

The Carrigan Manuscripts: The Pedigrees of the First Baron of Upper Ossory

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Abstract

The pedigrees of Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig (ca. 1478-1575), who was created the First Baron of Upper Ossory in 1541 and from whom emerged the line of later barons, feature prominently in several important publications relating to the Mac Giolla Phádraig Lords of Ossory. Pride of place among the pedigree authors goes to the renowned Ossory historian, Rev. William Carrigan (1860-1924), who he published his *magnum opus*, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, in 1905. Early in his research career, Carrigan adopted the position of two scholars who had gone before him, viz., Dr John O'Donovan and Rev. John Shearman, notably, that Brian's father was Brian na Luireach (i.e., 'of the coats of mail') Mac Giolla Phádraig. However, by 1922, toward the end of his life, Carrigan's opinion had changed, and he came to the position that the father of the first baron was not Brian na Luireach, but Seaán Mac Giolla Phádraig. Here, a review of Carrigan's Manuscripts reveals his research journey to uncover the true identity of Brian's father.

Taking everything into account

Among the Carrigan Manuscripts¹ is much material pertaining to genealogies. Indeed some of his notebooks are almost entirely dedicated to the subject, such as Carrigan MSS 16, which bears the title *Genealogies of Ossory and Leix*. Yet, the titles of Carrigan's notebooks can sometimes belie what is contained within – MSS 60 has the title *Some Ecclesiastical Fiants (Henry VIII)*, but it includes a gold mine of genealogical information.

The importance of the Carrigan Manuscripts for researchers of the genealogies of various Mac Giolla Phádraig and Fitzpatrick families of Ossory cannot be overstated; Carrigan's notebooks contain material not found elsewhere. In addition to the dates, facts, and narratives that comprise the lineages and pedigrees, are Carrigan's side-notes – his thought processes, his logic laid bare, and, at times, his frustrations and struggles with the subject matter.

For readers familiar with *The History*², Carrigan's grappling with the pedigree of the Barons of Upper Ossory will come as nothing new; he dedicated pages 76-78 of Volume I to the

¹ For an introduction to the Carrigan Manuscripts and The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society Supplementary Series see: Fitzpatrick, M. (2022). Letters from the Baron of Upper Ossory, and his son Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, AD 1571: Carrigan's transcriptions. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 3, 46-57. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00822](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00822), and Fitzpatrick, M. (2023). The Carrigan Manuscripts: the will of Thady Fitzpatrick, MD, 1674. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* S1, 1-10. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01423](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01423).

² Carrigan, W (1905). *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, hereafter referred to here as *The History*.

topic, drawing on Keating³ (two sources), Lodge⁴, and O'Donovan⁵, before constructing his own versions of the pedigree of 'Brian na Luireach Mac Gillpatrick, Lord of Ossory'. For good measure, Carrigan also added the 'Pedigree of Brian Fitzpatrick, claimed as eighth Lord Baron of Upper Ossory' at page 100 of *The History*, although he did not cite the source – remarkably, the pedigree did not match the one summarised earlier in Volume I; there was no place for 'Brian na Luireach', which led Carrigan to add the following to the *Addenda and Corrigenda of The History*.

'Brian "na Luireach" Mac Gillpatrick, who died about 1511, and is buried at Fertagh, should have found a place in the pedigree given here. He was the son of Seaghan⁶ Mac Gillpatrick, and the father of Sean Brian Mac Gillpatrick. All three were Lords of Ossory⁷

Hence, Carrigan underlined the pedigree of Brian na Luireach and, with that, hoped he had removed any apparent confusion for his readers. Yet, interrogation of Carrigan's four sources does not support his in *The History* – neither Lodge nor Keating makes any mention of Brian na Luireach, and while O'Donovan (whose source was Mac Firbis⁸) does, he was in error. O'Donovan's mistake was that he linked the Mac Firbis pedigree 480.7, of Colonel John Fitzpatrick, with the 480.1 genealogy of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Lords of Ossory, via the barons of Upper Ossory. But no such link exists. And while Carrigan's later notes have the Mac Firbis' pedigrees recorded correctly, at the time *The History* was published, Carrigan replicated O'Donovan's error.

Here, therefore, we explore Carrigan's notes on the pedigrees of the Barons of Upper Ossory and their related lines. We look at Carrigan's thought processes and the various pedigrees he considered until he arrived at his final position. In his MSS 60, Carrigan wrote,

'Taking everything, pedigree etc into account, Shawn McGillpatrick was father of Bernard, the first Lord of Upper Ossory and husband of Honora O'More, Margaret Butler, and Elizabeth O'Connor, whose son Bryan Oge, the second Lord of Upper Ossory, died in 1581'.

The 'everything' that led Carrigan to position the descent of Bryan Óg, second Baron of Upper Ossory, from Bryan, First Baron of Upper Ossory and husband of at least three wives, the son of Shawn, or John, Mac Giolla Phádraig, was much. Several of Carrigan's notebooks detail pedigrees of the first baron and related lines, two record correspondence between

³ Dr Geoffrey Keating (1569-1644), an Irish historian who completed *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (known commonly as History of Ireland) in 1634; the original manuscript has not survived.

⁴ John Lodge (1692-1774) was Deputy Keeper of the records in Bermingham Tower, Dublin. He compiled *The Peerage of Ireland* (1754). Dublin: Leathley, Ewing, Smith, Smith, Faulkner, Bradley and Moore.

⁵ Dr John O'Donovan (1806-1861), an Irish language scholar and historian known for many works, including *A Grammar of the Irish language* (1845). Dublin: Hodges and Smith, as well as others referenced here.

⁶ The pedigrees discussed have several spelling variations, including Seaán, Seaghan, Shane, Shawn, and John. In the body of the text, Seaán or John is used, while quotations are verbatim. In similar fashion, Brian is used in the text for the variant forms, such as Bryan.

⁷ *The History* Vol. IV, p. 435.

⁸ Duaid Mac Firbis (Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbisigh, d. 1671) was an Irish genealogist who completed *Leabhar na nGenealach* (The Great Book of Irish Genealogies) ca. 1666.

the first baron and his son Barnaby (second baron), and two provide historical data on the first baron and his children. At times Carrigan's notes are heavily annotated, and even his summary position was not spared, being later struck through, in part. Still, his manuscripts allow the reconstruction of Carrigan's pedigree knowledge journey, from his earliest records in MSS 56, which is denoted 'William Carrigan Maynooth College November 13, 1881' to some of his last, such as MSS 8, which reads 'Rev. W. Carrigan P.P. [Parish Priest] Durrow, 1922. Carrigan's journey is recounted here, starting with a summary of his starting position.

Carrigan's starting position

MSS 56 sets out Carrigan's early considerations into the pedigree, and life and times of Brian, First Baron of Upper Ossory. As his research career advanced, Carrigan set about critically reviewing the published material that already existed, as well as unpublished matter. But his knowledge platform and early position were, quite understandably, based on the works of those who had published before him, viz., Keating, Lodge, O'Donovan, and Shearman⁹, which is reviewed here.

There is no indication from Carrigan's early notes that he accessed any of the mid-seventeenth-century Irish transcriptions of Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* or Lynch's Latin Translation of Keating¹⁰, which Carrigan referred to in *The History*. Instead, Carrigan's early notebook reference is simply 'Following Keating'. The pedigree copied by Carrigan is the descent of Brian, Fifth Baron of Upper Ossory: 'Bryan, son of Teige, son of Florence, son of Bryan, son of Bryan, son of John, son of Florence of na Cul Choille [Cullohill]', etc.

Less important than Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, is the *Peerage of Ireland* since Lodge was not active when the Barons of Upper Ossory were living, and nor does Lodge cite genealogical manuscripts, such as those of Keating or Mac Firbis. Lodge was, however, Deputy Keeper of the records in Bermingham Tower, Dublin, and referred to several state documents relating to the barons. While Lodge's pedigree of the Mac Giolla Phádraig is not contiguous, he offered narrative pedigrees, which Carrigan copied verbatim:

John or Shane Mac Gill Patrick who by the daughter of O'Malley had Bryan, Bernard or Barnaby Mac Gill Patrick or Fitzpatrick, chief of Upper Ossory, living in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII to the latter of whom in 1522 he sent an express messenger¹¹ [who taking an opportunity to meet the King as he was going to chapel, delivered his Embassy in these words; *Sta pedibus, Domine Rex, Dominus meus Gillapatrius me misit ad et, et jussit dicere, quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum, ipse faciet bellum contra te*]¹². He

⁹ Rev. John Shearman (1831-1885), who is known for his 1879 publication, *Loca Patriciana: an Identification of Localities, Chiefly in Leinster, Visited by Saint Patrick and his Assistant Missionaries and of some Contemporary Kings and Chieftains*. Dublin: M. H. Gill.

¹⁰ Dr John Lynch (1599-1677), whose translation is said to have been completed by 1650. See, D'Ambrières, R. and Ó Ciosáin, E. 2003. John Lynch of Galway (ca. 1599-1677): His Career, Exile and Writing. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 55: 50-63.

¹¹ Here, Carrigan truncated Lodge.

¹² That is, 'Stand on your feet, oh King, my Lord Gillapatrius sent me and commanded me to say, if you don't want to chastise Peter the Red, I will make war against you', see Gordon, J. (1806). *A History of Ireland, from the earliest account to the accomplishment of the union with Great-Britain in 1801*. London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme.

married the daughter of O'More, Lord of Leix, and was father of Bernard, who 8 October 1537 made his submission to the King'¹³.

Carrigan's *The History* has a portion of Donovan's pedigree of Fiacha Foibhtic¹⁴ and provides 'The Genealogy of the Mac Gilla Patrick', which has the father of Brian (first baron) as 'Sen Brian', and grandfather as 'Brian na Luirech'. From a son of Brian, Finghin [third baron], come two lines: (1) to 'Tadhg [fourth baron], Brian [fifth baron], Brian [sixth baron], and Brian [seventh baron] (living in 1666)', and (2) to 'John, Finghin, and John (living 1666)'.

Carrigan also replicated, in an exact hand, Shearman's '*Ossorian Genealogy – No. III*' that is found in *Loca Patriciana*, which was published in 1879, although its chapters appeared in serialised form in the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* from 1873; Part XII¹⁵ – *The Early Kings of Ossory*, which contains four genealogical charts, appeared in the journal in 1878. The charts are much more comprehensive than O'Donovan's pedigrees, which are mostly focused on the line of succession, although Shearman provided few citations for his source material. The pages that follow the copies of Shearman's charts have Carrigan's summaries of the vital data for the first baron and his predecessors, and his starting position from the first baron back three generations was:

'Finghin na Cul Choile [Cullohill] slain 1443;
Sean (d. 1468);
Brian na Luireach (living 1522, d. 1537);
Brian Oge, or Barnaby (d. 1551)'¹⁶

In summary, Carrigan's early research relied on copies from published sources, not primary sources. To recapture Carrigan's research and gain insight into the evolution of his understanding of the pedigrees of the First Baron of Upper Ossory, it is necessary, as Carrigan did, to visit more closely the aforementioned published works, and then consider other sources that Carrigan uncovered. And it did not take Carrigan long to discover some things that were amiss.

Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirnn*

Carrigan's initial review of Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirnn* was based on an uncited printed version. Yet in *The History*, Carrigan referred to two manuscript versions, (1) 'from a transcript of Keating's History of Ireland, made in the seventeenth century, and now in the Royal Irish Academy'¹⁷, and (2) 'Dr John Lynch's translation of Keating's History, made about

¹³ Carrigan MSS 16, *Genealogies of Ossory and Leix: from Book of Leinster, Lecan, Mac Firbis, O'Clery etc.*

¹⁴ O'Donovan, J. (1850). Ancient Tribes and Territories of Ossory No. II. *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society* 1: 247-257.

¹⁵ Shearman, J. (1878). *Loca Patriciana: Part XII. The Early Kings of Ossory: The Seven Kings of Cashel Usurpers in Ossory: The Kings of the Silmaelodra of the Clan Maelaithgen - Maelduin Mac Cumiscagh-Cearbhall Mac Dungal: The Anglo-Norman Invasion of Ossory, &c., &c. Martin the Elder, a Patrician Missionary in Ossory: his Churches.* *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* 4: 336-408.

¹⁶ Carrigan MSS 56, *Genealogies and Old Notes.*

¹⁷ The manuscript now known as RIA MS 24 O 19, transcribed by Iollan Uí Mhaolchonaire, or similar; see Cunningham, B. (2000). *The World of Geoffrey Keating: History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-century Ireland.* Dublin: Four Courts Press.

1650', which Carrigan also called 'Archdeacon Lynch's Latin translation of Keating's History of Ireland'¹⁸. Carrigan also cited 'Mahony's Keating'¹⁹ in the body of his text.

Carrigan's copies of the manuscript versions follow the same course as plain lineages, starting with 'Brian mc Seain' (or 'Brianus filius Joannis', in Lynch) until they reach 'Sganlain mac Giollapatruig' (or 'Scanlani fili Gillepatrick') after ten generations, with zero narrative content. Curiously, Carrigan chose not to reproduce the narrative pedigrees provided in Mahony's Keating in *The History* – he knew of them, and they are found in his earlier²⁰ and later¹³ notebooks. The narratives add much to the understanding of Brian, First Baron of Upper Ossory, but they would have instantly complicated Carrigan's early position. Carrigan's transcription of the Mahony Keating pedigree reads,

'Brian, son of Tadg, son of Finghin (this Finghin had an elder brother named Brian Og, Lord of Ossory, but he died without issue, with the exception of an only daughter who was the grandmother of Lord Dunboyne. Another brother of his was Domnall of Gort-na-Clethi [Gortnaclea], and Seafra or Godfrey of Baile-Ambhlamibh [Beckfield]. Margaret Butler, daughter of the Earl of Ormond, was the mother of these. Brothers also to this Finghin were Tordelbach and Dearmaid whose mother was the daughter of O'Connor Failghi. Seaghan, or John of Baile-Ui-Gaeithin [Ballygeehan], Killach and Tadg who dwelt at Coill-Uachtarach [Upperwoods], were the natural brothers of Finghin)²⁰.

There is no mention of Brian na Luireach in Mahony's Keating, and there is a clear indication from the narrative of Bryan Óg (second baron), the heirless brother of Finghin (third baron), that he is positioned in baronial succession. Also, the father of Bryan (first baron) is given as Seaán. Carrigan ultimately opted not to reproduce the Mahony Keating pedigree in *The History*, and perhaps that was because he preferred to cite Keating's pedigrees from older manuscript versions that he could verify, over those later published versions he could not.

It is not known which Royal Irish Academy Keating manuscript Carrigan copied. Still, his notes reveal he recorded the title as 'Giniollac Mic Giolla Padruig anso i tigearna Osruidhe'¹³ (i.e., the genealogy of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Lords of Ossory). It commences with Bryan (fifth baron) and descends in a linear fashion without narrative. There are several such transcripts held by the Royal Irish Academy and in other repositories, such as University College Dublin, and an exegesis of their scribes, translators, and readers in the seventeenth century is provided by Cunningham¹⁷. Most transcriptions provide linear pedigrees, however some, such as RIA MS 24 P 23²¹ (Figure 1), from 1641-46, provide narrative pedigrees that differ from the Mahony's Keating and add understanding to the familial connections of the Barons of Ossory. For example, Seaán Mac Giolla Phádraig is recorded with four sons; Bryan, William of Formaoil (Fermoyle), Donogh Dubsúilech (i.e., the black-

¹⁸ Now known as RIA MS 23 I 5.

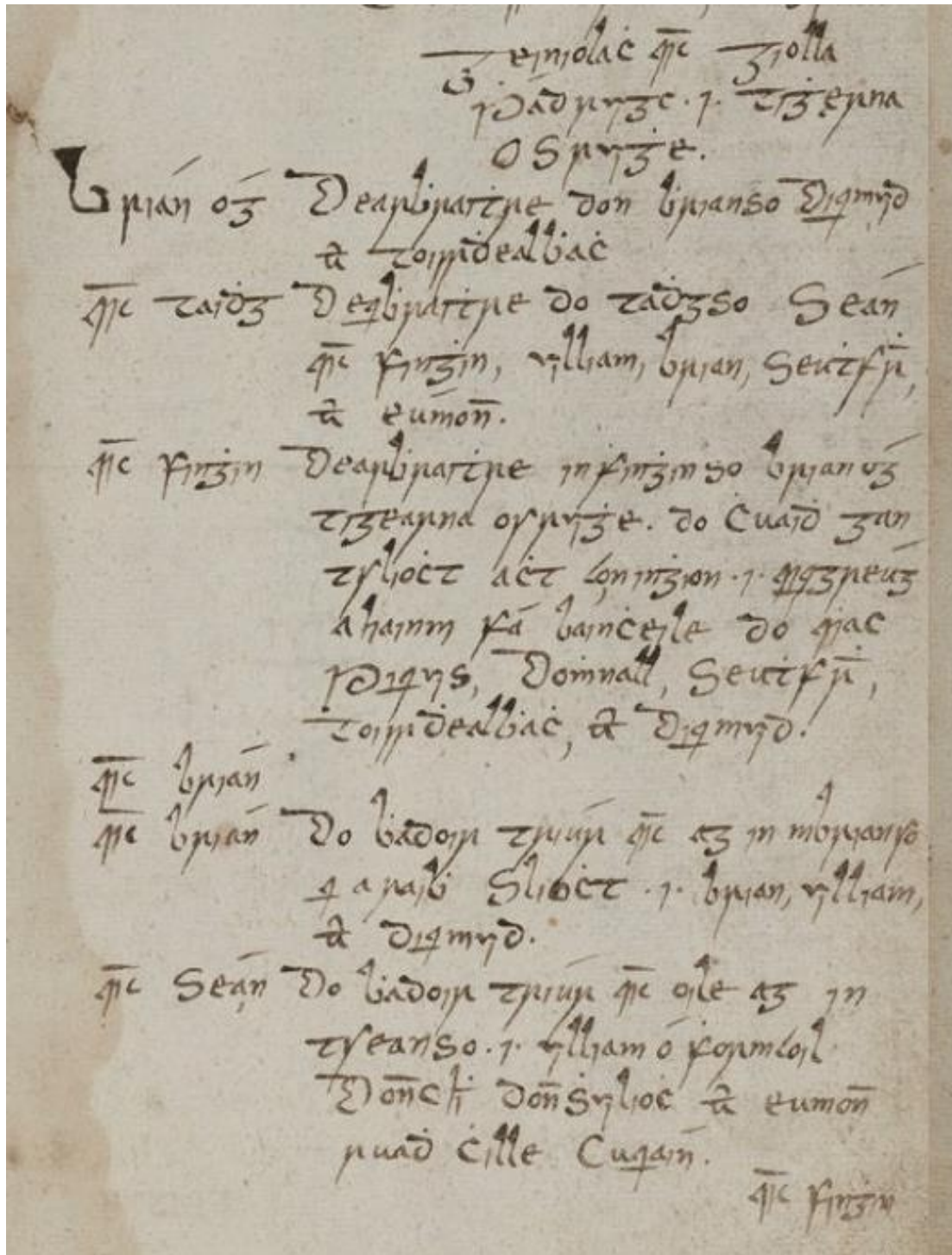
¹⁹ O'Mahony, J. (1857). *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn, The History of Ireland from the Earliest Period to the English Invasion by the Reverend Geoffrey Keating D.D. Translated from the Original Gaelic, and Copiously Annotated by John O'Mahony*. New York: P.M. Haverty.

²⁰ Carrigan MSS 7, untitled.

²¹ RIA MS 24 P 23 is considered to more closely reflect Keating's orthography compared with those made by other scribes¹⁷, i.e., other scribes may have abridged the Mac Giolla Phádraig genealogies. However, scribes also annotated Keating (B, Cunningham, pers. comm., 27 July 2023), such as by adding narrative.

eyed), and Edmund Ruadh (i.e., the red) of Cill Chrónain (Kilcoran), i.e., similar to that recorded by Roger O’Farrell²², and Shearman, albeit incorrectly by the latter²³.

Figure 1: Genealogy of Mac Giolla Phádraig Lords of Ossory, RIA MS 24 P 23



By permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA

²² O’Ferrall, R. (1709). Linea Antiqua, a collection of Irish genealogies compiled by Roger O’Ferrall. Genealogical Office Manuscripts Collection MS 155. O’Ferrall’s pedigree drew on RIA MS 24 P 23, or a similar transcript.

²³ Shearman mistakenly placed William, Donnchadh and Edmond as brothers of Seaán, instead of sons.

RIA MS 24 P 23 provides a baronial pedigree and clearly shows the position of Bryan, the second baron; he was the brother of Finghin, without a male heir, and the son of the preceding Bryan, the son of Seaán. Important also is that there is no mention of Brian na Luireach. That Carrigan attributed two pedigrees to Keating in his *The History* is a fact, but that he afforded them the titles, 'Pedigree of Brian na Luireach' has no basis, which he came to reflect on after *The History* was published in 1905. That reflection also included a critical assessment of Lodge's narrative pedigree.

Lodge's narrative pedigree

An important element of Lodge's narrative pedigree is that 'Barnaby Mac Gill Patrick' who sent a messenger to Henry VIII in 1522, was said to be the father of the First Baron of Upper Ossory. Although Carrigan initially adopted Lodge's position, he later wrote, bluntly, 'this is wrong'²⁴. What caused Carrigan to change his mind was a letter the first baron had written to his son, Brian (second baron), in 1571²⁵. The letter states the first baron came into his inheritance, which included the castles Rathpiper and Cullohill, ca. 1511. Carrigan realised the first baron's father must have died around that time and, therefore, that the 'Barnaby Mac Gill Patrick' of the 1522 event cannot have been the first baron's father.

Carrigan's position in *The History* was that the Barnaby of the 1522 event was the first baron. But such a stand is problematic; central, here, is the question, if the first baron came into his inheritance ca. 1511, did he also become 'The Mac Giolla Phádraig Lord of Upper Ossory' at that time? In *The History*, Carrigan stated he did. Accordingly he also needed to attribute a 1517 account to the first baron, in which the iron gate of 'the castle of Bernard then McGillpatrige, called the Cowlkyl [Cullohill], in Ossory' was removed 'by the sovereign and community of the town of Kilkenny, then in a hostile army with Sir Peter Butler'²⁶.

Yet, the first baron was patently not 'The Mac Giolla Phádraig' in 1517. Although Carrigan had access to the Rental Book of the Earl of Kildare and referred to it²⁷, he failed to make key connections that are obvious therein. In 1518, the Lord of Upper Ossory was not Brian who later became the first baron, but Brian mac Toirealach mac Donnchadh, since the latter gave tithes to the Earl of Kildare for 'McGyllepatrikis countre'. And neither did the future first baron have sufficient status to be referred to as 'The Mac Giolla Phádraig' or receive gifts of horses from Kildare between 1513 and 1515²⁸. It has been proposed the Lord of Ossory in 1522 was still Bryan mac Toirealach mac Donnchadh, who likely met his end not long after making his ill-advised threat against Henry VIII²⁹. From the annals of the family Montmorency, we read Oliver Morres, Baron de Marisco and de Montmorency, engaged the 'Chieftain of Ossory ... cast him and his horse headlong down the rock on which the

²⁴ Carrigan MSS 60, *Some Ecclesiastical Fiants (Henry VIII)*.

²⁵ Gilbert, J. and Sullivan, E. (1874). *Facsimiles of national manuscripts of Ireland*. Dublin: Public Record Office of Ireland.

²⁶ Otway-Ruthven, J. (1961). *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis*. Kilkenny: E. Smithwick and Sons.

²⁷ *The History* Vol. I, p.79.

²⁸ Mac Niocaill, G. (1992). *Crown surveys of lands, 1540-41: with the Kildare Rental Begun in 1518*. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, pp.443.

²⁹ Fitzpatrick, M. (2020). Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part II. *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society* 1, 40-71. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00320.

castle stands, into the river Nore that flows underneath, in which they perished', and then possessed Castletown castle ³⁰.

There is also the issue of the mensa tomb at Fertagh to consider. Carrigan's notebooks are replete with his research on the tomb. His 1905 position was that Fertagh was the resting place of Brian na Luireach and his wife, who he said, was Katherine Mulloy, as well as his father, John, who Carrigan maintained died in 1468. However, deeply problematic is the tomb is authoritatively dated to 1510-1540³¹, which means if John was buried there, he was exhumed some forty-two or more years after his death. And there are problems with Carrigan's interpretation of the tomb inscriptions in *The History*, some of which he tried to negotiate in his detailed tomb research notes made in 1920³²; these are discussed in a forthcoming article in *The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society*.

Furthermore, Lodge's reference to the various wives of the Lords of Ossory, which Carrigan said had come from 'valuable family records', provided Carrigan the opportunity for critical review and further elucidation of the pedigree of the first baron. Lodge said the parents of Brian of the 1522 event were 'Shane (John) Mac-Gill-Patrick' and 'the daughter of O Mulloy', that his wife was the 'daughter of O'More, Lord of Leix', and that his son, later the first baron, took for his wife 'Margaret, eldest daughter to Pierce, Earl of Ormond', and second, after her, 'Elizabeth, third daughter to Bryan O'Connor of Offaly'. Elizabeth was said to have survived the first baron and then, in 1551, 'had a licence to go into England'⁴. In his early research notes, Carrigan accepted Lodge's position concerning the wives' identity and the first baron's death date as ca. 1551.

Yet, both the wives of the first baron and his death date fell under Carrigan's gaze. On a page entitled 'Of Bernard First Lord Baron of Upper Ossory', he commenced, 'Bernard (son of John Mac Gillpatrick) Lord of Ossory' before posing a number of questions in a seven-page narrative that summarising the first baron's key life events. In MSS 60, he wrote:

'His first wife must be she who is mentioned on the tomb in Fertagh and she must be (Norina alias Honora) the daughter of O'More whom Lodge incorrectly gives as the wife of another Bernard whom he makes the father of the Bernard, of whom there's question here'.

Carrigan's position when he made his notes in MSS 60 contradicts what he had published earlier in *The History* because they (a) discard the notion that Brian na Luireach was the father of the first baron and (b) infer those buried at Fertagh are the first baron and his father, Seaán. In *The History*, Carrigan did not specifically state which Brian was at rest at Fertagh, only transcribing that John was there with 'Bryan his son' along with 'Pray for Honora wife of Bryan', but the clear inference is that Carrigan considered Fertagh was the final resting place of Brian na Luireach.

³⁰ De Montmorency-Morres, H. (1817). *Genealogical Memoir of the Family of Montmorency, Styled De Marisco or Morres, Ancient Lords de Marisco and de Montemarisco, in the Peerage of England and Ireland, Most Respectfully Addressed to his Majesty Louis XVIII, King of France and Navarre*. Paris: Plassan.

³¹ Rae, E. (1971). Irish Sepulchral Monuments of the Later Middle Ages. Part II the O'Tunney Atelier. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 101, 1-39.

³² Carrigan MSS 30.

There is sure corroboration via a source of high reliability, viz., the Papal Registers, that there were marriages between the Mac Giolla Phádraig and Ó Mórdha (O'More) in the era relevant to this article, which supports Carrigan's later position that the first baron was married to an O'More before his marriage to Margaret Butler. In 1493, a Bernard Mac Giolla Phádraig was dispensed by Pope Alexander VI to marry his half-sister, Catherine ny Ó Mórdha. Bernard had previously been in two relationships, firstly in a *de facto* marriage with Catherine's half-sister, who died, and, secondly, to a first cousin of both he and Catherine, in a marriage that was annulled. At the time of the dispensation, Bernard and Catherine were living as man and wife and had started a family^{29,33}.

Carrigan had no access to the Papal Registers in question. Still, he deduced the first baron had children in relationships before his marriage to Margaret Butler ca. 1533³⁴, when he was 'a widower'²⁴, noting in *The History* that he had a daughter old enough to be married to Robert Grace in 1537 or earlier, and a son, Teige, old enough to be a distinguished captain in 1546. Rejecting Lodge's 1551 date, Carrigan deduced the first baron died in 1575 when he was 'ninety years of age or upwards'². In his notebooks, Carrigan recorded the latest possible birth date for the first baron as 1490, based on his having reached his majority in order to come into his inheritance by 1511³⁵, but a birth data close to 1478 is more likely²⁹.

O'Donovan's pedigree derived from Mac Firbis

It is also necessary to review O'Donovan's position; although he provided no citations for the barons' pedigree, it soon became clear to Carrigan, once he embarked on his critical review of O'Donovan, that he had followed Mac Firbis. O'Donovan was a scholar of the highest order and knew Mac Firbis' work well, having published translations of Mac Firbis' Annals of Ireland (1443-1468)³⁶ and Fragmentary Annals³⁷. In O'Donovan's treatise on Clan O'Dowda³⁸, he wrote, 'The following account ... is printed from the Genealogical MS of Duaid Mac Firbis³⁹ – the original of which is preserved in the Library of the Earl of Roden, and a good copy in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy'. O'Donovan accessed the original³⁹, but Carrigan likely accessed the copy at the Academy⁴⁰, which he transcribed portions of throughout his manuscripts; the Mac Giolla Phádraig genealogies are found in Carrigan MSS 7.

³³ Fuller, A. (1998) *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 17-2, 1492-1503*. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.

³⁴ In *The History* Vol. I, Carrigan cites State Papers as they appear in Graves, J. and Prim, J. (1857). *The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St Canice, Kilkenny*. Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Co. (p.277).

³⁵ Carrigan MSS 8, untitled.

³⁶ O'Donovan, J. (1846). The Annals of Ireland, from the Year 1443 to 1468, Translated from the Irish by Dudley Firbisse, or, as he is More Usually Called, Duaid Mac Firbis, for Sir James Ware, in the Year 1666. *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society* Vol. I, 198-302. Dublin: The Irish Archaeological Society.

³⁷ O'Donovan, J. (1860). *Annals of Ireland. Three fragments, Copied From Ancient Sources by Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh*. Dublin: The Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.

³⁸ O'Donovan, J. (1844). *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, Commonly Called O'Dowda's Country*. Dublin: The Irish Archaeological Society.

³⁹ The modern translation published as Mac Fhirbhisigh, D and Ó Muraíle, N. (2003). *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*. Dublin, De Burca.

⁴⁰ When Carrigan was writing *The History*, the original was in the hands of of William Henry, the Sixth Earl of Roden³⁹.

Mac Firbis' Mac Giolla Phádraig genealogies are presented on page 480 of *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach* in seven distinct, i.e., unconnected, sections, which are now denoted:

'480.1 The genealogy of Mac Giolla Phádraig, lord of Osraighe.

480.2 A reference to the Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phádraig, Kings of Leinster, and a marginal note to those regnal lists at pages 426 and 427.

480.3 The genealogy of Mac Giolla Phádraig still.

480.4 Mac Giolla Phádraig still.

480.5 The genealogy of Mac Giolla Phádraig still.

480.6 The lord baron of Ossory still.

480.7 Colonel John Fitz Patrick'.³⁹

Noteworthy are the distinctions Mac Firbis made between the genealogies of the Lords or Barons of Ossory and other genealogies of Mac Giolla Phádraig. Also important is that Mac Firbis' compiled his manuscript between 1649 and 1666, which is why 480.5-480.7 are updates of 480.1, being lines that emerged in Mac Firbis' lifetime, as follows:

480.1, from Finghin (third baron), to Brian (first baron, Finghin's father), to Seaán (Lord of Ossory, Brian's father) and back numerous generations to Oilill Glas, i.e., the pedigree of the third baron back via the Lords of Ossory;

480.4, from Maol Seachlainn, to Scannlán, to Donnchadh, to Uilliam Clannach, to Domhnall Mór of Magh Laoighse, i.e., a branch from Domhnall Mór (Lord Of Ossory), which is distinct from 480.1 and is via another son of Domhnall Mór, i.e., Séafraidh Bacach (Lord of Ossory);

480.5, being a very short pedigree of Brian, son of Finghin (third baron);

480.6 from Brian (seventh baron) to Brian (sixth baron), to Brian (fifth baron), to Tadhg (fourth baron), to Finghin (third baron), to Brian (second baron), to Brian (first baron), to Seaán (Lord of Ossory);

480.7, that is Seaán, to Finghin, to Seaán, to Finghin, to Brian, to Brian Óg, to Sein-Bhrian, to Brian na Luireach.

Hence, while 480.1 and 480.6 are purely baronial or regnal (in the same manner as RIA MS 23 O 19 provides), 480.4, 480.5, and 480.7 are not. It should also be noted the genealogy provided at 480.3 fails because it has the grandfather of Bryan (first baron) as Domhnall Dubh, not Finghin of Cullohill, as is widely accepted. Carrigan transcribed Mac Firbis verbatim, adding only 'vivarius anois 1666' (i.e., we know was living in 1666) as a note to Colonel John Fitzpatrick. Important is that while O'Donovan inexplicably connected the Colonel's pedigree (480.7) to 480.1, making Brian na Luireach the son of Seaán (Lord of Ossory), Carrigan made no such connection in his research notes; rather he simply transcribed Mac Firbis perfectly and without annotation.

Shearman's wayward pedigrees

If Carrigan noted the tapestry of error that is Shearman's '*Ossorian Genealogy – No. III*', and there is easily sufficient evidence to suggest he did, he made little direct criticism in either *The History* or his research notes. Among Shearman's many failures are the following, most of which are redressed by Carrigan in *The History* and his manuscripts:

- The date of death of Finghin of Cullohill being 1443 – it was 1468^{29,41};
- Three brothers of Seaán Mac Giolla Phádraig being William of Fermoye, Donogh Dubsúilech, and Edmund Ruadh of (Kilcronan) – as discussed, they were Seaán’s sons;
- Brian na Luireach being the son of Seaán Mac Giolla Phádraig – as discussed, no such connection exists;
- Brian na Luireach ‘giving up’ his brother, Diarmaid in 1532 – Diarmaid was given up by the first baron, who was his brother⁴²;
- Brian na Luireach’s second wife being Elizabeth O’Connor – as discussed, she was a later wife of the first baron;
- Brian na Luireach having a daughter who married Robert Grace – as discussed, she was the daughter of the first baron;
- The father of the first baron being Brian na Luireach – as discussed, his father Seaán;
- The date of death of the first baron, ca. 1551 – as discussed, it was 1575.

Shearman is an unreliable source regarding the pedigree of the first baron, and one who Carrigan, ultimately afforded little consideration. After reviewing his early position Carrigan did, however, seek out unpublished sources that he viewed as high value.

Carrigan’s other considerations

Carrigan’s Manuscripts contain several remarkable Mac Giolla Phádraig pedigrees published here for the first time. A ‘Fitzpatrick Pedigree from a lithographed copy in Granston [i.e., Grantstown] Manor’, ‘in Lord Castletown’s⁴³ possession’⁴⁴ (Figure 2), is notable on several counts. The pedigree is of Richard Fitzpatrick ‘First Lord Gowran; died 1727 ... brother of Colonel Edward, drowned in 1696’ – he is recorded as the son of Terence, son of Edmond, son of Finghin, son of Brian, son of Brian oge, son of Sin-Brian, son of Brian na Luireach.

Notable is that on the lithograph, the father of Richard is Terence, whereas elsewhere he is given as Andrew^{2,9}, and that Brian na Luireach is not connected to Richard’s line but is on a separate pedigree that follows, which is that of ‘Finghin [third baron], fitz Brian [first baron], fitz John [Lord of Ossory]’ and back. In other words, the lithograph accurately replicates Mac Firbis 480.1, and also provides an extension of the branch found in 480.7 – Richard Fitzpatrick was the second cousin of a Colonel John Fitzpatrick at Finghin, son of Brian⁴⁵. And

⁴¹ It is impossible that Finghin died in 1443. First, he was referred to seventy four years afterwards in a 1517 legal hearing, which made reference to him and his wife. At the hearing, Tadeus, who was aged seventy years and more, bore witness that he recalled in detail an argument between Finghin and Edmund McOde. If Tadeus was born by 1443, he would have been a young child unlikely to have such detailed memory, see: Curtis, E. (1937). *Calendar of Ormond deeds Vol. IV*. Dublin: The Stationery Office. Second, Finghin’s wife was Margaret, the daughter of Edmund mac Richard Butler (1420-1464); she was too young to have been married in 1443 (see, *Family Papers of Lord Dunboyne*, Victoria Library, Buckingham Palace Road, Westminster, London). Third, a 1468-1478 entry in the *Red Book of Ossory* states Finghin had died recently²⁹. A Finghin Mac Giolla Phádraig did meet his demise in 1443; he was not clan chieftain but the tanist son of Donnchadh Mór²⁹.

⁴² Curtis, E. (1937), *ibid*.

⁴³ That is, Bernard Fitzpatrick (1848-1937), Second Baron Castletown.

⁴⁴ Carrigan MSS 17, *Pedigrees of Fitzpatrick (from Trinity MSS) and of Kavanaghs*.

⁴⁵ Carrigan MSS 12, untitled; this contains a transcript of the will of Colonel John Fitzpatrick, which makes reference to Richard as his kinsman.

although not the subject of this article, the 480.1 replication inserts 'Fingin the father of Donogh Errig' between Finghin of Cullohill and Domhnall Dubh, giving recognition to Donogh 'airrí' (i.e., the tributary king⁴⁶, also known as Donnchadh Mór), who was a Clan Chieftain, an older brother of Finghin of Cullohill, and father of the brothers slain by Edmund mac Richard Butler in 1443, who is afforded scant recognition elsewhere⁴⁷.

Figure 2: Fitzpatrick Pedigree from Carrigan MSS 17

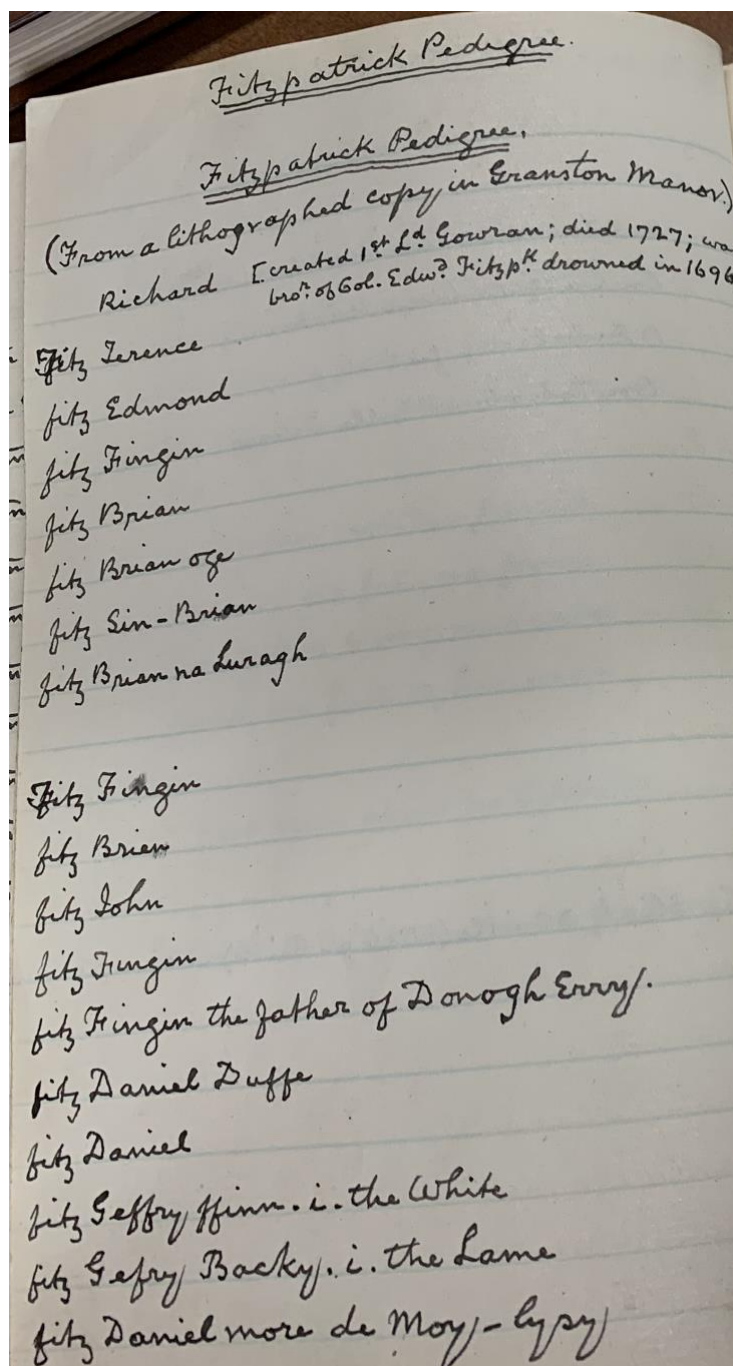


Image courtesy of the Carrigan Archives

⁴⁶ [The Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language](#), accessed 4 July 2023.

⁴⁷ Fitzpatrick, M (2020) Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part I. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 1, 1-17 [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00120](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00120).

Similarly, the ‘Pedigree of the mac Gillapatricks (Lord Castletown’s chart)’¹³, provides clear corroboration the descent of Finghin (third baron) was from Brian (first baron), then son of John, son of Finghin of Cullohill. The chart does not connect the barons with Brian na Luireach, who appears separately in the chart as the most distantly recorded ancestor of the aforementioned Richard Fitzpatrick.

Another⁴⁸ of Carrigan’s pedigree considerations were those of Cucogry O’Clery⁴⁹, which were probably completed by 1636. O’Clery’s main ‘Genealogy of the Mac Giolla Phádraig’ (at §1783) differs from Mac Firbis primary genealogy (480.1) because it does not begin with any of the Barons of Upper Ossory. Instead, it starts with Maol Seachlainn and dovetails into the line of the Lords of Ossory at Domhnall Mór of Magh Laoighse, in the same way as Mac Firbis 480.4. O’Clery provides only one other related genealogy, also called ‘Genealogy of the Mac Giolla Phádraig’ (at §1785), which Carrigan dismissed – although it does contain a valuable reference to the grandfather of Bryan (first Baron) as ‘Finghin of Cullohill, it adds a third Finghin and omits Séafraidh Fionn in the post-Norman section of the pedigree. Notable is that O’Clery made no reference to Brian na Luireach.

As well as O’Clery, Carrigan also transcribed from two manuscripts held at Trinity College, Dublin – TCD F.I.18 and TCD H.II.5, which are recorded in Carrigan MSS 15⁵⁰ and again in Carrigan MSS 17⁴⁴. TCD F.I.18 is a seventeenth-century manuscript, ‘*Miscellaneous Collection of Genealogical and Historical Tracts*’⁵¹. It provides the unattributed pedigree of Brian Óg (second baron) and gives his descent from Brian (‘married to Margaret Butler’), son of Brian (‘married to O’Moore’s daughter’), son of John (‘married to O’Molloe’s daughter’), i.e., it matches Carrigan’s early position except there is no mention of Brian na Luireach, and it confounds the first baron, being unable to unravel his multiple marriages.

TCD F.I.18 cannot simply be ignored because it doesn’t align with authorities, such as Mac Firbis; however, the manuscript can be assessed for veracity. Among the pedigrees are those attributed to Tuileagna Ó Maoil Chonaire, who is noted as an ‘interpreter and editor of the texts he was examining, a role for which the traditional Gaelic scribe is well known ... [he was] ... an editor and interpreter of the text before him’, and, at times, he resorted to ‘guesswork’⁵²; and such are, at times, the nature of pedigrees whose authorship is unknown.

In contrast, TCD H.II.5 was definitively written by ‘Dermot O’Connor for Thomas Prundivill in 1712’⁵¹. It is a straightforward baronial list that descends from Brian Óg (sixth baron), as discussed earlier.

⁴⁸ Carrigan MSS 18, which as the title, *A Few Ossory Wills and Genealogies in Irish from the Book of Leinster, O’Clery etc.*

⁴⁹ Or Cú Choigriche Ó Cléirigh (d. 1664), an Irish historian who assisted in transcribing the *Annals of the Four Masters* from 1332-1608 (Connellan, O. 1846. *The Annals of Ireland translated from the original Irish of the Four Masters*. Dublin: Bryan Geraghty). O’Clery is also well-known for his *Book of Genealogies* (Pender, S. 1951. *The O’Clery Book of Genealogies*. Analecta Hibernica 18: x-200.

⁵⁰ Carrigan MSS 15, *Annals, Extracts from Book of Leinster, Tigernach, Inisfallen, and Trinity MSS.*

⁵¹ Abbott, T. and Gwynn, E. (1921). *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Dublin*. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co.

⁵² Ó Macháin, P. (2010). Tuileagna Ó Maoil Chonaire and the Book of Pottlerath. *Ossory, Laois & Leinster*. pp. 244-248.

Carrigan's final position

Carrigan MSS 8, untitled from 1922, contains his final position concerning the pedigree of the First Baron of Upper Ossory (Figure 3). The pedigree, in his aged hand, is notable for its simplicity, and it speaks to the fact Carrigan, near the end of his life, had assessed all the material at his disposal and reached a conclusion he was both confident and comfortable with – he asked no more questions and provided but little narrative.

Figure 3: Descent of Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig ca. 1490-1575

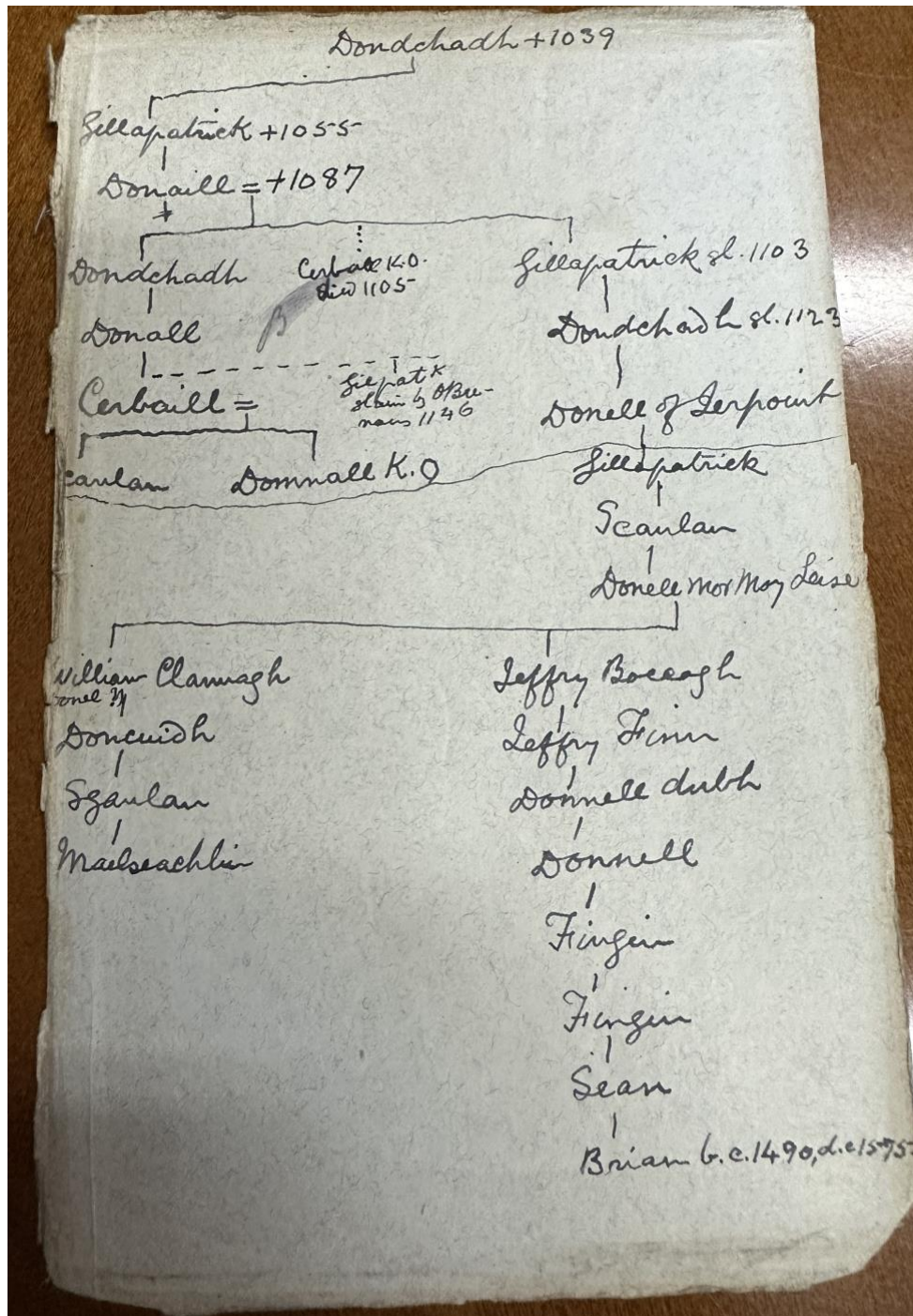


Image courtesy of the Carrigan Archives

Hence, Carrigan's final position regarding the descent of Bryan Mac Giolla Phádraig was:

Finghin', etc.

Finghin

Sean

'Brian (b. ca. 1490, d. ca. 1575)

Hence, ultimately Carrigan rejected his early considerations – O'Donovan, Lodge, and Shearman⁵³ – and found no place for Brian na Luireach in the pedigree of the Barons of Upper Ossory. But Carrigan embraced Mac Firbis alongside an array of corroborating evidence, such as that found in State Papers and private letters. A true scholar, Carrigan was able to recognise genealogical scholarship. His great lesson is to be true to the facts and to run a profoundly critical eye over the work of others.

The appendix provides the pedigree of Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig, First Baron of Upper Ossory, derived from Carrigan's final position and corroborating facts.

Acknowledgements

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⁵³ Noting that Carrigan accepted various transcriptions of Keating.

APPENDIX: CARRIGAN'S GENEALOGY OF BRIAN MAG GIOLLA PHÁDRAIG, FIRST BARON UPPER OSSORY

