

# **John Comerford of Ballybur (1598-1667): Tracing His Later Life**

**Patrick Comerford**

When John Comerford of Ballybur forfeited his estates, including Ballybur, Ballytarsney and Ballymaclaghny, in 1653,<sup>1</sup> local lore says Ballybur Castle was deroofed by Cromwell, and an order was issued to transplant him to Connacht in the following year. Carrigan says, “His later history is unknown”,<sup>2</sup> and gives no further history for the Ballybur branch of the Comerford family after that. However, the publication of the Ormonde papers after Carrigan’s four-volume history had been published, and unpublished research by Carrigan shortly before the destruction of the Four Courts, allow us to trace John Comerford’s life after 1653, showing that he died about 1667, and also allows a reconstruction of the family tree of the Ballybur branch of the Comerfords in subsequent generations.

## **John Comerford’s Early Life**

John Comerford of Ballybur was the son and heir of Richard Comerford of Ballybur, who died in 1637. Born in 1598, John succeeded to his father’s estates in 1637. Richard Comerford’s funeral entry that year notes that John was already married, but despite extensive references to individual family members it makes no mention of any children for John Comerford, leading us to conclude that John had no adult children by the time of his father’s death.<sup>3</sup>

In 1640, John Comerford, as John Comerford of Ballymacloghny, was a juror in the inquiry into the Ossory See lands, along with his kinsman, James Comerford of Ballymack. The inquiry was held at Kilkenny on 9 October before Sir Cyprian Horsfall, David Rooth and William Shee, Governor of the city of Kilkenny. The jurors declared that there was one burgagery not belonging to the bishop in the manor, house and lands of Bishopslough, and that burgagery

was called Comerford's Land and held by James Comerford, but "by what service the aforesaid jurors know not".<sup>4</sup> However, the name Comerford's Land has not survived into the 20th century in Bishopslogh.<sup>5</sup>

For a time, some of the lands inherited from his father by John Comerford were occupied by his brother, Richard, and in 1641 we find Richard Comerford as a tenant of Ballmaclaghny etc., Ballybur etc.<sup>6</sup>

John married Grany, daughter of Morgan Kavanagh of Borris, Co. Carlow,<sup>7</sup> and grand-daughter of Edmund Butler, 2nd Viscount Mountgarret. They had a number of children, including two sons, Thomas and Garret, who appear to have been born in the 1630s, who were transplanted with them to Co. Clare in the 1650s, but who returned to live with their parents in Co. Kilkenny after 1660.

O'Hart wrongly says that John also had a daughter Margaret, who was twice married, first to Viscount St. Lawrence, Lord of Howth, and secondly to Jenico, Viscount Preston; he says she died in Dublin on 16 November, 1637, and was buried in Stamullen, Co. Meath.<sup>8</sup> However, as we have seen, John's children are unlikely to have been adults before his father's death in 1637, and he certainly was too young to have been the father of a woman who was twice married before her death in 1637. O'Hart or his source appear to have confused any daughter of John's named Margaret with the wife of Jenico Preston, fifth Viscount Gormanston, who, when he was a minor, married Margaret, daughter of Nicholas St. Lawrence, Lord Howth. Margaret married secondly, as his fourth wife, Luke Plunkett, first Earl of Fingall; she died in Dublin on 16 November, 1637, and was buried in the Gormanston chapel at Stamullen.<sup>9</sup> A spinster named Margaret Comerford died at Gormanston in 1759, but I have been unable to establish her identity.<sup>10</sup>

Rinucinni stayed overnight at Ballybur Castle on 12 November, 1645, according to Hogan, who says it was the first "villa" on the nuncio's direct road to Kilkenny, but Healy raises the possibility that the nuncio stayed instead at Inchiholohan, home of the representative of another branch of the family, William Comerford.<sup>11</sup>

In May 1646, a John Comerford was a captain in the



Leinster forces of foot, and on 8 August, 1647, Captain John Comerford and Trooper Thomas Comerford were taken prisoners, but I have not been able to identify this John Comerford with John Comerford of Ballybur.

In 1653, John forfeited his estates, consisting of Ballybur, Ballytarsney and Ballymaclaghny,<sup>12</sup> and local lore says Ballybur Castle was deroofed by Cromwell, although, as Elizabeth Healy has pointed out, “practically every castle in Ireland makes a similar claim”.<sup>13</sup> John Comerford’s forfeited estates in Ballybur, consisted of 390 acres, 1 rood, of which Bryan Manseragh became the new proprietor.<sup>14</sup> John also forfeited lands totalling 1,158 acres in Ballymacloughlin, in Shankill parish, Gowran Barony, held jointly with Richard Kelly, Pierce Burren and Pierce Shee; the new proprietors of these lands included Sir Theophilus Jones, John Mallocke, Charles Houlecroft, Quarter-Master William Foord, Richard Reddy, Lord Thomas Conway and John Lord Colville.<sup>15</sup> John Comerford was “transplanted to Connacht” the following year, and Carrigan says, “His later history is unknown”.<sup>16</sup>

### **Transplantation to County Clare**

Despite Carrigan’s assertion, subsequent research has shown that under an order of 12 February, 1655/56, John Comerford was transplanted to the parish of Inchicronan Upper in the Barony of Bunratty, Co. Clare. According to the decree in the Ormonde list, he was given 150 acres, although the Headfort Book of Survey indicates he was to receive only 61½ acres. Other individuals removed to the same part of Co. Clare from Co. Kilkenny included William Denn of Burrestown, who had two decrees for 138 acres; Thomas Freny, infant, of Brickan (683 acres and 10 acres); and Richard Shee, who had two decrees of 250 acres each in the parishes of Inchicronan Upper and Clooney Upper (the Headfort List records 372 acres).<sup>17</sup>

Apart from Co. Clare, dispossessed Kilkenny landowners were also transplanted to the Barony of Ballymoe in Co. Galway, by order in February, 1655/56, and to other parts of Connacht, particularly Co. Roscommon; they included Sir Robert Rothe of Tullaghmaine, who was transplanted to the Baronies of Clonmanowen and Moycarn,

in Co. Roscommon; and Robert FitzHenry Shee, removed to the parish of Killaan in the barony of Kilconnell, Co. Galway.<sup>18</sup>

Carrigan's research after the publication of his four-volume history also unearthed a list of transported Irish between 1655 and 1659, which included a John Comerford of Co. Kilkenny, for whom a decree was issued on 9 October, 1656, with a final settlement on 31 August, 1657, of 150 acres.<sup>19</sup> Carrigan was probably drawing on the lists of transplanted Irish (1655-1659) in the Ormonde manuscripts, published in 1896. These show:

1. John Comerford, Co. Kilkenny, decree 9 October, 1656, final settlement, 5 June, 1657, 250 acres;
2. John Comerford, Co. Kilkenny, decree 14 June, 1656, final settlement, 10 June, 1657, 150 acres; and
3. John Comerford, Co. Kilkenny, decree (no details), final settlement, 31 August, 1657, 150 acres.<sup>20</sup>

However, it appears from John Comerford's own accounts and those of the Duke of Ormonde that none of these decrees were enforced; although he, his wife, and his children were transported to Co. Clare, they received no lands and lived there in poverty. As Professor William J. Smyth of U.C.G. points out, less than one-third of the Kilkenny landowners who were ordered transplanted actually moved to Connacht. "Instead, many of the rest hung on locally, hoping for reinstatement with the help of the now restored Duke of Ormonde".<sup>21</sup> John Comerford's hopes may have been higher than those of others: his wife Grany Kavanagh was a first cousin of Ormonde's father. (See Table 1)

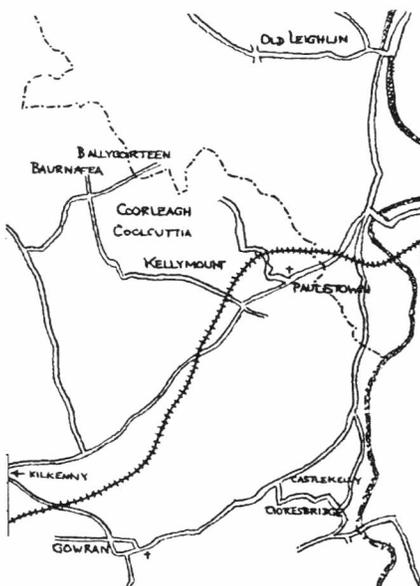
### **Efforts to Recover Lands**

Around 1662, Ormonde reported that John Comerford had received no lands or decrees for lands in Connacht, where he lived in "a distressed condicion with his wife and poore family". The following year, Ormonde wrote that Comerford had been forced to live in Connacht, "where he



received no lands but lived in a distressed condition with his wife and family till, on the King's restoration, he came to Leinster to be relieved among his friends".<sup>22</sup>

After the restoration of Charles II in 1660, John and his family were invited back to Co. Kilkenny, apparently by former friends who tried to relieve him of his poverty. It appears that when the soldiers who had been settled with his estates in Ballymaclaghny under Cromwell came to measure and divide the land among themselves, they discovered more than 200 acres that had not been allocated properly: these included mountainous land, known as Bollyvran, Monemarne, Knockederon, Cahellgoll, Banehahy and Curleigh.<sup>23</sup>



*Location of Townlands*

As we have seen, John Comerford had his principle residence at Ballymaclaghny rather than Ballybur in 1640. Carrigan and Owen O'Kelly have identified Ballymaclaghny (Baile Mac Lachtna) with Kellymount in Shankill parish, Gowran Barony.<sup>24</sup> Castlekelly appears in various forms, including Castlelykely, as a variant of Kellymount since the middle of the 16th century, when Ballymaclaghny was granted to John Comerford's grandfather, Thomas Comerford of

Ballybur, by the Earl of Ormond in 1572. But Kellymount, about a mile west of Shankill Castle, outside Paulstown, should not be confused with Castlekelly, a townland in Kilmacahill parish, 2½ miles ENE of Gowran and 1½ miles WNW of Goresbridge. Bollyvran is difficult to identify with any certainty on today's maps, but may have been in Ballygurteen; Knockederon or Knockadereen is a subdivision

of the townland of Ballygurteen in Shankill parish; Cahellgoll appears to be today's Colcuttia (Cuil an Choite), a townland of 287 acres in Shankill parish;<sup>25</sup> Banehahy is Barnafea (Barr na Feithe, hill top of the swamp), a townland of 1,161 acres in Shankill parish; Monemarne may be the field in this townland identified by O'Kelly as Moinin Rua;<sup>26</sup> and Curleigh is marked on today's maps as Coorleagh, a townland of 352 acres in Shankill parish.<sup>27</sup>

Another version says that the land John Comerford moved onto had been allocated to a Captain Moore, but that Moore returned to England, and the land had been left waste and was being used by neighbours who pay nothing.<sup>28</sup> Ormonde notes that the soldiers took pity on Comerford and his distressed condition. They sent for him, and allowed him to move onto the land, building himself a small cabin for his wife and children. According to Ormonde, John lived on about 200 acres of "coarse mountain land" of what had previously been his lands. Ormonde recorded: "some of the soldiers, pitying the petitioners' distressed condition, sent for him, and with 'their good liking and consent' he entered on these parcels of land, built cabins, and lived there without interruption" in an area that appears to have been hidden from general view in most of the neighbourhood ... "the said parcell of land are concealed and above all the lotts".<sup>29</sup>

Comerford petitioned for a grant of a *custodiam* of the lands at a small rent, as "for want of means he was unable to prosecute his claim, and if he should be driven from his abode he could have no place of residence".<sup>30</sup> However, in law he had no title to the land, and feared that if he were driven from it he would have no place else to live. In 1662, he petitioned Ormonde and the Council for a grant of the lands at a small rent, pointing out that "they are but coarse mountaine lands", but that due to "want of means" he was too poor to pursue a claim for the full recovery of his former estates.<sup>31</sup>

On 17 August, 1663, Comerford's case was referred by the Duke of Ormonde to the Barons of the Exchequer, with a recommendation that they fix a rent on the lands for John Comerford.<sup>32</sup> However, no action appears to have been taken on this recommendation, and John Comerford was forced to

make yet another petition for the lands around July 1664, to Thomas, Earl of Ossory, as Deputy to his father, the Lord Lieutenant, James Butler, first Duke of Ormonde. In it, he pointed out that his land had been left waste by Moore and that he “is extreme poore, and not able to subsist, or maytaine himselfe or his poore wife and family, who are in a starveing condition”.<sup>33</sup>

Smyth’s research shows that “the 1664 Ormonde list of dispossessed landowners in counties Kilkenny and Tipperary identified well over three hundred members of former elite families who still were hoping to be restored to at least some of their lands through the good offices of the Duke of Ormonde”. A few of these families renegotiated a partial or substantial return, but “[T]he great majority of landlords were *not restored*...”.<sup>34</sup>

On 16 July, 1664, John Comerford received a grant of *custodiam* of 200 acres at Ballymaclaghny, and Ossory instructed the Barons of Exchequer to “continue dureing his Majesties pleasure, at such rent as they shall hold reasonable”.<sup>35</sup>

Ballymaclaghny or Kellymount today consists of 1,096 acres,<sup>36</sup> so John Comerford’s allocation of 200 acres of what was probably the least valuable land in the townland, to be held not permanently but at the king’s pleasure, represents a very small portion of his original holdings.

The Hearth Money rolls for 1664 show three people with the name John Comerford living in Co. Kilkenny, each taxed for a house with one hearth:

1. John Comerford of Graige, in the parish of Colaghmore, Barony of Kells;<sup>37</sup>
2. John Comerford of Dunfert or Danesfort, near Bennettsbridge, in the Barony of Shillelogher;<sup>38</sup>  
and
3. John Comerford of Grangesulecan in the Barony of Shillelogher.

John of Graige in Coolaghmore may have been from the same family as Nicholas Comerford who died in 1601, and Nicholas Comerford, also living in 1664. Graigue is a townland of 339 acres in Coolaghmore and includes a small area marked Knocknashanogue on the OS Map.<sup>39</sup>

Grangesulecan has been identified by Walton with Grange in Castleinch,<sup>40</sup> so that John of Grangesulecan appears to have been a member of the Comerford family of Castleinch or Inchiholahan, a son of William Comerford of Castleinch, living in 1654, and his wife Ellen Shee, and father of Richard Comerford of Castleinch, outlawed for treason in 1691.

We may conclude that none of these three men with the name John Comerford is identical with the John Comerford of Ballybur who returned to recover his estates at Ballymaclaghny and Kellymount in the early 1660s. Indeed, the description of John and his family living in poor conditions in a cabin on the mountainside leaves little possibility that he held property liable to come within the scope of the Hearth Money rolls in 1664.

John Comerford was still living around May, 1667, when he was described as “late of Ballybur in the county of Kilkenny”. Despite the favourable intervention of the Ormonde Butlers on his behalf about four or five years previously, he still appears to have been without a proper title to the 200 acres of his former lands at Ballyvran that he had sought to recover. By 1667, he is described as “extreme poore, and not able to subsist or maintaine himselfe or his poore wife and family, who are in a staving condition unlesse relieved by your Grace”.<sup>41</sup>

John Comerford’s claims come to an end at this time, indicating he probably died about 1667. From the accounts of John’s efforts to regain possession of his former estates, it appears his children returned to live with him in the Ballymaclaghny and Kellymount area at the beginning of the 1660s.

### **John Comerford’s Descendants**

John Comerford appears to have had at least two sons, Thomas and Garret Comerford, born c.1630. In 1691, a Thomas Comerford, gent., of Ballybur was outlawed for treason as an Irish Jacobite. Although Carrigan refers to Thomas, he says merely that John Comerford was probably his father, without positive identification. However, “of Ballybur” would appear to be an appropriate description of the eldest living representative of the Ballybur branch of the

family, confirming Carrigan's supposition, although neither John nor Thomas Comerford ever recovered the family's estates in Ballybur; it is most likely that he was the same person as Thomas Cumerford of Iniscorthy (i.e., Enniscorthy), Co. Wexford, who was outlawed as a Jacobite that same year, as there is no other contemporary Thomas Comerford with similar politics and who could have aspired to the rank of gentleman.<sup>42</sup>

Garret Comerford, the second son, was named after his uncle, Garret Kavanagh of Borris, and continued to live in the Ballmaclaghny or Kellymount area after the death of his father, John Comerford. In May, 1667, he was godfather with Mary Kelly, wife of Richard Synot, at the baptism of Anstace Langton, who was baptised by Luke Archer.<sup>43</sup> Anstace's father, Nicholas Langton fitzMichael (1630-1683) of Ballinakill and Kilkenny, was the godson of Garret's grandfather, Richard Comerford of Ballybur (who died in 1637), and of Anne Shee fitzJohn.<sup>44</sup> Anstace's brother, Silvester Langton (1681-1749), was later the father-in-law of James Comerford of the Butterslip and High Street, Kilkenny.<sup>45</sup> James Comerford's son, Michael Comerford of the Butterslip, believed he was descended from the Comerfords of Ballymack, but Prim and the people around Ballybur believed he was descended from the Ballybur branch of the family.<sup>46</sup>

Garret subsequently appears as a confidante of the Shee family of Sheestown, and witnesses a number of legal papers involving that family's property transactions in the 1680s. In 1680, he was a witness with his second cousin, Richard Butler, fifth Lord Mountgarret, and Henry Shee and Nicholas Blanchville to papers relating to a property deal between Mary Deane, widow of the Rev. Richard Deane of Outrath, and Richard Shee of Waseshy (Sheestown). Three years later, in 1683, he was a witness with Marcus Shee, Richard Lawless, Oliver Walsh and Michell Shee to a bond between John Baker of Taylorstown, Co. Wexford, and John Ballard of Earlstown, Co. Kilkenny, to Richard Shee, relating to a mortgage of Earlstown. In 1685, Garret again witnessed an agreement between Richard Shee and Henry Baker relating to the purchase of lands in Earlstown. Later, he witnessed

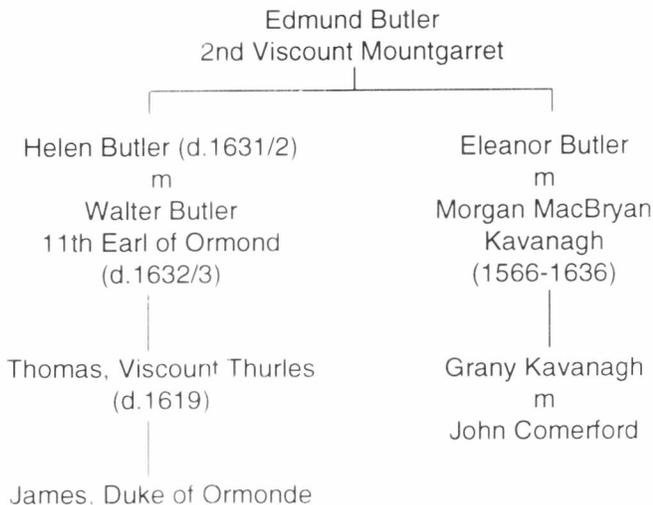
the conveyance of land in Earlstown to Richard Shee by Edmond Sweetman, son and heir of William Sweetman of Earlstown.<sup>47</sup> William Sweetman was a nephew of Garret Comerford's grandfather, Richard Comerford, through his first marriage; although not directly related to Garret Comerford, Edmond Sweetman's kinship is analogous to that of second cousin.

Peter Shee of Wases Shee or Sheestown, in Kilferagh parish, who died at the end of 1687 and whose will was proved on 10 December that year, includes his nephew Garret Comerford in his bequests, leaving him £10 worth of cattle. The will shows that Peter Shee was the son of Marcus Shee, grandson of Sir Richard Shee, founder of Shee's Alms House in Rose Inn Street, Kilkenny, and father of Marcus Shee. Garret Comerford's close family ties with the Shees is emphasised by his appearance in so many of the Shee family transactions in the 1680s. Peter Shee describes him as his nephew, but as Garret's mother was Grany Kavanagh, his description by Peter Shee as his "nephew" appears to have arisen through the marriage of Garret Comerford and a niece of Peter Shee (in this way, Garret Comerford was related to Marcus Shee, who owned Rothe House in 1690).

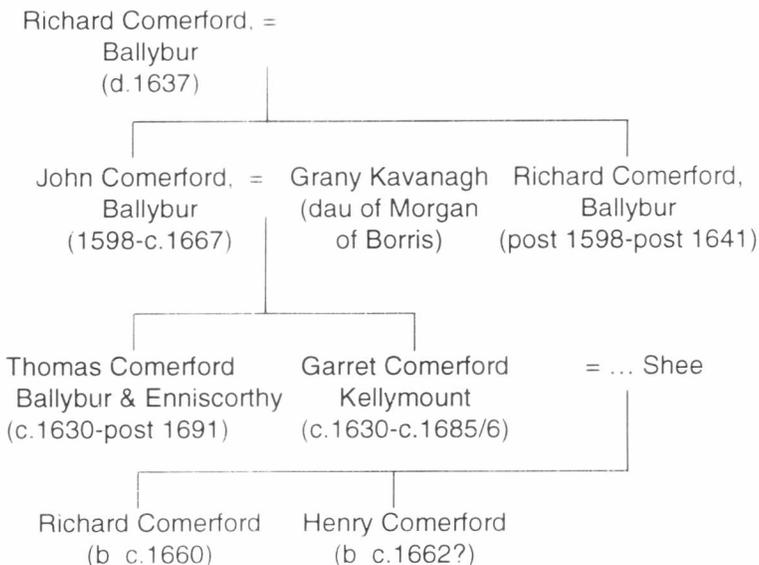
Although Phillimore and Carrigan estimate the date of the probate of Garret Comerford's will as 1670, we can accurately place the date of his death in 1685 at the earliest, or 1686 at the latest: Garret Comerford was still alive when Peter Shee made his will on 18 March, 1684, and when he added a codicil to his will between 1684 and 1686, following the birth of his grandson, Robert; the next wills in the Will Book of the Diocese of Leighlin, 1662-1686, date from the 1680s; and the probate of Garret's will is no later than 1686 when the Leighlin Will Book ends.<sup>48</sup>

In his will, Garret Comerford describes himself as "of Castlekealy" ... an earlier form of the name Kellymount, which replaced Ballymaclaghny.<sup>49</sup> Carrigan made his extracts from the will in 1920 when he was parish priest of Durrow, after the publication of his diocesan history and shortly before the will was destroyed in the Four Courts. His unpublished extracts provide valuable information for constructing a continuation of the family tree of the Ballybur

**Table 1.**



**Table 2.**



branch of the Comerford family and its later members.

Garret Comerford describes himself as “being sick of body yet perfect in understanding”, circumstances that would help to confirm that he was aged about 57 or 58 at the time of his death. He asks to be buried “in my own monument in Gowran” and makes his sons, Richard and Henry Comerford, his executors.<sup>50</sup> Although the extracts from the will are incomplete, it appears to have mentioned only goods and chattels belonging to Garret Comerford, but no lands or estates, leading to the conclusion that he never inherited the lands his father, John Comerford, had tried to claim back unsuccessfully, and that he never returned to the Ballybur area.

Richard and Henry Comerford, if born around the year 1660, would have been in their mid-20s at the time of their father’s death but too young for either to have been indicted along with their uncle, Thomas Comerford of Ballybur, who was among the Jacobites convicted of treason in 1691.

## **Conclusions**

Carrigan’s history of the different branches of the Comerford family in Co. Kilkenny is one of the most accessible sources for those interested in the history of the family. Unfortunately, these accounts tend to come to an abrupt end in the 1650s.

As this article shows, it is possible to trace the history of John Comerford of Ballybur and his family long after 1653, despite Carrigan’s assertion that “his later history is unknown”.

The publication of the Ormonde papers by the Historical Manuscripts Commission at the end of the last century provided a wealth of material for those interested in the history of Co. Kilkenny, much of it material that was not available to Carrigan before he prepared his four-volume history for publication. Carrigan’s own notebooks provide valuable sources too, drawing extensively on papers in the Public Records Office subsequently destroyed in the Four Courts fire. In addition, the Irish Manuscripts Commission series of Ormonde Deeds, and the work of Simmington, Smyth, Walton and others provide rich material that the

enthusiastic genealogist and local historian needs to be fully acquainted with.

It is not the purpose of this article to trace John Comerford's later descendants in Co. Kilkenny and Co. Wexford. However, I hope I have shown that the sources available since the preparation of Carrigan's history provide rich opportunities for genealogists and local historians alike.

### Notes & Sources

1. William Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, Dublin: Sealy Bryers and Walker, 1905 (4 Vols.), iii, p395.
2. Do.
3. See Carrigan iii, pp394-395.
4. Carrigan iv, p394.
5. See Owen O'Kelly, *The Placenames of County Kilkenny*, Kilkenny: Boethius Press, 1985, p99.
6. See Carrigan Mss, NLI Microfilm Pos 207, no folio number.
7. Carrigan iii, p395.
8. John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees*, New York: P.Murphy & Son, 1915, ii, p128.
9. Vicary Gibb (ed.), *The Complete Peerage*, Vol.vi, London: St. Catherine's Press, 1926, pp606-609 and 23.
10. Arthur Vicars (ed.), *Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland, 1536-1810*, Dublin: Edward Ponsonby, 1897, p97.
11. William Healy, *History and Antiquities of Kilkenny (County and City)*, Kilkenny: P.M. Egan, (1893) Vol.i, pp62-63; see John Hogan in *Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society*, 1883 (Vol.ii), pp33-49.
12. Carrigan iii, p.395.
13. Elizabeth Healy, 'Castle in the Air?' *Ireland of the Welcomes*, 40, 1, January 1991, pp16-19.
14. Healy i (1893), ppA34-35.
15. *ibid*, pA101.
16. Carrigan iii, p395.
17. Robert S. Simmington (ed.), *The Transplantation to Connaught 1654-1658*, Dublin: Irish University Press for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1970, p4.
18. *ibid*, pp69, 93-94.
19. Carrigan Mss NLI, Microfilm Pos 71, f.282, n.d.
20. HMC, Ormond NS ii (1899), pp127, 131.
21. William J. Smyth, 'Making the Documents of Conquest Speak: The Transformation of Property, Society and Settlement in Seventeenth-Century Counties Tipperary and Kilkenny', (pp236-290 in Marilyn Silverman and P.H. Gulliver (eds.), *Approaching the Past, Historical Anthropology through Irish Case Studies*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), p283.
22. HMC, rep 8, p54; HMC, rep 8, Appendix, p500 b.

23. HMC, rep 8, p544.
24. Carrigan iv, p394, see p394, n 2; O'Kelly, pp94-95.
25. See O'Kelly, p94.
26. Do.
27. Do.
28. HMC, rep 9, part ii, p144 a.b.
29. HMC, rep 8, p544; HMC, rep 8, appendix, p500 b.
30. HMC, rep 8, appendix, p500 b.
31. HMC, rep 8, p544.
32. Do.
33. HMC, rep 9, part ii, p144 a.b.
34. Smyth, p283.
35. HMC, rep 9, part ii, p144 a.b.
36. O'Kelly, p94.
37. Julian C. Walton, 'The Hearth Money Rolls of County Kilkenny: Extracted from the Carrigan Mss' (in *The Irish Genealogist*, 5 (1), pp33-47 and 5 (2), pp169-180), pp44-45.
38. *ibid*, pp169, 170.
39. *ibid*, p169, nn 1 and 2; p170; O'Kelly, p144.
40. Walton, p169, nn 1 and 2; p170.
41. HMC, rep 10, p27.
42. Carrigan iii, p394; *Anal Hib.*, XXII (1960), p53.
43. John G.A. Prim, 'Memorials of the Family of Langton of Kilkenny' (in *Jn.R.S.A.I.*, viii (1864), pp59-108), p99.
44. *ibid*, p92.
45. *ibid*, pp100-101.
46. *ibid*, p82.
47. *Anal Hib.*, XX (1958), pp241-243.
48. See W.P.W. Phillimore (ed.), *Indexes to Irish Wills, Vol.I, Ossory, Leighlin and Ferns*, London: Phillimore and Co., 1909, p41; Carrigan Mss NLI, Pos 72, Vol.59, f.112.
49. See O'Kelly, pp94-95; had Castlekealy been Castlekelly, near Gowran, his will would have gone to the Ossory Court rather than the Leighlin Court for probate.
50. Carrigan Mss, NLI, Pos.72, f.14-15.

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The *Correspondent* says – “Our readers will recollect that it was some time since stated that Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Ponsonby, the amiable recluses of Llangollen, intended to quit the charming retreat, because their solitude had been encroached upon by the bustle of a recently erected manufactory. We are happy, however, to find that the report is unfounded – and that those two friends continue unmolested in their delicious retirement”.

[*Leinster Journal*, 11.6.1808]