

# Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais: an ancient clan rediscovered

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## Abstract

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

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

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

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

And some were smugglers!

## Names, styles, edits, historical records, DNA

This article is written in the English language, but the people and places discussed are Irish. To acknowledge the primacy of Gaeilge (Gaelic) and to allow readers to be able to find locations on modern maps, place names are provided in modern Gaeilge using the most common spelling; for example, Clann Mhuiris (Clanmorris), unless the place name is titular, for instance, the Earl of Thomond.

The rendition of personal names and by-names of people referenced in this article requires consistency because there can be variability in historical records even for the same individual, with mixtures of Gaeilge and English forms being used and sometimes with spellings imaginatively conjured up via phonetics. The approach here is to use the most obvious and correctly spelt form of the personal name, be it Gaeilge or an English form. Surnames are much less problematic, and preference is for a standard spelling, e.g., as determined and published by authorities such as Mac Lysaght (1985).

Quotations are italicised, and long or textually significant quotations are also indented. This article is a living work, i.e., it can, and most likely will, be edited by the authors who will retain all versions. Every effort has been made to consult all available records related to the period relevant to this article, and Y-DNA data is current to the publication date. Y-DNA dating estimates are probabilistic and should be considered  $\pm$  two generations, i.e.,  $\pm$  approximately sixty years.

## Introduction

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

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

## The Fitzpatricks of Árann

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

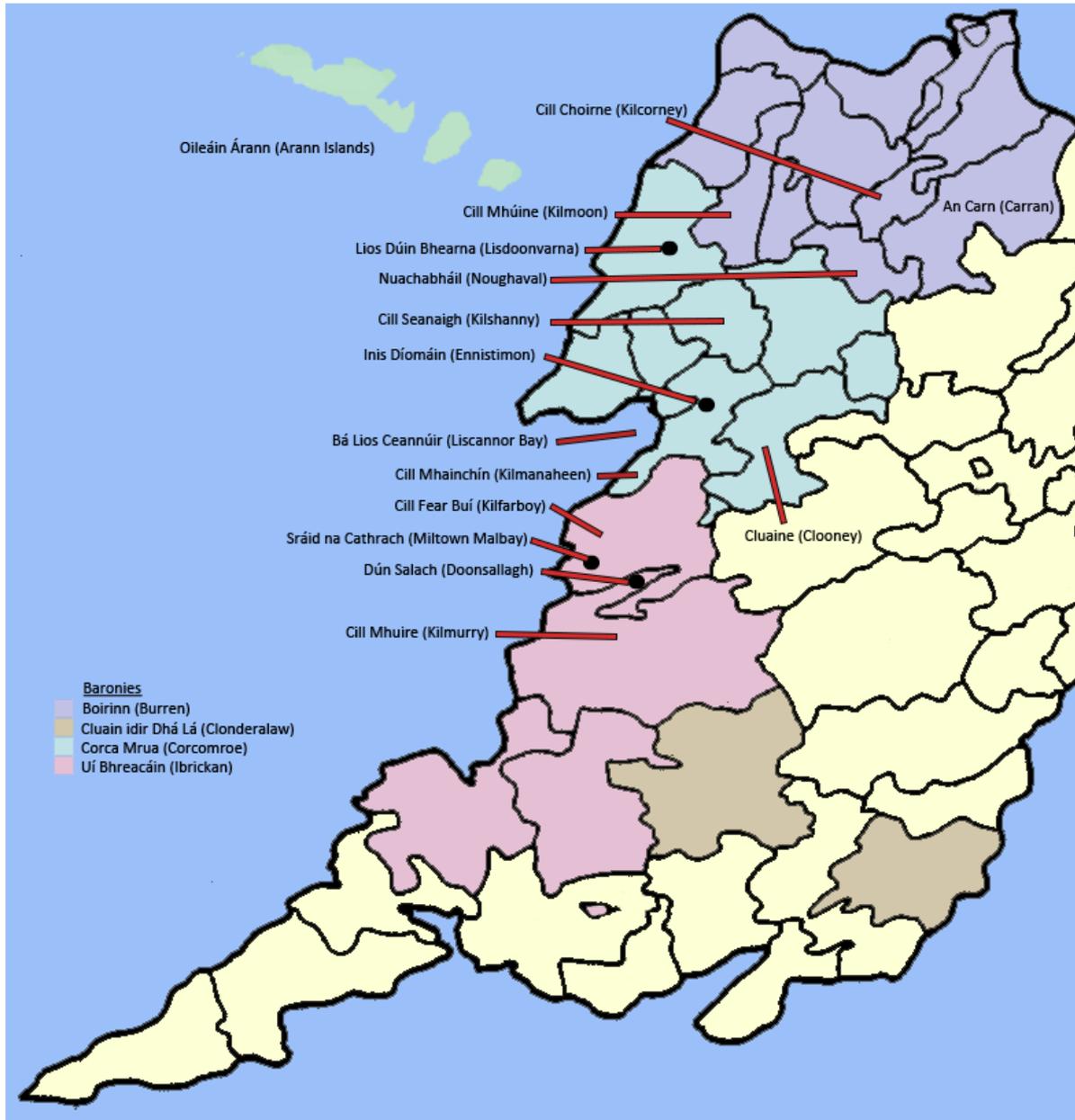
### The Mac Giolla Phádraig of West An Clár

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### The Composition of Connaught

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Other Mac Giolla Phádraig An Clár

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## A Return to Árann

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Mac Giolla Phádraig smugglers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

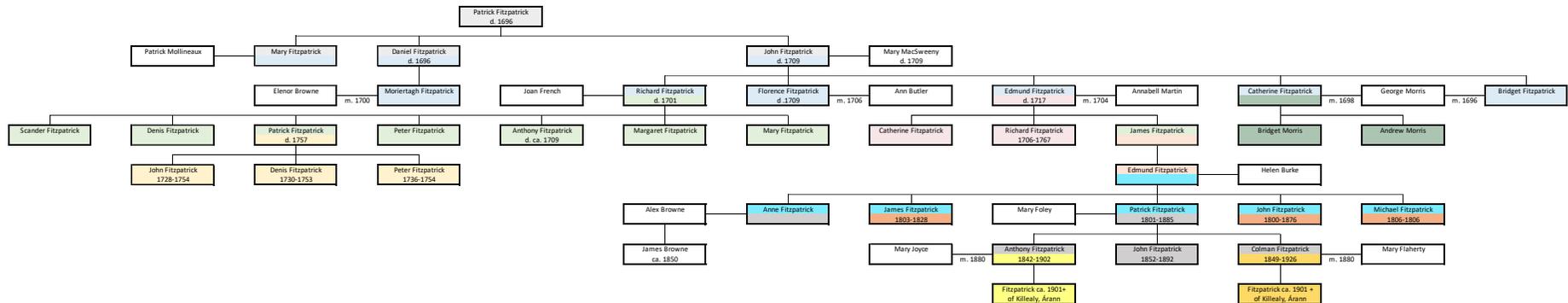
### To Maigh Eo and Ros Comáin

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

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

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

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



**Notes:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

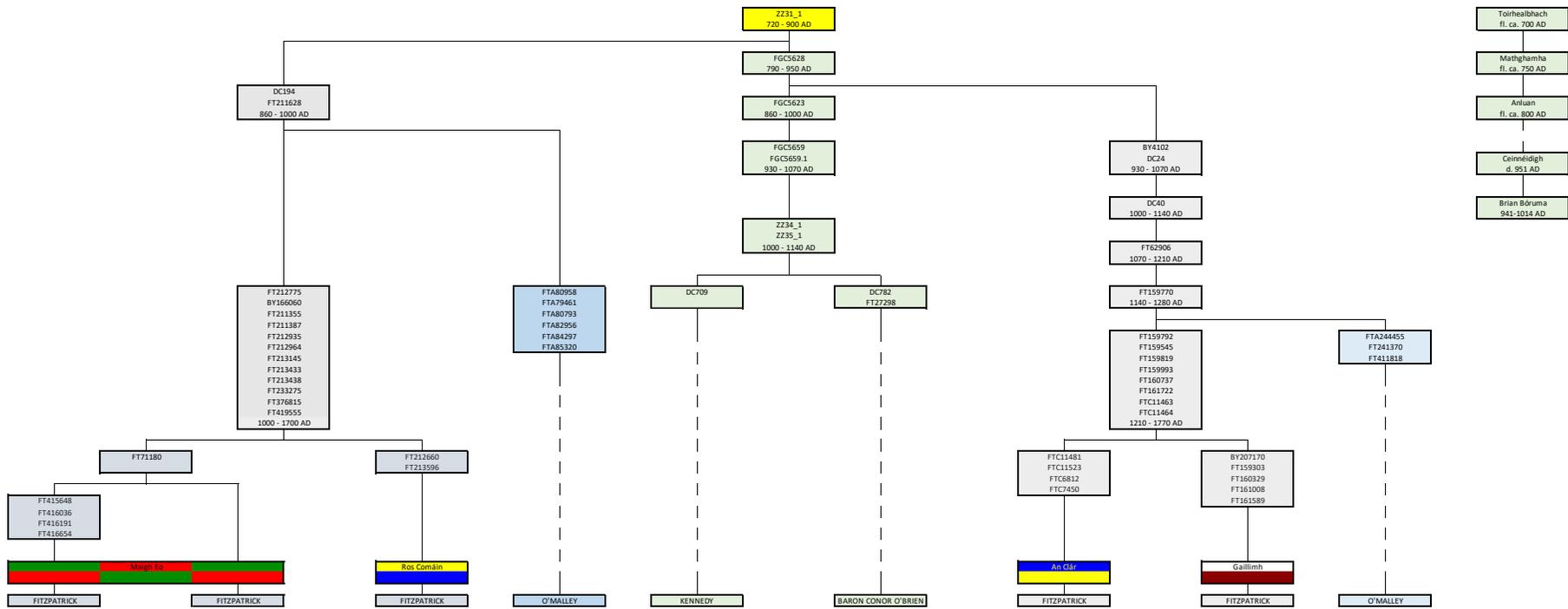
and its single member traces to Ros Comáin. In addition, there are two Fitzpatricks whose Y-STR data indicates they will also be under haplotype R-FT212775 – in recent times, one traces to Gaillimh and the other to Maigh Eo. The five members of FT212775, defined either by Y-SNP or Y-STR data, share a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

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

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

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

Figure 3: Haplotype overview for R-ZZ31\_1



**Notes:**

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

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

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

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

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

#### Notes:

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

## Origins of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

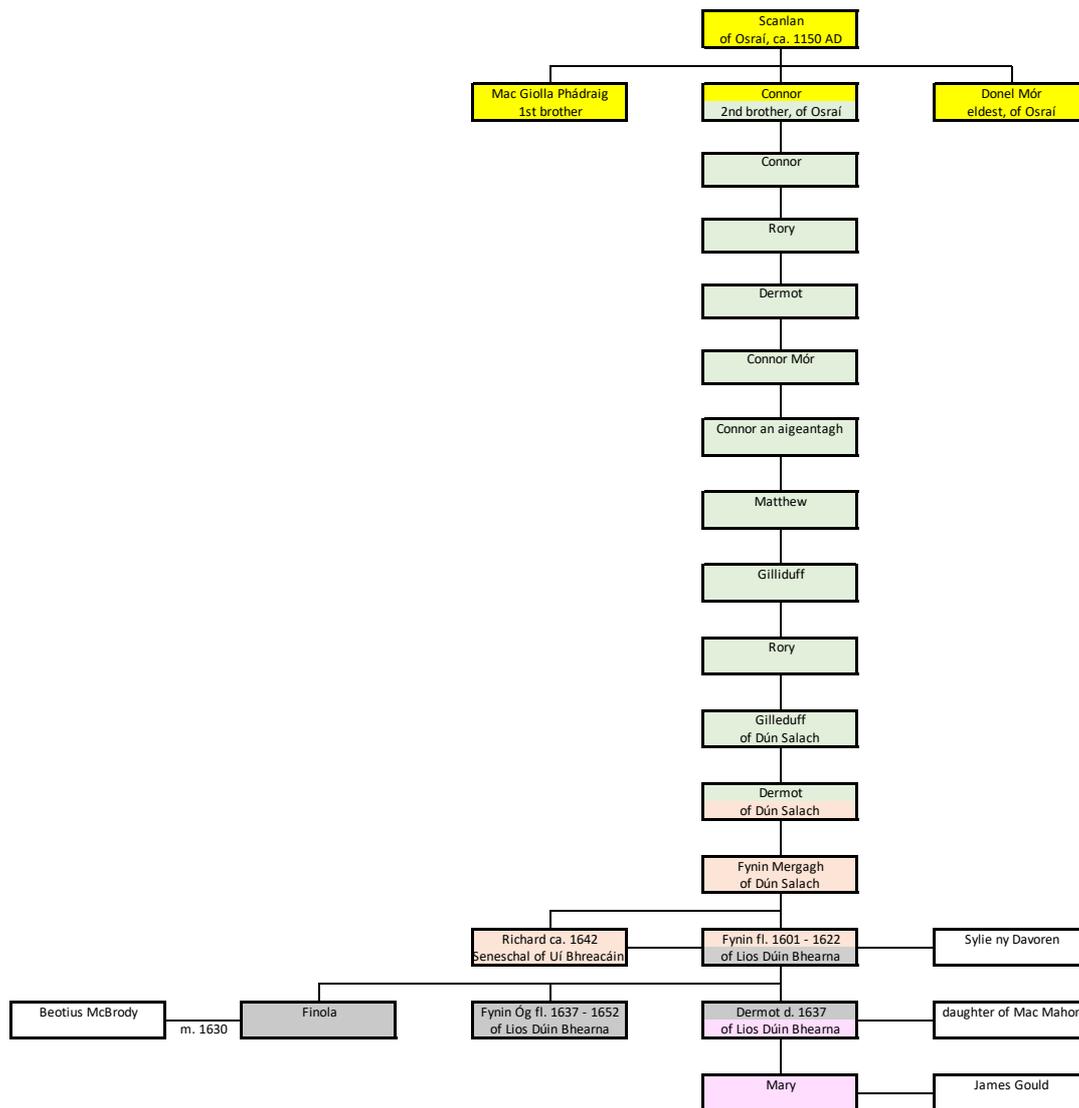
Any uncertainty regarding the exact progenitor of Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais is swept away by Roger O'Farrell in his *'A Genealogical, Chronological, and Historical Account of the Gaelian, Milesian, Scottish, or Irish People or Nation from the beginning of time, to this yeare of our Lord 1709'*, which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

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

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



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



**Notes:**

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

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

## Loose ends to follow

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

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

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

## Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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