

THE WILL AND FAMILY OF  
HUGH O NEILL, EARL OF TYRONE

[WITH AN APPENDIX OF GENEALOGIES]

EDITED BY REV. PAUL WALSH

Iomdha sochar ag Síol Néill  
fada ó do hoirdneadh iaidseán  
Síol an cheinnbhile ó Bhóinn Bhreagh  
tar deirbhfine móir Míleadh

—*Tadhg Dall*

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I GCUIMHNE MO DHEARBHRÁTHAR

ÉAMONN BREATHNACH

1888-1925



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# The Will and Family of Hugh O Neill Earl of Tyrone

I

## O NEILL'S WILL

**A**MONG a collection of papers discovered in 1918 in the Franciscan Convent, Wexford, by Father Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., and at present housed in the library of the same Order in Dublin in Merchants' Quay, there is one short document in Irish which possesses considerable interest. It bears the endorsement: *Testamentum Illustrissimi Domini Onelli*, and embodies an abstract or epitome of the last Will of Hugh O Neill, the great Earl of Tyrone, who left Ireland in 1607, and died at Rome in 1616. The document itself appears to be a draft of a letter written in the latter city, and addressed to Henry O Hagan, a former dependent of O Neill, who was in the Spanish dominions in Flanders in the years 1616-17. It is somewhat carelessly written, but not to such a degree as to be in any part ambiguous. It has no signature. We can, however, conjecture the writer's identity from the contents. He displays anxiety for the legacies of all the male beneficiaries of the Will except one, namely, Henry Silis. We can conclude that he himself was that person. The document is undated; but we can infer, again from the contents, that it was written before August, 1617. O Neill had, among other bequests, granted a pension of 56 crowns a month (£14) to Henry O Hagan, and the writer states that £168 would be due to him "this coming August." This implies that the Earl had not been a whole year dead at the time of writing. His death occurred on July 20, 1616. Again, the abstract of the Will probably supposes young Brian O Neill, the Earl's son, to be still alive. He died on August 16, 1617.

The document consists of two distinct portions, each written on separate pages of a single sheet of paper. The

first gives an account of the persons provided for in the Will, and states that it was drawn by a notary, who kept a copy. The King of Spain, Philip III, through his Ambassador at the Papal Court, was appointed trustee or executor to carry out its provisions. In the second portion the writer complains that O Neill's Countess was appropriating more than her share, and endeavours to interest O Hagan and Colonel Henry O Neill in the distribution of the Earl's money and plate. The latter was, at this time, and for many years before, serving with the Irish Regiment in the Spanish service in Flanders.

The text is printed below, and each portion is provided with an English translation. The few words and letters missing in the manuscript are printed in italics, and the places where a word is written twice, or mis-written, are indicated in the footnotes. To marks of aspiration added in editing it has not been thought necessary to draw attention.



Bíodh a fhios agaibh gur mar so do righne O Neill a thiomna & mar do iarr se athchuingidh ar *an* Righ :

An feadh do choimedadh a bhen phósta hi fein go honorach da choróin deg & ocht *b*fichid do bheith aice sa *mí* & anúair do dhenadh si a atharrach sin gan pighinn do thabhairt di.

& ceithre fichit do Shean O Neill mac Corbmaic. Sé coronach deg & da fhiched ag Enri O Agán.

& se coronach *deg* & da fhiched ag Sean O Agán.

& se coronach deg & da fhiched d'Enri Silis.

A uirid eile ag Seon Bá.

Fiche coroin don Fherdorcha O Neill.

Fiche coroin do Ghiollaruadh O Coinne.

A uirid eile do Bhrian O Coinne.

& *a* uirid eile d'Emonn Óg Ó Maolchraoibhe.

Tuilleadh ro fhagaibh se so scriobhtha re na thabhairt don Ambasadóir ionnus go bfaiceadh an Rí he maille le na bheannacht fa mhaith do dhénuibh ar na daoibh bochta ag ar fhaguibh sin.



## O NEILL'S WILL

Tuilleadh do iarr se a phláta uile do thabhairt don Choireneil acht gidhbé d'iarr se do thabhairt do Bhrían O Neill & fos ro iarr se a roibhe do thaipstrí síoda astigh & leba shíoda & culaidh aifrin<sup>1</sup> do thabhairt don Choireneil mar an ccedna & na bruit lethuir ag á mhnaoí phósta & leba eduigh. Da dherbhadh sin ata coipí ionna lebhár aige an noiteóir do scriobh an tiomna<sup>2</sup> innsa mbaile so.

### TRANSLATION

Know that the following is the manner in which O Neill made his Will and besought a favour of the King :

As long as his wife shall maintain herself honourably she is to have 172 crowns a month, and whenever she shall fail to do this, not a penny is to be given to her.

And Sean son of Cormac O Neill to have 80 (crowns a month).

Henry O Hagan to have 56.

And Sean O Hagan to have 56.<sup>3</sup>

And Henry Silis to have 56.

A like amount to John Bath.

Feardorcha O Neill to have 20.

Giollaruadh O Coinne to have 20.

A like amount to Brian O Coinne.

And a like amount to Emonn Og O Maolchraoibhe. Further, he left this in writing to be given to the Ambassador, so that the King might see it ; and with his commendation to render a service to the poor people to whom he made these bequests.

Further, he asked that all his plate should be given to the Colonel, except whatever he requested should be given to Brian O Neill. And likewise he asked that all the silk tapestry in the house, and a bed of

1. Manuscript *aifrain*.
2. Altered from a *thiomna*.
3. The word *deg* has been restored in the Irish ; the writer meant to group the persons who were granted similar amounts.

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silk, and a set of Mass vestments, should also be given to the Colonel. And his wife to have the leather cloaks, and a bed of cloth.

In proof of that the notary who wrote the Will in this town<sup>1</sup> has a copy in his book.

LETTER TO HENRY O HAGAN

Atamaoíd da chur a gceill dhaoíbh, a Enrí, gur cóir dhaoíbh a thaisbenadh do mhac Ui Neill mar ata an Chondaois ag ceilt<sup>2</sup> an bhennacht so ro ag O Neill aige an Rí & gach tiomna da nderna se & a rádh leis gan a bheith reigh ar chor ar bith no go bfagha se an tiomna air a láimh fein & an ní do fágadh aige na daoínibh bocht<sup>3</sup> so a chur ar a laimh fein a bfochuir a bheith ag dul amogha dhóibh da dhioghbhail & dob fherr don Choireneil a rogha cil do dhenamh leis an da fhichid deg ponta ata amuigh ag an gcethrar oganach sin lá Lughnasa<sup>3</sup> so chugainn & leis na hocht bponta & ocht bfichid ata agaibhsi amuigh an uair sin (ní oile cuid Sheón Bát ocht bponta & ocht bfichid)<sup>4</sup> & gidhbe heile do bhen si don<sup>5</sup> dá Sheán na a bheith da chur a ndrochchel mar ata ag dul.

Agus bíodh a fhios agaibh nach bionn a bfuil annso beó go brách & gur chora don Choireneil cuid an fhir do gheabhadh bás no rachadh go hEirinn a bheith ar áird aige fein no gan a bheith acasan no aige duine do dhenadh maith ar bith ris & muna ngabha an Chundaois a<sup>6</sup> chomhairle fán gcúis so ní fhuil aige mac Ui Néill acht a leigen air techt chum *na*

1. These words show that this abstract was written in Rome. See the following letter.

2. The manuscript has *ceill*. The error may have occurred because of the fifth word of the paragraph, which comes directly over this in the manuscript.

3. The manuscript has *lá la lunasna*.

4. The words in brackets are in the margin.

5. This word is written twice in the manuscript.

6. The manuscript has *an*.

## O NEILL'S WILL

Rómha & as sin don Spáinn ionnas go ndiongnadh an Rí ordughadh annsa gcúis & a mhathuir do ghabhail a<sup>1</sup> mainistir chailleach ndubh.

Ní eile muna dherna se deifir<sup>2</sup> leis an bpláta do bhreith leis go gér & le<sup>3</sup> gach ní eile dar fagadh aige is dóigh lem go mbiaidh aithrech air & gidhbe duine do chuirfe aníos uime sin ní bheidh aige acht íad sin uile do chur a mbarc<sup>4</sup> abhos & a bhfagháil thíos a nAnuarb o na cenduighionnuibh & scriobhadh se aníos fa ccur s gan<sup>5</sup> a ccur as chéile úair en ghúnna ann is fiú ced go leith ponta.

### TRANSLATION

We make known to you, Henry, that you ought to inform O Neill's son<sup>6</sup> of the manner in which the Countess is concealing this injunction which O Neill gave to the King, and every bequest which he made ; and you ought to say to him that it will not be executed at all until he himself gets possession of the Will, and delivers into the hands of these poor folk whatever was bequeathed to them, instead of its going to destruction and being lost to them. And it would be better if the Colonel would spend in any way he choose the £240 due next first of August to these four young men,<sup>7</sup> and the £168 due to you at that date, also John Bath's portion £168, and whatever she deprived the two Seans<sup>8</sup> of, than that it should continue to be ill spent as it is at present.

1. The manuscript has *an*.
2. Immediately before this word *sin* is written and crossed out.
3. The word *le* might be omitted without affecting the sense.
4. The manuscript has *banc*.
5. The manuscript reads *tur sgan gan*.
6. This is the customary Irish way of referring to the son of a chieftain.
7. That is, those who were granted 20 crowns a month. This allowance amounted to £60 a year, or £240 a year for all four.
8. Sean, son of Cormac O Neill, the Earl's nephew, and Sean O Hagan. The writer has thus mentioned all the pensioners created by the Will except Henry Silis.

And consider that those who are here still will not live forever, and that it would be more proper if the Colonel entertained expectation that he would himself acquire the portion of whomsoever may die or go to Ireland, than that neither they nor anyone who would make any good use of it should get it. And if the Countess will not accept his direction in this matter, all O'Neill's son has to do is to pretend to come to Rome, and to proceed from there to Spain to secure that the King shall issue a decree in the matter, and have his mother enclosed in a convent of nuns.

Further, if he does not hurry and remove the plate, and every thing else which was left to him, I think he will regret it. And the person he shall send up<sup>1</sup> for that purpose will have only to put them in a barque<sup>2</sup> here, and they can be recovered from the merchants below in Antwerp. And let him write up to have them sent, and direct that they be carefully handled, for there is one gown here which is worth £150.

The letter here published, and the evidence it affords of the slender maintenance O'Neill was able to provide for his surviving family and dependents undoubtedly deepens the tragedy in the end of the great chieftain. By his genius and his valour he made himself master of the wide principality of Tyrone, which he claimed as his birthright. In addition, when driven to rebellion by the unscrupulous emissaries of Queen Elizabeth, he consolidated all Ulster under his sway, and defied and defeated the best generals that she was able to send against him.<sup>3</sup> He annihilated her forces and exhausted her treasury.

1. In the Irishman's geography, "up" means "southwards."

2. The reading of the manuscript would mean "bank."

3. Standish O'Grady put the case in a sentence when he wrote that pettifoggers, not soldiers, drove Tyrone out of the country. His authority for that view was no less a person than the right honourable Sir John Davys, attorney-general: "For us that ar heer wee ar glad to see the day wherein the countenance and majestie of the law and civil government hath banisht Tirone out of Ireland, which the best army in Europe and the expense of

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He compelled the other provinces to acknowledge his authority, and, with his armies, he traversed the land from north to south like an *ard-ri* of old. He created earls like a sovereign, and set up chieftains like a dictator. He was recognised as one of the greatest soldiers of the age, and were it not for the fatal day of Kinsale, he might have lived to rule all Ireland in peace. Unable to ruin him by the sword, the English Government sought to strip him of his power by legal chicanery, until finally, apprehending treachery, which he could better ward off while at war, he abandoned his great domain and left Ireland for ever. He died after nine years of exile, and the greatness of his fall is emphasised by the comparative poverty which his last Will discloses, and by the smallness of the gifts whereby he would provide for his surviving wife and the few kinsmen and faithful servants who conducted him to a resting place "no worse than Armagh."<sup>1</sup>

two millions of sterling pounds did not bring to passe," Davys to Salisbury, September, 1607.

1. See the Four Masters under the year 1616. The exact date of O'Neill's death is vouched for by a letter of the Flemish ambassador Turnbull, to the Earl of Somerset, dated August 17, 1616: "I may now safely and truly by these confirm the news I wrote unto your honour by my last letters concerning the Earl of Tyrone, who died at Rome the 20th of July of a fever, and was there buried with great pomp and solemnity, at the charges of the Spanish Ambassador," Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donel, Earl of Tyrconnel*, third edition (1886), page 317. This item is confirmed by the statement of Philip O'Sullivan Beara: *quae persecutio eo liberius exercetur quod Onellus Tironae princeps, in quo Catholici magnam spem positam habebant, Romae diem obierit hoc anno 1616 die vigesimo mensis Iulii, Historia Catholica*, tom. iv, lib. iii, cap. iv.

## O NEILL'S MARRIAGES

HUGH O NEILL was married four times. His first wife was a daughter of Sir Brian (mac Feilim) O Neill, chieftain of Clannaboy, whose revolting murder by the Earl of Essex is described by the Four Masters at the year 1574. This lady's name has not been ascertained, nor is the date of the marriage known. O Neill separated from her, the divorce having been effected, as he himself tells us,<sup>1</sup> by the orders of the Church. The judges in the case were the Official of Armagh, the Archbishop of Armagh, and the Registrar of Armagh. This separation took place prior to June 14, 1574, as at that date O Neill was married for the second time. In 1591 the marriage of the Earl and Mabel Bagenal created a storm of protest on the part of the English officials, among whom the most violent was Sir Henry Bagenal, Marshal-General of the Queen's forces, and brother of the bride. The Lord Deputy of the day, Sir William FitzWilliams, took action in the matter, and after an investigation, in the course of which the judges in the matrimonial case were examined, he reported to Lord Burghley on October 25 :

“ The Earl of Tyrone's divorce is a valid one. The gentlewoman who was divorced from him was soon after married to Neill mac Brian Fertagh O Neill. The Earl had shown him the original sentence of his divorce under the seal of the judges that pronounced it.”<sup>2</sup>

The Baron of Dungannon—this was the title borne by O Neill at the time of the death of his first wife—had

1. “ These three, as I understand by themselves, have been examined before my Lord Deputy touching a divorce long since made by them, and given openly between me and Sir Brian m'Phelim's daughter, from whom I was divorced by the orders of the Church many years ago, before that I married with O Donnell's daughter,” Tyrone to Burghley, October 22, 1591, quoted in full in Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, pages 293-7.

2. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 428.

issue by Sir Brian mac Feilim's daughter,<sup>1</sup> but there is no record of the name or names of this portion of his family. Niall, son of Brian Faghartach, O Neill, who married the gentlewoman separated from Hugh, became lord of Upper or Southern Clannaboy by English appointment in 1590,<sup>2</sup> and died some time before April 12, 1601.<sup>3</sup>

O Neill's second marriage was with Siobhán ('Joan,' 'Johan,' or 'Judith'), sister of Hugh Roe O Donnell. The Earl of Essex announced the event on June 14, 1574.<sup>4</sup> It may have been only a betrothal at that stage; but five years later the couple had lived together for some short time at least.<sup>5</sup> Hugh Roe's mother, the celebrated Inghean Dubh, or Fionnghuala,<sup>6</sup> daughter of James Mac Donnell of Isla and the Glynnnes of Antrim, was married to Sir Hugh O Donnell, chieftain of Tir Chonaill, not later than 1569.<sup>7</sup> It follows that, as the latter's daughter,

1. "He (O Neill) has had two wives and children by them both," Queen Elizabeth to Lord Deputy Perrot, *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 1585, page 407.

2. *Calendar of State Papers*, January 26, 1590; *Fiant of Elizabeth* no. 5443.

3. "Drew divers gentlemen and of the hired men unto us, the chief of which is Owen m'Hugh, who since the late death of Neill m'Brian Ertoe makes claim to that country. Neill died in this town (Carrickfergus) a good subject, and I had his son Con in pay with me," Chichester to Cecil at the date mentioned. The seventeenth-century manuscript H. 4. 31, page 100, Trinity College, Dublin, gives the exact date thus: *Niall mac Briain Fhaghartaigh Ui Neill 5 Februa. 1601*. His marriage alliance is expressed in the following formula by Burghley: Neale mc Bryan fartogh—soror Shan mc Bryan.

4. O Grady, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, page 372.

5. "His wife that he now hath," Lord Justice Drury to Burghley, February 11, 1579.

6. "Pardon to Fynwall nycdonyll alias nyn duff, wife of O Donell," *Fiant of Elizabeth* no. 4914; "Innyne duffe alias Finnola ny Connell," *ibid.* no. 6761.

7. Hill, *The Macdonnells of Antrim*, page 151. "Wives coming from Scotland for him (Torlogh Lynagh O Neill) and O Donnell," March 19, 1568.

Siobhán, was certainly O Neill's wife in 1579, she must have been the issue of a previous marriage of O Donnell.

In a petition presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1587 O Neill speaks as follows :

“ Most humbly beseecheth that it may please your Majesty of your princely bounty to grant and confirm all and singular the contents of your said father's letters patents unto your said subject for term of his life, the remainder to Hugh O Neill, the eldest son of your suppliant and the lady Johan his wife, and to the heirs males of the body of the said Hugh, the remainder to Henry, another son of your said suppliant and the said lady, and the heirs males of the body of the said Henry.”<sup>1</sup>

Siobhán died some time before January 31, 1591, on which date Tyrone informed Burghley of the demise of his Countess.<sup>2</sup>

We next come to the Earl's romantic marriage with Mabel Bagenal,<sup>3</sup> which took place in 1591. This lady was then aged about twenty years. The documents bearing on the event have been published in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society* for the years 1856-7, and later in Father C. P. Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*. The following summary of them by Hill in his *Macdonnells of Antrim* may be reproduced here :—

“ Soon after her (Judith O Donnell's) death he met Mabel Bagenal, by whose youth and beauty and graceful manners he was willingly captivated. His admiration or love was fully reciprocated, but when Tyrone proposed for her, Sir Henry Bagenal, her brother, declined to sanction the marriage, ostensibly

<sup>1</sup>. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 290.

<sup>2</sup>. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 384.

<sup>3</sup>. John P. Prendergast gives the name as Ursula, *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, 1860-1.



on the grounds of the uncivilised condition of the Earl's country, but really because he was unable to part with his sister's dowry which he held in trust. He also removed her from his own residence at Newry to the house of his sister, Lady Barnwell of Turvey, nine miles north of Dublin. Here, however, the Earl was made very welcome to visit her, and they were formally betrothed in July, 1591. At the end of that month Tyrone and his affianced suddenly disappeared during a festive evening at Turvey and rode to Drumcondra, within a mile of Dublin, where they were married at the house of a friend named Warren. The Bishop of Meath, who performed the ceremony, hesitated until he should first speak with the bride apart. Having asked her whether she had really plighted her troth to O'Neill, Mabel very distinctly replied in the affirmative, that she had come away from Turvey freely, and of her own entire consent. 'I beseech you, my Lord,' she added, 'perfect the marriage between us, the sooner the better.' And they were forthwith united according to the forms of the English Church.<sup>1</sup> Mabel became a Catholic, and, no doubt, lived happily as Tyrone's wife. Her married life, however, was brief, as she died in 1596 leaving no children."<sup>2</sup>

In Russell's Journal, printed in the *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, there is a notice of Mabel's death in the following terms under date of December 30, 1595: "Rise ap Hugh came to Dublin and certified the death of the Countess of Tyrone."<sup>3</sup> The year given by Hill (and

1. The marriage ceremony was performed by Thomas Jones, Protestant Bishop of Meath, at Drumcondra Castle, the residence of Sir William Warren, in the early part of the month of August, 1591. The site of the castle is now occupied by the Carmelite Brothers' Asylum and School for Male Blind. O'Neill's purpose in having a Protestant to celebrate this union was that the world might know that he and Mabel Bagenal were married "according to Her Majesty's law."

2. Pages 212-3.

3. Page 240.

Meehan) may be correct, if we understand it as new style rather than old, for December 22, 1595, o.s., was January 1, 1596, n.s.

O Neill's fourth wife was Catherine, daughter of Sir Hugh Magennis, last inaugurated chieftain of Ibh Eathach, or Iveagh, in the present county of Down, and sister of Sir Arthur Magennis, the first Viscount Iveagh. There is abundant evidence as to the family to which this lady belonged. The following random items may be cited : "I coasted Magennis' domains, whose daughter is now wife to Tyrone," August 16, 1597<sup>1</sup>; "the greatness of of Arthur Magennis is because he married a daughter of the Earl of Tyrone, and the Earl married a sister of his," 1598<sup>2</sup>; "Tyrone hath to his wife the sister of this McGennis (Sir Arthur)," 1598.<sup>3</sup> Her Christian name is given by the Four Masters at the year 1607. She was considerably younger than the Earl. Particulars of her children will be given later. An entry in Trinity College manuscript H.4. 31, page 106, records the time and place of her death as follows : *inghion Meagaongusa .i. cuntaois Thire Eoghain ar bhfaghail bhais san Róimh 15 Martij 1618*, "the daughter of Mag Aonghusa, Countess of Tyrone, died in Rome, March 15, 1618."

We have seen above that O Neill's first marriage—that with the daughter of Sir Brian (mac Feilim) O Neill—was dissolved by the Armagh ecclesiastical authorities on grounds of an impediment<sup>4</sup> existing between the parties. Hence, Catholic writers of the Earl's time speak of him as having married only three times. For example, in Peter Lombard's *De Hibernia Commentarius* (written in 1600, and first published in 1632) this view is expressed in a passage<sup>5</sup> which may be translated as follows :—

"Some, caluminating him on another score, have

1. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 384.      2. *Ibid.*, page 168.

3. *Description of Ireland*, page 7.

4. It was probably one of consanguinity. Although the O Neills of Clannaboy were of quite different descent in the male line from those of Tyrone, intermarriage between the two groups was very frequent.

5. Dublin edition of 1868, page 158.

stated that, although he professed to carry on war on behalf of religion, nevertheless, his manner of living was so opposed to that claim that, living in open adultery, he kept three so-called wives at the same time. But this is a great untruth. He had, indeed, three wives ; but each of them was joined to him in legitimate matrimony. The first was a most excellent lady of the illustrious family of the O Donnells, by whom he had several children, among them two sons of the best disposition and the greatest expectation now growing to manhood, Hugh and Henry, the younger of whom, I hear as I write, has come to the Court of the King of Spain. Afterwards when she died he married another wife who was born in Ireland of English parents, the sister of the Marshal of the whole country. Whatever may have been the religion in which she was brought up by her own people, it is certain that having wedded this prince, she was so well instructed in her home by Catholic priests that she lived most piously and died a most holy death. Then last of all, since her death, he has as wife a member of the Magennis family, young in years indeed, but full grown in education, character, prudence and piety."

There are a number of passages in the English writings of the period from which it would appear, at first sight, that O Neill was also married to a daughter of Sir Eoin (mac Tuathail) O Gallchubhair, who is often, through blundering, styled Sir Owen O Toole. For example, Fynes Moryson, in his *Rebellion in Ireland*, speaks of Sir Owen mac Tooly as "father in law to the Earle of Tyrone."<sup>1</sup> Again, Captain Thomas Lee, in his well-known pamphlet, cited by Hill,<sup>2</sup> has a similar statement. In these documents the words "father in law" must not be taken in the sense now commonly current. They rather imply the relationship which we should designate

1. Glasgow edition, 1907, ii, page 181.

2. *Plantation in Ulster*, page 45.

by the word "stepfather." The *New English Dictionary* exemplifies this meaning of "father in law" by instances from literature from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. One of the earliest is from Shakespeare, *Richard III*, v, 3, 80-3 :—

All comfort that the dark night can afford  
Be to the royal person, noble father in law,  
Tell me, how fares our loving mother ?

an enquiry made of Stanley by Richmond on Bosworth Field. Another example from Irish soil is new : " O Donnell who had promised to consummate a marriage with her, and for the same purpose had himselfe written letters to O Conner Sligo, her father in law (in being her mother's husband) to hasten her away," *Pacata Hibernia*, bk. i, ch. 18. We are then to understand that, when Sir Eoin O Gallchubhair is styled father in law to O Neill, it is conveyed that he married the latter's mother.

O Neill's mother was Siobhán, daughter of Cuchonacht the Comharba Maguidhir, the chieftain of Fermanagh who died in 1537. She married (1) Feardorcha O Neill, Baron of Dungannon ; (2) Henry O Neill of the Fewes, son of Feidhlimidh Ruadh ; (3) Sir Eoin mac Tuathail I Ghallchubhair. The first of these husbands was slain in 1558. The second was, probably, dead in 1572.<sup>1</sup> The third was the celebrated pensioner<sup>2</sup> of the English Crown, who was imprisoned in Lord Deputy FitzWilliams' period of office, and died soon after his release in 1595. Siobhán herself died in 1600, and was buried in the monastery of Donegal, where also her father had been interred sixty-three years previously. Somewhat less famous than the Earl of Tyrone was her son by Henry O Neill, commonly called Turlogh mac Henry, who died on February 24, 1639-40.

1. " Pardon to Donill O Neill, son of Phelomy Ruffie, Eugene or Owen O Neill (*d.* 1580, *Annals of Loch Ce*) and Con O Neill, brothers of Donill," *Fiant of Elizabeth* no. 2172. As Henry is not mentioned here the presumption is as above stated.

2. Fynes Moryson, *Rebellion in Ireland*, ii, 181.

## TURLOGH LYNAGH'S DAUGHTER

### III

#### TURLOGH LYNAGH'S DAUGHTER

SOME of the English officials and writers of the time maintained that O'Neill contracted a marriage with a daughter of Turlogh Lynagh O'Neill, chief of Tyrone, in the year 1579. For example, Fynes Moryson says: "Hugh, preserved by the English from Shane, married the daughter of Tirlogh Linnogh Oneale, whom he put away by divorce, and after proved an arch rebell."<sup>1</sup> The same statement is frequently found in modern books. It was first made by Lord Justice Drury in the early part of the year mentioned. That O'Neill ever intended such a proceeding may be doubted; but whether he did or not, a marriage with a daughter of Turlogh Lynagh never took place. The few papers in which this report is embodied are collected in a contribution made by Daniel MacCarthy to the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society* for 1856-7. The Lord Justice wrote on February 11 to Burghley as follows:—

"What letters he (Turlogh Lynagh) sent to me or received from me, your lordship shall see either the originals or copies of them which I send by Mr. Carew, to the end you may the better look into his nature and inclination, and see how little hold is to be taken of one that is so rude and so wild or savage as he is. Before my coming down the Baron of Dungannon and he had met and parleyed together, and were entered into a great league of friendship, in so much as the Baron should have put away his wife that he now hath (O'Donnell's daughter), and have taken Torlogh's daughter to wife; but I have so conjured the Baron as that match is broken."

On February 22 Fitton, the Secretary of the Council,

1. *Ibid.*, 178. The Irish form of the chief's name is Toirrdhealbhadh Luineach. He died in 1595.

wrote to the same effect. On March 30 Drury informed the Privy Council that the divorce and re-marriage had actually taken place. But nine days later, on April 8, the Privy Council instructed Drury "to impedit the match between Dungannon and Torlogh Lynagh's daughter."<sup>1</sup> Drury's successor, Lord Justice Pelham, dealt with the affair in letters written in the end of 1579 and the beginning of 1580. The first of these is dated December 15. It contains the following passage :—

"This last (the Baron O Dungannon) came to Melifont and there declared to me that sixteen galleys of Scots were landed at the Banne. . . . He made offer to fall from Turloughe, and serve against him. He desired me to apprehend himself, and then, before his enlargement, to article with him to put away Turlough's daughter and receive again O Donnell's, whom he left by compulsion of Turloughe."

O Neill had not married Turlogh's daughter when this letter was written, so that Drury's report of the preceding March 30 was unfounded. The Lord Justice and Council sent another missive to the Lords in England on January 12, 1579-80, wherein the following appears : "Turlough is coming into the Baron of Dungannon's country *to compel him to marry his daughter*. The Baron has sent to Sir Edward More to know what course he should hold. We have desired the Baron to defer the marriage." Again, on January 14, Pelham wrote to Sir Edward More : "I have seen the Baron of Dungannon's letter to you ; he should temporize till a better opportunity ; *touching the marriage I wish it deferred until my answer from her Majesty*." Further, on January 17, 1579-80, the Lord Justice and Council wrote once more : "Turlough Lenought means presently to come over the Blackwater, as well for the

1. *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal*, 1856-7, pages 307-8 ; compare *Calendar of State Papers*, 1579, pages 159, 161, 163, 165.

marriage of the Baron of Dungannon to his daughter, as to oppress Turloghe Brasiloughe." <sup>1</sup>

These documents prove to demonstration that up to the date of January 17, 1580, there was no marriage between O Neill and the daughter of his great rival. Yet, Lord Ernest Hamilton, having quoted only the letters of the early part of 1579, says that it is unquestionable "that Dungannon was married to Tirlough Luineach's daughter both in form and substance." <sup>2</sup> He suppresses the later evidence in order to have freer scope for mud-slinging, as we shall see in a moment.

There is no reference to this supposed marriage in any letter or paper certainly dated after January 1580. It is true that a series of "Articles set down by Captain Piers for the reformation of the North of Ireland," which is misplaced in the printed *Calendar of the Carew Papers* 1574, pages 490-1, has the following passage: "the Baron should make much of his wife, Turlogh's daughter." This document is, apparently, referred to by Pelham in a letter <sup>3</sup> to Walsyngham bearing date July 14, 1580. If Pelham really had this paper in mind, he neither vouched for the accuracy of the above statement, nor did he give any indication of the age of the document at the period of writing. The supposition in Piers' draft remedy for the woes of Ulster is of the same character as Drury's report of March 30, 1579—it was not a fact.

That O Neill never married Turlogh Lynagh's daughter appears evident from the following considerations:—

1. If he did, one might expect further reference to the event in the State correspondence, more particularly about the time of the marriage with Mabel Bagenal, when, as we have seen above, O Neill's matrimonial alliances were the subject of close investigation. It cannot be proved

1. *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 185, 199, 200, 201.

2. *Elizabethan Ireland*, 82.

3. *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 277; see the footnote there. As the scappy summaries of the Calendars are often given a wrong twist by faulty punctuation, it may be that we should read here: "The Baron should make much of his wife. Turlogh's daughter."

that Turlogh Lynagh's daughter, about whom so much has been said already, was then dead. It must also be admitted that it cannot be proved that she was then alive—a fact which detracts somewhat from the cogency of this argument.

2. In 1585 Lord Deputy Perrot, by letter of June 30, sent an account of Dungannon's petition to Parliament of that year for his place of Earl of Tyrone. The Queen directed the Lord Deputy to hold inquisition before granting the title, and instructed that Dungannon was "to bear 100 soldiers." Regarding the earldom, the Queen thought that "as he has had *two wives*, and children by them both, if the limitation be made to exclude his first children, as he desires, some controversy may hereafter come."<sup>1</sup> The two wives referred to were Sir Brian mac Felim's daughter and Siobhán, daughter of O Donnell. A little later he expressly sought that the latter's children should be made his heirs. She died as his Countess about the month of January, 1591. How can it be pretended that this lady was divorced in 1579?

3. In a subsequent petition, dated 1587, O Neill asked that remainder be granted to Hugh O Neill, "the eldest son of your suppliant and the lady Johan, his wife."<sup>2</sup> Clearly, the reference here is to O Neill's then present wife. If, in spite of the silence of the records, it be contended that a marriage with Turlogh Lynagh's daughter was concluded, we should have to believe that O Neill married Siobhán, divorced her, married Turlogh Lynagh's daughter, divorced her also, and once again re-married with O Donnell's daughter. The ease with which separations were brought about in sixteenth-century Ireland was great enough, indeed; but it is only an inflamed imagination that would contemplate such juggling with wives as the voice of ancient and modern slanderers imputes to Hugh O Neill.

Touching this question Lord Ernest Hamilton, who

1. *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, page 407.

2. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 290.



appears to have drunkenness, irregular marriage alliances, and illegitimacy on the brain, writes as follows :<sup>1</sup>

“ In the course of the discussion which took place fifteen years later in the matter of Mabel Bagenal's marriage to the Earl of Tyrone, efforts were made to prove that the marriage was not legal on the grounds that Tyrone had not taken the proper steps to divorce his former wife, Joan O Donnell.”

This passage only shows the writer's ignorance of the facts. The discussion referred to took place in the later months of 1591—fifteen years after what, only Hamilton can say ! There is not a single word, reference or hint in the letters of O Neill himself, of Marshal Bagenal, of the Lord Deputy and Irish Council, or of the Bishop of Meath, dealing with the matter, to a divorce of Joan O Donnell. In any case *that lady was over half a year dead when all this correspondence was going on*, and the fact was well known to all concerned. Consequently, there could have been no question of O Neill's union with *her* being a hindrance to a marriage with Mabel Bagenal. The correspondence just referred to is totally silent about Turlogh Lynagh's daughter. Hamilton, in order to explain away this silence, and in order to make some of his mud stick, states that “ Tyrone was still tied to Joan O Donnell ”—that elegant phrase is his own—and that as a result there was no need for introducing into the case a previous presumed marriage with Turlogh Lynagh's daughter. “ No intervening alliance,” he says, “ would affect the point in question, because any such alliance would have been equally irregular,” page 82.

On a later page, referring to the same events, Hamilton writes :—

“ Tyrone had already married three wives, one of whom was divorced and the other two dead, and in

1. *Elizabethan Ulster*, 82.

1591 he aspired to fill up the periodical vacancy with Mabel Bagenal, the youngest sister of the Marshal."

Thus, the lady who was "tied to Tyrone" on page 82 has become one of the dead on page 143. Nor is it easy to see how any difficulty could have arisen at all if Tyrone was plainly at liberty by the dissolution of his first marriage and the death of any lady or ladies he was said to have married later.

The fact is that the dissolution of the first marriage was disputed. Here is what the Marshal wrote to Burghley on October 28, 1591 :—

"That he was once married to Sir Brian mac Phelym's daughter, who yet lives, is by the examination of so many witnesses present at the marriage substantially proved, as I suppose the Earl himself will not deny it. And for any divorce had for dissolving that marriage, I never knew of any. In respect whereof, upon some conference which his lordship had with me, I wished him to free himself from the common opinion which possessed the world of his former marriage before he did entreat or enter any communication of another." <sup>1</sup>

In response to this challenge O Neill brought before the Lord Deputy the three judges who pronounced the dissolution. He also exhibited the original judgment confirmed by seal, and delivered him a copy on October 6. Brian mac Felim's daughter had married another long since ; "from which gentlewoman," adds O Neill, "unless I have been thoroughly cleared, I would not for any wordly consideration have stained my credit and conscience by taking a second wife." In the letter which contains these words O Neill refers to his recently deceased wife, O Donnell's daughter ; but as already stated, neither here, nor in any document bearing on the dispute, is there the smallest hint of a marriage with Turlough Lynagh's daughter.

1. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, 292.

## O NEILL'S SONS

O NEILL's children, in so far as they can be identified, are now to be enumerated. And first, concerning his sons: when he went into rebellion in the early part of 1595, one of his most efficient captains was his son Con. This son is referred to in the contemporary documents as illegitimate. Father Meehan, in opposition to all the evidence, styles Conn the Earl's nephew.<sup>1</sup> However, he is plainly described by the Four Masters at the year 1607 as one of the sons of O Neill—*mac do chloinn Ui Neill .i. Conn mac Aodha mic Firdorcha mic Cuinn Bhacaigh*.<sup>2</sup> Philip O Sullevan Beara and the English authorities are in agreement.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that he was a child of O Neill's first marriage, that which was dissolved by the authority of the Church, as we have seen above. It is certain that there was a son (or sons) of Brian mac Felim's daughter alive in 1585, otherwise the Queen could have no misgivings as regards the succession to the earldom which she was then about to grant. The suggestion may be made that Conn was one of the children of the dissolved marriage, though these are not named in the correspondence of the time. If O Neill's divorce was valid, Conn was illegitimate by English law. His father was obliged to describe him as such, for he could not make the children of his second marriage his heirs, and maintain at the same time that those of the first were legitimate. But it by no means follows from the statements of English writers that Conn, or any other child of O Neill, was illegitimate in the ordinary sense. Still, O Sullevan's words given in the last footnote below seem to support them in this instance. Whatever may have

1. *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, page 77.

2. Vol. vi, page 2094.

3. "Quintus Onelli filius nothus," O Sullevan, tome iii, bk. 4, ch. 1; "his son Con," *Calendar of State Papers*, 1593, page 148; "my son Con," *ibid.*, 1595, pages 379, 496; "Con M' an Earl," *ibid.*, page 373; "his natural son Con," *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 1594, page 98; "Con, the Earl's base son," *ibid.*, 1596, page 134; "Con Oneale, Tyrone's base son," Fynes Moryson, vol. ii, page 187 (edn. 1907), *etc.*

been the circumstances of his birth, Conn was fully adopted into the Earl's family, and his son named Fear-dorcha accompanied the great chief in his flight to the Continent. He was a capable soldier. He was wounded<sup>1</sup> near Kilmallock in 1600, and on December 9 of the next year we learn that "Con, Tyrone's base son, is lately dead in Tyrone."<sup>2</sup>

Of the children of O'Neill's second marriage, Hugh and Henry are mentioned in the petition of the year 1587 quoted above. The Government were endeavouring to secure them as pledges in 1594, and Tyrone's letter of August 25 of that year shows that they were then at fosterage.<sup>3</sup> Hugh died on September 24, 1609.<sup>4</sup> According to the epitaph over his tomb in the church of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome, he was then in his twenty-fourth year. Henry, the younger brother, was sent to the Court of Spain in 1600.<sup>5</sup> Giolla Brighde O hEoghusa writes on September 19, 1605, that he was then expected in Flanders.<sup>6</sup> He became Colonel of the Irish regiment in the Spanish service in that country, and continued in command till his death, which event occurred prior to the publication of Philip O'Sullivan's *Historia Catholica* in 1621.<sup>7</sup>

1. "Con O Neale, Tyrone's base son, was hurt," *Pacata Hibernia*, book i, ch. 1.

2. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 208.

3. *Ibid.*, page 270. In 1599 Sir John Harrington, the author of *Nugae Antiquae*, described the brothers Hugh and Henry as "of good cheerful aspect, freckled, not tall, but strong, well-set, and acquainted with the English tongue," Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, page 39.

4. *Flight of the Earls*, page 193. A transcript of the epitaph is given in Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, page 342.

5. See Murphy, *Life of Hugh Roe*, page cxxiii, note, and the reference to his arrival in the passage from Peter Lombard quoted above.

6. See the Irish letter printed in *An Léightheoir Gaedhealach*, page 83, and elsewhere.

7. See tome iii, bk. 8, ch. 6. Hill, *The Macdonnells of Antrim*, page 233, puts Henry's death about 1626; but O'Sullivan's reference is decisive: Ex illis in Gallia Belgica legionem conscribi iussit, quae prius sub Henrico, et post Henrici interitum, sub Iohanne, Onelli filiis, contra Batavos fideliter et strenue pugnavit. A letter of Chichester to Salisbury puts his death as early as 1610; see *Calendar of State Papers*, December 12. But that

The sons of O Neill by his last wife, Catherine, sister of Sir Arthur Magennis, were three in number : Seaan or John, a second Conn, styled Conn Ruadh and Conn na Creige, and Brian. They are referred to in a paper of the year 1605 as Tyrone's "three young sons by the now Countess."<sup>1</sup> Seaan was born in October, 1599.<sup>2</sup> He succeeded his half-brother Henry in the command of the Irish regiment in Flanders. About the same time he adopted the title of Conde de Tirone. For some of his correspondence see Meehan, *Irish Franciscan Monasteries*, 4th edition, page 302 ; and *Report on the Manuscripts in the Library of the Franciscans in Merchants' Quay, Dublin*. He was killed in Catalonia on January 27, 1641. He left "onely one boy, by name Huigh Oneyll, fruit of his loynes, behinde him, thin of the age of 9 yeares."<sup>3</sup> On this boy, see Appendix, section i.

Brian, the youngest son of this marriage, became page in the palace of the Archduke in Brussels, and was assassinated at the age of thirteen on August 16, 1617.<sup>4</sup> The other boy, Conn O Neill, is commonly believed to have been Tyrone's youngest son ; but he was seven or eight years old in 1609 and consequently born before Brian.

Concerning the child Conn the younger, or Conn na Creige, Lord Deputy Chichester wrote to the Privy Council on September 7-17, 1607 :—

"I have given warrant likewise to Sir Tobias Caulfield to make search for Con O Neill, one of the Earl's children, among his fosterers in Tyrone, and to take him into safe custody, until he receive other direction

report was false, if it ever came to Ireland at so early a date. The probability is that the name Henry is a mistake for Hugh.

1. Hill *The Macdonnells of Antrim*, page 210.

2. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 204.

3. Gilbert, *History of Affairs in Ireland*, part i, page 6. "But he [Tyrone] rebelled against her, and died afterwards at Rome, as his son did at San Fleu in Catalonia on January 27, 1641, leaving no lawful issue. He left, however, 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, 348.

4. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, page 323.

in his behalf. This child was by accident left behind, for the Earl sought him diligently, but by reason he was overtaken with shortness of time, and that the people of those parts do follow their creates, as they call them, in solitary places, and where they best like their pastures (after the manner of the Tartars), they are not, therefore, always ready to be found.”<sup>1</sup>

Caulfield captured the child after some time, and kept him under close surveillance lest any near relative of the Earl should remain at liberty, and so possibly interfere with the Plantation then in progress. In a letter to the Privy Council dated Dublin, July 4, 1609, Chichester suggested that the children of O Neill and Caffar O Donell should be sent to England and put to trades, that they might thus “forget their fierceness and pride.” In his notes touching the escheated lands in Ulster, he states that “there is a son of the Earl of Tyrone of some seven or eight years old, and another of Caffar O Donel, brother of the Earl of Tyrconnel, both of whom he has committed to two captains in Ulster.” After seriously pondering what he ought to do with them, he declares the best course would be “to send them to some remote parts of England or Scotland to be kept from the knowledge of friends or acquaintances.”<sup>2</sup> It was alleged that part of the object of the Ulster conspiracy of 1615 was “to take away Conn ne Kreigy O Neile, son to the Earl of Tyrone, from Charlemont.”<sup>3</sup> In order to avoid all risk of his release, his keepers transported him to England, and on July 6, 1615, we learn “as to Conn O Neil, Tyrone’s son, his Majesty has disposed of him and sent him to Eton College.”<sup>4</sup> On August 12, 1622, he was committed to the Tower of London.<sup>5</sup> We hear no more of him.

1. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 261.

2. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, page 176.

3. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 80. The boy is described as of age fourteen or fifteen years at date.

4. *Ibid.*, 84.

5. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, page 321. “So far as we are aware, nothing is known of this youthful prisoner’s fate. He is never heard of subsequently to his imprisonment,” Hill, *Macdonnells of Antrim*, page 228.

## O NEILL'S DAUGHTERS

THE following particulars regarding O Neill's daughters have been noted in casual reading, and make no claim to completeness. In the case of some for whose existence or marriage there is evidence, the names have not yet been discovered. It is in many cases impossible to say of which marriage they were children.

1. A note of Lord Justice Drury to Burghley dated February 11, 1579, says: "Young McMahan created McMahan in his father's place; he hath married Dunganon's daughter." Towards the end of that year we learn that "the Baron of Dunganon hath practised to take his daughter from McMahounde, and to give her to Philip O Relieghe."<sup>1</sup> Again, Tyrone himself writes on August 2, 1592: "You know that when I was in England I complained for the marriage goods of my daughter who was married to Sir Ross McMahan."<sup>2</sup> Sir Ross, whom the Irish styled Rosa Buidhe, died in 1589. It is stated by Hill<sup>3</sup> that his widow married Brian mac Hugh Og MacMahon. If this is correct, this daughter is identical with Mary, referred to below, no. 8. As Ross MacMahon's wife was married as early as 1579, she must have been a child of O Neill's first marriage. It is extremely unlikely that she was illegitimate.

2. Hugh Maguire, O Neill's staunch ally in all the rebellion, was married to his daughter. The marriage took place later than May 17, 1593, when the Lord Deputy sent this note to England: "A report goeth forth that Maguire is to marry the Earl of Tyrone's daughter."<sup>4</sup> In another note made on the margin of a document of about the same time, Burghley entered that "M'Guyr "

1. *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, page 172.

2. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 565.

3. *Plantation in Ulster*, pages 41, 49.

4. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 98.

was married to a "filia Comitum." This Maguire, "the first Robinhood of this great rebellion," was killed in a skirmish near Cork city in March, 1600. A son of his, described as the eldest, but not named, was mortally wounded on the same occasion.<sup>1</sup> He cannot have been a child of this marriage with O Neill's daughter. An Irish authority gives the names of Maguire's sons as Seán Ruadh, Aodh, and Eamonn.<sup>2</sup> If Seán Ruadh was he who was wounded along with his father, and died a short time afterwards, we have references to either Aodh or Eamonn, or possibly to both, in the following passages. On August 24, 1607, the Earl of Clanricarde writes concerning Cuchonnacht O'g Maguire, brother of the dead chieftain :—

"Is upon this occasion or some other gone out of Ireland into Spain ; he meant that a brother of his should take the profit and protection of the country, and Clanricarde has heard . . . he had a particular regard unto the right of *his eldest brother's child*, being now very young, and by a daughter, as Clanricarde conceives, of Tirone."<sup>3</sup>

Again, Sir Arthur Chichester speaks in 1610 of "Tyrone's grandchild, son to Hugh Maguire slain in Munster."<sup>4</sup>

Hugh Maguire and his wife were cousins, as Cuchonnacht Maguire, the chief who died in 1589, and Siobhán, his sister, were respectively father and mother of Hugh Maguire and Hugh O Neill.

3. Another daughter of O Neill married a "filius M'Guir."<sup>5</sup> Cuchonnacht Maguidhir, who died chief in 1589, is most probably the parent referred to in this statement. Besides Hugh, or Aodh, mentioned in the last paragraph, he had sons named Brian, Toirdhealbhadh, Cuchonnacht O'g, another Toirdhealbhadh, and Seán

1. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June 1922, page 606.

2. *Ibid.*, page 607.

3. *Calendar of State Papers*, 1607, page 253.

4. *Ibid.*, 1610, page 56.

5. *Ibid.*, 1593, page 95.



an Bharra.<sup>1</sup> Some one of these may have been the husband of the daughter of O Neill referred to in the note cited above.

4. Catherine. Henry Oge O Neill was married to a "filia Comitiss Tironiae."<sup>2</sup> We learn the lady's name from a paper of the year 1602: "Pardon to Henry Oge O Nell m' Henry m' Shane of Portienuligan co. Armagh esq., Cortrine O Nell his wife, Tirlagh Oge and Cone Buoy his sons."<sup>3</sup> Sir Henry possessed an extensive country in the south-east of county Tyrone and the adjoining district of Touranny<sup>4</sup> in county Armagh. He was knighted on October 12, 1604.<sup>5</sup> He and his father-in-law were by no means fast friends. Fynes Moryson tells us that Henry Oge O Neale undertook to betray Tyrone in 1601. He was foreman of the jury which sat at Lifford in the end of 1607, and before which the Earl and his followers were indicted for treason.<sup>6</sup> He was slain in the operations against Sir Cahir O Dogherty the next summer.<sup>7</sup> See his genealogy in Appendix, section iv.

5. Margaret. This daughter was the wife of Richard Butler, son and heir of Edmund Butler, second Viscount Mountgarret. In 1598, at date of January 8, we read the following in the *Calendar of State Papers* for that year: "The Lord Mountgarrett whose son is married to the Earl of Tyrone's daughter."<sup>8</sup> About the same time the Viscount concluded a peace with O Neill; this compact explains the statement of the writer of *The Description of Ireland in 1598* in his account of the county Kilkenny:—

"The Lord Mountgarrat accompanied with many

1. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, January 1922, page 1.

2. *Calendar of State Papers*, 1593, page 95.

3. *Fiant of Elizabeth* no. 6735.

4. The name Tiranny is incorrect, as the Irish form is *Tuath Threana*.

5. *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 1618, page 384.

6. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, page 181.

7. "The fifth of June, in the night, being Sundaie, Sir Henry Oge was slaine," Sir Neale O Donnell's Confession, *ibid.*, page 208.

8. Page 15.

Butlers, Graces and all the younger brethren of the gentlemen of this countie are now in rebellion ; he is able to make about 150 horsemen and 500 footmen ; they stop the passage from Dublin to Mounster which lieth through this countie, and do much harm to all the counties adjacent.”

But Mountgarret deserted his ally next year,<sup>1</sup> and a pardon from the Government followed in due course on August 15, 1599. It mentions Edmund Butler, Viscount Mountgarret, dame Grany his wife, Richard Butler (and other sons), Margaret Neale, and many others.<sup>2</sup> Another Fiant of later date is explicit regarding the relationship between these personages : “ Pardon to Richard Butler esq., son and heir of Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Edmund Butler, son of said Richard, Margaret ny Neale wife of said Richard etc.”<sup>3</sup> Sir Edmund died in 1602, and was succeeded by Sir Richard as third Viscount. This is the Mountgarret who was president of the Supreme Council of the Confederation of Kilkenny, and whom the author of the *Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction* describes as “ a poor dotinge ould man.” He died in 1651, having married three times. Margaret, daughter of O Neill, seems to have died many years before him.<sup>4</sup>

6. Rose. When Hugh Roe O Donnell was captured by Sir John Perrot at Michaelmas, 1587, he was aged nearly fifteen, and espoused or married to Rose, daughter of O Neill. On December 10 of that year Tyrone wrote to Walsyngham :—

“ The Lord Deputy hath caused O Donnell’s son called Hugh O Donnell to be taken, and now he remaineth as prisoner in the castle of Dublin ; *he is my son-in-law*, and the only stay that O Donnell had for the quieting of this country, and the de-

1. *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. vi, page 2114.

2. *Fiant of Elizabeth* no. 6309.

3. No. 6484, March 28, 1601.

4. Archdall’s *Lodge*, vol. iv, pages 51 ff.

taining of him in prison is the most prejudice that might happen unto me.”<sup>1</sup>

Sir Niall Garbh O Donnell, nearly twenty years afterwards, in a deposition made in August, 1606, described this daughter as illegitimate; but the statement only proves that the girl was not a daughter of his cousin Siobhán—which, of course, is evident otherwise, because O Donnell could not have presumed to marry his own niece, he and Siobhán being half brother and sister, as we have already seen. A deposition of date June 25, 1593, states that the Seneschal O Hagan and William M'Crodan, a brehon of the Earl, “went to O Donnell's house to bring thither the Earl's daughter that is married to O Donnell,” *Calendar of State Papers*, page 112. This journey was likely the formal home-bringing of the bride of Hugh Roe. About 1595 O Donnell and Rose seem to have separated. There was question of his carrying away Lady Margaret Burke, daughter of the Earl of Clanricard, in December,<sup>2</sup> and we hear of “some breach between Tirone and O Donnell about Tirone's daughter” on April 2, 1596.<sup>3</sup> The author of *The Description of Ireland in 1598*, referring to a long-standing feud between the O Neill and O Donnell families, says: “This controverse was taken away by a double marriage, Tyrone having married O Donnell's sister, by whom he hath diverse sons, and O Donnell having married his daughter, whom many yeares he hath cast off for barrenness.”<sup>4</sup> A scheme for the marriage of O Donnell with Joan, sister of the Queen's Earl of Desmond, was blocked by Carew towards the end of 1600.<sup>5</sup> Rose re-married with Domhnall Ballach O Cahan, who succeeded to the chieftainship of his name in 1598. The above-mentioned author describes him as Tyrone's chief vassal, and says that “of late he hath married the Earles daughter, whom

1. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 442.

2. *Ibid.*, page 438.

3. *Ibid.*, page 506.

4. Page 30.

5. *Pacata Hibernia*, book i, ch. 18.

O Donnell hath divorced from him.”<sup>1</sup> Fiant of Elizabeth no. 6688, gives the lady’s name : “ Pardon to Donald or Daniel O Cahan gent., chief of his name, Rosa O Neale, his wife, etc.”<sup>2</sup> O Cahan had been previously married to Mary, sister of Hugh Roe O Donnell, and Montgomery, bishop of Derry, writes to Chichester, the Lord Deputy, on March 4, 1607, that “ the breach between him and his landlord will be the greater by means of his (Tyrone’s) daughter, his reputed wife, whom he has resolved to leave, having a former wife lawfully married to him.”<sup>3</sup> O Cahan retained Rose’s marriage portion, and Tyrone, after his downfall, explained<sup>4</sup> to the King his own grievance in the matter. O Cahan was arrested in 1608, and died in the Tower of London years later.<sup>5</sup> Chichester proposed placing his eldest son with the Provost of Trinity College “ to be brought up in learning.”

7. Sorcha, or Sarah. The daughter of O Neill so named, married Sir Arthur Magennis, who succeeded his father, Sir Hugh Magennis, as lord of Ibh Eathach, or Iveagh, in county Down, in 1596. Sir Hugh Magennis is described as “ the civilest (*i.e.* most anglicised) of all the Irish in these parts . . . ; but this old knight being dead, his son that succeeded being a young man hath joined himself to Tyrone, his brother-in-law, and thereby cast away his father’s civilitie, and returned to the rudeness of the country.”<sup>6</sup> Sarah was married some time prior to March 4, 1595, when Marshal Bagenal writes that “ he detains Sir Hugh Magennis’ son who married Tirone’s daughter.”<sup>7</sup> She is mentioned in Sir Josiah

1. Page 33.

2. The date is October 21, 1602.

3. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 125.

4. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, page 127.

5. In 1627, according to Hill, *Macdonnells of Antrim*, page 219. But that reliable authority, Philip O Sullevan Beara, *Historia Catholica*, tome iv, bk. 3, ch. 4, says O Cahan died in 1618—*cuius mors nihil laeta fuit Hiberniae*. O Sullevan might here with greater justification have written *vita* for *mors*.

6. *Description of Ireland in 1598*, page 7.

7. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 301.

Bodley's humorous account of his visit to Lecale in 1602-3 :—

“ We now came to the island of Magennis where, alighting from our horses, we met Master Morrison and Captain Constable. . . . They had tarried there at least three hours expecting our arrival, and in the meantime drank ale and usquebath with the Lady Sara, the daughter of Tyrone and wife of the aforesaid Magennis, a truly beautiful woman ; so that I can well believe these three hours did not appear to them more than a minute, especially to Master Constable, who is by his nature very fond not of women only, but likewise of dogs and horses. We also drank twice or thrice, and after we had duly kissed her, we each prepared for our journey.”<sup>1</sup>

Sir Arthur was made Viscount Iveagh in 1623.<sup>2</sup> He died in 1629.<sup>3</sup> Falkner gives 1639 as the date of the death of Lady Sara.<sup>4</sup> Trinity College Manuscript H.4. 31, page 99, has the following entry : *Sorcha inghean Ui Neill bean tiagherna Ibheach dfaghail bháis 26 Aprill. . . .* Unfortunately, the margin is frayed, and the year figure cannot now be read. Indeed, it does not appear to have ever been there. But Hugh O Daly, who copied the notice into H.1. 6, fol. 80, has the date 1640. However, a few lines higher up he copied the date of the death of Sir Cahir O Dogherty as “ 1<sup>o</sup> August 1641,” a fact which would go to show that he was not then in his right senses. These surmises are both negatived by the Journal of O Mellan, which under date of March 31, 1642, speaks of “ Lady Iveagh, Sorcha, daughter of O Neill,” as then living.

1. Falkener, *Illustrations of Irish History*, page 331.

2. Fitzpatrick, *The Bloody Bridge*, page 23.

3. “ Anno Domini 1629 Art mac Aodha mhic Domhnuill Oig Mheicc Aonghusa .i. tigherna Iath Eathach Cobha dfhaghbháil bháis an seachtmhadh lá do mhí Mhái, cenn enigh & choinnsiasa shleachta Ir mhic Míleadh & urmhóir na nGaidheal uile,” H. 4. 25, page 146.

4. Loc. cit., page 332

8. Mary. This was the name of the wife of Brian mac Hugh Og Mac Mahon of Dartry in Oriel, who became a competitor for the chieftainship of the name in 1589, but was unsuccessful in his claims until he secured the support of O'Neill.<sup>1</sup> Brian took part in the great rebellion on the side of his father-in-law, but appears to have acted the traitor on the night preceding the battle of Kinsale.<sup>2</sup> In the subsequent wreckage of fortunes in Ulster Mac Mahon fared better than many of the leaders. In the distribution of the lands of the county of Monaghan this gentleman got five ballybetaghs of estate in demesne, or about 5,000 acres, "in respect of his dependencie in the country and hope of his loyaltie to her Majesty."<sup>3</sup> There is record of a pardon granted to him in 1603: "General pardon to Breanie McHugh Oge M'Mahone of Rouske in Monaghan co. gent., Marie Mahone otherwise Neale his wife."<sup>4</sup> On April 25, 1608, Sir Henry Dillon informed Salisbury regarding him as follows:

"As for Sir Bryan Mac Mahowne, who hath been an auncient rebell, he is grown to be every daie hevy with surfett; and albeit he be maryed to the lady Mary daughter to Tyrone, yet I think if his son Arte Oge Mac Mahowne be still restrayned, he will not stir except there be a general revolt."<sup>5</sup>

He died in December, 1622.<sup>6</sup> His son, Hugh, "grandson to the traitor Tyrone," took part in the conspiracy to seize Dublin Castle in October, 1641, and was executed in London some years afterwards. There is preserved an Irish poem which was addressed to Sir Bryan and his

1. "To make his attempts in Tyrone the more feasible the Lord Deputy had . . . drawn Brian m'Hugh Oge, who usurps the title of M'Mahon upon the arch-traitor's creation, to have a secret dependence of his lordship," *Calendar of State Papers*, 1597, page 424.

2. *Pacata Hibernia*, book 2, ch. 21.

3. Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, page 49.

4. *Patent Rolls of James I*, page 26.

5. Quoted in O Grady, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, page 472.

6. R.I.A. manuscript C. vi. 1, page 484.

wife. It commences *Beag mhaireas do mhacraidh Ghaoidheal*; "Lady Mary's beauty is set forth, and she is reminded that in her veins runs the blood of O Donnell, of Maguire, and of O Neill."<sup>1</sup>

9. Alice, or Ellis. This daughter is said to have been nine years old in 1597. If the statement is correct, she must have been a child of O Donnell's daughter, Siobhán, who, as we have seen above, died a little before January 31, 1591. The rumour at the time was that the daughter in question was to be espoused with James, son of Sorley Macdonnell, the great Antrim chief. James was already the father of a large family by Mary, the daughter of Hugh mac Felim O Neill of Clannaboy.<sup>2</sup> On September 16, 1597, Sir John Chichester announced to Burghley: "Besides it is reported that one of them (James Macdonnell or Randall, his brother) shall marry the Earl's daughter."<sup>3</sup> On October 31 following a spy, Richard Weston, states "the Earl hath lately married his younger daughter of nine years of age to James mac Sorley,"<sup>4</sup> while on November 6 he speaks of "James mac Sorley and his two brethren Randall mac Sorley and Nice Ultagh mac Sorley having . . . returned from the Earl of Tyrone . . . who had promised his daughter in marriage to James mac Sorley, and to Randall mac Sorley the daughter of Sir John O Dogherty."<sup>5</sup> But on January 24, 1598, another correspondent says, "Sir James is to marry the daughter of the Earl of Gowrie, though it was said in Scotland that he was married to Tyrone's daughter."<sup>6</sup> In the sequel it was Randall mac Sorley who married the young lady.<sup>7</sup> Sir James died about Easter, 1601, and

1. O Grady, *op. cit.*, page 474.

2. His sons are enumerated as follows in Mac Firbhisigh, *Great Book of Genealogies*, page 343: Giolla Easbuig, Aonghus, Raghnaill, Colla, Domhnall Gorm, and Alasdrann Carrach. There was also another named Sorley, as to whom see *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October 1927, pages 337-351.

3. *Calendar of State Papers*, pages 397.

4. *Ibid.*, page 448.

5. *Ibid.*, page 465.

6. *Ibid.*, page 41.

7. I take it that the girl of whom there was question in 1597-8, and she who married Randall mc Sorley, were identical. However, Hill says Alice was born in 1583, reckoning that she was 78 years of age in 1661;

his estates passed to Randall, the younger brother, although as we have already said, Sir James had the large family of sons whose names are given above in the footnote. It was alleged that he was never legally married to Mary, daughter of Hugh mac Felim O Neill, though there is evidence of the fact of the marriage.<sup>1</sup> James the First, in the year after his accession, made a grant of the Route and the Glynnns of Antrim to Randall as "having submitted himself to the deputy-general in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and been received into favour."<sup>2</sup> Fearflatha O Gnímh, a contemporary poet, makes reference to this grant as follows :<sup>3</sup>

Tug ar phár mhín mheamram-rulla  
 ón rígh do rádh tingheall-ranna  
 lá garma a gceann coimhdhioghlama  
 Gleann Arma & innbhear-Bhanna.

Dún Libhse na leathan-ghormmagh  
 múr nach brisfe brathairm-innleadh  
 gan gheis ann da athoir-bhearnadh  
 anall leis is Lathairn-innbhear.

"On a smooth membrane-roll of parchment, in consequence of promise of favour, he brought from the King, on the day he was summoned for the grant, Glenarm and the estuary of the Bann.

he has also some further particulars about her in *The Macdonnells of Antrim*, page 222, where he does not quote from his sources. In any case, the spy who gave the figure of seven years may have been misinformed. In regard to Alice's age, Hill's authority was, probably, Archdall's *Peerage* i, page 207, which states, "she was eighty years old in 1663," according to a Chancery bill filed August 19 of that year.

1. MacLavery, *History of the Diocese of Down and Connor*, vol. ii, page 323.

2. Erck, *Repertory of the Patent Rolls of James I*, page 137.

3. R.I.A. manuscript 23 L 17, fo. 45. The complete poem has been published by Father Lambert MacKenna in the *Irish Monthly* for June 1920.



“Dunluce of the wide blue plains, a fortress that no machine of treachery shall capture, and the Larne water he brought over with him, without reservation as to its sharing with kinsmen.”

Sir Randall was granted “power during his life to distinguish the Route and the Glennes into several precincts each to contain 2,000 acres at least,” a circumstance which will indicate the vast extent of lands comprised in this concession. Hill says the total amounted to 333,907 acres.<sup>1</sup>

It has been often stated<sup>2</sup> that Randall's wife was a sister of the Earl of Tyrone, not a daughter. The contemporary papers place the truth of the matter beyond question. On June 18, 1608, Salisbury was instructed on “the alliance of Tyrone the archtraitor” as follows :—

“The Earl of Tyrone has one daughter married to Magennis, whose sister is likewise married to Tyrone ; he had another married to Maguier, one to Mac Mahound, one to O Chane, *one to Sir Randall M'Surley*, one to Viscount Mountgarret, and one to Henry Oge.’<sup>3</sup>

Again, we read of “sir Randall McSorley who hath married the Earl of Tyrone's daughter.”<sup>4</sup> And Hill states<sup>5</sup> that Strafford's *Letters and Despatches* further illustrate the relationship. The same authority gives the date of the marriage as 1604. Irish writers speak of Randall as Raghnull Arannach, a name which indicates that in youth he was in some way associated with the island of Arran. He was created Viscount Dunluce in 1618, and

1. *The Macdonnells of Antrim*, page 196.

2. For example, by Father C. P. Meehan, in *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, pages 47, 70, and by T. M. Healy, *Stolen Waters*, page 121, etc.

3. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 570.

4. Davys to Salisbury, September 12, 1607.

5. *The Macdonnells of Antrim*, page 223.

Earl of Antrim in 1620. He died in 1636. His Countess, Lady Alice, was still alive in 1663.<sup>1</sup>

10. In an account of the Earl of Tyrone's pledges dated February 4, 1597, we read the following: "Harie M'Art and Harie Oge, M'Art's eldest son by the Earl's daughter."<sup>2</sup> Art mac Baron, who having survived all the wars and the Plantation, died in 1618, had several sons who were commonly styled M'Art. Among a list of Irish captains in the Spanish service in the Netherlands in 1606 we find the following: "Capt. Art Oge M'Art m'Baron; Capt. Owen M'Art, his brother."<sup>3</sup> Here we have in the second place the man who was later the celebrated defender of Arras, and the victor of Benburb. During the battle of Clones in 1643, the winning Scots army constantly shouted "Whar's M'Art?" referring to the Irish leader whom they were most anxious to capture. Brian mac Art is also well known from the State Papers. As the name Henry is often written Harie, Harye, etc., in English documents, we are to conclude that Harie M'Art was Henry, son of Art, son of the Baron O Neill, and, therefore, a nephew of the Earl of Tyrone. His wife, according to the extract quoted above would have been his first cousin. This marriage must have taken place a good many years back in the sixteenth century if Harie Oge was, say, a youth of ten years of age at the date 1597. But we know from other sources that Art mac Baron was a very old man when he died in 1618. The daughter of the Earl of Tyrone here in question may, perhaps, have been a child of the daughter of Brian mac Felim I Neill who was divorced from Tyrone, as has been already shown.

11. There is a solitary mention of a daughter who was

1. The dates are in Hill, op. cit., and in works on the Peerage.

2. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 226.

3. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 396. "The chief of this country under the Earl of Tyrone was his base brother, known by the name of Arte m'Baron, who is yet living. . . . He has three sons with the Archduke, of whom two are captains," letter of Lord Deputy Chichester, *Calendar of State Papers*, 1608, page 62.

with the Earl of Tyrone in Rome before his death. A spy writing to England on January 7, 1615, says :—

“ Of Tyrone I have not been able to learn much. His departure hence is not believed, for he is as well off here as he could be in any other part of the world. He has a very beautiful daughter, marriageable and greatly admired ; so much so that it will amaze us all if he take her with him unmarried.”<sup>1</sup>

Certain verses composed by Aodh mac Aingil are ascribed by the writer to the skull of the dead Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, the Earl's son and heir, who succumbed to fever in 1609. A copy of them preserved in the Franciscan Library, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, is addressed to one Brighid Ní Néill.<sup>2</sup> It is extremely probable that this Brighid Ní Néill and the “ beautiful daughter marriageable and greatly admired ” of the Earl were identical.

12. An information of the bishop of Limerick dated June 3, 1610, reports the movements of David Crafford, late butler to the Earl of Tyrconnell, and his father, Owen Crafford, thus :—

“ They passed to Fermanagh in Maguire's country, and the morning after came to Brian M'Mahonagh, alias Brian m'Hugh Oge's house, who married one of Tyrone's daughters ; and then to Brian Art Roe M'Eny's house, *who likewise married another of Tyrone's daughters.*”<sup>3</sup>

The husband's name here is not identifiable as reported. Possibly a Mac Kenna is meant.

13. In the printed *Calendar of State Papers* 1592, page 62, are a number of genealogical notes extracted

1. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, page 303, note.

2. Published by me in *Gleanings from Irish Manuscripts* (1918), page 103.

3. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, page 231.

from papers in Burghley's hand. The originals of these papers I have myself examined in the Public Record Office, London. From the first of these we learn that Donnell Oneyle, a prisoner, son of Con mc Neale og, a prisoner with the Baron of Dungannon, was married to a daughter of the Baron of Dungannon. Sir Conn mac Neill Oig I Neill, lord of Clannaboy, died in 1590.<sup>1</sup> Nothing further is known of his son Domhnall.

1. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 298.

## RELATIVES AND DEPENDENTS MENTIONED IN THE WILL

BESIDES his wife there are four immediate relatives and seven other individuals mentioned as legatees in O'Neill's Will. They are as follows :—

1. Sean, son of Cormac O'Neill—80 crowns (£20) a month.
2. Henry O'Hagan—56 crowns (£14) a month.
3. Sean O'Hagan—56 crowns (£14) a month.<sup>1</sup>
4. Henry Silis—56 crowns (£14) a month.
5. John Bath—56 crowns (£14) a month.
6. Feardorcha O'Neill—20 crowns (£5) a month.
7. Giollaruadh O'Coinne—20 crowns (£5) a month.
8. Brian O'Coinne—20 crowns (£5) a month.
9. Emonn Og O'Maolchraoibhe—20 crowns (£5) a month.
10. Colonel Henry O'Neill—all his plate, except what was to be given to
11. Brian O'Neill.

We must make a few remarks concerning such of these as have not been referred to in the foregoing pages.

Sean, son of Cormac O'Neill, was a nephew of the Earl. Cormac mac Baron O'Neill, his father, was imprisoned immediately after the Flight of the Earls on his going to the Government in Dublin to report the circumstances of the sudden departure of his brother and those with him. He was transferred to the Tower of London, and died there many years afterwards. Art Og, his son, is put down by the Four Masters as sharing in the Flight.<sup>2</sup> Sean, another son here mentioned, was brought from Ireland to the Low Countries about 1612 or 1613.<sup>3</sup> The Irish manuscript numbered A 34 in the Franciscan

1. See the amended text above, and the note on page 11.

2. Vol. vi, page 2356.

3. "The merchant's name that lately brought John O'Neill, son of the said Cormac, out of Ireland into these provinces," report from Brussels, in Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, page 249.

Library, Merchants' Quay, came to Dublin from Rome, and from Louvain it was transferred to the latter city shortly after the outbreak of the French Revolution. Undoubtedly, it came into the possession of the Irish Franciscans of Louvain from some of the numerous Irishmen settled in Flanders in the beginning of the seventeenth century. This book, on page 211, has the following entry: *an se so leabar Sheaan Ui Neill meic Cormuic*, "this is the book of Sean mac Cormac O Neill." It can be surmised with the highest amount of probability that the volume was the property of the person we are concerned with here. Nothing further is known of him.

The O Hagens were high officers attached to O Neill's household for many generations.<sup>1</sup> Henry O Hagan, after the victory of the Yellow Ford, was despatched to Scotland to tender James VI the crown of Ireland. Later he was at the English court, visited Mountjoy, and passed to the Continent on O Neill's errands. Sean O Hagan had been the Earl's treasurer in Ireland. He is frequently referred to as John O Puntty, or O Pounty, in the English documents of the period, a title which represents the Irish Sean na bPunnta, "John of the Pounds." He sought a licence to return to Ireland in 1609.<sup>2</sup>

Henry Silis was the writer of the letter to Henry O Hagan which accompanied the summary of O Neill's Will. As we have already seen, he makes reference to all the beneficiaries mentioned in it except himself. For a long time I considered that "Silis" might represent a Spanish surname; but now I regard it as merely an English form of the Irish name O Siadhail. O Siadhail is anglicised "Shiles" in some parts of Ireland to the present day.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Muinntir Chuinne & Muinntir Again ardmhaoir & ardfheadhmonntoigh I Neill a ccuigedh Uladh*, R.I.A. manuscript 24 P 33, page 209.

2. See my notes in O Cianain's *Flight of the Earls*, pages 16-17. Father Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, 329, on the authority of a necrology of the church of San Pietro in Montorio, places Henry O Hagan's death in 1610, but that date, in the light of O Neill's Will, is clearly erroneous.

3. Matheson, *Varieties and Synonyms of Surnames and Christian Names in Ireland*, (1901), page 60.

A note of the Earl of Tyrone's forces in 1601 mentions "James O Sheale, a Lemster man," as commander of 200 men of the foot guards. This is, perhaps, the James Sheale who had a grant of land under the Plantation settlement, and who died seised of Corchill and Coolmaghery, January 16, 1618. As illustrating further the close connection of the O Shiel family with the Earl's household, it is to be observed that Oona Ny Shiel was one of the Countess of Tyrone's ladies-in-waiting.

John Bath was a merchant of Drogheda who, five or six months prior to the Flight, was sent to Spain to pray the King's favour and assistance for O Neill. He provided the ship which carried away the fugitives, and himself acted as captain of the vessel.<sup>1</sup> He was employed in 1612 to negotiate with the English representative at Brussels for an agreement with the Earl. He betrayed trust, and offered to turn informer.<sup>2</sup> He is, perhaps, identical with the John Bath who stabbed to death Domhnall O Sullevan Beara in the streets of Madrid.<sup>3</sup>

Feardorcha O Neill was son of Conn O Neill,<sup>4</sup> the elder son of the Earl of Tyrone, spoken of in the foregoing pages. Nothing further is known of this Feardorcha.

The two gentlemen named O Coinne, or O Quin, may have been relatives of Muircheartach O Coinne, the Earl's marshal, who took part in the Flight.<sup>5</sup>

Of Emonn Og O Maolchraoibhe nothing is known. The name is anglicised "Mulcreevey" (with variants), "Creevey," "Mulgrievy," and also in later times "Rice."

Of Colonel Henry O Neill, the Earl's younger son by his second wife Siobhán, some particulars have been given above. The last person mentioned in the Will is O Neill's young son Brian, the unfortunate boy who, admitted as a page at the court of the Archduke in Brussels, was strangled on August 16, 1617.

1. See the note in *The Flight of the Earls*, page 2.

2. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes, etc.*, pages 248-9.

3. O Sullevan, *Historia Catholica*, tome iv, bk. 3, ch. 4.

4. *Annals of the Four Masters*, 1607, vol. vi, page 2356.

5. *Flight of the Earls*, page 17.





## APPENDIX

### I

#### GENEALOGY OF AODH O NEILL, *d.* 1660

T.C.D. Manuscript H.4. 25, page 67.

#### Geinealach Ui Neill siosana :

AODH	1660
m Seain	1641
m Aodha	1616
m an Fhir Dhorcha	1558
m Cuinn	1559
m Cuinn	1493
m Enri	1489
m Eoghain	1456
m Neill Oig	1403

O Cleirigh, R.I.A. Book of Genealogies, page 49.

AODH .i. an tIarla og  
m Seaain .i. Iarla  
m OEDHA .i. O Neill Iarla  
m Firdorcha .i. an Barun  
m Cuind Bhacaigh .i. O Neill an cead Iarla  
m Cuind  
m Enri  
m Eoghain  
m Neill Oig

It will be observed that these texts, as far as concerns the steps in the genealogy, are in absolute agreement. In the second the two names at the head, as well as all the descriptions, are additions made by a later hand. The first manuscript dates from the period 1640-50. The main hand in the other is a little earlier.

Sean O Neill—also known as John O Neill—son of the great Earl of Tyrone by his wife Catherine Magennis, was born in October, 1599 ; see above, page 31. On the Continent he took the title of Earl of Tyrone after the death of his half-brother, Henry O Neill. In 1627 it was reported that he was about to return to Ireland,

and to have himself crowned King of Ulster at the hands of the King of Spain. He was killed in Catalonia in 1641, a short period before the rising of the Ulster Catholics, his son, Aodh or Hugh—whose genealogy this is—being then aged nine years.

Hugh O Neill, son of John, was illegitimate and, according to Carte, was granted letters of legitimation by the King of Spain. He died shortly before October 27, 1660, on which date a petition on behalf of his cousin, Major-General Hugh Duff O Neill—the defender of Clonmel against the forces of Oliver Cromwell, and nephew of General Owen Roe O Neill—was addressed to the Earl of Ormonde by Henry Bennet, the English Ambassador in Madrid, in the following terms :—

“ He (that is, Hugh Duff O Neill) desires me more particularly to witness to your Excellency that I have seen the Will of the late Earl of Tyrone, John O Neill, and father of *the younger man that is lately dead here*, after whom and another, Con O Neill,<sup>1</sup> who is also dead, I can assure your Excellency that this Hugh O Neill, that now calls himself Earl of Tyrone, is the third and, consequently, the head of the house.”  
See Hill, *The MacDonnells of Antrim*, page 233.

From the data here presented we see that the last male representative of the great Earl's family lived between the years 1632 and 1660.

1. This Conn or Constantine O Neill is, no doubt, to be identified with “ Con, sonne to Art mac Baron,” one of Tyrone's captains in 1601, Fynes Moryson, ii, page 422. He is referred to as follows in a letter of date April 12, 1642 : “ As to what you write touching Don Eugenio, I apprehend no such danger ; he is not disposed to claim more than his father enjoyed for he acknowledges that all the immediate right to the earldom of Tyrone belongs to Don Constantino, who is in Spain. So long as he lives, Don Eugenio can claim nothing, as he publicly acknowledges, offering to serve no matter who—Don Felim or another, in the common cause of religion and the realm,” *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts*, page 132. In the following August Don Constantine put to sea from Rochelle with fifty soldiers in a ship laden with arms and powder, *ibid.*, page 183.

GENEALOGIES

Some of the scribes of Mac Fírbhisigh's Books of Genealogies did not know the name of the son of Seán O'Neill referred to in the above letter of Bennet as "the late Earl of Tyrone." For example, Seamus Maguidhir, the well-known writer of 23 N 6 in the Royal Irish Academy, has the following: *Genealach Uí Neill: mac Seáin iarla Thir Eoghain mic Aodha iarla Thire hEoghain mic an Fhirdhorcha barun Dhungheanainn*, "The Genealogy of O'Neill: the son of Seán Earl of Tyrone, son of Aodh Earl of Tyrone, son of Feardorcha Baron of Dungannon," pages 73-4. A similar text is found in C. vi. 2, page 61.

Other transcribers knew that the young man's name was Aodh, or Hugh, and that he died in Spain. They did not, however, know the date of his death, and left a vacant space for the year in their manuscripts. For example, the following text appears in 23 N 22: *An Fear Dorcha barun Dhuingheanuín athair Aodha iarla Thire Eoghuin athair Seáin iarla Thire Eoghuin athair Aodha iarla Thire Eoghuin diobhadh isin Sbaín anno . . .*, page 63. See also a misleading passage extracted from "O'R. 197," by O'Curry in his transcript of the Great Book of Genealogies of Mac Fírbhisigh, page 114.

II

GENEALOGY OF AODH DUBH O NEILL

Mac Fírbhisigh, Book of Genealogies, page 118.

AODH O NELL Maer General <sup>1</sup> choigedh Uladh	
m Airt Oig	
m Airt	1618
m an Fhirdhorcha Baruin Dhuin Geanoinn	1558
m Cuinn Bhacaigh	1559
m Cuinn Mhoir &c ut supra	1498

Feardorcha, the Baron O'Neill, was slain in his father's lifetime at the instance of Seán an Diomais, his brother. Art, son of the Baron, is commonly referred to as Art

1. Hill's account of this man's parentage, *Macdonnells of Antrim*, page 233, is quite erroneous.

m'Baron, and the ultra-fine sensibilities of the State Papers writers nearly always describe him as illegitimate. In the Plantation settlement he secured a grant of 2,000 acres of land in the precinct of Orior in county Armagh ; see *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 1611, page 235, and Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, page 312. The name of his wife has not been indicated up to the present. His death is recorded in the following notice in Trinity College manuscript H. 4. 31, page 106 : *Art mac an Bharuin Ui Neill ar bhfaghail bhais 28 Novembris 1618*. Deputy Chichester writes in 1608 : "The chief of this country under the Earl of Tyrone was his base brother known by the name of Arte m'Baron who is yet living. . . . He has three sons with the Archduke, of whom two are captains," *Calendar of State Papers*, page 62. Two<sup>1</sup> of these sons are named in a list of date 1606 as follows : "Capt. Art Oge m'Art m'Baron, Capt. Owen m Art, his brother," *ibid.*, page 396. Art Og appears to have died abroad. There is no record of his ever having returned to Ireland.

To Aodh O Neill, son of Art Og, whose genealogy this is, we have, perhaps, a reference in the following passage from the State Papers of the year 1615 : "That box is the box that Arte Oge m'Baron's son sent you out of Spain," page 41. He came to Ireland with his uncle, Eoghan Ruadh O Neill in 1642, and was taken prisoner in the battle of Clones in the summer of the next year, after which he was held in confinement in Derry until he was exchanged three years later on the victory of Eoghan Ruadh over Monroe at Benburb ; see *The History of the Warr of Ireland*, page 31. At the mention of his capture, the Diarist of the Ulster War gives his genealogy as here : *Aodh mac Airt Oig mic Airt mic an Bharuin*. He is styled Hugh Duff O Neill in English documents.<sup>2</sup> On the conclusion of an agreement between Eoghan Ruadh and the Lord Lieutenant in 1649, brought about

1. The third would be Conn mac Art mac Baron, referred to in the note on page 52.

2. He was *not* known as Hugh Boy, as Coffey, *O Neill and Ormond*, page 220, says, following Sir John Gilbert.

by the disastrous defeat of the latter in the battle of Rathmines by the Parliamentarian commander of Dublin, Jones, the whole of the army under Eoghan Ruadh's command numbering 5,000 foot and 400 horse was transferred to Ormonde under the Lieutenant-General, Richard O Farrell, and the Major-General, Hugh Duff O Neill. The following year the Major-General was in charge of some regiments holding Clonmel for the King against the forces of Cromwell. Simultaneously with the Mayor's securing favourable terms of surrender from the latter after a most glorious defence, O Neill slipped out of the town with his force almost intact, and threw himself into Limerick.

The incident of the surrender of Clonmel is described as follows in *The History of the Warr of Ireland* :—

“ After which Crumwell asked him [the Mayor] if Hugh O Neill knew of his coming out, to which he answered he did not, for that he was gone two hours after night fell with all his men, at which Crumwell stared and frowned at him, and said, ‘ You knave, have you served me so, and did not tell me so before ? ’ To which the Mayor replied, if his Excellency had demanded the question, he would tell him. Then he asked him what that Duff O Neill was ; to which the Mayor answered that he was an over sea soldier, born in Spain ; on which Crumwell said, ‘ God damn you, and your over sea ! ’ and desired the Mayor to give the paper back again. To which the other answered that he hoped his Excellency would not break his conditions or take them from him, which was not the repute his Excellency had, but to perform whatever he had promised. On which Crumwell was somewhat calm, but said in a fury, ‘ By God above, he would follow that Hugh Duff O Neill wheresoever he went, ’ ”  
page 110.

O Neill defended Limerick against Cromwell's

lieutenant, Ireton, from June to October, 1651, when he was betrayed by a Mayor of a different stamp from him of Clonmel, and a Colonel Fennell. He was sent over to London, was condemned to be hanged with Colonel Alexander Mac Donnell, afterwards Earl of Antrim, and was subsequently reprieved on the intervention of some Parliamentarian officers. The author of *The History of the Warr of Ireland* says :—

“Crumwell was the man saved the Major General, and sent him as [a free man] to the King of Spain, then at peace with England, to extoll his own actions. But most certain it is that he writt to the King of Spain with Hugh Duff, that he met in Ireland with one of his subjects, meaning Hugh, and recommended him to him for a good soldier,” page 137.

In 1660, when John O Neill and Conn O Neill, son and nephew, respectively, of Earl Hugh O Neill, were both dead, and also young Hugh O Neill, son of John, Major General Hugh Duff O Neill claimed the title of Earl of Tyrone. See the letter of Henry Bennet from Madrid, quoted above under Section 1.

Thomas Mathews, in his work on *The O Neills of Ulster* iii, page 315, states that Hugh Duff subsequently fell on the battlefield in a war with Portugal, and bequeathed the earldom of Tyrone to Owen mac Brian O Neill, grandson of General Eoghan Ruadh, who was then completing his studies at Rome, and who a few years later entered the Spanish service. This Owen mac Brian, he adds, is mentioned as executor of the Will of Balldearg O Donnell, dated April, 1679.

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III

GENEALOGY OF HENRY ROE O NEILL, *d.* 1650

Mac Fírhisigh, Book of Genealogies, page 118.

ENRI RUADH	1650
m Eoghain re-oirdherc Ruaidh Gheneral choigedh Uladh	1649
m Airt	1618
m An Fhir Dhorca baruin Dhuin Geanainn, etc.	1558

For Art, son of the Baron O'Neill, see the preceding section of this Appendix. Eoghan Ruadh, his most famous son, was known by a variety of names, such as Owen mac Art, Mac Art simply, General Neill, General Owen O'Neill, and so forth. The designation Owen Roe O'Neill was not so common in the man's own time as it is in ours. He landed at Caislean na d'Tuath in Tir Chonaill in July, 1642, took over the command of Sir Felim O'Neill at a meeting held at Clones on August 29, and remained General of the Catholic Army until his death in 1649. The latter event is thus recorded in Trinity College manuscript H. 4. 31, page 106 :—

Bás Eoghain meic Airt Uí Néill  
aois meic Dé dearbhthar anns éin  
léan Gaoidheal do éirghe as  
míle sé chéad a chunntas  
bláth na mbeach-thréad a ghrádh rom ghoin  
is leadhchéad amháin acht bliaghain,

with "8 Novembris" on the right margin. Eoghan Ruadh's wife was Róis Ní Dhochartaigh, sister of the ill-fated Sir Cahir, daughter of the chieftain Seaan Og, *d.* January 27, 1601, and grand-daughter of Seaan an Diomais O'Neill—*mater enim ejus fuit Joannis Magni*

*Oneilli principis Tironiae filia.*<sup>1</sup> Through common descent from Conn O'Neill, first Earl of Tyrone, Eoghan Ruadh and Róis were thus second cousins. The latter had previously been married to Cathbharr O Domhnaill, brother of Rudhraighe Earl of Tyrconnell. Cathbharr died on September 15, 1608. Henry Roe O'Neill, son of Eoghan Ruadh and Róis, did not arrive in Ireland for some time after the landing of his father. His mother made inquiry about him in the following terms in an Irish letter to a priest concerning Ulster affairs on September 16, 1642: *Do thaoibh mo mheic Enri do badh maith lemsa mé féin & eision do bheith i nÉirinn da b'faghtaóí glés iomchubhaidh dúinn & ní badh furáil dúinn tuairim míosa nó sé seachtmhuine do bheith daimsir aguinn lé gach ní da mbenfadh rinn do réidhiughadh ní sa luaithe ná do thriallfamois,* "concerning my son Henry, I would wish that he and I were in Ireland if a suitable means (of transport) could be found for us; and we should need about a month or six weeks to put in readiness before we would depart every thing belonging to us." On November 19, 1642, Father Hugh Burke wrote to Luke Wadding from Brussels as follows: "I am here on business and to speed the departure of Don Eugenio's son and Sergeant Major Ferall," while the author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* speaks of "Henry Roe Oneyll, your owne son, a Cide in chivalrie" as one of the brave warriors and prime captains who enrolled under the banners of Eoghan Ruadh. He served as a commander of Horse. He married in 1644 Eleanor, daughter of Sir Luke Fitzgerald, of Ticroghan, county Meath. He was taken prisoner in the battle of Scariffholis in 1650, and was subsequently murdered in cold blood by the orders of Sir Charles Coote. His wife was at the time preparing a ransom for him.

Henry Roe's son, named Aodh, was known as the Earl of Tyrone. He died in Spain. The Royal Irish Academy manuscript 23 D 3, page 85, has a long elegy

1. Father John Colgan, O.F.M., in Meehan, *Irish Hierarchy*, page 317.



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on him composed by Cian O hEchaidhéan. The following stanzas occur in it :—

Bás iarla is Aodha is I Néill  
trí gona a n-aonghuin iadséin  
trí luit as géire da guin  
do thuit Éire san écht-soin.

Rath Gaoidhiol s a séan socra  
a ndóigh s a ndáil furtachta  
dfeirg na naomh cruaidh an cogadh  
le hAodh uainn do hadhlagadh.

Éire idir uaisle is cealloibh  
s Ó Neill iarla is Éirionnoigh  
mo sgéal truagh gá ttáim ga reic  
san Sbáin monuar fa aonleic.

Mac Énri mheic Eoghuin Ruaidh  
da bhás tig ionnsa an anbhuaín  
eó Teamhrach dhúnn as docra  
neamhrath na ndúl ndomhanta.

Ar ndul diarla múir Midhe  
da labhradh lucht tairrngire  
ná bia cabhuir ga luadh linn  
soruidh munuar le hÉirinn.<sup>1</sup>

A writer in Young's *Old Belfast*, 1896, page 239, states on the authority of Lodge's *Peerage*, 1st edition, that Colonel Brian Roe O'Neill also claimed the nominal dignity of Earl of Tyrone. It is erroneously mentioned that the claimant was a grandson of Sir Cormac mac Baron O'Neill. The true ancestry of Brian Roe is given in two places in the *Irish Journal of O Mellan*: *Brian Ruadh O'Neill mac Cuinn Ruaidh mic Airt mic an Fhirdhorchae*, July 5, 1644; *Brian O'Neill mac Cuinn Ruaidh*,

1. Stanzas 12, 14, 15, 20, 28. Manuscript readings: 12, *da ghuin*; 14, *Gaoidhil*; 15, *ttam*; 20 *dhuinn*.

APPENDIX

September, 1646. Conn Ruadh,<sup>1</sup> brother of General Eoghan Ruadh, is the claimant mentioned in Bennet's letter in Section 1 above, as deceased at the time of writing.

Mathews, lib. cit., page 317, quotes Lodge to the same effect as Young's contributor, adding that the brothers Hugh Roe and Brian Roe were in the running as claimants for the empty earldom before Hugh mac Henry mac Owen Roe above.

IV

GENEALOGIES OF HENRY AND GORDON O NEILL SONS OF  
SIR FELIM

O CLEIRIGH, R.I.A. Book of Genealogies, inter 12-13.

ENRI	
m Feilim Ruaidh	1653
m Toirrdhealbhaigh Oig	1608
m Henri Oig	1608
m Enri	ante Jan. 8 1579
m Seaain	1517
m Cuinn	1493
m Enri	1489
m Eoghain	1456

Versus Hibernici D. GORDONO O NEILL.<sup>2</sup>

Gluaisigh ribh a ghlac rann-sa  
na fuirghe a bfad agam-sa  
go hO Neill na ngruadh ngarrtha  
do fein s dual gach deaghtharrtha.

Mac Sir Feidhlim flaith Eamhna  
gion go labhair Gaoidhealga  
do dhein gaire gleghlan ruibh  
ni naire dho fein bhar bfeuchuin.

1. For this Conn see the note, page 52.

2. From a poem by Diarmuid Mac Muireadhaigh, printed in *Gleanings from Irish Manuscripts* (1918), page 89. The early eighteenth-century scribe, Sean Mac Solaidh, in 23 M 17, page 100, gives Gordon's father's name correctly as Feidhlime; but his version of his ancestry is otherwise faulty in different particulars.

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Ni bfuil dair liomsa duine  
 duaislibh innse Laoghuire  
 dar chora a hordugh a cceist  
 na Gordun is crodha coimhtheist.

T.C.D. Manuscript H. 4. 25, page 73; O CLEIRIGH<sup>1</sup> R.I.A. Book of Genealogies, page 51.

SIR FEIDLHIM RUADH  
 m Toirrdhealbhaigh Oig  
 m Enri Oig  
 m Enri  
 m Seaain  
 m Cuinn  
 m Enri  
 m Eoghain

MAC FIRBHISIGH, Book of Genealogies, page 118; R.I.A. manuscript D. 1. 3, fol. 15.

SIR ENRI OG  
 m Enri  
 m Seaain  
 m Cuinn Mhoir

SIOR HEINRI OG  
 m Einri  
 m Seain  
 m Cuinn  
 m Einri  
 m Eoghain

Journal of O MELLAN,<sup>2</sup> October 23, 1641.

SIOR FEIDLHIM UA NEILL  
 m Torrdhealbhaigh  
 m Enri Oig  
 m Enri  
 m Seaain  
 m Cuinn  
 m Enri  
 m Eoghuin, &c.

1. In this text the two first names are in a later hand, and run thus: *Felim Ruadh mac Toirrdhealbhaigh*, with *Occ* altered to *Oicc* in the next name.

2. Transcript of the original manuscript, page 1. I here express my thanks to Professor Tadhg O Donnchadha who kindly lent me for several weeks his page for page and line for line copy of O Mellan's work.

When Eoghan Ruadh O Neill came to Ireland in 1642, he superseded, as we have already seen, Sir Feilim Ruadh as military commander in Ulster. It was believed that in the civil sphere there was a rivalry between the two men for the supreme title of O Neill, or for the earldom of Tyrone. Almost from their own day authorities of varying degrees of incompetence have presumed to argue or decide the question as to which of the two had the better claims to precedence. As regards the Gaelic title these writers were in no position to make a pronouncement at all. They did not understand the theory under which a chief's descendants might become absolutely debarred from succession to the highest title ; and they were altogether at sea as to the real ancestry of these distinguished rivals, or supposed rivals.

It is astonishing that such a careful archivist as the Rev. George Hill, author of *The MacDonnells of Antrim*, allowed himself to be led astray by the writers whom he quotes on page 77 of that great book. His account in that place is wrong in many particulars. The true custodians of this class of lore were the poor scribes, the remnants of the great Irish schoolmen. In the foregoing Genealogies we have the true record of Sir Felim O Neill's descent in the male line. It can be tested by authentic documents at every stage, and it is confirmed by them.

Let us take these stages one by one, descending in the order of time, and commencing with Niall Og from the Genealogy in Section I.

The descent of Niall Og, son of Niall Mor O Neill, is entered in the Book of Lecan, 132. Compare Book of Ballymote, 77, Rawlinson B 502, 145, col. 7 ; 146, col. 1, under the heading " Clann Domnaill : item." He became king of Tir Eoghain in the lifetime of his father. By a Latin letter<sup>1</sup> dated January 5, 1395, at Maddoyn,

1. See Curtis, *History of Mediaeval Ireland*, page 308, and the original instruments in the same writer's *Richard II in Ireland*. Maddoyn is in Irish Magh Duin, Maydown, in Co. Armagh, opposite Benburb. Compare *Madh a Duin*, O Mellan's Journal, May 6, 1642 ; Mathews, ii, 364.

he offered submission, allegiance, homage and fidelity to Richard II, king of England, and confirmed his surrender on March 16 following, appearing in person before Richard in the Dominican convent of Drogheda. He died in the harvest of 1403, *Annals of Ulster*.

Eoghan, son of Niall Og O Neill, was king of Tir Eoghain from 1432 to 1455. "O Neill dheg .i. Eoghan mac Neill," *Annals of Loch Ce*, 1456.

Enri, son of Eoghan, king of Tir Eoghain 1455-1483. "O Nell .i. Enri mac Eogain di dol dhec," *Annals of Loch Ce*, 1489.

Conn, son of Enri, king of Tir Eoghain, 1483-1493. "O Neill .i. Conn mac Einri do mharbhudh," *Annals of Loch Ce*, 1493.

"Sean mac Cuinn mic Enri mic Eoguin hI Neill dhec," *Annals of Loch Ce*, 1517. See also *Four Masters*, and the *Annals of Ulster*, which latter authority states that this Seaan O Neill died in Ceann Aird, that is, Kinnard, or the present Caledon, on the Blackwater, in the extreme south-east corner of county Tyrone. This Seaan was never more than Tanist. By modern students he is over and again confused with Seaan O Neill the Chieftain, who was his nephew.

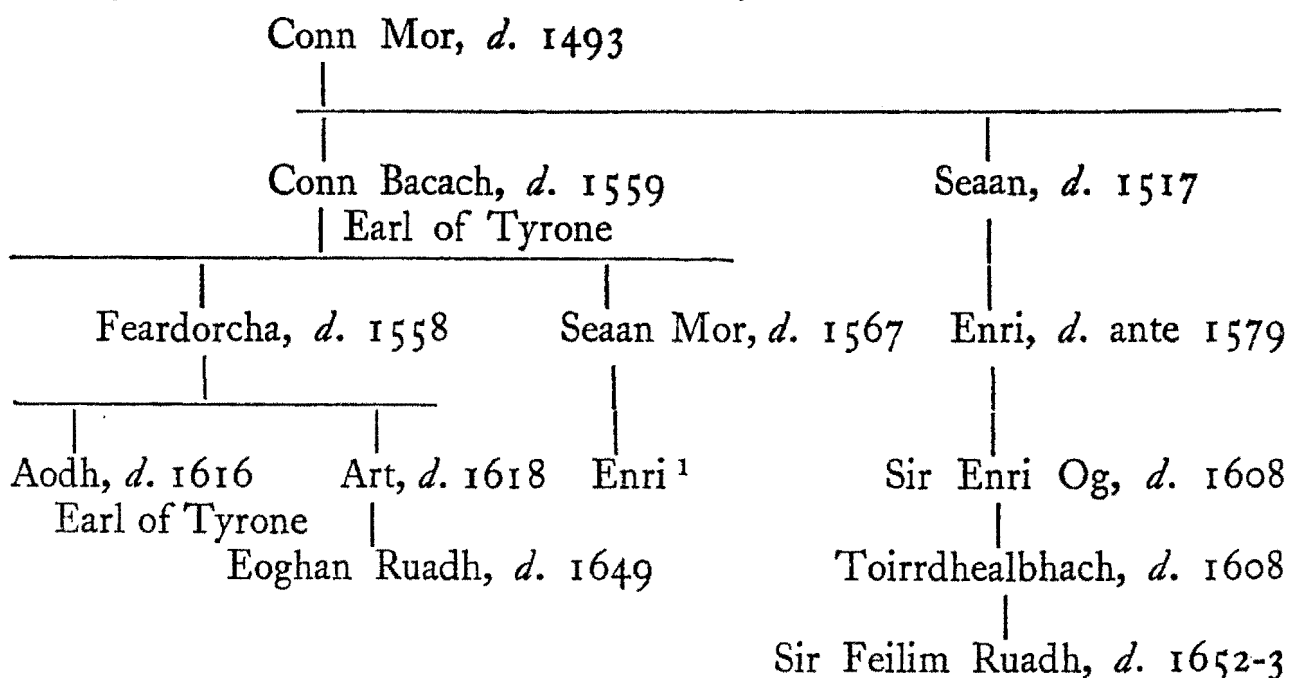
"Mac Seain hI Neill .i. Enri do ghabhail," *Annals of Loch Ce*, 1526. See also *Annals of Ulster* under the same year. For further references to Enri, son of Seaan O Neill, we turn to the English State documents. "Irishmen upon O Neill's peace: *Harry mc Shane O Neyle*, Fydoorough, Phelym Cewffe, and Tirlough, sons to O Neyle," *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, May 1542, 197-8. An indenture made at Trim on June 21, 1542, mentions "Bernard, son of lord O Neile, Ferdorogh, son of lord O Neile, and *Henry, son of John O Neile*," *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 191-2; May 8, 1553, "and Callough O Donell, Terrelagh Linnaghe and Terrelagh O Nelle, *Henry mac Shane*, and all the rest, be joined with the Baron of Dungennyn to serve the King's majesty," *ibid.*, 245; June 2, 1568, "preys between Magennis, Art mac Baron, Turlough Linnagh, Turlough Braselagh,

APPENDIX

M'Can, M'Mahon, *Henry mac Shane*," *Calendar of State Papers*, 383; "his [Turlough's Lynagh's] challenge to Owen mac Felim Roo for taking of his daughter and departing with her and *Henry mac Shane's* daughter," *ibid.*, 1579, 186. In this last year—1579—Enri, son of Seaan, must have been dead, for his son is, on January 8 at that date, mentioned as a competitor for the O Neill chieftainship: "four competitors for the name of O Neill, viz., the Baron of Dungannon and Shane O Neill's sons, strong, and Turlough Brasselagh and Art mac Henry, weak," Fyton to Burghley, *ibid.*, 155.

This Henry mac Shane—to give him his English name—is repeatedly confused with another Henry mac Shane, a son of the chieftain Seaan Donnghaileach, Seaan Mor, or Seaan an Diomuis, whose genealogy is well known. For example, Standish H. O Grady, in his *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, page 388, speaks of Sir Henry Og O Neill as "son of Henry son of the great Shane." Lord Ernest Hamilton has a similar statement in *Elizabethan Ulster*, 171, 352, *The Irish Rebellion of 1641*, 24, and elsewhere in both works.

In order to settle once for all the precise degrees of relationship in line of male descent between the Earl of Tyrone, Owen Roe, and Sir Felim O Neill, the following table, based on authentic records, will suffice:—



1. "Servitors and natives to whom lands are now granted in the precinct of Orier: Art mac Barron O Neale, *Henry mac Shane O Neale* (1,500 acres), Conn mac Tirlogh O Neale, etc." *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 1611, page 235.

Of Sir Henry Og, son of Henry, son of Shane, we have given some particulars already when dealing with the Earl of Tyrone's daughter Catherine, to whom he was married. A collateral proof of his true ancestry, distinct from the evidence accumulated above, is the following. No English soldier was better acquainted with the Ulster of his time than Captain Thomas Stafford. He wrote in 1598 : " Henry Oge m'Henry m'Shane O Neill, who married the Earl's daughter, and his brothers [=nephews], the sons of Tirlogh O Neill, are for the division and title of land at mortal wars, and hardly to be reconciled," *Calendar of State Papers*, 168. Exactly in accordance with this statement is the following genealogy : *Conn mac Toirrdhealbhaigh mic Enri mic Seaain mic Cuinn mic Enri mic Eoghain*, H. 4. 25, page 73. Here we have one of the " brothers " who were giving Henry Og some trouble, and he managed to keep up his claim for many years longer. In Chichester's instructions delivered to Sir James Ley and Sir John Davys in 1608, he wrote : " Care to be had of Henry Oge's children, of *Con mac Tyrlowe* and his brethren, who without such care are like to break out," *Calendar of State Papers*, 55. And Con mac Tyrlowe did secure a small estate under the Plantation, *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 1611, page 238 ; Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, 320. The important point to notice is that the Irish genealogy just cited does *not* make him, nor by implication, his uncle Henry Og, a descendant of the chieftain Shane O Neill.

Henry Og O Neill's lands in the districts of Munterbirne and Tourannie were specially excepted from the grant of restoration made to the Earl of Tyrone at the settlement after the wars.<sup>1</sup> In *Fiant of Elizabeth* no. 6735, dated December 6, 1602, he is plain " Henry Oge O Nell mac Henry mac Shane of Portienuligan, co. Armagh, esq. " ; but early in the next reign (October 12, 1604) he was knighted for his disservices to his father-in-law. He was slain in a hand to hand engagement with

1. Fynes Moryson, iii. 302.

Sir Cahir O Dogherty on June 5, 1608, Philip O Sullevan Beara, *Historia Catholica*, tom. iv, lib. i, cap. v.

On the same occasion Sir Henry Og's son and heir, Terence or Tirlagh Og O Neill, was severely wounded, and died shortly afterwards. On June 14 Chichester wrote to Salisbury : " Sir Henry Oge O Neale has been slain by O Doghertie's people as he lay in a quarter by himself with his own company without the camp where he kept no watch ; three or four of his men were killed with him, and his son with some others was dangerously hurt," *Calendar of State Papers*, 559.

The Irish manuscript already frequently quoted enumerates the sons of Sir Henry Og thus : Toirrdhealbhach Og, Conn Buidhe, Aodh, Brian, Enri, and Searlus, H. 4. 25, page 74. In the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of James I*, page 299, there is record of a " Con mac Henry O Neale of Tyrone, natural son of Sir Henry Oge O Neale, knt., deceased," Jan. 25, 13th year (1616).

In 1613, as a reward for their services to the English—chief among which was constant hostility to the Earl of Tyrone—grants of lands were made to the sons, daughter-in-law, and grandson of Sir Henry under the Ulster Plantation settlement. See Hill, *op. cit.*, 318, 319. For the present purpose the following item is the most important :—

Catherine ny Neale, wife of the late Terence or Tirlagh Oge O Neale, 1600 acres. To hold all the premises to her own use for the term of ten years ; remainder to Felimy Roe O Neale, son and heir of the said Tirlagh ; further 320 acres specified with the same conditions, and the whole created the manor of Kinard. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 262, Dec. 14, 11th year (1613).

In the Ireland of the sixteenth and, doubtless, of the centuries preceding, matrimonial alliances crossed in unexpected ways the political cleavages of the times. The tradition was not departed from in the seventeenth, at



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least in its earlier stages. Catherine ny Neale, here mentioned, was married to a near kinsman (a grandson) of the Earl of Tyrone, her own father, Sir Turlough mac Henry O'Neill of the Fewes, being one of Tyrone's greatest enemies. On the other hand, Henry Hovendon, an Elizabethan settler, was the Earl's close associate, and followed his patron into exile. At a later date Catherine married Robert Hovendon, Henry's son. On her mother's side she was the granddaughter of the great Irish chieftain, Turlough Lynagh O'Neill, a fact which to modern notions of propriety makes her marriage with an English planter all the more striking. The only type of English whom the native Irish aristocracy could never tolerate was the breed of boors who followed in the wake of Cromwell. Disgust with the very thought of them finds expression in Irish literature over and over again.

The above extract from the Patent Rolls shows Felimy Roe as a minor in 1613. His estate in the year 1641 is fully described in the Book of Surveys and Distributions compiled in the reign of Charles II. His first wife, a daughter of Lord Iveagh, died in harvest, 1641, O Mellan, 1642. Considering the date of O Cleirigh's Book of Genealogies, we must conclude that this lady was the mother of Sir Felim's son Henry. Gordon was a son of Lady Strabane, who married Sir Felim in 1649.

## V

### GENEALOGY OF COLONEL TOIRRDHEALBHACH O NEILL OF CASHLAN

IN the Ulster army during the period of the wars 1641-52, there were several officers named Toirrdhealbhach O'Neill, and of these more than one held the rank of Colonel at one stage or another. It is not proposed to deal with them all here, though with the help of Irish sources it is not difficult to distinguish the leading military leaders of that epoch. The individual with whom we are con-

cerned in this place is selected because he was himself grandson of the chieftain Toirrdhealbhach Luineach O Neill (*d.* 1595), and his wife was a granddaughter of Hugh O Neill, Earl of Tyrone. His genealogy is recorded in the manuscript H. 4. 25, page 71, in O Cleirigh's Book of Genealogies, inter 12-13, in the Journal of O Mellan, and elsewhere. Independent genealogies of Art Og O Neill (also known as Sir Arthur O Neill), his father, and of his grandfather the chieftain, are preserved in O Cleirigh, Mac Fírbhisigh, in many other less known collections and in the Irish Annals.

T.C.D. Manuscript H. 4. 25, page 71; O CLEIRIGH, R.I.A. Book of Genealogies, page inter 12-13.

TOIRRDHEALBHACH

m Airt Oig  
 m Toirrdhealbhaigh Luinigh  
 m Neill Chonallaigh  
 m Airt Oicc  
 m Cuinn <sup>1</sup>  
 m Enri  
 m Eoghain

For Eoghan, son of Niall Og O Neill ; Enri, son of Eoghan ; and Conn, son of Enri, see above, Section IV of this Appendix.

Art Og, son of Conn O Neill, was inaugurated chieftain of Tir Eoghain in 1513. He died in 1519—"O Neill .i. Art Og mac Cuinn hI Neill mortuus est," Annals of Loch Ce. Several of his sons are mentioned in the Annals : Enri Balbh, 1528 ; Cormac, 1528 ; Niall Og or Niall Conallach, 1511-45 ; Domhnall, 1532 ; Tuathal, 1532 ; Ruaidhri, 1528. From Art Og was descended the branch of the O Neills variously known as Clann Airt Oig, Sliocht Airt Oig, and "The Race of Art Oges," Fiant of Elizabeth 5213. The designation Sliocht Airt Oig is liable to abbreviation in the form Sliocht Airt, in English "Slught

1. The Trinity College manuscript has this name twice, but all the other authorities have the genealogy in the correct form as above.

Art" or the like, and thus arises danger of confusion of the present sept and its territory with a much older Sliocht Airt or Slught Art, which had its origin from Art O'Neill (*d.* 1457), son of Eoghan king of Tir Eoghain, and whose lands in the barony of Omagh are clearly defined and marked SLUGHART in Maps of the Escheated Counties 1609, iii, 17. There are references to this latter in the Four Masters under the years 1514, 1524 and 1586, and in the fifteenth century the same sept is mentioned about half a score of times with the formula Clann Airt or Clann Airt I Neill, 1459-1507. Their stronghold was the castle of Omagh. There is further reference to this Sliocht Airt in Four Masters 1602, where a spoil of Tuathal, son of Feilim Dubh O'Neill, is noticed. As the latter gentleman was descended from the earlier Art O'Neill there can be no doubt as to the district which is intended by the words *duthaigh Sleachta Airt* in the Annals entry. But O'Donovan in his note *in loc.* explains the Sliocht Airt mentioned in terms which apply to the other sept similarly named, and says that they were seated in the barony of Strabane, with fortresses in Castlederg and the crannog of Loch Laoghaire. These places certainly belonged to the younger or more recent Sliocht Airt, properly styled Sliocht Airt Oig.

Niall Og or Niall Conallach was the most famous of the sons of Art Og (*d.* 1519), and, as has been stated above, appears in the Annals between the years 1511 and 1545. He was, as might be expected, a thorn in the side of his uncle, the chieftain Conn Bacach. He is mentioned as tanist in 1540, but his position as such being compromised by the creation of the Earldom of Tyrone in 1542, he sought compensation from the English officials in Dublin. See *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, 1542, page 652. About the same time he adopted the style of "O'Neill," and the title is given to him by a poet or scribe named Eoghan Carrach O Siadhail, who transcribed for him the splendid vellum copy of the Life of Columcille, now in the library of the Franciscans in Merchants' Quay, Dublin. See *Studies*, Dublin, June

1928, page 294. In a document drawn up at Kilmainham on July 15, 1543, there is reference to "Nelán Connelagh, captain of his nation." The English must, therefore, have admitted Niall's pretensions, doubtless with their own purposes in view. But along with the dignity of Earl of Tyrone Conn Bacach carried the title of O'Neill till his death in 1559.

The older Irish collections of Annals (those of Connacht and Loch Ce) place the death of Niall Conallach at 1544—in the latter he is styled simply *mac I Neill .i. Niall mac Airt Oig*. The Four Masters have a similar entry; but under the next year, 1545, they repeat the obit, and speak of the dead man as Niall Conallach. Perhaps, Niall really died between January 1 and March 25, 1544-5.

Niall's stronghold was Baile an tSeanchaisleín, where he died.<sup>1</sup> His son, Brian, also died there in 1542, Four Masters. The "old castle" referred to is marked "Shancasla" adjoining "Newton" on the baronial map of the year 1609, Maps of the Escheated Counties iii, 15.

Conn O'Neill, son of Niall Conallach, is mentioned as his heir in a document of the year 1543, *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, page 192. Another son was Brian, just mentioned. A third was Art Og, H.4. 25, page 72. But the most renowned of all his descendents was he who became chieftain on the death of Seán Donnghaileach or Seán Mor or Seán an Diomuis O'Neill in 1567, namely, Toirdhealbhadh Luineach.

The name of Toirdhealbhadh, son of Niall Conallach O'Neill, is writ large over the documents, Irish and English,

1. See Four Masters. Compare the following passage from a colophon in the Brussels manuscript 4190-4200, fol. 263b: *as an leabhar do sscriobh Sioghraidh Ua Maolconaire do Roisi ingin Aodha Duibh meic Aodha Ruaidh I Domhnaill ben Neill Oicc meic Airt meic Cuinn I Neill i mBaile ann tSeanchaisleín do lettaoibh Sleibhe Truim: aois Crist an tan sin amail dherbhus an scribneoir .i. 1536: ois Crist an tan sa 27 Marta 1629: meisi an brathait bocht Michel O Clerigh. Plummer, Bethada Naem nErenn, i, 95. For the identification of the sites see Reeves, Archbishop Colton's Visitation, 53.*

of nearly half a century. In 1562 Lord Deputy Sussex thought he would partition all Tyrone as follows :—

“ It will be fit to divide Tyrone into three parts : the order of the hither part on this side the Great Water (=the river Blackwater) is to be given to Henry O Nele, son to Phelym Roo : the order of the middle part is to be given to Pheylme O Nele, son to Tyrloghe O Nele, son to the late Earl of Tyrone : the order of the third part is to be given to Tyrloghe Lenowghe : which three persons be of the best service of the name of the O Neles, and likest to continue their obedience,” *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 332.

But Sussex reckoned for the nonce without the reigning chieftain, Seaan O Neill, and it was not until the latter's death in 1567 that Toirrdhealbhadh Luineach became leader, not of a third part, but of the whole of Tyrone. He, in turn, was thwarted by the advancement of the Baron of Dungannon, grandson of the first Earl of Tyrone, and ultimately was reduced to impotence by the English favourite. He probably would have been slain or deposed long before the year 1595 (when he died) but for his marriage in 1569 with Anna Campbell, daughter of the Earl of Argyle, and widow of James Mac Domhnaill of Isla, a circumstance which brought him the control of a steady supply of Scottish mercenaries from the Isles and the mainland during several years. As the *soubriquet* of his father, Conallach, was derived from some association with Tir Chonaill, perhaps that of fosterage, so his own (namely, Luineach) is to be ascribed to a similar connection with the district of Muintear Luinigh in the barony of Strabane. The fortress of Strabane was wrested from Toirrdhealbhadh by the Earl of Tyrone in the summer of 1595, and razed to the ground immediately. On September 12, in a postscript to a letter of the ninth of the same month, Sir Henry Bagenal reported : “ Since the writing of my letter old O Neill is dead, and the traitor

has gone to the stone to receive that name," *Calendar of State Papers*, 386.

From the seventeenth-century History of Sir John Perrott, quoted in *Poems of Tadhg Dall*, ii, 218, it would appear that Art O Neill, son of Toirrdhealbhach Luineach, had been created a knight as early as 1585. Fiant of Elizabeth 5213, June 29, 1588, speaks of the following : "Tirelogh lenagh O Neyle, chief of his name, Anne Cambell, his wife, Arte O Neale, his son, knt., Neall O Neall of the race of Art oges, Cormack O Neal, son of the said Tirlogh." Art or Art Og O Neill is commonly referred to as Sir Arthur O Neill of Newtown. As might be conjectured from the history of his father, and the rise to power of his family's enemy, Aodh O Neill, Earl of Tyrone, he took the English side during the latter's rebellion whenever he could rely on English protection. On June 1, 1600, with thirty horse and thirty foot, he joined forces with Sir Henry Docwra, then recently encamped at Lough Foyle. He died on the 28th of October following. Sir Arthur's wife was a daughter of Cuchonacht Maguidhir, the Fermanagh chieftain who died in 1589.

We now come to Toirrdhealbhach O Neill, son of Art Og, whose name is at the head of the genealogy above. He was the first, and presumably the eldest of the seven sons of Sir Arthur O Neill, enumerated in Fiant of Elizabeth 6489, which is dated April 1, 1601. The others are named Neill Oge, Con, Bren, Cormack, Henry and Owen. Docwra, in his *Narration*, page 247, states that on Sir Arthur's death, "one Cormocke a brother of his that claimed to succeed him as the next of his kinne," came to the camp ; "but shortelie after came his owne sonne Tirlogh that indeed was his true and imediate heire, whom the State admitted to inherite all the fortunes and hopes of his father." Docwra goes on to say Tirlogh "had not attained to the full age of a man and therefore the seruice he was able to do was not greate, but some vse wee had of him." Shortly after the accession of James I the young man made a journey to London for

the purpose of securing his father's estates, and the event is commemorated in a contemporary Irish poem, which is noted by O Grady, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, 388. Regarding the lands a preliminary arrangement was outlined as follows :—

“ Only in the case of Tirlaghe m' Arte O Neile, the legitimate son of Arthur O Neile, son of Sir Tirlaghe Lenaghe, they have ordered him the present possession of one entire balliboe, to be chosen by himself, and to be holden immediately from the King, and without payment of rent, between the rivers of Dergue and Fyn,” *Calendar of State Papers*, 319.

After the rising of Sir Cahir O Dogherty in 1608, when as yet the preparations for the Plantation of Ulster were not far advanced, Lord Deputy Chichester made the following note :—

“ He has delivered the possession of the Newtowne, with some three ballybetaghs of land (about 3,000 acres), to Tirlagh and Neal m'Arte, the children of Sir Arte O Neill, in respect of the good services they did against the traitor O Dogherty, and the relief they gave to the Liffer upon the burning of Derry ; thinks this sufficient for them, but they do not,” Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, 96.

Among advices touching the proportions and places to be assigned to certain principal natives, dated April 5, 1610, we read—

“ Tirlagh m'Art O Neale, two middle proportions in the Precinct of Dungannon in Tyrone, as also Neal O Neal, Con O Neal and Brian O Neal, his brethren, one middle proportion, to be divided amongst them, in the same,” *Calendar of State Papers*, 429.

But when the patents were passed in 1614, only three of

the brothers were provided for, the name of Con m'Art not appearing (Hill, op. cit. 316-8). The reason for the change of the locality was the quality of the lands, the better estates being of course reserved for the Scottish settlers. Tirlagh's grant, amounting to 3,330 acres, in the baronies of Dungannon and Clogher, was created the manor of Cashlan.

At the commencement of the troubles of the War of 1641 our Tirlagh was, as we have seen, a Colonel in the Ulster army. He must be carefully distinguished from the following :—

(a) Tirlagh m'Tirlagh m'Henry Og, brother of Sir Felim O'Neill. He is sometimes named Tirlagh Roe, and sometimes Tirlagh Og. He was Governor of Armagh in 1642, and is described by the writer of *The Warr of Ireland* as "a gentleman more a Mercurian than of Mar's traine."

(b) Colonel Tirlagh m'Henry m'Tirlagh m'Henry O'Neill of the Fews, co. Armagh. See Section vi of this Appendix.

(c) Tirlagh m'Art Og m'Tirlagh m'Henry, first cousin of the preceding. See Section vi of this Appendix.

(d) Tirlagh m'Brian of Tuath Threana "Touranny," Journal of O Mellan, October 1644. He was first cousin of Sir Felim.

(e) Tirlagh m'Brian m'Donell m'Felim Roe of Sliocht Aodha, *ibid.*, October 1645.

(f) Tirlagh m'Shane Og m'Brian m'Shane an Diomuis, *ibid.*, August 1642.

And there are others who might be confused with Colonel Tirlagh m'Art Og m'Tirlagh Lynagh. There are a few references to the latter in the Journal of O Mellan. March 1642 : *do ghluais an coronel Torrdhealbhach mac Airt Oig mic Torrdhealbhaigh Luinigh lasan ordugh fuair go Tir Conuill* ; same month later : *do chuir a general a litre chum a cholonel Torrdhealbach O'Neill go Sliocht Airt*, etc. ; June 29, 1643 : *loisgseat baile Torrdhealbhaigh I'Neill*



GENEALOGIES

*da ngoirthior a Caislean la feil Peadair.* The estate of which Castletown, or the Bawn, in the parish of Carnteel, Co. Tyrone, was the centre, is described in the Book of Surveys and Distributions, parishes of Donaghmore, Killeeshil, and Carnteel. On the conclusion of the wars this representative of the great chieftain Toirrdhealbhach Luineach was transplanted to Connacht.

In Trinity College Manuscript H. 5. 6, pages 204-18, there are three poems addressed to Toirrdhealbhach, son of Art Og O'Neill, and to his wife Sorcha ni Neill, daughter of Sir Henry Og O'Neill by his wife Catherine, daughter of the Earl of Tyrone. The first is ascribed to Cormac mac Cearbhaill Mic Conmidhe, who died May 4, 1627, and it is a lament on the death of a son of Toirrdhealbhach and Sorcha named Art, who apparently died young. The dead boy is styled *iarmhua Toirrdhealbhaigh*, that is, great grandson of Toirrdhealbhach Luineach; *iarmhua Conchonnacht*, great-grandson of the chief Cuchonnacht Maguidhir, who died in 1589; *iarmhua Aodha*, great-grandson of Aodh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone; *ua Enri*, grandson of Sir Henry Og O'Neill; and *ua Airt Oig*, grandson of Art Og or Sir Arthur O'Neill.

VI

GENEALOGY OF COLONEL TOIRRDHEALBHACH O NEILL  
OF THE FEWS

For convenience here we shall place two texts side by side, that of H. 4. 25, page 71, on the left, and that of the Journal of O Mellan, March, 1642, on the right:—

Coronel TORRDHEALBHACH

ENRI	m Enri	ante 1680
m Toirrdhealbhaigh	m Torrdhealbhaigh	1640
m Enri	m Enri	ante 1572
m Feidhlimidh Ruaidh	m Feidhlim Ruaidh	1561/2
m Airt		1513
m Aodha		1475
m Eoghain		1466
& clann ele an Toirrdhealbhaigh chedna Feidhlim Aodh Buidhe Art Og & Corbmac.		

For Eoghan O Neill, son of Niall Og, see above under Section IV.

Aodh O Neill, son of Eoghan, was tanist of Tir Eoghain for a period, and died in 1475 : Aodh mac Eoghuin I Neill do dhul deg an bhliaghuin si, Annals of Loch Ce. From him was descended the great branch of the O Neills of the Fewes in the south of the present county of Armagh, commonly referred to as Sliocht Aodha, or Muintear an Fheadha. The Fewes district did not come under the immediate sway of the O Neills until the middle of the fifteenth century, in the lifetime of this Aodh. Besides Art, his successor, the Annals commemorate several others of his sons.

Art O Neill, son of Aodh, was inaugurated chief in 1509, and died in 1513. "Seldom, indeed, had the son of a tanist been lord in Cenel Eoghain before him," say the Four Masters, who place his death in 1514 ; wrongly, and in contradiction with the other annalists.

Of Feidhlim Ruadh O Neill, son of Art, we have some record both in native authorities and in the English State Papers. "1554—a great hosting was made by the Earl of Kildare, the Baron of Delvin, and a great number of the Irish of Ulster, against Feilim Ruadh, son of Art, son of Aodh O Neill, at the instance of Seaan Donnghail-each, son of O Neill," Four Masters. In English documents his name appears at an earlier date : "May, 1542—Irishmen upon your Highness' peace, O Donell, Nele Connelagh O Neyle, *Phelym Roo O Neile*, Hugh O Neile, Nele More's son," *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, 197-8 ; "June 21, 1542—With regard to the complaints of Felom [Roo] against lord O Neile, in the first place touching the murder of Felom Niger O Neile, it is arbitrated, etc.," *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 192. For Feidhlim Dubh (= Niger) here, see Annals of Loch Ce, s.a. Feidhlim Ruadh is mentioned in Nicholas Bagenal's letter to Lord Deputy Croft on October 27, 1551, *Calendar of State Papers*, 117, and also in Shane O Neill's letter to the Queen, February, 8, 1561, *ibid.*, 165. From the documents quoted in the next paragraph it is evident

that he must have died or been killed between the last-mentioned date and the month of April of the following year.

Of Enri O Neill, son of Feidhlim Ruadh, the following notices serve to fix the date: "It will be fit to divide Tyrone into three parts, the order of the hither part on this side of the Great Water (=the river Blackwater) is to be given to Henry O Nele, son to Phelym Roo," Sussex's report, 1562, *Calendar of the Carew Papers*, 332; "as for Felim Roe's son, Henry O Neill, and others, they have not made any open prey," April 14, 1562, *Calendar of State Papers*, 191; "hurts done by the sons of the late Baron, the son of M'Donnell, and Henry, the son of Felim Roe, while Shane was absent in England," September 10, 1563, *ibid.*, 221. The absence of his name from the following document would suggest that he was dead at the time when it was drawn up: "Pardon to Donill O Neill, son of Phelomy Ruffie, Eugene or Owen O Neill, and Con O Neill, brothers of Donill," Fiant of Elizabeth 2172, November 30, 1572. Of these brothers Domhnall is said to have died in 1581, *Louth Archaeological Journal*, 1917, 202. The same authority puts the death of Eoghan at 1578, but the *Annals of Loch Ce* chronicle the event under 1580.

Enri's wife, the mother of Toirrdhealbhach next named in the genealogy, was Siubhan, daughter of Cuchonnacht the Comharba Maguidhir, the chieftain of Fermanagh, who died in 1537. She had previously been the wife of Feardorcha O Neill, Baron of Dungannon, and was by him the mother of Aodh O Neill, afterwards Earl of Tyrone, and of his brother, Cormac mac Baron. At the first mention of Toirrdhealbhach, son of Enri, in the *Life of Aodh Ruadh*, Lughaidh O Cleirigh says: *ba hionann mathair do saidhe & don Iarla Ua Neill*, "he and the Earl O Neill had the same mother."

John O Donovan, in a discussion on the later descendants of the O Neills of the Fewes, appended to his edition of the *Four Masters*, vol. vi, 2402, states that Henry O Neill, son of Felim Roe, survived until the early part

of James the First's reign. This statement he made on the authority of a Pardon to "Henry O Neale of the Fues in Co. Down, gent.," granted on October 27, 1603 ; see *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of James I*, page 27, and compare *ibid.*, 6, 30, referring to a later Pardon granted to the same person on February 20, 1604. O Donovan quotes from the Repertory of Erck, page 31. But these grants are certainly to be referred to another Henry O Neill. It is plain for many reasons that Henry, son of Felim Roe, was not living during Tyrone's wars with Queen Elizabeth. There is no mention at all of him in the voluminous records of that troubled period, while the name of his more famous son is almost ubiquitous in these sources. 1590 : "Tyrlogh mac Henry, captaine of the Fewes," Fynes Moryson, ii, 183 ; 1593, "the Earl of Tyrone's half brother, Turlough m'Henry, chief of the Fewes," *Calendar of State Papers*, 102 ; 1597, Toirrdhealbhach mac Enri na nGarthadh mic Felim Ruaidh Ui Neill, Life of Aodh Ruadh, 78 ; 1597, Terentius Onellus Henrici filius Onelli frater uterinus, O Sullevan, *Historia Catholica*, tom. iii, lib. iv, cap. i. "Tirlagh m'Henry O Neale, chief of the Fues in the province of Ulster," Fiant<sup>1</sup> of Elizabeth 6662, June, 1602. It is unlikely that the chief of the Fewes district here mentioned would have secured that title if his father were still living ; and as we have already seen, the Fiant of 1572 affords evidence that the father was at that date dead. Furthermore, the wife of Henry, to whom reference has been made above, was re-married to Sir Eoin mac Tuathail I Ghallchubhair before the advent of Sir William Fitzwilliams as Lord Deputy in 1589. At that point Fynes Moryson describes Sir Eoin as father-in-law, that is, stepfather, to the Earl of Tyrone.

The genealogy of Toirrdhealbhach, son of Enri, or as he is commonly known, Tirlagh m'Henry O Neill, is given independently in O Cleirigh, Book of Genealogies,

1. This pardon was issued in consequence of a submission made at Drogheda, where, says Mountjoy, "I tooke in Turlogh mac Henry, lord of the Fuse," Fynes Moryson, iii, 158.

49, as follows : *Muintir an Fheadha* ; TOIRRDHEALBHACH mac Enri na nGarthann mic Felim Ruaidh mic Airt mic Aedha mic Eoghain mic Neill Oic. Although a uterine brother of the Earl of Tyrone he, as a rule, maintained friendly relations with Queen Elizabeth's government, and led a company of about 100 men in her service. After the accession of James I he was knighted on April 17, 1604, and survived the vicissitudes of the time in possession of a large estate in the Fews until February 24, 1639-40.

The following lines written in Roman script in a good hand on a vacant page (123) in the Franciscan manuscript A 34, have a cryptic reference to Tirlagh m'Henry's astute dealings with the Queen's servants in Ireland :—

Rachad degin gan en ni ar mo sgath sa nfhuacht  
go mac reidhchroidheach Enri na nGarrtha air cuairt  
tren inin nar baeghlidheadh ar lar na ruag  
eignis gach en tir le gair a thsluagh

To which another adds :—

ni beg sin duit Emuinn I Dongaile

In normal Irish orthography these words would run as follows :—

Rachad d'éagcaoin gan éan ní ar mo sgáth san fhuacht  
go mac réidh-chroidheach Enrí na nGarrtha ar cuairt  
tré'n inghin nár baoghlaigheadh ar lár na ruag  
éignigheas gach éan tír le gáir a shluagh

Ni beag sin duit a Emuinn I Dhonghaile

We may translate the lines thus :—

I shall go with my plaint, with nothing to protect  
me in the cold,  
To the open-hearted son<sup>r</sup> of Henry na nGarrtha, on  
a visit,

1. It is interesting to note that when Sir Turlogh mac Henry O Neill was nominated by the natives of county Armagh for the Parliament of 1613 the Government party disqualified him on the ground that he could not speak English.

Who by the Lady has not been compromised on the  
field of defeat,  
And who reduces by force every land with the cry  
of his hosts.

That is quite enough for you, Emonn O Donghaile.

Ultimately, of course, the O Neills of the Fews paid the penalty to English rapacity, as we shall presently see.

Tirlagh mac Henry O Neill's wife was Sarah, sister of Sir Arthur O Neill, and daughter of the chieftain Toirrdhealbhach Luineach. "Sir Arthur O Neill, as it is reported, in this late parley between Tyrone and him, demanded the liberty and release of his brother-in-law, and of his sister, being Tirlagh's wife, both of which are prisoners with Tyrone," *Calendar of State Papers*, Nov. 6, 1598, page 341. The Fiant of date 1602, already mentioned, gives the lady's name, "Sarah ny Neale his wife." At the Plantation period we find three of their sons mentioned as grantees: "Hugh (=Aodh Buidhe) mac Tirlagh O Neile, Art mac Tirlagh O Neile, and Henry mac Tirlagh O Neile," Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, 314, no. 27. A daughter, Catherine, married (1) Tirlagh, son of Henry Og O Neill of Kinnard, by whom she was mother of Sir Felim O Neill; and (2) Robert Hovendon, of Ballynameetagh. She is referred to in the Journal of O Mellan under date of August 15, 1644: *Catilin Hovenden bean Torrdhealbhaigh I Neill*. Other daughters of Tirlagh mac Henry and Sarah ny Neill were: Jane, married Collo mac Brian Macmahon, of Loghgeise, county Monaghan; and Rose, married Philip O Reilly, of Rathkenny, county Cavan.<sup>1</sup>

Henry O Neill, son and heir of Tirlagh mac Henry, married Mary, daughter of Sir John O Reilly (*d.* 1634). In the proclamation of the Lords Justices issued on February 8, 1642, his name is not mentioned, though both his brother Art, and his son, "Tirlagh mac Henry mac Tirlagh O Neal of the Fues," were outlawed by that

1. Trinity College Manuscript F.4. 16, page 38.

instrument—a fact which indicates that his attitude towards the British settlers in Ulster was not considered extremely hostile. He resided at Glasdromin. Ultimately he, as well as his son, Colonel Tirlagh, was transplanted to Connacht under the Cromwellian regime.

At the first occurrence of the name of Colonel Tirlagh O Neill in the Journal of O Mellan, he gets his full credentials in the genealogy cited at the head of this Section. He is twice later referred to in the same work as the Colonel of the Fewes; his Regiment of Foot was at Benburb, June 5, 1646. On the conclusion of the Peace of 1648 between Ormonde, Inchiquin and the Supreme Council of the Confederates, several of General Owen O Neill's Regiments of Foot and Horse refused to support him against the Lord Lieutenant and his party, among them that of Tirlagh mac Henry O Neill of the Fewes. Towards the close of 1649 it formed part of the force organised for the defence of the South under Major-General Hugh O Neill. Full particulars of a muster held at Clonmel on January 3, 1649-50, may be read in Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland, 1641-52*, part 4, 502.

The wife of Colonel Tirlagh mac Henry O Neill was Cecilia, daughter of Rory O More of Ballyna in county Kildare. His residence had been at Laghrosse in the county of Armagh, but as neither he nor his father were among those excepted from pardon for life and estate by the Cromwellian Act of Settlement, both were transplanted to the barony of Gallen in county Mayo. Henry O Neill died some time prior to 1680. In that year Tirlagh mac Henry had a confirmatory grant by Patent of portion of the estate previously allotted to his father.

In the next generation Henry O Neill, son of Tirlagh mac Henry, was attainted for participation on the side of James II in the war of the Revolution, and the lands secured in the manner described were all forfeited to the Crown.

