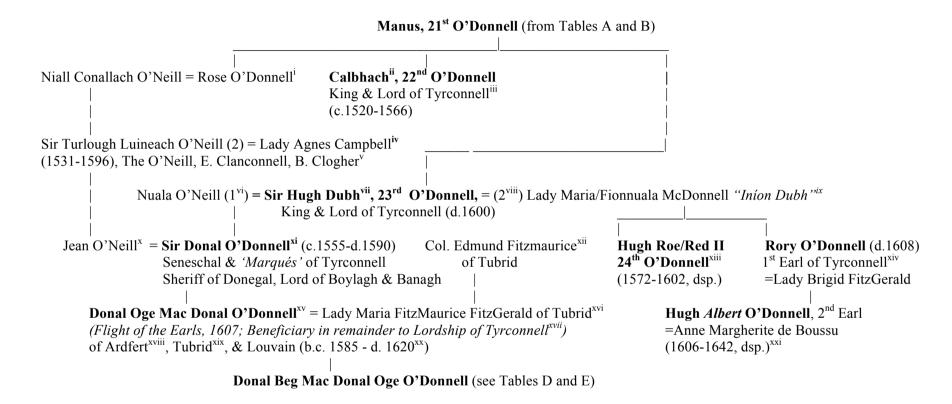
Table C - Last regnant mainline dynasty



ⁱ Rose was one of Manus's nineteen children. Another daughter of Manus, namely Nuala O'Donnell, married Maguire of Fermanagh. [See: O'Donnell, John. *History of Tir Conaill in the Sixteenth Century*, presented for the MA degree in Modern Irish History, University College Dublin, September 1946 (unpublished); see page 266, footnote 4.] ⁱⁱ Calbhach was son of Manus, and brother of Hugh Dubh; he died on 26 October 1566 [AFM, Vol. V, p.1607]. He had married Catherine *née* McLean, widow of Archibold Campbell, 4th Earl of Argyll. In 1561 Shane O'Neill abducted Catherine, only to abuse her, and fathered several children. Lady Agnes Campbell was her step-daughter, her mother being Janet Gordon, a previous wife of Lord Argyll. Calbhach died after falling off his horse [See Bardon, Jonathan. *A History of Ulster*, published by the Blackstaff Press Limited, Belfast, 1992. [ISBN 0-85640-466-7], pp. 75-81].

The feudal **Lordship of Tyrconnell** was granted by Queen Elizabeth I, to Calbhach O'Donnell. She also granted him the Earldom of Tyrconnell, but he died on his return journey from her Court, before the letters patent could be issued. [See: Sidney, Sir Henry. *Memoir of Service in Ireland 1556-1578*, edited and introduced by Ciaran Brady and published as "A Viceroy's Vindication", by Cork University Press, Cork, 2002. [ISBN 1 85918 180 5]; page 115, per footnote 7 by editor Ciaran Brady]

Lady Agnes Campbell, daughter of the 4th Earl of Argyll, was previously the widow of James MacDonnell/MacDonald, 6th Laird of Dunnyveg, and also Lord of the Isles as he was known until he relinquished his claim to the latter title that had been assumed by the King of Scotland since 1493. She was also descended from King Robert II of Scotland through his granddaughter Marjorie Stewart (b.c. 1370- d.c.1432), who married Sir Duncan Campbell, 1st Lord Campbell, grandfather of the 1st Earl of Argyll, on 6 February 1392. She married Turlough Luineach, the O'Neill, Earl of Clanconnell and Baron of Clogher (life peerage only) in August/September 1659. The marriage was arranged by Sorley Boy MacDonnell, and coincided with the marriage of her daughter, Mary/Marie/Fionnghuala MacDonnell to Sir Hugh Dubh O'Donnell as his second wife. [See also: Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth 1588-1592, (editor Hans Claude Hamilton, Assistant Keeper of Records); see footnote on p.95, referring to: "Campbell, Agnes, Lady of Dunnavaigh, widow of James McDonnell, wife of Turlough Lynagh O'Neill" in a letter of the Lord Deputy to the Privy Council on 31 December, 1588, referring to "the Scottish lady, his wife"]. It was Lady Agnes' son, Mac Gillye Aspucke, who led the group that slaughtered Shane O'Neill, who had killed her previous husband, James MacDonnell [AFM, V, pp. 1619-1620; O'Donovan's fn x, citing Jesuit Fr. Edmund Campion as source].

V, p.1623], and was "created" Earl of Clanconnell in 1578, and knighted in 1588. Queen Elizabeth is also stated to have intended to create him Earl of Clan O'Neill and Baron of Clogher, but the letters patent were never finalized [20 Elizabeth; see also AFM V, p.1827, fn f (editor John O'Donovan's footnote); see also: Roger O'Ferrall's Linea Antiqua (1709), copy no. 483 of NLI Ms. 145, page 349, and also Lodge's The Peerage of Ireland, Volume I, page 29]. Reference also appears in the Calendar of State Papers for 1595. It was his second marriage and he had three daughters by Lady Agnes Campbell, one of whom married Sir Donal O'Donnell. [See: Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, see letter of 29 January 1590 from Sir N. White to Burghley (p. 302)]. Another daughter, Sara, married Turlough O'Neill of the Fews, and the third became the second wife of Sorley Boy (Somhairle Buidhe) MacDonnell/McDonald. [See: also Genealogy of the O'Neills of Tyrone, no. III (1935), and Genealogy of Clan Donald No. II (1936) by Gerard A. Hayes-McCoy in his Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland (1565-1603), published by Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, Dublin and London, 1937].

vi Sir Hugh Dubh O'Donnell had two wives successively, each with a family of several children. [See the introduction by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., who in 1893 translated and edited Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh's "The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell" (Beatha Aodha Ruaidh O'Domhnaill – The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Prince of Tyrconnell 1586-1602, originally written around 1603, and translated centuries later by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A, and published by Sealy, Bryers, & Walker, Dublin, 1893). See Murphy's introduction, p. xxx indicating that Hugh Dubh "had other children by a previous marriage", and "one of these was Donnell"; See also Calendar of State Papers – Ireland, in the reign of Elizabeth I, for January 1592 (page 457) which corroborates the first marriage to an Irish woman, and the eldest son as Donal]. Her name has escaped mention, very unusually given the importance of such a marriage, but this can only be so appreciated in retrospect, for at the time of the marriage of the first wife. Hugh Dubh was not the senior-most of his clan. Her exclusion or excision from the record is not so surprising if one considers the depth of cunning

and influence that *Inion Dubh* (Maria/Mary/Fionnghuala *née* MacDonnell) his second wife, wielded to marginalize his first family, exclude their succession, and ensure her own favorite son, Red Hugh's ascent. In due time, the first marriage was even questioned, and a presumption of concubinage instead made, to de-legitimise Sir Hugh Dubh's first family, and brand them as bastards. The Crown wouldn't have it, and ensured his eldest grandson Donal Oge's succession in remainder to the Lordship of Tyrconnell, just as State Papers had consistently recognized the first marriage. She had probably died by 1566, and hence on the eve of her husband's ascension as the 23rd O'Donnell. As he was not the pre-eminent O'Donnell during her life, but later, little if anything was recorded of her in various Irish *Annals*, although the State Papers do refer to her. A concrete clue to the identity of the first wife can be found in an old poem that sings the praises of Donegal, and where the writer identifies herself in the last verse, as *Nuala*, *daughter of the O'Neill*. Writing in 1947 about Donegal in the 1500-1600s, Archdeacon Kerr identifies her as the wife of the O'Donnell. As all other wives of various O'Donnell chieftains relevant to that epoch are accounted for by name and birth-family, she was necessarily a daughter of Shane/Sean Bacach O'Neill, who killed *Inion Dubh's* father, James MacDonnell, Lord of the Isles. [See: Kerr, Venerable Archdeacon, P.P. *Donegal in Song and Story*, lecture delivered during the Ballybofey-Stranorlar Civic Week, and published in the Journal of the County Donegal Historical Society, Volume I, No.1, November 1947; pp. 6-7; reprinted in the Donegal Annual - Golden Jubilee Issue, no. 48, 1996 (pp. 26-27)1.

vii This Hugh Dubh O'Donnell was the son of Manus [AFM, V, p.1469]. He was inaugurated as The O'Donnell in succession to his brother Calbhach, in 1566 [AFM, V, p.1828, footnote g]. He was knighted in 1567 by Sir Henry Sidney, Viceroy of Ireland, who thereupon also claimed to make him 23rd "O'Donnell", in succession to his late brother Calbhach, whilst also acknowledging Sir Hugh's election by the nobility of Tyrconnell (i.e. including the derbfine, but also the nobles of other tributary clans) in preference over Calbhach's son, Conn. [See Sidney, Sir Henry. Memoirs of Service in Ireland 1556-1578 (page 56). Also: Brady, Ciaran & Gillespie, Raymond (editors). Natives and Newcomers - Essays on the making of Irish colonial society 1534-1641, published by the Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1986. [ISBN 0-7165-2391-4]; See chapter 5 on Gaelic Economy and Society by Mary O'Dowd, p. 216]. According to the state records, when Sir Hugh Dubh O'Donnell, 23rd O'Donnell and Lord of Tyrconnell, submitted to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Lieutenant in 1567, his arms were recorded as follows by the Ulster King of Arms: "Or issuing from the sinister side of the shield an arm fessways vested azure cuffed argent holding in the hand proper a cross-crosslet fitchée gules" (source: Burke, Sir Bernard (Ulster King of Arms), The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales: comprising a registry of armorial bearings from the earliest to the present time, published by Harrison & Sons, London. 1884; page 747). The use of the cross-crosslet therefore is the earliest exemplification recorded for this armigerous ancestor. The record of these arms appears, albeit without emblazon, in a volume of *Knights Dubbed*, 1565-1616, a manuscript source now in the Genealogical Office of the Chief Herald, formerly of the Ulster King of Arms (See: manuscript G.O. Ms 51, Knights Dubbed 1565-1616, available on microfilm in the National Library of Ireland.). A tricking of the arms, sketched into that volume, conforms to the above description, but seems to be a later addition in the absence of a contemporary emblazon. O'Ferrall claims that Sir Hugh Dubh MacManus O'Donnell "submitted to the English Government and accepted the title of Earl of Tyrconnell' [see O'Ferrall's Linea Antiqua, p.458]. In 1585, a Parliament was convoked for 1st May, and assembled in Dublin on 26 April, according to its record on the Rolls, Sir Hugh Dubh MacManus O'Donnell attended by writ of summons, as did Turlough Luineach O'Neill (although the latter is not mentioned in the official list) [Dublin University Magazine, May 1848, p. 576; also AFM, Vol. V, pp. 1826-1828; however, both AFM and Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny (p.139) do not specify nor list O'Donnell's attendance]. The parliament was prorogued on 29 May, and reconvened on 28 April the following year, being finally dissolved on 14 May 1586. The first convocation passed the Statute of Baltinglass, and the second led eventually to the Composition of Connaught to the eventual detriment of O'Donnell suzerainty [AFM, V, pp. 1840-1841]. Hugh Dubh died in 1600, in the care of the Franciscans of Donegal Abbey, [See: AFM, Rev. C.P. Meehan in his *Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries*" Dublin, 1877; (pp. 10-12)].

wiii Maria/Mary/Fionnghuala MacDonnell, alias *Inion Dubh*, was the second wife of Hugh Dubh O'Donnell. [See *The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Prince of Tirconnell*, by Lughaidh O'Clery, translated and edited by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A., published in Dublin, 1893. See Murphy's introduction, p. XXIX].

ix Iníon Dubh's name is given as Mary, daughter of James MacConnell/MacDonnell, 6th Laird of Dunnyveg and also known as Lord of the Isles (until he relinquished the

latter title) in the O'Donnell pedigrees of the House of O'Donnell in various documents compiled in the former office of the Ulster King of Arms, now the Chief Herald's Office. [See: Ulster King of Arms. Pedigree of O'Donnell, Monarchs of Ireland, Lords of Tirconnell, of Lifford, Co. Donegal, of Newport, Co. Mayo, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire; of New Castle, Co. Mayo, of Larkfield, Co. Leitrim, of Greyfield in Co. Roscommon; Barons Donegal and Earls of Tyrconnell, of Caffersconce, Co. Donegal, B.C.1370--A.D.1812: Manuscript G.O. Ms.169 (pp. 1-32), Manuscripts Room, Office of the Chief Herald, National Library of Ireland, and available on microfilm reference Pos. 8303]. Also, [see: G.O. Ms. 112 Brooke (Baronets Pedigrees) (p. 107; 238) microfilm Pos. 9723]. It is also given as Mary (and explained also as Inion Dubh), in the manuscript genealogies compiled by Charles Joseph O'Donnell, now in Hochkreut, Austria: [see: O'Donel, Charles Joseph, Manuscript compiled from 1847 onward by Charles Joseph O'Donel (Castlebar branch) of Dublin, containing genealogies of O'Donnells and a transcript of Ferrall Oge Mac Ward's poem in Irish on the marriage of Calvagh Roe O'Donel to Ellen McSweeney probably in the hand of Eugene O'Curry. Original manuscript in the possession of the Count O'Donell von Tyrconnell of Austria, copy provided by Rupert Ó Cochlainn to/in National Library of Ireland, Manuscripts Department and available on microfilm, under reference n.4268, pos.3939]. In none of these genealogies is her name given as Fionnuala or any version hereof. She is described as Ineen Dubh, the "dark little Agnes" (after her mother), by Fr. Murphy in his introduction and translation of the Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and it is notable that that biography's author, Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh, writing in the early 1600s, does not call her Fionnuala. [See: Ó Cléirigh, Lughaidh. Beatha Aodha Ruaidh O'Domhnaill - The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Prince of Tyrconnell (1586-1602), originally written around 1603, and translated centuries later by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A, and published by Sealy, Bryers, & Walker, Dublin, 1893. See editor's footnote 2 on page XXIX]. However, she is recorded elsewhere with that name, for example in the Fiants of Elizabeth I, and subsequently by several historians. Is there a confusion between the genealogists and historians on this issue? Could it be partly due to the probability that Sir Hugh Dubh MacManus O'Donnell's first wife seems to have been Nuala? Considering the strategic marriages that the O'Donnells entered-into (i.e. with O'Neill of Tyrone, O'Doherty of Inishowen, FitzGerald of Kildare; and Red Hugh's plans with Clanrickard, FitzGerald of Desmond-O'Connor Sligo), it is quite possible that Sir Hugh Dubh's first marriage was similar. That he was married before, is well documented; that his first wife was Irish, is equally known (see footnote XV above). Amongst the many killed by Iníon Dubh, was Sir Donal O'Donnell, and also Hugh O'Gallagher, who had killed her brother Alexander. "She had Scottish auxiliaries constantly in her service and pay, and in her attendance at every place" [AFM, V, p. 1873].

^x Sir Donal O'Donnell's wife "was daughter of Sir Turlough Lynagh, the O'Neill" [See Standish O'Grady's Red Hugh's Captivity, published by Ward and Downey, London, 1889; p. 140]. In another source her name is given as Jean, but the paternity mistaken in describing her as a daughter of Hugh O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrone; in fact, she was most likely the 3rd daughter of Sir Turlough Luineach O'Neill [The Pedigree of O'Donnell, an extract from Harleian Manuscript no. 1425, folio 183].

^{**}Sir Donal O'Donnell* was the eldest son of Sir Hugh Dubh MacManus O'Donnell, and it was said of him: "he was a mighty champion and great in battle, and it was never heard that at any time he had turned his back on his enemies" [AFM, VI, p.1875]. O'Donovan in AFM says "he was wont to lead his father's forces". That Donal O'Donnell was the eldest son of the first marriage is also confirmed. [See Colm Lennon's Sixteenth Century Ireland – The Incomplete Conquest, Volume 2 in the New Gill History of Ireland, published by Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 1994, 2005 [ISBN 0-7171-3947-6], page 289]. It is also confirmed in the writings of Standish O'Grady, Fr. Paul Walsh, Rupert O Cochlain, and Hiram Morgan. [See: Red Hugh's Captivity by Standish O'Grady, page 139; The Will and Family of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, by Rev. Paul Walsh, published by the Sign of the Three Candles, Fleet Street, Dublin, 1930; see pages 17, 18, 26]. Sir Donal O'Donnell is featured in a Spanish genealogical tree of the ancestry of the O'Donnell Dukes of Tetuan but as a collateral predecessor; it is said that "en 1589 su padre le concedio el titulo de marqués – en 1587 se adhirio al pacto de su padre para librar a su hermano [Red] Hugh"; although referring to his father's elevating him to the rank of Marquess, further evidence can be gleaned from this understanding in the Spanish branch of the family that Donal O'Donnell served as his father's deputy, i.e. Tánaiste. A copy is in the Rupert Ó Cochlain archive on the O'Donnells in the Lifford Heritage Centre (dossier 239: O'Donnell-Miscellaneous). This genealogy also includes his son, Donal Oge O'Donnell, and that the latter was pardoned by James I of England, as were Rory and Cathbharr, and that he accompanied them on the Flight of the Earls, and thereafter continued the struggle against the English, but does not indicate his fate. Sir Donal O'Donnell was knighted in 1588 by Lord FitzWilliam, Viceroy, and made Sheriff of the shire, Donegal, having already been

serving as his father's *Tánaiste* and Seneschal for his Lordship of Tyrconnell. [See *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, Dec. 31st, 1588, letter of Viceroy Lord Fitzwilliam to Lord Burleigh, quoted also in O'Grady, *Red Hugh's Captivity*, p.141]. Sir Donal O'Donnell's overlordship in Tyrconnell was focused on TirHugh and the southern sector from Donegal town to Ballyshannon, along with Boylagh and Banagh, with the respective allegiance of O'Boyle and MacSweeney Banagh [AFM, VI, p.1891]. His father, Sir Hugh Dubh O'Donnell concentrated on Kilmacrenan and Mongalvin, and cousin Niall Garbh O'Donnell on Lifford and eastwards. [See Rev. John Silke's *Red Hugh O'Donnell (1572-1601) – A Biographical Survey*, a chapter in the *Donegal Annual*, Vol. V, No. 1, 1961. See also Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion – The outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland*, published by the Boydell Press for the Royal Historical Society, Suffolk, 1993 [ISBN 0 85115 683 5] p. 124]. By claiming that Sir Donal was "not the rightful heir of his father" the Four Masters actually substantially "misrepresent his claim to the lordship" [as observed by Morgan, op. cit., pp.122-123]. He was killed on 14 September 1590, at Derrylaghan, by his step-mother, Iníon Dubh, in her campaign to have her own first-born, Red Hugh, succeed his father. [See *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, Vol. VI, page 1891, by the Four Masters]. AFM notes: "It would have been no disgrace to Tirconnell to have elected him as its chief, had he been permitted to attain that dignity" [AFM, volume VI, p. 1893]. It is still commented in our times that: "Had he [Sir Donal, i.e. Domhnall Dubh, Red Hugh's elder half-brother] succeeded, perhaps the Nine Years War, the Battle of Kinsale, the Flight of the Earls, and the Plantation of Ulster would not have occurred. [Source: statement appeared in 2007 on the following special commemorative website of the Donegal County Council: http://www.flightoftheearls.ie/maps.html].

xii Col. Edmund FitzMaurice was a younger son of Thomas FitzMaurice, the 16th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw; [see: Mosley, Charles (ed.) Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, 107th edition, Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books) Ltd, 2003. See Volume II, page 2238]. His mother was Lady Margaret FitzGerald, daughter of John, the 13th Earl of Desmond. This Edmund is reported to have gone to or visited Spain (or Spanish Flanders). Edmund FitzMaurice of Tubrid is listed amongst those who formed several troops and companies proper to "take the field" in the rebellion of 1641. He took part in the siege of Tralee in 1641, where he is identified as Colonel Edmund FitzMaurice. He played a particular role in trying to negotiate with Sir Thomas Harris for the surrender of the besieged English and Irish protestants in Tralee, to no avail. He is also listed as Colonel Edmond FitzMaurice of Tubrid, on the occasion of the confiscation of his property as part of the Cromwellian settlement; [see: O'Hart, John. The Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland, 2nd edition, published by J. Duffy, 1887. See appendix, County Kerry, confiscations in the Barony of Clanmaurice, where he is listed on page 290 as "Coll. Edmond FitzMorrice, Tubbrid"]. The partial record of the Civil Survey of 1680 that survives (only for the parishes of Rathwoe/Ratoo, Deysart, and Killury) indicates that he forfeited his lands in those parishes, as a papist proprietor under the Cromwellian settlement circa 1657. In the Civil Survey, he is identified as Col. Edmond Fitz Morris, Irish Papist. He had a cousin, Gerard FitzMaurice, who took part in the Flight of the Earls in 1607, and served with Donal Oge O'Donnell in Spanish forces in Flanders. Gerard was also a cousin of Thomas, Lord FitzMaurice, 18th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw, and appears listed in the Louvain Papers as "Gerald Mauricio", descendant of the Earl of Desmond, and grandson of Thomas, 16th Baron and who appears to have been killed in Arran. Gerard transferred to Spain sometime after 1623.

Red Hugh or Hugh Roe O'Donnell was made The O'Donnell on 3 May 1592 [AFM, VI, p. 1929]. "Red Hugh was favoured as the heir to the O'Donnell title in preference to his older half-brother Donnall, due to his mother's insistence" [according to Bernadette Cunningham's brief biographical entry on Red Hugh O'Donnell in the The Blackwell Companion to Modern Irish Culture, edited by W. J. McCormack and Patrick Gillan, published by Blackwell Publishing, 2001 [ISBN 0631228179, 9780631228172], page 439]. He had been fostered by O'Kane [AFM, VI, p.1931]. According to some accounts, Red Hugh had previously been married to Roise O'Neill, daughter of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, his ally, but had divorced her in 1595 as she could not bear him any children. [See: McGettigan, Darren. Red Hugh O'Donnell – and the Nine Years War, published by Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2005; cites in evidence correspondence between Lord Deputy Russell to Lord Burghley, 14 April 1596 (SP/63/188/7), observing that a rift arose between O'Neill/Tyrone and Red Hugh "about his wife, Tyrone's daughter"]. Samuel Lewis implies the marriage to a daughter of O'Neill, followed quickly his inauguration as Chieftain (Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, Vol.I, page 476). Roise O'Neill later married Sir Donal O'Cathain, who died

in the Tower of London. [See Walsh, Rev. Paul. *The Book of O'Donnell's Daughter*, chapter in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Volume XXXIII, January-June 1929, published by Browne and Nolan, Dublin, 1929. p.570]. The claim of her barrenness (which therefore presumes Red Hugh had a conjugal relationship with her) is also cited by Vincent O'Donnell in his article "*Was Red Hugh Married*?" (a proposition he refutes based on an unpublished 1946 thesis by a certain Sean O'Donnell; see footnote x above) [published in *O'Domhnaill Abu*, no. 30, Summer 2001]. Vincent O'Donnell also cites Franciscan sources (Donnchadh O'Maonaigh) that Red Hugh had planned to join the Franciscans if he survived the war, "for he is not married".

xiv King James I elevated Rory to the honour of 1st Earl of Tyrconnell (1st creation) in 1603 [by letters patent of 4 September 1603 directed to the Lord Deputy, at Tottenham Court]. Rory was actually knighted and invested with the style and title *Earl of Tyrconnell* a few weeks later, on the 29 September 1603, in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (Christ-Church) in Dublin. [The text of the *Letters Patent* is referenced in G.O. Ms. 169 and in several slight variations as follows: (a) in pages 2388-2389 of the Appendix in Volume VI of the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* by the Four Masters (De Burca's 1990 re-print of the 1856 edition by John O'Donovan); (b) in page 39 of the *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, by Rev. C.P. Meehan (1870); (c) in a partial translation of the Latin original of the *Letters Patent* held by Count O'Donnell von Tyrconnell in Austria, and recounted in *O'Domhnaill Abu* (the *O'Donnell Clan Newsletter* no. 12 of Winter 1989). Versions (a) and (b) referenced above make explicit reference to the remainder to Donal Oge O'Donnell]. Shortly after his investiture as Earl in 1603, Rory quickly renewed an alliance with the FitzGeralds of Kildare, by marrying Lady Brigid FitzGerald of Kilkea Castle, daughter of Henry, the 12th Earl of Kildare.

James I]. The pardon of 16 July 1604 is one of a series of general pardons issued by King James I (who ascended the English and Irish thrones on 24 March 1603, being previously King James VI of Scotland) very shortly after his assumption of the crown following the death of Queen Elizabeth I. Such pardon had hitherto been "stayed" and not granted during her reign. [References to FitzMaurice's pardon can be found in the *Irish Patent Rolls of James I*, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1966, references LX (page 46) and LI (page 56). See also: *The Council Book of the Province of Munster*, 1599-1649, (ed. Margaret Curtis Clayton), published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2008; see page 101 for details of the free pardon of Thomas FitzMaurice, 18th Baron of Lixnaw, and page 103 for the preceding letter of 1 December 1602 by the Lord Deputy in favour of the pardon, and the ensuing details of the surrender and regrant of 3 January 1603].

legacy owed to her, according to Fr. Eugenius Callanan, guardian in Louvain. [See the *Liber Lovaniensis*, — *Collection of Irish Franciscan Documents 1629-1717*; page 213]. She came from Tubrid, Ardfert, in the Barony of Clanmaurice, evidencing further ongoing family links between Ardfert and Louvain, quite some decades beyond the death of Donal Oge O'Donnell, and the departure of Gerald FitzMaurice from Louvain to Spain around late 1623. There can be little doubt that she was Mary FitzMaurice, daughter of Col. Edmund FitzMaurice of Tubrid (see footnote xxi above). [See: Cokayne, G. E. and Vicary Gibbs, H.A. Doubleday, Geoffrey H. White, Duncan Warrand and Lord Howard de Walden (editors). The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant; new edition, 6 volumes re-published by Alan Sutton Publishing, Gloucester, 2000; volume VII, page 209]. Mary/Marie seems to have been his only daughter if not his only child, and in Louvain appears as Lady Marie MacMaurice FitzGerald. Lady Marie was therefore from Tubrid, and was a first cousin of Gerald FitzMaurice FitzGerald, who went to Louvain with Donal Oge, and served in Spanish forces. Gerald was the son of Robert FitzMaurice, another young son of Thomas he 16th Baron. He should not be confused with another Gerald FitzMaurice FitzGerald, a captain and nephew of Thomas FitzMaurice, 18th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw. Lady Marie is believed to be the most obvious subject, the abandoned girl, lamenting her "Donal Oge" in the 17th century eponymous lament. In several versions, she appears pregnant at the well in Tubrid. There are many versions of this poem or love-song in existence today, and most intriguingly, in 1960 a deep study of these was made by Seosamh Ó Duibhguinn. [See Ó Duibhguinn, Seosamh. Donall Óg — Taighde ar an amhrán, published by An Clochomhar, Dublin, 1960]. He postulates that it was about Donal Oge O'Donnell, the faraway father of the "child to be", although he mis-identifies him as an

The full text, with translation in English, can be found in G.O.Manuscript 169 in the National Library in Dublin. [See: Ulster King of Arms. Manuscript G.O. Ms.169, Pedigree of O'Donnell, Monarchs of Ireland, Lords of Tirconnell, of Lifford, Co. Donegal, of Newport, Co. Mayo, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire; of New Castle, Co. Mayo, of Larkfield, Co. Leitrim, of Greyfield in Co. Roscommon; Barons Donegal and Earls of Tyrconnell, of Caffersconce, Co. Donegal, B.C.1370--A.D.1812; Manuscripts Room, Office of the Chief Herald, National Library of Ireland, and available on microfilm reference Pos. 8302]. [See also: See "A repertory of the inrolments on the patent rolls of Chancery – James P', by John Caillard Erck (item 75, pages 59-60; Rotulus Patens de anno Regi Regis Jacobi primo; - secunda pars, dorso; 1603). Volume I, Part 1, published by James McGlashan, Dublin, 1846].

riii The Ardfert terminus of the expedition sent by Red Hugh, 24th O'Donnell, is identified in *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh O'Domhnaill – The Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Prince of Tyrconnell (1586-1602)*, written by Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh, around 1603 or shortly thereafter, and translated centuries later by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A, and published by Sealy, Bryers, & Walker, Dublin, 1893 (pages 301, 305). The account is repeated in the Annals of the Four Masters (AFM) [see *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland (Annala Rioghachta Éireann*) by the Four Masters (see Volume VI, page 2279)].

xix Donal Oge is also identified as the *Donell* who was recorded as the principal "man of note" in Tubrid, Ardfert, by the Earl of Salisbury on a map drawn up in 1608, very consistent with Donal Oge O'Donnell's presence in the area just after the conquest of Ardfert, and before the Flight of the Earls. Hickson refers to a "map of Munster in the State Paper Office, drawn about 1608, and dedicated to Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who added many names on it in his own hand". She goes on to note that appended to the map are explanatory remarks and lists of "men of note", and which include mention of "Donell Mac Fun (?) att Tybrid" – the interrogation mark indicates uncertainty about the last name, ostensibly Salisbury's, and that it might not mean Mac Finn, or MacFinnan which appear elsewhere, but rather Mac Féin (literally, son of the same, i.e. a reference to Donal Mac Donal O'Donnell, i.e. Donal son of Donal O'Donell, the fuller proper name of Donal Oge [See: Selections from Old Kerry Records – Historical and Genealogical by Mary Agnes Hickson, published in London and printed by Watson & Hazell, in 1872. See Appendix, pages 278-279]. This expression "son of the same" is also found explicitly in his obituary in 1620 (see footnot XXIX below). His name is also associated with the Flight of the Earls [AFM, VI, p.2359]. Donal Oge is mentioned by name as the son of Sir Donal O'Donnell in the 17th century contemporary account of the Flight of the Earls. [See O Cianain, Tadhg: Turas na dTaoiseach nUltach as Eirinn (the Voyage of the Ulster Chiefiains from Ireland) – From Rath Maolain to Rome, re-issued and edited by Nollaig O'Muraile, and published by the Pontifical Irish College in Rome, 2007, page 427]. Donal Oge was both nephew to Rory, Red Hugh, and Cathbharr, as the son of their half-brother, and their first cousin as well, through their common grandmother, Lady Agnes Campbell (Iníon Dubh's mother) who married Sir Turlough Luineach O'Neill, parents of Donal Oge's mother.

van Donal Oge O'Donnell died on 5 September 1620 in Louvain, Flanders. The phrase "son of the same" was also used after Donal Oge's name in the obituary on him drawn up on 22 March 1621 by Juan Sdroogan, a notary in Flanders. An obituary note on him was also scripted into the inside cover of the Martyrology of Donegal; [see the Four Masters' Martyrologium Dungallense – Martyrologium Sanctorum Hyberniae (Martyrology of Donegal – A Calendar of Saints of Ireland), manuscript no. 5095-6 in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels]. It reads "Anno D. 1620 5 Septembris xxii Phil. 3, objit Daniel (Og) O'Donell, die sabbati hora septima cum dimidia, vehemti febre inflammatione hepatis latera perstringente confectus septibus et sepultus Lovanij ad cornu Evangelii a secus summum nostrae Ecclesiae altare ubi ante pedes sunt corporae Dominae Nolae et Margaritae et Hugonis Odonellorum". The evident letter or fragments thereof are rendered in bold above; the others are presumed. About six months after he died, Donal Oge's military biography was dressed as an obituary certified by Juan Sdroogan, notary public to the Archduke and Archduchess, in Brussels on

The territorial Lordship of the "County of Tirconnell", was granted to Rory O'Donnell for the service of four knights and other duties, on 10 February 1604, in execution of the letter from King James I to the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which the King wrote on the same day as he elevated Rory to the Earldom, on 4 September 1603. The King's letter explicitly mentions "remainders of like estate successively to his brother Cafferie O'Donnell and his cousin Donell Oge MacDonel O'Donell". [See pages 79-80 in the Calendar of State Papers for Ireland under King James I, for the year 1603 (item 123)].

Hugh Albert O'Donnell, 2nd Earl of Tyrconnell, was so called "Albert" because he assumed this name for his Confirmation, in honour of the Archduke of Spanish Flanders, Albert, an ex-Cardinal who adopted him when he was left in Louvain at one year of age following the Flight of the Earls. The young Hugh, who was later known as Alberto, was born in September or October 1606 in his mother's home in Maynooth (See: Walsh, Micheline Kerney. Don Thadeo Clery, Head Chaplain of the Regiment of Tyrconnell in Spanish Service, article in The Irish Sword, Vol. XVII, no. 67, published by the Military History Society of Ireland, Dublin, Winter 1987/Summer 1988, pp. 131-132). His father went on to Rome where he died in 1608. Hugh Albert was also a Knight Commander of the Order of Alacantara. In addition to being the 2nd Earl of Tyrconnell, Hugh Albert O'Donnell used or was attributed several additional titles, such as Earl of Tyrconnell (2nd) and Donegal, Baron of Lifford, Lord of Sligo and of Lower Connaught [See Report on Franciscan Manuscripts preserved at the Convent, Merchant's Quay, Dublin, published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1906]. Such titles are recorded in a document dating 3 November 1626 [See pages 98-99]. Hugh Albert O'Donnell was considered a Prince in his own right, as indicated in his marriage agreement of 20 March 1632, when he was twenty-six. He distinguished himself at the relief of Fuenterrabia in September 1638 [See: Walsh, Micheline Kerney. Don Thadeo Clery, Head Chaplain of the Regiment of Tyrconnell in Spanish Service, article in The Irish Sword, Vol. XVII, no. 67, published by the Military History Society of Ireland, Dublin, Winter 1987/Summer 1988, pp. 131-132]. He died, aged 36, without offspring, on 1 July 1642, in an engagement off Barcelona when his ship, the Magdalena, caught fire having earlier apparently disowned his then-destitute sister, Mary "Stuart" O'Donnell, published in the O'Donnell Clan Newsletter, O'Donnell, Francis M. Wealth of Dignity, Poverty of Destin

[See TABLE "C"]

²² March 1621, based partly on the pay books of the Spanish army of the State of Flanders, [See: Jennings, B. Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders, op. cit., (pages 488-489)]. The original of this obituary is said to be in the Franciscan Archives at Dun Mhuire, Killiney, under reference C.11. It describes him as Captain Don Daniel O'Donnell, son of the same, native of Tirepan (i.e. Tir Boghaine/Banagh). This formula "son of the same" may have been one used by Donal Oge to introduce himself; it is recalled that the Gaelic equivalent, "mac féin" seems to have been used in 1608 in recording him as the principle person of note in Tubrid, Ardfert, in the period just prior c. 1602-1607 (see footnote xxviii above). The former Irish College in Louvain/Leuven is now the Louvain Institute for Ireland in Europe, established in 1984 on a non-profit, nondenominational and non-governmental basis, under the patronage of the President of Ireland and the King of the Belgians. Fr. John Kealy, OFM, the last Franciscan to have been associated with the former Irish College, has indicated to the author of this genealogy in 2007 the locations of the original cloister, where several human remains (27) males buried between 1616 and 1790, some not priests) have been found during excavations and ongoing renovation work. The original Franciscan Church of Saint Anthony of Padua, expanded in 1754 (confiscated during the French Revolution, but later recovered) has been converted into an auditorium, with the original floor still preserved under a false floor (concealing modern auditorium cabling). The original site of the earliest altar now lies under the former choir gallery, and it was there that the 1607 Earls' flight refugees, including Nuala and Margaret O'Donnell, and their nephew Donal Oge O'Donnell, and Hugh, son of Cathbharr O'Donnell and his wife Rose O'Doherty, are said to have been buried. The principal author of the Annals of the Four Masters, Michael Ó Cleirigh, OFM, was also buried near an old willow tree in the cloister quadrant. according to Fr. Kealy. Much of the old library is now in the custody of the Franciscans at Dun Mhuire in Killiney, Ireland, and is being integrated into a special Michael Ó Cleirigh Institute in University College, Dublin, Other portions are in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, and in the Pontifical Irish College of St. Isidore in Rome, [See Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders, 1582-1700, edited by Rev. Brendan Jennings, OFM (pages 448-489). See also Michael O'Cleirigh, His Associates and St. Anthony's College, Louvain, comprising several works by Brendan Jennings, OFM (first published in 1936); Fr. Paul Walsh; Felim O'Brien, OFM; and Canice Mooney, OFM; edited by Nollaig Ó Muraíle, and published by the Four Courts Press, Dublin, c. 2008. [ISBN 978-1-84682-082-3]. (page 196; footnote 46)].