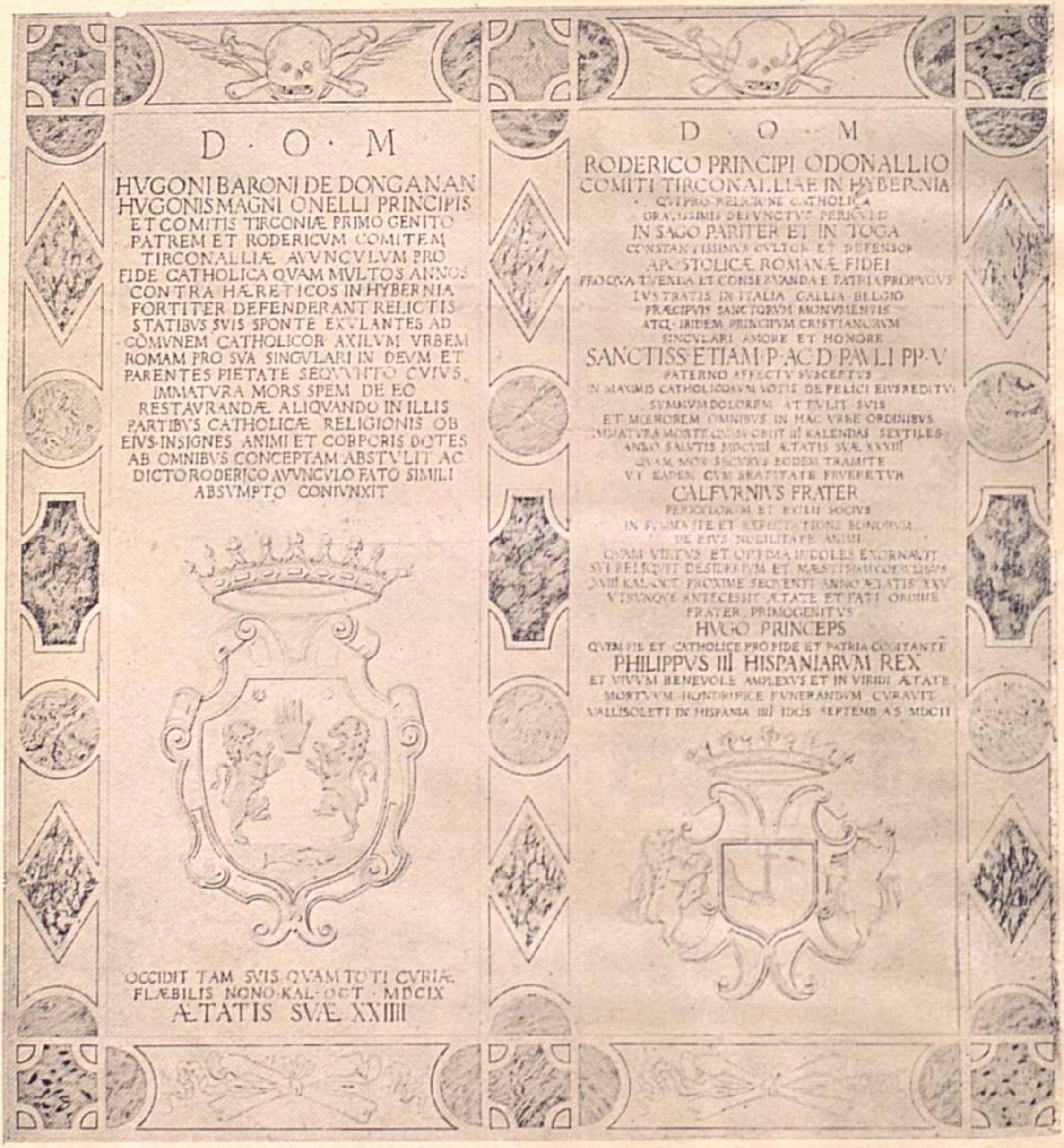

Tombs in San Pietro, Rome, of Hugh Oge, son of Hugh O'Neill, Prince and Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donnell, Prince and Earl of Tyrconnell.—(From a drawing by F. J. Bigger, M.R.I.A.)

THE O'NEILLS OF ULSTER

THEIR HISTORY AND GENEALOGY

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND SOME NOTICES OF THE NORTHERN SEPTS

BY

THOMAS MATHEWS

AUTHOR OF "AN ACCOUNT OF THE O'DEMPSEYS, CHIEFS OF CLAN MALIERE," "RECORDS OF THE KEATING FAMILY," ETC.

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PART III.

THE O'NEILL PRINCES

FROM 1519.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE CLAN SYSTEM

AND

CONQUEST AND PLANTATION OF ULSTER BY THE ENGLISH.

ERRATA.

Page 208, *for* Friary of Glenarm *read* an old Chapel hard by.

—— line 15, *for* given to *read* dug up by.

—— 213, line 31, *after* by the other *insert*—This was true enough a few short years ago. But lately his story has attracted a deal of attention, and it may now be said that they are beginning to realise the greatness of his actions, and the boldness of his personality.

—— 340, line 4, *after* left *insert* with a dau. Annica Marchioness De Vinent (grandmother to the Marquis of Hayos, who is married to the only dau. of the late Duke of Almodovar, Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs; and the Marquis of Villalabor, Minister and Councillor to the Spanish Embassy, London)

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THE O'NEILLS OF ULSTER.

PART III.

THE O'NEILL PRINCES FROM 1519.—THE BREAK-UP OF THE CLAN SYSTEM AND CONQUEST AND PLANTATION OF ULSTER BY THE ENGLISH.

CHAPTER I.

CONN BACCAGH, SON OF CONN MORE, PRINCE OF ULSTER.—HUGH MACNIAL MORE, PRINCE OF CLANNABOY.—1519 TO 1524.

O'DONNELL and his allies had now good reason to fear that the day had passed when they could appear with impunity in arms against O'Neill; for Conn the Lame, without a rival, and backed by his Geraldine kinsmen, could command a force sufficient to crush them all with ease. Conn, however, as it proved, had no luck as a leader, and only succeeded in rendering his rebels more desperate than ever, and in further weakening

the Cinel, who soon divided, when the old feuds again broke out.

Doubtless it was these struggles, and the helplessness of O'Neill, always the greatest and most formidable foe of the English in Ireland, that first turned the attention of the English monarch, Henry VIII., to the conquest of the island, as it turned the attention of the Highland Scots to the conquest of Ulster.

By Henry's command, in 1515, a Report on the State of Ireland was prepared, and submitted for his inspection. From this interesting document, which is given in the *State Papers* (*a*) it appears there were more than sixty "regions in Ireland inhabited with the king's Irish enemies, some regions as big as a shire, some more, some less, unto a little; some as big as a half shire, some a little less, where reigneth more than sixty Chief Captains whereof some calleth themselves kings, some kings' peers in their language, some princes, some dukes, some archdukes, that liveth only by the sword, and obeyeth no other temporal person but him that is strong."

Further, we are informed that "every of the same Captains maketh war and peace for himself, and holdeth by the sword and hath imperial jurisdiction within his room, and obeyeth to no other person, English or Irish, except only to such persons as may subdue him by the sword." The

clans "commonly rebelleth against their Chief Captain," whose will was supreme only in so far as it accorded with that of the Sept.

Turning to the English, the report states that "there be thirty great Captains of the English folk that followeth the same Irish order, and keepeth the same rule." "They are all turned from the obeisance of the King's laws, and liveth by the sword after the manner of the Irish enemies, and though many of them obey the King's Deputy, when it pleaseth them, yet there is none of them all that obeyeth the King's laws."

In Ulster the Chief Captains and regions are given in the following order —"First the Great Oneyle, Chief Gaptain of his nation within the country of Tyreeowen ; O'Donelde, Chief Captain of his nation within the regyon and countrey of Tyregonolde." Then :—"O'Neyle of Treughonyll (Trian Conghail) and Chief Captain of the same." O'Cahan of Oirecht O'Cahan, O'Doherty of Inishowen, MacGuire of Fermanagh, MacMahon of Monaghan, MacGennis of Iveagh, O'Hanlon of Orior.

O'Cahan, who held nearly the whole of Derry, was the principal sub-chief in Cinel Owen ; as O'Doherty was in Cinel Conal. The names of "the great English rebels of Wolster" are given thus : Sir Roland Savage of Lecale ; FitzHowlyn of Tuscard (*b*) ; FitzJohn Bisset of Glynes ; Baron Russell and his kinsmen.(*c*)

"The son of any of these Captains," the Report adds, "shall not succeed the father except he be the strongest of all his nation, and so war continueth still."

The English Deputies now lent a hand in the interest of their master, Henry, whose great ambition it was to reduce the island, to have himself acknowledged king, and incidentally to recover that part of his "inheritance" in possession of the Clannaboy, who should betake themselves to the forests of Kilultagh and the Fews, "which habitation and places they hath and dwelleth in before now by compulsion."

To achieve this, time and patience were required, "for," as Deputy Surrey writes about this time, "it is not to be doubted that whensoever the Irishmen shall know that your Grace intendeth a conquest, they will all combine together and withstand the same to the best of their power, and over and above their own power they may have three or four thousand Irish Scots, whensoever, and as often as they call for them, and they be not distant from the north part of this land, four hours sailing. Also I think the Earl of Argyll, and divers others of those we call English Scots, will come if they be desired."

Writing from Dublin to Wolsey in August, 1520, he mentions the difficulty he has in getting together a force to proceed into Ulster to parley, apparently

with Conn, because of the great plague then prevalent, "especially in all O'Neill's country, which is so sore that all the people have fled out of their houses into the fields and woods." In "the four shires of the English" things were as bad.

Surrey succeeded Conn's kinsman Kildare, who had done him good service, and who held the office of Deputy on his accession. He was found unsuitable for the great work ahead, and having been accused by his enemies of maladministration, he was summoned to England.

Writing to Wolsey in 1520, Surrey says Kildare had sent a letter in Irish by the Abbot of Monasterevan to his kinsmen, O'Neill and O'Carrol, desiring them, as soon as an English Deputy should be appointed "to make war upon Englishmen."

In the same year he met O'Donnell, who was anxious to form an alliance with the English, knowing that Conn but awaited a favourable opportunity to give him battle, and put an end to his former pretensions.

He now appeared in Dublin to seek Surrey's aid against Conn. Surrey tells Henry, he found him "a right wise man, determined to serve the King." He confessed that a little before Surrey came to Ireland O'Neill desired him to make war upon him (Surrey), as soon as he landed, saying that "for his part he would do so, as he was desired by the Earl of Kildare." O'Donnell, however, would have

nothing to do with O'Neill or the Earl, Kildare, so he tells Surrey he answered that "he was the king's true subject, and would serve whoever the king appointed to rule here." Conn had made an appointment with Surrey, but in August, 1520, Wolsey was informed that "the great O'Neill broke his appointment," so it was determined to invade him.

O'Donnell promised to "invade O'Neill on his side," while Surrey, at the same time, advanced from the south.

Conn, as he had promised Kildare, marched into the Pale against Surrey; but O'Donnell and his ally O'Neill of Clannaboy (Hugh, son of Nial More), obliged him to withdraw, when Surrey, with the forces of the Pale, advanced to Oriel, and obliged Conn and MacMahon to make peace, "as Sir John Wallop can declare," so Surrey wrote to Henry, who appears to have been rather sceptical.

In a long letter to Surrey, after being assured of the peace, he remarks that "as O'Neill and the other Irish Captains be come in . . . and recognize us as their sovereign lord. . . . We and our council think and surely believe, that in case circumspect and politic ways be used, ye shall not only bring them to further obedience, but also, following justice, to forbear to detain rebelliously such lands and domains as to us as of right appertaineth, which thing must as yet be practised rather by politic

drifts, and amiable persuasions founded in law and reason, than by rigorous dealing." He was evidently anxious to get possession of his "domains" in Ulidia held by the Clannaboy.

To bring the Irish "in appearance only of obedience," he continues, "without that they should observe our laws, and resort to our courts for justice and restore such dominions as they unlawfully detain from us," would be "a thing of little policy less advantage, and least effect." Further, he says, that if by these "and semblable drifts an entry might be made, that part of our lands detained by usurpation might be reduced to our possessions, either of the earldom of Ulster, whereunto, as ye write, O'Neill hath promised his assistance, or of any other, which notoriously appertaineth to us."

In conclusion he observes that "we are willing you should make O'Neill, and other Lords of the Irishry, knights, and give him a collar of gold of our livery, which we now send," and "if you could induce O'Neill, and others of the greatest personages, to repair to our presence, we will entertain them well, in order that they may the better obey us hereafter, and change their old Irish manners."

O'Donnell, and Hugh MacNial, were greatly disappointed at Surrey's truce with Conn, who thanked Henry for his knighthood, and was thus freed from the attention of the English. They now turned to the Scots, and in 1521, Surrey writes that

Sir John Darcy showed him that "unless O'Donnell should bring some Scots shortly," he would be compelled to submit to O'Neill, "and to put hostages in his hands." Surrey could only see his way to license him to bring three or four hundred Irish Scots.

The Deputy had no love for these mercenaries who contributed so much to the break-up of the Clan system. They flocked to Ulster at this time, and, in 1533, under Alexander of Islay, between 4,000 and 7,000 landed in the Glyns, ready to sell their swords to the highest bidders. They were in a great measure responsible for the disturbances in Ulster in those days; and were it not for them, O'Neill would soon have brought O'Donnell and his allies to obeisance, and would have made a better stand against the foreigners. These Highland Scots were chiefly Ulster Irishmen, and their Chiefs derived from the Arghiallan princes. They were now very numerous, and anxious to settle in Ulster; but this could only be at the expense of the inhabitants, who suffered accordingly in the Route, and in parts of Clannaboy, as we shall see later. "They were recognised among the Irish soldiers," writes O'Clery (*Life of Hugh Roe*), "by the difference of their arms and clothing, their habits and language, for their exterior dress was mottled cloaks to the calf of the legs with ties and fastenings. Their girdles were over the loins, outside the cloaks.

Many of them had two-handed swords with hafts of horn . . . and others had bows of carved wood."

Their one desire was to possess the land, like the English, who regarded them as rivals and enemies.

O'Donnell, though he was licensed to employ only 400 Scots, "sent for more," Surrey tells Henry "until I wrote to him to come to me" to help in reducing Conal O'Melaghlin. "O'Neill," he adds, "is coming with a great power," and when he brings them together he hopes "to make agreement and peace between them."

This was no easy task; for there could be no lasting peace while O'Donnell and the Prince of Clannaboy, Hugh MacNial, refused obeisance to Conn.

Seeing that Conn had detached the Deputy from their side, they changed their tactics, and in 1521, Surrey writes to Henry —"Understanding that O'Neill had made great preparations to come to me, and fearing that I should bear favour to him, O'Donnell caused Hugh MacNial, his brother-in-law, to bring him some Scots, and the same Hugh MacNial, seeing O'Neill and the Prior Magennis coming towards me with 100 horsemen, 400 gallow-glasses, and 800 kerne, entered into the said Prior's country (Iveagh), and burned seventeen towns, and took away all goods of the same, and 1,500 kine, and O'Donnell, with all his power, came to a castle

joining to O'Neill's country. O'Neill and the Prior fearing the destruction of their countries, returned home to defend them, so the good service which O'Donnell and Hugh MacNial, have done your grace, is to prevent O'Neill from coming to me, with such great power, that if he had come, all the Irish as be at war with me, would have put their hostages in my hands to keep continual peace."

"No men in Ireland," he continues, "would be more sorry to see you recover your inheritance of the Earldom of Ulster than he and Hugh MacNial, for they, and their servants and subjects, have more ground of your grace's said inheritance than six the greatest men of land in England have within your realm, notwithstanding it is not so profitable to their purposes, for lack of good order."

Having defeated O'Donnell and Hugh at their own game, and quieted the Deputy, Conn declared war against them.

He first proceeded against O'Donnell, and in 1542, according to the *Four Masters*, he assembled his allies, the men of Connaught, under O'Conor Roe, O'Conor Don, MacWilliam of Clanricard, (Ulick); a few of the O'Briens, Donagh and Tiege, sons of Tirlo, and Bishop O'Brien; O'Carrol (Malroney, son of John); O'Kennedy, and Mac-Dermot of Moylurg.

"All these," say the O'Donnell bards (the *Four Masters*), "were in readiness to march against

O'Donnell ; and it was on Lady Day in Harvest they appointed to join O'Neill in Tir Hugh. O'Neill in the meantime assembled in the first place the forces of Cinel Owen, (then) the Clan Magennis, the Oriel, the O'Rielly (of Breffny), the people of Fermanagh, a vast number of Scots under the command of Alexander, son of MacDonnell, great numbers of the English forces of Meath and the gallowglasses of the province of Leinster of the Clan Sheehy, (*d*) and Clan Donnell (*e*) also came thither, from their attachment to the daughter of the Earl of Kildare, who was O'Neill's mother."

They now proceed to enumerate the Chiefs under O'Donnell, without making any mention of his ally, Hugh MacNial, or of the Scots, whom, we know from the *State Papers*, he had in his service.

With the six Chiefs of Tyrconnell—O'Doherty, O'Boyle, O'Gallagher, and the three MacSweenys—O'Donnell marched to Port-na-dtri-namhad (the port of the three enemies, now Lifford), "a perilous pass through which he supposed O'Neill would make his onslaught upon them."

"When O'Neill heard of this (position of the enemy) the route he took was through Kinel Owen, and he marched unperceived until he arrived at Termon Daveoc, and from thence to Ballyshannon. The son of MacSweeny of Tir Boghaine (Brian of the Fleet) whom O'Donnell had left to guard the castle of Ballyshannon, defended the town against O'Neill,

as well as he was able; it was at length, however, taken by O'Neill, and the son of MacSweeny, with a great number of his people, were slain by him. There were also slain there two of O'Donnell's Ollaves, namely, Dermot, the son of Tiege Cam O'Clery, a learned historian and poet, a man who kept an open house of hospitality for the mighty and indigent, and the son of Mac Ward (Hugh, son of Hugh), with several others. This was on the 11th of June.

"Bundrowes and Beal-lice (Beleek) were also taken, and burnt by O'Neill. On this occasion, on his return from Bundrowes, a party of his forces slew Rory, son of Godfrey, son of Hugh Gallda O'Donnell, and the son of MacKelly of Breffny.

"When O'Donnell heard that O'Neill had done these deeds, he ordered his son, Manus O'Donnell, to proceed into Tyrone, with a detachment of his army, and to plunder and burn that country, and he himself, with the number of forces he had kept with him, directed his course over Bearnas (Barnesmore Gap) in pursuit of O'Neill, and to defend Tir Hugh. As to Manus, he plundered and burned all the neighbouring parts of Kinel Owen. . . . When O'Neill discovered that Manus had gone into Tyrone, he returned across the river Finn, and spoiled the country before him as far as Cean Maghair, whence he carried off a prey, and he then proceeded in triumph to his own

country." encamping with his Ulster forces at Cnoc Buidhbh, or Knockavoe, overlooking Strabane.

Here he awaited the arrival of the Connacians, O'Donnell returned across Barnesmore, and, joined by his son, Manus, encamped at Drumleen, beyond Lifford. A council was then called "to consider what they should do in the strait and difficulties they had to meet, for they knew that they would not be at all able to maintain a contest with O'Neill, and his army, and with the Connacian army, which was then marching towards their country, should they succeed in joining each other (before the engagement) so the resolution they adopted was to attack O'Neill, as he was the nearest to them. . . . As the army opposed to them were so very numerous, they agreed to attack O'Neill by night. A notice and forewarning of this resolution reached O'Neill, so that he placed sentinels to guard every pass by which he thought the Kinel Conal might come to attack him, while he himself, with the main body of his army, remained on the watch, at the rere, in his camp."

O'Donnell having arrayed his forces advanced until his men "came up to the sentinels of O'Neill without being perceived by them. However, the sentinels began to give notice to their people that their enemies were approaching. The Cinel Conal now, fearing that the sentinels would reach O'Neill before them, rushed onwards with such violence,

and vehemence, that they went out of array, and they and the sentinels reached the camp together. On thus coming into collision with one another, they raised great shouts aloud, and their clamour was not feebly responded to by O'Neill's common soldiers; for they proceeded bravely, and protectively to defend their Chief and their camp; both armies were engaged in striking and killing each other, and mighty men were subdued, and heroes hacked, on either side men were hewn down, and death and evil destiny seized vigorous youths in that place. Scarcely did any one of them on either side know with whom he should engage in combat, for they could not discern one another's faces on account of the darkness of the night. At last O'Neill and his army were defeated, and the camp was left to O'Donnell. Great indeed was the slaughter made upon O'Neill's forces on that spot; for it was calculated by the people of the Churches in which many of them were interred, and by those of the neighbours who were with them, and recognized the bodies, that upwards of 900 of O'Neill's army fell in that engagement, so that the name and renown of that victory spread over all Ireland. The most distinguished men that fell in that engagement were the following:—Donal Oge MacDonnel, with a countless number of the gallowglasses of the Clan Donnell, Turlough MacSheehy, with a great number of his people; John Bisset, with the greater

part of the Scots who had come with him; Hugh, the son of Owen, son of William MacMahon; Rory Maguire, and many of the Lagenians and Meathians."

This, according to the *Four Masters*, was "one of the most bloody engagements that ever occurred between the Kinel Conal and Kinel Eoghan."

O'Donnell now marched through Barnesmore Gap, to meet the Connacians, who had not yet advanced to Sligo. When he reached Ben Gulban, they were laying siege to the town, which was held from O'Donnell.

On hearing of Conn's defeat, however, they raised the siege, and retreated before O'Donnell, who thus gained a complete victory.

Conn never recovered from the effects of this defeat, which O'Donnell was intent on making the most of. In the following Spring he took the offensive, and encamped in the valley of the Finn in Cinel Main, while his son, Manus, was despatched to Scotland for aid. The *Four Masters* says that Conn was assisted by the Scots, which we very much doubt. He always had a force of gallowglasses, under the MacDonnells; but he never had occasion to employ "vast numbers," like O'Donnell and Hugh MacNial, in whose service they were principally engaged at this time.

On being joined by the Scots, O'Donnell marched

into Tyrone, and burned the country from Bealach Coille—the Pass of the Wood—to Dungannon.

On this occasion he burned the castle and town of MacDonnell of the gallowglasses, Knockinclohy or Knocnacloy, north-west of Dungannon, and cut down and destroyed a beautiful herb-garden there, the property of the family physician, for in those days the physicians were attached to the households of the chiefs and princes.

Those in the service of the latter were known as Ollave leeches—men who had attained the highest rank in the profession. They occupied a very dignified position, and lived in great style with households, and dependants of their own.

In the beginning of the 17th century, Van Helmot of Brussels, a distinguished physician, wrote of the Irish medical men of his day, of their books, their remedies, and great skill. He says: "The Irish nobility have in every family a domestic physician, who has a tract of land free for his remuneration, and who is appointed, not on account of the learning he brings away in his head from College, but because he can cure disorders. These doctors obtain their medical knowledge chiefly from books belonging to particular families, left them by their ancestors, in which are laid down the symptoms of several diseases with the remedies annexed, which remedies are the products of their own country: accordingly the Irish are better managed in sickness

than the Italians, who have a physician in every village."

In Fermanagh the O'Cassidys, who held the lands of Farran Cassidy, were hereditary physicians from 1320 to 1504, when Thomas O'Cassidy, the last of the family, wrote a treatise "On the nature and cure of the different diseases incidental to the human frame."

In Cinel Owen and Cinel Conal, the hereditary physicians were the O'Mellans, O'Quins, and O'Donlevys. The O'Shiels were leeches to the MacMahons, and about the last celebrated member of the craft was Owen Roe's chief adviser, Owen O'Shiel, styled in his day "The Eagle of Irish Doctors."

After the above expedition, O'Donnell came again into Tyrone against Conn, who was fairly beaten and obliged to make peace, so that "no other remarkable exploit was performed between them in that year," 1523.

Soon after, Conn accompanied his cousin, Kildare, who had been acquitted of the charges brought against him, in an expedition against the Leinstermen, O'Conor Faly, O'More, O'Dempsey, and others "who abided by the decision and arbitrament of O'Neill between them and the Earl, and O'Neill after having made peace between them, delivered the pledges and hostages of the Irish into the keeping of the Earl, in security for the per-

formance of every demand he made on them, and so they separated."

After thus quieting the Lagenians, Conn and the Earl marched into Clannaboy against Hugh MacNial, who attempted to oppose them with his own forces, and 1,500 Scots, but he was compelled to give way after losing 20 men.

Kildare, in a letter to the king, says he "broke a castle of his called Belfast, and burned twenty-four miles of his country," with two other castles belonging to the Scots.

By way of apology for this invasion—the Earl of Ormond being Deputy—he tells Henry that he heard there was a Breton ship laden with Gascon wine at Carrickfergus, and as the Bretons were enemies of the king, he proceeded against them through Clannaboy, and by sea with four or five ships of his own. The Bretons, hearing that he was about to seize their vessels, made off; but he captured a Scottish galley laden with victuals, which the Scots ran aground, the crew escaping to Hugh MacNial, whose country was then wasted.

This was rather a lame excuse, and Ormond, the Deputy, complained of it and other matters; but Kildare, who had married a kinswoman of the king, had it all his own way, and in the following year, 1524, he was appointed to succeed him, on which occasion, after taking the customary oath, he went in state, preceded by Conn carrying the Sword of

State, to Thomas Court in Dublin, where he gave a splendid banquet.

Kildare, who gave little attention to Henry's schemes, and was more inclined to act the part of an Irish Chief than an English Deputy, accompanied Conn soon after in another expedition against O'Donnell and Hugh MacNial, who had invaded and burned Tyrone.

They never halted until they arrived at Lifford, where they encamped within strong entrenchments, which had been thrown up by Manus O'Donnell some time before.

O'Donnell, with a great force of Scottish mercenaries under MacDonnell himself, *i.e.*, Alexander, son of John Cahanagh (*i.e.* of Oirecht O'Cahan), proceeded to Drumleen, a few miles away, where he entrenched.

Manus, son of O'Donnell, with a party of archers and gallowglasses, set out from the camp to harass Conn and the Earl, who, hearing that O'Neill of Clannaboy was wasting Tyrone on his side, resolved to make peace, which they did.

On their return to Dungannon, Conn and the Earl, according to the *Four Masters*, found the Clannaboy Prince, who was unaware of the peace, "ravaging Tyrone with a numerous army, and Hugh, when he heard that these hosts were approaching him, sent the greater number of his forces onwards with the preys and spoils of the country,

and he himself remained at a great distance behind them, with only a small body of troops, so that the main body of the other army overtook him. They attacked him, and being caught in a perilous condition, he was overpowered, and killed on the spot on the 6th of October. It was a rueful and grievous thing that this noble and high-born chieftain should thus be cut off, for his peer for nobleness, intelligence, hospitality, valour, prowess, and protection, has not been found for a long time before among the Kinel Owen. The following quatrain was composed in commemoration of the year of his death :—

Four and twenty years, 'tis true,
A thousand and five hundred,
From birth of Christ 'till death of Hugh,
Should any one inquire.

MacQuillan (Cormac), and the son of John Duff MacDonnell, were wounded and taken prisoners after this killing (of Hugh) by O'Neill's people."

In the record of Hugh's death in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, it is stated that " he was the head guardian of the poetic order, and the flashing light-star of the race of Aedh Buidhe O'Neill, and further we do not consider it superfluous to say that he did not leave in Erin any one of the nobles of the foreigners or Gaels, who was a greater loss to the learned than this Hugh, son of Nial, son of Con."

In the same year is recorded the death of his lady, Gormly, sister of O'Donnell, Hugh Duff. She was "a woman of general hospitality, a protectress of worldly repute, and the greatest benefactress to orders and men of learning." "As the couple," adds the old chronicler, "shared humanity and reputation with each other in this world, to the time of their decease, so may their souls share glory with each other in the Kingdom of God."

Hugh, who was the most celebrated of the sons of Nial More, had a daughter married to Conn Baccagh, by whom she was mother of Prince Shane; and two sons, Owen (*ob.* 1537), and Nial (*ob.* 1537), both of whom appear to have died *sine prole*.

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NOTES.

(*a*) From the *Carew MSS.*, Volume I.; *Calendar of State Papers*; and *State Papers, temp.*, Henry VIII., the particulars given in this and succeeding Chapters are chiefly taken. With the *State Papers* are included Norden's Map, and a Map of Ulster, part of which is reproduced in Collier's *History of Ireland.* It is interesting as showing how little the English knew of the country at this time, down to which it was customary to represent it (by way of apology for not completely ousting the Irish), as a country not worth fighting for, and "full of forests lakes, and swamps," as one writer puts it.

(*b*) MacQuillan of the Rout. This was probably Rory MacQuillan, who founded, in 1500, the Friary of Bunnamargie, which is exhaustively dealt with in the *Ulster Journal* for 1898, by the Editor, F. J. Biggar, M.R.I.A., who, in the article on *Dunluce Castle*, maintains that the MacQuillans are Irish, and descendants of Nial of the Hostages. The name is Anglicised Fitz or MacWilliam, MacEvelin, MacKillen and Killen.

(*c*) The present Lord Russell of Killowen is a representative of this family.

(*d*) The MacSheehys or Sheehys, derived from Alexander More MacDonnell, Lord of the Isles. O'Halloran states they were chiefs of Ballyalinan in the Barony of Pobble Brien, Co. Limerick, and Constables of Desmond. They built the Castles of Lisnacullen, Ballyalinan, and Shanid. They are still represented. The celebrated Lady Blessington was fond of tracing her descent, through her mother, from Morgan Sheehy of Ballyalinan, who married Elinor, daughter of Pierce, Earl of Ormond. From her great-uncle, Roger Sheehy, Esq., of Drumcolligher, derived the late Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Sheehy Keating, P.C., Solicitor-General for England. *See* Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, Madden's *United Irishmen*, and O'Hart.

(*e*) The Clan Donnell, or MacDonnells of Leinster, settled in Wicklow and the O'Dempsey territory in Queen's County, where they held the Castle of Tinnakill. *See* the *Kildare Journal of Archæology* and *Ulster Journal*, Volumes V. and VI.

CHAPTER II.

BRIAN BALLAGH II., PRINCE OF CLANNABOY, AND HIS BROTHERS, NIAL OGE AND FELIM BACCAGH.—THE CONFEDERATION OF 1539.

BRIAN Ballagh, or the Freckled, Hugh's brother and successor in the Chieftainship of the Clannaboy, does not appear to have much favoured the designs of O'Donnell, or the policy of his brother, which, after all, only tended to increase, at the expense of his own Clansmen and kinsmen of Cinel Owen, the power of the Cinel Conal, whose bards represent the friendly alliances of his predecessors as an acknowledgment of O'Donnell's claim to supremacy, and a testimony of the great power exercised by him.

Brian's lady, Sarah, was a sister or cousin of Conn, with whom he lived in peace and amity during his short reign of five years.

Conn and O'Donnell, notwithstanding their "amicable and charitable peace," again disagreed in 1526, when they repaired to Dublin to submit their disputes for arbitration to Kildare, who thereupon summoned a meeting of the principal men of Ireland, "but after they had argued and

debated upon every covenant that had been entered into between them till that time, it was still found impossible for the Lord Justice and other Chiefs to reconcile them, so that they returned to their houses at strife, and the war between them was renewed."

Conn set out to prevent the erection of a Castle which Manus O'Donnell had begun at Lifford, or Leithbhir, *alias* Port-na-dtri-namhad, in Cinel Main. "Manus," according to the *Four Masters*, "met the van of the army, and took Henry, son of John O'Neill, prisoner, whereupon O'Neill himself took to flight." Soon after, in spite of Conn, he completed the castle "with its works of stone, wood and boards."

This fortress was an eyesore and menace to Conn, for it acted as a check on the Castle of Strabane, on the opposite side of the river, and enabled O'Donnell to hold the disputed territory of Cinel Main, as well as to invade Tyrone with ease.

The present town, which grew up around the castle, is situated in a beautiful valley at the base of an extensive range of mountains, and on the western bank of the Foyle, over which a stone bridge of twelve arches leads into Strabane.[1]

In the district are the remains of three religious houses, Ballibogan, Churchminster, and Clonleigh, founded, according to Archdall, by St. Columba.

[1] Lewis : *Topographical Dictionary.*

In the Castle, Manus and his scribes wrote the celebrated *Life of St. Columba*, mentioned elsewhere. He states that it was he who ordered the part of the *Life* which was in Latin to be put into Gaelic, and who ordered the part that was difficult, or ancient, to be modified, and who gathered and put together the parts scattered through the old books of Erin, and who dictated it out of his own mouth with great labour, and a great expenditure of time in studying and arranging all its parts.

In the reign of Charles II. the MS. passed to Sir James Ware, who died in 1666. It afterwards became the property of the Duke of Chandos, at the sale of whose library, 1766-7, it was purchased by Mr. Rawlinson for twenty-three shillings. The original was discovered by O'Curry in 1849, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is given in the *Zeitschrift fur Celtic Philologie* by Father Henebery.

The copy, on vellum, used by Colgan, and now in the Library of the Franciscans, Dublin, was made for Nial Conallagh O'Neill, Manus's son-in law, and son of the late Chief, Art Oge.

It abounds in legends, one of which we have had occasion to remark (p. 185, Part I.), and which, as observed, was designed to support O'Donnell's claims to Derry and Inishowen which, with Cinel Main and Fermanagh, or Tooragh and Lurg, now formed the bone of contention, Conn apparently

having abandoned all hope of bringing O'Donnell to obeisance.

Seeing that he could no longer count on the Clannaboy, O'Donnell cast about for another ally, which he found in his foster son, and Conn's nephew, the above Nial Connallagh, or Nial Oge, whom he put forward in opposition to Conn, or his sons.

Nial proved a powerful ally of O'Donnell's, and no small trouble to Conn, who was obliged to have four of his brothers executed, Henry and Cormac in 1528, and Donal and Tool in 1532.

Conn had now three determined and active enemies to contend with, O'Donnell, Nial, and the English Deputy, for at this time he was deprived of the support of Kildare, who discovered that he was not acting as he should, in lending his aid to Conn, and though Conn posed as a loyal subject, much oppressed by the rebels, against whom he was always willing and anxious to serve, Kildare, in 1528, was committed to the Tower, when an English Deputy was appointed, with the object of furthering the conquest of the country.

In the following year, according to the *Four Masters*, and *Annals of Loch Ce*, the Clannaboy Prince, Brian Ballagh, son of Nial More, "was slain by Cormac MacQuillan, the said Cormac having set out from Carrickfergus in company and friendship with Brian."

This MacQuillan, Lord of the Route, who died

suddenly two years later, appears to have acted treacherously, and in concert with the English of Carrickfergus, with whom Brian had some difference, and who for long after were obliged to pay a yearly tribute of £40—now about £600—to his kinsmen, and successors by way of compensation. (*a*) This, known as an *eric*, was a heavy tax on the townsmen ; so that, like the Boruma, it was often exacted at the point of the sword, in consequence of which the town suffered considerably.

In 1573, according to a remonstrance addressed by the Mayor and Corporation to Deputy Fitzwilliam, one-third of the town was in ruins. The particulars of how it was reduced to this state, are detailed in the *Discourse of Knockfergus*, preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum.

In this its calamities are ascribed to an early quarrel with Brian Ballagh, Lord of the Clannaboy, whose successors continued to harass the inhabitants till they were compelled to purchase peace, by consenting to pay an annual tribute.

In 1580, old Captain Piers, the Governor of the town, informs Walsingham in a letter that "O'Neill (Turlough Leynagh) encamped before the town to demand certain buyings for one Brian Ballagh O'Neill, sometime Lord of Clannaboy, killed about sixty years past."

In the following year the Deputy, Lord Grey of Wilton, issued an express edict prohibiting the

townsmen from paying the eric. A copy of this MacSkimmin found among the records of the town :—

"By the Lord Deputie.

"Whereas we are given to understand, that contrarie to the lawes and statutes of this realm, ther ys a yearly exacton ymposed upon that hir Majesties town of Carrigfergus called Breyne Balafs Erick, claimed by the Lord of the countrey, which Irish exacton as it is forbidden by hir Majesties lawes, not to be used or such like by them among hir Majesties good subjects; so in like sort, we straightlie charge and command you in hir Majesties name not to yield thereunto henceforth. . . . Given at hir Majesties Castle of Dublin the tenth of April, 1581."

Brian, who was succeeded by his brother, Nial Oge, ancestor of the O'Neills of Castlereagh, married, first, "Sarah, Catholic daughter of the most Excellent Prince O'Neill of Tyrone,"[1] by whom he was father of Murkertac, surnamed Devlenagh, the last elected Prince of the Clannaboy.

By his second marriage with Sibila, daughter of Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, he left a second son, Hugh, father of Conn (*ob.* before 1619). In 1590-7 "Brian Oge MacBrian Ballagh," and "Conn MacBrian Ballagh," gentlemen, were pardoned for rebellion, probably two other sons of Brian by this second marriage.

Sibila was a daughter, or sister, of Conor Maguire,

[1] See Appendix.

son of John, by his wife, Catherine, daughter of O'Neill, for whom the Dunvegan Cup, described in the reign of Conn More, was made.

Conor, who succeeded his father, John, from whose uncle, Conor More, (*b*) the Barons of Ennis-killen derived, died in 1527, when his cousin, Cuconnaght, son of Cuconnaght, son of Brian, son of Philip MacThomas Oge, was installed.

Brian Ballagh was survived by his brother, Felim Baccagh, only four years. He left two sons, Hugh, ancestor of the O'Neills of Killelagh and Kilmacevet, and Brian MacFelim, whom we shall deal with in another chapter.

Brian's successors were not quite so friendly to Conn as himself, but still they were not the worst.

In 1531 the Deputy Skeffington, accompanied by Kildare—who had been released and was anxious to prove his loyalty—marched into Tyrone against him, at the instigation of Nial Connallagh and O'Donnell, who had entered into an alliance with him. He tells Henry that in May "the Lord O'Donnell sent the Abbot of Derry and others to Drogheda, to acknowledge his allegiance to the king, and to say that as often as he had made war with the Lord O'Neill, he did it for the sake of the king and his subjects."

On being informed that he ought to be much more bound to the king than O'Neill, in that he held royal lands and domains in Ulidia, paying no

rent for the same, he acknowledged it, and agreed if the King wished to reform Ireland to pay as much rent "as any other Irishman."

On Skeffington reaching Ulster, Nial and O'Donnell proceeded through Fermanagh and Oriel to join him. Between the two Conn was powerless, and the Deputy, marching through Tyrone, plundered and burned the country from the Blackwater to Dungannon, and demolished the Castle of Port-an-Fhaileagain (now apparently Portneligan in Armagh, which in 1602 was held by Henry Oge, grandson of John of Kinnaird) which Conn had just erected.

Meanwhile Nial and O'Donnell advanced to Kinnaird, and razed the Castle, but Conn and his forces being in the neighbourhood, prevented them effecting a junction with the English, on which they returned home.

Nial, however, soon after invaded Tyrone, took the town and fortress of Bally O'Donnelly, (Baile Ua Donghaile) and carried off Conn's son, John Donnelly, better known as Shane an Diomas. This town and fortress belonged to Conn's Marshal, O'Donnelly, whose district contained twenty-four ballyboes, as appears from an Inquisition taken in 1610. The town now known as Castlecaulfield was a few miles west of Dungannon.

Nial must have had a large following in Cinel Owen, for not long after the above, and in spite of

Conn's opposition, he was elected Tanist of the Cinel. According to the *State Papers*, he was supported by O'Neill of Clannaboy, the O'Neills of the Fews, Nial More, and his brother, Felim Roe, sons of Art MacHugh, O'Cahan, Hugh Roe MacMahon, and many other Chiefs.

In the hands of O'Donnell and the Deputy, he was an efficient and willing tool, and a scourge to Conn, whom he was intent on deposing, and whose schemes, on every occasion, he exposed to his enemies.

Conn, however, now gained the support of O'Donnell's son, Manus, whom he maintained against an elder brother, Hugh Duff. (*c*)

At this time (1535) he was concerned about his nephew, the Silken Thomas, son of Earl Gerald, who had again been summoned to England, where he was charged with, among other things, sending his brother, Sir John, to assist O'Neill, "the King's Irish enemy," in invading the Pale, and making war on the English Deputy, his predecessor.

He died in the Tower in 1534, and his son, Thomas, to whom he had entrusted the government, hearing that his father had been beheaded, entered into rebellion, and, aided by Conn, Manus O'Donnell, and other Chiefs, wasted the central part of the island. Skeffington was sent over with a large force, aided by artillery, against him.

In June, 1535, he writes to Henry that Nial

Conallagh had showed him " and the Lord O'Donnell, how ever since his arrival, O'Neill, (Manus) O'Donnell, and others have endeavoured to draw the Scots of the out isles into the country to fortify Thomas Fitzgerald, pursuing daily to have a treaty of peace till their aid comes, when the traitors, with the O'Briens, MacWilliams, and O'Kellys (of Connaught), would join and invade the Pale." With the army he hopes to give them battle as they enter.

Nial and Maguire, he adds, wish to have his " and the Lord O'Donnell's advice" as to what was best to be done " for the destruction of the said O'Neill and Manus O'Donnell." If they do not come to keep the day appointed to parley, he says he will invade them with Nial and his allies, " and the strength of the Lord O'Donnell." Skeffington was jubilant, and he tells Henry that " this land is now at your pleasure."

Conn, defeated and baffled, was obliged to make peace, and in the following year he sent Gillespick MacDonnell, his Constable, to the Castle of Maynooth, which had been taken, to sign a treaty.

In August, Lord Thomas gave himself up, when he was taken to England, where, in 1537, he was executed with five of his uncles, who had been treacherously seized at a banquet given in their honour by Grey.

Grey, who succeeded Skeffington, was doubtful of

Conn's loyalty, as he informs Cromwell, and in June, 1536, he succeeded in getting him to confirm his former agreement, by which he was to be a loyal subject, and to serve against all and sundry.

This was disappointing to Nial and O'Donnell, who thereupon began ravaging Tyrone. Some time in July, 1537, however, O'Donnell's career was cut short by death, and things began to look brighter.

This O'Donnell, Hugh Duff, son of Hugh Roe, who was knighted by the Deputy, and who died in the monastery of Donegal, to which he was compelled to retire shortly before his death, was one of the greatest of the Cinel Conal princes, according to the Four Masters, whose eulogium would cover about two pages of this work.

He was the first of the Ulster Chiefs to make formal submission to Henry VIII., or, as the *Four Masters* puts it, "to form a league of peace and friendship with the King of England."

In announcing his death to Henry, the Deputy and Council state that "Manus, his son, has obtained (his place) by the assent of the country, and the favour of O'Neill, whose two strengths joined together is a great power, and to be feared by your subjects." Manus, though he approved of the "league of peace and friendship" with Henry, and declared to Grey "his intention to be a faithful subject," had not, apparently, that objection to

forming a "league of peace and friendship" with his own countrymen, as his much lauded predecessor, whose allies Conn now set about reducing.

In marching through Clannaboy his son was taken prisoner in the rear of the army at Belfast, but he returned and secured his release on hearing of the sudden death of Nial Oge, the Clannaboy Prince, and that there had arisen "great contentions for the Lordship of Trian Conghail."

Nial, who was installed in Edenduffcarrick in 1535 by Conn, married a daughter of MacArthan of Kinel Arty, or Kinel Faghartaigh, by whom he was father of Brian, surnamed Faghartaigh or Fertagh (from having been born in that territory), Hugh, and Conn, who died in 1590.

Between Brian, the eldest son, and his cousin, Murkertac, son of Brian Ballagh, who was now the senior representative of the Cinel Owen, the Clan were divided, but Brian had the advantage in that his father was the late chief, and at length he appears to have been elected, Murtagh at the same time being probably installed as Tanist.

After visiting Clannaboy and the Route, Conn marched into Fermanagh against Maguire, from whom he took the Castle of Enniskillen.

That he should thus presume to assert his authority as O'Neill, in Ulster, was nothing short of treason in the eyes of the Deputy, who came a hosting against him. Conn was not yet in a position

to set him at defiance, and Grey tells Henry he "made terms" with him. Nevertheless, he says, he suspects "the amity of O'Neill and O'Donnell," who had combined to support the rights of Conn's nephew, Gerald, half-brother of Silken Thomas. At the time of the latter's arrest, he was lying ill of the small pox at Donore, Co. Kildare, whence he was conveyed secretly in a basket to his sister, Lady Mary O'Conor of Offaly, who sent him on his recovery to O'Dunne's territory of Iregan, and thence to Munster, where he remained for some time, for the Deputy was anxious to get him into his power.

The misfortunes of the family had excited sympathy all over Ireland, and the young Gerald had little difficulty in evading the Deputy and his minions.

In May, 1538, he was invited to Ulster by Conn, and O'Donnell, who had been smitten by the charms of his aunt, Lady Eleanor, widow of MacCarthy Reagh, by whom he was accompanied.

In June, Justice Luttrell writes that "Elenor Fitzgerald, late wife of MacCarthy Reagh, has passed through Thomond, and so through Connaught to Ulster, to Manus O'Donnell, to marry with him, and with her is Gerald, son to the late Earl of Kildare."

Ormond in another letter writes that on reaching Donegal Castle "by the procurement of the said Elenor, O'Donnell and O'Neill were sworn together

to take part with the said Gerald against the Englishry," after which, he states, they appointed 24 horsemen to wait on him, and despatched Bishop O'Donnell of Derry, and Levrous, afterwards Bishop of Kildare, and others, to the Scottish King for aid.

An English spy at the Scottish Court reports that "he beheld eight gentlemen of Ireland with the King, who brought unto him the seals under writing of all the great men of Ireland, that they would hold of him, and take him for their king and lord, and that they would come into Scotland and do homage, if he would support them against the English." [1]

They received great encouragement from the Scottish monarch, and some assistance, as would appear from a letter of Robert Cowley, who informs Cromwell that "by the pestiferous working of O'Donnell's wife, they whose ancestors were ever at dissension be made one, and their power concurring have practised to allure to them many Captains of Ireland which never before was towards any of them, as Nial Connallagh; (O'Neill of) Clannaboy, Maguire, O'Cahan, O'Rorke, and many others, so that there never was seen in Ireland so great a host of Irishmen and Scots, both of the out isles and mainland." In another letter to Cromwell it is stated that the

[1] Burton's *Hist. Scot.*

confederates have promises of aid from the Pope and King of Scots.

In a letter dated at Rome, 24th April, 1541, the former, Paul III. exhorts Conn, whom he styles Prince of the Ulster Irish, to repudiate the irreligious innovations of Henry VIII. "We," he says, "love that island (Ireland) with an especial affection, and desire to see it persevere in maintaining the old faith. We also promise that we will never fail to assist you, Con O'Neill, as you shall learn from the lips of our sons, Raymond, John Curdorio, and Alfonsus Sameron of the Society of Jesus." (*See* Supplement to *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 873).

Con and O'Donnell still kept the Deputy on their hands; and in August, 1538, O'Donnell wrote assuring the Deputy and Council "of his loyalty to the king, and requesting that he may have a great gunne sent to him with which he could do the King good service, and keep under the disaffected in his country."

In 1539, however, Grey marched into Ulster against Conn, when, joined by the O'Neills of the Fews, he, according to Ware, sacked Armagh. The *Annals of Ulster* state that he remained two nights there, and spared the town "at the request of the descendants of Hugh O'Neill." After some skirmishing, peace was again made, and in October, he writes to Cromwell that "being at Dundalk, I sent to O'Neill to have communication with him,

who appointed to have met with me at a certain place called Carrick Bredagh. The said O'Neill broke appointment with me, and sent me word that at that time he could not have kept his promise." He expected he would have had the Geraldine with him, when, as he states, he hoped to take him by treachery.

"To Dundalk," he writes, "came Mr. Treasurer (Sir Wm. Brabazon) with his company to me, and seeing my purpose was settled as touching O'Neill, and for so much as Mr. Treasurer was farmer of the King's country of Lecale, and that Savage, Chief Captain of his nation, would not pay his farm unto the Treasurer . . . It was concluded between the said Mr. Treasurer and me that we should go towards the said Lecale, and so with the host we set forward and entered into the said country, and took all the castles there, and delivered them to Mr. Treasurer."

In accordance with a plan, which was drawn up in the Spring of this year at Donegal, where Conn was magnificently entertained by O'Donnell "as was becoming," the Confederates decided on at once taking the offensive.

The Emperor and Francis I. were, it was expected, to invade England, the King of Scots was to cross over into Ulster and to march on Dublin with the united forces of Ulster, the Geraldines, and their sympathisers, were to rise in the Pale, and Conn was to proclaim himself King at Tara. The Irish

clergy threw themselves into the struggle, and "did preach daily that every man ought, for the salvation of his soul, to fight and make war on the King's Majesty, and his true subjects."

Like almost all those of the Sixteenth Century, this scheme, as Dr. Richey observes,[1] came to nothing, each of the allied sovereigns probably desiring not to be the first to be engaged. The only one of the Confederates who got into movement were the Irish Chiefs.

The Earl of Desmond in Munster, and O'Conor Faly in Leinster, made a demonstration merely, but Conn and O'Donnell proposed to march on Maynooth, raise the Geraldine vassals of the Pale, and effect a junction with Desmond.

For the first time now for many years the Ultonians were fairly united, with O'Neill at their head, where with a little better luck he might have remained.

Through Louth and Meath, where he took the towns of Ardee and Navan, he advanced to the hill of Tara, but finding apparently that his expected allies had wholly failed him, he fell back towards Ulster, sweeping all before him, "for the Irish had not in latter times assembled to oppose the English army, and many were the spoils of gold and silver, copper, iron, and every sort of goods and valuables besides, which they took."[2]

[1] *History of Ireland.* [2] *Four Masters.*

As he retired slowly, encumbered with booty, the Deputy Grey,—who had "made a complete muster of all the English in Ireland with the forces of the great towns in Meath, both ecclesiastical and lay, and all the fleets in the adjoining harbours, and especially the large fleet" in Carlingford Bay [1]—came in touch with his rear guard, at dawn of day, at the ford of Bellahoe, which led into the territory of Farney in Monaghan.

MacDonnell, or Magennis, according to Holinshead, who was guarding the rear with a force of gallow-glasses, arrayed his forces, and prepared to dispute his passage, without apparently giving any intimation to Conn, who had formed a camp "in a grove not far off."

The Palesmen, led by the Baron of Slane, "charged," says Holinshead, "the Irish that stood on the further shore. After followed the gentlemen and yeomen of the Pale." The Irish stood their ground well, "but the longer they continued, the more they were disadvantaged by reason that the English were so assisted by fresh supplies, as their enemies could not any longer withstand them, but were compelled to bear back, to forsake the land. The English took heart upon their faintness, broke through their gallowglasses, slew Maggannouse, their Captain, pursued O'Neill with the remnant of his lords, leaving behind them,

[1] *Four Masters.*

for lack of safe carriage, the spoil of the Pale, scantly able to escape with his own life, being eagerly pursued by the army until it was sunset."

Holinshead, who draws largely on his imagination, states that Magennis was slain, but according to the *Four Masters*, only "some of the common people of Ulster were slain, but none of their gentlemen except Malmorey Mergeach, son of John Roe MacSweeney."

After this reverse, which was regarded by the English as a crowning mercy, Conn's chiefs lost all heart, with the result that the league was soon dissolved, and the old feuds again broke out.

Conn hoped for the promised aid from abroad, and endeavoured to arouse his chiefs to make another effort, but O'Donnell fell back on his alliance of "peace and friendship" with Henry and, assisted by Nial Conallagh, he invaded Tyrone. The Geraldine he proposed to hand over to the Deputy, but Conn and his aunt, the Lady Eleanor, had him sent secretly to France with a few followers. Allan Governours, the captain of the vessel, which sailed from Derry, in his account, given in the *State Papers*, says "that he being with his ship on merchandise in Ireland near unto that part where O'Donnells abiding, there came unto him the said O'Donnell (Bishop of Derry) with certain other religious persons, or men of the Church," who engaged his services, and sent the young Gerald

aboard "in a small cocke, having on but a saffron shirt, and bareheaded like one of the wild Irish, and with him three persons," one of whom was his tutor, Levrous.

At St. Malo he was received by the Governor, De Chateaubriand, who sent him to Paris to Francis I. The intriguing of the English King, however, soon obliged him to fly from France, and also from Flanders, when he took refuge in Rome, where he was well received, and whence he returned some years later, when he was restored to his honours and estates by Queen Mary.

Holinshead who, as usual, draws on his imagination, states that after Gerald's departure for St. Malo: "The ladie Elenor expostulated verie sharplie with O'Donnell as touching his villanie, protesting that the only cause of her match with him proceeded of an especiall desire to have her nephue countenanced, and now that he was out of his lash, that minded to have betraied him, he should understand that as the fear of his danger moved hir to onner such a clownish curmudgeon, so the assurance of his safetie should cause hir to sequester hirselfe from so butcherly a cuthroat that would be like a pelting mercenarie hatch, hired to sell or beetraie the innocent blood of his nephue by affinitie, and hirs by consaguinitie; and in this wise trussing up bag and baggage she forsook O'Donnell, and returned to hir countrie."

Conn had made an appointment with Grey, but he failed to appear, and in February, 1540, the latter writes that O'Neill having "again broken his appointment," he "burned and destroyed his country for six days."

In April the Council write that they were still at war, and in May Henry is informed that "O'Neill has promised to parley." On the 17th peace was made. Brereton writes that with the Chief Justice he came to Carrickbredagh to parley with O'Neill, who said that "he durst not come to parley to the said place fearing to be betrayed, mistrusting to come to any Englishman after the treachery and deceit of the Lord Deputy" (Grey). He desired them to come to Narrowwater, beside Magennis's Castle, where peace was concluded. He hopes he will keep his promises, and adds that "if this way had not been taken, the country was at immediate danger and destruction." On the 20th of the following month O'Donnell wrote to the King and made "his submission." Some months later he received a reply, and a "letter of forgiveness."

On the 20th of July, a month after O'Donnell, Conn wrote in Latin from Dungannon, to Henry, promising obedience "if the Deputy is not extortionate." In September he received a reply promising him "protection while he is faithful." (*d*) He had agreed to meet Lord Justice Brereton with the Ulster Chiefs at Fore in Meath, but on July

25th, the Lord Justice writes that "the Irish did not come to Fowre."

Conn still reckoned on foreign aid, and endeavoured by every means to hold out as long as he could. In June 1541 Deputy St. Leger and the Council inform Henry that they "doubt O'Neill's conformity." At this time, as appears from a letter[1] addressed to him by the Scottish King, James V., his Secretary was at the Scottish Court negotiating but his mission proved fruitless.

On August 28th, the Deputy and Council write that "they endeavour to win O'Neill," and inclose the "indentures and articles under which O'Donnell submitted himself to the King," dated August 6th. He agreed to acknowledge Henry as his liege lord and king, and to not confederate with the rebels; to renounce the authority of the Pope, to aid the Deputy with 70 horse and 120 kernes, and as many Scots, at his own expense for one month, to appear in Parliament, and to send one of his sons to be educated in England. His chaplain, at the same time, was recommended to Henry, and promoted to the See of Elphin. In 1542 O'Donnell asks to be made Earl of Sligo "where his ancestors have held the Castle for 1,000 years."

In October, St. Leger writes that he has "invaded O'Neill," against whom "many of the Irish have sworn to serve." These included some of his own

[1] *Epistolæ Jac. IV., V., et Mariae.*

chiefs, for Conn was now in a precarious position, even his own gallowglasses and Constable being disaffected. Soon after this they broke out in rebellion, when they, or their Constable, MacDonnell, slew his son, Felim Caech, or the Blind, and nine of his followers. Some months later St. Leger writes that "MacDonnell and O'Neill's gallowglasses have foresworn O'Neill." Conn, indeed, by this time was in a sad way, for every year his power declined, and enemies sprang up in all directions. How he held his own so long is a mystery.

Supported by the above chiefs, St. Leger again invaded him in December, when he once more promised submission, and wrote to Henry asking forgiveness, "and for such honours" as he will give him. Henry wrote a gracious letter in reply, promising to extend to him his "grace and clemency" if he should submit.

By this Henry had received the submission of nearly all the great chiefs, who, at a parliament held some months before, acknowledged him by his new title of "King of Ireland." He assumed this, we are informed (33 Henry VIII. c. 1.) because his Majesty's predecessors "being only known by the name of Lords of Ireland, had been great occasion that the Irishmen and inhabitants within this realm of Ireland were not so obedient to the King's highness, and to his most noble progenitors," as they should have been.

The arguments used on this occasion by the Government to show Henry's right to the Kingship of Ireland, appear in a document in the *Carew MSS.* entitled *The King's Title to Ireland.*

It disposed so well of O'Neill's pretensions to the sovereignty of the island, in the opinion of the Castle Shanachies, that it was subsequently embodied in the Act to abolish the title of The O'Neill (11th Elizabeth, c. 1.) as proof that the right of the English Queen to the sovereignty of Ulster, was far and away superior to that of Conn's son and successor, Prince Shane.

The first and chief title—which likewise incidentally proved Henry's right to the Lordship of Bosco—wherever that was—was that "in the beginning" Ireland was held by the Captains Heber and Heremon from the King of Britain :—

"First.—At the beginning of the Irishmen into this land, there was dwelling on one side of Spain, called Boscoo, of the which Boscoo, Bayon is the Chief city, and Boscoo is member of it. And at the Irishmen coming into Ireland, King Burgomyn, son to the noble King Bellyne, and King of Britayne, which now is called England, was Lord of Bayan, *as our King now is*, and therefore they should be his men, and Ireland his land.

"Second.—The second title is this, at the same time that the Irish came out of Bosco in sixty (ships) they met with King Burgomyne upon the

sea at the isles of Orcades, at his coming from Denmark with great victory, then their Captains Hiberus and Herimon went and told him the cause of their coming, and prayed him with great instance that he would grant them that they might inhabit some land in the West. At the last, the King, by the advice of his council, granted them Ireland to inhabit, and assigned them guides for the sea thitherward, and, therefore, they should be the King's men."

On these same yarns, which were included in petitions to Rome, the English monarchs based their claim to the Kingdom of Scotland in Bruce's day, and mightily impressed the Popes.

The third title was founded on the submissions to Henry II., the fourth on the homage done by some of the Irish Chiefs to the same King. They became "liegemen, and subjects, and tributaries, by great oaths, for them and their kingdoms and lordships, to the aforesaid King Henry, and that by their own good will." They arrived at this conclusion because "the chronicles make no mention of chivalry, or war done to the King all the time that he was in Ireland." The fifth title was Adrian's grant, the sixth the Council of Armagh, or perhaps Synod of Cashel. The seventh was the submissions to Richard II. "Therefore, from the beginning to the end good is our King's right to the lordship of Ireland, and, therefore, holdeth them still, and for shame those thereof the contrary will say!"

NOTES.

(*a*) *See* p. 209, Part I. In 1470 Bermingham of Carbury exacted as an *eric* for the death of his son a sum of 100 marks, or about £66, from R. Misset of Bellewstown.—*Trim Castle.* Some say Brian Ballagh's *eric* relates to Brian Ballagh I., and there are reasons for thinking it does. Still Piers should know all about it, as he was well acquainted with the Clannaboy, having resided in the territory, as Constable of Carrickfergus, since 1556. In setting forth the "good services" they "have had done," the inhabitants state they "killed Brian Ballough, Lord of Clannaboy, who continually annoyed them with divers of his men. In revenge his son burned the town, and they were glad to compound with him for £40 yearly." This was not much of a boast, and it is doubtful if they would have brought it forward had it occurred over a century and a-half earlier.—*See Carew MSS.* Vol. II., p. 146.

(*b*) Conor More was the eldest son of Thomas Oge, who was buried in the Monastery of Cavan in 1480. His descendant, Conor Roe, created Baron of Enniskillen by Charles I., is thus satirized by O'Daly :—

> "The badger-faced Baron who stalks through Cloneen,
> Is the ugliest niggard I think I have seen,
> He knows not (the hound !) what veal, mutton or beef are
> But sneaks to and fro with a roost-robbing thief air."

His grandson Conor MacBrian, taken prisoner in 1641, was executed in 1645. Conor's successors in the title were officers in France, from the reign of Louis XIV. to that of Louis XVI.

From Philip, another son of Thomas Oge, descended Hugh Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, who was slain near Cork. His brother Brian, who held Tempo, distinguished himself on the English side in 1641. His descendants held their lands till the early part of the last century, when Tempo was mortgaged by Hugh Maguire. His second son, Captain Brian, a famous fire-eater, who died in 1835, was, Sir Bernard Burke states, the last known Chief of his Sept.—*See Vicissitudes of Families.*

(*c*) From this Hugh Duff descended Brigadier Donal Mac-Terence O'Donnell, from whom the "Regiment of O'Donnell" in the Irish Brigade was named. He died, *sine prole*, at St. Germans en Laye, July, 1735, in his 70th year. He it was that brought the Cathach to the Continent, where he had a

silver case made for it with a suitable inscription. He deposited it in a monastery in Belgium, and in his will directed that it should be given to whoever could prove himself to be head of the O'Donnells. Sir Nial O'Donnell, a descendant of Manus, hearing of this, and believing himself to be The O'Donnell, applied for and obtained it.

(*a*) This letter, in Latin, commences :—" Henricus Octavius, Dei Gratia Anglie et Francie Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hibernie, ac in terris sub Christo Supremum Caput Ecclesie Anglicane, dilecto subdito nostro Conactio O'Neyl, Nobili de terra nostra Hibernie, Salutem."—*See State Papers, temp. Henry VIII.*

Conn signs—" Per me Capitaneum O'Neyll." It is a matter for surprisc to some that so many of the Irish Chiefs signed with their mark in those days ; but it must be remembered they were entirely unacquainted with English, and could no more write their names in English characters than Henry himself could write his in Irish. The Englishry, ignorant of Irish, naturally preferred the mark.

CHAPTER III.

CONN, DESERTED BY MOST OF HIS CHIEFS, SURRENDERS HIS TITLE TO THE ENGLISH MONARCH AND ACCEPTS AN EARLDOM.—DEATH OF NIAL CONNALLAGH.

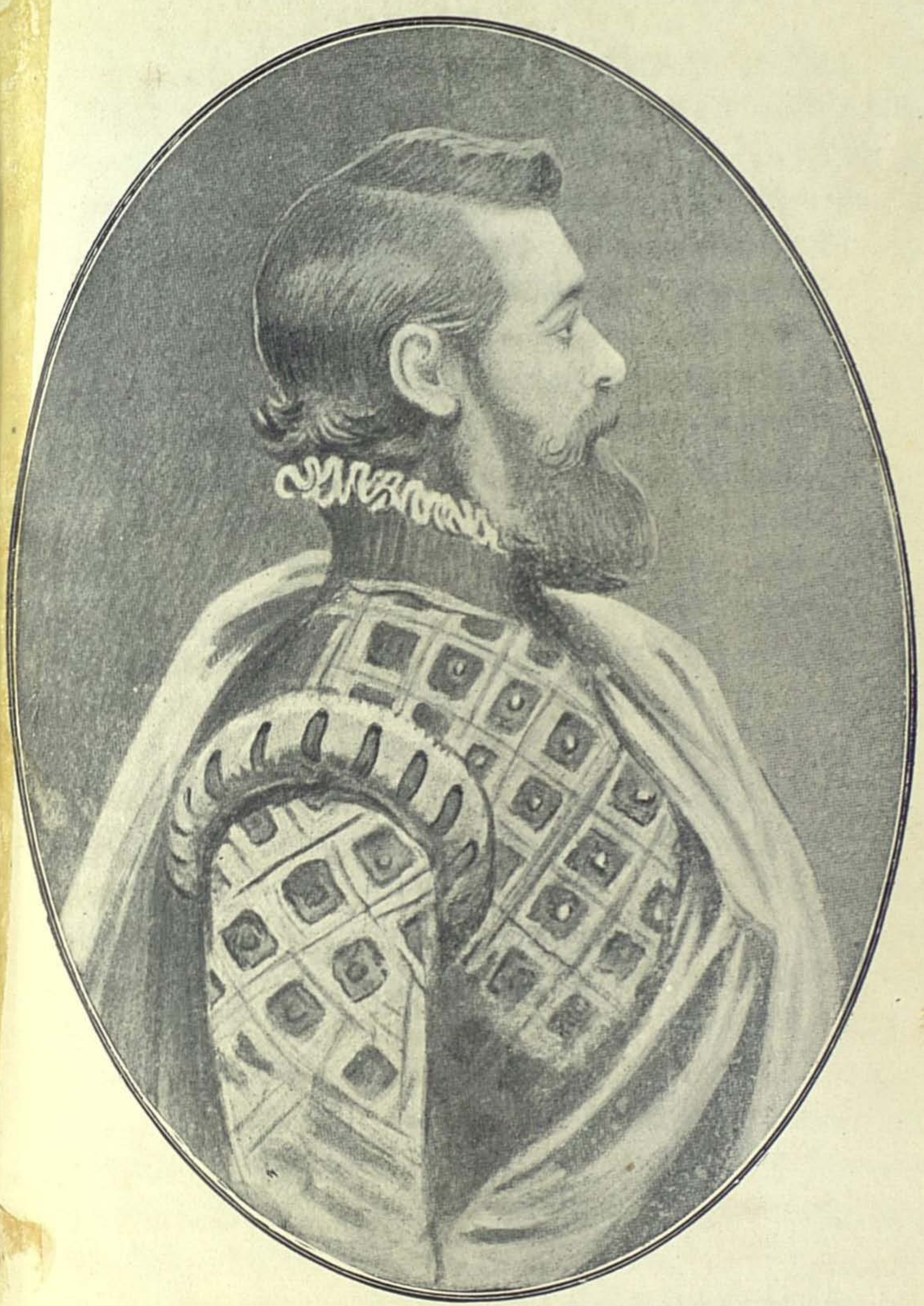
IT was some time before the terms of submission were finally settled, the objections on the one side and the other delaying matters.

Conn it was recognised, had no choice but to submit, nearly all his chiefs having already sworn allegiance to Henry, who was thus in a position to dictate his own terms.

In May, 1542, "motion was made to O'Neill by the Deputy and Council," upon the "tenor of the King's Majesty's letter for that purpose to them directed that he should submit himself to the King's order and mercy, and take such lands, and with such conditions as his Majesty should appoint." He answered "that he would do so. Witness his hand and seal, 19th May, 34 Henry VIII."

An indenture bearing the same date, and drawn up in Latin by some English scribe, was then submitted for his signature.

This document, embodying "the tenor of the



TURLOGH LEYNAGH O'NEILL,
Prince of Ulster, Son of Nial Connallagh.

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King's Majesty's letter" is headed *Articles by which I, Conacius O'Neill, am bound.* It makes him acknowledge Henry's supremacy, and prays for a grant of the title of Earl of Ulster. It begs Henry to accept him as a tenant, and as a vassal, by granting him a "stipend" during his life in lieu of the tribute received from the English settlers, and which he renounces. It prays that all his tributary chiefs may be accepted as tenants of Henry, and promises that Nial Connallagh and the O'Neills of the Fews should be restored to their lands.

How much of this was read or explained to him we cannot say, but in one respect it is about as valuable as that other Indenture of the same nature which makes his great-grandfather, Owen—then a prisoner in Dublin Castle—acknowledge himself "without being induced thereto by fear or force," the liegeman of the English monarch of that day.

Conn, nevertheless, was doubtless glad to be relieved of dependence on his chiefs, who in the end would surely have deposed him.

He desired an Earldom with as much power, he declared, as his kinsman, the Earl of Desmond, who was much more of an Irish prince than an English earl, and enjoyed a more undisputed power in Munster than the King's Deputy did within the limits of the Pale.

Henry saw clearly what Conn was aiming at, and though he was willing enough to grant him an

Earldom, he meant to leave him as little power as possible, and demurred at surrendering one of his own titles—Earl of Ulster—"one of the greatest Earldoms in Christendom."

At length Conn proposed to go to England himself, like O'Brien of Thomond, and MacWilliam of Clanrickard, and others, and in September, 1542, the Deputy, writing to Henry, suggests that he "should be received with great honour, as he possesses great power, and is the first O'Neill who has gone in person to England." He recommends that he should be called Earl of Tyrone, "which is the name of his country."

In that month, Conn, attended by his retinue, set sail for England, and landed at Greenwich, where he was received in state by Henry.

Seven days later, October 8th, he made his final submission, when he signed the following :—

Articles of the Submission of the Lord O'Neyle when he was created Earl of Tyrone.

(1) He utterly forsakes the name (?title)of O'Neyle.
(2) He and his heirs shall use the English habits and to their knowledge the English language.
(3) He shall keep, and put such of the lands that are granted to him as are meet for tillage into manurance, and tillage of husbandry, and cause houses to be builded for such persons as shall be necessary for the manurance thereof. (*a*)

(4) He shall not take, put, or cess any imposition on the King's subjects, inhabitors of the said lands, other than their yearly rents, or customs, but such as the Deputy shall be content with; nor have any gallowglas or kerne, but such as shall stand with the contentation of the Deputy and Council.

(5) He shall be obedient to the King's laws, and answer his writs, precepts, and commandments, in the Castle of Dublin, or in any other place where his Court shall be kept.

(6) He shall go with the King's Deputy to all hostings, "rodes," and journeys with such a company as the marches of the County of Dublin do.

(7) He shall not maintain or succour any of the King's enemies, rebels, or traitors.

(8) He shall hold his lands by one knight's fee.

The letters patent (Rymer, Vol. XV., p. 7), bearing the same date, are endorsed "letters patent creating Conn O'Nele, Earl of Tyrone for life, on his acknowledgment of the King's sovereignty, and of the errors of him and his ancestors. The title after his death to descend to Matthew *alias* Fardourghe O'Nele, his son and his heir male; also grant of his lands to be holden by knight's service. The said Matthew to be Baron of Dungannon, which title is always to be borne by heirs apparent to the Earldom of Tyrone. Witnesses: Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden, Chancellor;

John, Earl of Oxford; Edward, Earl of Hertford; Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; John, Viscount Lisle; John, Lord Russell, High Admiral; Sir John Gage, Controller of the Household, K.G.; Sir Anthony Wingfield, the King's Vice-Chancellor, K.G.; Sir Thomas Wriothsley, and Sir Ralph Sadler, Chief Secretaries. Greenwich, 10th October, 34 Henry VIII."

While Conn was conversing with Henry his retinue of gallowglasses, harpers, poets, shanachies, clerics, etc., waited in an ante room, and with two of the latter young Cecil fell into an argument touching the King's supremacy, and acquitted himself so well on the King's side in the ensuing argument, that next day he received his first promotion.

In the *Carew MSS.*, from which these and the succeeding extracts are chiefly taken, the following account of Conn's creation is preserved.

"Sunday, 1st October, 34, Henry VIII. At the Manor of Greenwich, Con O'Nele was created Earl of Tyrone in manner and form following:—'The Queen's closet at Greenwich was richly hanged with Cloth of arras, and well strewed with rushes, and after the sacring of the High Mass, these Earls (sic) in company went to the said closet, and there put on their robes of estate. And immediately after the K. Majesty being under the cloth of estate, accompanied with all his noblemen, councillors and others, came in the Earl, led between the Earl of Oxenford, and

the Earl of Hertford. The Viscount Lisle bearing before him his sword, the hilt upwards, Garter before him, bearing his letters patent, and so proceeded to the King's Majesty, who received of Garter the letters patent, and took them to Mr. Wriotesley, Secretary, to read them openly; and when he came to centuriam (?) gladii, the Viscount Lisle presented to the King the sword, and the King girt the said sword about the said Earl baldrickwise, the foresaid Earl kneeling, and the other lords standing that led him; and so the patent read out, the king's highness took him his letters patent, and he gave them thanks in his language; and a priest made answer of his sayings in English, and there the King made two of the men that came with him knights. And so the Earls in order aforesaid took their leave of the King's highness and departed unto the place appointed for their dinners. The Earl of Tyrone bearing his letters patent himself, the trumpets blowing before him unto the Chamber which was the Lord Great Masters under the King's lodging, and so they sat at dinner. At the second course Garter proclaimed the King's style, and after, the said new Earl's in manner following: *Du treshaut et puissant seigneur, Con, Conte de Tyrone, en la Royaulme d'Irlande.* He gave unto Garter for the fine of his gown 20 angels, and to the whole office of arms £10, and so to the trumpets 40s., and other officers were honourably rewarded according to the old and ancient custom.' "

The members of Conn's retinue knighted were Arthur and Donal Magennis. (*b*) O'Cervallan, or O'Carrellan, the Bishop of Clogher, was confirmed in

his Bishopric by letters patent, and Dowdall, "the parson," afterwards Primate, was given a pension of £20, "till he be promoted to the Archbishopric of Armacon." On Sir Arthur Magennis, Henry states he bestowed £50, "and granted his petition that the Cell of Newry, as yet unsuppressed, shall be converted into a college of secular priests, and to be of our foundation."

Henry, in announcing Conn's creation to the Deputy and Council, who had given intimation of what presents would be likely to be acceptable, says: "We gave unto him a chain of three score pounds and odd, and we paid for his robes and the charges of his creation, three score and five pounds, ten shillings and two pence, and we gave him in ready money £100 sterling."

There being at this time an almost total want of sterling money in Ireland, Conn was obliged to take a loan from the Deputy of 200 marks sterling, which was obtained from the Dublin merchants, the debt to be repaid in kine. St. Leger says Conn "has sent his sons, and divers of his retinue here to levy the same."

It would be interesting to know what Conn's clansmen thought of his renouncing that great title which had been borne by himself and his ancestors since the days of Nial Glunduff, many years before a King of England was heard of.

It certainly did not add to his popularity, for we

are told, the Banshee, or guardian spirit of his House night after night upbraided him in his Castle of Dungannon, and conjured him to cast away such an odious designation as no better than a brand of slavery stamped upon him by the enemies of his country :—

" 'Can aught of glory or renown,
To thee from Saxon titles spring ?
Thy name a kingdom and a crown,
Tir Owen's Chieftain, Ulster's King ! '

" These were the words that on the ear
Of Tir Owen's startled Earl arose,
That blanched his altered cheek with fear,
And from his pillow chased repose.

" In vain was closed his weary eye,
In vain his prayer for peaceful sleep,
Still from a viewless spirit high,
Broke forth in accents loud and deep.

" 'Can aught of glory, or renown,
To thee from Saxon titles spring ?
Thy name a kingdom and a crown,
Tir Owen's Chieftain, Ulster's King.' "

Few chiefs had experienced such an uninterrupted series of reverses as Conn, and few had so many powerful and bitter enemies to contend with. He was now assured of the support of the Deputy, and was thus more or less independent of his clansmen, over whom alone he could exercise full

authority. The tribe-lands too, which were assumed by Henry to be his, but which were in fact those of the tribe of which he was elective Chief for his own life only, were supposed to be held by him and his heirs from the English King.

The exchange of a life estate in the chiefs for an hereditary estate in the whole tribe-land, was one of the inducements held out at this time to the greater Irish Chiefs to accept patents of nobility, and was an essential part of the Anglicising process.

This made little progress in Cinel Owen down to the reign of James I., 1603; for in their own territory the tribe were all-powerful, and never failed to secure the election of their candidates whom they placed in the position of their predecessors, notwithstanding the opposition of the English, thus Shane, Turlough Leynagh, and Hugh, Conn's successors, were all elected by the tribe.

From the imperfect knowledge which Conn had of the documents to which he had put his hand we gather that there could not have been much time spent in reading or explaining them; and it took him some time to discover how he really stood.

Like O'Donnell, he had no wish to attend parliament, and begged Henry to be excused on the ground of the expense, as he had no residence in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

On this, he received a "grant of the town of Balgriffin in Co. Dublin, excepting the mill and

watercourse late the possession of John Burnell attainted, to hold for his life at a rent of £2 17s. 11d., remainder to Matthew O'Neyle, Baron of Dungannon, and his heirs male, to be held by the twentieth part of a knight's fee, and if the Baron should die without heirs male, the premises to revert to the crown." Burnell's father had a grant of this town in 1500 from Henry. His son, John, took part in the Geraldine rebellion.

In July, 1543, Conn and O'Donnell submitted their differences to the Deputy for arbitration. His decision on the occasion was embodied in an "indenture quadripartite," headed: "Final composition and concord between the Lord Con O'Neile, Earl of Tyrone, and the Lord Magonius O'Donnell, Chief of Tyrconnell, concerning a dominion called Inishon unjustly detained by O'Donnell from the said Earl as he asserted, and the superiority of dominion, rents, and services of the lord of Clanyboy, MacQuylin (MacQuillan), Maguire, O'Rurrck (O'Rorke) and other inferior Captains in Ulster which each of them claims to be immediate subject and tributary to himself, and also concerning the complaints of Conn, Eginaghan, Donough and other younger brothers of the said O'Donnell, brought forward against him for their incarceration and exile, and for the usurping of the Castle of Liffer by Hugh, the son of O'Donnell. They had

[1] Moran's *Calendar of Patent Rolls.*

submitted themselves to the decree of the lord Anthony St. Leger, one of the Privy Chamber of the King and his Deputy in Ireland, John Allen Chancellor of the same, and the other Councillors of the King."

It is quite clear from this that Conn and O'Donnell misunderstood their position, when they expected St. Leger and the Council to give a decision as to their claims to sovereignty in Ulster.

O'Donnell is adjudged Inishowen, paying the old rent of 60 kine, and as much of Cinel Main as was in his possession.

"Whereas the Earl claims personal obedience and service from O'Donnell as his vassal, and rents, tributes, and services from other lords and inferior captains in Ulster, and O'Donnell claims the same from the lords and inferior captains dwelling on his borders. . . . And because both the Earl and O'Donnell have produced no other titles or legal proof, than certain old parchments or bills, confirmed by no seal, signature, or other testimony but such as are composed by vain poets . . . blinded by affections for their lords ; (*c*) it is ordered that O'Donnell shall not be bound to show any manual or personal obedience to the Earl of Tyrone, but each of them shall be free from all subjection and immediately subject to the King. That the Earl shall have the government of the country of Tyrone, according to the King's letters patent ; and that

O'Donnell shall have the government of Tyrconnell as long as he shall remain Captain there under his Majesty; and neither the Earl nor O'Donnell shall exact, outside their own territories, any tribute, bonnaght or service from any inferior Captains who shall always be immediately under the peace of the King."

This is signed—"Con Tyrone. O'Donnell." Witnesses—Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord Deputy of Ireland; John Allen; George (Archbishop of) Dublin; William Brabazon; Edw. Basnett.

Writing to Henry, and enclosing a copy of this Indenture, St. Leger says he has "deprived them of all superiority, except the former in Tyrone, and the latter in Tyrconnell. O'Donnell is to set his brothers at large, and is to receive Lifford Castle from his son. He has surrendered certain rights in Tirconnell to the King, and will go to Court next year. His brother is going now."[1]

In 1544, Conn was relieved of the attention of his Tanist and rival, Nial Conallagh, who died broken-hearted—"of a sudden illness" the *Four Masters* says—"in the old Castle."

His death is thus recorded in the *Annals of Loch Ce*: "The son of O'Neill, *i.e.*, Nial, son of Art Oge, died; *i.e.*, the King's son, who of all that came previously of the race of Eoghan, and of Nial, had most experienced the success and misery between the

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*.

Cinel Eoghan and the Cinel Conal; and a vessel worthy of the sovereignty of Cinel Eoghan if he had attained it; a man full of knowledge and learning in regard to reading and Gaedhilic literature, and to expertness of mouth and hand."

No one had been more grievously disappointed at Conn's submission than Nial, and no one had worked harder to bring it about, with the result that he had left him more firmly fixed than ever in his possessions, and had deprived himself of every advantage which he had gained as Tanist, as well as of the inestimable advantage of being able to point out to his clansmen, Conn's unpardonable conduct in renouncing his great title, and usurping the tribe-lands. For by his alliances with the Deputies, he had all along shown that in the circumstances he would have done the same himself.

He was deprived of part of his lands by the re-grant to Conn, and in compensation for this, and as a reward for his services, the Deputy could suggest nothing better than that he should betake himself to Clannaboy, and there, fortified by his "letters patent" to play the same old game. (*d*) Like the O'Donnells, Nial had his admirers among the Shanachies, and a poem of seventy-three quatrains on his death is still preserved among the Irish MSS. in the British Museum. It is headed *Shane MacNamee cecinit* and commences: "As against Honour death hath scored a goal." A

considerable portion of the piece, characteristically enough, consists of a Cathreim, or roll of battle deeds, nearly thirty of which are recited.

Nial married Rosa, daughter of Manus O'Donnell, by whom he was father of Shane's successor, Turlough, surnamed Luineach, or Leynagh, from having been fostered by the O'Looneys of Muntir Luineach. He had two other sons, Art Oge, the death of whose son, Conn, is recorded in 1585; and Brian, "the most illustrious man for nobleness, hospitality, and prowess," who also died in the "old castle"—probably Strabane—in 1542.

In 1545, Conn and O'Donnell again fell out, when the Lord of the Isles offered his services, but they composed their differences.

MacDonnell, who was so anxious for battle, landed at Carrickfergus in August (1545) with 4,000 men, when, in consideration of a pension, he joined the English, and received £500 in hands. Henry was to retain 3,000, and to assist with 2,000 Irish under Ormond. For the support of these warriors a tax was levied on Conn's chiefs. In 1548, Deputy Bellingham writes to Cusack the Chancellor "to see the money levied for the galloglas upon Ferns (? Ferny, or Farney) and all other places that the Earl of Tyrone hath by his handwriting condescended to." These are mentioned in another letter as Iveagh, Oriel, Farney, Orior, and the country of "Bren Omogher." MacDonnell on

this occasion engaged with Ormond against the King of Scots.

In 1549, Maguire complains to the Deputy of Conn, and his sons, also the O'Neills of the Fews, Felim Roe, son of Art MacHugh; and Hugh, son of Nial More (*ob.* 1538) MacArt MacHugh. The latter was chief of Toaghie, and succeeded Felim as Lord of the Fews. In the *Fiants* he is described as of "Drumbroughliske."

On this occasion the Deputy made the following order, dated, at Dublin, 20th June, 3 Edw. VI.

> "Order made by the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland between Conn O'Neill and Phelim Roo; and between said Earl and others. Hugh O'Neill, etc., etc.—The said Phelim complains that the Earl of Tyrone, and the Baron of Dungannon, his son, detain certain lands from him. It appears that by an order between the foresaid parties made at Tryone, June 34 Hy. VIII., the said Phelim was to have such lands as his father was seized of in Tryone as of his inheritance at the time of his Captaincy there; and that Sir Walter Bedford, the Dean of Armagh, MacDonnell, Arthur MacDonnell, Moriertagh O'Neill, Donald MacMelaghlin (O'Neill), Iberus (Ever) MacPhelim MacBrian, and Egidia MacYntege MacCoyn (Conn), or the greater part of them were to determine the metes and bounds of the same lands, and declare the same before the lord Primate of Armagh, and the Baron of Louth, at Dundalk, or Carlingford. As they have not yet made that declaration we order that as many of the above named persons as are still

living, or any others approved by the Lord Primate, and Baron of Louth, shall make the same declaration of metes and bounds before the Lord Primate, Lord Louth, and James Gernon, between this and Michaelmas next."

The Primate complains of Hugh O'Neill, evidently the above, that he occupies his lands in Clancarrol parcel of the Manor of "Yneskyn" at "villam pontanam," called Drogheda. It was ordered that neither the said Hugh nor any other person should occupy those lands, unless with the consent of the Primate, and by paying him a yearly rent.

On this occasion also "Brian Fertagh O'Neill" appears as a complainant.

This Brian, Prince of the Clannaboy, "a successful and warlike man," and "the brilliant star of the tribe to which he belonged," according to the *Four Masters*, was slain by Shane in 1548, in an expedition which he made against him. On his death Murkertac, or "Moriertagh," son of Brian Ballagh, Conn's kinsman, was inaugurated.

Murkertac, of whom we treat in the next Chapter, met with much opposition from his cousin, and Brian Fertagh's brother, Hugh MacNial Oge, who, assisted by the Scots, who possessed themselves of such a good slice of the territory, played the part of Nial Connallagh in Clannaboy, as we shall see.

Towards the close of 1549, the French King, Henry II., sent Raymond de Beccaire, Baron

de Forquevaux, and Jean de Montesquion, protonotary of Montluc, as envoys to Conn and O'Donnell to enlist their support against the English. They had already secured the aid of the King of Scotland, where, Conn was informed, they had an army ready to land in Ireland "with thirty-six ships, and as many Scots, and Scotts ships."

Conn, it appears, promised his support, and took the oath of allegiance to the French monarch in the Castle of Donegal, according to the following, taken from De Serigny's *Book of General Peerage*, or Registry of the Nobility of France, by Mac-Geoghegan "As the King wished to bring the Irish Princes under his dominion, and withdraw them from their allegiance to the King of England, who had many partisans among them, and was in possession of some fortresses, he gave orders to De Forquevaux to set out for Ireland with the protonotary De Montluc (John de Montesquion de Lasserau Massencome, brother to Marshal Blaise de Montluc, who was then Chancellor of Scotland, and afterwards Bishop of Valentia and Die in Dauphiny). Notwithstanding the delicacy of this affair, they carried on their negotiation, which was a dangerous one, with so much skill and dexterity that in the month of February, 1553 (? 1550), they received the oath of fidelity from Prince O'Donnell, and O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, in the Castle of Donegal, province of Ulster, which princes, both in their

own names, and in the names of the other lords of the country, placed their lives, forces, and properties, under the protection of France; it having been agreed upon that whoever would be King of France should be also King of Ireland."

The Baron's account of the embassy is entitled *Discours jour par jour du voyage et exploit que firent messiers de Montluc et de Forquevaux au Royaume d'Hirlande, par commandement du feu Roy Henri, en l'anne* 1549, *selon que le dict Forquevaux s'en peut Souvenir.*

The Scotch Lords, or Savages—Eccossais Saulvages—as he politely calls them, and the Highland Chiefs, endeavoured to frighten them, by representing the dangers of visiting Ireland.

In one month from the date of this alleged treaty (23rd February, 1550), a peace was concluded, whereby the Irish were left to look out for themselves.

We doubt if the ambassadors received more than fair promises, for Conn and O'Donnell were no longer in a position to speak for the Ulster Chiefs, and could command little more than a majority of their own clansmen. Besides, they had been so often deceived by the pie-crust promises of the French and Scottish Monarchs, that they could place no reliance on their proposals.

O'Donnell writes from Donegal on March 4th, apparently in answer to the Deputy, that "there came to Lough Foyle two great Lords, Frenchmen,

out of Scotland. They sent a gentleman to speak to him, but no letters, for they had knowledge that he sent to the Lord Deputy and Council the letters of credence that came to him in times past. They intend to do some great deeds before Whitsuntide."

The Scotch to the number of 10,000 under the Earl of Arran and Lord Fleming, put in at Carrickfergus, and attempted to take the town, but they were driven off by the townsmen, with the loss of 40 men, including Lord Fleming's brother.—*Carew MSS.*, Vol. II., p. 146.

Conn, in a letter to his friend Dowdall, the Archbishop of Armagh, writes in Latin, from Dungannon, that "the blind doctor (Wauchop) who calls himself Primate, came lately with certain French noblemen, who brought him letters from the French King. They conferred many gifts on James MacDonnell on gaining his alliance. Aenghus, the brother of the said James, came with them to Ireland. The said Aenghus had for them three Castles in the Island of Eugenius, commonly called Inishowen."[1]

Dowdall transmitted Conn's letters to Allen, the Chancellor, and the Council, and says of Wauchop "he ys a very schrowth (shrewd) spy as I hyre say, and great brewer of warre." This Wauchop, a Scotchman, was appointed by the Pope in opposition to Dowdall, who had been appointed by Henry to succeed Geo. Cromer, in 1543. He

[1] *Idem.*

(Wauchop) died on the continent a few years later.

On the 17th of March, the Lord Chancellor and Council write to Conn thanking him "for his speedy information to the Archbishop of Armagh as to the coming of the French Ambassadors," and assuring him that "the said emissaries only seek an occasion to invade the northern parts, and although they may pretend they will only offend Englishmen, still their scope is to subject all Ireland to their control." They point out how "miserably the French had ruled in Italy, and Sicily, from which on account of their numerous oppressions and unspeakable wickedness they were justly expelled." Moreover, "their noblesse are fierce, proud, and rapacious, and it were better to live under the Turk than under them." [1]

In the following month, April, Conn was presented by Henry's son and successor, Edward VI., with "one standing cup gilt, with a cover weighing 30 ounces and a half."

This was the last favour Conn received from the English, who, agreeable to the new policy, put forward since the death of Henry, began to play the part of the Turk.

Henry had, in spite of the Irish Council, carried out his plan of conciliating the Irish by "sober ways, politic drifts, and amiable persuasions," and the

[1] *Id.*

fruits of this system promised well for the future. But now the contrary councils prevailed, and it was believed better to drive the Irish than to lead them, and little by little a course was entered upon of extermination and plantation, which was pursued for two centuries.

The very same deeds of violence in Church and State, which characterized the policy of the English in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of which Donal complained in 1315, were re-enacted, so that from this period on, we find Conn and the Ulster Chiefs treated with the greatest indignity by the English officials, who apparently felt that they were free to do as they pleased.

In February, 1552, he complains to the King of no less than twenty-six outrages committed against him, for which he got no satisfaction, Brereton, the farmer of Lecale—nephew apparently of the Lord Justice of that name—was a principal offender. But he merely suffered the loss of his farm, which was given to St. Leger's son. The Privy Council in England should know the why and the wherefore of this, and from the particulars sent them of Brereton's "misbehaviour" we learn that on one occasion Conn sent a force to distrain for rent owing by the MacArtans, when they were set upon by Brereton, who, without any provocation, "slew the Countess of Tyrone's two brothers (MacDonnells) and divers of their men. The said Brereton to the intent to

dwell in the College of Down, which one Prior Magennis had in farm, expulsed the said Prior, who was seized and put into (imprisoned in) the Castle of Dundrum by Roger Broke, and a gentleman of the MacArtans was beheaded without any order of law." Brereton when charged by Conn, endeavoured to brazen the matter out, and—referring to the affair with the French Ambassadors—had the audacity to call him "a traitor" at the Council Board in Dublin, where, with Thomond, Desmond, and Clanrickard, he had gone to welcome the Deputy, "then newly returned out of England."[1] Conn got no satisfaction, and every day suffered more and more, the idea being, apparently, to drive him into rebellion, and so to get possession of his lands. Brereton was restored, and we shall meet him again, treacherously murdering his guests, and finally receiving a pension for his "good services!"

Conn had lost all heart, and as he had no following to speak of, he resolved to live in peace, and make the most of things.

Not so his eldest legitimate son, Shane, who now took his stand as the "upholder of the honour of his race," and the champion of the tribe.

Shane was a minor when Fardoragh, or Matthew, was put forward as Conn's heir in 1542, but Matthew was not only illegitimate, but it was doubtful if he were Conn's son at all.

[1] *Id.*

Shane always called him Matthew Kelly, maintaining that he was the son of a Dundalk smith of that name, and obliged him to take second place in the Clan. The Baron could only look to the English, of whom Conn was so heartily sick that, according to Speed and Camden, he cursed any of his posterity who should learn to speak English, to sow wheat, or build castles—as if there never was a castle built in Tyrone till the English took him in hands !

Chancellor Cusack states (May, 1552), that he said he " would never for his tyme care for the amendment (anglicising) of the same (Tyrone) " with " many other undecent words for a captain of a countrye to say."

Because of this, and favouring Shane, the Deputy came into Ulster, when " through gentell entertainment," Conn states, he " was lured from place to place," and so at last to Dublin, where he was imprisoned with his Countess. Later he was charged with injuring Maguire, Callagh O'Donnell, (who had been set up by the English in opposition to his father, Manus, whom he imprisoned), and Turlough Leynagh.

Cusack complains that after the imprisonment of Conn and his Countess, Shane came to Dungannon and removed his father's treasure to a place of safety. His hawks, however, were stolen, and " one of the best," Conn stated afterwards to the

Privy Council, "came to the Lord Chancellor's hand." [1]

The Dublin officials were at a loss for an excuse for Conn's arrest. Cusack says Shane took away "£800 in gold and silver, besides plate and other stuff, and retaineth the same as yet, whereby it appeareth that he and she (the Earl and Countess), are content with the same. . . . The same Shane being at peace until May, hearing of the arrival of the Scots, sent to them to give them entertainment. So he sent to divers other Irishmen to join him, and promised to divide his goods with them, which they for the most part refused to do, but some did, and hearing of the same on May Day, I went to him with such a band of horsemen and kerne of my friends, and did parley with him, and perceived nothing in him but pride and stubbornness, and all bent to do what he could to the poor (!) country. On departing from him, being within but four miles of Dungannon, he went and burned the Earls house," to prevent it from falling into the hands of the English, or the Baron. Cusack, perceiving the fire, states that he sent "light horsemen to save the house from burning, and upon my coming to the town, and finding that a small thing would make the house wardable, what I wanted I caused to be made up, and left the Baron of Dungannon's ward in the Castle." Having espied where part of Shane's

[1] *Id.*

kine were, he carried off 700, "besides garrans" (horses), and "joined all the gentlemen and freeholders of the country (in the neighbourhood) with the Baron, where withal they was contented and pleased, and swore them to the King's Majesty, so I trust in God Tyrone was not so like to do well as within a short time I trust it shall, and do trust if a good president were there to see good order among them in due execution, no doubt the country would be prosperous."

Cusack was responsible for a survey of Ulster and the other provinces, which he made up in the form of a book, in which Tyrone, "where the Earl of Tyrone hath rule," is described as "the fairest and goodliest country in Ireland universal, and many gentlemen of the Neyles dwelling therein. The same is at least 60 miles in length and 24 (? 44) in breadth. In the midst of the country standeth Ardmaghe, pleasantly situated, and one of the fairest and best churches in Ireland, and round about the same the Bishop's lands. And through occasion of the Earl and Countess, his wife, they made all that goodly country waste . . . whereupon the Lord Deputy appointed a band of English soldiers to be in Ardmaghe, and left the Baron of Dungannon in commission with others to see for the defence of the country, and quiet of the people. . . . And the Earl and Countess were brought to Dublin, there to abide till the country be brought to a better stay."

Cusack's remarkable solicitude for the welfare of "the poor country," was only equalled by his desire to see it planted with English officials. The device of appointing Presidents "to see good order" in the various Provinces is attributed to him.

The duties of such officers are stated by the Earl of Sussex, in 1562, in his opinion as to the way Ulster should be reduced, and the realm governed "after Shane O'Neill should be expulsed."

He was to have the same power as the Deputy in his province, with leave to execute martial law. In fact he was to be set up as a sort of provincial King: "He must lie many times in camp, and call for the Irish Captains of Ulster to attend him with their risings out, and so go from place to place as he shall see cause to execute justice," according to his own notions. He should give special attention to Tyrone, where "he must severely punish all offenders in capital crime. . . . *And when any person having possessions shall be executed he must give the possession for the reward of service, to some soldier*" of his own, who is to be set up as a gentleman, "and with some help of money from the Queen to build a castle upon that land in a fit place." "Thus," adds Sussex, "*the Queen's possessions will increase, the name of the O'Neills in a short time decay, and English inhabitors step up in their places.*"

In accordance with this idea, garrisons were to be established in different parts of the country. There

were already several commanding Clannaboy and Tyrone. One at Newry, in the Abbey, under Marshal Bagenal, who had a grant of the adjacent lands. This was established "to be a check upon the Earl of Tyrone," by Bellingham, in 1549, when Magennis was induced "to cut the great pass called Ballagh Enary." In 1551, Crofts was sent over specially to establish garrisons at Olderfleet, and on the Bann, with 1,300 men, including 200 pioneers and six ships.

After Conn's arrest by Crofts, in October of that year, Bagenal started for Armagh to garrison the Cathedral and Friary. Dowdall, the Archbishop, another victim of the new policy, refusing "to be bushope where tholie masse was abolished," fled to the continent, when by an Act of Parliament, the Primacy was transferred to Dublin, and given to the Apostate Friar, George Brown, an Englishman.

The windows and doors of the Friary were mured up, "for the better safeguard of the soldiers appointed to reside therein."

Bagenal on his way was joined by the Baron, Felim Roe of the Fews, with 30 horsemen, MacMahon and Hugh MacShane, "having three horsemen apiece in their company."

"The Baron of Dungannon," writes Bagenal, "knowing the country right well, desired that he might have license to go with certain horsemen and kerne to break out, and see what he could do,

and as they were upon the foray he, with four horsemen in his company, being far before his fellows, found Shane upon an hill in his country, environed with woods, and accompanied with eighteen horsemen, and three-score kerne, and perceiving the Baron with so small company to be there, said: 'an the King were there where thou art, he was mine.' The Baron, making no stay thereat but coming forward—'I am here but the King's man, and that thou shalt well know.' Then broaching his horse with the spurs, thrust into the press. Shane fled with his company into the woods, the Baron followed, had no opportunity to strike him, neither with spear, nor sword, the woods were so thick as he griped to have taken him by the neck, but a bough in the neck put the Baron from him, and almost from his own horse. So Shane escaped from him afoot. The Baron returned with Shane's horse and spear, and with three other horses of Shane's company, and ere I with footmen could come to him had gathered 300 head of cattle, appointing also a place for our camp." [1]

The Baron was a valiant warrior, but he was no match for Shane, who on this occasion probably sighted Bagenal's forces, or suspected that he had been led into a trap.

Conn was sent to England in November, the month following his arrest, and the Deputy was

[1] *Id.* Preface, p. xiii.

ordered to obtain Shane "anywise," for "we perceive . . . the said Shane is a man likeliest to follow his father's conditions, and to be a like enemy to the state."

Some time after this the Lord Justice and his allies, according to the *Four Masters*, came against him, when, joined by Hugh MacNial of Clannaboy, he defeated him with the loss of 200 men killed.

Early in the following year, 1552, the Deputy or "Lord Justice," marched into Clannaboy against Hugh and the Scots, and a party led by the Savages went ahead in quest of prey to Belfast, where they were routed with the loss of their leader and 60 men.

The Deputy on coming up, proceeded to repair the Castle of Belfast, where he expected to be joined by the Baron, who was on his way with an army. Not being able to come up that night he pitched his camp in the vicinity, where he was surprised by Shane, and lost great numbers of his men. Croft was then obliged to return without "hostages or pledges."[1]

Not till Conn was released in February, did Shane and his ally Hugh MacNial, cease "waging war with the Baron and the English."

This Hugh MacNial Oge had command of a great body of Scots, with whom he was engaged for some time past warring against his Chief and kinsman, Murkertac, son of Brian Ballagh, to whom we shall now turn.

[1] *Four Masters.*

NOTES.

(*a*) The English were at a loss to find employment for the Clansmen of the Chiefs, whom they considered an idle lot, and idleness was not to be encouraged. In 1550 Deputy St. Leger and the Council, state that they had "prohibited the exportation of wool, tallow, butter, linen, yarn," etc., "as it only encouraged idleness." They had clearly notions of their own on this subject.

(*b*) Sir Arthur Magennis of Rathfriland, grandson of Donal, was created Viscount Iveagh in 1623. His grandson, Brian, died s. p. in 1693. Magennis, styling himself Viscount Iveagh, was Colonel of the Irish Brigade in Spain at, or shortly before, the breaking out of the French Revolution, and documents signed by him as Viscount Iveagh are still in existence.—*See* O'Hart, and Burke's, and Cockayne's *Extinct Peerages*, also p. 256, Part II., for the division of the territory.

(*c*) Their compositions, nevertheless, compare very favourably with the efforts of the Castle Shanachie, quoted in the last Chapter.

(*d*) On December 7th, 1542, the Deputy writes to Henry advising a grant of Clannaboy to Nial Connallagh "reserving Carrickfergus, Olderfleet, and Coleraine." "And where there hath been long war," he was told, "between the said Earl and one Neal Connellagh, a nephew of his, and one that always hath pretended to be O'Neill after the said Earl, as of right he should be by their Irish law, which Neal Connellagh hath for these ten or twelve years past, served well your Grace against the said Earl, and to pacify him we have of late sent for the said Neal, who, with much pain and peril, repaired to this your city and hath communed with him on the same, we found him much grieved that the said Earl hath received the said honour given to him and his to heirs by your majesty, whereby he thought himself deserted, and so not rewarded for his long service."

Nial was prevailed on to take a grant of Clannaboy "the which Clannaboy is one part of Ulster, and lyeth joining to the lands your Highness hath given to the said Earl, and is at this time inhabited with one other Sept of the Neles which be men of very evil disposition and sort." Henry was loth to part with Clannaboy as he heard it was "so well situate," and he desired more particulars. Nial, however, on further consideration would have none of his grants, and so in May, 1543, the Deputy writes that he has let Clannaboy "to Travers instead of Nial Connallagh."

CHAPTER IV.

MURKERTAC, SURNAMED "DEVLINAGH" THE LAST ELECTED PRINCE OF THE CLANNABOY.—LAMENT OF HIS BARD O'GNIVE.—DEATH OF CONN AND BARON MATHEW.

IN Clannaboy at this time the English gained great sway, owing to the selfish conduct of Hugh MacNial Oge, who had been their ally up to the time he had joined Shane. Murkertac, surnamed Devlinagh, the reigning prince, was powerless, and so, with the Scots, they had it all their own way.

Murkertac was well aware of the designs of the English on his territory, which was more coveted and open to invasion, than any other in Ulster. From the first it was marked out for attack, and in 1543, as noted, Henry or his Deputy, with a modest estimate of the power of the Clan—to whom his policy of conciliation did not apply—and a lofty disregard of their rights, made it over—on paper—to Travers, Master of the Ordnance.

Knowing this, and doubtless for the sake of peace and unity, in 1537, when there were great contentions "for the Lordship of Trian Conghail," Murkertac

did not press his claims, but gave place to his cousin, Brian "Fertagh," son of Nial Oge. This, however, only encouraged Brian's sept to further effort, so that on Murkertac's accession in 1548, Brian's brother appeared in arms against him, determined to take the supremacy by the strong hand.

Aided by Phelim Baccagh's sons—Hugh and Brian MacFelim—and the English, he greatly harassed Murkertac, who held out till he brought the Scots against him in the Autumn of 1551, up to which time, as remarked, he (Hugh) was in alliance with the Deputy. In September, the latter arbitrated between him and Savage, his neighbour, and at the same time, Cusack states, the Deputy, "did make a shiref in Clandeboy . . . and another shiref in Arde."

These officials, who at this time were generally corrupt, knavish, petty tyrants, were so cordially detested by the people, whom they plundered and treated unmercifully, that when Deputy Fitzwilliam, years after this, intimated his intention of planting one in Fermanagh, Maguire (Hugh), with well-affected simplicity, answered —"Your Sheriff shall be welcome, but let me know his *eric*, that if my people should cut off his head, I may levy it upon the country."

By September, 1551, Murkertac had lost the whole of South Clannaboy, where Crofts had planted his sheriff, with whom Hugh appears to have been

willing enough to share his authority. Hugh held Belfast and Castlereagh in this district, Murkertac retaining the territory North of the Lagan, with the fortresses of Edenduffcarrick, Toome, (*a*) and Portmore—the Great Fort—in Killultagh.

The latter stood on the banks of Portmore Lough, a small and shallow, but picturesque sheet of water adjoining Lough Neagh, The ivy-clad ruins of the old church still stands on a neighbouring eminence, which in summer forms a promontory, and in winter is surrounded by the waters of the lake. This, Bunting says (*Ancient Music of Ireland*), was a favourite retreat of the celebrated Jeremy Taylor, when Bishop of Dromore, and the tree under which he used to sit to hear the peasantry sing the old melody, Bonny Portmore, was pointed out till some years ago —

"Bonny Portmore, you shine where you stand,
And the more I think on you the more my heart warms
But if I'd you now, as I once had before,
All the gold in all England would not buy you,
Portmore!"

Many of Bunting's melodies relate to places in this neighbourhood, as Ballinderry, about a mile or two away —

"Its pretty to be in Ballinderry,
Its pretty to be in Aghalee,
Its prettier to be in bonny Rams Island,
Sitting under an acorn tree."

In Killitra on the opposite side of Lough Neagh, he secured *The Little Swallow, Slieve Gallion, and the Bonny Cuckoo* :—

"My bonny Cuckoo, I tell you true,
That thro' the groves I'll rove with you,
I'll rove with you until the next spring,
And then my cuckoo shall sweetly sing."

In August Murkertac was vigorously attacked by the Scots in Hugh's service, and on September 2nd, Croft reports they carried off, "a prey." Murkertac could make no head against them, as they numbered no less than 7,000, under the command of MacDonnell himself—James (*b*)—and every day his men were cut off till, in May, 1552, Cusack states he could muster no more than 24 horsemen, which is about half the number of horse that English writers credit to North Clannaboy.

In the *Book from Sir Thomas Cusack, Lord Chancellor of Ireland to the Duke of Northumberland's grace, for the present state of Ireland*, dated May 8th, 1552-3, we are informed (*Calendar of State Papers*) that "the next country to Arde is Clannaboy, wherein is one Moriertagh Dulenaghe,[1] one of the O'Neills, who hath the name of Captain of Clannaboy, but he is not able to maintain the same. He hath

[1] Dulenagh. This is evidently a corruption of the Irish Doibhlenach or Devlinagh, the name applied to the territory of the O'Devlins, where Murkertac was probably fostered.—*See* Appendix. Some render it Dulchanach.

eight tall gentlemen two his sons, and all they cannot make past 24 horsemen. There is another Sept in that country of Phelim Baccagh's sons, tall men, which taketh with Hugh MacNial Oge till now of late that certain refused him, and went to Knockfergus."

Felim's sons deserted Hugh on seeing the Chieftainship within his grasp, and betook themselves to Knockfergus to seek the aid of the English garrison there.

"The country," the report adds, "is in bogs and woods for the most part, wherein lieth Knockfergus, and so to the Glynnes where the Scots do inhabit."

Murkertac appears to have fallen towards the close of 1552, about which time his enterprising and unscrupulous rival, again turned to the English, by whom he was acknowledged as "Captain," when an indenture dated 28th December, 6 Edward V., was signed by him. It is headed *submission of Hugh, son of Nelan Juvenis O'Neill*, and states that he humbly submitted himself to the clemency of the King, repenting of the war which (with Shane) he had waged against him. He supplicated pardon which was granted, and "he is content to forfeit his Captaincy, and all his goods, lands, flocks, and farms, if he should depart from his faith or obedience, or from such orders as the governors of this kingdom shall prescribe for the government of his country, and because his

hostages now remain with them, the Scots, for payment of their stipends (or wages), so that he is unable to give hostages, he binds himself by oath." Finally he "is content to pay all burdens, impositions, and services, and to perform all orders prescribed to him by the Deputy as heretofore." [1]

He was allowed to retain the Scots in his service to secure him in his possession and to aid him against the sons of Murkertac, to whose assistance Conn marched in 1553-4, when, according to the *Four Masters*, he was defeated with the loss of 300 men by Hugh and MacDonnell, and afterwards taken prisoner by the Deputy.

Murkertac by the "Lady Margaret legitimate and Catholic daughter of the most illustrious O'Byrne, (*c*) Sovereign of the County of Wicklow," left a son and heir, Donal, or Daniel, (*ob.* before 1567), father of Conn, ancestor of the O'Neills of Portugal; and another, Hugh, Lord of the Feevagh, who appears as one of Prince Hugh's Commanders in 1599, (*Carew MSS.*), and who succeeded Donal as chief.

Murkertac's Sept for years after this, in spite of all opposition, retained that part of the territory about Edenduffcarrick, and included in the Baronies of Toome, where, as appears from the Inquisitions (Exchequer and Chancery), in 1660, Art Oge, son of Nial MacHugh MacMurkertac, and his kinsmen, were dispossessed of about twenty

[1] *Carew MSS.*

townlands, which fell to the descendants of Felim Baccagh, whose grandson, Shane MacBrian—"a modest man that speaketh English"—was planted finally in Edenduffcarrick in 1603.

From him the castle received its present name, which is incidentally mentioned (1641-52), by the author of the *Irish Warr.* To the O'Neills themselves, down to the early part of the 18th century, it was known by its ancient name, as appears from their wills.

Many attempts were made to rechristen it towards the close of this century, by the English, and on Mercator's Map of Ulster, 1594, it is marked Castle "Moubray."

Here in the old days, when evil threatened the Clanna Neill, the shriek of the Banshee, Mauveen—for that was her name—was heard among the woods—upon the shore, and now along the ruined walls of the falling Castle, echoed by the vaults underneath, and wailing through the nettle-covered graves of thousands who have borne the name, and followed their Chieftains to battle :—

"How oft has the banshee cried,
How oft has death untied,
Bright links that glory wove—
Sweet bonds entwined by love!"

In the eastern wall of the south wing, about thirty feet from the summit, and thirty from the

base, is to be seen a curious figure-head, supposed by some to have been brought from the east, and to belong to a much earlier date than the ruins among which it stands. As there are some roofless vaults at the foot of the wall, it cannot now be approached.

A writer in the *Ordnance Survey Papers* for Antrim, 1838, states that the face is evidently meant to represent that of a female, and has a mournful expression. It is about nine inches long, six broad, and three thick. The stone of which it is formed is quite black. When it falls the Clanna Neill will have vanished off the face of the earth, according to the legend, which suggested the lines :—

"Yet, yet though the fate-stone be loos'd on the tower,
It totters, 'twill fall soon—ah woe for the hour,
Some chief may arise with a soul to inherit
The fame of his sires with their freedom and spirit.
What though the old tree may be worn out and drooping,
And each time-honoured branch be all leafless and stooping,
There are saplings abroad by mountain and river,
And Tyrone shall yet shout—*The Red Hand for Ever!*"

To return to Murkertac. Murkertac was the last elected prince of the Clannaboy, as his rival was the first to make formal submission to the English, whom we shall find henceforth supreme in the territory, setting up their own Chiefs without

any regard to the feelings of the clan, or claims of the candidates, whose willingness to conform to their wishes was in most cases their chief recommendation.

Against the Scots, who overran the territory and became a power—till they were ejected by Shane—and the English, no elected Chief could hold his own, and the consequence was that, as Dr. Richey observes, "every ambitious member sought the Chieftainship, which tended to fall into the hands, not of the elected, but of the strongest and most unprincipled member of the house."

Remarking on this to the Queen, Sussex writes in 1562 that "the Brehon Law which doth admit the eldest of every nation to be Captain of his nation . . . hath of late been so abused as for the most part the strongest of every nation is chosen to be Captain, which kind of election causeth great numbers of idle men of war to be maintained," at the expense of the Clansmen whose place they usurped, and who were much impoverished, as we learn from the story in the *State Papers* of Shane MacOliver Burke of Clanricard, an ambitious yet conscientious Chief. A poor woman having complained to Shane of the intolerable burden of his Scots, "he fell into a study, and after some pause, said openly (to his followers)—'I am in a miserable case. If we stand out altogether, and maintain Scots, for our defence, I see the destruction of the country; again, if I shall take upon me the name of MacWilliam I shall

be driven for maintenance thereof to spoil it myself, and if we shall submit ourselves to the English nation, they will be as burdensome as either MacWilliam or Scots. God give me grace to do the likest.' " Few were as conscientious as Shane, and towards the close of this century, few Chiefs held of their clansmen.

The sentiments of Murkertac's clansmen are well and feelingly expressed by his bard O'Gnive, who wrote at this time, when Chiefs and clan—and indeed the whole of Ulster—were at the mercy of the Sassenachs :—

LAMENT OF O'GNIVE.

CHIEF BARD TO O'NEILL OF CLANNABOY.

BY J. J. O'CALLANAN.

[From a literal translation of the original Irish in O'Conor's *Dissertations on Irish History*].

"How dimm'd is the glory that circled the Gael,
And fall'n the high people of green Inisfail !
The sword of the Saxon is red with their gore,
And the mighty of nations is mighty no more.

Like a bark on the ocean long shatter'd and tost,
On the land of your fathers at length you are lost,
The hand of the spoiler is stretched on your plains,
And you're doom'd from your cradle to bondage and chains.

O where is the beauty that beam'd on thy brow ?
Strong hand in the battle, how weak art thou now !
That heart is now broken that never would quail,
And thy high songs are turned into weeping and wail.

Bright shades of our sires ! from your home in the skies,
O blast not your sons with the scorn of your eyes !
Proud spirit of Gollamh, how red is thy cheek !
For thy freemen are slaves, and thy mighty are weak !

O'Neill of the Hostages ; Con, whose high name
On a hundred red battles has floated to fame.
Let the long grass still sigh undisturbed o'er thy sleep,
Arise not to shame us, awake not to weep !

In thy broad wing of darkness, infold us, O night !
Withhold, O bright sun, the reproach of thy light !
For freedom or valour no more canst thou see,
In the home of the Brave in the isle of the Free.

Afflictions dark waters your spirits have bow'd,
And oppression hath wrapped all your land in its shroud,
Since first from the Brehon's pure justice you stray'd,
And bent to the laws the proud Saxons have made.

We know not our country, so strange is her face,
Her sons, once her glory, are now her disgrace,
Gone, gone is the beauty of green Inisfail,
For the stranger now rules in the land of the Gael.

Where, where are the woods that oft rang with your cheer,
Where you wak'd the wild chase of the wolf and the deer?
Can those dark heights with ramparts all pruning and riven,
Be the hills where your forest wav'd brightly to Heaven ?

O bondsmen of Egypt, no Moses appears,
To light your dark steps through this desert of tears ;
Degraded and lost ones, no Hector is nigh,
To Lead you to freedom, to teach you to die." (*d*)

After Hugh's defeat of Conn, 1553-4, the Deputy, thinking he had accomplished enough, obliged him to dismiss his Scots, who turned against him, and slew him, in a skirmish by the "shot of a ball" in 1555, after which they proceeded "to make conquests in the Route and Clannaboy."

The Four Masters, who are silent as regards Murkertac, greatly extol Hugh, as one of those who formed an alliance of peace and friendship with the King of England, but "never yielded obedience or submission to any of the Irish!" Hugh, who left a son and heir, Owen, was succeeded in the Chieftainship of his Sept—that of Nial Oge—by his brother, Conn.

Hearing of the activity of the Scots, Sussex, the Deputy, came into Clannaboy, and remained encamped against them six weeks, when one or two hundred of them were slain. He then, Ware states, divided the territory between Phelim O'Neill, and the sons of Phelim Baccagh, who had sought the aid of the English in 1552, when they "went to Knockfergus." Who the first Phelim was, we cannot say, as there is no record of the Clan for some time after this, when Brian, son of Phelim Baccagh, who resided at Knockfergus, appears.

In Tyrone Shane had rallied his clansmen so that he carried all before him, and obliged the English and the Baron to seek the aid of the Scots. Fearing lest they "should injure the English subjects," it was decided in 1552 to release Conn and his lady, who had been "great expense to the King for their maintenance." Conn gave bail for £6,000, and two hostages, one of which was his son, Henry, and agreed "to observe the King's peace towards the Baron of Dungannon, Calough O'Donnell, Tirrelagh Leynagh O'Neyle and Maguire, because they adhere to the King."

Conn was subjected to every indignity by the Englishry, and he addressed several letters to the King, Privy Council, St. Leger, and others, complaining of his arrest, of Bagenal wasting his lands, and of the Baron being maintained against him, but he got no satisfaction.

After his arrest for invading the Deputy's ally, Hugh of Clannaboy, towards the close of 1553, he appears to have been kept prisoner in the Pale with his lady till his death in 1559. In Dublin he was given in charge to one Mooney, a magistrate.

Shane meanwhile exercised full authority in Tyrone as Tanist, and every year gained new adherents, so that he was soon in a position to set about asserting his authority as sovereign of Ulster.

In 1554, with his kinsman Kildare, the young Gerald of former days, who had been restored by

Queen Mary, and the Baron of Delvin, he reduced Felim Roe of the Fews, who resisted stoutly, and slew 50 of his allies.

The Chiefs of the Fews, who were always a trouble to their great kinsman, appear to have claimed independence, like the Clannaboy, but they could never make good their claim, and always ranked as sub-chiefs, save when the Deputy was in power.

In 1557, Shane assembled his forces to reduce Calvagh O'Donnell who, with the assistance of the Scots, and English, had assumed the Chieftainship, and imprisoned his father, Manus.

Joined by Calvagh's brother, Hugh, Shane marched into Cinel Main, and encamped between the rivers Finn and Mourne. "On news coming to the son of O'Neill, that the Cinel Conal had sent off all their stock," he cried, "let them drive our prey to the midst of Leinster, or let them hide it in the South, we shall pursue it to the remotest quarter of the island. No power shall protect our enemies, or stop the progress of the Prince and Sovereign of Ulster."

O'Donnell could make no stand against Shane, and, following his father's advice, he decided on making a night attack, in the hope of surprising him who had advanced some miles further into Cinel Main, and encamped "along side Baileaigidhchaoin, near the stream that flows from the well of Cabhartach."

That night two of O'Donnell's men—Donogh Oge Maguire, and Maurice MacAilin—came into the camp to reconnoitre. They "mingled with the troops without being noticed, for in consequence of the number and variety of the troops who were there, it was not easy for them to discriminate between one another, even by day, except by their recognizing their Chieftains alone. They proceeded from one fire to another, until they came to the great central fire, which was at the entrance of the son of O'Neill's tent, and a huge torch, thicker than a man's body, was constantly burning at a short distance from the fire. And 60 grim and redoubtable gallowglasses, with sharp keen axes, terrible and ready for action, and 60 stern and terrific Scots, with massive, broad, and heavy-striking swords in their hands, ready to strike and parry, were watching and guarding the son of O'Neill. The time came for the troops to dine, and food was distributed among them. The two spies whom we have mentioned, stretched out their hands to the distributor, like the rest, and that which fell to their share was a Ceann-bheart (helmet) filled with meal, and a suitable complement of butter. With this testimony of their adventure, they returned to their own people, and by the exhibition of it, the entire narrative was believed.

"Calvagh commanded his people to arm directly, which they did without delay, The two battalions

formed into one, and Conn O'Donnell proceeded on foot, between Walter and Donal MacSweeney, having given his horse to his father. They advanced towards the camp, and did not halt until they had reached the central troops that were guarding the son of O'Neill. They made a furious and fierce attack upon the men in the camp, and both parties then proceeded to kill and destroy . . . one another." [1]

Shane's forces were at length totally routed. He himself barely escaped into Tyrone, even his celebrated charger, called the "Son of the Eagle," falling to the victor. However, he quickly recovered from the effects of this disaster, which served to make him more circumspect in future.

In 1558, his rival, Matthew, the Baron, fell in a skirmish with some of his men. The *Four Masters*, in recording his death "by the people of his brother, John," adds that, "the cause of his killing was because he was appointed (by the English) to the dignity of his father, if his father should die before him."

In 1559, "O'Neill (Conn Baccagh, son of Conn, son of Henry, son of Owen), died after having spent his age and time without blemish or reproach. His death would have been a great loss to the Cinel Owen, but for his great age and infirmity, and that he left an heir worthy of him, *i.e.*, John."

[1] *Four Masters*, and notes by O'Donovan.

Conn appears to have been released some time before his death, but his lady was kept prisoner in Scotland by MacDonnell (James) with his son, Conn; and Brian, son of the Baron. He wrote to Queen Mary, Edward's successor, to procure their release, in the previous year, mentioning that his Chaplain, "Sir" Edmund Coyne or O'Quin, had obtained Papal bulls for the Priory of the Cathedral Church of Down. This riled her majesty, who was as much intent on maintaining her supremacy as her father, or her predecessors, who had been left supreme in the Church in Ireland by the Pope, since the days of Henry II.

Accordingly, she wrote to the Deputy "not to suffer the Countess of Tyrone to return to (? from) Scotland, where she had been so long a prisoner, and where his request is that his Chaplain having alreadie obteyned the Pope's Holyness bulls for the Pryorie of the Cathedral Church of Down, (that he) myth be established in the said Pryorie, ye shall declare unto the said Erle that we intende to maintain our prerogatyve left unto us by our Progenitours in that behalf." This is the last record we have of Conn.

He married, first, Alice, daughter of Hugh O'Neill, Prince of Clannaboy—uncle to Murkertac and his rival—by whom, as appears from a pedigree in the *State Papers*, drawn about this time, he was father of Shane, his successor.

Burke (*Extinct Peerages*) and others, state he married Alice, daughter of Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare. He is also said to have married a daughter of O'Byrne, and sister to the lady of Murkertac of Clannaboy, by whom he was father of Felim, and doubtless, Turlogh. Felim, surnamed Caech, *i.e.*, the Blind or One-eyed, sl. 1542, was father of Turlogh, surnamed Brassilagh (from having been fostered in Clanbrassil) who left issue, namely, Hugh, Cormac, Conn, Art, Felim, Edmund, Turlogh, Brian, and Ever. From Felim descended the O'Neills of Killeevy, Cockill, and Loughbrickland, and from Edmund, in the female line, the O'Neills of Carrowmena.

By his last marriage with Mary, daughter of Sir Alexander MacRandal Boy MacDonnell, Conn was father of Henry and Conn Oge, who appear to have left no issue.

Conn, it appears, had many sons fathered upon him by unscrupulous women, the eldest of whom was Baron Matthew, whose mother, Alison Kelly, at the time of his birth, was the wife of a Dundalk blacksmith. He was acknowledged to be Kelly's son till he was sixteen, when his mother presented him to Conn, who doubtless accepted him with a good grace; for "being a gentleman," said Shane, "he refused no child that any woman named to be his." Had he done so it would have been considered dishonourable, not to say disgraceful, according to

the Brehon Code. Shane, however, was no believer in this foolish custom, against which he quoted the old saw :—" to every cow belongeth her calf."

Matthew, or Fardoragh, as he was re-christened, proved a valiant warrior, and became a prime favourite with Conn, till his break with the English, when Shane came to the fore.

By Joan, daughter of Maguire, Cuconnaght, son of Cuconnaght, son of Brian MacPhilip Maguire, (who re-married with Henry MacFelim Roe of the Fews, and died in 1609), Matthew was father of (1) Brian, who succeeded him as Baron, and was slain in 1562, in a skirmish with Shane's Tanist ; (2) Hugh, who succeeded Turlogh as Prince of Ulster ; and (3) Cormac, Hugh's Tanist, who died in the Tower of London. Art, a natural son of Matthew, was father of Brian, Art Oge, Owen Roe, and two other sons, slain at the Battle of the Yellow Ford.

NOTES.

(*a*) In 1603, when all the lands in possession of Murkertac's Sept in the Feevagh were made over to Shane MacBrian, "the castle, town, and lands of Castletome *alias* Ballickinaghan, and the town and lands of Moyneglasse and Balligallagh, next adjoining to Castletome, or Castletown," were excepted (Pat. Jas. I.). It commanded the ford across the Bann which was passable in summer. In Prince Hugh's day it was taken by Chichester, and surrounded by a strong rampart of earth, and in 1611 was in charge of Sir Thos. Philips, with a ward of twenty-two men. In 1650 it was taken by Heber MacMahon, and retaken by Venables. It is marked on the Down Survey Maps of those days. Early in the last century a bridge was built over the river by Lord O'Neill.

(*b*) In 1557 Sussex writes to Elizabeth for a pardon for James MacDonnell "who is one of the Redshanks, and has been permitted to overrun the North from the sixth year of King Edward V. till the coming of the present Lord Deputy. He had then 7,000 Scots, and had enthralled several chiefs of large countries, and many of the people."—Hamilton *Calendar of State Papers.*

(*c*) This was probably Tiege Oge O'Byrne of Newragh, who died in 1578, and who is the last chief of the senior branch of the O'Byrnes mentioned in the *Annals.* His Sept was supplanted by the Gaval Rannal O'Byrnes of Ballincor Castle, the Chief of whom at this time was the father of the celebrated Fiagh MacHugh, sl. 1597.—Hugh MacShane MacRedmond. The O'Byrne territory in Wicklow comprised the Barony of Newcastle and part of Arklow, to which they were driven from Kildare with the O'Tools, by the Anglo-Normans in the 12th century. *See* O'Tool's *History of the Clan O'Tool.*

(*d*) The original Irish is given in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy* with a translation. Another version by Sir Samuel Ferguson commences :—

"My heart is in woe,
And my soul is in trouble
For the mighty are low,
And abased are the noble."

CHAPTER V.

SHANE, PRINCE OF ULSTER, DEFEATS THE LORD LIEUTENANT SUSSEX, WHO ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE HIM, FAILING WHICH HE SUES FOR PEACE.—JANUARY, 1559 TO NOVEMBER, 1561.

HOW Shane defeated and baffled the foremost English warriors and statesmen of his day, and reduced them to stoop to assassination; how in spite of them and many of his own traitorous countrymen—the "degraded and lost ones," as O'Gnive rightly calls them, he compelled Elizabeth to acknowledge him as Sovereign of Ulster; and at length felt equal to challenging her supremacy in Ireland, is an interesting and oft-told story, to which we certainly cannot claim to do justice.

In the last two chapters we have detailed the events leading up to his election; we shall now endeavour to trace his career as *The O'Neill.*

His chief aim at this time, as we have seen, was to establish himself as Prince of Ulster; and to rule the province as his grandfather, Con More, and his ancestors, had ruled for so many generations before

him; and as by every right *The O'Neill* should rule;—

A Chief of power,
The guardian of a kingdom's weal,
Tir Owen's pride, and Ulster's flower,
A prince, a hero, *The O'Neill!*

His father, with the same idea, had fought and lost; and only when reduced to the last extremity had he renounced his Princedom, and submitted to the dictation of the English, whose titles had brought him such little honour or respect, even in the Pale, that they could not have been viewed otherwise than with contempt by a prince like Shane, with six or seven thousand warrior clansmen united in his favour.

On his inauguration in January, 1559, Sir Henry Sydney, who was acting for the Deputy, or Lord Lieutenant, Sussex, marched to Dundalk to defend the Pale, and to parley with him. He was then about nine miles away at his castle of Fedan, now Fathom, which he had built as a check on the English fortress of Newry.

On Sydney's request reaching him, he, like his father Conn, suspecting treachery, refused to appear at Dundalk; but, feeling he could not yet set him at defiance, he expressed his willingness to meet him on his own ground; and if he would be his gossip, he added, he would do all that was required of him.

Sydney was obliged to consent; and after being

magnificently entertained, with James Wingfield he stood sponsor at the christening of one of Shane's children, on the last day of January.

After this came the conference, in which Shane not only justified his conduct, but asserted his princely pretensions with clearness and good temper.

He affirmed that the late Baron of Dungannon, who had been slain in open war, was not the son of Conn at all, a statement in which Sydney seemingly acquiesced, when he passed quickly to another and more delicate point in the controversy. He objected that Shane had no right to assume the ancient title —*The O'Neill*—as his father Conn had surrendered his territory to Henry VIII; and under that surrender the settlement had been made with the Government.

This, Shane maintained, was void; for, according to the institutions still existing in Ireland, his father had no power whatever to make any such surrender, having but a life interest in the title and territories of the clan; nor could he have more by the law of Tanistry; nor could he surrender the same without the consent of the lords of his country.

Even by the law of England, he asserted, the letters patent were void; because there was no inquisition taken before they were granted, nor could there be any in Tyrone till it was made shire ground. He, he added, was elected O'Neill,

according to the custom of the country, as the legitimate son of his father.

Referring to his demands on the obedience of the northern chiefs, he rightly declared he had arrogated nothing beyond the time-honoured and lawful rights of his ancestors, who had been Lords Superior of the Province.[1]

Thus Shane asserted his princely claims, which his English opponents never made an honest attempt to settle, and which, as we shall see, were only considered when it was desired to gain time.

By the advice of his Council, Sydney promised Shane that the Queen would give him a favourable hearing, and advised him to remain at peace till her pleasure was known.

Her Majesty, or her ministers, they knew, would never listen to Shane's claims as The O'Neill—by which title Sydney was afterwards accused by Sussex of addressing him—and pretending that it was merely a question as to the Earldom between him and the Baron, she wrote in July to Sussex that as Shane, "the eldest legitimate son of the Earl of Tyrone, now lately deceased, makes claim to succeed his father as his heir, and personally occupies and possesses all that country, rule, and lands which his father enjoyed without let or hindrance . . . we think it meet for the person legitimate in blood, and next that he is in quiet possession, that

[1] Ware's *Annals*.

the Deputy should allow him to succeed his father." [1]

Shane was now, forsooth, to surrender his Irish titles, with half his territory; to go back on his principles; and to earn the hatred and contempt of his clansmen, all because her majesty, after years of opposition, found that it was "meet to support the person legitimate in blood," especially when he was discovered to be in quiet possession of "all that country, rule, and lands which his father enjoyed."

Feeling that she had misunderstood his position, Shane, after making peace with Sussex, despatched his foster brother Terence Daniel, Dean of Armagh, of the sept of the O'Donnellys, to treat direct with Elizabeth herself. He arrived in England in December, and, appearing before Elizabeth, informed her of the peace which had lately been concluded with her Lieutenant, of whom Shane had made certain requests which he said he could not grant.

Having them granted, Shane writes "I shall be able to exile your Grace's enemyes, subdue traytours, owercom rebells and such as will disobey." The Dean laid his case clearly before her; and seeing that Shane would not be content with the Earldom, she instructed Sussex in May, 1560, to subdue him "either by fair means or force." He might practise

[1] *Calendar of Carew MSS.* The chapters on Shane are compiled chiefly from this and the Hamilton *Calendar*, 1509-73.

with "such others as be neighbours unto him by reward or otherwise, by whom ye may most probably reform the said Shane."

The Baron of Dungannon, Brian, son of Matthew, whose claims had so lately been set aside in favour of Shane, should be maintained against him, "and to be restored to his lands and country."

This, it was admitted, was much easier said than done; for Sussex and his predecessor, since 1551, had been engaged on the same hopeless task, with no better result than to leave Shane stronger and more determined than ever.

He endeavoured to win over Calvagh O'Donnell, whose daughter, Margery, he had married. They disagreed, however, and Margery, or Mary, early in 1560, was sent back to her father with a bill of divorce; for under the ancient Irish law, as under the British and American of the present day, there existed much facility for the separation of husband and wife.

Calvagh now engaged actively in the Deputy's schemes; and in March formed an alliance with the Earl of Argyle—MacCallum More, Chief of Clan Campbell, one of the most powerful of the Highland Chiefs, whose kinswoman he married. This lady, styled "the old Countess of Argyle," was a Maclean, and with her Calvagh received one or two thousand Scots.

Thereupon, not to be outdone, Shane proposed

for the Earl's sister. There were rumours that he had married MacDonnell's daughter, "but we swear to you our kingly oath," wrote Shane, "that there is no impediment by reason of any such woman." He engaged 1,000 or 1,500 Scots or other soldiers, with which he threatened war; but the Lord Justice, Fitzwilliam, writes to Cecil that as long as he had the Dean as a hostage "he will but brag."

Cecil, nevertheless, thought it better to temporize; and to make a show of entertaining his proposals, he drew up a document entitled *Questions to be considered by Shane O'Neill*, in September.

Cecil questions Shane according to English law; and Shane replies according to the Brehon, submitting another set of questions for his consideration, with the result that in the end things remained as before.

To the first question,—"whether King Henry, as King of Ireland and Earl of Ulster, might not upon the rebellion of O'Neill have granted any dignity or land that O'Neill held in Ulster to any other person?" Shane answers: "Though O'Neill rebelled, he was but a Captain, and so an officer, and the lands which he held belonged to his office; and therefore his offence could not make a forfeiture, but either for his own life, or until another Captain was chosen by the Country."

As to whether "the grant in remainder to the same

Earldom and lands to one by the name of Matthew *alias* Fardoragh O'Neill, son of the said Earl, though indeed he were not his son, but so accepted, were not a good grant in law," he objects that "although he was so accepted, therein was King Henry VIII. deceived; for O'Neill knew for truth he was the son of a woman married in Dundalk to one Kelly, a smith, and therefore he could not be sure he was his son; considering also that he was sixteen years old before the mother brought him to O'Neill. And the King thought that he was his son, and not so being, was deceived, and, therefore, in good reason, the grant is not good."

To the fourth question: "Whether, after the country of Tyrone was made an Earldom, may any of the O'Neills be made The O'Neill of the said country, by the consent of the said country, during the continuance of the former letters patent in force, without the prince's consent?" Shane answers "The O'Neills have not received confirmation of their elections from the King, though others have."

As to the supremacy of The O'Neill in Ulster, it is asked "whether may, or might, The O'Neill, confessing himself a subject, claim superiority over those lords . . . over whom the King hath had such rule as he or his principal minister in Ireland hath ended and determined their controversies both among themselves and with O'Neill?" Also: "If a right be in the king and any

subject usurpeth, yet cannot that usurpation give him any right from the king ; and it is certain that the captains of the countries in Ulster next to Tyrone have at sundry times acknowledged their subjection to the King, and divers of the countries were occupied by the Earls of Ulster. And at this day the king hath rent of the river Bann, which parteth O'Cahan's country and the Glyns (? Route), both which countries Shane claimeth to be subject to him. Likewise the Queen hath in quiet possession the Castles of Knockfergus and Belfast, lying in Clandeboy, which also he claimeth to be subject to him."

Shane objects — "though the King hath a superiority over the said countries and property in some of the lands, yet O'Neill hath old books to show that he hath had of long time risings up of them and tribute paid of them."

The English monarch's claim to these lands went no further back than 1542, when O'Cahan's country —Londonderry, roughly speaking—was (on paper) taken from Tyrone. The Scots had usurped in the Route, where they allowed the English the rents of the Bann.

For Cecil's reply Shane submitted the following posers, which he appended to his answers :

1. "Whether might King Henry VIII. upon O'Neill's coming into England, and making his submission—being but a Captain of his

Country—alter the custom of the governance of the country; and make him an Earl, and give him the lands in the country; and so make him an owner where before he was but an Officer?

2. Whether might the same King give the remainder of the said Earldom to a stranger or no, and disinherit the nation and family of the O'Neills from their right and possibility of succession?
3. Whether it is to be supposed that the said King knew that Matthew was begotten of a woman that had a husband, and so not O'Neill's son, though so reputed?
4. Whether it is to be supposed that if he had known him not to have been O'Neill's son he would have appointed the remainder to him of Tyrone?
5. Whether if the grant of the remainder of the Earldom be either void, or not to be maintained, might not the country elect an O'Neill?
6. Whether an O'Neill being elected may not use all jurisdiction and right that before time was used by O'Neill." [1]

To the first question there was no satisfactory answer. It is assumed that Conn and his clansmen were subjects of Henry and consequently rebels, "and so it seemeth reason for the prince to change the custom." Cecil was nettled, and to the second question he replied that Henry might give the

[1] *Carew MSS.*

remainder of the Earldom to whom he liked. In the reply to the third question, it is admitted that Henry knew Matthew was illegitimate, "or not an heir of O'Neill, for that the grant should not have been in remainder; but to O'Neill and his heirs males, as the like was done to Thomond and Clanricard."

Shane was encouraged to think that he would get a fair hearing in England; in January, 1561, Sussex and the Council wrote to the Queen informing her of his desire "to repair to her presence to solicit his petitions with greater confidence." She had already informed Sussex, who was now in England, that he might bide his time, as she had no money "for any great exploit of conquest," so in February she replies to Shane in Latin "to send his agents fully instructed in his petitions, and without delay . . . during the stay of the Lord Lieutenant in England."

Shane lost nothing by his negotiations; and while, by a series of manœuvres and intrigues, including various proposed marriages, he was endeavouring to establish himself firmly in Ulster, he now entered into an interminable correspondence with the Queen and the Government.

On February 8th he writes from Benburb to Elizabeth, regretting that the interview with her Commissioners, Lord Louth and Captain Warren, was "not productive of good effect through the hindrance of Felim Roe and his son" Henry, in

pursuit of whom his men had burned some villages in the Pale. The Lord Justice says he refused to treat till they were given up.

However, her majesty might not be troubled by this; "for there is nothing I inwardly desire of God," writes Shane, "more than that your majesty should know what a faithful subject I mean to be"!

For her benefit he again states his case against "Matthew Kelly, whom some men called Baron O'Neill"; and lays great stress on his election by the tribe. "According to the ancient custom of this country of Tyrone," he wrote, "time out of mind, the lords and gentlemen of Ulster assembled themselves; and as well for that I was known to be the right heir unto my said father, as also thought most worthy to supply my father's place according to the said custom, by one assent and one voice, they did elect and chose me to be O'Neill; and by that name did call me; and next under your majesty took me to be their lord and governor, and no other would they have."

Had he not been troubled by the pretender Matthew, who was "maintained and borne up by the chin"—by Sussex—he would have expelled her Scottish enemies. They, too, had been supported by Sussex, had well nigh destroyed his kinsmen of Clannaboy, and had dispossessed his tributaries the MacQuillans, who had been, he says, "time out of mind, mere Englishmen!"

Sorly Boy, brother of MacDonnell, who was married to Shane's sister, "usurped" on them in 1558. Though Sorly held that "Inglyschmen had no right to Yrlande," he had no objection to allying with them, or paying them that tribute and service which Shane rightly considered was his, and which had been paid for so many centuries to his ancestors.

In claiming the town of Balgriffin, Shane denies that the Baron had any right to it; and, referring to his invading the Pale in pursuit of Felim Roe and his son, he desires to be excused, as he has "so many wild and unruly persons hard to be corrected" in his country.

By a stretch of legal ingenuity their faults might possibly be laid at his door, to avoid which, and not for "any mistrust for his own behaviour," he sends the Dean of Armagh for a safe conduct from the Queen herself, which would enable him to lay his case before her majesty and the Council, and to return safely.

Further, he would require a loan of £3,000 English money to pay his expenses; for, he hints, her Irish money was so base that it would not pass current in England. When he returns, however, he caustically remarks, "I shall pay your Deputy £3,000 sterling, such as your majesty is pleased to have current here."

Shane could never resist the temptation to crack a joke even at the expense of her majesty, whom

he wishes to select for him an English wife—"a gentlewoman of noble blood, meet for his vocation" —whereby he "might have a friendship" towards her Grace.

He was anxious to show his desire for a "reformation"; for one of the many curious ideas of the Government of those days for anglicising the Irish, was to encourage them to seek for Anglo-Irish or English wives. Thus in the re-grants to all the chiefs of Leix and Offaly it is expressly stipulated that they should not marry "any person of Irish birth" born outside their countries.

While approving of Elizabeth's praiseworthy desire to reform and civilize himself and his countrymen, Shane thought her majesty might with considerable profit set her own house in order first.

He proudly contrasts the state of his country with that of the Pale; and observes that if her Grace would give him Ireland into his keeping, she would soon have a revenue where there was now only expense. He suggests that she should send over two incorruptible men joined in company with the mayor and aldermen of Dublin—"worshipful and faithful subjects"—to judge which country was the better governed.

They might hear charges against him; and also the complaints of the families of the Pale, "what intolerable burdens they endure of cess, taxes, and talliages, both of corn, beef, mutton, pork, and

baks." Not only did the soldiers live at free quarters, but they "kept their dogs and their concubines the whole year long in the poor farmers' houses, paying in effect nothing at all." Not less than three hundred of them had fled to him for protection. They were once rich, he says, and had good houses, but they dare not so much as tell their griefs to her Grace, "yet the very birds of the air will at length declare it unto you."

It certainly did not look well, as he pointed out, that men should forsake the Pale to come and live among "wild and savage people." Clearly the wild and savage people could not be expected to see the benefits to be derived from placing themselves under the protection of her majesty's governors, of whom there were so many and such grievous complaints at this time by the nobility and gentry of the Pale.

In 1558, Archbishop Dowdal, in his report relative "to the evil condition and government of Ireland" under Sussex, says that in the Pale "a man may ride south, west, and north, twenty or forty miles, and see neither house, corn, nor cattle"; and "many hundreds of men, women, and children are dead of famine."

Froude, who represents the struggle between the English and the native Irish as portion of the everlasting strife of justice and iniquity, order and chaos, and avoids describing the English Pale as

contrasted with the other districts of the island, quotes a letter by Sir Henry Sydney (*History of England*, Vol. VII.), who writes in 1556 that "the English Pale is overwhelmed with vagabonds, stealths, and spoils daily carried out of it ; the people miserable, and not two gentlemen in the whole of it able to lend twenty pounds. They have neither horse nor armour, nor apparel nor victual. The soldiers be so beggar-like, as it would abhor a general to look on them. Yet so insolent as to be intolerable to the people," etc.

This was the country and these the people under the direct rule of the English monarchs, who were so anxious to "amend" and "reform" the Irish.

Shane believed that Elizabeth was less concerned with the state of her people than with that of her revenues, and in despatching his letter, he writes to Cecil desiring his favour "in forwarding his suits to the Queen" ; and he doubts not that, within three years, he may be a means that her majesty may have a yearly revenue instead of the continual charges she had been at.

Some days later Henry of the Fews again broke out, and fled to Dundalk, which Shane demanded should be given up to him, "as the towns of the west be to therle of Desmond." The merchants complain that he prohibited them trading with Tyrone.

On returning from the town, some of his men

were set upon by Cahir, or Callogh, son of O'Reilly "who strypt them onely"; whereupon he marched into Breffny, and demanded satisfaction "of old O'Reilly, and lay in the Brenny to that purpose certain days."

On the 25th of February letters were despatched to Shane "to hasten his coming"; at the very same time that the question of "how Shane O'Neill shall be expulsed" was under consideration.

It was decided to entertain him in England with "gentle talk" till Sussex could return to his command and the English army be reinforced. Accordingly, on March 4th, a protection or safe conduct was made out for "Shane O'Neill, an Irish subject whose countries and servants are not in perfect civility."

Shane had his doubts of the "protection"; and, on the 31st, the Lord Justice says he "is not ready to repair to England." He had no cash; and his apparel will not be ready for two months. He adds that "he has written to Shane that he may not take cause of suspicion." All the same, he believed he would laugh "and rebel on receipt of the money."

Meanwhile preparations were made to send over men and money in such quantities that he should have no chance. So careful was the secrecy which was observed to prevent him taking alarm, that a detachment of troops sent from Portsmouth sailed with sealed orders, and neither men nor officers

knew that Ireland was their destination till they had rounded the Land's End.[1]

One William Hutchinson was despatched in April by Sussex, with instructions to go to Edinburgh to Thomas Randolph, the Queen's Ambassador, and then by his means to the Earl of Argyle, one of the leaders of the Protestant party, to whom he was to deliver the letters of Sussex and Cecil, who recommends to Argyle "perseverance in hearing and reading the Gospel, and stoutness against the adverse Papists."

After this he was to repair to James MacDonnell, and deliver to him "the Queen's and other letters"; then to cross to Carrickfergus and deliver the "Queen's and other letters" to O'Donnell, offering to create him Earl of Tyrconnell, and acquainting his lady with the present Elizabeth was sending her, and which consisted of "the gown and kirtle of Queen Mary, with some old habiliments," for a "token of favour to her good disposition in religion."

O'Reilly, Malachy, or Malmorey, for his late exploit, received a letter of thanks, and was further encouraged by promises of an Earldom. They were all to be engaged against Shane; but Shane, who had intimation of the Deputy's intentions, without waiting to be crushed, invaded Breffny, and after laying it waste, compelled O'Reilly to give him hostages.

[1] Froude: *History of England*, Vol. VII.

The O'Donnells and MacDonnells had already started operations against him; and O'Donnell's son on the one side, and Sorly Boy on the other, had taken "great preys."

Leaving the latter to be dealt with on a future occasion, he made a descent on Tyrconnell, and took captive Calvagh and his wife, who were then at the Monastery of Killodonnell, at the upper end of Lough Swilly with their guard of 1,500 Scots. So well was Calvagh hated by his clansmen, and so much had his lady been captivated by Shane, with whom she was afterwards content to live (*a*) that he encountered no opposition.

Sussex landed in June with instructions to proceed against Shane, "who remains in great power and disorder in the northern parts, holding by force not only the country of Tyrone, but also divers other countries, and some parts belonging directly to us."

MacDonnell and Sorly Boy he was to provoke to "make war upon the said Shane," while he was to rally the partisans of the Baron, "using such good reasons and persuasions to each of them as you shall see expedient and most probable to allure them to further our service." Moreover, he should (as Shane recommended) "put in good order the rest of our realm towards the west and south parts, as that within our English Pale, and our countries of Leix and Offaly."

It was thought best to re-grant part of these

territories to the natives—the O'Conors, O'Mores, O'Dempseys, O'Dunnes, and others, whom Shane was likely to find useful allies. Radcliffe, Governor of those parts, brother to Sussex, reported that he had sent down Oweny MacLysagh, one of their chiefs, to stir them up to make war "on the countries committed to his charge."

On the 22nd June, while Shane was on the borders of Tyrconnell treating with the Scots, Sussex made a dash upon Armagh, where he seized the monastery and cathedral, which he fortified as a depot for his stores.

Leaving a garrison of two hundred men there, he fell back on Meath, and next day published a proclamation "showing the presumptuous, arrogant, rebellious, and traitorous deeds of Shane O'Neill." [1]

Shane was pretty well used to this sort of thing so much so, that either on this or some subsequent occasion an Irish jester standing by, hearing the proclamation read, remarked that "except traitor was a more honourable title than O'Neill, he would never assent to Shane's assumption of it!" [2]

Thinking the possession of Armagh would give him an advantage in negotiation, Sussex made overtures through the Baron of Slane. Shane replied in Irish in a letter dated "from his woods," that he would ask "no peace or truce" while the soldiers remained

[1] *Idem.* [2] Campion: *History of Ireland.*

at Armagh. He was not such a fool as to appear before him and place himself in the hands of the Englishry, who, in his own time, had treacherously taken, tortured, and slaughtered many Irish nobles and gentlemen, as the lord MacMurrough, the lord O'Brien and his brother, "Datheus," the lord O'Dogherty, Donogh O'Conor, Conal O'More, and many others.[1] He wonders that he should "put the Queen to unnecessary expense in waging war" against him.

In future, he declared, he would only communicate with headquarters; and he trusted her majesty would second his efforts to civilise his wild country. She had already given a gracious reply to his letters; and nothing hindered his repair to her presence but the lack of money. When he appeared before her, he would make "answer and excuse" to every word of his proclamation, which he had read. And he did, too, in a document or pamphlet of twenty-nine pages, which is still to be found among the State Papers.[2]

After informing him that he could have the money —with interest—if he liked to come for it before the campaign opened, Sussex issued another proclamation calling "upon all the gentlemen of the name of the O'Neills and all others, the freeholders of Tyrone, to refuse the traitor Shane and repair to the Lord Lieutenant Sussex for the service of her

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*. [2] *Idem*.

Majesty, and in aid of Brian O'Neill, the rightful heir of Tyrone."

Shane in the meantime kept the garrison in Armagh exercised, and well nigh succeeded in cutting them off altogether. He sent a few of his men into the town, and the officer in command sallied out upon them, when he suddenly appeared with his forces on a hill outside the walls, and the English had but time to recover their defences when his men were upon them. After a sharp encounter, they were driven back, leaving the "friars' house" outside the cathedral close in flames.

Sussex, about the middle of July, encamped in the town, whence he sent a force of horse and foot to prey and spoil Tyrone. There were over 1,000 men—200 horsemen, $7\frac{1}{2}$ companies of English foot, 100 Scots, and all the kerne in the camp—under the command of Sir George Stanley, Sir William Fitzwilliams, James Wingfield, and others. Sussex himself stayed behind to keep company with Ormond, who was ill.

His men, with a great prey of cows, set out on their return, when, "in a plain three miles away from any wood," they were overtaken by Shane, who, with 120 horse and "a few Scots and gallowglasses" suddenly charged upon the rear, drove Wingfield with his 100 horse upon the foot; and, while men and horses were struggling in confusion together, Shane and his warriors came upon them

with their wild battle cry *Lamh Dearg Abu!* Overcome by fear, the English cavalry rode down their own men, and extricated themselves only to fly panic stricken from the field to the crest of an adjoining hill; while Shane's troopers rode through and through the broken ranks, "cutting down the footmen on all sides," till they were attacked in flank by the rest of the horse under Fitzwilliam, who had been some distance ahead, and saved the army from being annihilated. Shane blew a recall note, and withdrew, unpursued, with the recovered spoils. Out of 500 English footmen, 50 lay dead, and 50 more were badly wounded. The survivors fell back to Armagh, so discouraged as to be unfit for further service.

"By the cowardice of some," Sussex wrote to Cecil, "all was like to have been lost; and by the worthiness of two men all was restored, and the contrary part overthrown. It was by cowardice the dreadfullest beginning that ever was seen in Ireland; and by valiantness of a few (thanks be given to God!) brought to a good end. Ah! Mr. Secretary, what unfortunate star hung over me that day, to draw me that never could be persuaded to be absent from the army at any time to be absent for a little disease of another man. The rereward was the best and picked soldiers in all the land. If I or any stout man had been that day with them, we had made an end of Shane, which is now further

off than ever it was. Never before durst Scot or Irishman look an Englishman in plain or wood since I was here; and now Shane, in a plain, three miles away from any wood, and where I would have asked of God to have had him, hath, with a hundred and twenty horse and a few Scots and gallowglasses, scarce half in numbers, charged our whole army; and by the cowardice of one wretch, whom I hold dear to me as my own brother, was like in one hour to have left not one man of that army alive, and after to have taken me and the rest at Armagh. The fame of the English army, so hardly gotten, is now vanquished, and I wrecked and dishonoured by the vileness of other men's deeds." [1]

He makes light of his loss in his official report to the Queen, pretending that after a slight repulse he had won a brilliant victory; but the truth was soon known; and, irritated at the profitless expense in which she had been involved, she determined on less costly methods of reducing Shane, who was to be invited to England, and who was now "harassing and plundering the territory of Bregia and Meath," and had "command of all Ulster from Drogheda to Lough Erne." [2]

He still clung to the project of having a personal interview with Elizabeth; and in this he was advised by Kildare, who, Sussex states, "first to win time, advised Shane to go; and after time won, counselled

[1] Froude. [2] *Four Masters.*

him not to go."[1] Contrasting the conduct of the Geraldines with that of the Butlers, he writes that "the Geraldines are of Irish blood, not brought, or reduced to the English Government. The Butlers, for the most part, are of English blood and name, or of the Irishry reduced already to English Government. The experience hereof appeareth in the cases of Thomond and Tyrone; for the Geraldines ever favoured and yet do Donald O'Brien and Shane O'Neill usurping (?) by Irish order; and the Butlers ever favoured the Earl of Thomond and the late Baron of Dungannon."

To annoy Sussex, Shane proposed to treat with Ormond, to whom he sent his messenger, Neal Grey, with power to make terms. He said he was ready to go to the Queen, and to repair Armagh; but there would be no peace, he again affirmed, while the soldiers remained there.

Sussex, thinking he could dictate, required Shane to keep the peace with his rebellious tributaries—O'Reilly; Conn O'Donnell, son of Calvagh; Maguire, Shane, son of Cuconnaght; Magennis, O'Hanlon; Patrick MacRory; MacCann; and the Scots, Sorly Boy and MacRandal Boy.

"From his woods," he replies that he "will not grant peace to his vassals but at his own option." If his lordship would forward his "secure and speedy repair to her majesty's presence," he again wrote,

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*.

give him his sister in marriage, and be his gossip, he "may be at peace with his Lordship." We can appreciate the humour of this, remembering the friendship existing between Shane and the Earl, who had already failed to have him assassinated.

He now made preparations for another great "hosting"; and in a letter to Cecil he states that some of Shane's kinsmen have been won over "and taken their oaths to serve the Queen."

Her majesty, seeing, as she says, such little fruit arising from her expenditure, preferred that Shane should be "drawn to come to England"; but he told Sussex that unless his man received the pardon and safe conduct from her own hands, he would not accept of them.

Meanwhile he was obliged to chastise MacRandal Boy, Magennis, and other sympathisers with the English, who had risen against him.

These chiefs, some of whom were so barbarously treated by the English after Shane's death, as we shall see, and who were so eager to facilitate the conquest of their country by the national enemy, were about the only real supporters Sussex had.

Shane made every endeavour to unite them under his standard, but with little success. In 1551, Cusack tells us, he offered half his possessions to those that would join him. The MacDonnells he offered to leave in quiet possession of the lands they had usurped. But they not only preferred to join

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the English, but, following their example, put forward a candidate of their own—his step-brother —against him.

To cringe and crawl to English Deputies was, in their eyes, as in the eyes of most of the Irish Chiefs —and some of the old Shanachies their teachers— commendable enough ; but to submit to a native prince like O'Neill was nothing short of a disgrace, to be resisted by every possible means. It was ever thus ; and, as in the twelfth century we find MacDunlevy, with the foreigners who had just deprived him of his territory, marching against the O'Neill of that day—Hugh Duff—so now we find most of the Ulster chiefs, eager to facilitate the conquest of their country, as remarked, taking their stand on the side of the national enemy. How truly the poet sings :—

"God pity Ireland ! she has nurst
Of all her foes, the fiercest, worst.
Her children's ablest plans were laid,
That Irish blood might be betrayed ;
Her warriors struck their hardest when
The blows fell on their countrymen ;
And scarce one deed of guilt or shame,
The strangers from the day they came,
Wrought in this wronged and outraged land,
Unaided by a native hand."

Despairing of success in the field, Sussex postponed his operations while he endeavoured to settle

his difficulties by other means; and through the medium of one of Shane's messengers, a certain Neal Grey, he arranged to have him assassinated. The first attempt to stab him had failed, and the would-be assassin—a Fardoragh MacDonnell, apparently, a Captain of Gallowglasses in the English service—paid the penalty with his life; but with an individual like Neal, who had access to Shane at all times, Sussex believed there could be no failure.

Elizabeth quite approved of the design; and on the 24th she received the following particulars in a letter dated from Ardbraccan:—

"May it please your Highness,

"After conference had with Shane O'Neill's Seneschal, I entered talk with Neil Grey, and perceiving by him that he had little hope of Shane's conformity in anything, and that he, therefore, desired that he might be received to serve your Highness, for that he would no longer abide with him, and that if I would promise to receive him to your service, he would do anything that I would command him, I swore him upon the Bible to keep secret what I should say unto him; and assured him if it were ever known during the time I had the government, that beside the breach of his oath it should cost him his life. I used long circumstance in persuading him to serve you to benefit his country, and to procure assurance of living to him and his for ever by doing of that which he might easily do. He promised to do what I would. In fine I brake with him to kill Shane. And bound myself by oath to see him have a hundred

marks of land by the year to him and his heirs for reward. He seemed desirous to serve your Highness, and to have the land, but fearful to do it, doubting his own escape after with safety. What he will do I know not. But I assure your Highness he may do it without danger if he will. And if he will not do what he may in your service, then will be done to him what others may. God send your Highness a good end.

"Your Highness's,

"Most faithful and humble subject and servant,

"T. SUSSEX." [1]

Fearful of meeting the fate of the last hireling, Grey refused to make the attempt, when, doubtless, he was murdered in turn, so that Sussex was enabled to repeat the experiment some months later.

Seeing that Shane was still having it all his own way, Elizabeth sent the Earl of Kildare on August 27th to Ireland to induce him "to repair to England in his company." Sussex, however, in the interval, having received his supplies of men and money, and collected a great host for his expedition, was permitted to again take the field before negotiating.

Accordingly, on 1st September, he set out on his march with an unusually large force, accompanied by the five Earls then in Ireland—Kildare, Ormond, Thomond, Desmond, and Clanricard. On this occasion he penetrated to Lough Foyle; but

[1] Froude.

accomplished nothing more than to plunder Glenconkene in Clannaboy and destroy 4,000 kine, which he was unable to carry off.

Meanwhile Shane invaded the Pale, burned four towns, and took Sir James Garland prisoner.

Finding that Sussex could neither conquer Ulster nor defend the Pale, where, Cusack states,[1] Shane had altogether destroyed thirty villages, Kildare was sent to coax him to visit England ; and Sussex was ordered to co-operate cordially with him.

Accompanied by the lords Baltinglass, Slane, and Louth, he came to the usual place of meeting at Carrickbradagh ; but Shane was in no humour to treat. Next day, however, he proved more amenable, and the conversation resulted in making a written offer of terms to which Kildare agreed.

On the 19th October, the Lord Lieutenant, Kildare, and the Privy Council write to the Queen that peace had been concluded.

The Articles, which consisted of seven petitions and three promises, were as follows :—

1. To have the Earls of Kildare and Ormond, with other nobles, to meet him at Carrick Bradagh, on a day to be fixed.
2. To have the Earl of Ormond to accompany him till he embark.
3. To have the Earl of Kildare and others whom he shall require, to go with him to the Queen's presence.

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*.

4. To have a protection from the Lord Lieutenant Sussex, under the surety of the Earls of Kildare, Ormond, Desmond, Clanricard, and Thomond, that he and all his shall go and come safely, and that no hurt shall be done to any of his urriaghs, till his return from England into his own country.
5. To have such a sum of money for the charges of his journey as the Earls of Kildare and Ormond shall think fit, the said money to be paid into the hands of the Earl of Kildare.
6. To have the Earl of Kildare surety that the soldiers of Armagh shall not hurt him the value of one groat, and that they shall be withdrawn from thence as soon as he shall meet the two Earls at Carrick Bradagh.
7. That no Irishman who owes him allegiance as superior lord, shall be maintained against him, but if they drive any prey they may take from him into the English Pale, that the parties may be delivered up to him, or satisfaction to be made, and he to do the like.

I. His first promise is to repair to the Queen's presence, now that he is pleased with his pardon.

II. The second is to deliver the pledge he before named for the repayment of the money.

III. The third to forbear revenge upon Maguire, and MacRandal Boy, and to do in all things with them according to the peace concluded at Dundalk.[1]

[1] *Idem.* Introduction.

When these terms were made known to Elizabeth and the Council, the propriety of accepting them was advocated "for certain secret respects."

Writing to the Queen on November 21st, Sussex says: "Shane's resolutions were so certain as he would have all he demanded granted, or he would not go into England, and therewith departed forty miles from the place of meeting." The Earl of Kildare "thought his offers sufficient for the surety of his going."

Kildare, to give the Queen the appearance of a diplomatic triumph, persuaded Shane that by not insisting on having the garrison withdrawn at once from Armagh it would put her in good humour, and make her favourable to his suits. He at first expressed his indignation that any attempt should be made to vary the written letter; what he had written, he had written. At length, however, he agreed to please her Highness, "but for the Earl of Sussex, he would not mollify one iota of his agreement."

Sussex advised Elizabeth to keep the garrison at Armagh "upon the strictness of the words written in the agreement"; for though "the Earl of Kildare was put as surety for the fetching away of the soldiers in Armagh," yet "there was no word forbidding others to be at any time brought thither." Thus he should "look for the performance of all things written and nothing else."

Cecil thought they might even do better, and suggests that "in Shane's absence from Ireland, something might be cavilled against him or his for non observing the covenants on his side ; and so the pact being infringed, the matter might be used as should be thought fit."

NOTES.

(*a*) This is the one blot on Shane's character, and it has been made the most of by hostile writers, who drag in the unhappy lady on every possible and impossible occasion.

As if to make matters worse, the O'Donnell bards, the O'Clerys (*Four Masters*), who ante-date the event by two years, spitefully assert that Calvagh's daughter, Margery, or Mary, was present at her father's imprisonment, and in consequence died of grief, etc., in 1561. This is a pure invention. She could not have been present, for the very good reason that she had been divorced by Shane early in the previous year—as appears from the *Calendar of State Papers*—when, believing himself free, he proposed other marriages. Whatever irregularity there was in this must be attributed to the ancient and evil customs then prevalent in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, as a reference to O'Hanlon's *Life of St. Malachy*; O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, and Hill's *MacDonnells of Antrim*, will show.

In private life Shane may have been nothing better than the majority of the foremost men of his day; but he was certainly nothing worse. We must remember—what some conveniently forgot—that his was the age of Henry VIII., of Henry of Navarre, and of the "virgin" Queen—"the murderess of her guest," as Macaulay styles her. With her approval we see Sussex, one of the foremost English nobleman of his day, thrice playing the role of assassin; while in 1565, we find his beer-swilling successor—"Big Henry of the Beer," a "lusty feeder and surfeiter"—father of Sir Philip Sydney, "openly cautioned against keeping company with Mrs. Issam."—Hamilton *Calendar*; *Book of Howth*. Turning to the Anglican Churchman of those days, we find Bishop Bale accusing (*The Vocacyon of Johan Bayle* in the *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. VI.) his superior, Archbishop Brown of Dublin, one of the best of them, of "drunkeness and gluttony," and calling him "an epicurian Archbishop," a "brockish swine," etc. In 1571 we are informed (Hamilton *Calendar*) that Dixon, the Anglican Bishop of Cork, "who has a married wife, has under colour of matrimony retained a woman of suspicious life as his wife."

Civilizers like these would be the first to throw stones at their neighbours.

CHAPTER VI.

SHANE VISITS ENGLAND.—HE IS DETAINED TILL THE BARON, SENT TO ESTABLISH HIMSELF IN TYRONE, IS SLAIN ON A FORAY BY TURLOUGH LEYNAGH, HIS TANIST, WHEN HE IS RELEASED AFTER BEING OBLIGED TO SIGN A TREATY WHICH HE REPUDIATES.—HE AGAIN DEFEATS SUSSEX, AND MAKES PEACE ON HIS OWN TERMS.—NOVEMBER, 1561 TO JULY, 1563.

TOWARDS the close of November, 1561, Shane started on his journey to England, with £500 in hands. A thousand was to be paid in Chester, and another £500 in London.

On the borders of the Pale he was received in state by Kildare and Ormond, and by the Lord Lieutenant Sussex in Dublin, where he was handed a letter from the Scottish Queen, Mary Stuart. This had been delivered in Tyrone, whence it was sent after him to Dublin.[1]

Accompanied by the two Earls, without whose escort he refused to stir, and with a train which

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*.

included MacSweeney, his Constable, O'Gallagher, his Marshal, MacCaffry, his Standard Bearer, and O'Gnive, the Clannaboy Bard, his Chief Poet, he sailed for England, according to Ware, on December 3rd, and on January 2nd, 1562, appeared at the English Court to assert his claims before Elizabeth, in whom he trusted implicitly, and whose ministers, he believed, were chiefly responsible for nullifying her good intentions.

Had he known she sanctioned the late attempt to assassinate him, and shared in the double dealing that was practised against him, he would have been less confiding, and as suspicious of her Highness as he was of her ministers.

On his arrival he was received privately at the Lord Keeper's house by Cecil, Pembroke, and Bacon, who endeavoured to treat with him on their own account, but he would not listen to them.

He agreed, however, to make a general statement before Elizabeth, by whom he was received in state on the 6th, in presence of, among others, the following:—the Swedish Ambassador; the Ambassador of Savoy; the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; the Duke of Norfolk; Marquis of Northampton; Earls of Arundel, Huntingdon, Bedford, Pembroke and Warwick; Lord Robert Dudley; the Lords Dacres, Clinton, Howard, Strange, Cobham, Scrope, Nevil, Lumley, Sheffield,

Chandos and Hunsdon; and the Knights, Ed. Rogers, Fr. Knollys, Wm. Cecil, Ambrose Cave, and James Mason.[1]

"And gallant the sight when the proud Chieftain came,
To the halls of the Tudor with nobles and train,
All brave men and true, young and goodly withal,
As ere charged in the battle, or paced within hall,
Apparelled in saffron, all broidered in gold,
With banner and brand like a monarch of old,
And many fair dames as they bent to the tale
Of the greenwoods and bowers that bloomed 'cross the Pale,
In secret soft murmured—' how happy 'twould be
With those strangers to dwell in their Isle o'er the sea,
And the proud Queen herself, despite her endeavour,
In love as in war own'd—*The Red Hand for Ever*!"

O'Neill, who was presented by Kildare, stalked in, says Froude (from Camden) "his saffron mantle sweeping round and round him, his hair curling on his back, and clipped short below his eyes, which gleamed from under it with a grey lustre, frowning fierce and cruel. Behind him followed his gallowglasses, bare-headed, fair-haired, with shirts of mail which reached to their knees, a wolf skin flung across their shoulders, and short broad battle-axes in their hands."

On his knees in the Irish fashion he made his obeisance in Irish, which few or none could under-

[1] Hamilton *Calendar.*

stand, so that we are at a loss to know what he really did say. What purported to be a translation was engrossed by Cecil two days later, and reads :—

"Oh! my most dread Sovereign Lady, and Queen, like as I, Shane O'Neill, your Majesty's subject of your realm of Ireland, have of long time desired to come into the presence of your Majesty," etc. He acknowledges her as "Sovereign Lady and Queen of England, France, and Ireland," and begs her favour for the gentlemen of his company, his kinsmen and friends.

Shane did not appear as humble to those present as this would imply, and Campion tells us,[1] as the interpretation of his bearing, Elizabeth's affected gallants devised the style for him: "O'Neill the Great, cousin to St. Patrick, friend to the Queen of England, and enemy to all the world besides."

Now that he had done her homage as his superior, he confidently expected that, seeing the justice of his claims, she would have them settled to his satisfaction, when he might at once return to Ulster to set it in order. But he was soon undeceived, and discovered that, notwithstanding all his precautions, the "safe conduct" was worded so that he might be detained in England indefinitely. It permitted him to return to Ireland, without specifying when, and taking advantage of this quibble, various specious pretexts were invented to

[1] *History of Ireland.*

delay him in the hope of having him supplanted. He required to be recognized as his father's heir; the English judges desired the cause to be pleaded before them, the young baron must come over to be heard on the other side, and while it was pretended that the Baron had been sent for, Cecil wrote privately to FitzWilliam, the Lord Justice, to prevent him from leaving Ireland.

It was expected that he would at least get a footing in Tyrone, and Sussex, writing to Cecil on January 2nd, recommended that her majesty, "if she means to further the Earl's cause," should "show strangeness to Shane at his coming, and not to treat with him till his coming." [1] In other words, it was to be given out that Shane had gone to England to treat, not with the Queen, but with the Earl of Sussex, who, of course, would have it all his own way.

"The report thereof," Sussex writes, "would do much good to the young Earl." In Dublin, in the hearing of some, he commanded Kildare and Ormond to put a handlock on Shane, so that it might be given out that he had been brought a prisoner before Elizabeth. Shane was not altogether unprepared for this, and in the document, quoted below, he says, when he undertook to come to England he fully understood what influence Sussex had with the nobility, and how he would use it, but

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*

he trusted "in the Queen's Highness, and the uprightness of her honourable Council, and my own truth."

Sussex brought to England "all books, indentures, records," etc., relating to Tyrone, and with his help, written interrogatories or "Articles to be answered by Shane O'Neill," dated February 7th, were made out by Cecil.

Shane is asked what petitions he intended to make to the Queen, when he first proposed to come over. He answers: "To acknowledge my duty, to become known to her Highness as a protection against unjust Governors, and to become civil by the sight of her Majesty's nobility."

He offered his services, what are they? "To help the Governor," Shane answers, "in preventing her enemies from landing in the North. Sussex has brought in the 'Red Shanks' to the great danger of the Crown of Ireland. The lands (they usurped) should be restored to loyal subjects, such as me, and my friends."

As to the Baron, even if he were out of the way, he says, "there are hundreds of my name who would not allow his pretensions." He himself received his title from his clansmen, by whom he had been elected unanimously, and it did not matter that it had not been confirmed by Elizabeth. His ancestors never used to be confirmed by the Crown, "yet none the less do I mean to be a good subject."

In virtue of his election, he declares, he claims, "what my ancestors have claimed, and no more. Most of them have held the pre-eminence by indenture, and the old men of the country will not deny the extent of the jurisdiction." "Magennis, MacMahon, Maguire, O'Cahan, O'Hanlon, MacArtan, Dufferin, the Savages, and many O'Neills are under my rule. Clanaboy and the Route should belong to me, which the Scots engageth by the means aforesaid. I have also ancient rights over O'Reilly's country, and rents out of other lords of small reputations, which it were prolix to write."

O'Neill has hitherto borne "bare allegiance only to the Lords of Ireland and peace with the Pale. My father first acknowledged Henry VIII King of England, France, and Ireland, and I do the same with more perfection to serve her majesty than my ancestors." [1]

The records were searched in vain for a title to Tyrone; and among the State records of the time appear the "Charter of denization" to Shane's grandfather Con More; and documents relating to the proceedings of Richard II. No better title, however, could be discovered than that founded on the story of the noble King Bosco related elsewhere.

Shane, who well understood the game that was being played, used his opportunities in flattering and working upon Elizabeth, to whom he wrote from

[5] *Idem*; Bagwell: *Ireland under the Tudors.*

time to time, telling her she was the sole hope and refuge he possessed in the world. In coming to England, his chief desire had been to see that great person, that Solomon, whose fame was spoken of throughout the world; and to study the wisdom of her government, that he "might learn how better to order himself in civil polity."

This was laying it on rather heavily; but then her majesty could not be offended, considering his "lack of education and civility." An English wife, he reminds her, would be a help to him in this respect.

There is little information as to how he spent his time in London. Planche, in his *British Costumes*, reproduces a picture of his men as they appeared there. He was present at a Court hunting party, where he saw a brother of Guise, who was on his way home from Scotland, kill two stags with a single arrow. A diarist of the time (Machyn) has recorded that one day he came riding into Cheapside, and dined at St. John's Head at Master Daniels the goldsmith; and that on another day he ran at the ring beyond St. John's in the field.

He requests Elizabeth to appoint him "to attend on the Lord Robert Dudley," that he might "learn to ride in the English fashion; to run at the tilt; to hawk, to shoot, or use such other good exercises as I perceive my said good lord to be meet unto."

This was not displeasing to Elizabeth; for the

Lord Robert, son of the Duke of Northumberland, was one of her prime favourites, in whose breast her fondness kindled the ambitious hope that she meant to marry him. This ambition, and its evil consequences, form the groundwork of Scott's tale, *Kenilworth*, of which castle the Lord Robert, afterwards Earl of Leicester, was lord. Here Prince Hugh was educated and brought up as an English nobleman.

Dudley was an enemy to Sussex, and afterwards corresponded with Shane, who sent him horses, hawks, and hounds, and thanked him for his gentle and loving letters.

Shane was in correspondence with the Spanish king, Philip, from whom Piers, the Governor of Carrickfergus, reports he received letters in May, 1561.[1] They were brought by the parish priests of Howth and Dundalk, and bade him not be discouraged, for that he should not want aid.

In London he met his Ambassador, De Quadra, with whom he had several interviews. His interpreter was an Irish priest, who afterwards went to Louvain, and thence to Spain or Rome. One supposed consequence of the journey was that the Holy See gave Shane all the ecclesiastical patronage in Ulster.[2]

All this time Cecil and Sussex were busily engaged plotting against him ; and in March the former made

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*. [2] Bagwell.

certain memoranda which he probably thought might form the basis of a report to the Baron's advantage. Tyrone was to be made shire land; Shane was to change his garments and go like an Englishman; to deliver Calvagh O'Donnell, and consent to the establishing of sessions at Armagh, etc.

These ideas were doubtless embodied in certain articles submitted to Shane, who about that time complains to the Queen that he had his choice of either signing them or of awaiting the arrival of the Baron, and having the question of his title again opened up. He craves her highness's advice as to which is fittest for him to choose.

She had written on March 13th for the Baron to be sent over "for order in his controversy with Shane," who "prays that his cause may be ended with favour and expedition."

He had already heard of the disturbances created by the "Baron of Dungannon's sons and other enemies." Turlough Leynagh, his Tanist and Governor, he was told, was taking too much on himself; and "the sept of the O'Neills," said the correspondent, whose name is not given, "do not maintain one another, but are scattered abroad, every one doing for himself. The creaghts of the country on every side are dropping off to eschew the troubles of the country . . . every man spake largely for the defence of the country at your

being with them; yet is the country now evil defended. It is easier to redress now than hereafter, therefore come in haste, and do as the proverb says, *Principiis obsta*; *sero medicina paratur*, come with haste and you shall be welcome." [1]

This letter was submitted to Elizabeth on March 21st; and finding that the Baron, who had been brought from Scotland or Balgriffin, was making some progress, she again wrote to the Lord Justice, on March 28th, to stay "Brian, the Baron of Dungannon's son . . . from coming to England, notwithstanding the former directions." [2]

The Baron and his partisans, including Conn O'Donnell and Maguire and the English of Armagh, made frequent raids on Tyrone, with the object, apparently, of disorganising the Cinel. By April 12th, Shane afterwards complained to the Queen, many of his people had fallen, and nearly 4,000 kine and goods to the value of 2,000 marks were carried away. [3] He petitioned for a commission to be granted to Ormond and Kildare to investigate the matter, and to have redress for the wrongs sustained by his people "since his coming into England"; but he got no hearing till the above date, when, with twenty of his men, the Baron was surprised and slain on a foray at daybreak, on his way from the Pale, between Carlingford and Newry, by Turlough

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*; Bagwell. [2] Hamilton *Calendar*.
[3] *Idem*.

Leynagh, at the head of 100 horsemen. He was cut down not far from the spot where Matthew, his father, fell, by the hand of one Doltagh O'Donnell.

Some writers have the audacity to assert that he was not only murdered, but that he was murdered by Shane himself. Shane they also accuse of the death of Matthew ; but there is nothing clearer than that both Matthew and his son Brian were slain, as Shane always maintained they were, in open war, and with a good deal more justice than Turlough Leynagh's own two uncles, who were executed by Shane's father, Conn, for rebellion in 1532.

The death of the Baron, and the discovery that there were other O'Neills in Tyrone as well as Shane, upset the schemes of Elizabeth and her ministers ; and it was resolved to set him free. Accordingly a proclamation was issued declaring that his "submission" had been accepted ; but he was forced to agree to conditions "so far against my honour and profit," as he afterwards declared, "that I never would perform them while I live." He was also compelled to give three hostages till sixteen others were lodged in Dublin Castle.

The deed, dated 30th April, recites that he had taken the oath to be an obedient subject, and has offered to reduce those parts of Ulster outside Tyrone towards the sea, which have lately been disquieted by intestine wars between the powerful captains there. It has seemed good to her majesty to consent

to O'Neill ruling and governing the said countries, namely Oirecht O'Cahan, Route, Clanaboy, and "Keyleelogh," [1]

This, in effect, only gave Shane authority over his own clansmen, the Cinel Owen of Tyrone and Clanaboy, and the Scots, whom it was expected he would eject.

The Baron, Hugh, afterwards Earl of Tyrone, son of Matthew, and brother of Brian, it was intimated, was still to be maintained against him; and because he is absent in Ireland, "her majesty abstains from deciding to whom the country belongs. Meanwhile O'Neill shall remain Captain."

The soldiers were to be continued at Armagh, with full liberty to remove their supplies from the English Pale.

Shane had his choice of accepting these terms or of spending the rest of his days in the Tower of London. On the 26th May, after an absence of about five months, he returned to Dublin, where he had the proclamation in his favour published, and whence he departed without delay with his guard into Tyrone, where he was received with enthusiasm by his clansmen. Turlough sought to have himself elected during his absence; but they remained true to Shane, and obliged Turlough to take refuge in the Pale.

Shane was justly indignant at the treachery and

[1] *Carew MSS.*

deceit of Elizabeth and her Council, from whom he now felt himself discharged of all obligations ; and, assembling his tributaries, who had doubtless been informed of the treaty, he told them he went to England to get, not to give ; and if in future they refused him obedience, they should feel his power.

Of the Lord Lieutenant, who followed him back to Ireland, he demanded the withdrawal of the garrison at Armagh. He arranged to meet him in September at Dundalk, where he hoped to get him into his power by straining the language of the "safe conduct." It was "so penned," he told Cecil in a letter dated 27th August, "that the intent of the granting thereof should appear to be for the performing of the articles" made in England. Yet this was the safe conduct that Mr. Bagwell tells us was "plain to every commonly candid understanding." What a faithless, uncandid being Shane was to be sure !

Shane, Sussex held, should be expelled absolutely from Ulster ; and the Scots, as long as their help was needed, should be flattered and encouraged, and then driven out in turn. Tyrone might be divided into three parts, and even the Baron might be ignored. The division "may well be begun on the ground that the child claiming to be Earl, being so young in years, the country must be ordered in the time of his minority ; and may after, upon further respects (excuses) be continued when the possession is settled."

When the time came to trap Shane, 14th September, Sussex repaired with the Privy Council to Dundalk, where he expected him to appear with his tributaries.

On this occasion the "safe conduct" was worded so as to give him no protection should he refuse—as it was expected he would—to do homage to the Lord Lieutenant as Elizabeth's representative. The blockhead overlooked the fact that Shane had all along refused to accept a safe conduct, save from the hands of Elizabeth herself. He had been already tricked by her; and he certainly was not now going to be tricked again by her Lieutenant, whom he regarded as no better than an assassin.

Accordingly he told him that his duty to her highness forbade him leaving his province in its present disturbed condition. He demanded satisfaction for the injuries done him during his absence in England, and asserted his right to rule the province as The O'Neill, Prince of Ulster; if such right were disputed, he added, he would refuse to treat at all.

Kildare, Thomond, and Clanricard were deputed to meet him at Dundalk Bridge, and, at the worst, to procure a truce for six months between him and his rebellious vassals, as well as an open market for the garrison at Armagh; but the meeting led to nothing, and he withdrew to Tyrone, declaring that he would have no peace with his rebels.

They, we are told, "seeing him so proudly departed, and not having received that which they long hoped in for two or three years, depending continually on the Queen's Majesty, forthwith burst out into such large, unseemly, and lamentable talk, yea, in effect, cursing him that would believe any promises from the Queen's Highness, either by mouth or letter."

Old O'Hanlon (*a*) "openly swore it were better to serve the worst Irishman in Ulster than to trust in the Queen. MacRandal Boy, a Scot, who is as wise and subtle an Irishman as any of them," spoke to the same effect, while Maguire suffered "both at the coming in of the tide and going-out of the same."

Sussex and the Council were disconcerted, and wrote to Elizabeth of the "refractory and stubborn behaviour of Shane in absenting himself altogether", though he had offered him in marriage his virtuous sister, the Lady Frances, who had been brought specially from England as a bait.

Hearing of this, and doubtless to test the truth of the report, Shane, Sussex states, sent a messenger to Dundalk to ask "whether I, your majesty's Lieutenant, would promise to give him my sister in marriage . Whereunto I answered that that matter was not contained in the indenture; but that after he had performed that which to him belonged in the indenture, I would desire him and the rest of the nobility to my house at Ardbraccan,

as before I had done, where he should see and speak with my sister; and if he liked her and she him, they should both have my good will. But I could not promise to give her against her will." [1]

He was in despair; and he says he "earnestly desires to be relieved of the service."

Some days later, one Robert Fleming, an attorney of Drogheda, who had been employed by Shane to bring his letters to Dundalk, sought an interview with him, and, on being admitted to his presence, looked in every corner and under every hanging to see that no one was listening. He then told him, among other things, that Shane, who had daily information out of the Pale, had heard that the Lady Frances "was brought over only to trap him; and if he came to any Governor, would never return."

He gave little credit to Fleming, but greatly relied on the reports of Con O'Donnell, "the likeliest plant in Ulster to graft a good subject on." Being informed of his dealings with Sussex, Shane invaded Tyrconnell, and swept away 10,000 kine. O'Reilly and Maguire likewise felt his power, and the latter complained of the loss of three hundred of his churls.

After procuring the escape of his hostages from Dublin Castle, Shane deprived the English of Armagh of their beeves, contemptuously restored them again; and then threatened the garrison itself.

One dark, moonless night the guard at the

[1] Introduction, Hamilton *Calendar.*

cathedral were alarmed with mysterious lights like blown matches glimmering through the darkness, and had the troops gone out to reconnoitre, some hundreds of "harquebusmen" were in ambush to cut them off. The next day, Sussex tells Elizabeth, his troopers came under the gates and taunted the English with cowardice, "telling them the wolves had eaten their cattle, and the matches they thought they saw were wolves' eyes." He and the Council were compelled to write in favour of Shane "to stop Shane's mouth, and to gain time"; and on moonlight nights they repaired to Armagh, there to entertain him with "gentle talk," so that he might not use them to invade the Pale!

No favour, they tell Elizabeth, should be extended to him. He should be extirpated. He had written to the Pope; he was in correspondence with the Queen of Scots; he had established secret relations with Spain through De Quadra, "and," writes Sussex, "no greater danger had ever been in Ireland."

O'Reilly, Maguire (Shane, and Hugh and Edmund), fortified by the promises of Sussex, and the thought of the tribe-lands to be transferred to themselves, assure Elizabeth that they will "maintain their faith in her majesty to the last."

Maguire, who was presented by the Lord Lieutenant with a nag which, typical of his promises, was found on arrival to be utterly worthless, states that

his clansmen could not see why he should persist in opposing Shane ; and they had turned against him "because of their great losses, and for fear ; and all my men's pleasure is that I should yield." Shane, he says, made him large offers, but "my answer was that I will never forsake your lordship till your honour do forsake me," He requests Sussex to write to him in English, when the secrets of the correspondence could be preserved, as the Latin was so well known.

It might be awkward if his clansmen should discover that his chief interest in opposing Shane was to possess himself of their lands. Since the reign of Henry VIII. this was the great inducement to submission held out by the English ; and it was eagerly availed of by most of the Irish chiefs, who, down to that period, seldom looked beyond their clans, and now seldom beyond themselves. From his clansmen, a chief like Maguire, in virtue of his office, might hold no more than 5 or 6,000 acres for life ; whereas from the English monarch he might take a grant forever of 50 or 60,000 acres, or the whole tribe-lands, which, with an English title, was the great bribe held out to Shane's rebels.

On April 6th, 1563, Sussex came into Ulster on another hosting against him, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Armagh. He was disappointed by the M'Donnells, who were lamenting the death of two of their chiefs, MacRandal Boy and his brother

Gillespick, treacherously murdered by the notorious Andrew Brereton. Andrew still farmed Lecale, notwithstanding the murders he had committed years before, and of which Conn had so often complained.

On that occasion he killed two sons of MacRandal Boy, "a tried friend of England," whom Sussex knighted for his services against Shane. He states he joined him in friendship with Brereton, who prepared a banquet to celebrate the event at Ardglass. MacRandal, his brother, and followers were invited, and in the middle of the night their throats were cut by Brereton and his men. A third brother met the same fate in another village. Brereton sold his interest in Lecale to the Earl of Kildare, and went to England. In 1573, after "having served near 30 years," he was recommended for a "good service pension" by the Deputy, Fitzwilliam.[1]

Satisfied with the assurance that Brereton would be punished, the Scots again flocked to Sussex, who, on April 21st, surveyed "the Trough mountains, said to be the strongest place in Ireland." Next day he returned to Armagh ; and on the night of the 23rd, while engaged, as he told Cecil, in prayer and supplication, some thieves in the camp made off with three hundred pack-horses, which fell into Shane's hands. There were some skirmishes with

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*.

his men. The English chased a party to the edge of some bog or wood, then the Irish horse appeared suddenly on all sides, or shots were fired, when a retreat was sounded, seldom without loss.

On one occasion, marching through the woods west of Lough Neagh, they skirmished, we are told,[1] from 8 o'clock in the morning till 7 of the afternoon; and "all that while the woods so rang with the shot, that it was strange to hear; and also the noise of the Scots that O'Neill had, crying all that day till a little after night."

After three weeks' campaigning with no result, Sussex found his provisions had given out, and thought of falling back on the Pale; but the Palesmen refused to supply any more provisions, and swore they "would rather be hanged at their own doors." "If," they declared, he "looked to have provisions from them, he would find himself deceived." The Council sided with them, and Sussex protested that they were joined in a conspiracy "to keep O'Neill from falling."

Conscious of failure, he threw the blame on others, and wrote to Cecil: "I have been commanded to the field, and have not one penny of money. . . . . and I must continue in the field, and I see not how I shall be victualled; I must fortify, and have no working tools." In the Pale he "could not get a

[1] *Book of Howth.*

man to serve the Queen," nor a peck of corn to feed the army.

At length, with a wild determination to do something, he made a raid towards Clogher, where he was met by Turlough Leynagh, " the new O'Neill." After a skirmish, in which fell Shane's Captain of Gunners, Nial MacShane Boy, he returned to his camp at Armagh.

Again Kildare and Ormond were sent to treat with Shane, who should have his demands in full, hinted that he had come to an understanding with the southern Geraldines, and added that he claimed no more than could be claimed by an O'Neill.

NOTES.

(*a*) O'Hanlon was slain in 1566, when Shane, son of Eochy, was appointed his successor. After Prince Hugh's defeat, Sir Eochy, son of Shane, was dispossessed of Orior. By Hugh's sister, daughter of Matthew, the Baron, he left a son, Eochy Oge, who, by his lady, sister to Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, was father of Patrick More O'Hanlon and Edmond, father of Patrick Oge, or Ban. In 1641 Lt.-Col. Eochy, with Patrick Oge and Terence were at the taking of Tanderagee. Edmond, son of Patrick More, served under Hugh Duff at Clonmel, and was a Colonel in the army of James II. His son, Felim or Felix, of Killeavy, a captain in the same service, had a daughter, Cecilia, married to Conn MacFelim O'Neill of Clannaboy, ancestor of the O'Neills of Portugal; and a son, Edm. Roe, of Killeavy, whose line appears to be extinct.—*See* The Clanna O'Hanlon in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, Part II.; and Appendix.

CHAPTER VII.

SHANE ACKNOWLEDGED BY ELIZABETH SOVEREIGN OF ULSTER.—SUSSEX FAILS TO POISON HIM.—HIS ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY.—HIS MANY CASTLES AND FORTRESSES.—HE ESTABLISHES A PRESS FOR PRINTING THE BIBLE IN IRISH.—CLEARS ULSTER OF THE ENGLISH AND SCOTCH, AND INVADING CONNAUGHT, DEMANDS AS SOVEREIGN OF IRELAND THE TRIBUTE DUE OF OLD TO HIGH KINGS.—HIS APPEALS FOR AID TO FOREIGN PRINCES.—JULY, 1563 TO SEPTEMBER, 1566.

ELIZABETH, seeing that her Lieutenant had come off second best in the field decided, as she told him, to have "an end of the war of Ulster, by agreement rather than force;" so on the 11th September, 1563, a treaty of peace was signed in Shane's camp at Drumcru, on the one side by Gerald, Earl of Kildare, and Sir Thomas Cusack, "the Queen's Commissioners;" and on the other by "John O'Neill, Chief of his nation." The copy of the treaty in the *Carew MSS.*, recites:—

1. The said Commissioners have approved and confirmed the said John in the title of O'Neill, until the Queen decorate him by another honourable title.

2. The said Lord O'Neill to have all the pre-eminence, jurisdiction, and dominion which his predecessors had, particularly over the lords subject to him, and called Urriaghs, and all other gentlemen of his nation, and generally over all others who were accustomed to pay any services to his predecessors.

3. What concord has been established between the said Lord O'Neill, and O'Donnell and his son, the Commissioners approve and confirm, and consent that O'Donnell and his son should pay all things which they promised to the said Lord O'Neill in the said concord, and they were not loth that the Lord Lieutenant and themselves should intervene for the preservation of the said peace and concord.

4. As to the controversies between O'Neill, O'Reilly, and Maguire, it was ordained that O'Neill should choose two of his friends, and that the said O'Reilly and Maguire should choose two honest men of theirs to determine the same. If the said four cannot agree, the controversies shall be determined by the Barons of Slane and Louth, Sir John Bellew, and the Dean of Armagh. The said O'Reilly and Maguire shall put their pledges in the hands of the said four persons, for the performance of all orders and judgments made by the said four. If the said O'Reilly and Maguire should not observe towards O'Neill the contents of the order, it shall be lawful for the said arbitrators to deliver the pledges to O'Neill. If they refuse to

stand to the decree and order of the said Commissioners of the Queen, it shall be lawful for O'Neill to prosecute them with all his forces. They shall henceforth pay to O'Neill whatever they were accustomed to pay to his predecessors, and an end shall be put to all those things before Michaelmas next, and in the meantime peace shall be preserved.

5. He (O'Neill) is not bound to come in person to the supreme Governor of the Kingdom.
6. No indenture before this between the Queen and O'Neill shall remain in force.
7. This peace shall never be violated, but if any dissensions should arise between the English and Irish parts in the north, two honest men on each side shall be bound to determine them. Peace to be observed between the English and Irish until the feast of All Saints, at which time Sir Thomas Cusack will return with certain petitions which O'Neill sent with him to the Queen.
8. At the feast of All Saints the ward shall be removed from the Church of Armagh, and the Church shall be restored to O'Neill, on condition that he shall in future be a faithful and true subject.
9. If any of the Irish who dwell in English parts (Henry O'Neill, son of Felim Roe, Mac-Donnell, the former Constable, and the son of the Baron or any others) should commit any damage by homicide, theft, or spoil, upon O'Neill or his adherents, not only shall

the damage be restored, but those committing it shall be delivered to O'Neill and compelled to pay the expenses incurred in the prosecution.

10. The Lord Louth, and Sir John Bellew are executors of the premises on the English part. The Lord O'Neill in like manner promises to fulfil all things on his part, and appoints one of the sons of Henry MacShane (of Kinnaird), and one of the sons of Donald Malachy as executors.

Five days after the signing of these articles, the Lord Lieutenant wrote to confirm them from Ardbraccan to Shane: "We have received your letters, and seen what has been concluded between the Commissioners and you. We will observe the same. We have given audience to your men, and made answer to them; the war is now ended, and our former friendship remains."

In proof of this, he soon after sent him, from Dublin, a present of poisoned wine which was consumed at his table; and brought him and half his household to the verge of death. The crime was traced to one John Smyth, who had often been sent by Sussex as a confidential messenger to Shane, who mentions him as the Queen's footman in November, 1562, when he sent him to England with three horses, two hawks, and two greyhounds for the Lord Robert Dudley and Cecil (*Calendar of State Papers*).

Shane sought redress from Elizabeth, who, of course, wrote with becoming horror and indignation of the dreadful attempt "to kill him by poison."

At the same time (October 15th), she wrote to console Sussex, and informs him that "since things have not succeeded to your desire, you must endeavour to establish the peace."[1] There was no getting rid of Shane, either by "fair means or 'force,'" as she euphemistically puts it.

Smyth confessed his guilt, and took the entire responsibility on himself to shield Sussex, by whom he was pardoned some months later, and set at liberty. Cusack says he induced "O'Neill to forget the matter, whereby no talk should come of it, seeing there is no law to punish the offender, other than by discretion in imprisonment which O'Neill would little regard, except the party were executed by death, and that the law doth not allow." Shane did not trouble when he could not reach the principal offender; and satisfied himself with proposing to Elizabeth for the sweet lady who had come all the way from England to share in her brother's schemes. She would, he says, "increase his civil education, and cause his followers to acknowledge their duty." Elizabeth, Shane suggested, should give her as a dowry the Lordship of Mellifont. If she would not make a match, then he begged leave to seek a foreign alliance. She thought the question might be

[1] Hamilton *Calendar.*

adjourned till he had proved his "love of civility" by deed as well as word.

He was still troubled by the pretensions of Matthew's sons, as Cusack tells the Privy Council: "O'Neill doth much mistrust of some secret favour to be used towards the late Baron of Dungannon's sons." To end the matter, Shane petitioned to have the Earldom as the right heir of his father; but Elizabeth put off the question till "the next Parliament in Ireland," when it was promised that he should have all things "which the said Parliament should adjudge to have belonged to his father as O'Neill, or Earl of Tyrone." [1]

For over two years he was now left in peace, the only rich and strong man in Ireland. "He ordered the north so properly," says the English writer, Campion, "that if any subject could approve the loss of money or goods, he would assuredly force the robber to restitution or of his own cost redeem the harm." Camden acknowledges he "protected the weak;" and though he was not consumed with love for the traitors who had lately been in arms against him, "he kept the people and country in good order." Tyrone, Sydney found later, the most prosperous and best governed country in the realm. (*a*)

He now gave his attention to re-edifying his castles and fortresses; and as a standing memorial

[1] O'Donovan: *Four Masters.*

of his dislike and contempt for the "mere Englishmen" who had so often planned his destruction, he built the island fortress in Lough Neagh, "which for the strength and force of the place, he caused to be called in despite Fooghnegall which is as much as to say the Hate of Englishmen." This is supposed to have stood in Coney Island, about nine miles east of Dungannon.[1] The latter fortress is described by Camden as a handsomer house than is common in this country, and in 1595, another writer states it looked so imposing, that it could be seen at Armagh, twelve miles away, "mustering very stately and high in the sight of all our army." To command the Newry, of which, with Dundrum in Lecale he eventually got possession, he built Fedan Castle, from which "he suffered no English subject to travel from Dundalk northward."[2]

Beanborb—the bold ben or cliff—one of his chief houses, still stands in ruins on a remarkable cliff over the Blackwater. Cael, or Narrow Castle, was another of the fortresses from which he addressed his letters; also Castle Corcra or Corbra.

As a check on the Scots, he appears to have built Dunnalong, east of Lough Foyle (*see Ordnance Memoir of Londonderry*); and at Ardglass and Newark in Down, other fortresses of his building still stand. Newark, pictured in the *Dublin Penny*

[1] *Kilkenny* (now *Royal*) *Archæological Journal.*

[2] *Description of Ireland.*

Journal, is extremely well built and preserved ; and commands a good view of the surrounding country. A chain of forts defended it on the seaside from the Red Shanks.

Elizabeth, to make sure that Shane should not follow her own example in converting Armagh into a fort, had him to sign a bond in November "for £1,000 to the Queen's uses if he should not perform his promises to Sir T. Cusack for the restoring of the Church of Armagh to Divine Service, as her majesty has removed her garrison therefrom at his petition."

This bond was signed by Shane and the following chiefs :—O'Donnell, Maguire, Manus Carragh O'Donnelly, Rory O'Melaghlin, Turlough Oge O'Melaghlin, Donal O'Donnelly the Grim, Shane Oge O'Neill, and William Fleming, Chief Brehon of Tyrone.—"Vllialmus Flemin judex Tyroniae."

O'Donnell signs Mur O'Domnaill +, Maguire signs in the same way, Mur Maguiroin +, James Carragh O'Donnelly spells Semur Carrach O'Dongale.

A memorandum "as to O'Neill's last oath to observe the terms of peace," dated at Fedan, February 28th, contains among other signatures that of "Syr John Bedlewe Knyghte," and "Per me Eugenium O'Hagan secretarium Domini O'Neill," also "William Olyver, my Lord Robert Duddeley's servant." [1]

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*.

With the above bond Shane sent a petition to be allowed to treat with the farmer of Mellifont for the Abbey that he "may dwell there, as all his mansions are destroyed." He doubtless wished to restore it to its original owners, the Cistercian Friars, or more likely to give it to the Franciscans. He also desired the convent of Ardee and the customs of Drogheda. Most of the monasteries in Ulster remained in possession of the monks till the defeat of the last O'Neill and the plantation of the province. Feeling this as a reproach, Elizabeth made over them all to Shane's successor Turlogh, which fact was probably supposed to account for their existence. In 1592 Meyler Magrath reports that there were then more than sixteen monasteries in the province. "Wherein are divers sorts of friars and monks . . . using their habit, and serving as in Rome itself."

Mellifont, to build which, Murkertac, Prince of Ulster and High-King, contributed 60 ozs. of gold and 120 oxen in 1142, was dissolved in 1542. Its situation on the borders of the Pale rendered it too desirable an acquisition for Shane's petition to be regarded with favour ; and in 1566 it was granted to Sir Edw. Moore, an English soldier of fortune, whose descendants resided there till 1720, when they removed to Monasterevan Abbey, where they still reside. Much of the abbey has disappeared ; the most interesting and best preserved portions are the Lavabo and Chapter House.

On March 10th, 1564, Dean Daniel, writing to Cecil of the peace, says he will "draw out of the Irish Chronicles the pedigrees of the Irish and send them." James M'Donnell, he states, has arrived from Scotland at Knockfergus, where he had killed a gentleman and his two sons. Shane was refused satisfaction, whereupon he seized on a Scottish galley, laden with wine,in the harbour of Carlingford, which he believed belonged to M'Donnell.

On the 16th "William Carmyck and William Arnald, Scottish men," petition Elizabeth "for restitution of their bark and wines" taken by Fardoragh Magennis, "brother-in-law of O'Neill," who refuses to restore the ship and wines till he have restitution for the hurts done by James M'Donnell, Shane tells the Queen in a letter from Lifford Castle, that he had permitted his men to seize on the ship because "they could get no redress for the many injuries done," by M'Donnell and his Scots. He cannot lay his complaint, he says, before the Queen of Scots, "because they intercept his messengers." He recommends that a commission to settle the matter be appointed by her and Queen Mary.

The ship and wines, it appears, did not belong to M'Donnell, and Mary writes to Elizabeth on behalf of "William Wauss, John Martyn, and William Gordoun, merchants of Wigtoun," owners of the vessel. Cusack was commanded to inform Shane

of this, when the matter was amicably arranged and "the two poor Scots contented." [1]

Cusack declares that O'Neill, and those under him, keep good peace; while Dean Daniel tells Cecil of the prosperity of the province under his rule and "all kinds of husbandry and wheat are set forth."

In things spiritual as well as temporal, Shane was concerned for the welfare of his subjects; and about this time he established a printing-press, in which the Bible was first printed in the Irish characters This is estimated to have cost nearly £700 in our money.

It was no small achievement; and it impressed Elizabeth, who presented the Anglican Bishops with the sum of £66 13s. 4d. "for the making of caracters for the testament in irishe, that O'Neles they do presently." [2]

In December, 1567, we read that the money is to be repaid by the bishops, unless they presently publish the Irish Testament as it had been published by Shane. In 1685, nearly a century and a quarter later, it appeared. The first book printed in Irish in the Pale was a Protestant Catechism turned out by the College Press, about thirty years after this.

The first work printed on English soil was that by Caxton in 1477—*The Dictes of the Philosophers.*

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Idem*: Introduction.

Scotland received the boon of the printing-press in 1508 ; and the Pale in 1551.

On May 22nd, 1564, Shane writes in answer to Sussex from Lifford, thanking him for his "promise of friendship in his letters written to him before his departure for England." He desired to be remembered to the Countess.

Lifford, which, the *Four Masters* tell us, was built "in spite of the Cinel Eoghan," Shane had received as part of the ransom for Calvagh O'Donnell "with the country of Yncheon where O'Dogherty is captain, which country and castle hath ever been in contention between their ancestors."

In June he sent his men to Tyrconnell to receive the horses, armour, jewels, plate and kine promised by Calvagh. Now that he was at liberty, and assured of the support of the English, as he thought, he set Shane at defiance ; and, Cusack states, appointed "three days after other" to meet him. Shane, however, was not to be trifled with ; and "offended to be so mocked," he marched into Tyrconnell with "300 horsemen, 400 gallow-glasses, 200 longbows (Scots born in Ireland), 120 gunners, and 500 kerne," and said that "he would not defer longer time." Con, son of Calvagh, attempted to oppose him ; but he was defeated and taken prisoner.

Calvagh, as stated, was no favourite in Tyrconnell, and Cusack remarks, that he was hated by his

clansmen "for the impolicy of his agreement, at his marriage with the Countess of Argyle," which made him tributary to the Scottish Earl. He wrote for protection to the Lord Justice Arnold, and the Council, who answered that they "could neither assist him against his kinsmen, nor grant him licence to repair to England," till the Queen's pleasure was known.

He was reminded that his grandfather, celebrated in the *Four Masters* for his "peace and friendship" league with the King of England, never came to the Governor to ask aid; and he was "the honestest O'Donnell that ever was." He might go to the Turk for help, as no O'Donnell ever came for service, or was able to hurt the Pale, save when allied with O'Neill!

Poor Calvagh, hearing this, burst out, we are told, into such weeping "as when he would speak he could not." He got short shrift from his English friends, though Cusack, thinking he still might prove useful, advised them to entertain him with "fair words." He was, indeed, he says, "but a poor creature," and "O'Neill continuing in his truth was more worthy to be embraced than three O'Donnells!"

Calvagh, who was set up by the English and Scotch in 1555, when he defeated and imprisoned his father, Manus—"after long fighting and wasting

the whole country of Tyrconnell"—who died in Lifford in 1563, left Ireland without licence from the Lord Justice, and appeared before Elizabeth in London; but she gave him no encouragement. The difference between him and Shane would be settled in Ireland; and in the meantime she gave him an allowance. He then sought the aid of his Scottish friends; but with the same result.

Conn, son of Calvagh, was released by Shane on July 12th, when he delivered up Castlefinn and part of Cinel Main.

At this time Shane appears to have been in communication with the French King, Charles IX., as on August 8th Sir Thomas Wrothe writes to Cecil that "all such as should come from the Great O'Neill, or the Earl of Desmond, with horses or hawks of Ireland, are to be safely conveyed to the French King's Court."

The Irish horses and dogs "bigger of bone and limb than a colt," were so valued on the Continent at this time, that in 1568 Elizabeth commanded the Deputy "at the request of the Ambassador of Portugal" to license Don Antonio, son to the Infant Don Ludovico "to buy horses, hawks and dogs yearly out of Ireland."[1]

Campion observes that the Irish horses, "have pace, are easy in running, wonderful swift, therefore they make of them great store as wherein at times

[1] Hamilton: *Calendar.*

of need they repose a great piece of safety." He heard it verified "by honourable to honourable, that a nobleman offered, and was refused for one such horse, an hundred kine, a five pound land; and an airy of hawks yearly during one seven years."

Stanihurst (*De Reb. Hibern.*), writing of the Irish horses and horsemen, says: "The Equestrian is the first order. But the Irish knights differ greatly in manners and customs from those of other nations. For they grasp their pikes or lances, which are very heavy, about the middle, not holding them pendant at their sides, under their arms, but brandishing them above their heads, and launching them with the main force and strength of their arms. Their horses are also docile and of a superior breed, with which they engage the numerous bands of the enemy, or avoid their attack, by bending their bodies, should the contest or fight be unequal. These movements are performed, generally speaking, without any great trouble with the horse, though he should hold the reins ever so loosely; for none are more tractable than the Irish horses. They never wear great hats on horseback; moreover they raise up their legs so high, and move on the road so lightly how foul and miry so ever, without any succussion, that they do not so much as even soil their boots or shoes. Besides they do not mount on horseback by means of stirrups, nor allow auxiliaries, so trifling

in their opinion to cling to their trappings. But they seize with the left hand the ears of the horse, or else that part of the mane, which hangs down on the forehead; and while the animals bend their heads quietly down on one side, the horsemen, though dressed in coats of mail, or great cloaks, spring aloft, and with wonderful agility, vault suddenly astride into the saddle, which bear some resemblance to pack-saddles. But that mode of getting on horseback is so familiar, and so much the practise among them, that this qualification is less a subject of praise than a deficiency in it is foul and disgraceful. They seldom ride geldings, though gentle as the Spanish jennet, and only feed mares for the purpose of breeding. Nothing degrades the character of a horseman so much as to ride a mare, and nothing excites so much the laughter and scoffs of the spectators."

The Irish dogs were as celebrated as the horses, and the Great Mogul Jehangir was glad to accept some in 1615. The hawks do not appear to have been too plentiful, and Dean Daniel, writing from Benburb to Cusack, apparently in answer to an inquiry, says that the Scots send yearly nearly all the hawks of the north "to the Queen of Scots."

The Dean, Shane recommended for the Primacy to the Pope, in succession to Donat O'Tiege, but he appointed Richard Creagh, a Limerick man, instead. O'Tiege, who succeeded Dowdall, was at Armagh in

the summer of 1561 when Shane made his first attempt to burn the cathedral with its English garrison. "The pretended Popish Primate" wrote Sussex to the Queen "sang Mass with all the Friars," after which he blessed Shane's troops, "and willed them to go forward, for God was on their side." He died in the following year, and in 1564 Creagh was installed.

"Creagh had letters from the Pope to Shane;" and with the famous Meyler Magrath, then Bishop of Down, repaired to one of his Crannoge Castles, south of the Blackwater, "in an Island called Inishdavell," where he dined with him and Turlogh Leynagh.

He appears to have been a very pious individual, and greatly impressed Shane, to whom he is said to have foretold, in the presence of the Papal Nuncio, Fr. Woulfe, S.J., the circumstances of his death, specifying the year, month, place and persons.[1] Shane told him, he states, that "he would be well used and have his Church as honourably as ever any Archbishop had." Also he should "have more of Ulster commodities than ever had any Archbishop there since the time of St. Patrick." He afterwards preached in the Cathedral "afore Shane and Tyrrlogh Lennogh and Hugh O'Donnell," brother to Calvagh. Unhappily he was over-burdened with loyalty to Elizabeth, though she had been excom-

[1] *Distinguished Irishmen of the 16th Century*, by Fr. Hogan.

municated by the Pope, who, in 1569, absolved her subjects from their allegiance; and he presumed on Shane's goodness to dictate as to his policy towards *his* "natural princess." In a letter to the Privy Council (*Franciscan Monasteries*) he says he refused to be the bearer of his letters to the King of Spain, and informed the Deputies, Sydney and Sussex, of all his designs. The truth is, he could not overcome his natural antipathy to the Irish, as a townsman; for in those days their bitterest opponents were the inhabitants of the towns. So O'Neill—Hugh—found them in his last great struggle for independence, and compared to them the Palesmen of Leinster were veritable patriots

Creagh was long remembered as an anti-Irish Primate, though he remained in the province till after Shane's defeat in 1567, when he was arrested in Connaught by a brother loyalist, O'Shaughnessy, who handed him over to his "natural princess," who lodged him in Dublin Castle in what he describes as "a hole where without candle there was no light; and with candle (when I had it) so filled with smoke, that had there not been a hole in the next door to draw breath from, with my mouth set upon it, I had been undone." After being transported to the Tower of London, he was tortured and examined as to his visit to Ulster; and in 1585 he is said to have been despatched by poison there.

He was the author of a treatise on the Irish language, a "Chronicle of Ireland," and other works.

In August, Shane, encouraged by letters from the Lord Robert Dudley and Cecil, resolved on taking the field against the Clan Donnell Scots. Writing from Castle Corcra, on August 18th, to the Lord Justice, he says the former "has advised him by letter to do some notable service, whereby he might be the better accepted of the Queen. He can see no greater rebels and traitors than the Scots"; and he has "a mind to do them some mischief." In reply the Lord Justice and Council tell him they "approve of his intention." The Clan Donnell had now possession of a great part of Ulidia, having usurped Shane says, in the Route, Clanaboy, the Dufferin, Lecale and in "the country of M'Cabhissidh."

Early in September he marched north, and fortified the Old Castle of Coleraine, on the Tyrone side of the Bann. Then to get complete command of the estuary, he sent a detachment across the river in boats to occupy the Dominican Monastery. Having withdrawn to his main body, the Scots, under Sorly Boy, attacked the monastery, which after twenty-four hours they took, putting all to the sword, save the mounted men who swam the river. Sorly, who was wounded, lost ninety men.

From "Culrath," Shane writes to the Lord Justice for the assistance of his kinsman, Kildare; also for letters to Piers, the Governor of Carrickfergus, to allow him to make it a base for his operations.

Kildare was serving in other parts ; but they wrote to Piers who asserts that Shane demanded that the town " which is her majesty's," must " either pay him the tribute he asks, or be preyed." This tribute, it appears, was paid by the townsmen to the Scots.

On May 2nd, 1565, he again proceeded against them ; and in a letter dated from Ballycastle (Baile Caislen) he gives a full account of his " progress towards the north in the Queen's service " against " her majesty's enemies and the usurpers of her territories."

He first cleared the passes in the woods which gave him access to Clannaboy, where,—at the pass of Toome, probably,—he " rebuilt an old fort."

With the Clannaboy Chiefs, who assembled at Edenduffcarrick, he marched towards the Route, when he was attacked in the pass of Knockboy, by Sorly, whom he routed with great loss, taking possession of his camp, which he that night occupied.

Next day he advanced to " the castle of James M'Donnell, called ' Uaim Aderig ' "—Red Bay—which with the town he burned. The warning fires went up from Fair Head ; and James, who was in Cantire, came that night to the rescue, and landed with his brothers in the neighbouring harbour of Cushendun, where he was joined by Sorly. Together they retreated towards Ballycastle, where Sorly had a fortified residence ; and where Alexander Oge was expected to bring reinforcements.

Shane, however, pursued them, and occupied the town ; and early next morning delivered his attack at Glenshesk with such good effect, that they were utterly defeated, and lost six or seven hundred men, including a brother—Angus the Proud—and nephew of M'Donnell ; the son of MacLeod ; the son of the Lord of Carrignaskaith, and John Roe. James, who afterwards died of his wounds, and Sorly, were taken prisoners with Alexander Carragh, the son of Alexander Gallta, and nineteen other chiefs. Dunseverick, Dunluce, and other strongholds of the Clan surrendered at once.

Shane remained encamped against the Scots for over six weeks ; reinstated the M'Quillans, and settled his kinsmen in Clannaboy, where he built a "new and strong town," probably Broughshane, where he built a castle on the north side of the main street.[1]

The Clannaboy who were disorganized by the Scots, and with whom we shall deal further on, had no supreme chief at this time. The territory north of the Lagan was held by the Sept of Murkertac, who resided principally in the Feevagh ; and no doubt were placed in possession of Broughshane ; and that of Felim Baccagh, who held Belfast and probably Portmore. South Clannaboy was in possession of the Sept of Nial Oge. We have little information of the Clannaboy at this time.

[1] *Royal Archæological Journal.*

The news of Shane's victory, and the report that he was "settling his people in the Glyns, the Route, and other parts of Clannaboy" greatly excited the jealousy of Elizabeth and her Councillors, who expected, as they hoped, that Shane would have come off second best, or at least badly damaged.

In a querulous tone they write to Shane desiring "a certificate of the occasion of his expedition into Clannaboy; how the battle commenced; who are the captives; what forts and castles are reduced to the Queen's obedience; what Scottish captains survive. How that part of Ulster may be freed from them," etc.

They expressed much concern for the Scots and instruct the Lord Justice "to send a special man to O'Neill to practise with him for the recovery of James M'Donnell and his brother into the possession of the Queen." At the same time she instructed Sydney that their patrimony, "the Glyns and Rathlin Island is to be brought to the possession of some English subject."

Shane despatched the Dean of Armagh to England with the information that the Scots were all expelled, and "their towns and castles are in possession of the Queen."

To her he writes on July 28th, giving full particulars of his proceedings, and of the "hurts done by the Scots to the O'Neills in times past." Argyle and the Lord of the Isles have written by the Queen of

Scots authority for the release of the M'Donnells; but he told them that "he could not deal therein until he knows his own Queen's mind." FitzWilliam states that he "sent an old priest to the Queen of Scots."

Cusack recommended that Elizabeth should write "a letter of thanks to O'Neill for his good service, with reward;" while the Lord Justice thought if the opportunity "were used to make O'Neill a good subject he would hardly swerve hereafter."

Shane agreed well with the Lord Justice, Arnold, in whose favour the Pale Lords, Baltinglass, Trimleston, Howth, and others, write to Elizabeth declaring the "quiet and profitable state of the country." This was in consequence of the conduct of the partisans of Sussex, of whose mal-administration they had repeatedly complained. Led by Fitzwilliam, the Vice-Treasurer, and official slanderer of Shane, they made it their business to belittle the Lord Justice whose fault was, that, following his instructions, he observed the peace.

Fitzwilliam, a corrupt official, seems to have devoted most of his time to compiling and forwarding to England reports designed to show the unsatisfactory state of the country, due chiefly to the "greatness of O'Neill"—on whom he fathers every crime committed in the Pale—and the incapacity of the Lord Justice.

In the *Calendar of State Papers* (Hamilton) his letters summarised, read thus :—

January 17th, 1565.—" Violence of Shane's men at Carlingford." " No man is more led away by every tale than the Lord Justice."

January 28th.—" Shane O'Neill's late disorders." " Vain desire of Arnold for the name of Deputy."

April 3rd.—" Represents the state of the country as most unsatisfactory." " Blames the Lord Justice for it."

June 8th.—" Could have governed Ireland as well as Arnold, and saved the Queen 20,000 marks." "O'Neill has preyed Dundalk twice."

July 13th.—" Arnold finds some of his kinsfolk among the Irish traitors." " Shane O'Neill shelters Cahir O'Reilly."

These samples will suffice to show how industriously he applied himself to concocting his slanderous reports on which the Camdens and Froudes (*b*) have based their fabrications.

If some of the Ultonians raided the Pale, then Shane himself was set down as the offender; if others betook themselves to the bogs and woods of Tyrone then he had given them shelter. When he deals thus with facts, we can imagine how he dishes up his fiction disguised under the name of reports and rumours.

Shane, who remained at peace with the English till he had disposed of the Scots, as it was to his

interest, offered to compel restitution for the injuries committed by the above Cahir O'Reilly—who had sheltered in Tyrone, and preyed Dundalk, when he himself was encamped in Clannaboy, seventy miles away,—if "a commission were appointed to examine into the matter." But the Lord Justice thought the Chief of Breffny was responsible, and he proceeded against him when Fitzwilliam complained of his "obstinacy in waging war with O'Reilly (*c*)," as it was "impossible" for him to chastise his own son, who fled, as he suggestively puts it, to "Shane O'Neill's fastnesses."

He worked this up for all it was worth, and Arnold was obliged to write to Cecil "not to credit any objection against him till he be allowed to answer them." Shane, too, felt it necessary to write to the Queen "to suspend credence to untrue tales till they be tried."

In November, the Dean of Armagh returned from England with letters from Elizabeth and the Council to Shane and Arnold. Shane they congratulate on his success against the Scots, and referred him to the Dean "as to his private causes." They intimate to Arnold that they gave little credit to Fitzwilliam's tales; and as for Shane, they did not expect from him "what we should expect from a perfect subject." "If he mean well," they add, "he shall have all his requests granted."

These were that the treaty of peace should be

ratified in full; and that the question of the Earldom should be settled at once, but Elizabeth and the Council were still temporizing, and knowing that he was less concerned with the title itself than with the fact that its possession would have ended the claims of Matthew's descendants, they postponed the matter indefinitely or till "the next Parliament." The question of the peace had been kept under consideration for over two years now in spite of the protests of Cusack and the Lord Justice.

On March 10th, 1564, Dean Daniel informs us that "O'Neill found fault that the Queen's letters patent did not agree with the peace subscribed by him and Cusack." Certain clauses, particularly that exempting him from appearing before the Deputy were omitted.

Cusack wrote to Elizabeth herself in April "for the confirmation under the great seal to be annexed to the very same articles which he and O'Neill did accord;" but he received answer from the Privy Council in April "to reason and persuade with O'Neill to be satisfied. Council dare not move her Majesty anew in this matter because of the former resolution made in England."

Thus she refused to ratify the peace; while as to the Parliament, she tells Sydney "we have small disposition to assent to any Parliament."[1]

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*.

Only after the defeat of the Scots, and when Sydney was appointed Deputy did it begin to leak out that the articles in possession of Shane and those in possession of Elizabeth did not agree. Chiefly to satisfy himself as to this, he sent the Dean to England, where he was given a copy, or what purported to be a copy, among a bundle of other papers; but on his arrival in Ireland he found that it had been abstracted, or as Sydney says, "left out of the bundle by some mischance!"

He was entertained with gentle talk, and fair promises in England, and was sent back to Ireland with the above letters to Shane and the Lord Justice, dated November 11th, on the day following which Sydney was instructed to prepare for war, and "to move Shane O'Neill to make his repair" to him to "answer all the disorders committed since the last pardon as his proceeding against the Scots without advising the Governor. His using them as his captives; ransoming whom he listed; taking into his own possession their castles and countries, as though the countries and subjects were his own." These were the "disorders" on which Elizabeth and the Council, the day previous, had sent him their congratulations referring to his "honourable intentions in attacking the Scots." His "claims are to be strictly scrutinized in Parliament." And if "he appear not dutiful,"

he should be prosecuted with fire and sword, and so give him "that which he shall deserve."

Calvagh O'Donnell was resurrected to serve against him; and amongst the Ulster Chiefs the former traitors might be stirred up with the Scots of the Isles by fresh bribes and promises.

Thus was Sydney instructed in England, and unaware of it the Lord Justice was left to observe the peace with Shane, till his arrival in Ireland; but Shane had too much experience of Elizabeth and the Council to be blinded so easily; and while in England he entertained them with his petitions and protestations of loyalty, he quietly set himself to the difficult task of making a clean sweep of the foreigners.

After disposing of the Scots to the north of Clannaboy, he marched south, took possession of Dufferin, and fortified Strangford Lough.

On August 31st, he drove the English from Newry, the fortress of which he warded with his own men. Next he cleared Lecale and took Dundrum and Ardglass, which he also warded. On the former, said to have been the scene of the great feast given by Bricrin of the Poisoned Tongue to King Connor M'Nessa and his Red Branch Knights, he mounted some brass guns. In the cellar, hewn out of the solid rock, Hooker states, he stored his Spanish wine.

The fortifications he erected at Ardglass, still

known as *The New Works*, consist of a long range of castellated houses, described in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1833, as standing boldly on the rocky shore of the bay, which washes it on the north and east sides. It extends 250 feet in length ; and in breadth twenty-four, the thickness of the wall being three feet. Its design is uniform and elegant, consisting of three square towers, one in the centre, and one at each end, each tower contains three apartments ten feet square. "The intermediate space is occupied by a range of fifteen arched doorways of cut stone, and sixteen square windows—a door and a window being placed alternately next to each other all along the range, an arrangement which leaves no doubt that they were intended for ware-rooms or shops. There is a storey over the shops containing the same number of apartments, and each has its own separate stone staircase. The rooms on the ground floor were seven feet high ; the upper rooms, six feet and a-half ; and in each of these was a small water closet, the flue of which runs down through the walls, and is washed at the bottom by the sea. They have no fire-places ; and the merchants, as it would appear, were in the habit of using Horn Castle as their kitchen and dining hall. On the sea-side there are no windows or apertures, except narrow loop-holes, a circumstance which, together with the centre and flanking towers, shows the

secondary purpose to have been a fortress to protect the merchants."

Writing of the capture of Lecale and Newry, the Lord Justice says, Shane "is likely enough to get more shortly into his possession than her majesty would think meet."

Assuming the title of High King, or "Lord of Ireland," he marched into Connaught and demanded, Clanricard says, "the tribute due of old times to kings." On being refused which, he spoiled the country, and swept off 3,000 kine.

He formed an alliance with the Queen of Scots, whom he offered to assist against the Duke of Chatelherault, Argyle, Murray, and other nobles, who were holding out against her in the Highlands, aided by Elizabeth. But Elizabeth being now engaged altogether with Shane, disappointed them, when they submitted; and in the middle of the winter Argyle, in Mary's interest, joined in friendship with Shane.

Sydney arrived in Ireland in January, 1566, to find him as he says, "the only rich and strong man in Ireland; and he is the dangerousest and most likely to bring the whole estate of this land to subversion and subjugation, either to himself, or some foreign price, that ever was."

He requested him to meet him at Dundalk, contrary to the articles which Shane should have ratified; but he could not discuss the question;

Cusack, he was told, was sick in Munster ; and Kildare who was present remembered nothing about them, while the copy he had, and that in possession of Sydney agreed " as well as Luke the Evangelist and Huon of Bordeaux."

Shane did not entirely mistrust Sydney ; and he promised to be at Dundalk on February 5th, and to wait on the border seven days, during which time he hoped he would appear ; but Sydney, like Sussex, merely wanted to get him into his power, and urged him to come under " safe-conduct." to the town of Dundalk.

Shane who signs " your Lordships loving gossip to command, Misi O'Neill," and seals with the dexter hand supported by two lions, declined to meet him in any house or town, or otherwise than in presence of 1,000 of his Clansmen. He took Sydney's delay in good part, " knowing his sweet nature and readiness for all good things ; " but he really could not see his way to place himself in his power. And he sent him for perusal a document to show the reason why.

It is entitled " the causes and matters moving my people not to suffer me to come to the Lord Deputy's presence with such expedition as his Lordship requireth, with that which happened within this twenty years, and in the memory of the same O'Neill, the harms done by the governors and others, here, within this realm of Ireland.

He first describes the treatment meted out to his father. "Conn O'Neill, father unto me, the said O'Neill comen by procurement of Sir Anthony St. Leger, the Lord Deputy, went into England to Henry VIII. and was created Earl of Tyrone; and for his good service he was imprisoned by the Governor in Dublin, till he was enforced to deliver Tyrrelagh Lynnagh, who had been taken prisoner by the said Earl for spoiling Tyrone." When the said Earl, on another occasion, repaired to Dundalk, the Deputy told him "he would have his head off" were it not "that he was so old." He then tells him of he being seized by the said Deputy for whom he had provided a banquet at Armagh which was garrisoned by English troops along with his fortress of Dungannon.

The next item recalls the broken promises of St. Leger and his successor, Sussex, and proceeds, "by means thereof and other, his unfavourable doings towards me, the war began betwixt him and me, and so continued until the Earl of Kildare came out of England with my protection and pardon from the Queen's Majesty and her Grace's Council, having likewise the protection of all others the nobility of the realm. By occasion thereof, I went willing into England to see my Sovereign Lady, the Queen, upon such security and protection and security for myself, people and goods.

Item.—The Earl of Sussex promised upon my

coming to the Earl of Kildare and the Earl of Ormond to Karrigbradagh to remove the garrison from Armagh. I came to the said Earl according to my promise, and the said Sussex kept the garrison there contrary to his promises.

Item.—Contrary to the former protection and all the securities granted, I accompanied with the said Earls of Kildare and Ormond, and the said Earl of Sussex commanded the said Earls upon their duties to put a handlock upon my hand, and carry me as a prisoner to the time I came to the Queen's Majesty.

Item.—Contrary to the former securities after I came to England, I was constrained before my return to make delivery of three the best pledges I had; and after my return to send from my country sixteen other pledges; and the informer of her Majesty's Council was not well advised so to incense their honours as to have me in that mistrust that never deserved it. Were it not I was so used in taking pledges, I would have served my Queen, my Sovereign Lady fair (!); and am and hath been always ready to serve her Grace if the same be acceptable to her.

Item.—After my return to Ireland one devilishly disposed person, rewarded to have murdered me by a dagger, appointed to have the chiefest horse that could be had, to the intent after he had done this ungodly deed, that his horse might carry him from my people without peril.

Item.—Seeing that practise could not take effect, a bottle of drink was devised by which I, with certain others of my gentlemen, was poisoned, and in great peril, and by the great power of Almighty God the author of all worlds, preserved. This is sufficient for this time for my own causes. . . . . And albeit I stand most assured of your honour's lawful and most assured friendship and good affection, and the most members of that honourable Council, yet my people are timorous and mistrustful." [1]

The irony of this was perfect, the facts beyond contradiction, and Sydney had no reply. Still he worked to get Shane into his power, and sent Justice Dowdal and Thomas Stukely to "bring him to quietness." This Stukely, a remarkable adventurer, who fell at the battle of Alcacar with Sebastian, King of Portugal; and who is said to have been a natural son of Henry VIII., Shane met about the English court, as he states in a letter recommending him to Cecil. He, in turn, recommended him (November 4th) to Sydney who commends the bargain he had made with Bagenal from whom he purchased his lands and office of Marshal, for £3,000.[2]

Stukely and the Judge had little to say to Shane of the broken treaty, and much regarding the Earldom.

[1] *Carew MSS.*

[2] Hamilton *Calendar.*

The honour had just been conferred on M'Carthy More, and it was his now if he would only come and claim it :—

And oh, what a time for the scorner and scoffer,
When the Saxons to Shane their poor coronet offer—
He, son of Great Nial, brave Owen's descendant,
And heir to a line through long centuries splendant,
Whose vassals were princes—O'Donnell, MacMahon,
O'Hanlon, MacSweeny, Maguire, and O'Cahan !
Full well it became him, proud Chief, back to hurl,
In the teeth of the braggarts their title of Earl.

And he did in the well known words, "I care not to be made an Earl, unless I may be better and higher than an Earl ; for I am in blood and power better than the best of them. I will give place to none but my cousin of Kildare for that he is of my house. You have made a wise Earl of M'Carthy More, I keep as good a man (lackey) as he. For the Queen, I confess she is my Sovereign Lady, yet I never made peace with her, but at her own seeking. And who would you have me to trust, Mr. Stukely ? I came unto the Earl of Sussex upon the safe-conduct of two Earls, and protection under the great seal, and the first courtesy he offered me was the courtesy of a handlock, and to send me into England. When I came there upon pardon and safe-conduct, and had done my business and would have departed according to the same, the Queen herself told me that, indeed, I had it was

true a safe-conduct to come and go ; but she had not told me when I might go ; and so there held me until I had agreed to things so far against my honour and profit that I never would perform them while I live. That made me make war, and if it were to do it again, I would do it. My ancestors were kings of Ulster. Ulster was theirs, and it shall be mine; O'Donnell shall never come into his country if I can keep him out of it ; nor Bagenal into Newry, nor the Earl of Kildare into Dundrum, or Lecale. They are now mine. With this sword I won them ; with this sword I shall keep them. This is my answer. Commend me to my gossip the Deputy. God be with you my masters." "Nay," said the envoys, "we brought you letters, and by letters we look for answer." "Well, letters you shall have," said he. "We send a true copy, so that you can see how well speech and writing agree."

Sydney saw that Shane was not to be fooled, and writing to Cecil, he says "Ireland was never so like to be lost as now. O'Neill has already all Ulster ; and if the French were so eager at Calais, think what the Irish are to recover their whole island. I love no wars ; but I had rather die than that Ireland should be lost in my government.

"Bagenal says Shane has now all the countries from Sligo to Carrickfergus, and from thence to Carlingford, and from Carlingford to Drogheda. He hath made a sure bond with Scotland ;

and the Deputy has done all he can to bring him to quietness.

. . . He will never come to any governor, as may be seen by his answers to Stukely."

Sydney tells Leicester that "he can bring 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot into the field;" has his agents abroad; and "can burn and spoil to Dublin gates and go away unfought." [1]

With the forces at his disposal, Sydney had little hope of success against Shane, whose countrymen, he believed, but awaited the word of command to rise in freedom's cause; and if the French, as he says, made such a fight for the recovery of Calais, what would they not risk for the recovery of their island. Therein was the great danger, the very thought of which was enough to throw him into despair. The danger, however, proved more apparent than real; and soon he discovered that with all their opportunities, Shane's countrymen were now, as ever, more concerned with themselves than with their island, so that his bribes and promises left Shane to seek for aid abroad.

The Queen of Scots sent him 100 of her guardsmen with Argyle, whom she commissioned "to levy all his own people and the people of the Isles to assist Shane."

Messengers were at once despatched by Elizabeth on hearing of this, to the Scottish Court "to procure

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*.

to stay the same." Randolph, the Ambassador, was instructed to withdraw Argyle from "the favouring of that principal rebel of hers, Shane O'Neill, being sworn cruel adversary to the state of all true religion." If he could not be moved for the sake of the "true religion," sooner "than O'Neill should receive any aid from thence she would be content to have some portion of money bestowed secretly by way of reward to the hindrance of it."

While Sydney's man, Douglas, was at the Scottish court, it was reported that Argyle had brought "a gentleman of O'Neill's country to court." Shane told Sydney he had sent him thither only "to show the monstrous glibbe that he wore upon his head!"

To the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise he wrote on April 25th from Dungannon, beseeching them "in consideration of his defence of the Romish Faith" to persuade the French King to send the aid he needs in driving out the English. To the King, himself, Charles IX., he addressed the following letter:—

"Your Majesty's father, King Henry, in times past required the Lords of Ireland to join with him against the heretic Saxons, the enemies of the Almighty, the enemies of the holy Church of Rome, your Majesty's enemies and mine. God would not permit that alliance to be completed notwithstanding the hatred borne to England, by all of Irish blood, until your

Majesty had become King in France, and I was Lord of Ireland. The time is come, however, when we are all become confederates in a common band, to drive the invader from our shore, and we now beseech your Majesty to send six thousand well-armed men. If you grant our requests, there will be soon no Englishman left among us, and we will be your Majesty's subjects ever more. Help us, we implore you, to chastise the heretics and schismatics, and to bring back our country to the Holy Roman See." [1]

In another letter he tells of how he was treated in England, where his gentlemen were detained as pledges and imprisoned as criminals. O'Brien he says, is expatriated; but John of Desmond "fights boldly against the English."

These letters, which fell into the hands of the English, are still preserved among the *State Papers*.

Knowing that Sydney's first effort would be to restore Calvagh O'Donnell; and that Conn and Maguire had declared against him, he invaded Tyrconnell and Fermanagh, sweeping all before him, and "striking terror and admiration into the Irishry." The two he deposed, setting up their brothers in their places. In June, Sydney writes that he has won all O'Donnell's castles; confederated with the Scots; is now in Fermanagh; will spend this summer in Connaught, and next winter in the Pale. In short, he writes, "O'Neill will be tyrant of all Ireland."

[1] *Idem*; Froude.

He threatened the Pale in July, when, with 1,000 horse Sydney marched to Dundalk to parley; but he refused "to be any subject to those that should keep or assist his servant Maguire." If Maguire would not willingly be his friend and ally, he should perforce be his servant.

In a skirmish which followed, one of Kildare's gentlemen was wounded with a "Scottish arrow," and the Earl himself "with desperate following of a horseman into a pace," was shot "through a slop of his nose, but not hurt."

Sydney returned to Dublin after strengthening the garrison at Dundalk, when Shane "entered the English Pale with fire and sword," burned Haggardstown and other villages, and besieged Dundalk. His men entered the town; but were met by such a fusilade from the English gunners stationed there, that they were obliged to retire with the loss of seventeen horsemen.

After this he withdrew "to the farthest part of Ulster to treat with the Scots." Argyle had promised to join him at this time; but he did not appear; and Sydney had been before-hand with the Clan Donnell Scots. He temporized, he says, with Sorly's brother, Alexander Oge, the Captain of Cantyre "and I am certainly advised without hope from him he has again returned to the borders." [1]

The "rewards" were telling against Shane; and

[1] *Sydney's State Letters.*

every day his allies, even those in whom he trusted most, were dropping off, so that he was now obliged to burn Armagh to prevent a second occupation and to raze "many castles in Ulster and Lecale" which he could no longer hope to hold with advantage.

To John of Desmond he wrote from Carrickbradagh, urging him to greater effort. The English, he tells him, have no other view but to subdue both the English and Irish Pale; and now is the time or never for them both to set upon the enemies of Ireland. "If Desmond fails or turns against his country," he adds, "God will turn against him.' John had been in arms up to this; and such a rank rebel was he, that, Cusack states, he advised Shane, in 1563, to hold out at all costs and make no peace with the Deputy, and "spoke other sore words." Thinking Shane was now likely to come off second best, he repaired with his brothers, Thomas, and the Earl, all the way to Drogheda to join the Deputy's standard.

Sydney, with a great force, proceeded against Shane on September 17th, when Colonel Randolph, having landed with 1,000 men, including 300 gunners, in Lough Foyle, had fortified himself at Derry.

The Desmond Geraldines, with the Lords Fitz-Maurice, Power, Dunboyne, the White Knight, and Sir Warham St. Leger, President of Munster, were

left to guard the Pale and distract Shane by "preying and burning O'Reilly's country," while Sydney was on his march to Lough Foyle.

Nearing the Blackwater, and passing Armagh, he sighted a crannoge castle, thirty feet high, probably Inisdabhail, or Inishdavel, in Clan Dabhail, now Glenaul, in which report said Shane had his treasure, plate and valuables. It was surrounded by a thick hedge "and bearded with stakes and other sharp wood." Sydney attempted to take it and constructed a pontoon bridge of barrels, when a party advanced to the assault; but were driven back with the loss of many killed and wounded.[1]

Finding the castle too strong, and well defended, Sydney crossed the river to Benburb, which was "utterly burned to the ground." From this he went towards Clogher, through pleasant fields and villages, "so well inhabited," he says, "as no Irish country in the realm was like it."

Shane had already reaped the corn, which he had safely stowed; but everything else standing within a range of twenty-four miles was destroyed. Shane showed himself at Castlederg, where Kildare, who was in the rear, was surprised in a wood, and had a narrow escape.

The net result of the expedition was to prove that the English were now the strongest; to restore

[1] Hamilton *Calendar*; Froude; Bagwell.

O'Donnell, and set up a new Maguire—Shane had died on the march at Omagh—and to establish an English garrison in Derry, the fair city of Columba, which "O'Donnell, O'Doherty and other friends of England" agreed, "was the very best spot in the northern counties to build a city."

NOTES.

(*a*) Compare this with the description given in the last Chapter of the Pale under the English Deputies, and of Munster under Ormond, Desmond, and Thomond, as described by Sydney to the Queen, in April, 1567. "In all my life," he says, "never saw I a more waste and desolate land, no, not in the confines of other countries, where actual war hath been continually kept by the greatest princes in christendom."—*State Papers*.

(*b*) *Ollamh* in his lately published *Story of Shane*, devotes a good deal of his space to refuting the slanders of this writer.

(*c*) This Maelmordha, who succeeded his kinsman, Farrel, in 1536, and died 1565, left a son and successor Hugh, (*ob.* 1583), father of Sir John, who resigned his lordship in 1596, when his brother, Philip was installed by O'Neill (*Four Masters*). From this John descended Owen, The O'Reilly, living in France in 1711; and from his brother, Eamon, or Edmund, Count O'Reilly of Spain, and the O'Reillys, formerly of Heath House, Queen's County, of Thomastown Castle, County Louth, and of Scarva, County Down.—See *The Landed Gentry*, etc., and O'Hart.

CHAPTER VIII.

SHANE, SURPRISED AND DEFEATED BY THE CINEL CONAL, SEEKS AID OF THE CLAN DONNELL, BY WHOM HE IS TREACHEROUSLY MURDERED AT THE INSTIGATION OF THE ENGLISH.—ACCESSION OF TURLOUGH LEYNAGH.—THE O'NEILLS OF THE FEWS.—SEPTEMBER, 1566 TO 1571.

AS compared with former expeditions, the planting of Derry was the one advantage gained by Sydney.

He might spoil and waste Tyrone as he pleased, like his predecessors, and support O'Donnell, Maguire, the Scots or others. This was of little avail ; for Shane, as he had shown, could live on the Pale, and keep them in check. But now, with one thousand seasoned English troopers under one of the most experienced officers of his day, forming, we may say, a link between the Cinel Conal and Clan Donnell Scots, Shane was greatly straitened.

With his limited resources and many enemies he could not afford to risk a direct engagement with

Sydney, whom he had followed to Lifford, when he turned back, and driving Desmond, St. Leger, and the others before him, spoiled and burned the Pale, till he was recalled by the report that O'Donnell was about invading Tyrone. Calvagh, riding towards Derry, fell dead off his horse, in punishment, according to the popular belief, for bringing the Sassenachs there. Thereupon his brother Hugh, who had hitherto been an ally of Shane's, hastened to make his submission to Sydney, who appointed him Chief by letters patent.

Shane proceeded towards Derry to watch Randolph, the Cinel Conal, and Clan Donnell, who, to the number of 1,200, had just landed in the Glyns. He encamped in the neighbourhood of the fortress, where, on November 12th, he was surprised by Randolph and O'Doherty (Shane), who slew over 400 of his men. Randolph himself is said to have been the only man slain on the English side; but O'Sullivan Beare states that several hundred of the English were killed.

This was the first serious reverse that Shane had met with since his defeat nine years before by the Cinel Conal; and from this on his power gradually declined.

Sydney thought the opportunity might be availed of to bring him to terms; and he wrote to the Council to know "whether he should move Shane to make peace." He still, he states, was a power, and could

muster 4,000 foot and 700 horse ; but he would have no peace save on the terms of the treaty of 1563, to which he would agree at any time.[1]

He was now harassed by attacks from every quarter. On the south by Sydney ; and on the north, east, and west by Saintloo—who had succeeded Randolph—Alexander Oge, and O'Donnell. Bewildered as he was by the number and activity of his enemies, to whom he was unable to offer any effectual resistance, he still held out, and in April had the satisfaction of seeing the English being driven out of Derry. It was destroyed by fire, and the cathedral, which had been converted into an arsenal, fell a prey to the flames. The powder magazine, once a church, was blown up, the provisions destroyed, and the sick soldiers to the number of thirty, were killed in the hospital. The survivors took what boats they could find, and made the best of their way to Carrickfergus. Seventy-five were driven ashore and hospitably treated by Turlough Leynagh.

There was no accounting for the fire ; and O'Sullivan Beare[2] says that " the natives confidently assert that a wolf-dog of huge size, with bristling hair, coming boldly out of the nearest wood to the town, and entering the iron barriers, emitting from his mouth a great number of sparks such as fly from a red-hot iron when it is

[1] Hamilton *Calendar.* [2] *History of Ireland.*

struck, proceeded to the place in which the powder was stored, and, spitting out sparks, set fire to powder and church."

Turlough Leynagh is said to have founded a Cistercian Friary in the town ; but the date is given as 1218[1], and it is not mentioned by Dowcra, who, writing some years after this, describes Derry as " a place in manner of an island within 240 acres of ground, wherein are the ruins of an old Abbey, of a bishop's house, of two churches, and at one end of it an old castle. The river called Lough Foyle encompasses it on one side, and a bog, most commonly wet, and not easily passable except in one or two places, dividing it from the mainland."

It was proposed to establish another garrison in Strangford Haven, which was yet in possession of Shane, of whom one Thomas Phetyplace reports in May that " his strength is not in men, but subtlety. His surety not in the nobility, nor yet in his kinsmen and brothers, but in his foster-brothers, the O'Donnellaughs, about 300 gentlemen. His warrior, indeed, is Turlough Lynagh." The Lord Treasurer reports that he had been reinforced by the Clan Campbell Scots, " and 5,000 more are expected shortly."

For the time things began to look brighter. O'Donnell's clansmen, influenced apparently by the destruction of Derry, rebelled against him. The

[1] Ware's *Antiquities.*

keepers of his castles, he says, refused him submission, and were for handing them over to Shane, who released Con, son of Calvagh O'Donnell, and installed him in Ballyshannon and Beleek.

To the French King he addressed a last appeal for aid, as well as to the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, reminding them that, while he was in England, he saw their brother, the Marquis d'Elboeug, transfix two stags with a single arrow. "If the most Christian King will not help us," he concludes, "move the Pope to help us; for I alone sustain the cause." Alone indeed he bore the brunt of the contest; and now he was compelled to fight his last battle, not against the Saxon enemy, but against his own traitorous countrymen.

Towards the end of May, or beginning of June, Sydney again came against him, supported by O'Donnell, Shane's former ally, who spoiled Tyrone on the north. Shane was in the neighbourhood at the time, and he followed O'Donnell, who, according to the *Four Masters*, could only muster 400 men. Crossing the estuary of the Swilly at low water, he found O'Donnell encamped at Ardnagarry. Thinking, apparently, that he had him now in his power, and that such was the disparity of their numbers, he would never dream of attacking him, he rested his men in view of the enemy, whom he expected would see the error of their ways.

O'Donnell, however, seeing Shane entirely off his

guard, marched towards his camp. He was observed by Shane, who must have thought that he had decided on making his submission. When too late, however, he was undeceived; and almost without striking a blow his army was scattered.

The returning tide had covered the sands which a little before had so readily afforded a passage, and many, plunging into the waves, were drowned.

By sword and flood, according to Sydney's report to the Queen (*Calendar State Papers*, p. 335) Shane lost 613 of his men, among whom were Brian MacHenry MacShane O'Neill and his brother; his constable; Dubhaltach or Doltagh O'Donnelly, his foster-brother "and the person most faithful and dear to him in existence, with a great number of his tribe."

The *Four Masters* state that Shane would rather he had not escaped from the slaughter, "for his reason and senses became deranged after it." They are not far wrong, for he now formed the insane resolution of placing himself in the power of his bitterest enemies, the MacDonnells. On May 18th Alexander Oge had landed at Cushendun to join Sydney, and, as he says, "to march forward into Tyrone, and do such service as he is able for the Queen."

To him Shane sent proposals for an alliance against the English. Alexander agreed to a meeting, and Shane sent Sorly Boy before him the better to

propitiate him if any of his old enmity remained. The meeting was arranged to take place a short distance from the present village of Cushendun, Co. Antrim, on the north-western slope above the bay, and thither went Shane with his secretary, Neal MacKever or Neal MacConor and fifty horsemen. (*a*)

Matters were delayed by Alexander for two days, by which time he doubtless had instructions from Piers, the Governor of Carrickfergus, as to what he should do. To bring Shane a prisoner to Dublin by land would be an impossible task ; and to bring him by sea would require time. Obviously the easiest way to settle the matter was to invite him in the English fashion to a banquet at which he might be easily disposed of. A banquet was accordingly prepared to inaugurate the reunion ; and in the midst of the carousing Alexander's nephew, Gillaspic, purposely started brawling, charging Shane's secretary with having circulated a report that his aunt, the widow of James MacDonnell, was about to marry O'Neill. "Marry (quoth the secretary) ; if thine aunt were Queen of Scotland, it might beseem her full well to seek such a marriage." Shane gave ear to his secretary's quarrel, whereupon, at a signal from Gillaspic, the armed bands stationed outside the tent were brought in upon them, and "with their slaughter knives killed the secretary and Shane O'Neill," who were literally

hewn to pieces.[1] Most of his men met the same fate, few escaping.

Such was the tragic and unworthy end, in about the fortieth year of his age, of "O'Neill, *i.e.*, John, son of Conn, *i.e.*, Lord of the Ultonian Province and Royal heir of Erin without dispute; and the man who gave and presented most in Erin." The following quatrain was composed to commemorate his death :—

"Seven years, sixty, five hundred,
And a thousand years, 'tis no falsehood,
To the death of John, grandson of Conn,
From the coming of Christ into a body." [2]

In the Friary of Glenarm his body was interred; his head, given to Piers, was salted and brought to Dublin, where, on a pole over the castle, it was seen by Campion four years later. Well has Savage written, in the person of one of Shane's own faithful clansmen, whose idol he was, and whom we can imagine standing before the Castle and seeing his Chief's head :—

"God's wrath upon the Saxon! may they never know
the pride
Of dying on the battle-field, their broken spear beside;
When victory gilds the gory shroud of every fallen
brave,
Or death no tales of conquered clans can whisper to
his grave.

[1] Campion; Act 11th Elizabeth.
[2] *Annals Loch Ce*; *Four Masters*.

May every light from Cross of Christ, that saves the
heart of man
Be hid in clouds of blood, before it reach the Saxon
Clan ;
For sure, O God !—and You know all, Whose thought
for all sufficed,
To expiate these Saxon sins, they'd want another
Christ ! "

The murderers of Shane had done their work well, and were suitably rewarded. Piers received 1,000 marks, a knighthood, and the Abbey of Tristernagh, in Westmeath, which remained in possession of his descendants down to recent times. Elizabeth recommends that " Alexander Oge and his Scots be largely rewarded " ; after which, being no longer required, they might make themselves scarce ; and " if they will not depart," writes her majesty,[1] then they " should be speedily expelled by force."

Sydney ,who garrisoned Foohenegall, and declined a peerage, satisfied himself with the plunder of Shane's fortresses, from which he took his money, plate, and jewels. Among the articles " received by the Lord Deputy, at the hands of Thomas Fleming, part of the goods of the late rebel Shane O'Neill," are mentioned [2] a silver " basin and ewer of 87 ozs., flat bowl, 92 ozs. ; standing cups, flat cups, methers," etc.

[1] Hamilton *Calendar.*

[2] De Lisle and Dudley MSS. in the third Report on Historical MSS.

On June 24th Winchester, the Lord Treasurer, writes to Sydney to see Shane's lodging in the Fen; and not to forget "his wife and family if they do humble themselves." He left seven sons, who are mentioned in the *Calendar of the State Papers* in the following order :—

1. Henry, described as "very dangerous." He was living in Fermanagh in 1608, where Deputy Chichester recommended he should have a grant of lands, or be transplanted to a lordship in Munster, to be purchased by the King. Shortly after he was allotted the lands of Camlough in Orior for life.

2. Conn, who was confirmed by James I. in the Manor of Clabby in Fermanagh. A poem of sixty-eight verses, by Eochy O'Hosey, or O'Hussey, Bard to Maguire, dedicated to this Chief, commences, "A theme to thee, O generous Conn." His son, Art, took part in the rebellion of 1641, married a kinswoman, Sabia Ni Neill, and left issue.—*See Calendar State Papers*, reign Charles II.

3. Shane Oge, slain in Breffny in 1581.

4. Hugh Gaveloc—of the Fetters—hanged by the Earl of Tyrone in 1590.

5. Art, died in escaping from Dublin Castle with his brother Henry and Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and was buried in Glenmalure, Co. Wicklow.

6. Turlogh.

7. Brian, whose descendants settled in the neighbourhood of Clabby. About seven miles west of it, in the churchyard of Kilskeery, Co. Tyrone, is a tombstone in the form of a cross with the following inscription in raised Roman letters :—"Here Lyeth the body of Conn MacTurlogh O'Neill, MacShane Oge MacBrian, MacShane Odemus (the Proud) Earl of Tyrone, and 2 of his children. He died May 29th, 1728, age 86." In 1642 Turlogh MacShane Oge O'Neill was placed with others in charge of Dungannon by Sir Felim.—*See* O'Mellan's *Journal.*

These sons, Fitzwilliams states, "are greatly beloved, and will doubtless attempt to succeed Turlogh." One was brought prisoner to Dublin, and Elizabeth recommended he should be sent to a castle in Wales. Hugh was the most active of Shane's sons, and he would most probably have succeeded Turlogh, had not his rival the English at his back.

Shane was greatly lamented, for he was much beloved by his clansmen, whom he so ably governed, and who, says the *Book of Howth*, he could "well procure to do well, for he had many good men." He was a "prudent, wise captain, and a good giver of an onset or charge upon his enemies during the time of his reign; and from fourteen years of age till the day of his death he was always in the wars. Proud he was and arrogant; for he

thought that no man ought of right be his superior or seem his equal. He had great policy in the wars that he was practised with ; no man more so in his time " ; and to his friends he was " a courteous, loving, and good companion."

In his cellars, Hooker states, he stored 200 pipes of wine ; 600 men fed every day at his table, " as it were his jannizaries " ; and, " sitting at meat," says Campion, " before putting one morsel into his mouth, he used to slice a portion above the daily alms, and send it, namely to some beggars at his gate, saying it was meet to serve Christ first." Campion believed that " he might have lived like a prince, had he not quenched the sparks of grace that appeared in him with arrogance and contempt" for Elizabeth and her ministers, who had so often plotted his destruction.

It is a matter for regret that we know little of Shane save through his enemies ; and they while acknowledging his great parts, have covered him with the most foul obloquy. This, however, is to be expected ; for, since the days of Giraldus, as we have had occasion to remark (*b*), the Irish have been misrepresented by their English opponents. According to them, the Irish were " a race of utter savages " ; so Shane, in a word, was the greatest savage of his day ; the O'Neills, Camden believed, were " the tyrants of Ulster," so Shane was the greatest tyrant of them all. None they so feared

and hated; and none has suffered so much from their misrepresentations :—

"You were turbulent and haughty, proud and keen as
Spanish steel—
But who had right of these, if not our Ulster's Chief,
O'Neill,
Who reared aloft the *Bloody Hand* until it paled the sun,
And shed such glory on Tyrone as Chief had never
done ?
He was 'turbulent' with traitors; he was 'haughty'
with the foe,
He was 'cruel,' say ye Saxons! aye! he dealt ye
blow for blow!
He was 'rough' and 'wild'—and who's not wild to
see his hearth-stone razed ?
He was 'merciless as fire'—ah, you kindled him—he
blazed!
He was 'proud,'—yes proud of birth-right, and
because he flung away
Your Saxon stars of princedom, as the rock does
mocking spray.
He was wild, insane, for vengeance—aye! and
preached it till Tyrone,
Was ruddy, ready, wild too, with 'Red Hands' to
clutch their own."

So thoroughly has Shane's personal character been blackened that, as Professor Richey observes,[1] his countrymen have yet to treat of him as a national hero; and he enjoys the unfortunate position between the two nations of being defamed by the one and neglected by the other.

[1] *History of Ireland.*

The peculiar position which he occupies in Irish history, writes the Professor, "is that of the last, if not the only purely Celtic Chief who offered a protracted and almost successful resistance to the national enemy. His better known successor, Hugh O'Neill, was English by birth, education, association, and habits, and assumed the character of a Celtic Chief as a means of gratifying his ambition(?) Owen Roe O'Neill was a Spanish officer, with nothing Irish in him save his origin and family tradition; but Shane was a thorough Celtic Chief, not of the traditional type, but such as a prolonged struggle for existence had made the Chieftains of his nation. . . . He knew that his very existence was an insult to the English Government; he had great pretensions and small means to carry them into execution; he was always involved in a network of intrigue and treachery; he had fierce passions, and never learned to regulate them; no possible charge against him has been omitted; but though they all contain some element of truth, they are manifestly exaggerated, and generally made by men who were themselves, with less excuse, open to similar imputations."

Ware estimates that the war with Shane cost Elizabeth £147,407—now about a million and a half—over and above all local imposts and all damage done to the Pale; and 3,500 English soldiers, he says, were sacrificed.

In 1569, at a Parliament held by Sydney, an Act

was passed attainting Shane and extinguishing the title of O'Neill.

This Act, 11th of Elizabeth, by way of preamble, and as a sort of a monument to his memory, details the story, with additions, of the great "withstander of his princes laws, and regal authority." After slaying the Baron, we are told, he "took upon himself the name of O'Neill, with the whole superiority, government, and rule of all the lords and captains of Ulster according to the Irish custom and in scorn of that English creation."

His hatred of the English was such, we are told, further, that "he fortified a strong island in Tyrone which for the strength and force of the place he caused to be called in despite Fooghnegall, which is as much as to say the Hate of Englishmen." And, "further for manifestation of his rancour and cancered heart to that nation," he "cruelly" hanged "one of his nation by the feet only upon bare suspicion that he had been a spy for Englishmen." Another he hanged as a spy, "because he was found with English biscuit about him." The third martyr was Fardoragh MacDonnell, "one of the Captains of your majesty's Gallowglasses," apparently the wretch that attempted to knife him. What chicken and bacon these wretches would have received had they been confined in Dublin Castle, or the Tower of London, where crowds were every year, like the unfortunate

Primate Creagh, upon "bare suspicion," tortured and done to death.

These are the only instances of "cruelty" and "tyranny" that could be charged against Shane, who is next accused of "dissimulation and hypocrisy," the very qualities which characterized the dealings of Elizabeth and her councillors with him, as with the unfortunate Chief of Clannaboy dealt with in the next chapter.

In instancing the hypocrisy of Shane, the framer of the Act was obliged to draw on his imagination, asserting that he who, as we have seen, would never appear before a Deputy, "craved a meeting and conference in the confines beside Dundalk; the Lord Deputy and Council, both for his benefit (!) and the quiet estate of the country, repaired thither, and there continued for the space of five days, wherein all that space he could not be persuaded or allured either to repair to the said Lord Deputy, according to his bounden duty, or to meet in a convenient place." Yet he had "craved a meeting and conference!"

The next charge by the despoilers of churches and monasteries is that he "ruined, broke down, and defaced the metropolitan church of Armagh" most "unnaturally, irreligiously, and contemptuously," and refused to leave it, as it had been for years, a refuge for Elizabeth's soldiers, with their horses, dogs, and concubines. In 1558 they stripped it

bare, and, as Primate Dowdal states, burned the see " with three churches."

As showing Elizabeth's title to Ulster, the Act recites " And now, most dear Sovereign Lady lest that any man which list not to seek and learn the truth might be led, either of his own fantastical imagination, or by the sinister suggestion of others, to think that the stem or line of the O'Neills should or ought by priority of title to hold and possess any part of the dominion or territories of Ulster, before your majesty, your heirs or successors, we, your Grace's said faithful subjects, for avoiding of all such scruple and doubt and erroneous conceit, do intend here (pardon first craved of your majesty for our tedious boldness) to disclose unto your Highness your ancient and sundry strong authentic titles, conveyed far beyond the said lineage of the O'Neill and all other of the Irish to the dignity, state, title, and possession of this your realm of Ireland." It then proceeds to recite the ridiculous story of " the King Gurmond, son to the noble King Belan "—related in the reign of Conn—on which Henry VIII. founded his title to the Kingship of Ireland.

The enacting part of the Statute declared that Shane should be attainted, and the title of O'Neill, with all the ceremonies attending the creation, should be abolished " And forasmuch as the name of O'Neill, in the judgments of the uncivil people of this realm, doth carry in itself so great a Sovereignty,

as they suppose that all the Lords and people of Ulster should rather live in servitude to that name than in subjection to the Crown of England, be it therefore enacted—that the name of The O'Neill, with the manners and ceremonies of his creation, and all the superiorities, titles, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, authorities, rules, tributes, and expenses used, claimed, usurped, or taken by any O'Neill, as in right of that name or otherwise from the beginning, of any of the Lords, Captains, or people of Ulster, and all manner of offices given by the said O'Neill, shall from henceforth cease and determine to be utterly abolished and extinct for ever, and that what person soever he be that shall hereafter challenge, execute or take upon him the name of O'Neill, etc., the same shall be deemed and taken high treason."

The Millenium, according to English writers, had now arrived; the title of O'Neill was "utterly abolished"—on paper. Ulster was converted into shire ground, and the inhabitants released from the "tyranny" of O'Neill, might now rejoice and prosper under the blessed "rule of Englishmen"—how they did we shall see in the next chapter. "By the final destruction of O'Neill," wrote the Lord Justice and Council, "peace is established."

The "friends of England"—the O'Donnells, Maguires, O'Reillys, and Shane's own kinsmen, were disappointed at their rewards, having to be content

with "letters of thanks" indited by the Virgin Queen herself. Turlough Brasselagh, son of Felim Caech and nephew of Shane, thought he had earned the Chiefry of O'Neilland; Art, son of the Baron, Matthew, that of Orior; while Hugh MacNial More of the Fews (*c*) "always true to the Crown of England," would be satisfied with nothing less than that of Tyrone, which doubtless he had been promised.

Turlough Leynagh, Shane's weak-kneed Tanist, who had assumed the title of O'Neill, thought it well to apologise for that which he "had ignorantly received according to custom." Elizabeth proposed to instal him as "Seneschal of Tyrone," with the title of Baron, and "to have his habitation in the north part of Tyrone where his land lieth." The Baron of Dungannon, Hugh, son of Matthew, might be "planted in the south part of Tyrone." Mr. Vice-Chamberlain Knollys recommends that Turlough's freehold should rather be offered to Shane's murderers, "Alexander Oge and his Scots, on condition that they expel him and take it themselves." Elizabeth or Sydney would have nothing further to do with Alexander or his Scots, who indeed "hath very well served;" yet, writes her majesty, they should not be suffered "to have any habitation or abode in Ireland." The country should be subdued "little by little," when English planters might be introduced to better advantage.

Turlough proved stronger than was thought, and it was decided to "allow him to have the rule of all the people of his name in Tyrone." Accordingly, on the 6th September, 9th of Elizabeth, the following treaty was made in the English camp at Coleraine between "Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Deputy, and Terence O'Neill, principal Captain of Tyrone" :—

> The Lord Deputy nominates him Captain and ruler of all his name, and of all inhabitants within the limits of Tyrone. O'Neill renounces all claims upon Killitragh and Clannaboy (except that part commonly called Clancorken (? Glenconcene) on the south of the Bann, the Government and rule of which is hereby conferred on him). He consents that all ecclesiastical lands within Tyrone shall be free from impositions and exactions. The city of Armagh and its franchises shall also be free from all impositions, and O'Neills officers or ministers shall not perform any function or office in his name within these limits. He shall not exact or accept any rent or corporal service from Hugh MacNial More, or any resident or inhabitant within the territory called the Fews. He undertakes not to confederate with the Scots, or other strangers, or receive aid or support from them; but to the best of his power he will repel them as often as occasion shall be afforded him. He will appear and answer before Her Majesty's Commissioners to hear, and determine all county causes, and shall cause satisfaction to be rendered to those who may have been aggrieved. He will not exact any service or subsidy from the Queen's gallowglasses commonly called

Clan Donnells, and he undertakes to place in the hands of the Deputy such hostages and securities as shall be required.—Signed: Gerald, Earl of Kildare; Henry Sydney, Nicholas Bagenal, Francis Agarde, Warham St. Leger, James Dowdall.[1]

Turlough, who is described by Fitzwilliam as "a very valiant man," made some feeble attempts to extend his sway; but he lacked the necessary ability, and with the half-hearted support of his clansmen his efforts came to nothing.

When he enlisted the support of the Clan Campbell Scots, his clansmen rebelled "and there came away divers of the Donnelloughs (O'Donnellys) from him to Turlough Brasselagh," who was in possession of O'Neilland, south of the Blackwater. The hungry Scots, who demolished 180 beeves, "besides wages," proved of little use; and Sydney says that, "having eaten him out," they "tired of him."

He made peace with O'Donnell, who surrendered Cinel Main. In consequence of this the Lord Justice tells the Queen that the two joined "are like to be worse than the late traitorous Shane." If he be indeed unfaithful, she replies, "Hugh O'Neill, the young Baron of Dungannon, who is now here, may be sent to Ireland and maintained against him; and in like manner Conn (MacCalvagh) assisted against O'Donnell."

[1] *Carew MSS.*

There was no reason to fear, however, for soon after Turlough and O'Donnell were at loggerheads, when the latter, with Conn himself, invaded Tyrone, penetrating to Armagh, where, Dean Daniel says, they "spoiled all the town, wounded part of the poor clergy and inhabitants, and burned Benborb." After making reprisals on Tyrconnell, peace was again proclaimed, when Turlough wrote to the Queen and Lord Deputy and Council to have the rule of Maguire, MacMahon, O'Hanlon, and Magennis and the land of O'Neilland, for which he would pay a rent of £100 a year. He also desired the island in Lough Neagh—Foohenagall—in which Sydney left his men; and the priory of the Cathedral Church of Down for his chaplain, Edmund O'Quin. In his letter to the Queen he signs Terence O'Neill, by your leave Captain of Tyrowen—*Terensius O'Neill vestra venia Capitaneus de Tir Eoghan.*

In September, 1568, he rose in "actual rebellion," invaded the Pale, and "raised such a stir" that "if the Lord Deputy had not by his wisdom and policy caused MacMahon and others to decline from him, the suppressing of the wicked people would have cost the Queen £100,000." Marshal Bagenal marched against him, accompanied by the Lord Louth, Captains Edward Moore, Malbie, Basenet, Collyer, and others, and spoiled the territory of Turlough MacHenry MacShane of Kinnaird; while O'Donnell coming against him on his side drove him "into his own castle."

Turlough was compelled to sue for peace; and, on March 17th, 1571, his lady, Agnes, widow of James MacDonnell and "Lady of Dunnavaigh and Cantyre" (daughter of Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyle), writes to the Earl of Morton that hearing of his being at the Court of England she desires him to labour to obtain at the Queen's hands the suits for which O'Neill presently sends messengers. She would have repaired to her majesty's presence personally but for want of health.

What Shane and his predecessors had won by the sword, Turlough hoped to win by favour; and, as *Dominus O'Neill de Hibernia*, he writes from Armagh to have the "rule of his nation" and pre-eminence of his urriaghs, namely Maguire, Magennis, MacMahon, Collo MacBrian (MacMahon), O'Hanlon, Clan Donnell Galloglach, and MacCann of Clanbrassil in O'Neilland; and he will pay a yearly tribute.

He has, he says, "the obedience of the Baron's son and of MacQuillan; but Brian MacFelim and Magennis "have withhdrawn their obedience this year." [1]

Elizabeth, who had no intention of setting up another Shane, was doubtless glad of the news, which augured well for the great scheme of plantation and extermination about being put in force against Brian MacFelim and the Clannaboy, to whom we shall now turn.

[1] *Calendar of State Papers.*

NOTES.

(*a*) Hill. On Norden's Map the place where Shane was slain is marked about half a mile N.E. of Red Bay Castle.

(*b*) See p. 274, Part II. In 1566 Shane complains of the satires of an Anglo-Irish Bard.

(*c*) THE O'NEILLS OF THE FEWS.—This Hugh MacNial More MacArt left a son, Owen, who served the English as a Captain of Horse against Prince Hugh, after whose defeat he was dispossessed of his patrimony in the district of Toaghie, of which, however, he got back 960 acres. In 1688 Conn of Toaghie was one of King James's Burgesses for Armagh. John O'Neill of this Sept, born in Toaghie in 1737, was a Mareschal de Camp in France, and Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis. His son, Colonel Charles, born 1777, was an Officer of the Legion of Honour, and Chef de Bureau de l'Infantrie au Ministre de la Guerre.

Hugh MacNial More's kinsman, Henry, surnamed of the Cries, son of Felim Roe MacArt, by Joan, widow of Baron Matthew, left Sir Turlogh, Lord of the Fews, and Hugh Boy, whose son, Brian, who served in Spain, distinguished himself under Sir Felim in 1641.

Sir Turlogh likewise took part against his great kinsman Hugh, when he was dispossessed of the best part of the Fews. He married a daughter of Turlogh Leynagh, and died in 1639, leaving two sons, Henry, and Art of Tullydonnell, ancestor of the O'Neills of Fassagh.

Colonel Turlogh (*ob.* 1676), son of Henry, by his lady Mary ni Reilly, was transplanted to Newcastle, County Mayo, married Mary, daughter of Colonel Rory O'More of Balyna, and was father of Conn of Newcastle Conn, by Onor, daughter of Sir James MacDonnell of Moy, County Antrim, left a son, Henry of Foxford, County Mayo, a Captain in the Army of James II. He married Mary, daughter of Calvagh Roe O'Donnell, and was father of Nial of Cloon, County Leitrim. Henry, son of Nial, by his lady Celia, daughter of Hugh Mergagh O'Neill of Ballygorion, County Down, emigrated to France, where he studied law, and from him descend the O'Neills of Spain, now represented by the Marquises La Granja and Del Norte, and in the female line, His Excellency, O'Neill-Oxholme, Lord Marshal at the Danish Court.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CLANNABOY.—BRIAN, SON OF FELIM BACCAGH, SET UP AS CHIEF BY THE DEPUTY, BY WHOM HE IS KNIGHTED.—HE RECEIVES A LETTER OF THANKS FROM ELIZABETH, WHO LICENSES ENGLISH ADVENTURERS TO TAKE POSSESSION OF THE TERRITORY UNDER SMITH, AND ESSEX, BY WHOM HE IS ASSASSINATED WITH HIS LADY AND HIS FRIENDS.—THE O'NEILLS OF CLAN DONAL DON OR GLENCONCENE.—1571 TO 1579.

THE projects for planting Ulster with English colonists and exterminating the Irish, which had been shelved since the advent of Shane, were again brought forward after his death.

Sydney proposed, and Elizabeth agreed, in 1567, to reduce the country little by little; and by fortifying O'Donnell's country, Derry, Armagh, and Carrickfergus, to keep out the Scots. But this had nothing to recommend it in the eyes of the grasping, needy, English adventurers, for whose benefit it was finally decided to parcel out about one-third of the province.

The first territories marked out for attack were Clannaboy, the Route, the Glyns, Kinel Arty, Orior and Farney, "the gate of the Pale," in Monaghan, held by Collo M'Brien M'Mahon.

Clannaboy, as ever, the most coveted of these, was surveyed in 1568 by Sydney, who declared it the Shire of Carrickfergus, an arrangement afterwards departed from. The introduction of the Scots, with whose aid, as will be remembered, Murkertac, the last elected chief, was defeated by his rival Hugh M'Nial Oge, so disorganized the Clannaboy and opened the way for dissension that, occupied with their own feuds, and without a head, they figure little in the history of the province during Shane's reign. When he drove out the Scots in 1565 they began to recover; but he appears to have left the territory in possession of the rival septs—descendants of Nial More—without appointing a chief, probably not wishing to interfere in the matter. The sept of Brian Ballagh, son of Nial More, and that of his brother, Felim Baccagh, appear to have held North Clannaboy; while South Clannaboy, including the Ards, inhabited by the M'Gilmores, was held by the sept of Nial Oge, the second son of Nial More. At the head of the latter was Conn, the third son of Nial Oge; and at the head of the former were Hugh, the second son of Murkertac, son of Brian Ballagh; and Hugh, the eldest son of Felim Baccagh.

These chiefs joined with Shane; but a younger son of Felim Baccagh, Brian, who lived at Carrickfergus, was maintained by the English; and after Shane's defeat he was installed as chief by Sydney, who had his brother Hugh M'Felim, with Conn, son of Nial Oge, and many of their followers arrested and lodged in Carrickfergus, and Dublin Castle. Hugh Mac Murkertac, who seems to have held Edenduffcarrick, was driven across the Main water into the woods along the Bann called the Fiodhbhaigh, or Feevagh, where for years, he maintained his independence, though with greatly diminished power. This chief,—the "fierce rebel Hugh M'Murrough," of Sir Saml. Ferguson's story of "Corby M'Gilmore" (*Hibernian Nights Entertainment*), fought under his great kinsman, Hugh, and was so reduced by war that he appears in 1599 as the weakest of the Clannaboy chiefs.

Brian M'Felim, who had now the field clear to himself, and who had few supporters in the territory, as might be expected, was but the veriest instrument in the hands of his English friends, who gave him no consideration whatever when he stood in the way of their projects.

He was recommended to Elizabeth as "the man that heretofore hath longest and most constantly stayed on your majesty like a true subject;" and from her, with O'Donnell, Maguire, and other friends of England, he received a letter of thanks for his

loyalty and zeal "in the advancement of the service against Shane O'Neill."[1] She promised to be favourable to his suits; and prayed him to follow the advice of her Deputy, Sydney, by whom he was knighted.

In January, 1567, his neighbours in the Route and Glyns having come to terms with Her Majesty's Commissioners, Piers and Malbie, he parleyed with Hugh M'Murkertac and his ally Brian Carragh, who, he says, promised to become true subjects.

Writing to the Privy Council in England, February 8th, 1567, Piers and Malbie say:—"Sir Brian M'Phelim was lately with his father-in-law, Brian Carragh M'Cormac, who hath promised him henceforth to be a good subject, and at that time did Hugh M'Moriartagh likewise. We intend to try them shortly, as we did Alexander Oge, and if it please O'Neill, Brian Carragh dared not but be a good subject."

This Brian Carragh O'Neill (*ob.* 1590) was chief of the Clan Donal Don, over whose territory, and part of that adjoining in the Baronies of Antrim, Hugh's sway extended. In it were the castles of Toome, Edenduffcarrick and Broughshane, with the demesne lands, a great part of which were in possession of Hugh. For his lands west of the Bann,

[1] Hamilton *Calendar.* From this and the *Carew MSS.*; Benn's *History of Belfast*, where Brian's letters are given in full; and Devereux's *Lives of the Earls of Essex*, the particulars in this Chapter are chiefly taken.

Brian (*a*) the *Description of Ireland* informs us, paid tribute to O'Neill; "and for the lands on the east side to the Lord of that part of Clannaboy."

Her Majesty's Commissioners were disappointed in Hugh and the Scots, a great band of whom, in March 1568, Sydney writes (*State Letters*), were seen to enter a wood near Castlereagh, intending, as was said, to create a new lord of Clannaboy. They were prevented, however; and Brian was left in undisturbed possession.

In 1571, having induced Brian Carragh to join him, he petitioned the Queen to put him and his heirs in possession of the lands held by Hugh MacMurtagh's sept on both sides of the Bann. He wrote —

"Most gracious prince. Although I am one of the meanest of your Highnesses subjects, yet the great favour of your Majesty to all men, and especially the most excellent and prince-like bounty to me extended, as well by divers and sundry benefits, as the present sent from your Grace unto me, by Captain Piers, seneschal in these parts, so emboldeneth my debility, that I presume to beseech your Highness as well to consider of mine estate as also the bounden duty and faithful loyalty to which to your Highness I have always performed." He prays her "to confirm the lands of old belonging to my ancestors, the lords of Clandeboy, as well on the other side of the river Bann as this side, unto

me and mine heirs as your Grace's gift." He trusts he is not undeserving of this; for from his youth "hitherto I have always continued loyal and faithful, what time I have been banished the country by the rebels and driven to great misery." Captain Piers wrote in his favour, declaring he was willing to pay any rent she wished to impose.

Brian's loyalty must have proved more embarrassing than acceptable to Elizabeth, now that it stood in the way of the English planters, for whom she henceforth reserved all her favours, so that, failing to secure her aid in gaining the coveted lands, he had to rest content with an abundance of fair words.

In October 1568, he signed a treaty with Brian Carragh, which gave him possession of Belfast in return for facilitating the plantation, by erecting bridges, cutting passes, etc. This treaty is headed, *Articles betwixt the Right Hon. Sir Henry Sydney, Knight of the Most Noble Order, Lord President of the Marches of Wales, Lord Deputy, on the one part, and Sir Brian M'Phelim Bacco and Brian Carro on the other part.* They agree to make a substantial bridge over the ford of Belfast; to cut a pass 100 feet in breadth through the woods of Kilwarlin; to provide for soldiers or messengers passing that way; to aid or conduct any messengers, soldiers, or carriers from Belfast to Dromore or Carrickfergus; to protect English artificers working

in the woods ; to defend the town and harbour of Carrickfergus, and to supply the garrison with wood.

Brian did good service in the direction of reducing his country and countrymen ; and he tells the Lord Justice that things were prospering so that there were more ploughs working in the territory now than "these hundred years." As for English planters, they were so plentiful, that he declared the country "could bear no more Englishmen."

The Englishmen were not of this opinion, however ; for one Captain Thornton asserted that if he had Island Magee he would "soon have a whole fisher-town inhabited by Englishmen." Two other Captains, Brown and Burrowes, believed they could transform South Clannaboy into a paradise, if they had the reversion to the constableship of Knockfergus, and the house which Brian occupied there. Brian, they tell Elizabeth in December, 1571, had no right in South Clannaboy, and Castle-reagh "is most necessary to have out of his hands." Brian might be offended, and it might "be an occasion to make him rebel, but it is to be answered more fully that the custody of Castlereagh was put into his hands, but since the captivity of Conn M'Neal Oge ; and was never before in any of the MacPhelim's hands, but always in the Mac Neal Oge's hands."

Neither had they any pile on that side of the

water, "and thus it may with more reason be taken from him." In this part of the territory "are harboured the Slut Neales, M'Neal Oges, Henry Highs (?) and M'Brian Carto (Ferto), and the sept of the O'Kellys, as Patrick M'Neal O'Kelly, M'Morito O'Kelly, Gillduff M'Donogh O'Kelly, Neil M'Patrick O'Kelly," all of whom, they lyingly assert, are "kernes and outlaws."

By this the news had spread in England that Clannaboy was to be given over to the planters; and Elizabeth had evidently made it clear that Brian should no longer stand in their way. Accordingly, we find the above three captains, Sir Thomas Gerrard and companions, and Thomas Smith, offering their services.

The favoured one was Smith, the bastard son of Elizabeth's secretary, Sir Thomas, who was anxious to teach the Irish "virtuous labour," and "to leave robbing, and stealing and killing" to his virtuous son.

To him Elizabeth assigned—on paper—practically the whole of Clannaboy, with the territory of the Savages—Little Ards—adjoining; and as much of Tyrone as he could "possess or inhabit" before March 1579. Even the very castle of Belfast, in which Brian himself resided, was given away, so far as it was in Elizabeth's power to give. (*b*.)

The first intimation he had of the grant, was from a pamphlet published in London. This, printed

in Hill's *M'Donnells of Antrim*, sets forth at length the reason why the English power had waned in Ireland; and how it was proposed to restore it by colonization. A permanent garrison was to be established in the country; and every soldier was "to be made master of his own land to him and his heirs for ever." Six or seven hundred men, it was said, would be sufficient to sweep the country clear.

Smith was too hasty in spreading the news of the grant, which the Lord Justice believed would bring the Irish "into a knot to rebel," so Piers "feigned a letter to be sent from the Lord Deputy with contrary news," to Sir Brian. "The truth," he adds," will soon be known in spite of my feigning," and he advised the Lord Justice to gain time by pretending that the intruders were to be brought in entirely against the Scots; and in the meantime to take hostages of Brian.

Brian wrote from Belfast to the Lord Justice Fitzwilliam that there must be a mistake, as he was sure the Queen would not have given away his inheritance, knowing his great services. To Elizabeth herself, he writes of the reports, from Carrickfergus; and reminds her of his services under Sussex, Crofts, and Sydney. He had but lately borne the whole cost of victualling Carrick-fergus; and altogether, in her service, he had sacrificed more stock than was in any one English

County. So, he adds, it should always be while he was left in his command, in which he trusts to be confirmed. To the same effect he wrote to the Privy Council.

Brian could never well believe that he had been so basely deserted by those whom he had served so well; and it took a good deal to induce him to rise in self-defence, and join with his kinsman of Tyrone, to whom his vacillating conduct must have been exasperating.

On May 20th, Smith wrote from London, that he would "shortly come to live near him as a good neighbour," and trusted they would live on "friendly terms." He gave out that he had only designs on the Church property in the Ards. And Elizabeth, at the same time, to carry on the deception, sent Brian what Fitzwilliam describes as a most comforting letter. He and the Council tell Elizabeth that they have likewise "avowed and declared unto Sir Brian (as if your Majesty hath willed) your express meaning and intention, not to suffer any person to dispossess him of his lands or territory wherein he hath right or interest." Piers promised to do all he could "to keep Sir Brian in tune," as he had done hitherto.

Smith landed in May, 1572, at Strangford, and sought an interview with Brian; but he had no wish to see him, and gave him to understand that he would not part with one foot of his lands. He

went to Carrickfergus "hoping to have some friendly composition with him;" but he "would not by any means be brought to speak with me." He hoped to impose on Brian with his soft talk; but Fitzwilliam did not think he could achieve much by this means, as he told Burghley: "Would to God Mr. Smith had come without any words, and with a sufficient force able to have bearded him."

After some months, seeing that the intruder was not inclined to abandon his enterprise, Brian decided on taking the field against him. And in October he joined with Turlogh, who wrote from his camp at "Maghnagugedh," to Fitzwilliam and the Council, asking "that Mr. Smith may not be permitted to inhabit on the lands of Sir Brian M'Felim," who demanded, Fitzwilliam says, the counterpart of Turlogh's indenture with Sydney and "other arrogant demands savouring of rebellion."

To back up his demands, he invaded the Ards, by Turlogh's direction,—for "he held his pledges to perform any evil against Her Majesty"—cleared off all the stock there, slew one Henry Savage, Smith's lieutenant, and burned Newtown, Bangor, Moville, Hollywood and other places.

Fitzwilliam began to grow nervous; and to Smith senior he wrote that "the northern mischiefs impeaches his son's good enterprise." He threatened to let the Chief of South Clannaboy—Con M'Nial Oge—loose on Brian, as he verily believed "he would

soon turn Sir Brian out of it." Con's son Donal and his nephew Owen, son of Hugh M'Nial Oge, offered, he states, a large ransom for his release, and to reduce the territory if he (Con) were allowed 100 English foot.

Conn was too strong to be released; so his nephew Nial M'Brian Fertagh was selected as a scourge; and on October 28th, Malbie, who was engaged in planting Kinel Arty, writes to Burghley that having drawn from Sir Brian his cousin Neal M'Brian, "he seeks pardon from the Deputy, and peace with Mr. Smith." The latter writes on the same day from Newcastle in the Ards that he has now "good hopes of success;" and "captain Malbie's credit with the Irish, and the fear of his 160 horse, have alone brought this to conclusion." He was mistaken, however, for Nial, finding he had nothing to gain as Malbie's tool, soon after deserted; and on November 21st, Smith writes that "he is again returned to Sir Brian M'Felim." Brian in the following May again stirred himself, and burned Carrickfergus, a few days after which Smith's men rebelled against him, when ten of them were imprisoned. He made proposals to Sorly Boy; but they did not agree. "Sorly required for himself and his to be made denizens by patent;" and Smith, who was an unctuous, holy man, like his father, and the rest of his kind, required Sorly "to profess the reformed religion."

Smith, it was already realized, had no chance of success ; and the Earl of Essex, one of Elizabeth's favourites, now offered to take his place. Smith consented to relinquish in his favour all his claims on North Clannaboy ; and to confine himself to South Clannaboy, and the Ards, where Essex promised to assist him.

Essex was licensed to possess himself of the whole County of Antrim, including North Clannaboy, the Route, Glyns and Rathlin. Half was for himself and the rest for the settlers, at two pence an acre. He was empowered to make laws, and to make war ; and to plunder and destroy the castles, houses and lands of the people or "Irish Outlaws," who might be impressed to work as slaves in his service, if they failed to recognize the blessedness of his rule, or the beauty of his religion, and were convicted by martial law.

Elizabeth thought he might have a little more "consideration for the Irish there," as it would be a bloody job to reform them too quickly. But Essex promised he would "not willingly imbrue his hands with more blood than the necessity of the case requireth." When once they had been brought to realize that they had been given over body and soul to their most dread Sovereign's impecunious favourite there would be little difficulty in bringing them "to be of good religion."

Her Majesty showed her anxiety to share in the

good work, by furnishing 400 foot and 200 horse, and providing six pieces of artillery and 150 calivers. She likewise lent the Earl £10,000 on the security of his property, which was estimated to produce the very modest sum of £500 a year.

How alluring the broad acres of Clannaboy must have been to him and the other needy ones, who on landing in August, 1573, gave out that they had "come to expel the Scottish alien." The Deputy, by Elizabeth's orders, as well as Malbie and Piers, had spread the same report, and Essex gave strict orders not to injure the Irish, or to take their goods without payment. Deceived by this, and impressed by the number of his forces, Brian turned from Turlogh, and repaired to Carrickfergus, where, after consultation with Piers, he made his submission "alleging little for himself, but some unkindness towards Mr. Smith." His cattle were in the Route, and, as security, Essex had them driven into the fields about Carrickfergus, where he supposed them safe.

Believing, as he told Burghley, that he had now "at his devotion Clannaboy, the Glyns, and the Route," he wrote in a haughty strain to Turlogh to break off with Sorly Boy and he "might find grace," otherwise he would waste him "with fire and sword;" Turlogh, however, took little notice of his threats, and Brian, finding that he had been deceived, withdrew his horned hostages, and again repaired to him.

Essex spurred after him for fourteen miles ; but he had a long start, and he was obliged to return to Carrickfergus, where he imprisoned several of the townsmen whom he suspected, and whom he regretted he had not the power to execute, as the town and district were exempted from his sway.

Brian departed, he says, on hearing from one Turnour, "a practiser with Turlogh Leynaghe," that the "King of Spain was about to send speedy aid to Ireland."

The relations of England, both with France and Spain, were extremely strained at this time ; and Antonio de Gueras, the Spanish Commissioner in London, thinking to turn Essex's expedition to account, despatched the above Turnour, styling himself Lord Audley, to Brian with letters. Essex, de Gueras wrote, was about to land with 3,000 men, and to exterminate the O'Neills ; and in order to frustrate the plan, Brian was advised to put himself under the direction of Turnour, a prudent, worthy, and gallant gentleman, with 500 men awaiting his orders in London. He had lately been in Spain and Scotland, and was well known to the English Government. The Kings of Spain and Portugal, it was promised, would supplant and destroy the English ; and the Dukes of Alva and Medina Celi would help, with the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Dacres, and other Catholics in England.

Brian was too loyal to Elizabeth to give Turnour

any encouragement ; and Piers, whom he consulted, hinted that his noble blood was fabulous. Turnour retorted that Piers himself was the son of a scoundrel and unworthy of being believed on his oath.

Essex wrote of Turnour's doings to old Smith, who again writes to Burghley of the "unconstant and barbarous doings of the Irish," who are countenanced by the "cankered English Papists." He desires him to show De Gueras the letters written in his name ; and "if his countenance do not betray him, yet he will see how all traitors use the King's countenance to their evil doings against her majesty."

Essex, like Smith, finding that the Irish were not to be deceived as to his intentions, now engaged in constant hostilities, in the course of which he and his men, like the planters in the Ards, Kinel Arty, and Orior, stopped short of no amount of devastation and slaughter.

In October he made a foray into Kilultagh, and carried off 400 of Brian's kine, after slaying 40 of his kerne and creaghts. He returned to find that Smith had been slain in the Ards by some of his men. Others were besieged in Comber by Brian, and he set out to its relief with the Baron of Dungannon—who was maintained against Turlogh—and arrived to find the place in ashes. Brian opposed him at the Ford of Belfast, and skirmished for two hours, when, Essex states, he lost over 100

men. He gives no account of his own losses, though Norreys and Malbie had their horses shot under them. Essex crossed the ford, and encamped for the night where, he says, he could hear the Irish "crying after their country's fashion for them that were slain."

The Earl's companions had little stomach for fighting; and seeing that they were now likely to lose more than they'd gain, they departed "on feigned excuses." His men, too, began to make themselves scarce, and a few were hanged without much effect; so that the Earl expresses his regret that the natives should have proved so obstinate, refusing "her majesty's mercies."

Early in 1574 he abandoned all hope, and in March surrendered to Elizabeth all his parchments. But she encouraged him to make another effort "to expel the Scots and reduce Sir Brian MacFelim." There was no resisting Brian while he took his stand with Turlogh, whom he had taught to look out for himself, and against whom Elizabeth commanded Fitzwilliam to proceed "with all the forces he could command." It was thought better, however, to temporize with Turlogh "till some order be taken with the Earl of Desmond and the Earl of Clanricard's son," who, with the gentlemen of Thomond, were reported to be in alliance with him, "and they number 3,000." Essex accordingly sought an interview with him; and on the banks of the Black-

water a truce was signed, Elizabeth promising to "give ear" to all Turlogh's petitions.

A spirited pen picture of this meeting is preserved among the *State Papers*; also a miniature or counterfeit of Turlogh, in a high, steeple-crowned hat, by Barnaby Goche. It is rudely drawn, but is said to greatly resemble him.

Brian being now threatened with opposition from his brother and Con MacNial Oge, made peace; and in May Essex writes from Belfast to the Queen that he thought it best "to make what composition I could, having him in so good terms, and to take him at his words. . . . He hath condescended and is well content that your majesty shall have the use of the lands from Belfast unto Olderfleet, which is fifteen or sixteen miles of length, but not broad, in which is also contained Magee's Island . . . , consequently he doth give himself wholly and all his title unto your highness, yet it was thought good by me and him that this parcel of land be reserved unto your majesty, because his followers—whom he doth dislike as much as I do, as he saith to me—should have no occasion of quarrels. Being a thing agreed upon, he doth also agree after this next winter is passed, to yield every year so many oats as shall suffice for 100 horses, besides all other rents. Upon these points he is departed from me; and hath drawn down all his creaghts and cattle within six miles of this place, in the plains."

In another letter he states he had begun a large town at Belfast, minding to have placed most of the garrison there as a place fitted for that purpose; but "Sir Brian entreated me to leave off for a time, until his people and creaghts are settled; for that, he saith, his people would be jealous and loth to bring down their creaghts, if they saw any building here. And he hath promised me at his own cost he will build the said town for the Queen, so as I would allow him my labourers here, being to the number of sixty men, under the leading of Robert Crowley. So shall the town be done as in his name for himself, and being finished, he hath promised to deliver it to her majesty's use."

To her majesty Brian at the same time writes from "The Camp near Belfast," throwing himself "on her majesty's mercy," and renouncing his title to Clannaboy in her favour, trusting to her majesty's clemency to dispose of such portions to him as she shall think meet. He would be willing to farm the lands, paying a rent of 1,500 kine, if she objected to him as Chief.

In reply she wrote that she understood he had repented "having been withdrawn by evil councillors from the obedience you owe to us. We confirm whatever the Earl of Essex has promised you in our name, and have given him power to treat with you respecting lands and other matters concerning the peace of the Province of Ulster."

Brian was again to facilitate the work of planting, and fresh supplies of adventurers "to inhabit Clannaboy" with "Sir Brian's aid" were to be sent over.

Having secured the submission of Brian, it was doubtless considered unnecessary to entertain Turlogh any further; and in July Essex tells the Privy Council he (Turlogh) would forego nothing his predecessors had, and he refused to confer with him, as he was informed "the English Captains advised Dungannon to murder him."

Being reinforced, he took the field against Turlogh early in October, and began operations by attacking an island near Banbridge, possessed by Turlogh Brasselagh's sons. Phelim and a cousin were taken, and all the band killed, except five or six, who escaped by swimming. O'Neill he invited to a parley near Benburb, on safe-conduct; but Turlogh preferred to have the river between them. Supported by O'Donnell, he then invaded Tyrone, and all the corn-stacks from Benburb to Clogher were burned. Making a foray into Fermanagh, he took 400 kine from Maguire. Turlogh, with 200 horse and 600 Scots, made a night attack on the camp, but this failed; and the Earl continued his march to Lifford, burning and spoiling the country.

At Strabane, Turlogh's fortress, he was joined by the O'Donnells—with 200 horse and 300 foot—who declared themselves ready to do all "the

Governor wished" ; for Essex had been promoted to be "Governor" of Ulster by Elizabeth. Conn O'Donnell, son of Calvagh, who had married Turlogh's daughter, and held Lifford, did not agree with his kinsmen as to yielding obedience and fighting the battles of this new Governor. He declared that "it was a dangerous matter to enter into war ; and for his own part he should know how he should be maintained before he should work himself trouble for any respect." Conn (*c*) had quite enough of English promises ; and he added that he had rather live "as a felon or rebel, than adventure his undoing for the Queen." He was accordingly arrested, and sent as a prisoner to Dublin Castle, when his castle was given to his kinsman, Hugh, who found in it materials for coining. O'Donnell (Hugh) was commissioned by Essex to seize on all Turlogh's cattle, which had crossed the Foyle to be under Conn's protection ; so he and his men "laid hold on them and, as their manner is, every man carried his booty home"; 1,400 head were reserved for Essex. In consideration of his gains, Essex bound O'Donnell to have an extra force of 600 men for his service ; and swore him to fight with Turlogh "as long as her majesty did."

Over £5,000 worth of corn, the Earl afterwards boasted, he (the Earl) destroyed in Tyrone ; and this was about as much as his own estates in England were worth.

With all his killing and spoiling, he had yet accomplished little towards his main object of possessing himself of the territory of Brian MacFelim, whom he found more in his way in peace than in war ; so that to dispose of him for all time he now had recourse to the usual methods employed by his countrymen, of whom Donal had complained in 1315 to the Pontiff. Now, as then, banquets for friends, and safe-conducts and conferences for enemies were the traps ; and on this occasion the banquet was prepared by the unsuspecting chief himself.

Returning from one of his numerous plundering expeditions in November, 1574, he sent Malbie to Belfast to acquaint Brian with the fact that he was about to pay him a visit, and to encamp in the town, which, in accordance with his agreement, he was building. Brian met him within half a mile of the town, with his half-brother, Rory Oge MacQuillan, and others, and extended to him a hearty welcome, which, he says, he "accepted as well pleased."

They proceeded together towards the town, where Brian's lady, who had prepared a sumptuous feast, came to salute him.

Everything passed off without a hitch ; and when, as appears, Brian and his family and friends had retired to rest, the Earl, "to make sure work of so fickle a people," as he says, gave orders to have them there and then put to the sword.

"Sundry of them were slain, to the number of 115," writes Essex; and Sir Brian, who was taken "in the Castle of Belfast, where he lay," with his lady, "Rory Oge and one Brian MacKevelin (? Mac-Quillan), were taken in hand; and one Gillduff of Gilmorry (O'Gilmore) was also saved and put in handlock with Sir Brian as a prisoner." Altogether, he states, he slew "to the number of 200 in all places, whereof 40 of his best horsemen."

Brian, his lady, and the other survivors, were only reserved for a worse fate; for after being imprisoned in Carrickfergus, they were taken in 1575 and put to death secretly in the town, being hanged, drawn, and quartered. The Irish believed that he was done to death in Dublin Castle, as appears from the following in the *Four Masters*: "Peace, sociality, and friendship were established between Brian, the son of Phelim Baccagh O'Neill, and the Earl of Essex. And a feast was afterwards prepared by Brian, to which the Earl and the chiefs of his people were invited; and they passed three nights and days together, pleasantly and cheerfully. At the expiration of this time, as they were agreeably drinking and making merry, Brian, his brother (? half-brother), and his wife were seized upon by the Earl, and all his people put unsparingly to the sword—men, women, youths, and maidens—in Brian's own presence. Brian was afterwards sent to Dublin, together with his wife and brother,

where they were cut in quarters. Such was the end of their feast. This unexpected massacre, this wicked and treacherous murder of the lord of the race of Hugh Boy O'Neill, the head and senior of the race of Owen, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages, and of all the Gaels, a *few* only excepted, was sufficient cause of hatred and disgust of the Irish to the English."

"This little execution," the ruffian himself boasted, "hath broken the faction and made them all afeard." "The account done," he adds, "the low water served at Belfast, where I put over certain horsemen, and next day they brought in to the number of 3,000 head of cattle, besides certain stud mares," the property of his unfortunate victim.

His fate might have well served for an example to some of the Ulster chiefs; but it did not; and two of Brian's own near kinsmen in South Clannaboy, who should have been among the first to rise and revenge his death, soon approached his slayer with offers of service, if they were named as instruments in his place.

Nial, son of Brian Fertagh, was chosen; and by Articles dated at Dromore, 17th July 1575, he agreed to serve under Essex—who nominates him Chief of South Clannaboy—against his kinsmen, paying for the privilege a tribute of 100 kine yearly. In a letter to the Queen five days later Essex writes

that "in my return to Clandeboy, having left all the country desolate and without people, I offered (Nial Mac) Brian Ertagh to be farmer of that country. His answer was that his people were few, his cattle less, and with striving to defend it from my men, his husbandmen were starved, dead, or run out of the country. And, considering your majesty hath given it to me, he would not strive any longer with me; but bade me take it and use it at my pleasure, and desired me to keep my promise with him in the rest according to his articles. And at this time there is neither he nor any man in Clandeboy claimeth property in anything, whereby your majesty may see what people they are to be roughly handled."

Nial was ready to concede everything, so long as he was nominated "Chief Captain" of "all the lands between the water called the Lagan unto the confines of Kilultagh, and unto the confines of MacArtan's country, and the confines of Kilwarlyn, and the confines of the Ardes"; but he was less accommodating when he heard that his uncle—Con MacNial Oge—had escaped from Dublin Castle, and that he had little chance accordingly of benefiting by the kindness of Essex.

Essex was still making little progress with the work of planting, which he would probably have abandoned altogether had it not been for the support and encouragement he received from the

Queen. In March (1575) the Deputy was informed by the Privy Council that she was "fully resolved to go through with the enterprise of Ulster, and to follow the plot of the Earl of Essex."

She recommended that he should build a fort on the Blackwater, which would be a support to those chiefs inclined to aid him, as well as a protection "from O'Neill's tyranny."

Turlogh could offer little opposition to the work; for Essex, with nearly 1,000 horse, and the support of O'Donnell and other chiefs, was more than a match for him. However, with 1,900 of his clansmen and 1,400 Scots under Sorley Boy, he proposed to make a night attack on the camp before the fort was finished; but Sorley Boy, who was anxious to make terms for himself—he was ejected by Essex—refused to support him, saying that a good watch was kept at night, and he would only fight if the Earl crossed the river. Turlogh's clansmen thereupon refused to fight what would have been Sorley's battle as well as their own, and mutinied; seeing which Essex crossed the river, cut off 1,200 kine, with many men, and drove Turlogh himself into a bog; following him so closely that he left his hat and mantle behind him.

Essex, nevertheless, was not too elated by his success; and he thought it better to come to terms with Turlogh, who, by Articles dated 28th June, 1575, was confirmed in the name and title of O'Neill,

an was exempted from appearing before any Governor against his will. He was to retain 300 Clan Campbell Scots as his guardsmen; to have the customs of Lough Foyle, and the tribute of Inishowen.

After issuing a proclamation in which he speaks of "her majesty's care for the Province of Ulster" and of Turlogh being "received to her majesty's peace," Essex pressed on against Sorley and his Scots from the Antrim side. Sorley appeared in force on the banks of the Bann, which he crossed after some skirmishing, when, Essex writes, he had "the killing of those swimming in the river over to the Tyrone side."

Sorley had sent his children and valuables, with the wives and children of his clansmen and the old and sick, for safety to the island of Rathlin, which, however, was taken, when over 600 men, women, and children were slaughtered.

Sorley, Essex states, in the meantime, "stood upon the mainland of the Glyns, and saw the taking of the island; and was like to run mad for sorrow, tearing and tormenting himself as a spy saith."

These slaughters, Essex hoped, would so well impress the Irish and Scotch that they would at once become his humble servants; but however much they were impressed with his villainy, they showed themselves as determined as ever to hold on to their lands and defend themselves. Essex found

he had grasped too much ; and he now retired from the contest, contenting himself with Island Magee, and a patent for Farney, in Monaghan.

In August, 1576, in Dublin, he "fell asleep in Christ," says a sanctimonious bystander, "as meekly as a lamb," and without a thought of the hundreds of defenceless men, women, and children whom he had so basely murdered.

This truculent scoundrel is represented by English writers as one of the noblest and grandest characters of the day ; and Dr. Richey, who endeavours to do justice to all parties, quite agrees with them, and believes his conduct in Ireland is to be excused on the grounds that he looked on the natives as his contemporaries did the natives of America, or as our contemporaries do the blacks. But to compare a civilized and Christian people to these poor outlandish pagans is simply outrageous. On the same principle the Lord Justice might have justified his slaughtering the defenceless Italians and Spaniards at Smerwick ; or the Anglo-Norman Barons, complained of by Donal, might have justified their atrocities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The state of those districts in Ulster to which he and the other planters—who had met with the same success—had devoted their attention, is described by Sydney in a letter to the Privy Council in November, 1575.[1]

[1] Sydney's *State Letters*.

The Scots he found as strong and as stout as ever in the Glyns, which he advised might now be confirmed to Sorly, as the Route might be confirmed to MacQuillan.

That part of Tyrone south of the Blackwater, where the Baron had been established, was all waste; and the Cathedral of Armagh was in ruins. Orior, which, with part of the Fews, had been harassed by Chatterton, was in the same state. Lecale and the Ards were partially inhabited; while Kinel Arty was all waste and "full of thieves and outlaws and unreclaimed people." None of the old owners dared occupy the land, "because it hath pleased her majesty to bestow the same upon Captain Nicholas Malbie." His and Chatterton's grants, he advised, should be revoked, for they "could only make the country altogether abandoned of inhabitants." Dufferin, held by the Whites, was "all waste and desolate"; and Clannaboy "I found utterly disinhabited."

Nial MacBrian Fertagh skirmished with him at Belfast, and refused to confer with him, answering "that Conn MacNial Oge was Captain, and not he." Carrickfergus, he says, was "much decayed and impoverished; no plough going at all, where before there were many." The inhabitants had fled; and there were not above six householders of any countenance left remaining, "so that their miserable state and servile fear is to be pitied."

MacMahon met Sydney at Armagh, and "begged to be relieved of the tyranny of O'Neill," and O'Donnell wrote to the same effect. The former was relieved with a vengeance in 1591 when he was hanged at his own door by Fitzwilliam, and a great part of his territory given over to the planters.

Turlogh, Sydney advised, should be made Earl of Clan O'Neill for life, "considering his age, wounded and imperfect body, and his ill diet and continual surfeit, he cannot be of long life." His messengers he recommended to be received graciously at Court, and his petitions should be granted, save the authority over his urriaghs.

The "taking from O'Neill all these captains of countries," he writes, "that heretofore have depended on him and the predecessors of his name; and the contenting him with the title of Earl . . . will be the dissipation of his force and strength . . . for these lords and captains should hold absolutely of the Queen and no one else." In half an age, he adds, "his posterity shall not be of power to do any harm, which will breed a quiet in the north, which country hath heretofore been so troublesome."

NOTES.

(*a*) THE O'NEILLS OF GLENCONCENE.—Brian was the last great Chief of the Clan Donal Don, who, about this time, were confined to the territory of Glenconcene by the Sept of Brian Ballagh II. From Brian the Baronies of Toome and Loghinsholin, are sometimes, after this, called "Brian Carragh's Country" In the Hamilton *Calendar*, as observed, he is set down as a MacDonnell—"Brian Carragh MacCormac MacDonnell." Fardoragh, son of Brian Carragh, after the defeat of Hugh, was deprived of all Glenconcene, save the Ballyboe of Tierglasog. Conladh, Conly, or Conn, his son, was father of Ever, slain at Clones in 1643, and Cooley, slain at Benburb.—*See* O'Mellan.

(*b*) This patent, with portraits of Smith and Essex, is given in *Old Belfast*. The parchment, illuminated in colours with a miniature of Elizabeth, was sold by auction in London a few years ago.

(*c*) Conn by his wife Rosa had three sons :—(1) Nial Garve, who had a son, Colonel Manus, slain at Benburb. He married a daughter of the Viscount Iveagh, and left Rory of Lifford, who was transplanted to Mayo, and from whom derived the O'Donnells, Baronets, of Newport ; (2) Hugh Boy, grand-father of Balldearg O'Donnell, and ancestor of the O'Donnells of Larkfield, County Leitrim ; (3) Conn Oge, ancestor of O'Donnell of Oldcastle and Castlebar, County Mayo, and of O'Donnell of Spain and Austria, now represented by the Duke of Tetuan and Count O'Donnell.—*See* O'Hart.

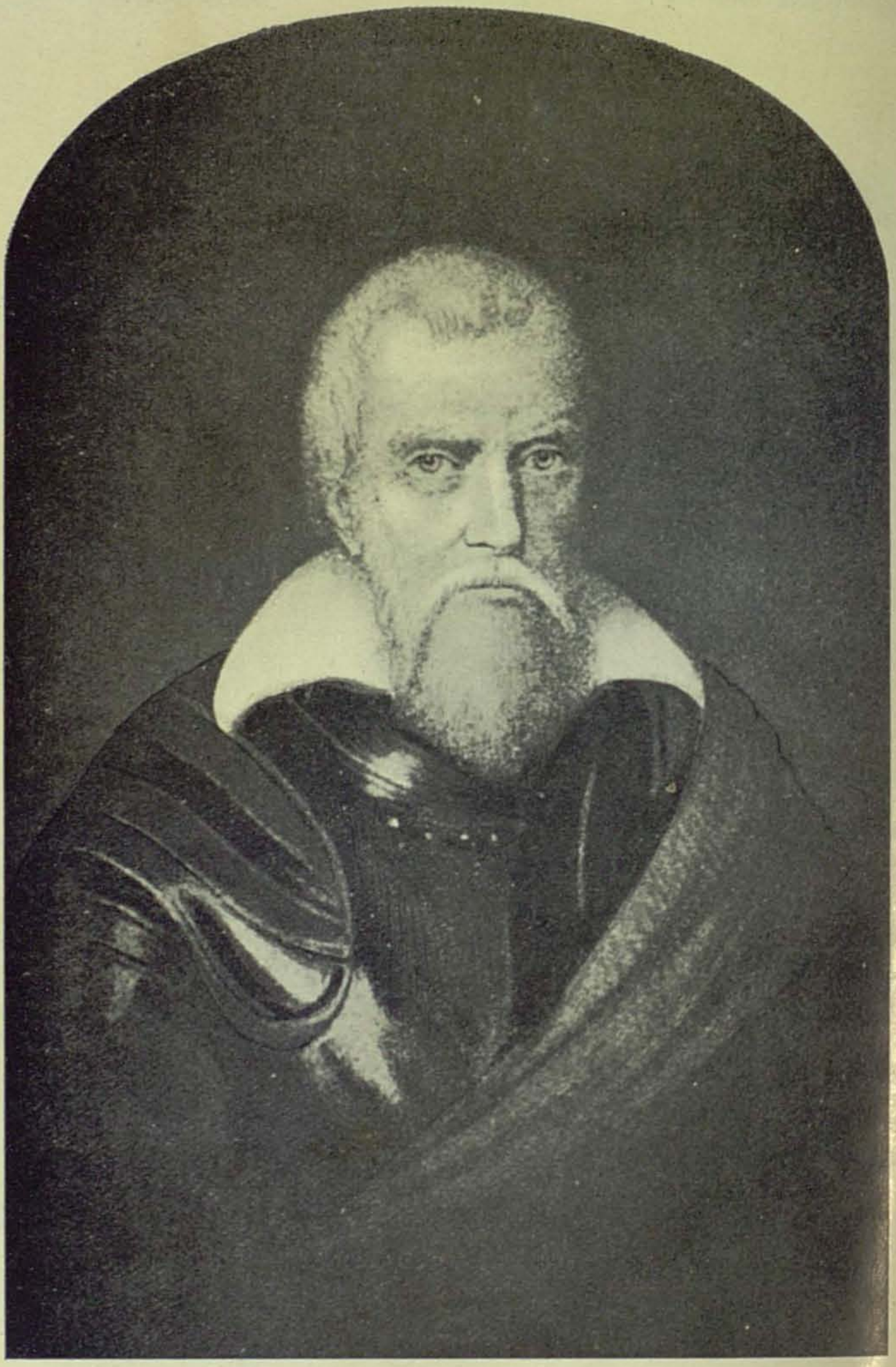
CHAPTER X.

TURLOGH'S EFFORTS TO ROUSE HIS COUNTRYMEN.—HIS QUARRELS WITH EARL HUGH, WHO OBLIGES HIM TO RELINQUISH HIS CHIEFTAINSHIP.—HIS DEATH.—THE O'NEILLS OF KILLITRA, OF KILLELAGH AND KILMACEVET, AND OF SHANE'S CASTLE.—1579 TO 1595.

SYDNEY had some difficulty in negotiating with Turlogh; and White, the Master of the Rolls, writes that he "has taken Harry, the son of Shane, O'Neill out of Dublin Castle to practise some conclusion . . . by show of Harry to the Irish."[1]

Turlogh was in very bad health at this time, when there was talk of nominating his successor. In 1579 Sir Edward Fytton states that there were four competitors for the title of O'Neill, namely, Hugh, the Baron of Dungannon, and Shane's son, Shane Oge, who were the strongest; and Turlogh Brasselagh, grandson of Conn Baccagh, and Art, son of Henry (? of the Fews), who were the weakest.

[1] The extracts in this and the next Chapter are taken mostly from the *Calendars of State Papers*.



O'Neill.

PORTRAIT AND SIGNATURE OF HUGH O'NEILL,

Fytton recommends that the territory be divided, and Turlogh Brasselagh "craves to depend on her majesty." The Baron of Dungannon desired 130 English horse and foot to aid him; for O'Neill "doth every day wax worse and worse, and no man grants him life."

Contrary to expectations, Turlogh began to recover, and soon felt himself well enough to be carried—against the advice of his leeches—forty miles on his men's shoulders, to the Blackwater to confer with Bagenal. Turlogh never appears to have enjoyed good health, which may account for the fact that he took no very active part against the Englishry, to whose "gentle entertainment" and soft talk he was particularly susceptible.

The patent for his "nobilitation" had been already made out; and the Queen had presented a gown to his lady, Agnes, described as "a continual good instrument to content him in quiet."

He was not to be contented with the Earldom, however, without a full acknowledgment of his rights as O'Neill; and Drury, the Deputy, repaired to Armagh to parley with him, when he showed himself with a strong force overlooking the town, and refused to confer without protection, which Drury refused. Ulster, he informed him, he should have, "after the Irish custom," when, as "President," he would pay £3,000 a year tribute, and agree to accept the title of "Earl of Armagh and Baron of

Benburb" ; his son Art to be either Baron of Strabane, or of Newtown, as it was also called. The title of Armagh, he conceived, would give him a claim on the lands south of the Blackwater ; so the whole territory of Tyrone, he stipulated, should be given with the Earldom, also a perpetual protection.

He and Earl Hugh, who was every day gaining new adherents, now became good friends, and it was reported he had given him a daughter in marriage. Another he gave to Sorley Boy's son, which was supposed to have gained him the support of the Scots.

With some of them, Conn O'Donnell, who had escaped from Dublin Castle, and Art, the Baron's brother, he proceeded against O'Donnell, and took 3,000 kine by way of compensation for the spoils taken with the aid of Essex.

Towards the end of June (1579) with Hugh, Turlogh encamped with 2,000 foot and 500 horse six miles below Armagh, awaiting an opportunity of marching on the Pale, to create a diversion in favour of James FitzMaurice, who had risen in Munster, and who is reported to have had two messengers with O'Neill, at the time of his death in August.

The Dean of Armagh and Judge Dowdall were sent to confer with Turlogh, and to tell him of the Lord Chancellor Gerrard's writing to the Queen "in

praise of his service and obedience." His lady was to be informed of "her majesty's most gracious letters," which were awaiting him; and if he have any complaints he is "to certify them in writing," when they will at once be considered. All agreed with Turlogh that his only desire was "to keep the country quiet according to the Lord Justice's directions."

Turlogh kept his men together for some time after this; and in June, 1580, he encamped before Carrickfergus, from the men of which he exacted "certain buyings for one Brian Ballagh O'Neill, sometime Lord of Clannaboy, killed about sixty years past." This, known as "Brian Ballagh's eric," is referred to in the reign of that chief, Chapter II.

In August, at the head of 5,000 men, Turlogh advanced on the Pale, to demonstrate in favour of the rebel lord, Baltinglass. He declared, writes Lord Gormanston, that he is "and will be O'Neill"; and "will stand in defence of religion while life doth last." The spirit, indeed, was willing, but the flesh was decidedly weak. On his way to Dundalk he was met by the messengers of the Deputy, Grey, who, with Earl Hugh and Sir William Pelham, had marched to Drogheda. Grey professed to yield to his demands, which he promised to submit to the Queen, and Turlogh withdrew. The Chancellor says the object of his "coming down (into the Pale), was to perform his promises by oath to meet Baltinglass with 4,000 men and 500 horse."

Grey arranged matters between Turlogh and the Earl, and sent Piers to England with his demands, which were: (1) to have protection when attending the Council; (2) to have "the authority of his nation and the urriaghs"; (3) to have 100 soldiers in pay; (4) some lands in the English Pale; (5) the Blackwater fort; (6) and Clannaboy, "the inheritance of Nial Connallagh" for his son Art. Grey advised Elizabeth "to temporize with Turlogh," and to "make him a present of a butt or two of sack," which would put him in good humour.

Turlogh soon tired of the temporizing; and in April, 1581, Grey writes for an additional 2,000 men to make head "against the proud rebel, Turlogh Leynagh," who is described as "the very root and seedman of all rebellion in Ireland." He had sheltered William Nugent, brother to Lord Delvin, who had taken part in Desmond's rebellion, and refused to surrender him to Grey when he appeared at the Blackwater. Nugent, with Turlogh's aid, made his way to Scotland and the Continent; but his uncle, Nicholas, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was less fortunate, being taken and executed.

In July, Turlogh was in alliance with the Scottish monarch, afterwards James I., of England; and he vowed, Grey says, "to stir in Ireland, if any attempt be made by Scotland against England." James had sent him "great gifts," with 400 of his guardsmen.

With these troops, and 4,700 horse and foot of his own, he invaded O'Donnell and "slew many of his chief captains and many of his men." "It would be difficult," add the *Annals of Loch Ce*, "to count all that fell in that victory by O'Neill."

The Deputy on the one side, and Malbie, Governor of Connaught, on the other, marched to O'Donnell's relief, when Turlogh withdrew, after burning his own castle of Strabane "for fear of the English quartering in it to aid O'Donnell, as these Saxons proceeded to Ulster on that intent."

A truce was arranged, and commissioners were appointed by Grey to "settle the controversies" between Turlogh and O'Donnell.

In September, Turlogh entered Breffny and obliged O'Rielly to deliver up Con, son of Shane O'Neill, who, in a foray, was taken prisoner. Shane Oge, Conn's brother, refusing to surrender to O'Rielly on this occasion, was slain.

In March, 1583, Turlogh chastised MacQuillan "for offending Sorley Boy," with whom, Malbie reports, he "intends to break into the Pale." He complains of his "arrogant letter against the English soldiers aiding MacQuillan"; and states that Conn Maguire affirms "he dare refuse no Scot or other rebel passing through his country since Sir Henry Sydney did grant O'Neill to be his Sovereign." Maguire "pants to see the time" when he may be permitted to serve Elizabeth.

In May Turlogh again sickened, and lay unconscious for two days, when it was reported that he was dead ; and Shane O'Neill's sons, " the most venomous persons in the state, have combined with Scots to put Hugh, the Baron of Dungannon, from the succession."

Shane's sons were the popular candidates for the chieftainship ; but against the Baron and the English they had little chance ; so that, like the popular candidates in Clannaboy, they got nothing but hard knocks, spending most of their time in the dungeons of Dublin Castle, Dungannon, or Strabane ; for they were as much feared by Turlogh as they were hated by the Earl and the English.

The Earl obtained from the Queen possession of the Blackwater fort, " to lie there with his forces in case of Turlogh's death," though the Lord Justice did not think well of it, as Turlogh, thinking it was done to his prejudice, " might attempt something against the State."

From this on, the Earl had it all his own way, being supported by the enemies of The O'Neill, in and out of Ulster, as the English, the O'Donnells, and the rebel urriaghs who, like Maguire, were " panting " to be supported against him.

The English realized the danger of the Earl engaging and supporting these chiefs ; for Bagenal writes that " when he succeeds Turlogh he will hold them " ; and so, when he " obtains Turlogh's place "

the Lord Justice believes "he will be able to command all Ulster to the town of Dundalk." Still Elizabeth thought it well to maintain him against Turlogh and Shane's sons, though she began to regard him with suspicion.

Turlogh's illness encouraged O'Donnell to invade Tyrone, when "the town of O'Neil, namely, Strathban (Strabane) was burned"; and later, in another invasion, "numbers of O'Neill's people were drowned and slain."

On his recovery, Turlogh endeavoured to stir up rebellion in Munster and Connaught, and despatched his foster-brother and others with letters for that purpose. They were apprehended at Athlone, when it was discovered that, with the aid of the Spanish and Scottish kings, who had promised him support, and the rebels in the provinces, he would "break out into open rebellion all at once." "O'Neill was promised to be King of Ireland, and said he would be king, if he died within an hour after." O'Donnell informed the Deputy that 2,000 well-appointed Scots had already landed in Tyrconnell, "and he was plagued for minding his prince's (Elizabeth's) will." More favour, he complains, was shown to the rebel Turlogh than to him, though he could employ Scots, too, "to serve him against all men." "O'Neill," he adds, "was never true, but practises with fair words."

Turlogh's efforts to create a stir ended as usual in

failure. Meyler Magrath, the Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, reports that "O'Neill challenged him to be his follower, born (he was born in Termon Magrath, or Termon Daveoc in Fermanagh),[1] and promised that he should find Ulster his refuge when all other parts failed." "O'Neill's messengers," he continues, "were appointed to practise with all the lords and Irish Captains of Munster and Connaught to enter into rebellion when the strangers arrive." The messenger apprehended at Athlone, "his foster brother and one of great account with O'Neill," was a leader of forty horsemen. He was sent "to deal with the Earl of Clancarr and the Lord FitzMaurice and others to require them to join with O'Neill against the Queen, and to assure them that the King of Spain and the Scots would enter the realm with such force that before Michaelmas there should not be one Englishman left, or any that loved the Queen to be found." FitzMaurice answered that since the arrival of Lord Deputy Perrot, "whom all the Province knew," he "would do nothing but as he would have them."

Perrot states that the Scots pretend that their only design was to set up Shane's sons "to be opposed against the Queen's party." This was now their intention; for Turlogh made peace with Perrot, who—with Ormond, Thomond, Clanricard, and Norris, President of Munster, and 2,000 trained men—came into Ulster against the Scots and their

[1] *See Ulster Jour.*

allies—supporters of Shane's sons—" Brian Carragh, with the Donnellaghs, and O'Cahans, who were before Turlogh's followers."

Turlogh met Perrot half a mile outside Newry, and there, on the strength of his promises, gave him his son Art as a pledge. His adhesion, however, proved of little value, " since the better subject he became the weaker he waxed, and the less regarded of his followers." With him and the Earl he proceeded to the Route, and invested Dunluce, which was taken. Sorley Boy, joined by Brian Carragh and O'Cahan, attempted to oppose him ; but Sorley was driven to Scotland, and his territory of the Glyns was given to his nephew, Donal Gorme, Turlogh's stepson. Turlogh made an agreement with O'Donnell touching Inishowen and Cinel Main, and engaged to maintain 300 English soldiers, and to send yearly to her majesty one chief horse and a cast of hawks. All the Clannaboy chiefs likewise promised obedience, and agreed to maintain English, save those of the Bann side, who, relying on the strength of their countries, " the fastest ground in all Ireland," alone held out with O'Cahan.

Ormond and Norris marched against them, and succeeded in penetrating through Glenconcene and carrying off 50,000 kine, after wasting the country with fire and sword. They lost about 200 men, with Oliver Lambert, who was taken prisoner by O'Cahan and delivered to Hugh and Art, sons of Shane

O'Neill. In the *Irish Archaeological Journal*, Vol. I., Ormond's contemporary panegyrist, an unconscious satirist, says of his exploits on this occasion —

"Twice he set Glenconcene on fire,
This wealthy and tender-hearted Chieftain,
He left no herds around Lough Neagh,
This seer so provident, so bountiful."

Glenn Concadhain, or Glenconcene, which comprised the south-west part of the Barony of Loughinsholin, is mentioned as the patrimony of the Sept of Brian Carragh at this time. Brian's sway extended beyond that; for, as Chief of the Clan Donal Don, his territory comprised, as observed, the Baronies of Toome and Loughinsholin. About half of this he held as tenant of the Clannaboy Prince, whose demesne lands attaching to Edenduffcarrick and Toome must have formed the territories of the Feevagh and Killitragh, bordering Lough Neagh, the latter on the west, and the former on the north. Hugh MacMurtagh, the Lord of the Feevagh, was now, as stated, head of the Sept of Brian Ballagh; and, according to MacFirbis, Killitragh was also held by the Slut Brian Ballagh. But whether this was Brian Ballagh I. or Brian II. we cannot say. Most likely it was Brian II. (*a*) The great woods from which this part of the territory was named no longer exist, having been destroyed by the English settlers. In 1609 the Irish Society

had permission to cut down in Killitragh 5,000 oaks at ten shillings a piece ; 100,000 ash, at five shillings ; and 10,000 elms, at six shillings and eight pence.[1]

Returning to the Clannaboy, we find them still divided, less now on the question of the Chieftainship than on the division of the territory, which was parcelled out by the English officials so that there could be no possibility of peace.

In south Clannaboy Con MacNial Oge, the Chief, and "the greatest and lewdest in the north next to Turlogh Leynagh," had to contend with Hugh, brother to Brian MacFelim, who was planted in the Ards, as well as his nephew, Nial MacBrian, "a competitor for part of his country." He took him prisoner in 1580, and delivered him to Captain Piers' nephew, who, with a band of English, was supporting Hugh in the Ardes.

Hugh, who, in April 1583, was slain in the English service by Sorley Boy, in the Route, "with 200 Saxons," left a son and heir, Hugh Oge, and another son, Nial. (*b*) They could not hold their own against Conn, and were driven to north Clannaboy, when Conn was left in undisturbed possession and was confirmed in his Chieftaincy and lands by patent dated Dublin, 30th March, 29 Elizabeth. He had two sons, Donal, *ob*. 1584, and Hugh, *ob*. 6th January, 1588, at Down. Conn himself died at Castlereagh,

[1] *Survey of Finvoy.*

7th April, 1589, when the chieftainship and lands were passed by patent to his nephew and opponent, Nial MacBrian, who died in Carrickfergus *circ.* 1600, and whose son, Conn, was tricked by Montgomery of Braidstane, James Hamilton (at this time, with his friend Fullerton, a pedagogue in the Blue Coat School, Dublin), Moses Hill, and others.

Nial joined the English against Prince Hugh, who drove him to Carrickfergus, when he gave the territory to his nephew, Brian MacArt, Owen Roe's brother, who established himself at Castlereagh and Inislochlain, which commanded the Pass of Kilwarlin between Lisburn and Moira, in Kilultagh, and which in 1623 was held by Captain Henry Spenser, a kinsman of the poet. On the summit of Cave Hill he had another fortress—"MacArt's Fort." He is also said to have given his name to Ballymacart or Ballymacarret.

In North Clannaboy, while the Sept of Brian Ballagh kept possession of the territory west of the Main Water, that of Felim Baccagh continued for years quarrelling over the district east of that river, neither party being strong enough to take the Chieftainship.

In April, 1583, Marshal Bagenal was sent to establish Shane, (*c*) son of Brian MacFelim, in the territory, as he is, writes the Lord Justice, "a modest man that speaketh English." He was put in possession of Edenduffcarrick, and 200 English

foot and 50 horse were left in Carrickfergus at his disposal, "to invade and punish by all ways such rebels, papist priests, Rome runners and their followers as are known to be rebels and malefactors, and all who support them."—*Fiants of Elizabeth.* Fearing that this was likely to conduce to peace, or that he might not give enough attention to the Rome runners and rebels, Perrot, in the following year, divided the territory, allotting that portion north of the Kellswater to Hugh Oge MacHugh MacFelim, another zealot. He was succeeded four years later by his brother Nial, who received Eden-duffcarrick. Writing of these divisions, Dymmok in his treatise says "North Clandeboye is divided into two parts, the river of Kells being the mear bound. The south part thereof was given as a reward to the sons of Brian MacPhelim O'Neill, who were all pensioners in Ireland to her majesty; and the eldest, Shane MacBrian, yet living, was Chief. The north beyond the Kells, to the river of Bann, by Lough Neagh, was assigned to the sons of Hugh MacPhelim, elder brother to Sir Brian, whose eldest son in that part is Hugh Oge MacHugh." By Perrot's division, the *Description of Ireland* states, "great dissensions fell out between them and several slaughters by both parties have been committed." At that time (1599) they had so exhausted their strength that the writer of the *Description* believed they had not a warrior left.

This was a highly satisfactory state of affairs from the point of view of the English officials, who were thus enabled to make another and final division of the territory, most of which they passed to themselves.

Prince Hugh could get no good of these chiefs. In 1593-4 he crossed Toome and encamped in the territory of Hugh MacMurkertac, whence he despatched his seneschal, O'Hagan, to Nial and Shane to induce them to take up arms, but they refused. In 1597, however, they joined with Nial, son of Hugh MacMurkertac and took Edenduffcarrick, Belfast, and other places which were in the hands of the English; but Nial again deserting to the English, Shane laid down his arms, and all were promised pardons. From these, in the *Fiants of Elizabeth*, we learn that among the chief Septs in N. Clannaboy were the MacAnultys, or MacNultys (Mac an Ultaigh), O'Quins, O'Mulhollands, O'Dornans, O'Mulcreeves, O'Mallans, O'Carrs, O'Madigans, MacGees, MacCallans, or MacAllans, MacLernans, and O'Huighans. To proceed. Perrot, in his report on his "Northern Journey," states he divided Ulster between Turlogh, the Earl—or Baron, as he was at this time styled—and Marshal Bagenal. In the Parliament which he summoned in 1585 Hugh petitioned, and was allowed the Earldom. All the Irish chiefs, though not members of Parliament, appear to have been summoned by Perrot, and most

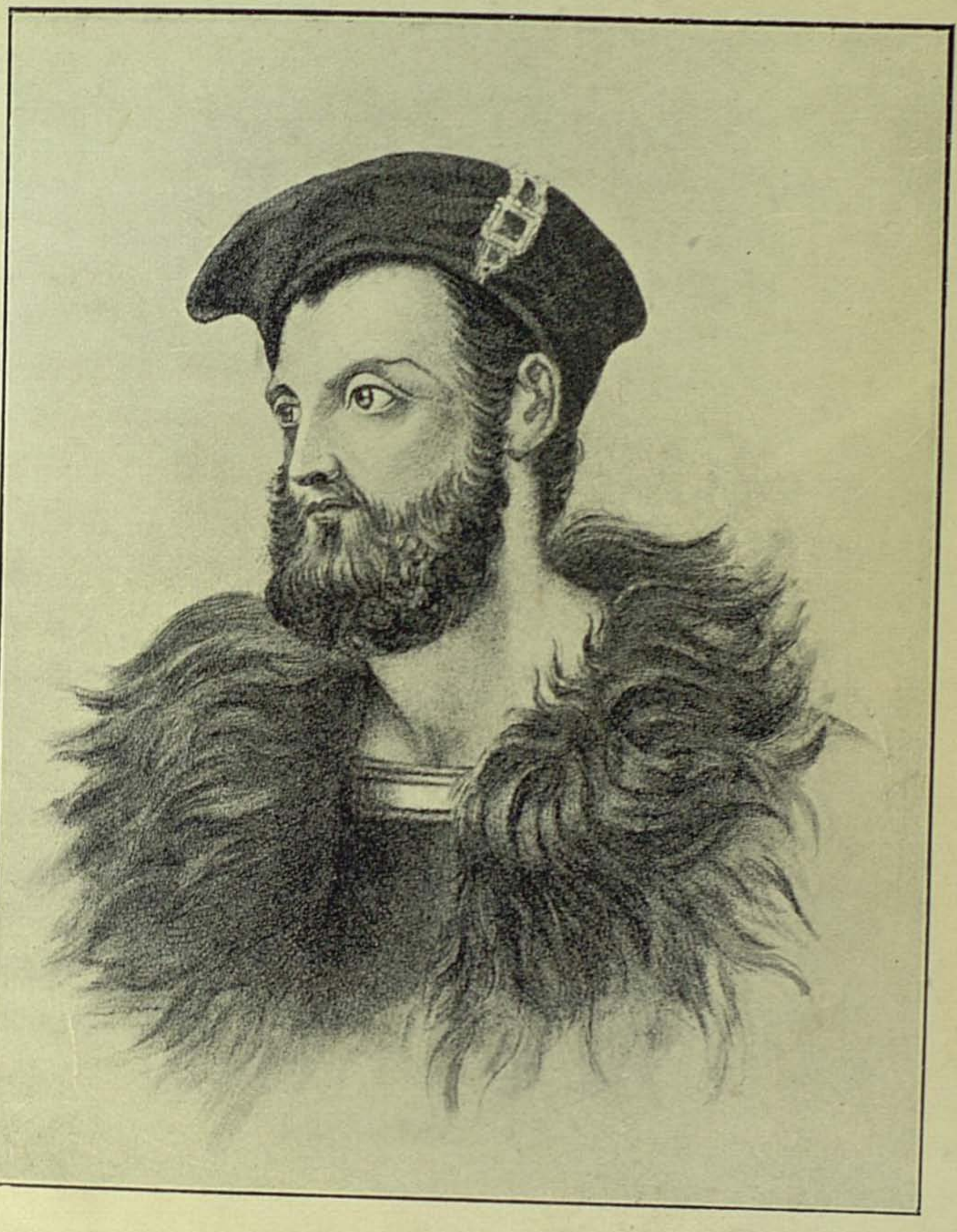
of them attended ; for "all Erinn," say the Annalists, "was occupied by the foreigners this year." Turlogh was prevailed on by Perrot to appear in English garb. "Prithee, my lord," he is reported to have said, "let my chaplain attend me in his Irish mantle that your English rabble shall be diverted from my uncouth figure and laugh at him."

The Irish mantle of those days, of velvet, satin, or frieze, was three cornered, richly ornamented, and fastened at the shoulder by a large ornamental pin or brooch. Describing the dress of Manus O'Donnell to Henry VIII. in 1542, St. Leger states he wore "a coat of crimson velvet, with aiglets of gold, twenty or thirty pair ; over that a great double cloak of crimson satin, bordered with black velvet, and in his bonnet a feather set, full of aiglets of gold."

Boulay Le Gouz, who wrote an account of his tour in 1641, gives an interesting description of the Irish dress. He says "The Irish, whom the English call savages, have for their head-dress a little blue bonnet, raised two finger breadths in front, and behind covering the head and ears. Their doublet has a very long body and four skirts ; their breeches are a pantaloon of white frieze. For cloaks they have five or six yards of frieze drawn around the neck. The northern Irish have for their only dress a breeches, and a covering for the back, without bonnet, shoes, or stockings. The women of the north have a double rug girdled round their middle and

fastened at the throat. The girls of Ireland, even those living in towns, have for their head-dress only a ribbon, and, when married, they have a napkin on their head, in the manner of the Egyptians."

Of the Irish of the sixteenth century we have some interesting details from the report of an Italian traveller, which was sent to Rome in 1579 (Moran's *Archbishops of Dublin*). "Every traveller," we are told, "sets up at the first house he meets, and gets everything gratis. Table is not laid till evening; but drink is not denied the traveller. There are eight drinks: beer, made of barley and water; milk, whey, wine, broth; mead, made of milk and honey; usquebagh (whiskey), and spring water. The men wear mantles; the women wear wide-spreading large linen bonnets. Their table-knives are larger than their daggers. The most honourable sits in the centre; and all sit facing the door, ready to repel their enemies. They arise at midnight for prayer and meditation, to which some devote an hour, others half an hour. The fires are always lighted at the same hour. The language is like Hebrew; many letters are aspirated, hence it seems different when written and pronounced. At the *Pater Noster* of the Mass they rise and remain standing. The men salute each other with a kiss. On Wednesday they abstain from flesh meats; and on Friday from white meats and milk. They are very kind and urbane to each other. During the



PORTRAIT, SIGNATURE, AND SEAL
OF OWEN ROE O'NEILL.

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six months I never saw even the soldiers come to blows. Even the horses and dogs agree. They eat a great deal when food can be found ; but fast with alacrity for two or three days. Inviolably faithful to their chiefs, in battle each one follows his own ardour, and rushes on the ranks of the enemy, not paying attention to his companions. In swiftness they equal and sometimes surpass their horses, which they mount by seizing them by the left ear. They use no stirrups or leggings. The nobles are clothed in garments of skin, adorned with various colours. They cultivate sacred poetry with great assiduity ; but always after fasting and prayer. The bards act always in negotiations. Before thanks-giving at meals, the bishop or priest who may be present makes an exhortation, and all listen with great attention."

It is refreshing to meet with a report like this, so different from the abominable concoctions sent to Rome when the English were all-powerful there, and when, agreeable to their wishes, the unfortunate Irish were represented as unholy savages.

In August, Turlogh, no longer able to command his followers, agreed to divide Tyrone with the Earl, who received that portion of territory south-east of the Mullaghcarne Mountains, beyond Omagh, Turlogh retaining the north-west, in which his patrimony, Slut Art Oge, lay. This included the ancient Magh Itha, or the southern part of the

Barony of Raphoe in Donegal, marked on Norden's map *Slut Art Oge*. At Strathban—the white strand—he had his chief fortress, which is said to have occupied the site of the Castle House, in Castle Street. Camden calls it "a famous fortress in Upper Tyrone," inhabited "in our day by Turlogh Leinich O'Neill." In the neighbourhood was a Franciscan Monastery, founded in the fourteenth century, which ultimately merged into the Abbey of Scarvaherin.

Turlogh's agreement, which was confirmed by Perrot, and by which he retained authority over Fermanagh, might last for seven years, during which time the Earl was to pay an annual rent of 1,000 marks to O'Neill, who reserved to himself the right to take back the territory in three years.

At the end of that time, 1588, he wished to exercise this right, when the Earl marched against him, and, crossing the rivers Mourne and Derg encamped at Carricklea, where he was joined by O'Donnell, with whom he was surprised by Turlogh and put to flight.

Soon after, in 1589, Fitzwilliam, on his way through Ulster, "made peace with the Clanna Neill"; and prevailed on Turlogh to allow the Earl the remaining four years, on condition of paying 300 fat beeves a year, in addition to the rent. The Earl, however, should have all; and the quarrels continued till Turlogh was obliged to give up the struggle and acknowledge himself beaten.

He now invoked the aid of Shane's sons; and, releasing Conn, son of Shane, from durance vile, he took him into his confidence, inviting another brother, Hugh Gaveloc, from Scotland. Hugh reached Strabane early in 1589, after having spent nearly a year and a half in Scotland. With his brothers he took an active part against the Earl, on whom he committed "great depredations." The latter retaliated by preying the territory of Turlogh and O'Cahan, who favoured, as we have seen, Shane's sons. They were no match for the Earl; and seeing they were not likely to get the better of him in the field, they thought of branding him as a traitor by accusing him to the Deputy of holding treasonable parleys with the Spaniards thrown on the coast in the wreck of the Armada. Several of the Spanish vessels had been wrecked on the Ulster coast, two at Killybegs, and one at Boylagh in Cinel Conal. One, the *Trinidad Valencera* of Venice, 42 guns and 360 men, on the Inishowen side of Lough Foyle; and another, the *Gerona*, 50 guns and 290 men, between Dunluce and the Bann.

The wrecked Spaniards were treated unmercifully by the English and most of their partizans; and at one place alone the Cinel Conal put forty to death. They were well treated in Tyrone, and the Earl did what he could by sending them provisions and entertaining some of their most distinguished

captains in Dungannon, as doubtless they were entertained in Strabane. He likewise wrote, bitterly reproving O'Donnell, who was so anxious to prove his loyalty to Elizabeth. In Scotland, Hugh Gaveloc met some of the Spaniards who had been sheltered in Dungannon, and the knowledge thus gained was made use of against the Earl, who intercepted Gaveloc's letter to FitzWilliam. At the time he was searching for Spaniards in Inishowen.

Fitzwilliam with his army was sumptuously entertained in Dungannon by the Earl; and soon after the unfortunate Gaveloc fell into his hands, being betrayed by Shane, son of Maguire, who received 120 steeds "in reward," say the Annalists, "for his evil service." In the following January, 1590, Hugh was executed by the Earl in the presence of his brother Cormac, Art O'Hagan, and about 100 others. No one in Tyrone would undertake the *rôle* of executioner, and two brothers had to be brought for the purpose from the borders of Meath. In the *Annals of Loch Ce* this event is thus recorded: "O'Neill's son, *i.e.*, Aedh Geimhlech, son of John, son of Conn, after having been treacherously apprehended by John, son of Maguire, was surrendered to Aedh O'Neill, *i.e.*, the Earl of Tyrone; and the Earl hanged that son of O'Neill in despite of all who were in Tir Eoghan, and that was a terrible calamity."

The Earl, with his authority, felt doubtless justi-

fied in taking the law into his own hands; but to characterize, as he does, the efforts of his hapless rival to make good the lawful claims of his sept as a series of robberies and murders seems rather far-fetched. "As her majesty's governor under the Deputy," he writes, "within my own territory I am bound to do justice upon thieves and murderers." "If I be restrained," he adds, "from such, and like execution left to O'Neill, O'Donnell, and others to use their ancient customs, then I should not be able to defend my country." (*See* Meehan's *Flight*, Appendix).

When he appeared before Elizabeth in London in March, she allowed him to return to Ireland on the securities of Ormond and the Lord Chancellor, Hatton, that he would appear before Fitzwilliam and the Privy Council. Having signified his readiness to obey the mandate, he despatched his secretary to Dublin, with orders to provide a splendid banquet, at which he was to entertain the chiefest of the English nobility on the night of his arrival. The guests were all assembled when the Earl entered the city after sunset; but instead of going at once to preside at the feast, he rode to the castle and presented himself to the Deputy, who received him with a great show of friendship, and told him to return on the morrow. The Earl was well aware that Fitzwilliam had received private instructions to arrest him; but as he had no wish to lodge in the

castle, he mounted his horse and spurred all night till daybreak saw him beyond the northern boundary of the Pale. The guests imagined that he had been detained by the Deputy on matters of state; but they had served to throw Fitzwilliam off the scent, and the Earl was satisfied that he had acted as became an honourable man in exonerating his bailsmen from all responsibility.[1]

To sooth Elizabeth's feelings and allay suspicion, he, in May, made certain proposals to the Privy Council, tending to show that he had no designs on the Princedom of Ulster. He confirmed a bond which he had made for renouncing the title of O'Neill, well knowing, as he says, "that it was treason to challenge it." He wished his country to be made shire ground, and thought it consistent "to have Turlogh's country and as much of my own country called Tyrone as do lie already between Blackwater and River Finn and Lough Foyle to be one country; and the rest, from the Blackwater to Roche (near Dundalk), counting O'Hanlon's country (if it be not already reduced to shire ground), to be another country."

He would never again execute martial law; would not meddle with her majesty's Archbishops of Armagh or their lands; neither would he maintain or receive any Popish priest, monk, or friar, or any proclaimed traitor. He would thoroughly Anglicise

[1] *Franciscan Monasteries.*

and civilize the natives, according to her majesty's ideas ; and, in fine, was ready to do anything and everything to please her.

She was duly impressed with his great loyalty, and in June his proposals were embodied in articles which were agreed to by him, and which commence : "In consideration that the Earl of Tyrone hath promised on his honour to observe and perform all these articles, etc., Sir Turlogh Leynagh shall put in good pledge, both for his loyalty to her majesty and also to keep the peace with the Earl and all his country ; that all others, the Earl's neighbours bordering upon Tyrone may be brought to the course prescribed, the Earl, to begin at one time, least Tyrone being brought under law, may be spoiled or wasted by lawless neighbours there."

Thus was the Earl again assured of the support, of the English against Turlogh, who was every day growing weaker. In June, 1591, Fitzwilliam writes "I and my council, being now but six, must be in the last of this month at Dundalk, for the ending of a great controversy between the Earl and Sir Turlogh O'Neale, by reason of a fray fallen between them, in which the dutiful old knight was shot through the shoulder with a bullet and stricken with a horseman's staff in the small of the back—two grievous wounds but (God I thank) will recover. I sent him a surgeon with a great deal of stuff for dressing" Of course he found the Earl in the right ; and he strove to

take what advantage he could of the difference "In the quarrel between the Earl of Tyrone and Sir Turlogh O'Neale it was confessed that the Earl was altogether in fault; but upon examination (having them both here at the Newry) it fell out that Sir Turlogh was therein for to blame. I and the Council have ended these controversies, as they are both returned home with good contentment, and have given both their consents to have Tyrone reduced to shire ground, and to accept a sheriff."

Fitzwilliam, having arranged matters to his own satisfaction, and won over Turlogh, was henceforth less inclined to take sides with Hugh, who now secured the powerful support of the famous Hugh Roe O'Donnell, to whom he was bound by the closest family ties; for he was married to Hugh's sister, and he had given him his daughter in marriage so that Hugh was his son-in-law, as well as brother-in-law. In addition he had just secured his release from Dublin Castle.

Hugh won great popularity in Cinel Conal in consequence of his opposition to the English under Captains Willis and Connell. Establishing themselves in the Friary of Donegal, from which they had expelled the Friars, they pillaged the whole country, holding the heads of families in their grasp for ransoms varying from two to three hundred cows. When these were not forthcoming, the unfortunate prisoners were tortured by frying the

soles of their feet in seething butter and brimstone.[1] "They ravished their wives and daughters," says Captain Lee (*Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*), an English writer of that day, "and made havoc of all with three hundred of the veriest rascals and scum of the kingdom."

O'Donnell was too weak to interfere; but Hugh Roe assembled his clansmen, and gave Willis and Connell notice to quit, which they did very peaceably and speedily. Hugh's father—Hugh Duff—then resigned in his favour; and he was solemnly inaugurated in 1592, at Kilmacrenan.

Willis and another Captain, Folart or Fuller, appear to have passed into Turlogh's territory, with two hundred of their men, who were employed against the Earl and Hugh; for these English appear to have had a roving commission to stir up war and dissension, and to ravage and waste all countries and parties in Ulster.

Hugh Roe proved an active and powerful ally of the Earl, in whose interest he made his inaugural foray on Turlogh's territory, and a week later made another raid, when "everyone fit to bear arms whom the army got hold of was wounded and slain. They found much spoil of cows and oxen, and every sort of beast, too, in the neighbourhood." Thus was Turlogh continually harassed by the ally

[1] *Idem*

of the Earl, who was unrestrained by any feelings of loyalty to the Englishry.

In July, after two months preparation, O'Donnell started for Strabane, "the place where the English and O'Neill were, to see if he could do them harm. Since the English did not leave the strong part of the castle in order to attack them, as they were anxious they should do, what they did was to kindle and light a fire and conflagrations in the four quarters of the town; and they did not go away until they had burned and plundered all the houses close to the walls outside, and until they drove off a large number of horses that were wandering about, confused by the thick cloud of smoke which came a long distance from the town."[1] These raids at length discontented the Earl's followers, so that he thought it prudent that they should cease; and, having secured a pardon for Hugh, he brought him before Fitzwilliam at Dúndalk, in the church of which he made his submission, swearing to be loyal like his father and his predecessors.

Soon after, in May, 1593, Turlogh resigned the Chieftainship to his rival, and, writes O'Clery, "Hugh O'Neill, namely, the Earl, was then styled The O'Neill; and Turlogh Leynagh, having made peace with O'Neill and O'Donnell, sent away the English whom he had with him. This was done in May, 1593. Ulster was then under the peaceable

[1] *Life of Hugh Roe.*

government of these two; and they had hostages of the inhabitants in their power, so that they were subject to them." This is wrong; for Hugh was not styled The O'Neill till August, 1595, two years later.

The deed, dated 28th June, 1593, secured Turlogh in his patrimony—Slut Art Oge—with a certain income for life; and "the Earl and his heirs should hold the territory and lands of Tyrone against Sir Turlogh and his heirs."

Turlogh, who, the Annalists remark, was "a lord bountiful in peace and powerful in war, until age and infirmity overcame him," passed away at Strabane in 1595, and was interred in the Church of Ardstraw adjacent. In the *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1832, is an engraving of Turlogh's seal, from an impression of the silver signet-ring found in the last century near the Castle of Benburb, and acquired by Mr. Bell, of Dungannon. Turlogh is highly commended by the old shanachies as "a most bountiful bestower of wealth and property to literary men and professors." A number of their poems, composed for him, are yet preserved.[1] Donal, son of Thomas O'Higgin, writes on his election; and Shane Boy O'Daly, on his inauguration, "Of all Ireland's royal lines is Ulster's King." In another poem commencing "Advantageously Clan Neill are posted," —probably written by Fergal Oge MacWard—Turlogh's claims are urged against the Earl. In

[1] *Irish MSS.*, British Museum; O'Reilly's *Irish Writers.*

this characteristic piece great stress is laid on the peace and plenty accruing from Turlogh's just and rigorous rule "So stern the sway of Aileach's king, that from Tory Island to Dundalk a lone woman goes unchallenged, though Ugony's whole world were there. A nut-laden bough, all in the royal road (on the very highway), even the illdisposed would fail to pluck, for peril of Nial of the Nine Hostages' descendant in Ulster—land of placid waterfalls."

MacCon O'Clery, in a poem commencing "The possession of Erin belongs to Nial's race," gives an account of many of their illustrious chiefs who swayed the sceptre as provincial and High-kings. From Nial of the Hostages to Turlogh the author reckons there were thirty-five generations.

In another poem, MacCoisi, the bard mentioned in the reign of King Donal O'Neill of Armagh, is reported as having said of the Clanna Neill that, "as compared with all and several that are tribes of Tara, whoever is the worst one of Nial's blood is nevertheless more excellent than they. But as for them, those of Nial's were the best; the palm tree springing from Derry's home—it was not men at all he used to style those, but angels in carnal body. To Nial's seed from red-weaponed Aileach, the verdict of MacCoisi out of Clonmacnoise is ever since for a testimony great and enduring beyond that of all others in the fair land of the sunset."

Tiege Dall O'Higgin, brother to the Archbishop

of Tuam (*see* p. 317, Vol. II.), compares Turlogh to Noah, as the one destined to preserve the Gaels of Ireland from the massacres and cruelties committed on them by the English. In another poem he writes on a Christmas assembly of the bards at the Creeve, a crannoge-dwelling near Dungannon, one of Turlogh's hospitable mansions.

Of Turlogh's sons we find mentioned (1) Sir Art; (2) Henry, slain in Tyrconnell in 1578; and (3) Cormac. His daughter Rose, by Conn O'Donnell (*ob.* 1587) left three sons, from whom the O'Donnells of Austria and Spain descend. She died in 1585.

Sir Art (*ob.* October, 1600), the eldest son, married a sister of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Graine, who died of the measles at Ballyshannon. An elegy on her death by Cooley MacWard is mentioned by O'Reilly, with a poem by Shane MacColgan on Art's journey to London to seek the aid of Elizabeth against Earl Hugh.

Art, as appears from the *Fiants of Elizabeth* (1601), left seven sons, (1) Turlogh, who, as Chief of Slut Art Oge, distinguished himself in 1641. In 1650 he was dispossessed by Cromwell, and transplanted to Connaught, where he received four hundred acres; (2) Nial Oge, probably the same Nial MacArt O'Neill who was father of Henry of Dungallon, who left a son and heir, another Nial (*Inq. Ult.*, 1630). In 1644 Conn, son of Nial MacArt Oge, was slain in a skirmish under Owen Roe. (3) Conn; (4) Brian, dispossessed in 1650; (5) Cormac; (6) Henry; (7) Owen.

NOTES.

(*a*) THE O'NEILLS OF KILLITRA.—The pedigree runs thus:—1. Brian Ballagh; 2. Conladh or Conn; 3. Nial Carragh; 4. Owen; 5. Felim; 6. Nial. In 1593 Ever MacRory O'Neill was Lord of Killitra when, with Fardoragh MacBrian Carragh, he sent a written complaint to the Deputy of the death of his dear kinsmen Phelim MacTurlogh, and Donal Oge, slain by some of the Earl's followers—O'Hagans.—*See Royal Archæological Journal*, 1856-7. Ever's successor in the lordship was Felim Groom or the Sullen, son of Nial, and grandson of another Felim, surnamed Balbh or the Stammerer. If this latter Felim be the same mentioned in the above pedigree, Brian II. must have been progenitor of the Sept. Felim was dispossessed after Hugh's flight, when his Castle and demesne lands at Bellaghy and Maghera fell to Sir Thomas Philips and others. He was left in possession of a couple of hundred acres in the parish of Ballinderry, and Barony of Dungannon, adjoining (Pat. James I.). In the Trinity College Depositions, Felim is described as of Maghera, also Captain Ever, doubtless his brother. In 1641, with Sir Felim's aid, he recovered his patrimony, but fell soon after in Tyrconnell, when Ever appears to have succeeded. Ever had a son, Donal, and a daughter, Catherine, married to Captain Ever O'Neill, ancestor of the O'Neills of Portugal. His second daughter was grand-mother of Field Marshal Count O'Neill of Austria, Privy Councillor and Chamberlain to the Emperor Charles VII.

(*b*) THE O'NEILLS OF KILLELAGH AND KILMACEVET.—This Nial was also slain in the English service under Chichester. His son, Nial Oge, had a grant of the Tuath—fifteen townlands—of Killelagh, while another son, Hugh, had that of Kilmacevet. We have no information at hand concerning the latter's descendants. Hugh, who was surnamed Margagh, took part in the rebellion of 1641, with his kinsmen Brian Modder, and Toole of Kilmacevet, and was doubtless dispossessed in 1650.

Henry, son of Nial Oge of Killelagh, was created a Baronet in 1666. Sir Nial, his son, commanded a Regiment of Dragoons for James II., and was mortally wounded at the Boyne, when he was brought to Waterford, where his tomb is still to be seen with his coat of arms, and this inscription: "Here lyes the body of Neale O'Neill, Bart., of Killilag in County Antrim, died 8th July, 1690, at the age of 32 years and 8 months, marr. 2 daughter of Lord Viscount Molyneaux." His portrait is in possession of Lord Talbot of Malahide, who descends from him in the female line. He had a brother, Donal or Daniel, *ob. s. p.*

In September, 1791, the death is recorded at Madrid of Lieutenant General Don Carlos Felix O'Neill, a great favourite of the King and formerly Governor of Havannah, son of Sir Nial O'Neill of the Province of Ulster.

(*c*) THE O'NEILLS OF SHANE'S CASTLE.—Shane died in 1617, and left issue (1) Sir Henry, married Martha, daughter of Sir Francis Stafford, and died in 1636, leaving a daughter, Rose, married to the Marquis of Antrim ; (2) Art, or Arthur, was father of Cormac, who succeeded to the family estates. He served as a Colonel under James II., and resided at Broughshane, which he held on lease. He died *s. p. m.* in 1707, and his will, with that of his lady, daughter of Con Oge O'Neill of Castlereagh, is yet to be seen in the Record Office ; (3) Phelim Duff, father of Brian, whose son, Shane or John—French John—who succeeded to Shane's Castle, left three sons : Henry, whose daughter and heir married Rev. Arthur Chichester, from whom descends the present Lord O'Neill ; Charles, and Clothworthy. John, son of Charles, was created Viscount O'Neill in 1793. His son Charles Henry St. John, Earl O'Neill, died *s. p.*, when the Viscounty and estates passed to his brother, John Bruce R. O'Neill, who also died *s. p.* in 1855. The Rev. William Chichester then succeeded, assumed the name of O'Neill by Royal License, and in 1868 was created Baron O'Neill.—*See* Burke's *Peerage*.

From Shane Oge, son of Shane MacBrian, the O'Neills of Ballymoney traced their pedigree. Conn, brother of Shane MacBrian, resided in the Feevagh, and from his grandson, Brian MacHugh Oge, the late Charles H. O'Neill, B.L., descended, also the O'Neills of Mullaghane in the Feevagh, now, or lately, represented by the O'Neill-Lentaignes of Tallaght, County Dublin. Charles died in 1865, and several pedigrees of the O'Neill Septs, compiled by him, have been kindly placed at my disposal, by The O'Neill.

The will of a Conn MacBrian of Duneany in the Feevagh, dated 1639, is still preserved. He mentions, if we remember rightly, the lands of Mullaghane ; his son, Donal, and his brothers Tool and Owen.

CONCLUSION.

HUGH, PRINCE OF ULSTER.—PHELIM OF KINNAIRD.—OWEN ROE.—THE PRESENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE O'NEILLS OF ULSTER.

WITH Hugh we hope sometime in the future to deal fully in a separate work, as this has assumed proportions that admit of us giving but a brief sketch of his career, with some references to Owen Roe and Phelim of Kinnaird, the two great claimants to the Chieftainship after his death.

As The O'Neill, Hugh proved one of the ablest of the Princes of Ulster; and with his knowledge of the English and their ways, he became one of the most formidable foes they had yet encountered in Ireland.

Hitherto he had seemed to be no more than an instrument in the hands of Elizabeth; and he had played the part so well—without forgetting himself—that she now anticipated little trouble in reducing the province, and making way for her officials and planters. She was soon undeceived, however; and in the spring of 1595, when assured that Turlogh had ceased to interest himself in mundane affairs, Dungannon beheld, says Mitchel, "the Royal

Standard of O'Neill displaying as it floated on the breeze that terrible Red Right Hand upon its snow-white folds, waving defiance to the Saxon Queen, and dawning like a new aurora upon the awakened children of Heremon."

Soon after he was proclaimed by her majesty a "traitor," for "aspiring to live like a tyrant over a great number of good subjects in Ulster." "In order to become Prince of Ulster," we learn further he has partly by force, and partly by persuasion, "allured and drawn to concur with him in rebellion a great part of the chieftains" of the Province, especially O'Donnell, "whose father and predecessors have always been loyal"; and whom she had "a disposition to save!"

Like Shane, Hugh gave Elizabeth's proclamations little heed; and in September he was called upon by his clansmen to assume that title which English writers tell us he valued so highly. "Old O'Neill is dead," writes Bagenal, "and the traitor is gone to the stone to receive that name."—

"God aid him! God save him! and smile on his reign
The terror of England, the ally of Spain,
May his sword be triúmphant o'er Sassenach arts,
Be his throne ever girt by strong hands and true hearts,
May the course of his conquest run on till he see
The flag of Plantagenet sink in the sea!
May Minstrels for ever his victories sing,
And saints make the bed of this TRUE IRISH KING."

"The whole Irishrie," writes Thornburgh, Anglican Bishop of Limerick, "are now taught a new lesson—O'Neill is no traitor; Tyrone was one, but O'Neill none." "He is the hope of all," he adds, "if he were not, they should be all overthrown and undone."

After much skirmishing, debating, and temporizing, Hugh resolved to try his luck against the Sassenachs, and to measure swords with his old enemy, Marshal Bagenal, who, in August, 1598, came into Ulster against him; and encamped at Armagh with four field-pieces, 4,000 foot, and 320 horse, "the most loyal and best trained in war, and most choice companies of foot and horse troops in the English army." Hugh had surrounded the Blackwater fort, "swearing by his barbarous hand," says Secretary Fenton, "that he will not depart till he carries it." Between the fort and Armagh he had thrown up earthworks, and "plashed" and dug pits in the roads and fords. Altogether he had 4,500 foot and 600 horse. The English, as usual, had the advantage in arms and armour; but Hugh's troops were aroused to a high pitch of enthusiasm by his stirring address, and a prophecy of victory, invented by O'Donnell's bard, O'Clery, and fathered on St. Berchan.

On the morning of Monday, August 14th, Bagenal was sighted, leading his men in six divisions, with intervals of several hundred yards. Colonel Percy's

and his own regiment composed the van; those of Cosby and Sir Thomas Wingfield the centre, and those of Cunie and Billings the rear. The horse, in two divisions, was led by Sir Calisthenes Brook, with Captain Montague as Lieutenant.

On passing the river Callan, at a point where there is now a bridge, but which was then a ford with a yellow bottom and yellow banks—Beal-atha-buidhe—a volley of musketry swept through their foremost ranks from the thickets on both sides; and while O'Donnell's skirmishers drew around the right, those of O'Neill pressed on the left, both being protected by the brushwood. Bagenal with difficulty brought his men into the large marshy plain which stretched up to Hugh's position, about two miles from Armagh.

After negotiating with considerable loss a ditch about four feet high, he was hotly engaged by O'Donnell, MacDonnell, and Maguire (Hugh, son of Cuconnaught), and advanced with great difficulty.

At length Percy's regiment reached the main position, where Hugh himself was stationed, and which was defended by a trench—now a drain crossing Annaha, at the foot of a hill—a mile long, five feet deep, and four broad, with a thorny hedge on top. Covered by the heavy gun fire, the English crossed the trench, when they were set upon by the Irish horse and foot, and beaten back with great slaughter, their several colours being taken. Bagenal

then came to the rescue; when Hugh himself pricked forward with his guard of forty horse and body of pikemen. "Turning his full force against the Marshal's person," says Moryson, "he had the good fortune to kill him, fighting valiantly among the rebels." His men then took to flight, when they were put to the sword without mercy.

Thus O'Neill triumphed, says Camden, "according to his heart's content over his adversary, and obtained a remarkable victory over the English; and doubtless since they first set foot in Ireland they never received a greater overthrow." Between killed, wounded, and missing, they lost 34 officers and 2,000 men; and the spoils included 12 colours one gun, all the musical instruments, commissariat, and 12,000 gold crowns.

The Englishry were panic-stricken; and now it was the Lord Justices penned that letter to Hugh "the like of which," Elizabeth afterwards declared, "was never read in form or substance for baseness."

Everywhere the Irish took advantage of the victory; and the country was in a blaze. In O'Neill's name an Earl of Desmond was installed in Munster by his Captains, Tyrrell, Nugent, and Burke, Baron of Leitrim; "and there was not a single son of a Saxon," say the Annalists, "whom they did not kill or expel."

In the following year Essex and his 20,000 horse and foot were baffled; and Hugh, marching trium-

phantly through Leinster and Munster, swept all before him, "his allies," writes Moryson, "cheered with happy encounters," boldly keeping the field, "and proudly disdaining the English forces." In Ulster at this time, Dymmok and the *Description of Ireland* state, Hugh had about 8,500 foot and 2,000 horse.

Had the promised Spanish aid now arrived, the English would have been wiped out; but though Philip promised much he gave little; and Hugh, after six years, found himself, like Shane, at the end of his resources.

Time after time Philip disappointed, making plain Hugh afterwards declared, that he had a contemptible opinion of himself and O'Donnell; "for when we expected a royal aid and a store of crowns to supply our wants, the priests and friars that came unto us brought us hallowed beads and counterfeit jewels, as if we were petty Indian kings that would be pleased with threepenny knives and such like beggarly presents."

At length Elizabeth mustered another army of 13,000 horse and foot, the command of which was entrusted to Mountjoy, who bethought of occupying Lough Foyle and of thus crippling Hugh as Sidney had crippled Shane. With 4,000 foot and 300 horse Sir Henry Dowcra accomplished this task, by sailing from Carrickfergus, while Mountjoy advanced to Newry to draw off Hugh.

Without artillery, Hugh could do nothing but threaten; and now those chiefs who had been restrained hitherto by the strong hand, rose up in all directions, and, as in Shane's day, left no doubt as to the winning side. In Tyrconnell Nial Garve, grandson of Calvagh, did great service for the enemies of his country, as Turlogh Leynagh's sons did in Tyrone, Conor Roe and Brian Maguire in Fermanagh, and the O'Dohertys in Inishowen.

While they were assisting Dowcra to waste and plunder the country, Mountjoy was engaged in Leinster at the same task; and in Munster Carew, by a mixture of force and fraud, won back a great part of the province.

Everywhere the English were thus making progress; and early in November, 1600, Mountjoy succeeded in penetrating to Armagh. On his way back, however, he was intercepted by Hugh near Carlingford, and lost 600 of his men in killed and wounded. He himself had a narrow escape, his secretary being killed by his side, the place falling to Fynes Moryson the historian, who that day heard the volleys at Dundalk, seven miles away.

Hugh's position was now getting more precarious every day, the country being so wasted that he could afford to keep little more than 1,000 men in the field. Mountjoy acted in conjunction with Dowcra; and, covered by the fire of two guns, he crossed the Blackwater in force, intending to penetrate to

Dungannon. Beyond Benburb, however, his forces came in touch with Hugh, who drove them back after two hours fighting, with the loss of 102 killed and wounded. Among the latter were Sir William Warren and Williams, Governor of Portmore; and among the former Mountjoy's chaplain, Dr. Late-warr, who "affecting some singularity of forward-ness," was shot in the forehead.

Mountjoy had the worst of the encounter; but he consoled himself with the reflection that his Irish auxiliaries were the chief sufferers, "for we hold it a very good policy," he wrote,[1] "to make them (the Irish) cut one anothers' throats, without which the kingdom will never be quiet."

He withdrew on hearing that a Spanish fleet had been sighted off the coast of Cork. It put in at Kinsale, but proved to be only part of the fleet, with over 3,000 men under Don Juan Del Aguila. About 6,000 had been mustered, but their services were required elsewhere.[2]

Hugh was grievously disappointed; for he had already explained to Philip that if such a small force were landed outside Ulster or Connaught it would be useless, as he could give no assistance, having more than enough to do to hold his own.

With a mighty effort, and after some delay, he and O'Donnell mustered an army of about 5,600

[1] *Calendar of State Papers.*

[2] *See* O'Sullivan Beare's *History.*

foot and 700 horse, and leaving Ulster entirely at the mercy of the English, he appeared before the camp of Mountjoy, who had completely invested Kinsale. His camp was strongly fortified, and Del Aguila was pressing hard for relief. O'Donnell, impressed by his appeals, held they should attack Mountjoy at any cost. But Hugh maintained they should run no risks, as Del Aguila was safe from attack, and Mountjoy's men were suffering greatly from want and sickness, which had carried off hundreds.

O'Donnell, however, having a majority in his favour, carried the day; and, assured that a clean sweep would be made of the English, thought the time was ripe for introducing those questions which had been the subject of such contention between O'Neill and O'Donnell in the past. Hugh, however, was not to be drawn, and O'Donnell sulked. "What happened to the two Hughs then," writes O'Clery,[1] "was a great omen of evil." Hugh said that Philip himself should decide the matter when they had achieved their purpose; but O'Donnell was obstinate, and half the night was spent in bringing him to reason. At length he was quieted, and a day was appointed at dawn of which O'Neill was to draw near the enemy's camp, so that Aguila on his side would unite with him.

Aguila's letters on this subject were intercepted by Mountjoy, while Hugh's plans were revealed by

[1] *Life of Hugh Roe*

MacMahon, Brian MacHugh Oge. (*a*) At midnight, on December 22nd, 1601, the Irish advanced in three divisions. Hugh commanded the centre, O'Donnell the rear, and Captain Tyrrell and O'Sullivan Beare the van.

O'Donnell was led astray by his guides ; but Hugh with the van and centre, marched to within a short distance of the English camp, from which his men were concealed by a small hill. Wondering why Aguila did not appear and give the signal for battle he ascended the hill and surveyed the English camp. Finding that preparations had been made to receive him, he decided on putting off the enterprise to another time, and ordered his divisions to retire. Having fallen back about a mile, they met O'Donnell's forces ; and at the same time the English cavalry turned up. They were easily driven back by O'Donnell, who, thinking he could destroy them between himself and the ford of an adjoining stream, which they had crossed, gave ground a little. Some of his men, however—probably partisans of Nial Garve—wheeling right around, bore down on his foot, who thereupon broke and fled. Hugh's troops followed their example ; and thus, adds O'Sullivan Beare,[1] "all were panic-stricken, or rather scattered by Divine vengeance."

[1] *History of Ireland.* O'Sullivan's is the only clear account of this battle we have met with. O'Clery in his *Life of Hugh Roe* states that the Cinel Owen and Cinel Conal advanced "shoulder to shoulder." If they did it is difficult to see how O'Donnell lost his way.

Hugh was so disgusted and indignant that he there and then made proposals to Mountjoy ; while O'Donnell, who " it was thought would kill himself did not sleep for three nights and three days." O'Donnell had lost all confidence in his countrymen and now refused " to fight any further with the Irish alone." Hugh, thinking better of his resolve, suggested, as a last resort, that he should set out for Spain, and explain, and seek further aid of Philip. He agreed ; and Rory his brother then took command of the Cinel, and returned to Ulster with Hugh, who held out in Glenconkene and other fastnesses till the death of O'Donnell, who was poisoned by an English agent in Spain, and till all hope of succour had vanished.

With his submission, in March, 1603, practically terminates the story of the O'Neill princes, whose defeat completed the conquest of Ireland ; so that henceforward the Celtic land tenure, Brehon laws, and the language, customs, and traditions of the defeated race were doomed seemingly to extinction.

How Hugh subsequently fared as Earl of Tyrone has been fully told by Father Meehan. It is a decidedly unpleasant story. He was well received by James I., who appointed him Governor of Tyrone, *i.e.*, of the present counties of Derry, Tyrone, and part of Armagh. The disappointed officials and adventurers, who had hoped to possess themselves of his lands, subjected him, however,

to every species of annoyance ; and at length James's Attorney-General, Davis, on the part of the Crown, questioned his title to all Tyrone, save his demesne lands, on the grounds that the territories comprising Tyrone were not specified in the patent. Hugh applied to the English Privy Council to have this rectified in the usual way ; but they pretended not to hear him, and he appealed to James himself. James's mind, however, was completely turned by his knavish courtiers ; and for answer Hugh received a summons to England to, in effect, show cause why Tyrone should not be held to belong to the Crown. Meanwhile, to make certain of his reception, the Deputy, Chichester, concocted a plot, which he fathered on him, when, seeing, as he says, he was secure of neither life nor lands, he determined to seek refuge on the Continent.

His neighbour, O'Donnell, created Earl of Tyrconnell, was in exactly the same plight and of the same mind ; so that, on September 14th, 1607, they, with their families and many of their faithful clansmen—ninety-nine in all—set sail from their beloved Eire :—

"Lone this night is Fodhla's plain—
Though the foemen swarm amain—
Far from Erinn, generous-hearted,
Far her flower of sons is parted."

On October 14th, after a perilous voyage, they

landed in France, and everywhere, as O'Keenan testifies,[1] they were honourably received. In Rome, where they finally settled, his Holiness gave them a cordial welcome, and amply provided them with every requisite befitting their station ; while Philip, the Spanish monarch, settled on Hugh, who was lodged in the Salviati palace, a pension of 6,000 ducats per annum.

Nothing was wanting to make life tolerable for the illustrious exiles in the Eternal City save the climate, which speedily told against them, and carried them off one by one. In July, 1608, O'Donnell—whose nephew Hugh, son of Caffar, was the last of his sept—passed away ; and, in September of the following year, O'Neill's son and heir, Hugh Oge, was laid to rest beside him, in the Church of St. Pietro on the Janiculum. In memory of them, MacWard wrote the Lament, translated by Mangan :—

" When high the shout of battle rose,
On fields where freedom's torch still burned
Through Erinn's gloom.
If one, if barely one of those,
Were slain all Ulster would have mourned,
The hero's doom."

In Ireland, meanwhile, all Ulster was ready for the planters, as James was informed by Davis, who

[1] O'Keenan's narrative, edited by Miss O'Farrelly, is about being published by the Irish Texts Society.

could not refrain from expressing his delight at seeing the day "when the countenance and majesty of the law and civil government" had driven O'Neill out of Ireland, "which the best army in Europe and the expense of two millions of pounds sterling did not bring to pass."

According to modern surveys, 3,758,057 English acres were taken and given to the various London Guilds, the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the planters, called undertakers and servitors. The unfortunate clansmen pleaded the King's proclamation and fair words, but in vain; and slowly and sullenly they removed themselves and their belongings to the few acres of barren land which had been assigned them. Exiled to make room for planters, they wandered forth bearing in their hearts a store of bitter hatred for the invaders who had broken faith with them, and yearning for the vengeance which they were to snatch in 1641.

To Chichester, the Deputy, fell the castle, friary and demesne lands of Dungannon. To Lee, Sheriff of Tyrone, the castle, friary, and lands of Omagh. R. Wingfield received the castle and lands of Benburb; while the Scotch Stewarts and Hamiltons were planted in the territory of the Slut Art, where they possessed themselves of their castles and lands of Strabane and Newtown. Davis received several thousand acres in Tyrone and Fermanagh.

In North Tyrone, twelve London Guilds—skinners,

tanners, etc.—were allotted 240,000 acres; while Philips, the Commander of Toome, who had been sent to divide the lands, reserved for himself 25,000 acres of the choicest, with the castles of Bellaghy (Baile Ached) and Limavady belonging to O'Neill of Killitra and O'Cahan (Donal Ballagh), who was sent to the Tower of London. The London company called the "Irish Society," who received the whole of North Tyrone, so much of which they allotted to the London Guilds, retained in their own hands Derry and Coleraine, with their liberties, comprising about 14,000 acres, and the fisheries of Lough Foyle and the Bann with the deep-sea fishing of the coast, and all the royalties, advowsons, etc., of the county.

It was found impossible to altogether dispossess the clans, "being warlike people and many in number"; and accordingly they were allotted small portions of the territory. Manus, brother to O'Cahan and O'Neill of Killitra, received a few hundred acres; while the sept of Turlogh Leynagh received, with other O'Neills, a few thousand. The O'Neills of Kinnaird and the Fews, who had served against Hugh, were restored to several thousand acres in Armagh, or South Tyrone.

In Clannaboy, which was not included in the plantation, having been already (1603) planted, the Deputy, Chichester, possessed himself of no less than 144 townlands, which, with the territory of Inishowen, forfeited by Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, and

the castle and manor of Dungannon, was not bad for him who a few years before could not boast of a single acre in the world. Altogether the Clannaboy were dispossessed of over 600,000 acres.

On Shane MacBrian MacFelim Baccagh, for his services, eighty townlands were bestowed in the Baronies of Antrim and Toome; and on the two sons of Nial MacHugh MacFelim Baccagh, who was slain in the English service, thirty townlands N. of Kilultagh—the tuaths of Killelagh and Kilmacevet.

They were the only O'Neill grantees in Antrim and Down. The Sept of Murkertac held on to about twenty townlands about Edenduffcarrick, in the Feevagh. South of the Lagan the clan were left acreless, consequent on the swindling of the Chief, Conn of Castlereagh, whose fortress and demesne lands in 1611 were in possession of Moses Hill.

Before the autumn of 1610, the plantation was completed; but it was not the success that had been anticipated, and James was filled with doubts as to the wisdom of the undertaking. "Nothing keeps the Ultonians in subjection," writes Jacobs, the Solicitor-General, "but the want of arms, for all their weapons are brought into the King's store. They want no men, notwithstanding the famine and great plague that was amongst them." In the province were reckoned "at least 20,000 men of the sword," and Hugh was daily expected.

In these circumstances he had hopes of coming

to terms with James, whose minister at the Court of the Archduke of Austria—Trumbull—was commanded to negotiate with his agent, Bath. Bath, however, proved unfaithful, and all Hugh's schemes for invading Ireland were revealed.

He had determined, we are told, to return and die in Ireland; and "both he and his company in that mood do usually dispose of governments and provinces and make new commonwealths."—

"His fellow-exiles—men who bore,
With him the brunt of many a fight—
Talk past and future chances o'er,
Around his table grouped at night,
While speeds each tale of grief or glee,
With tears their furrowed cheeks are wet ;
And oft they rise and vow to see,
A glorious day in Ireland yet."

In view of the breach between Spain and England, on which he had calculated, "he doth begin to bristle," writes Trumbull, "and set up new hopes of a rebellion in Ireland"; and again we are told "the old man hereupon sleeps with his naked sword by his bedside, and believes that he and his will have a good day at home yet."

Though one would think, says another writer, he was an old man by sight (being in his 75th year), he is yet lusty and strong and well able to travel; "for a month ago, at evening, when his Friar (Dr. Chamberlain) and his gentlemen were along

with him, and were talking of England and Ireland, he drew his sword. 'His majesty,' said he, 'deems me weak, but I would he that hates me most in England were with me to see whether I am strong or no.' Those that were by said 'We would we were with £40,000 of money in Ireland, to see what we should do.' Whereon O'Neill remarked 'If I be not in Ireland these two years, I will never desire more to look to it.'"

"And when the wine within him plays,
Such hopeful words the Chief will speak,
He draws his shining sword and says:
'The King of England deems me weak!
Ah, would the Englishman were nigh,
That hates me most—my deadliest foe.
To cross his sword with mine and try
If this right arm be weak or no!'
But, oh! for Ireland, where good swords,
And valiant arms are needed most,
To fall on England's cruel hordes,
And sweep them from the Irish Coast!

"Years come and go; but while they roll,
His limbs grow weak, his eyes grow dim,
The hopes die out that buoyed his soul,
War's mighty game is closed for him.
Before him from the earth have passed,
Friends, kinsmen, comrades, true and brave;
And well he knows he nears, at last,
His place of rest—a foreign grave!
But oh! for Ireland far away—
For Irish love and holy zeal;
Oh for a grave in Irish clay,
To wrap the heart of Hugh O'Neill!"

Disappointed and broken-hearted, he was taken ill in 1616, and prostrated with frequent attacks of intermittent fever, when he is said to have lost his sight :—

"O fair Tyrone! O home I loved so well!
O youthful kinsmen, take my sad farewell,
These vacant eyes will ne'er be gladdened more,
With sight of sacred Ireland's dim blue shore."

Few particulars of his last illness have reached us. His lady and chaplain were constant watchers by his bedside, with the pontiff's physician. At length, on July 20th, 1616, after receiving the comforts of religion, he breathed his last, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. "Although he died far from Armagh, the burial-place of his ancesters," says the *Four Masters*, "it was a token that God was pleased with his life that permitted him no worse burial-place, namely Rome, the head of the city of the Christians. The prince who here died was a mighty lord, endowed with wisdom and subtlety of mind and intellect . . . a lord with the characteristics of a prince who had not suffered theft or robbery, abduction or rape, spite or animosity to prevail during his reign, and had kept all under the law, as was meet for a prince."

By twelve stalwart Irishmen his corpse was borne along the Longara, the Spanish Ambassador and three of the chiefest of the Roman nobility holding

the pall. Religious of all orders, chanting the psalms, preceded and followed the bier with lighted torches ; and as the long procession slowly ascended the acclivity of the Janiculum, "the tolling of a hundred bells, the throb of the muffled drum, and the minute-gun of St. Angelo, announced to the Imperial City, the shepherds of the Campagna, and the vine-dressers along the Alban Hills that an illustrious person was then about to be laid in his last resting-place. In obedience to the Pontiff's commands, the Church of Montorio was draped in mourning ; and nothing was omitted that could lend the deepest solemnity to the funereal pomp. Cardinals, Roman patricians, ambassadors from various foreign courts, assembled at the Requiem Mass ; and when the last absolution was pronounced, the hands of his fellow-exiles deposited the remains of the great chief beside those of his son, and near those of the O'Donnells. This pious duty performed, they had yet another to discharge, namely, to mark the spot where he reposed ; and this they did with an epigrammatic simplicity seldom found in that last of all vanities, an epitaph[1] :—

D. O. M.
HIC QUIESCUNT
UGONIS PRINCIPIS O'NEILL
OSSA.

[1] Meehan's *Flight.*

Hugh was married four times. By his first wife, daughter of Brian MacPhelim of Clannaboy, from whom he was separated, he appears to have left no issue. His second wife, Judith, sister of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, according to Primate Lombard (*De Regno Hiberniæ Sanctorum Insula Comm.*) was mother of Hugh and Henry. By his third marriage with Mabel (*ob.* 1596), sister of Marshal Bagenal, he left no issue; while by his fourth with the lady Catharina, sister to Magennis, Viscount Iveagh, he was father of John, Brian, and Conn.

Hugh, the eldest, died *sine prole*. Henry, the second, according to O'Sullivan Beare, was slain at the head of the Irish Regiment in the Spanish service, 1616-18, when his brother John succeeded. John, who was advanced to the rank of major-general, was slain in battle in 1641, when his natural son, Hugh, was given command of his regiment. Brian, the fourth son, was assassinated at Brussels by an English agent, 1617; and Conn, the fifth, was confined in the Tower of London, where he doubtless died.—See *Ulster Journal*, vol. v.

Some years ago, in the *Journal of the Kilkenny*, now the *Royal, Archæological Society*, M. de la Ponce, a distinguished cavalry officer of the First Empire, maintained that his son-in-law, Francis Henry O'Neill, *Viscomte de Tyrone*, late sous-prefet of the city of Saumur, and Knight of the Legion of Honour, was a lineal descendant of Prince Hugh.

However, "instead of engaging in controversy about the Viscomte, whose ancestors figure prominently in the Irish Brigades, as well as in the Civil Service of France, we elect," as Father Meehan says, "to announce rather that the sovereigns of that gallant nation have recognised Francis Henry O'Neill's style and title, which are duly set forth in the *Annuaire de la Noblesse de France.*"

After Hugh's sons, the next great claimants to the title were Owen Roe and Phelim of Kinnaird, son of Turlogh MacHenry Oge MacHenry MacShane MacConn More.—*See* pp. 397, 418, Part II.

Though Phelim was first in the field, Owen, in virtue of his ability and reputation, was the favoured one; and to him from Rome Father Luke Wadding sent Prince Hugh's sword, with the special blessing of the Pope.

Phelim, recognizing that he was no general, had little hesitation in resigning his command to Owen, though nothing could induce him to abandon his pretensions to the Chieftainship. To him, Charles I. was informed, some of the Ultonians have given regal attributes, "and he hath written in a regal style; and he did seal letters with a seal whereon was a regal crown." In another letter to the Viceroy, Leicester, the Lords Justices state he has "assumed the title of the Great O'Neill," to the fatal destruction, they hope, "of that name and family."

Under Phelim, the clansmen made no delay in possessing themselves of their houses and lands, and ejecting the planters :—

"Joy! joy! the day is come at last, the day of hope and pride,
And see! our crackling bonfires light old Bann's rejoicing tide,
And gladsome bell and bugle-horn from Newry's captured towers,
Hark! how they tell the Saxon swine this land is ours,
—is ours."

Phelim's clansmen certainly did not deal too tenderly with the planters, though it was not his intention, for the time at least, to interfere with them, as is evident from his Proclamation, published at Dungannon on that memorable night in October, 1641. Marching south, he was joined by the lords and gentry of the Pale; and in all parts of the country the Irish rose in arms. The difficulty between Charles and his Parliament prevented the sending of an army from England; but a Scotch army under Monroe and Lesly was sent over in 1642.

Phelim as a leader had proved a failure, and the movement was now in danger of collapsing, till Owen Roe came to the rescue, and speedily turned out a compact army, which was eventually to prove itself more than a match for the bravest of the Scottish Puritans, or the fiercest of Cromwell's Ironsides.[1]

[1] *See* Taylor's *Life of Owen Roe.*

In 1646, with 5,000 foot and nine troops of horse he encountered Monroe, with 6,000 foot and 800 horse, at Benburb, where, with the loss of but seventy men, he almost annihilated that great host.—

"And Owen's voice like a trumpet's note, rang clear
through his serried ranks—
'Brave brothers in arms the hour has come, give God
and the Virgin thanks,
Strike home to-day, or heavier woes will crush our
homes and altars,
Then trample the foeman in his blood, and cursed be
the slave who falters!'"

According to Carte, 3,248 of the enemy were left on the field, with their cannon, tents, baggage, etc., valued at £50,000 sterling. Owen's victories unhappily aroused the jealousy of the Ormondists, and the Leinster Generals, Preston, and Castlehaven, (one of the Tyrone planters), who did everything in their power to thwart him. On the arrival of Cromwell, however, they were glad to avail of his services; but on his way to Leinster he was taken seriously ill; and at Cloughoughter Castle in Breffny, on November 6th, 1649, he breathed his last.—

"Oh, mourn, Erinn mourn!
He is lost, he is dead,
By whom thy proudest flag was borne,
Thy bravest heroes led.
The night winds are uttering

Their orison's of woe,
The raven flaps his darkling wing,
O'er the grave of Owen Roe—
Of him who should have been thy King—
The noble Owen Roe!"

His remains were interred in the family vault of the O'Reillys, in the Franciscan Monastery of Cavan, of which but a vestige now remains. His epitaph, from the Latin in the Rinucinni MSS., is thus translated by Father Meehan:—

"Here rests that high-born Chief the Great O'Neill,
His country's firm defender and its shield;
His valour proved on many a famous field,
His faith attested by his burning zeal." etc.

Owen, who first appears as a captain in the Spanish service in 1606, with his brother Art Oge, had his favourite residence at Eanac Samraid or Annasamery—Shamrock ford—near Charlemont, in Oneilland, which was held by his father Art before the plantation. Annagh fell to John Dillon and Art was transplanted to Orior, where he received about 8,000 acres for life. Dillon's folk were ejected by Owen, who planted there his fosterers—O'Donnells, O'Quins, and Tyrrells. By his wife Rosa, widow of Caffar O'Donnell and daughter of O'Dogherty (Shane), he was father of Brian, whose son Owen was the last titular "Earl of Tyrone." Rosa died in 1660, in her seventieth year, at Brussels, where her first-born son, Hugh, son of Caffar O'Donnell,

erected a monument to her memory, with an epitaph, given in Father Meehan's *Flight.*

In February, 1652, Owen's rival, Phelim of Kinnaird, was taken prisoner in "the Loch of Ruchan, in Tyrone," and brought to Dublin, where he was charged by the Cromwellians with, among other things, receiving from the hands of Paul O'Neill, "that postilion friar," a Bull "from ye Pope, whereby you were created Prince of Ulster, which creation was performed at ye hill of Tullahoge, with all ye barbarous ceremonies anciently belonging to ye Great O'Neill. Being thus invested in this power, you proceeded to act in tyranny," etc.; and "changed your style, and was called His Excellency Lord General of ye Catholic Army, your meals served up with drum and trumpet; and you wrote in a Royal style," etc.[1]

Phelim, as if he had full control over the masses, was made responsible for all the excesses committed in 1641; but no one lamented them more than himself, and it is now admitted by all impartial writers that he has been foully slandered:—

"Why is his name unsung, O minstrel host?
Why do ye pass his memory like a ghost?
Why is no rose, no laurel on his grave,
Was he not constant, vigilant, and brave?
Why when that hero age ye deify,
Why do ye pass *Infelix Felix* by?"

[1] *See* Appendix to Meehan's *Confederation.*

Felim or Felix, as the name is Anglicised at this time, a British officer of that day tells us (*Irish Warr*, 1641-52), "was a well-bred gentleman, three years at Court; as free and easy as could be desired; very complaisant and stout in his person; but not being bred anything of a soldier, wanted the main art, that is, policy in war and good conduct." At the "Restoration" his estate, with that of his brother, Turlogh of Ardgonnell, was granted to Daniel O'Neill of Clannaboy, (*a*) who doubtless held it in trust.

He was thrice married, first to a daughter of the Lord Iveagh (*ob.* 1641); secondly to a daughter of General Preston (brother to Lord Gormanston) Viscount Tara; and thirdly, 1649, to the Lady Jane Gordon, daughter of the Marquis of Huntly. By her he was father of Gordon O'Neill, Brigadier-Général in the Army of King James. He was Governor of Tyrone County; accompanied James to France; and in 1703 received permission to raise an Irish regiment for the Spanish service; but soon after (1704) he died at St. Germans en Laye, leaving by his lady, Mildred (*ob.* 1686), a son, Charles, who died in France, and who is the last of Phelim's descendants of whom we have any record.

Phelim and Owen appear to have been the last claimants to the Princedom of Ulster. Hugh Duff, Owen's nephew, sought to have the title Earl of Tyrone confirmed to him through Sir H. Bennett,

PHELIM O'NEILL OF KINNAIRD,

Who led the Irish in 1641. Executed by the English A.D. 1652.

From a print in possession of His Excellency The O'Neill.

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the English envoy at Madrid, when the line of Cormac MacBaron (*c*) became extinct in 1660. In October of that year Bennett writes that he has seen the will of Earl John, "father of the younger man that is lately dead here, after whom and another, Constantine (or Conn) O'Neill, who is also dead, I can assure your Excellency this Hugh O'Neill, that now calls himself Earl of Tyrone, is the third, and consequently head of the house."

Hugh presumed on the gallant stand he had made for Charles at Clonmel and Limerick, but like many another gallant fighter, he was doomed to disappointment, for most of his majesty's favours were reserved for his enemies; and, like his predecessors, he was more inclined to pull down than build up "that proud house." With the Earldom, however, we have little concern, and it only remains to say that when Hugh fell on the battlefield in the subsequent war with Portugal, he bequeathed it to Owen MacBrian, grandson of Owen Roe, who was then completing his studies at Rome, and who a few years later entered the Spanish service. He, who is mentioned as executor in the will of Baldearg O'Donnell, dated April, 1679, appears to have been the last "Earl of Tyrone." It is disappointing to find the gallant Hugh and his kinsmen so concerned about the Earldom, while neglecting apparently the Celtic title which alone appertained to the head of the House :—

"He at whose war-horn's potent blast,
Twice twenty chiefs in battle tried
Unsheath'd the sword in warlike haste,
And ranged their thousands on his side."

In the Genealogical Tables and Appendix will be found the descent of the present bearer of the title —His Excellency D. Jorge O'Neill, THE O'NEILL, a high dignitary at the Court of King Carlos I. of Portugal. His ancestor, Phelim or Felix, fought at the memorable battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, with his kinsman, Gordon, who that day commanded the victorious Irish right wing. Phelim accompanied Gordon to France after the surrender of Limerick, and fell at Malplaquet twelve years later. His grandson, Shane or John, son of Conn, settled in Lisbon about the year 1736.

NOTES.

(*a*) Brian MacHugh Oge (MacHugh MacShane Boy, a descendant of Ardghal MacBrian More MacMahon) was set up by Hugh. He was afterwards knighted, and died in 1620, leaving three sons: Brian Oge, attainted in 1631; Hugh, executed for rebellion, in 1641; and Art who died in 1634, and left issue.—*See* O'Hart. In 1604 Patrick MacArt Moyle MacMahon, and Ever MacCooley of Farney in opposition to Brian, styled themselves "MacMahon," which title it was James's pleasure "should ever more be extinguished."—*Calendar of State Papers.* From Brian Oge descend the Mahons, baronets of Co. Galway, now represented by Sir William Mahon.

(*b*) For Sir Cahir's rebellion and the story of the O'Doherty's, *See* Bishop O'Doherty's *Derriana.* Cahir was the son of Shane Oge, who is thus satirized by O'Daly:—

"'Tis a hungry house that of O'Doherty of Inch,
For a meal you can get in it of meal just a pinch,
And when you look round you for drink there's a churnful
Of milk, dust and flies. Oh! his Christmas is mournful."

Rosa, Owen Roe's lady, was sister to Cahir, and from his brother, John, descends the O'Dohertys of Tipperary, now, or lately, represented by Lieutenant-General Sir Robert O'Doherty.

(*c*) Cormac, who was Tanist and remainder-man to Hugh, and who died in the Tower, held the district of Magh Leamhna or the "Closach," (Vol. II.), with the fortress of Augher in the Barony of Clogher. He left by his lady, Margaret, several sons, of whom we know comparatively little. Art Oge was brought to Spain by Hugh, John was brought over about the year 1615. Henry took part in the rising in Tyrone about that time. He appears to have had two other sons, Conn and Phelim. Phelim, "a nephew unto old Tyrone," was living "in great respect" in Milan in 1640, as Captain of a troop of horse in the Spanish service. Two years later, Dons Conn, and Phelim, living in Spain, were acknowledged heirs to the Earldom, as appears from the lately published *Franciscan MSS.* Phelim served under Owen Roe. He appears to be the Lieutenant-General referred to by Ludlow in his *Memoirs*, as married to a niece of the Duchess D'Artois, and living at Clogher or Augher in 1650, In Lodge's *Peerage*, first edition, it is stated that Brian Roe.

grandson of Cormac, claimed, on the death of his elder brother, Hugh Roe, the Earldom of Tyrone, which on his death was claimed by Hugh MacHenry Mac Owen Roe.

(*d*) Daniel, or Donal, was the son and heir of Conn of Castlereagh, by his lady, sister to Owen Roe. For Conn see the *Montgomery MSS.*, or Richey's *History of Ireland*. The story of Daniel, nicknamed the "Infallible Subtle," would fill a volume. Being left a minor at his father's death he was brought up in England by the Court of Chancery a Protestant. He frequented the Court of Charles I., and was wounded at the siege of Breda in 1636. In 1640 he was captured by the Scots at Newburn. In the following year he petitioned to have his father's lands, and Montgomery and Hamilton were summoned to appear in England before the House of Lords; but as a Royalist he was implicated in the army plots, and was impeached and lodged in the Tower of London, whence he escaped in 1642. He fought at the battles of Newbury and Naseby in 1643-5, and commanded Prince Rupert's foot at Marston Moor. He had great influence with Charles II., who declared "he was as honest a man as ever lived," and Laud wrote of him to Strafford, stating that his father's estates were then worth £12,000, now about £150,000 per annum. By his lady, Catherine, Countess of Chesterfield, he appears to have left no issue. In the Earl of Ashburnham's library is preserved a folio of fifty-five written pages dedicated to James II., and containing a list of the Kings of Ireland from the most ancient times to the 12th century, with reflections on the mistakes of Keating and others. The writer, Brian O'Neill, mentions his father as having served under Charles II., and it is thought that he was a son of Daniel. But more likely he was a son of Sir Brian of Slut Henry Caech, who was created a Baronet by Charles I., for his bravery at Edgehill.—*See* Vol. II., p. 301. Daniel had a brother, Conn Oge, who was slain at Clones in 1643 (*See* O'Mellan's *Journal*), and a sister or niece, Mary (whose will is still preserved), married to Cormac of Broughshane. In 1661 administration of the effects of "Conn Oge O'Neill, Esq., of Dublin," was granted to Cormac and Mary, his wife, "principal creditors of the said Conn," who died intestate.—*Prerogative Grants.*

THE PRINCES OF CLANNABOY
FROM NIAL MORE.

NIAL MORE, Prince of Clannaboy, and senior representative of the O'Neills of Ulster, *ob.* 1513. *See* Table Vol. ii.

- HUGH BOY III., Prince of Clannaboy, *ob.* 1524
  - MURKERTAC "DEVLINAGH," the last elected Prince of the Clannaboy. Deposed by his cousin, Hugh, aided by the Scots and English, in 1552
    - DONAL of the Feevagh, *ob. ante*, 1567
      - CONN *ob. circ.* 1630, father of Col. Felim, *a quo* O'Neill of Portugal. *See* Appendix
    - HUGH of the Feevagh, *ob.* 1599
      - NIAL OF THE FEEVAGH, *ob.* 1619, whose son, Art Oge of the Feevagh, dispossessed 1650, *ob.* 1661
  - CONN, *a quo* O'Neill of Killitra (?)
- BRIAN BALLAGH II., Prince of Clannaboy, *sl.* 1529
  - BRIAN "FERTAGH," Prince of Clannaboy, *ob.* 1548
    - NIAL succeeded his uncle, Conn, in South Clannaboy, *ob.* Carrickfergus, *circ.* 1600
      - CONN OGE of Castlereagh dispossessed of South Clannaboy, 1603-11
- NIAL OGE, Prince of Clannaboy, *ob.* 1537
  - HUGH, deposed his cousin, Murkertac, *sl.* 1555
  - * * *
  - CONN of South Clannaboy, *ob.* 1589
    - NIAL, slain in the English service (E.R.)
      - NIAL OGE, *a quo* O'Neill of Killelagh
      - HUGH, *a quo* O'Neill of Kilmacevet
- FELIM BACCAGH, *ob.* 1533
  - HUGH, *sl.* 1582
  - BRIAN, Installed as Prince of Clannaboy by the Deputy, 1567. Murdered by Essex 1574
    - SHANE, *aquo* O'Neill, of Shane's Castle

Sir Henry O'Neale

Brian McPhelim Baccagh O'Neill

THE PRINCES OF TYRONE AND ULSTER.
FROM CONN MORE.

CONN MORE, Prince of Ulster, 1483-93.—*See* Genealogical Table, Vol. ii.

- ART OGE (*a quo*. Slut Art Oge) Prince of Ulster, 1514-19
  - NIAL CONALLAGH, Tanist to Conn Baccagh. *Ob*. 1544
    - TURLOUGH LEYNAGH, Prince of Ulster, 1567-95
  - FARDORAGH, or Matthew, Baron of Dungannon. *Sl*. 1558.
    - BRIAN, Baron of Dungannon, *sl*. 1562
    - HUGH, Baron, and Earl of Tyrone, Inaugurated Prince of Ulster 1595. *Ob*. 1616
      - HUGH died *s. p.* in Rome, 1609
      - HENRY, Colonel, killed in the Spanish service, *s. p.* 1616-18
      - JOHN, succeeded his brother, Henry, Major-General in Spanish service. *Sl*. 1641.
        * * *
        BRIAN, Page to the Archduke of Austria, murdered 1617.
        * * *
        CONN, a prisoner in the Tower, 1622
- SHANE, of Kinnaird. *Ob*. 1517, *a quo*. O'Neill of Kinnaird.
  - SHANE AN DIOMAIS, Prince of Ulster, 1559-67
  - CORMAC, Tanist of Ulster. Prisoner in the Tower, 1621. Father of Art Oge, John, Conn, Phelim and Henry.
    - BRIAN of Clannaboy. *Ob*. 1608.
      * * *
      ART OGE, Captain in Spanish service, 1606; father of Major-General Hugh Duff
- CONN BACCAGH, Prince and Earl of Tyrone, 1519-59
  - FELIM "CAECH" *Sl*. 1542
  - ART of O'Neilland, transplanted to Orior 1609
    - OWEN ROE, *Ob*. 1649
      His grandson, Owen Mac Brian, last "Earl of Tyrone"
      * * *
      CONN, father of Brian Roe

APPENDIX.

THE O'NEILLS OF PORTUGAL.

APPENDIX.

THE O'NEILLS OF PORTUGAL.

THE pedigree of the O'Neills of Portugal, certified by Ulster and Somerset Herald (*a*), is traced from Brian Ballagh, Prince of Clannaboy, son of Nial More, Roydamna of Ulster (*Vide* Genealogical Tables, Parts II. and III.) With Brian and his son, Murkertac, we have already dealt (Chaps. II. and IV.) By his first marriage, with his kinswoman, Sarah, daughter of the Prince of Tyrone and Ulster, he was, as noted, father of Murkertac. By his second marriage, with Sibila, daughter of Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, he had another son, Hugh, father of Conn, or Constantine, from whose daughter, Catherine, wife of Henry O'Hara, of Crebilly (*b*), County Antrim, descended Marguerite, who married Thomas, twenty-second Baron of Louth, and Jean, sixth Viscount Netterville. Donal, or Daniel, son and heir of Conn, who died without issue, was the last of his line (*c*).

MURKERTAC.—Devlinagh (Doibhlenach) Dr. Joyce

believes to be the correct interpretation of the name—Dulenagh—applied by the Chancellor to Murkertac. He was, doubtless, fostered by O'Devlin of Muntir Devlin (*d*), like Conn Baccagh's son Felim Caech, also known as Felim Devlinagh. Of Murkertac's eight sons by the Lady Margaret, daughter of O'Byrne—Lord of the Baronies of Newcastle and Arklow, in Wicklow, and sister to the Lady of Conn Baccagh—only three appear to have left issue—namely, Donal, Hugh, and Murkertac Oge or Duff (*e*). Brian, son of the latter, after the Plantation, held the townland of Ballydonnellan in the Feevagh, about 1,500 acres, and died August 20th, 1639, leaving by his lady, Mary, who survived him, two sons, Brian Duff and Donal. A copy of his will, dated August 15th, 1639, is preserved in the MS. Book of Deeds and Wills for County Antrim in the Public Record Office. To his wife he left his black horse and trappings; and to his eldest son, Brian, he leaves Ballydonnellan, which he "now holds from his Majesty." He commands him to use brother-like love to Donal, to whom he leaves a quarter of the said townland, and desires to be buried in the family vault in the Church of Cranfield, beside Edenduff-carrick. Witnesses: Brian O'Neill, Donal, and Nial Oge. A Chancery Inquisition finds that Brian took part in the Rebellion of 1641, and so forfeited all his lands.

Hugh, Lord of the Feevagh, the second son of

Murkertac, who took part in the wars of his great kinsman, Hugh, and was living, according to the Carew MSS., in 1599, left a son and successor, Nial, who also took part in the wars, and was pardoned in 1602 with his kinsmen, Donal O'Neill, the younger, Brian Modder O'Neill, Felim, Donal, son of Owen, Henry, son of Owen, Rory Oge O'Neill, and others, described as of the Feevagh. In 1609 he was again pardoned with Hugh of Belfast, Shane MacBrian, Shane Oge, Hugh Oge, and Nial MacBrian, described as of Edenduffcarrick. Nial and his kinsmen appear to have come to an understanding with Shane MacBrian as to the tribe lands held by them in the Feevagh, as Shane's descendants, who had the English title or patent (*f*) only got full possession of them more than half a century later.

Nial married Mary, daughter of an O'Reilly of Breffny, and died March 27th, 16 James I., leaving Art Oge, his son and heir, aged 21, and not married. Art took a leading part in the rising of 1641, under Phelim of Kinnaird, and with Sir James MacDonnell was at the taking of the Castle of Clough in the Route (*g*), north of Clannaboy, the surrender of Oldstone, and the siege of Coleraine. He died January 1st, 1661, in the 63rd year of his age, having forfeited about 25,000 acres, most of which (*h*) was claimed and passed under Shane MacBrian's patent to his descendant and heir, Rose, Marchioness of

Antrim[1], daughter of Henry MacShane, by Martha, daughter of Sir Francis Stafford.

DONAL.—Donal, the eldest son of Murkertac, and ancestor of the O'Neills of Portugal, died before 1567, when his brother appears as chief of the Sept. He left a son and heir, Conn.

CONN.—Conn, son of Donal, after Prince Hugh's flight, appears to have been transplanted to Tyrone, where "Conn Boy O'Neill, son of Donal," had a "grant from the King" of several thousand acres (in Counties Tyrone and Armagh) about Kinnaird, including Creevelagh, Mullaghineale, Lislone, Ballynametagh, etc., "to be held for ever by one Knight's fee" (*Patents James I.*) Conn Boy resided at Dromore, in Tyrone, in 1615, when he appears as a Grand Juror with Brian Crossagh of the same place. About that time, however, he took part in the plot to capture the Fort of Charlemont, where Prince Hugh's son, Conn, was imprisoned (*see* Meehan's *Flight*), and in 1630 an Inquisition was taken concerning the lands held and acquired by him, Hugh, son of Donal O'Neill, Art Oge, and others, and which were forfeited. This is the last mention in the Inquisitions of Conn, who left a son and heir, Phelim or Felim.

FELIM.—Felim, doubtless, returned to the Feevagh after the seizure of the lands in Tyrone, as in 1641 Sir Edm. Stafford deposed (*Trinity College Depositions*)

[1] *Exchequer Inquisitions;* and *Miscellaneous Inquisitions, Co. Antrim,* Search Room, E. 52. These are in MS. in the Record Office. The *Chancery Inquisitions* have been published.

that by means of Felim Duff, Hugh O'Neill, and Art Oge O'Neill, of "the Feagh," he is like to be deprived of, and to lose, the future profits of his "lands of inheritance," worth £539 per annum. Martha, daughter of Sir Francis Stafford, and widow of Henry MacShane MacBrian, at the same time, complains of the great losses she had suffered at the hands of the said rebels, to whom she had rendered herself obnoxious by taking proceedings in the previous year to have them ejected from their patrimony in the Feevagh (*i*).

Under his kinsman, Owen Roe, Felim served with distinction, and eventually became one of his chief commanders. "Inheriting from his noble ancestors," says the old Shanachie, "the ancient Roman Catholic Faith with their heroic virtues and most praiseworthy zeal, having married the Catholic daughter of the most Illustrious Catholic Sovereign, O'Neill of Kilultagh was a colonel distinguished in military discipline under the command and the banner of the most excellent and renowned Eugene O'Neill, General-in-chief of the Irish Catholic troops of Ulster, who for many years fought for altar and home, for the glory of God, for the Christian Faith, and the defence of the Royal dignity, against the obstinate hatred of the Heretics towards the Catholics of Ireland, always true to the Faith and to the King; against the crafts, frauds, attempts and treacheries of Ormond, the enemy of an innocent people and religion; against the

ungrateful vacillations of some fellow-countrymen, guileless, deceived by traitors; and, in fine, against the bloodthirsty Parliamentarians, who plotted the death of their innocent and most excellent King, and persecuted the faithful Christians with rage and the most cruel fury to prison, torture, and even to death; and who premeditated and tried by every means, by violence and by arms, to upset that Faith in Ireland, Scotland, and England," etc.

In 1646, when Castlehaven and the Leinster forces who sided with Ormond, arrived before Maryboro', they demanded the surrender of the fort. But "Captain Phelim O'Neill, commander of that fort," writes the contemporary historian,[1] "being very well intended of settled good resolution to defend the place, and, though all the castle was battered, had groundworks very defensible, ammunition, men, and provision in abundance, the ordnance mounted and played on the castle. But one Daniel O'Neill, lieutenant to the said Phelim, did assure some or the most part of the soldiers, by subornation and promises of future preferment, to his own part, and this, as depending on Colonel Turlogh MacHenry O'Neill (of the Fews) revolted from General O'Neill (whose sister was married to Lieutenant-Colonel Myles O'Reilly, also revolted, and then in Castlehaven's Camp). The castle did receive seventeen shot of great ordnance to no

1. *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, edited by Sir John Gilbert.

great hurt, notwithstanding the lieutenant, with the aforesaid suborned soldiers (now disposed to play the traitor), took hold of the captain and vowed to kill and stab him to death in case he did offer to defend the fort. The captain desired them to be a little patient, and look more narrow unto their honour, reputation, and trust reposed in them, and in case they were forced to surrender, that they should consider of an honorable quarter. Unknown unto the Captain they were assured of their quarter (by the mediation of the said Turlogh) before the camp did sit before the castle.

The captain not comprehending therein, by this compulsion must condescend, and with much ado, obtained their allowance to go in person to the camp, under the mercy of the enemy, rather than abide the barbarous doom of his own supposed friends. Thus going and repairing to Castlehaven, making his apology, his company was offered him and continue in the Leinster army; but he, like an honest man and an honourable captain, would neither, for fear of restraint or love of preferment, continue or forego his proper general, at length had a safe conduct for himself, his wife, brother, two men, a friar, with horses and arms, and what they could honourably carry of their goods; with this he took his leave for Ulster to his general, and thus Maryborough was basely and treacherously yielded to Castlehaven the 9th May. Phelim, who is mentioned as a major in

1650, left by his lady, daughter of O'Neill, Lord of Kilultagh,[1] a son and heir, Ever.

EVER.—Ever, "in whose breast soon began to boil the mettle and blood of the ancestors of the most illustrious family of the O'Neills, who, amidst the continual injuries, and the never interrupted calamities of the whole Irish people, and amidst so many domestic assaults from the heretics, strove to stay with their shoulders the ruin of the Church, and restore to its free exercise, religion, which was driven to hiding-places, forests, and caves. Promoted, with all justice for his merit, to the rank of captain, he performed many exploits, and to him and his wife, Catherine, the eldest daughter of the most illustrious Ever O'Neill, Sovereign of Killitragh, in the County Derry (see p. 286)—whose second daughter was the grandmother of the most excellent and illustrious O'Neill, Count of the Sacred Roman Empire, Chamberlain and Counsellor, Field Marshal of the Most August, Imperial, and Cæsarian Majesty, etc., etc., who died some years ago in Germany—was born a son, who, in baptism, administered according to the Catholic ritual, was named Phelim, or Felix." Ever married about the year 1670, and died before 1689, or he would, doubtless, have taken part with his countrymen against the Williamites.

PHELIM.—Phelim, or Felix, entered the army of King James, in 1689, in his eighteenth year, as an

[1] *See* Vol. II., p. 422.

ensign, under his kinsman, Gordon (*j*), son of the great Phelim, who raised a regiment of foot in Tyrone, with which he served against the Williamites, previous to and at the blockade of Derry. In 1690, Phelim, with the regiment, fought at the Battle of the Boyne, and in the following year at Aughrim, where, as observed, Gordon commanded the victorious Irish right wing; and signalized himself at the head of the regiment, capturing, after the third great repulse of the enemy, some pieces of their artillery. At length he (Gordon) was so severely wounded that he was left apparently lifeless on the field, among the slain, where he was recognised by some of his mother's folk, and brought to Dublin, when he recovered, and followed to France his regiment, with which Phelim served at the defence of Limerick, and with which, after the surrender in 1691, he sailed for France. There it was reformed and rechristened the Regiment of Charlemont, probably from the fort of that name of which Gordon was governor. Gordon was appointed colonel and Phelim was promoted to the rank of "sous-lieutenant," in February, 1692. From the frustrated invasion of England, in that year, to the peace of Ryswick in 1697, he served with the regiment against the Germans. By 1698 the ranks were so thinned that, with the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons, it was formed into the Infantry Regiment of Galmoy, to which Phelim was attached as a "lieutenant-reformé" in May, and Gordon, as a supernumerary, or reformed, colonel.

In 1702, Phelim served with the Army of Italy, under the Duke de Vendome, who, in August, engaged the Imperialists, under Prince Eugene of Savoy, at Luzarra, where the regiment was stationed on the right wing, and where over 5,000 were killed and wounded on both sides.

In the following year he was with the army of the Rhine, under the Duke of Burgundy and Marshal de Tallard, who reduced Brisach, and took Landau, after vanquishing the Prince of Hesse Cassel at the battle of Spire.

In 1704 he was again employed under the Duke de Vendome at the sieges of Vercelli, Ivrea, and Verrua, in Italy, and in August of the succeeding year fought at the battle of Cassano, where 7,000 were killed and wounded, including forty officers of his own regiment. In 1706 he served at Calcinato, where the duke vanquished the Imperialists with the loss of 7,000 in killed and wounded. "This victory," O'Callaghan tells us (*History of the Irish Brigades*), "was the last where the Irish were generally distinguished in Italy."

In 1707 Phelim was campaigning in Germany with the army of the Rhine, under Marshal de Villars, who, after passing the famous lines of Stolhoffen, or Bihel, previously the bulwark of the empire, overran Baden, Wurtemberg, Swabia, Franconia, and the Palatinate. In 1708 he was with the army of Dauphiné, under the Duke of Berwick; and in February, 1709, was promoted a "lieutenant en pied."

Seven months later he fought his last battle at Malplaquet, under De Villars and De Boufflers, who took up a strong position about the village, where, on September 11th, over 20,000 of the Imperialists, under Prince Eugene and Marlborough, were killed and wounded. In this engagement the Regiments of Galmoy, Lee, O'Brien, Dorrington, O'Donnell, and Nugent "were posted," says a writer of that day (quoted by O'Callaghan), " in the centre of the opening of the wood of Sarl, having the Swiss Guards on their right, and the brigade of Champagne on their left. It was towards this point the enemy directed their greatest efforts. These three brigades time after time sustained, for upwards of three hours, the fire of a battery of twenty pieces of cannon, repulsed so many as three of the most furious attacks, in which the enemies suffered a considerable loss. They were at last obliged to retire because four battalions, who secured their flanks, having abandoned their posts, the enemy were about to turn them. They returned, notwithstanding, the charge, until they received orders to retreat, which they executed with the left of the army, after the wounding of Marshal Villars."

With Phelim fell ninety-three officers of the Irish Brigade, including ten of his own Regiment of Galmoy, which, after the general peace in 1715, was incorporated with that of Dillon.

The following is Phelim's record from the French War Office :—

Nom et Signalement du Militaire.	Détail des Services.
O'Neille (Phelix) né vers 1671 en Irlande	A servi 3 ans comme enseigne et Lieutenant de la Colonelle, en Irelande. Entré au service de France avec les troupes Irlandaises, á la fin de 1691 Sous-Lieutenant au régt. de Charlemont (Infrie Irlandaise) le 5 Février 1692. Lieutenant réformé au régt. de Galmoy (Infrie Irlandaise) le 28 Mai 1698. Lieutenant en pied le 20 Février 1709. Tué á la bataille de Malplaquet, le 11th Sept., 1709. Campagnes. 1702, Italie ; 1703, Rhin ; 1704, 1705, et 1706, Italie ; 1707, Rhin ; 1708, Dauphiné ; 1709, Flandre.

Three months after his death, in consideration of his long and faithful services, the French monarch, Louis XIV., settled on his widow and children a pension of 200 livres, as appears from the following :—

Garde demon Trésor Royal, Me. Claude le Bas de Montargis, Payez comptant á la veuve du feu Sr. Felix O'Neille, Lieutenant au Régiment Irlandais de Galmoy, la somme de deux cents livres pour la première année de la pension que j'ay accordée tant à elle qu'à ses enfants en considérations des services du dit deffunt ; fait à Marly le 20e Décembre, 1709.

Signé, LOUIS.

By "his first canonical marriage with the Lady Catherine of the stem and name of the most noble family of Keating," as the old shanachie puts it, Felix left a son and heir, Conn. By his second, with Joan, daughter of O'Dempsey, Viscount Clanmaliere (*k*), who died in the parish of St. Louis, at Strasburg (*l*), in Alsace, 17th April, 1722, he left three children, who were living there in 1724. The eldest, Brian, was a lieutenant in his father's regiment, then the Regiment of Dillon; and on the 5th February, 1724, the second son writes, on behalf of the family, for the arrears of the pension granted by Louis, as follows—from the original in the French War Office :—

MONSIEUR,—Je prens la libertié de vous envoyer un certificat de nôtre existance avec la copie de l'ordonnance de la pension que Sa magesté de Glorieuse Mémoire at accordé á feu nôtre mêre, ayant appris que le certificat que javais deja envoyé s'etait égaré dans notre Bureau, vous suppliant Monsieur, d'avoir la bonté de nous faire expédiéd les ordonnances pour les années qui nous, sont deubes en étants dans une nécessité tres grande, nous vous en aurons une reconnaissance et une obligation éternelle.

Je suis avec bien du Respect, Monsieur,

Votre tres humble et tres oblissant serviteur,

A Strasbourg, TH. O'NEILLE.

7e Fevrier, 1724.

The certificate to which he alludes is signed by "H. Herault, Supérieur et Curé de St. Louis." It certifies that the widow of the Sieur Felix O'Neill

(who was slain at the battle of Malplaquet, and to whom his Majesty of glorious memory accorded a pension of two hundred livres 20th December, 1709, in consideration of his long and faithful services) died in this parish 17th April, 1722, but that his three children, who had also the benefit of the pension, were then living (5th February, 1724) in the same parish. They died before 1756, leaving no male issue.

CONN.—Conn or Constantine, the eldest son of Felix by his first marriage with the Lady Catherine Keating (*m*), resided chiefly in Dublin. He was born in the parish of St. Catherine's, which appears to have been the favourite resort of the Ulster gentry of those days, married Cecilia, daughter of Captain Felix, son of Colonel Edmund O'Hanlon of Killevy (*n*), and left three sons and six daughters, all living in 1756, namely, Shane or John, Phelim or Felix, Charles, Annabella, married at Lisbon to Broghil; Catherine, married to Terence M'Mahon; Sarah, Alice, Mary, and Anna, unmarried.

SHANE.—Shane or John, eldest son of Conn, who was born in the parish of Kilmore in Tyrone, near Richill in O'Neilland, early determined on leaving Ireland, where at this time the penal laws pressed so heavily on his countrymen, many of whom were greatly reduced, like his unfortunate kinsman, Sir Francis O'Neill, Bart., of Slut Henry Caech, who in endeavouring to escape these enactments lost all his estates and died broken-hearted.[1] Nothing remained

[1] *See* Vol. II., p. 301.

for a man of spirit and enterprise in those days but to seek a home on the Continent, and in 1740, with his family, John emigrated to Portugal, where he purchased an estate on the left bank of the Tagus, near the town of Almada, opposite Lisbon, and where he was received with all the honour at that time accorded on the Continent to the exiled Irish nobles. The Italian traveller, G. Barretti, mentions him in his *Letterre Famigliari.*

Sixteen years after his departure from Ireland in 1756 he had his genealogy put on parchment by the family shanachie of that day and brought down from "the most illustrious Bernard or Brian O'Neill, surnamed Ballagh (that is, freckled), who traces his illustrious origin from the royal family of O'Neill, by hereditary right lord and sovereign of the extensive territory, as well upper as lower, of Clanaboy in the province of Ulster, and who, by as it were hereditary right, proved gloriously to be always and everywhere one of the most strenuous champions of the Roman Catholic faith during many centuries, amidst slaughter, tortures, and horrible scaffolds, with their necks subject to the cruel axe for religion's sake during the tyrannous and anti-christian reigns of Henry the Eighth, King of England and Ireland, and his daughter Queen Elizabeth. This Brian O'Neill married first," we are assured, "Sarah, Catholic daughter of the Most Excellent Prince O'Neill of Tyrone—a true Catholic, whose constancy and that

of his descendants in the true faith could neither be weakened nor shakened by evils continually suffered, or by the number of those evils, or by the flattery or threats of kings, or, in fine, by the confiscations of their princedoms, counties, and their whole property," etc. This curious document, a copy of which is given further on in the original Latin, and which is now among the most cherished possessions of the family, is attested by the Archbishop of Armagh, Michael O'Reilly; the Bishop of Dromore, Anthony Gawey; the Proto-Notary Apostolic, John MacMullin; and Brother Bernard MacHenry, O.P., Vicar of Ulster and ex-Provincial (*o*).

The Archbishop (formerly Bishop of Tyrone or Derry) affirms that all credence may be safely given to this genealogical table, while Bishop Gawey or Garvey, as a clansman of Tyrone—an O'Garvey of Clanbrassil in O'Neilland, where John was born—testifies that "as well by constant and never interrupted tradition as by testimony of the most worthy historians, public notoriety, and my own certain knowledge, this is the incontestible truth, in faith of which I subscribe this day, the 9th of August, 1756."

John, or Don João, as he was styled in the land of his adoption (*p*), married at the parish church of St. Paul, Lisbon, 2nd Sept., 1750, Valentina, daughter of José Ferreira, a landed proprietor in the environs of Lisbon, from whose family descended maternally the Polyarts, Clamanses, and De Negriers, of whom was

the French general of that name. By Valentina John was father of Charles or Carlos O'Neill, Cecilia and Anna, who both took the veil and became successively Prioresses of the Convent of Irish Sisters of Bone Successo, near Lisbon, where they died and lie buried.

CARLOS.—Carlos or Charles, Professed Knight of the Order of Christ, succeeded as chief of his sept on the death of his elder brothers, *s. p.* He was educated at the college of St. Omer in France, and married 17th September, 1784, at the aforesaid parish church, Anna João, daughter of Jacob Torlade (Consul of the Hanseatic cities at St. Ubes), son of Henry Torlade, a judge and banker in Hamburg, whose coat of arms is described in the city register under date 1713. Charles possessed extensive landed property in Lisbon and St. Ubes or Setubal, where he and his successors received the visits of the Portuguese monarchs: John VI. and his daughters the Infantas; Maria II. and Ferdinand; and Peter V. and his brothers Don John and Don Louis (afterwards Louis I., father of the present king, Don Carlos). By his lady Anna he left three sons—1. José Maria; 2. Joaquim; 3. Henry; and several daughters, all of whom left issue.

JOSÉ MARIA.—José Maria O'Neill, or Joseph Mary, the eldest son, Commander of the Order of Christ and of Our Lady of the Conception of Villa Vicosa, Consul-General of Denmark at Lisbon, born April 14th 1788, married at the parish church of the Incarnation, 11th

December, 1814, Ludovina Alves Solano, daughter of Antonio Alves by Ignacia Solano, his wife; and by her, who was buried with himself in the family vault in Lisbon, he left two sons, namely (1) José Carlos O'Neill, born 28th July, 1816, *ob. s. p.* August 3rd, 1889; (2) Jorge, or George, Torlades O'Neill; and (3) Henry, or Henri, O'Neill, Viscomte de Santa Monica, Grand Officer of the Royal Household of the King of Portugal, Minister of Justice, Grand Cordon of the Order of Villa Vicosa, etc., born 3rd May, 1821, *ob. s. p.* 6th December, 1890.

JORGE TORLADES.—Jorge Torlades O'Neill, the second son, succeeded as chief of his name on the death *sine prole* of his brother José Carlos, in 1889. He was Consul General of his Majesty the King of Greece, at Lisbon, Honorary Consul to his Majesty the King of the Belgians; Commander of the Order of the Danneborg of the First Class; Officer of the Order of Leopold, of the Order of the Redeemer of Greece, of the Order of Our Lady of the Conception and of the Order of Christ; Knight of the Rose of Brazil, etc., born 15th December, 1817, at the Parish Church of the Incarnation, married 20th July, 1846, Carolina Thereza, daughter of Joaquim O'Neill, by Joanna Carolina his wife, daughter of Antonio Bernardo de Brito e Cunha, and by her, who died at Larangeiras near Lisbon, 11th November, 1893, in the 71st year of her age, and was buried in the family vault, he (who departed 18th November, 1890), left

issue:—(1) Jorge O'Neill of Lisbon, of whom presently; (2) Arthur of Lisbon, born 15th December, 1852, married Maria da Gloria Brito de Carvalho Gorjão, daughter of Francisco Gorjão and Donna de Carvalho, his wife, and died, *s. p.*, 9th November, 1880.

JORGE.—George O'Neill of Lisbon, THE O'NEILL, hereditary Prince of Ulster and of Tyrone and Clannaboy, Grand Officer of the Royal Household, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Gregory the Great (*q.*) Chevalier of the Order of Malta, Comte de Tyrone, etc., was born 15th February, 1848, baptised at the Church of the Incarnation, married 14th July, 1872 at the Parish Church of Santos, Lisbon, Maria Isabel, daughter of José Gregorio Fernandes, Knight of the Order of Christ, and Isabel Maria Corderio Mazziotti, and has issue, namely:—(1) Hugues, or Hugh, Lieutenant in the Portuguese Royal Navy, born 9th June, 1874; (2) Jorge Albert, born December 6th, 1875 *ob. s.p.* December 8th, 1900; (3) José Carlos Maria Felix Bernardo, born 8th January, 1894; (4) Maria Thereza Carolina Isabel, born 19th July, 1877.

His Excellency, as the senior representative of the O'Neills, assumed the Celtic title, and adopted the French, *Comte de Tyrone* by agreement with his kinsman of France, Augusta Eugene Valentine O'Neill de Tyrone, who died without issue male, and who, as observed, claimed descent from the great Prince Hugh himself (p. 308).

In the *Annuaire* the family pact is set forth as follows :—

Par un pacte de famille intervenu à Paris, le 14 août 1901, devant Me Kastler, notaire, à Paris, les dernières représentantes de la branche dite des comtes de Tyrone, fixée à la Martinique et en France, Augusta Eugenie Valentine O'Neill de Tyrone, épouse du Baron de Bodman, et Marie Anne Marguerite O'Neill de Tyrone, ont pour se conformer à une tradition immémoriale, reversé sur la tête du chef de la ligne aînée, residant en Portugāl [voir ci-après] tous les titres and qualifications, entre autres celle de Comte de Tyrone portée, depuis 1542 dans la branche francaise, qui était la leur et que se trouve aujourd' hui éteinte dans les màles par suité du décès du pére desdites Demoiselles O'Neill de Tyrone.

His Excellency, whose right to the family titles is recognized by the authorities here and abroad (*r.*) is, as might be expected, keenly interested in the history and antiquities of Ireland—being a member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries and other Societies. To him I am greatly obliged for the foregoing interesting particulars of his family ; and for many pedigrees of the O'Neill Septs from which I have given extracts—and some of which have been published by O'Hart. Also for many scarce and valuable historical (*s*) and genealogical works and illustrations ; and last but not least, for that encouragement and support, without which this work might not so readily have seen the light.

NOTES.

(*a*) The following are the certificates of Sir Arthur Vicars, and H. Farnham-Burke Esq., M.V.O., Somerset Herald :—

"I, Sir Arthur Edward Vicars, Knight, F.S.A., Ulster King of Arms, and Principal Herald of all Ireland, Registrar and Knight Attendant on the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, do hereby certify and declare that the Armorial Bearings and pedigree of Jorge O'Neill of Lisbon, a Peer of the Kingdom of Portugal, and Grand Officer of the Royal Household, a descendant of Nial the Great, Monarch of Ireland, are duly registered in the Records of my office. In witness whereof I have subscribed and affixed my seal to these presents this second day of September, one thousand eight hundred and ninety six."

"I, Henry Farnham-Burke, Esquire, Somerset Herald of Arms, and Genealogist of the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, do hereby certify and declare that the above pedigree of Jorge O'Neill of Lisbon, a Peer of the Kingdom of Portugal and Grand Officer of the Royal Household, is faithfully extracted from the Records of the Office of Arms, Dublin ; and, therefore, the said Jorge O'Neill is a lineal descendant and representative of the Royal House of O'Neill, Monarchs of Ireland, Kings of Ulster, and Princes of Tyrone and Clannaboy. And I do further certify and declare that the armorial bearings above depicted, namely, Argent two Lions rampant combatant, supporting a dexter hand couped at the wrist Gules, in Chief three mullets fesswise of the last, and in base waves of the Sea, therein a Salmon naiant proper. And for crest on a wreath of the Colours (Argent and Gules) an arm embowed in chain armour, the hand grasping a wavy sword all proper, the hilt and pomel gold—Mottoes (under shield) *Caelo Solo Salo Potentes*, and over the crest *Lamh Dearg Eirinn*, the whole surrounded with a coronet and mantle of a Peer of Portugal, do of right appertain and belong unto the said Jorge O'Neill and his descendants, according to the laws of arms, and are duly registered to them in the Records aforesaid.—Given under my hand and seal, at her Majesty's College of Arms, London, this first day of October, in the fifty-ninth year of Our Sovereign Lady Victoria by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc., and in the year of Our Lord 1896."

Appended to this are the following :—

"I hereby certify that I believe the signature, H. Farnham Burke, Somerset Herald, appended to the foot of this document

to be in the true handwriting of Henry Farnham Burke, Esquire, F.S.A., Somerset Herald of Arms, and Genealogist of the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick.—Henry Hardinge Conynghame, Assistant Secretary of State for the Home Department. Whitehall, September 9th, 1896."

"Certified at the Foreign Office for legalization of the foregoing signature.—Francis Leveson Bertie, Assistant Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—London, 9th September, 1896."

"I certify that the signature 'Francis Leveson Bertie,' is the true handwriting of the Hon. Francis Leveson Bertie, Assistant Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—A. De Castro, Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires, Portuguese Legation, London, 12th September, 1896."

(*b*) *See* Part II., pp. 206, 207. Cathal or Cahal O'Hara, ancestor of the O'Haras of Crebilly, who had a grant of the Tuath of Keart, left a son and heir Cormac. The O'Haras are, or were, lately represented by the O'Haras of Cleggan.

(*c*) In 1590, in the *Fiants of Elizabeth*, Owen O'Neill, son of Conn, son of Hugh, is mentioned with his kinsmen, Brian Oge, son of Brian Ballagh O'Neill; Nial, son of Hugh MacMurkertac; Phelim MacRory O'Neill; Shane MacBrian MacFelim of Belfast, and Conn his brother. Owen was probably a brother to Donal,

(*d*) This territory is marked on Norden's Map—"Monterevlin"—midway between Dungannon and Tullahoge. Between it and Lough Neagh was the district of Clanaghrie (Clan eaċpe) containing the present parish of Clonoe. Phelim O'Neill of Clanaghrie, surnamed "of the wars," (an Ċogaiḋ) took an active part in the rising of 1641. In the old churchyard of Clonoe is a tombstone with this inscription:—"Here Lyeth the bodies of Hugh Mergaugh O'Neill who deceased the 10th of October, 1671, aged 50 years. Also of Phelimy Oge O'Neill, who died 1714, aged 79."—*Memorials of the Dead.*

(*e*) Murkertac or Murtagh Duff O'Neill appears in the *Fiants* in 1592, with his kinsman Phelim MacTurlogh MacCooley Oge O'Neill, probably the Killitra Chief mentioned at p. 286. In 1604 he again figures with Donal O'Neill, Brian, Turlogh, Tool, son of Donal, Brian Modder (Mac ?) Brian Ballagh, Conly Modder (the Gloomy), Art and Cormac O'Neill of Antrim, gents.

(*f*) Shane's "grant" included nearly the whole of the present Barony of Upper Toome, that part of Lower Toome, West of the Main Water, and the northern part of the Barony of Lower Antrim. The Clannaboy Tuaths, according to Chichester the Deputy, (*Calendar of State Papers*, 1605), contained sixteen townlands, and each townland 120 Irish acres, or about 1,500 English. Some townlands, he states, contained more than that,

"and few less." It is very puzzling the ancient Irish land measure, as it varied so much in the different territories. In the Plantation by James we must multiply by four to get the approximate number of English acres.—*See* Vol. I., p. 192.

(*g*) An account of the taking of Clough, which belonged to MacDonnell, is given in the Trinity College Depositions. Art, on arriving at Clough with his men, in January, 1641, called upon Walter Kennedy, the Constable, to surrender the Castle, but Kennedy answered "that he would not deliver a MacDonnell castle to any O'Neill." James MacDonnell then advanced and offered him terms, "and I do swear by the cross of my sword," he added, "and the faith of a gentleman, that you nor none in the house shall suffer in body or goods." At the taking of the Castle, were, we are informed, James MacDonnell, Colonel Art Oge O'Neill, and Captains Brian MacHugh Oge O'Neill, Turlogh Oge O'Cahan, Henry MacHenry, Brian Modder MacHenry, and John MacDonnell. One Cormac O'Dallen of the parish of Lough Gill, deposed that "Art Oge of Feanagh's Regiment coming unto his house the night before the Clogh was taken by him and James MacColl MacDonnell, they searched his house," etc. Patrick O'Hara of the said parish, deposed that the said Art and James were likewise at the surrender of Oldstone and the Siege of Coleraine.

From the above Brian MacHugh Oge, grandson of Conn MacBrian MacFelim, the late Charles H. O'Neill, B.L., traced his descent, thus: 1. Brian; 2. Conn, *ob.* 1717; 3. Conn Oge, 1739; 4. Charles, 1777; 5. Hugh, 1814; 6. Felix, 1858; 7. Charles H., 1865.

(*h*) The following townlands, forfeited by Art, passed to the Marchioness, MacDonnell's lady, namely, Derrihollogh, Mumkie, Mullagane, Carnegorm, Tullabeg, Enaghmore, Carnetran, Carguin, Carnegarr, Drumfly, *al.* Ballinderrick, and another townland the name of which is not given. In addition to these he held Carlean, Monorodye, Drumkillen, etc.

(*i*) Some Chancery Bills filed by her against Donal MacEver Boy of Creeve, and Tool and Edmund MacPhelim MacRory of Creggan, are preserved in the Record Office. The following freeholders in Clannaboy were dispossessed for taking part in the rising of 1641:—Art Oge; Brian Duff of Ballydonnellan; Donal Mac Ever Boy, who held the townlands of Creeve and Ballyohelogan; and Edmund MacPhelim MacRory, who held Creggan and Leadrim, all in the Feevagh. Tool Oge, son of Phelim Duff MacToole "Onagh," of Clonkeen; Turlogh MacBrian MacToole, "Onagh," of Drumale, both in the territory of Muntir Rividy east of the Main Water, and Owen MacEdmund MacTool O'Neill of Ballytaunaghmore. Rose, the Marchioness, was herself dispossessed by Cromwell, and transplanted to Connaught,

where she was allotted 8,888 acres. In the *Book of Survey and Distribution*, 1658, her father Henry, who died in 1636, is set down as an "Irish Papist."

(*j*) Gordon had as Lieutenant-Colonel a Conn O'Neill, probably the same Colonel Conn, who made his will at Lackan, Co. Monaghan, Parish of Creevemore, in August, 1710. He had lands on lease in Monaghan, Armagh, and Antrim, where he held Armoy, and belonged to the Feevagh, as he desired to be buried in the Church of Cranfield, where, as will be remembered, Brian MacMurkertac was buried in 1639. By his lady, Catherine, he had a son and heir, John, to whom he leaves his lands, provided he marries with the consent of the Hon. Charles and Madame Rose O'Neill. He had another son, Owen, and two daughters, one married to Brian MacMahon, and another to an O'Rielly, son of Colonel Philip O'Rielly.

In the Record Office the following O'Neill wills, Prerogative and Diocesan, down to 1800, are preserved:—Nial Oge of Killelagh, 1628? Conn Modder MacBrian of Duneane (in the Feevagh) 1636; Brian MacMurkertac of Ballydonnellan, 1639; Sir Bryan of Backistown, Co. Dublin, 1670; Henry of Ahoghill, Co. Antrim, 1672; John of the Falls, 1682; John of Leamkill, Co. Monaghan, 1700; Cormac of Broughshane, 1706; Mary of Broughshane, 1708; Phelim of Dunade, Co. Kildare, 1710; Hugh (MacBrian) of Ballynascreen, 1717; Mary of Duneane (widow of Hugh of Breakhart), 1719; James of Mullagh, Co. Cavan, 1724; John of Fardromin, Co. Longford, 1724; Mary of Lisburn, 1727; Neal of Tanriaghmore, Co. Antrim, 1728; Tully of Balbriggan, Co. Louth, 1728; Rose of Dublin, 1728; Conn (Colonel) of Badoney, 1733; Bryan of Badoney, 1733; Rose of Badoney, 1734; Hugh of Breakhart, 1739; John of Edenduffcarrick, 1739; Francis of Dublin, 1741; Art of Finvoy, Co. Antrim, 1743; Daniel of Dublin, 1746; Ambrose of Dublin, 1747; James of Errigle, 1752; Neal of Camus, 1757; Henry of Dublin, 1758; Henry of Kellystown, Co. Meath, 1760; Mary of Dublin, 1761; John of Dublin, 1766; Thomas of Lurgan-tavrey, 1766; Charles of Shane's Castle, 1768; Bryan of Dree, Co. Down, 1768; Arthur of Dublin, 1770; Hugh of Shankill, 1772; Paul of Ballynascreen, 1773; Constantine (Mac Art) of Bray, Co. Wicklow, 1774; Henry of Gibstown, Co. Meath, 1776; Charles, Dublin, 1778; Conn of Rathcannon, Co. Meath, 1779; Felix of Monasterevan, 1787; Constantine of Kilcurry, 1798; Felix of Banvale, 1812.

(*k*) This was doubtless Terence O'Dempsey, brother to the third and last Viscount of Clanmaliere of whom we have any account. O'Ferral, in his *Linea Antiqua*, written in 1704, styles him Major. He married Joan, daughter of Conly MacGeoghegan of Moycashel, and left, according to O'Ferral, two sons, Brian and Francis, officers in the French service. Sir Terence, the

first Viscount, a descendant of Dermod, Lord of Clanmaliere, and Prince of Offaly, who founded Monasterevan Abbey in 1178. died in 1639, and left by Mary, daughter of Sir Maurice Fitzgerald of Lackagh, a son and heir, Owen, (*ob. v. p.* 1638), and a daughter, Ellinor, grandmother of Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan. Owen by Mary, daughter of Lord Delvin, was father of Sir Christopher, and Lewis; and by a second marriage (with the widow of Sir Wm. Taafe, ancestor of the Taafes of Austria) of Brigadier-General James O'Dempsey, who was slain at the Boyne. Sir Christopher, who married Cleopatra, daughter of the Viceroy, Sir Henry Cary, K.B., Lord Falkland, died young, *s. p.*, and *v. p.*, when Lewis succeeded his grandfather as second Viscount. He was dispossessed of all his estates, then worth £12,000 per annum, by Charles II., who made them over to Henry Bennet, his favourite. Lewis, by Martha, daughter of John Itchingham of Dunbrody, Co. Wexford, was father of Maxmillian, the third Viscount, and Governor of Queen's Co. for James II., who died *s. p.* in 1690, and Terence. Terence and his sons died before 1751-2, when the death is recorded of Brian, The O'Dempsey, Lieutenant-General in the Polish and Saxon service, and Governor of the Castle and Citadel of Leipsig. He was the son of Colonel Francis, who was taken prisoner at the defence of Limerick, and the grandson of Major Brian (executed in 1652) the nephew of the first Viscount. Brian's son, a Major in the Saxon Guards, and Chamberlain to the Elector of Saxony, who died in 1771, was the last of the family.—*See* the *Kildare Journal of Archaeology*, where an interesting article on the Viscounts of Clanmaliere, and the O'Dempsey territory, is given by the editor, Lord Walter Fitzgerald, to whom I am obliged for a reprint.

(*l*) In the *Stuart MSS.* in possession of the King, is preserved the "Declaration of the noblesse of John O'Cahan, an Irish Officer, now at Strasburg, the eldest son of Colonel Roger O'Cahane, head of an old and gentle family of the O'Cahans, and of Catherine O'Neill, daughter of the late Phelix O'Neill, who belonged to one of the principal branches of the old and noble family of O'Neill." This is dated 1703, and may refer to Captain Felix's grandfather, Colonel Felix.

(*m*) The "De Ketyngs," or Keatings, derive from John, third son of William Fitzgerald, progenitor of the Geraldines, and consequently they bore the Geraldine arms, "argent a saltire gules." Down to the fourteenth century they were Barons of Parliament, when the main line appears to have died out. In 1357, the King's Escheator in Co. Tipperary, finds that Sir Gilbert De Bermingham held the Manor of Derragrath, and lands of Shanreynagh, only in right of his wife, Anne Ketyng. Richard Keating of Nicholastown, who held the said Manor of Derragrath and Manor or lands of "Shanrana," and took part

in the Desmond rebellion, for which he received a pardon in 1587, died in 1610, and left six sons. From the eldest, John, sprang the Keatings of Nicholastown, the last of whom, Richard, Baron Keating, was living in 1760 (*See* Lodge's *Peerage*); and from the third, Nicholas, sprang the Keatings of Garrenlea, now represented by Henry Sheehy Keating, Esq., born 1885, grandson of the late Right Hon. Sir Henry Singer Keating, P.C., Solicitor-General and M.P., for Reading, and greatson of the late General Sir H. Sheehy-Keating, K.C.B., whose mother was a MacSheehy of Desmond (p 22.).

The Keatings of Dublin appear to have branched from the Keatings of Tipperary. Edmund of Dublin, who died in 1671, and married Elinor, sister of Lord Chancellor Eustace, left with a daughter, Catherine, a son, John, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who had a grant of di[illegible]lands in Tipperary in 1660. Maurice, his brother, was progenitor of the Keatings of Narraghmore, Co. Kildare, the last of whom was Colonel Maurice B. St. Leger-Keating, who married a daughter of the Earl of Meath, and died *s. p. m.* in Paris in 1835. He wrote a book of travels, and in 1813 sold Narraghmore to Robert La Touche for £93,000.—See *Dictionary of National Biography.*

Other Septs of the Keatings were settled in Wexford and Carlow, where they held Kilcowan, Baldwinstown, and Ballynunnery. Old Geoffrey, the historian, was of the Tipperary Keatings, and officiated, we believe, in Derragrath parish.

(*n*) Colonel Edmund was a grandson of Sir Eochy by his lady, sister to Prince Hugh.—*See* p. 156. Killevy Castle is still marked on the map, The Rev. William O'Hanlon Rector of Inishannon, Co. Cork, as "The O'Hanlon," and chieftain of the Clan assumed the "O" and title of O'Hanlon by Deed Poll dated 14th February, 1907.

(*o*) MacHenry, who was a Dominican of Coleraine, was educated in the College of the Holy Cross at Louvain, where he was appointed Lecturer and Master of Studies. In May, 1734, he was elected Provincial, and again in June, 1749. He died Prior of the Convent of Drogheda, August 15th, 1757.—*See* De Burgo's *Hib. Dominicana.* Anthony Gawey or O'Garvey, Dean of Dromore, was appointed to the See in September, 1747. O'Rielly the Primate, formerly Bishop of Tyrone or Derry (to which he was appointed 24th April, 1749) was promoted in January, 1749, and died at Drogheda in 1758.—*See* Brenan's *Ecclesiastical History.*

All their signatures are duly and legally recognized in Lisbon, as may be seen at that end of this Latin document, the bar in which represents three or four words blotted in the original, and which are quite unintelligible :—

PEDIGREE.

Compiled for John O' Neill of Lisbon in 1756.

Omnibus, quorum Interest, vel Interesse Poterit, in Publicam Fidem Notum Fit, Illustrissimum D. Bernardum seu Brianum O'Neill, agnomento Ballagh (id est lentiginosum) Regali ex progenie de O'Neill claram ducentem originem, haereditario Jure Dominum et Dynastam tam Superioris quam Inferioris amplissimi Teritorii de Claneboys in Provincia Ultoniae, haereditario itidem quasi Jure ex Firmioribus Fidei Romano-Catholicae Pugilibus, per decem Saecula, inter caedes ac Supplicia, inter Pegmata feralia erecta, inter cervices crudeli Ferro, Religionis causâ subjectos, sub regnis Tyrannicis et Anti-Christianis Henrici Octavi Angliae et Hiberniae Regis, atque ejus Filiae Reginae Elizabethae, sese semper et ubique gloriosé Exhibentem, matrimonio primo sibi Junxisse Saram Filiam Catholicam Excellentissimi Domini Principis O'Neill de Tyrone verê Catholici, cujus, et posterorum innatam in verâ Fide Constantiam nec mala pro Religione Catholicâ continuò tolerata, neque malorum numerus, neque Blanditiae vel minae Regum nec denique Principatuum, Comitatuum, Bonorum omnium Confiscatio et Spoliatio Frangere, aut Labefactare potuerant. Mortuâ hac suâ uxore primâ Supradictus Bernardus seu Brianus in uxorem duxit Sibiliam Filiam Legitimam Catholicam Illmi D: Maguire Dynastæ Catholici Terrarum de Fermanagh, ex quâ genuit Hugonem Patrem Constantini, qui erat Pater Nobilissimae Foeminae Uxoris perillustris Domini Henerici O'Hara de Cribilly in agro Antrimensi, et matris Illmae Dominae Vice-Comitissae de Netterville, a qua in Lineâ rectâ Matrimoniali descendunt Illmus D. Modernus Vice-Comes de Netterville, et Illustriss: Dña Baronissa de Louth: quique pariter erat Pater Illmi D: Danielis O'Neill, qui Serenissimi Caroli Primi, M: Brittaniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Regis Camerarius, intimus Consiliarius, variis negotiis publicis ac Pacis et Belli Negotiationibus Praepositus fuerit, et tandem, Regnante in Angliâ Carolô secundô, ibidem sine prole et Haerede Legitimo obiit, atque in ipso sic decedente Desivit Stirps masculina Legitima Secundarum Nuptiarum Illmi D. Briani seu Bernardi O'Neill Ballagh,; e cujus veró matrimoniô primô initô cum Sarâ suprà laudatâ Principis O'Neill filiâ.

Murthagus natus fuit, qui matrimoniô sibi copulavit Illustriss: Dominam Margaritham Illmi O'Byrne Dynastae de Comitatu de Wicklow Filiam Legitimam et Catholicam ex eaq: genuit—

Danielem, Cujus Filius Legitimus ac Catholicus erat

Constantinus, cui, ex Legitimô Thorô, natus fuerat

Felix, seu Phelimus, seu aliter, Hibernicê, Feilim, qui antecessorum suorum Inclitissimorum avitam Fidem Romano

Catholicam, Heroicas virtutes, ac zelum laudabilissimum Haereditans, uxore ductâ Filiâ Catholicâ Illmi et Catholici Dynastae O'Neill de Kilultagh Colonellum seu Chiliarcam, militari disciplinâ insignem egit sub auspiciis et vexillis Excellentissimi——et Famosissimi D: D: Eugenii O'Neill copiarum Catholicarum Hibernensium Ultoniae Archi-Strategi strenuissimè dimicantis per plures Annos pro Aris et Focis, pro Dei Gloriâ, Christi Fide, et Regiae Dignitatis Tutamine, contra odium Pertinax Haereticorum in Catholicos Hiberniae semper Fidei et Regi Fideles; contra Ormondii, Gentis innoxiae et Religionis Inimici Technas, Fraudes, Molimina, et Proditiones; contra Compatrictarum quorundam Simplicium a Patriae Proditoribus circumventorum Hesitationes ingratas; ac denique contra Parliamentarios perduelles occissionem sui Regis Innocentissimi et optimi machinantes, Christi Fideles rabie, furore immanissimo ad vincula, et Torturas, ad Internecionem usque Insequentes, Fideique Ipsius totalem Extinctionem in Hibernia, Scotia, et Angliâ praemeditantes, ac artibus omnibus, vi et armis attentantes. Dum fortiter Praelia Domini Pugnaverat Chiliarcha hic Felix seu Phelimus, ipsi Natus fuit ex suâ Illuss: uxore Filius.—

Everus nomine, seu Ever, in cujus pectore ardor et Sanguis brevi Effervescere coeperat magnorum Parentum Celissimae Prosapiae de O'Neill quae inter sibi succedentes temporum Injurias, et Concatenatas Gentis universae Hiberniae Calamitates, et inter tot Haereticorum assultus domesticos, Ecclesiae Ruinam suis Humeris Sustinere Religionemque ad Latebras, ad Sylvas, ad Speluncas relegatam libero Exercitio Restituere conabatur. Ad Munus Capitanei seu Centurionis Jure merito Evectus multa praeclara gessit; et ex uxore suâ Catharina Filiâ primogenitâ Illustriss: Domini Everi O'Neill Dynastae de Killitragh in Agro Derensi, cujus Filia secundò genita Avia fuerat Excellentissimi ac Illustris: D: O'Neill S: R: I: Comitis, suae Augustissimae Caesariae Majestatis Camerarii et Consiliarii Campi Mareschalli, etc., etc., in Germaniâ ante aliquot annos defuncti Filium genuit, qui in Baptismo Ritû Catholicô administrato vocatus fuit—

Felix; Qui Insidiis, Dolo, violentia Heterodoxorum, patrimoniô orbatus Exercitui Serenissimi Pientissimique Regis Jacobi Secundi se adjunxit, ac ad Hipparchi officium promotus sub Chiliarchâ Illustrissimo Domino Vice-Comite de Galmoy, Summa Prudentiâ et Fortitudine militavit, et post deditionem Urbis Limiricensis ut caeteris vitae bonis ac curis exutus id unum curare pregeret, ut acceptum a majordibus Sincerae Fidei Patrimonium ad suos haeredes integrum inviolatumque Transmitteret, ad exteras Nationes Fidei et Regi Fidelis Athleta transfretavit, ac in memorabili Pugnâ de Malplaquet in Belgiô herdicè Contendens occisus fuit, nullâ relictâ prole superstite ex secundo suo Matrimonio Solemniter Contracto cum filiâ Illmi Domini O'Dempsy Vice-Comitis de Clanmalier; uno autem Filio

Constantino, etiamnum Superstite, relicto ex primo suo matrimonio Canonico cum Dominâ Catharina de Stemate et Cognomine Nobilissimae Familiae de Keating—

Constantinus hic, Felicis jam jam memorati Filius, Civis Dubliniensis Romano-Catholicae Fidei Tenacissimus in Uxorem accepit Ceciliam O'Hanlon, Filiam Catholicam et Legitimam per illustris Domini Felicis O'Hanlon Catholici, Armatorum Peditum Capitanei sub Rege Jacobo Secundo, Filii Legitimi Illustrissimi Domini Edmundi O'Hanlon Religionis Catholicae Cultoris eximii et vindicis acerimi, Dynastae inferioris Teritorii ampli de Oreir in Comitatu de Armagh quo tamen Territorio, Regnante Jacobo Primo, super Ditiones Brittanicas ca Hiberniam, ex odio in Fidem Catholicam, Conspiratione, Proditione, Machinationibus Diabolicis et Tyrannico Furore Haereticorum Spoliatus, sicuti Spoliatae fuerant suis Ditionibus in Ultonia Illustrissimae Familiae de O'Neill, de O'Donnell, de O'Rielly, de O'Cahan, de MacMahon et aliae spectabilis et antiquissimae Notae Familiae sub medium Saeculi novissimè Elapsi, in Bello gesto in Hibernia Catholicos inter et Heterodoxos Hic Vir Illustrissimus Edmundus Colonellus sive Chiliarcha erat expertissimus et audax.

Ex connubiô verò Constantini O'Neill et Ceciliae (de Quibus hic) natus est D : Joannes O'Neill, qui Ulissipone in Reguo Portugalliae de facto vivens, Matrimonium ibidem inivit, Prolesque Habet, et duo alii Filii ; Felix ac Carolus ; atque septem Filiae, Annabella nimirum Ulissipone Nupta D : . . . Broghill, Catharina D : Terentio MacMahon nupta, Sara, Alicia, Maria et Anna Innuptæ.

Instrumento huic Genealogico tanquam vero et genuino Testimonium in Fidem publicam rogatus Perhibeo. Dublinii hac die 30 Junii 1756 (L.S.) Joannes MacMulin Proto-Notarius Aplicus.

Fidem facimus Genealogicae huic tabulae omnimodam tuto adhiberi posse fidem (L.S.) Michael Archiepus Armacanus et Totius Hib^ae^. Primas.

Tam traditione constanti et nondum interruptâ quam fide historiagraphorum dignissimorum, notorietate publica ; ac mea certa cognitione veritatem esse incontestabilem. In cujus rei fidem hisce subscribor hac nona die Augusti 1756.—Antonius Gawey—Diocesis Dromorensis Episcopus.

Fr. Bernardus MacHenry S. Theol Magr. in Ord. Praedicatorum; Vicarius Ultoniae et Ex Prõalis.

Ego infra Scriptus Rector hujus Colli S^mi^ Rosarii ff^m^ Praedicatorum Hiberniorum fidem facio, Atestationes ac

Signaturas huic instrumento Genealogico Dni Joanis O'Neill, (a pluribus annis in hoc Suzitaniae Regno commorantis) Apositas, per Ill^mos ac Reverendiss^mos Dominos, Michaelem Archiepiscopum Armachanum totius Hiberniae Primatem, Antonium Episcopum Dromorensem, et Adm. R.^m P. ^m Mgrum fr. ^m Bernardum MacHenry Vicarium Proalem Provinciae Ultoniae veras esse ac Genuinas: ipsorumq manu propria exaratas, quorum omnium litteras et Caracteres novi et agnosco; ipsisq omnimodam fidem posse adhiberi. In cujus veritatis testimonium hisce propria manu conscriptis, Subsigno ac, si necessum est, Juramento in verbo Sacerdotis Confirmo. Ulisipone in Supradicto Coll.^o hac die 29 Martii, 1774. Fr. Bernardus Brulaughan a S. Rosa S. Theol^ae Mgr et Rector.

Idem attestor et affirmo Ego Fr. Dominicus Delamar Sacrae Theologiae Praesentatus et Ex Rector, die et an.^o ut supra.

Reconheco os dois signaes asima dos Padres Fr. Bernardo Brulaughan e Fr. Domingos Delamar. Lisboa, seis de abril de 1774 (Logar do Signal publico) Em testemunho de Verdade o T^am Roberto Soarez da Sylva.

Reconheco o signal supra do Tabellião meu antecessor Roberto Soares da Silva, pela semelhanca com outros existentes no meu cartorio, respectivos ao tempo em que nelle servio o dito Tabellião, Lisboa, 14 de Marco de 1877. Em testemunho (Logar do signal publico) de verdade o T^am Joze Justino de Andrade e Silva.

(Logar do sello de Verba).
Pg. de Sello sessenta r.^s
Lisboa 9 de Junho de 1877.—No. 24.—Souto

(*p*) The prefix Don, or Dom, derived from the Latin *Dominus* was used by the O'Neills on the Continent either by adoption or through a special concession.

(*q*) This honour was conferred by the late Pope by Letters Patent which carry the title of Count and read :—

Dilectissimo Filio Georgio O'Neill
Tyroniae et Clannaboyae Serenissimo
Principi ac Comiti.

LEO PP. XIII.

Dilectissime Fili salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem Minime Nos latet te atavis Hiberniae Regibus editum, et Principem superstitem gloriosae Dynastiae Regum, qui fidei christianae decem per saecula adsertores strenuissimi, et regni et opum jacturam sunt pro tutanda Catholica religione perpessi, veluti haereditate transmissa erga Romanam Cathedram observantia enitere, ac tum religiosas familias, tum pietates charitatesque opera, impenso studio ac liberalitate maxima

sospitare; dignusque idcirco videris quem Nos Ipsi vestigiis insistentes Decessorum Nostrorum, qui praecipuis majoris tuos titulis ac dignitatibus auxere, tantis florentem laudibus ac meritis, singulari Pontificiae voluntatis significatione decoremus. Quare te a quibusvis excommunicationis et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et poenis, si quas forte incurreris, huius tantum rei gratia absolventes et absolutum, fore censentes, hisce litteris EQUITEM A MAGNA CRUCE ORDINIS S. GREGORII MAGNI classis civilis eligimus, facimus, atque in ornatissimum eundem Equitum coetum adsciscimus. Proinde tibi, dilectissime fili, concedimus, ut vestem Equitum a magna Cruce huius Ordinis propriam induere, ac propria item insignia gestare queas nempe numisma argenteum, ad vestem, sinistro pectoris lateri innexum, simulque maximi moduli Crucem auream, octogonam rubra superficide Imaginem S. Gregorii M. in medio referentem, quae fascia serica rubra, praelonga, extremis oris flava dextero humero sustineatur. Ne quod vero, discrimen tam in veste, quam in Cruce ac numismate huiusmodi gestandis Contingat, appositum schema, tibi iussimus tradi. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die XXVIII. Octobris MDCCCCI. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimoquarto.

Alois. Card. Macchi.

[L.S.] Testamur authenticam esse hanc subscriptionem Emi Cardinalis Aloisii Macchi a Secretis S. Congregationis Brevium.—Ex Aedibus Nuntiaturae Apostolicae Olyssiponensis die vigesima secunda mensis Novembris anni MDCCCCI.

✠ Andrias Archiepiscopus T.
Nuntius Apostolicus.

His present Holiness, Pius X., in favouring His Excellency with his autograph portrait, inscribed the lines attested by the Archbishop of Thessalonica, Nuncio at Lisbon, as follows:—"Nous certifions que S. A. Sérénissime le Prince de Tyrone, Dn. George O'Neill Nous a présenté un portrait de Sa Saintete le Pape Pie X., dans la base duquel on lit la Bénédiction suivante: *Al Diletto figlio S. A. Serenissima Principe di Tyrone Dn. Jorge O'Neill, Impartiamo di cuore l'Apostolica Benedizione.*—(S.) *Pius PP. X*, et Nous declarons et certifions en outre que l'écriture ainsi que la signature de cette Benediction sont autographes, c'est-a-dire, faites par la main du Saint Pere Pie X. lui-même.

Lisbonne, le 12 Septembre, 1905.

(S.) *Joseph, Archiep. Thessalonicensis,*
Nuntius Aplicus.

L. S. (S.) *D. Gualtieri,*
Secretaire de la Nonciature Apostolique.

(*r*) On behalf of the English College of Heralds, Somerset Herald certifies and declares "that the only Pedigree at present on record in either of the Offices of Arms shewing a lineal male descent from the House of O'Neill, Monarchs of Ireland, Kings of Ulster, and Princes of Tyrone and Claneboy, is the one registered in the fifty-ninth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lady Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, and in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, in favour of His Excellency Jorge O'Neill of Lisbon, Grand Officer of the Royal Household and a Peer of the Kingdom of Portugal. That no other male descent being on record, the said Jorge O'Neill is the only lineal Representative of the said House of O'Neill at present acknowledged as such by the Officers of Arms. That the Earldom of Tyrone in the Peerage of Ireland was conferred by Royal Letters Patent, bearing date the first day of October, one thousand five hundred and forty-two, upon Constantine O'Neill, surnamed "Baccagh," also a representative of the House of O'Neill. That no male descent from the said Constantine, Earl of Tyrone, being on record in the Office of Arms, and it having been established that the said Jorge O'Neill is descended from a common ancestor with the said Earl of Tyrone, it follows that the only representative of the said Earl of Tyrone at present acknowledged as such by the Officers of Arms is his collateral kinsman, the said Jorge O'Neill.—Given under my hand and seal, at Her Majesty's College of Arms, London, this twenty-second day of June, in the sixty-fourth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lady Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc., and in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred."

(Signed) H. FARNHAM BURKE,
Somerset Herald.

I, JOHN ALFRED DONNISON, of the City of London, Notary Public, duly admitted and sworn, practising in the said City, Do hereby Certify and Attest:

That the signature "H. Farnham Burke," set and subscribed at the foot of the annexed Certificate issued from her Britannic Majesty's College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, in the said City of London, is truly that of Henry Farnham Burke, Esquire, F.S.A., to me, said Notary, known as Somerset Herald of Arms and Genealogist of the Most Illustrious Order of Saint Patrick. And the Seal that of the said Somerset Herald therefore full faith and credit may be given to the said Certificate in Indicature thereout:—

THEREOF an Act being required, I, the said Notary, have granted these presents under my Notarial Firm and Seal to serve and avail when and where need may require.

DONE and PASSED in London the twenty-fifth day of JUNE, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred.

(Assignado) JOHN ALFRED DONNISON
(Notary Public).

In Portugal, the Lord High Chamberlain and Grand Master of the Royal Household, by his "ordonnance," sanctions the following document:

"Moi Carlos Augusto de Campos, Greffler de la noblesse du Royaume, pour Sa majesté Très Fidèle, que Dieu Garde.

"En exécution de l'ordonnance ci-dessus de Son Excellence Monsieur le Comte de Sabugosa, Grand Maitre de la Maison Royale, et par ordre de Son Excellence, je certifie et atteste que de divers documents généalogiques et autres titres dument légalisés et authentiqués. qui se trouvent en original et en traduction enregistrés aux Archives de la Noblesse du Royaume dont j'ai la garde, livre dixième, pages cent-vingt-huit à cent trente, il appert et ressort que le requérant est representant et descendant en ligne directe masculine par ordre de primogeniture de la Maison Souveraine d'O'Neill, PRINCES DE TYRONE ET DE CLANEBOY ET COMTES DE TYRONE, qu'il a le droit de porter comme chef de la maison d'O'Neill, je lui délivre la présente attestation que moi, Carlos Augusto de Campos, Greffler de la Noblesse du Royaume, j'ai écrite et qui est revêtue du cachet blanc des Archives de la Noblesse du Royaume.

"Lisbonne et Archives de la Noblesse du
"Royaume le 15 Mars, 1905."

In the name of the King of Spain the subjoined document was delivered by the Spanish Heraldic authorities:—

"*Nos Don Luis Rubio y Ganga, Cronista Rey de Armas de Numero de S. M. C. El Ray, Don Alfonso XIII. de Borbon y de Habsbourg-Lorena y en su Nombre por la Reyna Regente Doña Maria Cristina de Habsbourg-Lorena y uno de los Asistentes cerca de Su Real Persona,* Certifiamos que por el Excelentisimo y Muy y lustre Señor Don Jorge O'Neill, antiquo Par del Reino y Grande de Portugal, Gentil hombre de S. M., Gran Cruz de varias Ordenes, Caballero de honor de la Soberana de Malta, etc., etc., Nos ha sido exhibido un arbol genealogico copia autentica de uno escrito en ingles firmado y sellado par Sir Arthur Edward Vicars, Rey de Armas de Ulster y Heraldo principal de toda Irlanda por su Magestad Britanica la Reina Victoria, certificado asimismo por Mr. Henry Farnham Burke, tambien Heraldo de Armas y genealogista de la Muy Ilustre Orden de San Patricio de mismo Reino, que hemos hecho traducir quedando el original y su traduccion registrado y

archivado en el de nuestro cargo con el numero 44 y por el que se prueba el muy noble linaje del cual esjefe el mencionado Don Jorge O'Neill por ser el unico varon reconocido de la linea directa de la antiqua y Real Casa Soberana de Irlanda Reyes de Ulster, Principes de Tyrone y de Claneboy y Condes de Tyrone.

I para que conste donde convenga y al mencionado Excelentisimo y Muy Ilustre Señor Don Jorge O'Neill le sean reconocidos como Jefe de la antiqua dinastia de O'Neill sus derechos a los titulos hereditarios de Principe O'Neill de Tyrone, Principe de Claneboy y Conde de Tyrone y sucesor legitimo de las antiquas dinastias de Irlanda y de Ulster qui segun los documentos justificativos que Nos ha presentado y hemos devuelto a nuestro Caballero interesado puede ostentar.

Damos la presente certificacion, en virtud de la Real facultad concedida a nuestro empleo, que firmamos de nuestro mano y sellamos con el de nuestras armas en Madrid a treinta de Octubre de Milnuevecientosuno.

Luis Rubio y Ganga.

L.S.

Legitimacion.—Don Zacarias Alonso y Caballero, Notario del Ilustre Colegio de esta Corte y vecino de la misma

Doy fé de que legitimo la firma y rubrica de Don Luis Rubio y Ganga, Cronista y Rey de Armas de numero S. M. C.

Madrid 30 de Octubre de

Zacharias Alonso y Caballero.

Legalizacion.—Los infrascritos, Notarios del Ilustre Colegio de esta Corte, legalizamos el signo, firma y rubrica de nuestro compañero el Sr. D. Zacarias Alonso Y Caballero puestas en la legitimacion de la firma y rubrica de D. Luis Rubio y Ganga, Cronista y Rey de Armas de numero de S. M. C. que con esta fecha expide la anterior Certificacion a favor del Exmo Sr. D. Jorge O'Neill, Por del Reino de Portugal.

Madrid 30 de Octubre de 1901.

Ramon Martinez.

(*s*) Including an old MS. copy of Keating's *History*, beautifully written in Irish.

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