

The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society

Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD
Part I

Volume 1 | May 2020



fitzpatrickclan.org/journal
ISSN 2703-4623

Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD

Part I

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Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2020, 1, 1-17

Abstract

The first part of this review of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí history (1384-1534) covers the period 1384, from the conquest of Richard II, to 1454, by which time the certain elements of the clan had entered into an alliance with their once mortal enemies, the Butlers of Ormond. Twelve years after the commencement of this era the Lordship of Ossory had fallen to Finghin; these were days of increasing formation of alliances between Gaelic chieftains. That changed around the time of Finghin's death in ca. 1417; the power struggle between Sir John Talbot and Sir James Butler, 4th Earl of Ormond, altered the face of Irish politics for the next 30 or so years, and Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí had to choose one side or the other. It was a time when Donnchadh Mór, a previously unrecognised Lord of Ossory, was chieftain. His life and times are recounted from entries in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and other familiar texts, but three largely overlooked sources of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí history – *Liber Ruber*, the *Ormond Deeds* and the *Kildare Rental* – significantly add to our understand of both he and Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí lineages, which to date have been muddled. *New* characters are uncovered, such as Morena ny Giolla Phádraig and her husband, John *the Blind* Butler, and the previously ignored branch, Clann Maeleachlainn Ruadh. An account of the early stages of the Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí alliance, which would ultimately fragment the clan, is provided.

A Note on Names, Styles and Edits

This article is written in the English language, but the people and places discussed are Irish. In order to acknowledge the primacy of *Gaeilge* (Gaelic) in this article, the personal names and by-names of people are in provided in modern *Gaeilge* using the most common spelling; the meanings of the latter are provided at the time of first use, for example, Tadhg Dubh (Teague 'the Black') Mac Giolla Phádraig. In similar fashion, at the time of first use place names are provided in modern *Gaeilge* with the English version in parentheses, for example, Garrán na Páirce (Parksgrove), unless the place name is titular, for example, the Baron of Upper Ossory.

Quotations are italicised and long or textually significant quotations are also indented. This article is a *living work*, i.e., it can be edited by the author; all versions will be retained. This is version four.

Introduction

The history of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí (Ossory) has received ample attention by some of Éire's (Ireland's) most respected historians most notably Rev. John Shearman (1831-1885) and Rev. William Carrigan (1860-1924), both Cill Chainnigh (Kilkenny) born, in their respective works *Loca Patriciana* (1879) and *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (1905). However, readers cannot help, at times, be confused with certain aspects of their works, such as the inconsistent and confusing pedigrees.

For example, neither Shearman nor Carrigan attempt to explain why their pedigrees differ from those in the *Annals of the Four Masters* (O'Clery, Vol. V, p. 1753), which afford no place for their *Brian na luirech* as the father of the 1st Baron of Upper Ossory; rather, the annals record the father of the 1st Baron as *Siain* (Seán). Further confusion ensues around Brian na Luireach (*of the coats of mail*) when Shearman, when describing the burial chamber at Gráinseach na Feartach (Grangefertagh), states he died in 1537 and Carrigan also appears to have been bemused enough by Brian to note, at his book's end, his absence from a Fitzpatrick lineage stating

Brian ‘na luirech’ Mac Gillapatrick, who died about 1511, and is buried at Fertagh, should have found a place in the Pedigree here (Carrigan, 1905, Addenda and Corrigenda).

The years of the deaths of those buried at Gráinseach na Feartach are neither 1511 nor 1537. By 1905 the tomb inscriptions were very worn and Carrigan saw fit not to assign any date (“Fertagh Church Ruins”, 1905, pp. 357-58); and Shearman (1879) was remarkably adamant, *there is no date on this monument*. But an unattributed letter to the editor of *Anthologia Hibernica* from more than 100 years earlier than Carrigan’s visit, while stating the lettering even then was *much defaced*, gave a date for *someone* buried there as 1525 (Anonymous, 1793, *see also* Seward, 1795). Contrary to both Carrigan and Shearman, and as will be demonstrated in *Part II*, that *someone* is, perhaps, neither *Brian ‘na luirech’* nor *Johes Mac Gillapatrick*.

These examples of errors, confusions, and gaps in the key Mac Giolla Phádraig texts provide the explanation for, and focus of, this article – *Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí* – that is, to review Mac Giolla Phádraig records for the period 1384-1534. These dates are not arbitrary. The bookends are Richard II’s expedition to Éire in 1384 and the rebellion of Silken Thomas, the 10th Earl of Kildare, in 1534.

Article Overview

Part I covers the period 1384-1454 and is broken down into sections that highlight the notable Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí and key events of the period, viz.

- Finghin, Lord of Ossory ca. 1396 – ca. 1417
- Talbot and Ormond, and the shaping of the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory
- Donnchadh Mór, Lord of Ossory ca. 1417 – ca. 1448
- The events of 1443
- Donnchadh Mór in *Liber Ruber*
- Donnchadh Mór in the Ormond Deeds
- Donnchadh Mór in the Kildare Rental
- Éire 1444-1448
- The Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig Alliance: Part I
- Finghin Mór, Lord of Ossory (ca. 1448 – ca. 1468)
- Morena ny Giolla Phádraig
- Miscellanea: Criomthann and Tadhg Dubh Mac Giolla Phádraig

Finghin Mac Giolla Phádraig (? – ca. 1417), Lord of Ossory (ca. 1396 – ca. 1417)

Finghin (Finnin) emerged as the key figure among the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory toward the end of the fourteenth century; a period referred to by O’Byrne as one of *greater flexibility in Irish politics* (2001). That *flexibility* had led to the increasing formation of alliances between Gaelic chieftains who had become more hostile to the *Anglo-Irish and the king’s officers*. This included the Mac Giolla Phádraig – in 1395, the Sheriff of Carlow, Geoffrey de Vale, produced a writ evidencing his prior, *warring with the justiciar against MacGillapatrick at Kilkenny* (Johnston, 1977).

That a crisis was coming to Éire was *an accepted fact*, and in October 1394, Éire experienced the military might of Richard II, the first English monarch to set foot in Éire since John in 1185. One of the most prized by the English among the Irish chiefs to swear his oath of allegiance was Art Óg Mac Murchadha Caomhánach (Art *the younger* Mac Murrough Kavanagh), the Lord of Leinster. Alongside Mac Murchadha at Balgory, Carlow on 18 February *Fennan MacGillapatrick* swore *merely to submit to the royal will*, indicating that liege homage was beyond his authority; while most other Irish Lords present were clearly identified as the *captains of their nation*, Finghin was not (Johnston, 1977).

Mag Giolla Phádraig Osraí chieftainship lay elsewhere in 1394; this apparent from other records of the period, from 1393 and 1396, which note the deaths of two Lords and one Tanist of Ossory in those years, as follows:

...Mac Gillapattrick. Lord of Ossory; and the son of Kellagh Mac Gillapattrick, Tanist of Ossory, all died of the same plague (O'Clery, 1856, p. 691)

Mac Gilla Patrick Ossoriae dominus obiit (O'Clery, 1856, p. 746)

The aforementioned Lord of Ossory who died in 1383 was, in all likelihood, another named Finghin who, according to a plaque at Achadh Bhó (Aghaboe) Abbey, established a Dominican Friary there ca. 1382 (Archdall, 1786), elsewhere recorded *ante annum* 1400 (Burke, 1762). That Finghin was not Tanist in 1383, since the fonder of Achadh Bhó's successor died in 1396, bears testimony to his juniority, nevertheless Mac Murchadha, having recognised the revival of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí (a once supreme force in 12th Century Leinster) in the Irish midlands during the 1300s had identified Finghin as Lord of Ossory in waiting. Art's traditional diplomatic ploy secured a Mac Murchadha-Mac Giolla Phádraig alliance; the marriage of Finghin to Art's daughter Sadhbh (Sabina) had probably occurred by 1386 (O'Byrne, 2001) when the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí had almost certainly joined him during Art's campaign on their territory.

Numbers of the English of Ossory fell by Mac Murrough, King of Leinster (O'Clery, 1856, p. 707)

The likely date of Finghin's ascendancy, following the death of either his father or another senior Mac Giolla Phádraig, is 1396 and evidence of a continuation of Mac Murchadha-Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí campaigns is found shortly after that in 1398.

Mac Murchadha went on an expedition, and the Foreigners of Laighen and Midhe overtook him; and a great number of the Saxon army, and the kerne retainers of Mac Murchadha, were slain there, including ... William, the son of Cerbhall Mac Gilla-Patraic, and the son of Diarmaid Ruadh Mac Gilla-Patraic (Hennessy, 1871, p. 85)

Finghin was still living in 1411 when the annalists record the death of Sadhbh (Hennessy, 1871) but his days ended sometime between then and 1417, when another chief had appeared (Freeman, 1944). With the passing of Finghin, the next Lord of Ossory was Donnchadh Mór (Donagh *the Great*) Mac Giolla Phádraig (Freeman, 1944). And by 1417 the political scene in Éire was undergoing a shake-up of seismic proportions; the next 27 years would see a clash between the Anglo-Irish le Botiler of Urmhumhan (Ormond) and a legend in waiting – Sir John Talbot. Ultimately this rivalry dictated the course of the Mac Giolla Phádraig through to the end of the Late Middle Ages, and Mac Giolla Phádraig history from 1417 to 1454 can only be understood within the Talbot-Ormond context.

Talbot and Ormond: the shaping of the Mac Giolla Phádraig

The House of Ormond had enjoyed more than 200 years of unprecedented stability, where there had been *an almost unbroken succession from father to son from 1185 until 1405* in the senior line; this had allowed the Butlers to amass sizeable landed estates particularly in Cúige Mumhan (Munster) and, at their northern extremities, on the borders of *Mac Giolla Phádraig's Country*. Following the death of James, the 3rd Earl of Ormond, in 1405, the title fell to his son, James the 4th Earl of Ormond – the *White Earl*. The custodianship of the young Earl's lands was granted to Thomas of Lancaster, who was the son of Henry IV and the King's Lieutenant of Ireland, since Ormond had not reached his majority. In 1411, at 21 years, he was granted possession of his lands, although effective control had been realised from 1407 when he was engaged in various military actions (Beresford, 1999).

In contrast, although the Talbots had established contacts in Éire since 1174, closer associations only came in the latter part of the 14th Century. Richard Talbot, the father of Sir John, had claim to the succession to the Lordship of Wexford since 1389, although that claim was contested by Reginald Grey of Ruthin (Pollard, 1969). But, on the back of his feats during the Glyndŵr Rising, Talbot was elevated to the King's Lieutenant of Ireland in 1414 (Lyte, 1927) and this advantaged him over Grey; on the resolution of the claim several years later he

became Lord Wexford (Pollard, 1969). The stage was now set for a feud between the Houses of Ormond and Talbot, which would dominate the first half of 15th-century Anglo-Irish history (Griffith, 1941).

Talbot's earlier tenure in Éire was marked by devastating military raids and the *pacification* of Irish tribes (Pollard, 1969). Ó Mórdha (O'More) was first to submit, swept aside within 12 days; others soon followed as Talbot's strategy of immediately enlisting those he had conquered reaped dividends (Ellis, 1827). Initially, Talbot appeared to support Ormond who had just returned from fighting for Henry V in the 1417-1420 French campaign, having been knighted prior to Azincourt (Curry, 2000). Ormond was retained, *with his whole retinue horse, and foot, well mounted, armed and arrayed, for the terme of one year* (Dugdale, 1675, p.329), and, along with his brother Thomas, Ormond was appointed as guardian of the peace and commissioner of array for Cill Chainnigh, Tiobraid Árann (Tipperary), and Port Láirge (Waterford) (Tresham, 1828).

However, *the Lieutenancy of Ireland in the fifteenth century was a hard and thankless post* (Pollard, 1969, p.106). Irish clans had *neither unity nor the desire to throw out the English. Instead, they enjoyed plundering or extorting, ransoms from the cultivated borders of the English held land* (Pollard, 1969, p.108). Talbot's early success had come at a steep financial cost, but funds for Éire were becoming harder to come by – completely understandable considering the financial drain of the 100 Years War (McFarlane, 1962). Therefore, it is no surprise that as early as 1415 Talbot's gaze had fallen on Ormond's debts to the Crown and, ultimately, in 1417 this led to the seizure of Ormond's Irish lands (Empey, 1970).

Talbot was compelled to petition for funds in England, which led to a period of absenteeism from 1416-1417. Absenteeism was part and parcel of life for a servant of the Crown in Éire but from the outset of his appointment Talbot was more absent than not, which served to quickly dictate how he was perceived by Irish and Anglo-Irish alike, i.e., that he was an *external royal authority*. In contrast to Talbot, Ormond was viewed as a *residential Lord* who well understood compromise and the need to work with Irish chieftains (Pollard, 1969). That became evident to Talbot in no uncertain terms when Thomas Butler secured the services of a *troop of wild warriors*, being some 200 horsemen and 300 foot, who joined him to aid Henry V in France where they were immortalised for their valor at the siege of Rouen (Moore, 1840; Devon, 1837).

But if financial pressures and the Ormond's siding with the enemy wasn't enough for Talbot, his political alignment conflicted with his foe and his foe's allies (Crooks, 2020) and this was no more apparent than during the struggle for the Earldom of Desmond, when Talbot favoured Thomas FitzGerald whereas Ormond was in the camp of James 'the Usurper' (Pollard, 1968). There were many outcomes of the Talbot-Ormond feud (Griffith, 1941), but the one that concerns this article is that as both parties sought to garner support from the Irish, the Irish were compelled to choose sides (Pollard, 1968). From ca. 1416 Ormond had established alliances with the Mac Murchadha, Ó Broin (O'Byrne), Ó Tuathail (O'Toole) and the Ó Conchubhair Fhailghe (O'Connor Faly), often with the requisite marital links (O'Byrne, 2001). But where would the designs of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí lie? That clan decision fell, doubtless in no small part, to Donnchadh Mór Riabhach Mac Giolla Phádraig.

Donnchadh Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig (? – ca. 1448), Lord of Ossory (ca. 1417 – ca. 1448)

That Donnchadh Mór has been largely overlooked as a clan chieftain by the most noted Mac Giolla Phádraig historians, viz., Carrigan and Shearman, is somewhat understandable. Carrigan makes no direct reference to Donnchadh Mór, but the most significant historical reference to him is the earliest, which appears in *Annála Connacht* – these annals were absent from Carrigan's list of works consulted since the relevant passage was not published until 1944, two decades after Carrigan's death. Freeman's translation reads

Piers son of James son of Edmund Butler, who would have been Earl of Ormond, was killed on the night of Shrove Tuesday, in the house of Donnchad Oirech Mac Gilla Patraic in Ossory, by Donnchad's blacksmith while they were dancing (Freeman, 1944).

That Freeman left Oirech untranslated only becomes understandable on viewing the Annála Connacht manuscript (MS C iii 1, f. 52 r); in parts the scribe's handwriting is very unclear and the passage is also highly abbreviated. It appears as, *donch airig m.g.p*, which in this context is read, *Donnchadh chief of the Mac Giolla Phádraig*.

Quite aside from the growing Talbot and Ormond 'situation', the significance of 1417 is not lost for in this year the annals also record (a) the death of both Art Óg Mac Murchadha Caomhánach the King of Leinster and his son Diarmait; (b) Art's son Donnchadh became Leinster's King, and (c) *a great war broke out in Leinster between the English and Irish* (O'Clery, 1856, pp. 831-833). Aged friends were passing, new leaders were emerging, and change was inevitable. The forging of new Irish/Anglo-Irish alliances doubtless took much negotiation behind the scenes and that Mac Giolla Phádraig were interacting socially with Butlers in 1417 is plainly apparent – fasting's eve was a time for *singing, dancing and otherwise playing* (Aucoin, 2019, p. 176); but was the death of Piers a mere accident, the result of bad blood or, perhaps, a Talbot motivated hit?

Whatever the case a letter, which Crooks (2007) attributes to being written in 1420, from John Marshal, constable of Athy castle, to Talbot indicates Donnchadh Mór's position had become clearly defined; he was *willing to become Talbot's man* and was *awaiting instructions on how to proceed in Talbot's service* (Pollard, 1968, p.121) particularly against Calbhach (Calvagh) Ó Conchobhair Failghe and James FitzGerald of Desmond (Crooks, 2007). That the Mac Giolla Phádraig-Mac Murchadha relationship forged ca. 1386 was not a factor in Donnchadh Mór's decision to take Talbot's side is most likely due to it being a period of Mac Murchadha decline; their role was severely impacted due to Donnchadh Mac Murchadha's capture by Talbot, who held him prisoner from 1419-1427 (O'Byrne, 2001).

Donnchadh Mór's choice of Talbot over Ormond was the continuation of the ongoing war between the Butlers, now the occupiers of ancient Mac Giolla Phádraig territory in the heart of Cill Chainnigh, and those who they had displaced. The earliest clear record of Butlers and Mac Giolla Phádraig in direct conflict with each other is found in 1323 when the expedition of Justiciar John de Bermingham to quash the Éile Ó Cearbhaill (Ely O'Carroll) rebellion also targeted Mac Giolla Phádraig, with support coming from Thomas Butler the 1st Lord of Dunboyne (Empey, 1970). In 1356 Peter le Botiller, 2nd Baron of Dunboyne, received 100 marks from Edward III as reward for killing *Gillepatrick chief of Ossory* (Butler, 1945). And the spoiling of Upper Ossory by James Butler 3rd Earl of Ormond, at times Lord Justice and a Justiciar of Ireland, in 1394 (O'Clery, 1856) was likely retribution for the Mac Murchadha-Mac Giolla Phádraig attacks of 1386.

Although at opposite ends of the axis there is little record of Butler - Mac Giolla Phádraig conflict immediately following Talbot's enlistment, but there is evidence of both sides in conflict with allies of the other. Ormond's defeat of Ó Mórdha, Mac Giolla Phádraig's ally, is a noteworthy event in 1421 and in the same year the annals record

Mac Gillpatrick and the son of Libned a Frene, one of the English, set out with twelve score soldiers on a predatory excursion into Leix, and did not halt until they reached the monastery of Leix; but O'Conor Faly happened to come in contact with them in that country, and attacked Mac Gillpatrick and the English, and defeated and slaughtered them, and his people obtained great spoils of the armour, arms, and accoutrements of the English. (O'Clery, 1856, p. 851)

This was no random act by Donnchadh Mór, and no random response by Ó Conchubhar Fhailghe – in 1419 the son of this same de Fréine had taken Calbhach Ó Conchubhar Fhailghe, an Ormond ally, prisoner and sold him to Talbot (O'Clery, 1856).

But apart from these brief records and that, in 1431, *Domnall Mac Gilla-Patraig, namely, son of the King of Ossory, died* (O'Clery, 1856) – this Dónall (Donal) was the son of Donnchadh Mór – there are no other significant Mac Giolla Phádraig records until 1440. It was a period when Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí succession is uncertain (O'Byrne, 2001) and when Norman-Gaelic government was a *peculiar balance, albeit an uneasy one* (Empey & Simms, 1975).

Growing tensions and the events of 1443

The relative calm between Butlers and Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí was doubtless influenced by Ormond's alliance with the Earl of Desmond from 1422-1444 (Empey & Simms, 1975), which included an indenture for marriage between Ormond's daughter and Desmond's son and that, *the two Earls shall maintain, cherish, love and defend each and either of the two and their heirs and children against all men* (Curtis, 1935, p.72).

Also significant in this era was the marriage, in 1432, of Ormond to Elizabeth FitzGerald, the daughter of Gerald the 5th Earl of Kildare, which was shrewd to say the very least since it led to him acquiring Kildare lands and staking claim to the Earldom of Kildare. But FitzGerald's were outraged and the marriage ultimately led to Thomas FitzGerald, grandson of Gerald and the 7th Earl, allying himself with those others disgruntled with Ormond, such as the Ó Mórdha and the emergent Ó Broin of Wexford. Ormond was intent on developing new alliances and securing his succession plans, and he arranged the marriage between his nephew and potential heir, Edmund MacRichard Butler (ca. 1415-1464), to Catherine the daughter of Máel Ruanaidh Ó Cearbhaill Éile; it was a double deal since Edmund's sister Mary was coupled to Máel Ruanaidh's son Seán (O'Byrne, 2001).

The growing regional tension must have been palpable, and in 1440 the annalists record a, *predatory incursion into Leix, O'Moore's territory*, by the Ó Conchubhar Fhailghe who were then routed by the Earl of Desmond and Mac Gillpatrick (O'Clery, 1856). With so many factors in play it is no surprise that when Talbot returned to Éire in 1442 there came *the climax of the quarrel* (Griffith, 1941).

By 1442 the period of uneasy truce had afforded Mac Giolla Phádraig the time to construct a castle into the mountainside at An Chúlchoill (Cullahill). Carrigan (1905) estimates its erection as ca. 1425 and credits the build to Finghin Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig (Lord of Ossory ca. 1448 – 1469); neither the date of the build nor the builder is substantiated but it is considered more likely that it was Donnchadh Mór project. Regardless, by 1436, the last year of Sir Thomas Stanley's terms as Lord Lieutenant, the commanding structure evidenced that the power of the Mac Giolla Phádraig had grown; in response, in 1442, Cullahill fell:

Order, at petition [etc.], to pay the sovereign, provost and commons of the town of Kilkenny 100s granted to them as a reward, because they sustained various labours at their own costs in the company of Thomas Stanley Kt, former Lieutenant of Ireland, and that of Lionel Lord Welles, Lieutenant, in resistance of the malice of the Irish enemies and English rebels, and especially in breaching the castle of McKilpatrick. (Crooks, 2012)

After the successful attack Finghin Mac Giolla Phádraig, son of the Lord of Ossory (O'Donovan, 1846), was taken hostage by Edmund MacRichard, Ormond's trusted deputy lieutenant and *alter ego* (Beresford, 1999) while Ormond was in England facing charges brought by Talbot (Empey, 1970). Mac Firbis made record of his *treacherous* slaying – the following year Finghin was set upon in his chains by MacRichard's lackies; they took off his shackles and, *beat him and his brother Diarmaid with them until they died* (O'Clery, 1856).

Shearman adds considerable detail to the annalistic account, stating that according family tradition:

In the year 1443, the Cave of Dunmore was the scene of a cruel slaughter of this of some Ossorians whose kinglet Finghin na Cuilcoille Mac Gilla Patraic was a prisoner in Kilkenny. His brother Dermot stealthily brought forty men, whom on his way to Kilkenny he concealed in the Cave of Dunmore... and then... went on to Kilkenny under pretence of visiting his brother, meanwhile Walter Mac Edmund Butler had secret intelligence of the intended rescue (Shearman, 1879, p. 360)

The Finghin in Shearman's account is referred to as a *kinglet*, which is revealing since he is called neither Lord of Ossory nor Tanist, but just as Finghin Mac Giolla Phádraig (Lord of Ossory ca. 1396 – ca. 1417) before him was once a star on the rise so was this Finghin. Of him Mac Firbis wrote:

the said Fingin being well worthy of the Kingdome of Ossory as sole Lord through his vertuous qualities and conditions both in princely person, wealth, liberality and martiall ffeates (O'Donovan, 1846, p. 200)

That *princely person* referred by Mac Firis better describes a youthful heir in waiting rather than the incumbent Lord. It also serves to clear up the confusion around his status, his ascent and his progeny. Carrigan (1905) correctly identifies him as the father of Finghin Ruadh (The 'Red') who in 1478 exacted revenge on the Butler's on account of his father's murder but Shearman (1879) erroneously describes him as Lord of Upper Ossory, the husband of Margaret Butler, and the son of Finghin (Lord of Ossory, ? – 1383/1386). Shearman, in fact, was describing the incumbent Lord of Ossory, Finghin Mór; these errors are due in large part to the failure to recognise the status of Donnchadh Mór, who in 1443 was chieftain, but advancing in years.

Following the murderous acts on Finghin and Diarmaid, Walter *set out for Dunmore, and piled up straw and brambles against the mouth of the Cave and smothered the forty men there concealed* (Shearman, 1879) after which MacRichard's men ransacked Osraí (O'Clery, 1856). And if the loss of two sons in a single year wasn't enough Donnchadh Mór then lost a third, Maeleachlainn (Malachy) Ruadh, in a heavy defeat at the hands of a son of Edmund MacRichard Butler (O'Clery, 1856).

Much more can be learnt of the life and times of Donnchadh Mór from three major, largely neglected, sources. In the chronological order in which they appear these sources are (a) Liber Ruber (Red Book) of the Diocese of Ossory, (b) The Calendar of Ormond Deeds, and (c) the Rental book of the Earl of Kildare.

Donnchadh Mór in the Liber Ruber

The Liber Ruber (Red Book) of the Diocese of Ossory is an episcopal register containing 79 leaves of vellum with compilations dating from the period when Richard de Ledrede was Bishop of Ossory (1317-1360) until 1577. As part of the Representative Church Body (RCB) Library's project to digitise manuscripts, the Liber Ruber (RCB Library D11/2/1) can be viewed via a Church of Ireland portal (<https://issuu.com/churchofireland/docs/redbookossory>).

The entry pertaining to Donnchadh Mór is on Folio 11a, the exact date of which is not recorded. Scholars typically cite 1460-1478 when Bishop David Hacket held the seat (Lawlor, 1908). However, Carrigan (1905) narrowed the range to 1468-1478 and this is likely because he understood the John McKeve referred to as the *late Rector* of Darú (Durrow) died in 1468, or earlier (Bliss, 1893, *refer* Vol. 12, 668, 1468).

Carrigan (1905) presents Folio 11a in the original Latin and provides an English translation (*refer* Vol. 2., pp. 217-219) but it is unusual to see that, having been so diligent with his earlier coverage of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí (*refer* Vol 1., pp. 47-109), he offers no insights or explanations into who the seven Mac Giolla Phádraig (or their kin) mentioned are or where they may fit within the clan dynamics apart from the obvious Séafra (Geoffrey), Lord of Ossory (1468-1489). For the record the seven mentioned are:

- Donnchadh Mór
- Toirealach mac Donnchadh
- Tadhg Ruadh mac Donnchadh
- Tadhg Dubh
- Séafra, captain of his nation
- The daughter of Edmund Butler, wife of the *late* Mac Giolla Phádraig
- The *late* Mac Giolla Phádraig

Donnchadh Mór was deceased prior to 1468 and he is named only with respect to his living sons Toirealach (Terrence) and Tadhg Ruadh. Carrigan, a scholar of renowned ability in Gaeilge and Latin, was able to make sense of his difficult to read by-name *Riabach* where others struggled. Shearman (1879) identified him as *Doncadh Salach* and placed him as a brother of Séafra in his genealogical tree but made no comment about

him in the body of his text. Among scholars, Donnchadh Mór's only recognition as the Lord of Ossory comes from O'Byrne (2001) who places him as chieftain from ca. 1415.

Liber Ruber does not name Tadhg Dubh as either the son of Donnchadh Mór or the son of *the late* Mac Giolla Phádraig and for good reason. He was the son of Finghin, and in the Annals of Ulster he is identified as a Tanist of Ossory who died 1487 (MacCarthy & Hennessy, 1895). Tadhg Dubh is possibly the same person as the cleric, Thady, referred to by the Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of St. Mary Gráig na Manach (Graiguenamanagh), Cill Chainnigh, for his crimes against the church and men (Bliss, 1893, *refer* Vol. 10, 464, 1450). He is discussed later in this article, *refer Miscellanea*.

The daughter of Edmund Butler is nameless, known only as the *wife of the late Mac Giolla Phádraig*. From the Ormond Deeds (Curtis, 1937) the late *Mac Giolla Phádraig* is known to be Finghin Mór (Lord of Ossory (ca. 1448 – 1468). The Deeds describe him as *Fynynum magnum* having obtained the same by-name as his predecessor perhaps thorough the greatness of his exploits or the length of his reign, or both; he can only be the son Finghin (Lord of Ossory, ca. 1396 – ca. 1417) since Donnchadh Mór was unlikely to have given two sons the name Finghin. Other sources provide the date of Finghin Mór's death, alongside that of an old ally, shortly before the entries in Liber Ruber were penned

O'More and Mac Gillpatrick died of the plague (O'Clery, 1856, p. 1055).

Finghin Mór and his wife are discussed briefly later in this article, and more depth in *Part II*. Séafra Mac Giolla Phádraig (d. 1489) Lord of Ossory is discussed in *Part II*.

Liber Ruber provides valuable insights regarding the senior members and structure of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1468-1478. As for the subject of the record itself, it relates to fixing the bounds of the Bishop of Ossory's manor of Darú, which in turn provides valuable insights into Mac Giolla Phádraig territories 1468-1478. This will be discussed in *Part II*.

Donnchadh Mór in the Ormond Deeds

Donnchadh Mór is also referenced in the Calendar of Ormond Deeds, where he is referred to as *Donatus magnus* (Curtis, 1937). The Deeds, a collection from the medieval era, were once contained in the muniment room of the Marquess of Ormond at Cill Chainnigh Castle. They were calendared by Edmund Curtis, Professor of History at Trinity College, and published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission in six volumes, 1932-1943.

The relevant section of the Deeds contains the depositions of witnesses relating to a land dispute in the former Barony of Áth Charna (Aharney) between Oliver Cantwell, the Bishop of Ossory (1487-1527), and Thomas Purcell, Lord of Foulksrath; they are dated 11 March 1517. A hearing relating to church lands in Osraí is an echo of the previously discussed record in Liber Ruber. By reason of the *remarkable details* of the deed Curtis left it in Latin. The court session would have been heard in Irish because the deponents in the case were not scholars, but the official court documents would have been recorded in Latin. However, it is apparent the court scribe was, (a) at times, unable to find the right word from Irish to put into Latin, particularly those words that pertained to place names, (b) used some form of medieval shorthand in the court room itself, and (c) was familiar mostly with church Latin. In addition, it appears the court transcript was written out later in Latin longhand by a different scribe who was a scholar of classical Latin but not so familiar with church Latin.

For the deed itself, Cantwell's case was supported by numerous deponents, including members of his own family, as well as those who had knowledge of Mac Giolla Phádraig who had lived in the general location. The parts that relate to Mac Giolla Phádraig (Curtis, 1937, pp.38-42) are translated into 21st Century English here.

The Rector of Darú swore he had he asked a certain McPhilip, who he believed to be 80 years old or more, and who knew the limits of the Baronie land. McPhillip had said *that in his own conscience he had heard from Morena, the daughter of MacGilpatrick, John 'The Blind' Butler, Donald MacGilpatrick and others along with*

other elders and went on to describe the boundaries of the lands owned by John, which included the modern-day townlands of An Lois Dubh (Lisduff), Garrán Na Páirce (Parksgrove), and Cluain na gCaorach (Clonageera).

A deposition from Rory O'Phelan, a 60-year-old man, stated that he and Thaddeus *the Red* Mac Donaghy of An Seisceann (Seskin) leased land, which included Garrán Na Páirce from

John 'the Blind' Butler and Morena, the daughter of MacGilpatrick for certain annual rent, who reimbursed him 16 pence to resolve the dispute with McCody so they ensured there was no interruption in the days and years of the tenancy

Thaddeus, son of John, son of Thaddeus *the Rough* O'Helane, aged 70 years and more, made a deposition stating that William Óg O'Hagan had sworn by God, on the third day before he died, that the land had previously been

a matter of dispute between Fininum 'the Great' MacGilpatrick and his wife the daughter of Edmund Butler, and Edmund McCody whose principal interest was one field near Rathcall. Thaddeus also described how, John 'the Blind' Butler and Morena his wife, apportioned the lands to every man, even as their lands are free from other claimants

And

Cornelius O'Clery aged 70 years and more, stated under oath the land had been conferred upon Donald 'the Great' MacGilpatrick, John the son of John 'the Blind' Butler and Morena MacGillpatrick

These passages enable the clear identification of key landowners in the vicinity of Áth Charna long before the time of the hearing: John *the Blind* Butler and his son John; Morena ny Giolla Phádraig the wife of John *the Blind* Butler; Donnchadh Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig; Finghin Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig; and the daughter of Edmund Butler, who was Finghin Mór's wife. The depositions were heard in 1517, and the deponents were all in their later years – aside from estimating that the deponents were likely recalling events from 30-60 years earlier, can the timeframes for the previous landowners' occupancies be discovered? This aspect will be discussed further in *Part II*. But useful is McPhilip's memory of Donnchadh Mór, when aged 80-plus years; if McPhilip was a ten-years old at the time, means Donnchadh Mór was living ca. 1447.

Reference to John, the son of John *the Blind* Butler, is found elsewhere in the Ormond Deeds. Dated 16 March 1495 is an indenture between John and Oliver Cantwell stating that, *said John, with the assent of his heir, his sons and kinsmen, granted for a pledge of twenty-two cows to the said bishop certain towns of his, viz., Áth Charna, Lios Dúnaigh (Lysdowney) and Cill Bhríde (Kilbreedy) in the Barony of Áth Charna* (Curtis, 1935, p.280).

Based on the evidence presented here, that John *the Blind* Butler was a person of note is irrefutable; being of his esteemed surname and in possession of significant lands on the Cill Chainnigh-Laois border connects him clearly to the House of Ormond. It is also clear a contemporary of John *'The Blind'* Butler was a Mac Óda (McCody). The Mac Óda were previously L'Ercedeknes until, *waxing Irish they adopted an Irish patronymic* and named themselves after Odo L'Ercedekne (Carrigan, 1905); they were also known as Archidekyn or Asteken (Curtis, 1935), but for the purposes of this article Archdekin will be used. The Mac Óda in question was likely related to, or even the same person, as the Edmund Mac Óda who had been in dispute with Finghin Mór and his wife. From here further evidence gathered from the Ormond Deeds indicates the wife of John *'the Blind'* Butler, viz., Morena, was probably the daughter of either Finghin Mór or Eóin (Owen/John) Mac Giolla Phádraig. An indenture dated February 8, 1453 between William and Edmund Mac Óda Archdekin and Eóin Mac Giolla Phádraig's daughter

granted to said Owne all the land of Curdyysheyes and Kylfane in pledge for a mark, if said Owne survive (overlyve) said Edmund, that then she shall have the above land till she be paid twenty-five shillings and if so be that said Edmund shall survive said Owne then he shall have the said land without any payment (Curtis, 1935, p. 172)

In summary, from the Ormond deeds we uncover that Donnchadh Mór was a contemporary of Morena, who the daughter of either Finghin Mór or Eóin Mac Giolla Phádraig. Morena was also the wife of John *the Blind* Butler. Finghin Mór had married the daughter of a certain Edmund Butler. Therefore, we evidence a double marriage between the Mac Giolla Phádraig and the Butlers, in keeping with the Ormond practice of Norman-Gaelic alliance building.

Donnchadh Mór in the Kildare Rental

The rental book of Gerald FitzGerald, 9th Earl of Kildare, begun in 1518 is held by the British Library (MS Harleian 3756) but is published in part and in its entirety by Hore and Mac Niocaill, respectively (Hore, 1859; Hore, 1862; Hore, 1866, Mac Niocaill, 1992). Neither Carrigan nor Shearman appear to have had direct access to MS 3756, and although Carrigan cites part of the rental published by Hore (1862) he makes no attempt to explain the identity of those of *Ossory – McGyllepatrikis countre* named therein as paying annual duties to Kildare in 1518, with additional names added in 1530, as follows:

- In 1518: Brian mac Toirealach mac Donnchadh of Formaoil (Formoyll)
- In 1518: Clann Maeleachlainn Ruadh for the defense of Baile Dhabhag (Ballygauge) etc. in Laois
- In 1530: Owen
- In 1530: Toirealach mac Donnchadh

In addition, the rental has an intriguing 1530 entry for duties, *on the sonnys of Donnogh Makdonnok OShoylle in the Burgache and in Syrebege* (Hore, 1862, p. 125). The locations can be identified as Buiríos Mór Osraí (Borris-in-Ossory) and Cnoc Saighre (Knockseer) but the meaning of *OShoylle* was beyond even the interpretive skills of Carrigan (1905). An assessment of MS Harleian 3756 provides an alternative translation as, *the sonnys of Donnogh McDermot of Shonvoy in the Burgache*, i.e., the sons of Donnchadh mac Diarmaid of Seanbhoth (Shanboe) in Buiríos Mór Osraí.

Hence, we identify that Donnchadh Mór's son Toirealach had a son named Brian who was living in 1518. We also identify an entire Mac Giolla Phádraig sub-branch, Clann Maeleachlainn Ruadh, the descendants of Maeleachlainn Ruadh (d.1443) the son of Donnchadh Mór. The ascent of Eóin Mac Giolla Phádraig is not provided but the Kildare Rental states that, in 1530, he and Toirealach mac Donnchadh (probably one of the *sonnys* of Donnchadh mac Diarmaid) are the clan members with authority since the rental agreement with Kildare is granted by them both *in the name of all ther brethren* (Hore, 1862, p. 125).

Evidence of the relationship between Clann Maeleachlainn Ruadh and Kildare can be taken from the fact they were under Kildare's protection and it is also apparent that the leadership of the Mac Giolla Phádraig was not singular in 1530. That some Mac Giolla Phádraig had a close relationship with Kildare whereas others were loyal to the Butlers is the likely reason for the fractured clan leadership. These aspects are discussed further in *Part II and Part III*.

Lastly, several other Mac Giolla Phádraig are mentioned in MS 3756, such as William and his son Seán Óg. They were living ca. 1513-1518 but have no established link to Donnchadh Mór; they, also, will be discussed in *Part II*.

Éire 1444-1448: a time of turmoil

The loss of Donnchadh Mór's three sons in quick succession, including the *Kinglet* of Ossory, would have been a hammer blow for Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí; they were likely now a clan in turmoil, daily watching their southern boundaries as the power of Ormond, Edmund MacRichard and his allies grew. And clan leadership would have gnawed at Donnchadh Mór's mind. His two younger sons, Toirealach and Tadhg Ruadh (Lawlor, 1908), were out of the reckoning for Tanist, with their juniority most certainly the key factor. As events would have it the clan's failure to capitulate even further at this stage was due to help from an old alliance and the formation of a new one.

From the Annalist's account it is clear the Ormond treachery sent shockwaves across Éire, not only because of the fragile political climate but also because well-defined protocols for holding hostages had been violated. Previously a bone of contention between Ormond and Talbot, since the latter had, *broken the good old custom by which anyone who captures an Irish enemy may keep him and hold him at his own profit* (Griffith, 1941, p.381), there would have been the expectation of Finghin's eventual release by Ormond. Even so that Finghin was kept in hostage chains is testimony to the disdain in which he was viewed by Edmund MacRichard (Lavelle, 2017) and that the brothers were slain in cold blood is indicative of MacRichard's anger over the rescue attempt, the breach of hostage protocols and the ongoing bitterness between the two camps.

The response from Ó Mórdha was immediate, his son struck Cill Chainnigh and killed Piers Butler, the grandson of Piers Butler seneschal of Tipperary (Curtis, 1937) and those others who had murdered Finghin and Diarmaid (O'Clery, 1856). Ormond, so long on the front foot found his world sliding into chaos. Summoned to England to face charges from the pro-Talbot faction, he appointed his *kynsfolk* to govern Tiobraid Árann while he was absent. A family feud ensued as said

kynsfolks were entred into suche a wrongfull and inordynate pride and malicious diuision and rancour betwene themselves that they fell suddenly out of their good obedience to be murderers and mansleers of either other (Curtis, 1937, p. 210).

The Butlers splintered into the MacRichard faction and a faction based at An Chathair (Caher) in Tiobraid Árann; these were MacRichard's first cousins via his father's half-brother James Gallda (*the foreigner*) Butler (Beresford, 1999). And worse followed when the Ormond-Desmond peace treaty failed. This was due in large part to the failure to secure the agreed marriage between the parties' respective children – Ormond's daughter was betrothed, somewhat ironically, to Sir John Talbot's son and heir; this an attempt to finally draw a close on the Talbot-Ormond feud. In 1444 Desmond raided Tiobraid Árann and Ormond responded with an invasion of Eastern Cúige Mumhan (O'Clery, 1856). A one-year truce was agreed but this only afforded time for Desmond to ally himself with Butler's hated foes, Mac Giolla Phádraig and Ó Mórdha (Beresford, 1999), whereas Ormond had been summoned to England by Henry VI who imprisoned him for his, *certaine crimes and many accusations* (O'Clery, 1856).

In 1446, with the truce over, the Earl of Desmond made the most of Ormond's absence and family disunity and led a force that devastated Cill Chainnigh and Tiobraid Árann. A petition dated 1446 from John Cantwell Archbishop of Cashel to Henry VI regarding the rebellion by *Irroys ennemys* and *Englis rebels* pled for help against Desmond, *Mcgyllepatrik of Ossery with his oste and Omorth of Leys with his oste* (Empey, 1970). It was a year when Éire was beset by anarchy, wars, and plagues; it is little wonder that Mac Firbis penned, *a hard yeare was this* (O'Clery, 1856). A nadir for Ormond came in 1447. MacRichard and Art Caomhánach were captured by Piers fitz James Butler of Caher and Walter Tobin; MacRichard was ransomed but Caomhánach was not so lucky (O'Clery, 1856). The situation for Ormond had become dire, but there was about to be a *re-alignment* (O'Byrne, 2001).

A man who exhibited moments of religious fervour throughout his lifetime (Bliss, 1893, *refer for example* Vol. 7, 341, 1420), Ormond was, perhaps, endeavoring to making his peace as his days drew to a close. The signs were there, in 1444, that he had the ability to forgive and move on. There is no evidence of conflict between he and Talbot after 1444 and in later life the pair developed a *firm friendship and political alliance* (Pollard, 1968). Following his pardon and return to Éire in 1448, Ormond set about restoring order, both regionally and amongst the Butlers factions. Control of Cill Chainnigh went to the MacRichard Butlers, the Butler's of Dunboyne were granted administration of Tiobraid Árann and the Butlers of An Chathair became protectors of the Ormond lordship (Beresford, 1999).

MacRichard Butler was, *emerging as a central figure in the Ormond lordship* and was doubtless the wiser from having been under Ormond's tutelage. The next generation in Butler leadership, MacRichard had, by 1447, allied himself militarily to Art Mac Murchadha Caomhánach, the nephew of Donnchadh King of Leinster; in the next decade MacRichard would further secure that alliance via marriages between the families (Beresford,

1999). The strategy bore all Ormond's hallmarks, but the aging Earl's sun had not quite set; he still had time to make the peace with some old enemies, and there was a new alliance to forge.

The Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig Alliance: Part I

A marriage pact between Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí and Ormond was likely sealed before O'Byrne's (2001) estimate of 1448 - 1449, although those dates make some sense based on other marriages Ormond was arranging at the time, such as that of his niece Gormflaith (Gormly) to Éinrí (Henry) O'Neill of Tír Eoghain (Tyrone). The respective marriages of Morena ny Giolla Phádraig to John *the Blind* Butler and Finghin Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig to the daughter of Edmund Butler were certainly before 1450, shortly Ormond returned from England.

And in 1450 Pope Nicholas V received a petition from the Abbott of St. Mary Graiguenamanagh complaining

that James, earl of Ormonie, Edmund and Robert his brothers, and Donatus Macmurchw, Donald Orian, Thady Magillapadraich and Donald Kemanach, and certain other clerks and laymen, of the dioceses of Ossory and Leighlin, more cruel than Pharaoh who, although he had not knowledge of the law, nevertheless left the priests and their possessions in their pristine liberty, do not fear to subjugate the said monastery to their jurisdiction and temporal rule as if it were their own patrimony (Bliss, 1893, refer Vol. 10, 464, 1450)

In response the Pope gave orders for the Abbott to

summon the said earl and the said others, and all others concerned, and if they find the above to be true, to monish and require the said James, Edmund, Donald, Donatus, Thady, and all the others above named, and their accomplices and abettors utterly to desist from the foregoing and from all other grievances (Bliss, 1893, refer Vol. 10, 464, 1450)

it is also clear an Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig alliance was secured by 1454 when a sustained attack on Loch Garman (Wexford) was led by Domhnall Riabhach Caomhánach who was joined by the Earl of Desmond, Edmund Butler, *Mcagylffatryk*, and others. (Curtis, 1932; Beresford, 1999).

Could the aged warlord Donnchadh Mór have consented to an alliance with the Butlers after seeing at least three of his sons killed at their hands? Perhaps, but regardless of whether or not he lived to see peace with his old enemy the date of his passing, though unrecorded, is ca. 1448. The new Lord of Ossory was Finghin Mór (?-1468) son of Finghin Mac Giolla Phádraig, and in all certainty it was he who rode on Loch Garman with Edmund Butler. The identity his Butler brother-in-arms and father-in-law is, by Beresford's account, Edmund MacRichard (1999) but this is not clear from the record where it is simply, *Edmund Butler* (Curtis, 1932).

This last point is key because it points to the identity of Finghin Mór's new wife. Other factors are against her being the daughter of Edmund MacRichard. MacRichard is recorded as having only two daughters, Catherine who married Edmund Butler, Lord of Dunboyne, and Elena who married Richard Power (Mosley, 2003). One of several alternative Edmund Butlers is the brother of James Butler, 4th Earl of Ormond, who appeared in the Papal Letters (Bliss, 1893, refer Vol., 10, 464, 1450) and yet little is known of this Edmund; until *Part II* the identity of Finghin Mór's wife will remain a mystery.

An account of the Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig alliance is continued in *Part II*, but it marked the end of one era and the start of a new one and, ultimately, it was a decision that would split the clan. As *Part I* draws to a close there are some loose ends to tie up.

Finghin Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig (? – ca. 1468), Lord of Ossory (ca. 1448 – ca. 1468)

Finghin Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig and his wife, the daughter of Edmund Butler, are discussed further in *Part II*. His place in *Part I* of this article has been established and his entrance into the Mac Giolla Phádraig annals at the time of one of the clan's most notable junctures means his presence in *Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí Part II* is second to none.

Morena ny Giolla Phádraig

Morena ny Giolla Phádraig, largely undiscovered but not unmentioned. She is very key to understanding the destiny of Clann Mac Giolla Phádraig from the mid 15th century for a century or more afterwards – it is hard to imagine life without her. This princess of Ossory was bound in marriage to the House of Ormond. Her husband, John *the Blind Butler*, has been equally lost by historians but in *Part II* his ancestry, his descendants and his place in Mac Giolla Phádraig history is revealed.

Miscellanea

Criomthann Mac Giolla Phádraig (ca. 1405 – ca. 1466)

From the Papal Letters in 1427:

Mandate to collate and assign to Ceruallus alias Crifannus Macgyllapadruyc, clerk, of the diocese of Ossory, who is of noble birth and has studied canon and civil law for several years in places which are not universities - the rectory of Achabo in the said diocese (Bliss, 1893, refer Vol. 7, 486, 1427).

From Carrigan (1905) we read the branch of the Fitzpatricks known as the *Criffins* originated in Baile Uí Chaollaí (Ballykealy) in Áth Charna Parish. Today Baile Uí Chaollaí castle is a remnant of their past; the *Criffins* are discussed further in *Part II*.

Of *noble birth* Criomthann receives further scrutiny in the forthcoming series, Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD.

Tadhg Dubh Mac Giolla Phádraig (1412/1413? – 1487)

From the Papal Letters in 1429:

To the prior of Sayrkyerayn in the diocese of Ossory. Mandate to grant in commendam to Thady Macgillapadrig, clerk, of the diocese of Ossory, who is in or about his sixteenth year and is of a noble race of princes, until he attains his twenty second year, the rectory of the parish church of St. Magymog de Rosconnyll in the said diocese (Bliss, 1893, refer Vol. 7, 287, 1429)

Of a *noble race of princes*, the *Thady* in the Papal Registers is possibly Tadhg Dubh, the son of Finghin Mac Giolla Phádraig Lord of Ossory (ca. 1396 – ca. 1417), since he is not named in the Liber Ruber as a son of Donnchadh Mór Riabhach. Tadhg Dubh was a Tanist of Ossory who died 1487 (O'Clery, 1856), and clearly of noble lineage. *Thady's* birth is known with precision as either 1412 or 1413, which is consistent with him being a son of Finghin (ca. 1396 – ca. 1417). As a young man *Thady* held clerical positions, and in 1450 he is among those chastised by Pope Nicholas V (Bliss, 1893, refer Vol. 10, 464, 1450). He is discussed further in *Part II* and Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to acknowledge the contribution of the Barney Douglas, for his assistance with Latin translations, and Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile for his advice relating to *Gaeilge*, people's names and place names.

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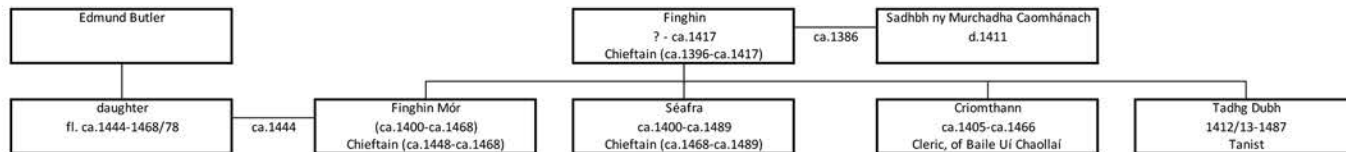
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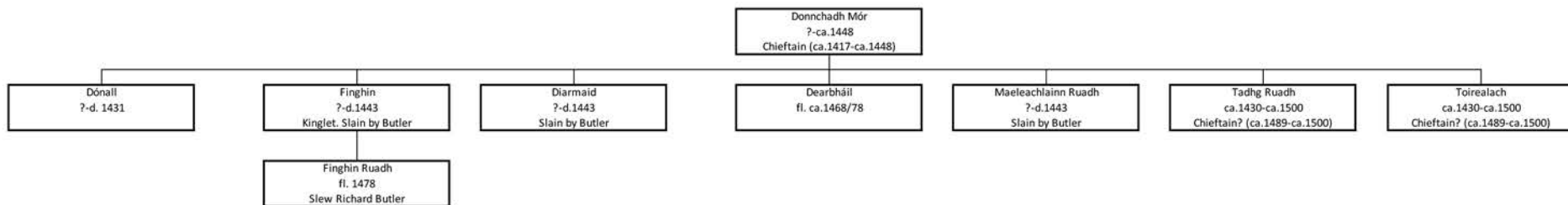
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PROPOSED GENEALOGY OF FINGHIN MAG GIOLLA PHÁDRAIG



PROPOSED GENEALOGY OF DONNCHADH MÓR MAG GIOLLA PHÁDRAIG



Colonial American Fitzpatrick Settlers

Part I: Making Sense of One Line

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Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2020, 1, 18-39

Abstract

Before the turn of the 17th century the settlement of Irish in the Americas lacked permanence. Soon after, Irish came to North America and the Caribbean in a steady flow, and by the mid 18th century a flood of Irish and Scotch-Irish had settled in the Americas. The reasons for that settlement were many and varied, as were the geographic origins and lineages of those Fitzpatricks among the influx. This article provides a review of the forces that pushed and pulled Irish and Scotch-Irish to the Americas. By way of example, a single Fitzpatrick line demonstrates how messy traditional genealogy of early Colonial American Fitzpatricks can get. That messiness is due in no small part to the *cut and paste* functionality at websites such as ancestry.com. But by careful review of authentic historical records, caution with speculative associations, and the power of Y-DNA analysis, it is possible to untangle the mess and bring back some much-needed clarity. In this article, the example used is that of the well-known colonial-settler William Fitzpatrick (born ca. 1690 AD), of Albemarle County, Virginia, who arrived in North America ca. 1728. Two living ancestors of William have been found to share a common ancestry from ca. 1650 AD — both bear a genetic mutation (FT15113) specific to William's line; this enables the ready identification of male descendants of William.

A Note on Styles, Edits, and DNA lingo

This article is written in the English language, but some of the places discussed are Irish. To acknowledge the primacy of *Gaeilge* (Gaelic) in this article and to promote its use, the Irish place names are provided in modern *Gaeilge*.

Quotations are italicised, and long or textually significant quotations are also indented.

This article is a *living work*, i.e., it can be edited by the authors; all versions will be retained.

For a useful Y-DNA guide and DNA lingo for beginners, visit www.fitzpatrickclan.org.

The Journal uses a convention that identifies an individual's haplotype by defining them with Single Nucleotide Polymorphisms (SNPs), typically as follows: the main branch SNP, the Fitzpatrick surname-specific SNP (if there is one), and the individual's terminal SNP, for example, FGC11134...BY12234...FT15113.

Introduction

From the early days of the Fitzpatrick Y-DNA project it was evident there was no single genetic Fitzpatrick patrilineage, rather several larger haplogroups were identified based on analysis of Y-DNA Short Tandem Repeats (STRs), which were broadly associated with either Counties, such as An Cabhán (Co. Cavan), An Dún (Co. Down), or Laois (Co. Laois) (Fitzpatrick, 2005). Today the complexity of Fitzpatrick Y-DNA lines is soundly understood (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020) and yet an understanding of how the Fitzpatrick surname, long

considered a patronymic from a sole progenitor, came into the possession of numerous and diverse patrilineages is limited.

Of almost singular focus concerning Y-DNA surname projects, particularly those surnames of Irish or Scottish origins, has been the quest to identify a genetic homeland or a clan chief; the geographic location where the clan founder or some ancestor of note lived and breathed (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020). Such projects are rarely straight forward, and the Fitzpatrick Y-DNA project is an instant case in point – members may at times face a baffling array of matches with Fitzpatricks from disparate locations in Ireland and across the globe, as well as matches with other surnames. Multiple Y-DNA matches, coupled with the well-known limitations of Irish genealogical records (Grenham, 2019), add considerable complexity to any attempts to unravel a Fitzpatrick past.

This article is the first in a series examining the origins of, and connections between, one of the large Y-DNA haplogroups on the Fitzpatrick DNA project (FamilyTreeDNA, 2020), viz., FGC11134...BY12234 (Figure 1), who trace to the United States of America from earliest times of settlement, i.e., ca. 1700 AD. To set the scene is a single Colonial American Fitzpatrick lineage. Although research on this line is still in its early stages it is useful to provide a status report of the findings at this juncture because (a) it serves to demonstrate one approach to uncovering Fitzpatrick origins; (b) it offers the opportunity to critique genealogical practices; (c) by reporting some of the discoveries others will be encouraged to become interested in exploring their genetic tree; and, (d) genealogy is not for the impatient – many Fitzpatricks have been waiting for years for any results from the investment they made in DNA testing, which could provide new insights into their roots.

Colonial American Fitzpatrick Settlers, Part I: Making Sense of One Line begins with an overview of the factors which led to the migration of Irish to the Americas during the Colonial period, i.e., the period between the arrival of Cristoffa Corombo (Christopher Columbus) in 1492 until 1763 (Library of Congress, 2020). The latter date marks the end of the French and Indian War in North America, the signing of the Treaty of Paris – in which France ceded most of its mainland North American territories – and the proclamation of George III of Great Britain that forbade, 'on Pain of our Displeasure, all our loving Subjects from making any Purchases or Settlements whatever,' west of the Appalachian mountains (George III, 1763).

For this series of articles, the practical commencement of the Colonial period, as it relates to migration from Ireland, is from the early 17th century, since the arrival of Irish was numerically insignificant until after the settlement of the Colony of Virginia in 1607. Although fishermen, including Irish, had used bases, such as Ferryland, around southeast Newfoundland from the late 16th century, there was no permanence of settlement (Sweeny, 2006). When Irish began settling the Americas' shores in more significant numbers, it was first in the Guianas ca. 1612 (Gwynn, 1929a). Virginia followed in November 1621 with the arrival of *Master Gookin out of Ireland, with fifty men of his owne, and thirty passengers, exceedingly well furnished with all sorts of provision and cattle* (Smith, 1907). Irish migration to Massachusetts is recorded from 1623, but the growth of the Irish community was not steady until 1633 (Donovan, 1932). And in 1626, Irish adventurers joined Englishman John Hilton's tobacco trade venture on St Kitts, then the most important early settlement of the English in the Caribbean; Irish immigration to the Caribbean was constant from that time (Gwynn, 1932a).

The key to uncovering the origins of Fitzpatricks, who emigrated from Ireland during the American Colonial period, is an understanding of the various factors that resulted in Irish migration. What was the political and socio-economic climate in Ireland at that time? What was the religion of the migrants? What were their occupations, and who were their associates? These factors are well understood in the general context of Irish migration, and there is no single answer. But by seeking those answers as they pertain to individuals much can be learned about who those Fitzpatrick American Colonists were; remarkably, uncovering their likely origins also informs the ascent of Fitzpatricks who remained in Ireland, since DNA data points to their shared ancestry from the 17th century and earlier.

Colonial American Fitzpatrick Settlers, Part I: Making Sense of One Line also provides a case study that serves to highlight some of the pitfalls of *copy and paste* genealogical research. Careful attention to records and understanding the difference between proven fact and speculation is the difference between research that

will bring clarity of connections and that which will bring confusion. Speculative connections can be tested using Y-DNA analysis, providing a way to prove relationships beyond any doubt.

Pre-1649 migrations of Irish to the Americas

The earliest settlements of Irish in either South or North America cannot be considered enduring. In the Guianas, the Irish Colony at Tauregue (habitation des Hirlandais) and other Irish-mixed Colonies at Supanapoco and Tocujs, situated in the Amazon River delta, had been destroyed by the Portuguese by 1629 (Williamson, 1923). The significant settlement of numbers of Irish in South America did not eventuate until the 18th century (Murray, 2008).

From 1607 the intent to transport Irish prisoners to the newly established Virginia Colony was clearly apparent and targeted at,

Certaine kinde of swordsmen called Kerne: descended from Horseboyces, Idle persons and unlawfull propigation...if they might be drawne from thence, and imployed to your planting of Virginia: the Countrie should be well freed, and tyme elsewhere Eate them out or amend them. The number of these people in Ireland I suppose will not exceede 7 or 8000 (Lansdowne MSS, 156, f.265).

However, when the advised transportation of Irish to Virginia did begin in 1620, it was not from among Irish rebels, but Anglo-Irish landowners displaced by Chichester's plantation of Wexford (Gwynn, 1932b). Sir Oliver St John's correspondence to the Privy Council is witness that some of the Wexford disaffected were transported (State Papers James I, p.306, 1620) but their numbers were not many since there were *noe present meanes of conveying them* (Gwynn, 1932b). The arrival of Daniel Gookin in 1621 and the subsequent development in the trade of cattle for tobacco was viewed as a *good successe* in Virginia. There was the will amongst the Company to accept some Irish into the burgeoning colony; for example, they made an *offer to transport out of Ireland 20 or 30 able youthes of 16 or 17 yeares of age to Virginia to be Apprentices for 6 or 7 yeares in the Companies service* (Gwynn, 1932b). Before 1649 the number of immigrants with Irish-sounding surnames was no more than a few hundred (Greer, 1912; O'Brien, 1914a), but far fewer appear to have settled on their land; the estimated number of grantees of land in Virginia between 1628 and 1649 who were Irish is nine (O'Brien, 1914b). However, the failure to settle significant numbers of Irish in early Virginia was due in most part to the Protestant sentiments toward Catholics, not toward the Irish *per se*.

A similar situation prevailed in Massachusetts, where it was Puritan ideals to the fore. The first substantiated record of an Irish settler is that of the Rev. John Lyford, who landed in Plymouth in 1623. He was *dismissed from the colony on account of his Episcopal tendencies*, and so the *Irish element in Plymouth remained dormant* until 1661; Boston, however, was much more accepting (Donovan, 1932).

The eyes of those seeking American ventures had also turned to the northern fringes, but there is no evidence the ill-fated settlement of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula by George Calvert, 1st Lord Baltimore, from 1621-1629 included many Irish (Lyttleton, 2013). Calvert then sought warmer climes, which led him to Virginia, but having converted to Catholicism in 1625, he refused to take the oath of supremacy demanded of him by the Colony, who then *blocked the Papist Lord's design of settling among them* (Hughes, 1908). Alerted to Jamestown's *Irish exiles*, now some 70 miles north on the banks of the Potomac River, Calvert sought their settlement out; there he oversaw the building of a chapel by an unrecorded Catholic missionary at a site that became known as White's Neck – so named after the Jesuit, Andrew White (Hughes, 1908).

These were the origins of Calvert's Maryland venture. With the subsequent foundation of the mission at St Mary's (1633-40) by Caecilius Calvert, the 2nd Lord Baltimore, as a refuge for Roman Catholics (Gwynn, 1932a) it might have been anticipated the settlement of many Irish would have resulted. But despite the foundation of the North American Catholic haven relatively few Irish went to Maryland in the early period and *were never more than a small fraction of Maryland's colonial population*; this due to the preference the English Catholic settlers of Maryland had for English labourers and servants, even if they were Protestant, over the Irish (Purcell, 1934). Those Irish who did manage to find a foothold elsewhere on the mainland in the early years

were hardworking, hardy and adaptable individuals, such as John Nolin who was among several settlers living in Delaware ca. 1644 (Purcell, 1947) or the first Irish person recorded in Albany (Beverwyck), New York – a certain, Jan Andriessen de Iersman Van Dublingh who leased a farm there in 1649. Irishmen in those days, except as Wild Geese, or as slaves deported by the English to their colonies, were not travelers, neither were they colonists or colonisers, and to find one of them in the Dutch town of Beverwyck in the Colony of Rensselaerswyck in New Netherlands in America, *so distant from his native shores, among a people alien in race, language, and religion, and withal evidently beloved by the burghers thereof, a landlord and a landowner and a man of substance, is a curious fact* (Danaher, 1903).

Along with Boston, the Caribbean must be considered the primary birthplace of the Irish nation in the Americas. The Caribbean Islands were granted to James Hay, 1st Earl of Carlisle, in 1627 (Hughes, 1908), and he well understood the potential of the Americas. By 1612 he had become a director of the Virginia Company (Schreiber, 1984), and he advanced the early English Caribbean interest shown by Sir Thomas Warner, who had settled St Kitts in 1623. While the St Kitts settlement did not result in the establishment of an Irish presence per se, Warner also had the attention of Island Caribs, the French, and hurricane winds (Gwynn, 1929a; Schreiber, 1984), it did set the scene for expansion and the establishment of English colonies across the Caribbean, which would soon draw many Irish to those shores.

The birth-pains of Barbados saw two rival English factions pitted against each other; Carlisle took control via nefarious means in 1629 (Schreiber, 1984) but the year previous Hilton with some Irish accompanying him had passed it by – doubtless it was the idea of armed conflict *they did not like*. After St Kitts, Hilton and company considered Nevis, the sister isle, the *fittest for their Settlement* (Gwynn, 1932b) only for its curtailment by a Spanish ravaging of both islands in 1629 (Schreiber, 1984). Ultimately, central to the settlement of Irish in the Caribbean was an Irish connection, which came by Captain Anthony Briskett, the son of Lodowick Bruschetto of a family of Genoan merchants, who became known as Lodowick Bryskett. Lodowick had settled near Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford ca. 1581 (Gwynn, 1929b) and it was there Anthony came into possession of 120 acres, only to suffer their loss in 1613 under Chichester (Calendar of State Papers, 1877) – so pained, he decided to seek his fortune in the Americas (Gwynn, 1929b). Despite the duress, Warner persisted with St Kitts and Nevis, but after the Spanish visitation of 1629, Montserrat drew his attention; some French and Irish Catholics had fled there, and in 1632 Warner took control (Fiske, 1899).

The following year the Earl of Carlisle appointed Anthony Briskett governor (Gwynn, 1932b), and under his leadership the Irish settlement of the Island began in earnest; as far as Irish were concerned, Montserrat had become the magnet of the Americas. While passing through the West Indian chain of islands in 1634, the missionary Andrew White noted 'some few' Irish Catholics in Barbados 1634 (Hughes, 1908), growth there not helped by conditions so harsh it led to an insurrection of white indentured servants, particularly those Irish (Handler, 1982). In contrast, that same year White observed Montserrat was a *noble plantation of Irish Catholique, whome the Virginians would not suffer to live with them because of their religion* (Hughes, 1908), and by 1637 Irish settlers in Montserrat, both men and women, were in *maximo numero* (Gwynn, 1932a).

The Caribbean would become the destination for many Irish and *Colonial American Fitzpatrick settlers, Part II: Caribbean origins and y-DNA lines* will pick up the Caribbean narrative, with a particular focus on the life and times, and descendants of Captain James Fitzpatrick. He is among the first recorded of his surname to set foot in the Americas. The next section of this article, however, explores the reasons for the subsequent waves of migration from Ireland to the Americas, particularly Virginia, since it relates to the case study, William Fitzpatrick.

Irish and Ulster-Scots to the Americas: 1649-1763

That large numbers of Irish and Ulster-Scots landed on North America's eastern seaboard in the 17th century as indentured servants (however that is interpreted), mostly as those who *had decided to seek a new home in the wilderness rather than to endure the accumulated wrongs inflicted upon them* (Dunaway, 1944), is well understood by the general North American populace even if the reasons for their migration may not fully be (Keller, 1992). From 1649 the Americas saw several waves of migration from Ireland, which commenced

following the *new departure in the history of English colonial policy* that saw many thousands of Irish transported under Cromwell – and no small number landed in New England (Gwynn, 1930).

But to fully understand the origins of Virginia Irish and their reasons for migration, as servants or otherwise, is not trivial. Key to the discussion is a distinction of terms, namely between Irish, Scotch-Irish, and Ulster-Scot. Notwithstanding that the term Scotch-Irish was coined long after the commencement of the migration of settlers from Ireland with prior Scottish origins (The Scotch-Irish, 1908), adopted here are Fallows' (1979, pp.63-68) well-considered definitions. *Scotch-Irish* is used generally to point to the colonial ancestors of today's Protestant Irish. It is used as a neutral term to indicate those people whom historians have traditionally so labeled. *Ulster-Scot* will be used narrowly to indicate Presbyterian Scots who left Lowland Scotland, moved to Ireland for some time where they resolutely refused to mix with the native Irish, and then moved again to America where they were humiliated to find themselves considered *Irish*. The term *Irish* will be used in a general fashion to describe descendants of all groups from Ireland except those who are probably *Ulster-Scots*.

Equally as important as these definitions is a background understanding of how and why large numbers of Scots came to be resident in Ireland in the 17th and 18th centuries, i.e., mostly, following the Nine Year's War (1594-1603); by that stage, eastern Cúige Uladh (Ulster) was already subject to some settlement by Scots, but it wasn't until after Tyrone's Rebellion that the colonisation of Cúige Uladh by the Scottish began in earnest. The speculators Hugh Montgomery and James Hamilton each acquired one-third of Con O'Neill's Upper Claneboy territories, with land being transferred to cover the costs incurred by the pair in securing O'Neill's royal pardon. A *sufficient number of English and Scottish persons* were to be provided by Montgomery and Hamilton to inhabit the estates (Chart, 1942).

It was a sign of events to come; one year after the Flight of the Earls in 1607, a project for the division and plantation of the escheated lands in *six several Counties of Ulster; namelie Tirone, Colraine, Donnegall, Fermanagh, Ardmagh and Cavan* (Brewer & Bullen, 1873) was settled by the Crown. Far more than a simple landgrab, the plantation *presented a unique, coherent blueprint for an evolving Ulster society ... setting out an entirely new social structure* based on a Scottish model (Gillespie, 2007) with Scots in mind since the ruling monarch, James I of England, was also James VI of Scotland (Wormald, 2009).

The plantation of Cúige Uladh was not, at least in the short-term, considered a success (Gillespie, 2007). Nicholas Pynnar's 1618 survey determined a total of just 1,974 families (6,215 bodies with arms, i.e., mean aged 16 to 60) had been planted (Harris, 1770). Hill's (1993) analysis of the 1622 plantation survey provides insights far beyond the stereotype that settlement was by a *Scottish Lowland rural population that first fixed the moral and religious tone of the entire province* (Hanna, 1902). The Cúige Uladh plantation failed to take root and flourish from 1609 to 1625 *except in areas planted by Scots from the Borders-Southwest* and this due to a variety of factors including (i) them having a hardier disposition; (ii) their adoption of Irish building and agricultural practices; and (iii) their lack of religious conviction – at least between 1609 and 1625 when most settlers were, in the minds of visiting Presbyterian ministers, *openly profane and immoral in their conduct*, inasmuch Cúige Uladh could not have been considered Protestant, let alone Presbyterian. In contrast, Lowland Scots and English suffered a culture shock that sent many of them *scurrying back home* (Hill, 1993).

A 1633 estimate puts the number of those planted in Cúige Uladh as 13,092 (Hanna, 1902), among which several Pátraic surnames are found in records relevant to the early plantation period (for a discussion of Pátraic surname diversity refer Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020), namely plantation surveys (Hill, 1877), muster rolls (Hunter & Johnston, 2012) and patent rolls (Patent Roll James, 1967). Gilpatrick is found in An Cabhán (Co. Cavan), An Dún and Tír Eoghain (Co. Tyrone); Kirkpatrick in An Dún, Cúil Raithin (Coleraine), Dún na nGall (Co. Donegal) and Tír Eoghain; Kilpatrick in An Cabhán, An Dún, Cúil Raithin, and Dún na nGall; Patterson in An Dún, Aontroim (Co. Antrim), Ard Mhaca (Co. Armagh), Cúil Raithin, Dún na nGall, Fear Manach (Co. Fermanagh) and Tír Eoghain; and, Patrick in An Dún and Cúil Raithin.

In addition to Scots planters, *natives* who were tenants on the lands of Scottish or British grantees, were also recorded during the Cúige Uladh surveys, namely: Eóin Mac Giolla Phádraig (Owen McGillpatrick), gent, who is

associated with several Mac Suibhne (McSwine) and who leased 128 acres in Machaire Mhig Shamhradháin (Magheramagorgan), Dún na nGall ca. 1610; Donnchadh Ó Maol Phádraig (Donnogh O'Mulpatrick) who held two polls in 1628 in Fíoch (Feugh), An Cabhán; Seán Mac Giolla Phádraig (John McGilpatrick) who was associated with Clann Mac Uidhir (Maguire) and held a lease in Tullanaginn, Fear Manach in 1629; and, Aodh Mianáin Mac Giolla Phádraig (Hugh Mynagh McGilpatrick) who let a parcel of land in Ballyloughmagniffe, Tír Eoghain in 1613 (Hill, 1877).

Hence, by 1633 the addition of those with Pátraic surnames from Scotland added to the already complex mix of origins of Pátraic surnames in Cúige Uladh such that trying to unravel those origins, almost 400 years later, in Irish and Ulster-Scots who migrated to North America is an almost impossible task given Pátraic surnames were also increasingly subject to corruption, often to Fitzpatrick, from the middle of the 17th century (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

Similarly, the reasons for migration between Ireland and Scotland between 1649 and 1763 are complicated because of wars, famines, and economic events, which served to push and pull migrants between both countries. Nevertheless, a knowledge of the timing of the arrival of Irish and Ulster-Scots in North America can, at least in simple terms, inform some of the likely motivations for migration when aligned with concurrent events in Ireland and Scotland.

By 1649 Ireland and Scotland were reeling from the after-effects of a series of conflicts, namely: the Scottish Bishops' Wars (1638-1640) and Charles I's determination to enforce an episcopal system on Presbyterian Scots (Fissel, 1994); the Irish rebellion against the crown in 1641, which morphed into a war along the lines of religious affiliation, with all its rights and wrongs, that has seen scholars clash over their contrasting opinions (Perceval-Maxwell, 1978); and, the first (1642-1646) and second (1648) English Civil Wars, which intimately involved Presbyterian Scots and the struggle for Scottish independence (Harris, 2015). Amidst those struggles for both political and religious rule came the rise of the *New Modelled Army* — professional militia with superior arms against which, ultimately, neither Irish nor Scots could resist (Roberts, 2005).

The Crown's 1649-1653 campaign in Ireland was also associated with famine (Crawford, 1989) and plague (Cullen, 1975), and overall resulted in an estimated 15-20% mortality and a *demographic catastrophe* (Lenihan, 1997). The subsequent transportation of Irish to the Americas is well known, although some have inflated the number of those transported to the Caribbean up to 50,000 — scholarly estimates are from 5,000 to 20,000 (Donoghue, 2017); indeed, the Irish population of the West Indies could not have exceeded the total white population of 34,000 between 1655 to 1660 (Beckles, 1990).

The political and religious see-sawing in Ireland continued in the decades that followed; the power vacuum after Cromwell's death in 1658 led to the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 (Edie, 1976) but the outcome of Williamite War (1688-1691) was a Catholic defeat and a Protestant rebound, although Irish Presbyterians also suffered various disabilities (Murtagh, 1993). Rounding off 50 years of total turmoil were the Scottish famines and plagues of the 1690s — the *seven ill years* (Cullen, 2010). All these factors meant Scots *flooded into Ulster during the second half of the 17th century* (Ohlmeyer, 1989), but a similar outflow to North America was on the horizon (Dickson & Fitzgerald, 2016). Ongoing Episcopalian repression of Presbyterians such as a *Test Act* introduced in 1704 to *prevent the further growth of Popery* that also declared Presbyterians *incapable of filling the most humble office* (Hanna, 1902), a combination of droughts, bad harvests, smallpox, credit crises, rising rents, and weak linen prices from 1726-1729 (Dickson & Fitzgerald, 2016; Wokeck, 1996), the 1740-41 Irish famine (Crawford, 1989), along with a desire not to regress with respect to economic improvements that had been gained (Keller, 1992) were the main factors driving Irish emigration during the first half of the 18th Century.

The numbers of Irish who migrated to North America up until 1763 are not known with certainty, and even sound estimates vary widely, from approximately 250,000 to 500,000 (Hanna, 1905; Eid, 1986). But, returning to the subject of this article, the numbers of Irish who settled in Virginia can be gauged with more accuracy since Pennsylvania is considered an early distributing center from which Irish moved south because:

By 1730, the westward movement of population in Pennsylvania had reached the foothills of the Alleghenies, and, being hindered by the mountain barrier from advancing farther in that direction, was deflected southward along the line of least resistance into the valleys of Maryland and Virginia, and into the Piedmont region of the Carolinas (Dunaway, 1931).

The vast majority of Irish emigrants bound for Philadelphia came from one of four Irish ports in either An C6bh (C6bh, Co. Cork), Baile 1Atha Claith (Dublin), B6al Feirste (Belfast) or Doire (Derry), since vessels departed from them frequently. And using sound immigration statistics for the Delaware Valley as a surrogate for Protestant or Catholic affiliation, of the 24,080 Irish who landed in New Castle or Philadelphia between 1729 and 1763 approximately 60% embarked from ports in Ulster and 40% from ports in were from the south of Ireland, although between 1729 and 1742 those proportions can be reversed exactly.

Hence, the idea that Scotch-Irish Protestants from Ulster formed the vast majority of Colonial Irish settlers in Virginia is, in all certainty, distorted (Wokeck, 1996) and exaggerated (Eid, 1986) confounded by assumptions that all Irish settlers were Scotch-Irish (Dunaway, 1931) and failing to account for the conversion of Catholics to Presbyterians, Anglicans Methodists, Baptists and Quakers in a New World where religious affiliation took a distant second place to building a new life and the spirit of the American revolution (Carroll, 2006). And among those Irish who landed in Pennsylvania and settled in Virginia was William Fitzpatrick; his life and times and descendants are the focus of the remainder of this article.

Colonial American Fitzpatrick Settlers: Copy and Paste Chaos

One of the prime goals of any DNA surname research project is to make connections between genealogical paper pedigrees and DNA-produced genetic pedigrees. The interest in researching ancestry has grown exponentially in the past ten years. With the availability of online birth, marriage, and death records, anyone can now research their ancestors without having to dig through the information that previously may have been difficult to access. In North America, where the majority of the population descend from immigrants, it is a great quest to connect to one's past through paper trails. As most researchers are well aware, the issue is that you hit what is commonly referred to as a brick wall when the paper trails run out.

A widespread thing happens when the people hit the genealogy brick wall. There is no longer a source available to make a real genealogical connection to an ancestor, and relationships on a tree can become speculative. The speculation is frequently copied by hundreds of other researchers, taken as factual but ignoring that it was based only on guesswork. What can happen on platforms such as [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com) (Ancestry) is many trees connect to an ancestor but branching is regularly based on very thin threads, and narratives such as, *the trail leads back to Virginia*, and the issue with that is most pedigrees that go back to the early colonists all lead back to Virginia or North Carolina.

An example of this is evident in one of the pedigrees this article examines; there is a Virginia settler, William Fitzpatrick, born ca. 1690, who has over 3000 trees connected to him on ancestry via his two sons, His pedigree has been well documented by genealogical researchers, but it is impossible in most cases to tell which lineages are correct. Also, William's line is easy to confuse because there is John Fitzpatrick born ca. 1750, possibly out of Bath County Virginia, and late of Floyd County Kentucky, who has over 1000 trees connected to him, although the historical research done on John's line is very limited. In addition, there is Samuel Fitzpatrick, also born ca. 1750 out of Surrey North Carolina, and late of Maury County, Tennessee; he has less than 150 trees with him as the most distant known ancestor (MDKA), but the opportunity for confusion still exists.

The dominance of William's pedigree at Ancestry, with its richness, detailed narratives, a commonality of forenames (such as John, Thomas, William, and Joseph), his early arrival, and the icing on top – his supposed descent from the Barons of Upper Ossory, a magnet for seekers of famous ancestors (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020) – has had the effect of making it easy for genealogists to connect John and Samuel's lines to William's erroneously. However, male descendants of William, John, and Samuel have been proven, by Y-DNA, to be from three different patrilineages. William and Samuel both stem from FGC11134, a significant branch under

the Celtic haplotype L21, but their shared ancestry is from ca. 1200 AD. And John's branch is under FGC5494, another major branch of L21, but separated from FGC11134 approximately 4000 years ago.

In addition to the three lines mentioned above, there are at least four or five distinct Fitzpatrick lines that originated in 18th Century Virginia and North Carolina. These are *stray* Fitzpatrick men found in genealogical records, but presently unconnected to a specific Y-DNA line. As discussed in the introduction, it may never be precisely known what drove these Fitzpatricks to cross the Atlantic Ocean, but they became early pioneers and spread throughout Kentucky, Georgia, Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, and eventually expanding into Texas and California. Many acquired their lands by receiving grants from fighting in the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. Each of these Fitzpatrick lines has a rich documented history while spreading westward from the original colonies of Virginia and the Carolinas and narratives that will interest anyone who manages to connect with them. Due to the investment made by Fitzpatrick Y-DNA pioneers and the subsequent growth of the Fitzpatrick DNA Project, it may be possible, with a simple Y-DNA test, to connect male descendants of these Fitzpatrick lines to others on the Fitzpatrick haplotree. Such lines include that of the earliest recorded Fitzpatrick in the North American Colonies, Bryan Fitzpatrick of Alligator Creek, North Carolina who would have arrived in the 17th Century or 18th Century:

Bryan Fitzpatrick, conveyed to Thomas Holliway 320 acres on ye Sound of Roanoke and on ye south side of the same on August 1st, 1707 (McMullan, 1982)

Bryan's Will, which was probated in Alligator Creek, North Carolina on 26th March 1709 names three sons *Cornelius, Verney, John and Dennis and a daughter Elizabeth* (Grimes, 1910); this line is currently being researched by the Fitzpatrick DNA project, and the results of the research will be published in due course.

William Fitzpatrick and Sarah Breckenridge: Complexities and Confusion

William Fitzpatrick (FT15113), who is the case study of this article, appears in what was then Goochland County, Virginia, where he purchased land; this area eventually became Albemarle County.

William Fitzpatrick from Robert Davis all tracts of land in South Garden among the mountains on branches of Roanoke River November 10, 1738 (Sparacio & Sparacio, 1988).

There have been suggestions that William was not the first of his line in the colonies. This assumption is found in a reference by A. Evans Wynn, a researcher of Southern American:

Reference to lands left him by his father, Daniel Fitzpatrick, in Hanover County Virginia, by John Fitzpatrick of Pittsylvania County Virginia (year 1784), indicate that county as an original home of the Fitzpatricks – this line related, no doubt, to the Albemarle and Goochland family. There are no records remaining at Hanover County to prove this (Wynn, 1940).

This is an illustration of a genealogists' use of speculation; the conclusion is based on guesswork only. On the surface, it appears to be common sense, both men lived there, and their name was the same, so they must be related. Speculation is a useful genealogical tool when it is used properly. It should never be used as a statement of fact until it has been thoroughly vetted and sourced. If the source is published, it should be identified as unverified information.

As Wynn stated, there was indeed a Daniel Fitzpatrick in Hanover County, as found in land and Church records:

Thomas Owen purchased 100 acres on the south side of Chickahominy Swamp 2 February 1712, of which he deeded half to Daniel Fitzpatrick 7 February 1714 (Cypalcorp, 2015, p. 183);

In Obedience to the within order, we the Subscribers have met and seen all the within mentioned, and also the Lands of Daniel FitzPatrick and John Watson...1735 (Chamberlayne, 1935).

How does Wynn make this link between Daniel and the Albemarle County Fitzpatricks? It cannot be made with a wave of the hand; it requires step by step sourced information to build a sound genealogical connection. But at this point, we leave Daniel for future research. This line may be a candidate for John Fitzpatrick's (A1488) progenitor line later found in Floyd County, Kentucky. With a focused approach to further research, such speculation could be turned into fact since there is now the ability within the Fitzpatrick DNA project to look at genealogy through the lens of DNA, use genetic analysis to link stray records, build new branches or completely new trees, and verify the previously unverifiable relationship.

To build an accurate historical narrative surrounding William Fitzpatrick the evidence must be stripped down to factual sources. William purchased land in South Garden, Albemarle County, Virginia, in 1738, which is established from the previously mentioned land deal. This alone tells us nothing more than a William Fitzpatrick was there, in this year and owned land, but it is a vital record and establishes these simple facts. However, we do not know if this is indeed just any William or William (FT15113). After 1738 there are no records to be found relating to William, and we do not have a mention of him until a will, dated 1764.

Son Thomas I constitute and appoint my sole executor, trustee and manager for my dear wife after my decease, who I doubt not will manage it with all requirements necessary unto my worldly Estate. I will and positively order that all my lawful debts be paid with my funeral charges. Item – all the remainder of my estate I will and bequeath to my well beloved wife Sarah Fitzpatrick during her natural life to be at will and dispose of this named at her pleasure to whom it pleaseth her heart to do. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 7th Day of December and year of Our Lord one thousand and seven hundred sixty and two. Signed - Will Fitzpatrick Witnesses: Samuel Gay, William Fitzpatrick, John Harris. Albemarle May Court 1764 (Sparacio & Sparacio, 2000, p, 168).

From the will we learn William's wife was Sarah, and he had a son named Thomas. Hence, the summary of the fact-based knowledge of William Fitzpatrick is quite sparse. How could such basic facts be used to build over 3000 family trees on Ancestry? It is essential to address the *copy and paste* tool found on many genealogy research platforms that have grown over the last ten years. There is a common expression that if a falsehood is told over and over, it eventually becomes the truth, and the surname of Sarah is an excellent example of this. Anyone that has researched the Fitzpatrick lines of the early settlers is undoubtedly familiar with the couple William Fitzpatrick and Sarah Breckenridge. Where did the surname Breckenridge come from? Could it be based on any documentation or historical reference?

Key here is the incredible piece of genealogical research by Reba Fitzpatrick Lea (1954) entitled, *The 'Belfield' Fitzpatricks and 'Elim'; Colemans Their History and Genealogy*. With over 20 years of research, it is one of the most detailed and comprehensive written compilations undertaken on the line of William Fitzpatrick and Sarah. A search on Ancestry for Sarah Breckenridge will yield almost 2500 trees linked to her name. And yet her surname is not listed on any document or record; neither is there even a single historical narrative. So, where did the surname attached to her originate on the viral Ancestry Trees? Returning to Lea, in a straightforward paragraph in her book is found the only mention of Sarah with the Breckenridge surname — this is more than likely the source of the poison in the well of so many family trees.

Notes concerning Fitzpatrick and Breckenridge Families: William Fitzpatrick, b. in Ireland, descendant of Sir John and Lady Ella Fitzpatrick, Earl of Ossory – came to Pennsylvania about 1728 with Irish and Scotch Dissenters. From there into the Valley of Virginia, Augusta County with Alexander Breckenridge. William and his sons had left the church of their fathers and were Presbyterians. It is said Williams' wife was Sarah Jane Breckenridge, a sister of the immigrant Alexander Breckenridge. This has not been definitely established. His sons Thomas and Joseph, and possibly others, were born in Ireland. He and his sons patented land in Goochland County in 1738, 1745, and 1747. This land was on Hardware River and when Albemarle County was cut off from Goochland – 1745 – it became a part of Albemarle (Lea, 1954).

No blame can be affixed to Lea since she makes a very important statement that has been ignored by so many: *this has not been definitely established*. It is not even clear what of the narrative has *not been definitely*

established, but at the very least it has to be the surname of William's wife Sarah being Breckenridge. Also, much of what was stated in the note is purely anecdotal, based on information sent in letters to Lea from others. The reference to Sir John and Lady Ella Fitzpatrick adds significant interest to the narrative until it is realised that John Fitzpatrick, the 1st Earl of Ossory, who married Lady Evelyn (aka Ella) Leveson-Gower, was born in 1719, making it impossible for William to be a direct descendant. Further on in Lea's book, we find the probable source of this information, in a letter attributed to a Mrs. Harris in the Library of the Historical Society of Virginia, who wrote:

Tradition handed down in several branches of the family. Lovey Fitzpatrick, daughter of Thomas Fitzpatrick, who was a son of William (d.1764) who came from Ireland, told descendants of her sister Karen-huppock, who married James Pugh; that her father was descended from Sir John and Lady Ella Fitzpatrick (Lea, 1954).

There was a migration of Irish settlers from Pennsylvania into Virginia ca. 1728, but there is no documentation that William spent time in Pennsylvania, went to Virginia with Alexander Breckenridge, or was Presbyterian. Did Alexander even have a sister, and was she named Sarah? All of the notes that have been accepted and recorded on thousands of Ancestry Trees there is no supporting evidence, and Lea never once claimed the narratives are as factual – they are only notes; Lea even offers a disclaimer to all that read them to treat them as such. That the Breckenridge name is spread throughout the descendants of William Fitzpatrick's line is a fact. Using the mother's maiden name in a son's name is not an unusual naming convention among Scotch-Irish. However, it was also a widespread naming practice in the early Colonies to use the name of famous solidier or friend of the family; Breckenridge is found as a forename and surname in numerous Virginia lines. Hence, there is the possibility that Breckenridge could have been the surname of William's wife; indeed, Lea tried to find a connection but never could.

William Fitzpatrick (FT15113): his descendants to the current day

Returning to the facts, it is established that William lived in South Garden, Albemarle County, Virginia, and that he had a wife Sarah and a son named Thomas. Significant in the Albemarle County records is that a Thomas Fitzpatrick bought 400 acres from the same vendor (Robert Davis) on the same day (November 10, 1738) as William (Sparacio & Sparacio, 1988). That a kin relationship existed between these two men is clear, but the nature of the connection cannot be established with 100% certainty. On balance Thomas is most likely the son William mentions in his will dated 1764 because this son Thomas is mentioned in Albemarle County property records from 1750 and 1759, in which he is noted as selling land to William Hamner, who was probably the father of his wife, Elizabeth Henley Hamner, who he married sometime before 1747:

Elizabeth Hamner, a daughter of William Hamner and Mary Elizabeth Henley (and the sixth child listed in her fathers will), married in Albemarle Co., Virginia to Thomas Fitzpatrick (Black & Ryan, 1981).

Last Will and Testaments (LWTs) are among the most informative records to use in genealogical research, especially before the years of more detailed census taking. The LWT typically mentions wives, all living children, daughters with their married names, and sometimes grandchildren.

Thomas, son of William Fitzpatrick (FT15113)

The LWT of Thomas, son of William reads as follows:

Thomas Fitzpatrick lived in Albemarle County, Virginia, his LWT dated 2 September 1785, probated December Court of 1797, Albemarle County. Wife Elizabeth Hamner. Issue:

*Hamner Fitzpatrick
William Fitzpatrick
John Fitzpatrick
Alexander Fitzpatrick*

Joseph Fitzpatrick
 Edward Fitzpatrick
 Thomas Fitzpatrick
 Sarah Fitzpatrick
 Lovey Fitzpatrick
 Keren-hupcock Fitzpatrick (Austin, 2005).

William, son of Thomas, married Rebecca Gay the granddaughter of Samuel Gay, who was one of the signatories of the LWT of his grandfather. In turn, William is also mentioned in the LWT of his father-in-law, also named Samuel Gay:

I bequeth to my son by law William Fitzpatrick the money he is due, which is ten pounds; and to his wife, my daughter, the afflicted mans companion and Bostons form foto: these two books I bequeath to my daughter Rebecca Fitzpatrick (Brightwell, 2000).

William Fitzpatrick died aged 62 years in 1809. The children of William and Rebecca were:

Samuel married Ann Sparks, daughter of David Witt
 William married Fanny Turner
 Rebecca married —
 Alexander
 Sarah married James Clark and moved to Shelby County
 John married Jane (Lea, 1954).

Samuel Fitzpatrick, born 1771, married Ann Sparks DeWitt on June 18, 1792, in Amherst County, Virginia (Dodd, 2001). He died on July 18, 1825, in Staunton, Augusta County, Virginia, after fathering six children, one of whom is 3rd great-grandfather of a Fitzpatrick DNA Project member, FT15113-A. Samuel's records and pedigrees are excellent and can be readily summarised down to the grandfather of member FT15113-A.

Clough Shelton Fitzpatrick (1815-1903) is mentioned in the will of Samuel Fitzpatrick as his son, and the name Shelton came from a significant family name in Albemarle County, probably after Clough Shelton a Revolutionary War Captain and neighbour to the Fitzpatricks. Clough married Margaret Merritt on November 1, 1835, in Augusta County, Virginia. On May 10, 1903, he died in Virginia, having fathered 18 children with two wives. One of Clough's sons was John William Fitzpatrick (1837-1858); his life was cut short but not before fathering Benjamin Franklin Fitzpatrick, born August 9, 1857, in Harrison County, West Virginia. Benjamin Franklin Fitzpatrick (1857- 1927) and his wife, Prudence Simons, lived their lives in Harrison County, and on July 18, 1888, Henry Frederick Fitzpatrick, the grandfather of member FT15113-A was born. Henry continued the proud tradition of farming in West Virginia.

Joseph, son of William Fitzpatrick (FT15113)

According to Lea (1954), William Fitzpatrick also had a son called Joseph. Joseph has several land purchases documented around the same time and location, some properties adjacent to William and his wife, Sarah. A sixth-great-grandson (FT15113-B) of Joseph Fitzpatrick has traced his line back to him commencing with his great-grandfather Robert Worrell Fitzpatrick (1888 – 1967), who was born in Warren County, Georgia. A commercial photographer, Robert was the son of Henry Harris Fitzpatrick and Martha Jane Worrell.

Henry Harris Fitzpatrick (Plate 1) was born in Morgan County, Georgia, on October 18, 1833. He is listed on the 1860 United States census as a farmer in Warren County, Georgia. He was the father to nine children (Robert being his eighth) and was the son of James Fitzpatrick (1801 – 1847). James Fitzpatrick was born July 5, 1801, in Greene County, Georgia, and he married Sarah Harris on December 28, 1824; the couple's two other children were Mary and William Benjamin Fitzpatrick.

James was the son of Benjamin Fitzpatrick and Sarah Jones, who was Benjamin's second wife. For his service in

the Revolutionary War, Benjamin was among the first to settle the lands granted in Georgia:

Benjamin Fitzpatrick, b. Va 1745; d. Buckhead, Morgan Co., Ga., 1821. Served as private, Va. Line; received bounty grant of land in Ga. For his service. Mar. (1) Mary Perkins; in 1784, (2) Sarah Jones. His grave marked by D.A.R.

Children by (1) wife:

Nancy, mar. John High

Constantine (1771-1845), mar. Mary Perkins (1778-1856); 5 children

Frances mar. — Stewart

Children by (2) wife:

Elizabeth, mar. Samuel Clay

William, b. 1786, mar. Nancy Green

Joseph, mar. Nancy Hunter.

Alexander, mar. Nancy Hill.

Susan, mar. (1) Charles Matthews; (2) John Emerson

Bennett, mar. Eliza Shackelford

Mary, mar. Thomas Brown.

James, mar Sarah Harris.

Jesse, mar. (1) Nancy McGowan; (2) Mrs. Phillips (McCall, 1996).

Benjamin and his son William settled the land they claimed along the Oconee River in Green County, Georgia. The river was dammed in 1912 to generate hydropower for nearby textile mills, and the sites of the Fitzpatrick settlements were lost. However, a map dated 1793 (Figure 2) provides the location of *Fort Fitzpatrick* on the Oconee's upper fork at Fitzpatrick's Ford; *Ford and Fort seem to used almost interchangeably in the old records* (Hunt, 1973).

Benjamin was the son of Joseph Fitzpatrick and Mary Perrin Woodson; the connection is made very clear here when, in 1761, Benjamin was gifted 200 acres in Albemarle County, Virginia, by his grandfather and namesake Benjamin Woodson, the father of Mary Perrin Woodson:

Benjamin Woodson, of St. Ann's Parish, Albemarle Co. to his grandson Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Co. afsd. deed of gift: 200 acres on head of Cary Creek, in Co. afsd. Part of 400 acres (Valentine, 2007);

October 25, 1770. Benjamin Fitzpatrick to Mary Perkins, dau. of Mary Perkins X, who consents to dau's m'ge; sec., Joseph Fitzpatrick (Bentley, 1984);

Children of Joseph Fitzpatrick (1) and Mary Perrin Fitzpatrick

Benjamin, born 1746, married, first, Mary Perkins; second, Sarah Jones (seven sons and five daughters).

William, married Miss Phillips (six sons and three daughters)

Joseph, married Elizabeth Jones (two sons and three daughters)

Booth, married Miss Brown (two sons)

Rene, married Miss Hartredge. Family not known

Mrs. Joe Heard

Mrs. Robert Wright (Wynn, 1940).

The three brothers Benjamin, William, and Rene were very active on the lands in Greene and Morgan Counties, Georgia; several of their cousins, and eventually their mother Mary Perrin Fitzpatrick, made their homes in the area after the death of Joseph (Hunt, 1973). Joseph Fitzpatrick has several land purchases documented around the same time and location, some properties adjacent to William Fitzpatrick (FT15113) and his wife, Sarah:

January 12, 1746 Joseph Fitzpatrick: Patent for "400 acres in Goochland County on north Fork of Hardware River and bounded by Mildred Merewether's corner." From William Gooch, Lt. Governor and

Commander-in-Chief at Williamsburg (Wynn, 1940).

Hence, we arrive, having the three men, William, Thomas, and Joseph Fitzpatrick, all located in the same time and place, on land that makes up the North and South Garden between the North Fork and the South Forks of the Hardware River. By all accounts, documented in the official records and anecdotal, the relationship between the three men has William Fitzpatrick (FT15113) and Sarah as the parents of Thomas and Joseph. But 100% proof is lacking: William, Thomas, and Joseph could be brothers, uncles or cousins, or not related at all. The latter, however, can be verified by Y-DNA analysis.

William Fitzpatrick: making connections via his haplotype

From the onset of the Fitzpatrick DNA Study (Fitzpatrick, 2005), it was clear there were several Fitzpatrick lines, and they were genetically diverse. One of the more extensive lines was known as the Nine of Clads since it was the ninth line discovered, and it was speculated the line originated in An Cabhán. The line shared an STR marker that was uncommon among L21 men (DYS449=26), and this served as an explicit identifier for those Fitzpatricks who belonged in the Nine of Clads. With the commercialisation of Next Generation Sequencing (NGS) testing came the discovery that the STR-defined line could be more precisely defined as haplotype BY9001, a sub-group of L21...FG11134, which arose ca. 2000 BC. Today, more than 120 men have taken a Y-DNA test and share ancestry with BY9001, including over 40 Fitzpatricks. The BY9001 haplogroup is made up of lineages that trace to Bréifne (Breffni). This ancient kingdom encompassed much of the present-day counties of An Cabhán and Liatroim (Co.Leitrim) as well as parts of An Longfort (Co.Longford), An Mhí (Co.Meath), Fear Manach and Sligeach (Co.Sligo).

These Fitzpatrick men are found exclusively under the BY9001 sub-haplogroup BY12234, which arose ca. 1050 AD. Hence, this is a line that has carried a Pátraic patronymic since the dawn of surnames (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020) and with NGS tests for Fitzpatricks now numbering 12 it is possible to arrange them in their own haplotree along with a timeline of when the tree branching occurred; the haplotree will grow further and branch more with each additional NGS test in the future.

A genetic great-grandson of BY12234 is FT15113 and this mutation is carried by two Fitzpatrick men who both stated their MDKA was as William Fitzpatrick, born ca. 1690, of Albemarle County, Virginia. The pedigrees of both men are well documented, one back to Thomas Fitzpatrick born ca. 1725 and the other to Joseph Fitzpatrick born ca. 1720, both of Albemarle County. Thomas Fitzpatrick is, with a high degree of certainty, the son of the aforementioned William and, based on both descendants sharing FT15113 and his date of birth, Joseph Fitzpatrick was probably his brother.

One of the challenges of working with NGS Y-DNA data relates to the degree of test coverage; a large proportion (approximately 62%), but not all SNPs on the Y-chromosome are analysed (FamilyTreeDNA, 2014). NGS results did not find any private SNPs for the two descendants of William, which is not unusual for those related within a generation or two, but is unexpected in this case; the explanation is the lack of Y-chromosome coverage. Accordingly, compared with other branches of the BY12234 haplotree, FT15113 SNP gives the impression it arose ca. 1350 AD. The reality is the branch FT15113 belongs to arose ca. 1350 AD, not necessarily the SNP itself. It will require further NGS results to lock down the exact year the split took place between the lines of Joseph and Thomas Fitzpatrick. However, considering the historical records, the fact Thomas is stated to be a son of William, the birth years of the men, and the convergence of the STR data of the other men who also report William as their MDKA, it is entirely reasonable to conclude that the two men tested (FT15113-A and FT15113-B) share common ancestry with William Fitzpatrick born ca. 1690 (refer . Figure 3)

In addition to the two descendants of Thomas and Joseph, other closely STR-matched men also share common ancestry within the last 250 to 350 years, and some of them trace their lineages to Virginia in the 1700s. Figure 4 presents a Time to Most Recent Common Ancestor (TMRCA) chart for haplogroup BY12234; this group comprises Fitzpatricks and genetic *cousins* with Scots-associated surnames and highlights the cluster of Virginia related Fitzpatricks.

With the combined DNA and genealogical information at hand it is now possible to find other descendants of William Fitzpatrick (FT15113). For example, several American Fitzpatrick family trees stop at a brick wall in the early 1800s with a Thomas Richardson Fitzpatrick born ca 1815 in Madison County, Georgia. A descendant of Thomas Richardson Fitzpatrick determined to see if a Y-DNA test could break through the brick wall, and a 37 marker DNA test was taken. Both the resultant STR signature and TMRCA calculations confirmed Thomas Richardson Fitzpatrick descended from William Fitzpatrick (FT15113).

Can any more be learned of William's Irish origins? A speculator might take Rea's (1954) account that William and his sons were Presbyterians on face-value and doubtless also consider his forename a sure sign he was Scotch-Irish. But Lea (1954) also states William and his sons had left the church of their fathers. This, and the fact that William arrived on North American shores ca. 1728, when Catholics migrants outnumbered Protestants by three to two, points to Irish roots. The complexity of William's close Y-DNA matches is such that Scotch-Irish also feature with a shared ancestry before ca. 1350 AD. Does this point to a pre-1350 AD movement, from Ireland to Scotland, of members of a Clann who bore a Pátraic surname, only for some of their descendants to return to Ireland some 300 or so years later?

This fascinating aspect of the FGC11134...BY12234 line of Fitzpatricks will be explored in future articles. For the time being, concerning early American Fitzpatrick research, this article teaches us overall to take *nothing* for granted, question *all* prior assumptions, and utilise *Y-DNA* to break down brick walls.

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Fitzpatrick BY12234 Clan Tree

6th April 2021

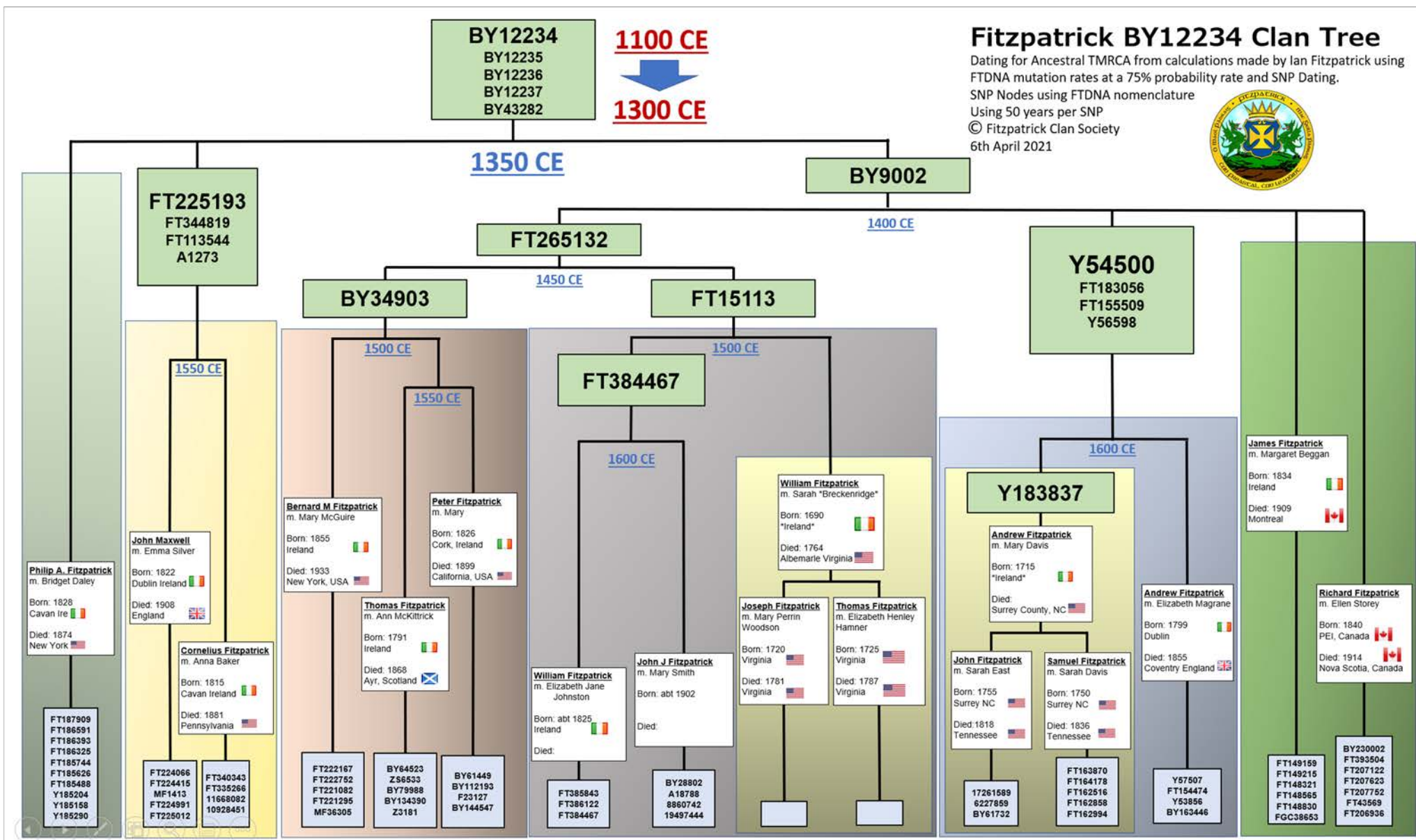


Plate 1: Henry Harris Fitzpatrick, 1833-1894 (used with permission from Meg Monthan)

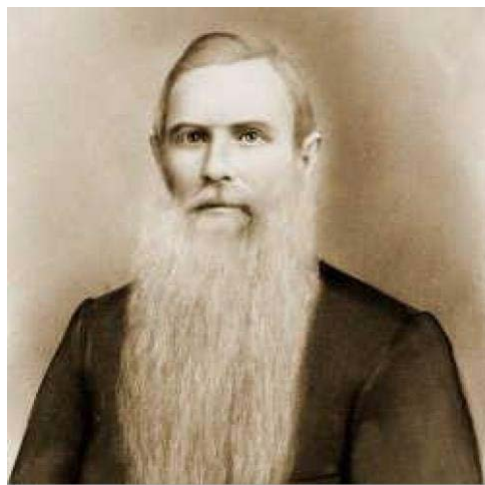


Figure 2: Fort Fitzpatrick on the Oconee River's Upper Fork (Hunt, 1973)

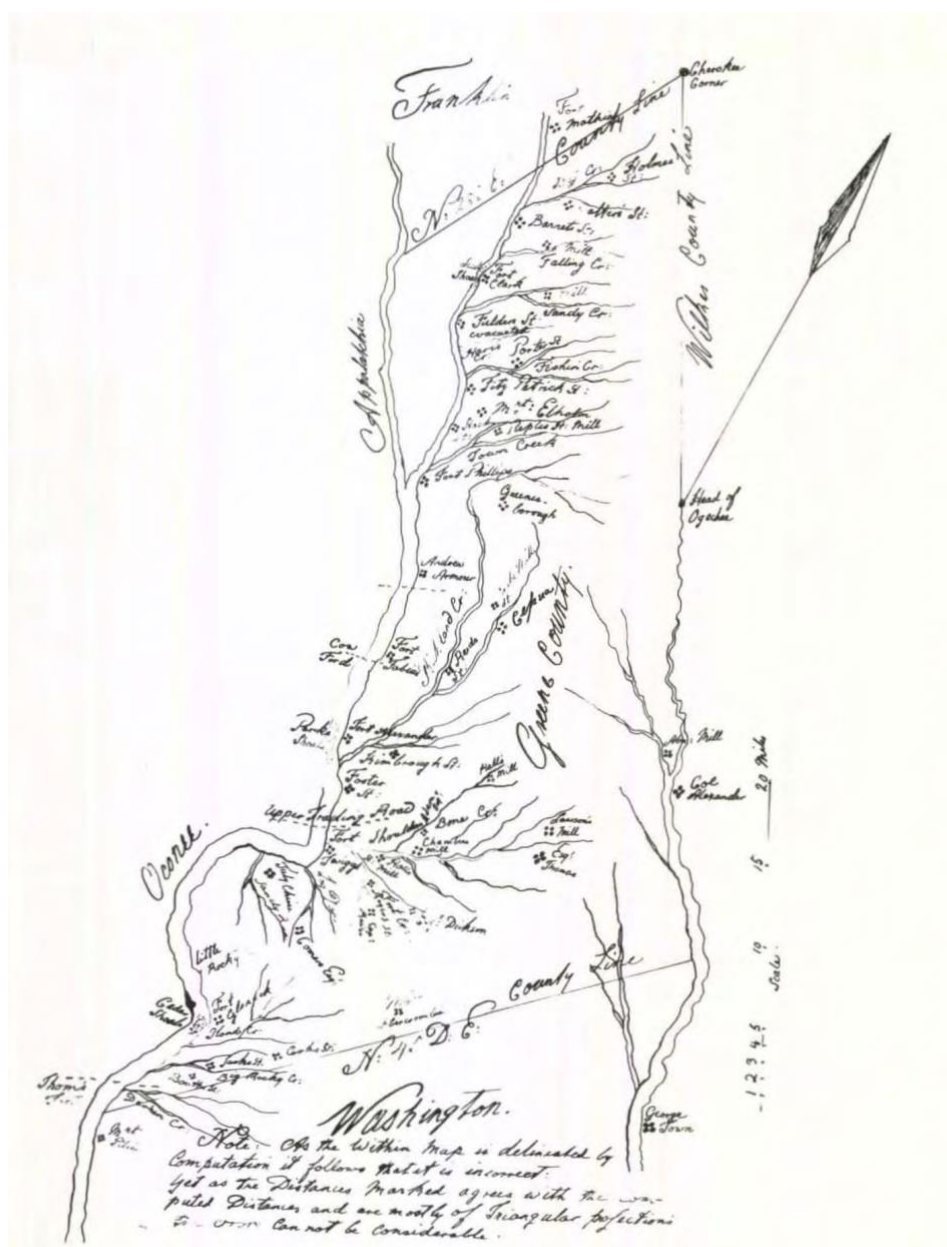
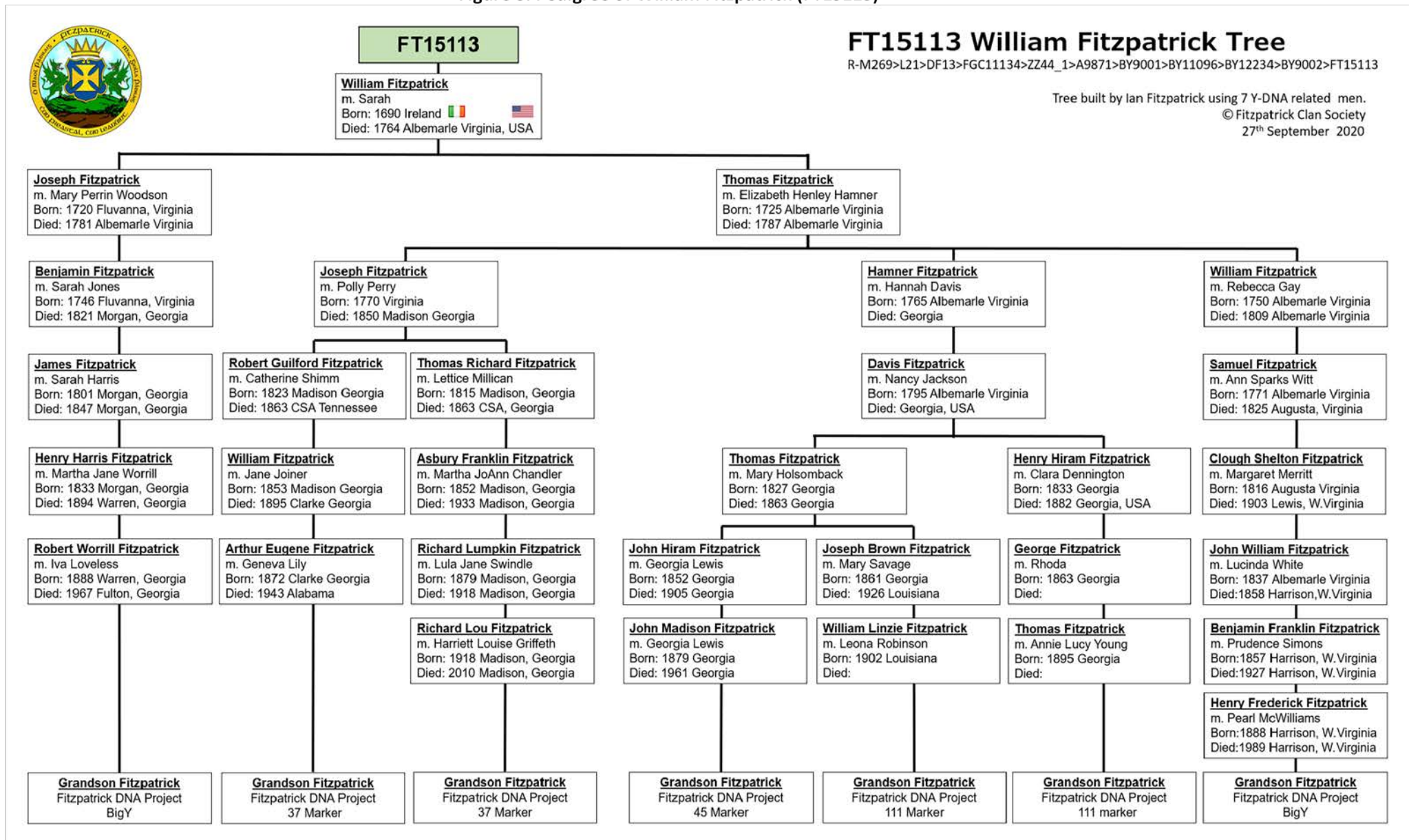


Figure 3: Pedigree of William Fitzpatrick (FT15113)



Time to Most Recent Common Ancestor (Years)

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Fitzpatrick, I., Fitzpatrick, M. (2020). Colonial American Fitzpatrick Settlers, Part I: Making Sense of One Line. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 1, 18-39. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00220](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00220), Ver2, 23 May 2021

Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD

Part II

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Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2020, 1, 40-71

Abstract

The starting place for *Part II* of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí: 1384-1534 is Feartach, Cill Chainnigh (Fertagh, Co. Kilkenny) where a previously little known Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric, and unrecognised clan chieftain, was appointed Prior in 1506. There are many mysterious elements of *Kilpatrick's tomb* at Gráinseach Feartach (Grangefeartach), which is said to be the final resting place of Brian *na Lúireach* and his son Seán, and a critical examination of the tomb cannot fail to lead to the inevitable question – is it not they, but others, who are buried there?

In addition to the mysteries of Gráinseach Feartach, this article synthesises numerous entries in the Papal Registers, which provide clear evidence for Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí clerical lines that enjoyed power, wealth, and influence, both within and without the clan. The exploits of the clerics, their relationship to other clan members, and their associations with their neighbours, are presented against the backdrop of the political landscape around Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí country during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The key players from the House of Ormond, and the House of Kildare, and their networks with Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí of the era provide new insights into the clan's leadership and lineages, which are more complex than previously understood.

A Note on Names, Styles, Edits and Records

This article is written in the English language, but the people and places discussed are Irish. In order to acknowledge the primacy of *Gaeilge* (Gaelic) in this article, the personal names and by-names of people are provided in modern *Gaeilge* using the most common spelling; the meanings of the latter are provided at the time of first use, for example, Tadhg Dubh (Teague *the Black*) Mac Giolla Phádraig. In similar fashion, at the time of first use place names are provided in modern *Gaeilge* with the English version in parentheses, for example, Garrán na Páirce (Parksgrove), unless the place name is titular, for example, the Baron of Upper Ossory. Quotations are italicised, and long or textually significant quotations are also indented. This article is a living work, i.e., it can be edited by the author; all versions will be retained. Every effort has been made to consult *all* available Mac Giolla Phádraig records that relate to the period relevant to this article (1454-1522).

Introduction

Just as many mysteries begin with a body, and often a dead one, so this article does – or, at least, it starts with reliquiae and a tomb. *Part I* of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí (Fitzpatrick, 2020) gave a brief introduction to *Kilpatrick's tomb*, a burial chamber at Gráinseach Feartach (from now simply Feartach), said by authoritative Fitzpatrick historian, Rev. William Carrigan (Carrigan, 1905), to be the final resting place of Johes and Bernard mkyllfyadryk. And yet mysteries abound for the tomb, not the least of which is that both Carrigan's and fellow Fitzpatrick scholar Rev. John Shearman's (1879) interpretations of the tomb inscriptions are not well corroborated by those who were able to view the tomb when it was in a lesser state of decay. Hence, Feartach is the starting place for *Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part II* – the tomb is, at times, central to the treatment of late

medieval pedigrees of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí and the Barons of Upper Ossory. As the mysteries of Feartach are explored, so too are those pedigrees seen with greater clarity.

Part II of *Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí* picks up where *Part I* left off (1454) and travels through until when a previously unrecognised Mac Giolla Phádraig chieftain, and the voice of the clan, is uncovered (1518). It is an era little studied by historians, and yet, contrary to assertions Mac Giolla Phádraig history between the thirteenth and sixteenth century *is largely undiscoverable* (Nicholls, Lydon & MacCurtain, 1972), records abound. Of particular note are the Lateran and Vatican Registers (Papal Registers), which are treasure troves that uncover not only the existence of hitherto unknown Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí clerical lines, but reveal incest, illegitimacy, and murder – and not only among the clerics!

Article Overview

Rather than following a chronological arrangement, *Part II* has a deliberate narrative flow to engage the reader in some of the moments of riveting discovery, which the author was privileged to enjoy. The article highlights are:

- The Mysteries at Gráinseach Feartach: Part I
- Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí Clerical Lines
- Some Questions of Carrigan
- The Mysteries at Gráinseach Feartach: Part II
- The Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig Alliance: Part II
- The Ormond-Kildare *Situation*
- The Rise of Piers Butler and the Horses of Kildare
- Early 16th Century Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí Leaders and Lineages
- Miscellanea

The Mysteries at Gráinseach Feartach: Part I

Once a critical eye is cast Feartach's way, several things don't add up as to how it is currently perceived. Making sense of Feartach demands an understanding of the geographical, historical, political, sculptural, and paleographic features that make *Kilpatrick's tomb* seemingly unique, and very mysterious. Carrigan certainly understood the geographical, historical, and political perspectives of Feartach when he wrote of it being a final resting place for two Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí chieftains,

it is not easy to conceive why they selected Fertagh for that purpose in preference to Aghamacart or Aghaboe (Carrigan, Vol. 2, 1905, p. 295).

Not easy to conceive, indeed. In modern language and an abbreviated vernacular, Carrigan says, *WTF are Mac Giolla Phádraig doing buried there?* It is mostly the geographic location of Feartach, south of the modern-day Cill Chainnigh-Laois border, and beyond the bounds of Mac Giolla Phádraig country as it was defined when the tomb was built (Rae, 1971; Mac Niocaill, 1992), that left Carrigan bamboozled. Not so Achadh Mhic Airt (Aghmacart) or Achadh Bhó (Aghaboe), both in modern Laois, and in the former Mac Giolla Phádraig country, and the latter of high significance to Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí; Finghin Óg established a Dominican Friary there ca. 1382 (Archdall, 1786).

The selection of Feartach was not easy for Carrigan to conceive of from historical or political perspectives either. A monastic community had existed near modern-day Feartach, in ancient times called Fearta-Caerach (O'Clery et al., 1856), long before the Norman invasions (Carrigan, 1905). A

round tower built in ca. 950 (Ó Riagáin, 2010), along with houses and church, were burned during Muircheartach Mac Lochlainn's rampage through Leinster in 1156 (O'Clery et al., 1856). A clear Norman presence in the former Barony of Feartach is evidenced from ca. 1210 when Henry de Hereford had a castle there (Curtis, 1923); soon after, the Blanchfields, *English Lords living in Ireland*, founded the Priory of St Kieran there (Archdall, 1786), and in 1251 AD the prior and canons obtained protection *without term* from Henry III (Lyte, 1901).

The priory probably became a house of the Augustinian Order shortly after the arrival of Augustinian friars, with their expansionist philosophy, in Baile Átha Cliath (Dublin) ca. 1275 (Kelly, 2005). Following the Norman invasions, the pattern of ecclesiastical patronage in Éire changed. Bishops had no interest in establishing Augustinian houses but were happy to give license to other patrons, and the primary patrons were not the great Norman Lords but their chief tenants (Empey, 1984). All the Augustinians needed were benefactors with land, and there was any number of Norman families seeking *tutors for their children and chaplains for their manors* (Kelly, 2005). In addition to Feartach, many other religious houses and churches across Osraí enjoyed the lay patronage of Norman families, such as the de Hereford, de Vale, FitzWarin, and Purcell (Carrigan, 1905; Lawlor, 1908).

Throughout the fourteenth century, Feartach appears to have gone without a lay patron, it belonging *to the prior*, although this did not appear to affect the prior's ability to pay his dues even during periods of war; in contrast, for example, the Prior of Aghmacart was not so able (Lawlor, 1908). Conflicts did, however, eventually take their toll, and in 1421 the monastery was,

so destroyed and desolated and exposed to ruin by the wars and calamities which have long afflicted those parts that its religious cannot remain therein, but must wander about and beg their daily bread (Twemlow, 1906, p.181).

However, by 1455 the formerly famous monastery, although still in a state of some decay, was in the process of repair due to the efforts of Augustinian canon Tadhg Mac Gearadhaigh, who had transferred from Inis Mac nÉirín, Ros Comáin (Church Island, Co. Roscommon) (Twemlow, 1906). In 1469 the priory is stated as being detained without title by Conchobhar Ó Cathail; an association between Feartach and the Ó Cathail family would continue until the early sixteenth century. Diarmaid Ó Reachtabhra's petition to unite Feartach and Adhairc (Erke) met with papal approval (Twemlow, 1933), but there is no evidence of tenure. In 1476 William Ó Duigan was nominated to the priory (Clohosey, 1957), but his term was short-lived; he was removed for non-payment of annates. In 1480 the priorship, elective and with a cure, came to Thomas Ó Cathail (Twemlow, 1955; Clohosey 1957).

The Feartach Ó Cathail, a clerical line from the diocese of Cashel (Clohosey, 1957), had proven difficult to displace, doubtlessly aided by a connection to a powerful Norman family of Archdekin (also known as Mac Óda, or McCody) who were based in Osraí from the time of the Norman invasions. Their seat in the fourteenth century was the Barony of Gabhalmhaigh (Galmoy) (Carrigan, 1905), which encompassed the parish of Feartach. Thomas Ó Cathail had married the heiress of Bhaile Uí Shpealáin (Ballyspellan), Honora Archdekin (Curtis, 1937), east of Feartach.

Hence, Feartach, as Carrigan knew full well, was a monastery on Norman lands, long in the patronage of Norman families who had been intermarrying for centuries. What strange circumstance then, when in 1506 the priory of Feartach was, by favour of Pope Julius II, conferred on William Mac Giolla Phádraig (Clohosey 1957; Haren, 1989). To understand that turn of events requires an understanding of the little before revealed clerical lines of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí; those lines unlock the mysteries of the tomb at Feartach, and much more. By way of introduction to the Osraí clerics, the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Killaloe afford an outstanding example.

Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerical Lines

Clerical lineages in Éire have recently been the subject of several scholarly articles and books (e.g., MacCotter, 2004; McNerney, 2014). Excellent coverage of a line of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics in the diocese of Killaloe is provided by Gwynn and Gleeson (1962) and McNerney (2014), and it is Diarmaid Mac Giolla Phádraig who takes centre stage. The Papal Registers record the emergence of the 20-year old Killaloe cleric in Eas Géitine, Luimneach (Askeaton, Co. Limerick) in 1418 (Twemlow, 1906), but by 1426 he had relocated some five miles to the north at Oileán na gCanánach, (Inisgad or Canon Island) Clár (Co. Clare).

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, ecclesiastical appointments in Clár were dominated by a handful of families, such as the Meic Catháin (Keane) and the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin (Shannon), as evidenced by the hereditary successions of coarbs, erenachs, and priors (McNerney, 2013). Among clerical positions, that of prior is readily understood, but those of coarb or erenagh have been variably interpreted by writers, doubtlessly because the nature and status of the positions evolved over time due to changes in the Irish Church (Seymour, 1932). A thorough exposition of the terms, and their origins, is provided by Lanigan (1822), who details that a coarb, whenever possible, was a member of a clan hierarchy elected by them to possess a patrimony while holding an ecclesiastical position, hence signifying a clan-Church *partnership*. Bishops and abbots may once also have been termed a coarb, but over time coarbs became distinct from, and accountable to, bishops.

At one time, erenach meant archdeacon; they were a more numerous and inferior rank than coarbs, and their role was the management of church property and their economies. As with coarbs, erenach succession was hereditary – chosen by the clan, with the bishop's approval. And although erenachs ultimately became the *chief tenants of episcopal lands* (Jefferies, 1999), coarbs,

differed from the erenachs in their possessing more extensive lands and sometimes having erenachs under them, whereas the erenach's power and influence were of an inferior kind (Lanigan, 1822, Vol.4, p.85).

As will be demonstrated from the Papal Registers, sometimes there was a practice of laymen declaring themselves clerics, assuming the role of coarb or erenach, and usurping possession of church lands (once granted by the clan) back to themselves, yet still within the framework of brehon laws of succession (Lanigan, 1822). This is, perhaps, evidenced among Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, however, it was not the case with Diarmaid Mac Giolla Phádraig at Oileán na gCanánach; he was born to an Order of St Augustine (OSA) priest and an unmarried woman (Twemlow, 1906) but he was not, at least by name, of any long-established Killaloe clerical lineage as identified by Gwynn and Gleeson (1962) or considered as being from a line of erenaghs (McNerney, 2014).

The only clear candidate for Diarmaid's father is Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig. He was a Killaloe cleric appointed to Cill Churnáin (Kilcornan), Luimneach, just four miles east of Eas Géitine, in 1394 (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902) but at the time of his death (ca. 1416) was rector of the parish churches of Cill Fear Buí and Cill Mhuire (Kilfarboy and Kilmurry) on the west coast of An Clár (Twemlow, 1906). It is noteworthy, both in terms of clerical succession and likely paternity, that Cill Churnáin was assigned to John Mac Giolla Phádraig in 1426 (Twemlow, 1906) and, also, that Charles Mac Giolla Phádraig was assigned the rectory of Cill Fear Buí and Cill Mhuire in 1432, which he held until 1466 (Twemlow, 1933). Charles was *by both parents of noble race* (Twemlow, 1933) and Diarmaid was *by both parents of noble birth* (Twemlow, 1906); hence, Matthew and sons were possibly patrilineal or matrilineal descendants of Connor mac Scannlán Mac Giolla Phádraig who O'Hart (1892) considers the progenitor of Clár and Luimneach Fitzpatricks.

After the Norman invasions, Irish practices had adapted to, and become intertwined with, Anglo-Norman bishops who were entirely cognizant of, and often sympathetic to, the ancient connections to the pre-Norman Church in Éire (Seymour, 1932). Hence, given their status during the medieval period, one might expect the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí would have, given the opportunity, evolved clerical lineages who descended from coarbs and erenaghs. And so it proves, in part. Ample subject matter is available, which offers remarkable insights into the clerics of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, viz. their: positions in the Church; mode of operation; ecclesiastical boundaries; political networks; and, ancestors and descendants, although, to date, there has been no treatment of such Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics in the Diocese of Ossory. They are best understood as clerical lineages although they did not appear until the early fifteenth century.

The late emergence of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics in Osraí requires consideration. By way of comparison, the Uí Cuanáin coarbs of Ros Cré (Roscrea) *supplied numerous candidates to the diocesan clergy* and they are first recorded from the twelfth century (Gwynn & Gleeson, 1962) –Isaac Ua Cuanáin, Bishop of Roscrea, died ca. 1161 AD (O’Clery et al., 1856). That Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí were driven from Cill Chainnigh by William Marshall (first Earl of Pembroke) ca. 1192 AD (Carrigan, 1905) effectively curbed such an early emergence of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí clerical lines, although there was clearly no lack of devotion to the Church since it was Domhnall Mac Giolla Phádraig who had given Seireapún (Jerpoint) *to the monks* (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003) following in the steps of his father, Donnchadh, the *religious prince* who founded Jerpoint’s Cistercian Abbey ca. 1158 AD (Carrigan, 1905).

The Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí re-emerged to the north ca. 1212 AD partially under Domhnall Mór of Magh-Lacha and Clanna, who may have been Domhnall’s great-grandson (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003); the names of those ancient túath preserved today by the Baronies of Clár Maí Locha (Clarmallagh) and Clann Donncha (Clandonagh). The re-establishment of a foothold in Osraí was arduous and the climate scarcely conducive to clerical affairs or matters of learning. Rather, the period from the early thirteenth to the mid fourteenth century was noted for the establishment of military alliances with Gaelic clans, such as the O’Dempsey; campaigning against the Crown, enjoying both success and failure and in the process losing at least three clan chieftains; succumbing to making peace and entering the service of the Crown; and clan infighting (Butler, 1849; Hennessy, 1871; Murphy, 1896; Sweetman, 1879; Williams, 2007).

When Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí are recorded in this era as engaging in activities relating to the Church it is destructively against already war-torn Achadh Bhó where, in 1346 AD, they tore down the castle and burnt the town, cemetery and church along with the shrine, bones and relics of St Canice (Carrigan, 1905; Murphy, 1896). But by the late fourteenth century a change had come. *Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part I* (Fitzpatrick, 2020) introduced Tadhg Mac Giolla Phádraig (1412/1413 - 1487) the son of Finghin Óg and, at the time of his demise, tanist of Ossory (MacCarthy & Hennessy, 1895), who may also have been a cleric of Ossory. But there are earlier recorded Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics in the diocese of Ossory, including Criomthann, who appears in the Papal Registers in 1427. Criomthann was assigned the rectory of Achadh Bhó, Laois (Aghaboe), having *studied canon and civil law for several years in places which are not universities* (Twemlow, 1906). It is not unlikely the lay patronage of Achadh Bhó at that time was with the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, who had established a Dominican Friary there ca. 1382 (Archdall, 1786).

Tadhg appears in 1428 at the age of just 16 years and already holding the rectory of the church of Domhnach Mór (Donaghmore), when he was granted *in commendam* (i.e., entrusted to a patron) the rectory of St Mugesius, Ros Chonaill (Rosconnell) until he reached 22 years of age (Twemlow, 1909). The patronage of Ros Chonaill lay with the family Sentleger, and the timing of Tadhg’s appointment came shortly after the March 1428 grant (Curtis, 1935) by Willig Sentleger *to Henry*

Sentleger of Kilkenny ... manors ... together with the advowson of churches and chapels in several towns including Leamhchoill (Loughill), Baile Osaill (Ballyoskill) and Ros Chonaill – these three townlands highlighted here since they occur in several other fifteenth and sixteenth century records that are key to understanding Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí clerics and their associations.

It is not clear why Tadhg came to be selected by the Sentlegers or when he came into their orbit. The Sentlegers (also St Leger and de Sancto Leodegario) came into possession of lands in the cantred of Uí Duach (Odogh), which corresponded to the later-defined Baronies of Fásach an Deighnín (Fassadinin) and Gabhalmhaigh, and parts of Crannach (Crannagh), Clan Donncha (Clandonagh), and Clár Maí Locha (Clarmallagh) (Empey, 1971), not long after the Norman invasion. Before that, much of Uí Duach was Ó Braonáin country, but by 1428 Leamhchoill, Baile Osaill, and Ros Chonaill had been under Sentleger control or influence for more than 200 years (Carrigan, 1905). While the appointment of Criomthann to Achadh Bhó is readily understood, Tadhg's selection further evidences the dawning of the era of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí partnerships, other than occasional military excursions (O'Clery et al., 1856), with Anglo-Norman families much earlier than most scholars have previously recognised.

Criomthann, *by both parents of noble race* was, in 1440, again nominated to the parish church of Achadh Bhó (Clohosey, 1957). According to Carrigan (1905), the local tradition surrounding Baile Uí Chaollaí (Ballykealy) castle was that it *belonged to a branch of the Fitzpatricks known as the 'Criffins'* and that its last occupant was *Donnchadh, the descendant of Criomhthann*. Here lies no small intrigue because Diarmaid Mac Giolla Phádraig, brother of Brian who became the first Baron of Upper Ossory, executed ca. 1532 for his role in the death of Thomas Butler, son of Piers Butler then Earl of Ossory, had possession of Baile Uí Chaollaí at the time (Curtis, 1937).

Tadhg's clerical career passed by without further mention in the Papal Registers until 1450. As discussed in *Part I*, in that year Pope Nicholas V received a petition complaining of the mafia-like activities of Tadhg, who shared the company of none other than James fourth Earl of Ormond and his two brothers, Edmund and Robert. While the complaint made specific reference to the Cistercian monastery at Gráig na Manach (Graiguenamanagh), it is apparent the turf subject to the medieval gang's exactions went beyond the ecclesiastical since they were also *wont to exact and receive from their own lay subjects*. The Pope, furious, threatened excommunication and *other penalties which they shall the more fear...invoking if necessary the aid of the secular arm* (Twemlow, 1915). Stripped, then, of a cleric career, no further mention of Tadhg is found in the Papal Registers. Such a dire warning from Rome, coupled with the death of James Butler in 1452, probably led Tadhg to lead a quieter life. Duties closer to home may also have been on his mind; as well as his position among the clan tanists, there is also the possibility he was raising an heir.

A review of the clerical lines of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí is forthcoming in the Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society. There is no shortage of material, numerous references to Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí clerics exist, but published records are incomplete. To date, registers for the reigns of Leo X (1513-1521) and Clement VII (1523-1534) have enjoyed only partial coverage; further registers of Leo X and Clement VII, as well as those during the reign of Pope Adrian VI (1522-1523), are forthcoming in 2021-2023 (C. Hayes, pers.comm., 4 November 2020). Also, numerous Irish entries in the Papal Penitentiary, including many for the Diocese of Ossory, await publication (M. Haren, pers.comm., 8 September, 2020). Given the complexity of some of the relationships detailed in the Papal Registers, waiting for all material is better than risking reaching some incorrect conclusions. Yet many startling facts emerge that are, even if their context is not fully known, too important to omit here. Of much interest to Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí of the late fifteenth- and early-sixteenth centuries are the careers of two clerics both names William; one emerges in the Papal Registers in 1468 and the other, aged approximately 23 years, in 1498 (Fuller, 1986).

Much can be learned from records of the Williams. Between them they receive several mentions in the Papal Registers, Clohosey's *Obligationes pro Annatis Diocesis Ossoriensis*, 1413-1531 (1957), which affords transcripts from various papal sources, and there are also appearances in the Kildare Rental and *Linea Antiqua*. Their careers overlap and there is, at times, difficulty knowing which William is which. But neither William receives more than scant award by Fitzpatrick historians. Shearman makes William the elder, in his *Ossorian Genealogy* (1879), a son of Finghin Mór (Lord of Osraí ca. 1448-1468), which is probably correct but achieved via an error in the transcription of a pedigree in *Linea Antiqua* (O'Ferrall, 1709). And it is puzzling that Carrigan (1905) makes only little mention of either William despite having access to Bliss' transcripts of Papal Registers and citing those records on numerous occasion (see Carrigan, Vol I, p. xxiii and, for example, Vol I, p. 65).

William the elder's debut entry in the Papal Registers was inauspicious, he was tarnished for his role in the simonious actions of fellow cleric Patrick Ó Beagáin in order to obtain the collation of St Fintan's, Darú (Durrow) (Twemlow, 1933). It is several years before he is mentioned again, but it is in no less controversial circumstances. In 1485 Pope Innocent VIII's attention was drawn to rectory of St Mary's Ráth Domhnaigh (Rathdowney), which was void although Malachy Ó Dubhshláine (O'Delany), a sub-collector for the Camera, held possession without right. Malachy was summoned to account for his actions with the understanding that unless he could offer good explanation the rectory and prebend without cure would be offered to William who, by papal decree was to be promoted to holy orders,

notwithstanding his illegitimacy as the son of an unmarried man and a ravished unmarried woman, related in the third degree of kindred (Twemlow, 1960, p.83).

That the Vatican Registers record William the elder was the child of a union between probable first cousins is only part of the story. The Lateran Registers, just one month later, provide an update of William's appointment to Ráth Domhnaigh, adding that William is with respect to both of his parents, *of noble birth* (Haren, 1978, p.5). Hence, William the elder's lineage is a topic of great interest. The Papal Registers provide numerous examples of clerics dispensed of their *defect of birth*. That defect, for example, might have been because they were the son of a cleric, who was not permitted to marry, or because they were the son of an unmarried layman. But William the elder, of double noble birth, is never once mentioned as having the defect of being the son of a cleric.

The statement of nobility via both parents is not inconsistent with William the elder's parents being Finghin Mór and the daughter of Edmund Butler. Given the first mention of him in the Papal Registers is in 1468 and that he, unlike Tadhg, did not require a dispensation because of his youth (25 years being the required age for priesthood; Chiflet, 1737), indicates his birth was probably no later than ca. 1443. While this is not the least inconsistent with the timeframe of Finghin Mór's introduction to a daughter of Edmund Butler, before ca. 1448 (O'Byrne, 2001; Fitzpatrick, 2020), complexities arise. The abduction of a Butler heiress would not have been the least bit helpful in promoting the Butler-Mac Giolla Phádraig relations, which were still in their tender years. This difficulty is not insurmountable; what if an abduction by Finghin Mór was part of the 1443 feud and the subsequent Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig peace treaty came afterwards, once children of Finghin Mór and his wife arrived, thereby softening sentiments on both sides? And the fourth Earl of Ormond understood full well that legitimate marriage in the eyes of the church was not everything since both he and his father sired children out of long-term *non-marital* relationships (Kirwan, 2018).

What other candidates for William the elder's father fit the bill? Donnchadh Mór, his line decimated by the feud with Edmund MacRichard Butler, still possessed two sons, Tadhg Ruadh and Toirealach, but both were too young to carry off a woman. Of Finghin Mór's brothers, Criomthann did raise a family, but William the elder's father is never mentioned to be a cleric. There is no evidence either

Séafra, the future Lord of Osraí, or Tadhg Dubh sired any children. However, it can be inferred that the latter's tumultuous lifestyle may well have included the ravishing of women. However, Tadhg Dubh was probably a cleric. Hence, Finghin Mór is the best candidate for William the elder's father.

By 1489 William the elder no longer held the benefices Ráth Domhnaigh (Rathdowney) and Ráth Sháráin (Rathsaran), although the former remained with the clan, being possessed by Donogh Mac Giolla Phádraig (Haren, 1978), who is of uncertain parentage. As will be seen, William the elder appears to have moved up Ossory diocese hierarchy while, from 1498, William the younger emerged and was the recipient of several benefices, which at times adds some confusion to which William records are referring to. There is, however, no confusion regarding the lineage of William the younger. *Linea Antiqua* (O'Ferrall, 1709) states: '*Florence na Cull Coille ancestor of the families of Cahir and Toyber*' (i.e., Cahir and Tobar, now Newtown and Tobermoe, south west of Darú (Durrow); Carrigan, 1905) was the father of Seán. And *Linea Antiqua* records that Seán was not only the father of Brian (the first baron), but also of William of Formaoil (Fermoyle), Edmund of Cill Chrónáin (Kilcronan), and Donogh Dubsúilech (i.e., *the black-eyed*). The townlands of Formaoil and Cill Chrónáin are part of a parcel of lands just east of Darú (Durrow) that includes Ros Chonail (Rosconnell), Leamhchoill (Loughill), and Baile Osaill (Ballyoskill), which were in the possession of the aforementioned Sentlegers. As will be discussed later, other connections can be found that link William of Formaoil and Edmund of Cill Chrónáin to the Sentleger possessions, which further establish Seán as their father. Moreover, William the younger, born ca. 1475, was of unmarried parents, who were both noble (Fuller, 1986).

The Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí lineages became highly complex at the turn of the sixteenth-century and a major failure of Fitzpatrick genealogists has been the assignment of men with the same given names to a singular identify. Much of the complexity is discussed in Part III, but at this juncture, another record in the Papal registers is worthy of mention. In 1506 William Mac Giolla Phádraig, a canon of Ossory, made complaint that Thomas Ó Cathail was *seriously unfit* for the Priory of St Kieran Feartach, knowing not how to *read, to understand, to hear confessions, to enjoin penances and to minister other ecclesiastical sacraments* (Haren, 1989). This discourse serves to illuminate the degree of approval that William the younger enjoyed from Rome. Despite detaining Uí Fairchealláin (Offerlane) *without any title or support of law in respect of it but of his own temerity* it was Pope Julius II's wish to *confer favour upon William*; he was dispensed with both the Priory and Parish church of St Michael (Haren, 1989; Clohosey, 1957) – and with the appointment of a Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric to Feartach the mysteries that lie there require revisiting. But first, it is necessary to examine the tomb closely and to ask some questions of Carrigan.

Some Questions of Carrigan

It is not difficult to demonstrate that questions need to be asked of Carrigan concerning his transcriptions of the tomb at Feartach. To even suggest Carrigan may have been mistaken is a big claim against a man of doubtless, lasting, reputation in the field of paleography (Rae, 1970; Ó Fearghail, 1996). And yet questions need to be asked of Carrigan because his double assertion that Feartach was (i) built as the final resting place of John (Seán) Mac Giolla Phádraig, who (ii) died in 1468, cannot be correct. The tomb is authoritatively dated 1510-1540 (Rae, 1971), and the Lord of Osraí recorded as dying in 1468 (from the plague) was Finghin Mór, not Seán, (Lawlor, 1908; Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

In fairness to Carrigan, he may have been unduly influenced by others, including, Shearman whose earlier interpretation accounts for only two of the three lines inscribed along the tomb's edge and adjacent to the legs of the male figure,

*Hic jacet quondam humatus dns Ossirie Johes Mkilly Fadryk et dns Bernardis eis filis.
Quorum anibis pper des* (Shearman, 1879, p. 392),

that is,

*Here lie buried the once Lords of Ossory John Mac Gillapattrick and Brian his son.
On whose souls may God have mercy.*

In contrast Carrigan's translation reads.

*Hic jacet quoda. boni dn. Ossirie Johes. Mkylyfadryk et dns. Bernard' ei' filius.
Quorum aiab' ppr. de.'
P. Nori. ux. Bernardi pprre,*

that is,

*Here lie the once good Lords of Ossory. John Mac Gillapattrick and Brian his son.
On whose souls may God have mercy.
Pray for Honora, wife of Brian. (Carrigan, 1905, Vol.2, p. 297).*

The recent masters in the history of medieval Irish figure sculpture were John Hunt, whose two volumes were declared a triumph of both medieval archeology and art scholarship (White & Rynne, 1978), and Edwin Rae, who built on Hunt's pioneering work and also achieved high status in the field (Harbison, 1975). Hunt's corpus provides images and commentary on all the tombs in Osraí that are comparable to Feartach. It is noted that neither Hunt nor Rae saw fit to re-assess Carrigan's transcriptions; they simply took them on face value. From Hunt and Rae, we learn that almost all sixteenth century sculptured tombs in Osraí were the works of two distinct ateliers – the Ormond artists and the Ó Tunnaigh (O'Tunney), the latter being *closely associated with the MacRichard Butlers* (Rae, 1970). Differences, often subtle, existed between the two schools, but there was a standard format adhered to by the artists. The Feartagh tomb is the work of the Ó Tunnaigh (Hunt, 1974), and in the most fundamental form their tomb inscriptions followed a pattern (Cockerham & Harris, 2001), as follows:

- here lies;
- the title and/or name of the person buried and, if another was alongside them, their name;
- after the name, often a (former) title and a placename the title related to;
- the years(s) of the deaths and, often, the day(s) and month(s); and,
- often, an entreaty to pray.

Of the Ó Tunnaigh tombs, only Feartach is said to have no date. If Carrigan's and Shearman's transcriptions are to be believed, the tomb at Feartach is an unusual exception on that basis alone.

Before Carrigan's and Shearman's efforts, there were several attempts to transcribe and translate the Feartach inscriptions. In 1781 Austin Cooper captured the likeness of the head of the woman of Feartach in a remarkable pencil sketch. Cooper observed the tomb inscription but could not make it out, *except the date – 1430* (Price, 1942). That date is out by approximately 100 years, but the take-home point is that Cooper could make out a date.

In his essay on the dress of the ancient and modern Irish, Walker (1788) provides a copy of Cooper's image and refers to the woman on the Feartach tomb, stating

the head-dress in which they descended into the tomb, appears on a monumental figure of the family of the Butlers.

No qualification is given in support of the Butler assertion, although Feartach was a Butler graveyard from at least the mid-eighteenth century (Carrigan, 1905). Also of note is that Walker did not mention any variant of Mac Giolla Phádraig inscribed on the tomb. That honour goes to an anonymous writer to *Anthologia Hibernica* who, in 1793, offered a rough hand-drawn illustration of part of the tomb inscription and an interpretation; the words are consistent with the aforementioned standard format of the Ormond artists,

Here lieth at rest entombed the chief Mac Gill-Patrick, who died May 1525, and God have mercy on his soul (Anonymous, 1793; see also Seward, 1795).

Ten years later Wilson's *Post-Chaise Companion* repeated the connection to Mac Giolla Phádraig and also offered up a date, albeit another impossible one,

About a mile further, on the R. is the church of Fertagh, once a neat Gothic building, as appears by the ruins, and was the sepulchre of the Fitzpatricks, old earls of upper Ossory, in which are still visible, the remains of a tomb appertaining to that family, bearing date, 1489 (Wilson, 1803, p.291).

The year 1489 is one of no small significance for Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, and perhaps Wilson's was more an educated guess based on that knowledge rather than accurate reading. 1489 was the year Séafra mac Giolla Phádraig, Lord of Ossory, died. But if Séafra was entombed at Feartach, it would have required an exhumation and re-burial some 20 years or more later.

Letters relating to the ordinance survey of Kilkenny in 1839 (Herity, 2003) include a *fair copy* of the tomb inscriptions. The copy is, indeed, only of average quality as can be attested to by Rae's photographs (<http://www.tara.tcd.ie>), but they are still a valuable record; unfortunately, a unique translation was not offered by the surveyors who, clearly cognizant of *Anthologia Hibernica*, offered up only that same version. It is also unfortunate that Rev. James Graves and John Prim (1857) did not offer an analysis of the Feartach tomb in their outstanding review of *Cill Chainnigh monumental antiquities*, although Graves (*Proceedings and Papers*, 1860) made a report to the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society of *good progress* concerning restoration work of the Feartach tomb and noted it was *erected to John Fitzpatrick, and his son Bernard first Baron of Upper Ossory*. While no full inscriptions or translations were offered, this is the earliest record of John and Bernard associated with the tomb. The patron of the tomb repairs was John Wilson Fitzpatrick, first Lord Castletown, and it is, perhaps, by way of him that John and Bernard have ever since been linked to Feartach. Certainly, Shearman appears to have relied on an oral tradition since his *Ossorian Genealogy*, scant on primary sources, was printed at the instruction of Bernard Fitzpatrick, the second Lord Castletown (Shearman, 1879).

Healy (1893) makes reference to Shearman's attempts to solve the tomb inscriptions but offers no alternative, stating,

the inscription on this tomb cannot be deciphered. I have made some fruitless attempts to do so, and on the occasion of our excursion to the place in connection with the Kilkenny meeting of Antiquarians, in 1890, it baffled also some better experts (pp. 220-221).

Things are no easier 130 years later, but while a fully definitive translation of the inscriptions in their entirety may now be out of reach due to the ravages of time and the elements, a critical review and

alternative translations are possible. Such study reveals probable errors and, arguably, the greatest are those of omission – remarkably, among all the letters on the tomb, neither Carrigan nor Shearman described any as numerals and, therefore, saw fit to not associate any with a date. The former was particularly adamant, *there is no date on this monument* (Shearman, 1879), but he made no attempt to translate letters plainly inscribed where a date might be expected. Carrigan offered up *P. Nori. ux. Bernardi pprre*, which is baffling because both Hunt's and Rae's photographs of the 1970s show lettering with elements of a numeric format that can be made out (<http://www.tara.tcd.ie>; Hunt, 1974)

Apart from missing probable dates, there are other questions to be asked of Carrigan and Shearman. After reliable starts with, *hic jacet* (standard format) both insert a form of *quondam*, meaning *formerly* or at *one time*. This is problematic, but not because of the word itself – exactly half of the 32 inscriptions studied in Cill Chainnigh that are from the 16th century (Graves & Prim, 1857; Hunt 1974) utilise *quondam* or an abbreviated form. The problem exists because its use, before a title or a name, is unconventional in Latin, and not once does that form occur on the Cill Chainnigh inscriptions; it is *always* after the name. Hence, for *quondam* to be present, placed according to Carrigan and Shearman, would require another exception to the rule.

More unusual elements immediately follow. Carrigan sees *boni dn Ossirie* and Shearman *humatus dns Ossirie*. Both were sure, then, that the tomb was of the Lords of Ossory, either *good* (*boni*) or *buried*, or more accurately from the Latin *humatus* (passive perfect infinitive), meaning *to be buried* – it was not the least uncommon for such tombs to be sculptured while the donor was alive (Cockerham & Harris, 2001). Neither being good nor the promise of a future burial are problematic here; the problem comes with the fact that at the probable time the tomb was built, there was only one Lord of Ossory, and he wasn't a Mac Giolla Phádraig – his name was Piers Ruadh Butler, called both Lord of Ossory and Earl of Ossory (refer numerous uses, e.g., State Papers of Henry VIII, 1528a). That Piers had long craved those titles, and even more so that of *Earl of Ormond*, is attested to in numerous historical records and, ultimately, they are carved in marble on his own tomb (Hunt, 1974). It is suggested it would have taken either a very brave or an extremely foolhardy Ormond sculptor to have carved *Lord of Ossory* on the Fertagh tomb, particularly since, by 1504, lands adjacent to Feartach were in Piers' possession (Curtis, 1935; Curtis, 1937).

One final feature of the Feartach tomb mystifies. A Tudor rose is found on the head-rest of the male gisant and the surround adjacent to his side of the mensa. The symbol of the united Houses of York and Lancaster, the Tudor rose, can be found on any number of late fifteenth and early sixteenth century English tombs or church fixtures. In Ireland, they are much less common, leaving one observer of the Augustinian priory at Áth Dara, Luimneach to note, *of all things in an Irish church – a Tudor rose!* (Hewson, 1936). In Ireland, most often the Tudor rose is a symbol of the Butler family (Gleeson, 1951), such as that found on a decorated door stone at the parish church of Maigh Saotha, Tiobraid Árann (Monsea, Co. Tipperary) (Hewson, 1936), or in the Long Gallery of Ormond Castle (Fenlon, 1998). And it features on several Butler tombs (Kinsella, 2009), including James ninth Earl of Ormond as well as Margaret FitzGerald, the wife of Piers Butler (Hunt, 1974). If Mac Giolla Phádraig chieftains were buried at Feartach the presence of a Tudor rose on their tomb would be extraordinary and, perhaps, indicative of an unexpected Butler lineage. The association between the tomb at Feartach and the Butlers is unequivocal and unsurprising,

all 15 of the large and prestigious altar tombs put up before 1555 were commissioned by the richest families – and 12 (80%) are identifiable to the Ormonds and their supporters (Cockerham & Harris, 2001).

Cockerham and Harris (2001) note further that mensa tombs to the Gaelic Irish in the first half of the sixteenth century are exceedingly uncommon, with the Feartagh tomb being a notable exception. So, yet another exception, and further reason to doubt Carrigan. But even if the association between the Butlers and Feartagh is clear, the nature of that association is less apparent. The claim that the Feartach tomb was created by those with an affinity with the Butlers, *tapping into and claiming to be part of their power - potent markers of social status* (O'Donovan, 2008), is more compelling than it being crafted as a Butler look-a-like as a *personal expression of familial independence*, or a kind of *anything you can do we can do better* type of rivalry (Cockerham & Harris, 2001). The latter argument is founded on an oft-repeated confusion – but while some lineages of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí indeed were bitter enemies of the Butlers when the tomb was erected, one line had been Butler allies for nigh on one century (O'Byrne, 2001; Fitzpatrick, 2020). So, while the various considerations of what motivated the tomb construction have merit, they ignore one obvious and essential question. What if the man buried at Feartach is not a Mac Giolla Phádraig? But, sometimes, dominant narratives have a way of blinding even excellent researchers to the very obvious (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

Was Carrigan's translation swayed by him trying to align the blackletters on the tomb with the pedigrees and oral traditions he subscribed to? Did he transcribe words that he thought should be there? Against the most authoritative records, Carrigan has the father of Brian, the first Baron of Upper Ossory, as another Brian who was the son of Seán. But this is incorrect and probably rooted in a failure to recognise Donnchadh Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig was a Lord of Osraí and that it was his son, and tanist, Finghin, who was slain by Edmund MacRichard Butler in 1443, not Finghin Mór (Fitzpatrick, 2020), the father of Seán. Hence, Carrigan makes 1468 the year Seán died but it was not Seán, it was Finghin Mór who died that year (Lawlor, 1908). The belief 1468 was the year Seán, the son of Finghin Mór, died must have led to a major dilemma for Carrigan – Brian, the first Baron of Upper Ossory died in 1575 being *ninety years of age or upwards* (Carrigan, 1905) but, even if Brian had lived to be 99 years of age, the birth year of 1476 simply did not work if his father died in 1468.

Therefore, Carrigan needed to find another father for Brian even if it did mean ignoring sources as authoritative as the Annals of Ireland, which has *Brian mac Seán mac Finghin* (O'Clery et al., 1856), *An Leabhar Muimhneach* (Ó Donnchadha, 1960; *Briain, mic Seain, mic Finghin na Culchoille*), *Linea Antiqua* (O'Ferrall, 1709; *Brian, son of John, son of Florence of Cull Coille*) and O'Hart (1892; *Brian, son of Shane, son of Florence*), as well as miscite both Keating (1857) and Mac Fhirbhisigh's primary Mac Giolla Phádraig pedigrees (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003); they both have Brian as the son of Seán. Hence, Carrigan provides no evidence to verify the person of Brian *na Lúireach* (of the coats of mail) Mac Giolla Phádraig as the father of Seán. Only Mac Fhirbhisigh provides the primary record of Brian *na Lúireach*, albeit noting that Ó Muraíle's ascription of *na Lúireach* to Mac Fhirbhisigh's text (<https://www.isos.dias.ie/master.html?https://www.isos.dias.ie/libraries/UCD/english/index.html?ref=https://www.ucd.ie/>), may not convince all. Nevertheless, Brian '*na Lúireach*' is recorded at folio 480.7 as the ancestor of a Colonel John Fitzpatrick, who was living in 1666 (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003). There is a well-documented Colonel John Fitzpatrick who died ca. 1693, who several definitive sources have as a great grandson of Finghin (Florence) Fitzpatrick (the third Baron). But Carrigan's extension of that Colonel John's pedigree back to Brian *na Lúireach* is deeply flawed.

Firstly, Carrigan (1905) claimed Brian *na Lúireach*'s pedigree was '*copied from MacFibis' Book of Genealogies, p.480*', but this is patent falsehood. Rather, Carrigan inserted '*na Lúireach*' into pedigree 480.1 (the genealogy of Finghin, third baron) by his own presumption. Secondly, although the Colonel John Fitzpatrick of the Mac Fhirbhisigh pedigree does have a great grandfather called Finghin, the pedigree of that Finghin is to Brian, to Brian Óg, to Sein-Bhrian, to Brian *na Lúireach*. Hence, that Finghin *cannot* be the third baron; the pedigree of the third baron is to Brian, to Seán, to Finghin Mór. Equating Colonel John Fitzpatrick, the great grandson of Finghin (the third baron), with

the Colonel John Fitzpatrick who features in Mac Fhirbhisigh demands the insertion of three generations into the proven pedigree of the barons, which is untenable. The insertion of Brian *na Lúireach* into the pedigree of the barons suited Carrigan because it provided a bridge between Brian (first baron) and Seán (who supposedly died in 1468), hence solving his date dilemma. But there is no need for genealogical gymnastics once it is accepted that Seán irrefutably lived beyond 1468.

Brian *na Lúireach* demands only little further attention here but will be discussed again in *Part III*. Returning to the question of who is the man entombed at Feartach – a Mac Giolla Phádraig by name, or not at all, and yet so clearly associated with the House of Ormond? A possible answer to that question can be provided, but only after a yet more profound understanding of Feartach has been gained. Of remarkable interest is the identity of the prior of Feartach in the period just before the tomb was commissioned. In 1506, by papal appointment, the priory of Feartach was granted to William Mac Giolla Phádraig.

The Mysteries at Gráinseach Feartach: Part II

Ahead of his appointment to Feartach, in 1507 William Mac Giolla Phádraig was removed from the vicarage of Uí Fhairchealláin (Offerlane) and the rectory Ráth Sháráin (Rathsaran) (Haren, 1989); on that basis William is identified as the younger since he had held the benefices from 1498 (Fuller, 1986). By February 1509 William the younger had still not taken possession of Feartach; the priory, although legally vacant, was still detained by Thomas Ó Cathail (Haren, 1998). William, seemingly pacified by being provided with the alternative possession of the united vicarage of Achadh Bhó (Aghaboe) and canonry of Cill Dara Maí (Killermogh) (Haren, 1998), had given up hope of obtaining the lucrative Feartach; Robert Shortall, whose proposition was to combine it with several other rectories, priories, and vicarages, to a total value of 64 marks (Haren, 1998), while seemingly not Rome's initial choice, was the preference of the patrons.

The Shortalls were a family of Norman descent who, like the Archdekins, had been granted land in Cill Chainnigh in the early 13th century (Carrigan, 1905). Seated at Baile Uí Lorcáin (Ballylarkin) in the Barony of Crannach and a mere three miles southeast, as the crow flies, of Feartach, the Ormond Deeds record numerous instances of their involvement in the business affairs of families such as the de la Freynes, de Rochefords, Graces and Pembrokes, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. The best-known member of the Baile Uí Lorcáin line was *James Shortall, Lord of Ballylorcan* (Curtis, 1937,) who is interred at St Canice's Cathedral (Hunt, 1974). Robert Shortall, probably a brother of Lord James, remained prior of Feartach for 31 years until it was suppressed in 1541; Robert received a pension of 66s 8d (White, 1943).

It is understanding the Shortall family and Robert's career that brings an alternative light to shine down on the weather-worn marble tomb at Feartach. Today, although decayed beyond almost all recognition, quality photographs and drawings from days gone provide a possible alternative for those who lie at rest there. Since it is challenging from a geographic, historical, political, or sculptural perspective that any Mac Giolla Phádraig *Lord of Ossory* could have been buried at Feartach, a more critical assessment of the paleographic features of the tomb is demanded. And with that comes an alternative theory – are those resting at Feartach Robert Shortall and his wife?

That question is not intended to be leading or in any way definitive; it is simply a conversation starter. A 3D digital reconstruction of the tomb at Feartach is the subject of the forthcoming Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society article, *The Mensa Tomb at Feartach: A Case of Mistaken Identity?* There the graphical methodology and a paleographic interpretation are discussed in detail. In short, as well as combining several hundred photographic images of Feartach from both archival and modern sources, the possible unlocking of the mystery of Feartach is aided by the comparison of

lettering there with that found on other similar and much less worn tombs. In fairness to Carrigan, who did not have high-powered techniques at his fingertips, the Feartach transcription would have been a difficult task. Some of the engraving lacks finesse, and the placement of various words is more about where they can be squeezed into a limited space than natural or logical flow. In that respect, the Feartach tomb mirrors others of the Ó Tunnaigh school, and perhaps it is simply a coincidence that the closest match is the tomb of James Shortall where,

the inscription runs down the edge of the moulded border of the tomb and is continued in the space next to the leg (Hunt, 1974).

It is not so much the contractions, which Carrigan (1905) referred to, that cause trouble but, as alluded to by Shearman (1875), parts of the inscription appear repeated and *blundered*; analysis of the images of the lettering on the tomb gives the clear impression they were the work of more than one sculptor. Tomb dates, known to be added after the body sculpture was complete, are notorious for being incomplete or being placed in a random fashion (Rae, 1970, Cockerham & Harris, 2001) – this is apparent at Feartach.

As well as Carrigan's *hic jacet*, his *quorum aiab'* looks very sound, as does the presence of *de*. However, both *Bernard* and *Bernardi* are problematic for Carrigan because, for the former, there is surely no *B* and the features of the letters make them look like they could have been inscribed as numerals. For the latter, the letters and spacing are clear – they appear as *..bt mai di* and are followed by numerals. It is much more likely the combinations of symbols are part of a reference to a month (perhaps May) and days preceded by *obt*, i.e., *obiit* meaning *died*. Alternatively, some numerals may reference a call to pray for a certain number of days as part of an indulgence (refer Hunt, 1974). Of similar difficulty for Carrigan is his *P. Nori*; it is considered a better interpretation is probably *P'quor'*, meaning *cry out*, i.e., *pray for*.

The big-ticket item is Carrigan's *boni dn Ossirie Johes mkylyfydryk*, which is now a very worn section of the tomb. Some letters are clear, however, and it is very difficult to rationalise Carrigan's *Ossirie* since there are the distinctive letter combinations *or* and *ll* in this section. Could this have been inscribed *Shortall*? Perhaps, and coupled with letters that look like they may once have read *Robert*, it makes for an intriguing section that will, hopefully, come back to life via digital reconstruction. But, perhaps, Mac Giolla Phádraig is entirely absent from the tomb. An entry in the Ormond Deeds provides insights to the *Who's Who* of Feartach in the early 16th century. The previously mentioned Honora Archdekin, heiress of Bhaile Uí Spealáin is named in a quit claim of that townland to Piers Butler (Curtis, 1937). Bhaile Uí Spealáin appears to have encompassed the modern day Baile Uí Chuidithigh (Ballycuddihy), which in times previous has appeared written as Ballycudihie, or similar; this is easily an alternative transcription for Mac Giolla Phádraig on the tomb since it can be readily seen to appear as *buyllycudihik*. Hence, maybe it is some former Lord of Baile Uí Chuidithigh, who lies at rest at Feartach.

Little mention has been given here to the pillow of the woman, which is the most worn part of the mensa with an inscription. The words may never be recoverable but based on early copies and photographs the remnant of a year, perhaps beginning with *MCCCCC*, can be made out. Carrigan (1905) afforded the name Katrina Malloy (*Kat'na Miloi*) to this section on the tomb, but this appears ambitious. Given the obvious presence of what looks like a year, the rest of the inscription probably refers to the full date of her death. But critical here, and the basis for the entire collapse of Carrigan's assertion that the female tomb figure is Katrina Malloy, is one of Carrigan's own observations, which he failed to process. i.e.,

On the flat of the tomb, beside her right arm, there is a small, half-obliterated shield charged with a chief indented (Carrigan, 1905).

Such crystal-clear symbolism means only one thing – in accord with Walker’s assertion (1788), the female figure was a Butler. It must, therefore, be considered that the tomb figures could be Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig, the first baron, and one of his later wives, Margaret Butler. While further mysteries of the Feartach tomb must wait, there certainty about the possession of the priory. The failure to obtain Feartach, while probably a disappointment for the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics, diminished neither their ambition, thirst for power nor vision. The old clan order was passing, and strong alliances needed to be forged with the emerging and powerful Piers Ruadh Butler. The Butler aligned clerics had clan succession on their minds. To understand that succession with only scant records is difficult, but much can be gleaned from an understanding of the politics of the era.

The Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig Alliance: Part II

Part I evidenced a double marriage between the house of Ormond and Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, and that such marriages were part and parcel of James Butler’s (fourth Earl of Ormond) practice of alliance building with Gaelic chieftains. It has been reasonably estimated the Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí arrangement was in place by ca. 1448 (O’Byrne, 2001). But it isn’t easy to conceive how any agreement between the fourth Earl and Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí chieftain, Donnchadh Mór, could have arisen after the Butler slew three of Donnchadh Mór’s sons in 1443. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that by ca. 1448, Donnchadh Mór had died and that clan leadership was with another branch of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí – that of Finghin Mór (Fitzpatrick, 2020).

Picking up from Part I, the marriages of Morena ny Giolla Phádraig to John *the Blind* Butler and Finghin Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig to the *daughter of Edmund Butler* are now explored in greater detail; aside from Finghin Mór, much more can be understood about their likely identities. Also, the territories of the various parties provide more detail of how the Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí alliance maintained peace via the establishment of buffer-zones at the boundaries of their territories (Edwards, 1998); in this instance, along the border between Cill Chainnigh and Mac Giolla Phádraig country, or Upper Ossory.

Upper Ossory, suppressed in 1846 (Carrigan, 1905), is considered equivalent to the former baronies of Clár Maí Locha (Clarmallagh), An Choill Uachtarach (Upperwoods) and Clan Donncha (Clandonagh), which are modern creations, once being part of the Shire of Cill Chainnigh before they became part of the newly formed Queen’s County in the 16th century (Empey, 1970). That the southern borders of Clár Maí Locha and Clan Donncha do not correspond to the boundary between the more ancient cantreds of Aghaboe and Odogh is testimony to the southward advance of Mac Giolla Phádraig in the 14th and 15th centuries (Empey, 1971) and their disdain for feudally defined land divisions. Policing the southern border of border Upper Ossory from ca. 1448 became the dual responsibility of Edmund MacRichard, the fourth Earl of Ormond’s *alter ego* as he was absent in England (Beresford, 1999), and Finghin Mór, with both parties requiring the assistance of kin. There was a need to ensure the easily antagonised Mac Giolla Phádraig descendants of Donnchadh Mór were at a safe distance. And while there is certainty around the identity of Finghin Mór, then Lord of Ossory, the same cannot be said for the three other parties in the marriage alliance.

The least problematic of the three is the *daughter of Edmund Butler*, who is referred to in two records, *Liber Ruber* (Lawlor, 1908) and the Ormond Deeds (Curtis, 1937). The former relates to the determination of the bounds of Darú (Durrow) manor where she is named as one of several elders (seniors) who understood those bounds; it cannot be ascertained if she was alive at the time of the determination (1468-1478), or not, but since she was considered an elder an estimation of her age is possible. The latter record also relates to the boundaries of church lands and, on this occasion, it

was a dispute (in 1517) between the Bishop of Ossory and Thomas Purcell, Lord of Foulksrath; this record is useful for the detailed description of land possessions and tenures (Curtis, 1937). Hence, we learn of disputes that arose between Finghin Mór and the *daughter of Edmund Butler*, his wife, on one side, and Edmund McCody (i.e., Archdekin) on the other. There was disagreement between the parties regarding a field in An Ghráinseach (Grange, also known as Rathhill), indicating that Butler lands inherited by the *daughter of Edmund Butler* probably lay immediately to the east.

As for the identity of the *daughter of Edmund Butler*, O'Byrne (2001) states she was a daughter of Edmund MacRichard but without qualification, although MacRichard's was a northern frontier family. The primary role of MacRichard in the slaying of three sons of Donnchadh Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig, who were Finghin Mór's cousins, in 1443 is problematic, however, since any marriage between Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí and Butlers around that time would have required what O'Byrne refers to as *diplomatic acrobatics* (2001). Difficult to negotiate, also, is MacRichard's tempore and his recorded progeny. According to Beresford (1999) he was born ca. 1419, was granted the castle and manor of Baile Phóil (Paulstown) by third Earl of Ormond in 1440 (Curtis, 1935) and, in approximately the same year, married Geiléis, a daughter of Maolruanaidh Ó Cearbhaill (Beresford, 1999); he died in 1464 (O'Clery et al., 1856). Also, MacRichard is recorded as having only two daughters, Catherine, who married Edmund Butler, Lord of Dunboyne, and Elena, who married Richard Power (Mosley, 2003).

By 1468-1478 the *daughter of Edmund Butler* was considered an elder (Lawlor, 1908), but if she were MacRichard's daughter, the oldest she would have been was around 38 years old. It is more likely she would have been at least 60 years old to be thought of as an elder (Shahar, 1993), meaning her birth was before ca. 1418, i.e., contemporary with her husband's birth but before MacRichard was born. O'Byrne's smoking gun is that Finghin Mór rode together with MacRichard on Loch Garman (Co. Wexford) in 1454 (Curtis, 1932), although that does not require a direct familial relationship. That Finghin Mór's father-in-law, Edmund Butler, was somebody of note is apparent by how his wife is named the *daughter of Edmund Butler*, hence it is worthwhile to consider the four other Edmunds who were prominent in Finghin Mór's era and, particularly, before the problematic events of 1443. A good fit is Edmund, an illegitimate son of the third Earl of Ormond out of a relationship with Katherine of Desmond, since he was most likely born before 1399 (Curtis, 1932) and was a known associate of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí (Twemlow, 1915).

Other candidates are either of the two Edmunds who dueled against each other in 1420 at the decree of the fourth Earl of Ormond (Dunboyne, 1980). One was the son of Thomas the Prior of Cill Mhaighneann (Kilmainham), purportedly another illegitimate son of the third Earl of Ormond, but there is no record of him having a daughter (Butler, 1941). The other duellist was the fifth Baron Dunboyne who met his demise in the conflict, going his way without issue (Butler, 1948). Elsewise the *daughter of the late Edmund Botiller, of the diocese of Ossory* (Twemlow, 1906) deserves consideration, although it depends on this Edmund's daughter's youthful relationship with her half-brother, David de Geraldinis of Luimneach, having ended after ca. 1423. As a sidenote, it would also have required that Edmund's widow went on to marry a descendant of a FitzGerald line with holdings in Luimneach, such as that of the Knight of Glyn or the White Knight (O'Donovan, 1858). None of the latter three Edmunds had any known connections with Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí.

Uncovering the identities of John *the Blind* Butler and Morena ny Giolla Phádraig is also not trivial. That Morena was the daughter of Finghin Mór makes good sense, but there is no conclusive evidence to take Beresford's assertion as a fact. Although possible, with the rancour over the sons' of Donnchadh Mór still fresh, it is unlikely Morena's father was Donnchadh Mór even if he was dead by the time she married John *the blind* Butler. An indenture from 1453 between William and Edmund Mac Óda Archdekin and Owen Mac Giolla Phádraig's daughter (Curtis, 1935) provides a

plausible, but unprovable, option; an Owen of the correct generation is unknown elsewhere. Beresford (1998) has, also without attribution, John as the son of John Butler (son of Edmund MacRichard) and Joan, daughter of James Butler the 6th Baron Dunboyne, and Morena as the daughter of Finghin Mór. Following Theodore Blake Butler (1948), Joan was born ca. 1430; hence, evidence points to the births of both John *the Blind* Butler and Morena ny Giolla Phádraig in the generation after that of Finghin Mór and the *daughter of Edmund Butler*, i.e., ca. 1450. John *the Blind* Butler is referenced in two Ormond Deed records: (i) in relation to the aforementioned Bishop of Ossory and Purcell dispute (Curtis, 1937); and, (ii) as the father of John Butler who had, in 1495, *with the assent of his heir, sons and kinsmen*, leased Áth Charna (Aharney), Lios Dúnaigh (Lisdowney) and Cill Bhríde (Kilbreedy) to Oliver Cantwell, Bishop of Ossory (Curtis, 1932). That John the younger had sons in 1495 is noteworthy since it affords a consistent estimate of his father's birth, ca. 1450.

More apparent than who he was and when he was born are the territories of John *the Blind* Butler – they were much more significant than those of the *daughter of Edmund Butler* with at least 6,900 acres in his possession. Immediately east of An Fheoir (River Nore), they ranged from Béal Átha Conrátha (Ballyconda) in a westerly direction to An Seisceann (Seskin), Áth Charna, Tigh na Slaite (Tinnaslatty), and then east back to An Fheoir traversing Lios Dúnaigh, (Lisduff) and An Ghráinseach. At the north-eastern boundary were the See lands of Tigh an Mhaoir (Tinwear) and Baile na Slí (Ballynaslee); west of there, and at times in dispute between Butler and the Bishop of Ossory, were Cluain na gCaorach (Clonageera), Ceapach Nialláin (Capponellan) and Baile an Áirséaraigh (Archerstown). The rights that John, son of John *the Blind* Butler, had to Cill Bhríde, which lies northeast of Chúlchoill (Cullohill), can only have come via his marriage contract with Morena.

Hence, in the times of Finghin Mór and his Butler wife, and Morena and her Butler husband, there was a sizeable territory at the border that was, at least for Butlers and Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, *dispute free*. Any land disputes that did occur were due to differences of opinion over the extent of Bishop of Ossory's demesne (ca. 1468-1478) or, later in 1517, due to the voidance of verbal agreements made between the Butlers and laymen who were for fees, prior to interference from Thomas Purcell, able to sow, farm and keep animals – one witness recalling that *his father was a farmer and had one pig* in Garrán na Páirce (Parksgrove) (Curtis, 1937).

After the death of Finghin Mór in 1468, his brother Séafra became the next Mac Giolla Phádraig leader. There is no evidence of a failure in the Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig alliance during Séafra's term. An isolated incident in 1478 did not relate to the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí Clan as a whole, but one faction; the revenge killing of a son of Edmund MacRichard was carried out by Finghin Ruadh mac Finghin mac Donnchadh Mór (O'Clery et al., 1856; Fitzpatrick, 2020). In the thirty years following Séafra's death, blind and full of years, in 1489 (MacCarthy & Hennessy, 1895), many of the key events in Éire related to the actions of two giants of Irish history – Gerald Mór FitzGerald the eighth Earl of Kildare and Piers Ruadh fitz James Butler, the Earl of Ormond in waiting.

The Ormond-Kildare Situation

Part I provided an account of the power struggle between Sir John Talbot and Sir James Butler, fourth Earl of Ormond, in the first half of the fifteenth century and how that struggle dictated much of the tempo of Irish politics at that time. Although initially siding with Talbot, from ca. 1450, it is certain the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí entered into a close alliance with the House of Ormond, one that was to endure for more than 100 years. Edwards' (1999) assertion that Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí were, in that era, *steadfast supporters* of the FitzGeralds to the extent they *were Geraldines* (by inference meaning *Kildares*) has a measure of accuracy. But, befitting of the political complexity of the times, by the mid fifteenth century, while some Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí were more closely aligned to the Ormonds than they were to Kildares, other Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí were bitter

enemies of the Ormonds and drew strength from Kildare protection. That Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí relations with the Ormonds and Kildares were more than simple binaries is due, in no small part, to the fact that Ormond-Kildare relations were themselves complex.

The late medieval rivalries between the Houses of Ormond and Kildare had, at times, escalated into conflict, but it was not sustained as some have posited. In fact, *there were few serious disputes between these families before 1518*, and from 1400 to 1515, *the Butlers and the Kildare Geraldines clashed seriously on only two occasions* – relations were usually peaceful. When peace in that period was broken it was along factional lines. From ca. 1440, the MacRichard Butlers had forged marriage alliances with the Caomhánach (Kavanagh), Ó Mórdha (O'More), Éile Ó Cearbhaill (Ely O'Carroll), the Desmonds, the Butlers of Dunboyne, and, in one way or another (via Morena and/or Finghin Mór) with Mac Giolla Phádraig. But the critical marriage, which aimed to secure a long-term and ultimate power-sharing alliance, was with the Kildares. And in 1485, Piers Ruadh fitz James Butler, a descendant of James the third earl of Ormond and from the MacRichard line, married Margaret FitzGerald, daughter of Gerald Mór FitzGerald (Beresford, 1998).

Hence, the major Ormond-Kildare conflict of the 1490s was not the direct result of an age-old feud but had major elements relating to Kildare's closeness to Piers, who had become his protégé. Piers' main rival to the Earldom of Ormond was Sir James Dubh Butler, the illegitimate nephew of Thomas Butler, the seventh Earl of Ormond – the Wool Earl. Sir James and the Earl of Kildare had crossed swords on several occasions in the early 1490s. Various factors, other than Sir James' stock rising with the Earl of Ormond, contributed to their mutual animosity. At the heart of matters were FitzGerald's removal, in 1492, from his position as the Deputy Lieutenant of Ireland and accusations of treason against him, and the elevation of Sir James to *King's Governor and Treasurer of his land of Ireland* (Beresford, 1998; Curtis, 1923). The *situation* bubbled over into spiteful tit-for-tat raids and killings – when peace between the pair was demanded it came with lingering tensions; they were abruptly resolved in 1497 when Sir James met his demise at the hands of Piers, who came across his adversary by chance and speared him through (Graves & Prim, 1857). In 1498, to protect Piers from future punishment, Kildare issued him *a most comprehensive pardon*. In the years that followed, *Kildare cooperated closely with Thomas, the absentee Earl of Ormond* (Quinn, 1939), and *Piers stood with Kildare for the rest of Kildare's life*, Butler being *no firmer ally* (Beresford, 1998).

The absence of any recorded conflicts between Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí and Ormonds between 1479 and 1516 points to the willingness of both parties, with Kildare's encouragement, for harmonious relationships at the border. And, as will be demonstrated and contrary to that opined by Carrigan (1905), a well-documented clash between Piers Butler and Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig in 1517 involved another of Donnchadh Mór's grandsons, not Brian the first baron. There was no conflict between Piers and the faction who descended from Finghin Mór; the Ormond-Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí alliance forged by marriage continued to hold firm. And not only were conflicts absent, but acts of political support were present, and these exclusively involved the Fin Mór faction, which includes those who were clerics. In 1516 William Mac Giolla Phádraig sat as Papal judge delegate in the case of the archdeaconry of Ossory, which was a matter of dispute between Edmund Butler and Robert O'Hedian; William's choice was Butler (White, 1936). The flow of support was not unidirectional. In 1524 Dermot Mac Giolla Phádraig is named, along with William Ó Mórdha alias Archdekin, as detaining the vicarage of Adhairc (Erke), which was of lay patronage. In 1533 advowson of Adhairc was with Piers Butler, and there is no reason to think it wasn't also the case nine years earlier (White, 1936) – of passing note here is the evidence of fosterage between the Ó Mórdha and Archdekins.

The leases of Ros Chonaill, Leamhchoill, and Baile Oscaill, along with their advowson, were, in the late 1400s, granted by long-time Ormond allies the Sentlegers to Edmund Ruadh Mac Giolla

Phádraig; the lease was renewed to John Mac Giolla Phádraig ca. 1500 (Curtis, 1937). Based on naming conventions and that Edmund was, before 1500, never before recorded as a name amongst Mac Giolla Phádraig, it makes sense that Edmund Ruadh was the grandson of Finghin Mór and the *daughter of Edmund Butler*. And the lease successor, John (Seán) was probably either the father of Edmund Ruadh (O’Ferrall, 1709), or an as yet unaccounted for kinsman. But between 1488 and 1515, there are records of several Seáns whose place in the clan require deep consideration – just how the Seáns are assigned requires a punt on the horses.

The Rise of Piers Ruadh Butler and the Horses of Kildare

Gerald Mór FitzGerald died in 1513, and Thomas Butler seventh Earl of Ormond followed him in 1515. Even though Piers had disposed of Sir James Butler, there was still significant uncertainty around who Thomas’ successor would be. Without a male heir, the former Earl’s grandson, Sir Thomas Boleyn, was the favoured of the heirs general. Mindful of Brehon Law and politically astute, Piers used all his powers to position himself as the leading Irish claimant (Kirwan, 2018). The dispute surrounding the Ormond title was not resolved until 1528; during the interim period, Piers embarked on what Edwards (1998) refers to as a *new direction*.

For Beresford (1998), *the supposedly perennial Butler-Kildare feuds began* in 1519 only after Gerald Óg FitzGerald, his brother-in-law and the ninth Earl of Kildare, refused to support Piers’ claims to the earldom of Ormond. Edwards (1998) does not see it this way. Drawing on the thought that Piers knew Gerald Mór arranged his marriage to Margaret *for polissye* and that Piers was known for his *politic and far-seeing character* (Graves & Prim, 1857), Edwards develops the thought that Piers was a conniving character who was playing the waiting game who,

maintained an outward show of friendship, biding his time until his strength had reached a level appropriate to his ambitions (1998, p. 135).

But the purpose of this treatise is not to debate the motivations of Piers Butler; it is enough to understand that Piers was an expert at *putting the fragmentation of a neighbouring Gaelic lordship to good use* (Edwards, 1998, p.139). Just as other Irish clans, such as the Mac Murchadha Caomhánach, Ó Mórdha, and Éile Ó Cearbhaill had, by 1517, developed both pro-and anti-Ormond and Kildare factions (Edwards, 1998), so had the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí. And in 1517, bent on avenging the slaying of a son of Edmund MacRichard in 1478, Butler, *lost no opportunity of carrying fire and sword into Upper Ossory* (Graves & Prim, 1857, p. 219). The event is recorded in Liber Primus Kilkenniensis, by which the recently constructed tholsel in the town of Cill Chainnigh obtained a new gate, which was *violently carried off the castle of Bernard then McGillpatrige, called the Cowlkyll, in Ossory by the sovereign and community of the town of Kilkenny, then in a hostile army with Sir Peter Butler* (Othway-Ruthven, 1961).

Carrigan (1905) relates this event and assigns the identity of ‘*the Mac Giolla Phádraig*’ to Brian, later first Baron of Upper Ossory, who he claims was clan chieftain from ca. 1511. That Chúlchoill (i.e., Culohill) translated above as Cowlkyll) was the Mac Giolla Phádraig’s primary fortress, and home of their garrison is certain. Equally certain is that the Mac Giolla Phádraig, who was robbed of his feature front-door, was not the future first Baron. But before that is explained, there is a need to back up a little. Following the death of Gerald Mór FitzGerald in 1513, his son, Gerald Óg, the ninth Earl of Ormond and Lord Deputy of Ireland, understood the importance of making a good impression and strong political statements just as much as Piers Butler. And what better way than to send gifts to friends; hundreds of gifts – hundreds of horses. Kildare set about restoring his family as the dynasts of west Leinster and the Irish midlands and,

in the traditional Irish manner ... distributed gifts ... amongst the midland lords such as the MacGillapatricks, O'Dempseys, O'Connor Falys and Giollapádraig O'More (O'Byrne, 2001, p.264).

Norman families, however, were the priority recipients and, in true Irish fashion, those recorded at the top of Kildare's list of horses gifted were the most prominent – and in 1513 it was *Sir Pers Butler knyght* (Mac Niocaill, 1992); he was given not one horse, but two.

Mac Giolla Phádraig's lofty status is then confirmed; sitting in thirteenth-place out of a total of 123 recipients, he received *a don*. One behind him was another Mac Giolla Phádraig. High ranking in the clan? Yes, undoubtedly, and maybe even a tanist in waiting. So, it must be imagined he was the son of the thirteenth-placed Mac Giolla Phádraig. But he wasn't, and if ever the understanding of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí leadership in the first quarter of the sixteenth-century is to be shaken up, it comes with the knowledge, until now unaccounted for by historians. The next horse recipient was Seán Óg, the son of William Mac Giolla Phádraig – he received *a blak* (Mac Niocaill, 1992). When Kildare next chose to gift horses to Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, it was two years later; it is notable that Piers Butler was not a horse recipient then, or ever after. But in 1515 Kildare recognised there was a growing complexity around Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí leadership. That year Mac Giolla Phádraig received a hackney, however along with *Shane mac William macgilpatrik*, who received *a grey*, was *Shane son to macgilpatrik* who received a horse of the same coat (Mac Niocaill, 1992). At this juncture, there come several challenges to the traditional scholarly (i.e., Carrigan and Shearman) views of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí leadership and lineages.

There are now three Seáns near the forefront of leadership to contend with around this time: Seán Óg (i) being the son of William the cleric, (ii) Seán being the son of the clan chief, and (iii), Seán, as various records arrest, being the father of Brian, later the first Baron. Logic dictates Seán (i) cannot be Seán (iii) since the father of Seán (iii) is authoritatively Finghin Mór, not William. And Sean (ii) cannot be Seán (iii) since his father was living and was the Mac Giolla Phádraig, whereas the father of Seán (iii) was Finghin Mór who died of the plague in 1468 (O'Clery et al., 1856; Lawlor, 1908). Might one of the three Seáns may be the John, who received the leases of Ros Chonaill, Leamhchoill, and Baile Osaill ca. 1500 (Curtis, 1937)? As discussed earlier, yes. Although the leases were not re-granted to any Mac Giolla Phádraig in 1511 (Curtis, 1937), this does not demand Seán the leaseholder had died by that time. Yet, there needs to be an account of another Seán (John) record.

John MacCostigan first appears in the Papal Registers in 1481, as a 24-year-old cleric of Ossory, when he makes a petition to unite the rectories of Achadh Bhó (Aghaboe) and Bordaíol (Bordwell) (Twemlow, 1955). Despite John's youth Pope Sixtus IV dispensed him to receive the said rectories. Yet, in 1488 he is accused by Thady Ó Beirgin, before Pope Innocent VIII, of detaining possession of Achadh Bhó *for some years, without any title* and is removed (Twemlow, 1960). Innocent VIII's decision makes mention of Achadh Bhó's lay patronage, and it is worthwhile considering how that may have weighed on the minds of those in Rome because it is revealed that John went by two names – he is named as John Mac Costigan, alias Mac Giolla Phádraig. John's proposal to unite the rectories of Achadh Bhó and Bordaíol was re-visited under Pope Alexander VI in 1493. In a lengthy discourse, we learn that after his appointment in 1488, John, who is again referred to as alias Mac Giolla Phádraig, entered into a simoniacal pact with Ó Beirgin, *so that he should be left in peace in the rectories* – in doing so John incurred the *sentence of excommunication and other papal sentences, censures and pains against simoniacs*. John's punishment and *infamy* must have resulted in outrage amongst the Mac Giolla Phádraig because Rome soon backtracked, claiming *no mention was made* of the lay patronage previously. It is apparent that Rome had little appetite for infuriating the Mac Giolla Phádraig; John, with his familial bond to the clan now realised, was reinstated and

absolved, and those who had resisted the unification had no option but to comply before *the force of the Apostolic See* (Fuller, 1998) – an ominous-sounding threat.

Further mention is made of John, now going only by Mac Giolla Phádraig, in 1501 and 1509, where he is there referred to as a Canon of Ossory; holding that title effectively resolving the battle with the Ó Beirgin over parish benefices (Fuller, 1994; Haren, 1998). The latter mention is the last we hear of John, but questions linger. Is he the John who became leaseholder of Ros Chonaill, Leamhchoill, and Baile Osaill and who had advowson there? This is plausible, because in 1488 the pact Seán entered in to with Thady Ó Beirgin related to the Rectory of Ros Chonaill, and Mac Giolla Phádraig interests in Ros Chonaill are documented in several Papal records between 1429 and 1506 (Twemlow, 1909; Haren, 1978; Fuller, 1986; Haren, 1989).

Also, then, was John MacCostigan the son of Finhin Mór, and the father of both William the younger and Brian, the first Baron of Upper Ossory? Two words loom large in the consideration – *noble birth* (Twemlow, 1955). And for John MacCostigan, alias Mac Giolla Phádraig, born ca. 1457, the choices are few if he was of noble birth and bore noble sons. In addition, William the younger came into the benefice of Achadh Bhó (Aghaboe), which was once with John MacCostigan, and this via the adjudication of the latter (Twemlow, 1960; Haren, 1998). Hence, all the evidence points to John MacCostigan being the aforementioned Seán (iii).

That resolved, aside from still needing to account for Seán (i) and Seán (ii), a greater understanding of Mac Giolla Phádraig leadership in the period after the death of Séafra in 1489 is required. And that requires an analysis of Brians, of which there were more than one of prominence.

Early 16th Century Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí Leaders and Lineages

1528 was the year Piers Butler became Earl of Ossory (State Papers of Henry VIII, 1528b) and in that year, as the Ormond-Kildare conflict headed toward its climax, Butler looked for the support of Gaelic lords to the north, such as the Ó Mórdha, the Éile Ó Cearbhaill, and, surprisingly, the Mac Giolla Phádraig (State Papers of Henry VIII, 1528c). The record evidences Butler was clearly pleased with ‘*McGylpatrikes ayd and help*’, and also keen to let the Crown know he was ‘*contentid to remytt and fore geyv hym dyvers great injurys and wrongis*’, which had left him 400 marks out of pocket.

That citation is often used to support the widespread belief that Brian mac Seán (later first baron) was the victim when, in 1517, Piers Butler removed the gate of Chúlchoill (Cullohill) castle. But it is too simplistic to assume that the 1528 ‘*Mac Giolla Phádraig*’ was Brian mac Seán since there was more than one Brian of prominence on the scene at the time. In 1517 Brian mac Seán would have been considered too junior among the clan, at approximately thirty-nine years of age, to have been granted headship ahead of more senior clan members. Accordingly, just one year later, in 1518, it was another Brian – the son of Toirealach mac Donnchadh – a grandson of Donnchadh Mór, who was responsible for granting tithes to the Earl of Kildare for ‘*McGyllepatrikis countre*’. Kildare’s Rental makes no mistake; Brian mac Toirealach was chieftain and Brian mac Seán was nowhere in sight (Mac Niocaill, 1992). It is not until 1532 that Brian mac Seán’s position as clan leader is certain:

Thomas, the son of Pierce Roe, Earl of Ormond, was slain in Ossory by Dermot MacGillapatrik, who was heir to the lordship of Ossory. Not long after this, Dermot was delivered up by his own brother (the Mac Gillapatrik) to the Earl, by whom he was fettered, in revenge of his son and of every other misdeed which Dermot had committed against him up to that time (O’Clery et al., 1856).

With the death of Finghin Mór in 1468, and Séafra, the last remaining son of Finghin Óg – his tanist brother Tadhg Dubh having died in 1487 – in 1489, leadership among the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí probably alternated to one of the sons of Donnchadh Mór, i.e., Toirealach and Tadhg Ruadh, who were born before ca. 1448, both living ca. 1468-1478 (Lawlor, 1908), and would be expected to have lived until the late 1400s/early 1500s; they were of greater seniority than the sons of Finghin Mór. Yet, unfortunately, there is a record gap between 1489 and 1513 that clouds when the transition of chieftainship from the the sons of Donnchadh Mór to the sons of Finghin Mór occurred.

With the rise of the subsequent generation, beginning with Brian mac Toirealach mac Donnchadh Mór by 1517, the only possibilities for prior clan headship among the sons of Finghin Mór are with William the elder (b. ca. 1447) and John MacCostigan (also known as Seán Mac Giolla Phádraig b. ca. 1457). And it is William the elder who comes into focus because of his irrefutable seniority and position of power in the Church. Irish clan succession was not determined simply by who was the oldest eligible male; seniority was determined by who was *eldest and worthiest*. And, at least *theoretically*, both chief and tanist were elected by the nobles of the territory, both clerics and laity. Who was *worthiest* essentially means who was *richest*, i.e., having the most *clients and power* (Nicholls, 1972). At the dawn of the sixteenth century, the *worthiest* of Finghin Mór's sons was William the elder, the illegitimate career cleric, who had grown in wealth and power and risen through the ranks of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí and the Church.

William's high status is also borne out via a closer analysis of Kildare's horses that were gifted to the Mac Giolla Phádraig between 1513 and 1515. William the elder was clan chieftain in 1513 because only 'Mac Kilpatrick' and the precisely named Seán Óg, 'William Mac Kilpatrick's son', were horse recipients that year. Yet by 1515 William the elder had died; Seán mac William again received a horse, but 'Shane son to Mac Gilpatrick' and 'Mac Gilpatrick' did as well. The obvious position is that Seán mac Finghin Mór, who had a son called Seán, was successor to his brother, William. The death of Seán mac Finghin Mór must have been 1515-1517; with Seán being the last of his generation, the clan leadership reverted to Brian mac Toirealach and the non-Ormond aligned Mac Giolla Phádraig faction. Brian mac Toirealach's tenure was short-lived and notable for the conflict with Piers Ruadh Butler. Aside from the 1517 tholsel incident, there is the remarkable account of Oliver Morres, Baron de Marisco and de Montmorency, who during a raid on Castletown castle engaged his Irish foe, and

cast him and his horse head long down the rock on which the castle stands, into the river Nore that flows underneath, in which they perished (Montmorency-Morres, 1817, p.237).

The event occurred between 1505, when Morres married Ellice, the fourth daughter of Piers Ruadh Butler, and 1523, based on the estimated death of Morres – probably at the hands of a revenge seeking Mac Giolla Phádraig – since Ellice remarried that year (Montmorency-Morres, 1817). A date of 1522 is a considered estimate because that year is assigned to the well-known, curiously worded, variably recorded, yet poorly attributed, threat made by the Mac Giolla Phádraig chieftain via his ambassador to Henry VIII, King of England:

Sta pedibus! Domine Rex! Dominus meus, Gillapatrius, me misit ad et, et jussit dicere, quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum, ipse faciet bellum contra te. That is: Stand on your feet! Oh King! My Lord Gillapatrik sent me and commanded me to say, 'If you don't want to chastise Peter the Red, I will make war against you' (this example is from Gordon, 1806).

It is unlikely the wild threat went unattended; Morres probably exacted Henry's wrath, and swiftly.

At the close of Part II there are some major loose ends. What became of Seán mac William mac Finghin Mór and Seán mac Seán mac Finghin Mór? The latter was clearly an older brother of Brian mac Seán. As well as Brian, Seán fathered two other sons who were Brian's juniors – Diarmaid and

Finghin. Diarmaid, a political liability to his brother Brian, was taken into custody and never heard of again following his peripheral role in the slaying of Thomas, son of Piers Ruadh Butler, ca. 1532 (Curtis, 1937; State Papers of Henry VIII, 1532). And Finghin was slain during the period when Miles Baron was Bishop of Ossory (1528-1550) (White, 1936); there is no evidence to substantiate Edwards' (1999) claim he died at the hands of the Butlers while fighting for the FitzGerald. A fourth son, older than Brian, is plausible if the narrative that Seán is the same as John MacCostigan (born ca. 1457) is adhered to because Brian was born ca. 1478, and it was not uncommon for Irish men in medieval times, clergy or lay, to sire children as soon as they were able. This is exemplified by none other than Brian mac Seán, whose first marriage contract was probably secured when he reached the legal age of 14 years of age (Cosgrove, 1985).

As for Brian, as well as possibly being junior he may also have been viewed dimly amongst the clan hierarchy. Brian had more wives than those accounted for by Fitzpatrick scholars such as Shearman, and in non-scholarly works, such as that of Fitzpatrick family historians Zalewski and Fitzpatrick (2013) who claim their work is definitive. Those parties miss that Brian had at least three wives before his marriage to Margaret Butler. But Carrigan understood earlier marriages must have occurred even if he didn't grasp the full details. And assertions the children of those marriages were illegitimate (Carrigan, 1905; Zalewski & Fitzpatrick, 2013) may be valid under English law (Simms, 1975), but they weren't in the eyes of Rome (Fuller, 1998) or under Brehon law (Hickey, 2020). Not that Brian mac Seán, future Baron of Upper Ossory, appeared to have much regard for any law or any thought that his early offspring would be ineligible for any title granted by the Crown. Brian was a hellraiser from his youth; perhaps the tales of Thadhg Dubh were known to him, and he sought to emulate them, and more. Destined for greatness, his career was highlighted by one controversy after another, whether it fratricide, filicide, betrayal, or duplicity (O'Clery et al., 1856; State Papers Henry VIII, 1541; Edwards, 1999). And in 1493, Brian made a no less controversial entrance into the affairs of Éire, singlehandedly almost bringing Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí to the brink of war within and without. Complex family affairs were, seemingly from the outset, Brian's particular penchant.

The first marriage contract entered into by a youthful Brian was with the daughter of Ó Mórdha, but it was unlawful in the eyes of the church because they were first cousins. After her untimely death, which one might guess was in childbirth, Brian then married another first cousin (who was also either his niece or aunt), who was also the first cousin of his previous wife; without dispensation from the church the second marriage was declared null. Brian then entered into a marriage contract with Catherine Ní Mórdha, his half-sister (who was also either his niece or aunt), who was also the half-sister of his first wife. Predictably, this resulted in an uproar of rampant *dissensions, scandals and enmities* among the relatives of the second wife and Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, mainly since Bernard and Catherine were living as man and wife and had started a family. But leaving Catherine was not an option for Brian since doing so would have left her *defamed and perhaps without hope of a husband*. A clan war, not only between septs of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí but between Brian's line and long-time Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí allies, the Ó Mórdha, threatened to erupt. Given the risk of *homicides and scandals ... among blood relations and friends*, a papal dispensation was sought to legalise Bernard and Catherine's relationship. The Pope absolved the pair, permitted their marriage, and decreed their present and future children were legitimate (Fuller, 1998).

It is fitting that the conclusion of this article should be with Brian, for he takes centre stage in *Part III*. All that remains is to comment on some peripheral Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí individuals and septs.

Miscellanea

There are many fragmentary records of Mac Giolla Phádraig from the late medieval that are worthy of note. Fortunately, most can be made sense of when a long-range view, even as far forward as the

seventeenth century, is taken. Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí clerics such as Thady (died ca. 1465), Malachy (died ca. 1469), Patrick (fl. 1489-1493), Donatus (fl. 1489-1497), Tarreleus (fl. 1510), and Theodoric (fl. 1514-1516) will feature in a forthcoming review of all Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lines. Of particular interest is, (a) the exploration of familial relationships between those clerics who were active in the Dioceses of Killaloe, Limerick, and Ossory, and (b) that both Diarmaid and Brian, the sons of Seán mac Finghin Mór, were probably clerics (MacQuarrie, 2018; Brewer, 1875).

And there is a swathe of records relating to several Mac Giolla Phádraig septs that are almost entirely unaccounted for: the McDonnough, McEdmond, McFynne, McShane, McShera, McTeige, McTirrelagh, McDavid, McWilliam and others, who either descended from the first Baron or his close kin. These likely add significantly to the number of *all* (Zalewski & Fitzpatrick, 2013) male descendants of the first Baron. Carrigan makes incidental reference to the sept of McShera, who descend from Geoffrey Mac Giolla Phádraig, brother of the first Baron, when discussing the disappearance of the name Mac Giolla Phádraig, who *are now never mentioned by Irish speakers in Ossory, under any other name than that of MacShaerha, O'Shaerha, or O'Sheerrha* (Carrigan, 1905, p.8). The disappearance of Mac Giolla Phádraig after the first Baron's submission was probably due to the need for compliance with the expectation embedded in Brian's agreement to *forsake and refuse the name of MacGilpatrick* (State Papers of Henry VIII, 1541). Still, some septs chose not to associate with the name Fitzpatrick either. And yet other septs with Osraí associations did maintain Mac Giolla Phádraig well into the seventeenth century; these septs mostly did not descend directly from Finghin Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig (d. ca. 1468) or his descendants. They and their territories are discussed in the forthcoming article, *Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí records in the Patent and Close Rolls, and Fiants: 1509-1625*, which provides not only coverage of septs in Laois, but also in Ceatharlach (Co. Carlow), Cill Dara (Co. Kildare), Cill Mhantáin (Co. Wicklow), and Loch Garman.

Finally, various Mac Giolla Phádraig Individuals and septs are also documented here because, even though they appear to be only minor-actors or are currently challenging to connect to any lineage, they are mostly of future importance. All appear within, or close to, the time boundaries of this article. Many of these characters feature in Part III. Introduced chronologically, they are:

- Dearbháil ny Donnchadh Mór, who was living ca. 1468-1478 (Lawlor, 1908);
- Owen of Ráth Tuathail (Rathtoole) Cill Mhantáin in 1518 (Mac Niocaill, 1992), who is important because of his association with the Ó Tuathail;
- Maurice of An Bhuaile Bheag (Boley Little) Cill Dara in 1518 (Mac Niocaill, 1992), who is important due to his association with the Earls of Kildare;
- Clan Maeleachlainn Ruadh of Baile Dhabhag (Ballygauge) Laois in 1518 (Hore, 1859), from whom came various other septs;
- Callagh, who is important because he was a witness in a case brought against Piers Ruadh Butler; Callagh's testimony was given despite his fear of being killed by Butler (White, 1936).
- Fiach, who is highly significant because he was the recipient of a horse from the ninth Earl of Kildare in 1523 (Mac Niocaill, 1992).

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to acknowledge the support of the *Journal* editorial team, and particularly Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile for his help with *Gaeilge*, both ancient and modern. Discovering the scholarship of Luke McNerney during the preparation of this article was a highlight and the author is grateful for his assistance.

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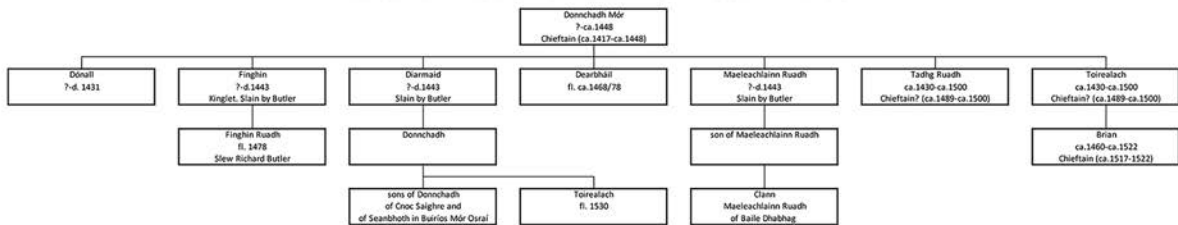
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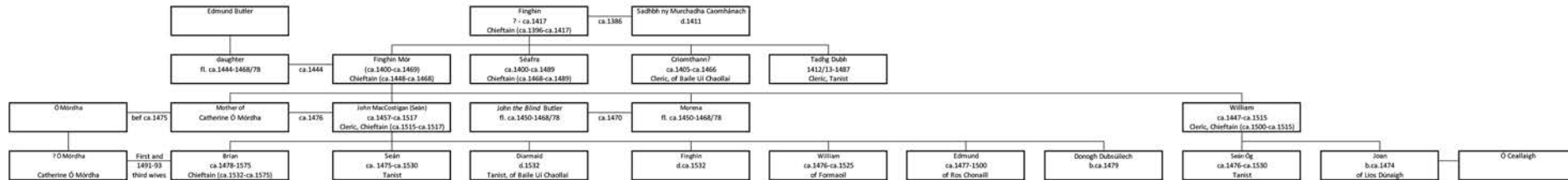
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PROPOSED GENEALOGY OF FINGHIN MAG GIOLLA PHÁDRAIG



PROPOSED MAG GIOLLA PHÁDRAIG OSRAÍ LEADERSHIP CA. 1417-1522

