

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,¹ 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.”²

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,¹ 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 1590,² and died some time before April 12, 1601.³

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, 1574.⁴ 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.⁵ Hugh Roe's mother, the celebrated Inghean Dubh, or Fionnghuala,⁶ daughter of James MacDonnell of Isla and the Glynnnes of Antrim, was married to Sir Hugh O'Donnell, chieftain of Tir Chonaill, not later than 1569.⁷ 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.”¹

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

We next come to the Earl's romantic marriage with Mabel Bagenal,³ 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

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

2. *Calendar of State Papers*, page 384.

3. 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.¹ 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."²

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."³ 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, 1597¹; "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," 1598²; "Tyrone hath to his wife the sister of this McGennis (Sir Arthur)," 1598.³ 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 impediment⁴ 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 passage⁵ 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 Tooley as "father in law to the Earle of Tyrone."¹ Again, Captain Thomas Lee, in his well-known pamphlet, cited by Hill,² 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 1572.¹ The third was the celebrated pensioner² 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

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."¹ 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 Toirrdhealbhach 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 impede the match between Dungannon and Torlogh Lynagh's daughter."¹ 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." ¹

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." ² 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 ³ 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 scrappy 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."¹ 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."² 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.

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

“ 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." ¹

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.¹ 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.*² Philip O Sullevan Beara and the English authorities are in agreement.³ 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 wounded¹ 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."²

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.³ Hugh died on September 24, 1609.⁴ 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 1600.⁵ Giolla Brighde O hEoghusa writes on September 19, 1605, that he was then expected in Flanders.⁶ 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 Sullevan's *Historia Catholica* in 1621.⁷

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 Léighthéoir 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 Sullevan'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."¹ Seaan was born in October, 1599.² 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."³ 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, 1617.⁴ 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.”¹

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.”² 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.”³ 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.”⁴ On August 12, 1622, he was committed to the Tower of London.⁵ 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.*, 81.

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.