

Seirbhísí Cultúrtha, Comhairle Chontae Dhún na nGall  
Cultural Services, Donegal County Council

# THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS DOCUMENT STUDY PACK



STADÉAR BUNFHÓINSÍ  
IMEACHT NA NIARLAÍ  
1607-2007

# THE KINGDOME OF IRELAND

Divided into severall Provinces, and the againe divided into Counties.  
Newly described.



The Gentleman of Ireland    The Gentlewoman of Ireland  
The Civil Irish woman    The Civil Irish man  
The Wild Irish man    The Wild Irish woman

Jodocus Hondius sculpsit



The Scale of Miles.

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# THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS – A brief introduction



The events surrounding the Flight of the Earls were central in shaping modern Ireland. Over a period of fifteen years Ireland and in particular Ulster changed beyond recognition from what was the last remaining stronghold of Gaelic society to a province that saw the first successful plantation in Ireland.

The Nine Years War left Ulster impoverished and divided, and robbed the region of its young noblemen such as the O'Donnell brothers, O'Neill, Maguire and their extended families. With their lands now leaderless the way was clear for the new settlers and the dividing up of the seized territories.

## Gaelic Ireland

Gaelic Ireland in the mid-sixteenth century was made up of old Gaelic and Norman families, who ruled their territories much as they had for four hundred years. English authority outside the pale existed in small pockets mainly in the larger towns and cities, but for the most part Ulster remained in the control of the Irish Lords. Brehon law, based on ancient Gaelic tradition, was the law of the land. The laws covered ownership of property, inheritance and contract as well as social status and the responsibilities of individuals. They were however in complete contrast to the English administration system.

The O'Donnell family rose to power as lords of Tír Chonaill (County Donegal) in the 13th century. They owned vast territories in the southwest of the county and lands in the Finn Valley region and around Lifford. As lords of Donegal, sub-chieftains such as the O'Dohertys, the McSweeneys and the O'Boyles supported them.

The ancient kingdom of Tír Eóghan dates from the 5th century. It comprises much of what is now County Tyrone, as well as parts

of counties Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh, Monaghan and Armagh. The O'Neills owned large parts of this territory and were granted the title of Earls of Tyrone by Henry VIII in 1541, under his scheme of surrender and re-grant, making chieftain, Conn O'Neill, the first Earl of Tyrone.

## The Nine Years War (1594-1603)

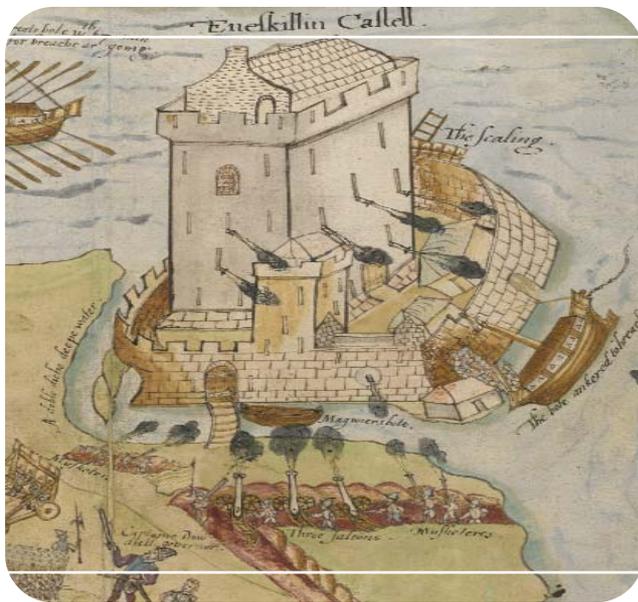
The Nine Years War was a long drawn out war of attrition, in which the Irish fought in order to maintain their authority and way of life.

These Gaelic families tolerated English garrisons and sheriffs in their territories in the beginning. But when the English began to increase their officials in the province and threaten the



authority of the Gaelic Lords, this was not to be borne. The kidnap and incarceration of Red Hugh O'Donnell helped to sour the relationship between the English and the O'Donnells. On Red Hugh's return one of his first acts was to expel the English sheriff from Tír Chonaill. The rebellion began with Hugh Maguire's revolt in Fermanagh, caused by the introduction of an English sheriff into his territory in 1593. Maguire soon found support from his neighbours in Donegal.

The English had already successfully crushed the lordships of The McMahon in Monaghan and The O'Rourke in Leitrim, so understandably the remaining Ulster lords could have suspected that they were next on the list.



O'Neill secretly supported the rebels with arms and aid but was unwilling to openly declare his intentions. He kept up the appearance of loyalty until 1595, until the last possible moment. O'Neill, of the three chieftains, had the most to lose. Elizabeth I, with whom he had a reasonable relationship, supported his position. He however was a shrewd man, secretly arming his army for the day when the Queen might impose one too many officials on him or impinge further on his authority in Tyrone.

The Irish had numerous successes in battle in the early years of the Nine Years War. Maguire defeated the English at the Ford of the Biscuits in Fermanagh and O'Donnell led successful raids into Sligo, Mayo and north Galway. O'Neill proved himself to be an exceptional leader, defeating the English at Clontibret in Monaghan, Yellow Ford in Armagh and the Moyry Pass on the Armagh/Louth border. The early battles of the war were successful for a number of reasons. O'Neill was well trained and familiar with English battle strategy; most of the battles were fought on his terms on territory unfamiliar to the invading forces, by a well-supplied Irish army and the Irish fought for their own survival and for their way of life.

Sustaining their successes and taking the entire country however was going to be extremely difficult. Many of the old Anglo-Norman families in Ireland remained loyal to the crown and were unwilling to join O'Neill and O'Donnell. Foreign aid was therefore essential.

This aid came in the form of funds and arms from Spain. Spain was a Catholic country with an interest in assisting the enemies of its adversary, England. Several meetings took place between the Spanish and the Ulster lords during the course of the Nine Years War, in Killybegs and Lifford, County Donegal, but it was not until 1601 that assistance finally arrived.

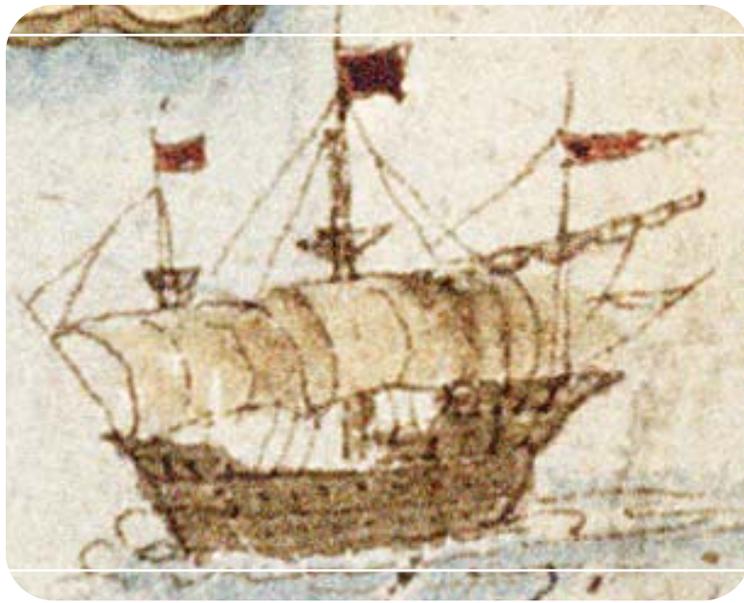
The reasons for the Gaelic allies eventual defeat was their over dependence on the Spanish King and the failure of support to arrive on time. Also, the bitter conflicts that raged over succession within each lordship weakened and divided their ability to fight the invading force.

By the time Red Hugh left for Kinsale much of his territory had already been lost to his cousin Niall Garbh who had the support of the English Captain Henry Docwra.

### Kinsale 1601

The Spanish arrived in Kinsale, County Cork in September 1601 but in much smaller numbers than anticipated. Despite the difficulties presented to them, the Irish were in a good position at the onset of the battle. In an effort to gain the advantage O'Donnell persuaded a more cautious and reluctant O'Neill to attack the assembled English force, led by Lord Mountjoy and Lord Carew. The battle was a disaster from the beginning. O'Neill's forces failed to surprise the English and did not attack them upon being sighted, but waited, thereby losing the advantage. They were forced to give up ground and were mowed down by the advancing cavalry. The sight of this caused O'Donnell's force in the rear guard to flee, after only engaging in battle in a minor way. Everything happened so quickly that the battle was over before the Spanish even rode out onto the battlefield. The Spanish Captain, Don Juan del Águila, quickly gave up hope and nine days later surrendered to Mountjoy.

His armies depleted and with much of the O'Donnell lordship lost to his cousin Niall Garbh and Docwra, Red Hugh then took the decision to flee to Spain. He made efforts to secure additional aid from King Philip III, but died before any force could be assembled. In his will, taken just before his death in Simancas, O'Donnell named his younger brother Ruairí as his successor.



### The Flight of the Earls

O'Neill returned to Tyrone a defeated man. He survived as a fugitive to the crown for a further two years before seeking terms for peace. Ruairí O'Donnell had already surrendered. The Treaty of Mellifont was agreed on the 30th of March 1603 between O'Neill and Lord Mountjoy. The Irish received very good terms, most likely because of the growing cost of the war, as well as Elizabeth's failing health. Under the terms of the treaty O'Neill and O'Donnell were granted a full pardon and Ruairí O'Donnell was created the first Earl of Tír Chonaill. Elizabeth I died shortly before the treaty was signed and was succeeded by her cousin James I (James VI of Scotland).

Life for the Earls however did not revert to their old existence. Ruairí's lordship was greatly diminished and he was not granted the estates traditionally owned by the lord of Tír Chonaill (Sir Cahir O'Doherty was granted the whole of Inishowen). O'Neill had to endure new arrivals into his territories. Church and state made claims to lands which were part of his ancestral domain. English captains, Henry Docwra and Arthur Chichester, who were not happy about a defeated O'Neill being let off so lightly, led a hate campaign against him.

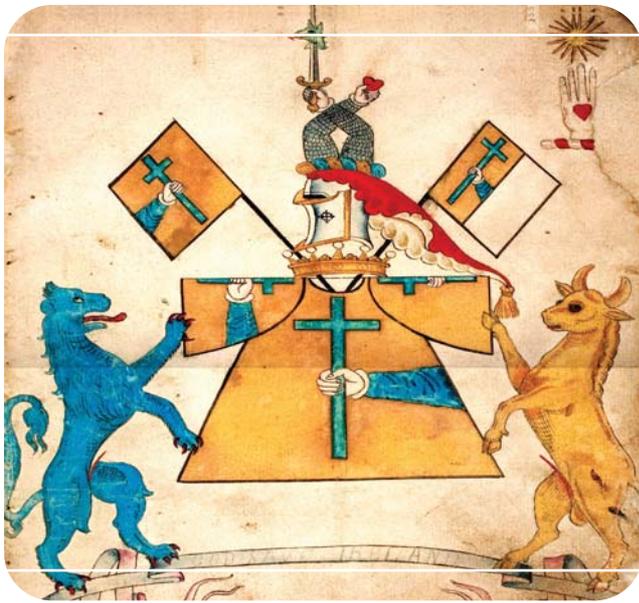
Plots and conspiracies surrounded them. O'Neill was summoned to London to defend his estates against a claim made by the O'Cahan Chieftain, who wanted to have his lands separated from the O'Neill lordship. He was reluctant to go, fearing that he would not return. All these elements contributed to the Earls' decision to leave the country. Cú Chonnacht Maguire arrived with a French ship at Rathmullan, County Donegal in September 1607. The extended O'Neill and O'Donnell families, 99 people in total boarded the ship and departed for the continent.

O'Donnell brought with him his infant son Hugh but left behind his pregnant wife, Bridget O'Donnell, most likely expecting that she would join him later. His sister Nuala and brother Cathbharr also travelled with him. O'Neill travelled with his wife and two of his sons. He could not find his youngest son in time for the departing ship and was forced to leave him behind.

The journey was an extremely difficult one. Heavy storms forced the ship away from its intended port of Corunna in northern Spain and they were obliged to land in Quilleboeuf in France on the 4th of October. The French who were fearful of English reprisal did not welcome their arrival. The Earls travelled over land to Louvain in Belgium, where they were made welcome at the Franciscan Irish College. They rested in Louvain over the Christmas of 1607 before setting out for Rome. The party intended to travel to Italy, where they hoped a ship would bring them across the Mediterranean to Spain. They made a difficult crossing over the Alps during the winter of 1608, arriving in Rome, where they were granted an audience with the Pope on the 4th of May.

But, an invitation to Spain for the Lords was not forthcoming. At this stage Philip III of Spain had signed a peace treaty with the English and was unwilling to be seen helping his former Irish allies.

While awaiting a reply from Philip, tragedy struck the exiles. Ruairí O'Donnell, affected by the stifling heat, was struck down by a fever. His brother Cathbharr also became ill followed by O'Neill's son Hugh, the Baron of Dungannon. The three died, one after the other and were buried in Rome. O'Neill was forced to remain on without his young companions. Despite continuous efforts to return home, he never left Italy.



Ulster / Gaelic  
(1594-1603) / K.  
/ The fate of  
of Ulster /  
Earl of Tir Chonaill

### The fate of the Irish Exiles

Hugh Albert O'Donnell (son of Ruairi) became an army officer in the Austrian service, studied at Louvain University and became a knight of Alcántara in 1625. He died in battle in 1642 leaving no children. His sister Mary, who was raised in the English court, fled an unsuitable marriage to a protestant landowner and met with her brother for the first time in Brussels in c. 1626. She again fled, this time from the exiled Irish community. Unwilling to commit to another arranged marriage she eloped with an Irish Captain and died in obscurity, most likely in Rome. O'Donnell's descendants are to be found to this day in parts of Austria and Spain, descended from the Niall Garbh O'Donnell line.

John O'Neill (second son of Hugh O'Neill) spent his life in service in the Spanish army, leading the Irish Regiment, and died in 1641 in battle at Catalonia. Many of the Irish exiles made careers for themselves in the Spanish Army in Flanders, including Art Og O'Neill (Hugh's nephew) and his son Hugh Dubh. Irish officers and captains were generous supporters of the Irish college in Louvain and many of the Irish exiles are buried there, including Red Hugh's sister Nuala O'Donnell.

### The Plantation of Ulster

Plantations in Ireland in the 16th century had been largely unsuccessful until the Ulster Plantation. The six counties, in which land was seized for plantation included Donegal, Coleraine (which became County Derry), Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh and Cavan. Portions of land were given to 'servitors', (army commanders and the King's servants), 'undertakers', (men of property who undertook to bring over Protestant British families) and 'deserving Irish' (those who had changed sides during the Nine Years War). Undertakers were allocated between 2000, 1500 or 1000 acres. They each had to bring into the country 24 able-bodied men,

and those granted the largest land holdings had to build a stone castle. It was agreed that at least half the settlers would be Scots, as James I was now King of England and Scotland.



An unsuccessful revolt by Cahir O'Doherty in 1608 led to a redrafting of plans, with the native Irish getting even less land than planned, only about a quarter of the confiscated property. Whole territories were cleared of native Irish and settlers were placed together in large concentrations to defend against any attack from the displaced natives. Brehon laws and traditions were prohibited. In the west the entire region of Tír Chonaill was declared forfeit to the Crown.

Sir John Davies, as Attorney General, laid a lot of the legal groundwork for the plantation and was himself granted portions of the planted lands. For his role in the Nine Years War, Sir Arthur Chichester was awarded most of Inishowen.

Initial plans for the plantation were a little over ambitious. A survey by Sir George Carew in 1611 showed that although the plantation was supposed to be completed in three years, very little progress had been made. Planters could not sell land to the Irish or rent out farms to them under the terms of the plantation. Undertakers were supposed to bring over tenants from their own estates in Britain. However, not enough people arrived and the new landowners resorted to renting farms to the native Irish.

Flight of the Earls  
/ The Plantation  
O'Donnell  
O'Neill - Earl  
Hugh O'Donnell  
Maureen



As they had invested heavily in the plantation, The City of London Guilds were granted lands on the bank of the River Foyle on which to build a new city. The County of Londonderry (formally Coleraine) was created with the new city at its centre. The Protestant Church of Ireland was also granted all the church lands formally owned by the Catholic Church. The arrival of the new settlers naturally caused huge discontent amongst the native Irish. Not only had they lost their farms, they also had to attend Protestant Church services. James I was a devoted Protestant, and the introduction of the new religion was central to his plans for the province.

Chichester also deported up to 6000 former kern (native Irish soldiers), who had been left, roaming the countryside after the end of the war and the Flight of the Earls. The province remained unstable for most of the 17th century due to further rebellions and civil war in Britain. The wars of the 1640's eliminated the last major Catholic landowners in Ulster. Another wave of Scottish migration came to Ireland in the 1690's. They were Scottish Presbyterians and became known as the Ulster Scots. By the mid 18th century, new settlers or their descendants formed the majority of the population in Ulster.

Although the new settlers were mostly farmers the plantation brought with it a growth of towns and the urban network. The newcomers brought with them their own traditions, culture and religion and formed their own community. The native Irish, although reduced in number, were not entirely removed or anglicised, creating a divide both religious and social between the two groups that has survived to the present day.

### The Legacy

The Flight of the Earls and the subsequent Plantation of Ulster had a lasting effect on political circumstances in Ulster. It led to the separation of the community along Protestant and Catholic divides. Discrimination against Roman Catholics caused huge resentment, which was only increased by the introduction of the Penal laws (which discriminated against anyone who was not a member of the established Church of Ireland) in the 17th century.

The inability of the two communities and cultures to integrate caused the divide that saw six counties in Ulster splitting politically from the southern counties, under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. And so four hundred years later, the legacy of the events that took place in the early 17th century are still visible in Ireland today.

As part of the Northern Ireland Peace Process, the Good Friday Agreement was signed on the 10th of April 1998. In the agreement, all parties in Britain, Ireland and Northern Ireland agreed that the future of Northern Ireland should be decided by 'exclusively peaceful and democratic means'. New legislation for the province is being introduced on policing, human rights and equality. Importantly, there is a new feeling of optimism that the troubles and the violence of the past are over and we can explore and commemorate our shared history.

# CHARACTERS

## THE IRISH



### **Ruairí O'Donnell – Earl of Tir Chonaill (1574/75-1608)**

Ruairí O'Donnell, (Rory, Rury, Ruaidhri) the first Earl of Tír Chonaill, born in 1574, was the second son of Sir Hugh O'Donnell and the younger brother of Red Hugh. Ruairí was Tánaiste during Red Hugh's lordship of Donegal. During the Nine Years War he fought diligently at his brother's side, fighting in Connaught and Lough Foyle. After Red Hugh's death Ruairí became head of the O'Donnell clan. He became the first Earl of Tir Chonaill and was granted a patent from King James I for his lands in February 1603. In the same year he married Lady Bridget Fitzgerald, daughter of the Earl of Kildare. O'Donnell's position however was short lived.

In-fighting between sub-chieftains and sects of the O'Donnell clan proved impossible to quell. By 1607 Ruairí, left with declining lands and decreasing income, was forced to admit he had lost control of the territory. In September 1607 Ruairí joined with Cú Chonnacht Maguire and O'Neill and left from Rathmullan bound for Spain. He was accompanied by his sister Nuala and his brother Cathbharr but was forced to leave behind his young and heavily pregnant wife. Both brothers became ill and died within a short time of their arrival in Rome, Ruairí in July 1608 and Cathbharr in September. They were both buried in the Church of San Pietro Montorio, in Rome.

### **Hugh O'Neill - Earl of Tyrone (c.1550-1616)**

Hugh O'Neill (Aodh Ó Neill) was born around 1550 in Tyrone, the second son of the Baron Dungannon and the grandson of Conn Bacach O'Neill, the first Earl of Tyrone. After the death of his father, O'Neill was fostered to families living within the pale and was raised with English customs and traditions. Internal disputes within the lordship meant that for most of his early life O'Neill's future position with the clan was uncertain, although Queen Elizabeth I supported his claim to the title of Earl of Tyrone. This helped secure him the lordship. Increasing incursions by the English

into his lands led to Tyrone's eventual rebellion against the Queen. The Earl had secretly supported O'Donnell and Maguire since the beginning of the Nine Years War but it was not until 1595 that he openly rebelled and was declared a traitor to the crown, the same year as he was finally proclaimed The O'Neill, chieftain of the O'Neill clan. O'Neill enjoyed success at the beginning of the Nine Years War, the battle of Yellow Ford in 1598 being a particular personal victory for him. The arrival of the Spanish at Kinsale in September 1601 marked a turning point in the conflict and was the beginning of the end for O'Neill.

Numerous reasons have been given for O'Neill's subsequent flight from Ireland. Although he retained his title and estate and was granted a full pardon by James I, O'Neill's position was made increasingly difficult by the presence of the English administration. His enemies conspired together to gradually chip away at his lands and authority in Ulster. O'Neills' decision to leave for Spain with O'Donnell and Maguire was unexpected. It is unclear whether he left with the intention of returning with additional Spanish support for the cause or whether he resigned himself to the fact that there was no hope of maintaining his authority in the north. Whatever his reason for leaving, it appears that a normally calm O'Neill panicked on hearing that the ship had arrived to carry them to Spain. He made a desperate effort to gather his family together and rushed from Slane in County Meath to Rathmullan to join the rest of the party, leaving an infant son behind him. He spent his remaining days in Rome, supported by a pension from King Philip and living at a residence provided by the Pope. He never gave up requesting help from Spain, still writing to the King of Spain up until the year before his death.

His health deteriorated and he died in Rome on the 20th of July 1616, leaving the Countess O'Neill, who died less than two years later, penniless. He is buried in the city in the Church of San Pietro Montorio.

## Red Hugh O'Donnell – Lord of Tír Chonaill (1572-1602)

Red Hugh O'Donnell (Aodh Ó Dónaill, Hugh Roe, Aodh Rua) was the eldest son of Sir Hugh O'Donnell, Lord of Tír Chonaill and Iníon Dhubh (of Scottish descent), born in October 1572.



Due to suspicions over the O'Donnells' loyalty, Sir John Perrot, Governor of Ireland, decided to kidnap O'Donnell, his wife and their son Red Hugh, probably on the order of Elizabeth I. In September 1587 Perrot succeeded in kidnapping Red Hugh from Rathmullan in County Donegal and transported him by ship to Dublin Castle, where he remained incarcerated for four years. In January 1591, Red Hugh attempted to escape but was recaptured. A second attempt a year later in the winter of 1592 met with more success, with Red Hugh making his way to Wicklow, and from there returning to the O'Donnell castle at Ballyshannon.

During his incarceration Red Hugh's father had been ill and the English garrison ran amuck in Tír Chonaill. Upon his return his mother assisted him in pressing for his recognition as Chieftain of the O'Donnells'. In May 1592, Red Hugh became Lord O'Donnell, chieftain of the O'Donnell clan at a ceremony at the inauguration stone at Doon Rock, near Kilmacrennan, at the young age of 19 years. He immediately began strengthening his position with his nearest ally and neighbour Hugh O'Neill. O'Donnell led a very successful campaign into Sligo and Connaught, recovering lands that historically had been part of the O'Donnell lordship. He also fought at O'Neill's side at the Battle of the Yellow Ford.

However, the greatest threat to O'Donnell's success came in the form of his kinsman, Niall Garbh O'Donnell. Niall Garbh took Red Hugh's absence as an opportunity to further his own ambitions, by forming an alliance with the English. He managed to seize Lifford Castle and the Friary of Donegal while Sir Henry Docwra raided and plundered lands in Inishowen in 1600. O'Donnell initially made efforts to recover his losses in Donegal, but upon hearing of

the Spanish landing at Kinsale, assembled his army for the long march south to join them. The defeat at Kinsale resulted in O'Donnell departing for Spain, leaving his command to his brother Ruairi. O'Donnell left from Castlehaven, County Cork with the intention of returning with reinforcements from Spain. He landed in the north of the country at Corunna, but was not immediately granted an audience with the King. He languished there for months before receiving permission to travel to the court at Valladolid in August 1602. Upon his arrival however, O'Donnell was taken ill and died in mysterious circumstance shortly afterwards at Simancas Castle.

## Hugh Maguire – Lord of Fermanagh (d.1600)

Hugh Maguire (Aodh Mág Uidhir) was the eldest son of Cú Chonnacht Maguire, lord of Fermanagh, and Nuala O'Donnell of Tír Chonaill. With the support of the O'Donnells and the Irish Privy Council Maguire succeeded as chieftain on his father's death.

Like his neighbouring chiefdoms, Maguire was subject to increasing threats to his autonomy from English garrisons and government officials impinging on his lands. Maguire was the first to openly rebel against the English garrison, leading an attack against Henry Bagenal at the Erne Forde near Ballyshannon in 1593 and laying siege to his own castle at Enniskillen, in February 1594 after it was taken by the English. Maguire also fought at the Battle of the Yellow Ford by O'Neill's side. On an expedition into Munster in February 1600 Maguire was shot and died instantly.

## Cú Chonnacht Maguire- Lord of Fermanagh (d.1608)

Hugh Maguire was succeeded by his younger brother Cú Chonnacht. Cú Chonnacht was sent to France to commission the ship that brought the Earls to the continent. He travelled with the Earls on their flight and continued on with O'Neill and O'Donnell to Rome. After his stay in Rome, Cú Chonnacht, determined to make his way to Spain, set out by sea from Naples. During an overnight stay in Genoa, he was struck down with a fever and died shortly afterwards on the 12th of August 1608.

# CHARACTERS THE ENGLISH



## **Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603)**

Elizabeth I, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, became Queen of England upon the death of her half sister Mary in 1558. Elizabeth inherited an almost bankrupt kingdom from her sister and one that had been divided in two by the Protestant Reformation. Among Elizabeth's first tasks were the increase of the country's wealth and the bridging of the divide caused by religious differences. Much of Elizabeth's reign was spent in efforts to avoid a war with either Spain or France (who were enemies at the time). The Spanish Armada in 1588, although a disaster for the Spanish, left Elizabeth fearful of an invasion from Spain.

The wars in Ireland occupied much of the later years of Elizabeth's reign and managed again to bankrupt her treasury. Elizabeth had trusted O'Neill as her loyal subject in the north and was outraged by the treasonous revolt of Tyrone and the Lords of Ulster. She made efforts to secure peace with the clans between 1595 and 1598, fearing the arrival of the Spanish aid and a war she could not afford. She was however unwilling to recognise the sovereignty of the ancient family lordships. News of her death was kept from O'Neill until after the signing of the Treaty of Mellifont, as Mountjoy feared that the death of his enemy would strengthen O'Neill's will to continue.

## **William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520 - 1598), Lord Treasurer of England, (1572-1598)**

William Cecil was a member of Elizabeth's council but was also her long time friend and advisor. He held the position of Secretary of State and Lord Treasurer and operated an

extensive network of spies and intelligence in order to retain his privileged position of power at the Queen's side. His son, Robert Cecil, carried on his position upon his death, becoming an advisor to Elizabeth and then later to James I. He was created the Earl of Salisbury in 1605.

## **Sir Henry Bagenal, Queens Marshal (1590-1598)**

Henry Bagenal was the son of Sir Nicholas Bagenal, who had settled in Newry, County Down. He became a member of the Irish Privy Council and marshal of the army in 1590. He hoped to increase his land holdings by the break up of the O'Neill estate and consistently made accusations against O'Neill's loyalty, forcing him to defend his position and his right to authority in Ulster. The feud between the two men intensified when in August 1591 O'Neill, in an effort to form an alliance by marriage, eloped with and married Bagenal's young sister Mabel. In 1593 however the two men fought side by side when O'Neill was ordered to assist Bagenal in quashing Maguire's revolt. O'Neill's subsequent defection to the other side supported Bagenal's accusations that he had long supported the rebels. In August 1598 Bagenal received command of a large force, compiled to bring aid to the fort on the Blackwater, County Armagh, which was under siege. The ensuing battle, at Yellow Ford on the 14th of August was a disaster for the English and Bagenal himself was shot dead.

### **Sir Henry Docwra (1564-1631), British Commander at Derry**

Henry Docwra, a soldier in the English army, came to Ulster in 1600, landing with an army at Lough Foyle with the task of crushing the rebellion. He formed alliances with Niall Garbh O'Donnell, a cousin of Red Hugh and assisted his attack on O'Donnell strongholds in Lifford and Ballyshanon while also taking Inishowen in a bloody rampage across the peninsula. Opportunities in Ireland saw Docwra's rise from Army Captain to Knighted landowner. He was granted 2,000 acres of land near Lifford in the Ulster Plantation, was appointed Treasurer of War in Ireland in 1616 and made a member of the Privy Council. He became Baron Docwra in 1621.

### **Charles Blount, Baron Mountjoy, (1563-1606) Lord Deputy of Ireland (1600-1603), Lord Lieutenant**

Charles Blount served as both Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1600-1603 and as Lord Lieutenant from 1603. Mountjoy was an extremely capable strategist, arguably the best the English forces had to offer. He first faced O'Neill in battle at Moyry Pass in October 1600 where he suffered a defeat at the hands of the Irish. The victory however was short lived, as both armies would meet again a year later at the Battle of Kinsale. After his victory at Kinsale he returned to England a hero. He was appointed Master of the Ordnance by James I and later became the Earl of Devon.

### **Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord Deputy of Ireland (1571-1575), (1588-1594)**

Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam served as Lord Deputy for two periods in the late 16th century in Ireland. His efforts to bring Ulster under English administration alienated the Ulster Irish. He successfully conquered the Monaghan lordship of the McMahons in 1590 but his efforts to do the same in Fermanagh and Donegal led to the infractions that would eventually initiate the Nine Years War.

### **Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex (1566-1601), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1599-1600**

Robert Devereux was a long-time favourite of Queen Elizabeth. An ambitious man he was appointed as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1599 at his own request and sent with an army to quell the rebellion. He arrived in Ireland with a large force of 17,000 men but instead of going to Ulster to fight O'Neill he decided to quash the rebellion in the Southeast. By the time Essex made his way to Ulster he had lost a large number of his force. His failure to crush O'Neill and his subsequent unauthorised ceasefire, agreed between the two men, led to him being stripped of his position. Unwilling to accept his new role he led a rebellion against the Queen, supported by a small band of his own followers, for which he was executed in 1601.

### **Sir George Carew (1555-1629)**

Sir George Carew came to Ireland in 1574 in the service of his cousin, Sir Peter Carew. In 1576 he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of the County of Carlow. He held various posts mostly in Ireland, and was appointed as Treasurer of War in 1598, and the following year became President of Munster. He retired in 1603, but returned in 1610 to report on the condition of the country, with a view to a resettlement of Ulster; and in 1611 as Commissioner to reform the army and revenue of Ireland.

### **Sir John Davies (1569-1626), Attorney general**

Sir John Davies was appointed as Solicitor General of Ireland in November 1603 at the end of the Nine Years War, later becoming Attorney General in 1606. He sent accounts of the Flight of the Earls to the Privy Council and was involved in the plantation of Ulster, during which he himself was granted some of the seized lands. He retired from office in 1619.

### **Sir Arthur Chichester (1563-1625)**

Arthur Chichester was a career soldier involved in numerous successful adventures in the New World and Spain before he arrived in Ireland with the Earl of Essex in 1599. His brother had been the Governor of Carrickfergus and Chichester reputedly came to Ireland to avenge his brother's death at the hands of the Irish rebels. Chichester was appointed Lord Deputy in 1605. He was not happy with the terms which O'Neill and O'Donnell received under the treaty of Mellifont and felt cheated by their return to their estates. He began a campaign to destroy O'Neill, questioning his every move and his hereditary right to the title of the Earl of Tyrone. After the Flight of the Earls, Chichester was instrumental in the drawing up of the plans for the plantation. He himself was awarded a generous plot of land in the settlement, with a substantial plot around Dungannon and an estate in Inishowen.

### **James I (James VI of Scotland) (1566-1625)**

James I became King of England upon the death of his cousin Elizabeth in 1603. He was the only child of Mary I, Queen of Scots, who Elizabeth had executed in 1587. His coronation united the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England. He declared the Earls traitors to the crown upon hearing of their flight and seized their lands and property. James had been raised a staunch Protestant, and printing the first version of the bible in English in 1611. He saw the Ulster plantation as an opportunity to convert the native Irish to Protestantism. Despite the success of the plantation James remained fearful of further uprisings and of Catholic conspiracies against him. He used this fear to justify introducing further restrictions against Catholics and suppression of the religion.



James I (James VI of Scotland) (1566-1625)

Increasing disagreement with his parliament was a feature of James's reign. His belief in the divine rights of Kings led to his passing laws without their permission and to constant disputes about his finances. This bad feeling sowed the seed of the English civil war of the 1640's, which led to James's son, King Charles I, eventually being executed by his own parliament.

A true description of the N  
 wherin is shewed the most p  
 part of Tirone's part of  
 urrets: all the Co. of Sligo  
 parte of the Co. of Roscomon  
 Captain John Baxter.



Scale of Six Miles



# THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION



The Protestant Reformation refers to a religious and political movement that affected the whole of Europe. It consisted of a break away from the established Catholic Church and the foundation of the new Protestant religion.

In England these changes began with Henry VIII, who broke with Rome and proclaimed himself head of the English Church, in order to divorce his first wife. In 1532 Henry established the Church of England and was subsequently excommunicated by the Pope. The new religion brought with it new practices for worship and services but also had a huge influence on the structure of the landscape. In the mid 16th century the church owned more than 1/5 of all land in England. In 1536 Henry began closing monasteries and abbeys and sold the property to wealthy nobles, clearing tenants from the land in the process. The dissolution of the monasteries was hugely unpopular with Catholics and resulted in a series of minor uprisings.

Henry's son Edward VI further reformed the church. He brought in the use of the common prayer book and banned statues, shrines and stained glass from churches. Queen Mary, Edward's half sister, succeeded to the throne after her brother's death. She was a Catholic and earned the nickname of 'Bloody Mary' for her persecution of Protestants, burning hundreds at the stake for heresy. Mary's reign however did not last long and she was replaced by her Protestant sister Elizabeth, returning the country again to the new faith.

In Ireland, only a small minority adopted the new religion. The old Anglo-Norman families remained Catholic, as did the Gaelic lords. The fight for the Catholic cause won O'Neill not only the support of the Spanish but also the backing of Rome. The Irish were seen as defending the faith and fighting a noble war for the sake of religious freedom.



# IRISH MANUSCRIPT TRADITION



## St. Anthony's College, Louvain

The first Franciscans arrived in Ireland in the mid 13th century. They spread throughout the country and were linked with the great households including the O'Neill's and the O'Donnell's with Red Hugh becoming one of their most famous patrons. They lost much of their land holdings during the Protestant Reformation, when their order was outlawed and the monasteries were closed.

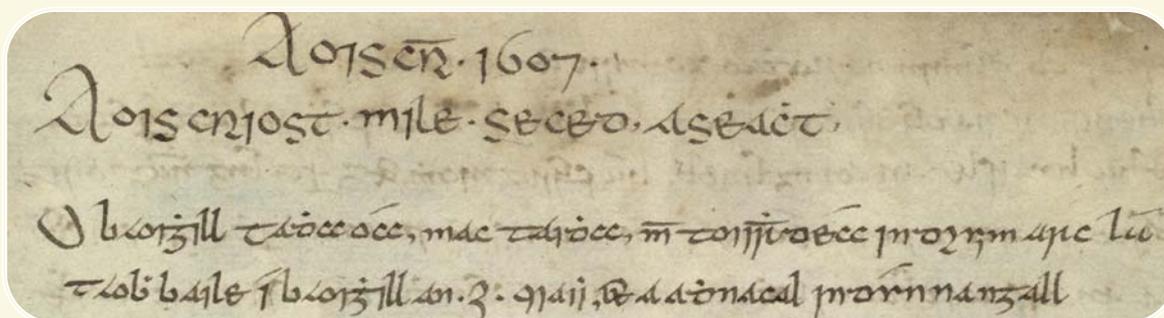
The Plantation of Ulster had a detrimental effect on the Franciscans, destroying their last places of refuge in the north. Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire was a Franciscan friar (later Archbishop of Tuam), who accompanied Red Hugh to Simancas in 1602. He was instrumental in the setting up of the Irish Franciscan College in Louvain in Belgium, founded in April 1607, which had Philip III as its patron. (The College was part of the

University founded in the early 15th century). St. Anthony's became renowned for the excellence of its teachers and the number of writings produced by its scholars, who were the first to print in the Irish language. The college continued to supply friars to Ireland throughout the 17th and 18th centuries but was closed by the Napoleonic invasion in 1793 and the friars were scattered. The building was eventually sold in 1822. A large collection of the Friary work was salvaged and brought to Ireland by Father Francis Walsh. It remained for some time at the Franciscan Archives in Killiney before being transferred to the Archives Department of University College Dublin. (Some of the collection is also preserved in Brussels). The college building was bought back by the Irish Franciscan order in 1925.

## The Annals of the Four Masters / Annála Ríoghachta Éireann

Best known of all the works produced by the Franciscan friars in Ireland are the Annals of the Four Masters. The annals contain a

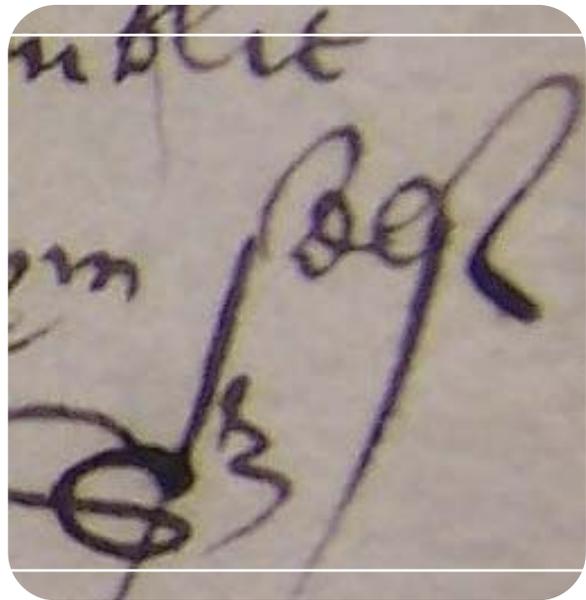
complete early history of Ireland up to the early 17th century and were completed in August 1636, in County Donegal.



© Royal Irish Academy. The annals were based on earlier works including the Annals of Loch Cé (1014), the Annals of Ulster (15th century) and the Annals of Connacht (1234). They were compiled by Cúcoigríche Ó Duibhghennáin (County Leitrim), Fearfease Ó Maolchonaire (County Roscommon), Cúcoigríche Ó Clérigh and the most well known of the four, Friar Michael Ó Clérigh (County Donegal d. 1643). Michael Ó Clérigh (also known as Tadhg an tSléibhe before he became a friar) was from a family of scholars renowned for their interest in native Irish history and poetry. A professional chronicler trained in the Irish bardic schools, he was sent to Ireland to collect information on Irish antiquities and the lives of the Irish saints and to return the information collected to his superiors in Louvain.

# UNDERSTANDING DOCUMENTS:

## A little bit about Archives and Palaeography



### What are archives?

Archives are original documents, maps, plans and recordings that have historical value or contain unique information and are therefore preserved for all time. They are also called primary sources.

### What is palaeography?

Palaeography is the study and deciphering of old handwriting. When you first look at documents from the 16th century the handwriting can appear illegible. It takes a bit of practice, determination and knowledge of a few simple rules to help with transcribing.

Your pack contains transcriptions of each document, but why not try transcribing a little bit of English text for yourself before looking at the transcriptions?

### English Palaeography:

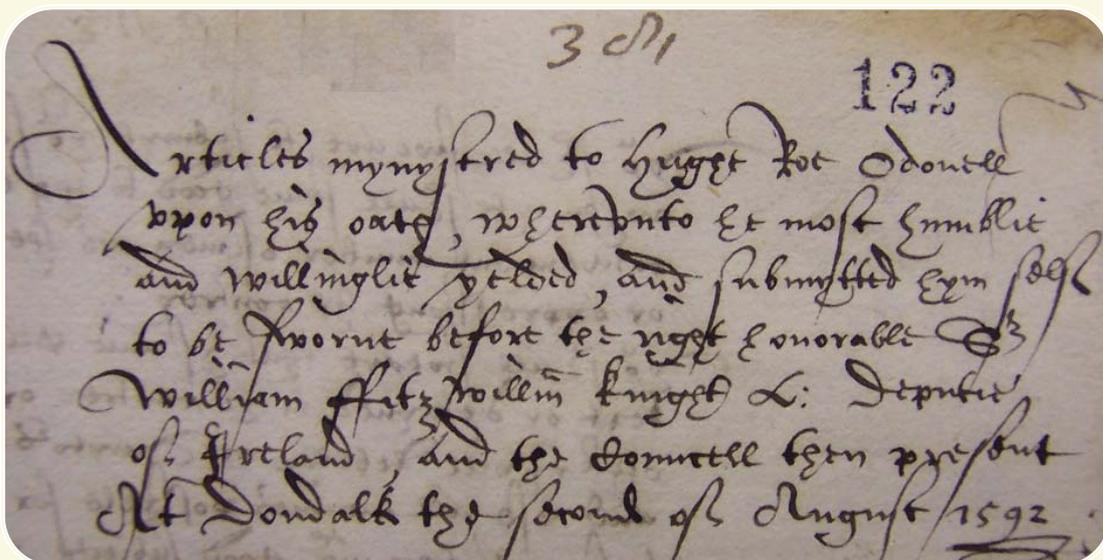
Things to remember when transcribing from English:

- **Spelling Mistakes**

Spelling was not standardised until the 18th century, not only did people spell certain words differently from one another; a person could often spell the same word differently within one document, especially place names.

- **Old Words**

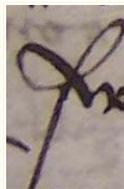
Some words fall out of use, you may have to look them up in the dictionary after transcription.



© National Archives, SP 63/116, f. 122

- **Some letters are interchangeable:**  
 Y and I – for example mynystered = ministered  
 I and J – for example Maiestie = Majesty  
 U and V – for example vpon = upon
- **Letters that can be easily mixed up:**  
 S and F

This is an S



This is also an S used at the end of words



This is an F



This is a very common Ligature St



Two types of e that look a little like o



- **Letters that may confuse**  
 R- there are a few different version of r

This r looks a little like a w



This is a capital R and looks a little like K



C – lower case c can look a little like an r



Capitals C can also be confusing



g – can look a little like a y



H – can be very sloppy, looking like a vertical wavy line



And don't forget that V and U are interchangeable and look like this:



- **Ligatures: What are those?**

Sometimes two letters are linked together, the writer doesn't remove the pen from the paper.

### • Abbreviations – Those lazy Tudors!

Like today, people in the past abbreviated words rather than write out the whole word.

Some common examples are:

Lo for Lord

C<sup>n</sup> for Captain

W<sup>th</sup> for which

Prish for Parish

Abbreviations for words beginning with p are very common.

The easiest way to transcribe is to write out the sentence as best you can, then read over it again. Making sense of the sentence may help you with the letters or words you missed. Don't worry if you don't get the hang of it straight away, it takes lots of practice.

### Irish Palaeography

The text used in Irish manuscripts of the period is completely different from the English text. The style of the text in these manuscripts is based on a tradition that developed in Ireland from the 7th century onwards (the early Christian period). It is an insular script developed from earlier Roman texts unique to monasteries in Ireland and Britain.

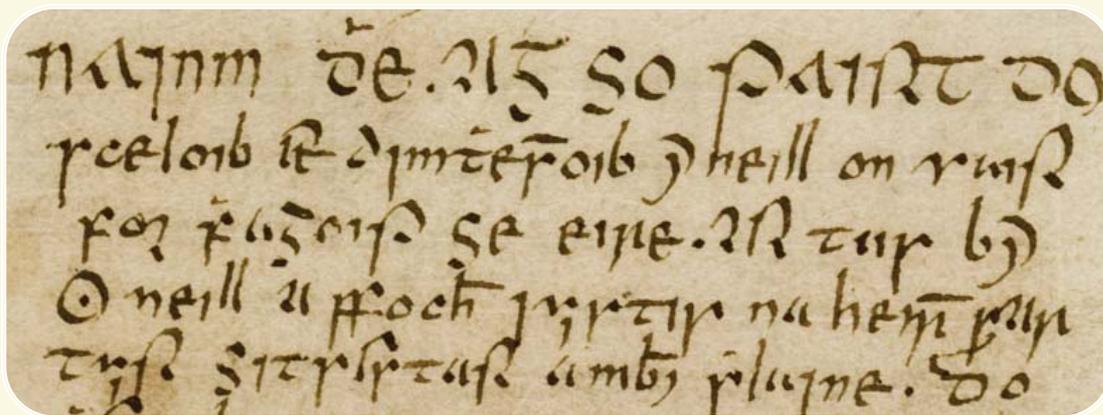
Any one volume or manuscript was worked on by a number of scribes who painstakingly transcribed from one volume to another, copying earlier works.

### The difference in dates

You may notice differences in dates when looking through the documents, this is because different calendars were in use. The Irish used the Roman calendar (Gregorian calendar), while the English used their own, so there is a slight variation in the date. The English calendar in the 16th century was 10 days behind the Irish calendar. The calendars were not synchronised until 1752.

The text can be very difficult to read, taking years of scholarly work to become an expert. The text, written in Latin or old Irish, has no punctuation and uses lots of abbreviations. You will notice little strokes above letters for abbreviations. Common ones used are the nomina sacra or sacred names, for example: Ihs for Jesus and xps meaning Christus or Christ.

Spelling in Irish manuscripts differs from those on the continent; they may have been influenced by native language. They also use lots of ligatures.



© University College Dublin



### **About this pack -Developing the skills of an historian**

In this pack there is a selection of documents from the late 16th and early 17th Century relating to the events that took place in Ireland.

**You should use this pack, not only to acquire knowledge about the past, but also to:**

- Learn about primary sources – original documents recorded at the time of the event.
- Be able to select important information from documents.
- Think critically about that information, form your own opinions and be able to back them up with evidence from the documents.

The documents are derived from manuscripts, letters and printed proclamations that help build up a picture of events during the period.

And mapmakers were employed not only to produce maps but also to produce artistic representations and accounts of events long before photography could fill the same purpose. When examining these images it is important to remember that the artist is in

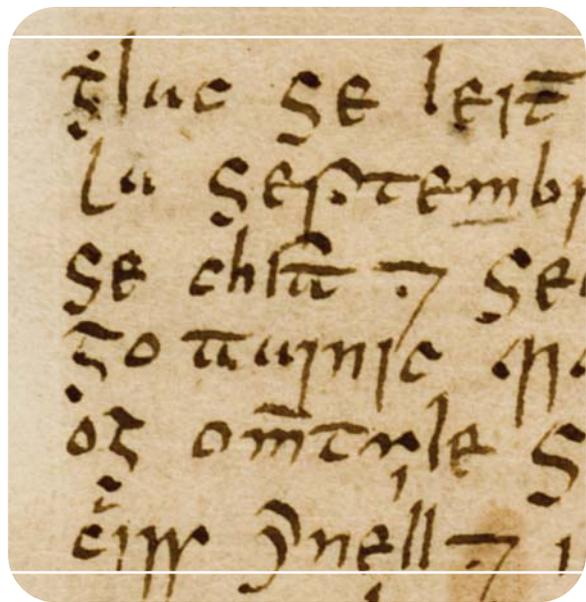
the employ of a patron, and their job is to make their employer look good. When looking at documents such as proclamations and letters consider that this was mass communication in its day. This is how information was passed around and consider how accounts of events were not always given by eye-witnesses but may have been written by someone who heard them second or third hand, with the account becoming more embellished with each telling.

And as for the Franciscan scribes, as biographers of the great Gaelic families they certainly would paint their patrons as noble and heroic, brush over their mistakes and exaggerate their strengths and victories.

**When looking at historical documents it is important to remember:**

- People in the past were no different from today, they could be biased, make mistakes or purposely mislead others.
- Knowledge of the past is incomplete, we have to make decisions based on the best available evidence.
- History is subject to change all the time – as new information comes to light, even from 400 years ago.

# DOCUMENTS AND EXERCISES



## Theme 1: 16th Century Ireland

### Document no. 1:

#### Map of the Northwest

#### Part of Ireland by Baptista Boazio

(P/49 (7) courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, London)

Do you recognise the locations in this map

1. Identify the modern counties (the names of the towns may help in identification).
2. Locate and name a town in counties, Donegal, Tyrone and Sligo.
3. The names of the families that control each region are located on the map, can you name three of them (there may be a variation in spelling to the modern versions you are familiar with)?
4. What natural features are represented on the map? In your opinion do the natural features have any bearing on where settlements are located?
5. Compare this 16th century map to a modern map of the same region. Compare the maps for accuracy of details and changes to the landscape. In your opinion what difficulties did English mapmakers in the north west of Ireland face during the period?

### Document no. 2:

#### The O'Neill Family Tree

(Mss. 635 Carew Manuscripts, courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library)

1. Identify the line of succession from Con Bacach to Hugh O'Neill (Hugh O'Neill recorded as Hugh McMathew O Kelly).
2. Is Hugh O'Neill the obvious candidate to the title of Earl of Tyrone in your opinion?
3. How many English titles (Earl, Knight, Baron) were bestowed upon the O'Neill family?

4. How many members of the family are described as being traitors to the Queen?
5. In your opinion, why are the female family members not represented?

### Document no. 3:

#### An Irish Lord Feasting in the open air

(John Derricks Image of Ireland 1588)

This document is a woodcut and description from an early printed book. It is the work of artist John Derrick's, who travelled to Ireland with the Lord Deputy to record his defeat of the native Irish.

1. Describe in your own words the scene represented in this image.
2. In your opinion are the Irish represented in a good light? Give reasons for your choice.
3. According to the description what do the bards sing about? And how does it affect the 'rebels'?
4. Do you think that this is an eyewitness account and is the author biased towards his subjects?
5. How do you think this image and description influenced the English people who studied the book?

### Consider

How have the documents helped in your understanding of the period? Consider why they were produced and if they were important to English understanding of 16th century Ireland.

## Theme 2: Conflict- The Nine Years War and the Battle of Kinsale

### Document no. 4:

#### **The Battle of Erne Forde (1593)**

(Cotton Augustus I vol ii . 38, courtesy of the British Library)

1. What type of document is this and why in your opinion was it produced?
2. Describe the scene represented in the image? What advantages do visual representations have over text based documents?
3. Do you think that this is an eyewitness account and is there bias in his depiction? Give reasons for your choice.
4. Summarise in a short paragraph what took place in the battle, written from the point of view of Sir Henry Bagenal.
5. Can you identify who is riding into battle at Henry Bagenal's side?  
How do you think the Maguire felt facing him in battle?

### Document no. 5:

#### **Report given to Captain Stafforde by George Cawell, English Spy 1596**

(SP63/ 190/167, courtesy of the National Archives, UK)

1. What important event does Cawell report on?
2. Was Captain Stafforde present at the meeting himself? How did he hear about the events that took place?
3. Do you think this information was useful to the English, give reasons for your choice?
4. Cawell names two of the new arrivals, who were they? (2nd paragraph)
5. Consider the position Cawell found himself in, what dangers would he have faced?

### Document no. 6:

#### **Plan of Battlefield at Kinsale**

(Published in Pacata Hibernia, courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

1. What type of document is this and why do you think it was completed?
2. Write a short summary of what is represented in the plan, listing the principal people, Irish and English, mentioned by the artist.
3. How are O'Neill and O'Donnell depicted? What purpose did this representation serve in your opinion?

### Document no. 7:

#### **The Death of Red Hugh O'Donnell**

(From Lughaidh Uí Chlérigh's Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill, courtesy of the Royal Irish Academy)

**Red Hugh's biographer Lughaidh Uí Chlérigh wrote this account of the death of Red Hugh O'Donnell in his manuscript on the young chieftains life.**

1. Describe in your own words the funeral portrayed by O'Clerigh.
2. How accurate do you think this account is? Is there any embellishment in your opinion?
3. Based on this account; did the Spanish hold Red Hugh in high regard? Give a reason for your answer.
4. Consider the description of Red Hugh's valour. Is this a positive description by modern standards, in your opinion?

### **Consider:**

Compare the depiction of the Irish armies in battles (Documents 4 and 6) with the description of Red Hugh's achievement given by O'Clerigh. How has bias on both sides affected the resulting documents? Do the documents contradict each other and how have they affected you own conclusions?

## Theme 3: Flight, Exile and Death

### Document no. 8: Richard Bartlett's Map of Dungannon, c.1602

(Mss 2656 (5), courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

This is a map, part of a series produced by cartographer Richard Bartlett.

1. This map shows a crannog, Dungannon Castle and the stone Tullahogue chair, site of the inauguration of the O'Neill chieftain, can you identify each item?
2. Describe in a short paragraph what is depicted.
3. Two symbols, one of each culture, English and Irish, are used. Can you identify them?
4. Bartlett was later captured and beheaded by the Irish, why do you think that happened, explain your decision?
5. How do you think O'Neill would have felt about this depiction of the English flag flying at Dungannon Castle?

### Document no. 9:

#### Letter of Sir Arthur Davies to Lord Salisbury, 1607

(SP 63/222/113, courtesy of the National Archives, UK)

1. In this account, what was unusual about O'Neill's departure from Slane and what route does he take to Rathmullan?
2. What is described as O'Neill's 'impediment'?
3. Do you think, that the description of O'Neill's treatment of his wife is accurate? Give reasons for your decision.
4. According to Davies what superstitious belief surrounds the young son of Cathbharr O'Donnell?
5. Summarise in your own words the events reported by Davies.

### Document no. 10: Proclamation of Sir Arthur Chichester, 1607

(SP 63/222/249, courtesy of the National Archives, UK)

1. What type of document is this? Is it for a private or public audience?
2. What is the overall tone of the document, is it positive towards the Earls?
3. According to Chichester, what concessions has the King made to the ungrateful Earls? (first paragraph)

4. What words does he use to describe their current journey on the continent?
5. What are the King's plans for the Earl's estates? (third paragraph)
6. If this was the only account of the flight, what important points would we have learned, can you summarise them?

### Document no. 11:

#### Petition of Bridget O'Donnell to the King, c. 1607

(CP/97/98 (7), courtesy of the Marquess of Salisbury)

1. What type of document is this and what is the overall tone?
2. Was Bridget O'Donnell a loyal subject to the king in your opinion?
3. Describe in your own words her feelings towards her estranged husband, based on the language she uses?
4. Re-write Bridget's letter using your own words.
5. Does this account influence your opinion of Bridget and do you have any sympathy for the situation she finds herself in?

### Document no. 12:

#### The Journey over the Alps – Tadhg Ó Cianáin's Diary

(MS 21, courtesy of the Archives Department, University College Dublin)

1. What type of document is this and why was it written, in your opinion?
2. Do you get the impression that this is an accurate eyewitness account, give reasons for your choice?
3. Select a sentence/passage that you feel describes the difficulties of the journey.
4. What actions were taken to recover the lost money, why do you think they went to so much trouble?
5. Write a short paragraph, from O'Neill's point of view, about how he may have felt waiting in Piedmont. Take into account that he was once a proud leader and Earl and that he now finds himself in a strange country with an uncertain future.

**Document no. 13:**

**The Death of Hugh O'Neill –  
Annals of the Four Masters**  
(MS 23 P7, f.293r courtesy of the  
Royal Irish Academy)

1. What type of document is this? Is it an eye witness account written at the time of the event?
2. Do you consider it a reliable source? Are the authors impartial when describing O'Neill's character? Give reasons for your answer.
3. According to the account, what evidence is there that God was pleased with the life that O'Neill led?
4. Is O'Neill described as a good leader and lord of his estate? Summarise in your own words the account given of his leadership.
5. O'Neill is described as having passed his life in 'prosperity and happiness'. Do you think that is true? What in your opinion would be an accurate description?

**Consider:**

Based on this selection of documents, write your own account of the Flight of the Earls and the fate of Hugh O'Neill. In your account give your opinion on why the Earls left and the importance of Hugh O'Neill in Irish history.

**Theme 4: The Plantation of Ulster**

**Document no. 14:**

**The Division and Plantation of  
the Escheated Counties**

(Carew Mss. 630 f.1, courtesy of Lambeth  
Palace Library)

1. What type of document is this and when was it written?
2. The commission's project is the division and plantation of which Ulster counties?
3. What quantities (acres) are the plots to be divided into?
4. Portions of land are given to three types of landowners. Name the three types and list the differences between them.
5. How shall the portions of land be allocated? Why do you think that is?

**Document no. 15:**

**List of Undertakers (English Planters)**

(Carew Mss 630 f.25, courtesy of Lambeth  
Palace Library)

1. What is the purpose of this document in your opinion?
2. How many of the English planters have

titles (i.e. Earls or Lords or Knights)?

3. In which county is Sir John Davis awarded land and how many acres did he receive?
4. How many received estates described as 'greate' (i.e. 2000 acres)?

**Document no. 16**

**Plot of the Lands Belonging to the  
City of London (Companies)**

(Carew Mss. 634 f.2, courtesy of Lambeth  
Palace Library)

1. What class of document is this and in your own opinion, what purpose did it serve?
2. Identify the location represented on a modern map of the region and compare the two for accuracy and changes to the landscape. Are the principal settlement (towns) pictured on the map still in use today?
3. List the different professions of people who received portions of land.
4. Consider the effect of the influx of new professions to the region. Write a short paragraph on how you think it affected the development of the towns around Lough Foyle.

**Document no. 17**

**A General Plat of the  
City of Londonderry**

(Mss 634 f. 8, courtesy of Lambeth  
Palace Library)

1. What type of document is this and what purpose did it serve in your opinion?
2. Describe the layout of the city and the features represented in the image.
3. List the persons who live within the City walls (use the Key on the back of the drawing). How many families are living within the city according to the description?
4. Compare the plan to a modern map of Derry. Are the streets laid out the same? What changes do you notice?

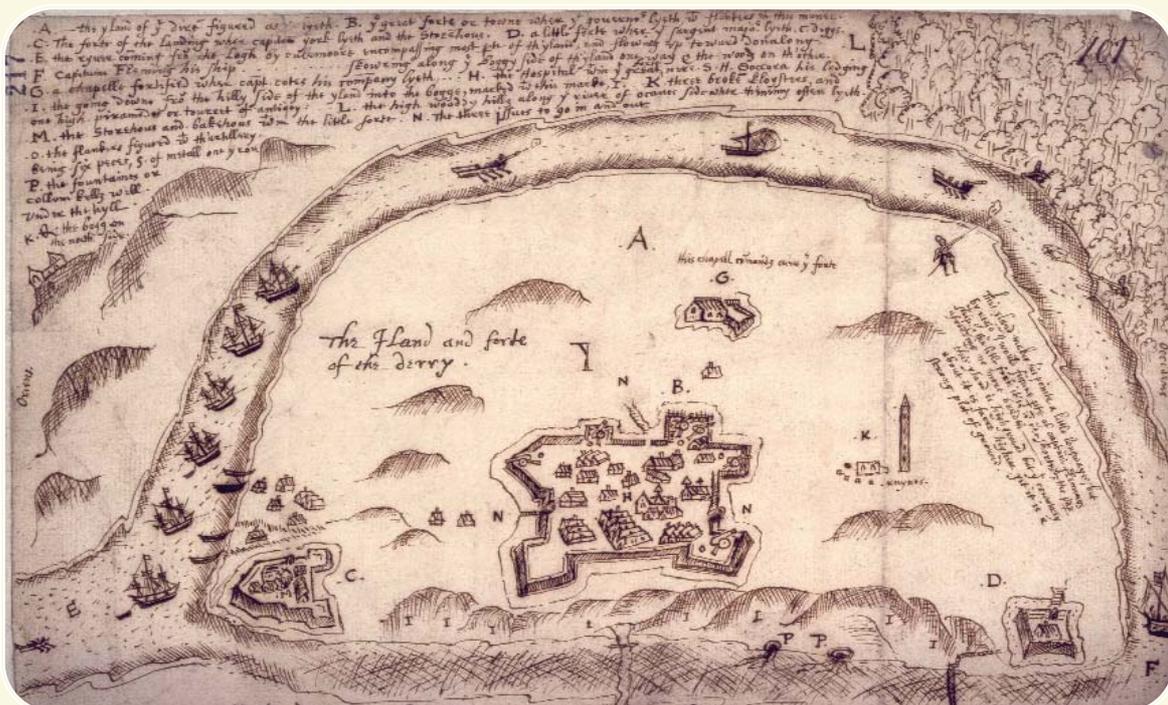
**Consider:**

Based on the information in these documents, consider the impact of the Plantation of Ulster. How do you think the influx of new people changed the province and what effect did it have on the displaced native Irish?

# Acknowledgments:

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The foot Quarter



The foot Quarter.



The waye twixt the foot & horse quarter.

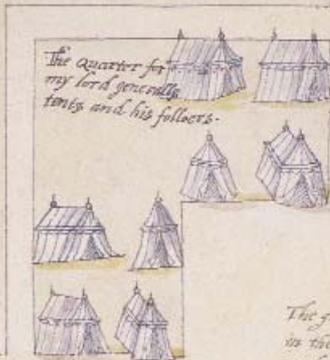
The Horse Quarter.

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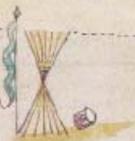
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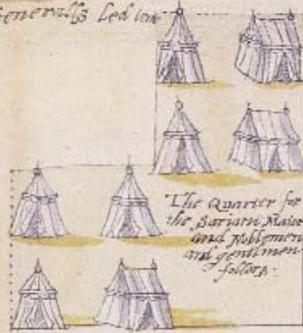
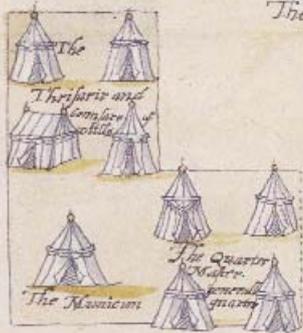
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in campment in the lord Generally's Northern Journey.

The Flight of the Earls / Characters / Protestant Reformation / Irish Manuscript Tradition / St. Anthony's College Louvain / Annals of the Four Masters / Gaelic Ireland in the 16th century / Conflict – The Nine Year War and the Battle of Kinsale / Flight, Exile and Death / Plantation of Ulster / Gaelic Ireland / The Nine Years War (1594-1603) / Kinsale / The Flight of the Earls / The fate of the Irish Exiles / The Plantation of Ulster / The Lord Ruairí O'Donnell – Earl of Tir Chonaill (c.1550-1616) / Hugh O'Neill – Earl of Tyrone (c.1550-1616) / Red Hugh O'Donnell – Lord of Tir Chonaill / Hugh Maguire – Lord of Fermanagh (d.1603) / Cú Chonnacht / Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603) / William Lord Burghley (1532-1599), Lord Treasurer / Sir Henry Baginbald, Queens Marshal (1590-1603)

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