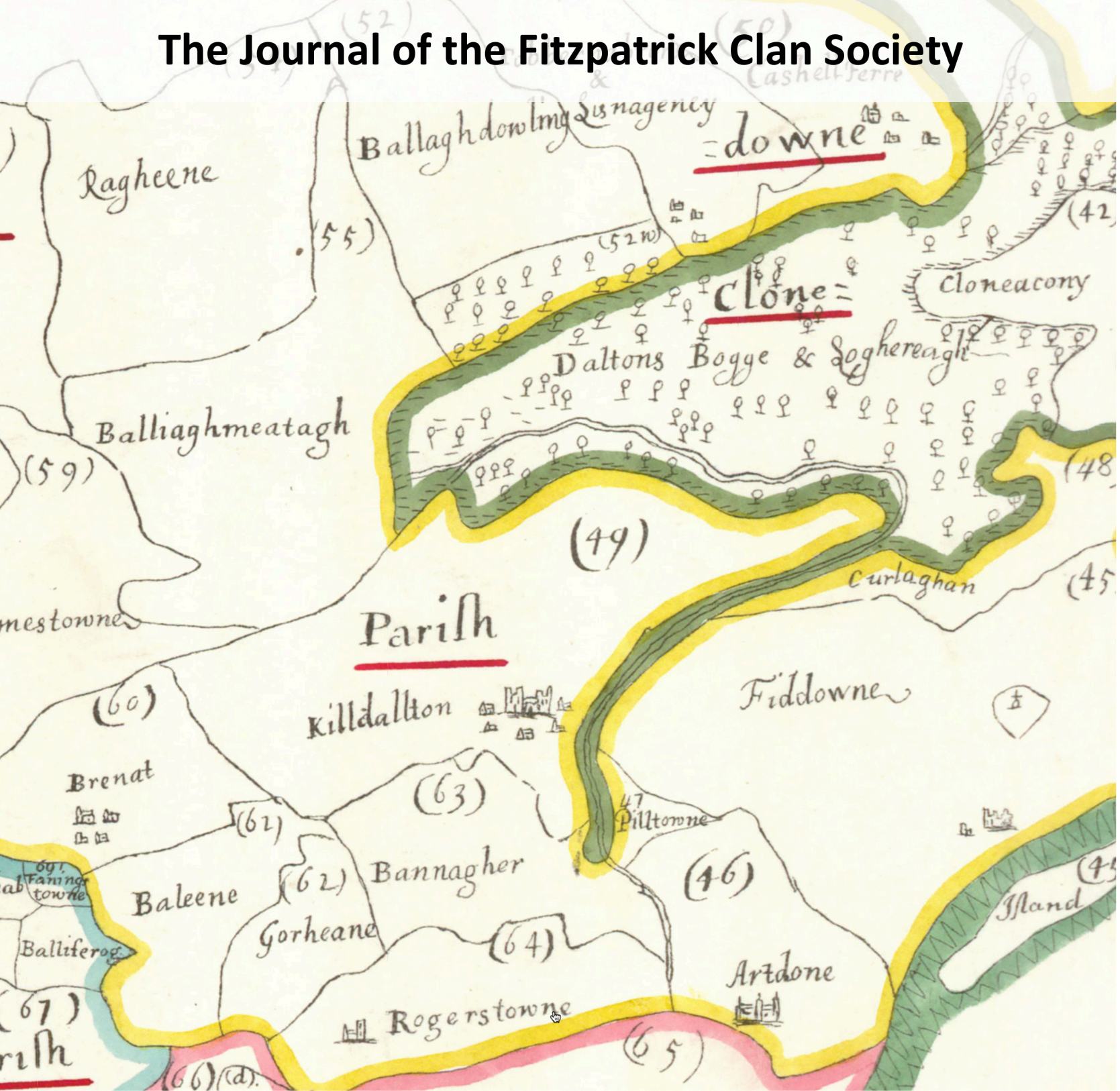


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Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society

Editorial Board

Mike Fitzpatrick PhD

731 South Titirangi Rd

Titirangi, Auckland 0604

New Zealand

+64 21 2754108

mike@fitzpatrickclan.org

Matthew Fitzpatrick

matt@fitzpatrickclan.org

Dr Esther Fitzpatrick

e.fitzpatrick@auckland.ac.nz

Eithne Branigan

eithne@fitzpatrickclan.org

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ian@fitzpatrickclan.org

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The Daltons of Kildalton: a Norman-Irish gentry family, Part I

Dr Mike Fitzpatrick ✉

Independent Scholar, Titirangi, Auckland, New Zealand 0604

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Abstract

The Daltons of Kildalton (Cill an Dátúnaigh), a townland less than one mile north of the River Suir and the Co. Waterford (Port Láirge) border, are a well-known family with a rich and colourful history that has been documented back to fourteenth-century southern Co. Kilkenny (Cill Chainnigh). Such was the status of the family, who had Kilmodalla (Cill Modhallá) as one of their major bases from the fifteenth century, that by the sixteenth century the town had undergone a name change to Kildalton, forever embedding their patronymic in that place, and other areas nearby.

Part I of *'The Daltons of Kildalton: a Norman-Irish gentry family'*, focusses on the central family figure of the late thirteen-century, Richard de Antōn, who was Sheriff of Waterford between 1291 and 1293. Richard was almost certainly the forebear of the Daltons of Kildalton, and he first established their place in Co. Kilkenny. Richard's origins intrigue, as does his surname, but his place among the Irish gentry of the thirteenth century unequivocally connects him to families of high status and power, who came to Ireland (Éire) at the time of the Norman invasions.

Y-DNA analysis of ancestors of the Daltons of Kildalton is distinct and also intrigues. Yet, much sense can be made of a common direct paternal genetic ancestry, ca. 1100 AD, with those of Branan-like surnames, whose ancestors also arrived in Ireland among the Norman gentry class.

Names, styles, edits, and historical records

This article is written in the English language, but the people and places discussed are Irish. To acknowledge Gaelic (Gaeilge) and to afford readers insights into word meanings, place names are provided in Gaelic using a modern spelling¹; for example, Knocktopher (Cnoc an Tóchair), unless the place name is titular, for instance, the Sheriff of Waterford.

The rendition of names referenced in this article requires consistency because there can be much variability in historical records even for the same individual, with mixtures of Gaelic, English, French, and Latin forms being used – sometimes with spellings imaginatively conjured up via phonetics. If the name used is part of a citation, the approach here is to use the exact spelling from the source – this has no small importance in this article because records of the ancestors of the Daltons of Kildalton had their surname recorded in several ways.

¹ Placenames database of Ireland (Meitheal Logainm), <https://www.logainm.ie>

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This article is a living work, i.e., it can, and most likely will, be edited by the author, who will retain all versions. Every effort has been made to consult all available records related to the period relevant to this article.

Introduction

The origins of the Co. Kilkenny family of Dalton were first considered in print by Rev. William Healy in *History and Antiquities of Kilkenny County and City*². Healy went into some detail explaining the tradition of Walter D'Alton, who arrived in Ireland at the time of Henry II and was given extensive lands in the Barony of Rathconrath (Ráth Conarta), formerly 'Daltons' Country', in modern-day Co. Westmeath (Iarmhí)³.

Healy unequivocally attributed the appearance of Daltons in Co. Kilkenny to a branch of the Rathconrath line that "probably" began with William Dalton, who "imported from ... some of their extensive settlements in Westmeath" and who "died in 1591, settled in Kildalton" – the latter based on an inquisition⁴ that recorded "William Daton" was seized of various holdings in the Barony of Iverk at his death on 10 Nov 1591, viz., "the village and fields of Kilmedall" (or Kilmodalla, meaning, the Church of St Modailbh⁵, afterward called Kildalton) and other small acreages in various nearby townlands⁶.

In what looks almost like an afterthought, Healy added, "besides the Kildalton family another of the name settled equally early at Ballynacronny (Baile na Crona), in the Barony of Iverk". Healy suggested the progenitor of the Ballynacronny line was Peter Dalton, who also died in 1591, and that he was a brother or cousin of William. Soon after its publication, a (favourable) review of Healy's work noted,

"An error is made in confounding the Westmeath family of D'Alton with the Kilkenny family of Daton, originally D'Autun, who bore different arms, and whose name appears to have been first corrupted into Dalton by the Down surveyors. Dr Daton, bishop of Ossory, never called himself Dalton"⁷

No qualification of those reviewer statements was made, but the surname position was also held by the great Ossory historian, Rev. William Carrigan, who said Dalton was "incorrectly

² Healy W. (1893). *History and Antiquities of Kilkenny (county and city)*; with illustrations and appendix compiled from inquisitions deeds wills funeral entries family records and other historical and authentic sources. Kilkenny: PM Egan.

³ Much of Healy's discussion of the D'Alton family gets stronger coverage by the Dalton Genealogical Society, in 'Success at last, the Daltons of Kildalton' (Pat Robinson, 1994, *Dalton Genealogical Journal*, 20, 24-32) and 'Knights to Dreamers' by Rodney Garth Dalton: <https://www.daltongenealogicalsociety.org>.

⁴ *Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum cancellariae Hiberniae Vol. I* (1826), 24 Jac I. Ireland: Chancery.

⁵ Carrigan W. (1905). *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*. Dublin, Sealy, Bryers and Walker. Volume IV, p.219.

⁶ That is, Ballynametagh (Baile na mBiatagh), Dowling (Dobhlainn), Fiddown (Fiodh Dúin), Gortrush (Gort an Rois), Jamestown (Baile Shéamais), Tobernabrone and Lisnagency (Tobar na Brón), Tobernafuona (Tobar Afána), and Whitechurch (Teampall Geal).

⁷ Review of *History and Antiquities of Kilkenny County and City* by W. Healy, 1893. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (1893), 3, 321–323.

written”, and that it was really a version of Daton or D’Autun⁸. As will be demonstrated, it is certain that the early Kilkenny records of the family use Daton, or similar, and never Dalton. Further, the case against Meath (Mhí) origins finds support via contrasting spellings in other records, such as those of the Commissioners of Peace in Ireland. While Walter Datoun and John, son of Redmond Datoun, are recorded as Officers in Kilkenny in 1382 and 1425, respectively, there are no officer’s surnames spelt Dalton. And there are several Officers in Meath, recorded in 1345 and 1382, whose surnames are always spelt Dalton, but never Datoun⁹.

Carrigan did not entertain Meath origins for the Kilkenny Datons, but neither did he discuss the pre-fourteenth century origins of the family, only noting the aforementioned Walter Datoun was the earliest he found recorded of the surname in Co. Kilkenny. Yet earlier records exist. Pat Robinson and Garth Dalton³ identified ‘Hugh Datoun’ as the first of his name recorded in Co. Kilkenny, appearing as a witness in a 1314 quit-claim of Nigel le Brun to Sir Edmund Butler, Earl of Carrick, relating to his possessions in the Barony of Knocktopher¹⁰.

However, the recent publication of manuscripts, such as those of the Irish Chancery, at the Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland¹¹ has provided access to earlier records of Hugh, which greatly enhance the understanding of his lineage. Hugh, who is found in various records between 1297 and 1316, was the son of Richard de Antōn, Sheriff of Waterford.

Richard de Antōn, Sheriff of Waterford

Richard de Antōn, is found in several late thirteenth-century to early fourteenth-century Irish records, and often he is noted as the Sheriff of Waterford. There are various spellings of his surname¹² but de Antōn is the version found in surviving manuscripts (in French) of the ‘Receipt Roll of Elias de Winchester, Deputy Treasurer of Ireland’ for 1291 and 1292¹³. Figure 1 provides two examples of the handwritten entry from the Receipt Roll, on which a total of six occurrences are translated either, “from the profit of County Waterford or “from the debts of various persons of County Waterford, by Richard de Antōn”. Richard’s tenure as Sheriff of Waterford can be determined via the Receipt Roll and other Exchequer

⁸ Carrigan W (1905). Vol IV, p.221.

⁹ Frame R (1992). Commissions of the Peace in Ireland, 1302-1461. *Analecta Hibernica*, 35, 1-43.

¹⁰ Curtis E (1932). *Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1172-1350 AD*. Dublin: The Stationery Office, p.195.

¹¹ <https://virtualtreasury.ie>

¹² Usually transcribed as de Anton’, or de Anton, but occasionally as de Antone and de Auton’.

¹³ The manuscript is viewable (VRTI MedEx 1/2/1291, Receipt roll of Elias de Winchester, deputy treasurer of Ireland, Michaelmas 1291 to Michaelmas 1292: Nicholas de Clere, treasurer of Ireland) and the several handwritten occurrences have the appearance of ‘de Antōn’ or ‘de Autōn’. The English-language translation of the manuscript was created by the Medieval Exchequer Gold Seam of TNA (i.e., The National Archives, UK) experts, who use ‘de Anton’; their expertise is deferred to here. In addition, the experts consider the toponymic forms found in the manuscript are “genuine surnames” not an immediate reference to a place name, i.e., ‘Richard de Anton’ is not a reference to ‘Richard of Anton’. The form ‘de Antōn’ is used in this article as the default in order to emphasise the old French accentuation, which in this case serves to stress the letter o; hence a phonetic rendering is ‘de Antone’ and explains why some transcriptions exist in that form (see, Learned WD, 1922. The Accentuation of Old French Loanwords in English. *Journal of the Modern Language Association of America*, 4, 707-721).

documents¹⁴; he made returns to the Treasury between 14 January 1291 and 20 October 1292, and from Easter 1293 to the Feast of St Martin (11 November) 1293; during the intervening period Maurice Russell made returns as Sheriff of Waterford, and he also preceded and superseded Richard de Antōn.

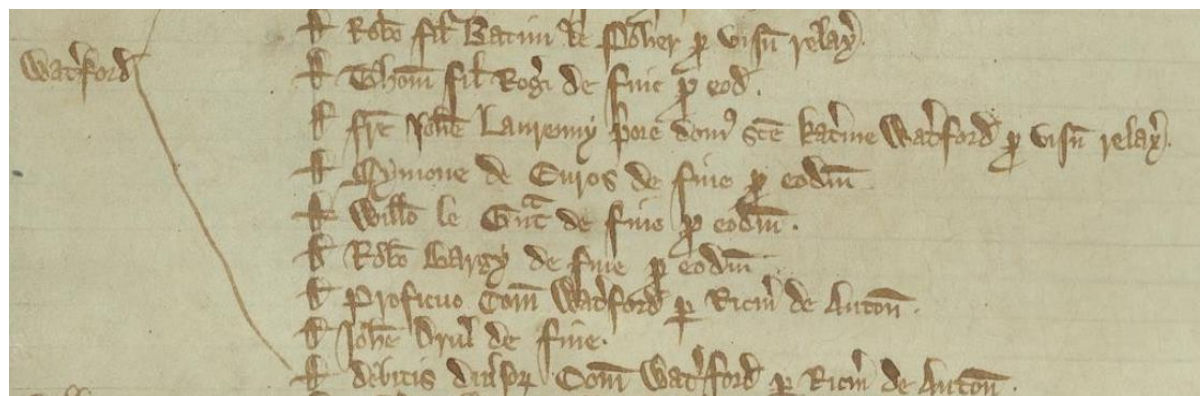


Figure 1: an excerpt of the receipt roll of Elias de Winchester, showing Richard de Antōn¹⁴

As well as collecting debts, Richard himself was in debt when he died in 1295. The Memoranda Rolls¹⁵ of the English Exchequer for the twenty-second year of Edward I commencing Michaelmas (29 September) refer to Richard as the “then” Sheriff of Waterford¹⁶ and later that, “the Seneschals of Kildare and Kilkenny [were instructed] to seize goods of Richard de Anton’ deceased formerly Sheriff of Waterford”¹⁷. Likewise, William de Moenes, a Baron of the Exchequer, “was assigned to enquire of and take the goods of ... Richard de Anton, deceased”¹⁷.

Exchequer receipts between 1298 and 1302 record payments totaling £10 10s 4d of the account arrears of Richard de Antone, sheriff, by Richard Blakeman le Poer, an unnamed donor, and Eustace le Poer^{18,19}. Richard’s debts were finally cleared in 1304. A Close Roll²⁰ of that year records the aforementioned “Hugh de Antony” was pardoned the sum of £100 due to “good service ... in Scotland”²¹, being “the debts of Richard de Antony’, his father, and for his own debts”.

How did Richard de Antōn attain the position of Sheriff of Waterford? Ciaran Parker provides the necessary understanding. “In County Waterford there were various socio-

¹⁴ See, Sweetman HS (1879). *Calendar of Documents, Ireland 1285-1292*. London: Longman & Co; Sweetman HS (1881). *Calendar of Documents, Ireland 1293-1301*. London: Longman & Co; Dougherty JB (1905). *The Thirty-Seventh Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and Keeper of the State Papers in Ireland*. Dublin: His Majesty’s Stationary Office.

¹⁵ Rolls recording memoranda made in the Exchequer.

¹⁶ NAI EX 2/1/1/5, Memoranda Roll, 22-23 Edward I, roll 20, membrane 5, accessed 1 February 2024.

¹⁷ NAI EX 2/1, *Calendar of Memoranda Rolls*, 22-3 Edward I; 31-5 Edward I, accessed on 1 February 2024.

¹⁸ Sweetman HS (1881), p.249 (‘Richard Dantone’), p.313 (‘Richard de Anton’), p.376 (‘Richard de Antone’).

¹⁹ Sweetman HS and Handcock GF (1886). *Calendar of Documents, Ireland 1302-1307*. London: Longman & Co. p.27 (‘Richard de Anton’).

²⁰ Sweetman HS and Handcock GF (1886), p.119.

²¹ That is, Hugh de Antōn participated in Edward I’s campaigns in Scotland between 1298 and 1303.

political groupings, the baronage, the gentry and the ‘lineages’ who were the relatives of both groups”. The baronage and the gentry “were all drawn from the descendants of settlers who had been established in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century”²².

By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the post of Sheriff of Waterford was concentrated in a limited socio-political group, and “the single most powerful representative in the shrievalty were the les Poers”, although that power did not always translate to holding the office, due to “lack of cohesion and integrity of the family”²³. Many of those who were not members of Waterford society owed their positions as sheriffs to the patronage of the local le Poer family or to connections with other of the gentry who were powerful at a national level. For example, Robert de Marreis (sheriff 1317) was a step-brother of John le Poer of Donoil, and John de Stanes (sheriff 1319-1320) depended on the support of Sir Arnold de Poer²⁴.

Members of the “baronial and gentry lineages could become sheriff” and many Waterford sheriffs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries “were from outside the county but went on to gain lands there”²⁴, such as the later high-ranking Sir William de la Rochelle²⁵ (sheriff 1254-1255 and 1262-1263) and Sir Walter de la Haye²⁶ (sheriff 1272-1284). Richard de Antōn benefited in like manner, and an interrogation of the lands he gained provides insights into how, when, and why the ancestors of Kildalton Daltons came to be domiciled in southern Co. Kilkenny.

Richard’s landholdings are described under the account of Walter de la Haye, then Escheator of Ireland, relating to Margery de la Rochelle, whose estate was contested after she died – the case dragged on for several years²⁷. Under the heading ‘Lands of Richard de Antoun’, de la Haye accounted £3 16s 3d from “parts of the demesnes etc in Co. Kilkenny, belonging to Richard de Antoun” who held them off Margery de la Rochelle, who held them off Edward I²⁸. There was no slight complexity concerning Margery’s estate, but the demesnes in Co Kilkenny included Knocktopher, which enjoyed a troubled and often shared possession throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

²² Parker C (1992). The politics and society of County Waterford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries [thesis], Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland). Department of History, pp. 512, p.1.

²³ Ibid., p.256.

²⁴ Ibid., p.258-259.

²⁵ Sir Richard Rochelle, Sheriff of Waterford was also a Deputy Justiciar of Ireland (1254-1255), see the Dictionary of Irish Biography: <https://www.dib.ie/biography/rochelle-rokele-rokesle-rupella-rupellis-richard-de-la-a7756>, accessed 7 February 2024.

²⁶ Walter de Haye held justiciary and administrative rolls in Ireland, see the Dictionary of Irish Biography: <https://www.dib.ie/biography/haye-sir-walter-de-la-a3870>, accessed 7 February 2024.

²⁷ Walter de la Haye was an insatiable collector of finances for the Crown and the case of Margery de la Rochelle, who was the granddaughter of Sir Richard de la Rochelle, is just one example of de la Haye’s zeal. A writ from King Edward I to de la Haye details that Margery and her only child, Roesia, died shortly after the childbirth in 1289. Margery’s significant estate reverted to the Crown instead of, according to English Law, her husband, James Keating, and this was via the escheator’s inquisition taken by jurors, ignorant of the facts concerning Roesia’s birth. Margery’s case is very well documented, for example, see Sweetman HS (1879) p.217-218.

²⁸ Cullinan FJ (1906). The Thirty-Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and Keeper of the State Papers in Ireland. Dublin, His Majesty’s Stationary Office, p.38.

St John Brooks provides a history of the Knocktopher fees²⁹. In short, Matthew fitz Griffin, son of Griffin fitz William³⁰, held 1¾ fees in Knocktopher in 1247, but they had long been usurped from his niece, Clarice, whose father, Gilbert fitz Griffin, died when she was six months old, ca. 1204. It took Clarice some fifty years to recover her Knocktopher inheritance and her other lands, which she accomplished by enlisting William de Dene³¹ and Sir Richard de la Rochelle, who at that time was standing in for the Justiciar. In return for their aid, in 1254, Clarice afforded both de Dene and de la Rochelle each one-third of her land holdings.

The de la Rochelle third of Knocktopher came down to John de la Rochelle, son of Robert, son of Sir Richard de la Rochelle, (i.e., Margery's brother), who married Sibilla, a daughter of Sir Walter de la Haye³². John died childless sometime before 1289, and Margery is recorded as his heir²⁸, but in 1322, long after Margery's death, Sibilla is stated as once having dower from all of John's premises in Co. Kilkenny, Co. Tipperary, and Co. Waterford³³. This brings confusion since Sibilla had no right to dower – at least not via her marriage to John de la Rochelle.

As mentioned, Richard de Antōn held the de la Rochelle portion of Knocktopher lands immediately after Margery's death while James Keating, Margery's husband, was contesting Sir Walter de la Haye taking the lands into the King's hands. And there are clues to show Sir Walter may have manipulated the fate of the de la Rochelle portion of Knocktopher estates, for which he had desire and came to possess³⁴. A Latin transcript of a Plea Roll of 1295³⁵ records that Hugh, son and heir of Richard de Antōn, was a child when his father died and that custody of the estate during Hugh's minority was with Sir William le Waleis, Sir Reginald de Dene and Maurice fitz David³⁶. Hugh's estate included the de la Rochelle third of Knocktopher, being one-and-a-half carucates³⁷ and a mill, and was claimed in dower by Richard's widow, Anabilla.

Noting the challenges of perfectly transcribing thirteenth-century manuscripts, could Anabilla be the same person as Sibilla, daughter of Sir Walter de la Haye? It is not

²⁹ St John Brooks E (1950). *Knights' fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*. Dublin: Stationary Office.

³⁰ That is, William son of Gerald fitz Walter, i.e., Gerald of Windsor.

³¹ William de Dene was Sheriff of Co. Cork (1259 to 1260) and Justiciar of Ireland at the time of his death, in 1261, at the Battle of Callan (Berry HF, 1905. *Sheriffs of the County Cork: Henry III to 1660*. The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 15, 39-52).

³² Betham W (1820). *Historical and genealogical extracts from the Plea Rolls in the Birmingham Tower, Dublin Castle, Edward III to Henry VI*. Genealogical Office Manuscripts Collection, National Library of Ireland.

³³ O'Farrell E (1911). *The Forty-Second Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and Keeper of the State Papers in Ireland*. Dublin, His Majesty's Stationary Office, p.45.

³⁴ Returning to Clarice fitz Griffin, she quitted claim on her third of Knocktopher to Milo le Bret, who is considered to be her second cousin (St John Brooks E, 1941. *Feudal Charters of the De Burgo Lordship of Connacht* by Edmund Curtis. Irish Historical Studies, 2, 440-442). From Milo it went to Edmund le Bret, his son and heir, who quit claimed it to Sir Walter de la Haye ca. 1292 (Curtis E, 1932, p.122).

³⁵ NAI RC 7/3/14, Plea Roll, 24 Edward I, Plea Roll no. 23, accessed on 2 February 2024.

³⁶ Most notable is Maurice fitz David, who was the brother of Milo fitz David, Baron of Iverk (Burtchaell GD, 1892. *The Geraldines of County Kilkenny. Part I. The Barons of Burnchurch*. The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 2, 358-376). Sir Reginald de Dene and Sir William le Waleis were prominent landowners in Co. Kilkenny and Co. Waterford, respectively (Curtis E, 1932, p.117; Parker C, 1992, p.207).

³⁷ A carucate is approximately 120 acres of arable land (Hardinge WH and Ridgeway T, 1864. *On Mapped Surveys of Ireland*. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 8, 39-55).

implausible, and it would explain why ‘both’ held dower over the same estate. It is not far-fetched that Richard de Antōn may have married Anabilla-Sibilla after the death of John de la Rochelle³⁸, however for Hugh to be the son of Richard and Anabilla-Sibilla would require the death of John de la Rochelle ca. 1284, since Hugh did not reach his majority until ca. 1299. Immediately after Margery de Rochelle died in 1289, a portion of her lands and manors were granted to Hugh de Bruges and John Rys³⁹, who were instructed to “yearly answer therefor at the Exchequer, Dublin, according to the extent made thereof”. Rys made the relevant payments relating to the Escheatry until Easter 1299, when the holdings were transferred to Hugh de Antōn⁴⁰, who by that time must have come of age.

The compilation of records for Richard de Antōn, that he was Sheriff of Waterford, intimately connected with Sir Walter de la Haye, who was perhaps his father-in-law, and the families de Rochelle and le Poer, and so gained lands in Co. Kilkenny, clearly establishes his position among the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth Norman-Irish gentry. The careers of his sons, Hugh and Elias, followed suit and are covered next.

Sir Hugh, son of Richard de Antōn

Along with the aforementioned references, Hugh de Antōn is found in several early fourteenth-century Irish records. Hugh’s life was short, but he moved in the highest circles, as would be expected of a grandson of Sir Walter de la Haye. The le Poer connection was maintained – in 1305, “Hugh de Antone” was a witness to a grant by Eustace le Poer to William Fanning of the Manor of Mohober (Maigh Thobair), Co. Tipperary (Tiobraid Árann)⁴¹. And Hugh’s sphere went further; he was the subject of an Exchequer order to pay him “£59 10s 8d owed to him by recognizance of Richard Burgh”, Second Earl of Ulster and Third Baron of Connacht, “in the wardrobe”⁴².

Hugh was also followed by debt, and, as noted, some of this was inherited, such as that incurred by William Lawless, who was Richard de Antōn’s clerk during his term as sheriff¹⁷,

³⁸ Sibilla did not marry Herbert de Marisco until ca. 1306, i.e., after Richard de Antōn had died (NLI GO MS 192, Volume 4 of Genealogical and historical excerpts from the rolls of common pleas of the [common] bench in Ireland deposited in Bermingham’s Tower [Dublin Castle] from roll no. 173, 20 Edward III, accessed 14 February 2024).

³⁹ Hugh de Bruges was Sir Walter de la Haye’s valet who “had laboured much in the King’s service”, but he left for England in 1291 (Sweetman HS, 1879, p.218 and p.443). John Rys features numerous in Irish manuscripts; notable in this context are his appearances the Ormond Deeds between 1274 and 1309 concerning Knocktopher (Curtis E, 1932) – he was also Sheriff of Tipperary 1305-1306 (Waters KA, 2004. The Earls of Desmond in the Fourteenth Century [thesis], Durham University, pp. 326).

⁴⁰ Sweetman HS (1879), p.183.

⁴¹ Curtis E (1932), p.156.

⁴² CIRCLE 3/33/2/26, Close Roll 33 Edward I (1304-1305), Item 26, accessed, 31 January 2024. It is possible this record relates to another Hugh de Antōn who is found in records that date from 1260 to 1279, one of which states “Hugh de Anton, for his expenses in coming from Ireland to England with the son of Walter de Burgh, late Earl of Ulster, by order of the King, by writ: £3 13s 6d” (Connelly P, 1992. Irish Exchequer Payments, 1270-1326. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission). The ‘son’ was Richard de Burgh, i.e., the same of the wardrobe payment. The approximately twenty five year gap of his appearance in records works against the two Hughs being the same person but, regardless, the earlier Hugh is notable for his connection to the de Burgh, as well as a record from ca. 1260 that has him with lands in Co. Limerick (Luimneach) (NAI RC 7/1/21, Plea Roll, 45 Henry III, Plea Roll no. 4, accessed 3 February 2024). This is discussed further in *Part II*.

while some debt was his own. In 1309, the Seneschal of Kilkenny ordered Hugh to pay a debt of four marks owed to the estate of Richard Bacoun⁴³. More notable are entries in the Memorandum Roll of Edward II of 1308, which record the Seneschal of Kilkenny delayed a “demand of £37 on Hugh de Anton” who was mayor⁴⁴. No other record has been uncovered that refers to Hugh as ‘mayor’; compiled lists of the Mayor of Kilkenny town do not include Hugh, but there are gaps, including for the years 1308 and 1309⁴⁵.

The earlier mentioned quit claim of 1314 refers to Hugh as a knight¹⁰, a title he may have acquired on account of his deeds in Scotland. A record in the Judiciary Rolls of Edward II reads, “Hugh Datoun, knight, charged that he, together with other malefactors”, robbed various individuals, being abetted by Sir John de Sutton. Hugh received pardon “of grace and for the good service which [he] has often done and will hereafter do to the King”⁴⁶. Hugh died before 22 May 1316, perhaps in 1315 during the Bruce invasion of Ulster⁴⁷, but not without heir – an indenture of that date records Edmund Butler granting to Robert de Bendeville sixty acres of land in Kiltorcan (Cill Torcáin)⁴⁸, “which came to him from the wardship of the heir of Sir Hugh Danton”⁴⁹.

Elias, son of Richard

In addition to the lands held by Richard and Sir Hugh de Antón, other lands in Co. Kilkenny came to Elias, son of Richard, via the same route, i.e., from the estates of John and Margery de la Rochelle²⁹. Elias died before 1300⁵⁰, and while there is no certainty Elias was the son of Richard de Antón, there is circumstantial evidence to posit as much, based on the future appearance of the given-name among ‘Daton’ records.

“Elyas Danton” appears in the Ormond Deeds as a witness to a Co.Kilkenny land transfer in 1328⁵¹, and “Elias Danton”, is found in a Close Roll of 1334, being fined 100s in the Liberty of Kilkenny “for pardon of certain felonies”⁵². In addition, the sons of “Elias Daton”, such as

⁴³ NAI EX 2/3/1/18/1, Memoranda Roll, 3 Edward II, membrane 18, dorse, accessed 3 February 2024. Bacoun was a cleric who held the prebend of Fennor (Fionnúir), Co. Tipperary in the early fourteenth century (NAI RC 7/9/11, Plea Roll, 30-31 Edward I, Plea Rolls no. 65, accessed 12 February 2024).

⁴⁴ NAI EX 2/2/2/25/1, Memoranda Roll, 1 Edward II, membrane 25, dorse, accessed 3 February 2024.

⁴⁵ Patterson T (2001). Sovereigns of the town of Kilkenny, 1282-1608. *Old Kilkenny Review*, 53, 29-35.

⁴⁶ Griffith MG (1952). Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls of Ireland I to VII Years of Edward II. Dublin: The Stationary Office, p.324-325. Sir John de Sutton is described as “The Lord of Mounemehennok”, i.e., Dunmanoge (Dún Mosheanóg), in Co. Kildare (Cill Dara).

⁴⁷ For background see, Smith, B (1989). The Bruce Invasion and County Louth, 1315-18. *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, 22, 7–15.

⁴⁸ Kiltorcan townland joins Ballyhale (Baile Héil), while the modern day villages of Ballyhale and Knocktopher are just one and a half miles apart. Ballyhale, once called Ballyhowell, is named after the well-known family of Howell (many of whom came to take the surname Walsh; Carrigan W, 1905 Volume IV, p.74) but only from ca. 1444 (Curtis E, 1935. Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1413-1509 AD. Dublin: The Stationery Office, p.104). Before then the name of Ballyhale is unknown but is probably the same place as the difficult to determine “Balihoneg” and “Balyhonegus”, that Margery de la Rochelle held one carucate of, which passed Richard de Antón and then to Hugh (NAI RC 7/4/1, 'Plea Roll, 24 Edward I, Plea Roll no. 24', accessed 10 February 2024).

⁴⁹ Curtis E (1932), p.210.

⁵⁰ Cullinan FJ (1906), p.78.

⁵¹ Curtis E (1932), p.256.

⁵² CIRCLE 5/8/2/25, Close Roll 8 Edward III (1334-1335), Item 25, accessed 4 February 2024.

“Elias fytz Ellyse Daton”, are found in Ormond Deeds from 1352. Moreover, in the early fifteenth century the former Parish of Kilmodalla is referred to as “the lands of fitz Elias Datoun”⁵³. Hence, the Daltons of Kildalton likely descend from Elias, a grandson of Richard de Antōn – this is explored further in *Part III*.

The lands held by Elias, son of Richard, comprised one carucate in “Polsnekille”²⁸, which is referred to alongside Adlangport or Lang(e)port⁵⁴, which is in Co. Waterford, adjacent to the southern bank of the River Suir, approximately ten miles, as the crow flies, following the river, from Kildalton. Hence, ‘Polsnekille’ is most likely Portnascully (Port na Scoile). After Elias’ death, Portnascully reverted to the Baron of Iverk⁵⁵. Longport-Woodstown was with the de la Rochelle and by 1378 had come to Sir Walter de la Rochelle, Lord of Fiddown; at that time, the ‘fitz Elias Datons’ were associated with leases of nearby lands⁵³.

Other contemporaries, and possible kin or even brothers, of Sir Hugh and Elias de Antōn, found in the Justiciary Rolls of Edward II, are Robert and Thomas Daundon, most notably the former. In 1308, Robert, along with Philip and Eustace le Poer, stood “accused of certain trespasses and felonies” but received “the protection of the King's peace”, as “they [were] about to set out on the King's service to Scotland”⁵⁶. Thomas was a knight and notable landowner in Co. Limerick⁵⁷, which brings additional focus to that place.

Looking backwards and forwards

Part II of ‘The Daltons of Kildalton’ takes a backward look from Richard de Antōn, Sheriff of Waterford. The previous reference to Hugh de Antōn in a Plea Roll of Henry III⁴² makes mention of his lands in Co. Limerick. Was Richard Hugh’s son, and can he be pursued to Co. Limerick? Other Co. Limerick records of the baronage and gentry intrigue and provide clues to the pre-conquest origins of the de Antōn. For example, the de la Rochelle had a strong early presence in Co. Limerick⁵⁸ and they were also a prominent family of Co. Cornwall in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries⁵⁹.

⁵³ Curtis E (1934), p.345, p.358.

⁵⁴ Dougherty JB (1905), p. 42; Sweetman HS (1879), p.218. Adlangport and Lang(e)port are derived from ‘Longphort’, “an earthen bank thrown up on the landward side to protect ships that had been drawn up on a beach or river-bank”. The site of a Longphort has been found in Co. Wexford in the townland of Woodstown (Baile na Coille) (Sheehan J, 2008. The Longphort in Viking Age Ireland. *Acta Archaeologica*, 97, 282-295.

⁵⁵ White NB (1932). *The Red Book of Ormond*. Dublin: The Stationary Office, p.135.

⁵⁶ Griffin MG (1952), p.116.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.208.

⁵⁸ “Godfrey de Rupe” was constable of Limerick castle in 1219. Lenihan M (1866). *Limerick; its History and Antiquities*. Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co. The surname de la Rochelle is found in variable forms such as de Rupella, Rockell, Rupe, and Roche, etc. The family of Sir Richard, Sheriff of Waterford (1254-1255) used ‘de Eu’ interchangeably with de la Rochelle, which is said to reflect their pre-English/Irish origins in the County of Eu, Normandy. The County of Eu (Comte d’Eu) was the creation of Richard I of Normandy, which incontrovertibly connects the surname de la Rochelle with that royal house (Larkin P, 2018. *The Lords of Aughrim manor*. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 70, 82–100). However, it is hard to ignore that the first Norman knight to land in Ireland was Sir Richard fitz Godbert de Roche, who is said to have taken his toponym from the Parish of Roch, in Pembrokeshire, and is said to be of Flemish origin (Orpen GH, 1911. *Ireland Under the Normans*, Volume I. Oxford: Clarendon Press).

⁵⁹ An notable early member of the family of Co. Cornwall was “Sir Richard de Rupe”, Lord of Tremodrett (Yeatman JP, 1882. *The Early Genealogical History of the House of Arundell*. London: Mitchell and Hughes).

From Co. Limerick and Co. Cornwall come a flood of possible connections. The well-known Norman Irish family Arcedekne (Archdeacon) was prominent among the gentry and clerical lines in late medieval Co. Kilkenny, but some of the name are found elsewhere in Ireland from the early period. For example, the family supplied a Sheriff to Co. Waterford, William le Ercedekne, in 1261⁶⁰. The Arcedekne family is said to have stemmed from Co. Cornwall, where they are found intermarried with the de la Rochelle⁶¹. In the context of the de Antōn surname, a highly notable Cornish location is the Parish of Antony, which is referred to as 'Antone' in the Domesday Book⁶² – without question this is a plausible origin for the de Antōn of Ireland. The 'Tristram Notebook' records the names of various 'Barons and Soldiers of Co. Cornwall' at the time of Edward I. Two soldiers from the late thirteenth century are Thomas Ercedecne de Antone (in 1283) and Otho Lercedecne de Antone (in 1289)⁶³. One might be forgiven for wondering if the suffixes attached to Otho and Thomas were toponymic, or patronymic, or both – the former is certainly the case since the family had a manor at East Antony⁶¹.

Y-DNA supports a Norman origin for 'Kildalton Daltons', who share common ancestry with those of Branán-like surnames from ca. 1100 AD⁶⁴. It is considered the 'Branans' probably descend from the de Branham of Norfolk and entered Co. Kilkenny as part of the de Clare retinue – they were also of the gentry, and their first recorded member in Ireland, Sir Robert de Braham, was a Sheriff of Kilkenny ca. 1250⁶⁵. Another Y-DNA association, at the root of the highly surname-specific 'Kildalton Dalton' single nucleotide polymorphism (SNP), R-A1496>FT12974>FT12563, is the surname Purcell, at R-A1496>FT12974* – it is a well-known surname among the early Norman baronage, gentry, and clerical lines of Co. Limerick, Co. Kilkenny, and Co. Tipperary⁶⁴.

Looking forward in time from Richard de Antōn, there are also Co. Limerick connections. Parker considers that "Richard Dandon", Sheriff of Co. Waterford ca. 1328, was a landholder in Co. Limerick, and that his brother, Thomas, who was sub-escheator for Co. Limerick in 1356, also held lands there²⁴. The same Richard occurs as 'Richard Datoun, knight' in several mid-fourteenth century records relating to Co. Kilkenny and Co. Tipperary⁶⁶, and he was probably the progenitor of the 'Ballynacronny Daltons'. These aspects are explored further in *Part III*.

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⁶⁰ Parker C (1992), p.364.

⁶¹ There was a Sheriff of Cornwall, "Thomas Erchedekney", as early as ca. 1206. Gilbert CS (1817). An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall Vol. I. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, p.529.

⁶² <https://opendomesday.org/place/SX3954/antony>

⁶³ Dallas J and Potter HG (1897). The Notebook of Tristram Risdon. London: Elliot Stock, p.206, p.208.

⁶⁴ Fitzpatrick, M (2021) Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD: Part I. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 42-65. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00521](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00521)

⁶⁵ Fitzpatrick M and Fitzpatrick I (2021). The Similar-Sounding Surnames of Haplogroup R-BY140757. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 1-41. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00421](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00421)

⁶⁶ Curtis E (1934), p.39.

The County Laois Rental Roll of Richard and Edward Fitzpatrick, 1679-1697

by Mike Fitzpatrick PhD 

Independent Scholar, Auckland 0604, New Zealand

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Abstract

The National Library of Ireland holds manuscript 3316, catalogued as the 'Rent roll of the Co. Leix estate of Capt. Richard FitzPatrick. Early 18th c.' The manuscript provides details of tenants, townlands, which were mainly in the Parishes of Aghaboe, Offerlane, and Rathdowney, land areas, and terms and conditions of the leases, which often included covenants to make improvements.

The catalogue title of the rental roll is not fully accurate. While the roll does pertain to some of the Co. Laois estate lands in the possession of Richard Fitzpatrick (later Lord Gowran), there are also entries for his older brother, Edward. The pair achieved notability, primarily for their military service under William III. Also, the rental is from the late seventeenth, not the early eighteenth century.

Names, styles, and edits

This article is written in English but the places discussed are Irish. In order to acknowledge the Gaelic (Gaeilge) and to allow readers to be able to find locations on maps, place names are provided in the modern language using the most common spelling; for example, Ráth Domhnaigh (Rathdowney). This article is a living work – it may be edited by the authors and re-versioned. All versions will be retained.

Introduction

The document transcribed here is NLI manuscript 3316, the 'Rent roll of the Co. Leix estate of Capt. Richard FitzPatrick. Early 18th c.' The manuscript is in good condition and consists of medium gauge foolscap folio leaves bound inside a heavier gauge cover. The coverage of the rental notes is continuous across the first nine pages. Despite the catalogue title, the rental roll records leases with commencement dates between 1679 and 1697. Also, the estate record is not only for lands possessed by Captain Richard Fitzpatrick – some of the Co. Laois holdings of his older brother, Brigadier Edward Fitzpatrick, are also recorded. The importance of the rent roll comes severally, but mainly because it provides records of leaseholders and their holdings in the 'record thin' period between the Books of Survey and Distribution¹, ca. 1680, and the nineteenth century. Notably, tenants on the Laois estate

¹ The Books of Survey and Distribution record the persons whose lands were confiscated after the Irish rebellion of 1641, and to whom those lands were distributed under the Act of Settlement, 1662. The Commissioners for executing the Act did not deliver their survey records to the Auditor-General "until 1680, or thereabouts" and the final entries appeared after "the sales of the estates forfeited in 1688" (Simmington R, 1949. Books of Survey and Distribution. Dublin: Stationary Office).

include Fitzpatricks, which affords the enrichment of certain Fitzpatrick genealogies and provides perspective into how Edward and Richard regarded their Fitzpatrick kin.

The brothers enjoyed distinguished military careers and received grants of lands previously held and bequeathed to them by the infamous Colonel John Fitzpatrick²; such confirmation of inheritance, by grant, would have been impossible had they not departed from Catholicism. Carrigan stated Edward Fitzpatrick's early history was unknown and summarised his career from 1688, when he took command of a regiment under William of Orange, later William III. Yet, Edward is found earlier in State Papers, the first record being a "commission to Captain Edward Fitzpatrick to be an ensign to Sir Thomas Ogle in the Holland regiment" during the reign of Charles II, dated 1 January 1679³. The commission came at the request of Lord Mulgrave, i.e., John Sheffield, first Duke of Buckingham and Normandy, Commander of the Holland Regiment (1676-1682)⁴ who noted Edward was a Protestant. Edward's early service as a Foot Captain saw him wounded by Moors in Tangier⁵.

Edward's rise came with his defection to William of Orange. In October 1688, he received a Major's commission, and that same December, he was elevated to Lieutenant Colonel in a yet-to-be-determined company⁶. Not all of Edward's endeavours under William III were strictly military. At times, the King's men had a reputation for civil "violence and unpleasantness"⁷. In April 1691, Henry, Second Earl of Clarendon, diarised,

"Colonel [Edward] Fitzpatrick's regiment came to Witney ... and design to march towards London ... they were very disorderly, and broke open people's houses ... and forced men's horses from them to carry the officers"⁸.

After the outbreak of the conflicts that became known as the Nine Years' War in Europe and the Williamite War in Ireland, Edward was promoted to Colonel in command of the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers and the Regiment of Foot⁹; he mustered troops for Ireland, and the Low Countries, saw action at the Battle of Steinkirk in August 1692 and was wounded at the Battle of Landen in July 1693¹⁰. He was commander of the Fusiliers when he attained the

² Carrigan W (1905). *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker.

³ Daniell F (1915). *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: January 1 1679 to August 31, 1680*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office.

⁴ The Holland Regiment of Foot comprised twelve companies, one under the command of Fitzpatrick, who were led by Colonel Mulgrave (Childs J, 1979. *The Army and the Oxford Parliament of 1681*. *The English Historical Review*, 94, 580-587).

⁵ That is, during the 1680 Great Siege of Tangier. Daniell F (1932). *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: January 1 to December 31, 1682*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office.

⁶ Public Record Office (1972). *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: James II, June 1687 to February 1689*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

⁷ Smith, H (2021). *Armies and Political Change in Britain, 1660–1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁸ Singer S (1828). *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and of his Brother, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester*. London: Henry Colburn.

⁹ Hardy W (1898). *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: William and Mary, May 1690 to October 1691*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

¹⁰ Hardy W (1900). *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: William and Mary, November 1691 to end of 1692*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office; Hardy W (1903). *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: William and Mary, 1693*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office; Shaw W (1931). *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1689-1692*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office; Shaw W (1935). *Calendar of Treasury Books, Volume 1693-1696*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office; Berwick E (1819). *Rawdon Papers*. London: John Nichols.

rank of Brigadier General in 1694, the same year he was appointed Governor of the Fort of Landguard Point, Suffolk¹¹. He drowned in 1696 when the Holyhead to Dublin packet ship he was aboard was lost in a storm¹².

The naval career of Richard Fitzpatrick is detailed, well beyond that of Carrigan, elsewhere and need not be repeated here. Suffice to say, from his first commission as Lieutenant in 1687 aboard the *Richmond* until his retirement in 1702 following his command of the *Ranelagh* among the Anglo-Dutch squadron that saw action in Vigo Bay and Redondela Harbour, he “acquired the just reputation of a brave man and an able Captain”¹³. Afterwards, he returned to Ireland, where he

“signalised himself in his civil capacity by taking every opportunity of promoting the true interest of his country, in particular by most strenuously supporting the act for settling the Protestant succession.”

In his political career, he was a Whig MP for Harristown, Co. Kildare, 1703-1713 and Queen’s County 1713-1714, being listed on five committees during that period. With the “accession of George I he was appointed a Privy Counsellor and raised to the peerage as Lord Gowran”. He was born ca. 1662 and died in 1727.¹⁴

Edward and Richard’s notable Fitzpatrick predecessor in the military, the aforementioned Colonel John Fitzpatrick, of whom much has been written¹⁵, doubtless felt great pride that among the next generation were those of the wider family who could continue in the good relationship that the first Baron of Upper Ossory had first forged with the English Crown, being Protestants and ensuring titles and estates were secured into the future. Colonel John Fitzpatrick’s will¹⁶, dated March 12, 1693, reads:

“Colonel John Fitzpatrick Esq. of Park Place, London, Parish of St James – for want of heirs male in his own body, he leaves all his real estate in the Barony of Upper Ossory to his kinsmen Colonel Edward Fitzpatrick, except what he has settled on his brother Captain Richard Fitzpatrick; remainder after them and their heirs to my right heirs”.

Notably, Colonel John Fitzpatrick referred to Edward and Richard as kinsmen, i.e., without better qualifying his familial relationship with them. While Colonel John Fitzpatrick’s lineage

¹¹ Hardy W (1906). *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: William and Mary 1694 to 1695*. London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office.

¹² D’Alton J (1855). *King James’s Irish Army List*. Dublin: by the author.

¹³ Charnock J (1795). *Biographia Navalis*. London: R. Faulder; Clowes W (1897). *The Royal Navy*. London: William Clowes and Sons; Syrett D & DiNardo R (1994). *The commissioned sea officers of the Royal Navy, 1660-1815*. Aldershot: Scolar Press.

¹⁴ Johnston-Liik E (2002). *History of the Irish Parliament, 1692-1800: Commons, Constituencies and Statutes*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.

¹⁵ Carrigan referred to Colonel John Fitzpatrick as “the first Irish traitor of the [Cromwellian] period”, having used his position in the army of The Irish Catholic Confederation to “enrich himself”, only to meekly surrender in 1652. He was rewarded with the restoration of lands possessed by his father and grants of those lands forfeited by various Fitzpatricks, and others – several thousands of acres in total. Restoration of Colonel John Fitzpatrick to all estates his father possessed on 21 October 1641 (Translated extracts from the Patent Rolls of Chancery: RCBL MS 104/3/14); Grant to Colonel John Fitzpatrick of lands in Queen’s County (Calendar from Patent Rolls of Chancery NAI Lodge/7/317).

¹⁶ Carrigan Manuscripts, Volume 83.

is clear, there is no small intrigue concerning the pedigree of Edward and Richard Fitzpatrick, Lord Gowran. Shearman¹⁷ stated they were the sons of Andrew Fitzpatrick, son of Edmond, son of Florence the Third Baron, making them second cousins of Colonel John, who was, without doubt, the son of Florence, son of John, son of Florence the third baron¹⁸ – and Carrigan simply followed along. Yet a definitive pedigree shows Edward and Richard were sons of Terrence Fitzpatrick, and their line does not proceed back to the barons but to ‘Brian na Luireach’, perhaps exemplifying a case of pedigree forgery by Shearman to elevate the status of Richard Wilson Fitzpatrick, the grandson of Richard Fitzpatrick, Lord Gowan¹⁹.

There is undoubtedly potential for confusion concerning Edward and Richard’s pedigree because Mac Firbis has a pedigree for ‘Brian na Luireach’, which he penned no later than 1649-1650²⁰, which ends with a Colonel John Fitzpatrick, i.e., being barely in time to include Edward and Richards’s benefactor, who had only just embarked on his military career²¹. Yet, here the not uncommon genealogical folly of assuming there is only one candidate for an identity is avoided since the Books of Survey and Distribution record that, in 1641, there was another Colonel John Fitzpatrick, *Irish Papist*, who held Palmershill²² in Aghaboe Parish, later forfeited. This Colonel John may be the same as he whose will was made July 28 1662:

John Fitzpatrick, Coolowly²³, in the Barony of Upper Ossory, gent. To be buried in the church of Errill²⁴: a third to my wife Uny Fitzpatrick, except 50 shillings which I owe to John Fitzpatrick of Clonban²⁵ and a mare I bestowed on my son Florence Fitzpatrick in February last. The other two parts to be divided between his said son Florence and the child his (testator’s) wife is bearing in her womb: should his two said children die childless, then his brother Florence to be his heir. Executors, his said brother Florence and his cousin Brian Fitzpatrick of Coolowly¹⁶.

Evidence for the latter Colonel John being a second cousin of Edward and Richard gains support from the fact Coolowley was, in 1641, held by Edmond Fitzpatrick, the grandfather of the brothers. Further, there is more to Edward and Richard’s line that either Shearman or Carrigan explored: Edward’s will, made in 1695, makes reference to his then-living cousin, Brian Fitzpatrick of Castle Fleming²⁶, along with Brian’s (unnamed) several sons – the will stating in no uncertain terms that should Brian,

¹⁷ Shearman, J (1879). *Loca Patriciana: An Identification of Localities, Chiefly in Leinster, Visited by Saint Patrick and His Assistant Missionaries and of Some Contemporary Kings and Chieftains*. Dublin: M. H. Gill.

¹⁸ *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Asservatarum, Repertorium*, (1826).

Erscheinungsort nicht ermittelbar; NAI Lodge/7/317.

¹⁹ A ‘Fitzpatrick Pedigree from a lithographed copy in Grantstown Manor’ records Richard as the ‘son of Terence, son of Edmond, son of Finghin, son of Brian, son of Brian oge, son of Sin-Brian, son of Brian na Luireach’, ‘Fitzpatrick, M (2023). *The Carrigan Manuscripts: The Pedigrees of the First Baron of Upper Ossory*. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* S1, 11-26. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01523.

²⁰ Based on Mac Firbis’ known writing campaigns, and graphology. Mac Fhirbhisigh D & Ó Muraíle N (2003). *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*. Dublin: De Burca.

²¹ Colonel John Fitzpatrick, who bequeathed his estate to Edward and Richard, is first noted as a Colonel in 1650 (Gilbert J, 1879. *A Contemporary History of Ireland from 1642 to 1652*. Dublin: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society).

²² Cnoc an Fhalmairigh, forfeited to the Earl of Mountrath and not granted later to Colonel John Fitzpatrick.

²³ Cúil Amhlaidh (Coolowley) in Rathdowney Parish.

²⁴ Eiréil (Errill) in Rathdowney Parish.

²⁵ Cluain Bán (Clonbane) in the Parish of Clonenagh and Clonagheen.

²⁶ An Fraoch Mór (Castle Fleming) in Rathdowney Parish, held by Edmond Fitzpatrick in 1641.

“not, within three months after my decease, make profession of the Protestant religion, and continue in the same religion during his life, and if the several sons of my said cousin Brian Fitzpatrick, shall not be educated in, and make profession of the said Protestant religion ... then the estate hereby given, devised or intended ... shall cease”¹⁶.

Edward Fitzpatrick’s zeal for Protestantism is further captured in a ‘paper’ he delivered in 1693, which begins:

“The frequent commitments of the Irish nobility and gentry (which they conceive causeless) must either be extremely chargeable to the King, if at his charges, or destructive to the said nobility and gentry, if at theirs, they being so extremely poor, and their estates being for the most part waste, which, with other hardships they meet with, renders their condition and thoughts desperate; this may be hereafter prevented if some of the chiefs of the Irish families that have either already become Protestants, or would be so, were encouraged by giving them either military or civil employment, and would bring over many to our religion.”²⁷

While Edward’s fervour may have translated into a lack of charity and support for his Catholic kin, the same cannot be said of Colonel John and Captain Richard. Another of those who are strangely unvisited by Shearman and little mentioned by Carrigan is Thady Fitzpatrick, a notable who appears in the rent roll transcribed here, as well as a rent book of Richard Fitzpatrick dated 1700-1719²⁸. Thady was a lawyer called to the bar in 1684, best known for being a prosecutor in a case in which 101 Protestants were charged with treason against King James II²⁹. He sat as a member for Queen’s, Borough of Maryborough, in James II’s Irish Parliament of 1689 and was Deputy Lord Lieutenant of the County³⁰.

With William III, the change in political and religious climate came to bear on Thady, and in 1690, Colonel [John] Fitzpatrick “begged the King to grant a pardon to Mr Thady Fitzpatrick a counsellor-at-law”⁹. However, it took until 1694 before it was found Thady “had no employment during the late rebellion in Ireland” – the warrant for his pardon on all counts of treason came in 1695 and stated he had “no real estate in Ireland”¹¹. Thady faced being debarred³¹, but he clearly continued in his profession. The will of Brian, seventh Baron of Upper Ossory, was proved by Thady Fitzpatrick Esq., of Castletown and Dublin, on June 3, 1698¹⁶, and he is recorded in 1699 – commended for excelling in conveyancing for the Privy Council³². Thady’s presence in the rent roll is important because it probably identifies a previously unrecognised member of the Castletown line.

²⁷ Hardy W (1908). *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: William and Mary 1693*. London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office.

²⁸ Fitzpatrick M (*in press*). *The Co. Laois Rental Book of Richard Fitzpatrick, 1700-1719*. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society.

²⁹ Kenny C (2019). *Badge of Servitude? The Irish at England’s inns of court*. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature*, 119C, 199-227.

³⁰ Duffy C (1893). *The Patriot Parliament*. London: T Fisher Unwin; D’Alton J (1861). *Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical of King James’s Irish Army List 1689*. Second Edition. London: John Russell Smith.

³¹ Hardy W (1927). *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: William III, 1 January to 31 December 1697*. London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office.

³² Bateson E (1937). *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: William III, 1 January 1699 to 31 December 1700*. London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office.

Returning to Edward and Richard, while most of the significant land holdings they received were via bequest of Colonel John Fitzpatrick, later confirmed by Royal patent, some were gained otherwise or in roundabout fashion. The Books of Survey and Distribution record several of the townlands in the rental, such as Grantstown, were with Gilbert Rawson, and those leases were sold to him by Colonel John Fitzpatrick in 1653³³. In 1687, they were mortgaged by Rawson to Edmond Morris, who was then killed at the Battle of Aughrim in 1691 and attained for treason. The reversion of Grantstown and associated townlands was to Richard Fitzpatrick as an heir of Colonel John Fitzpatrick, and such Royal warrant for the grant was issued on 30 April 1696³⁴.

Transcriptions of the rent roll follow, with minor edits made for clarity and acreages and rents provided as text – in the rental, they are tabulated. An example page from the rental roll is provided in Appendix I.

The Leases

A lease made to Paul Palmer and Thomas Fletcher bearing the date 23 April 1693. Of Grantstowne, Ballymartin, Coolecurach, Farrankyran, Court, Oldglass, Clonkinighan, Rahanrick, Towreagh and Curraghnemane³⁵, containing in all:

Number of acres, 1632; present rent, £204; rent second seven years, £244 16s; rent last seven years, £244 16s.

Yielding according to the said survey 2s 6d per acre yearly the first seven years, which comes to £204 yearly, and 3s per acre yearly during the residue of the said term according to the said survey, which comes to £244 16s – with 6d per pound receiver's salary. Payable on the feasts of All Saints and Phillip and Jacob yearly by equal portions, only that the last gale³⁶ of the term is to be paid on 25 March over and above all taxes etc. With a covenant for payment of the rent and taxes and a covenant to keep repair and preserve the buildings, mills and other improvements that there were or thereafter should be on the said premises during the said terms; and in such repair to deliver up the same a proportional abatement to the rent reserved to be given for any lands that should be recovered or evicted; and the tenants to do suite and service at the Courts Leets and Courts Barons³⁷ to be held for the manor of Castletowne; the tenants bound in a bond for £1000 for performance of the covenants.

Brought over: number of acres, 1632; first seven years rent, £204; second seven years rent, £244 16s; third seven years rent, £244 16s.

³³ Books of Survey and Distribution, Bordwell Parish Upper Ossory Barony; National Archives of Ireland (NAI QRO 1/1/3/13/19/8); Deed between John Fitzpatrick and Gilbert Rawson of lands in Queen's County (NAI Lodge/7/317).

³⁴ Shaw W (1933). Calendar of Treasury Books, 1696-1697. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office.

³⁵ These townlands are: Grantstown (Baile an Ghrótaigh); Ballymartin (part of the moiety of Bordaíol, i.e., Bordwell); Cúil an Churraigh (Coolacurragh); Farren-kyran (now part of Coolacurragh; Carrigan, 1905); Court (An Chúirt); Oldglass (An tSeanghlais); Clonkeenaghan (now part of Oldglass; Carrigan, 1905); Rahandrick (Ráth Anraic); Tóin Riabhach (Tooreagh); Churraigh (Curragh) in the parishes of Aghaboe, Bordwell or Coolkerry. They passed from being held by either Colonel John Fitzpatrick or Gilbert Rawson.

³⁶ Gale day, being payment day.

³⁷ These were manorial courts.

A lease dated the 18 of July 1681 to Major Lawrence Byrne³⁸ of Ballagharahine, Errell, Kilknockanagh, Bolybegg, Lisduff, Coolenegeehy, Currafin, and part of Knockneca as also Killeca, and Derrine³⁹ containing in all 1328 acres one rood and 15 perch:

Number of acres, 1328; first seven years rent, £267 17s; second seven years rent, £298 16s; third seven years rent, £298 16s.

For the lives of the said Lawrence, Mary his wife and Peter his son. Mary and Peter are dead. At £120 per annum rent and 6d per pound steward's salary payable at Michaelmas and Easter yearly by equal proportions. A covenant to plant an orchard of two acres to be enclosed with a ditch five foot high and two rows of quick setts⁴⁰; to plant 500 ash trees; enclose 15 acres of meadow with like ditch and quick setts; to cut a trench or draining course for water from the Bog of Munster to the river of Errell and the lake by Lisduff from the same bog to the river of Templequain⁴¹. A covenant not to alien without license; to deliver up the possession with the buildings and improvements in good repair at the expiration of the term, to do suite and service at the Court of Leets and Court Barons, to be held tax on the manor of Ballagharahine.

Memorandum. The above lease is made to Mr More of Blarahun for 21 years to commence Lady Day 1699. He is to pay during Major Byrne's life the above sum of £267 17s per annum after his death. He is to pay for the whole £298 16s for the residue of the term and which is after the rate of 4s 6d per acre.

Carried over: number of acres, 2960; first seven years rent, £471 17s; second seven years rent, £543 12s; third seven years rent, £543 12s.

This lease given up by Mr More at Lady Day 1703

Brought over: number of 2960; first seven years rent, £471 17s; second seven years rent, £543 12s; third seven years rent, £543 12s.

A lease made by the Brigadier dated the last day of May 1695 to Thady Fitzpatrick of Castletowne Offerlane, Churchtown, Knockanetee, Bohernehoghtie, Boherkeigh, Loghanegrony, Cloncasirevan, Aghafin, Knockcollar, and Camchill⁴² all containing:

Number of acres, 922; first seven years rent, £120; second seven years rent £150; third seven years rent £150.

³⁸ While the name of the lessor is not provided, Byrne was, seemingly, well acquainted with Colonel John Fitzpatrick and left a will dated 20 December 1681 (Byrne-Rothwell D, 2010. The Byrnes and the O'Byrnes. Scalasaig: House of Lochar).

³⁹ Bealach an Ráithín (Ballagharahine); Eiréil; Cnoc Ard Mhic Fhionnáin Thuaidh (Knockardgannon); Bhuaile Bheag (Boleybeg); Lios Dubh (Lisduff); Cnoc an Chatha (Knockahaw), all in Rathdowney Parish. The Down Survey has Coolenegeehy and Currafin associated with Lisduff, and Derrine with Castlefleming. These, and all townlands hereafter, unless stated, passed from Colonel John Fitzpatrick.

⁴⁰ That is, a living hedge.

⁴¹ Teampall Chuáin (Templequain) in the Parish of Rathdowney.

⁴² (Castletown Offerlane); Baile an Teampaill (Churchtown); Bóthar na hOchtaí (Bohernaghty); Achadh Fionn (Aghafin); Cnoc an Choiléir (Knockacoller); Camchoill (Camphill), all in Offerlane Parish The Books of Survey and Distribution parcel Knockanetee with Churchtown, Boherkeigh and Loghanegrony with Casteltown Offerlane, and Cloncasirevan with Aghafin.

For onward twenty years from the first day of that month at £100 the first year, the second year £120, the third year £130, yearly for the fourth, fifth, and sixth years, and £150 afterwards during the tenure. And 6d per pound receiver's salary but that remitted by letter; with a covenant to pay the rent on the gales rent first of November and first of May yearly and to pay all taxes.

Covenant to make a trench in the Meaws between Rush Hall⁴³ and the said farm and fortify and wall the weak bank in the Pallmall; to preserve the timber wood standarding or growing on the said premises; to cut-carry away and dispose of the underwood and hazel on the said premises at a seasonable time in the year that the same may grow again; to divide the grove into decent and convenient walks and divisions; that in case the said Brigadier any time during the said terms come to dwell on the said premises himself and did build a convenient house thereon that thereon giving one year's warning or notice and allowing half a year's rent that then after such warning and allowance; and after such building made and the Brigadier coming on the lands to dwell, the said lease to be null and void and a clause or power to the said Thady to surrender giving six months' notice.

Carried over: number of acres, 3882; first seven years rent, £591 17s; second seven years rent, £693 12s; third seven years rent, £693 12s.

Brought over: number of acres, 3882; first seven years rent, £591 17s; second seven years rent, £693 12s; third seven years rent, £693 12s.

A lease dated the 23 of September 1695 made to Richard Archbold by the Brigadier, of Rosderagh⁴⁴ containing:

Number of acres, 514; first seven years rent, £40; second seven years rent, £45; third seven years rent, £50.

At £40 yearly the first seven years, £45 the second seven years and £50, yearly afterwards for the residue of 21 years from Lady Day last, past payable with 6d per pound for receiver's salary. To enclose with thorn quick setts 1000 in one close or two; build a good tenantable stone-walled house and plant an orchard all within the first seven years; and to preserve the same and the improvements already made in good repair and condition and so to deliver the same with a covenant to pay the said rent.

A lease made to Richard Hutchinson by the Brigadier dated the 30 of September 1695 of Clonburrin⁴⁵ containing by estimation:

Number of acres, 300; first seven years rent, £30; second seven years rent, £35; third seven years rent, £40.

For one and twenty years from the Annunciation then last and past at £30 standard yearly the first seven years, £35 standard yearly the second seven years and forty pound standard yearly for the residue, with 6d per pound steward's salary payable on the Feasts of

⁴³ Baile Mháir (Rush Hall) in Offerlane Parish.

⁴⁴ Ros Darach (Rosdarragh) in Erke Parish.

⁴⁵ Cluain Boireann (Clonburren) in Rathdowney Parish.

Michaelmas and the Annunciation. To enclose 100 acres of arable with white thorn quick setts in one close or two; to build a good tenantable stone-walled house and plant an orchard and drain bogs on the premises, and all within the first seven years and preserved during the terms; and at the end of the term to deliver up the improvements so to be made and already made in good repair and condition; and a special covenant to pay the rent and all taxes Mr Bryen kept out of first year.

Carried over: number of acres, 4966; first seven years rent, £661 17s; second seven years rent, £773 12s; third seven years rent, £783 12s.

Brought over: number of acres, 4966; first seven years rent, £665 17s; second seven years rent, £773 12s; third seven years rent, £783 12s.

A lease made by the Colonel dated the 3 of February 1692, to Thomas and Henry Ringwood of Kilgurtryan⁴⁶ and Graighedrisly containing:

Number of acres, 800; first seven years rent, £100; second seven years rent, £100; third seven years rent, £100.

For one and twenty years from the Annunciation next following at 1s per every acre the first year, 1s 6d the second year, 2s per acre the third year and 2s 6d during the residue of the said term with 6d per pound steward's salary payable on Michaelmas and the Annunciation yearly; with a special covenant to pay the rent and to pay all taxes; to build two good English-like dwelling houses and to keep and deliver up the same in good repair; to do suite and service at the Court Leets and Court Barons.

A lease made by Captain Fitzpatrick to Carbery Keagan of Kilmulfoile and part of Cloranduff⁴⁷ dated the third of September 1697 for 31 years from the then next Lady Day at the yearly rent of £26 and 6d per pound steward's salary, containing:

Number of acres, 104; first seven years rent, £26; second seven years rent, £26; third seven years rent, £26.

With a special covenant to pay the rent and taxes; to build an house that shall cost £30, the Captain to contribute £10; to enclose 40 acres with a ditch five foot wide and four foot deep with two rows of thorn quick setts in four closes, all of which is to be within the first seven years; to fence and make the metes and bounds; plant half an acre with fruit trees; and to preserve and deliver the said improvements now on the premises; to do suite and service at the Courts and to grind at the manor mill.

Carried over: number of acres, 5600; first seven years rent, £787 17s; second seven years rent, £899 12s; third seven years rent, £909 12s.

Brought over: number of acres, 5600; first seven years rent, £787 17s; second seven years rent, £899 12s; third seven years rent, £909 12s.

⁴⁶ Coill Ghort Riain (Kyle) and Gráig an Drisligh (Graigueadrisly) in Erke Parish.

⁴⁷ The Books of Survey and Distribution parcel Cloranduff with Cill Mhaolphóil (Kilminfoyle) in the parish of Aghaboe.

A lease dated the second January 1696 made by the Brigadier to Mortagh Griffin for 21 years from Lady Day following, of Clonmeen and Templequan⁴⁸ containing:

Number of acres, 767; first seven years rent, £95; second seven years rent, £110; third seven years rent, £115.

At £95 standard for the first seven years, £110 yearly the second seven years and £115 yearly for the residue and 6d per pound receiver's salary payable Michaelmas and the Annunciation; a special covenant to pay the rent over and above all taxes and country charges; to enclose 100 acres within the first seven years in one close or two in Clonmeen, and to drain 100 acres of bog within 14 years of Clonmeen; and within the first seven years build a good tenantable stone-walled house; and plant an orchard in Clonmeen; and another stone-walled house and an orchard in Templequan; to preserve the buildings and improvements made and to be made during the term, and to deliver the same in good and tenantable repair and condition.

A lease dated the 25 of August 1697 made by Captain Fitzpatrick to Thomas Bellew of Ardameallagh and Ballygauge 121 acres, in the commons of the same 66a 1r 1p; Ballymilodbeg, Ballymilodmore and part of Ballygarvin 122 acres, Killermough, Parke and Coolderry⁴⁹ 993 acres, in all 1302 acres.

Number of acres, 1302; first seven years rent, £134 4s; second seven years rent, £162 15s; third seven years rent, £162 15s.

For 21 years or if he survive that term during his life at £130 four yearly during the first seven years and at £162 15s during the residue and 6d per pound steward's salary over and above all taxes etc. To be paid on the Feast of All Saints, and Phillip and Jacob, yearly. A special covenant to pay the rent and taxes; to enclose within the first ten years with a ditch of four foot deep and five foot wide with two rows of thorn quick setts 200 acres in several closes or parks none to exceed 50 acres; and also in that time plant 2000 ash trees and 2000 oaks making in all 4000.

And in that time build a good tenantable house with a stone wall that shall cost and be worth the building £40; and plant an orchard consisting of half an acre; and to maintain the improvements to be on the said premises in good repair and condition and in such to deliver up the same at the end of the term. If he alien, the Captain etc. to have the preference, if any part be evicted, to have a proportionable abatement.

This lease transferred to Thady Fitzpatrick in November 1704.

Carried over: number of acres, 7669; first seven years rent, £1017 1s; second seven years rent, £1172 7s; third seven years rent, £1187 7s.

⁴⁸ Cluain Mín Thuaidh (Clonmeen) and Teampall Chuáin (Templequain) in Rathdowney Parish.

⁴⁹ Baile Dhabhag (Ballygauge) and Baile Uí Gharbháin (Ballygarvan) were forfeited in 1641 by the Baron of Upper Ossory and went to Captain Thomas Richards; they were then granted to Colonel John Fitzpatrick in 1664. The Books of Survey and Distribution record Ardmeallagh was part of Ballygauge and that Ballymillodmore and Ballymillodbeg were part of Ballygarvan; Cill Dara Máí (Killermogh), Pháirc (Park); Cúil Doire (Coolderry). These townlands are in Aghaboe or Killermogh Parish.

Brought over: number of acres, 7669; first seven years rent, £1017 1s; second seven years rent, £1172 7s; third seven years rent, £1187 7s.

A lease dated the 4 September made by Captain Fitzpatrick to Thomas Ringwood of Tentore, Eglisich Nichola, Riwanmore, Shangary and Elima⁵⁰, by estimation 350 acres:

Number of acres 350; first seven years rent, £59 10s; second seven years rent, £70; third seven years rent, £70.

For 21 years from Lady Day next at 3s 6d per acre for the first two years yearly and 4s per acre yearly afterwards, and 6d per pound receiver's salary, payable yearly on Michaelmas and Annunciation. A special covenant to pay the rent and taxes; to put the house in very good repair after the first three years and with a single roof and as when left in good and best repair, before the end of the first seven years; enclose with a good ditch of four foot deep and five foot wide with two rows of thorn quick setts, with ash trees at the usual distance 50 acres contiguous to the house in five closes each to be ten acres, and half an acre in orchard; build a good house and stables with a good stone and lime wall near the said house; make up the metes and bounds; maintain etc. the buildings and improvements and deliver up the same in good repair and condition; if he intend to alien, that the Captain have the preference; and the Captain to give £10 towards repairing the house when done. This farm wants about 30 acres of the more tax as believed.

By advisory taken in the year 1698 it was found to contain more than 350 acres and two roods.

Carried over: number of acres, 8019; first seven years rent, £1076 11s; second seven years rent, £1240 7s; third seven years rent, £1255 7s.

Brought over: number of acres, 8019; present rent, £1076 11s; second seven years, £1240 7s; third seven years, £1255 7s.

A lease dated the seventh of August in the 30th year of King Charles the Second⁵¹ to Thomas Fitzpatrick Gragevalla⁵² containing:

Number of acres, 134; present rent, £15; second seven years, £15; third seven years, £15.

134 acres for 21 years from the first of May then next at £15 per annum and 6d per pound receiver's fees; to ditch within one year an acre for an orchard and plant fruit trees therein;

⁵⁰ Tigh an Tuair (Tintore) in Aghaboe Parish, where there was once a church called Eglisich-Nichole (Carrigan, 1905). The Down Survey (<https://downsurvey.tchpc.tcd.ie>) places Reynaghmore, Seanmhachaire (Shanvaghey), and Emilagh within the boundaries of Tintore. The Books of Survey and Distribution records all these denominations were forfeited to Captain Thomas Richards, and then went to Colonel John Fitzpatrick in 1664.

⁵¹ That is 7 August 1679. The reign of Charles II began 30 January 1649, when his father, Charles I was executed, and ended in its 37th year when he died, 2 February 1685. His regnal term includes the Commonwealth era. The name of the lessor is not provided.

⁵² Gráig an Bhealaigh (Graigueavallagh) in Rathdowney Parish. Prior to being held by Colonel John Fitzpatrick, the townland was with Jeffrey Fitzpatrick. Thomas probably died in 1702 since he is present in the rental at Lady Day but absent at Michaelmas that year. The lease was not taken up until 1704 by John Malloy, who died in 1713; it was with Mrs [Elizabeth] Malloy in 1719 (The Co. Laois Rental Book of Richard Fitzpatrick, 1700-1719, NLI Manuscript 3000; Carrigan, 1905).

to set ten apple trees every year; to enclose four acres with quick setts for a meadow; not to commit waste and maintain the same condition in good repair.

Surrendered by said Thomas Fitzpatrick in [no date].

The tithes set for one year:

Present rent, £40; second seven years, £40; third seven years, £40.

Kiltullogie⁵³ set for one year at:

Number of acres 160; present rent, £24; second seven years, £24; third seven years, £24.

Set by lease to Thady Fitzpatrick⁵⁴ for 31 years from Lady Day next at that rent; build a good house within the first seven years worth £20; the building must enclose 30 acres in four enclosures with a ditch five foot wide and four foot deep and two rows of quick setts; to endeavour to drain 20 acres common; plant an orchard; all to be performed within the first seven years.

Knockamullin⁵⁵ set to William Mitchell for 21 years at £20 per annum from 1 May 1698 containing:

Number of acres, 103; present rent, £20; second seven years, £20; third seven years, £20.

Capalenan⁵⁶ set to Piers Bryan:

Number of acres 150; present rent, £17 10s; second seven years, £17 10s; third seven years, £17 10s.

A lease made by Captain Fitzpatrick of Cuddogilmore, Cuddughbegg, Rathphelan, Carrigin, Clonfadda, Ballycliery and Inchkile, with 48 acres of Kilbrickane, Coole and Camilone⁵⁷ dated the 21 day of July 1697 to William Gray⁵⁸ for 21 years from the first day of May next at such rent as one Fisher who took the farm off Mr Wise, rent:

Number of acres 716; present rent, £120; second seven years, £130s; third seven years, £150s.

And 6d per pound receiver's salary besides taxes; a special covenant to pay the rent and taxes to preserve the buildings and improvements in good repair and condition and for to

⁵³ Coill tSaileoige (Kyltilloge) in Aghaboe Parish.

⁵⁴ This is not the Thady Fitzpatrick who held Castletown Offerlane, who died ca. 1706, and whose leases passed to his executors. Thady Fitzpatrick, of Kyltilloge, held that townland, in full or in part, until 1714 (The Co. Laois Rental Book of Richard Fitzpatrick, 1700-1719).

⁵⁵ Cnoc an Mhuillin (Knockamullin) in Aghaboe Parish.

⁵⁶ Ceapach Uí Leannáin (Cappalinnan) in Rathdowney Parish.

⁵⁷ Codach (Cuddagh); Ráth Fhaoláin (Rathphelan); Carraigín (Corrigeen); Cluain Fada (Clonfad); Baile Uí Chléirigh (Ballycleary); Inishkile is associated with Ballycleary in the Books of Survey and Distribution; Cill Bhriocáin (Kilbrickan); Chúil (Coole); Camchluain (Camcloon), all in Offerlane Parish. These townlands did not come down from Colonel John Fitzpatrick but from several parties, notably Charles Coote, Earl of Mountrath, and Thomas Symnell. They appear to have been granted to Edward Fitzpatrick directly (Shaw W, 1933).

⁵⁸ The Co. Laois Rental Book of Richard Fitzpatrick, 1700-1719 demonstrates Gray acted in various means as manager of Richard Fitzpatrick's Laois estate.

deliver up the same; the lease and covenants to be void if the lesser's title be determined, defeated or avoided.

Carried over: number of acres, 9282 acres; present rent, £1313 10s; second seven years rent, £1486 17s; third seven years rent, £1521 17s.

Brought over: number of acres, 9282 acres; present rent, £1313 10s; second seven years rent, £1486 17s; third seven years rent, £1521 17s.

Donoghmore⁵⁹ etc. set to Gilbert Renesan for five years at:

Present seven years £56; second seven years £56; third seven years £56.

[Total]: number of acres, 9282 acres; present rent, £1369 1s; second seven years rent, £1542 17s; third seven years rent, £1577 17s.

The Crown's quit rent to be paid out of the whole estate comes to £60 3s 5d per annum.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks Marianne Mielke for photographing the rental roll.

⁵⁹ Domhnach Mór (Donaghmore) in Rathdowney Parish.

Appendix I: Page 7 of the rental roll

	Number of Acres	First seven years rent	2 ^d seven years rent	3 ^d seven years rent
Brought Over...	669	1017. 1.	1172. 7.	1187. 7.
house with a stone wall that shall be and be worth the building £40. & plant on orchard Consisting of halfe an acre and to maintain same at the improvements now & the said improvements to be on the premises in good repair and condition in full To deliver up the same at the end of the Term if he alien the Capt. hath the the preference if any part be wanted to have proportionable abatement				
Slaw dated the 4 th day of Feb 1697. made by Capt. Fitzpatrick to Thomas Ringwood of Tentore eighth Nicholas Rivamore, Thangary & Elmer by Estimation 350. for 21 years from Lady Day, from Lady Day next at 3. 6. p Acre for the first 2 years yearly and 4. 16 Acre yearly afterwards and 6. 16 pound yearly thereafter payable yearly on Michaelmas and Annunciation Speciall Covenant to pay the rent & Taxes to put the house in very good repair after the first 3 years and with a single roole and as when last in good and best repair before the end of the 1- 7. years Enclose with a good ditch of 4- foot deep and 5 foot wide with two rows of Thorne quick setts sett with ash trees at the usual distance 50 Acres Contiguous to the house in 5 Clofts - Each to be 10 A & 1/2 A in an orchard Build a good house & stable with a good stone and lime wall near the said house make up the meadow and Bounds maintain same & the buildings and Improvements and deliver up the same in good repair and condition if he intend to alien that the Capt. have the preference and the Capt. to give £10 Towards repairing the house when done This Farme want about 30 A. of the	350. 59. 10.	70. 1.	70. 1.	
This Farme want about 30 A. of the Mature as before - - - By a survey taken in the year 1698 it was found to contain no more than 350 Acres and 2 Rods - - -	8019	1076. 11.	1240. 7.	1255. 7.

Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

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

Dr Mike Fitzpatrick¹ ✉ and Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile CIOM² ✉.

¹ Independent Scholar, Titirangi, Auckland, New Zealand 0604

² Historian, Clan McGinley Chieftain, Dún na nGal; www.gaelicattire.com

* Author to whom correspondence should be addressed.

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Abstract

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

Part I explored the origins of the Irish given-name Máel Pátraic, the patterns of its occurrence that are apparent in early annalistic records, and the connections to the regions of Éire where the name was commonly found. In *Part II* we: (a) collate the records of Ó Maol Phádraig and Máel Pátraic in authoritative genealogies; (b) provide context and identify the clan associated surnames among the population groups in which Máel Pátraic occurs, and; (c) reflect on the alignment of Máel Pátraic in genealogies and annalistic records, and the geographic spread the name, which may have led to the emergence of Ó Maol Phádraig.

Names, styles, edits, and historical records

This article is written in English, but the people and places discussed are Irish. In order to acknowledge the Gaelic (Gaeilge) and to allow readers to be able to find locations on maps, place names are provided in modern Gaeilge using the most common spelling; for example, Ard Mhacha (Armagh), unless the place name is titular, for instance, the Abbot of Ardstraw.

The rendition of given-names and of people referenced here requires consistency because there can be great variability in historical records even for the same individual. In addition, names found in old texts are not usually in the singular form¹. The approach here is to use the most obvious and correctly spelt form of the given-name, be it Gaeilge or an English form. Clan names or surnames are provided as they appear in the genealogies along with, where possible, a rendition of their English form with preference given to a standard spelling, e.g., as determined and published by authorities such as Woulfe² and Mac Lysaght³.

This article is a living work – it can be edited by the authors and re-versioned. All versions will be retained.

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

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

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

Introduction

In *Part I*⁴, a review of the annalistic occurrences of the given-name Máel Pátraic demonstrated clear patterns, although none are considered unequivocal. Many of the occurrences were associated with a religious figure, notably individuals connected with monastic sites dedicated to St Patrick. The geography of Máel Pátraic occurrences in the Annals, on a pro rata basis, is dominated by Armagh, and an imaginary latitudinal drawn through Cluain Mhic Nóis (Clonmacnoise) places 76% of Máel Pátraic given-name occurrences in the Annals to the north of the line.

Such understanding assists in the interpretation of Máel Pátraic occurrences in genealogies, which is the focus of *Part II*, and historical records after the late medieval, i.e., after ca. 1500 AD (*Part III*). The series concludes with *Part IV*, which will apply the accrued knowledge base to genetic genealogy in an attempt to uncover modern days ancestors of Ó Maol Phádraig clans, based on the premise they emerged as ancestors of individuals called Máel Pátraic. While goals of the latter type are nothing new, it is not uncommon for Irish surname Y-DNA studies to lack criticality and robustness. The attribution of Irish surnames to single Y-DNA patrilineages can be fraught on many levels⁵, including an at-times dependence on popular publications, such as those of Burke⁶ or O'Hart⁷, beloved particularly by some diasporic genealogists who seek “an ancestral link to a noble Gaelic heritage”⁸.

Such clamouring beset Fitzpatrick Y-DNA research in its early years, highlighted by a primary focus of trying to connect the living to the lines of the Fitzpatrick Barons of Upper Ossory, then back to Mac Giolla Phádraig dynasts, in order to establish a modern day ‘Chief of His Name’. Thus, the numerous Y-DNA connections under haplotype R-A1506 between Fitzpatricks and those of Branan-like surnames were heralded as evidence for shared ancestry as purported by the likes of O'Hart, who made the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí (Ossory) and the Ó Braonáin Uí Duach (Idough) meet at Cearbhall King of Osraí (843-888 AD)⁹ – notably, the similarly numerous R-A1506 connections between Fitzpatricks and those surnamed Dalton were not even interrogated.

Yet, the most authoritative genealogies make no association between the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Osraí and the Ó Braonáin Uí Duach and, intriguingly, R-A1506 ‘Branans’ are linked to the de Branham, a Norman-Irish gentry family who appeared in Cill Chainnigh

⁴ Fitzpatrick, I and Fitzpatrick, M (2023). Ó Maol Phádraig: the name, the people, and the clans. Part I. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 4, 1-10. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01724.

⁵ Fitzpatrick, E and Fitzpatrick M (2023). Decolonising an Irish surname by working the hyphen of Gene-Ealogy. Genealogy, 7, 58. doi.org/10.3390/genealogy7030058.

⁶ Burke, B (1912). A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Ireland. London: Harrison & Sons.

⁷ O'Hart, J (1892). Irish Pedigrees. Dublin: James Duffy & Co. Ltd.

⁸ Nash, C (2009). Of Irish Descent: Origin stories, genealogy, and the politics of belonging. New York: Syracuse University Press.

⁹ Fitzpatrick, E and Fitzpatrick, M (2020). When everything changes: Using critical family history to deconstruct Keesing and Fitzpatrick surnames. Genealogy 4: 25. doi:10.3390/genealogy4010025.

(Kilkenny) ca. 1250 AD¹⁰. Furthermore, R-A1506 Daltons are also the descendants of Norman-Irish gentry, being the family de Antōn who appear in Port Láirge (Waterford) and Cill Chainnigh records from the thirteenth-century¹¹. These factors compellingly point to a possible alternative, non-Irish, early origins narrative for R-A1506 Fitzpatricks⁵.

But Irish surname Y-DNA studies can't 'cherry-pick' genealogies or Y-DNA data. Robust genealogies and complete, unbiased, analysis of genetic data is required, and a recent article sets a new benchmark for comparing a Clan-Associated Surnames Tree (CAST) with a DNA-Associated Surnames Tree (DAST); the authors finding that while some examples of CAST versus DAST comparisons "match very well", others "do not fit into any of the genealogical schemes", while others again provide "unexpected surname clusters"¹².

The genealogical records, collectively referred to here as 'the genealogies', are credited mostly to Mac Fhirbisigh¹³. The scope of Mac Fhirbisigh's work is large, and its title, 'The Great Book of Irish Genealogies' (hereafter, *GBIG*), more than fitting; the tome names 30,511 people and there are 6,625 distinct given-names. Within are twenty-four discreet Máel Pátraic occurrences, which places it well outside the top 125 given names in *GBIG*. By way of comparison, Giolla Phádraig has sixty-three occurrences, being the seventy-fifth most numerous among the given names collated. The number of clan associated surnames potentially linked with Máel Pátraic, as will be demonstrated here, is not a mere handful that can be reconciled with ease; rather, they number several hundred.

The modern publication of *GBIG* also contains very much useful editorial matter, including a detailed introduction and several indexes. The latter utilise the editor's abbreviations of dynastic and population group names, which is mostly based on the scheme laid out in the medieval 'The Book of the taking of Ireland' (Leabhar Gabhála Éireann) alias 'The Book of Invasions'¹⁴. Scholars consider some of the population group definitions are unlikely to be fully accurate¹⁵, while others are relevant descriptors of credible lineages, although even there it cannot be assumed they always represent patrilineal succession¹⁶. For example, a

¹⁰ Fitzpatrick, M and Fitzpatrick, I (2021). The Similar-Sounding Surnames of Haplogroup R-BY140757. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 1-41. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00421.

¹¹ Fitzpatrick, M (2024). The Daltons of Kildalton: a Norman-Irish gentry family, Part I. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 5, 1-10. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01624.

¹² DePew, K, Gleeson, M and Jaski, B (2023). Tracing the sons of Bríón. Peritia 34, 9-45.

¹³ Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbisigh (or Duaid Mac Firis, d. 1671) was an Irish genealogist who completed Leabhar na nGenealach (The Great Book of Irish Genealogies) ca. 1666. The modern translation is published as Mac Fhirbisigh, D and Ó Muraíle, N (2003). Leabhar Mór na nGenealach. Dublin: De Burca.

¹⁴ For an introduction to Leabhar Gabhála Éireann, and the complexities of its manuscripts and versions see, Scowcroft, R (1987). Leabhar Gabhála Part I: the growth of the text. Ériu, 38, 81-142.

¹⁵ For example, *GBIG* positions the Uí Bhriúin septs closely related to the Uí Néill, since Brian and Niall are both sons of Eochaidh Muighmheadhón. But scholars consider Niall's "relationship to his 'brothers'", including Brian, who were connected with Connacht "must be treated with considerable scepticism" (O'Rahilly T, 1976. Early Irish history and mythology. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, p.221).

¹⁶ For example, *GBIG* has numerous genealogies of the Uí Néill, i.e., of Niall Naoighiallach (i.e., 'Niall of the Nine Hostages'), the fifth century Irish King whose name was utilised by his ancestors and many local rulers, who "were neither a tribe nor a group of tribes, but a dynasty". The Uí Néill "had no reason to invent a

failure to recognise that Irish dynasts often subsumed clans of a different patrilineage might lead to a narrow interpretation of genealogies alongside modern-day Irish surnames and, importantly, their associated Y-DNA haplotypes. For example, modern surname associations that mirror Uí Néill lineages may occur well outside established Uí Néill Y-haplotypes.

Of the other main genealogical works reviewed, none are close to scope of *GBIG*. *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*¹⁷ (hereafter, *CGH*) contains “pre-Norman Irish and related tracts from the twelfth century”; those manuscripts are ‘Rawlinson B.502’ and ‘The Book of Leinster’, “with variants and some additions from parallel material” in ‘The Book of Lecan’ and the ‘Book of Ballymote’. *CGH* has ten occurrences of Máel Pátraic, seven of which are found in *GBIG*. There are but four discreet Máel Pátraic occurrences in the Ó Cléirigh¹⁸ book of genealogies, all of which are found in *GBIG*, and there is a single reference to Máel Pátraic in Laud 610¹⁹ that is also found in *GBIG*.

The population groups referred to this article follow *GBIG*:

- Eóghanachta; the ruling dynasties of Munster, abbreviated E.
- Laighin; people Leinster, abbreviated L.
- Oirghialla; people of the mid-Ulster tribal confederation, abbreviated O.
- Síol Íor; the seed of Íor, son of Míl (i.e., Mílidh Easpáinne, or Milesius of Spain) being various people of east Ulster, Munster and the Midlands, abbreviated Í.
- Sliocht Aireach Feabhruadh; referred to as a “minor category” being the progeny of Aireach Feabhruadh, son of Míl, abbreviated AF.
- Uí Bhriúin; Síol Briain or O’Brien septs including Uí Bhriúin Aoi (O’Brien of Mag nAí, Connacht), Uí Bhriúin Bhréifne (O’Brien of Breifne), Uí Bhriúin Seóla (O’Brien of Maigh Seóla, Co. Galway), and Uí Bhriúin Umhaill (O’Brein of Umhaill, Co. Mayo, abbreviated CB.
- Uí Néill an Deiscirt; Southern O’Neill, abbreviated ND.
- Uí Néill an Tuaiscirt; Northern O’Neill, abbreviated NT.

A map showing the broad locations of the said population groups is provided in Figure 1. The occurrences of Máel Pátraic in *GBIG*, along with their population group and specific branch connections, are summarised in Table 1. Mac Fhirbisigh also made record of an Ó Maol Phádraig clan, and their genealogy is provided in Appendix I.

common ancestry” but “some local rulers of sufficient standing to avoid total subordination managed to have their pedigrees grafted onto Niall’s stem” (Byrne F, 1973. Irish kings and high kings, p.71. London: BT Batsford).

¹⁷ O’Brien, M (1976). *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

¹⁸ Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh (or Cucogry O’Clery, d. 1664), who assisted in transcribing the Annals of the Four Masters (Connellan, O, 1846. The Annals of Ireland translated from the original Irish. Dublin: Bryan Geraghty). Also known for The O’Clery Book of Genealogies (Pender, S. 1951. *Analecta Hibernica* 18: x-xxxiii, 1-198).

¹⁹ Meyer K (1912). The Laud genealogies and tribal histories. *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 8, 291–338.

Table 1: Occurrences of the given-name Máel Pátraic²⁰ in Mac Fhirbisigh genealogies.

Occurrence	Population Group	Branch	References ²¹
Máel Pátraic, son of Cinnéidigh	NT	Cinéal Eóghain; Cinéal Diarmada	130.15, 131.1
Máel Pátraic, son of Maol Brighde	NT	Cinéal Eóghain; Cinéal Diarmada	131.11
Máel Pátraic, son of Doilghéan	NT	Cinéal Eóghain; Cinéal Fearadhaigh	137.4 ²²
Máel Pátraic, son of Coscrach	NT	Cinéal Eóghain; Cinéal Tighearnaigh	138.10 ²³
Máel Pátraic, son of Muireadhach	NT	Cinéal Eóghain; Cinéal Moáin Íochtarach	141.3 ²⁴
Máel Pátraic, son of Branagán	NT	Cinéal Eóghain; Cinéal Aodha mac Fearghus	146.6 ²⁵
Máel Pátraic, son of Foircheallach	NT	Cinéal Eóghain; Cinéal Oilealla	148.3,4 ²⁶
Máel Pátraic, son of Reachtabhra	ND	Cinéal Laoghaire; Uí Chuanna	190.3
Máel Pátraic, son of Leannán	ND	Cinéal Laoghaire; the family of Guaire	192.7 ²⁷
Máel Pátraic, son of Gormán	ND	Cinéal Laoghaire; the family of Tomaltach	193.16
Máel Pátraic, son of Fearghusán	Í	Dál Araidhe; Clan Chaoil	514.13
Máel Pátraic, son of Céiléan	Í	Dál Araidhe; Uí Shuanaigh	515. 17

²⁰ Máel Pátraic is used as a standard spelling throughout; the modern form is Maol Phádraig.

²¹ According to Mac Fhirbisigh's pagination and numbering, unless stated otherwise.

²² CGH 146 d 18; Ó Cléirigh §604, §609, and §612, Laud 610.

²³ Ó Cléirigh §582.

²⁴ Ó Cléirigh §570.

²⁵ CGH 146 b 4

²⁶ Ó Cléirigh §724 and §725.

²⁷ CGH 145 b 1.

Occurrence	Population Group	Branch	References
Máel Pátraic, son of Maol Mórdha	Í	Dál Araidhe; Clan Chriomhthainn	519.14
Máel Pátraic, son of Caiscín	Í	Dál Araidhe; Cinéal Fiachrach Bhig	520.9
Máel Pátraic, son of Maol Fuadaigh	Í	Dál Araidhe; Uí Ninneadh	526.13
Máel Pátraic, son of Fearghal	Í	Dál Araidhe; Mac Meic Bhaodáin	530.3
Máel Pátraic, son of Laitheamh	Í	Ciarraighe; Clan Aimhridh	548.20 ²⁸
Máel Pátraic, son of Oilieal	Í	Ciarraighe; Ó Comáin	550.10
Máel Pátraic, son of Maol Ceannais	Í	Ciarraighe; Ó Comáin	CGH 160 b 31
Máel Pátraic, son of Aodh	O	Uí Fhiachrach of Ard Sratha	336.4 ²⁹
Máel Pátraic, son of Donadhán	CB	Síol Briain, of the alien families of Uí Earca Chéin	524.9 ³⁰
Máel Pátraic ³¹ , son of Maolgeann	Í	Conmhaicne; Conmhaicne Fhinnir	538.15
Máel Pátraic, son of Fear Dhá Chríoch	Í	Laoighis	557.9 ³²
Máel Pátraic, son of Cumascach	AF	Dál Foichidh Íochtair	523.3
Máel Pátraic, son of Cantalán	AF	Dál Foichidh Íochtair	523.5, 523.7
Máel Pátraic, son of Aéda	E	Uí Mac Iair, or Uí Mac Ciair	CGH 150 b 4
Máel Pátraic, son of Guaire	L	Uí Théig	CGH 125 a 36

²⁸ CGH 160 s 35.

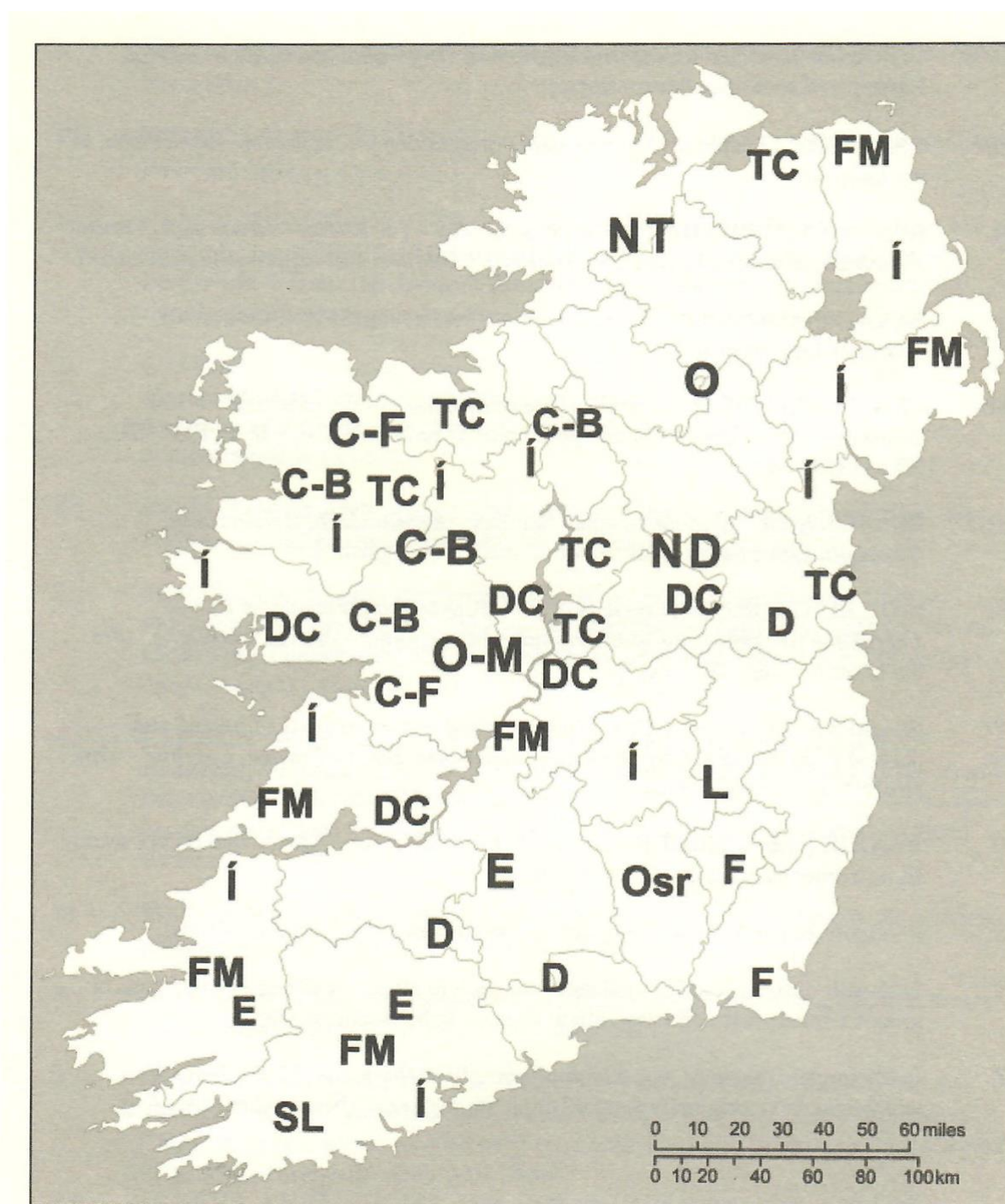
²⁹ CGH. 338 e 5.

³⁰ CGH 336 a 35.

³¹ GBIG 539.4, which states, “from whom are the Uí Mhaoil Phádraig”.

³² CGH 127 b 4.

Figure 1: Map of Dynasty and Population Group Abberviations.



Reproduced from Mac Fhirbhisigh, D and Ó Muraíle, N (2003). *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*. Dublin: De Burca.

There are seven occurrences of Máel Pátraic in the genealogies of the **Cinéal Eóghain**, i.e., the kindred of Eóghan (Owen), son of Niall Naoighiallach, an Uí Néill branch once centred at Ailech on Inis Eoghain (Inisowen, i.e., Eóghan's Peninsula) in Dún na nGall (Donegal).

Máel Pátraic, son of Cinnéidigh³³, “from who are the Uí Chinnéidigh” (O’Kennedy) was the father of “Corrán, from whom are the Uí Chorráin”³⁴. Cinnéideach’s father was “Baoigheall, son of Diarmuid”³⁵ and, therefore Máel Pátraic was of the **Cinéal Diarmada** branch of the Cinéal Eóghain. Diarmuid was a son of Conchabhar, from whom came Clan Conchubhair³⁶, son of Fearghal (Fergus, Fergal); this notable Fearghal mac Máele Dúin was a Cenél nEógain king and High King of Ireland – he died in 722 AD, slain at the Battle of Allen³⁷. Máel Pátraic was a third-great grandson of Fearghal, so is estimated to been born in the late ninth century. **Máel Pátraic, the priest, son of Maol Brighde**³⁸, was a second-great grandson of the aforementioned Corrán; hence, he was probably born in the mid to late-tenth century.

Máel Pátraic, son of Doilghéan³⁹, was a grandson of Brollachán, from whom come the Uí Bhrollacháin (O’Brollaghan), who is identified as a third great-grandson of Flann Fionn (King of Cenél nEógain ca. 700 AD⁴⁰), and a descendant of Fearadhach⁴¹, a grandson of Eóghan; hence he was of the **Cenél Fearadhaigh** branch of the Cinéal Eóghain. Máel Pátraic was probably born in the early tenth century, since he was the grandfather of Maol Brighde, Primate of Ireland, who died ca. 1027 AD; the Annals of the Four Masters refer to him as ‘Maelbride O’Brolchan’⁴². O’Donovan stated the territory of the Cinéal Fearadhaigh “comprised the Barony of Clogher, in the County of Tyrone”, being the “patrimonial in heritage of the family of Mac Cathmhaoil (Mac Cawell⁴³)” and that the other septs of Cinéal Fearadhaigh could no longer be distinguished⁴⁴. The common ancestor of Máel

³³ Genitive/plural of Cinnéideach (Kennedy).

³⁴ Uí Chorráin or Ó Curráin (Curran, also Currane, Crahan, Crane) is of south Liatroim (Co. Leitrim) and south Ros Comáin (Co. Roscommon). Curran also stems from Ó Corraidhín in Dún na nGall, Mac Corráin in An Dún (Co. Down), and Ó Corráin in Chiarrai (Co. Kerry).

³⁵ That is Baoigheall (‘vain pledge’), son of Dermot. Two other sons of Baoigheall were Mothla, whence come the Uí Chorráighthe and Caireallán, whence come the Uí Chairealláin. The former (Ó Corraighthe) no longer exists as a surname, although it would have been anglicised as Corry or Currihy. There are Corry and Curry of An Clár (Co. Clare) from Ó Comhraidhe, and it is possible that Ó Corraighthe is a corruption of Ó Comhraidhe. The singular form of the latter is Ó Cairealláin, i.e., (O’) Carolan, Carlin, or Carleton.

³⁶ *GBIG* 127.8 refers to this Clan Conchubhair and the Uí Chairealláin as the “Men of Magh Íthe”, which is “the name of a plain in the Barony of Raphoe, along the river Finn”, Dún na nGall, and reference is found to “Coscrach, mac Mureai, mic Flann”, King of the men of Magh Íthe, in the Annals of the Four Masters, ca. 1015 AD (O’Donovan, J. 1856. *Annals of the Four Masters: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616*. Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Co).

³⁷ Byrne, F (1973).

³⁸ Genitive/plural of Maol Bhrighde (Mulbride).

³⁹ Modern form unknown.

⁴⁰ Jaski B, (1995). *The traditional rule of succession in early Ireland*, [thesis], Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland. Department of History: pp. 326, pp. 275.

⁴¹ Genitive/plural of Fearadhach (Farry).

⁴² O’Donovan, J (1856).

⁴³ Also anglicised as Campbell, yet unrelated to the Scottish clan.

⁴⁴ O’Donovan, J (1862). *The Topographical Poems of John O’Dubhagáin and Giolla na Naomh Ó h-Uidhrin*. Dublin: The Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society. Dublin: Alexander Thom & Co.

Pátraic and Cathmhaol, from whom the Mac Cathmhaoil took their surname⁴⁵, was Fiachra (Feagh, Feary), son of Fearadhach. In relation to the Uí Bhrollacháin, Laud 610⁴⁶ and the topographical poem of O'Dubhagain refer to Teallach Máelpátraic; the latter stating:

“The two eastern septs are over every tribe,
In the high Cinel Fearadhaigh,
Teallach Maoilgeimhridh without theft,
And the white-fingered Teallach Maoilpatraig” (p.27)⁴⁴.

Máel Pátraic, son of Coscrach (Coskerry), was a descendant of Tighearnach (Tierney), a grandson of Eóghan, from whom came the **Cinéal Tighearnaigh**. *GBIG* provides several surnames that emerged from the Cinéal Tighearnaigh⁴⁷ – Ó Cléirigh placed Máel Pátraic among the Ó Muirgheasa (O'Morrissey, Morris).

Máel Pátraic, son of Muireadhach (Murray) was a descendant of another grandson of Eóghan, Moán (Muán); hence, he is found in the genealogy of the **Cenél Moáin Íochtarach** (i.e., Cenél Moáin lower), “who are called Clan Fhianbheartaigh”⁴⁸. *GBIG* provides many clans descending from Clan Fhianbheartaigh⁴⁹. One of the lesser known branches of the Cinéal Eóghain is **Cinéal Aodha mac Fearghus** (who are distinguished from Cinéal Fearghus⁵⁰) from who was **Máel Pátraic, son of Brancain** (Brannigan). *GBIG* records many Cinéal Aodha mac Fearghus clans⁵¹.

⁴⁵ The earliest record of the surname is ca. 1185 AD: “Gilla-Crist, Mac Cathmail, royal chief of Cenel-Feradhaigh and of the Clans, namely, Clan-Oengusa, Clan-Duibhinnrecht, Clan Fhogurtaigh, the Ui-Cennfhata and Clan-Colla of Fir Manach, head of counsel of the North of Ireland, was killed, namely, on the second of the Nones of May, by Ua Eignigh and Muinnter-Coemain. And his head was carried away by them, but was gotten from them at the end of a month after”. (Mac Carthy B, 1893. *Annals of Ulster* Volume II. Dublin: Alexander Thom).

⁴⁶ Meyer K (1912). The Laud Genealogies and Tribal Histories. *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 8, 291-338. Laud 610 is based “on eighth century materials”, which catalogues well-known Ulster families (MacNeil, J, 1912. Notes on the Laud Genealogies. *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 8, 411-419; Ní Bhrolcháin, M, 1986. *Maol Íosa Ó Brolcháin: An Assessment*. *Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 12, 43-67).

⁴⁷ Uí Chuacáin, Uí Fhoirréigh, Ó hEóghasa (Hosey), Ó Muireadhaigh (Murray), Ó Deasadháin, Uí Bhranáin (Brannan), Uí Choirrhéarcáin (Ó Corcoráin, Corcoran), Uí Chathaláin (Cathasaigh, Casey), Uí Ógáin (Cogan, Egan, Hogan), Uí Mhaoil Fhothartaigh (Ó Fógartaigh, Fogarty), Uí Choinneagáin (Ó Coinneagáin, Cunningham, Kennigan), Uí Alladha (the singular Ó h-Alladha, would give O'Halla, Hallow, Haley; although Haley is a surname, it has a different Gael form), Ó Beacháin (Behane), Ó hOdhráin (O'Horan), and Ó Muirgheasa.

⁴⁸ Perhaps Ó Fhlaitheartaigh. The modern form is Ó Laithbheartaigh, i.e., (O')Lavery, Lafferty, Laherty.

⁴⁹ Ó Maoil Mhíchíl (O'Mulvihill, Melville), Meic Giolla Uidhir (McAleer, McClure, Weir), Ó Gairbhith (O'Garvey), Ó Peatáin (Patton), Ó Bruithligh, Ó Laidhghinn (possibly Ó Laighin, Lyons, Leyne, Lane), Ó Maoil Chróin (Mulchrone, Mulcrone), Ó Fearghaláin (anglicised would be O'Farrellane, which is unknown), Ó Tuathghaile (Tooley, related to Ó Tuathail), Ó Leathnamudh (possibly from ‘ó leath na Maigh’, ‘from the half of Moy’, i.e., Moy), Ó Téadghaile, Ó Duthghe (probably Ó Duithche, Duffy, Doohey, Dowey), and Ó Dolghaile (anglicised would be Doilly or Dilly, which are unknown).

⁵⁰ Who proceed from Aodha's brother, Caolbhadh. The emergent clans are provided at *GBIG* 145.9 - 146.2 (Appendix II), where Mac Fhirbisigh noted “Perhaps someone would examine this since other texts generally say: Conall Clogach, son of Aodh...the reader should understand that it is possible, and even a custom, to refer to a person's fosterson as his son ... and therefore one can, without contradicting this, call Conall Clogach ‘son of Aodh’ ... even though he be, according to this tract, Conall Clogach, son of Faolchú”. That is, Mac Fhirbisigh considered the difference in the genealogies of Conall Clogach came about probably because he was fostered.

⁵¹ Teallach Cionaotha (i.e., the House of Cionaoth, i.e., Kenny), which probably refers to the family of Uí Maine lords of Gaillimh (Co. Galway) and Ros Comáin, Uí Bhranagáin (Ó Branagáin, Brannigan), Uí Aodhagáin (Ó h-

Máel Pátraic, son of Foircheallach, from whom come the Uí Fhaircheallaigh (O'Farrelly) was the descendant of Oilill⁵², a son of Eóghan, hence he was of the **Cenél Oilealla** branch of the Cinéal Eóghain. Tír Oilealla approximates the modern-day barony of Tirerrill, Co. Sligo, and was once "the lordship of MacDonagh"^{42, 53, 54}.

There are three occurrences of Máel Pátraic among the genealogies of the **Cenél Laoghaire**, and they stem from three different sons of Laoghaire, son of Niall Naoighhiallach. **Máel Pátraic, son of Reachtabhra** (Raftery), was a descendant of Cuanna, hence his genealogy is among the Uí Chuanna (Ó Cuana, Cooney) and Clan Éanna (Enda), since Cuanna's descent was from Éanna, son of Laoghaire. **Máel Pátraic, son of Leannán** (Lennon), descended from Guaire (Gorey), son of Laoghaire, and **Máel Pátraic, son of Gormán** (Gorman), was the great grandson of Tomaltach (Tumelty), who descended from Muireadhach, son of Laoghaire.

GBIG provides few clan surnames that emerge from the Cenél Laoghaire but there are rich narratives among Clan Éanna, from whom there are several notable kings and clerics who are the descendants of Colmán, the father of Cuanna, although no Máel Pátraic is recorded in these lines. A great-grandson of Colmán was Suibhne Airchrailtra, one of several kings of the Cenél Laoghaire whose territory in the seventh to tenth century saw its extent from Locha Éirne (Lough Erne) to Glas Trasna (Glais Trasna, i.e., Glastrasna, in Maigh Eo) at Slighidh Asail ... to Sliabh Bladhma"^{55,56}. From Suibhne Airchrailtra descended "Rumann, son of Colmán, a poet" from whom are Síol Romainn (the seed of Rumann) in Áth Truim⁵⁷, Uí Aoinfhir from Craobh⁵⁸, and Uí Fhearghail (Ó Fearghail, O'Farrell) from Lathra⁵⁹. Rumann (d. 747 AD) was "an adept at wisdom, chronology and poetry" and known as "the Virgil of Ireland"⁶⁰. Rumann's brother via their common mother, Fuineacht (Fuinche), daughter of Maol Fithrigh, was Baoiththellach⁶¹, Abbot of Clonard⁶², who died ca. 756 AD^{42,63}.

Aodhagáin, Hagan), Uí Mhaoil Bhrighde na Muigheadh (Ó Maol Bhrighde, i.e., Mulready or Mulbreedy, of Maigh, or Moy, which refers to one of several placenames), Uí Chathláin (a form of Ó Cathaláin, Cahalane), Teallach Muireadhaigh (i.e., House of Muireadhach, Murray), Ó Loingseacháin (Lynchehan, Lynch), Ó Naisc (perhaps Mac Naoise), Ó Beargha (Barry, unrelated to the Norman family), Ó Scurre (Ó Scurra, Scurry, Scarry), Ó Maoil Fhinn (O'Maillin), Ó Flannáin (O'Flannane), and Ó Colla (Mac Colla, Coll).

⁵² The singular for is Oileall, which is of uncertain meaning and has no English form. Ailill is a variant and is anglicised as Elias and Elijah, although there is no Gaelic connection.

⁵³ Ó Doibhlin considers the surname O'Quinn stems from this branch (Ó Doibhlin E, 1971. O'Neill's 'Own Country' and its families. Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society, 6, 3-23.

⁵⁴ Ó Muraíle N (2006). Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbisigh and County Mayo. Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society, 58, 1-21; Hoyne M (2013). The political context of 'Cath Muige Tuireadh', and the early modern Irish version of the second battle of Magh Tuireadh.

⁵⁵ Slighidh Asail, an older form of Slí Asail (i.e., the donkey or ass route), one of five ancient roads that led to Tara, and Sliabh Bladhma, i.e., the Slieve Bloom mountains.

⁵⁶ Kelleher J (1968). The pre-Norman genealogies. Irish Historical Studies, 16, 138-153.

⁵⁷ GBIG 191.6. Áth Truim is an earlier form of Baile Átha Troim (Trim) in An Mhí (Co. Meath).

⁵⁸ 'The descendant of one man' from Craobh (Creeve); Creagh is from Craobhach.

⁵⁹ GBIG 190.11. Townlands called An Láithreach (Laragh) are several across various Irish counties, including An Mhí, where there is also a parish, Láithreach Cora (Laracor).

⁶⁰ O'Donovan J (1847). The Book of Rights. Dublin: The Celtic Society.

⁶¹ GBIG 190.14.

⁶² That is, Cluain Ioraird in Mhí.

⁶³ Hennessey W (1887). Annals of Ulster. Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

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Fitzpatrick, M and Mag Fhionnghaile P (2024). Ó Maol Phádraig: the name, the people, and the clans. Part II.

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August 2024

Among the immediate ancestors of Rumann were at least seven notable clerics: Suibhne (d. 796 AD), son of Rumann, Bishop of Trim; Suibhne's son, Cormac (d. 830), Abbot of Clonard, scribe and bishop; Ceann Faoladh (d. 821 AD), son of Rumann, scribe, bishop, anchorite, Abbot of Clonard and Abbot of Trim; Ruidheas, son of Rumann, Vice-Abbot of Clonard; Muireadhach son of Rumann, also a Vice Abbot of Clonard; Cairbre (d. 846), grandson of Ruidheas, Abbot of Trim; and, Ceallach (d. 838), grandson of Rumann, Abbot of Trim^{40,42,64}.

Second only to the ten occurrences among the Uí Néill, are the six occurrences of Máel Pátraic among the **Dál Araidhe** (Dalriada), a dynasty “whose kings resided at Ráith Mór [Rathmore], east of Antrim town”, said to have taken its name from Fiacha Araidhe, an Ulster king who flourished. ca. 236 AD, whose ancient territories had variable and ill-defined boundaries but fell broadly within modern day southern Aontroim (Co. Antrim); to the north lay the Irish portion of Dál Riata and to the south was Dál Fiatach⁶⁵. It is not possible to define the Dál Araidhe as a single people since theirs is territorial designation, and the region was also called the Country of the Cruithne, or Irish Picts, which brings complexity, although it may be that the Cruithne were descended from a “Pictish mother”^{42,66}.

GBIG provides few surname associations for branches of the Dál Araidhe in which the name Máel Pátraic occurs. All said branches stem from Cronn Badraighe^{42,67}, who was sixth from Fiacha Araidhe. **Máel Pátraic, son of Fearghusán**⁶⁸, was among **Clan Chaoil**⁶⁹, i.e., from Caol, son of Eóghan, son of Cronn. From Caol's brother, Éanna, came **Máel Pátraic, son of Céiléan**⁷⁰ (d. 929 AD)⁴², “Erenagh of Lann Abhaich⁷¹ and Deputy Abbot of Beannchar”⁷², who was of the **Uí Shuanaigh**⁷³ (O'Suanach). **Máel Pátraic, son of Maol Mórdha** (Mulmore) descended from Criomhthann (Crifan), son of Aonghus, who was another son of Cronn, hence he was of **Clan Criomhthann**⁷⁴, while **Máel Pátraic, son of Caiscín**⁷⁵ descended from Fiachra, son of Maine, son of Aonghus, and so was of **Cinéal Fiachrach Bhig**⁷⁶. **Máel Pátraic, son of Maol Fuadaigh**⁷⁷ is among the **Uí Ninneadh**⁷⁸, since his descent was from Ninnidh, son of Cronn, while **Máel Pátraic, son of Fearghal** among the genealogy of the **Mac Meic Bhaodáin**⁷⁹ (Mac Baodáin)— he descended from Baodán, son of Eochaidh (d. 553-8 AD),

⁶⁴ *GBIG* 190.12, 1126.10.

⁶⁵ Byrne F (1973).

⁶⁶ Reeves W (1847). *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*. Dublin: Hodges and Smith.

⁶⁷ Son of Lughaidh, also known as Cronn Badruí, i.e., Cronn ‘who was a druid’, a fifth century King of Ulaidh.

⁶⁸ A pet form of Fearghus, probably Ferguson, which has no record as an English form of an Irish given-name.

⁶⁹ *GBIG* 514.6.

⁷⁰ An unknown name, which the Annals of the Four Masters records as Celen (O'Donovan, J, 1856).

⁷¹ That is, Glenavy in Aontroim.

⁷² That is, Bangor in An Dún.

⁷³ *GBIG* 515.4.

⁷⁴ *GBIG* 519.9.

⁷⁵ That is, Caisín (Cashin).

⁷⁶ *GBIG* 520.6.

⁷⁷ Maol Fuadach, which has no English form but means ‘follower of the swift one’.

⁷⁸ Extensive genealogies of the Uí Ninneadh (Uí Ninneadh, O'Ninny) are provided in *GBIG* 526.6 to 527.21 but there are few opportunities to identify associated clans, surnames or places. “Ultán, Deputy Abbot of Beannchar” is five steps from Ninnidh.

⁷⁹ *GBIG* 529.14.

whose descent was from Caolbhadh, son of Cronn. From the Mac Meic Bhaodáin came several kings of Dál Araidhe; most notable with respect to Máel Pátraic, son of Fearghal, since he shares their descent, are Dúngal of Eilne⁸⁰ (d. 681 AD), and his father Scannal⁸¹ (d. 646 AD), who were both Chiefs of the Cruithne⁴².

The genealogies have three occurrences of Máel Pátraic among the **Ciarraighe** (Ciarrach, from which is Ciarraí, Co. Kerry), i.e., the descendants of Ciar, son of Fearghus, a mythical King of Ulster⁸², who is accounted as nineteenth from Míl of Spain. The Ciarraighe clans are amorphous and fragmented in the genealogies, and placed variously in a swathe of lands from central to south-western Éire, not, as the name might suggest, solely in Ciarraí.

Máel Pátraic, son of Laitheamh⁸³ (Lahiv, Lahiff) was of **Clan Aimhridh** (Avery), who were one of three branches of **Clan Dubháin** (Ó Dubháin, O'Dovane, O'Dwayne, Devane, Devine), the other two being Clan Righ⁸⁴ and Clan Cholmáin (Colman). In turn, Clan Dubháin is described as one of "four septs of the **Uí Fheirb** (Uí Fhirb, Fherba)"⁸⁵, the other three being Clan Aimhirghin⁸⁶, Ó Fir Dhá Chríoch⁸⁷, and Clan Saighlinn⁸⁸. **Máel Pátraic, son of Maol Ceannais** and **Máel Pátraic, son of Oilill**⁸⁹, were of the **Ó Comáin** (O'Comane, Cummin, Cumming) being descendants of Comán, a grandson of Angáin.

Angáin is notable: of his seven sons, from whom were the Ó nAngáin⁹⁰, who were "settled on lands now comprised in the Barony Trughanacmy (Triúcha an Aicme) in Ciarraí⁹¹. *GBIG* 548.22 states, "their father gave a blemish to every one of them when he divided his estate among them", and numerous clans are recorded among their descendants⁹².

The remaining occurrences of Máel Pátraic in *GBIG* are scattered among the genealogies.

Máel Pátraic, son of Aodh (Hugh) is the only genealogical occurrence of the name among the **Uí Fhiachrach of Ard Sratha**, i.e., the Ó Fiachra of Ardstraw, who were the descendants Fiachra, a great-grandson of Colla Uais, King of Airghialla, i.e., the broad region around the Sperrin Mountains and Midlands⁹³. Máel Pátraic, who was probably born in the mid-tenth

⁸⁰ *GBIG* 530.4. The plain of Eilne was "on the east side" of the River Bann (Donovan J, 1858).

⁸¹ "From whom is Siol Scannail an Tuaiscart", *GBIG* 529.15.

⁸² Fergus mac Riach, identified as "Fergus Foga, Fergus of the Spear" (O'Rahilly T, 1976).

⁸³ CGH has Máel Pátraic son of Flaithin of Clan Enidri, otherwise Aimriti.

⁸⁴ Meaning, Clan of the King.

⁸⁵ *GBIG* 547.23.

⁸⁶ The descendants of Aimhirghin Glúingheal.

⁸⁷ "The men of the two borders".

⁸⁸ *GBIG* 548.2, the septs of Clan Saighlinn being: Clan Fhorcaill (Fheargail, Fheargaile), Clan Chonn Allaidh (i.e., of the wild hound), Clan Bháin (i.e., the white clan), and Clan Ailghine. Morris likens Lough Saighlinn (Sileann, Sheelin) in An Cabhán/An Iarmhí (Co. Cavan/Co. Westmeath) to the Lough Laighlinn of the Partholon legend (Morris, H, 1937. The Partholon Legend. The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 7, 57-71.

⁸⁹ A great grandson of Maol Ceannais.

⁹⁰ Possibly a variant of Ó h-Annáin (Hannon).

⁹¹ Ó Corráin D (1979). *Onomata*. Ériu, 30, 165-180.

⁹² See Appendix III

⁹³ Duffy, S (2005). *Medieval Ireland an Encyclopedia*. London: Routledge.

century, was the paternal grandfather of Foghartach (d. 1033 AD), Lord of Tuath-Luirm Uí Fhiachrach Ard Sratha”, who took the patronym, Ua hAedha (O’Hayes, Hughes), from his great grandfather. Subsequent kings of the Uí Fhiachrach Ard Sratha included various Ua hAedha, and Ua Chriocháin (Creighan, Crean, Rehan), who were the descendants of Aodh’s brother, Crichán (d. 939), “King of Fiachrach”⁴².

Máel Pátraic, son of Donadhán was of **Síol Briain** (the seed of Brian), of the alien families of **Uí Earca Chéin** (Ó Earc Cian), a sub-territory of Ulaidh (Ulster). While O’Donovan considered a location in “the valley of the Braid in the Barony of Antrim” was accurate⁹⁴, Reeves drew on the fact the Mac Giolla Mhuire (Mac Gilmore) were once Chiefs of Uí Earca Chéin and Leath Cathail (Lecale), and their ancient territory was the Ards Peninsula⁶⁶, while O’Lavery posited Uí Earca Chéin was equivalent to the modern townland of Gort Grib (Gortgrib)⁹⁵, just east of the former Barony of Ards. Despite the difficulty in pinning down the exact location of Uí Earca Chéin, the broad location, being the lands of the Mac Giolla Muire, seems accurate.

Máel Pátraic, son of Maolgeann⁹⁶ was of the **Conmhaicne Fhinnir**. The Conmhaicne were said to be the descendants of the mythical demi-god, Conmhac⁹⁷, who were spread across Connaught, as well as having an “east to west distribution ... across the centre of Ireland”³⁷. The attribution of a single patrilineage, that arose contemporaneously with Conmhac, whose temporality based on his pedigree was near the commencement of the Common era⁹⁸, to all Conmhaicne in the genealogies is fraught for the reasons discussed earlier. Notable, from Conmhac are the Conmhaicne Mara⁹⁹ who gave “their name to Connemara”, while *GBIG* names those Conmhaicne of “Críoch Mheic Earca”¹⁰⁰, “Cúil an Tolaidh”¹⁰¹, “Bheag in Meath”¹⁰², and “Réin in An Bréifne”. The latter descended from Finnear, thirteenth from Conmhac, and are the best known branch of the Conmhaicne Fhinnir, yet it does not necessarily follow that the Ó Maol Phádraig clan referred to in *GBIG* were of the Conmhaicne Réin or occupied that territory¹⁰³. However, the Book of Fenagh¹⁰⁴, which gives

⁹⁴ Refer O’Donovan J (1856).

⁹⁵ O’Lavery J (1905). Antiquarian Jottings. Ulster Journal of Archaeology, 11, 18-24.

⁹⁶ Meaning, ‘tousured head’, which has no English form but is phonetically close to Mulligan.

⁹⁷ *GBIG* 537.1: Conmhac son of Fergus, “was named Mogh Dóid, and Mogh Taoth was another name for him”.

⁹⁸ *GBIG* 537.2, 540.6.

⁹⁹ That is, the Conmhaicne of the sea (Byrne F, 1973).

¹⁰⁰ *GBIG* 537.2,4: from Fraoch, thirteenth from Conmhac. Críoch Mheic Earca, i.e., the border land of the sons of Earc.

¹⁰¹ *GBIG* 537.2,6: from Fionnchaomh, fourteenth from Conmhac. The branches of the Cúil an Tolaidh attest to their wide distribution, “in the Barony of Kilmaine, in south Mayo ... around Loch Corrib, in north Galway around Dunmore, at the source of the Suck in west Roscommon, alongside the Cuircni in Mide, and in northern Tethbae near Granard” (Byrne F, 1973).

¹⁰² *GBIG* 537.2,7: from Cáiríoth, thirteenth from Conmhac. Bheag, as in An Chill Bheag (Kilbeg).

¹⁰³ *GBIG* 537.2,5. The Conmhaicne Réin “in south Leitrim were to achieve prominence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; they probably first moved east of the Shannon into Mag Réin ... under the wing of Ua Ruairc [and] they eventually took over much of the County Longford”. Mag Réin, i.e., the ‘Plain of Réin’ in Liatroim; O’Donovan J (1856); Byrne F, (1973).

¹⁰⁴ Scott, B (2017). The making of the Book of Fenagh. History Ireland, 25, 18-20. In 1516 the scribe Muirgheas Ó Maoilchonaire revised a manuscript (now lost) known as “The Old Book of [St] Caillín”, which contained various poems and genealogies attributed to Caillín and his scribes.

the genealogy of Máel Pátraic, son of Maolgeann in identical manner to *GBIG*, provides additional narrative, noting Maolgeann was “Luachán, son of Onchú ... [from whom came the] Cinel-Luachain”¹⁰⁵.

As well as the Uí Mhaoil Phádraig of Bréifne, *GBIG* provides numerous other clans among the Conmhaicne Fhinnir¹⁰⁶. Notably, Maolgeann had four sons and numerous grandsons from whom came many lines. Once notable was Cuagán, a half-brother of Máel Pátraic, from whom came Mac Raith Ua Cuagáin (Coogan, Cogan), Chief of Cenél Luacháin (d. 1159)⁴², that line “apparently long extinct”².

Máel Pátraic, son of Fear Dhá Chríoch¹⁰⁷, is found among the genealogies of the **Laoighis**¹⁰⁸, who from ancient times were said to have been divided “into seven groups scattered throughout Leinster”. Yet, scholars consider the Laoighis have their origins among the Cruithne – although they were pre-Laighinian they became “faithful vassal allies of the Laighin”, with whom they “enjoyed a ‘most favoured nation’ relationship”^{37,109}. The prominent Laoighis clans, which became known as the ‘Seven Septs of Laois’, accounted by O’Donovan are the O’Moore, O’Kelly, O’Lalor, Devoy, Mac Avoy, O’Doran and O’Dowling⁴², which *GBIG* 557.15 states were the “seed of Barr”, who was tenth from Laoiseach Ceanmhór, along with naming several other Laoighis clans¹¹⁰. Máel Pátraic, son of Fear Dhá Chríoch is named among the Síol Adhuair in Eiteac¹¹¹.

GBIG accounts for **Máel Pátraic, son of Cumascach**, and **Máel Pátraic, son of Cantalán** among the **Dál Foichidh Íochtair**¹¹², who shared ancestry at as nine and eight steps, respectively, from Dubhthach, son of Donn. *GBIG* provides only one associated, albeit distantly related, ancient tribe – the “Corc Oiche of Munster”¹¹³.

Máel Pátraic, son of Aéda was of the **Uí Mac Iair**, or **Uí Mac Ciair**, and is sixteenth from Corc, son of Lughaidh, the founder of Cashel who lived ca. 400 AD⁴². From Corc came most of the dynasties who used the name **Eoganachta**, although the Uí Mac Iair descended from Corc they not described as such since only they were not powerful enough to lay claim that

¹⁰⁵ Hennessey, W and Kelly, D (1875). *The Book of Fenagh*. Dublin: Alexander Thom.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix IV.

¹⁰⁷ Meaning, ‘man of the two borders’.

¹⁰⁸ That is, the descendants of Laoiseach Ceanmhór, son of Conall Cearnach.

¹⁰⁹ O’Rahilly T (1976).

¹¹⁰ Clan Aonagáin (probably a variant of Annagáin, Hannigan), Clan Éilghe (Healey), Clan Rudhraighe (Rory, although never anglicised in the way Ruairidh was), Clan Bhearaigh (Barry, as previous), Clan Duineachaidh (Duineacha, Dennehy), Clan Chairbre (Ó Cairbre, Carbry), Ó Fachtna (Faughney, Faughtney), Ó Ruaidhne/Ó Ruaighne (possibly a variant of Ó Ruanaidh, O’Rooney), Clan Innreachtaigh (also Ionnrachtaigh, Hanratty), Clan Chathasaigh (Ó Cathasaigh, O’Casey), Ó Maoil Fhionna (Ó Maoil Fhinn, Mullin).

¹¹¹ *GBIG* 557.9. That is, the seed of Adhuair (Aduar), who was fourth from Barr..

¹¹² That is, the seed of “Eireach Fheabhruadh, son of Míl of Spain”, *GBIG* 522.23.

¹¹³ *GBIG* 523.16. Corc Oiche once “included all of the area of the cantred of Killeedy”, i.e., Cill Íde in Luimneach (Co. Limerick). Mac Cotter P, 2012. Parish, pastoral care. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 142/143, 86-99.

title. Although the Uí Mac lair “have pedigrees extending into the eighth century ... [they] ... left no other trace”¹¹⁴, and *GBIG* makes no record of clan surnames among them.

CGH has **Máel Pátraic, son of Guaire**, among the **Uí Théig**¹¹⁵, of the **Laighin** (i.e., Leinster folk), after Tuathal Tigheach, son of Maine Mál, son of Feidhlimidh Fear Urghlas¹¹⁶. Guaire was the son of Etarscéoil, son of Crimthainn, or alternatively, as they appear in *GBIG*, Oileall, son of Creamhthann, whence it is possible to extend the lineage back and make associations with related historical figures and clans¹¹⁷. Most notably, Creamhthann (d. 633), King of Leinster⁴², who is said by the genealogies to have been killed by his brother, “Rónán the bishop”, whereas others accounts say the king fell in battle¹¹⁸. From Rónán are the Uí Cheallaigh (O’Kelly) of Cuala, “a territory comprised in the present Barony of Arklow”³⁷, in Cill Mhantáin (Co. Wicklow). *GBIG* records several related closely clans that stem from either Creamhthann, or Ronan’s other brothers¹¹⁹.

Discussion

A notable feature of the occurrences of Máel Pátraic in the genealogies is they are found among population groups of the northern half of Éire, particularly among the Uí Néill and Dál Araidhe. This does not surprise given the prominence of the cult of St Patrick in Ulaidh from the earliest times¹²⁰. And the occurrences parallel those found in *Part I*, where many, but by no means all, of the annalistic entries of Máel Pátraic were found associated with an individual connected to a monastic site dedicated to the Saint⁴.

Only two of the twenty-two discreet annalistic occurrences of Máel Pátraic are also found in the genealogies, being Máel Pátraic (d. 1016 AD), son of Céiléan, of the Dál Araidhe, who was Erenagh of Lann Abhaich and Deputy Abbot of Beannchar, and Máel Pátraic (d. 953 AD), son of Caiscín, who was lector of Ard Mhacha.

Part III will review the occurrences of the surname Ó Maol Phádraig in non-annalistic, pre-eighteenth century records such as the Fiants¹²¹ and 1641 Depositions¹²²; this in order to explore locational and kindred associations that may align with occurrences of Máel Pátraic and Ó Maol Phádraig in the annals and the genealogies.

¹¹⁴ Sproule D. (1984). Origins of the Éoganachta. *Ériu*, 35, 31-37.

¹¹⁵ Perhaps a badly corrupted form of Ó Tadhg (O’ Tighe).

¹¹⁶ *GBIG* 461.2.

¹¹⁷ 460.6-13, 461.1-6

¹¹⁸ Ó Dufaiigh S (2007). Rónán of Aghalurcher. *The Clogher Record*, 19, 185-200.

¹¹⁹ Uí Aodha (Hughes, Hayes), Uí Dhúinchadha (Ó Dúinchadha, O’Donoghue), Uí Cholmáin (Colman), Uí Thoice, Uí Dhuibh Dhúime), Uí Chathaláin (Ó Cathalain, O’Cahalane), Uí Leathfhódla (not a surname, meaning descendant of the half of Ireland), Uí Chaoich Rotha (not a surname, meaning descendant of the blind wheel), Uí Fheidhil, Uí Fhiodhlabhair (not a surname, meaning descendant of the speaking woods).

¹²⁰ Erskine S, (2012). The relic cult of St Patrick between the seventh and late twelfth centuries in its European context: a focus on the lives [thesis], University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland. College of Arts: pp. 226.

¹²¹ For an introduction to the Fiants of Ireland see, Fitzpatrick, M (2021). Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland: Part I: a method of approach to mega-data, and a Mac Caisín case study. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 2, 66-92. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621)

¹²² <https://1641.tcd.ie>.

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Appendix I: The Mac Fhirbisigh Ó Maol Phádraig Bréifne pedigree

539.4

Maol Pádraig s. Maoilgeann

538.14

s. Fionn

538.13

s. Luachán s. Onchu

537.11

s. Fionnlogh s. Finnfhear (of the Conmhaicne Fhinnir)

537.5

From Finnear are Conmhaicne Réin in An Bhréifne

537.3

s. Cumhscraidh s. Céacht

537.1

s. Earc and continuing back twenty three generations to Conmhac s. Fearghus

Appendix II

Uí Mhaoil Mhoichéirghe (now Ó Mochóirghe, anglicised as Maghery, Moghery, Mulmoher, Park, Early), Uí Chreabhair, Uí Aintigh, otherwise Meic Conghail Ghamhain (Mac Connel of Gamhain in Cabhán, centred around Loch Gamhna, i.e., Lough Gowna), Uí Loscaigh (extinct; there are two townlands called Achadh Loiscthe, i.e., Aghalusky, in Maigh Eo, i.e., Co. Mayo), Uí Lócháin (anglicised Lohan, Lahan, Duck, and Chaff), Uí Bhearaigh (Ó Bearaigh, Barry; unrelated to the Norman family), Ó Fraocharáin (possibly Ó Fraocháin, O’Freagan, Frehen), Ó Duibhle, Ó Duibhghiolla (probably a variant of the former), Ó Díneartaigh (Dinerty), Ó Muirneacháin (O’ Murnaghan), Ó Dobhráin (which would give O’Doran, which most often stems from Ó Deoráin), and Ó Dubháin (Duvane, Dwane). *GBIG* 145.9 has the heading, “The genealogy of the seed or progeny of Conall Clogach, i.e., the folk of Maol Moichéirghe” (i.e., Mulmohery, Moghery, Early).

Appendix III

GBIG 549.3 – 552.6: Clan Cholla, being Ó Ceithearnaigh (Kearney, Fox), Ó hIonchloith, Ó Colla (Mac Colla, Coll), Ó hAithirne (Ó h-Athairne, Harney); Clan Sáráin (progeny of Sárán) being Ó hIthmhagh, Ó hArtáin (Hartane, Hartan, Horton), Ó Corbáin (Corbin, Corbane); Clan

Cheithearnaigh (Kearney, Fox); Clan Fhionchaidh (progeny of Fionnchadh), being Ó Con Dúin (Condún, Condon), Ó hIntghearn, Ó hEachthoighearn (Ó hEachthighearn, O'Hearne), Ó Fiodhabhradh (Ó Fiodhabhra, Furey, Feore); Clan Marcan (Ó Marcacháin, Markam, Marcan, Markaghan); Uí Mheic Linge; Ó Brógáin (Brogan); Ó Branchon, Ó Cáiríotha; Ó Daighre (Deery); Ó Díoghromaigh, Ó Dubhasa (Ó Dubhghusa, Doocey); Clan Fhaolchon; Clan Luidhne (Luighne, Lugh – occasionally a given name but not a surname); Ó Séadna, whose genealogy “meets with the Fir Chorca Laodhlaigh”, i.e., “the men of Corca Laodh”, (Corca Laoighdhe, Corca Lee); Meic Shíoláin (the sons of Siolán, not known as a surname); Clan Mhaicín (Mac Maicín, Mackin); Clan Éadchon; Ó hAodhlogha; Ó Duibhsighe (perhaps Ó Dubhghusa, Dufficey); Ó Madhmáin; Ó Díbheacáin, Ó Bracáin (Ó Breacáin, Bracken); Ó Mancháin (Ó Manacháin or Ó Mainchin, both anglicised as Manahan).

Appendix IV

GBIG 537.16-17, 538.2-19, 539.3-10, 540.1-540.4: Clan Chromáin, Teallach Gormghail (the house of Gormghail, Gormley), Teallach Connacáin (the house of Connachán, Ó Connacháin, Connaghan, Cunnigham), Teallach Maoil Chiaráin (the house of Mulkerrin, Mulkern), Teallach Congaile (the house of Ó Conghaile, Connolly), Teallach Fionnacáin (the house of Ó Fionnacháin, Finaghan, Fenighan), Teallach Floinn (the house of Ó Floinn, Flynn), Teallach Scalighe (the house of Ó Scalaigh, Scally), Teallach Maoil Mhuire (the house of Ó Maolmhuire, Mullery, Myles), Teallach Maoil Mhartain (the house of Mulmartin but the surname is unknown), Teallach Ceinnéidigh (the house of Kennedy), Teallach Cearbhalláin (the house of Ó Cearbhaláin, O'Carolan), Teallach Doraighhéin (the house of Ó Deóraidhin, Doran, Dorrian), Teallach Brócáin (the house of Ó Brógáin, Brogan), Muintir Ghearadháin (the people of Gearadhán, Gaynor), Teallach Tanaigh (the house of Tanach, Teallach Sionnóice (the house of Sionnóice, Teallach Gabhadháin, Muintir Shireadáin (the people of Ó Sireadáin, Sheridan), Teallach Maoil Dúin (the house of Ó Maoldúin, Muldoon), Teallach Mhiadhaigh (the house of Ó Miadhaigh, Mee), Clan Chalbhrainn, Clan Mhartain (Martin), Clan Mhoil Dhuiligh (Mhaoil Dhúiligh, Muldooley), Clan Bhradáin (Ó Bradáin, Bradon, Braden), Clan Arcáin, Teallach Nuanáin (the house of Ó Nuanáin, O'Noonan), Teallach Maonghaile (the house of Ó Maonghaile, Manley), Teallach Maoil Bhealtaine, Teallach Cainighe (the house of Caineach, Ó Coinne, Kenny), Teallach Maol Chonail (the house of Mulconnell, which is a surname unknown), Teallach Ciaracáin, Teallach Ceanndubháin (Ó Ceanndhubháin, Canavan), Uí Bhrascaigh, Uí Bhranacáin (Ó Branagáin, Branigan), Uí Mhóráin (Móráin, Moran), Uí Chlúmháin (Ó Clúmháin, Cluvane), Uí Bhalbháin (Ó Balbháin, Balvane), Uí Bhloscaigh (possibly Mac Bhloscaidh, McCloskey), Uí Dhadlaioich, Uí Mhaola Tuile (Ó Maoiltuile, Tully), Mac Giolla Shíonnaigh (Mac Giolla tSionnaigh, Fox), Meic Mhuirereadhaigh (Mac Muireadhaigh, Murray), Uí Dhíumasaigh (Ó Díomasaigh, Dempsey), Meic Giolla Riabhaigh (Mac Giolla Riabhaigh, Culreavey, Reavey), Meic an Chrosáin (Mac an Chrosáin, McCrossan), Meic Dhonnghail (Mac Dhonnghail, which has not survived; the name would anglicise as McConnell, but that surname stems from Mac Dhomhnaill), Méig Orchaidh, Meic Maol Fhábhail (Mac Maol Fhábhail, McFall, Lavelle), Meic Sluaghadaigh (Slowey), Meic Caomháin (Ó Caomhain is Keevan), Meic Ceirrchíabháin (possibly Ó Ciardubháin, Kirwan), Meic Giolla Shíonaigh (Mac Giolla tSionnaigh, Fox), Uí Eardartháin, Muintir Mhaoil Mhochóirghe (the people of Ó Maoil Mhochóirghe, Mulmohery, Moghery,

Early), Uí Ghabhadháin, Uí Dhamhaigh, Uí Aireilbh, Uí Bhatbhairr, Uí Mhaoilcháin (Ó Maolacháin, Mallaghan), Uí Shamhthainn, Uí Chionacáin (Uí Chionneacháin, Kinahan), Uí Bhaidhbhín, Uí Bhraice, Uí Threadhmaigh, Uí Rodacháin (Ó Rodacháin, Rodaghan), Uí Thormaidh (Ó Tormaigh, Torney), Uí Dhuinchinn (Ó Duinnchinn, Dinkin), Uí Mhuilt, Uí Chon Chuilinn, Cinéal Lughna, Cinéal Dubháin (O'Dovane, O'Dwayne, Devane, Devine), Clan Earmaithe, Clan Cheallacháin (Ó Ceallacháin Callaghan), Clan Mahoil Eamhna, Clan Teabhagáin, Clan Úbáin (Ó h-Úbáin, Hoban) Clan Luain (Ó Luain, Loane, Lamb), Clan Uanáin, Clan Fhionnóige [who] are Clan Teilinne (Teileann is a townlands in Dún na nGall), Clan Chrónáin (Ó Crónáin, Cronan), Clan Ainninn (Ó h-Ainnín, Hannon), Clan Chíordhubháin (Ó Ciardhubháin, Kirwan), Clan Fhinn (Ó Finn), Clan Chiaragáin (Ó Ciaragáin, Kerrigan), and Clan Aíbhíll, Clan Fhaolghusa [who] are Clan Choirdearcáin, Clan Gheamáin, Clan Chathasaigh (Ó Cathasaigh, Casey), Clan Dionacáin, Clan Bhirn (Ó Birn, O'Beirne), Clan Anairc, Uí Chon Bhuide, Uí Gheallfastáin and Uí Roilaichín (Ó Roileacháin, Rellaghan), Clan Chlothachtaigh (Ó Clochartaigh, Cloherty), Clan Aorthaigh, Clan Mhaicniadh (Mac Niadh, McNee).

The Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin, County Laois

by Mike Fitzpatrick PhD 

Independent Scholar, Auckland 0604, New Zealand

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Abstract

The Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin were a family of Rathdowney parish, Co. Laois, considered notable enough by the Fitzpatrick historian Rev. John Shearman to provide their pedigree in *Loca Patriciana*. Perhaps such status was due to what Shearman considered their close kinship with the well-known Thady Fitzpatrick MD of Dublin (d.1674), whose descendants became the so-called 'Fitzpatricks of Ballyboodin'.

The great Ossory scholar, Rev. William Carrigan, wrote about the Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin severally in his research notes and considered them unrelated to the Ballyboodin Fitzpatricks, although he did not qualify why he held his belief. Yet, much evidence from seventeenth and eighteenth-century rent books, deeds of indenture, and wills point to the correctness of Carrigan's position.

The father of John Fitzpatrick, the first of the Ballagharahin line, is proven to be Joseph Fitzpatrick who married Catherine Carroll of Aghnameadle, Co. Tipperary, not Dr Joseph Fitzpatrick of Carlow town, who died without issue. Unproven, but intriguing, is a potential familial relationship between John Fitzpatrick of Ballagharahin and the Lords Gowran.

Hence, while the 'Fitzpatricks of Ballyboodin' descend from the Mac Fynen line of the Mac Giolla Phádraig, the 'Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin' probably descend from Brian 'na Luireach' Mac Giolla Phádraig.

Introduction

Among Carrigan's Manuscripts¹ are his notes on several Fitzpatrick families of Co. Laois, who are not clearly connected with the Barons of Upper Ossory, which provide seventeenth to nineteenth-century narratives and genealogies mostly unavailable elsewhere. Volume 44 of the Carrigan Manuscripts is entitled, 'Rathdowney and Camross', two parishes in southern Co. Laois, the latter now absorbed into the Parish of Offerlane. The volume contains several pages of notes on the Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin², which were written ca. 1895. There is also Volume 76, 'Some North Kilkenny families', which replicates and adds to the material on the Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin in Volume 44. The notes in Volume 76 are in a later

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

² Bealach an Ráithín (Ballagharahin) in Rathdowney parish, Laois. In Volume 44 Carrigan wrote the townland as Ballogh, whereas in Volume 76 he wrote Ballagh.

hand and were written ca. 1910, i.e., after the publication of Carrigan's magnum opus, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*³.

The Carrigan Manuscripts add detail to what is already known of the Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin but also challenge the conventional understanding of their pedigree, which the Upper Ossory Fitzpatrick historian Rev. John Shearman considered was by descent from the First Baron of Upper Ossory, Brian Fitzpatrick⁴. Carrigan, on the other hand, wrote in Volume 76, "the Fitzpatricks of Gurteen, Coolcashin, and Freshford were related to the Ballyboodan Fitzpatricks but not the Ballogh Fitzpatricks". Carrigan's contrariwise position gives reason to further explore the origins of the Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin, and several largely unvisited records of Co. Laois Fitzpatricks, from seventeenth and eighteenth-century rent books, deeds of indenture, and wills, point to the correctness of Carrigan's position.

A map of key townlands discussed in this article is provided in Appendix I.

The lease of Ballagharahin, 1681-1744

Ballagharahin came to Richard Fitzpatrick, Lord Gowran, from the notorious Colonel John Fitzpatrick⁵ but not by bequest – it was already "settled on ... Captain Richard Fitzpatrick" by the Colonel before he made his will⁶ in 1693. Hence, Ballagharahin appears in a rental roll of Richard and his brother Edward, dated 1679-1697, as follows:

A lease dated the 18 of July 1681 to Major Lawrence Byrne, of Ballagharahine, Errell, Kilknockanagh, Bolybegg, Lisduff, Coolenegeehy, Currafin, and part of Knockneca as also Killeca, and Derrine containing in all 1328 acres one rood and fifteen perch⁷.

The transfer of Ballagharahin to Richard Fitzpatrick effectively severed ownership from the line of the Barons of Upper Ossory. The townland was within the territory first granted to Barnaby, First Baron of Upper Ossory, and in 1602 it was explicitly confirmed to Florence, the third baron⁸. Colonel John Fitzpatrick was a descendant of Barnaby, and Upper Ossory Fitzpatrick historian Rev. John Shearman counted Richard Fitzpatrick likewise, but he was

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

⁴ Shearman, J (1879). *Loca Patriciana: An Identification of Localities, Chiefly in Leinster, Visited by Saint Patrick and His Assistant Missionaries and of Some Contemporary Kings and Chieftains*. Dublin: M. H. Gill.

⁵ Fiant 6551 of Elizabeth I, dated 10 June 1601, records pardons granted to Florence Fitzpatrick, third baron of Upper Ossory, and his retinue, among whom is his son, Geoffrey Fitzpatrick of Ballagharahin, who held the townland until his death in 1638 (HMSO, 1885. *The Seventeenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland*. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Printing Office; *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Asservatarum, Repertorium*, 1826. Erscheinungsort Nicht Ermittellbar, Volume I). The Books of Survey and Distribution record Ballagharahin was transferred from Geoffrey Fitzpatrick to Colonel John Fitzpatrick in 1663 (NAI QRO 1/1/3/13/19/13, Books of Survey and Distribution Rathdowny Parish, National Archives of Ireland), reaffirmed in 1670 (PROI C 1/91/1/191. Patent Roll, 15 Charles II, Part II. Public Record Office of Ireland). Via bequest, Ballagharahin passed to Brigadier Edward Fitzpatrick and, following Edwards's death, to then Captain Richard Fitzpatrick, later Lord Gowran, in 1696.

⁶ Carrigan Manuscripts, Volume 83.

⁷ See, Fitzpatrick M (2024). *The County Laois Rental Roll of Richard and Edward Fitzpatrick, 1679-1697*. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 5, 11-24. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01924.

⁸ *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Vol. I* (1826), 19 Jac I. Ireland: Chancery.

not. Although Shearman's assessment of Richards's pedigree was not contested in *The History* at the time of its publication in 1905, Carrigan later noted Richard's was not of the baronial line, rather he was definitively recorded as descending from Brian 'na Luireach' Mac Giolla Phádraig^{7,9}.

There was a manor house at Ballagharahin associated with Ballagh Castle¹⁰, and Lawrence Byrne and later tenants probably domiciled there from time to time. The 1679-1697 rent roll records Byrne sublet to "Mr [Maurice] More of Blarahun¹¹" for twenty-one years from 1699. Ballagharahin is also found in the Co. Laois rent book of Richard Fitzpatrick, dated 1700-1719¹². The lease was given up by Maurice More on Lady Day 1703 and does not appear to be held by any tenant again until Lady Day 1707 when it was with George Southern, who still held the lease at the end of the rent book record.

The terms of the lease included payment of tax on the manor. For example, the 1700-1719 Rent Book accounts ending Lady Day 1703 record a "tax on Ballagh" of £1 8s, and at the commencement of the Southern lease, there were 4s 9d "County tax" and £2 1s ½d "Church tax for Ballagh". The lands of Ballagharahin were clearly desirable for agriculture. Notably, the townland must once have been an impressive sheep farm, as various disbursement entries in the 1701-1719 rent book attest to.

For example: in 1703, "for the stock at Ballagh", £403 8s and "tithes on wool", 5d; in 1704, "for twenty barrels of oats to sow at Ballagh", 2£; in 1707, "for pitch tar and raddle for Ballagh sheep", 6s 9d, to "Thomas Ringwood¹³ for shearers at Ballagh", 1£ 6s 4d, and the "Ballagh Shepherd", 1£ 10s 9½d; in 1708, to the "Ballagh shepherd for stuff for sheep", 3s 3d and "two shepherds for valuing damage done to Ballagh sheep", 2s 11½ d. In this era, Ballagharahin manor was certainly a hive of activity, with the sufficiency to support cottiers and an ironworking industry. A record of entries, including such disbursements, relating to Ballagharahin from the 1700-1719 Rent Book is provided in Appendix II. An example of the entries is shown in Figure 1.

⁹ Fitzpatrick, M (2023b). The Carrigan Manuscripts: The Pedigrees of the First Baron of Upper Ossory. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society S1, 11-26. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01523.

¹⁰ Carrigan (1905) provides a description of Ballagh Castle. Elsewhere it is noted that there are sundials carved into the stone steps of the castle. Bernard Fitzpatrick, son of John Wilson Fitzpatrick, made rubbings of the sundials and wrote: "I have made as careful a rubbing of the dials as I can, and will try and explain how they are situated. There are ten stairs on which they are cut, and the dials decrease in size from the upper stairs to the lowest one. You will see by the rubbings that they are only semicircles, and that they do not decrease in size with any great regularity. They are situated opposite two windows; one window being placed higher up in the stairs than the other; the stairs are circular. I have numbered the dials in the order they come on each stair; the largest dial, the one placed the highest up on the staircase, being numbered No. I, and so on down to the smallest. I hope this will give you some idea of their position, but it is very hard to do so without having a drawing of the staircase" (Report of the Committee, 1867. The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, 6, 1-10).

¹¹ Probably Borraghaun (Borrachán), which is also seen as Borohan, Balrahan, Barohon, etc.

¹² Rental of Captain Richard Fitzpatrick's estate in Leix, 1700-1719, NLI Manuscript 3000; Fitzpatrick M (2025a, *in press*). The County Laois Rental of Captain Richard Fitzpatrick, 1700-1719.

¹³ Ringwood held the lease of Coill Ghort Riain (Kyle) and Gráig an Drisligh (Graigueadrisly) in Erke parish, as well as the lease of Tigh an Tuair (Tintore), Eglishe-Nichole, Reynaghmore, Seanmhachaire (Shanvaghey), and Emilagh, in Aghaboe parish (Fitzpatrick, M, 2025a *in press*).

Figure 1: An excerpt from the 1700-1719 Rent Book of Captain Richard Fitzpatrick

Aug ^r 5	Paid for 6 pound of Steele o. 2.0 for one			
	Paid Drainers at Ballagh	18	-	-
	By allowance to Thomas Gray for Hay as ff voucher n ^o 53	2	12	0
	Paid for 2000 Laths 1.2.0 and for 1000 Shingles 1.10.0 as ff voucher n ^o 54	2	5	11 1/2
	Paid for household stuff for Dyetting your servants vide house Booke	3	16	0 1/4
	Paid for Corn &c for Dyetting servants vide house Booke			
	By Bills remitted your selfe vizt 110 ^s Bill on M ^r . Burton 25. on ditto	177	10	-
	and £42.10.0 of William Wilkes			
	Paid Ballagh Shepheard 1.7.0 Richd Rumball as ff voucher n ^o 55 £1.10.9 1/2	1	11	9 1/2
11	Paid of Gardener o. 3.7 Paid of Man that kept M ^r . Kining Sheep £o. 1.10		5	5
13	Paid John Hyatt going to Curragh	1	5	-
	Paid Kasper going for you to Dublin with horse as ff voucher n ^o 55		6	-
	Paid ditto in part of his wages 3 ^s paid Banan of Mason o. 3.4		6	11
14	Paid for Lamb Black 8. paid John Flin in part Wages o. 5.5		6	1
	Paid for a Milch Cow 1.7.9 1/2 paid of Man that valued your Fyth o. 2.8 1/2	1	10	6
	Paid for 3 quarters of Beeffe		16	-
	Paid of Cook Maide o. 1.6 1/2 paid for salt peter 4 ^s		1	10 1/2
	Paid M ^r . Butler		7	6 1/2
	Paid for 12 dozen of Wine 2 dozen of bottles 6 patty pans & Carriage of 10 Wine	11	1	8
	Paid Whealan of Mason £o. 10.10 for Howlahony Carpenter as ff n ^o 57 £o. 16.3	1	7	1
	Paid a servant Maide on discharging her o. 2.8 1/2 paid for Poultry £o. 7.7		10	3 1/2
27	By 10000 Wattle to Charles Everal £2.0.0 and 6 dozen Ribberids to him 15 ^s	2	15	-
	Paid for a quart of Limes Juice 2 ^s paid for 2 ounces salt peter 4 ^s		2	4
	Paid for 22 Handls 3 Bushells of Colom as ff voucher n ^o 56	1	10	4
	Paid for a Main Combe Spunge and all			9 1/2
	Paid Wallis Carpenter as ff voucher n ^o 57			5 2
	Paid of Kasper £o. 5.5 Paid Country Charges for Ballagh as ff vo. n ^o 58 £o. 6.7			

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

The 1700-1719 rent book records George Southern held the Ballagharahin lease in 1719. It remained with the Southern family until 1744 – a deed of 27 June that year recording that John Fitzpatrick Second Lord Gowran sold various of his estate holdings “for one year”, with the intent of vested possession, to Robert Barbor. Included were “all those manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments” of Ballagharahin, formerly let to John Southern, as well as other possessions relevant to this article, viz., part of Errill¹⁴, which was formerly let to Thomas Southern¹⁵. Barbor did not take up the sale offer. A deed dated 27 November 1744 records Gowran leased “all of the townlands of Ballagharahin and part of Errill containing two hundred and seventy-five acres, two roods and sixteen perches” to John Fitzpatrick of Dunmore¹⁶, Co. Laois, for a term of thirty-one years¹⁷.

A review of Shearman’s account of the Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin

1744, then, marks the introduction of John Fitzpatrick and his descendants to Ballagharahin and Errill, and the beginning of the line that both Shearman and Carrigan referred to as ‘The Fitzpatricks, of Ballogh’. Shearman stated John’s father was Joseph Fitzpatrick, who he described as “heir-at-law to his brother Thomas”, according to an uncited bill of Chancery, dated 1755¹⁸. Furthermore, Shearman considered Joseph Fitzpatrick to be the son of John,

¹⁴ Eiréil (Errill) in Rathdowney parish.

¹⁵ Transcripts of memorials of deeds, 1708-1929. Registry of Deeds: Ireland (*Irish Deeds*), 122.3.81977.

¹⁶ An Dún Mór (Dunmore) in Abbeyleix parish.

¹⁷ *Irish Deeds*, 130.45.87829.

¹⁸ Shearman, J (1879). Genealogical chart showing ‘Fitzpatricks, of Balloboodan’ and ‘Fitzpatricks, of Ballogh’.

son of the well-known Thady Fitzpatrick MD, who died in 1674¹⁹. According to Shearman, this secured a close familial connection between the line of the ‘Fitzpatricks of Ballyboodan’ and the line of the ‘Fitzpatricks of Ballogh’, since both came from Thady Fitzpatrick, MD.

But Shearman’s early genealogy of the Ballagharahin Fitzpatricks does not hold up under scrutiny, as there are three fundamental failings. Firstly, there is no record of Joseph Fitzpatrick heir-at-law to a ‘brother’ called Thomas. Shearman is broadly correct in describing Thomas as a “merchant of London” who died without issue in 1750, having once “purchased Loughteague²⁰ ... from John Earl of Upper Ossory”, and having a brother, James Fitzpatrick MD of Carlow, who died in 1749. But Shearman critically errs because Joseph was the son of his brother James, of Carlow, i.e., Thomas’ nephew, not his brother. Secondly, Thomas’ nephew Joseph can’t have been the father of John Fitzpatrick of Ballagharahin since Joseph, son of James of Carlow, died without issue. And thirdly, while the father of John of Ballagharahin was indeed named Joseph Fitzpatrick, he was not connected to the Carlow family but from a line that is traced elsewhere in the early eighteenth century. Together, these factors are fatal to Shearman’s origin theory for the Ballagharahin Fitzpatricks and indicate they were most likely an alternative Fitzpatrick lineage to that which stemmed from Thady Fitzpatrick, MD.

Shearman’s deviations can be corrected via the numerous records that accurately detail the family and business affairs of the brothers Thomas Fitzpatrick of St George’s Hanover Square, London, and James Fitzpatrick, who is recorded as an apothecary of Carlow town from 1712²¹. James died on 6 January 1749, and his will named his brother, Thomas, two sons, John and James, and two previously unrecognised “natural sons”, Bryan and Patrick²². Elsewhere, James’ children are named as John, Joseph, and Anne²³, the only daughter. Anne Fitzpatrick married Thomas Corr in 1728²⁴, and bore three sons, James, Pierce, and Joseph Corr²⁵. No other records of Bryan or Patrick are found.

James’ eldest son, John Fitzpatrick, was a Counsellor at Law who conducted much business in Dublin²⁶; he is described severally as the heir-at-law of James, and he took the lead role in managing his late father’s estate²⁷. John also became heir-at-law to his uncle, Thomas Fitzpatrick, who died without issue. Shearman’s record of the death of Thomas in 1750 is demonstrably incorrect because Thomas is named in various family-relevant bills of Chancery after then, and up until 1759²⁸, as well as a deed that refers to Thomas’ extant land holdings in 1761²⁹, which was probably the year of his death. Also, Thomas did not

¹⁹ See, Fitzpatrick, M (2023a).

²⁰ Leacht Tíog (Loughteog) in Dysartenos parish.

²¹ *Irish Deeds*, 10.251.3597.

²² Betham Genealogical Abstracts: <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>. Accessed 26 August 2024.

²³ *Irish Deeds*, 49.542.33312.

²⁴ *Irish Deeds*, 105.197.73498.

²⁵ *Irish Deeds*, 121.204.82664.

²⁶ John Fitzpatrick, esquire, is found in numerous Irish Deeds from 1711. In one of the last deeds bearing his name, he is referred to as “Counsel at Law”; *Irish Deeds*, 283.586.187404.

²⁷ For example, see *Irish Deeds*, 156.253.150466; 234.411.153938; 240.481.156445.

²⁸ Ireland Court of Chancery Records, 1633-1851: <http://www.ancestry.com>. Accessed 31 August 2024.

²⁹ *Irish Deeds*, 249.231.160475.

purchase Loughteeog from the Second Lord Gowran. Instead, and it is an important point of difference versus Shearman, a deed of 1742 records Thomas purchased from Gowran the leases of various lands in the Barony of Stradbally, Laois, including Loughteeog^{25,30}. John, Counsellor at Law, died in 1764 “at his lodgings on Temple-Bar” and was “universally lamented”³¹. Being without issue, John’s brother Joseph, who is described as “of the Town of Carlow, Doctor of Physick”, became heir-at-law³². And the subsequent estate succession of Loughteeog provides the definitive summary of Thomas Fitzpatrick’s kinship.

Figure 2: An excerpt from Deed 160475

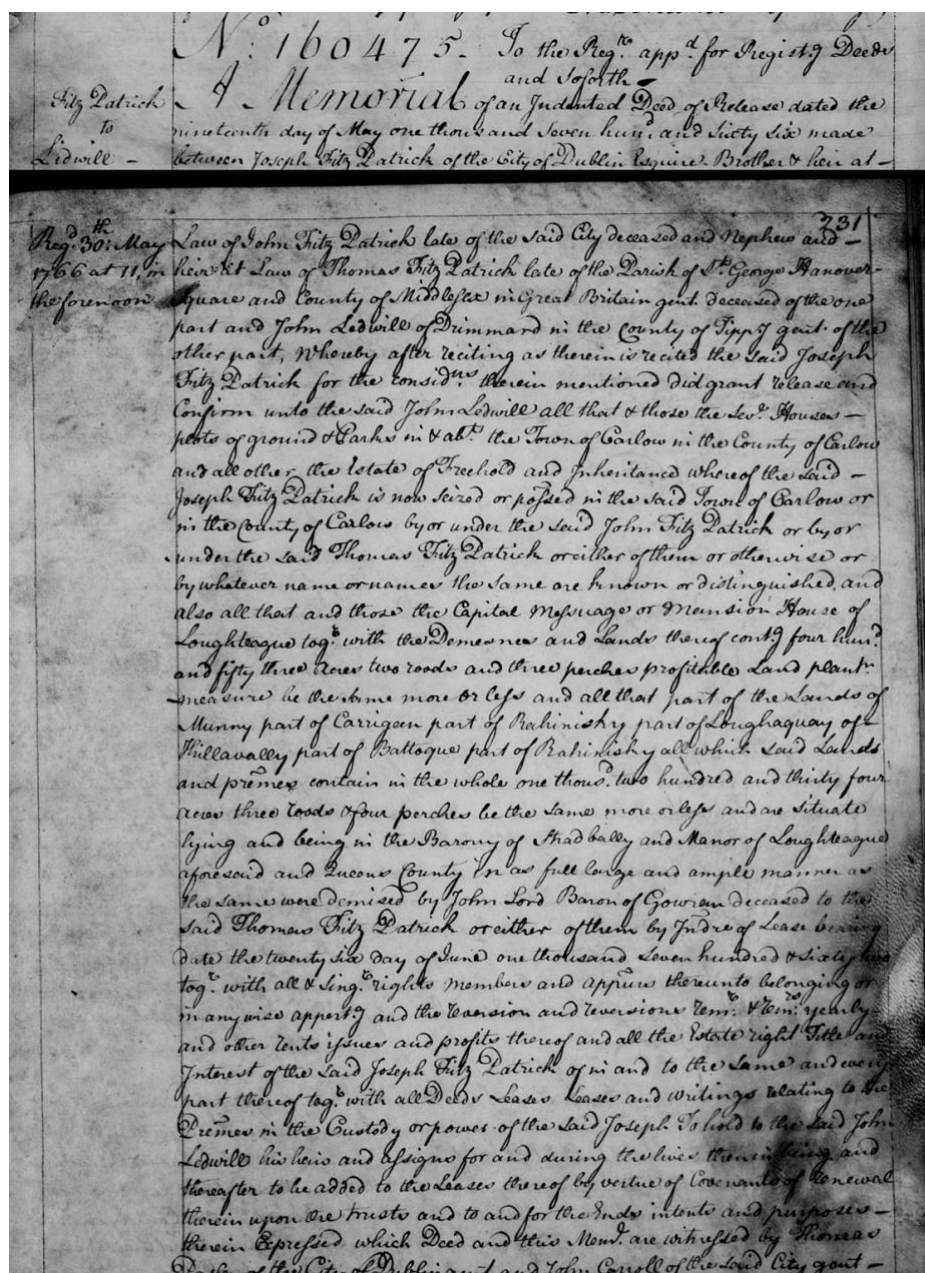


Image sourced from familysearch.org

³⁰ For the lives James, Pierce, and Joseph, sons of Thomas Corr, i.e., Thomas Fitzpatrick’s great nephews.

³¹ Freeman’s Journal 20 October 1764, p.2.

³² Irish Deeds, 338.459.228778

A deed of 1766 records that “Joseph Fitzpatrick of the City of Dublin, esquire”, was “brother and heir-at-law of John Fitzpatrick late of the said city deceased and nephew and heir-at-law of Thomas Fitzpatrick late of the Parish of St George’s Hanover Square ... deceased”³³ (refer Figure 2). After the death of Joseph Fitzpatrick, who was without issue, ca. 1766, James Corr became heir-at-law³⁴. Hence, the line of succession is clearly recorded, with no space for the supposed Joseph, brother of Thomas. The successive heirs of brothers James, of Carlow, and Thomas, of St George’s Hanover Square, were (a) John, son of James (b) Joseph, son of James, and (c) James Corr, son of Anne Fitzpatrick, daughter of James.

Several other records ultimately provide a broader picture of connectivity between the Carlow and Ballyboodin³⁵ descendants of Thady Fitzpatrick, MD. The article, *The Fitzpatricks of Ballyboodin, Co. Laois*³⁶, explores various matters such as the role of Thady Fitzpatrick of Ballyboodin (d. 1750) in the marriage agreement of Anne, daughter of James Fitzpatrick, of Carlow, the transfer of Fitzpatrick properties to John Lidwell³⁷, a son-in-law of Patrick Fitzpatrick of Ballyboodin, and the intriguing William Fitzpatrick alias Fynen, who was an apothecary who lived on the same street in Carlow town as James Fitzpatrick – William’s profession, place of abode and surname alias indicating he was probably kin to Thady Fitzpatrick MD, who was of the Mac Fynen branch of the Mac Giolla Phádraig¹⁹.

John Fitzpatrick and the Carrolls of Aghanameadle

There remains only a discussion of the correct identity of Joseph, father of John Fitzpatrick of Ballagharahin, which can be determined via several sources. A deed dated 5 and 6 January 1755³⁸ records John Fitzpatrick “of Balleagh” in Co. Laois sold various lands in the Barony of Upper Ormond, Co. Tipperary, to William Minchin of Dublin – most notable, in context, were those in the Parish of Aghanameadle³⁹, which included the townland of Blean⁴⁰. A deed dated shortly afterward, of 7 and 8 January 1755, records the same lands were sold to George Grace and his wife, Mary, of Aghanameadle – the role of Minchin “being only to convey such estate in said lands as John Fitzpatrick of Balleagh ... conveyed to ... William Minchin”⁴¹.

John Fitzpatrick’s Co. Tipperary possessions came to him in a somewhat convoluted fashion, which can be primarily be understood from a Chancery bill dated 6 November 1730, which was partially transcribed by Gertrude Thrift; she described the bill as dilapidated and very hard to read, “about two yards long and a heavy challenge”⁴². The Bill details the supplication of Daniel Carroll, once of Blean, Co. Tipperary, concerning the estate of his

³³ *Irish Deeds*, 249.231.160475. This deed perhaps represents the source of Shearman’s ‘1755 Bill of Chancery’.

³⁴ *Irish Deeds*, 338.459.228778.

³⁵ Baile Uí Bhuadáin (Ballyboodin) in Aghmacart parish.

³⁶ Fitzpatrick, M (2025b, *in press*). The Fitzpatricks of Ballyboodin, County Laois.

³⁷ In 1766, perhaps in anticipation of his mortal release, Joseph Fitzpatrick demised various Carlow and Stradbally possessions, the latter confirmed once held by Thomas Fitzpatrick, to John Lidwell.

³⁸ *Irish Deeds*, 171.560.116200.

³⁹ Áth na Méadal (Aghanameadle) a townland and parish in the Barony of Upper Ormond.

⁴⁰ An Bhléin (Blean) in Aghanameadle parish.

⁴¹ *Irish Deeds*, 171.561.116201.

⁴² Thrift, G (2024). Thrift’s Genealogical Abstracts: <http://www.findmypast.co.uk>. Accessed 22 August 2024.

father, Charles Carroll of Blean, which mostly lay in the Parish of Aghnameadle. Charles had four sons, William, Ambrose, Daniel, and Richard, and two daughters, Catherine and Mary. After Charles died in 1695, his estate passed to his eldest son, William. William died in 1703 and his only son and heir, also named William, went into the care of his aunts, Catherine and Mary. William Junior died a minor in 1712, while his uncles, Ambrose and Richard, had died previously in 1697 and 1698, respectively. Hence, in 1712, Daniel Carroll was seised of the Aghnameadle and other Co. Tipperary possessions, being heir-at-law to his father Charles, his brother William, and his nephew William.

The Chancery bill recounts Daniel's version of events after that, in which he stated he had been sent abroad from the age of eleven years and was "absent at the time of the death of William Carroll the minor". In the interim period, Catherine Carroll married Joseph Fitzpatrick and they had issue before she died sometime before 1712. Catherine's sister, Mary, had married Howard Egan, but they had no issue. The Bill states that after William the minor died, Joseph Fitzpatrick and the Egan's "pretended" Daniel had died without issue, and so entitlement to the estate fell to the next heirs-at-law, who were jointly Mary Egan and Charles Fitzpatrick, son of Joseph and Catherine, a minor. Moreover, Charles Fitzpatrick later died as a minor and John Fitzpatrick, who was called "the now eldest son", became Catherine's heir.

The incomplete transcription of the Chancery Bill makes it difficult to ascertain what Daniel Carroll, who is named as the sole plaintiff against an array of defendants, was hoping to achieve from his suit. Daniel was clearly aggrieved at what he perceived as an attempt to steal his inheritance, but the evidence is he was still the sole beneficiary of his father's estate. However, a deed of 1714 records he soon sold forever to Howard Egan and Egan's heirs and assignees, all of his inherited estate for a sum of £600⁴³. Perhaps Daniel Carroll later considered he had been hard done by – the fee agreed appears light compared with those recorded in later transactions – and he may have gotten wind of the intention to lease his former holdings at a fee sizeably greater than he achieved via the sale. Daniel's suit came just five days after Howard Egan agreed to lease the Aghnameadle holdings to Eyre Evans for an upfront fee of £1,100 and an annual rent of £195⁴⁴.

In addition, Daniel Carroll may have felt others had unfairly benefited from his intended sole inheritance during his absence. As well as Mary and Howard Egan, and John and Joseph Fitzpatrick, several other parties are named as co-defendants, such as Charles Carroll's widow, Ann Carroll (née Meara), and William's widow Susanna Carroll (née Talbot), who later married Nicholas Morres, presumably all quasi-beneficiaries, in Daniel's opinion. For example, the suit claimed there were "several sums of money left as legacies" to his sister Catherine. Regardless, the aforementioned deeds of January 1755 record the estate of Charles Carroll was solely possessed by his grandson, John Fitzpatrick of "Balleagh" Co. Laois, and sold for £700³⁸, perhaps indicative of a fire sale or a reflection on Howard Egan's business acumen.

⁴³ *Irish Deeds*, 13.394.6113.

⁴⁴ *Irish Deeds*, 73.251.50769.

Intriguing connections

Some consideration of the intriguing connections between the Ballagharahin Fitzpatricks and the Barons Gowran is required since a relationship between Richard, Lord Gowran, and the family of John Fitzpatrick existed long before the latter obtained the Ballagharahin lease in November 1744¹⁷. Notably, a Bill of Chancery dated 9 May 1713 lists “Howard Egan and Mary his wife and Charles Fitzpatrick a minor to guardian Richard Fitzpatrick esquire” as plaintiffs in a case against Thomas Ottway (refer Figure 3). Details of the case are unknown, but Charles Fitzpatrick was clearly the son of Joseph Fitzpatrick and Catherine Carroll, while Ottway was, perhaps, of the well-known Co. Tipperary family⁴⁵.

Figure 3: Ireland Court of Chancery Bill Book record of 9 May 1713

Saunders - Howard Egan and Mary his wife
 & Charles Fitzpatrick
 a minor to guardian
 Rich: Fitzpatrick
 Esq. pth
 Thomas Ottway
 Esq.

Bill Int: 9th May 1713 J^s Farrell

Image sourced from [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com)

Joseph Fitzpatrick, the father of Charles and John, was alive in 1713, as attested to by deed 59843 of 1735⁴⁶. Hence, Richard, Lord Gowran, had taken young Charles into his care, perhaps wanting to assist with his education, and the most likely reason is that they were kin. Pertinent also here is that at the time he took the Ballagharahin lease, John Fitzpatrick was domiciled at Dunmore, Co. Laois. Of Dunmore Carrigan wrote:

“Dunmore is an ancient Irish topographical name, but its application in the present instance is quite modem, being of no earlier date than 1730, or thereabouts. What is now known as Dunmore Demesne was represented in the middle of the seventeenth century by the townlands of ‘Knockanure, Colowny and Kiltigan’ with part of another townland called ‘Rahinlosky’ ... Kiltigan takes in Dunmore House and its immediate surroundings ... Dunmore House was founded early in the eighteenth century by a gentleman named Drysdale. It was subsequently occupied by Dr Maurice, Protestant Bishop of Ossory, who died here in 1756, and lies buried in Durrow”⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ Lambe, M (1998). A Tipperary Landed Estate : Castle Otway, Templederry 1750-1853. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

⁴⁶ *Irish Deeds*, 83.473.59843.

⁴⁷ Carrigan, W (1905): Volume II, p. 223-224. The townlands are obscure today. Carrigan noted ‘Colowny’ was ‘Coolowney’, part of Rath (An Ráth in Durrow parish) joining Fermoy (Formaoil in Rosconnell Parish),

Yet, pre-1730 records exist. Dunmore first appears in the 1700-1719 rent book of Richard Fitzpatrick in 1708 and is recorded six-monthly until the end of the rental⁴⁸ leased to the Lady Upper Ossory, who can only have been Dorothy Dowager Baroness Upper Ossory (née Wagstaffe), wife of Brian, the Seventh Baron, who is buried close by Dunmore, at Durrow⁴⁹. Furthermore, after the death of Lady Upper Ossory in 1733 comes more intrigue concerning Dunmore. Deed 59843, partly reproduced in Figure 4, states:

“Joseph Fitzpatrick of Killcoak⁵⁰ in the Queens County Gent for the considerations therein mentioned did grant, bargain, sell, assign, transfer, and make over unto his son John Fitzpatrick of Dunmore in the said County all his, the said Joseph’s, Right and Title to the lands of Dunmore aforesaid, and the other lands therewith demised by the Right Honourable Ann Lady Baroness Dowager of Gowran, together with the lease thereof and the full benefit there of subject to the rents and covenants in said lease mentioned, together with all his cattle, corn, hay, household goods, and implements of household in and upon the said lands, and also in and upon the lands of Killcoak aforesaid, and the lands of Lisrine⁵¹, both in the said County”^{46,52}.

Figure 4: Deed 59843, in full

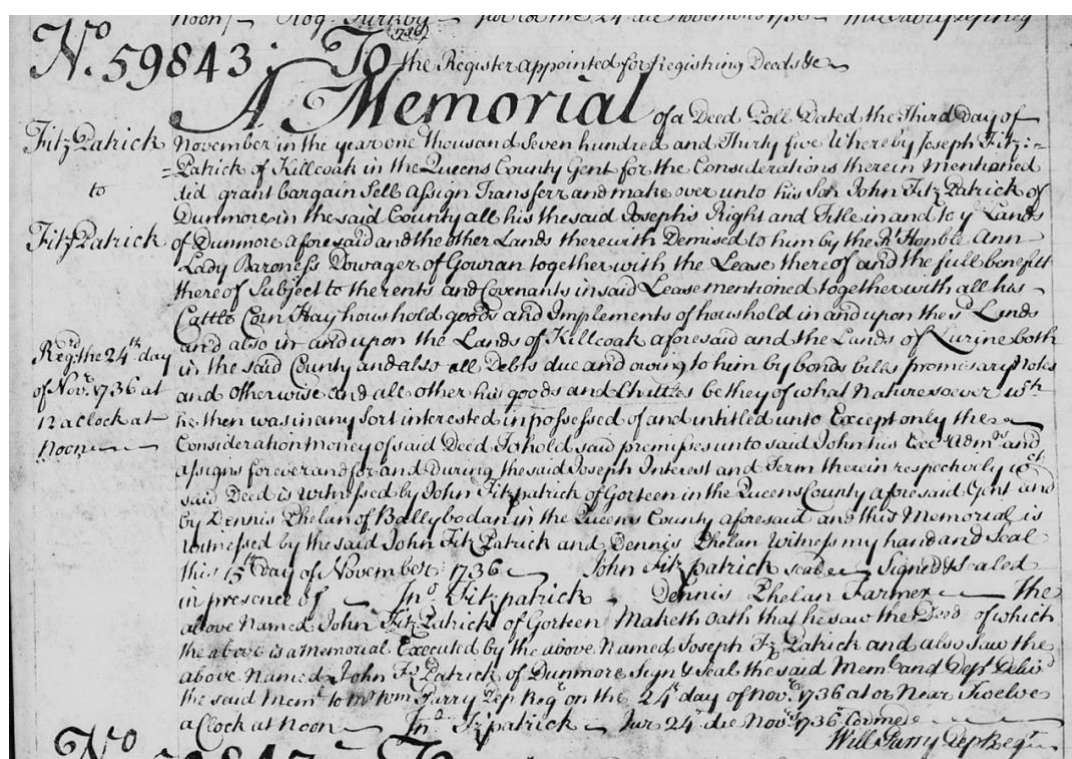


Image sourced from familysearch.org

‘Kilteigan’ was ‘Kyle-tháchawn’ and equivalent to Dunmore, and ‘Rahinlosky’ was a rath in Moyne (An Mhaighean in Durrow parish). Further, of Dunmore house: “the whole place ... was found to be full of human bones, and long ones too and [a] churchyard (Carrigan Manuscripts, Volume 28).

⁴⁸ The Michaelmas 1716 to Michaelmas 1719 rent book entries substitute Dunmore with ‘Coldbushes etc.’

⁴⁹ Carrigan, W (1905).

⁵⁰ Cill Chóca (Kilcoke) in Rathdowney parish.

⁵¹ Carrigan (1905) stated Lisryan was a denomination of Cill Deilge (Kildellig parish).

⁵² Punctuation added by the author.

Dunmore, therefore, was once an abode for two titled ladies of Upper Ossory, their clearly being a manor house there before Mr Drysdale's residency. And the aforementioned deed of 27 June 1744 records Dunmore was "now or late in the tenure or occupation of the Lady Upper Ossory"¹⁵, which indicates Lady Ann probably maintained her occupancy during John Fitzpatrick's leasehold tenure.

It can only be speculated why successive Lords Gowran showed pronounced favour to Joseph Fitzpatrick and his son John. The 1700-1719 rent book of Richard Fitzpatrick contains several references to a Joseph Fitzpatrick in the context of typical agricultural business dealings. For example, on 24 May 1707 was paid "Joseph Fitzpatrick for oates ... £1 12s 6d" and in 1713, "cash to Joseph Fitzpatrick for seventy barrels of oates at 3s 3d per barrel ... £11 7s 6d"¹². Perhaps Joseph was simply a respected farmer on the Gowran estates and, by that virtue, came to enjoy the favour of his benefactor landlords, while his son John was treated as one of the family by virtue of his earlier guardianship. What is clear is that no other Fitzpatrick tenants in the 1700-1719 rent book, who are probably the same as those named among the estate disbursements, came into lands the way John Fitzpatrick, later of Ballagharahin, did. This leads to an alternative consideration, that Joseph Fitzpatrick was closely familiarly connected to the Lords Gowran.

Such close kin did exist in Joseph's lifetime, as attested to by the will of Brigadier Edward Fitzpatrick, Richard Lord Gowran's older brother, dated 1695, which refers to his then-living cousin, Brian Fitzpatrick of Castlefleming⁵³, along with Brian's (unnamed) several sons⁷. The descendants of Brian of Castlefleming were unexplored by Shearman and Carrigan, yet interrogating his line may also provide a broader understanding of the kin of Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin. It is posited here that, on balance, the Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin are more likely to have emerged from the same line as Richard, Lord Gowran, who descended from Brian na Luireach Mac Giolla Phádraig⁷, than Shearman's consideration they came from the line of Thady Fitzpatrick MD, who descended from the Mac Fynen branch of the Mac Giolla Phádraig¹.

Not long after John Fitzpatrick took up his thirty-one-year lease of Ballagharahin, a 1747 deed records a pre-marriage settlement in which the lease was transferred to George Grace in trust for Dymphna Shanahan of Thurles⁵⁴ – this marks the point of at which Shearman more accurately picks up his narrative.

A complete transcription of the Carrigan manuscripts records relating to the Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin is provided here.

Volume 44: Fitzpatricks of Ballogh

1765 March 8 was baptised Elizabeth, of John Fitzpatrick and Dymmy Shanahan⁵⁵.

⁵³ Caisleán Phléimeann (Castlefleming), in Rathdowney parish.

⁵⁴ *Irish Deeds*, 130.45.87810.

⁵⁵ This appears as a header in small handwriting, followed by the heading 'Fitzpatricks of Ballogh'.

Charles Fitzpatrick lived in Ballogh and owned the entire townland: the house in which he lived was built up against Ballogh castle: he married Catherine Purcell of Loughmoe⁵⁶ and had issue following:

I. Mary Fitzpatrick born March 15th 1784⁵⁷, who married Daniel Crotty, shopkeeper, Roscrea⁵⁸ and had John, Dan⁵⁹ and Catherine: this family are now gone completely.

II. Joe Fitzpatrick of Ballogh: he built and lived in Pat Campion's house⁶⁰ in Ballogh: he married Fanny Dowling⁶¹ of Clonmore⁶², Ossory, and had William, a carpenter, Mary Anne who married Boyce of Grantstown⁶³, and Elizabeth b. 1841 now living with Mrs Skeffington Smyth⁶⁴. Joe died an old man and poor, in Errill: he died in 1852 aged about 75.

III. Charles Fitzpatrick who married Louisa O'Flaherty and had John and Bessie who died young.

IV. Dymmie who died a child.

V. John Fitzpatrick, a military Captain, a Catholic always.

VI. Matt, a military Captain, became a Protestant; his children, too, were Protestants.

VII. Catherine died unmarried.

VIII. Dymmie married Edward Laurenson of Durrow⁶⁵, a Protestant, who died a few weeks after the birth of their only child, the present Mrs Hughes of Rathdowney: said Mrs Hughes born about 1820 was first baptised Catherine Laurenson in the Catholic church, and then Lucinda Salisbury Laurenson in the Protestant church: she married James Hughes⁶⁶ of Rathdowney, now deceased, and has Edward Hughes of Rathdowney, shoemaker, and Dymmie Hughes⁶⁷ who with her husband John Lynch of Co. Tipperary, lives in America and has two children viz. John Lynch aged 17 (1895) and Sarah Lynch. Dymmie Fitzpatrick, six years after the death of her husband Edward Laurenson, married secondly William O'Flaherty (brother of Charles Fitzpatrick's wife) and had Bessie, Dymmie, James, Myrnie and Louisa, none of who left issue.

Catherine Purcell died very old about 1830: her husband died long before her.

Fanny or Frances Dowling was from Clonmore, Ossory: she had a sister married to Keeshan of Roscrea, and another to John Creary of Clonmore, Queen's Co., and a brother Paddy

⁵⁶ The Parish of Loughmoe in Tiobraid Árann (Co. Tipperary). Catherine was of the Purcell Barons of Loughmoe.

⁵⁷ Baptised 15 March 1784 as Mary Anne.

⁵⁸ Ros Cré, a town, townland and parish of Tiobraid Árann.

⁵⁹ John (21 April 1821) and Daniel (30 July 1826) were baptised in Roscrea parish.

⁶⁰ Pat Campion is recorded living in Ballagharahin in the 1911 Ireland census along with his sister and two sons: https://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Queen_s_Co_/Errill/Ballagharahin/795623

⁶¹ Fanny Dowling died 5 July 1892 at Tigh an Tuair (Tintore), Laois, aged 83 years.

⁶² Cluain Mór (Clonmore) in Rathdowney parish.

⁶³ Mary Anne married James Boyce, of Tigh an Tuair, 25 February 1867. Elizabeth Fitzpatrick was a witness.

⁶⁴ Gertrude Fitzpatrick, wife of Edward Skeffington Smyth.

⁶⁵ Darú (Durrow), Co. Laois.

⁶⁶ James Hughes married Catherine Laurenson 22 June 1842 in the Rathdowney parish.

⁶⁷ Baptised 16 December 1844 and 19 June 1843, respectively, in the Rathdowney parish.

Dowling who became a Protestant preacher: their uncle Willie Dowling, a rich man lived in Roscrea, lodged in Castlefleming, and having no children of his own provided fortunes for them.

Dan Cormack's mother was aunt of mistress Joe Fitzpatrick, Keeshan and Creary, and was sister of above Willie Dowling. [I] cannot say was Willie Dowling a Catholic or not, Mrs Joe Fitzpatrick however was a Catholic as well presumably as his other nieces.

Sir Wheeler Cuffe⁶⁸ and Mr Scott of Annegrove⁶⁹ were uncles of William O'Flaherty and his sister Louisa above: William O'Flaherty's parents were Protestants, at least at first, but William and all their other children became Catholics: some of these children lived at the Gazebo⁷⁰.

The Ballogh family are buried at Errill beside the Connor tombs at side farther from the church.

The O'Flahertys lived at Barrahill⁷¹ about the spot where the Burkes live: they also had land in Skirke⁷²: they were Catholics.

Mrs Fitzpatrick alias Purcell, "The Mistress of Ballogh" was a descendant of the Barons of Loughmoe and was from Co. Tipperary. She was a strong minded woman: she was evicted out of Ballogh House before her death and she died in extreme poverty about 1830 an aged woman, in a hut in Ballogh which she had allowed a workman to build there while she herself owned the land. She lived in the old house in Ballogh which was built up against the castle at the side next to Pat Campion's house: it was thatched. John Fitzpatrick her son, a military man, a Catholic, built the new Ballogh house instead of old one, it's now inhabited by Pat Campion: it's built since 1830-40 or so. Joe Fitzpatrick married Miss Dowling whose uncle Dowling was a pervert⁷³.

[Volume 44 entries end]

Volume 76: Fitzpatricks of Ballagh, Errill, parish of Rathdowney

John Fitzpatrick owned the whole townland of Ballagh and lived in Ballagh in an old thatched residence or mansion, high and lofty, built up against the east side of Ballagh Castle. He was the most respectable man and a Catholic too. He was son of Joseph Fitzpatrick, no doubt the same whose death is thus recorded in the Hibernian Magazine of 1778: "Nov 1 died Joseph Fitzpatrick, Ballagh, Queen's Co., Esquire"⁷⁴.

⁶⁸ Baronet Charles Frederick Denny Wheeler-Cuffe.

⁶⁹ 'Annegrove Abbey', in Cill Éinne (Killeany) Laois, home to the Scott family.

⁷⁰ Gazebo, in the former parish of Clough, where there was a chapel (Carrigan, W, 1905).

⁷¹ Barr an Choill (Barrahill) in Rathdowney parish.

⁷² Skirk parish, Co. Laois.

⁷³ The author knows of nothing in the public record that supports Carrigan's statement here.

⁷⁴ It is not impossible this Joseph was John's father, but it would probably have made him upwards of ninety years at his death. It is possible John had a brother called Joseph, since John the suit of Daniel Carroll refers to John as the 'eldest son – refer footnote 42.

Together with Joseph Connor of Errill, John Fitzpatrick was appointed executor, by Daniel Dowling of Newtown, Skirke, in 1742, and he was sponsor, with Mrs Mary Dowling, in July 1767, for Elizabeth, daughter of Patt Dowling, Newtown, Skirke, son of said Daniel. Administration of his property was granted in 1783. He married Dympna or Dymmie Shanahan, and by her had following issue:

1. Charles of Ballagh, of whom presently.
2. John, who went to Spain, amassed a large fortune and died in 1825 (*Loca Patriciana*): died s.p.⁷⁵
3. Catherine who married February 9th 1779, William Delany of Rahandrick⁷⁶, and left issue viz (a) Matt of Clugh⁷⁷ who married first Miss Fitzpatrick of Urlingford⁷⁸ who died leaving one child, a daughter, who died childless; he married second Miss Kelly, sister of Burrows Kelly and by her had John who married and lived in Dublin, Nanny who married Mr Meath, shopkeeper Abbeyleix, and Maria of Clugh alias Foxrock⁷⁹ Cottage who married first Denis Mulhall and second Whittaker; and (b) Dympna who married Ned Comerford of Ballinakill⁸⁰, a wealthy shopkeeper, and died in 1852, her issue being Catherine Comerford alias Dunne (1798-1820s), Dympna born November 29 1799, James born December 2 1800, Patrick (March 25 1802 – May 22 1827), Mary (July 1 1804 – Jan 12 1890), Honor born July 5 1805, Edward Martin born November 14 1813, Anne Comerford died December 25 1870 aged 66, Harriet died October 28 1895 aged 75, Frances died December 5 1896 aged 74, and Catherine Dympna born August 27 1826.

Mrs Whittaker alias Mulhall alias Delany of Foxrock Cottage had a daughter Margaret Mulhall who married, 1883, Timothy Kavanagh of Durrow, and died leaving three children who still (1910) survive, viz. Mary [born] 1886, James [born] 1887 and Katie [born] 1888.

4. Mary who married first, October 15 1784, Thomas Hanlon, in the parish of Dunleckney⁸¹, by whom she had issue; she married secondly a Mr Murphy by whom she had with other issue a daughter Dympna Murphy who married John Dunne (son of Darby, son of Paddy of Ballymanus⁸²) of Raheenahone⁸³, and by him had the late John Dunne of Raheenahone, and the late Mr Jerry Dunne J.P. Aghaboe. Said Jerry Dunne married Anna Maria Downey of Ballinakill had a large family of sons and daughters still living, viz. Harriet born February 1850, John born August 1851, Pat born June 1853, William born March 1855, Dympna born 1857, and several others.

⁷⁵ That is, *sine prole*, without offspring.

⁷⁶ Ráth Anraic, Co. Laois.

⁷⁷ Cloch, a denomination of Aghaboe parish.

⁷⁸ Áth na nUrlainn, a parish and townland in Cill Chainnigh.

⁷⁹ Cloch an tSionnaigh.

⁸⁰ Baile na Coille, Laois. Dymphna and Edward married were 24 January 1799 in Aghaboe parish.

⁸¹ Dún Leicne, a parish and townland in Ceatharlach (Co. Carlow)

⁸² Baile Mhic Mhánaís, Co. Laois.

⁸³ Ráithín na hAbhann (Raheennahown), Co. Laois.

5. Elizabeth, born March 7 1765⁸⁴: probably died young.

Charles Fitzpatrick of Ballagh, son of John Fitzpatrick and Dymmie Shanahan his wife, married Catherine Purcell of Co. Tipperary, of the Loughmoe family. She was locally known as the 'Mistress of Ballagh' –a strong-minded woman. By her he had the following issue:

1. Mary, born March 15th 1784, married Daniel Crotty of Roscrea, shopkeeper, and by him had John, Dan and Catherine. This family is gone completely.

2. John (1786-1838), a military Captain, who built the present Ballagh house (now occupied by Pat Campion) and had issue (*Loca Patriciana*)⁸⁵; he was always a Catholic⁸⁶.

3. Joe, who lived in Ballagh in the new house built by his brother, Captain John Fitzpatrick: he married Fanny Dowling of Clonmore (Ossory), beyond Castlefleming, daughter of Paddy Dowling of Clonmore, son of Patrick Dowling of Newtown, Skirke (who died in 1768-9); got smashed⁸⁷ in Ballagh, and died in poverty in Errill in 1852 aged about 75. By his wife Fanny Dowling, he had William Fitzpatrick of Dublin, a carpenter, Elizabeth living as a servant with Mrs Skeffington Smyth, Mount Henry⁸⁸, in 1897, and Mary Anne who married James Boyce, Lord Castletown's gamekeeper, and had a daughter Eliza Boyce now wife of Mike Loughman, Derry Road, Durrow, and having a large family of sons and daughters.

4. Dymmie, who died a child.

5. Charles, who married Louisa O'Flaherty, of Barney (opposite Burke's in Bealady), a daughter but reduced, of John Burke O'Flaherty⁸⁹ (who lived in Mount Oliver), and by him and by her, who was a Catholic, had John and Bessie who died young.

6. Matt, a military Captain, who became a Protestant and married⁹⁰; his children were Protestants.

7. Catherine, died unmarried.

8. Dymmie married Edward Laurenson, son of Crofton Laurenson, of Brooklawn⁹¹, Durrow, son of William Laurenson of Durrow, and by him who was a Protestant she had an only child (whose birth her husband only survived a few weeks) baptized first in the Catholic Church as

⁸⁴ The sponsors at the baptism were John Fitzpatrick and Harriet Fitzpatrick

⁸⁵ Carrigan initially crossed out 'died without' for 'had' issue. Shearman correctly records the marriage of John to Jane Howe in the Church of England (6 November 1820 in Middlesex) and notes their several children.

⁸⁶ Captain John Fitzpatrick married Jane Howe in the Church of England (6 November 1820 in Middlesex).

⁸⁷ That is, bankrupted.

⁸⁸ At Baile Uí Chearúill (Ballycarroll) in the Barony of Portnahinch, Co. Laois.

⁸⁹ John Burke O'Flaherty, LL.D., was MP for Callan (O'Kelly, S, 1985. *The Place-Names of the County of Kilkenny*. Kilkenny: Boethius Press).

⁹⁰ Captain Matthew Fitzpatrick married Susan Woolls in the Church of England (12 February 1818 in Hampshire); at the time he was a Lieutenant in the 97th Regiment of Foot. *Loca Patriciana* records several children to Matthew and Susan, albeit missing Gertrude Anne (baptised 1 August 1835 in Clonmel Parish, Co. Waterford).

⁹¹ Brooklawn House (Leet A, 1814. *A Directory to the Market Towns, Villages, Gentlemen's Seats, and Other Noted Places in Ireland* Dublin: Brett Smith).

Catherine Laurenson and secondly in the Protestant Church as Lucinda Salisbury Laurenson, and who was brought up a Catholic by her Catholic mother. [The] said child born about 1820 married James Hughes of Rathdowney, and died about 1900, her issue being (a) Ned Hughes, shoemaker, Rathdowney, who married about 1899 Nolan⁹², of Glasha⁹³ and has children; and (b) Dymmie Hughes who with her husband John Lynch lives in America and has two children viz. John Lynch born 1878 and Sarah Lynch.

After the death of her first husband, Dymmie Laurenson alias Fitzpatrick married secondly, about 1826, William O'Flaherty, of Barney, a Catholic, son of John Burke O'Flaherty, and nephew to Sir Wheeler Cuffe and Mr Scott of Annegrove, and brother of her brother Charles' wife, Louisa O'Flaherty, and by her had Bessie, Dymmie, James, Myrie and Louisa, none of whom left issue.

9. James, died at 16 years (*Loca Patriciana*)

When Charles Fitzpatrick died I could not find out. His wife Catherine Purcell, 'The Mistress of Ballagh', the 'strong-minded' respected woman long survived him, and in the end fell on evil days. Before her death she was evicted out of the old Ballagh house, and died an aged woman about 1830 in extreme poverty in a hut in Ballagh bog, which she had allowed one of her workmen to build for himself there while she herself owned the townland. Her son Captain John Fitzpatrick afterwards recovered as tenant part of Ballagh townland and built a new house close to the old family residence attached to the castle. His brother Joe succeeded him there, got broke and left the place which then was taken up by Mick Campion father of the present occupant, Pat Campion. Only in their best days the Fitzpatricks can have held Ballagh by lease, at low rent, from the Earls of Upper Ossory.

The Fitzpatricks of Ballagh are buried in Errill churchyard and immediately beside and to the south of the Connor tombs; but no monuments mark their graves.

[Volume 76 entries end]

Conclusion

The Carrigan Manuscripts contain several notes relating to the Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin. Volumes 44 and 76 provide much detail of their genealogy but do not give a lineage that connects John with his father, Joseph Fitzpatrick. Elsewhere Carrigan stated Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin were not related to the Fitzpatricks of Ballyboodin Fitzpatricks⁹⁴, thus taking a contrary position to Shearman. Much evidence from seventeenth and eighteenth-century rent books, deeds of indenture, and wills supports Carrigan's position.

The father of John Fitzpatrick, the first of the Ballagharahin line, is proven to be Joseph Fitzpatrick who married Catherine Carroll of Aghnameadle, Co. Tipperary, not Dr Joseph

⁹² Edmond Hughes married Mary Nolan 24 November 1898 in the Parish of Borris-in-Ossory.

⁹³ Glais Áir (Glashare), Co. Laois.

⁹⁴ In Volume 73 Carrigan states, "The Fitzpatricks of Gurteen, Coolcashin, and Freshford were related to the Ballyboodan Fitzpatricks but not the Ballogh Fitzpatricks"

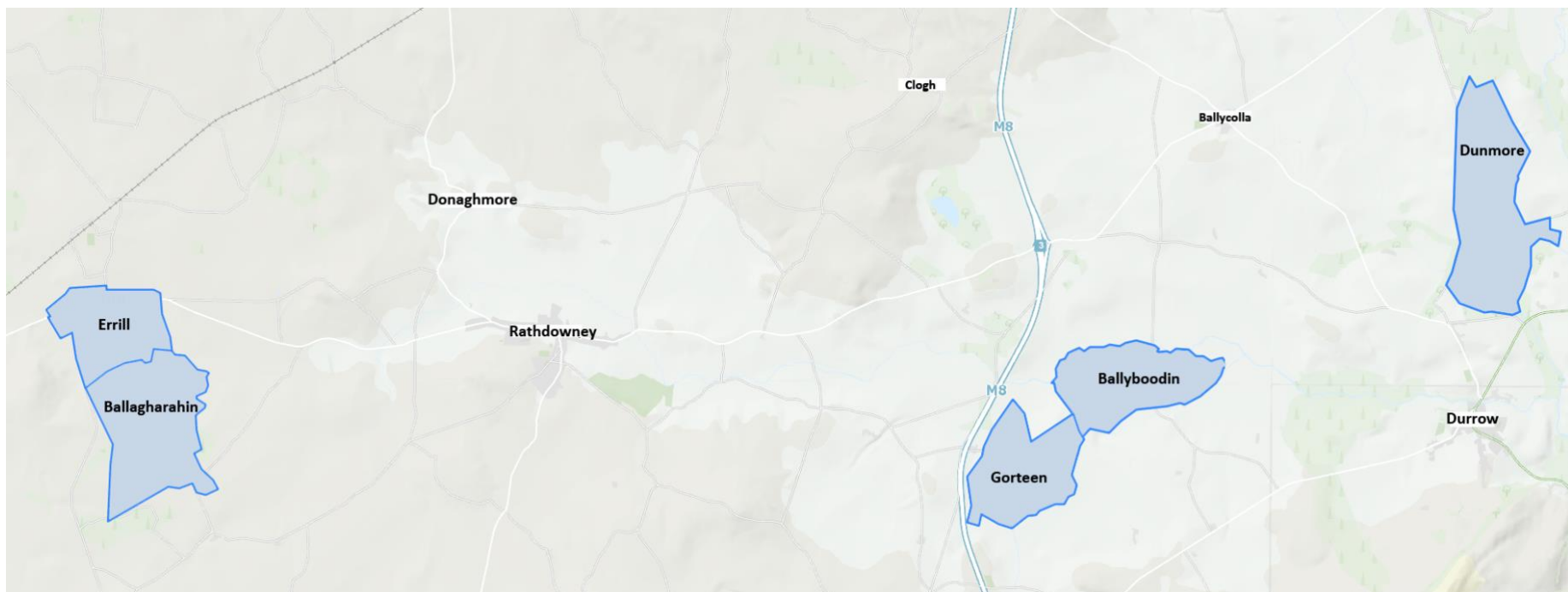
Fitzpatrick of Carlow town, who died without issue. Unproven, but intriguing, is a potential familial relationship between John Fitzpatrick of Ballagharahin and the Lords Gowran.

Hence, while the 'Fitzpatricks of Ballyboodin' descend from the Mac Fynen line of the Mac Giolla Phádraig, the 'Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin probably descend from Brian 'na Luireach' Mac Giolla Phádraig.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix I: Modern Ordnance Survey map showing key places in this article



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

Appendix II: Rent books notations for Ballagharahin

Sixteenth and seventeenth records pertaining to the tenancy of Ballagharahin afford a clear picture of activity related the townland. Some notable entries for Ballagharahin from the rent book of Captain Richard Fitzpatrick's estate in Co. Laois follow.

Lady Day 1701

To a man who looked after the woods in Clonmeen [and] Ballagh, 6s.

Lady Day 1703

For the stock at Ballagh, £403 8s 0d

Tithes on wool of Ballagh

For three locks for Ballagh, 3s 6d

A tax on Ballagh, £1 8s 0d

Michaelmas 1704

For 20 barrels oats to sow at Ballagh, £2

For surveying of lands within a ditch of Ballagh, £1 8s 2d

March 1706

Paid Cottiers of Ballagh on bargaining for the drain, 4s

June to August 1707

For pitch tar and raddle for Ballagh sheep, 6s 9d

Paid Thomas Ringwood for shearers at Ballagh, £ 1 6s 4d

Drainers at Ballagh, 7d

Paid Ballagh Shepherd, £1 10s 9½d

Paid County Charges for Ballagh, 6s 7d

September to November 1707

Paid for steel of workmen for tools for Ballagh, 1s 6d

Paid Ballagh shepherd for stuff for sheep, 1s 1d

November 1707 to March 1708

Church tax for Ballagh, £2 1s 0.5½d

Paid Ballagh shepherd for stuff for sheep, 3s 3d

Paid to two shepherds for valuing damage done to Ballagh sheep, 2s 11½d

March to May 1708

Paid men that wrought at Ballagh 20 November 1707 to 1 September 1708, £31 3s 8½d

Paid earnest to Ballagh shepherd for 4s for 2 pound ¼ of hops

June to August 1708

Paid in County tax for Ballagh, 4s 9d

Michaelmas 1710

Paid the several tenants of Ballagharahine and Errill for the work of their tenants, £36 7s 0d and [George] Southern toward building his house, £10

1714

Allowed Thomas Southern for building his house, £7

Gene-Ealogy and the new era of Irish surname, clan, and kindred research Editorial

Mike Fitzpatrick PhD^{1*} and Esther Fitzpatrick PhD²

¹Independent Scholar, Auckland 0604, New Zealand

²Faculty of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland 1010, New Zealand

*Author to whom correspondence should be addressed.

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A recent FTDNA blog, ‘Y-DNA Sheds New Light on the Medieval Genealogies of the Uí Briúin Dynasty of Northwest Ireland’¹, which stemmed from an article by DePew, Gleeson, and Jaski², is ground-breaking. The topic is familiar to those interested in Irish surnames, addressing the often-asked question, ‘Can Y-DNA be aligned with medieval Irish genealogies?’ The approach the authors used to investigate the Uí Briúin is by no means new, involving a comparison of Y-DNA-associated surname trees with clan-associated surname trees – the neatly coined DASTs versus CASTs.

FTDNA’s wonderful block tree, inspired by Alex Williamson, is a DAST, and many of FTDNA’s surname project administrators publish their own DASTs. What constantly impresses is the attention to detail, the incorporation of both SNP and STR data, and the clever estimates of branch ages; as expected from scholars, DePew, Gleeson, and Jaski’s DASTs are all of that.

But, it is the cognizance of Irish surname complexities that takes their research to a higher level³. Not satisfied with tackling a single surname and trying to prove a point by linking it to the surnames of a few well-known patrilineal cousins, the authors took on a puzzle of dynastic proportions – literally. This is praiseworthy because CASTs that focus on only small circles of historically connected Irish surnames can be fraught since they may fail to recognise that it is not uncommon to find parallel surname connections among different Irish lineages, which further might be expected to have quite different Y-haplotypes.

As the authors say, “Sometimes the same surname arose independently in several branches”. This happens more often than imagined, yet may be obscured from sight. For example, the magnetism of a ‘big clan’ surname and the allure of having a notable ancestor versus a less attractive ‘small clan’ alternative can leave genetic genealogy hounds barking up the wrong tree.

Such ‘dominant narratives’ can greatly hinder or even utterly blind⁴. Catherine Nash writes, “Diasporic genealogy is as much about enacting distinction as it is about making connections

¹ <https://blog.familytreedna.com/y-dna-medieval-genealogies-ui-briuin-dynasty>,
<https://blog.familytreedna.com/y-dna-medieval-genealogies-ui-briuin-dynasty-part-2/>

² DePew K, Gleeson M, & Jaski B (2023). *Peritia* 34: 9-45.

³ There are also unpublished examples, such as ‘Domnall son of Larien, son of Eochaidh Binneach and the Binnigh of the Bann’, by Edward Kane and Dwayne O’Neill, see <https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/cenel-eoghainy-dnaproject/about/results>

⁴ Fitzpatrick, E & Fitzpatrick, M (2020). When everything changes: using critical family history to deconstruct Keesing and Fitzpatrick surnames. *Genealogy* 4: 25. <https://doi:10.3390/genealogy4010025>.

... the public culture of Irish-American genealogy is dominated by references to ancient Gaelic kings and clans”⁵. DePew, Gleeson, and Jaski gain our applause for having none of that; with them, there is no cherry-picking. Yes, while on the one hand they identify Y-haplotypes that “match very well” some Uí Briúin lines, such as the Ó Conchabhair Donn (O’Connor Don), they found others “do not fit into any of the genealogical schemes”.

And the authors’ approach signals a new era has dawned on Irish surname, clan and kindred research, what we have elsewhere referred to in a recent publication as working the hyphen of ‘Gene-Ealogy’⁶ – and it’s a moment of celebration. The dominant narrative era, in which the big heroic and anti-heroic narratives popularised in some Irish history books and pedigrees, is passing, and we are entering a phase of much deeper scholarly interrogation and understanding of Irish clans and kindred groups and their surnames.

Now, some may squeal ‘revisionist’ and squirm at the upheaval and trauma that is being brought to bear on long-held surname identity beliefs. For others, revised positions are long overdue, part of a reversion to pre-colonial understandings of surnames, clans, and kindred. And while there needs to be sensitivity and respect for what has gone before, because some of it will remain accurate, there has come a deep desire to understand the occurrence of Y-DNA discovered Irish surname clusters that are possibly indicative of ‘lost’ clans and kindred groups.

Comhairle Chlanna na hÉireann (The Council of Irish Clans) is an independent authority established to foster the global Gaelic-Irish community. An Uachtarán (President), Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile, has recently emphasised the importance of accurate differentiation within Irish surname groups, and that clans and kindred be identified with their correct names and associated territories. Further, he has brought much needed clarity to what constitutes an Irish clan,

“which was originally the immediate family of a chieftain but later adapted to include extended family over generations. Over time, this group included some who did not carry the family surname but changed it to the clan surname. ‘Clan’ finally adapted to mean ‘a family, extended family, a commonality based on blood or not, that shared a common territory, culture, and symbolism’. Clans included the native Irish, Vikings, Normans, Old English, and Gallowglass. Some early Plantation families who adapted to Irish ways and lived in a common area before the fall of the Gaelic period, in 1641, can also be included, but these are very rare.”⁷

So we come to, how, then, do we ‘do’ robust research that explores the associations between Irish surnames and Y-haplotypes? The DAST bit looks very well covered, being in the good hands of project administrators, many so capable as mathematicians they could send their Irish clan flag attached to a can of Guinness up to the moon. The CAST bit is not easy, but we would do well to follow DePew, Gleeson, and Jaski.

⁵ Nash, C (2008). *Of Irish Descent: Origin Stories, Genealogy, and the Politics of Belonging*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

⁶ Fitzpatrick, E & Fitzpatrick, M. Decolonising an Irish Surname by Working the Hyphen of Gene-Ealogy. *Genealogy*. 2023; 7(3):58. <https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy7030058>

⁷ The Council of Irish Clans, <https://www.councilofirishclans.org>, accessed 2 October 2025.

When it comes to Irish genealogies, many CAST endeavours tend to default to John O'Hart's 'Irish pedigrees'. While DePew, Gleeson, and Jaski do make reference to O'Hart, it is with a degree of caution. They note that O'Hart's pedigrees are included in their research because they are a frequently consulted online resource. O'Hart's pedigrees currently hold sway in many circles, but relying on them for advanced genetic genealogy is akin to trusting poitín to power the motor of a Porsche 911.

Please pause for reflection. From the outset, reviewers received O'Hart generously, yet bluntly: "In a future edition we trust to find it quite up to modern notions of accuracy"⁸. Present-day Irish surname expert John Grenham pulls no punches, "Every Gaelic Irish family is shown to descend from a single forebear, but only by constant jumbling of sources, unacknowledged guesswork and judicious omissions". And Grenham's final words on the topic are, "approach with caution"⁹.

And here lies the 'not easy' aspect of DePew, Gleeson, and Jaski's CAST method. We recognize that not only does one of the authors bring virtually unrivalled Irish genealogical scholarship, but the team also has access to sources many find out of reach. Yet, the difference between O'Hart and the other Irish genealogical sources that the trio references is so stark, as the following summary attests, that it becomes crucial for forward-looking genetic genealogists to get access to those sources. The strength of engaging with Gene-Eaological research, which draws on DAST methods coupled with robust archival research, will bring needed rigor to Irish clan, kindred, and surname research, hopefully leading the hounds to bark up the 'right' tree.

It is *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach* (Great Book of Irish Genealogies, hereafter GBIG) that serious researchers need to find a way to access. GBIG is not inaccessible, although only available in a few libraries and only purchasable at a 'price'. However, for some context, one BigY costs about two-thirds of the beautiful shamrock green bound, five-volume set available from de Búrca books¹⁰. Also, (affording some Irish wit) the online version, exemplified in Figure 1, is free to view¹¹ ...

Comparing O'Hart with GBIG is like comparing a skateboard with a spaceship. GBIG is the work of Dubhaltach Óg Mac Fhirbisigh (Duald Mac Firbis), a seventeenth-century Irish scribe, translator, and the 'last great exponent' of Irish genealogies¹². While a nineteenth-century review of Mac Fhirbisigh's genealogies by Professor Eugene O'Curry¹³ was hyperbolic in its assessment – "perhaps the greatest genealogical collection in the world" – Eoin MacNeill (1921) realistically called it "by far the largest and fullest body of Irish genealogical lore"¹⁴. A review of Ó Muraíle's edition of GBIG declares it, alongside

⁸ Review (1880): *Irish Pedigrees; or, the Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation* by John O'Hart. *The Irish Monthly*, 8, 224-225.

⁹ <https://www.johngrenham.com/blog/2016/07/11/john-ohart-hero-and-villain>

¹⁰ <https://www.deburcarebooks.com/product/books/history/genealogies>

¹¹ https://www.isos.dias.ie/UCD/UCD_MS_14.html

¹² Ó Muraíle, N (2004). *The Great Book of Irish Genealogies*. Dublin: de Búrca.

¹³ O'Curry, E (1861). *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*. Dublin, James Duffy.

¹⁴ MacNeill, E (1921). *Celtic Ireland*. Dublin: Martin Lester.

O'Donovan's edition of the Annals of the Four Masters, one of the "two greatest works that any modern Irish scholars ever accomplished"¹⁵.

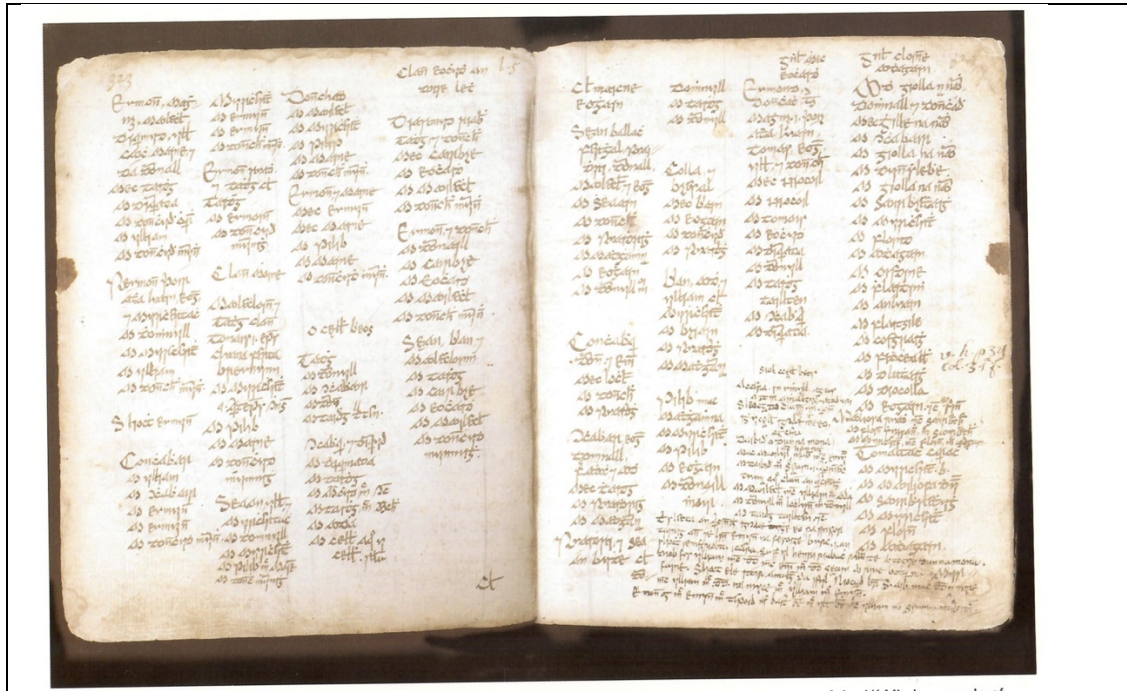


Figure 1: Showing text from GBIG pages 323-324, which Ó Muraíle's says are "fairly typical pages of genealogical material attractively laid out in columnar format".

What can GBIG bring? By way of example, DePew, Gleeson, and Jaski mention O'Connor clans. O'Hart gives us eight O'Connor pedigrees, much trimmed down, starting with "O'Connor (No. 1) Kings of Connacht", which feeds the dominant narrative, and even those brilliant of mind can be seduced. In contrast to O'Hart, GBIG provides at least seventeen Conchabhair (Connor) surname genealogies across ten different population groups for a total of 375 individuals with the patronym. And that's not to mention 300+ distinct occurrences of the given name Conchabhair, the fifth most numerous in GBIG, via which a patronym, perhaps scarcely recorded, had a chance to have arisen (refer Figure 2).

GBIG also brings perspectives to surname adoption, much in the way DePew, Gleeson, and Jaski highlight the factors that can influence 'the precarious evolution of Irish surnames'. For example, in his genealogy of the seed or progeny of Conall Clogach, i.e., the folk of Maol Moichéirghé"¹⁶, Mac Fhirbisigh noted, "perhaps someone would examine this since other texts generally say Conall Clogach, son of Aodh ... the reader should understand that it is possible, and even a custom, to refer to a person's fosterson as his son ... and therefore one can, without contradicting this, call Conall Clogach 'son of Aodh' ... even though he be, according to this tract, Conall Clogach, son of Faolchú"¹⁷. That is, Mac Fhirbisigh considered

¹⁵ Ó Canann, T (2002). The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 132, 127-137.

¹⁶ Anglicised Mulmohery, Moghery, and Early, a branch of the Cinéal Eóghain, i.e., the kindred or tribe of Eóghan (Owen), son of Niall Naoighiallach, an Uí Néill branch originally centred at Ailech on Inis Eóghain (Inisowen, i.e., Eoghan's Peninsula) in Dún na nGall (Donegal).

¹⁷ GBIG 146.5-6.

that the difference in Conall Clogach's genealogies probably came about because he was fostered.

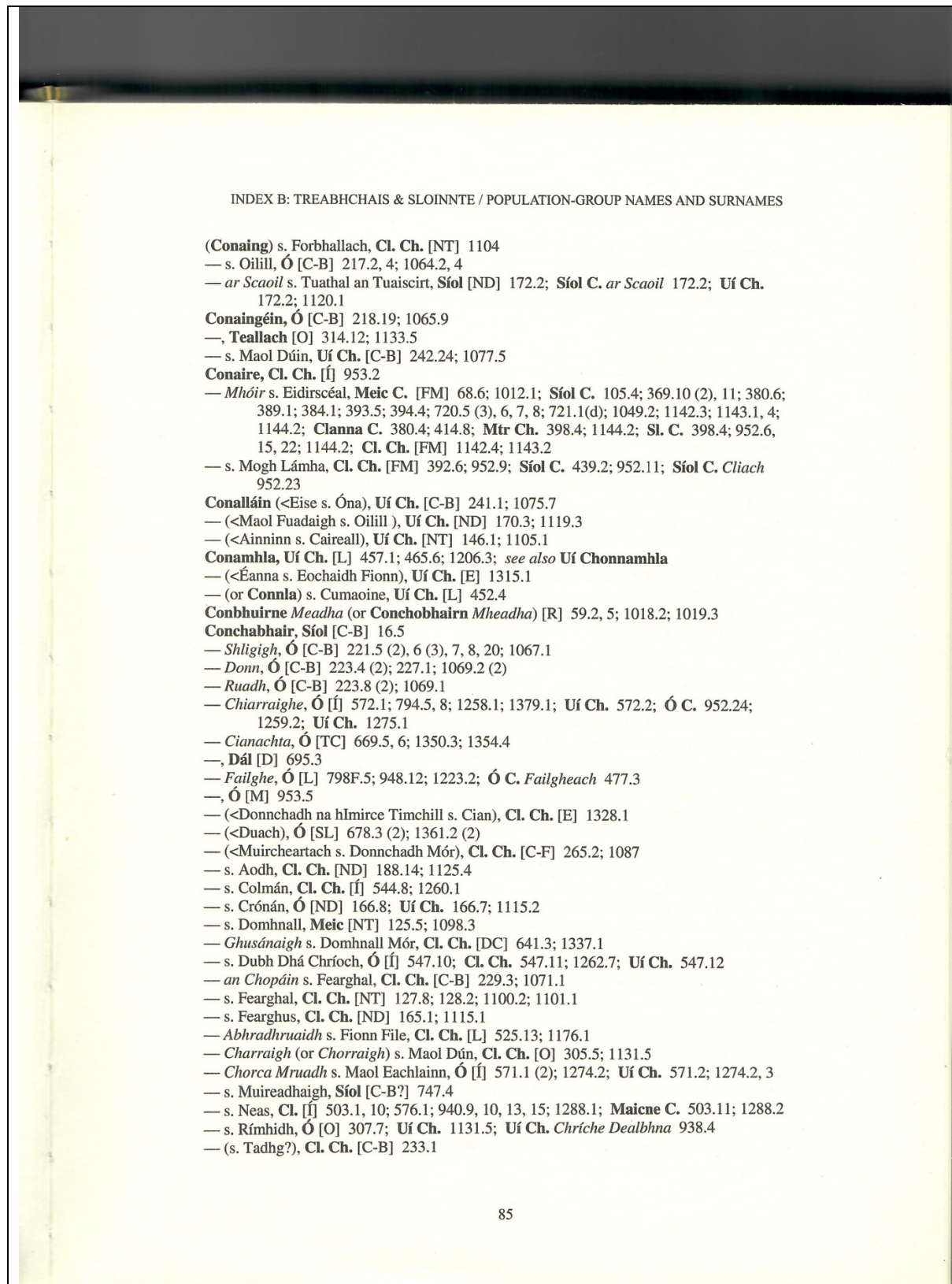


Figure 2: An extract from Ó Muraíle's GBIG population-group names and surnames index, showing some occurrences of Conchabhair.

Other easily accessible and essential yet largely underutilized genealogies deserve mention. Although unable to match GBIG, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (hereafter, CGH) contains “pre-Norman Irish and related tracts from the twelfth century”; those manuscripts are ‘Rawlinson B.502’ and ‘The Book of Leinster’, “with variants and some additions from parallel material” in ‘The Book of Lecan’ and the ‘Book of Ballymote’¹⁸. CGH is available from the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies and can also be accessed online, as can other vital works such as the Ó Cléirigh book of genealogies¹⁹.

But the rewards of GBIG are by far the richest. Here, we recount some findings from the Fitzpatrick surname project. The dominant Fitzpatrick narrative once was that all surname bearers originated from the Mac Giolla Phádraig dynasts of Ossory, the most notable branch being the Barons of Upper Ossory, who were the first to take the anglicized surname form, by decree of Henry VIII. Hence, the early years of the Fitzpatrick surname Y-DNA project saw the ‘collaborative aim’ of preparing a “genealogical register of the male descendants of the 1st Baron of Upper Ossory in order to identify The Fitzpatrick, chief of his name”²⁰.

No second thought was given to other ways the Fitzpatrick surname may have arisen, yet it did in several different circumstances, Van Morrison-like, “from Bantry Bay up to Derry Quay and from Galway to Dublin town”. Finte na hÉireann now recognize five clans whose modern-day members all go by the surname Fitzpatrick: Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais, Mac Giolla Phádraig Laighean, Mac Giolla Phádraig Ulaidh, Fitzpatrick of Upper Ossory, and Ó Maol Phádraig Bréifne.

Clan Ó Maol Phádraig Bréifne (O’Mulpatrick of Breffny) is celebrated as an example of what Y-DNA can do when interrogated alongside GBIG, which then, hand-in-hand with Y-DNA, provides a springboard to other sources. The surname Ó Maol Phádraig, which arose from the given name Máel Pátraic, is now extinct, having succumbed to what MacLysaght called the ‘corruption’ of Irish surnames²¹, part of a colonial practice that served to weaken Gaelic Irish culture, history, and identity. Of the O’Mulpatrick, O’Hart said nothing – the dominant narrative probably held sway in his mind when he wrote that the Fitzpatrick of Bréifne was a clan originally of the Fitzpatrick of Ossory.

Although GBIG makes a record of just one Ó Maol Phádraig clan, of the Conmhaicne Fhinnir²², who came to have branches in Bréifne, this provides an important starting position for constructing CAST-DAST relationships for Bréifne Fitzpatricks. The Ó Maol Phádraig Bréifne DASTs versus CASTs are a work in progress²³, but there are indeed Y-DNA associations that match well with other Conmhaicne Fhinnir surnames, which, by the way,

¹⁸ O’Brien, M (1976). *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

¹⁹ Pender, S (1951). *The O’Clery Book of Genealogies*. *Analecta Hibernica* 18: x-xxxiii, 1-198.

²⁰ Zalewski S & Fitzpatrick, R (2002). *Descendants of Bryan Fitzpatrick Lord and First Baron of Upper Ossory*. Dublin: Zalewski & Fitzpatrick.

²¹ MacLysaght, E (1985). *Irish Families: Their Names, Arms and Origins*. Dublin, Irish Academic Press.

²² The Conmhaicne were said to be the descendants of the mythical demi-god, Conmhac who were spread across Connaught, as well as having an “east to west distribution ... across the centre of Ireland”. See Byrne, F (1973). *Irish Kings and High Kings*. London: BT Batsford Ltd.

²³ Fitzpatrick, I & Fitzpatrick, M (2023). Ó Maol Phádraig: the name, the people, and the clans. Part I. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 4, 1-10. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01223.

are not just the few that you might find listed on Wikipedia – GBIG reveals they number more than one hundred.

Crucially, GBIG also has twenty-four discreet occurrences of the precursor given name, Máel Pátraic. While ‘re-discovering’ the Ó Maol Phádraig Bréifne was a defining moment for Fitzpatricks, the casting off of a dominant Fitzpatrick narrative opened the eyes to even more possibilities and the headspace to imagine and ask ‘were Ó Maol Phádraig clans, who were descendants of a Máel Pátraic individual, once more widespread?’

The answer came definitively, in GBIG-assisted fashion, via other sets of genealogical records that are the equivalent of unfathomable treasure hidden in plain sight – many thousands of Irish men and women, often named alongside close kin and clan associates, along with placenames and occupations, telephone book-like for those old enough to remember the White Pages; scarcely yet ever utilized, these records will also serve the new Irish surname research era well.

GBIG provided a lead: the occurrence of Máel Pátraic among the Eóghanachta, a ruling dynasty of Munster. Y-DNA set the heart-racing a little faster – the existence of two sizeable groups of Fitzpatricks with the broad Eóghanachta Y-haplotype, R-CTS4466, having surname-specific shared ancestry from the thirteenth-century, and deeper common ancestry with the great clan Ó Súilleabháin (O’Sullivan) et al. Whence, there came the courage to tackle the Irish late-medieval ‘telephone books’, those being the Fiants of Ireland²⁴, where from the late-sixteenth to early-seventeenth centuries are recorded several ‘O Mullpatrick’ scattered among the pardons granted to Eóghanachta leadership, the most notable being Donal MacCarthy Reagh, 17th Prince of Carbery, and their associates (refer Figure 3). Moreover, the fiants record some Ó Maol Phádraig Eóghanachta were associated with a place that bore their patronym, Ballymulpatrick; that old townland name is now extinct, like the surname. To attach a modern surname to a tuath²⁵ is a big deal.

We consider there is a world of untouched data for those trying to make sense of Irish CASTs and DASTs, and the thrill of discovery awaits, yet there is a caveat – tread carefully. Consider what your discoveries might mean for both individual and clan identities. Indeed, could anything offset the discovery and resurrection of a ‘lost clan’? Well, what about putting to death an existing one? Eóghanachta Fitzpatricks have lived for the past three hundred years and more, going by their ‘corrupted’ surname. Their identity is bound to Fitzpatrick and whatever narratives, accurate or not, of how they adopted their surname.

To date, Co. Cork Fitzpatricks have reacted with lukewarm enthusiasm when learning they could descend from seventeenth-century Ó Maol Phádraig ‘rebels’, rather than Mac Giolla Phádraig nobility. And fair enough. Identity politics has traumatized Ireland for hundreds of years. How people are ascribed or choose to identify themselves is an ongoing struggle, especially in colonized spaces. Further, identities have economic and social consequences and impact individual and group wellbeing⁶.

²⁴ Fitzpatrick, M (2021). Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland: Part I: a method of approach to mega-data, and a Mac Caisín case study. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 66-92. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621).

²⁵ A territory and the connected people.

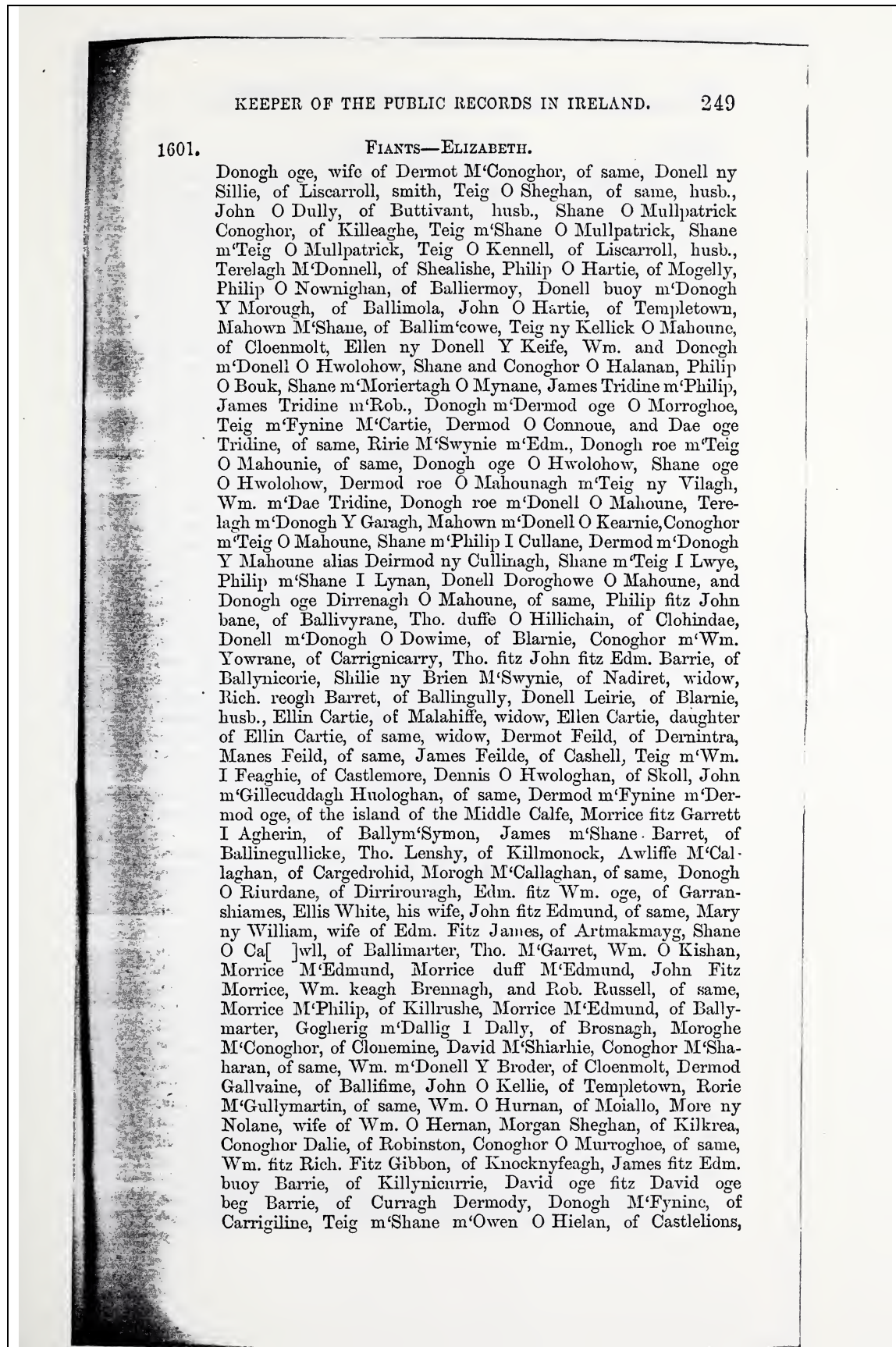


Figure 3: Part of Fiant 6539 from the reign of Elizabeth I, dated 1601, recording O'Mulpatricks of Co. Cork.

Indeed, some Fitzpatricks may wish the pages of GBIG were never opened. O'Hart attached the pedigree of the Fitzpatrick barons to the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory and said their close kin were another Osraige clan, the O'Braonáin Uí Dhuach (O'Branan of Idough), the two said to share common ancestry at Cearbhall, King of Ossory (843-888 AD). A simplistic CAST-DAST comparison seems to bring confirmation to O'Hart, since many Fitzpatricks and many of Branan-like surnames (i.e., Brennan, Branham, etc.) share ancestry at R-FGC5494 ... A1506, an interesting haplotype, which is dated to the medieval. Yet, GBIG places the O'Braonáin Uí Dhuach among the Uí Failghe, well detached from any Osraige line. Hence, GBIG's disruption of a dominant narrative has led to an alternative, highly disruptive theory for the pre-twelfth century origins of R-1506 'Branans' and Fitzpatricks²⁶.

It can be guaranteed there will be similar narrative twists for some who follow the lead of DePew, Gleeson, and Jaski, no longer satisfied with swimming on the surface and desirous of a plunge into GBIG and wherever that great book leads. That paper genealogy deeper dive is not unlike taking a Y-DNA test in the first place – and if you don't want to be surprised by GBIG findings that might disrupt a dominant surname, clan, or kindred narrative, take care when you go looking.

²⁶ Fitzpatrick, M., Fitzpatrick, I. (2021). The Similar-Sounding Surnames of Haplogroup R-BY140757. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 1-41. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00421](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00421).