The Mac Costigan of Ossory: dismantling an assumed genealogy
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Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2022, 3, 78-100

Abstract

There is nothing new about the narratives of some Irish clans being sometimes inaccurate. But there is a world of difference between slight exaggerations of deeds, or misdeeds, or colourful embellishments of a character's prowess, or a clan's conquering status, and an entirely false clan narrative. Yet, a critical review of Clan Mac Costigan of Ossory reveals a origin narrative far from the traditional.

The dominant narrative of Clan Mac Costigan of Ossory over the past 140 or so years arrived in 1878 via Rev. John Shearman's 'Loca Patriciana', in which he stated the Mac Costigan stemmed from 'Oistegan', a son of Seaffraid (Geoffrey) Mac Giolla Phádraig (d. 1269), who died in 1289. Sherman also stated that Oistegan's son, Mac Oistegan, slew Thomas Butler, the First Baron Dunboyne, and 100 followers at Muileann gCearr, larmhí (Mullingar, Westmeath) in 1329. And so, the modern Mac Costigan narrative was born – yet it is an 'assumed genealogy', likely part inspired by Roger O'Farrell's 'Linea Antiqua' (1709), and then encouraged along by the ever-unreliable John O'Hart.

But the attribution of Butler's death to a Mac Costigan is hopelessly wrong. In addition, not a single ancient Mac Costigan pedigree exists. Rather, the Mac Costigan of Ossory arose in the mid-fifteenth century, as a Killaloe clerical lineage. And it is John Mac Costigan, who later took the alias Mac Giolla Phádraig, who takes centre stage in this article's early stanzas.

The co-use of the surnames Mac Costigan and Mac Giolla Phádraig in fifteenth century Ossory is also captured in the current era because some Costigans and Fitzpatricks (formerly Mac Giolla Phádraig) share a common ancestry under haplotype R-A1488, and the Time to the Most Common Ancestor (TMRCA) of R-A1488 is ca. 1420. The TMRCA speaks to the very obvious, and it is impossible, based on either historical records or DNA analysis, to determine whether R-A1488 Fitzpatricks descend from a line of Mac Costigan, or vice versa.

It is little wonder then, that throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ossory land possessions of the Costigan, Fitzpatrick, and other kindred clans who had also adopted obscure aliases, such as the Mac Fynen (also known as Mac Kynen), notably in the Parish of Offerlane, were adjacent, interchanged, and shared. Here we dismantle the 'assumed genealogy' of the Mac Costigan of Ossory and posit an alternative based on robust genealogical research and twenty-first-century science.
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, Úi Fhairchealláin (Offerlane), unless the place name is titular, for instance, the Earl of Mountrath.

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 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 was 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 considered ± three generations, i.e., ± approximately ninety years.

Introduction

The two foremost writers of the history of Ossory are Rev William Carrigan and Rev John Shearman, whose respective works, 'The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory' (1905) and 'Loca Patriciana' (1879), stand the test of time in many regards. And both authors saw fit to mention those of the surname Mac Costigan, or Costigan, cementing the family’s status among Ossory clans. Carrigan’s Costigan narratives, although extensive, only begin in 1566 – they will gain visitation later in this article. Shearman’s Costigan narrative stretches further back in time but consists of just two passages. The first is brief – Seaffraidh Mac Giolla Phádraig (d. 1269 AD) had a son, ‘Oistegan, ancestor of the Mac Oistegans, or Costegans of Upper Ossory’, who died in 1281 AD. The second mention is more substantial – in 1329, MacOistigan, 'son of Oistigan Magil Patrick (slain AD 1281), son of Geoffrey, king of Sliabh Bladma, slew Thomas Le Botiller, with a hundred followers, at Mullingar, on the vigil of St. Lawrence the Martyr, August 9th. Oistigan (Augustin?) was the ancestor of the Costigans, recte [i.e., correctly] Mac Ostigans, of Upper Ossory’ (p.389-399).

This article will demonstrate that Shearman used an ‘assumed genealogy’ to construct his theory of an ancient Ossorian Mac Costigan clan. On the surface, what Shearman posits makes some sense, even though he acknowledged the uncertainty in his mind via a question mark; his creative notion that Oistigin was possibly a form of Augustin – and Augustin...
Costigan was a well-known seventeenth-century figure – hence, he supposedly continued an ancient family naming tradition.

The origins of Shearman’s ‘assumed genealogy’ of the Mac Costigan

Shearman, not known for being a writer who provided adequate citations or even mere references to primary sources, outdoes himself with respect to his remarks on the Mac Costigan; he cites the work of Clyn, i.e., the fourteenth-century annals of Ireland attributed to Friar John Clyn, which ‘survive only as seventeenth-century transcripts’ (Williams, 1993). The records cited by Shearman, as Clyn put them down in Latin, are as follows:

‘1281. Occiditur Hogekyn McGilpadricke’ (Butler, 1849, p.9), and

‘1329 … Item, eodem anno, in vigilia beati Laurencii martyrdom dominus Thomas le Bottiler cum allis circiter 100 per McHokegan juxta Molinger occiditur’ (Butler, 1849, p.21).

It is noteworthy that Clyn made no reference to ‘Hogekyn' being either (a) a son of Seaffraidh Mac Giolla Phádraig, or (b) a member of a Clan Mac Costigan of Upper Ossory. And neither does the modern scholar Bernadette Williams (2007), who translates Clyn as follows:

‘1281 Hogekyn [Eochagán] McGilpadricke was killed’ (p.150), and

‘1329 … Also, in the same year on the vigil of the blessed Laurence the Martyr, Sir Thomas le Bottiler was killed with about 100 others by McHokegan near Mullingar’ (p.194).

Shearman’s ‘Ossorian Genealogy – No. II’ (1879) provides his origin of the Mac Costigan and has them coming from Oistigan (d.1281), the son of Seaffraidh (d.1269), the son of Donal Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig, but there are few Mac Costigan pedigrees provided elsewhere that can verify. Indeed, the Mac Giolla Phádraig pedigree advanced by John O'Hart (1892) is different from Shearman’s, having Oistigan, as the son of William Clannach, the son of Donal Mór, i.e., having the same grandfather but another father. So, where did Shearman and O'Hart find their variably reported source material?

The last great Irish genealogist, who operated in the seventeenth century, was Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh. He mentions no ‘Oistigan' in his Mac Giolla Phádraig or other pedigrees (MacFhirbhisigh & Muraíle, 2003). Other great scribes and compilers of pedigrees of MacFhirbhisigh’s era, such as O'Clery (Pender, 1951), also make no record of any Mac Costigan. Hence, there appear to be no verified Mac Costigan pedigrees from the era of early Modern Ireland or before; simply put, the Mac Costigan do not exist in ancient pedigrees. Tellingly, Carrigan does not include the Mac Costigan in his Mac Giolla Phádraig pedigrees; neither those he published (Carrigan, 1905) nor those in his voluminous notebooks (Carrigan MS).
It is considered likely that Shearman and O'Hart got their idea of Mac Costigan origins from Linea Antiqua, which was the work of Roger O'Ferrall, compiled 1709-1712 (Pender, 1941; Ó Canaan, 2012), since both cited Linea Antiqua from time to time. There are clear points of difference between O'Ferrall's Mac Giolla Phadraig pedigrees and those pedigrees of greater authority. While MacFhirbhisigh's pedigree, which O'Clery copied, has two sons from Domhnall Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig, i.e., Séafraidh Bacach and Uilliam Clannach, O'Ferrall adds a third to both his Ossorian and his Mac Giolla Phádraig genealogies, viz., 'Ostigin a quo [i.e., from which come] Clann Ostigan' (Betham & Burke, 1860).

How did O'Farrell make his unique determination that a 'Clann Ostigin' emerged from the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory, because it was not based on any authoritative pedigree? The association O'Farrell made may have been 'assumed', and a result of a genealogical practice by an historian lacking expertise; O'Farrell was simply a scribe (Ó Canaan, 2012). Such practices, as are common today among 'cut and paste' family historians, who leap to make connections based on hope or flawed probabilistic reasoning (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021). Is it possible O'Farrell desired to find a genealogical relationship between a family of his era and the ancient. By linking Eochagán Mac Giolla Phádraig (d.1281) to Domhnall Mór, thus providing ancestry, as well as making Eochagán the founder of Costigans who were alive in O'Farrell's era, thus providing descent, a clan narrative was created. But it is suggested the connection was simply O'Farrell's best guess – it was an 'assumed genealogy', and missing any sequence of successive generational members needed to constitute a pedigree. Regardless of the O'Farrell's genealogy, if Linea Antiqua was the source for Shearman and O'Hart, it seems incredible that neither could accurately reproduce that Ostigan was supposedly a son of Domhnall Mór, not a grandson. Regardless, in the absence of any other apparent source, Linea Antiqua is the obvious choice as source.

It may seem harsh or unfounded to suggest the likes of O'Farrell, Shearman, and O'Hart may have been creative with respect to the origins of the Mac Costigan when all they were probably doing was trying to make sense of Clyn in the context of well-known Mac Costigan family histories from the seventeenth century. Yet Shearman did not simply embellish Clyn's 1329 passage; he completely misrepresented the historical event. And such are the pitfalls of 'assumed genealogy'. There is no link between the 'McHokegan' who slew Thomas Butler and Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory. Mullingar is in Westmeath, and for what reason would Mac Giolla Phádraig engage with an enemy distant from their home? The answer is there was no reason, and they did not engage – it is a case of mistaken identity by Shearman; he made connections where none existed.

Other historians do not follow Shearman's train of thought and for a sound reason. Most notably, Carrigan made no mention of the killing of Thomas Butler being committed by a Mac Giolla Phádraig sept, indeed being mindful of the potent evidence which attributed that deed to others. The Annals of the Four Masters record 'Mac Geoghegan gave a great overthrow to the English', and it is footnoted:

'This battle, in which the English forces met such a tremendous defeat, was fought near Mullingar, the day before the feast of St. Lawrence, namely, the 9th of August. The Irish clans were commanded by William Mac Geoghegan, Lord of Kinel Fiacha, a
large territory in Westmeath... Thomas Butler and divers other noblemen were slain by Mac Geoghegan ... named William Gallda, from having defeated the English' (O’Clery et al., 1846 p.116; see also O’Donovan, 1856 and Butler, 1941).

Hence, Shearman’s translation of McHokegan as MacOistigan, which he morphed into Costigan and Mac Ostigan, is utterly false; rather, McHokegan is a rendering of Mac Eochagáin, i.e., Mac Geoghegan, QED. Therefore, Shearman’s account of the origins of the Upper Ossory Mac Costigan is undoubtedly an ‘assumed genealogy’. Carrigan made no such conjecture – he knew Shearman, his senior, was incorrect. And once Shearman’s false ideas on the early origins of the Mac Costigan of Ossory lie dismantled, the questions come: where and when did the clan arise?

Carrigan (1905) found the ‘McCostigins ... of Ballymoy and other townlands in its neighbourhood’ featured heavily in the Patent Rolls, and Fiants, of Ireland from 1566 but offered no origin narrative other than they were ‘an old Ossory tribe’ – yet, Carrigan did not claim they were an ancient one. However, pre-1566 records exist; the Mac Costigan were a prominent late medieval clerical line in the Dioceses of Killaloe and Ossory, and found in church records from 1400. This was surely known by Carrigan (1905), who even cited a 1481 Papal Brief that ‘John de Machostigain, clerk of Ossory, was appointed to the Rectory, Church and Parish of St. Canice of Achabo’. However, Carrigan delved no further into the person of John Mac Costigan since the great historian was ‘a sidestepper of unbecoming acts by Clergy’ (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021). However, the mysterious association of John Mac Costigan with the Mac Giolla Phádraig (Fitzpatrick, 2020a) deserves recounting, and Papal Records provide the authoritative source material.

Mac Costigan in the Papal Registers

Once Shearman’s ‘assumed genealogy’ is discarded, and there is a reversion to sound genealogical practices via the interrogation of verified Mac Costigan records, it is clear the Mac Costigan emerged in Upper Ossory in the late fifteenth century having, already, the hallmarks of a clerical lineage, which continued into the seventeenth century.

And it is the aforementioned John Mac Costigan who catches the eye on several counts. He appears in the Papal Registers in 1481 as a twenty-four-year-old cleric of Ossory who petitioned Rome to unite the rectories of Achadh Bhó (Aghaboe) and Bordaíol (Bordwell) (Twemlow, 1955). His receipt of the said rectories required an unspecified dispensation from Pope Sixtus IV, but perhaps it was needed based on those defects typically cited, i.e., youth or illegitimacy – John was also stated to be of noble birth. And there is a parallel around the same time as John’s emergence in the Diocese of Ossory. The Annates of Killaloe record that Rory Mac Costigan, in 1483, through deprivation, was relieved of the vicarage of Maigh Drithne (Modreeny) (Clohosey, 1957); while John Mac Costigan was embarking on his clerical career, Rory had been active for several years. And the connection to Maigh Drithne is noteworthy since the Cilla Dalua (Killaloe) Mac Caisín clerical lineage are first recorded in that area, near Lothra, in the late fourteenth century, therefore providing background to the later common association between the families Mac Caisín, Mac Costigan, and Mac Giolla.
Phádraig in Upper Ossory (Bliss & Twemlow, 1904; Twemlow, 1906; Gleeson & Costello, 1943; Fitzpatrick, 2021a).

And other clues regarding the possible early Mac Costigan origins being in the Diocese of Killaloe are found in the heart of the Parish of Modreeny. Immediately to the east of the townland of the same name is Baile Hoiste (Ballyhasty), which means ‘Hosty’s town’; the origins of the town’s name being obscure. But in his explanation of the origins of the surname Mac Costigan, Woulfe (1923) stated it was a corruption of Mac Oisticín, meaning ‘son of Hodgkin’, which, in turn, is a ‘diminutive of Hodge, i.e., Roger’ – Woulfe also stated related surnames are Hasty, Hosty, Mac Costy, etc. This takes on significant relevance since Gwynn & Gleeson (1962), in a discussion of a Cill Dalua (Killaloe) cleric called Mac Costi, also noted the surname is a variant of Mac Costigan. Hence, not only does the trail of Mac Costigan clerics of Ossory lead back earlier to Killaloe, but it locates them specifically in the Parish of Modreeny. And there, the trail scent becomes even stronger – a townland by the name of Baile Hoiste seems too coincidental not to be associated with early Mac Costigan origins. And the earliest record of a Mac Costigan cleric of Killaloe, which also precedes the appearance of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics in Ossory by twenty-nine years, can be uncovered once consideration is given to surname variants. In 1400 Eugene Mac Cose was granted the Rectory of Clonfert-mulloe (Coill Cluain Feara Molua), now called Chill (Kyle). The townland is six miles west of Baile Mhaí (Ballywoy) and eighteen miles east of Baile Hoiste (Ballyhasty) and is another sound candidate for the origin location of Mac Costigan clerics (Bliss & Twemlow, 1904).

In addition to the early clerics of the Killaloe Diocese, Robert Mac Costigan was granted the Vicarage of Terryglass (Tir Dá Ghlas) in 1492 (Twemlow, 1960); the patronage of that famous monastic site, along with that of Lothra, was with the de Burgh from at least 1333 (Orphen, 1911; Gleeson & Costello, 1943). Hence, the several Mac Costigan clerics of the late fifteenth century, with Rory being the most senior on record, indicate the Mac Costigan were a clerical line whose early sphere of effect spanned from north-east Killaloe to north-west Ossory, no more thirty-five or so miles where, notably, the priory at Achadh Mhic Art (Aghmacart) was on the rise (Fitzpatrick, 2021a). Indeed, the movement of clerics from north-east Killaloe to Achadh Mhic Art is recorded as early as 1454 when Dermot Ó Meadhra, the son of an OSA (Order of St Augustine) canon and an unmarried woman, was appointed to the Rectory of Aghmacart, returning to Killaloe the following year. Ó Meadhra was infamous and was the most notorious fornicator in the region, having a ‘convent of concubines’ at his disposal to provide heirs to sustain his clerical line (Twemlow, 1915; Gwynn & Glesson, 1962; Fitzpatrick, 2021a).

Hence, the rise of Mac Costigan clerics in the late medieval preceded the rise of the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics in the Diocese of Ossory. Then, from the late fifteenth-century came an association that continued through the sixteenth- and into the seventeenth centuries. John Mac Costigan enjoyed a checkered career. Accused of illegally detaining possession of Achadh Bhó in 1488, he was removed; remarkably, he is referred to as alias Mac Giolla Phádraig (Twemlow, 1960). His proposal to unite the rectories of Achadh Bhó and Bordaiol was re-visited under Pope Alexander VI in 1493 when he was again referred to as John Mac Costigan alias Mac Giolla Phádraig (Fuller, 1998). Further mention was made of John, now
going only by Mac Giolla Phádraig, in 1501 and 1509, where he is called a Canon of Ossory (Fuller, 1994; Haren, 1998). The likelihood that John Mac Costigan, alias Mac Giolla Phádraig, was the father of Bryan, who became the First Baron of Upper Ossory, and others, is discussed elsewhere (Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick, 2020b; Fitzpatrick, 2021a; Fitzpatrick, 2021b) and will be explored further in the forthcoming ‘Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD, Part II’. Rory Mac Costigan received further mention in 1516 when he was described as a ‘de facto’ Vicar in Killaloe. And a continued Mac Costigan interest in Maigh Drithne (Modreeny) was also evident in 1531 when the vicarage was said to be detained by a second John Mac Costigan, who was of noble status (MacQuarrie, 2018). Anticipation awaits the publication of the further registers of Leo X (1513-1521) and Clement VII (1523-1524), as well as those during the reign of Pope Adrian VI (1522-1523), which are forthcoming by the end of 2023 (C. Hayes, pers.comm., 4 November 2020), doubtlessly replete with enthralling narratives. Yet, other sources record the names and benefices of Mac Costigan clerics of Ossory.

Besides John Mac Costigan, alias Mac Giolla Phádraig, Leslie (1933) count five Mac Costigans between 1516 and 1615. Donald Mac Costigan was active between 1516 and 1546, and his earliest record describes him as the Rector of Durrow; that reference likely being from ‘Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds’ (White, 1936), being the notarial record of the high-ranking cleric, William Mac Giolla Phádraig relating to the appointment of the Archdeacon of Ossory – Donald was among several Ossory clerics who were witness to the sentence issued in favour of Edmund Butler. In 1546 Donald was deprived of the rectory of Aghaboe, which had previously passed from John Mac Costigan to Patrick Mac Giolla Phádraig in 1493 (Fuller, 1986), and then to William Mac Giolla Phádraig in 1501 (Fuller, 1998) until 1525 (MacQuarrie, 2018), when it is likely Donald took possession. Donald’s removal, which is recorded in the Patent Rolls, and Fiants, of Henry VIII, was because he was ‘of the Irish nation’ and the presentation ‘at that time’ had passed to the Crown (HMSO, 1861; HMSO, 1875). Hence, the rectory fell from Mac Giolla Phádraig influence, having been held for almost 120 years. It had been theirs since the appointment of Ceruallus Mac Giolla Phádraig of noble birth, in 1427, at the nomination of the Killaloe cleric Adam O’Hagan, Vicar of Kilcomin (Cill Chuimin) (Twemlow, 1906; Clohosey, 1957); the close proximity of Cill Chuimin and Maigh Drithne (Modreeny) to north-west Ossory evidencing further that close clerical relationships were not constrained by diocesan boundaries.

After Donald, in 1546, there is a gap of a generation in the extant church records until Mac Costigan clerics appeared again in 1591. However, it is notable that by that time, the Mac had dropped from the surname, and the clerics are always recorded as Costigan – they are recorded as such in the following sections. Between 1591 and 1615, Leslie (1933) refers to four Costigan clerics with evidence of succession in several parishes. Another Donald Costigan succeeded to the Rectory of Donaghmore in 1591. Earlier, in 1566, Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, later the Second Baron of Upper Ossory, was presented with the Rectory of Donaghmore (HMSO, 1861), which is significant and intrigues because his clerical status is unrecorded elsewhere. Did clerical blood run in his ancestors’ veins? The State Papers of Henry VIII from 1529 make a note of Bryan Mac Giolla Phádraig, a ‘clerk of the Diocese of Ossory’ in affairs relating to Mainistir Laoise (Abbeyleix) (Brewer, 1875). The entry is defaced, and while the targeted mutilation or even total destruction of records was not a
common occurrence, neither was it extraordinary; there are numerous examples of such practice in records, such as the Papal Registers, when individuals sought to expunge history (Fuller, 1998). Perhaps the defacement of Bryan Mac Giolla Phádraig’s record of him being a cleric is an example of an attempt to conceal a clerical bloodline.

Speculation aside, that record may refer to Bryan, later the First Baron of Upper Ossory, since there is a strong probability that John Mac Costigan, alias Mac Giolla Phádraig, was the first baron’s father and the second baron’s grandfather (Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick, 2020b). And the clerical connection the Mac Giolla Phádraig had with Domhanach Mór (Donaghmore) was long-standing. In 1429 Tadhg Mac Giolla Phádraig had the Rectory of Donaghmore (Twemlow, 1909), and in 1498 William Mac Giolla Phádraig is recorded as receiving the Priory; by 1506, William also held the benefice of the Parish Church (Fuller, 1986; Haren, 1989; Clohosey, 1957). Toirleach Mac Giolla Phádraig had succeeded to the Rectory of Donaghmore by 1510 (Haren, 1998). He is also recorded in 1514 and 1516 as an unlawful detainer of the Parish Church, which, notably, is described as having lay patronage (Fuller, 2005). And in 1615, at the time of a Royal Visitation of Ossory, Patrick Costigan was Curate of Donaghmore (Leslie, 1933), and possibly the son of Donald.

Donald Costigan is also recorded as Rector and Vicar of Killermogh (Cill Dara Mai) in 1591 (Leslie, 1933), and there is similar evidence of clerical succession there from 1497 when Donat Mac Giolla Phádraig, a little-known cleric who was first recorded as being active in 1489, was provided with the Rectory of Killermogh while he also held the Rectory of Durrow (Darú) (Fuller, 1986; Clohosey, 1957); and William Mac Giolla Phádraig was awarded the Rectory of Killermogh in 1501 (Fuller, 1998). Succession to multiple benefices at once is also evidenced when, in 1612, the aforementioned Patrick Costigan is recorded as Curate of Aghaboe, Bordwell, and Durrow, and the Rector of Killdelig (Cill Deilge); in 1615, he was also referred to as ‘a reading minister’ in the Parish of Cookerry (Cúil Choire) where there was ‘neither Church nor Chance!’ but the rectory was in the lay patronage of Florence Fitzpatrick, the Third Baron of Upper Ossory (Leslie, 1933.).

The connection of Mac Costigan clerics to the Parish of Bordwell was not limited to John (alias Mac Giolla Phádraig) in 1493 and Patrick Costigan approximately 120 years later. In 1591, Thaddeus mac Fynne Costigan was recorded as the rector and vicar. Notably, ‘Thady McFynyne, priest of Ballentample’, i.e., Churchtown (Baile an Teampaill) is recorded in a 1566 fiant of Elizabeth I (Twemlow, 1921), and Bordwell and Churchtown lie only eight miles apart. As already evidenced, Mac Giolla Phádraig was used as an alias by John Mac Costigan, and Fitzpatrick (2022a) has detailed that Mac Fynen was also widely used as an alias for Mac Giolla Phádraig. That Mac Fynen may also have been used as an alias for Mac Costigan completes a triangle of surname equivalence, not randomly, but among clerics of the same lineage who were connected via succession to the same, or closely related, benefices.

Further evidence of a complex, multi-surname, clerical lineage comes in a record for Geoffrey Mac Fynen, who was suspended as Vicar of Offerlane in 1591 — as will be seen, that Parish is in the heart of what was Mac Costigan country. Leslie suggested Geoffrey was the son of the aforementioned Thady. As explained elsewhere, clerical succession within a direct paternal line, forbidden under Papal Law, was often masked by using alias surnames.
(Fitzpatrick, 2021b). Hence, it is considered the evidence is sufficient to posit that Mac Costigan clerics of Ossory could very well have been of direct Mac Giolla Phádraig paternity, or vice versa, both surnames, at times, masked by alternating surname use, or using other seemingly unrelated surnames, such as Mac Fynen. One more Costigan is found among the Ossory clerics recorded by Leslie (1933). Geoffrey Costigan; his various engagements in Upper Ossory and in Cill Chinnigh parishes are consistent with his status as a ‘reading minister’. Mac Costigan clerics were also active in the Diocese of Killaloe during the reign of King James I of England. The 1615 Royal Visitation of Killaloe contains two entries Piers Mac Costigan – in one he is recorded as Piers Mac Costei, a mass priest of Ormond, and in the other he is recorded as Piers Costy of the Parish of Dunkerrin, which is eight miles southeast of Maigh Dhrithne (Modreeny). And John Costigan is also named as a cleric of Cill (Kyle), more than two-hundred years after Eugene Mac Costigan was Rector there (Dwyer, 1878).

**Mac Costigan in the Patents and Fiants of Ireland**

Numerous Upper Ossory Mac Costigan recorded in the Patents and Fiants of Ireland from the mid-sixteenth to the early seventeenth century afford an understanding of the family's land possessions and allow the construction of their pedigrees. Invariably they find mention being of the Parish of Offerlane (Uí Fhairchealláín) along with Fitzpatricks. Carrigan (1905) provides a solid narrative of the Mac Costigan family of Baile Mhaí (Ballywoy), now known as Rush Hall, and some coverage of Upper Ossory Mac Costigans is also found in the recent article 'Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland, Part II: The Mac Fynen of Upper Ossory' (Fitzpatrick, 2022a).

It was Carrigan who recognised that the leading figure in the mid-sixteenth century was William Mac Costigan; although Carrigan did not interrogate William, he did his sons, the 'Mac William', who gained mention in the fiants. But William was probably not obscure. 'William McCostyke', kern, is recorded in a 1552 patent of Edward VI. And in 1553 William, along with 'Tirlaghe McCastygyn' received pardon from Edward VI; they were in the company of the O'More of Laois. It would be 'assumed genealogy' to equate William with the progenitor of the family that grew to possess Baile Mhaí because his place of abode is never mentioned. Still, there is a single clue to William's background that makes the connection, at least, not implausible. One of William's accomplices in 1552 was David Mac Giolla Phádraig, who was possibly the same person as a son of Bryan, First Baron of Upper Ossory, of the same name (Linea); from David sprang the 'Mac David', a little-known Mac Giolla Phádraig line who are found in fiants (HMSO, 1879).

Two other Mac Costigan are found in the patents and fiants before 1566, which is when there comes surety that the family was domiciled at Baile Mhaí. In 1552 Fynen mac Shane Costigan was pardoned along with the aforementioned David Mac Giolla Phádraig and several O'Brenan; all were kerns (HMSO, 1861; HMSO, 1879). A natural question is, was Shane Costigan, the father of Fynen, the same person as John Mac Costigan alias Mac Giolla Phádraig? The answer is probably no, since John died in 1511 (Fitzpatrick, 2022b). And Carwell mac Geoffrey Mac Costigan is listed among various O'More and O'Kelly in a 1562 fiant of Elizabeth I, but the record stands alone, and there is no indication of his abode. From 1566 the Mac Costigan of Uí Fhairchealláín find frequent reference among the fiants,
Carrigan’s (1905) account of the family from that time until 1666 details the family’s key members, their land holdings, and their great demise at the hands of Sir Charles Coote, the Second Earl of Mouthrath. Discussed here are the family lines and any fiants records not mentioned by Carrigan. Figure 1 provides a map of Mac Costigan-held lands in Uí Fhairchealláin (refer Appendix I for the proposed pedigree of William Mac Costigan).

William had at least five sons. Most prominent in the fiants and patents are Donogh and Donal grome (i.e., gruamdha, meaning ‘grim’); at times the brothers used the patronymic Mac William, but in later records, Mac Costigan is used more often. Donogh is recorded twice, in 1566 and 1582, both times as a gentleman of Baile Mháí (HMSO, 1879; HMSO, 1881). A son, William mac Donogh Mac Costigan, is recorded as a gentleman of Baile Nua (Newtown) in 1585, and in 1591 he is listed among the followers of Florence Fitzpatrick, the third Baron of Upper Ossory (HMSO, 1883; HMSO, 1884). Another son, Donogh Óg mac Donogh Mac William, appears in Fiant 5608 of 1591 and then in Fiant 6551 of 1601 as a horseman of Baile Mháí; in Fiant 6768 of 1603, he is called Donogh Óg Mac Costigan (HMSO, 1884; HMSO, 1885; HMSO, 1886). Carrigan (1905) posits that either Donogh or his son Donogh Óg was the father of Augustin Costigan, who appears as the family head in several key seventeenth-century records; Augustin was of full age in 1613 (Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum cancellariae Hiberniae (IORMCH), 1826), which is more consistent with his father being Donogh Óg. Donogh’s daughter, Margaret, pardoned in 1582 (HMSO, 1881), married Donogh mac Teige Fynen of Manainn (Mannin), which lies immediately west of Baile Mháí. The Mac Fynen (sometimes Fynen or Mac Kynen) were a Mac Giolla Phádraig family that maintained close familial connections with the Mac Costigans of Ul Fhairchealláin well into the seventeenth century (Fitzpatrick, 2022a). Fiant 4739 of 1585 indicates Margaret may have been in an earlier marriage with Oliver Grace (HMSO, 1883).

In Fiant 897 of 1566, Donal grome Mac William is described as a gentleman of Baile Mháí who was pardoned along with Bryan Fitzpatrick, the first Baron of Upper Ossory, and his entourage. Pardons also came to Donal grome between 1584 and 1603; in the last, he is described as a yeoman on Ossory. Two sons, Dermot mac Donell grome and Teige mac Donal grome, are recorded unaffixed to a surname – the former between 1597 and 1603, a yeoman of Baile Mháí, and the latter in 1602, also a yeoman (Morrin, 1862; HMSO, 1879; HMSO, 1883; HMSO, 1884; HMSO, 1885; HMSO, 1886). The pair were not missed by Carrigan’s expert eyes and provide an excellent example of how close interrogation the fiants can yield family connection secrets. Teige is also found in the Patent Roll of James as Teige Óg Costigan of Baile Mháí, yeoman, along with his brother, Patrick mac Donal grome (Clarke, 1967).

Another of William’s sons referred to in multiple fiants, albeit mostly indirectly, is Teige. His son, Donogh mac Teige Mac William, is recorded in the aforementioned Fiant 5608 of 1591, and in Fiant 6110 of 1597, he is called Donogh mac Teige Mac Costigan. In 1602, as Donogh mac Teige Mac William, he is described as a husbandman of Leacach (Lacka); his son, Dermot mac Donogh mac Teige, also of Leacach, appears in the same fiant as a shot, and his brother, Fynin mac Teige Mac Costigan is described as a yeoman. The last mention of ‘Teige Óg’ of Baile Mháí, is in a Patent of James I from 1608 (Morrin, 1862; HMSO, 1884; HMSO, 1885; HMSO, 1886; Clarke, 1967).
William’s other sons appear less frequently in the fiants. In Fiant 6551 of 1601, Dermot Mac William is among a list headed by Florence Fitzpatrick, the third Baron of Upper Ossory, and was obscurely described as of Bhuiríos (Borris). The following year he is among followers of Florence’s oldest son, Teige, and he was more precisely recorded as a husbandman of Monnagh Bheag (Monnagh), which was variously held in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Fitzpatrick and Mac Fynen lines. Dermot’s brother, William Óg Mac William, also a husbandman, is recorded alongside him (HMSO, 1885; HMSO, 1886; Fitzpatrick, 2022a).

Aside from the descendants of William Mac Costigan, another Mac Costigan line is that of Donogh Leigh (i.e., liath, meaning grey-haired or aged), who appears in the fiants from 1566. He never takes the surname Mac William but was the contemporary of William and his sons. Therefore, he was possibly William’s brother or nephew. However, in Fiant 950 of Elizabeth I, he is described as a horseman among the followers of Donald mac Shane Mac Giolla Phádraig, gent, who included several Purcell and Archdeacon. Donogh Leigh was domiciled with Donald mac Shane in Cill Mocheara (Kilmacar). At that time, the lease to Cill Mocheara was held by Thomas Butler, the Tenth Earl of Ormond, which indicates Donogh Leigh Mac Costigan was politically aligned quite differently compared with the Úi Fhairchealláin Mac Costigan. Donogh Leigh is also found in Fiant 2700 of 1575 among the Baile Phóil, Cill Chainnigh (Paulstown, Kilkenny) Butlers; in 1594, aged seventy years, he was living at Caisleán an Mhargaidh (Castlemarket), Cill Chainnigh. His grandson was Donogh mac Connor mac Donogh Leigh, yeoman (HMSO, 1876; HMSO, 1879; HMSO, 1880; HMSO, 1886; Curtis, 1970).

There are several other Mac Costigan in the fiants, yet they cannot be connected to other lines. Among those are Uaine Ny Costigan of Baile Úi Anracháin (Ballyhorahan), Gráinne Ny Costigan, shot of Doire na Saortha (Derrynaseera), and Gilpatrick a nd Shane Mac Costigan, both shot of Garranroe, all residents of Úi Fhairchealláin. They appear in Fiant 6551 of 1601 in a long list of followers of Florence Fitzpatrick, the third Baron of Upper Ossory. And in 1601, Donald Mac Costigan, the Rector and Vicar of Killermogh is referenced as a Vicar resident at Doire na Saortha, along with the aforementioned former cleric Geoffrey Mac Kynen (i.e., Mac Fynen) (HMSO, 1885).

The Lands of the Mac Costigan of Úi Fhairchealláin

While the many fiant and patent records give insights regarding the abodes of Mac Costigan of Ossory from the middle of the sixteenth century, records from the seventeenth century provide detailed information about their land possessions, which were exclusively in the Parish of Offerlane.

An inquisition of 1613 (JORCH, 1826) found Augustin mac Donogh Costigan in possession of the village, fields, and hamlet of Cnoc Breac (Knockbrack) and tSeanghamhnach (Shangownagh). And in 1626, Charles II granted Augustin 'and his heirs, for ever, as a native' a further unspecified '696 acres arable, and 595 acres wood and bog' (Morrin, 1863)
The 'Down Survey', which was undertaken by Sir William Petty in 1655 and 1656 (Larcom, 1851; The Down Survey of Ireland. Trinity College, Dublin. http://downsurvey.tcd.ie), and the Books of Survey and Distribution, which were made after the Down Survey and refer to forfeitures up to 1701 (Simmington, 1949), record more details of the lands that were lost by Augustin following the 1641 Rebellion. In addition to Cnoc Breac and tSeanghamnach, we learn he held Baile Mhaí (Rush Hall), Cluain Fada (Clonfad), Gort na Pise (Peafield), and their various subdivisions, and Cluain Dá Ghlas (Glennaglass) – the latter was shared with William mac Teige, who was probably the grandson of Donal Grome Mac Costigan, i.e., Augustin's first cousin. William also held Achadh Fionn, (Aghafin), Baile Uí Anracháin (Ballyhorahan), Cluainín (Clonin), Crannach (Crannagh).

A 1627 Patent of Charles II records a grant to Geoffrey Costigan and Carroll O'Phelan of '94 acres arable and 11 acres bog, in the territory of Upper Ossory' (Morin, 1863). The area approximates the acreage the pair shared ca. 1641, where the townland was specified as Achadh Fionn (Aghafin); it appears William inherited Geoffrey's portion. And the post-1641 surveys record the holdings of Daniel and Patrick Costigan: the former with 132 acres of Codach (Cuddagh), and the latter with a combined 486 acres of Cúil Ruáin (Coolrain) and Srathán Buí (Srahanboy). It is not implausible that Daniel, Geoffrey, and Patrick Costigan are the aforementioned clerics of those same names. Hence, ca. 1641, the Costigan possessed more than 4,000 acres, much arable, in Úi Fhairchealláin. Figure 2 presents the Down Survey terrier, which is the record of all proprietors and their lands in the Barony of Offerlane ca. 1641.

Concerning the 1641 Rebellion, the evidence points to Augustin’s non-participation. Shortly after the onset of the Rebellion, he is recorded as living at Baile Mhaí and having purchased the lease of Cnoc Breac from John Clarke. However, Augustin reported he had been robbed and despoiled by ‘rebels’, which led to him being unable to fulfill the lease agreement satisfactorily (1641 Depositions. Trinity College, Dublin. http://www.1641.tcd.ie). Notable here is that Augustin Costigan had entered into a lease for lands his family had long possessed. Carrigan’s (1905) discourse explains the fate of the Costigan after their Úi Fhairchealláin lands were confiscated by Cromwell and passed to Sir Charles Coote, the First Earl of Mountrath. Carrigan borrowed much from Prendergast (1887), who explained that after the death of the First Earl, his will was in dispute – some of the former owners of his estate lands ‘were seeking to recover them’ via the Act of Explanation and Settlement of 1662. The Second Earl was ‘troubled about the Costigans’, probably because their claim of innocence was strong, as evidenced in the Depositions. After the death of Augustin Costigan ca. 1662, his son, Lawrence, made sought the return of Costigan lands, but his claim was rejected in 1663 (Irish Record Commission, 1825).

Carrigan (1905) states Lawrence and his three brothers, John, Florence, and Gregory, then rebelled, were outlawed, captured, and slain. However, Prendergast (1887) records the death of only three of the brothers: Florence was found nocent and his ‘eldest brother was hanged for murder, and two other of the brothers, Toresys’ were taken and, later, killed. It is possible that Florence survived by being distant, since he is recorded as being transported from Baile Mhaí to Gaillimh (Galway) ca. 1656 (Simmington, 1970).
Figure 2: The Down Survey terrier for the Barony of Offerlane

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plot Number</th>
<th>Proprietor</th>
<th>Description of Land</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Lands Profitable</th>
<th>Lands Unprofitable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Duke of Buckingham</td>
<td>Manormore, Ballinamore, Castle</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>Duke of Buckingham</td>
<td>Ballinamore, Ballyshannon</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>Duke of Buckingham</td>
<td>Ballinamore, Co.</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>Duke of Buckingham</td>
<td>Ballinamore, Co.</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Duke of Buckingham</td>
<td>Ballinamore, Co.</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The totals of the surveyed lands are 3746 acres, with 3714 acres profitably cultivated.
That many Costigan did survive the perilous post-Cromwell era is certain. The 1659 ‘Census’ (Pender, 1939) evidences there were Costigan families in Upper Ossory (thirty-four in total), in the Barony of Galmoy, i.e., in north Cill Chainnaigh (six families, and also six Fitzpatrick families), and in the Barony of Ballyboy in south Ulbh Fhailí (Offaly) (three families, and also three Kenan, i.e., Mac Fynen families). Hence, while key heads of houses were lost, and Úi Fhairscealláin land dispossessions were utter, there were sufficient other lines for the Costigan to continue in Upper Ossory and the surrounding regions. Hence, the surname was found to be numerous in the Religious Censuses of the 1760s (Gurrin et al., 2022), the Griffith’s Valuations of the mid-nineteenth centuries (Griffith, 1864), and the 1901 census of Ireland (Census of Ireland, 1901; http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie), most notably in Laois, Cill Chainnigh, and Tiobraid Árann (Tipperary).

And on a final note, the funeral entry of Donogh mac Teige Fynen states he is buried at Anatrim, i.e., Eanach Troim, which is in the parish of Úi Fhairscealláin (Offerlane), just one mile northeast of Manainn. Eanach Troim was a monastic site from ancient times. According to Carrigan (1905), among those at rest in the graveyard from the 1700s are ‘McCostigans and McKeenins’; Carrigan also recorded those of the surname Keenan are buried there (Carrigan MS), which is a modern form of Mac Kynen. The presence of Mac Costigan at Eanach Troim provides a further link between the family and the surnames Mac Fynen and Mac Kyne, and their variants (Fitzpatrick, 2022a).

Costigan Y-DNA: R-A1488, a multi-surname haplotype

Modern-day Costigans whose eighteenth-century origins are in Cill Channigh or Laois are haplotype R-1488. Once considered the haplotype of the Mac Giolla Phádraig dynasts of Upper Ossory (ref), there are several features of R-A1488 that have led to him now being contrariwise, and variably, referred to as ‘not mere Irish’, ‘Celto-Norman’, ‘prolific’, ‘non-surname specific’, ‘clerical’, and ‘non-ancient’ (Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick, 2020b; Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020; Fitzpatrick, 2021a; Fitzpatrick, 2021b; Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021; Fitzpatrick, 2022a; Fitzpatrick, 2022c, Fitzpatrick et al., 2022).

R-A1488 does not appear mere-Irish because he lacks antecedent branching before ca. 1000 AD, and this coupled with the fact (a) his ancient ancestor, R-FGC5494, is not known as an Irish haplotype, and (b) his more recent ancestor, R-A1487, represents just one mutation among a long genetic bottleneck, and has children who are non-Irish (ref). R-A1488 appears to be of ‘Celto-Norman’ origin since it is among the sons of R1b-L21, who is commonly referred to as the ‘Celtic’ haplotype (Lucotte, 2015), and yet the haplotypes of his immediate ancestors, and even his sons, are replete with Norman surnames, such as Burke, Butler, Dalton, FitzGerald, and Purcell, as well as members who have ancestors that never set foot in Ireland, such as those Braham who trace to England (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021).

R-A1488 is prolific since he has eight genetic sons; as such R-A1488 exemplifies what is predicted if he was of a noble-lineage, or a clerical lineage, or both (Fitzpatrick, 2021b). And, particularly, with a prolific clerical lineage there comes a surname concoction. In the case of R-A1488, four of the genetic son branches are dominated (i.e., > 50% membership) by the
surname Fitzpatrick, but one branch is FitzGerald, and the remaining three contain a mix of surnames – two of those three genetic son branches contain the surname Costigan.

And R-A1488 is non ancient. Based on a combination of Short Tandem Repeat (STR), and parallel branch Y-DNA analysis, and Single Nucleotide Polymorphism (SNP) counts, it is possible to estimate the year R-A1488 was born. Firstly, Y-STR mutation rates allow an intergroup comparison between the sons of R-A1488 that affords a Time to the Most Common Ancestor (TMRCA) estimate. Using Family Tree DNA (FTDNA) mutation rates and a probability that the TMRCA has equal likelihood of being before or after the date estimate, the derived 111-marker TMRCA for R-A1488 is 442 years, i.e., the MRCA of R-A1488 was born ca. 1508 AD, based on 1950 AD being the current era data point.

Secondly, a ‘top-down’ parallel comparison under R-FGC5494 is facilitated by the highly refined Maxwell surname project. The Maxwell clan, who emerge under R-L1444, are said to descend from a Norseman who died in Scotland in the late eleventh century. Sub-branches of R-L1444 are definitively dated via outstanding pedigree information, which means that SNP counts from the common ancestor of R-L1444 and R-A1488, viz., R-FGC5561, can be aligned. R-A1488 is 54 SNPs from R-FGC5561, and sits in between R-BY68409 (53 SNPs, dated 1398 AD) and FT497694 (56 SNPs, dated 1607 AD); interpolation provides a R-A1488 MRCA birth date of ca. 1468 AD.

Thirdly, ‘bottom-up’ SNP counting to R-A1488 using the group average of 9.0 and an estimated SNP rate of 0.0144 per year (i.e., one mutation every 69 years), which was drawn from the Maxwell surname project for the parallel era, affords a TMRCA of 621 years, i.e., a birth date of ca. 1329 AD, based on 1950 AD being the current era data point. And while there is no foolproof method for deriving statistical, or even pedigree-constrained, TMRCAs, there is security in this three-pronged approach to estimating the birth data of the MRCA of R-A1488 as approximately 1420 AD ± 90 years.

Hence, TMRCA estimates add much to the conversation regarding the origin of R-A1488 and his sons and speak to the very obvious. While it is currently impossible, based on either historical records or DNA analysis, to determine whether R-A1488 Fitzpatricks descend from a line of Mac Costigan, or vice versa, the person of John Mac Costigan, alias Mac Giolla Phádraig, deserves consideration as the progenitor of the Mac Costigan of Upper Ossory.

Conclusions

The Mac Costigan of Upper Ossory were said by Sherman and O’Hart to be an ancient branch of the Mac Giolla Phádraig. Yet theirs is an ‘assumed genealogy’ that is both tenuous, and error-ridden – and it can be discarded.

A critical review of the Papal Registers, which researchers of Irish clans infrequently explore, finds the Mac Costigan of Upper Ossory probably had their roots among a clerical lineage of the Diocese of Killaloe. Moreover, it is possible to posit even more precise origin locations, such as Baile Hoiste in the Parish of Modreeny, Tiobraid Árann (Tipperary).
Numerous associations between the Mac Costigan and the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Upper Ossory from the mid-fifteenth century suggest they were of the closest familial order. That the cleric John Mac Costigan took the alias Mac Giolla Phádraig in later life speaks to the obvious, i.e., the families may have shared the same paternity. Church records demonstrate many inter-surname clerical successions. And the Fiants, the Patents, and land records show the close family affinity between Mac Costigan and Mac Giolla Phádraig, later Fitzpatrick, and other related surnames, such as Mac Fynen, was maintained throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Y-DNA analysis scientifically interrogates the hitherto unrealised historical Mac Costigan and Mac Giolla Phádraig connections. Men of the surname Costigan and Fitzpatrick, who trace their origins to Ossory and are haplotype R-A1488, share paternal ancestry from ca. 1420 AD. The alignment of science with late medieval records corroborates R-A1488’s status as a prolific, clerical-noble lineage aligned with several surnames, including Costigan and Fitzpatrick.

**Acknowledgements**

The authors thank Dr Esther Fitzpatrick for her helpful assistance in the preparation of the article, and Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile for his advice relating to Gaeilge, people’s names and place names.
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