# THE O'NEILLS IN SPAIN

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by

MICHELINE WALSH

### **FOREWORD**

This study was read by Professor McBride as the First O'Donnell Lecture. The unpublished documents on which it is based are in overseas collections, but transcripts or photographic copies are now filed in the archives of Belgrove, University College, Dublin. Microfilm copies of a great number of them are also in the National Library of Ireland. Some of these documents, numbered 1 to 109 in the notes, are to be published later.

For their unfailing courtesy I thank the directors and staffs of the many continental archives in which I worked; to the director and staff of the National Library of Ireland it is impossible to express adequately my appreciation of their efficiency and help.

MICHELINE WALSH,
Belgrove, University College, Dublin.

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#### THE O'NEILLS IN SPAIN

N official Spanish records there are many sixteenth century details of negotiations between the O'Neills and the Kings A of Spain or their representatives.<sup>1</sup> It was not, however, until the Spring of 1600 that an O'Neill settled permanently in Spain.2 This was the thirteen year old Henry,3 second son of Great Hugh and his second wife, Siobhán, sister of Red Hugh O'Donnell.

#### HENRY SON OF HUGH SON OF FEARDORCHA

In October of the previous year the Spanish Council of State had given its approval, specifying that Henry would be well treated and provided for;4 he was in fact escorted to Spain by one of the King's most trusted commanders, Don Martín de la Cerda,<sup>5</sup> placed for his education in Salamanca,<sup>6</sup> the Spanish centre of learning of those days, and given an allowance of two hundred ducats a month.7

The following year Henry caused some trouble in Spanish diplomatic circles by taking the Franciscan habit.8 Being a son of Spain's strongest ally in Ireland and a minor, whose

<sup>2</sup> A.G.S., Estado, leg. 840.

<sup>3</sup> Henry is mentioned in a petition of his father in 1587, Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1587, p. 290, but his age is not given. We know, however, from the epitaph inscribed on the tomb of his older brother, Hugh, in the church of San Pietro in Rome, that when the latter died, 24th of September 1609, he was in his twenty-fourth year. From these two statements we

deduce that Henry was about a year younger than Hugh.

4 '. . . El hijo de Onel podria venir con presupuesto de haver de ser bien tratado y regalado aca y que otra manera no convenia.' The report of the Council meeting from which this is taken is not dated but was sent with a letter dated the 1st of November 1599 from Idiáquez, Minister for Finance and War, A.G.S., Guerra Antigua, leg. 3143. O'Neill's reply to the King on the subject is still extant in A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2511. The matter is also referred to in a letter of the Duke of Lerma, the King's favourite and leader of the government, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 840. See Documents 1 and 3. These documents, numbered 1 to 109, are to be published later.

A.G.S., Estado, legajos 187 and 1743; see also Reportorium Novum, 1956, p. 353. An account of the arrival of Don Martín and Henry in Santiago de Compostela is contained in a letter from the Archbishop of Santiago to the King, dated the 18th of May 1600, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 840. See

Document 2.

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2511.
Pacata Hibernia, II, p. 95.
A.G.S., Guerra Antigua, leg. 3143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Archivo General, Simancas (A.G.S.), Estado, legajos 812, 816, 830 and

education and welfare had been guaranteed in Spain by both King and Council, this move, without his father's expressed approval or knowledge, was discussion matter for several meetings of the Spanish Council of State. At this early stage I take much of my information about Henry from the minutes of these meetings and the correspondence before them for consideration.

On the 7th of May 1601 Mateo de Oviedo, a Spanish Franciscan himself and future Archbishop of Dublin, writes from Valladolid to Esteban de Ibarra, Spanish Secretary of State for Finance and War:

I am ordered on behalf of His Majesty to go to Salamanca to deal with this matter of Henry O'Neill becoming a friar . . . and so I shall go and return quickly to deal with our principal business.1

Mateo, perhaps Ireland's greatest Spanish friend of all time, was then engaged in negotiations concerning the help to be sent to Irish chiefs in their fight against Elizabeth and was annoyed with young O'Neill whose action was delaying these preparations which Mateo considered of the utmost importance and urgency. A month later he writes again to Ibarra:

I beg you to order that an end should be made of this matter of Don Enrique for there is little difficulty in taking a decision. If it is desired to be disembarrassed of the matter let it be entrusted to me and I shall deal with it and give an account of it in such a way that God may be served and that His Majesty and the boy's father may be satisfied. ... For the love of God do your best with the Duke and the Confessor that we may be delivered from the embarrassment of this young featherhead, which he is, to free us for other things of more importance.2

On the same day Mateo writes to the Duke of Lerma, the King's favourite and leader of his government:

I repeat here again that it is infinitely important that

A.G.S., Guerra Antigua, leg. 3143.
 The 12th of June 1601, A.G.S., Guerra Antigua, leg. 3143. On the 19th of June 1601 Cardenal de Guevara reports to the King the Junta's considered opinion on this incident. A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2511. See Document 4.

the messenger-boat should go to Ireland, as Your Excellency had decided at the beginning of Lent; it is in La Coruña, ready to leave for the past two months. . . . The letters to the Irish chiefs are already written and with Esteban de Ibarra, and I say that it is most important that the boat should go immediately for the reasons and purpose which Your Excellency knows well.

Esteban de Ibarra says that he suspects that the boat is being held up until there is some news of Don Enrique O'Neill. It seems to me that, if Your Excellency be pleased, the matter is already settled by the theological opinions I brought from Salamanca which affirm that, in becoming a friar, this youngster sins mortally and that His Majesty will serve God well in commanding him to give up the habit by order of the Nuncio; and should Your Excellency wish to proceed with more leniency, this young man could be told that, if he wishes to be a friar, it must be in Ireland where there are as many good opportunities as in Spain. With this I believe that he will return to secular clothes and, should he still persevere, let us return him with the habit to his father and let him deal with the matter.

I beseech Your Excellency to order that there should be an end of the business of this youth for it is holding up a thousand things and his servants are wandering about, some in Salamanca and others here causing great expense to His Majesty.<sup>1</sup>

Henry evidently gave up his ideas of becoming a friar for, barely a month later, Mateo writes again, though it is not clear to whom, that he is now giving the final orders concerning Don Enrique.<sup>2</sup>

Henry continued at Salamanca and, in 1603, was reported to be 'much esteemed and well received amongst the Spaniards.'3 Two years later, despite the opposition and intriguing of English agents,4 he was given the colonelcy of an Irish regiment in the service of Spain.<sup>5</sup> The regiment was to serve in the Low

<sup>A.G.S., Guerra Antigua, leg. 3143.
The 10th of July 1601, A.G.S., Guerra Antigua, leg. 3143.
Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1603, p. 573.
Public Records Office, London, (P.R.O.L.), the Trumbull Correspondence; also A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2584, and Estado, Flandes, leg. 2225. See Documents 5, 6 and 7.
A.G.S., Estado, legajos 202 and 624. See Documents 8 and 9.</sup> 

Countries and Henry arrived in Brussels towards the end of 16051 when Spain was still at war with the United Provinces and the commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces, the Marqués de Spínola,2 was at the height of his fame.

It is of interest to note that many senior and well-known southern Irish leaders offered to serve in this regiment under the youthful Henry; amongst these were Cornelius O'Driscoll<sup>3</sup> and the Conde de Biraven, Donal O'Sullivan Beare of Dunboy. In a letter to the Conde de Caracena, Governor of Galicia, the King expresses his appreciation of O'Sullivan's offer but does not wish him to enter into rivalry with the young O'Neill 'who is to be the only colonel of the Irish' in Flanders.4

In the campaign of 1606 the young colonel saw action with his regiment in both Flanders and Germany.<sup>5</sup> Early in 1607, however, negotiations for peace brought the suspension of hostilities, and when, in October of that year, Henry met his father and stepmother and many of his kith and kin of the famous Flight of the Earls on their journey through Flanders, his regiment was quartered in the Bruges district.6

On the 13th of August 1609, Henry was granted permission to go to Spain 'on personal business and on business of his father'.7 On the journey he was accompanied by Captain

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A.G.S., Estado, leg. 202; also Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre, Registre des patentes, titres, ordres et dépêches, Registre XVII, f. 399 v., as quoted by Dr. Brendan Jennings,

O.F.M., in Studies, 1948, p. 195.

Spinola was a wealthy Italian nobleman of great military talent who had come to the service of Spain in 1602. He had already raised for the war of Flanders an army of six thousand men at his own expense. After his success at the siege of Ostend in 1604 Philip III made him Secretary for Finance, Knight of the Toison de Oro and Commander-in-Chief of the troops in Flanders, a post which he filled with distinction for almost a quarter of a century. O Cianáin, whose account of the incident is preserved in manuscript in the Franciscan Convent of Dun Mhuire, tells of the meeting of Spínola and the Earls of Tyrone and Tyronnell in 1607: 'Dia sathairn buí ar a gcinn táinic marcués Spinnala, ard-general armála rígh na Spáinne a fFlonndrus, go n-imat do dhaoinibh ro-onóracha chuca ó Bruxel. Dogní forffáilte friú. Glacuiss chuicce go honórach iad. Do-rad cuiredh dóip chom a medhóin laói ar n-a mhárach a mBruxel. . . Cuiriss chuca san ar maidin dia domhnaigh a riachtanus a less cóistidhe agus eachraidhe as go raghdaoiss go hinnill onórach do láthoir in arsadiúc.' See Archivium Hibernicum, II, Flight of the Earls, p. 42.

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 843. See Documents 10 and 11.

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 205. See Document 12.

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 1750.

Archivium Hibernicum, II, Flight of the Earls, p. 42.

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 1752, and Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, Colección Salazar, A-63, f. 95. See Documents 16 and 17.

Eugenio O'Neill,1 his first cousin, and by Captain John Bath2 who had, two years earlier, acted as captain of the boat which brought the exiled Earls to France. Despite the letters3 which Henry brought to the King of Spain from the Archduke4 in Flanders and from General Spinola, expressing their extreme satisfaction with his courage and services and recommending him to the King's favour, there was some delay in the settling of his affairs<sup>5</sup> and six months later Henry asked and received an extension of his leave of absence.6 The following summer, as arrangements were being made for his return to Flanders, Henry became ill. He died in the small town of Aranda, where the court was then in residence, on the 25th of August 1610, at the early age of twenty-three.7 Three days later the King of Spain wrote to his ambassador at Rome<sup>8</sup> informing him of the event and saying how much he regretted his death, not merely because he was a son of his father but also for his own good parts and the services he rendered to Spain.9

 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 1753. See Document 33. Further references to Eugenio O'Neill are contained in A.G.S., Estado, legajos 1750, 1751 and 1753. See Documents 18, 24, 28, and 34.
 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 1751. See Document 22. On the 29th of July 1610 Great Hugh wrote from Rome to the King of Spain, who had advised a reconciliation with the King of England, proposing that John Bath be sent to London and entrusted with the negotiations. A.G.S., Estado, leg. 1754. See Document 26. Further references to John Bath are contained in A.G.S., Estado, Flandes, leg. 629. See Documents 39 and 40.

3 I have not succeeded in tracing the originals of these letters but they are

referred to in a letter of Archbishop Florence Conry, A.G.S., Estado,

leg. 1750. See Document 28.

<sup>4</sup> The Archduke, Albert of Austria, was a nephew of Philip II of Spain who appointed him Governor of Spanish Flanders in 1596. He married the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II, and continued as Governor of Flanders until his death in 1621.

Governor of Flanders than his death in 1021.
 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 1751. See Document 26.
 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 1752. See Document 19.
 A.G.S., Estado, legajos 994 and 997. Although the allowance granted to Henry by the King of Spain was generous, it was rarely paid regularly or in full; consequently it is not surprising to find that Henry died in debt both in Spain and in Flanders, A.G.S., Estado, legajos 226, 1750 and 1753.

See Documents 15, 30 and 32.

8 Don Francisco de Castro, Duque de Taurisano and Conde de Castro, was ambassador at Rome from 1609 to 1616. His many official reports, still preserved, show clearly his respect and admiration for the Earl of Tyrone as well as the intimate confidence which existed between the two men; until they are published it would be rash to write the life of Great Hugh.

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 994. See Document 27. There is a list of seventy-one Irishmen who were at the Spanish court with Henry O'Neill the month before his death, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2513. See Document 25. Towards the end of the same year there is another list, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 226.

See Document 31.

Henry's death was a cause of great anxiety as well as sorrow to his countrymen knowing, as they did, the danger that threatened the existence of the regiment of Tyrone which the English sought by every means to destroy or control;1 this opportunity of forcing into the vacant colonelcy a man of their choice was one which, it was felt, would not be missed. Already it was known that the major of the regiment was in the pay of the English but the delicate situation between Spain and England made it difficult to act openly in the matter.1

During his illness, and feeling that death was near, Henry himself sent a petition to the King of Spain begging him not to allow the colonelcy of his regiment to be given to anyone without the consent of his father, the Earl of Tyrone.2 Inspired by the same fear Archbishop Florence Conry wrote to the King a fortnight after the death of Henry; he stressed the advantage of appointing immediately to the colonelcy Captain Eugenio O'Neill, nephew of Tyrone,3 a choice which he felt would meet with the Earl's approval and thus avoid the awkward situation of having either to allow the English to gain control of the regiment, or else openly deny them their request.4 The King, however, was not to be hurried and made no decision until he received from his ambassador at Rome a petition from the Earl of Tyrone asking that his son John O'Neill be appointed to the colonelcy of the regiment. This request was granted.5

#### IOHN SON OF HUGH SON OF FEARDORCHA

Born in October 1599,6 John was the son of Great Hugh's fourth wife, Catherine Magennis. He had left Ireland with

A.G.S., Estado, legajos 210 and 2025. See Documents 13 and 14.
 A.G.S., Estado, legajos 1750 and 1861. See Documents 28 and 29.
 A short time before Henry's death Don Diego Brochero had recommended another nephew of Tyrone to act as colonel of the regiment as he was 'more experienced in military matters than his cousin Henry'; this was Arturo, or Art O'Neill, who had left Ireland with Tyrone in 1607. He was a son of Tyrone's brother, Cormac, who had been imprisoned immediately after the Flight of the Earls and was at this time in the Tower of London, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 1751, and A.G.S., Estado, Flandes, leg. 634. See Documents 20, 21 and 23.

4 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 1750. See Document 28.

5 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 1861. See Document 29.

6 Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1599, p. 204.

his parents in 1607¹ and when the Earls went on to Rome he was entrusted, with his younger brother Brian, to the care of the Irish Franciscans in Louvain.² Within the next three years he was to learn of the deaths of his half brothers, Hugh and Henry, and of his own appointment to the colonelcy of the regiment of Tyrone. In 1612, when John was about to receive confirmation, his father, now seeking to draw the King's favours to this next son, asked that His Majesty be sponsor. This request was discussed at a meeting of the Council of State which, still fearing to give offence to the English king, recommended that the Spanish ambassador in Flanders should act as sponsor for the boy, but in his own name and not on behalf of the King.³

The following year John went to the court at Brussels as page to the Infanta Isabel.<sup>4</sup> His father continued his unceasing efforts to obtain for the boy any advancement that could be of use to him and to the cause of his exiled countrymen. In 1614 the Earl of Tyrone sent another petition to the King of Spain asking him to make the young colonel Knight of the Military Order of Santiago.<sup>5</sup> This request was also refused and the King answered that there were others whose merits and prior claims must be attended to, but that anything that could be done for the boy would be considered.<sup>6</sup>

Tyrone then applied his efforts in another direction and in July 1615 we read of the arrival in Brussels of his chaplain,

- <sup>1</sup> Archivium Hibernicum, II, The Flight of the Earls, p. 73.
- <sup>2</sup> Dr. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., Studies, 1941, p. 226.
- <sup>3</sup> A.G.S., Estado, legajos 997 and 998. See Documents 35, 36 and 37.
- <sup>4</sup> A.G.S., Estado, leg. 1000. See Document 38.
- <sup>5</sup> A.G.S., Estado, Roma, leg. 1000. See Document 38. A year later the King was asked again, this time through his ambassador in Flanders, to make John O'Neill a Knight of Santiago, but though the King then gave his approval John did not receive a knighthood until 1632, A.G.S., Estado, Flandes y Holanda, leg. 2299, and Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, (A.H.N., Madrid), Calatrava, exp. 1832. See Documents 41 and 52.
- 6 '... Ya veys que debiera acudir a quien sirve y tiene noticia de sus partes y assi le podriades guiar a esto y de lo que aca se pudiere hazer por el se tendra cuydado...' The King to Castro from San Lorenzo, the 15th of November 1614, A.G.S., Estado, Roma, leg. 1000.

Father Chamberlain, 1 to conclude a match 2 planned between John and the daughter of Mancisador, Secretary for War in the government of the Archduke.3 Shortly afterwards the English representative in Flanders, Trumbull, ever fearful lest any event might improve the position of the exiled Earls, wrote to his government:

Having an eye still upon the alliance in treaty between the Irish colonel and the daughter of secretary Mancisador, which now seemeth to grow more mature than when I formerly wrote thereof, it was my chance to light upon a letter, the copy whereof I send herein enclosed. . . . I am verily persuaded of the truth of that information and think it is high time some underhand means were used to prevent the match. . . . 4

Trumbull's underhand means may have been effective; at any rate the projected marriage did not take place.5

<sup>2</sup> Father Chamberlain, a Franciscan and lecturer at St. Anthony's College in Louvain, is the Robert Mac Arthur referred to in the information given by Sir Neale O'Donnell, the 7th of August 1606: 'One Robert M'Arthur, a Jesuit, is now in England in the habit of a captain, and doth from thence advertise the Earls of all occurrences. This man was some five years since sent into Spain from the Earl of Tyrone, and now carried some other name'. Tomás O Cléirigh, Aodh Mac Aingil, pp. 110 sq. In 1607 he was at Douai with Florence Conry to meet the Earls on their way to Flanders, Archivium Hibernicum, II, Flight of the Earls, p. 37. He was chaplain to Tyrone, and attended the Earl at the time of his death in Rome in 1616, Meehan, Fate and Fortunes of O'Neill and O'Donnell, p. 444.

Meehan, Fate and Fortunes of O'Neill and O'Donnell, p. 456. When Meehan wrote this work the exact date of Henry O'Neill's death was unknown; the author therefore assumed the incident quoted here to refer

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Bentivoglio, Guerra di Fiandra, p. 377.
<sup>4</sup> As cited by Meehan, Fate and Fortunes of O'Neill and O'Donnell, p. 458. <sup>5</sup> The continued efforts of the English to destroy the Regiment of Colonel John O'Neill were not, however, so successful, as shown by a report of the 16th of April 1616, A.G.S., Estado, Flandes, leg. 2299. See Document 44. The survival of the regiment was considered by Great Hugh to be of the utmost importance. At his request the Spanish Ambassador in Rome wrote to the King, on the 9th of December 1615, urging that measures be taken to prevent its destruction, A.G.S., Estado, Flandes, leg. 2030. See Document 42. The Spanish Council of State discussed this letter and on the 10th of February 1616 the order was given to send the necessary instructions to the Archduke in Flanders, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2030. See Document 43. In his reply of the 20th of April 1616 the Archduke assured the King of his constant care in the matter, A.G.S., Estado, Flandes, leg. 229. See Document 45. Great Hugh, however, was not satisfied that the measures taken were sufficient. Towards the end of the following month he wrote to the King from his enforced exile in Rome insisting that more urgent orders be sent to the Archduke, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 634. See Document 46. Though now failing in health

In 1616, barely a year later, John's father died in Rome,1 and in 1617, Brian, his younger brother, was assassinated in Brussels.<sup>2</sup> The only other surviving son of Great Hugh was Con na Creige, the unfortunate boy who was left behind at the time of the Flight and captured by the English. In 1622 he was committed to the Tower of London after which nothing more is heard of him.3

John succeeded to his father's Spanish title of Conde de Tyron<sup>4</sup> and continued as colonel of the Regiment of Tyrone in Flanders, whence many, and he himself also, hoped that he would return to Ireland and renew the struggle that had led

and nearing the end of his life, despite betrayals, despite frustrations imposed on him by the persistent Spanish policy of appeasement and the constant refusals of the Spanish king to allow him leave Rome to organise an invasion of Ireland, O'Neill's spirit was unbroken. His active mind was still planning the invasion, the success of which depended so much on the strength and prestige of his son's regiment. At this time he writes to the King that if his sons do not regain their territories during his lifetime they will be lost to them forever. He knows his own time is brief and 'since I must die soon', he writes, 'I should prefer to do so in Ireland fighting for the Catholic Faith even with only a hundred men.' A.G.S., Estado, Roma, leg. 1002.

<sup>1</sup> The 20th of July 1616. Cardinal Borja was then Spanish Ambassador in Rome and had succeeded to the Conde de Castro shortly before the death of Great Hugh. His letter, reporting O'Neill's death to the King, was discussed at a meeting of the Spanish Council of State on the 27th of

August 1616, A.G.S., Estado, Roma, leg. 1002. See Document 47.

In the Latin MS. 3947 of the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels the contemporary Fr. Donatus Mooney gives a detailed account of the death of Brian. See Analecta Hibernica, VI, pp. 127-130.

Referring to this son there is a letter preserved amongst the correspondence

discussed at the meeting of the Spanish Council of State on the 31st of July 1615. It is written from Rome by the Earl of Tyrone the year before he died there: 'Naturally,' he writes, 'I have to die within four or six years and I do not wish it to be without the consolation of dying fighting for my religion and the territories of my forebears.... The King of England.... in order to take the country from Catholics... has confiscated their property and estates dividing them amongst English and Scotch... and from many families they have snatched the young heirs and orphans and forcibly reared them in England in the English religion and married them to English women . . . and they have snatched a young son of mine and to-day they are rearing him in their religion, but I trust in God that the blood he has in his veins will not permit such a deception and that one blood he has in his veins will not permit such a deception and that one day he will avenge for me this outrage.' A.G.S., Estado, leg. 845. There are two more letters referring to this son of Tyrone's, one from Andrés Velázquez, dated the 13th of September 1615, and the other from Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, A.G.S., Estado, Flandes, leg. 629. See Documents 39 and 40.

4 A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1832. Spain recognised Great Hugh's title of second Earl of Tyrone translating it by 'Conde de Tyron'; although not recognised in England the title was granted by Spanish Kings to several O'Neills until the end of the seventeenth century. Officially John was the

O'Neills until the end of the seventeenth century. Officially John was the

third of this title.

to the exile of his father. To further this aim John left Brussels for Madrid where, shortly after his arrival in 1630, he submitted two memorials1 to the commissioners2 appointed by the King to examine his claims. One of these memorials contains detailed plans for an invasion of Ireland; the other is an alternative request that the restitution of his estates should be included in the peace negotiations between Spain and England. The commissioners felt that the time was not ripe for the execution of such plans and advised the King to await a more favourable occasion. They recommended, however, that, in consideration of O'Neill's high rank and nobility and of the services rendered by his family to Spain and the Catholic religion, the King should show him particular favour and honour and for the present increase his pay in Flanders by two hundred crowns a month. This, they hasten to add, remembering the many demands made on the King's treasury by the exiled Irish, cannot create a precedent, for the case of no other person could present the same impelling reasons and circumstances. The commissioners also suggest that, in order to ensure the succession of such a noble family, a marriage should be arranged between O'Neill and some lady of noble and wealthy origin.3

John O'Neill remained in Madrid for the next three years and though the marriage plans were not successful he received the honour denied to him some years previously; in May 1632 he was made Knight Commander of the military order of Calatrava.4

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2044. See Documents 49 and 50.
 Iñigo Vélez de Guevara y Tassis, Conde de Oñate, and García de Haro, Conde de Castrillo, who were both members of the Council of State. Oñate, who is said to have been one of the most influential politicians of his day, was later to become Spanish Ambassador in Rome and Viceroy of Naples. Castrillo had been professor and rector of the University of Salamanca; later he succeeded to Oñate as Viceroy of Naples and became

President of the Consejo de Castilla.

3 A.G.S., Estado, Flandes y Holanda, leg. 2044. See Document 51.

4 A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1832. The military order of Calatrava, together with that of Santiago, is one of the highest and most select military orders of Spain. Among the records of this order are preserved several documents submitted by O'Neill at the time of his admission. These include a genealogy and the depositions of twenty-three witnesses who acted as his sponsors on this occasion; they were: Ricardo Goldeo, Hugo de Burgo, Gaspar Chillan, Phelipe O'Sullevan Bear, Arturo Hagan, Cornelio Quillin, Daniel Conrryo, Dermicio O'Sullevan Bear, Elena O'Sullevan Bear, Dionisio Conveo, Francisco Ruarque, Eugenio Carti, Malaquias Conaldo, Carlos Carty, Thadeo Combeo, Thadeo Conaldo, Patricio Henriquez y Cahan, Juan Combeo, Antonio O'Driscol, Grifin Morkams. See Document

At the beginning of November of the following year and a few days before his son, Hugo Eugenio, was born, John returned to his regiment in Flanders.1 During the next few years we find several references to the efforts made by the French to draw O'Neill and his regiment to their service,2 which is perhaps a reason why he and his regiment were ordered to Spain. He sailed from Flanders early in 16383 and we find him next in La Coruña in June of the same year.4

There he was joined by the Count of Tirconnell, Colonel Hugo Alberto O'Donnell, nephew of Red Hugh, whose regiment had also been ordered to the Peninsula.<sup>4</sup> The following month O'Neill and O'Donnell received permission to visit the court and made the journey to Madrid.<sup>5</sup> Before they reached their destination the King had received two petitions from O'Neill. The first of these, discussed at a meeting of the Council of State, asked that he be given 'a house suitable for his position, a carriage and maintenance, as he had received the first time he came to the court with the Duque de Ariscot'. The Council recommended that this be done as his stay would be short. But Philip IV, through his own experience and that of his father, had learned the need for caution when faced with the delicate susceptibilities of the houses of O'Neill and O'Donnell. On the Council's report we find this comment in the King's handwriting, showing his preoccupation that when making a grant to an O'Neill the existence of an O'Donnell was not to be forgotten:

Examine what can be done with the Count of Tyrconell

A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1833. See Document 77.
 In a letter dated the 19th of January 1635 to the Cardenal Infante, Don Fernando, Governor of Flanders, his brother Philip IV mentions rumours that the French were making attempts to detach O'Neill and O'Donnell from the Spanish service and draw them to their own, Dr. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., Studies, 1941, p. 234. We find these rumours confirmed by French sources; on the 31st of December 1636 the Marquis de Senneterre, French Ambassador in Flanders, writes that an Irish gentleman named Crosby offers to bring to the service of France troops of Irish veterans then at the French frontiers and believes that he can bring with them the then at the French frontiers and believes that he can bring with them the Count of Tyrone, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fonds français, 15993, ff. 199, 200. The Spaniards, disturbed by the possible loss of such valuable 11. 199, 200. The Spaniards, disturbed by the possible loss of such valuable troops, discussed the matter at a meeting of the Council of State in 1638, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 661. There are many further documents on the subject in A.G.S., Estado, legajos 2521 and 2661. See Documents 55, 56, 63, 64, and 66.

S A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2521. See Document 54.

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2661.

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2521. See Document 57.

considering that both of them are coming to serve in my household; from what my brother has written to me I do not know how the matter may be adjusted evenly.

Perhaps we should pause for a moment in sympathy with these Spanish Kings and admire their patience and understanding over years of requests and counter requests to ensure that neither family was favoured more than the other. I mention very briefly some of the many incidents to be found in contemporary Spanish records of the period in question:

Thirty-nine years earlier, confronted with this problem, Mateo de Oviedo advised Philip III that two equally important posts must be found for the O'Neill and O'Donnell of those days.<sup>3</sup> To balance matters, his suggestion to the King was that one should be appointed General for the War and the other Governor for the Peace.<sup>4</sup>

Three years later, as he was dying in the castle of Simancas, Red Hugh O'Donnell wrote in his will:

Also I declare, that in case the Earl O'Neill (though I know and believe he will not do so) should wish to violate the agreement and settlements arranged and made between him and me and our heirs, I hereby beg His Majesty to uphold my brother in his rights and to retain him in his service.

Also I say and declare this is one of the terms of our agreement, that all aid and help sent by His Majesty to the Earl O'Neill and to me shall be divided into two equal parts, and the same shall take place with regard to our heirs, seeing that one claims no pre-eminence above the other, and whichever of them shall be the elder in walking together shall be at the right of the other. I beseech His Majesty to uphold my brother according to the agreement, and to oblige him to serve all the better, I pray His Majesty to place him in some position of trust with a sufficient salary.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2511.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Cardenal Infante, Don Fernando, Governor of Flanders.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The 13th of July 1638, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2521. See Documents 57 and 58.

Great Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and Red Hugh O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell. General para la guerra y gobernador para la paz, A.G.S., Guerra Antigua, Parte de Mar, leg. 3143.

In 1608 when the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell<sup>1</sup> arrived in Rome the King of Spain made them a monthly allowance of four hundred and three hundred crowns respectively. Tyrone then warned the Spanish ambassador<sup>2</sup> of the trouble this might cause and the ambassador reports to the King:

... The Count of Tyrone does not wish Tyronnell to know that Tyrone is being given more because they are friends and this advantage would be the cause of great enmity. . . . <sup>3</sup>

The Earl of Tyrconnell died in Rome the following July,4 and some years later, in order to bring about a closer unity between the two families, a marriage was suggested between a sister<sup>5</sup> of the young Earl of Tyrconnell, Hugh Albert, and John O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, but these plans were unsuccessful.6

In 1622 the Earl of Tyrconnell, although junior to O'Neill, insisted that his grant should be raised by fifty crowns monthly in order that his allowance be equal to that of the Earl of Tyrone.6

The following year the Earl of Tyrconnell was in Spain and wrote in a letter to the Conde de Olivares, head of the Spanish government:

. . . I do not consider myself inferior in rank, services and obligations to the Counts of Tiron . . . and only His Majesty is powerful enough to overshadow my house and no one lower than a king in Ireland, Scotland or England. . . . <sup>7</sup>

In 1625 when the young Earl of Tyrconnell was ready for army service he had to be given a commission in a Spanish cavalry regiment for he could not serve under O'Neill, Earl

Great Hugh O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell, brother of Red Hugh.
The Marqués de Aytona was Spanish Ambassador in Rome at the time of the Earls' arrival there and, the following year, was succeeded by the Conde de Castro.

The 22nd of May 1608, 'El Conde de Tiron no quiere que sepa el de Tirconel que se le da a el mas porque son amigos y esta ventaja seria causa de gran enemistad'. A.G.S., Estado, leg. 988.

The 28th of July 1608.

Mary, daughter of Rory O'Donnell and of Bridget Fitzgerald, daughter of the Earl of Kildare.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Dr. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., Studies, 1941, pp. 228 and 231.
<sup>7</sup> The 30th of December 1623, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2516.

of Tyrone, colonel of the Irish Regiment.<sup>1</sup> This position was rectified later by the Spaniards who had another Irish regiment formed and placed under the command of Tyrconnell.<sup>1</sup>

In 1629 when Archbishop Florence Conry went to Spain to put forward a scheme for the invasion of Ireland, it was agreed to forestall jealousies by making both Tyrconnell and Tyrone generals.<sup>1</sup>

Tyrconnell visited the court at Madrid and was made Knight of Alcántara;<sup>2</sup> when Tyrone visited Madrid he was made Knight of Calatrava.<sup>3</sup>

In 1640 O'Neill was appointed member of the Supreme Council of War.<sup>4</sup> So far I have come across no documentary evidence that O'Donnell received the same honour. Perhaps his end came too soon, for shortly afterwards, in an engagement off Barcelona, his ship took fire and he and some thirty of his regiment were drowned.<sup>5</sup>

A contemporary sums up the two men thus:

Tyronnell, an accomplished courtier, expert in matters of war, of the greatest courage, but less prudent than Tyrone, a man of singular judgement.<sup>6</sup>

Before our digression on the rivalries of the houses of Tyrone and Tyrconnell we left John O'Neill on his way to the court in July 1638. He reached his destination on the 25th of the same month when he wrote to the King:

The weather and the journey have prevented the Count of Tyrconnell and myself from arriving, as we had wished, before to-night. We humbly beg Your Catholic Majesty to compensate for this delay by ordering immediately that

- <sup>1</sup> Dr. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., Studies, 1941, pp. 228, 230, 232.
- <sup>2</sup> A.H.N., Madrid, Alcántara, exp. 736.
- <sup>3</sup> A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1832.
- <sup>4</sup> A.G.S., Guerra Antigua, leg. 1428.
- <sup>5</sup> Cesáreo Fernández Duro, Armada Española, IV, pp. 298 and 316.
- 6 '... Tirconellius aulicus politissimus, in disciplina militari versatissimus, animi plenissimus, sed minus prudens quam Tironius, homo consultissimus.' Commentarius Rinuccinianus.

we should be employed in your royal service which is the life we most desire in this world.1

On his return to the court the following month O'Neill again pressed his claims representing that his twenty-eight years' continuous service in Flanders entitled him to more promotion than he had received. He also reminds the King that the O'Neill family was of royal blood and that his father had always been treated by the King's predecessors and the other Princes of Europe with the same honour and consideration extended to Grandees of Spain.2 O'Neill's promotion, however, was again delayed; the more urgent matter of the war with France was claiming all the attention of the court.

At that time the French were besieging the town of Fuenterrabía with an army of 22,000 under the Prince de Condé and the Duc de la Valette. The citizens and the small garrison consisting of only five companies had been holding out for two months when, at the beginning of September, a relieving army of 12,000 Spaniards reached the French lines. With this army was Colonel John O'Neill.3 Within a short time Condé's army was routed,4 and, in the words of a delighted Spanish writer:

The French were panic-stricken. The Archbishop of Bordeaux<sup>5</sup> took refuge in his ships and Condé followed him wading through the water to reach a launch; the others did not stop until they reached Bayonne.6

After the defeat of the French at Fuenterrabía John returned to Madrid. At the end of September another memorial from him is submitted to the King, again asking for a 'house, carriage

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2521. See Documents 59 and 60. O'Neill remained but a few days at the court and, having during that time sent two letters and two memorials to the King and the Secretary of the Council of State, he returned to his regiment, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2661. See Documents 61, 62, and 63. He states in one of these memorials that he has heard of the arrival in Spain of two messengers sent by Richelieu in an attempt to draw his regiment to the service of France and 'he fears that they may be daring enough to go to the regiment and attempt some disturbance.

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2521. See Document 65.
 A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1833.
 The Duc de la Valette was blamed for this disaster; he took refuge in England and was condemned to death in his absence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Archbishop was in command of a fleet blockading the town.

<sup>6</sup> Lafuente, Historia de España, XI, p. 277.

and maintenance'. O'Neill explains that the last time he made this request he did not press his claims for he was staying only a short time. But now with the King's permission he has returned to attend to his affairs and has left his men in the province of Navarre where they will not be so ill accommodated as at the time of his last visit.1 Three months later the King tells his Council that it has abundant proof of the merits of O'Neill and it must now be decided what favours are to be granted.2

In the following spring O'Neill was again busy with plans for the invasion of Ireland. On the 24th of May 1639, in a letter to the Conde Duque de Olivares, leader of the Government, he writes:

In the thirty-two years since my father left Ireland there has never been another occasion like the present for the restoration of Ireland to the Catholics. . . . With four or five thousand men, even with only the Irishmen who are in His Majesty's service here and in Flanders, and arms and munitions for twenty thousand, I shall go in person to accomplish it. . . . 3

The matter was discussed at a meeting of the Council of State on the 4th of June and the recommendation to the King was:

Although what the Count of Tyrone proposes might be of benefit, the present state of affairs makes it impossible to provide the necessary means for the execution of such plans, but the Count of Tyrone and his Irish followers must be assured that the protection of Your Majesty will not fail them when the occasion is more favourable.4

The King agreed with the Council but added in his own writing:

... the best of all would be not to answer for the present and to continue delaying the matter.4

Within a few months, however, John was appointed member

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2521. See Documents 67 and 68.
 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2521. See Document 69.
 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2521. See Document 70.
 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2521. See Document 71.

of the Supreme Council of War<sup>1</sup> and on the 27th of April 1640 he was at the Royal Palace of the Retiro in Madrid at a banquet given to Spanish military chiefs by the Conde Duque de Olivares, head of the Government.<sup>2</sup> Present also on this occasion was the Marqués de los Balbases whom John had probably known in Flanders for he was the son of General Ambrosio Spínola,<sup>3</sup> who for many years was John's Commander-in-Chief and welcomed the Earls of the Flight on their way through Belgium.

A few months later, on the 18th of August, we come across John's signature, as member of the Council of War, on the memorial of an Irish woman, Doña Sicilia O'Quilli, who asks for financial help, claiming that her father, Bernardo, and two uncles had died in the service of the King.<sup>4</sup> Whether or not it was through O'Neill's influence or the merits of her case she was granted her request.

At that time war had broken out in Cataluña and John, despite his recent appointment, had little hope now of obtaining the help he had so often sought for an invasion of Ireland. He was ordered to join the army under the command of the Marqués de los Vélez and by December 1640 he had left Madrid. In January the Spanish army arrived within reach of Barcelona and, on the morning of the twenty-ninth, attacked the fortress on the hill of Montjuich overlooking the town. The regiment of Tyrone was appointed to lead the assault, and its colonel, John O'Neill, the last surviving son of Great Hugh, was among the first to be killed.<sup>5</sup>

Thus abruptly ended the plans in Ireland of Rory O'Moore and his friends that a son of Hugh O'Neill's should lead the Irish Rising of 1641.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A.G.S., Guerra Antigua, leg. 1428.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Almirante, Bosquejo de la Historia Militar, III, p. 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ambrosio Spinola had been created first Marqués de los Balbases by Philip IV on the 17th of December 1621. His son Felipe succeeded to the title when his father died on the 25th of September 1630. The date given by Fr. Paul Walsh in *Archivium Hibernicum*, II, Flight of the Earls, p. 42, is incorrect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A.G.S., Guerra Antigua, leg. 1428.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A.G.S., Secretaría de Guerra, leg. 1726. See also Lafuente, Historia de España, XI, p. 329 and Almirante, Bosquejo de la Historia Militar, III, p. 170. The date of John O'Neill's death as given by Fr. Paul Walsh, The Will and Family of Hugh O'Neill, p. 31, is incorrect.

#### HUGO SON OF JOHN SON OF HUGH

After John's death, his son, Hugo Eugenio, or Hugh Eugene, who was then but seven years old, succeeded to the colonelcy of the regiment of Tyrone.<sup>1</sup>

Up to now all that was known of this son was that he was illegitimate<sup>2</sup> and that he died shortly before the end of October 1660.<sup>3</sup> Of the circumstances and date of his birth, or the name, nationality and noble lineage of his mother, or indeed anything of his life, friends and associates, nothing had come to light.

Recently, however, I had the good fortune to come across the date of Hugo Eugenio's birth, his baptismal certificate and many other official and legally certified documents, an autograph letter and many written statements of his friends and contemporaries, which raise this grandson of Great Hugh from his obscurity.

Hugo Eugenio was born in Madrid on the 15th of November 1633.<sup>4</sup> He was made Knight of Calatrava in 1644, three years after his father's death.<sup>5</sup> Among the depositions of Hugo Eugenio's twenty-five sponsors<sup>6</sup> for admission to the Order is the following statement of Gaspar Bernaben, his godfather:

- ... Hugo Eugenio O'Neill, Prince of Ulster and Count of Tyrone, was born on the feast of St. Eugene, and a few days before, John O'Neill, Prince of Ulster and Count
- <sup>1</sup> A.G.S., Papeles de Guerra, leg. 1434.
- <sup>2</sup> John O'Neill left 'onely one boy, by name Huigh Oneyll, fruit of his loynes, behinde him, thin of the age of 9 yeares', Gilbert, *History of Affairs in Ireland*, I, p. 6. He left 'a natural son named Hugh, to whom Philip IV of Spain gave his father's regiment and granted him letters of legitimation', Carte, *Life of Ormonde*, I, p. 348.
- <sup>3</sup> In a letter of October 1660 Hugh Bennet, the English Ambassador in Madrid, mentions 'the late Earl of Tyrone, John O'Neill, father of the younger man that is lately dead here', see Hill, *The Macdonnells of Antrim*, p. 233.
- 4 A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1833. See Document 53.
- A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1833. See Documents 76, 77, 78 and 79.
- A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1833. Hugo Eugenio's sponsors were: Dermicio O'Sullevan Bear, Ricardo Goldeo, Dermicio O'Driscoll, Juan Combeo, Gaspar Bernaben, Daniel de Guia, Dermicio O'Brien, Fernando O'Conrri, Gregorio Falon, Mauricio O'Brien, Arnoldo de Goa, Diego Flangolio, Juan Dearceo, Carlos O'Quely, Thadeo O'Sullevan, Diego Flemin, Patricio Geraldino, Eduardo Butler, David Geraldino, Mauro Suyni, Diego Macgrah, Mathias O'Kenedy, Patricio Geraldino, Fray Thomas de Santa María, Guillermo O'Mostey.

of Tyrone, who reared this witness1 from the time he was nine years old, ordered him to remain in this city . . . and after the child's birth, to place it, should it be a girl, with a reliable person in this city and rejoin his regiment in Flanders; and, should it be a boy he was to look after and rear him with great care and, at the baptism, name him Hugh, after the father of the said John O'Neill, who ordered this witness to keep him informed of everything, and, not under any circumstances, mention whose son he was . . . without having express order to do so . . . and so the child was called Hugh in baptism and the witness added the name Eugene as he was born on the feast of St. Eugene and also to conceal the Irish name; and this witness reared him and has charge of him. . . . And when the said John O'Neill came to this city after the relief of Fuenterrabía, he ordered the witness to bring Hugh Eugene to him . . . and then he acknowledged him as his natural son and told many Irish gentlemen who were there and kept the child with him for more than fifteen days. Then he ordered the witness to take the child back and continue his upbringing. At the beginning of the year 1640, when the said John O'Neill was in this city, he ordered the witness to do what was necessary for him to make a will . . . and the above mentioned drew up his testament in his own hand and in it declared Hugh Eugene to be his natural son and his heir and successor to his estates, and it was legally sealed. . . . And the said John O'Neill, when he went to Flanders, left orders with the witness that, after the child was born, its mother should be taken to a convent in accordance with the royal permission granted to her, and shortly afterwards the witness brought her to the Convent of La Concepción Real de Calatrava as a choir nun. . . . And she was a nun in the said convent, and through ill health, and because the life did not suit her she came out, and the said Count and herself were both unmarried and free to marry and could have done so because she was as noble as he, being cousin of the Count of Tyrconnell. This witness knew the paternal grandparents [of Hugo Eugenio] who were Don Hugo

Gaspar Bernaben who is making this statement in the third person as is usual in such declarations.

O'Neill . . . and Doña Catalina Magenis . . . they died, he in Rome and she in Naples. . . . 1

Another sponsor who gives similar information and who also acted as sponsor for Hugo Eugenio's father in 1632, is the chaplain of the convent mentioned, La Concepción Real de Calatrava. He was Don Juan Combeo, or Conway, and, as he himself says, a 'native of the town of Ross in the province of Leinster'. He states that:

He knows Hugh Eugenio O'Neill, Prince of Ulster and Count of Tyrone, who was born in this city on the feast of St. Eugene in the year 1633 and he was present at the baptism.2

Captain Diego Fleming, also a sponsor, states that, in his presence and that of many other Irish gentlemen, John O'Neill declared Hugh Eugene to be his natural son. Fleming was a native of Waterford and had been admitted to the Order of Santiago in 1640 when John O'Neill was one of his sponsors.3

Some other witnesses for Hugh Eugene were the Count of Biraven, Dermicio O'Sullevan Beare,4 and Ricardo Goldeo,4 or Gould, a Trinitarian, professor of Theology in the College of la Santisima Trinidad of the University of Alcalá de Henares, who states that he had been John O'Neill's confessor for sixteen years. Both of these had also been witnesses for John.

Unfortunately I have been unsuccessful in my search for the original will of John O'Neill, but I have a copy of a clause concerning his son. This copy is certified correct by the King's notary, signed by him and dated the 12th of March 1641; it reads:

The remainder of all my property, real and personal, and credits and whatever else may appertain to me in any other way, I leave to, as my heir, Hugh Eugene O'Neill,

<sup>A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1833. See Document 77. The place and time of Catherine Magenis' death are given in Trinity College MS. H.4, 31, p. 106, as Rome, the 15th of March 1618; this is incorrect as shown by a letter bearing her autograph signature and written to the King of Spain from Naples, the 22nd of June 1618, A.G.S., Estado, Roma, leg. 1881. See Document 48. She died in Naples shortly before the 21st of April 1619, A.G.S., Estado, Roma, leg. 1867.
A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1833. See Document 78.
A.H.N., Madrid, Santiago, exp. 3089.
A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1833.</sup> 

my natural son, whose mother, being of princely birth, I do not name. He is in the charge of ensign Don Gaspar-Bernaben, administrator of my commandery, as his son. I beseech His Holiness to legitimize him, and I beseech the: King our lord to give his protection in this matter and to grant him this favour for which I hope from His Majesty by allowing him to take possession of my commandery and my rents so that he may live as befits him and in the service of His Majesty while he lives as I have done and would do all my life.1

The Council of Knights submitted their recommendation for the admission of Hugh Eugene to the Order of Calatrava, as appears from the following minute of the Assembly:

At the council meeting on the ninth day of the month of May of the year 1644, having seen the reports of the enquiries on the religion and nobility and other qualities. of Hugh Eugene O'Neill, Prince of Ulster and Count of Tyrone, the Señores Don Antonio de Luna, Don Juan. Don Geronimo Mascarenas, Don Ponce de Leon, Francisco de Boria, Don Pedro Ordoña, declared that they gave their approval as regards the religion and nobility of the said candidate pending the dispensation of His Holiness for being the natural son of the Count of Tyrone, his father, and of Doña Ysabel O'Donnell, native of Donegal in the Kingdom of Ireland, and ordered that the letter and report for His Majesty should be written. according to the rule.2

Hugh Eugene was legitimized, became Knight of Calatrava and, as his father had requested, was granted his Commandery of Carrión with its large income.

Dated the 5th of July 1649, is the following declaration of the young Count of Tyrone who says that, despite his young age:3

... he is going in person to serve with his Irish regiment of infantry at present serving in the campaign of Cataluña, and with the strong desire to continue the long and

A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1833. See Document 72.
 A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1833. See Document 79.
 He was then not quite sixteen.

distinguished services of the Princes O'Neill, Counts of Tyrone, his grandfather, uncle, and of his father who fell gloriously, as is well known, in the royal service and in the defence of His Majesty's Catholic kingdom of Spain. Many soldiers and officers of the companies of his regiment, having been put on half pay, passed to other regiments of the armies of Cataluña and Portugal, causing great disadvantage to the Royal service, and great weakness and lack of men in the said regiment, which is amongst the oldest, most valiant and renowned of the whole Royal Catholic Army of His Majesty, and for the last sixty years has been serving continuously in the wars of Flanders, the Palatinate and France, and lately in Spain, taking part in all the battles in which his regiment was engaged, both on land and sea, without ever failing in their duty to the Royal Service, until more than twelve thousand Irishmen of this regiment have died, most of them at the point of the sword, and among them some fifty noblemen, almost all of them captains, of the same flesh and blood as the Count of Tyrone, father of the petitioner, who was killed fighting valiantly on the day of Montjuich near Barcelona in the year 1641. And the said regiment was never disbanded and is the mother and founder of five other regiments of the same nation who have served this Catholic Crown of Spain in various parts with the courage, love and loyalty so well known to all.1

Hugo Eugenio was in Madrid once more during the following year. On the 2nd of February, he acted as sponsor for his father's godson, Don Fadrique Plunketo, a candidate for the Military Order of Santiago.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to see the signature to his deposition, which reads, contrary to the Spanish custom of titled people: O'Neill, Conde de Tyron, and we remember how proud his grandfather was of the name O'Neill and considered it higher than any title of nobility.3

It must be supposed that John had not left the boy's upbringing completely in the hands of the Spanish ensign

<sup>3</sup> A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1832.

A.G.S., Secretaria de Guerra, leg. 1726.
 A.H.N., Madrid, Santiago, exp. 6537. Fadrique Juan Plunketo was baptised in the church of San Martin in Madrid on the 25th of August 1633 when John O'Neill was present as godfather.

Bernaben, and though we have yet no information as to where he was educated and by whom, we do know that, during the year 1645, Fr. Terence O'Neill was living in his house in Madrid.1 Residing with him in the same house in 1650 were the Franciscan Fray Francisco Magnesio,<sup>2</sup> or Magennis, and Dr. Don Guillermo O'Mostey<sup>2</sup> who had been rector of the Irish College of St. Patrick of the University of Alcalá de Henares. Like his illfated uncles and father, Hugh Eugene was not destined to live long; he died shortly before the end of October 1660.

After the death of this last male representative of Great Hugh's family there is some confusion as regards the succession to the title of Conde de Tyron. Though Matthews states that Black Hugh O'Neill, the hero of Clonmel and Limerick, assumed the title in 1660,3 I can find no Spanish documentation stating who was the Conde between that year and 1666. It is clear, however, that in 1666 the title was held by another Hugo O'Neill, grandson of Eoghan Roe and son of the Henry who was beheaded in Derry in 1650.4

#### HUGO SON OF HENRY SON OF EOGHAN ROE

Hugo was born about 1647 in Ticroghan, Co. Meath, the home of his mother, Eleanor, daughter of Sir Luke Fitzgerald.<sup>5</sup> He himself states that:

... he left Ireland as a child and was taken to Brussels; from there he went to Rome and later served in war as cavalry captain and colonel.6

In a memorial submitted to the Spanish Council of State on the 13th of March 1666 Hugo asks that, in consideration of the many services rendered to Spain by his family, he be granted an allowance not only suitable to his rank but also large enough to enable him to marry as:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See letter of Rinuccini quoted by Brady, Episcopal Succession, II. p. 345.

See letter of Killdelin quoted by Blady, Episcopal Saccesson, 21. p. 3-13.
 A.H.N., Madrid, Santiago, exp. 6537.
 Matthews, The O'Neills of Ulster, III, pp. 314-315. Unfortunately Matthews does not give his authority.
 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2829. Some references to Eoghan and his son, Henry, are contained in A.G.S., Estado, Flandes y Holanda, leg. 2057. See Documents 73, 74, and 75.

A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1831.

A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1831. See Document 96.

he wishes to marry to ensure the succession of his family of which, since his brothers have died, he is the only one left and because the Kings Philip II, III and IV wished that his family be united by marriage with subjects of this monarchy, they wrote to the Archdukes and Infantes, Governors of Flanders, asking them if they knew of any wealthy lady of suitable rank to give in marriage to Don Juan O'Neill, Count of Tyrone, who died fighting the enemy at Montjuich near Barcelona. Because he himself wishes the same he begs Your Majesty to order that this be done also in his case, either in Spain, Flanders or Italy.

Should the King not be pleased to do so Hugo asks him to intercede with the King of England to grant him, without obligation to leave the service of Spain, some estates in compensation for those lost by his family. Finally he asks for a special allowance for he is greatly in debt having been paid only twice during the time that he has served as colonel in Barcelona.1 The Council recommended that he be paid punctually and given immediately a grant of forty crowns but did not think it advisable for the King to take any steps as regards the restitution of O'Neill's estates.2 The following year Hugo was made Knight of Calatrava.3 The exact date of his death is not clear but we know that he was dead by 1673.4

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2829. See Document 91.
 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2829. See Document 92.
 A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1831. See Document 95. Hugo's sponsors were: Pedro Francisco Puber, Cristobal Nugencio, Alberto Farail, Arturo Magcoin, Juan Quirquino, Daniel Quade, Juan Berni, Patricio Muledi, Roberto Puero, Tulio O'Conreo, Daniel Queogy, Guillermo Nugencio, Thomas Beary, Andres Porte, Matheo Flanura, Juan Gargan, Juan Henriquez, David Pendergats, Luis Higgins, Pedro Levett.
 A.G.S., Libros Encuadernados de Guerra, no. 322. In 1673 the Conde de Tyron was Hugo's cousin, Bernardo O'Neill, who was born in Armagh, c. 1610. A.H.N.. Madrid. Calatrava, exp. 337. He had served in Flanders,

c. 1619, A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 337. He had served in Flanders, Galicia, Extremadura and Cataluña for over thirty-seven years, A.G.S., Secretaría de Guerra, leg. 2317. In 1663 he was given permission to raise a regiment of which he was made colonel, A.G.S., Estado, Flandes y Holanda, leg. 2102. On the 14th of January 1673 he was colonel of both his own regiment and the Regiment of Tyrone, A.G.S., Libros Encuadernados de Guerra, no. 322. He died before the 5th of December 1681, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 4131. In his will made in Barcelona on the 8th of January 1681 he asks to be buried in the church of Sta. Catalina in Barcelona where his son, Juan Bernardo, was buried. He also asks that, as soon after as possible, both his remains, and those of his son be transferred to the Franciscan Convent of Madrid, burial place of his ancestors, the Counts of Tyrone. After the death of Bernardo there were two claimants to the countship of Tyrone, Constantino and Eugenio O'Neill, A.G.S., Secretaría de Guerra,

During this period the colonelcy of the Regiment was held until 1663 by Arturo O'Neill1 on whose death that year it passed for a very brief period to his son Daniel and then to the Conde de Tyron.<sup>2</sup>

#### ARTURO SON OF HUGH SON OF TURLOUGH MAC HENRY OF THE FEWS

Arturo was a grandson of Turlough mac Henry O'Neill of the Fews, half-brother of Great Hugh; his mother was also an O'Neill and daughter of Brian who was brother of Eoghan Roe and nephew of Great Hugh.3 Born in Glasdrummond, Co. Armagh,3 he left Ireland in 1652 with Colonel Mayo who had been recruiting for the Spanish service.4 He did not remain long as colonel of the regiment of Tyrone for he died in Barcelona in 1663,5 three years after his predecessor Hugh Eugene. In Spain Arturo had married Leonor O'Moore, daughter of Rory O'Moore, famous in the Irish Rising of 1641.6

In 1662, the year before his death, Arturo was made Knight of Calatrava.<sup>7</sup> On this occasion he was asked to produce family papers and certificates; his answer, suggesting indignation that an O'Neill should be asked for such things, is recorded in the following terms by the two officials who questioned him:

The said day month and year [15 July 1662] we, the above mentioned knight and religious, made known the contents of the above decree to the said Colonel Don

leg. 2598. Eugenio, then a minor, won his claim and was in 1689 Count of Tyrone and colonel of the Regiment, A.G.S., Estado, leg. 4131 and A.G.S., Libros Encuadernados de Guerra, no. 410. See Document 98. After 1689 I have found no further reference to a Conde de Tyrone in Spain; in 1721 there was, however, in the Dragoon Regiment of Dublin in Spain, a captain who called himself Conde O'Neill, A.G.S., Secretaria de Guerra, leg. 2476. See Document 99. This Captain was probably Carlos O'Neill, son of Gordon, son of Sir Felim, a leader in the Irish Rising of 1641.

A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1834, and A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2826.
 A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2827.
 A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1834. See Documents 81 and 84.
 A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1834.
 The 3rd of September 1663, A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1835. See Document 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, expedientes 1834 and 1835.
<sup>7</sup> A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1834.

Arturo O'Neill who said that because his own nobility and that of his lineage are so well known in the Kingdom of Ireland it has not been necessary for him to keep any papers and even less to bring them to Spain . . . and in the said Kingdom of Ireland it has always been the custom to have chroniclers who have the charge and obligation of keeping records of the noble families there and of all the names of their successors, and that one of them resides in this city and he is the chronicler Dr. Don Tulio Conrreo<sup>1</sup> and he can answer anything that is asked and I sign. Arturo Oneill.2

The officials who interviewed Tulio Conrreo on the same day report that:

... he is ready to give us the genealogy both paternal and maternal of the said Don Arturo Oneill exactly as it is written in the chronicles of that Kingdom and for better understanding as it is written in the Irish language, he will translate it into our Castilian and will authenticate it with his signature.3

The following day Conrreo submitted O'Neill's genealogy both in Irish and Spanish, traced back to the year 978. These documents are accompanied by a statement signed by him and declaring, among other things, that:

I copied it from the originals which remain in my possession and should it be necessary I shall submit these originals to the lords of the Royal Council of the Orders, everything above mentioned being correct and true.4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Toileagna O Maolconaire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1834. See Document 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1834. See Document 83.

<sup>4</sup> A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1834. For Spanish translation of the genealogy, see Document 84. See also frontispiece for reproduction of the Irish original. All authorities, excepting the Trinity College manuscript, H.4. 25, give the genealogy of Toirrdhealbhach Luineach (Therencio), father of Sorcha (Sara), as follows: Toirrdhealbhach Luineach, m Neill Chonallaigh, m Airt Oicc, m Cuinn, m Enri, m Eoghain. It is interesting to find here the same form as in the Trinity College manuscript. It will be noticed also that the name of Constantino, or Conn Mor, father of Constantino, or Conn Baccach, is given in the Spanish translation and omitted in the Irish original.

There are thirty sponsors for Arturo, all of them Irish.1 One of these is Patricio Moledy who was Counsellor and Secretary of the Supreme Council of Flanders and soon to become Ambassador of Spain in London. He states that:

. . . he knows the genealogy of Arturo to be correct because he has seen in the convent of Louvain the genealogy which was drawn up at the request of Fray Patricio O'Neill,2 the son of a brother of the said Don Arturo, and which was signed by the Count of Tyrone, chief of his family, and by three others, bishops.

Another sponsor is Colonel Christoval Mayo who states that he is a native of Dublin and says he knows Arturo since 1652 when he was in Ireland recruiting for the service of the King of Spain. Mayo tells us that Arturo came with him from Ireland with the rank of major.

In February 1663 Arturo sent a petition to the king. He wished to send his wife and family to Ireland so that without encumbrance he could continue his services as colonel of the regiment of Tyrone, and he asked for financial aid for this purpose. The Council of State recommended that he should be given one thousand ducats, and the King agreed.3 But the usual delay occurred and the following month Arturo sends another petition asking for prompt payment of the thousand ducats, otherwise, he states, his family will lose the opportunity of taking passage on a boat which is now ready to leave.3

#### DANIEL SON OF ARTURO SON OF HUGH

It does not seem likely that any of Arturo's family returned to Ireland on this occasion. He died at the end of the same

<sup>2</sup> This is the only mention that I can find anywhere of this Fray Patricio O'Neill, nephew of Arturo.

3 A.G.S., Estrado, leg. 2826. See Documents 85 and 86.

Arturo's sponsors were: Tulio O'Conrreo, Conrado Geoghegan, Christoval Mayo, Remigio Quinio, Mauricio Donelan, Duarte de Soza, Juan Jordan, Roberto Poero, Patricio Moledy, Arturo Cavanagh, Gelasio Egans, Bernardo Reyli, Andres Ultano, Diego Geraldino, Juan Doran, Henrique Conforte, Phelippe Brady, Carlos Gavran, Daniel Carol, Carolos Quigo, Ugo de Leyer, Thadeo O'Daly, Dionisio O'Berne, Donaldo Keani, Daniel O'Fulena, Guillermo Enegan, Constantino Conali, Terencio Morga, Andres Porthe, Guillermo Nugencio Guillermo Nugencio.

year<sup>1</sup> and his eldest son Daniel, then only seven years old was appointed to succeed him as colonel of the Regiment; however, as Daniel was a minor, it was later decided that the Regiment should be given to the Conde de Tyron.<sup>2</sup> In 1666 Daniel also was made Knight of the Order of Calatrava<sup>3</sup> and among the documents concerning his admission there is one in particular which is worthy of note. It is a statement by Daniel's mother, the daughter of Rory O'Moore, which she made to the appointed officials of the Council of the Orders in answer to the usual request for family papers:

In the city of Madrid on the eighth day of the month of October 1666, for greater certainty and confirmation of all that is mentioned in these reports we agreed to examine and question Doña Leonor olMorra and ask her if she has any papers such as wills, baptismal certificates, reports or memoranda, which might lead to greater information on the origin and persons of the candidate, his parents and paternal grandparents, and thus summoned, the said Doña Leonor olMorra, under oath taken in due form said that:

The truth is this that at the time of leaving Ireland, fleeing from the tyranny of the heretics, this witness spent eight days hidden underground and both herself and her husband and others only thought of saving their lives without looking after their possessions or papers whatever nor could they have done so, and so she neither has them nor can say anything more than what she has said already, which is true as she says and swears, and she signs this said day month and year.<sup>4</sup>

This document is signed by Leonor O'Moore and the two

A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1835. See Document 93. Shortly before his death Arturo O'Neill had obtained the King's promise that the regiment of Tyrone would not be disbanded. A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2826. See Document 87.

A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2827. See Document 88.

A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1835. See Document 80. Daniel's sponsors were: Roberto Puero, Matheo Flanura, Thadeo O'Chelli, David Pendergasto, Eugenio Verni, Juan Gargan, Arturo Nogein, Carlos O'Mora, Andres de Burgo, Guillermo Nugencio, Antonio Fox, Thomas Beari, Daniel Queogy, Juan Henriquez, Danell Macnare, Juan O'Farrel, Pedro Hebeleo, Roque Farail, Lewis Higgin, Pedro Levett, Adam Anguedo, Eugenio de Zuniga, Tulio O'Conreo, Patricio Muledi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1835. See Document 94.

officials. So far nothing more is known of this daughter of Rory.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from Daniel, Arturo had five other children, as mentioned in three memorials of Daniel's when he was appealing to the King for financial aid to support his widowed mother and orphaned brothers and sisters.<sup>2</sup>

#### SARA DAUGHTER OF CONN SON OF TURLOUGH

A cousin of Daniel's who also made her name in Spain, was Sara O'Neill. Sara's mother was a Macdonnell of Antrim and a direct descendant also of the famous Sorley Boy.<sup>3</sup> Her father had left Ireland for Spain after the transplantation of his family to Mayo,<sup>4</sup> and before her arrival there Sara had married Henry O'Neill<sup>5</sup> of Shanescastle, a descendant of the chieftain of Clannaboy, Brian mac Felim O'Neill.<sup>6</sup>

In Spain Sara was left to look after five grandchildren by the two marriages of her daughter Enriqueta who died in Madrid in 1731.7 Enriqueta had first married Enrique O'Beirne by

- Even the latest writers on the Wars of the Confederation know nothing of Rory after his escape to Tory Island in 1653. In view of this it is interesting to note that on the 29th of September 1666 Roberto Puero, Vicar General of Limerick and then residing in Madrid, writes that he knows Rory O'Moore and that he was then living: 'Rodrigo O Morra que oi vive', A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1835. In the same Archives of Madrid there is another statement of the 4th of October of the same year signed by Daniel Macnare who informs us that 'he received letters regularly from Rory O'Moore who is living in Ireland'.
- <sup>2</sup> A.G.S., Estado, legajos 2827 and 2828. See Documents 88, 89 and 90.
- <sup>3</sup> A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 614. For Sara's paternal genealogy see Document 104.
- <sup>4</sup> Dr. Robert C. Simington Book of Survey and Distribution, County of Mayo, p. xxxvii.
- The only reference I have found to this Henry O'Neill in Spain is in a statement by his grandson José Comerford. In Madrid on the 23rd of March 1751, Comerford states that his grandfather, Henry O'Neill, came to Spain with the Count of Tyrone and Arturo O'Brin; the latter died as general of the Spanish navy in 1702. 'En compania del dicho Don Arturo OBrin bino asimismo ONell abuelo del declarante y Milord Tironne, cabezas de sus dos familias cuya memoria ha hallado el ano pasado que estuvo en su comun patria muy reciente en el dolor de sus conpatricios'. A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 1822.
- <sup>6</sup> Father of the first wife of Great Hugh O'Neill, and murdered by the Earl of Essex in 1574.
- <sup>7</sup> A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 614. For Enriqueta's paternal genealogy see Document 103.

whom she had one daughter, Teresa, who became maid of honour to Isabel Farnese, Queen of Spain.<sup>1</sup>

In 1725 Teresa had the misfortune to marry the English Duke of Wharton.<sup>2</sup> In an unpublished diary<sup>2</sup> which I have examined, a contemporary of his, the Duke of Liria, son of Honora Bourke of Galway,<sup>3</sup> gives his opinion of him in the following terms:

He was the most unworthy man that I have ever known; he had neither faith, principles, honour nor religion. He lied at every word. He was cowardly, indiscreet and a drunkard; in short he possessed all the vices and his only good quality was that of being an admirable fawning toady.

In the spring of 1725 Wharton, having left the court of St. Germain, arrived in Madrid. There he forced himself as an unpaying guest on Liria. During this time, again I quote Liria:

... he received the news of the death of his wife and mourned for her; but the following day, having seen by chance one of the Queen's Maids of Honour called O'Berne,<sup>4</sup> he fell madly in love with her and told me the same day that he intended to marry her. . . . I did what I could to dissuade him . . . but seeing that his mind was made up I advised him to go to Rome to obtain a dispensation.<sup>5</sup> . . . I had two reasons for giving this advice: the first, to get rid of him, the second, the hope that the distance and his natural fickleness would make him forget his infatuation. He feigned approval of my

<sup>2</sup> Mémoires de James Fitz-James, second Duke of Liria, Palacio de Liria,

<sup>4</sup> Teresa O'Berne, grand-daughter of Sara O'Neill.

A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 614. O'Callaghan History of the Irish Brigades, p. 243, mentions an Enrique O'Berne who was in Crofton's Regiment of Dragoons at the attack of Daroca in Aragon early in November 1706. Following on the successful attack Captain Daniel O'Carol, also of Crofton's, was sent to Madrid with colours captured from the enemy. Some days later O'Berne was appointed to take to Madrid four more colours captured during the retreat from Daroca. The records of the order of Santiago show that O'Carol was admitted to the order in November 1706 in reward for his services. Enrique O'Berne's signature appears on the list of his sponsors. In his deposition dated the 27th of November 1706 Enrique states that he was major of Crofton's Regiment, aged thirty-one and a native of Leinster, A.H.N., Madrid, Santiago, exp. 1577.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Honora Bourke was daughter of the Earl of Clanricard and widow of Patrick Sarsfield. She married the first Duke of Berwick in 1695.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wharton was a protestant.

advice and told me that he was preparing for his departure. Indeed he spoke of it everyday and said no more of his love. However he did not leave but went out a great deal without telling either myself or the Duke of Ormond¹ anything of his business. This obliged me to have him followed by spies through whom I soon found out that he was going everyday to the house of a priest of the Inquisition called Don Jacinto de Arana who was an intimate friend of mine. I was convinced that his wild passion would lead him to become a catholic in order to marry his lady all the sooner. I was in despair, knowing that he was certainly not taking this step through conviction. I showed him nothing of my suspicions but spoke of them to the Duke of Ormond who was greatly upset. At last one fine day he told me that he was a catholic, that he had abjured and that he had even received communion. I answered to this all that the feelings of an honest man could prompt me; but he adopted the tone of a zealous and devout catholic. He told me that having taken this step, he would marry Teresa O'Berne in a few days and invited me to the wedding. I answered drily that I would do nothing of the sort, and that not only did I wish to have nothing more to do with him, but that also I requested him to leave my house and take up lodgings elsewhere. He did this and was married a few days later. He went to live in Valencia, and from there went with his wife to the siege of Gibraltar, where, although he was wounded, he showed his cowardice to the eyes of the world. After the siege the King gave him the commission of a brevet colonel. A short time later he went to France on business, and at the time of writing these memoirs I have lost sight of this evil character.

This 'evil character's' conversion and second marriage did nothing to improve his dissolute habits; his way of living and the fact that an embargo was put on his English assets, reduced him to poverty and he died young.

After his death Teresa's grandmother, Sara O'Neill, accompanied her to London<sup>2</sup> in an effort, as Spanish subjects,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> James Butler, second Duke of Ormond, born in Dublin 1665 and died in France 1745.

A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 614.

to regain some of Wharton's estates which had been confiscated as a result of his disloyalty to his King.

Tomás Geraldino<sup>1</sup> an Irishman who was Spanish ambassador in London at that time says of them in 1747:

I witnessed the veneration and distinction with which all the nobles of London treated Doña Sara O'Neill. . . . She is now in that city accompanying her granddaughter Doña Teresa who went there on important business concerning the estates of her deceased husband, the Duke of Wharton. . . . When these two ladies went to England they were particularly recommended by His Majesty Philip V to his ambassador, the Conde de Montijo, and when I succeeded to him as ambassador in that city, I also received orders from the court to give assistance and protection to these ladies and their law suit; and thus I had occasion to observe, for my own edification, the prudence, wisdom and exemplary virtue of these ladies 2

The other three grand-daughters of Sara O'Neill, and half sisters of Teresa O'Berne, were the daughters of Enriqueta O'Neill and Juan Comerford, first colonel of the regiment of Waterford.<sup>3</sup> They also became Maids of Honour to the Queen, but, unlike that of their half sister, Teresa, Duchess of Wharton, their lives were not of the type that finds mention in the memoirs and diaries of contemporaries and so I have found very little material concerning them: Doña Dorotea became a nun in the Carmelite convent of Santa Ana in Madrid. Doña Isabela died before 1747, and Doña Francisca was still Maid of Honour in that year.4 They had one brother, José Comerford, born in Barcelona in 1719, who became Knight of the Military Order of Calatrava<sup>4</sup> and later colonel of the regiment of Irlanda and brigadier in the Spanish Armies.5

Sara O'Neill does not seem to have had any sons so her descendants have now lost the name of O'Neill, but her brother

<sup>The hispanicised form of Fitzgerald.
A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 614.
An Irish regiment in the Spanish service, the regiment of Comerford or Waterford as it was called later, was formed in 1709.
A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, exp. 614.
A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2599.</sup> 

Henry is the direct ancestor of the present Marqués de la Grania of Seville.<sup>1</sup>

Henry was the grandson of Colonel Turlough mac Henry O'Neill of the Fews<sup>1</sup> who, under Cromwell, was transplanted to Mayo. The family remained in the west for two more generations and Henry's great-grandchildren settled in Spain. The eldest of these was Neil, known as Nicolas O'Neill, born in 1734.2

### NICOLAS SON OF RED HENRY SON OF NEILL

In Spain Nicolas joined the regiment of Irlanda as a cadet in 1752,3 when the lieutenant colonel was his cousin José Comerford, the grandson of Sara O'Neill. Nicolas studied at the Military Academy of Barcelona, returned to his regiment and in 1754 was promoted to the rank of second lieutenant.3 In 1759 he became lieutenant in the company of Captain Joseph O'Donnell<sup>3</sup> who, incidentally, is the ancestor of the present Duke of Tetuán. This particular lieutenancy under Captain O'Donnell was reserved as a prize for second lieutenants who had distinguished themselves in the study of Mathematics.4 Nicolas was appointed adjutant major in 1763, by which time Comerford was colonel of the regiment.<sup>5</sup> He distinguished himself in the campaign of Portugal<sup>6</sup> and died as lieutenantcolonel being survived by an only daughter.7

## ISABEL DAUGHTER OF RED HENRY SON OF NEILL

A sister of Nicolas, Isabel O'Neill, was married in 1778 to Tadeo O'Sullivan, Count of Biraven,8 who was then lieutenant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Archives of the Marqueses de la Granja, Seville.
<sup>2</sup> Archives of the Marqueses de la Granja, Seville.
<sup>3</sup> A.G.S., Guerra Moderna locations

A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2599.

La thenencia de la Compania de Don Joseph O'Donnell que actualmente sirve D. Nicolas O'Neill es la que se destine para premio de los subtenientes que se esmeran en el estudio de Mathematicas'. Report of 1761 on the second battalion of the regiment of Irlanda, A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2599.

5 A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2599.

6 A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2600. See Document 107.

7 Archives of the Marqueses de la Granja, Seville.

8 A.H.N., Madrid, Títulos y Grandezas, leg. 10,063, núm. 3.

in the same regiment as her brother, and who was later to become Knight of Santiago.<sup>2</sup>

#### ARTURO SON OF RED HENRY SON OF NEILL

Nicolas' younger brother, Arturo, born in 1736,3 also joined the regiment of Irlanda at the same time as Nicolas,4 but left it after one year for the regiment of Hibernia<sup>4</sup> and the company of another kinsman, Captain Felix O'Neill. Arturo was appointed adjutant major of this regiment in 1764,5 and it is interesting to note that, during 1764 and the four years following, both regiments of Irlanda and Hibernia had O'Neills as colonels and as adjutants.6 Arturo served with great distinction in several expeditions to South America and the West Indies7 and when his regiment returned to Spain in 1781 he remained as Governor of Pensacola.7 In 1792 he was appointed Captain General of the province of Yucatán and Governor of Mérida.7 Arturo returned to Spain in 1802 and, in the following year, became member of the Supreme Council of War.7 He received the title of Marqués del Norte in 1805 and, despite his advanced age, took a prominent part in the Peninsular War.7 He died on the 9th of December, 1814.7 The title of Marqués del Norte is now borne by the descendants of Arturo's younger brother, Tully.

### TULIO SON OF TULLY SON OF RED HENRY

Tully, or Tulio as he was known in Spain, married Catherine O'Keef,8 and their son, another Tulio, following the great military tradition of his family became colonel of the regiment of La Princesa and lieutenant-general. He fought in the

- A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2600.
   A.H.N., Madrid, Santiago, exp. 5802.
   Archives of the Marqueses de la Granja, Seville.
   A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2592.
   The 7th of October 1764, A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2592.
   Regiment of Hibernia: Colonel Felix O'Neill, Adjutant Major Arturo O'Neill, Programment of Irlando: Colonel Ind. Comparison of O'Neill, Adjutant Major Arturo O'Neill. Regiment of Inderna. Colonel Fenx O'Neill, Adjutant Major Arturo O'Neill. Regiment of Irlanda: Colonel José Comerford O'Neill, Adjutant Major Nicolas O'Neill. Arturo was promoted brevet captain on the 15th of October 1771, A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2593. For his service report of the following year see Document 106.

  1 La Gaceta de Madrid, the 10th of January 1815. See Document 109.

<sup>8</sup> Archives of the Marqueses de la Granja, Seville.

Peninsular War, and, for his services at the sieges of Salamanca, Pamplona, and Bayona, was awarded many decorations. For his services at the battle of Albuera<sup>1</sup> he was presented with an inscribed sword of great value in recognition of his merit.

Tulio O'Neill, second Marqués del Norte, married Manuela de Castilla, of one of the noblest families in Spain and a descendant of the King Don Pedro de Castilla. Their son, Juan Antonio Luis O'Neill, inherited from his mother's family in 1847 the titles of Marqués de la Granja, Marqués de Caltojar, Conde de Benajiar and Marqués de Valdeosera.<sup>2</sup> He is the greatgrandfather of the present Marqués de la Granja.3

It is remarkable that for almost a century the Irish regiment of Hibernia in Spain was never without at least one O'Neill among its senior officers. At the formation of the regiment in 1709 the senior captain was Arturo O'Neill.4 Arturo had already served for eleven years in France in the Regiment of Bourke and in the Régiment des Vaisseaux.4 In 1737 the long list of battles to his credit include Cremona, Luzzara where it is stated that his arm was broken and he was wounded six times, Turin, Zaragoza, Villaviciosa, Brihuega, Messina, Melazzo, Francavilla, and the sieges of Barcelona and Gibraltar.<sup>5</sup> On his service report of 1737, when he himself gives his age as fifty-two, the inspector general says of him:

This officer has served for forty years, three months and fourteen days as he claims, but he is over sixty years of age and is incapable of continuing in active service because of his damaged arm and because he is worn out by long years of service; because he is the senior captain of the regiment it happens that at times its command falls to him, for which he is not suited because he does not understand the language, but he merits that His Majesty should grant him an appointment to a city garrison with the rank of lieutenant colonel.6

Another Irishman who was commander-in-chief at the same battle was General Joaquin Blake, who was later to become President of the Regency

<sup>Council.
A.H.N., Madrid, Títulos y Grandezas, leg. 8982, núm. 114.
I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the kindness of this family in putting their records so unreservedly at my disposal.
A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2590.
A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2591.
A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2591. See Document 101.</sup> 

# TERENCIO SON OF AODH BUI SON OF ART OG

At the same time as Arturo, Terencio O'Neill was senior captain of the second battalion of the regiment. Terencio had also served in France, but in the regiment of Berwick, and in Spain he had first joined the regiment of Waterford; its colonel, Juan Comerford, was married to the daughter of Sara O'Neill, a fourth cousin of Terencio's. In 1721, when he had been with the regiment of Hibernia for two years, his service report tells us that his conduct was 'good; his application, good; his courage, good; his talent, sufficient; his age, thirtyone; his health, good; his defects, not known; his morals, good; his nationality, Irish; his family rank, well known; the inspector general says he is a young officer of good appearance whom he considers suitable for promotion with time. In 1722, the report of the inspector mentions that:

This officer serves with intelligence, is equable in command, good for the operations of war, and is just in his dealing with his company. He is not known to have any defects, but on the contrary, his morals are in keeping with his noble birth, and his devotion to duty and intelligence make him suitable for the command of a battalion.<sup>2</sup>

Terencio O'Neill last saw active service with his regiment throughout the whole Italian campaign of the War of the Austrian Succession.

In 1743 the Spanish General, Juan de Gages, knew the relative weakness of his forces and was employing fabian tactics. Impatient orders from home, however, bade him peremptorily to advance and attack. So he crossed the river Panaro, and, on the 2nd of February, met the enemy at Camposanto. The battle was one of the fiercest and, though at nightfall the Spanish army remained on the field, the victory was Pyrrhic and they had to retreat next day pressed hard by the Austrians.

A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2590. I am indebted to Fr. Tomás O Fiaich, Professor of History, Maynooth College, for information derived from his researches on the Irish side of the O'Neills of the Fews. These researches strongly suggest that this Terencio (Turlough) is son of Aodh Buí of Creggan and grandson of Arturo (Art Og) who was colonel of the Regiment of Tyrone in Spain and became Knight of Calatrava in 1662.
 A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2590. For a report of 1737 see Document 102.

Two battalions of Hibernia, with Terence O'Neill as lieutenant colonel in charge of the second, had suffered cruel losses in the battle and they were detailed to cover the retreat. Their casualty lists are preserved and are enormous, representing fifty per cent of their two weak battalions. The regiment of Hibernia had eighteen officers killed and twenty-three wounded; two hundred and seventy-nine non-commissioned officers and men killed and some six hundred wounded; in all about one thousand casualties from the two battalions totalling originally about two thousand.1

For over a year the Spanish army kept on the defensive and retreated slowly southwards. Finally at Velletri, on the 10th of August 1744, the Austrian general tried to emulate Prince Eugene at Cremona, forty-two years previously, and reaped the same reward. Before dawn Captains Slattery and Burke with their patrol of O'Neill's regiment of Hibernia were the first to discover the surprise tactics and we now know, from the diary of the Duke of Modena's aide-de-camp,2 that their shots were the first to warn the sleeping army that twenty thousand Austrians were upon them.

It so happened that the regiment of Hibernia, which suffered such losses the previous year at Camposanto, was now the first in the enemy's line of advance and suffered accordingly. Before the day was out and victory had gone to Spain that regiment was almost annihilated.

The consolation for the survivors and future soldiers of the regiment was the Royal order that henceforth it add to its arms the motto from the psalmist: 'In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum.'3

The Irish survivors of Camposanto and Velletri fought through the campaigns of 1745 and 1746 but by then it was decided that they were unfit for further service and so they received orders to embark for Mallorca and Spain.4

A final tragedy awaited seven companies of the second battalion of Hibernia. Their enormous losses during the war had reduced the seven companies to a mere sixty in rank and file instead of nearly seven hundred, and these sixty were left

Soto, Historia Orgánica de las Armas de Infantería y Caballería, XI, p. 334.
 Archivio Municipale, Piacenza: Guglielmo Power, Tableau de la Guerre de la Pragmatique Sanction.

<sup>Soto, op. cit., XI, p. 336.
Soto, op. cit., XI, p. 337.</sup> 

in Mallorca for a year to recuperate. On the 16th of August 1748, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Terence O'Neill, they embarked in a small ship to make the short journey to Barcelona and when, only a few hours out, two heavily armed Algerian corsairs bore down on them, O'Neill refused to The unequal struggle was fierce, the boat was boarded, O'Neill was killed and half of the sixty were casualties before the survivors were overcome by sheer force of numbers and compelled to spend three and a half years in chains in Algiers.<sup>1</sup>

Nineteen years later, in 1767, in the official regimental file of one Captain O'Sullivan, we find the following laconic report:

He was in a fight with the Moors on the 16th day of August 1748, in which they captured him and he remained in Algiers three and a half years.2

### FELIX SON OF HENRY SON OF FELIM

Terence was the uncle of another O'Neill in the regiment who was later to become its colonel. This was Felix O'Neill, born in the parish of Creggan in Armagh, on the 1st of November 1720,3 and also of the Fews branch of the family.

Felix joined the regiment in 1730;4 within four years he had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and in 1737, at the age of seventeen, he was appointed adjutant of the regiment.<sup>5</sup> It may be only a coincidence that this extraordinary promotion of a boy of seventeen took place just three weeks after his uncle's promotion to the rank of lieutenant colonel.5 Following this appointment the report of the Spanish inspector general reads:

This officer, with time, will fill his employment with the zeal which he seems to have, but he has very little service and merit to his credit to appoint him adjutant major, a post which is deserved by officers of much talent and experience.5

Soto, op. cit., XI, p. 337.

A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2592.

A.H.N., Madrid, Carlos III, exp. 607. See Document 100.

A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2591.

A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2592.

But Felix was to prove later that, though before his time he may have been made adjutant through the influence of his uncle, he was well worthy of promotion on his own merits. He became captain in 1741,1 served in Italy with his regiment during the war of the Austrian Succession and was at the battles of Camposanto and Velletri, at which latter he was wounded and taken prisoner.1 In 1745, with royal permission, he took part in the Bonny Prince Charlie expedition to Scotland, and fought at the battle of Culloden where he was taken prisoner by the English.1 As a Spanish subject he was released and in 1747, back with his regiment, he was given the rank of colonel and was appointed commandant of the second battalion in 1755.1 In the same year he married Jacoba Varela Sarmiento,2 and four years later was promoted to the rank of brigadier.3 He became colonel of the regiment in 17633 and later major general,4 captain general of Galicia,4 lieutenant general,5 inspector general of infantry,5 governor and captain general of the army and kingdom of Aragón,6 president of the High Court of Aragón,6 member of the Supreme Council of War,6 and, in 1792, four years before his death, he was made Knight of the Military Order of Carlos III.6

Felix had three sons, Terencio, Felix and Juan, all of whom became Knights of Santiago7 and had distinguished careers in the army and navy.

### FELIX SON OF FELIX SON OF HENRY

In 1768 Terencio was made cadet in his father's regiment at the age of eight<sup>8</sup> and is probably the same as the Terencio O'Neill who later became its colonel. Felix was also made

<sup>A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2592.
A.H.N., Madrid, Santiago, exp. 5806.
A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2592. See Document 105.
A.H.N., Madrid, Alcántara, exp. 1076.
A.H.N., Madrid, Santiago, exp. 5806.
A.H.N., Madrid, Carlos III, exp. 607. For his genealogy see Document 108. There are some obvious inaccuracies in the earlier part of this genealogy as presented by Felix. These have been clarified by Fr. O Fiaich's studies of the Irish background and by indications I have found in the Spanish documents: A.G.S., Estado, leg. 2828, A.H.N., Madrid, Calatrava, expedientes 1834 and 1835.
A.H.N., Madrid, Santiago, exp. 5806, and Carlos III, exp. 607.
A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2593.</sup> 

cadet in the regiment a year after his brother and also at the age of eight.¹ The first service reports of these two boys appear in 1772 when their father had been promoted general. Although the boys were away at their studies and had not yet joined their regiment the colonel reports: 'They are very promising'.¹ It is perhaps relevant to remember that their father was now general in the Spanish armies and his goodwill could be very important for the colonel's promotion.

Felix left the army and in 1786 we find him in the Spanish navy with the rank of teniente de fragata.<sup>2</sup> He became general of the navy in 1809 and died in Cartagena on the 2nd of October 1812.<sup>3</sup>

# JUAN SON OF FELIX SON OF HENRY

The third brother, Juan, does not appear in the regiment of Hibernia. He became colonel of the regiment of Navarra<sup>4</sup> and died on the 24th of February 1809, being then general and second in command at the heroic defence of Zaragoza against the Napoleonic troops.<sup>5</sup>

Juan seems to be the only one of these brothers who had any children. His son Felix who married María Antonia Rosiñol died in 1862 and their descendants are now settled in Mallorca.

# ENRIQUE SON OF JACOBO SON OF TEIGE

To complete this brief account of the O'Neills in Spain mention may be made of another family of the same name, now living in the province of Cádiz and descended from one Enrique

- <sup>1</sup> A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2593.
- <sup>2</sup> Archivo del Museo Naval, Madrid, Colección Vargas Ponce, Vol. 73, f. 530. Also in the navy at that time was another Irishman whose family for generations had been connected by marriage with the O'Neills; he was Capitán de Navío Enrique Reynaldo Macdonnell, later to become admiral, and whose grandfather, Reynaldo, had been the first acting colonel of the same regiment of Hibernia. (Archivo del Museo Naval, Madrid, Colección Vargas Ponce, vol. 73, f. 530, and A.G.S., Guerra Moderna, leg. 2590.)
- <sup>3</sup> Archivo del Museo Naval, Madrid, Expedientes Personales.
- 4 Soto, op. cit., XI, p. 244.
- <sup>5</sup> J. García Mercadel, Palafox, p. 95.

O'Neale of Roscrea in Co. Tipperary, who arrived in Bilbao in 1697. Enrique married in La Coruña and later settled with his family in Puerto de Santa María. In the Regional Archives of Galicia there is documentation which provides material for a detailed account of Enrique's first thirty years in Spain. In the province of Cádiz there are still many direct descendants of this Enrique and his Spanish wife Ana María Fernández Oliveros. One of these, Salvador Rivero Pastor O'Neale of Jerez de la Frontera, is a Knight of the Military Order of Calatrava, thus continuing to the present day this three hundred and twenty-five year O'Neill tradition, begun by the son of Great Hugh, of having their services to Spain rewarded by knighthood of this distinguished and very exclusive order.

Although I have condensed and omitted much, this paper has been long, but the story of the O'Neills of Spain would deserve of us even more time still; despite confiscation of property, imprisonment and persecution at home, and later, on the continent, the trailing by spies, the hounding by English agents and persistent diplomatic pressure on their Spanish protectors, these O'Neills still rose again and re-established their name and family as we have briefly indicated.

Of course in this connection we must not forget the generosity of Spain which sheltered them in need, and extended to them all the rights of Spanish subjects, with all the opportunities for advancement possessed by the native Spaniard.<sup>2</sup> But despite all this there remained the inevitable disadvantages and hardships of being strangers in a strange land. Yet each O'Neill generation of the three and a half centuries from 1600 to the present day has distinguished itself with a striking and persistent regularity. For their loyal services they have been rewarded with titles of nobility and knighthoods of the most select orders; they have been leaders in business and the arts; they have reached the rank of Army General on innumerable occasions; they have been captains general and governors of provinces at home and in the New World; they have been Presidents of the High Court and on at least three occasions,

<sup>2</sup> Spanish Royal Decrees, the 11th of May 1680, the 28th of June 1701, the 23rd of October 1718, and the 3rd of February 1792.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dr. R. C. Simington has kindly drawn my attention to records of Teige O'Neale, Enrique's grandfather, contained in the *Civil Survey*, *Ireland*, 1654-56.

in three different centuries, they have been members of the Supreme Council of War. The story of these O'Neills is one of generosity and noble protection on the part of Spain and sustained achievement on the part of every generation of the family.