, where they had previously made connections with the O'Flaherty and *'The Tribes'* – although some lines remained in An Clár. It was connections with two of the families of *'The Tribes'*, the Blakes and the French, that led to the appearance of Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais in Maigh Eo and Ros Comáin during the eighteenth-century, or earlier.

The complex Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais histories have long been contained in various records such as the Fiants, the Inchiquin manuscripts, Inquisitions, Depositions, and Genealogies. Still, the recent work by scholars such as McNerney has also afforded access to essential land records to much avail. Hence, a large corpus of patchwork pieces can be stitched together to produce a meaningful narrative and a new clan identity, which is confirmed via the power of Y-DNA analysis.

But perhaps most remarkable is the finding that the recently rediscovered Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais may be the descendants of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí of annalistic fame. This greatly disrupts the commonly advanced belief that the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí were descendants of Oengus Osrithe. That belief is false – modern scholars consider the mythical progenitor of Osraige clans was pure invention, as was a Laighin pedigree for the Osraige; this devised to instill a unique identity for, and elevate the status of, Osraige clans.

Y-DNA evidence, coupled with previously little considered historical records, presented here supports such scholarship highlighting this falsification of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí origins. And this article demonstrates further the complexity of how the surname Mac Giolla Phádraig, later Fitzpatrick, was taken, and that there is likely to be more than a singular patrimony for the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais, and other Mac Giolla Phádraig clans across Éire.

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## Letters from the Baron of Upper Ossory, and his son Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, AD 1571: Carrigan's transcriptions

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### Abstract

This article reproduces Rev. William Carrigan's transcriptions of material he titled, '*Letters from the Baron of Upper Ossory, and his son Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, AD 1571*'. The letters are three pieces of correspondence from the Baron of Upper Ossory and one from Sir Barnaby to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord Justice of Ireland (1571-1575), and mainly relate to the baron's various complaints — that he had lost castles and houses, lands and associated incomes, and goods, had been variously mistreated and was in exile, and that Sir Barnaby was culpable. The letters demonstrate the severe rift that had developed between the baron and his eldest legitimate son but also provide peripheral facts concerning the baron's broader relationships, places of abode, and the timing of some of his life events.

### Introduction

The renowned Ossory historian, Rev. William Carrigan (1860-1924), known for his epic four-volume '*The History and Antiquities of Diocese of Ossory*' (1905), is the most important scholar concerning the Fitzpatrick barons of Upper Ossory; this still, even as we approach the centenary of his death. Carrigan's Fitzpatrick narratives suffer some notable gaps, inconsistencies, and errors, which are becoming increasingly apparent as '*new*' records come to light (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020; Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick 2020b; Fitzpatrick, 2021a; Fitzpatrick, 2021b; Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021; Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2022); but perhaps some records had become known to Carrigan in the years between the publication of '*The History*' and his death, and he was ready to make revisions.

In any case, the material Carrigan collected for his magnum opus was far more than could be contained in '*The History*', which '*if utilised to its full extent it would have filled 12 volumes*'. Hence, Carrigan had planned a fifth supplementary volume to add to '*the original four*', but this did not come about, and neither did the proposal to publish Carrigan's collection in '*Archivium Hibernicum*' (Phelan, 1976). Not lost, however, his notes are now '*The Carrigan Manuscripts*', and comprise 167 volumes, handwritten primarily in small note books, which are housed at the Archives of St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny (Whelan, 1990).

The Carrigan Manuscripts are a trove of information for those with interest in the Fitzpatrick barons of Ossory, and this publication of '*Letters from the Baron of Upper Ossory, and his son Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, AD 1571: Carrigan's transcriptions*' marks the beginning of series that affords greater access to material that can only be viewed at St Kieran's or on microfiche the National Library of Ireland.

Carrigan did make passing reference to the letters in '*The History*', which indicates he likely did not view the letters in person:

*'In 1571 there was a violent quarrel between the Baron and Sir Barnaby, the particulars of which may be gathered from their letters to the Lord Deputy Sir William Fitzwilliam,*

published by Sir John Gilbert in his *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts*' (Carrigan, 1905; Volume 1, p.81 — refer Gilbert & Sullivan, 1874).

And it was clearly Carrigan's intention to include facsimiles of the letters and his complete transcriptions as an appendix in either a revised edition of *'The History'* or the fifth supplement, since at the beginning of his notebook transcriptions, he writes, *'Appendix IX'. Letters from the Baron of Upper Ossory, and his son Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, AD 1571. Bodleian Library, Oxford. For facsimile letters, see Plates XI and XII'*. They are presented here in a slightly modified, less archaic form.

#### Some of Carrigan's notebooks.



## The first page of Carrigan's transcription of the letters.

Appendix 1X  
 Letters from the Baron of Upper Ossory, and  
 his son Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, AD 1571  
 Bodleian Library, Oxford  
 For facsimiles of letters, See Plates XI and XII.

The Baron of Upper Ossory to Sir William Fitz-  
 William, Lord Justice of Ireland.

Right honorable and my singular good Lord,  
 my humble ~~and~~ dutie remembred: It may  
 please your honour to be advertised, that my  
 sonne Sir Barnabee Fitz-Patrick, hath so  
~~un~~unnaturally and ungodly used me  
 and my wyf heretofore, by impropounding us,  
 taking away my goods and cattell, and usur-  
 ping ~~and~~ and perceiving to his own use ~~my~~  
 my rents, seignories, and duties, by playne  
 force and violence, contrarie to my ~~wife~~ wyll  
 and pleasure, and also by taking of my  
 castelles of Popprath and Cowlkylle and  
 expulsi<sup>ng</sup> me, my servants, and tenants,  
 out of the same, and placing therein men of

Courtesy of the Archives of St Kieran's College.

## Letter One

The Baron of Upper Ossory to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord Justice of Ireland.

Right honourable and my singular good Lord, my humble duty remembered: It may please your honour to be advertised, that my son Sir Bernabee Fitzpatrick, hath so unnaturally and ungodly used me and my wife here before, by imprisoning of us, taking away my goods and cattle, and usurping and perceiving to his own use, my rents, seignories, and duties, by plain, force and violence, contrary to my will and pleasure, and also by taking of my castles of Pyprath<sup>1</sup> and Cowlkyll<sup>2</sup> and expulging me, my servants, and tenants, out of the same, and placing therein me of his own, as I dare not, for fear of my said cruel, unnatural, and ungodly son his further mischief to be wrought against me, abide in mine own country, to the inheritance whereof I was borne, and which I have enjoyed and defended this three score years past<sup>3</sup> and more, till now I was by my said son banished out of the same and driven to fly myself and my wife and few of my servants for succour into the Earl of Ormond's country, where now I remain without rent, land, or living to maintain my poor, aged, and impotent estate, for my said son taketh all my living to himself and suffers nothing to come to me, contrary to the commandments, of God, the duty and obedience he oweth me, his natural father, to the great terror and fear of all parents to bring up and maintain their children as I have done him, and to the utter undoing of me, my poor wife, and such of my poor servants as dare follow me being in the extremity, if speedy remedy ye be not your honour provided for the same. This shall be, therefore, most humbly to beseech your honour, for God's sake and the zeal you bear to justice, to divert your honour's earnest and effectual commandment to the said Sir Bernabee not only to keep Queen's Majesties' peace to me, my wife, and servants, but also to send and suffer all my rents, seignories, duties, customs, and casualties of my said country to be sent unto me wheresoever I am or shall be during my life, and also to restore me to my said castle, and lands and suffer to me to enjoy the same, and all other my living, in as large and ample manner as ever hitherto I had them, since I was Lord of that country, and also to direct your honourable commandment to all the freeholders, gentlemen, and tenants of Upper Ossory to pay, yield, and do all their rents, service, customs, and duties to me during my life, and not to the said Sir Bernabee, and to send the same unto me wheresoever I am or shall be during my life, wherein your honour shall do a godly and just deed and bind me your supplicant daily to pray for your honourable estate in prosperity long to continue. And thus beseeching God to send your honour prosperous success in all your affairs and give your his grace to see to the lamentable estate of me, your poor supplicant, I must humbly take my leave from Kylcowle<sup>4</sup>, the XXIII of April, 1571.

<sup>1</sup> Rathpiper (Ráth an Phiobaraigh), also known as Pipersrath, is in the parish of Rathdowney (Ráth Domhnaigh) and the Barony of Clarmallagh (Clár Maí Locha), Laois, which Carrigan (1905) notes '*most probably took its name from Pipard, Adam de Herford's descendant*'. After the death of Barnaby, the second baron, Rathpiper was granted to Florence, third baron, and by 1601 was in the possession of the Mac Caisín (HMSO, 1885; Fitzpatrick, 2021b).

<sup>2</sup> Cullahill (Chúchoill), the Mac Giolla Phádraig stronghold built ca. 1425 probably, according to Carrigan (1905), by Finghin Mór; but it was more likely the work of Donnchadh Mór (Fitzpatrick, 2020a).

<sup>3</sup> It is likely Carrigan's (1905) assertion that Barnaby ascended to the Lordship of Ossory in 1511 is based on this. Carrigan, however, confused Barnaby with Brian mac Toirealach, who was clan chieftain until at least 1518 (Mac Niocaill, 1992; Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick 2020b). And in his April 1571 letter Barnaby did not claim to have attained the Lordship of Ossory in 1511, only that it was when he gained his inheritance sixty years earlier; this is consistent with the death of his father, Séan, who disappears from the lease for Rosconnell (Ros Chonaill) in 1511 (Curtis, 1937; Fitzpatrick, 2020b).

<sup>4</sup> Deprived of his residences in Upper Ossory, Barnaby had seemingly fled to nearby Kilcooly (Cill Chúile), County Tipperary (Tiobraid Árann), which was the possession of his nephews, Thomas Butler, tenth Earl of Ormond, and Edward Butler (HMSO, 1879; Curtis, 1937). His location in 1571 brings context to the first baron's possible burial place outside Upper Ossory, which surprised Carrigan (1905). Still, it is consistent with his exile at the time of his death. Carrigan attributed the figures carved into the mensa tomb at Fertagh, County Kilkenny, to the first baron's father, Séan Mac Giolla Phádraig (d.1511), and his wife, which makes little sense. However, they are perfectly explicable if the tomb was fashioned not for them but Margaret Butler in the mid-sixteenth century, with the first baron interred later. The Butler-specific engraving on the tomb, i.e., the Tudor roses and the indented shield, is unmistakable, as is the rough quality of wording carved adjacent to the male gisant, by different workers, that would have been made some twenty plus years after Margaret's death.

Your honour's most humbly to command.

Bernabee of Upper Ossory

To the Right Honourable and my singular good Lord, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Knight, Lord Justice of Ireland, give this.

## Letter Two

Right honourable and my singular good Lord, my humble duty promised unto your honourable Lordship, advertising the same that I have received your honour's letters dated the XXVII of April by which letters I understand your honour's meaning to be ready to minister to justice according as ye shall find the matters of my complaint to be true. Wherefore I humbly render your Lordship most hearty thanks acknowledging my bond daily to pray for your honourable estate long to continue. And although I have written to your honour the general substance of the unnatural and extreme enmity that I do sustain these XII<sup>5</sup> years, and specially at this present time, nevertheless while my servant hath been about my matters attending upon your honour, my son, Sir Bernabee, did assault a castle or two of mine in Upper Ossory named Donaghmore<sup>6</sup> and Grantstown<sup>7</sup>, and entered therein by violence and force of arms, and burned my hall, which was nigh the said castle of Donaghmore, with such a deal of household stuff as I am not able to declare in particular sort at thy present. Yet all this notwithstanding, I am assured that these matters will be in fair and pleasant sort coloured and in such wise turned before your Lordship as though they had been grounded upon good reason and conscience, and for nothing else but because I am not able to travel for my causes, and that by means of my said son's extremity I am not able to bear my own charges in traveling before your honour and the Council for defending of my own right, although my bodily strength otherwise did serve, for I am not suffered this day to reclaim so much of mine own as might sustain myself, my wife, or my poor servants, and besides that, my good Lord, the said Sir Bernabee did hang a poor servant of mine for no manner of cause but only that he served me as by further examination thereupon made may plainly appear unto your honour and moreover the said Sir Bernabee did expulse all my tenants from all such lands of mine as they dwelt in and placed others of his own therein so that I am not only expelled and banished from the inheritance to which I was born, and which I have defended these iiiXX<sup>8</sup> years but also all my purchased lands and goods are utterly taken from me by the said Sir Bernabee. In consideration whereof, and for as much as I am not able to appear in proper person for declaring of these matters, both for weakness and impotency of my body, and also for that I have not of my own wherewithal to leave my charges, it may therefore please your honour to direct your effectual and earnest commandment to the said Sir Bernabee not only to place my tenants again in their own accustomed dwelling places, which they held of me, but also to keep the Queen's Majesties' peace to me, my wife, and my servants, and also to suffer and permit so much of my own stuff and goods to be brought unto me wheresoever I am or shall be as shall suffice for my daily food and sustenance and for my families also till such time as your honour shall take a final order between us. And in case your honour should in any wise miscredit anything contained in these my letters, I shall most humbly beseech your honour either to send

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<sup>5</sup> Sir Barnaby was appointed '*captain and chief ruler of the country of Upper Ossory*', replacing his father, in 1569 (HMSO, 1879), yet the first baron stated the enmity of his son began ca. 1558. It is likely the first baron was recalling events from 1558 when Sir Barnaby was required to go to the aid of the Lord Deputy '*in suppressing rebels*' (Hamilton, 1860), i.e., the Ó Mórdha (O'More) of Laois, to whom the first baron was aligned via his previous marriages.

<sup>6</sup> Donaghmore (Domhnach Mór) in the parish of Donaghmore and the Barony of Clarmallagh, Laois. The castle was in a state of ruin in 1657 (Carrigan, 1905).

<sup>7</sup> Grantstown (Baile an Ghróntaigh) in the parish of Bordaíol (Bordwell) and the Barony of Clarmallagh, Laois. The castle was in the possession of the Barons Upper Ossory until ca. 1621-1653 (Carrigan, 1905).

<sup>8</sup> That is, three-score.

commissioners to examine this matter, other wise to charge certain learned and indifferent persons if these quarters for hearing and discussing of this matter, as your honour shall think expedient, wherein your honour shall do a charitable and just deed and bind me, your poor supplicant, daily to pray for your honourable estate long to continue. And this I humbly take my leave, beseeching the Almighty God to grant your honour prosperous success in all your affairs and give you the grace to consider my poor and miserable case with sped Kylcowle<sup>3</sup> the 2 May 1571.

Your honour's humble friend  
Bernabee of Upper Ossory

My very good Lord, it is reason that your honour shall send you commandment to the said Sir Bernabee to restore me unto my castles lands, goods and other possessions as he took from me of late time such time as your honour shall see further examination had in the matter.

### Letter Three

Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick to Fitzwilliam Right Honourable

I have received your letter of the 27 April and the 2 of May, with a copy of a letter of my father to you, whose grievous complaints of me I am sorry and ashamed of, for that either you must think he does so far swerve from the truth, or I so much neglect my duty to God and him. But your honour remembering his second childhood<sup>9</sup> to become upon him long since, and I proving myself far otherwise than his secretary has painted me forth to you, shall have good and just cause to understand the ground and vote if all this horrible, but untrue, complaints to proceed of the most naughty and malicious creature that is alive, his wife, whose father being old O'Connor<sup>10</sup>, what he was your honour knows sufficiently, and her first husband being Patrick O'More<sup>11</sup>, the first and chief

<sup>9</sup> In 1566 the first baron was referred to as '*aged and impotent*' (Hamilton, 1860), and from that time Sir Barnaby took progressive steps to wrest power from his father. Also, in 1566, Sir Barnaby became sheriff '*for the countries under the rule of his father, the baron of Upper Ossorie, or of himself*' (HMSO, 1879). In 1568 Sir Barnaby received the commission to execute martial law as '*sheriff of the Queen's county; for Upper Osserie and the Queens county*' (HMSO, 1879), and that same year the Queen ordered the transfer of the first baron's estate to Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick for him to hold '*in capite*' (Hamilton, 1860). Brian (or Barnaby), the first baron, probably died not too long before 15 December 1575, as referenced in a letter from Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Justice of Ireland and successor to Sir William Fitzwilliam, to the Lords of the Council of England (now the Privy Council of the United Kingdom) — Sydney noted, '*Upper Ossorie is so well governed and defended by the valour and wisdom of the Baron that now is, for the old man, in whom before the cause of the greatest disorder of that country grew, God hath taken (I hope) to his merciful favour*' (Brewer & Bullen, 1868). It appears the first baron was in an advanced state of dementia from at least 1566, and in 1569 he is also described as being '*incapacitated by age and other infirmities*' (HMSO, 1879); his state of mental decay is more consistent with his birth being in the latter quarter of the fourteenth century, than the early fifteenth, i.e., being well-aged beyond his 60s. Carrigan (1905) estimated that at the time of his death, the first baron was '*ninety years of age or upwards*', basing his estimate on a correlation of various of the baron's life events, namely: (a) his daughter, Katherine, the wife of Robert Grace, was granted '*English liberty*' in 1541 (Morrin, 1861); and, (b) his son, Teige, was '*a distinguished captain*', when, in 1546, he was imprisoned and put to death '*at the request of his own father*' (O'Donovan, 1856). Hence, Katherine and Teige were born long before Brian's marriage to Margaret Butler and were likely the children of various women of clan Ó Mórdha, of whom Brian had illegally (due to close consanguinity) married three, although the third marriage, to Catherine Ní Mórdha, was subject to Papal absolution in 1493, and the children of the pair were declared legitimate (Fuller, 1998). It is considered the first marriage contract was probably secured when Brian reached the legal age, which was 14 years (Cosgrove, 1985). Hence, allowing one year or two for the '*dissensions, scandals and enmities*' relating to Brian's second and third marriages to settle down, Brian was probably born ca. 1478, making him approximately 97 years when he died.

<sup>10</sup> The first baron's marriage to Elizabeth, the daughter of Bernard O'Connor, was probably in 1551 since in that year she was granted '*English liberty*' (Morrin, 1861; HMSO, 1877). Bernard O'Connor Faly, i.e., Brian mac Cathaoir Ó Conchobhair Failghe, '*chief of his nation*', made submission to the Crown in 1538 but rebelled thereafter (Brewer & Bullen, 1867; McGuire & Quinn, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> Along with Bernard O'Connor, Patrick O'More was a key figure in the Midland Rebellion of 1547. Defeated by the forces of Lord Justice Sir Edward Bellingham, the pair were arrested in 1548; although pardoned in 1549, Patrick died in prison in England in 1550 (Bryson, 2013).

rebel of Laois, and she his greatest, or rather only counsellor, and the very link of combining both the father and the husband together against the Prince<sup>12</sup> in their open rebellion and war. And now what fruit there is like to grow of a branch of such a stock or what good is she like to work in her latter days that spent her first years in practising and procuring all mischief against the good and true subjects, and in raising and maintaining rebellion and wars against the Prince<sup>12</sup> and our sovereign Lord, I refer to your own good judgement, but now for if I shall not be tedious to you I will answer as brief as I may the forged complaints of me, which I would rather have done face to face, than in this sort by writing, where his secretary and counsellor had informed that I have imprisoned my father and his wife, and have taken away all their goods and cattle and that I have taken to my own use all the rents, duties, and seignories, and have also taken and suppressed his castles, putting away his men and tenants, and putting in of my own, to my own use.

As touching the first point, your Lordship shall understand that, in this late Rebellion of the Butlers<sup>13</sup>, the governor and ruler of my father, I mean his wife, was confederate and assured to the Rebels, and the Rebels were, in such sort as she kept six of the best and strongest castles in the country all the wartime, that I nor none that take my part could receive any succour or defence by them, for so the word was commanded, that if I came, or any of mine, they should shot at us, if the Rebels came they should in no ways do them any harm so that the enemies received no let or hinderance by them all the wartime, which was no small hurt and weakening to me and all those that served the Queen's Majesty with me. Whereupon when I saw opportunity and weighing the likeness of the time, I took her until I got the castles into my hands, both for the service of the Queen and defence of myself, always reserving the rents, duties, commodities, and seignories to my father, and never displacing one of his tenants out of them, but only keeping my ward in the castles. This the whole country can and will testify to you, and as for imprisoning of my father, it is but her most malicious device and forging

And as for the second, that I have taken away all his rents, duties and seignories, your Lordship shall have all his sergeants, rent assessors, and officers to depose that I never had a penny of all these things, but that they have delivered all to his own hands as even they have been wont, and if there be any part undelivered it is in their own hands, which as far as I can learn is at the most but a quarter rents'.

And for the spoiling of their goods and cattle, it is most untrue, and no such thing or any such matter.

And where it is advertised, that I have driven both him and her out of the country, you shall understand the truth to be far otherwise, and it to be this, that of late it fell out there was a woman accused to me of witchcraft, for enlarging of prisoners, and she being examined did disclose a whole pack of witches, and they being apprehended and examined did confess that their chief witch a woman of my mother-in-law's, and they were all set out to do me harm and to destroy me, but their devilness having more power over the shabbiest beast I rode on than over me (whom God only did preserve) did destroy two of my houses, one after another, but myself felt nothing of their devil's practice. This being open proved before the whole country, and the matter appearing dispersing from my mother herself, she fled the country, being accused by her own cousins, and went to county of Kilkenny and has enticed my father with her, whom I have besought and so have all the freeholders of the country to come home, and have undertaken to maintain him more honourably than ever he was but she whose desire is, and has been ever more, rather to maintain the Connors<sup>14</sup> and the Queen's enemies (who are now daily maintained by her meat and drink and other

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<sup>12</sup> A reference to Edward VI of England, whose minority reign began the same year as 1547 Rebellion.

<sup>13</sup> The Butler Revolt of 1569 finds excellent coverage in Edwards (1993).

<sup>14</sup> That is, the O'Connor Faly

supportation) than to do my poor father and good, and rather to set on and egg rebels and malefactors to do me harm and this poor country, than to procure any good to either us, does with all her policy, and with all her subtlety, keep away and withhold him that is becoming as a child<sup>9</sup>, both from his country, his children, his followers, and his own desire. This is the truth in short my Lord and that I will justify before you, and I beseech you to procure by your letters my father to come home and to receive the offer of me and his country that his last days may be as honourable as they have been hitherto, for my Lord he does no good where he is but much hurt, and no marvel when such a feud does govern, and I humbly beseech you that both she and I may be before you for the proof of the things I do charge her withal. And this hoping you will not conceive the of that my false and shameless accusers shall say, I have made this small declaration in my own excuse, being ready to declare a great deal more when I shall be called before you. And so I wish you prosperous and good success in all your doings, from Castletown<sup>15</sup> the 4 May 1571.

Your honour's always to command

B Fitzpatrick

My duty premised onto your honour (having received your honour's letter with the copy of the complaint of my Lord my father, and for answer your honour shall understand: first to the assault of a castle of my said father, named Donaghmore<sup>6</sup>, I made no such assault. But a base brother<sup>16</sup> of mine being thrust with a sword and maimed in his hand by one that kept the said castle, and, seeking to revenge his grief, went by might into the said hall or house, and the ward of the castle, knowing them to be within the said house, came out upon them and began to consider as they were feign with much ado to go to the castle again, and fearing lest they should take any succour there to keep upon them the said ward did set the said house afire, and then my said brother was feign to go away out of the house, and I being in the borders there, hearing of the same burning, thought it was done by Edward Butler<sup>17</sup> (who then, and as yet is at war with me and my country) and knowing of the said burning went present to rescue the ward, and they being smoked within the same house did surrender the castle into my hands and saved their lives, and confessed to me that they were commanded if I or any of mine did repair towards the said castle, that they should shoot at us, and to forbear the Butlers and all other strangers, and that the said castle was neither a succour and aid for my enemies than a pleasure or help to me and my country, I have though good therefore to place my own men there for the Queen's Majesty's service and defence of the country, and as to the other castle alleged in the said complaint my said father's own men and ward remains there unremoved without any loss or damage, and where also his Lordship alleged that he can have nothing of the furniture of himself or his men out of the country, the gentlemen and freeholders of the same knowing him to be so counselled and led by the corrupt and evil counsel of his wife, who is not well able without their aid and funderance to nourish or keep such other traitorous kind as does follow her train and also maintains such traitors and offenders as daily do rob and spoil upon the country. But leads him in all places she can to make exclamation upon them, and me, and therefore the said gentlemen utterly refused to send any furniture to them out of the country, and my said father and his wife coming to the country they will serve them will all necessities and other furniture

<sup>15</sup> Among the several townlands called Castletown (Baile Chaisleáin) in Laois Sir Barnaby probably wrote his letter from the stronghold at Castletown-Offerland, which was destroyed in 1600 by Teige Fitzpatrick, later fourth Baron of Upper Ossory, upon the advancement of Lord Deputy Christopher Blount (Brewer & Bullen 1869; Carrigan, 1905).

<sup>16</sup> Among those half-brothers who Sir Barnaby would not have considered illegitimate were those to Elizabeth O'Connor, who, in any case, would only have been young men in 1569. Instead, the '*base brother*' may have been Teige or Ceallach, both of Upperwoods, whose mother is unknown (Carrigan, 1905). In addition, the first baron had other sons as yet unaccounted for; probably among those based on the patronymics of the baron's grandsons were David and Edmond (Fitzpatrick, 2021).

<sup>17</sup> That is, Sir Edmund Butler of Cloghgrenan who was at the forefront of the 1569 Rebellion against his brother Thomas, the tenth Earl of Ormond (Edwards, 1993).

as ever hitherto they were accustomed to as the same is their act by my consent and not mine. And as to the hanging of the man alleged, knowing him to be an offender and an ill disposed person, after the robbing of one of my men in the highway, of the value of a mark in money, and other goods a little before the same, and upon complaint thereof made to me for executing of justice, I could no less than cause him to be apprehended and for his offences to see him punished according his deserts. And where you honour did will me to see justice ministered and granted me a commission to execute the martial law dated the day your honour did receive the sword, until the receipt thereof not to spare to do justice as though I had the same, which commission I have not rescinded yet. Therefore it may please your honour to send me the same by the next that comes hither; assuring your honour that I would not charge my conscience in such sort as to put any man to death without just cause; beseeching your honour not to credit any such report of me and where my said father alleged that, weakness and impotence, he is not able to travel, his wife by whom he is led, and doer of all, is well able to travel, and if it shall please your honour to appoint by her and me to appear there before your honour and the Council or before indifferent commissioners, so as they shall not be of the County of Kilkenny, I will at all times in a readiness to make aware and prove all the complaints false and my answers true, as knows God, who sends your honour long honourable life with increase of much honour. From Colkill<sup>1</sup>, 14 May 1571.

Your honour's humble to command,

B Fitzpatrick

To the Right Honourable Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord Justice of Ireland, deliver this.

#### Letter Four

Right honourable and my singular good Lord my humble duty remembered and where I have written several complaints unto your honour of my son Sir Bernabee, I humbly render most hearty thanks, unto your honour for your courteous and gentle answer written upon my said complaints whereby I understand your honour is of no less mind than to see justice ministered in my cause as for as much as your honour did not certify me what manner of answer Sir Bernabee have made unto your honour upon the extremity that he shows unto me daily, I have thought good at this time for less troubling your honour, to omit the renewing and further declaring of the same till such time as I may understand his answer first, and as for my part, I have no more to do but only to persevere in my first complaint exhibited unto your honour offering myself to the trail and proof of the same, if in case the said Sir Bernabee should deny anything that I have written here before unto your honour, assuring your honour that there is no greater extremity nor wrong and injury that I sustain at this present hour, for I have not so much of my own at my commandment as might suffice to bear my charges as far as your honour for declaring of my griefs and miserable estate, by reason that all my houses and castles are entered by plain force and violence by the said Sir Bernabee, and [he] has also usurped and perceived all and singular my goods and lands, to his own use, and as I have written here before unto your honour, the said Sir Bernabee did burn my house of Donaghmore<sup>6</sup> and entered the castle of the same place by force of arms, and hanged also a poor servant of mine, without any manner of cause, which doings I trust your honour will consider in such sort as shall fit with justice, I humbly therefore beseech and pray your honour for the love of Almighty God, and the seal you bear for justice, not only to restore me unto the possession of all and singular my castles, houses, lands, and goods, moveable and unmoveable, but also to bind the said Sir Bernabee by a recognisance to keep the Queen's Majesty's peace unto me, my wife, and all my servants; or if in case this wrong should be denied by the said Sir Bernabee, either in part or in the whole, I shall then, in most humble sort beseech your honour to appoint Commissioners for hearing and discussing of

the matter, whereas I may completely have my neighbours and such as shall be of sufficient good credit to testify and bear witness in the matter. As for those that be of the country of Upper Ossory, I will admit none of them to bear witness in anything that shall touch me, for I understand them, and every of them, to be at the said Sir Bernabee's commandment, whereas they do not only consent of his unnatural dealing with me, but also do provoke and entice him thereunto, and that more in that they serve him in winning of my castles by force and violence and burning of my houses, which (I think) is a thing scarce allowed by the Queen's Majesty's laws. Thus I most humbly take my leave, wishing unto your honour prosperous success in all your affairs, and give the grace to see unto me your poor supplicant's lamentable estate from Loghuna<sup>18</sup> the 20 May 1571

Your Lordship's humble to command

Bernabee Upper Ossory

Post Scripta:

Although I am in such miserable case, and in such extremity driven to beg my bread off my friends, I assure your honour the last messenger that I sent your honour dares not his life to repair the second time unto your Lordship, for fear of the said Sir Bernabee. As for any other of my servants that would travail in my matters, they are in like case. So that for fear of the evil tyranny daily exercised by the said Sir Bernabee, I have none left me to travail in my cause. So that, by much ado, I could persuade the said last messenger for to carry my letters unto your honour. I beseech your honour to restore me unto the possession of my goods and castle, which were of late taken by the said Sir Bernabee, and to restore my wife and her young children<sup>19</sup> to their own lands and goods, which the said Sir Bernabee forcibly has taken, and placed therein men of his own. So that I, my wife, and my said children, and such of my servant as dare follow me, have naught whereby while at this present house without your honour do find some speedy remedy for us. I beseech your honour to dispatch my poor messenger with speed.

Your Lordship's humble to command

Bernabee Upper Ossory

To the Right Honourable and my singular good Lord, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Knight, Lord Justice of Ireland, give this with speed.

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<sup>18</sup> This difficult to interpret placename could be any number of townlands in Tipperary or Kilkenny.

<sup>19</sup> That the first baron and Elizabeth O'Connor had '*young children*' in 1571 adds further to the list of the unaccounted for descendants of the first baron.

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# Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland, Part II: The Mac Fynen of Upper Ossory

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## Abstract

The Fiants and the Patent Rolls of Ireland are an extraordinary and largely untapped source of information. *Part I* of this series, which interrogates Pátraic-surnames in the fiants and patents, answered questions about the Mac Caisín of Osraí (Ossory), who were unquestionably the close associates of the Fitzpatrick barons of Upper Ossory. Traditionally considered a hereditary medical family, the Mac Caisín of Upper Ossory sprang from a hereditary clerical family or, more broadly, a hereditary learned family, whose origins were in the diocese of Cill Dalua (Killaloe). It is not implausible that the Mac Caisín were patrilineally connected with the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí but there is no evidence of such can be provided by either conventual genealogy or Y-DNA analysis.

In *Part II*, the spotlight falls on the Mac Fynen of Upper Ossory, and the approach follows that of Part I, i.e., securing a temporal frame of reference via which associations, familial and otherwise, can be understood, which affords some ability to distinguish name occurrences in the fiants and patents as either surnames or patronymics. And via the fiants, patents, and other records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is possible to uncover, for the first time, that in many cases, Mac Fynen was, indeed, a surname that came to be used by those who had patrilineal origins with the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory. The discovery of a second surname, not instantly recognisable as related to Mac Fynen but sharing the exact same patrilineal origins, further confirms the value the Fiants and Patents of Ireland have as source material for Pátraic surname research.

## Names, styles, edits, historical records, 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, Uí Fhairchealláin (Offerlane), unless the place name is titular, for instance, the Baron of Upper Ossory.

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 being 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 Lysaght (1985).

Quotations are italicised, and long or textually significant quotations are also indented. This article is a living work, i.e., it can, and most likely will, be edited by the authors who will retain all versions. Every effort has been made to consult all available records related to the period relevant to this article.

## Introduction

This article continues a series that explores Pátraic-related surnames and their occurrence in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland, for which the extant records are from 1521-1603, and 1514-1575 and 1603-1633, respectively, i.e., much of the reign of Henry VIII of England to the eighth year of Charles I of England. *Part I* introduced the series by way of example with the surname Mac Caisín (Fitzpatrick, 2021), which demonstrated a method for approaching the interrogation of ‘*surname groups*’ in the fiants and patents, that being by first securing temporal frame of reference via which associations, familial and otherwise, can be understood. Such a systematic approach is crucial because the mega-data of names, places, occupations, relationships, and more, in the fiants and patents can overwhelm; and yet that data was once almost entirely lost.

The publication of many of the fiants and patent rolls of Ireland, which are still a largely untapped source of information for researchers of Fitzpatrick histories, followed an 1815 Irish Record Commission report of inventories from the various records offices and the condition of the records kept therein. The first volume of Patent Rolls from Henry II to Henry VII soon followed; however, in 1830, the Commission was suspended (Morrin, 1861). However, James Morrin, a clerk of enrolments at the Chancery, had the foresight to move various records to his place of employ at Four Courts and begin their transcription; these included the fiants, which he generally considered of somewhat lesser importance because they only served as the legal documents to direct Letters Patent to be passed.

Morrin noted the fiants were ‘*preserved in large bundles*’ and were largely unindexed but, prophetically, were of value ‘*considering that if accident happen to any of the patent rolls, they can be replaced, in a great measure, by the fiants*’ (Morrin, 1861, p.xxxiv). The fiants, being records of Letters Patent, are so known from the initial words from the original legal documents – ‘*Fiant literæ patentis*’ (HMSO, 1875), which means ‘*let the letters patent be*’ – and are now considered of great value because they are the primary record with authority of grants, leases, and pardons, etc., issued under the Great Seal of Ireland. And the fiants may also be considered superior to the actual Letters Patent because although fiants ‘*were all supposed to be enrolled ... numerous instances occur where the patent*’ is not found (Morrin, 1861, p.xxxiii). Hence, the fiants provide more information than found on the patent rolls.

‘*Part II*’ explores the surname or patronyms of the general form Mac Fynen when it is associated with Pátraic related surnames, viz., Mac Giolla Phádraig or Fitzpatrick, in the patents and fiants. Any doubt that Fynen-like identifiers in the patents and fiants were surnames can be readily dismissed due to a remarkable funeral entry from 1639, which provides such confidence of a surname use that it becomes the appropriate starting point for this discussion.

## The pedigree of Donogh mac Teige Fynen

The Funeral Entries are another largely untapped source for Fitzpatrick researchers, and they are part of the Genealogical Office (formerly the Office of the Ulster King of Arms) Manuscript Collection at the National Library of Ireland, Dublin. Funeral Entries were, as decreed by an Act of State, to be kept by the Ulster King of Arms *‘for the better preservation of the memory of the nobility and gentry their marriages, posterity, and arms’* (Barry, 1971); the status of Fitzpatricks appearing in the Funeral Entries need to be understood in this context.

A funeral entry from 1639 (refer Figure 1) provides the pedigree of Donogh mac Teige Fynen, as recorded by Thomas Preston, Ulster King of Arms 1633-1655. Several aspects of the entry intrigue, most notably that Donogh mac Teige Fynen is referred to as *‘alias fitz Patrick of Manyn in the Queens County gent’*, and that his descent was as the *‘third sonn borne of Teige Fynen alias fitz Patrick onely sonn of Laughlin which Laughlin was descended of Donogh fitz Patrick which Donogh was second sonne of the Fitzpatricks Barons of Upper Ossory’* (Genealogical Office, 1652).

The pedigree of Donogh mac Teige finds no parallel or even a passing reference in the works of either of the notable Fitzpatrick historians Shearman (1879) or Carrigan (1905), but their works are now well understood to be deficient in terms of capturing all descendants of the Barons of Upper Ossory (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020; Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick, 2020b; Fitzpatrick, 2021a; Fitzpatrick, 2021b; Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021; Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2022; Fitzpatrick, 2022). From exactly which Baron of Upper Ossory came Donogh, the second son, requires consideration, but there are few options since the number of generations from Donogh mac Teige, who died about 7 February 1634, to a *‘baron’* is at least five, inclusive — and perhaps more since Laughlin is not called the son of Donogh, only his descendant.

That Donogh mac Teige fathered five sons and five daughters indicates his birth was surely before 1600. Even on a short twenty-five years per generation basis, there is no option but for his descent to come from Bryan Mac Giolla Phádraig, first Baron of Upper Ossory, or Bryan’s father, Séan — neither the second baron, Bryan Óg, who in any case fathered no sons, nor the third baron, Florence, or Finghin, were born until after ca. 1537 (Carrigan, 1905). An alternative descent for Donogh mac Teige could be from Séan, the father of the first baron, or even further back in that paternal line. Such a suggestion appears in conflict with the record of Donogh mac Teige descending from the *‘Fitzpatricks Barons of Upper Ossory’* but elsewhere, and with authority, the term *‘Barons of Upper Ossory’* is used interchangeably with the Mac Giolla Phádraig *‘Lords of Ossory’*. For example, Mac Fhirbhisigh records the *‘genealogy of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Lords of Ossory’* from Finghin, who became the third Baron of Upper Ossory in 1581, back numerous generations even though the last *‘Lord of Ossory’* was his father, Bryan, who relinquished that title in 1541. And Mac Fhirbhisigh also records *‘The Lord Barons of Ossory’* from Bryan (seventh Baron of Upper Ossory) to Séan, the father of the first baron, yet that title was not created until thirty years after Séan’s death in 1511 (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003; Fitzpatrick, 2022).

But parking, for a while, the question of Donogh mac Teige's descent, it is profitable to examine his funeral entry for peripheral clues that help build a clearer picture of his line, not the least of indications being the name of his wife and his place of abode.

**Figure 1: The Funeral entry of Donogh mac Teige Fynen (aka Fitzpatrick)**

Donogh m Teige Fynen alias fitz Patrick late of Manyn in the  
Queens County gent. 3<sup>d</sup> sonn borne of Teige Fynen alias fitz Patrick  
only sonn of Laughlin w<sup>th</sup> Laughlin was descended of Donogh  
fitz Patrick w<sup>th</sup> Donogh was 2<sup>d</sup> forme of the Houde of fitz Patrick  
Barons of Upper Ossory. The said first mentioned Donogh took  
to wife Margaret daughter of Donogh Colligan of Ballyvrey  
in the Queens County gent. by whome hee had issue 5. sonns  
and 5. daughters vidz. Patrick eldest sonne deceased & was mar-  
ried to Grillell daughter of Patrick Lany of Leaghlin in the said County  
gent. by whome hee had issue sonns and daughters Laughlin 2<sup>d</sup>  
sonn of the said first mentioned Donogh died unmarried & without  
issue Teig 3<sup>d</sup> sonn beyond Seas Donogh age 4<sup>th</sup> sonn married to  
Elizabeth daughter of William Felane of Kilbride in the said  
County gent. Anthony 5<sup>th</sup> sonn married to Iuan daughter of  
William mac Shane fitz Patrick of Rushinenure in the said County  
gent. Moore eldest daughter of the said first mentioned Donogh  
married to Dennis Connor of Srahanboy in the said County gent.  
Elizabeth 2<sup>d</sup> daughter married to Donogh fitz Patrick of Moyvoge  
in the said County gent. Onora 3<sup>d</sup> daughter first married to Peire  
Dwigin of Cluoncuole in the said County gent. by whome shee  
had issue sonns and daughters. And the said Onora was secondly  
married to Iohn Ryde of Durrev in the said County by whome  
shee had noe issue Margaret 4<sup>th</sup> daughter deceased & was  
first married to William Carroll of Erris in the said County gent.  
by whome shee had issue sonns and daughters. And the said  
Margaret was secondly married to Fynen in Dermott fitz Patrick  
of Erris aforesaid gent. by whome shee had issue one daughter.  
And Iuan 5<sup>th</sup> daughter of the first mentioned Donogh married to  
Daniel Felane of Venedohy in the said County gent. The said first  
mentioned Donogh departed this mortall life at Manyn aforesaid  
about the 7<sup>th</sup> of February 1637. and was interred in the Parish  
Church of Anatum in the said County. The truth of the premises  
is testified by the subscription of the said Donogh age 5<sup>th</sup> sonn  
& heire of the said Defunct whoe hath returned this Certifi-  
cate into my Office to be there recorded. Taken by me Thomas  
Preston Elq<sup>r</sup> VI. uelster King of Armes the 23<sup>th</sup> of November  
1639.

Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

## The Mac Costigan of Baile Mhaí

The funeral entry of Donogh mac Teige Fynen records he was ‘*of Manyn*’ and that his wife was ‘*Margarett the daughter of Donogh Costigan of Ballywoy*’. ‘Ballywoy’ is Baile Mhaí, now better known as Rush Hall, in the parish of Uí Fhairchealláin (Offerlane) in the barony of Choill Uachtarach (Upperwoods), and Costigans are first recorded in Baile Mhaí in Fiant 897, of 1566 (HMSO, 1879), viz., Donogh Mac William and Donyll gromy (i.e., gruamdha, meaning ‘grim’) Mac William. It is notable that in Fiant 897 both Donogh and Donyll gromy are attached to their patronymic, as the former also is in Fiant 3928 of 1582 (HMSO, 1881). In several other later fiants and patents they are recorded with the surname Mac Costigan (Morrin, 1863; HMSO, 1883; HMSO, 1884; HMSO, 1885, Patents); they were among the sons of William Mac Costigan, and it is probable this William Mac Costigan is the same who finds mention in several fiants and patents of 1552 and 1553. At this time he was associated with various Mac Giolla Phádraig and Ó Mordha (Morrin, 1863; HMSO, 1876).

Carrigan (1905) provides a sound narrative of the Mac Costigans of ‘*Rushall*’, who by the time Donogh mac Teige Fynen had married Margaret Ny Costigan occupied not only Baile Mhaí, but also Doire na Saortha (Derrynaseera) (HMSO, 1885), less than one mile to the north. And to the immediate west of Baile Mhaí is Manainn (Mannin), the home of Donogh mac Teige Fynen. Hence, the sphere of associations between the Mac Costigan and the Fynen can be understood, and further context is added with the knowledge that Fiant 897 (HMSO, 1879) is headed by a pardon to Bryan Fitzpatrick, the first baron, and his sons. In addition to the ‘*Mac William*’ Costigans being among the baron’s closest followers, there is also Teige Mac Fynen of Mion Droichid (Mondrehid), which is less than two miles northwest of Baile Mhaí; this raising the possibility that those using the surname Fynen may also have gone by Mac Fynen.

Similar connections can be made later in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. For example, the 1582 will of Bryan, second Baron of Upper Ossory, records that Doire na Saortha was bequeathed to his wife, Joan Eustace (Carrigan, 1905); that same year Joan Eustace, ‘*alias Joan Upperossori*’ heads a series of pardons that include Donogh Mac William (i.e., Mac Costigan) of Baile Mhaí (HMSO, 1881). And Fiant 6551, from 1601, which is headed by a pardon to Florence Fitzpatrick, the third baron, also records several Mac Costigan and Margaret ny Fynen of Baile Mhaí (HMSO, 1885). Hence, it is with certainty the early Barons of Upper Ossory, various Mac Costigan, and some of those who went by the surname Fynen or Mac Fynen, were closely interrelated from at least 1566; the territories the Mac Costigan and Fynen occupied in southern Uí Fhairchealláin (Offerlane) were in the possession of the early Barons of Upper Ossory.

## The Fynen of Manainn

That Donogh mac Teige Fynen was of Manainn provides a sure way to trace his descendants and follow his surname. The funeral entry names Donogh mac Teige’s first son as Patrick, who had died by 1639; his wife was Grissell, a daughter of Patrick Lany of Liagán (Legaun), and they had sons and daughters. The second son was Laughlin, who died unmarried and without issue, and the third son was Teige, who by 1639 was ‘*beyond seas*’. The fourth son was Donogh Óg, presumably because Patrick’s sons were minors, states he is his father’s

heir. Donogh Óg married Elizabeth, a daughter of William Ruadh O'Phelan of Cill Bhríde (Kilbreedy), who finds mention in Fiant 5555 of 1591 among followers of Barnaby, a son of Florence the third Baron of Upper Ossory (HMSO, 1884). It was via Donogh Óg that his father's funeral entry came to be recorded. And the fifth son, Anthony, married Joan, a daughter of William mac Shane Fitzpatrick of Roisín (Rushin), who, based on his location, was probably a previously unidentified son of Bryan mac Shane Fitzpatrick (Down Survey, 1641), i.e., a grandson of the first baron.

But it is with Donogh Óg that there comes another unexpected surname variation, and it is only through an understanding of the possession of Manainn that the surname could ever be connected to Fitzpatrick. In 1641 the proprietor of the 311 acres of Manainn, Rathloran (i.e., the Rath of Lóthrán), and Cloquin was recorded as Donogh Óg Mac Kynen. A healthy scepticism would be quite correct in suggesting that the appearance of Donogh Óg Mac Kynen is simply a remarkably timed coincidence, yet other factors persuade otherwise. The funeral entry of Donogh mac Teige Fynen states he was buried at Antrim, i.e., Eanach Troim, which is in the parish of Uí Fhairchealláin (Offerlane), just one mile northeast of Manainn. Eanach Troim was a monastic site from ancient times. According to Carrigan (1905), among those at rest in the graveyard are '*McCostigans and McKeenins*'; Carrigan also recorded Keenan buried there (Carrigan MS), which is a modern form of Mac Kynen. The presence of Mac Kynen at Eanach Troim not only provides another link between that surname and Fynen, but it also associates them with the Mac Costigan.

Although Carrigan (1905) counted the '*McKeenins*' among the '*old clans of Slieve Bloom*', there is nothing to support his statement; neither how the clan emerged nor how the surname may have been derived. However, Woulfe (1923) equates Mac Kynine, McKennyne, etc., with Mac Fhinnghein, i.e., son of Finghin, noting it '*a rare surname*' with anglicised forms that '*cannot be easily distinguished*'. The surname scholar Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile explains that Mac Fhinnghein and Mac Kynine both mean the son of Finghin, a given name meaning fair birth; '*the two different English forms represent how it looks [written] as against a more accurate phonetic form*' (*pers.comm.*, 29 September 2022). With this in mind, re-visiting the Fiant for '*Mac Kynen*' of Ossory is worthwhile and proves fruitful. This article uses Mac Fynen/Mac Kynen for consistency and to reflect the fiant.

### The Mac Kynen of Uí Fhairchealláin

The Mac Kynen of Uí Fhairchealláin (Offerlane), also variously spelt Mac Keynyne, Mac Kynen, Mac Kynyne, Mac Kenan, Mac Kenane, etc., and later spelt (Mac) Kynin or (Mac) Keenan, do not appear in the Fiant until the mid-sixteenth century. Fiant 897 of 1566 records Melaghlin Mac Kynen in a list of pardons headed by Bryan Fitzpatrick, along with numerous followers of the first Baron, including the aforementioned Mac Fynen and Mac Costigan (HMSO, 1879). Melaghlin's place of abode is given as Doire Chraith Rua (Derrycarrow), which is approximately six miles north of Manainn. In 1641 the proprietor of Doire Chraith Rua was John Kyneene (Down Survey, 1641), which signals there was more than a fleeting association with the townlands. It is worth considering that Melaghlin may be the same person as the Laughlin of the funeral entry because (a) he fits the timeframe since he was probably born in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and (b) his given name is uncommon among Mac Giolla Phádraig.

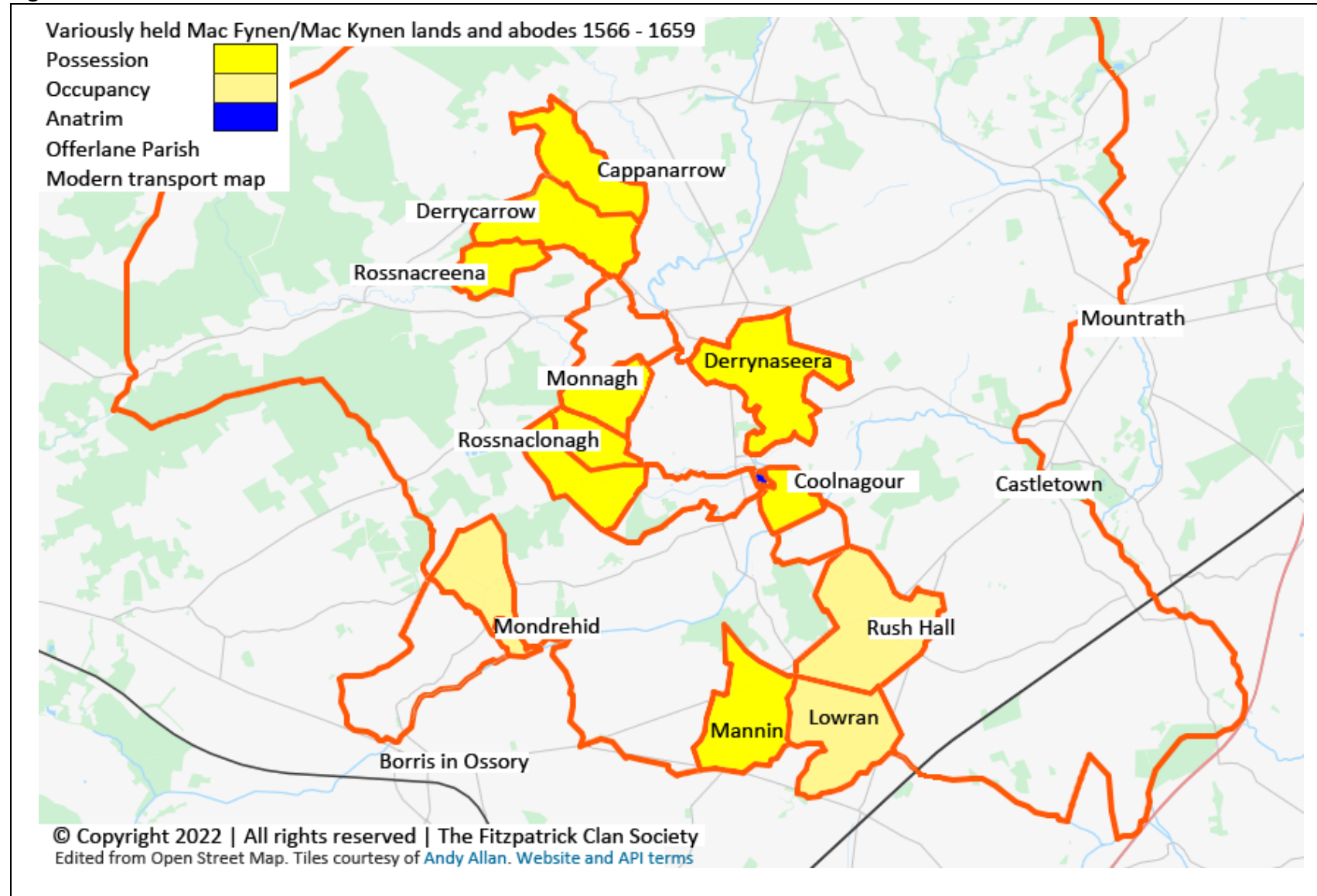
Later fiant entries demonstrate that Mac Kynen and Mac Fynen were used interchangeably in the written form. And from 1566, it is possible to demonstrate the Mac Kynene were a family of no minor status. There is a generation gap before the Mac Kynen are recorded again in the fiants, twenty-five years later. Fiant 5608 of 1591 is headed by Florence Fitzpatrick, third Baron of Upper Ossory, and among his followers are Donogh (gallowglass), Teige Óg (kern) Shane (kern), and Moriertagh Mac Kynen, although no locations are provided; also noteworthy is the co-recording of William Mac Costigan and some of his descendants (HMSO, 1884).

Similarly, there are no locations recorded for the Mac Kynen in Fiant 6110 of 1597 (HMSO, 1885) – they are Dermot mac Laghlin, Donogh, Shane mac Shere, William, and Geoffrey ruadh (i.e., the red) Mac. Kynen. Fiant 5608, a long list of pardons, is headed by Thady mac Fynen and Bryan mac Fynen, gentlemen. Still, in this case the use of mac Fynen is patronymic, the pair being two of the sons of Florence Fitzpatrick, the third Baron of Upper Ossory. Several Costigan are also recorded, notably using the patronymic mac William and Donogh Óg mac Donogh mac William stands out because his wife finds mention, which is uncommon in the Fiants but usually meant the woman had status; she was Margaret Fitzpatrick and is just one example of several examples of Costigan Fitzpatrick intermarriage in the sixteenth century.

But it is Fiant 6551 of 1601 (HMSO, 1885) that records Mac Kynen with the most extensive description of their places of abode – their Ossory proprietorships were extensive, although restricted to Uí Fhairchealláin. Fiant 6551 is again headed by Florence Fitzpatrick, and he has several Mac Kynen followers: Donogh Mac Kynen of Monnagh Bheag (Monnagh); Deirmod Mac Kynen, husbandman, and Geoffrey Mac Kynen of Ceapach an Arbha (Cappanarrow), shot; Geoffrey ruadh Mac Kynen of Doire na Saortha (Derrynaseera), along with William Mac Costigan, Donell Mac Costigan, a vicar – he was the rector of Domhnach Mór (Donaghmore) and Cill Dara Maí (Killermogh) (Leslie et al., 2013) – and, notably, Edmund Fitzpatrick, a son of the third baron; Sawe (i.e., Sadhbh) Ny Kynen of Mion Droichid (Mondrehid); Dermot ruadh Mac Kynen of Ros na Críne (Rosnacreena), shot; and, Shane Mac Kynen of Cúll na nGabhar (Coolnagour), horseman. Also notable in terms of surname relevance and locales are Margaret Ny Fynen of Baile Mhaí and Dermot mac Donell Mac Fynen of Doire na Manach (Dernamanagh), husbandman.

Fiant 6551 also records several mac Fynen, but these are not obviously Mac Fynen or Mac Kynen; the concurrent use of a patronymic with the same appearance as a surname makes unravelling some of the broader Fitzpatrick family of Upper Ossory associations impossible. Yet, where there are trans-generational locations in common, there is the ability to solve the genealogical complexities. Fiant 6733 (HMSO, 1886), which records a 1602 pardon granted to Teige Fitzpatrick, a son of the third baron, adds Dermot mac Laghlin, husbandman, and Donogh mac Laghlin Mac Kynen, shot, both of Ceapach an Arbha (Cappanarrow), as well as Shane mac Jeffery Mac Kynen, to the early seventeenth century Mac Kynen; these are very likely sons of Laughlin and one of the Geoffrey(s) from Fiant 6551 and are the last recorded of the sept in the fiants. A Patent of James (Clarke, 1967) from 1606 also records Dermot Mac Kynen of Ceapach an Arbha, now a freeholder, as well as Teige Mac Kynen of Ros na Críne (Rosnacreena), husbandman.

Figure 2:



By methodically stepping through the occupations of their Uí Fhairchealláin townlands (refer Figure 2), it becomes evident the Mac Kynen held their lands until they were lost via successive seventeenth-century dispossessions, victims of the same fate suffered by various Fitzpatricks and Costigans. Carrigan (1905) attributed the early seventeenth-century losses of Teige Fitzpatrick, the fourth Baron of Upper Ossory, and his associates to the displeasure in which the Crown viewed Teige's rebellions, as well as his several feuds with his younger brother, John. Teige was attained in 1615 and 1616, and he lost '*parcel of his estate*' (Clarke, 1967), but there is no record of those losses pertaining to lands in Uí Fhairchealláin. However, in 1624 came a '*grant from the crown to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*' from James I to '*the castle and lands of Borries*' (i.e., Borris-in-Ossory) that amounted to 10,788 acres. The new landowner's tenants were required '*to build their houses near the chief mansion, not scattered or detached*', and each tenant was required to take the oath of allegiance '*and not to alienate to the mere Irish for any term beyond 30 years*' (Clarke, 1967). Some of the lands granted in Uí Fhairchealláin, notably a portion of Monnagh Bheag (Monnagh), Doire na Saortha (Derrynaseera), and Cúll na nGabhar (Coolnagour) (Down Survey, 1641; Clarke, 1967), had been with the Mac Kynen along with other '*territory of Upper Ossory*' that had been with Fitzpatricks just three years prior. George Villiers was assassinated in 1628, and since his oldest son and heir, also George, was in his minority, his lands in Upper Ossory went to his wife, Katherine (Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum cancellariae Hiberniae (IORCH), 1826).

### Mac Kynen possessions ca. 1641 and afterwards

The implications of the Irish rebellion of 1641 on Bryan, the sixth Baron of Upper Ossory, his kin, and his associates are discussed at length by Carrigan (1905), the key conflict coming as a result of Bryan's siege of Borris Castle, which was in the possession of the young Duke of Buckingham. The siege was broken by forces under the command of Captain George Greames and Sir Charles Coote, with significant losses to the Irish. Coote had been made '*custos rotulorum*' (i.e., Keeper of the Rolls) of Queen's County in 1634 and, at the outbreak of the rebellion, possessed lands valued at £4,000 per year (Stephen, 1887), which included holdings in Uí Fhairchealláin (Down Survey, 1641). Coote died in May 1642, shortly after the siege; his heir was his eldest son Sir Charles Coote, later the first Earl of Mountrath (Stephen, 1887).

Carrigan (1905) recounts how the Uí Fhairchealláin lands of the Mac Costigan were forfeited after the 1649 invasion of Ireland by Cromwell and came into the possession of Sir Charles Coote jr. – in 1654, along with his brothers (Colonel Chidley, Colonel Richard, and Colonel Thomas Coote), he was also granted the estate of Florence Fitzpatrick under the remit of the '*Compositions for Lands of Delinquent Protestants*' (O'Hart, 1884). Yet, a further record of the extent of lands granted to Sir Charles Coote jr. is recorded in the '*Abstracts of grants of lands and other hereditaments under the acts of settlement and explanation 1666 - 1684*' (Irish Record Commission, 1825), and this included lands of the Mac Kynen. Although there is no exact record of Mac Kynen in rebellion, their close relationship with the Mac Costigans and Fitzpatricks would have made their political position unacceptable and their land tenures unsustainable. Hence, it does not surprise that '*John Kinnyne*' of Doire Chraith Rua (Derrycarrow) was among thirty-four sentenced in 1656 to be transplanted from Queen's County; others who suffered the same sentence were Bryan Fitzpatrick, the sixth Baron of

Upper Ossory, and eleven other Fitzpatricks, and Florence Costigan of Baile Mhaí (Rush Hall) (O'Hart, 1884).

In 1641, the Down Survey records Donogh Óg Mac Kynen (aka Fynen, aka Fitzpatrick) held Manainn, as had his father Donogh mac Teige before him, in 1601 – Linea Antiqua (O'Ferrall, 1709) records the townland was held by his grandfather, Laughlin; the parcels he held in Rathloran and Cloquin were part of the townland that later became Manainn. The Down Survey (1641) also records that Patrick Mac Kynen held Ceapach an Arbha (Cappanarrow), which had been with the Mac Kynen since at least 1601 (HMSO, 1885). And John Mac Kynen held Ros na Críne (Rossnacreena) and Doire Chraith Rua (Derrycarrow); those townlands had been with the Mac Kynen since at least 1566 (HMSO, 1879). Yet by 1667, the loss of Mac Kynen lands was complete. Most of the aforementioned lands were granted to Sir Charles Coote in 1666, and Donogh Óg Mac Kynen's portions of Monnagh Bheag (Monnagh), which included lands now known as Ros na Clunana (Rosnaclonagh), that he held jointly with the Duke of Buckingham, which had been with the Mac Kynen since at least 1601 (HMSO, 1885), went to Bartholomew Connor in 1667 (Irish Record Commission, 1825). The Connor held Uí Fhairchealláin lands prior to 1641, and yet some were retrenched (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1885); it is likely Bartholomew was kin with the Bryan Connor, heir to Patrick Connor, who was killed at the siege of Borris – Bartholomew, it seems, later had some of the Connor lands restored.

Backtracking a little, in the period between holding lands in 1641 and having lost possession in 1667, is the 1659 'Census'. Noted there is 'Thady Kynin', gent Ceapach an Arbha (Cappanarrow); the record has seventy-two Irish and three English in the townland and an additional eleven families of that surname in Barony of Maryborough, which had come to envelop many parishes of Uí Fhairchealláin. Also recorded were seven Fyinn, ten Costigan, and twelve Fitzpatrick. Also notable from the 1659 'Census' in the Barony of Upper Ossory, which also covered many parishes of Uí Fhairchealláin, were eleven 'Kynin', twelve Costigan and fourteen Fitzpatrick (Pender, 1939). Hence, despite losing their lands by 1667, at the time of the 1659 'Census' the (Mac) Kynen and (Mac) Fynen, along with their Costigan and Fitzpatrick kin, were numerous in Uí Fhairchealláin. It is expected that the Mac Kynen would not have simply disappeared and would surely be found represented in Uí Fhairchealláin in later records, such as Parish Records, Griffith's Valuation, and the 1901 Census of Ireland. And so it seems. Numerous entries from those records are present for the surname, which became most often written 'Keenan'; those name bearers likely unaware that some of them were, in previous times, Mac Giolla Phádraig.

It is likely that surname complexities among 'Keenans' can only be unravelled by Y-DNA analysis. Mag Fhionnghaile states:

*Today, most McKinnens and Keenans are of different origins. Most McKinnens are really Scottish Gaelic McKinnons ... [and] outside of Ossory you have the following: Ó Cuinneáin (O)Kinnane/Kennane of Tipperary, Limerick and north Clare, Mac Fhinnghein (Mc)Keenan of Galway and south Roscommon, and Ó Coinneacháin (O)Keenan, a variant of (O)Kinahan of Laois, Offaly and Westmeath (pers. comm., 9 October 2022).*

## Timelines and Pedigrees

Returning to the descent of Donogh mac Teige Fynen (aka Fitzpatrick) of Manainn who died in 1639, the Fiants provide the evidence that he was alive in 1601 and, since he possessed Monnagh Bheag (Monnagh), he was born ca. 1580, or earlier. Donogh mac Teige's grandfather, Melaghlin (Laughlin) was alive in 1566 and was in possession of Doire Chraith Rua (Derrycarrow); counting a minimum of twenty-five years per generation, Melaghlin's birth must have been ca. 1530 or earlier. Hence, Melaghlin's father, Donogh, referred to as the second son of the Fitzpatrick barons of Upper Ossory, was possibly an unrecognised illegitimate son of Bryan Mac Giolla Phádraig, later the First Baron. Alternatively, Donogh may have been Bryan's little-known brother, who *Linea Antiqua* records as Donogh Dubsúilech (i.e., *the black-eyed*) (O'Ferrall, 1709; Fitzpatrick, 2022).

It is possible to construct reasonable lineages of the Mac Fynen sept from the late fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century: their pedigree found in *Linea Antiqua*, which is based on the Funeral Entry, is reproduced here (refer Appendix). And what also becomes clear is that Bryan's roots were probably in Uí Fhairchealláin (Offerlane). It has been mooted that Bryan's father was Séan Mac Costigan, a cleric who later in life took the surname Mac Giolla Phádraig (Fitzpatrick, 2020b). From the early sixteenth century, the Mac Costigan were of Uí Fhairchealláin and, as it has been demonstrated, their lives were closely interwoven with the Mac Fynen and Mac Giolla Phádraig. Also, Bryan had had two illegitimate sons, born before his marriage to Margaret Butler, and those sons who lived in Uí Fhairchealláin (Carrigan, 1905). This provides further evidence that Bryan's origins and formative years were in Uí Fhairchealláin, among the Mac Costigan.

Why the surname Fynen became preferred to Mac Giolla Phádraig is a point of conjecture. It was, perhaps, a response to the demands of Henry VIII when Bryan became the first Baron of Upper Ossory, that he and his kin forsake Mac Giolla Phádraig for Fitzpatrick (State Papers, 1541). Rather than take Fitzpatrick, perhaps some of Bryan's kin reverted to a patronymic from a recent ancestor. And the association with the name Fynen is clearly apparent. The most authoritative pedigree of the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Osraí have the grandfather of Bryan and the father of Séan as Finghin Mac Giolla Phádraig (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003).

## Acknowledgements

Thanks to Seamas Brennan, who was the first to relate to the author that the Fiants contained various Pátraic-surname forms. The author also thanks Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile for his advice relating to *Gaeilge*, people's names and place names.

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### Appendix: Pedigree of Donogh Fynen from *Linea Antiqua* (O’Ferrall, 1709)

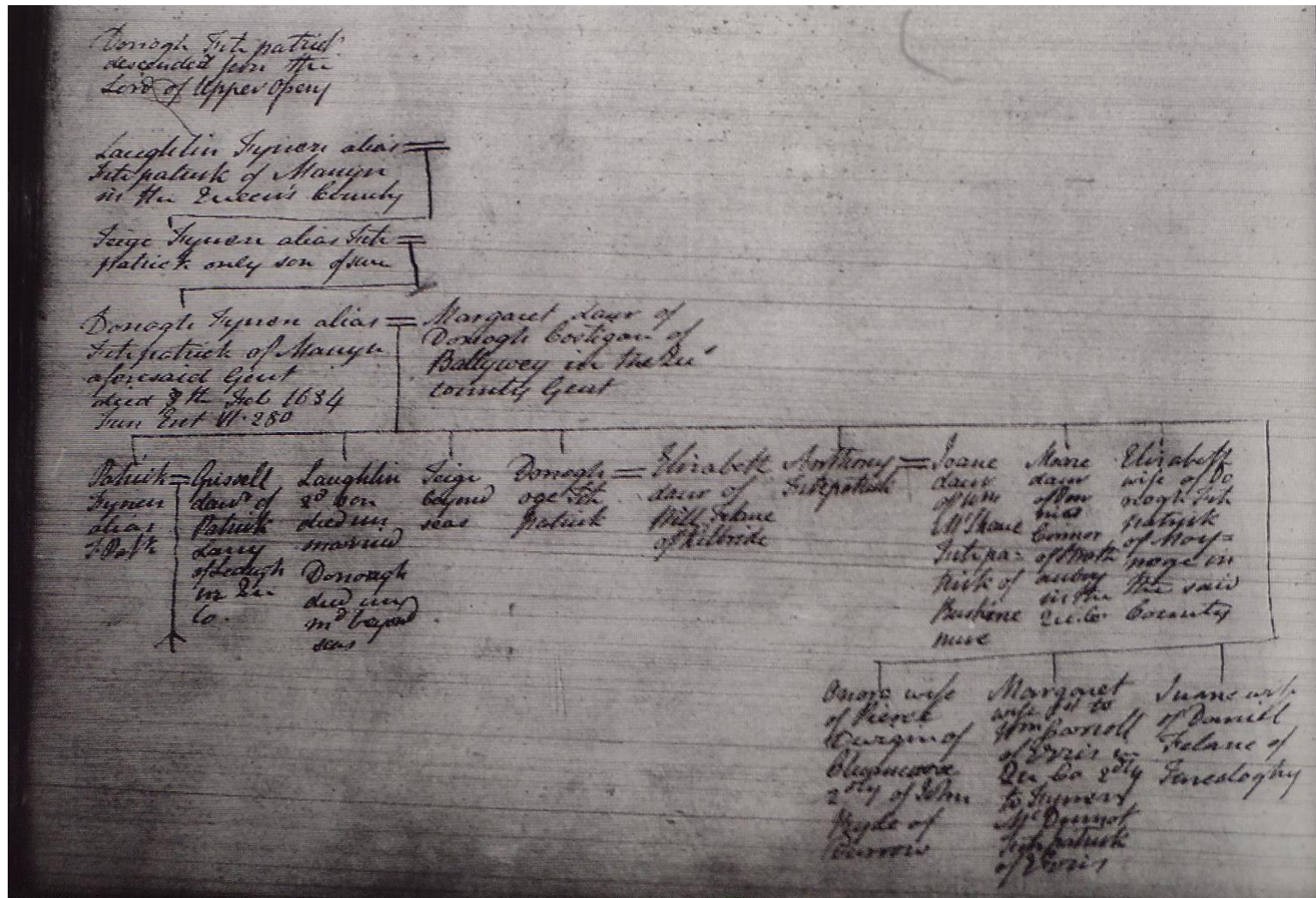


Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland

## On Fitzpatrick Scholarship Editorial

Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2022, 3, 73-77.

As I reflect on the first three years of the Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society, my feelings are of great gratitude.

I'm particularly thankful to Ian Fitzpatrick – we work together on many different Fitzpatrick research threads. Ian is an excellent genealogist – I don't know of any researcher of North American Fitzpatrick lines who is more knowledgeable or more accurate than he is; and, of course, he has a grasp of Fitzpatrick DNA that is second to none.

I'm also very grateful for our peer reviewers. I consider peer review is a scholar's best friend – there is nothing to fear with peer review; it can only improve a researcher. Of course, peer review must be done well. With Dr. Esther Fitzpatrick (Auckland University), Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile CIOM, Luke McInerney (Vice-Chair, Clans of Ireland), and Dr. Paul MacCotter (University College Cork), we have been able to draw on peer-reviewers of the highest quality.

Peer reviewers help us 'get things correct', but that doesn't mean our journal articles will be without error or that our theories therein will necessarily stand the test of time. But since we publish electronically, we have the opportunity to edit and revise our works. One of the aims of the Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society Editorials is to notify readers of changes to our articles. Minor revisions or updates of articles and their publication under the same Digital Object Identifier (DOI) is perfectly acceptable in this age of digital-only publications. The Fitzpatrick Clan Society denotes such updates by providing the version number. Since older versions will be overwritten online, all previous versions are retained and can be provided on request.

And our articles 'Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part I' (Fitzpatrick, 2020a) and 'Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part II' (Fitzpatrick, 2020b) have both been subject to minor revisions and are now date stamped September 2022. The modifications were deemed necessary because of the uncovering of material relating to (a) the proven date of death in 1511 of Séan, father of Brian the first Baron of Upper Ossory, and (b) the identity of the woman whose image is carved into the mensa tomb at Gráinseach Feartach (Grangefearthach), which demonstrates she is not, as purported by Carrigan (1905), Katrina Malloy; instead she is of the Butler household – perhaps even Margaret Butler, who was one of the later wives of the first baron.

Far from signaling failures in previous versions, article revisions highlight the Fitzpatrick Clan Society's commitment to academic integrity and high scholastic values. I hope our commitment is replicated in the future by those who contribute to the Fitzpatrick knowledge base elsewhere. It is essential not to accept anything but the best scholarship.

And 'On Fitzpatrick Scholarship', I would like to caution frequenters of online Fitzpatrick blogs, Facebook pages, and websites such as Wikipedia – I consider it a big mistake to make such internet sources the bedrock of your Fitzpatrick knowledge base.

Take, for example, Wikipedia, which is defined at its own site as

'a multilingual free online encyclopedia written and maintained by a community of volunteers through open collaboration and a wiki-based editing system' (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia>; 8 Sep 2022).

The Fitzpatrick Clan Society has, on occasion, reviewed Fitzpatrick-related material at Wikipedia and considers there are occasions when academic integrity and scholastic value are very low; one of the main problems is lack of attribution or attribution that is incorrect. It is also highly noteworthy that Wikipedia

‘does not consider itself to be reliable as a source and discourages readers from using it in academic or research settings. Researchers, teachers, journalists, and public officials do not regard Wikipedia as a reliable source’

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reliability\\_of\\_Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reliability_of_Wikipedia); 8 Sep 2022).

One of the major issues relating to Wikipedia reliability is that articles ‘can be edited by anyone at any time’ ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reliability\\_of\\_Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reliability_of_Wikipedia); 8 Sep 2022) and that the

‘editing model is highly concentrated, as 77% of all articles are written by 1% of its editors, a majority of whom have chosen to remain anonymous’

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reliability\\_of\\_Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reliability_of_Wikipedia); 8 Sep 2022).

The Fitzpatrick Clan Society finds it difficult to understand why anyone contributing to the Fitzpatrick knowledge base would wish to be patently anonymous. And yet this is a common occurrence at Wikipedia with one editor, who goes by the pseudonym ‘Rí Osraige’. Why not come forward, be open, and discuss Fitzpatrick histories with academic integrity and high scholarly values? The answer, quite aside from the ego-possessed belief they are ‘The King of Ossory’, is, perhaps, that they (a) have low scholarly status and (b) are unwilling to let go of outdated dominant Fitzpatrick clan narratives.

A revealing example of the work of ‘Rí Osraige’ on Wikipedia is found in the article ‘Osraige’ (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osraige>; 8 Sep 2022). Among the most blatant abuses of ‘Rí Osraige’ in the article relate to statements about the Ua Braonáin, which are preserved here for posterity (Figure 1).

‘Rí Osraige’ refutes the Mac Fhirbhisigh pedigree of Ua Braonáin Uí Duach (O'Brennan of Idough) (ref. 82 in the Wikipedia article), which was provided in the Fitzpatrick Clan Society article, ‘The Similar-Sounding Surnames of Haplotype R-BY140757’ (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021; ref. 83 in the Wikipedia article) and states the Ua Braonáin Uí Duach was an Uí Failgi clan, not an Osraige clan. The basis of ‘Rí Osraige’s’ challenge to Mac Fhirbhisigh is based on that ‘most Irish genealogical sources ... are unanimous that the O'Brennans belong to the Dál Birn’. It is worthwhile examining the evidence ‘Rí Osraige’ uses in support of their argument, which, following the Wikipedia reference numbers (Figure 2) when they are provided, are as follows:

- 77. King's Inn genealogies (MS 11);
- 78. Geoffrey Keating;
- 79. John O'Hart;
- 80. The Fragmentary Annals of Ireland;
- 81. The modern scholar, Dr Bart Jaski (University of Utrecht).

Concerning Jaski first, since it serves to demonstrate ‘Rí Osraige’s’ poor scholarship best, ‘Rí Osraige’ states that ‘the O'Brennans belong to the Dál Birn, as descendants of Cerball mac Dúnlainge with the Fitzpatricks ...is echoed by modern scholars such as Bart Jaski’. Jaski’s Osraige pedigree indeed places the Ua Braonáin Uí Duach as descendants of King Cearbhall. Yet, Jaski plainly states that he had ‘not been able to consult the genealogies compiled by Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh’; this since they were

largely inaccessible until eight years after Jaski published his work (Jaski, 1995; Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003).

And the temerity of 'Rí Osraige' also becomes their downfall because good scholarship would seek out Jaski's position first-hand to gain an updated opinion, not assume to know it. I recently emailed Bart on the Ua Braonáin Ui Duach pedigree and the respective merits of Mac Fhirbhisigh versus 'the rest' – he related the following.

'I found in Chronicon Scotorum for the year 1146: Giolla Padraig mac Donnchadha h Gillepadraig rí Osraighe do marbadh do mhacaibh Conghalaigh Ui Braonáin i c-Cill Chainnig [i.e., Gillapadraig, son of Donnchadh Ua Gillapadraig, King of Osraighe, was slain by the sons of Conghalach Ua Braenain, in Cill-Chainnigh].

It makes sense to me why [Mac Fhir Bhisigh] states that [the Ua Braonáin Ui Duach] meet with Uí Duach ... they are not of the Osraige (like Mac Gilla Pátraic) but of Uí Failghi (Offaly).

Riagáin (Riacán) is a son of Cináed (King of Uí Failgi, died 829), son of Mugrón (King, died 782, missing in this and other pedigrees) son of Flann da Congal (King, died 740), etc. Uí Duinn was a district ruled by Ó Riagáin, and when we now count the generations we find that Congalach who died in 1146 fits in perfectly with the year of 1146 in which he is mentioned.

So, you were right to conclude in your article that they [the Ua Braonáin Ui Duach] are Uí Failghi, but this throws light on why the various versions disagree, and [Mac Fhir Bhisigh] is right' (pers.comm, 9 October, 2022).

With Jaski's authoritative position made clear, and aligned with Mac Fhir Bhisigh, what then of Rí Osraige's other 'Irish genealogical sources' that, in their opinion, state the Ua Braonáin Ui Duach were Osraige? Aside from O'Clery, for which a complete refutation is provided in 'The Similar-Sounding Surnames of Haplotype R-BY140757' (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021), Geoffrey Keating's position (ref. 78) can be viewed at the [Internet Archive](#); in short, Keating makes no mention that the seed (siol) of Braonain were the same as the Ua Braonáin Ui Duach. John O'Hart (ref. 79) used primary sources, in this case O'Clery, for his pedigrees. He was not the author of ancient genealogical manuscripts or even a scribe of the Mac Fhir Bhisigh or O'Clery era. He lived from 1824-1902; by citing O'Hart Rí Osraige is re-citing O'Clery. And the Fragmentary Annals of Ireland (ref. 80) make no reference to the descendants of Braonain being the same as the Ua Braonáin Ui Duach.

The King's Inn genealogies, MS11 (ref. 77), are intriguing. Jaski notes, 'O'Clery and King's Inn 11 have a lot in common, which I'm going to investigate further and perhaps write a short article about' (pers.comm, 9 October 2022). It is likely that O'Clery's errors, as highlighted in 'The Similar-Sounding Surnames of Haplotype R-BY140757' (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021) may have sprung from the King's Inn genealogies.

But, in short, it is apparent that Rí Osraige attempts to con readers into thinking a swathe of Irish genealogists consider the Ua Braonáin Ui Duach were Osraige. In truth, this is far from the case; we posit the Mac Fhir Bhisigh's pedigree of the Ua Braonáin Ui Duach as Uí Failghi stands above O'Clery's. And Jaski, a scholar and a recognised modern Irish genealogist, agrees.

One further reference (84) of Rí Osraige's is worth mentioning, even if it is just for comedic value; it is a YouTube video! On that, perhaps it is worth Rí Osraige's reflecting on what Wikipedia has to say ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Reliable\\_source\\_examples](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Reliable_source_examples), 8 Sep 2022):

‘YouTube and other video-sharing sites are generally not considered reliable sources because anyone can create or manipulate a video clip and upload without editorial oversight.’

‘However, official channels of notable organizations ... may be acceptable as primary sources if their authenticity can be confirmed.’

The author of the YouTube video (ref. 84), is not of a notable organisation, which brings me back to my comments ‘On Fitzpatrick Scholarship’. It is easy to uncover who scholars are – [Google Scholar](#) is just one place to look. Scholars are not self-appointed; their body of work and their citations speak on behalf of them. In contrast, wannabe scholars need platforms on which they can peddle their drivel. With that in mind, don’t believe all you see or hear about Fitzpatrick histories or DNA just because it’s on Wikipedia or YouTube.

Mike Fitzpatrick PhD 

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**Figure 1:** Text from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osraige>; 8 Sep 2022.

- Ua Braonáin (O'Brennan) of Uí Duach (Idough). Most Irish genealogical sources, such as *Ó Cléirigh Book of Genealogies*, the *Mac Solaidh-Tipper* Collection of Genealogies (RIA MS 23 M 17), King's Inn genealogies (MS 11), *Geoffrey Keating*, *John O'Hart*, the *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* and others, are unanimous that the O'Brennans belong to the *Dál Binn*, as descendants of Cerball mac Dúnlainge with the Fitzpatricks.<sup>[77][78][79][80]</sup> This is echoed by modern scholars such as Bart Jaski.<sup>[81]</sup> However, Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh is uniquely alone stating they belong to the Uí Dhuinn (O'Dunn) and, therefore, would be an Uí Failghi tribe according to his transcription.<sup>[82][83]</sup> Modern genetic evidence confirms the majority tradition and disconfirms Mac Fhirbhisigh, showing the O'Brennans to be closely related to the Fitzpatricks in the proximate timeframe of king Cerball.<sup>[84]</sup>

**Figure 2:** References 77 – 84 from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osraige>; 8 Sep 2022.

77. <sup>^</sup> "Irish Script on Screen - Meamram Páipéar Ríomhaire" [↗](#).
78. <sup>^</sup> "The history of Ireland" [↗](#). 1902.
79. <sup>^</sup> "Irish pedigrees; or, the origin and stem of the Irish nation" [↗](#). Dublin, J. Duffy and Co.; New York, Benziger Brothers. 1892.
80. <sup>^</sup> "Fragmentary Annals of Ireland" [↗](#).
81. <sup>^</sup> Jaski, Bart (31 July 2013). "Genealogical tables of medieval Irish royal dynasties" [↗](#).
82. <sup>^</sup> Mac Fhirbhisigh, Dubhaltach (2003). *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*. Dublin: De Burca.
83. <sup>^</sup> Fitzpatrick, Mike (2021). "The Similar-Sounding Surnames of Haplotype R-BY140757" [↗](#). *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society*. **2021** (2): 1–41. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00421 [↗](#).
84. <sup>^</sup> "The Cerball Nexus" [↗](#). *YouTube*.