The early seventeenth century was a period of momentous change in Ulster. Crucial to understanding the ways in which the province was transformed is an awareness of the impact of the plantations, both official and unofficial. First published in 1975, this updated and expanded edition of *Plantations in Ulster* makes available to a new generation of researchers R.J. Hunter's meticulous examination of documents relating to Ulster in the early 1600s.
PLANTATIONS IN ULSTER, 1600–41
A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS

Edited by
R.J. HUNTER

New edition prepared by
Ian Montgomery and William Roulston

Foreword to new edition by
Professor Raymond Gillespie
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Cover illustration: Map of Ulster attributed to Willem Blaeu, c. 1603–10 (PRONI)

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PREFACE

Between 1966 and 1975 the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland published a series of Education Facsimiles covering various aspects of Irish history from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. These consisted of collections of twenty reproduced documents along with transcriptions and a brief introduction. As the title suggests, the series was intended to introduce school students to archival material and to encourage further research in the archives. The documents were mainly sourced from collections in PRONI, but also included printed material and documents from other repositories. The pack covering the plantation period was edited by R.J. Hunter and appeared in 1975 as Education Facsimiles 161–180: Plantations in Ulster, c. 1600–41. It was reprinted in 1989, but has been unavailable for many years.

R.J. (Bob) Hunter (1938–2007) was born in Ashbourne, County Meath, and was educated at Wesley College and at Trinity College, Dublin. After graduation in 1960, he began research under Professor T.W. Moody on the Ulster Plantation in the counties of Armagh and Cavan, for which he was awarded an M.Litt. in 1969. In 1963, Bob became a lecturer in History at Magee College in Derry. The creation of the New University of Ulster (now Ulster University) also saw him teaching regularly in Coleraine. The main focus of Bob’s research and teaching was concerned with Ireland in the early modern period and particularly the plantation of Ulster in the early seventeenth century. Although he conducted extensive research in archives and libraries across Britain and Ireland, a number of his projects had not been completed by the time of his death.

Following his passing, the R.J. Hunter Committee, established by his daughter Laura Hunter Houghton, oversaw the completion of two of his outstanding research projects, namely his editions of the Ulster muster roll of c. 1630 and the Ulster port books of 1612–15. It also arranged for the publication by the Ulster Historical Foundation of Bob’s thesis on Armagh and Cavan and a collection of his essays, as well as a new edition of a volume on the plantation in the barony of Strabane. The publication of the revised edition of Plantations in Ulster will complete this project of making Bob Hunter’s legacy available to a new generation of researchers and students.

When preparing this new edition of Plantations in Ulster we have taken the opportunity of enhancing the original publication. It is now presented as a bound book rather than in loose fascicles and colour printing has been used where appropriate. An additional ten documents (Nos 21–30 below) have been added to the publication. With the exception of No. 21, which was also transcribed by Bob Hunter, the additional documents have been edited and annotated by Ian Montgomery and William Roulston. There are also some minor changes to the original text. The term ‘facsimile’ has been changed to ‘document’ and the numbering of the original twenty documents has been changed from 161–180 to 1–20. A note on additional resources for the study of the Plantation has also been included.

Ian Montgomery
William Roulston
FOREWORD

Few would argue with the contention that Ulster was, as described by one title in this series, ‘transformed’ by the early seventeenth-century plantations. Settlers, rather erratically dispersed across the province, brought new ways of organising everyday life. Some of these would not persist beyond the rising of late 1641 but other long-lived features of life can be traced to the plantation, most prominently the estate system that shaped Ulster for the next 400 years. Within this plethora of changes it is easy to miss one of the most obvious. The plantation brought a widespread written culture into Ulster. Much that before was assumed or customary was now written down. Land was now held by leases rather than custom and small-scale maps defined boundaries that hitherto had been remembered only in the popular mind. This social shift was given added impetus by the central government’s desire to monitor and record the progress of the plantation and associated religious change. Such written sources allow us to construct a narrative history of Ulster and it is no accident that most histories of the province, and indeed estate archives, begin with the plantation. This volume provides a sure guide to the most relevant sources.

The documents in this volume were (in the main) selected by R.J. Hunter to help those with little understanding of plantations feel something of the excitement of encountering real stories of those engaged in that ‘project’. The approach is that of the historical world of the 1970s. The documents reveal the perspectives of Dublin or London, the thoughts and records of the planners of plantation. This remains the spine of plantation studies and there is still much to be gained from these documents. New editions, such as Victor Treadwell’s magnificent edition of the 1622 commission enquiring into the state of Ireland (published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 2006), make this material more accessible as do the volume on the port books and the c. 1630 muster roll in this series.

Over time, however, historians’ interests have developed and this is reflected in ten additional documents in the present selection. New types of sources, such as material culture and inscriptions, leases, and complaints from settlers, represent the experiences of those who lived through the plantation, rather than those of its planners. This is an important shift in perspective and there is more to be revealed. The depositions taken after the 1641 rising (now available online and edited by Aidan Clarke for the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 2014), recording the stories of those caught up in those dramatic events have still been little exploited. Through these sources we can now understand something of the worlds of, for example, John Perkins in plantation Dungannon (see Dúiche Néill, no. 24 (2017), pp 58–80) or Arthur Champion in Fermanagh (see Clogher Record, xiv, no. 3 (1993), pp 55–62). This volume provides an entry into the evidence for constructing such worlds in plantation Ulster, a way (as with so many others) pioneered by Bob Hunter.

Professor Raymond Gillespie
Maynooth University
FURTHER RESOURCES

Works by R.J. Hunter

The Ulster Plantation in the Counties of Armagh and Cavan, 1608–1641.
Men and arms: The Ulster settlers, c. 1630 (prepared for publication by John Johnston).
The Ulster Port Books, 1612–15 (prepared for publication by Brendan Scott).
Strabane Barony during the Ulster Plantation, 1607–1641 (edited by R.J. Hunter).

All of the above were published by the Ulster Historical Foundation, Belfast, in 2012.

The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (www.nidirect.gov.uk/proni) holds Bob’s working papers under reference D4446. These are mainly concerned with his research on English settlement in Plantation Ulster, c. 1603-41 and on the history of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though they also reflect some of his other interests.

Further information on Bob Hunter and his work can be found on the R.J. Hunter Collection website: www.therjhuntercollection.com.

Other publications relating to the Ulster Plantation

Curl, James Stevens, The Londonderry plantation, 1609–1914: the history, architecture and planning of the estates of the city of London and its livery companies in Ulster (Chichester, 1986).
Hill, George, An historical account of the plantation in Ulster at the commencement of the seventeenth century. 1608–1620 (Belfast, 1877).
Hill, George, An historical account of the MacDonnells of Antrim: including notices of some other septs, Irish and Scottish (Belfast, 1873).
Hill, George (ed.), The Montgomery manuscripts: (1603–1706) Compiled from family papers (Belfast, 1869).
Roulston, William J., Researching Scots-Irish ancestors, the essential genealogical guide to early modern Ulster, 1600–1800 (Belfast, 2005).

Online resources

The 1641 Depositions: A fully searchable digital edition of the 1641 Depositions at Trinity College, Dublin, comprising transcripts and images of all 8,000 depositions, examinations and associated materials. http://1641.tcd.ie


The Great Parchment Book of the Honourable the Irish Society: A major survey, compiled in 1639 by a Commission instituted by Charles I, of all those estates in Derry managed by the City of London through the Irish Society and the City of London livery companies. www.greatparchmentbook.org
INTRODUCTION

British colonial schemes for Ireland were not a new development of the early seventeenth century. However, the settlements then introduced into Ulster occupy a special place in Irish history. The ‘plantation in Ulster’ proper can be seen as a delayed reaction on the part of the British authorities to their victory in the Irish war which had occupied the last decade of Elizabeth’s reign. This plantation, the result of an elaborate exercise in government planning, concerned the six counties of Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Fermanagh, Londonderry and Tyrone, confiscated after the ‘Flight of the Earls’ in 1607. Most of the documents in this publication illustrate aspects of that colony. However, in a less regulated way substantial colonies were also growing up in Antrim and Down, coastal counties which had traditional trading relations with the neighbouring island. In areas of Monaghan, too, small settlements were developing, but government policy did not envisage thorough settlement there.

These various plantations effectively opened up Ulster to British influence for the first time. Although sixteenth-century governments had had to take cognisance of Ulster, for instance in the surrender and regrant negotiations with Conn O’Neill, in the war against Shane O’Neill and in the Nine Years’ War, they never dominated it. Various localised plantation projects had been initiated, but without success. Colonisation, or any kind of decisive change, could only succeed conquest. Now, in 1608, an exuberant Sir John Davies, the Irish Solicitor-General, was able to write that the King had at his command in Ulster ‘a greater extent of land than any prince in Europe has to dispose of’.

The planning of the colony for the six confiscated or ‘escheated’ counties occupied more than two years, so that when the settlers arrived in the second half of 1610 they were fitted into a systematically devised structure. Preliminaries on two fronts were involved: planning in London with suggestions and advice from Dublin (Documents Nos 1 and 3), and mapping and legal enquiries in the north of Ireland itself. Errors in map-making by which the land was under-surveyed had important effects on the development of the plantation (No. 2).

The plan had two facets: the territorial arrangement of settlers it laid down and the conditions of acceptance it prescribed for grantees. The pattern of settlement was to be broadly the same for each county. There were to be three types of owners: English and lowland Scottish undertakers (civilian groups, so called because of the conditions they undertook to fulfil), servitors (military officers and government officials), and Irish grantees. The new owners were settled together, according to type, in the different baronies (administrative units) into which each county had been divided. In those baronies allocated to undertakers (Scottish or English) it was decided that there must be no ‘old’ Irish residents; the undertakers were to set up self-sufficient colonies. The servitors, on the other hand, with their military experience, were permitted Irish tenantry and were placed in the same baronies as the Irish grantees. The estates of undertakers and servitors were to be of three sizes: 1,000, 1,500 and 2,000 acres; those of most of the Irish grantees, and indeed of some of the servitors, were much smaller. The Irish grantees themselves, who were prominent figures in each county (though not of course the earls or other leaders accused of treason), ranged in number from only seventeen in Londonderry to over sixty in some other counties: in all some 290. Their share in the land, perhaps 20% at the outset, had declined considerably by 1641.

The plan also provided for a number of institutions to be established in each county. Land was designated for about four towns in each, and also for the endowment of a grammar school. Income for Protestant clergy (in each parish) was provided by grants of glebe land; the lands traditionally held by the Catholic bishops were now granted to those in the Protestant succession; and the recently established Trinity College in Dublin received a substantial grant. The plan of plantation was thus not just as simple as is usually stated – an alternation in baronies across the six counties of undertakers (English and Scottish), servitors and Irish grantees. This, indeed, was the basis of it; but most baronies usually accommodated some other grantees – the Church, a town or school, Trinity College, or the recently instated owner of some former monastic property. Furthermore, one whole county, to be known as Londonderry, was granted to exceptional owners, the London merchant companies. The companies, however, accepted their lands under conditions similar to the undertakers; they were, in effect, undertaker-equivalents. The selection of undertakers was made in Britain, while the selection of servitors and Irish grantees lay mainly in the patronage of the Dublin government.
The type of owners for whom the conditions of acceptance were most onerous were the undertakers and, in County Londonderry, the companies (No. 3). The conditions were, principally, that each undertaker should, within about a three-year period, erect a stronghold on his estate, and import settlers at the rate of twenty-four men per thousand acres. The settlement pattern should be one of villages protected by undertakers' strongholds. Servitors and Irish grantees had building and other obligations similar to those of the undertakers, but were not limited to British tenants, and it was envisaged that their lands should provide accommodation for those Irish who would have to move from the undertakers' estates, where no Irish were to be allowed. The Church and Trinity College might also have Irish tenants.

Judged strictly in terms of the conditions laid down, the plantation did not measure fully up to standard. A critic in 1622 saw it as a 'poore rooggid [i.e. rugged] quarter plantation', and commented that although some of the undertakers had done 'indifferentlie well' many had been 'carelesse and negligent' both in building on and tenanting their lands, so that 'a world of Irishe' continued to live on them as tenants. It was true that there were many deficiencies in performance: perhaps as many as half the settlers sold their estates and opted out of the endeavour; the colony was slow to reach its stipulated size; the required pattern of settlement in village communities was only partly followed; grantees' building efforts did not always measure up to standard; arrangements with tenants on estates often differed in varying ways from the scheme laid down in the undertakers' conditions, and there were many disputes between landlords and tenants; the colony was not adequately armed.

The settlers' neglect of public interest for private advantage was a regular subject of complaint throughout the period. However, the government itself failed in many ways in its supervision and fosterage of the plantation. On the one hand, difficulties arose for the planters in the early, crucial years which more careful planning could have eliminated (though there were nothing like the difficulties which the Munster planters had initially encountered); on the other casual settler performance often went unchecked by the administration. One fundamental example may be given. The logic of the requirement that undertakers in their baronies should have no old Irish tenantry was surely that those should be resettled by the government at the undertakers' arrival. Instead, this was tacitly taken to be the undertakers' responsibility. When, however, the undertakers found it convenient to rely, in varying extent, on old Irish tenantry and labour, the government granted them a series of temporary exemptions from the requirement, culminating in a formal compromise arrangement in 1628. Even Wentworth, in the 1630s, found reasons of state – his desire not to discourage settlers offering for land in his proposed plantation of Connaught – to soft-pedal an otherwise characteristically vigorous policy towards the Ulster colony.

Yet in many essentials the plantation made a much greater impact on the area than any previous colonial scheme in this island. Pynnair estimated the British population of the six counties in 1619 as 8,000 males. A muster book of c. 1630 (No. 14) provides a similar figure, and may well have underestimated some areas. It is safe to assume a population of close on 30,000 men, women and children in 1630. If we add the muster book figures for the other three counties (Antrim 1,618 men; Down 4,045; Monaghan 93), we can form an impression of the settler population of the whole province. This compares favourably with other British colonising enterprises: the number of British males in the Munster plantation in 1622 has been estimated at 4,000; in 1630 the total estimated population of the British colonies in North America was no more than 4,646 people, although it had risen to 26,634 by 1640. Such figures place the Ulster enterprises in perspective. Also in the 1630s there was a considerable influx of Scots, though probably only some English, who felt more the competing pull of North America.

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the Londonderry plantation was the size attained by its two towns, Derry with 500 British males, and Coleraine with 300, both of which surpassed urban development elsewhere in the plantation. Derry (Nos 19 and 20) was very similar in size to Boston, which in 1640 had a total population of 1,200 people. New York, with a total of some 400 people in 1640, had a population similar to that of Armagh, though smaller than Strabane. Although not above criticism, the buildings erected were one of the most striking achievements of the plantation (No. 8). Fairs and markets were established, mills erected, and the trade of the Ulster ports (No. 9) testifies to the economic invigoration which the presence of the colonists, as well, of course, as peace-time conditions, produced. Measures of land reclamation, some enclosure, and the felling of timber (which had a great commercial value) were part of an altering rural environment. The plantation also ensured fundamental change in Ulster on an
entirely different plane. The English system of local government could now be introduced, and English law administered in the courts (No. 5). As to religion, contemporary Catholic writers were not blind to change in Ulster; one, for example, complained that as a result of the plantation, Ulster, previously an ‘adornment of the faith’, had turned out to be a ‘cesspool of heterodox settlements’.

Elsewhere in Ulster, in Antrim and Down (Nos 12 and 13), and on a minor scale in parts of Monaghan, colonisation went ahead without the same formal government regulation. The Anglo-Norman colonies in Antrim (where the castle at Carrickfergus retained great strategic importance) and in Down had been revived tentatively in the reign of Henry VIII, and again later. The granting of land at Newry in 1550 to Nicholas Bagenal had brought the family of a prominent antagonist of Hugh O’Neill into Ulster landownership. At the same time, the Scottish MacDonnells, long settled in Ulster, were building up power and influence in north Antrim and Shane O’Neill had found their presence a threat. To Elizabeth’s government, however, Scots were unsatisfactory agents in the transformation of Ireland, and attempts to establish English settlements in Antrim and Down in the 1570s had been unsuccessful. It was really only with the accession of James I that a Scottish presence in Ulster, one of lowlanders, received royal backing. Two men in particular, James Hamilton and Hugh Montgomery, and their families, played a substantial part in the rapid build-up of a Scottish colony in this reign in County Down. English owners also extended their influence.

In 1576 Elizabeth granted a part of Monaghan – one whole barony called Farney – to the Earl of Essex. But some years later, by applying a version of her father’s policy of surrender and regrant to landownership in this county, she effectively prevented colonisation in Monaghan on a grand scale in the subsequent reign. Monastic property in Monaghan was also granted to new English proprietors. There was too at the turn of the century a garrison controlled by Sir Edward Blayney in Monaghan town. Sir John Davies, who visited the county in 1607, found little pleasing to the English observer; of the town of Monaghan, for example, he said, it ‘doth not deserve the name of a good village, consisting of divers scattered cabins or cottages, whereof the most part are possessed by the cast [off] soldiers of the garrison’. The Essex estate, centred on Carrickmacross, had all been let to a member of the McMahon family (to his great profit, in Davies’s opinion); it was only after 1618 that it began to be leased to new English landholders. Some of the conditions in these leases were similar to those in other areas of Ulster: for example, the middlemen were each to build ‘one good stronge and substantyal house of stone or bricke to be layed with lyme and sand with chymneyes and wyndowes after the English manner fytt for habitac’on, and to be covered with slate or tyle’; and land enclosure stipulations were also included. Landholders such as Blayney’s and Essex’s tenants were responsible for the modest colony revealed in County Monaghan in 1630 (No. 14). Strictly, however, the term plantation – implying deliberate government planning and regulation – cannot be applied to what was happening in any of the three counties of Antrim, Down and Monaghan.

The 1641 rising proved to be the first serious reversal the Ulster colony encountered. However, it revived. Was it then a success? James I’s Irish parliament proclaimed the equality of all people in Ireland under one law and expressed the hope that ‘so they may grow into one nation’ loyal to the British crown: the introduction of colonies on such a scale into Ulster (however short they might fall of government plans) must surely have contributed to the frustration of that hope of reconciliation.

RJH 1975
**LIST OF DOCUMENTS**

1. Opening part of the 'Project' of the Ulster plantation, 1609 (TCD, MS 747).
2. Part of the map of the barony of Strabane, County Tyrone, 1609 (PRONI, T1652/15).
3. Extract from the revised articles of the Ulster plantation, 1610 (BL, Lansdowne MS 159).
4. Title page and extract from Thomas Blenerhasset, *A direction for the plantation in Ulster*, 1610 (NLI).
5. Carew's survey of the plantation in the barony of Strabane, 1611 (Lambeth, Carew MS 630).
7. Part of the survey of the plantation in the barony of Strabane conducted in 1622 (BL, Add. MS 4756).
8. Description of buildings on the estate of Sir Archibald Acheson in County Armagh, 1622 (NLI, MS 8014).
9. Extract from the Londonderry port book, 1615 (West Yorkshire Archive Service, WYL 100/PO/7/1/4).
10. Map of County Londonderry, 1622 (PRONI, T510/1/5).
11. Extract from a report on the native Irish on undertakers' land in County Armagh, 1624 (TNA, SP 63/238).
12. Part of the Chancery inquisition dealing with the County Down estates of Conn O'Neill, James Hamilton and Hugh Montgomery, 1623 (PRONI, T856/1).
13. Description of the boundaries of lands held by Sir Hugh Clotworthy from Sir Arthur Chichester at Antrim, 1618 (PRONI, D655/1).
15. Petition of the British inhabitants of the barony of Loughinsholin, County Londonderry, c. 1622 (PRONI, T510/2).
16. Extract from the ecclesiastical visitation of the diocese of Derry, 1622, dealing with the barony of Strabane (TCD, MS 550).
17. Extract from the 1622 ecclesiastical visitation of the diocese of Derry, dealing with schools (TCD, MS 550).
18. Petition of the corporation of Strabane to the commissioners of inquiry, 1622 (NLI, MS 8014).
19. Pynnar's survey of the city of Derry, 1619 (TCD, MS 864).
20. Raven's map of Derry, 1622 (PRONI, T510/1/7).
21. John Carville's proposal for a private plantation in Ireland, 1609 (TNA, SP 63/227).
22. Translation of the charter of the town of Belfast, 1613 (PRONI, LA/7/1/A/1).
23. Report by Alderman George Smithes and Mr Mathias Springham on the Londonderry Plantation, 1613 (PRONI, D683/27).
24. Sir Thomas Phillips' suggestions for improving the security of the kingdom, 1623 (PRONI, T510/2).
25. Letter from the inhabitants of Moneymore about the maintenance of the town waterworks, etc, 1625 (PRONI, D3632/A/212).
26. Sir Arthur Chichester's memorial inscription, St Nicholas' Church, Carrickfergus, c. 1625.
27. Robert Algeo's crucifixion plaque, Artigarvan, County Tyrone, c. 1625.
29. Rent roll of the estate of Sir William Balfour, County Fermanagh, 1636 (PRONI, D1939/15/2/2).
30. Lease from the Earl of Antrim to Toole McAllester, 1637 (PRONI, D2977/3A/3/1/1A).
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The publication of the revised edition has been made possible by Ms Laura Hunter Houghton and the R.J. Hunter Committee. The original text is republished with the permission of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. The editors would like to thank Professor Ray Gillespie, Dr Amy Harris, and Mr Stephen Scarth and Ms Lorraine Bourke of PRONI for their assistance. For permission to reproduce material we would like to acknowledge: the Deputy Keeper of the Records, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland; Ms Laura Hunter Houghton; The National Archives, London; the Drapers’ Company of the City of London; the late Earl of Enniskillen; the Earl of Erne; and Viscount Dunluce.

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

In transcribing the documents for publication, the original spelling, punctuation and capitalization have been reproduced unaltered. Contractions in spelling were very common in the early seventeenth century, and most of those which occur in these documents will be obvious from the context. However, with the exception of the most obvious – for example, ‘Sr’, ‘Mr’, ‘&’ - the omitted letters have been inserted within square brackets. In this way the reader will be able to learn something of early seventeenth century handwriting. That consistency in spelling was not usual, will also be obvious. Where sums of money occur the modern ‘£’ symbol has been substituted for the contemporary ‘li’. A special note accompanies the transcript of No. 9. Where only part of a document is reproduced, an asterisk in the text of the transcript denotes the point where the copy begins or ends. The letter thorn ‘Þ’ has been transcribed as ‘th’ rather than Y, i.e. ‘the’ not ‘ye’.
The initial part of the 'project' for the plantation of the six escheated Ulster counties, 
drawn up in London in January 1609

The five general points indicate the systematic planning devoted to the Ulster scheme. A precise and uniform organisation was laid down. It may be noted here that not all these points were complied with. The third, which proposed a new church organisation which would dovetail with the civil colony, was only partly adhered to. The fifth was abandoned, it would seem wisely, to allow settlers of common local origin in Britain or those united by ties of friendship or blood to acquire neighbouring estates. It was more than a year after this before the conditions (No. 3), under which the various types of grantees were to receive their lands, were finally defined.

This is one of the most important planning documents for the colony. It continues with a county by county analysis of how much land was available for plantation, how much should be granted to the Church and how much set aside for towns, schools and other institutional purposes. It also deals with former monastic property in each county, as well as miscellaneous matters such as fishing rights, important on such rivers as the Bann and Foyle. For each county the relative amounts of land to be granted to undertakers, servitors and Irish 'natives' is defined. There was vigorous debate at this stage about the landed rights of the Ulster episcopate. Church land was not forfeited to the crown for lay plantation and the new Protestant bishops were anxious to assert their claims to the full.

In 1585, O'Cahan's country was designated the County of Coleraine as it appears in the document. English local government institutions were not effectively introduced there, however, until the Plantation, and then (in 1613) a somewhat expanded area was created County Londonderry.

The signature of King James I at the top of the document is not an original. The page is taken from a copy which appears to have been made for Lord Deputy Chichester. The initials E.M. may have been those of Edmond Midhop, a government official of that time.

---

E.M

A proiecte for the deuision and plantac[i]on of the Escheated Landes in 6 seuerall Countries, namely Tyrone, Coulrane, Donegall, ffarmanagh, Ardmagh and Cavan.

In this proiecte we have first conceiued 5 genn[er]all pointes to be obserued in euery County viz:
1. ffirst: That the p[ro]porc[i]ons of land to be distributed to Undertakers maie be of three different quantities, The first and least quantery maie consist of soe many p[ar]cels of land as will make 1000 English acres or thereaboutes, the second and mydle p[ro]porc[i]on of soe manie p[ar]cels of land as will make 1500 Eng[lish] acres or thereabouts, the third and greatest of soe many p[ar]cels as will make 2000 English acres or thereaboutes.
2. Secondly that all the lands escheated in euery County maie be devided into foure p[ar]tis whereof 2 p[ar]tes maie be divided into p[ro]porc[i]ons consistinge of 1000 acres a peece, a third part into proporc[i]ons of 1500 acres, and the fourth part into proporc[i]ons of 2000 acres.
3. Thirdlie that euerie p[ro]porc[i]on be made a parish and a parish Church erected therin, And that the Incumbentes maie be endowed w[i]th gleabes of seuerall quanteties viz an Incumbent of a parish of 1000 acr[e]s to have 60 acr[e]s an Incumbent of a parish of 1500 acr[e]s to have 90 acr[e]s and an Encumbent of a parish of 2000 acres to have 120 acres, And that the whole tieties and the duties of euerie parish be allotted to euery Incumbent besides the gleabes aforesaid.
4. Fourthlie that the undertakers of these lands be of three seuerall sortes viz:
   1. English and Scottish who are to plant their porc[i]ons with English and Scottish ten[a]ntes.
   2. Servitors in Ireland whose maie take English or Irish ten[a]ntes at their choise.
   3. Natives of those Countries who are to be made free holders.
5. Lastlie his Ma[jes]ty haueing made choise of such p[er]sons as shalbe planted in euery Countie, to avoyde emulac[i]on amongst them, the scites or places of their p[ro]porc[i]ons shalbe distributed by Lottes:

(Source: Trinity College, Dublin, MS 747, f. 164 v.)
No. 2

Part of a map of the barony of Strabane, County Tyrone, produced in 1609 as one of the preliminaries to the plantation

No suitable geographical survey of Ulster was available to the government when, after the ‘Flight of the Earls’ in the 1607, it was decided to embark on plantation. A scheme based on detailed planning (Nos 1 and 3) would founder unless a thorough stocktaking of the terrain involved were effected; yet previous mapping in Ulster had produced nothing on which such a scheme could be based. In the summer of 1608, therefore, surveys of each county were conducted. These aimed at distinguishing between the land which was available for plantation and that (chiefly Church land) which was not, and at enumerating the acreage of all the land within each county and barony. This survey was chorographical, i.e. without maps. Its findings were criticised by the bishops, and it was considered an inadequate framework of reference for the proposed colony. Accordingly, the implementation of the plantation was deferred, and a new survey with additional and more specific tasks was commissioned in the following year.

This was carried out by the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester (No. 13), and other members of the Irish government, who employed surveyors of whom Sir Josias Bodley (No. 6) was the most prominent. Fieldwork was completed by the end of September 1609, though it was not until February 1610 that the results, processed in Dublin, had been transmitted to London. The finished maps were described in glowing terms. It seemed that estates could now easily be marked out on them and granted to settlers. However, they proved to have deficiencies. Some places were left out, and the shapes of areas were incorrectly drawn. Inaccurate mapping led to the diffusion of energy in various unconstructive ways – for example, to a plethora of disputes and lawsuits about land amongst the settlers in the early years of the plantation.

Accompanying the maps were calculations of the acreage of the land. These were not figures derived from surveying techniques, but were based on false assumptions about the size of the townland in different areas, and they were grossly smaller than the real acreages. Thus, a settler granted a nominal 1,000 acre estate would in practice receive 3,000 or 4,000 acres, or even more. This had two major consequences. A settler was supposed to plant a certain number of tenants per thousand acres, and the error meant that, even if he fulfilled his obligations, he would be planting to a lesser density than had been planned. It also affected the income of the government, which charged the new owners a rent calculated per thousand acres. Lord Deputy Wentworth in the 1630s was very conscious of early deficiencies in planning.

Of course it must be realised that the mapping was done very hurriedly in that summer of 1609, and also that the techniques of map-making were not the scientific ones of today. The techniques used for indicating physical features, etc., are noteworthy. Comparison with the appropriate Ordnance Survey map makes it possible to identify many of the areas and also shows up the deficiencies of the survey. Note how small Strabane appears to have been just prior to the plantation: Lifford, lying on the other side of the river, was larger and had a British fort, as can be seen on the map.

The reproduction is taken, not from the original, but from a copy made for publication by the Ordnance Survey in 1861.

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, T1652/15)
No. 3

Part of the ‘revised articles’ of the plantation, produced in the spring of 1610

The section reproduced here sets out the obligations placed on undertakers, English or Scots, in the plantation. There had been various delays in implementing the plantation (No. 2) since the original conditions had been produced at the end of 1608. This document embodied modifications of the earlier plan as well as greater precision in stipulations. It provides the prototype against which the colony was and can be evaluated.

The building and tenanting requirements are set out clearly for each undertaker. He was to settle his estate or proportion within a defined time to a minimum density of twenty-four adult males per 1,000 acres. The colonists should live ‘for their mutual defence and strength’ in village settlements close to the undertaker’s stronghold and he should provide arms for defence. Baronies allocated to undertakers (except for areas of land within them held by the Church or perhaps pieces of former monastic property) were to be cleared of native Irish residents, hence the provisions of item 9. Items 8 and 10 represent an attempt to ensure stability to the colony in its crucial early years. As will be seen, many undertakers did not conform to all these requirements.

The document is an example of London printing of this date. It shows the title-page and pages 4–8 of the book. The corresponding regulations for servitor and native Irish grantees formulated at this time were not printed. The chief difference between both these groups and the undertakers was that neither the servitors nor the native Irish grantees were required to introduce British tenantry. The crown rents required of the servitors (£8 per 1,000 acres) were higher, perhaps for this reason, than the corresponding payments (£5 6s. 8d.) of the undertakers. Native Irish grantees were to pay at the rate of £10 13s. 4d. per 1,000 acres. They were to employ English methods of land utilization.

(Source: British Library, Lansdowne MS 159, ff 217v and 219–21)
of a middie Proportion, shall within the same time build a stone or brick house thereupon, with a strong court or bawn about it; And every Vindtaker of a small Proportion, shall within the same time make thereupon a strong Court or bawn at least.

Every Vindtaker shall within three years, to be accepted from Easter next, plant or place upon a small Proportion, the number of 4 able men of the age of 18 years or upwards, being English or Inland Scots; And to rateably upon the other Proportions, which numbers shall be reduced into 20 families at least, to be paid upon every small Proportion, and rateably upon the other Proportions in this manner: viz. The principal Vindtaker and his family to be placed upon a Description of 300 Acres; Two Freeholders upon 20 Acres a piece; Three Labourers for three years at 18 Years a piece; And upon the residue being 200 Acres, 2 more families or more of Husbandmen, Artificers or Cottagers; their

Portions.

Portions of Land to be assigned by the principal Vindtaker at his discretion. Every of the said Vindtakers shall draw their Tenants to build houses for themselves and their families, or farming, but together, secure the principal houses or bawn, as well for their military defence and strength, as for the making of Villages and Townships.

The said Vindtakers, their heirs and assigns, shall have ready in their houses at all times, a commission from the Army, whereby they may furnish a competent number of men for their defence, which may be viewed and mustered every half years, according to the manner of England.

Every of the said Vindtakers, before he be required to build Vindtaker, shall take the Oath of Supremacy, either in the Presence of England or Scotland, before the Commissioners to be appointed for the establishing of the Plantation, and shall also conform themselves in Religion according to his Majesties Laws. And every

Portions of any part thereof to the more Irish, or to such persons as will not take the said Oath of Supremacy, and to that end a proof shall be inserted in their Letters Patent, that the parcel of land is assigned to be tolerated.

The said Vindtakers shall not alien their Portions during five years, to be accepted from Michaelmas next, but up to their Vindtakers, in the form before explicated in the fourth Article.

The said Vindtakers shall not remove any vacant tenement, but the same shall be expressly set down without reference to the outmost of the County.

In what manner the said performance shall be.
No. 4

Part of a pamphlet entitled *A direction for the plantation in Ulster* by Thomas Blenerhasset, 1610

Blenerhasset had received a grant of land in Fermanagh as an undertaker, and had come to Ulster on a reconnaissance trip in 1609. His pamphlet was dedicated to Prince Henry, James I’s son, and printed in London. It may be seen as a settler’s reaction to the government’s plantation scheme, based on his Irish visit. It was also, in a sense, an informal piece of promotional literature.

He made one fundamental criticism of the plantation proposals. He was convinced that the building of strong houses and bawns (walled courtyards) on each estate would be in no way adequate to the security problem the plantation would produce. The plantation must instead be based on a structure of ‘many goodly strong corporations’ for its permanence to be assured. Francis Bacon was another of this opinion.

Blenerhasset also included an appeal to his fellow Englishmen to support the Ulster enterprise.

‘Art thou rich, possessed with much revenue? Make speed without racking of rents, or other offensive means; thou shalt doe God and thy Prince excellent service… Art thou a Tradesman? a Smith, a Weaver, a Mason, or a Carpenter? goe thither, thou shalt be in estimation, and quickly enriched by thy indevours … Art thou a Gentleman that takest pleasure in hunt? the Fox, the Woolfe, and the Wood-Kerne doe expect thy comming and the comely well cabbazed Stagge will furnish thy feast with a full dish. There thou shalt have elbowe roome … Art thou a Minister of God’s word? make speed, the harvest is great but the laborers be fewe: thou shalt there see the poore ignorant untaught people worship stones and sticks: thou by carrying millions to heaven maist be made an Archangell, and have whiles thou doost live for wordly respects, what not.’

(Source: National Library of Ireland, Irish Tracts, LO P 10)
For the plantation

Moreover the sowing countenance of chance and change, (for nothing so certain as that all things are most uncertain,) doth also incite a prudent undertaker to lay such a foundation, as it should be rather a violent storm then a free of fowle weather that should annoy him. A scattered plantation will never effect his design what can the countenance of a Cattle or Bawne with a fewe followers doe, even as they at this present doe: which is nothing to any purpose.

What shall we then say or to what course that we brake our felicitye by building of a well fortified Towne, to be able at any time at an hours warning with five hundred men well armed, to encounter all occasions; neither will that be sufficient, except it be endowed with such another, and that also if it may be, as easily it is may (with a third:) so there will be help on evry side, to defend & offend: for as in England, a priate watch be set, many make a fort, even amongst their cuppes: so there where the spaces in the Woods be cut out, and the bogges

of Vlster.

bogges be made somewhat passible, then these new erected townes intending a reformation, must often times at the first see a sudden call great hunt: that a sudden search may be made in all suspense places, for the Wolfe and the Wood-kerne, which being secretly and wisely appointed by the gour-
nors, they with the help of some trith, will acquainted with the holes and holles of those offenders, the generall shall search every particular place.

For an example, the fourth day of March, the country, the Omagh, they in Fermanagh, Downes, and Cavan, shall on that day send forth from every one of those places, an hundred men; which five hundred men shall then make search in all, or in all the most suspense places: and being at one instant dispersed with furniture fit for such busines, they shall discover all the Causer, holes, & lurking places of that country, even for an hundred miles compasse; and no doubt it will be a pleasant hunt, and much pray-

For the Plantation

eth shall have elbowe room, and all the Earl and the Earne and all sorts of high flying foules do attend thee. Art thou a Minister of Gods word: make speed the har-vest is great but the laborers be fewe: thou shalt there see the poore ignorant vsurp our people worship stones and sticks: thou by carrying millions to heaen, mayest be made an Archangel, and have whiles thou dost live for worldly respects, what not. So Pl-ly, which hath bene hithero the receptacle and very denye of Rebels and detroying creatures, shall farre excell Maister, and the easie left part of all that country, and perad-venture in civility and sincere Religion, etc.

In all Ireland
No. 5

Part of the first government-commissioned survey of the Ulster plantation, carried out by Lord Carew with the assistance of members of the Irish government in the summer of 1611

This was the forerunner of three further enquiries ending in 1622, and the four combined (while they must be treated as critically as possible) constitute the major part of the source material for the plantation.

By and large, Carew's report on the undertakers throughout the six planted counties indicates that they had installed within this first year about one-third of the total number of settlers required under the articles of plantation (No. 3). Although the achievement of the Scots undertakers in Cavan by this stage was negligible, it is not otherwise easy to find substantial points of contrast between the English and the Scottish undertakers. By and large, however, the Scots were more concerned with farming and tillage, the English with building and construction. Great variation is also found in the endeavour of individual settlers.

The section of Carew's report reproduced here deals with a portion of the barony of Strabane (No. 2), which had been granted to Scottish undertakers. Six of the eight grantees, a high portion comparatively, were resident, but subordinate settlers are referred to specifically on only three estates and it is evident that the Earl of Abercorn's efforts had far outstepped those of his fellow undertakers in this barony.

Carew's evidence of the servitor grantees in the planted counties forces the conclusion that they were the most dilatory planter category, though, here again, he records efforts of special energy. The servitors, when upbraided by him for their limited achievement, complained that they were short of tenantry and manpower because the undertakers had retained the native Irish as tenants. It is true that this was the case and that there had been no transplantation of Irish from the forbidden lands of the undertakers to those of the servitors and others who might receive them. Nevertheless, the excuse seems flimsy.

If there was little excuse for the inactivity of the servitors, there was some for the inactivity of the native Irish grantees who were only about now taking up their allocations. They had been hoping that the plantation scheme would collapse, and did not move to the lands granted to them until this seemed unlikely.

The Precinct of Strabane

The Earl of Abercorne Cheefe Undertaker in the pr[e]cincte of Strabin in the Countie of Tyrone hath taken possession of his land and is there resident w[i]th his Lady and familie and hath buylte for the pr[e]sent neere the T owne of Straban some large tymber houses w[i]th w[hi]ch he hath invironed a Courte 116 foote in length and 87 foote in breddh, the groundells of o[a]ken tymber and the rest of Allor and birch w[hi]ch is well tatched w[i]th heath and finished he hath buylte a greate bruhouse w[i]thout his Courte 40 foote longe and 25 foote wyde. his followers and tenants have since may last buylte 28 houses of fayre Coples and before may by his tenants who are all Scotishmen the number of 32 houses of like goodnes. he is preparinge of necessarie materialls for buyldinge of a fayre Castle and a bawne w[hi]ch he meanes to put in hande the next Springe there is 120 Cowes in stocke upon his Lande for his owne use.

Sr Thomas Boyde Knight undertaker of a proportion of land in that pr[e]cincte is there resident w[i]th his familie and is pr[oor]vidinge of materialls for his buyldinge.

Sr George Hamilton Kight [sic] Undertaker of a p[ro]portion of land in that pr[e]cincte is resident there w[i]th his wife and familie, he hath buylte a good house of tymber for the pr[e]sent 62 foote longe and 30 foote wyde, he hath brought over some families of Scotts who have buylt them a bawne and good tymber houses, they have 80 Cowes and 16 garrans amonge them.

[f. 101]

Sr John Dumonde knight undertaker of 1000 acres in the said pr[e]cincte app[ear]ed in p[er]son, tooke possession and hath one Scotchman one his Lande and 2 garrons and a mare.

James Clapham Undertaker of 2000 acres in the said pr[e]cincte resident upon his portion and prepares to people his Lande. he hath competent store of Armes in readines.
James Hayge Undertaker of 1500 acres in the said pr[e]cincte app[e]ared not nor anie for him neither is anie worke done.

Sr Claude Hamylton knight Undertaker of a proportion of 2000 acres in the said pr[e]cincte appeared not nor anie for him, nor nothing done upon his Lande.

George Hamilton Undertaker of a thousand acres in the said pr[e]cincte, hath taken possession and is resident, makinge provisions for his buylldinge.

(Source: Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS, 630, f. 100 v.)
No. 6

Part of the survey of the plantation taken by Sir Josias Bodley in the spring of 1613

The section of Bodley's survey dealing with Strabane barony is reproduced here; so this document, used in conjunction with Nos 2, 5 and 7, makes it possible to study the successive phases of the colony in one area. The same procedure can be followed for any other barony. Bodley's survey is particularly valuable because of its timing: it was conducted close to the deadline for building and planting prescribed to the new owners by the articles of plantation (No. 3).

It may be noted that in Strabane barony two estates had changed hands. These changes – one of them was still informal, Sir George Hamilton 'answereth' for his relative George Hamilton of Byning's estate – had not brought in new owners, but resulted in land accumulations by two already existing grantees. The effect of this was increased by the absenteeism of two other grantees in the barony. These were common faults throughout the planted counties. On the credit side, it must be said that a very considerable colony (though about half of it was on Lord Abercorn's estate) had been by now installed in this barony. There were perhaps as many as 190 households, a figure in excess of what was required by the conditions. Many other undertakers' baronies at this stage, English or Scots, could only show about two-thirds of the required numbers of tenantry. The survey shows that diversity of performance continued to be a characteristic of the Strabane undertakers. It may be noted that Sir George Hamilton was a Catholic, which was to give the colony here an unintended flavour.

Strabane Undertakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Acres]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4500 149</td>
<td>The Earle of Aberkorne, who undertaketh for the proportions of Straban, Donnalong, and th[a]t of Skean assigned to Sr Tho. Boide hath planted those proportions w[i][th] nerre a hundred householde[w][hi]ch have setled, and are setling themselves, w[i][th] the[r]y[ir] stocks of Cat[t]le theron, and are for the moste parte sufficiently provided of armes, besides his Lo[rshi]ps particular store. The Estates of freehold, and of lease (as by the specialties appeareth) exceed the nomber required by the articles. Hee hath caused a large thatched house aboute a square courte to be built at Strabane for his present use, intending spedely, to set forward suche other Edifices and strengths, as by the said articles he is enioyned unto in regard of the said proportions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500 150</td>
<td>Sr George Hamelton w[i][th] his Lady, his famely &amp; stock of cattle is resident upon his proportion in a convenient house, w[i][hi]ch he hath built, having also caused to be sett up very neere threeh[oo]re Iriseh housen or cabins upon his said land, for the present relief of his tenants &amp; followers, who are estate[d] according to the conditions, have good store of Cat[t]le &amp; are well fournished w[i][th] armes, besides his own Competent provision. His Lyme is re[a]dy for the kill, and his others material drawing together for the structures required by the articles of plantation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 151</td>
<td>George Hamelton hath onely 8 or 9 tenants on his proportion, otherwise nothing don[c] theron. Sr George Hamelton (in his absence) aswereth for that proportion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 152</td>
<td>James Claphoune hath a sufficient house &amp; baune w[hi]ch hee found re[a]dy built at Newtown w[i][th] his proportion &amp; hath disposed of his land to his 4 sonnes. There are not yet above halfe his nomber to tenants on the Land, the rest he purposeth to supplie, &amp; for any backwardnes or omission of his in performance of Conditions hee hath recourse to his Ma[jes]ties mercy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 153</td>
<td>Sr Claude Hamelton hath a rough proportion, few or no tenants on his Land, nothing yet built, nor prepared towards building, for ought that I could understand, himselfe not being in the Countrey.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
James Haiges proportion is as yet untenanted, nothing built upon it and himself absent.

Sr John Dromond hath his Lady with his stock & servants in the Country, hath made his estates of freehold and lease, 9, or 10 households are already settled on the land, with their goodes & cattel, and some quantity of limestone & tymbre is prepared for his building.

(Source: Huntington Library, Hastings MS, HA 13,964)
No. 7

A section of the survey of the plantation carried out by commissioners in 1622

In this survey, the treatment is much more detailed than that of the earlier ones (Nos 5 and 6). This reflects twelve years' growth in the colony and also the thoroughness with which this particular inquiry was carried out. The section reproduced here again deals with Strabane barony, but this time it is only possible to reproduce that portion of the survey dealing with the three estates or proportions and the town of Strabane (No. 18) formerly owned by the 1st Earl of Abercorn, who had died in 1618.

The Abercorn estate was considered to be 4,500 acres, and so the minimum number of settlers required by the articles of plantation was forty-five families, or 108 men. The survey is not entirely unambiguous with regard to numbers, but it can reasonably be concluded that there was a settlement of some 200 families on the Abercorn estates by 1622. This land was being administered at this time by an energetic official, William Lynn, who had possibly moved about 1606 from the infant Scottish colonies in County Down (No. 12) to the pre-plantation settlement at Derry. In comparison with other estates in Strabane barony the showing on Abercorn's was especially energetic.

County of Tyrone - The Precinct of Strabane allotted to Scottish Undertakers

(1) 1000 acres)

The Earl of Abercorne hath 1000 acres called Strabane, upon this there is a strong Castle of Stone and lyme which standeth within the Towne of Strabane; in which Towne there are above 100 dwelling houses diverse of them of stone and lyme, and 120 British Families, which are able to make 200 able men furnished with shott and Pike, in which is also built a Sessionshouse, and a Markett Cross of stone & lyme, with a strong Roome under it, to keep Prisoners in; and a Plottforme on the top, which is a place of good defence.

There is also a Watermill built, with stone, with a Bridge over the Water, by the said Mill at the charges of the late Earle of Abercorne. There are upon the said Proportion of British Families

Freeholders

5

vitz.

1. Having 240 acres
2. Having 120 acres
2. Having 60 acres
1. Having 30 acres

Tenants at Will

have no

10.

Freeholders within the Burrough of Strabane who have a house, garden and smale quantities of land apace 10.

This Plantacion being cherished by your Majesties favoure is like prosper, and to growe unto agood strength for the defence of those partes; for we finde that the Inhabitants are very industrious; and doe daylie beautifie their Towne with new Buildings, strong & defencible; but that which doth much discourage is, that though by your Majesties favours they have no Land for support of their Ordinarie charge, nor belonging thereunto; which it may please your Majestie to take into your gracious consideracon, and that some convenient quantitie of the Lands adjoin[n]g to the said Towne, may be given unto them in Burgage, for which the said Earle may have a valuable recompence out of some other Escheated Lands, then occasion shalbe offered, which, as we are informed by some of our fellow Commisioners the late Earle promised.

2000 acres)

The said Earle hath more 2000 acres, called Dunnalong, upon which is built a good Castle of stone & lyme 3 Stories high, but no body at this time dwelling in it; and about it a Bawne 54 foot long 42 foot broad, and 6 foot high: with two open Flanckers; but there is noe Gate to the Bawne.

26
COUNTY OF Tyrone. The Present of Strabane allowed to Scottish Undertakers.

The Estate of thirteen thousand acres called Strabane, upon that there is a strong castle of stone and brick, which stands upon the town of Strabane. In and about these there are some dwelling houses of stone and brick, and theBritish farmers, which are able to make the land most advantageously with them. And this where the stables and Market place of Strabane, with a strong fence made to keep. In front of it, and a Platinum on the top of a hill of 60 acres.

There is also a Mill, which stands near the town, and a Bridge over the water. It is owned by the said Mill in the house of the late Lord Fortrose.

There are upon the land 700 children of British farmers.

1. 200 acres.
2. 200 acres.
3. 200 acres.
4. 200 acres.
5. 200 acres.
6. 200 acres.
7. 200 acres.
8. 200 acres.

The Estate of thirteen thousand acres called Strabane, upon which is a castle of stone, and brick, strong and high, has in the land of Strabane a foot, and a foot high, with two open spaces of 100 acres.

There are upon the land of British farmers.

1. 200 acres.
2. 200 acres.
3. 200 acres.
4. 200 acres.
5. 200 acres.
6. 200 acres.
7. 200 acres.
8. 200 acres.

The Castle here also 1500 acres called Strabane, with the town of Strabane and Market place, upon which is a strong and high, and 700 acres.

A foot ground, with two open spaces, of which one is Strabane, and the other is Strabane town.

There is a village of 200 acres, and being within the Second Strabane, which being finished will make a considerable settlement.

There is a good idea of the intention of British farmers.

1. 200 acres.
2. 200 acres.
3. 200 acres.
4. 200 acres.
There are planted upon this of Brittish Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Freeholders</th>
<th>5 vizt.</th>
<th>1. Having 420 acres</th>
<th>Whereof 3 vizt. Hugh Hamilton, James Hamilton &amp; Wm. Lynn have built themselves 3 good stone houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Having 180 acres</td>
<td>Brittish Tenants whose Estates are unsettled 24 Families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Having 120 acres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Having 60 acres each</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1500 acres) The said Earl hath more 1500 acres called Slean; of which Sr. Thomas Boyde was first Patentee: upon this is begun a Bawne of lime and stone 48 foot long, 42 foot broad, and 4 foot high, with one small Flancker covered with thatch, in which Mr. Robert Hamilton, and his Wife do dwell, but he is now in Scotland; & only his wife with 2 or 3 servants are there.

But there is a foundation of a Castle of lime, and Stone raised to the second story; which being finished will make a convenient dwelling.

There are planted upon this proportion of Brittish Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Freholders</th>
<th>4 vizt.</th>
<th>1. Having 240 acres</th>
<th>British Tenants whose Estates are unsettled 16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Having 120 acres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Having 60 acres each</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Upon all these proportions before named (which belong to the Earl of Abercorn) there are (as we are informed) 120 Irish Families.

(Source: British Library, Add. MS 4,756, f. 110)
The building described in this document has not survived. Although there was great variation in the building of bawns and manor houses, the illustration shown below (drawn in 1622) of Crossalt (or Brackfield) built by the Skinners Company near Derry shows a house and bawn typical of many built by the English undertakers throughout the plantation (Source: PRONI, T510/1/39). It also has survived.
Com[itatus] Ardmagh
viith August 1622

Survey of the mannor or great proportion of Clancarny
being 2000 Acres of land lyinge within the barony
of ffues and countye of Ardmagh and belonginge to Sr
Archbald Acheson knight.

The Buyldinges

Imprimis there is a stone Bawne of six score foote longe and four score foote wyde, and ten foote high,
hauinge foure flankers, three of them beinge ffiftene foote high and foureteene foote wyde, conteyneinge
two roomes apeece beinge two stories high, all three foote thicke in the wall,

Item upon the East syde of the said Bawne is buylt a stone howse of fourescoare and ten foote longe,
eighteen foote wyde, and eighteen foote high in the syde wall and thirtie eighte foote high in the three gabells, And haveinge a rounde fflanker of twentye two foote high and sfoureeteene foote wyde, w[i]thin the walls, All three foote thicke of wall slaited, and haveinge foure stackes of bricks Chimneyes.

Item the ffirst storye of the said howse conteyneth a hall of 36 foote longe, a parler of eighteene foote square, a vault w[i]thin the parler of foureteene foote square beinge the ground of the fflanker, and upon the other end of the hall, a pantry of ten foote longe and of the whole widenes of the howse beinge eighteene foot wyde.

Item the second storye contayneth above the hall and pantrye, two Chambers, the one of twentye two foote longe and the other of eighteen haveinge three studyes, And above the parler is Another Chamber of eighteene foote square, and above the fflanker vault is another Chamber of sfoureeteene foote square.

Item the third storie contayneth two chambers and a gallery w[i]thin the rooфе.

Item the rest of the Bawne is byult about w[i]th low thatched howses once gifted, exceytheorge fortye foote longe thereof reserved ffor an intended Castle to be Joyned to the parler aforesaid.

Item w[i]thout the gate is byuled a malt howse and killne of stone two stories high, and three score and ten foote longe and twentye foote wyde, a water mylne, barnes and other howses all thatched.

Armes w[i]thin the sayd Bawne

Item in the manner howse, there is now fiftie two pykes, twenty five horsemens staves, twelve musketts ten Callevers five longe flowleinge pceces, two paire of longe rowat worke pistolls, and two paire of shorte snapp worke pistolls, foureteene tergetts, six bowes, two halberts, two two handed swords, twelve other swords, Drum and Cullors.

(Source: National Library of Ireland, MS 8,014/ix)
Surrounded thus, made or walled about proportionally to 2000 acres of land adjoining the house, and the economy of stock and buildings of the manor and belonging to it, as follows:

The house

The house is about 100 feet long and 50 feet wide, and the stock house, having four stalls, seven quarters, and seven haylofts, and nine lofts, totaling two rows of 200 feet, and one row of 100 feet, and stabling two horses, all three stalls together.

The main entrance to the house is through a gate, leading into a series of rooms, including a large hall, a chamber, a parlour, and a gallery.

The house is built of stone, and the stock house is similarly constructed.

The grounds of the manor include:

- A large garden, 180 feet long and 120 feet wide
- A smaller garden, 120 feet long and 80 feet wide
- A kitchen garden, 60 feet long and 40 feet wide
- A vineyard, 40 feet long and 20 feet wide

The house is furnished with:

- Twelve beds
- Six chairs
- Twelve tables
- Twelve stools
- Twelve chests
- Twelve bowls
- Twelve cups
- Twelve spoons
- Twelve knives

There are also:

- Twelve horses
- Twelve cows
- Twelve sheep
- Twelve goats
- Twelve pigs

Other items include:

- Twelve horses
- Twelve cows
- Twelve sheep
- Twelve goats
- Twelve pigs

The manor is further equipped with:

- Two large wells
- Two small wells
- Two large tanks
- Two small tanks
- Two large ponds
- Two small ponds
- Twelve lofts
- Twelve barns
- Twelve sheds
- Twelve stables
- Twelve cottages
- Twelve barns
- Twelve sheds
- Twelve stables
- Twelve cottages
No. 9

A page from the Port Book of Derry for 1615

Port books are records of trade kept by customs officials at the ports. While they must not be taken as providing a total picture of a port’s trade (smuggling and false returns by officials made this unlikely), nonetheless they offer a very valuable indication of the pattern of trade. The page chosen indicates imports recorded in early July 1615, and these throw light on the needs of the pioneer colonial society.

It is interesting to note that both Hamond and Swetenham were not specialist merchants, but imported commodities as diverse as soap and iron. The consignment entered by the City of London is also noteworthy because of the circumstances of the year 1615. By the beginning of that year optimistic plans for a rising to overthrow the plantation had been formulated. The Dublin government was apprehensive, especially should foreign assistance materialise and there were rumours that the Earl of Tyrone was about to return with forces to regain his lost lands. However, the plot was uncovered; a series of arrests was made between February and June 1615, and it was found that the first steps in the proposed rising were to have been the capture of Derry and Coleraine. Professor Moody’s book on the Londonderry plantation [T.W. Moody, The Londonderry Plantation, 1609–1641: The City of London and the plantation in Ulster (Belfast, 1939)] shows that on 1 May the Irish Society in London decided to raise money for arms for the defence of these towns, and the consignment listed overleaf shows what was being sent as a result of that decision. The arrival of these arms probably rendered the holding of the assizes in Derry on 31 July, at which several of the ringleaders were sentenced to execution, the more secure.

Customs duties were assessed on commodities in accordance with fixed valuations. Lists of goods were drawn up, each was given a specific value and the duty was assessed on that value. These lists, which were printed, were known as Books of Rates. In 1604, the administration of the customs in England was reformed and a new Book of Rates issued. Shortly afterwards, the customs system in Ireland, which was disorganised and unremunerative, was overhauled. In 1608, a Book of Rates for Ireland was promulgated in Dublin. The reorganisation of the customs in Ireland thus coincided with the plantation in Ulster. The basic duty was one of 1 shilling in the pound or 5% of the defined value.

The Irish Society was a standing committee of the City Council of London, set up for the general management of the lands, consisting of most of modern County Londonderry (No. 10) granted to the City of London for plantation purposes. It may be compared with the committees of management set up by many early seventeenth-century joint stock companies, for example the East India Company. In 1613, it received by charter, principally, Derry and Coleraine with associated lands, and most of the lands in the county. Both towns, although they received charters of their own, were subordinate to the Society, and it conveyed the county lands, divided into twelve manors, to twelve principal London companies who had contributed to the joint stock to get the Londonderry plantation under way. For a thorough discussion see Moody, The Londonderry Plantation.

Note: Bob Hunter’s edition of the Ulster port books, prepared for publication by Brendan Scott, has been published by the Ulster Historical Foundation: R.J. Hunter (ed.), The Ulster Port Books, 1612–15 (Belfast, 2012).

Opposite: Map showing an unnamed island with bridge, taken from a volume of tracings of Phillips’ surveys and maps, illustrating Londonderry and the London companies’ estates in 1622 (see No. 10). (Source: PRONI, T510/1/42)
NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPT

The format of the document would make the expansion of the contractions difficult. This note seeks to clarify special problems.

line 1: Mr = ship’s master.
line 2: on the ‘former side’ or previous page the remainder of the cargo, valued at £105 1s 4d, was listed. The ship was of 50 tons burden.
line 6 and throughout: the symbol transcribed as tg appears to mean ‘containing’; but it may be g[ros]t i.e. grossed, as in gross weight.
line 6 and throughout: the symbol ‘C’ signifies hundredweight, i.e. cwt.
line 17: the symbol ‘li’ here stands for pounds weight.
line 18 and 19: ‘b’re’ is a contraction for a container.
line 25: the customs officer made an error in entering the number of bars of iron. To clarify, he entered the correct number – 58 – in Arabic numerals in the margin. The transcript merely gives the correct figure.
line 39: Donberton = Dumbarton, a port on the River Clyde, near Glasgow.

To simplify the transcript, all full stops and colons appearing in the document have been omitted. Punctuation is not essential in a document of this form. Roman numerals throughout are rendered uncapsitalised, and the symbol ‘C’ is only capitalised when it signifies cwt.
July 10 In the Seaflower of London Jno Zachary Mr
entred as one the former side
Georg Hamond entred
One barrell w’th Iron Ware val £01 10 0
One [sic] bundell w’th
friyng pans tg iC £00 10 0
ix Iron pots w’th one Iron kettell £00 16 8
one puncion w’th grocery ware val £06 13 4
v grosse Trenchers valued at £00 10 0
i Maund w’th Iron ware tg viC £03 0 0
iii barrels Soape valued at £06 0 0
iii Iron Morters w’th pestells £00 6 8
i Iron Beame valued at £01 0 0

£23 16 8
i Maund Iron ware tg viiC £03 10 0
Georg Swetenham entred
i Barrell starch tg iiC valued at £02 0 0
i firkin Indico tg 1 li val at £10 0 0
i b’re reasons of the Sunne tg iiC £1 16 0
i b’re of Currants tg iiiC val £4 10 0
iiC of Castell Soape val at £3 14 8
xv gallons Sallett oyle val £1 5 0
iii peeces of reasons val at £2 0 0
i quoile of roape tg iii qr. val £0 7 6
i faggott of Steele tg iC val £0 15 0

£34 8 2
lviii barres of Iron tg xviC £8 0 0
Citty of London Entred
xi barrels of Nayles val at £44 0 0
vi quoiles tarred roapes tg iiiC £2 0 0
94 Callivers, 94 headpeeces and
94 flases and tutchboxes at £46 4 4
i musketss w’th Murnan and
bandelier valued at £01 2 0
xlviii Cosletts valued at £24 0 0
xlviii Pikes w’th headpeeces £15 12 0
icxliii Swords valued at £13 6 8
vi barrels of gunpowder at £8 0 0
ii barrels matche val at £3 14 8

£158 13 0
ii littell barrells Caliver shott £0 13 4

Val in tot £216 17 10
Subs £10 16 10½
£23 16 8
Petty sub £00 1 3)
£00 0 2¼
£11 4 0¾

In the Swallow of Donbereton burthen xx tonn
11 Peter Williamson Mr entred inwarde
Hughe Tomson entred
xx Tonne of Coale at vs £05 0 0
Subsid £00 5 0
Petty sub £00 1 3) tot £00 06 03
In a Smale boate of Scotland burthen v tonn
13 John Williams Mr entred inwarde
Jno Williams pdict entred
iii Tonne Coales at vs £00 15 0
Subsid £00 0 0)
Petty sub £00 0 2½) tot £00 0 11½
Som’ £xi iii ¾d Tot £11 4 0¾

(Source: West Yorkshire Archive Service, WYL 100/PO/7/1/4)
No. 10

A map made in 1622, showing the division of the county of Londonderry amongst the London companies

The map provides a fine contemporary illustration not only of the location of the companies’ estates and those of Sir Thomas Phillips (the only servitor grantee in the county), but also of the location of settlements and defended places.

It has been shown (No. 2) that the official maps made prior to the plantation were defective, partly because of the speed with which they were executed and partly because of the inadequacies of all contemporary cartography. The need for more specific maps was felt in particular by the Londoners, who were absentee proprietors. Thomas Raven, whose work this map is, was employed by the city of London as surveyor of their Ulster lands. His work has a special quality of accuracy and finish and indeed he may be regarded as a pioneer figure in the history of Irish map-making. He made detailed maps of their estates for many of the companies.

Raven left the Londoners’ service after some years, having had disputes with them about salary, and was employed for a time by Sir Thomas Phillips. He also did some work for the Archbishop of Armagh. Raven had quickly discovered that the principles of estimation of land areas on which the surveys and maps of 1608 and 1609 had been based had resulted in a serious under-measurement of the land, and that the plantation grantees, including the London companies, had in fact received much larger acreages than were intended. Sir Thomas Phillips, who was in a continuous state of feud with the Londoners, employed Raven to demonstrate this against them (No. 24). This ‘generall plat’ is a kind of index map to the more detailed maps of the companies’ lands and buildings which he made for Phillips. No. 20 is his detailed map of Derry.

For the government the error in measurement meant amongst other things a smaller return in rents from the settlers than might have been received. There was periodic discussion about having the entire planted area re-surveyed, especially during Wentworth’s period of office in the 1630s, but nothing was done about it up to 1641.

The map is taken, not from the original, but from a careful tracing, which was made in 1836 for the use of the Ordnance Survey.

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, T510/1/5)
No. 11

Part of the report of commissioners of inquiry appointed in 1624 to look into
the numbers and conditions of the native Irish on the undertakers’ lands

This report raises the complex subject of what in practice happened to the indigenous population as a
result of the plantation. For simplicity’s sake, the indigenous population, or old Irish, can be divided into
two categories: those who were landless in the sense of not owning land, and those who were granted land
under the plantation scheme. This particular page of the report, which deals with the estates of some of
the English undertakers in the barony of Oneilland, County Armagh, throws light on the fortunes of the
first category.

It was a breach of the conditions of plantation (No. 3) for members of the undertaker category of
grantees to let any of their lands to the Irish. Nevertheless, to an extent which varied from individual to
individual, they did so, and thus avoided the trouble of bringing in sufficient British tenantry and availed
themselves of the willingness of the Irish to pay higher rents. Some attempts were made by the government
to force undertakers to comply with the conditions, but these went without much success. At the same
time the undertakers were aware that they were vulnerable should the government decide to take rigorous
action. They accordingly proposed a compromise: they would increase their payments to the crown in
return for permission to have Irish tenantry on one quarter of each of their estates. This was conceded in
1628 as article 26 of ‘the Graces’. Although some attempt was made to enforce this segregation on estates,
it was never effectively carried out. Wentworth regarded the decision as that of a weak government
succumbing to undertaker pressures.

The inquiry conducted in 1624 was a preliminary to the acceptance of this arrangement. It is difficult
to accept that it revealed the complete picture, either in terms of numbers or conditions of the Irish on
the undertakers’ lands. However, it probably gives a fairly representative selection, an impression rather
than reliable numerical data.

The Irish tended to hold their lands for short periods, often from year to year rather than by lease,
and often by joint tenures. They paid higher rents than British tenants, in spite of the fact that the British
tenants were usually in a more secure position. Rent payments part in money and part in produce and
services were common among the Irish. On some estates Irish were found who paid for grazing in
accordance with the number of cattle they placed on the land. While many Irish are recorded as direct
tenants to their undertaker landlords, it is also clear that by 1625 or so, as the numbers of British tenants
gradually increased, it was becoming more normal for the Irish to be sub-tenants. Clearly as British
numbers increased opportunities for the Irish as tenants contracted. At the same time the plantation
definitely did not exclude them altogether: there was no wholesale transplantation of Irish from
undertakers’ lands.

About the Irish grantees (as opposed to the Irish tenants), a brief generalisation can be offered: in and
around 1610 Irish grantees had received land varying in amount from about 10% to about 25% of each
county, of which by 1641 they had for various reasons – sales, mortgages and the like – probably lost
about one-quarter to British owners.
We finde that Patricke O’Kelly and Hughe O’Cregan are servants to Mr Anthony Coape.

Mr Herons
proporc’on

We finde that Donell mcCan doth reside uppon the towne of Broghes as a servant to George Pinson, who hath thes landes in lease and doth depasture fower or five Cowes there, and alsoe that Collocke McEdmund Groome mcCan and Feedoroagh mcCan, doe reside uppon the same towne, and doe rent a quarter of it from yeare to yeare at forty Shillinges the yeare,

We finde that Widdowe Turnor (an Irishe woman) doth reside upon Culson and depasture one Cowe there.

We finde that Owen O’Divelin and Brian O’Divelin doe reside uppon the halfe of Dromhaly and have it from George Wharam, till may next for thirty Shillinges rent, and doing some hedging for the same,

We finde that Patricke mcGonnell, Coole mcGonnell, and Brian mcLevarty doe reside uppon two Seshaghes of Broughus and have the same from Henry Murrey, who hath that Land in lease, and they pay rent yearly fifteene poundes,

We finde that Patricke O’Duelin doth reside uppon a Sessagh of Dirrecoose from Henry Pillkenton a ten[a]nt of the same Land till may next at forty Shillinges yearly,

Mr Stanhaw his
proporc’on

We finde that Laughlin O’Lin doth reside uppon the towne of Drominagh as servant to Ensigne Whittingham who holdeth the same in lease and doth departure his Cowes there,

We finde that Hugh Duffe mcDonnell doth reside upon Nevore,

We finde that Nice mcDeale and David mcDeale doe reside uppon the towne of Derryall, and hold the same from yeare to yeare, and pay yearly about fower poundes ster,

We finde that Patricke O’Conelan Murtagh O’Conelan Donell O’Conelan Philomie O’Duein and Edmund oge mcCan doe reside uppon the towne of Cloncorre and depasture their Cowes at pen[n]y a weeke for each Cowe and two pence a weeke for each horse, and take the same from Mr John Wrench who hath the land in lease

(Source: The National Archives, London, SP 63/238, f. 142)
Other finds that Daniel is more doe abide upon the town of

Wkeset and a part to George Whiner, who is also a part of the

and does depasture cows on said town, and also that Naboo

Robert Smidt in Park, and Edmond Smidt in Park, doe reside

uppon the same town, and doe rent a quarter of it from year to

year at forty taling per year,

Also finds that William Dureward, an horse woman, doe abide upon

Charlen and depasture one cow yearly,

Also finds that James Dureward and James D. Smidt doe reside

upon the town of Smidt, and rent it from George Whiner,

the man next the said J. Dureward and George Whiner,

lying on the same,

Also finds that J. Dureward, W. Dureward, and D. Smidt doe reside

upon the town of Smidt, and rent it from James Whiner,

the man next the said J. Dureward and George Whiner,

lying on the same,

Also finds that John D. Smidt doe reside upon a Town of

of Smidt, from James Whiner, a tenant of the same land

the man next at forty taling yearly,

Also finds that John Smith doe reside upon a Town of

of various and tenant to George Whiner, a tenant of the same land

and doth depasture one cow yearly,

Also finds that John Smith doe reside upon a Town of

of various and tenant to George Whiner, a tenant of the same land

and doth depasture one cow yearly,

Also finds that John Smith doe reside upon a Town of

of various and tenant to George Whiner, a tenant of the same land

and doth depasture one cow yearly,

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of various and tenant to George Whiner, a tenant of the same land

and doth depasture one cow yearly,

Also finds that John Smith doe reside upon a Town of

of various and tenant to George Whiner, a tenant of the same land

and doth depasture one cow yearly,

Also finds that John Smith doe reside upon a Town of

of various and tenant to George Whiner, a tenant of the same land

and doth depasture one cow yearly,
No. 12

The first page of a major inquiry or inquisition conducted at Downpatrick in 1623
into the ownership of a substantial area of land in County Down

This area, like the rest of Down and Antrim, was being colonised independently of the Ulster plantation scheme. Much of it was acquired in 1605 by Hugh Montgomery (whose brother was Protestant bishop of Derry) and James Hamilton (No. 8), two of the most prominent Scottish settlers in the north of Ireland. Both were in favour at the court of James I, and both had been keeping themselves informed of developments in Ulster since before his accession to the English throne.

They acquired much of the Upper Clandeboye and the Great Ards in rather tragicomical circumstances. Conn O’Neill of Clandeboye, the former owner, had, as a result of a drunken indiscretion involving some of his servants and soldiers, been accused of treason and imprisoned in Carrickfergus. Montgomery secured his escape to Scotland and along with Hamilton procured his pardon. In return, they each received one-third of his estate. Most of the remaining third, too, passed over the years from Conn O’Neill to Montgomery, Hamilton and other British proprietors. In this respect, his fortunes were similar to those of some of the Irish grantees in the six plantation counties (No. 11).

A very acrimonious dispute, however, broke out between Hamilton and Montgomery and this inquisition was an attempt to deal with all the complex legal problems which had arisen by 1623. It is worth noting that the commissioners appointed to inquire into this affair included some of the most prominent legal officers of the time. The composition of the jury, a blend of settler and Irish, is also informative.

The colonising achievements of the Hamiltons and Montgomerys were outstanding. About 1700, members of both families wrote accounts which throw much light on the Scottish colony they had established. Such accounts must, of course, be treated critically. Amongst Montgomery’s achievements it is recorded that he ‘built the quay or harbour at Donaghadee, a great and profitable work both for public and private benefit’. Harris’s *State of the County Down* offers confirmation of this [Walter Harris, *The antient and present state of the county of Down* (Dublin, 1744)]. By 1641 County Down was probably the most densely settled county in Ulster.

This document is not the original, which was lost in the destruction of the Four Courts, Dublin, in 1922, but a copy made in the second half of the seventeenth century.
An Inquisition taken at Dowen Patricke within the Countie of Downe aforesaid uppon the thirteenth day of October An[n]o Dom[in]i 1623 and in the yeare of the Raigne of Our Soveraigne Lord James by the grace of God of Englande, France, and Irelande Kinge Defender of the faith &c the one & twentieth and of Scotland the Seaven and fiftieth,

Before Sr John Blenerhassett kt Lord Chieffe Baron of his Ma[jes]t[ie]s Court of Excheq[u]e[r] in this his saide Realme of Irelande, Sr Christopher Sibthorpe kt. Second Justice of his Ma[jes]t[ies]s Courte of Cheife Place within the saide Realme, Richard West Walter Everes, Esqs and Stephene Allen Esqr Deputie Escheator of the said Province of Ulster, Commissioners of Our saide Soveraigne Lord The Kinge; by Vertue of his highness Com[m]ission under the greate Seale of this his highness saide Realme of Irelande, bearinge date at Dubline, the Seaven and twentich daye of Jun in the saide one and twentieth yeare of his Ma[jes]t[ie]s said Raigne of Englande France and Irelande, to them the said Commissioners and others or any foure or more of them in that behalfe directed and to this Inquisic[i]on Anexed, by the Oathes of Good & Lawfull men of the said Countie, whose Names are Underwritten (vizt)

Nicholas Warde of Castleward Esqr
Georg Russell of Rathmullen gen'
Richard Russell of Rosglisse gent
Simone Jordane of Danfford gent
Owen mcRowry of Clougher gent
Robert Sowrds of Rathcalp gent
Patricke mcCartane of Ballykine gen'
Patricke mccormock of Killoscolban gen'
eger George Russell of Quomamstowne gent
ffadorogh Magenis of Clonvaraghan g'
Owen mcCartane of Lissenymy gent
John Russel of Killowghe gent
James Audley of Audlistowne gen'
Bryane mcEver Magenis of Shankargen
And Shane mcBryane of Ballenteggard gent

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, T856/1, p. 1)
No. 13

A document dealing with lands in County Antrim leased by Sir Arthur Chichester, the former Lord Deputy, to Sir Hugh Clotworthy in 1618

The document is a formal statement of agreed boundaries between owner and tenant. It serves to pinpoint the problems of indicating boundaries when detailed maps were not generally available (No. 10). In the eighteenth century a map, rather than such a verbal description, often accompanied a lease.

Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1605–15, and now Lord Treasurer, played a major part in devising and implementing the plantation in Ulster (No. 26). Before that he had a classical late Elizabethan career. He was born in Devonshire, attended Oxford University, and embarked on a military career which involved participation in a famous assault on Spain and a period in the Low Countries. He accompanied Sir Francis Drake in his last voyage to the West Indies. Ireland was the next stop in such a career, and Chichester took part in the Nine Years’ War which made colonisation in Ulster practicable. In return for his services in preparing for the plantation he received a grant of the entire barony of Inishowen in Donegal and also land at Dungannon. Earlier, being governor of Carrickfergus, he had an advantage in the post-war scramble for lands in east Ulster. In 1603 and 1604 he was granted Belfast Castle and substantial adjacent lands (No. 22). The land at Antrim, with which this document is concerned, was acquired through James Hamilton (No. 12) in 1605. It appears to have been former monastic property.

A little-known panegyric of Chichester, written c. 1660, states that his income from the lands in Donegal ‘within these times of danger’ was about £1,000 per annum, and from his entire estate almost £8,000 a year. It may be noted by way of comparison that the estates of the London companies in County Londonderry returned them sums ranging from about £100 to about £300 per annum.

Sir Hugh Clotworthy was a very large landowner in County Antrim. He was originally a captain, in other words, a servitor, and he had been associated with Chichester in the previous campaign. His son, Sir John, became a very prominent politician. Lough Neagh had been called Lough Sidney to commemorate Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney’s expedition against Shane O’Neill in 1566. It was also for a time known as Lough Chichester.

The Meares, Limmits & Bounds of the Lands of Antrim in the Countie of Antrim, As they are holden from the righte honorable Arthure Lord Chichester, Lord Highe Trea[sur]er of Ireland; by Sr Hughe Clotworthie knighte; fullie concluded & agreed upon the xxth daie of September 1618 Vizt. Uppon the Soueth from the Greate Loughe called Loughe Neaghe als Loughe Sidney with the River of Sixmilwater to a brooke w[hi]ch falls downe into the said riu[er] between the lands of Antrim & the lands of Iland Bawne, from thence Northeast alonge the said brooke beinge some p[ar]te a boggie Cutte between the last menconed lands aboute one hundred & threescore p[er]ches Upp to or neere a place in the said brooke or boggie Cutte called Tubber Cobbock, from thence the Meare turns North-west & by North alongo a stoney Meare between this Territorie and the Towneland of Rammoore, 54 p[er]ches or thereabouts Upp to the Highway w[hi]ch leads from Rammoore towards Antrim and soo alonge the said Highwaie (18 p[er]ch or thereabouts), it turns upp Northwards 24 p[er]ches to a little greene knowle or hill, neere unto the west side of the old Ruinous walls of Rammoore, from thence the Meares extend Northeast directlie between the last menconed lands, passinge by a Cave, to or against an other Cave upon the banck side of the brooke of Rabegge, then the Meare runs by the midst of the said brooke of Rabegge, Upp to a fford at the south corn[er] of Ballie Noagh als Newtonwe, at w[hi]ch place (leaving the brooke) the Meare turns Northwest & by west to and by the soueth side of an old hiap of Stones called Cragnecoonboy & soo directlie ou[er] to an other fford in a small riu[er] or brooke w[hi]ch falls downe from a bogge called Altnehunchey, from thence the Meares extend Northwards alonge by the midst of the strame of the said brooke, Upp to a Greate fford at the Northwest corn[er] of the said Ballie Noagh als Newtonwe, there theis lands of Antrim & Altnescullvoe meets with the same, from thence along the East side of the said bogge called Altnehunchie, betweene this Territorie & the lands of Connor and Upp a Glynn Northwest to the foote of a Mounteyney hill within the said lands of Connor called Karnearn. And from thence the said lands of Antrim are bounded Meared and limited upon the North
and west with the said lands of Connor & the lands of Henrie O’Neale Esqr as in the Office in menconed Limited and expressed. In Wittnesse whereof the said righte hon[ur]able the Lord Highe Treasur[er] of Ireland and Sr Hughe Clorworthie knighte, have to theis Indented Interchangeable putt to theire hands and sea[les], the first daie of October the said yeare of O[u]r Lord One Thousand six hundred eighteen.

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D655/1)
No. 14

The summary page of the Ulster muster book of c. 1630

The mustering, or raising and training, of a militia was going on at this time because of the possibility of insurrection and invasion. It was the responsibility of Lieutenant William Graham, a native of Cumberland, who was appointed muster-master for Ulster and Leinster in 1628, during a period of war between England and Spain. In spite of Graham’s activity, it is clear that some landowners were less concerned to have their tenants trained than others.

This muster book is valuable as a guide to the settler population of the nine Ulster counties. It gives a reasonably accurate impression of the numbers of British adult males in County Londonderry, but for some other areas the numbers it gives are conservative. In County Armagh, for example, there were probably at least 1,000 British adult males at this time; in Donegal over 1,500. For Cavan, on the other hand, the muster return reveals only slightly fewer people than can be derived from other sources. One can safely round the provincial total up to 15,000. This suggests a total settler population of 45,000, perhaps even 60,000 men, women and children.

The Irish militia was modelled on the British pattern. However, some of the types of arms shown were not in accordance with British regulations. Calivers, for example, were forbidden in England as musterable weapons in 1618, and the changeover to muskets was then proceeding rapidly. Only 700 muskets are shown in Ulster and the predominating weapons were swords and pikes. Lord Deputy Wentworth in the 1630s was disturbed by the poor military preparedness of the Ulster settlers. They were, he observed, but ‘a company of naked men’, under-armed or in many cases provided with weapons of ‘altogether unserviceable’ types, such as snaphances and ‘birding peeces’. The rising in 1641 bore out his fears.

Some terms explained:

Caliver A firearm about 3½ feet long, superseded by the musket in the Thirty Years’ War.
Halbert An axe-like weapon with a long shaft.
Militia Unprofessional citizen forces as opposed to professional soldiers.
Musket An infantryman’s handgun, with a barrel 4½ feet long; it superseded the caliver because of its power to pierce armour.
Snaphance A flintlock weapon.

Note: Bob Hunter’s edition of the muster book of c. 1630 has been published by the Ulster Historical Foundation: R.J. Hunter (ed.), ‘Men and arms’: The Ulster settlers, c. 1630, prepared for publication by John Johnston (Belfast, 2012).

The top line reads as follows:

The totall of euery p[ar]ticuler County w[i]thin the Province of Ulster Men/ Swords/ Pikes/ Muskets/ Calleuer/ Snaphances/ Halberts/ Launces.

(Source: British Library, Add. MS 4770, f. 283)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Number of Lives</th>
<th>Number of Houses</th>
<th>Total Pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the County of Cavan</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the County of Monaghan</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the County of Armagh</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the County of Tyrone</td>
<td>1538</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the County of London</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1164</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the County of Antrim</td>
<td>1618</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the County of Down</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the County of Down</td>
<td>4045</td>
<td>2218</td>
<td>1533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the County of Monaghan</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15092</td>
<td>7226</td>
<td>3085</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of lives: 7226
No. 15

A petition from some of the British tenants of the London companies in the barony of Loughinsholin, in the eastern part of County Londonderry, presented apparently to the commissioners of inquiry of 1622

The grievances of the tenants arose from the operation of the English legal system in the county. They complain that the scarcity of freeholders in their area means that the obligations of jury service fall frequently on the same small number of people, who have to undergo the additional hardship of travelling over bad roads from one side of the county to the assizes at the other. This document throws light on a subject about which the documentation surviving – records of assizes, quarter sessions, sheriffs' courts, ecclesiastical courts, manor courts, etc. – is very slight: the operation of the English legal system in the early years of the plantation.

Some of the signatories were well-known people. Sir William Windsor was commander of the fort at Desertmartin. Sir Baptist Jones was farmer to the Vintners' Company of London. An impression of the literacy of the colonists can be derived from the number who signed by mark. The document is not original, but a slightly later copy.

The petitioners complain of the length of their journeys to the Derry, the remotest part of the county, to the assizes and 4 times every yeare to the quarter sessions, which are continually held at the Cittie of Londonderry aforesaid which is in the uttermost and remotest part of the said county from the said Barrony, and wheres the greatest part of the said Barrony are compelled at the said assizes and sessions to travel above 40 miles and such lamentable and miserable mountany woody and boggy ways, that in the winter time it is hardly passable, and very dangerous both for man and horse and there are many great and unpassable rivers, which both often hazard the life of many poore subjects, yet howsoever they escape with life the burthen of the charges is soe intollerable, that many are compelled to spend all tht they have in those Journies, and many times the people being hindred by the waters are notwithstanding fined for their not appearance, the poorest man not being able to goe thither to give his attendance there, and to returne w[i]thout the expending of 30 or 40s., whereas there are many who have but a lease of 20 years, and many at rack rents for short terms are likewise compelled to this service and great expence hauing but £4 or £5 p[er] annum to live by or caused by the said Journys to expend £7 or £8 to the impoverishmen[t] of all and the utter undoing of many and wilbe to the subversion of the whole plantation in those parts p[ar]ticularly in those Barronies which are not into consideration, and wheres by reason of the multiplicitie of Courts, first the shereif Courts in eu[e]ry Barrony once every 3 weeks, and the man[o]r Courts w[i]thin the seu[era]ll

To the R[igh]te Hon[oura]ble the Commiss[ione]rs for the Reformation of Abuses in the Kingdom of Ireland

The humble petition of the Inhabitants of the Barrony of Loghansholin in the County of Londonderry

Humbly sheweth

That yo[u]r poore pet[i]tione[r]s w[i]thin the Barrony of Lougheinsholin are compelled to Travill twice a yeare unto the Cittie of Londonderry to the assizes and 4 times every yeare to the quart[e]r sessions, w[hi]ch are continually held at the Cittie of Lond[on]derry aforesaid w[hi]ch is in the uttermost and remotest part of the said county from the said Barrony, and wheres the greatest part of the said Barrony are compelled at the said assizes and sessions to travill above 40 miles and such lamentable and miserable mountany woody and boggy ways, that in the winter time it is hardly passable, and very dangerous both for man and horse and there are many great and unpassable rivers, w[hi]ch both often hazard the life of many poore subjects, yet howsoever they escape with life the burthen of the charges is soe intollerable, that many are compelled to spend all tht they have in those Journies, and many times the people being hindred by the waters are notwithstanding fined for their not appearance, the poorest man not being able to goe thither to give his attendance there, and to returne w[i]thout the expending of 30 or 40s., whereas there are many who have but a lease of 20 years, and many at rack rents for short terms are likewise compelled to this service and great expence hauing but £4 or £5 p[er] annum to live by or caused by the said Journys to expend £7 or £8 to the imp[o]verishm[en]t of all and the utter undoing of many and wilbe to the subversion of the whole plantation in those p[ar]ticularly in those Barronies which are not into consideration, and wheres by reason of the multiplicitie of Courts, first the shereif Courts in eu[e]ry Barrony once every 3 weeks, and the man[o]r Courts w[i]thin the seu[era]ll
To the Right Hon. the Commissioners for the Administration of the Laws in the Kingdom of Ireland,

The humble petition of the inhabitants of the county of Louth in the county of Louth.

Their petitioners show that, whereas it is the wish and desire of the inhabitants of the county of Louth, particularly in the parish of Kildare, that the said county may be divided into two parts, viz., one part for the parish of Kildare and another for the parish of Louth, which is more suitable to the population of the said parish, the said petitioners therefore do humbly pray that the said county may be divided accordingly.

Your petitioners, therefore, pray that the said county may be divided into two parts, viz., one part for the parish of Kildare and another for the parish of Louth.

Signed,  
William Murphys,  
Seymour,  
E. Phillips,  
J. W. Thompson,  
Robert W. Smith,  
Thomas C. Smith,  
Thomas Carson,  
Daniel Kelly,  
Richard Davy,  
Edward Young.
3. that they may be eased of multiplicity of Courts;
4. that the Shreues and bailys may be retained from Levying fines unjust;
5. and that their Excessive rents may be abated

proportions every 3 weekes, besides the Bishops Court so that many times they being upon one day the poore people give their attendance at one place and are fined at another and divers fines and amercements levied by the bailifs of the Lords of the manors in their Seuerall Leets, are againe levied on the said poore people by warrant from Sheriffs in his court Leet to great grievance of many poore PLANTERS and that some of the UNDERTAKERS themselves have their seuerall Lands on such hard terms that many fail of making their rents from the Natives, and much less are able to build and let reasonable bargains to Britisht.

May it therefore please your honours to Comiserate the poore estate of your poore petitioners and to be pleased to cause reformation, And your petitioners shall (according to their bounden duty) ever pray.

Signed
William Windsor
Bap. Jones
Tho. Staples
Ed. Pike
John Mortimer
Robt X Stevenson
his marke
Henry X Pretty
his marke
Thomas Lowen
Daniell Hall

Richard X King
Willi. X Cocks
Richd X Webb
Tho. X Spurry
Rich. X Avery
Edward Young

Map showing the barony of Loughinsholin, produced in 1609. (Source: PRONI, T2543/1)

Map showing the barony of Loughinsholin, produced in 1609. (Source: PRONI, T2543/1)
No. 16

An extract from the ecclesiastical visitation of the diocese of Derry carried out in 1622 by Bishop George Downham

The part of the visitation dealing with the deanery of Mohey, which included the barony of Strabane, has been selected, so that the progress of Protestantism can be traced in the area which has already been used to illustrate the development of the civil colony (Nos 2 and 5–7). The document shown here is a slightly later copy of the original.

Before the seventeenth century the Reformation had hardly at all affected life in the six subsequently confiscated counties. By and large Protestantism came with the Protestant colony. One of the five general principles of the ‘project’ of plantation (No. 1) was that every proportion or estate should be made a parish, and that a parish church should be erected in each. Incumbents were to be endowed with glebe land proportionate to the sizes of the estates, at a rate of sixty acres in every thousand, and were also to receive the tithes. A complete redrawing of parish boundaries on logical principles was thus envisaged.

This proposed systematic rearrangement was in fact only partly carried out. The parish boundaries were not redrawn, the medieval system being retained. The grants of glebe land to provide incomes for the parish clergy were made, though only after considerable delay and often in places some miles from the parish churches. Thus, if clergy built dwelling houses on their glebe lands, as their grants required, they would have to travel onerous distances to their churches. The outcome can be seen as an example of a common failing of government in this period: they were capable of planning rational systems, but lacked the capacity to put them into effect.

This section of the 1622 visitation, dealing with the barony of Strabane, illustrates some of these points clearly. There were seven parishes in the barony (three of which extended into the barony of Omagh as well), although according to the plan there should have been eleven: the number equal to the number of proportions. Apart from this general divergence from the plan, however, the document indicates that by 1622 the Church was quite well established in the area (especially in comparison with County Cavan, where much more serious problems prevailed).

The ‘valuation in the King’s book’ was the assessment on which clerical taxation was based. It was probably lower than one-third of the ‘clear value’ or real income. A ‘vicesima’ was a 5%, or one-twentieth, payment.

Sempill, who was probably Scottish, would, most likely, have owed his appointment to the Earl of Abercorn, who was patron of this parish. However, Noble was to be later dismissed by his bishop, Bramhall, for ‘professed popery’. We have already seen (No. 6) that Sir George Hamilton, who came to control the greater part of this barony, was a Catholic.

Revivified by the Counter-Reformation, the Catholic church organisation was able to function in plantation Ulster, although entirely deprived of the Church lands, and other financial resources such as tithes, and also of the Church buildings. Bishop George Downham in the concluding section of his visitation of the diocese of Derry outlined the position as he saw it. He asserted that under a Vicar General there were ‘priests placed in every parish to celebrate the Mass, and to exercise all other Priestly functions, and who, though they be rude, ignorant and vicious fellows, yet carry the Natives after them generally, neither is there any hope of reformation whilst they are suffered to reside among the people’. As well as that he stated that there were officials in each deanery who ‘do … divorce married couples and sett them at liberty to marry others, inasmuch that there is scarce any man in years but he hath more wives living, and few women which have not plurality of husbands’. He went on to complain bitterly against the civil authority: ‘For the removing of these Popish Priests our Lawes are weak, our power less, neither can I gett the assistance of the military men as I desire, and that which discourageth me most is that when either I have gotten any of them apprehended convicted and committed they have been by corruption sett at liberty to follow their former courses, or when I have excommunicated them. … the shirriffs of the County of Londonderry, Tyrone and Donnegall cannot be got to apprehend them and bring them to prison’.

There is only one certain case of a priest in the Derry diocese having been proceeded against. John McGillen, priest of Ballynascreen, was at Derry assizes in March 1621 sentenced to forfeit his property and to be imprisoned for life. It would appear that the local settler community was unwilling to engage in action which might disturb the precarious balance of its relations with the Irish population.
The Deanry of Mohey

1. The Church of Donaghkiddy hath sufficient walles but is uncouered.

   The Incumbent is Robert Sempill m[aste]r of Arts, an honest man and a preacher.

   The valuac[i]on in the kings books is £xx w[hi]ch is the third of the cleare value.

   There are three townlands of glebe, upon one whereof there is a stone house or Castle formerly built

   The Incumbent is resident, and dischargeth the cure in his owne person.

2. The Church of Leakepatrick remayneth uncouered.

   The Incumbent is Henry Noble m[aste]r of Arts, a good preacher of Competent learning and of a good conversac[i]on.

   The valu[a]i]on in the kings books is £xvi w[hi]ch is about the third part of cleare value.

   The vicesima xvi s.

3. The Church of Camos is ruined.

   The Incumbent is the said Henry Noble.

   The valuac[i]on in the kings books £iii vi s. viii d. which is about the third part of the cleare value. The vicesima iii s. iii d.

   This parishe beinge smale, and the towne of Strabane built in the confines thereof, I united in the former incumbents time these two parishes, and thinke them fitt to be United, the rather bycause there is a fayre Church begune by the late Earle of Abercorne intended to serve for those two contiguous parishes. Howsoeu[er] that building of the Church w[i]th the death of the Earle hath ceased.

   There are two townelands of glebe belonging to these two parishes but the Incumbent hath not built one them; because he dweleth in the towne of Strabane, where he is resident and dischargeth the Cure.

(Source: Trinity College, Dublin, MS 550, f. 192)
The derry of McKey

1. The church of S. Peter's is large and well walled but is not surrounded.

2. The farm house is Robert Collin's of Mr. A. an honest man and preceptor.

3. The situation of the church is a good one is the middle of the sacred woods.

4. There are three tumulums of glens upon one side of the road that is stone houses or houses formerly built.

5. The farm house is residence and situation for the cure or for some person.

6. The church of S. Peter's isrecommended.

7. The farm house is the farm house of Mr. A. a good preceptor of religious learning and of a good conversation.

8. The situation of the church is about the middle part of the sacred woods. The residence is good.

9. The church is convenient to the farm house.

10. The situation of the church is good.

11. The advice of the church is good.

12. The farm house is the farm house of Mr. A. a good preceptor of religious learning and of a good conversation.

13. The situation of the church is about the middle part of the sacred woods. The residence is good.

14. The farm house is convenient to the farm house.

15. The advice of the church is good.

16. The farm house is the farm house of Mr. A. a good preceptor of religious learning and of a good conversation.

17. The situation of the church is about the middle part of the sacred woods. The residence is good.

18. The farm house is convenient to the farm house.

19. The advice of the church is good.

20. The farm house is the farm house of Mr. A. a good preceptor of religious learning and of a good conversation.

21. The situation of the church is about the middle part of the sacred woods. The residence is good.

22. The farm house is convenient to the farm house.

23. The advice of the church is good.

24. The farm house is the farm house of Mr. A. a good preceptor of religious learning and of a good conversation.

25. The situation of the church is about the middle part of the sacred woods. The residence is good.

26. The farm house is convenient to the farm house.
No. 17

Part of the 1622 ecclesiastical visitation of Derry diocese dealing with schools

In the planning of the colony it was decided to reserve land in each county to endow a grammar school (No. 1). In this report the bishop of Derry complains that the land intended to provide an income for the Derry school had been somehow misappropriated by the Londoners, and describes the circumstances under which the school then existing (the ancestor of the present Foyle College) has been established. In addition, he commends the private beneficence of Sir Richard Hansard at Lifford.

In the other five counties the land was, after some delay, allocated to the schools, but their development up to 1641 was slow. In the 1630s two of the royal schools, those at Cavan and Armagh, were receiving an income of £50 per annum from their lands. It is unlikely that many of the schools were operational before 1615, by which time a master had been appointed for Dungannon. In 1619 a 'public schoolmaster' was appointed for Fermanagh. The establishment of the schools was delegated by the state to the archbishop and bishops of the appropriate dioceses.

In 1622, there were two masters and an usher at Dungannon. The first practising master whose name survives for the Armagh school was one of those at Dungannon in 1622. It was alleged that this man, John Starky, 'a gentleman of good parentage and parts being upwards of one hundred years of age', was put to death by drowning at the outbreak of the 1641 rising. The Cavan school had a rapid succession of teachers between 1611 and 1641.

None of the schools is likely to have developed substantially before the outbreak of the rising. Greater initial fosterage by the government, for example, provision of money to erect school buildings, would have been needed to secure a more rapid take-off. A proposal to establish a university at Derry, made by the bishop in 1608, was not accepted by the government and did not take effect.

The Surveyor General ('generall Surveyor') was a government official concerned with the records of land ownership, crown rents, measurements, etc. The office was established in Ireland in 1549, and was especially important because of the volume of land confiscation. The officer in question was Sir William Parsons. The document is a slightly later copy.

Schooles

As touching Schooles it is well knowne that his Ma[jes]ty intended a convenient propor[c]ion of lands aswell for London Derry, as for Dongannon or Donegall, yett both these have fayre propor[c]ions Allotted unto them for the Maynetenance of Schooles. But the Lands intended for the Schooles at Lo. Derry are swallowed up I knowe not well by whome, but the generall Surveyer is the lickliest to know what is become of them, Notwithstanding there is a fayre Schoolehouse built at London Derry [by] Mathias Springham Marchant Taylor of London, and the Citty of London hath assigned a yearly stipend of 20 marks to be given to the schoolmaster but ou[r] gracious kings grante is suppressed.

Concerning lands or goods given to good uses, we have a worthy presedent of Sr Hansard Kt deceased, who departed this life about the 4th of October A[nn]o 1619 he by his last will and testament (the executors whereof he appoynted to be Sr John Vaughan kt Sr George Marbury kt and Thomas Perkins esqr) hath ordayned that (after his debts payd) there should be a faire Church built in Lifford, by his Executores who have accordingly layd the foundation thereof, and after the buildings of the Church he hath apoynted that a Schoole shalbe built, with houses for the master and Usher, and that they shall have for ever a yearly stipend of £50. He hath also by his last will bequethed a Salary of £20 per annu[m] to be given to the warden of Lifford for the time being, and £10 yearly to be recorder or Towne cleark and £6 13s. 4d. to two Sergeants, w[hi]ch salaryes are to be payd after a Charter of mortmaine shalbe procured.

Concerning lands of the estates of Lord Dunsany, which he by his last will and testament hath bequethed to the town of Enfield, 100 acres of land to build a Schoolhouse therein, a Grammar School to be kept and maintained therein, a Scholarship of £50 to be given to the scholar of the Schoolhouse to serve the town of Enfield.

Concerning lands of the estates of Lord Dunsany, which he by his last will and testament hath bequethed to the town of Enfield, 100 acres of land to build a Schoolhouse therein, a Grammar School to be kept and maintained therein, a Scholarship of £50 to be given to the scholar of the Schoolhouse to serve the town of Enfield.

Jurisdiction

Besides the jurisdiction exercised by my Chancellor and Officiall there is a Jurisdiction Ursurped by authority from Rome, to the greate dishono[u]r of god, hindernance of religion and shame of the government.

(Source: Trinity College, Dublin, MS 550, f. 205)
As for certain parts we have not any before the burning of this town but was about of 1600 a great many houses would be sufficient to begin with, but not to fortify. And the plantation of 1600 and 1601 was prepared to employ the whole population of the town and surroundings.

Netherlands, Spain, France, and Denmark, all engaged in trade to supply the demands of the town and burgeoning economy.

Schoesel

The bringing together of these factors led to a rapid expansion of the town, which became a significant center for trade and commerce.

The town included four principal streets, and a large grid of streets.

Concerning land or goods given to any of the

The town was a major center of trade and commerce, with a network of streets.

The town had a large grid of streets.

The town was a major center of trade and commerce, with a network of streets.

The town had a large grid of streets.

The town was a major center of trade and commerce, with a network of streets.

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The town was a major center of trade and commerce, with a network of streets.
Two documents providing insights in unusual detail into the condition of the schools in Counties Donegal and Fermanagh are presented below. The first, identical in date with the document above, is taken from the visitation of the diocese of Raphoe by Bishop Andrew Knox. The second is an inquisition taken at Enniskillen on 22 January 1630.

It can be seen that neither school was then in its subsequent and present location, Raphoe and Enniskillen. Richard Bourke was a graduate (B.A. 1621, M.A. 1624) of the recently established Trinity College, Dublin. After a period as rector of a parish, he was appointed schoolmaster in Fermanagh in September 1626. Morrison is not listed as a graduate of T.C.D. However, its records for this period are defective, so it is quite possible that he was a Dublin graduate; alternatively, he might even have attended a Scottish university. Trinity College, now securely established as a result of the grant of lands in Ulster, was by this time turning out graduates in considerable numbers.

There is granted by his Ma[jes]tie for the maintenance of the ffree school within the County of Donnegall a quarter and a half of Land, amounting to two hundred acres or thereabouts and is worth thirty pounds Ster[ling] p[er] ann[um].

The Schoolmaster is Bryan Morison Master of Arts, an Irish Native who is Conformable in Religion and is a very good humanist. He hath his residence in Donnegall, which is a very inconvenient place, it being almost at the further part of the diocess, and the most convenient place for his residence is Raphoe, which is the Bishop's seat and better inhabited with Brittish people than in the other place and in the midst of the diocess, and nearer to the school land, for which reasons it were fitting by authority that the schoolmaster should be injoyned to reside at Raphoe.

(Source: Trinity College, Dublin, MS 550)

Richard Boorke, master of the free-schoole of the co. Fermanagh, by himself and his ushers, hath diligently executed and discharged the place or office of a schoolemaster at Ballibalfore [modern Lisnaskea] in the said co., for 2 years until 15th June last, 1629, or thereabouts, since which tyme, for the most part he hath discontinued the keeping thereof in his own p[er]son, but since that tyme, hath left 2 ushers to instruct the schollers. The number of schollers, in the said schoole, now are three score or thereabouts: all, except 3, being Irish natives.

(Source: W.C. Trimble, The History of Enniskillen (Enniskillen, 1921), vol. 3, pp 798–9)
The Hansard memorial is in St Lugadius Church of Ireland, Lifford, County Donegal. Below is a transcript of the inscription:

Erected to the memory of Sr Richard Hansard Knight borne at Biskerthorpe in the county of Lincolne in England who died the 5 of October 1619 and of Dame Anne his wife daughter to Sr Edward Marbury of Geishy in the said county Knight who dyed the 3 day of October 1619. Sr Richard Hansard after he had [ ] of Art in Cambridge tooke upon him the profession of a soldier in the prime of life he had divers and sundry honorable places of command in the wares he was mad Governor of Lifford and the parts adioyning wher he did many good serves in the time of Tyrones rebelion and last of al in Sr Cahir Odoherte’s rebelion. King James the first gave him this towne of Liford and fower quarters of Crohan to plant a corporac[...]on there which he efected. At his death he disposed by wil of these lands and others to divers of his name not neare of kindred to him but for want of a feofmient to enable him to dispose of his lands by wil by lawe it fel al to his yonger brother William Hansard of Biskerthorpe in Lincolnhire Esquire. He ordained by his will Sr John Vaughan Knight Sr George Merbury Knight and Thomas Perkins Esquire then Liftennant to his company his exectors and directed them to build this church the schoole and schoolehouse in this towne as now they are done and likewise gave £86 p[er]annum in p[er]petuity out of his landes (videlic to the Warden of Liford £XX to the Recorder thereof £X to the two Sergeants £6 to the Schoolemaister £XXX and to the Usher £XX p[er]annum). And for that by lawe this land fell to his yonger brother wheerby these pious intentions weer like to be frustrated therefore the 3 sornamed executors did purchase of his said brother the whole lands for one thousand and five hundred pounds and so have finished the said workes and p[er]petuall donation according to the will and intent of the said Sr Richard.
No. 18

Petition presented by the corporation of Strabane to the commissioners of inquiry of 1622

The petition illustrates an important feature of what may be termed the institutional side of the plantation. The plan for the colony not only provided for the installation of a settlement of people on the land, it also proposed the establishment of a defined number of towns in each county as focal points for that colony. Land was to be granted to the corporations of these towns to provide an income for their development; and to get them under way it was suggested that there should be a 'leavy or presse' of tradesmen and artificers from England. However, by the autumn of 1610 no townsmen had in fact been despatched from England and the problem of town establishment remained unresolved. Apart altogether from their importance for the internal development of the colony, the proposed towns had a political role. Each would have the power to return two burgesses to parliament, whose presence, it was assumed, would facilitate the passing of government legislation (No. 22).

In December 1610 Lord Deputy Chichester made proposals on the matter which proved acceptable in London. The arrangement decided on was that an undertaker or servitor near to each proposed town should be appointed to superintend its development: to build houses and introduce townsmen. In return the land intended for the town should be granted to him. The result was that when the new towns were incorporated they did not receive grants of the town land, and so their income from the start was severely limited.

The petition shows that the corporation of Strabane was particularly anxious to rectify this situation. They suggest that some additional land should be granted to the heirs of the Earl of Abercorn, who were patrons of the town, so that they, in exchange ('excambe'), could hand over a corresponding area of land to the corporation. This might well have been possible in 1622, because owing to the faults in the maps of 1609 (No. 2) there were still small areas of land throughout the plantation which had not yet been granted out to proprietors – concealed lands, as they were called. However, no positive action was in fact taken to benefit the Strabane townsmen. Strabane had not been amongst those places designated for incorporation in 1609, and so the patent to the Earl of Abercorn, on whose estate it was located, had not included any town land. It may be noted that the benevolence exhibited by the patron of Lifford nearby was exceptional (see No. 17).

To the Right Honorable and worshipfull his Ma[jes]ties Com[m]issioners for heareing the greavances of his subiectes w[hi]thin his kingdome of Ireland

The humble petic[ion] of the Provost and Burgesses of his highnes Burgh of Strabane

Most humbly craveing, That whereas the saide Burgh is scituated in an eminent place, incorporated & peopled with a good number of inhabitantes for his Ma[jes]ties service w[hi]ch they are the lesse able to p[er]forme, either in buying and mainetayneing of Armes, beareing of two Burgesses expences at every p[ar]liament, paying of subsidies and taxac[i]ons and fulfilling such offices and duties, as of the like place are expected, by reason, that they have not one foote of land given or belonging to the saide towne It may please yo[u]r hono[u]rs and worshippes, and specially yo who have seene the place to be mediators to move his highnes to take into his royall considerac[i]on the poverty of the saide Burgh and to cast a favorable aspect upon the same, in giving some of his escheated landes unto the heires of the late Earle of Abercorne (since whose deathe the saide place hath languished and drooped) that they may by excambe, assigne over unto the said peticioners some landes neere the saide Burgh for free Burgage and a Com[m]on: And yo[u]r Sup[li]ntes according to their bounden duty shall always pray &c.

(Source: National Library of Ireland, MS 8014/ix)
To the Right Honorable and most Estolate His Majestie: Consomner for governing the people of this plantation in this Province of England.

The Honorable Thomas Lloyd and Benjamin of the People of Bermuda.

Most Graciously Respecting, That whereas the Said Bermuda is Situated in an Eminent Place, Inhabited with a Good Number of Inhabitants for 10,000 Men. But they are so Well able to Secure, either in Building and Manufactory of Arms, Hearing of Two Bushes Required at Every Supreme, Paying of Enlisting and Taxation and Providing such Supplies and Martial as the Like Place are Required for, and that they have not one Foot of Land Grown or Belonging to the Last Town. If any Place was Proper and was Supplied and Secured, they were ready to Join the Place to be Indicted to make it Sufficient to hold and to hold the Province in Defence for Bermuda and the rest, a Favorable Spot being of the Same, in gardening good and fertile Land into the Hands of the said Bermuda. And since it is in the same Place that they have made an Agreement, and it is in the same Land, which means that the said Bermuda, to which they have given all their Land, shall be claimed and secured by them, and that no other shall have claim to it. Therefore, you are commanded hereby to prevent any such Claim, and to prevent any person from using the Land, and to prevent any person from using the Land, and to prevent any person from using the Land.
Part of Nicholas Pynnar’s survey of 1618–19 describing the city of Derry

Pynnar, a government engineer, was clearly impressed by the fortifications at Derry, which compared very favourably with those of the other towns in the plantation. Work on the walls commenced in 1613 and was completed in 1619. The school had been completed in 1617 (No. 17). The cathedral was as yet unbuilt.

Pynnar might think the population too small for the defence of the town, yet in comparison with other plantation towns it was substantial and was to continue to grow. By 1630 Derry had a population of some 500 adult males; Coleraine came next with 300, followed by Strabane with over 200. The other towns in the six plantation counties lagged far behind, few having more than fifty adult males, though Armagh had about 100. The document is a slightly later copy.

The Cittie and Countie of London Derry

The Cittie of London-Derrie in now compassed aboute w[i]th a verie stronge wall excellently made and neatly wrought being all of good lyme and stone the circuit whereof is 284 p[er]ches and 2/3 at 18 foote to the p[er]che, besides the 4 gates w[h]ich containe 84 feete and in every place of the wall it is 24 foote high and 6 foote thicke, the gates are all battlemented, but to two of them there is no goinge upp so that serue to no great use, neither have they made anie leaves for their gates but make two Draw-bridges serue for two of them, and 2 p[ort]cullices for the other two The Bullwarkes are verie large and good beinge in number nine, besides 2 half Bullwalkes and for 4 of them there maie be placed 4 Cannons or other great peecees, the rest are not all out so large, but wanteth verie little, the Rampart w[i]thin the cittie is xii foote thicke of earth, All thinges are verie well and substantially donne, Savinge there wanteth a house for the Soldiars to watch in and a Centinell house for the Soldiars to stand in, In the night to defend them from the weather w[h]ich is most extreame in theis p[ar]tes, Since the last Survey there is built a Schoole w[h]ich is 67 foote in Length and 25 in breadth w[i]th 2 other small houses, other buildinges there is not anie w[i]thin the Cittie The whole number of houses w[i]thin the Cittie are 92 and in them there is 102 Famylies w[h]ich are far to few number for the defence of such a Circuit they beinge scarce able to man one of the Bullwalkes neither is ther roome enough to sett up 100 houses more, unles they will make them as little as the first and name each roome for a house.

(Source: Trinity College, Dublin, MS 864, par. 181)
The City and County of London Derry

The walls of London Derry are now repaired, about 15 feet strong, and the gates of the city are made of good timber and stone, and are very strong, and contain 14 feet and 2
and 1/2 feet in some places, being all of good timber and stone. The circuit of the wall is 2,840 feet, and the gates are 14 feet wide and 2 feet thick, and the gates are all battlemented, but
no two of them have no gong, but so that gates to no great loss, neither is there any other door for entrance but made a drawbridge from one for two of them, and a drawbridge
for the other two. The walls are well and strongly built, and so thick that it is not possible to shoot a cannon through the wall from the outside. All things are secure and well and substantially built, and
so that the walls are not only strong but strongly built, and so strong that it is not possible to shoot a cannon through the wall from the outside. The walls are well and strongly built, and so thick that it is not possible to shoot a cannon through the wall from the outside.
No. 20

A map of Derry made by Thomas Raven for Sir Thomas Phillips, 1622

Phillips, as well as being the only servitor-grantee in County Londonderry, was one of the commissioners of inquiry of 1622 (Nos 7 and 24). This map is part of a collection of maps and plans with accompanying comments presented by him to the King as a special personal contribution to the work of the inquiry (No. 10).

It is the earliest map of Derry to indicate the names of streets and the gates. Four streets going out from the Diamond are named, as follows: Silver Streete (now Shipquay Street), Gracious Streete (Ferryquay Street), Queenes Street (Bishop Street) and Shambles (Butcher Street).

Inscribed on the map (top, right) is the following statistical abstract:

The number of families now inhabiting in the Cittye of London Derrie Souldiers and others doe make 109 Families dwelling in stone houses slated
Families of poore soldiers & poore labouring men dwelling w[i]thin the walles in Cabbins — 12
So the whole number of families dwelling within the walles of the Citty are — 121
The number of men present well armed w[i]thin the Cittie of London Derey — 110
presented by the Maior in a scroule of dwellers neere the towne — 63

A key or index to the map is shown below. It reads as follows:

A. King James his Bulwarke
B. Prince Charles his Bulwarke
C. The Lord Deputies Bulwarke
D. London Bulwarke
E. The Lord Docura his Bulwark
F. The Lord Chichester his Bulwark
G. The Gouernor of the Plantac[i]ons Bulwark
H. The Maior of London Derries Bulwark
I. The Lyme Killes
J. The Ditche without the wall
K. A place where the new Key were fitt to bee built
L. A place where houses may be built in tyme to come
M. The forme of a Sittadell fitting to haue been built in the market place
N. Ranges left where houses may be built in tyme to come
O. The Ould Castle wherein the Kings store is kept.

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, T510/1/7 and 8)

Proposed fortification for the Diamond in Derry, along with key to the map of Derry. (Source: PRONI, T510/1/6)
Detailed projects by applicants for plantation land in Ireland in the early seventeenth century are not common. John Carvile, whose scheme, was submitted in November 1609, was a north of England lawyer with a military background who had, earlier in 1609, under its second charter, invested in the Virginia Company. Although he did not receive a grant of Irish land on which to try it, Carvile's project deserves examination as an example of thinking on the practical problems of colonisation and Carvile himself may also not have been untypical of a number of Englishmen (people with a legal training) who were engaged in colonisation in one of the crucial periods of its history.

The project is largely self-explanatory, but a few comments may be worthwhile. In asking for 8,000 acres Carvile may well have been thinking in terms of the earlier Munster plantation, the plan of which provided for estates descending in size from 12,000 to 4,000 acres. In offering to settle 100 families he was, however, committing himself to a higher density of settlement than was prescribed in Munster where 91 families per 12,000 acres was the norm. The conditions of the Ulster plantation as formulated at the time of Carvile's application laid down that grants should not be larger than 2,000 acres but did not specify the number of tenants required, but in their final form in 1610 ten families or 24 adult males per thousand acres was the requirement (No. 3).

The detailed breakdown of occupations is of the greatest interest. The concern for defence, especially the request that the crown should provide arms for the tenantry, indicates a practical cast of mind derived no doubt from his military father. It may be noted also that the settlement he envisaged was one in which the tenants should build their own houses. The proposal to erect a fulling mill and bring cloth-workers indicates that he intended to transpose the Yorkshire woollen industry into his new settlement. His commitment to land enclosure and settlement in hamlets is also noteworthy. His intention to bring a 'house hold' or 'family' of twenty-four servants and its proposed composition is also of special interest. It may serve to illuminate the household size and structure of large settler landowners in Ireland. A household establishment of twenty-four, including two bailiffs of husbandry, would have placed him on a par with the substantial gentry of Yorkshire.

Lord Salisbury, the lord treasurer to whom the project was directed, was the London government minister most directly involved with Irish affairs and in particular with the planning of the Ulster plantation.

Note: This is an edited version of a transcription, with introductory material, prepared by Bob Hunter, but not published. The full version with footnotes can be found in the R.J. Hunter Papers in PRONI (D4446/A/1/51) and on the R.J. Hunter Collection website (www.therjhuntercollection.com).
My p[ro]ject and desire concerninge plantation in Ierland

ffor place to plant in To have a place assigned ther, wher I may seate my self, with 24 men servants in my family, and aboute 100 families more of artificers husbandmen and laborers (to be carriyed with me out of England), altogether; in two manner houses, and 4 hamlets, to be fittly cast and built (for exercisinge of husbandry) altogether.

That the place may be such as hath within the p[re]cinct therof, some convenient river or streame wherupon may be built one or moe corne milnes and a fullinge milne, woods havinge sufficient tymbre for all manner of buildings and plowgeare, and sufficient underwood for fire and hedginge, and stone for wallinge slatinge and lyme

The p'sons to be planted, of families to be carryed over besydes mine owne The p'sons whom I intend to carry with me, with ther families (besides such servants as ar to be in myne owne house) be 2 salyd soldyers of good behaviour that have some skill in fortifications and trayninge of men to fortifiye and direct for defenc against sudden incursions of wild Irishe, a surveyor to plot and measure out the places to be planted as I shall direct him, 2 carpenters 2 milnewrights and 2 whelewrights for woodwork, 2 masons 2 wallers and 2 slaters 2 tilers for stonework, 2 milners wherof the one to have skill in fullinge of cloth, 2 blacksmiths 1 lock smith and 1 cutler for iron work, 2 clothworkers for makinge of wollen cloth, and 2 lynnen weavers for makinge of lyn cloth, 40 husbandmen with a drawght or teame of oxen or horse for every of them, and 16 or 20 laborers for husbandry work, and 2 xxxx ministers to preach catichise and teach children.

The p[er]sons of mine owne family The persons whom I intend to carry in mine owne houshold be two baylifs of husbandry, 8 plowmen, 4 heardmen, two clarks, one butler, one cooke, one or two for brewinge and bakinge, 2 horskepers and 2 gardeners.

The quantitye of grownd to be planted uppon The quantitye of grownde (which I desire, to plant all thes p[er]sons uppon) is 8000 acres or therabouts besides mountaines bogs and unimprovable underwoods to be devided and set fourth as followeth viz: ff or 2 severall manner houses to be built, with a convenient village to adioyne to either of them (wherin the foresayd artificers ar to be planted viz: half of them in the one village, and half in the other village) 3000 acres, of w[h]ich 1000 acres to be assigned for the demesnes of either manner house, and 500 acres amongst the artificers in either village.

(Source: The National Archives, London, SP 63/227, ff 191–3)
Opposite page: Detail from a mural by John Luke commemorating the granting of a charter to Belfast in 1613. The original is in the City Hall, Belfast. (Courtesy Belfast City Council)
The establishment of new towns was an important objective of the plantation (Nos 18 and 19). The lack of towns in Ulster, particularly in the west of the province, had long been seen by English commentators as one of the reasons that the area was difficult to control. Towns were intended to act as foci of government authority and the Protestant religion. They would also provide market centres for local landowners and encourage the development of trade and industry. The project for the six escheated counties made provision for the establishment of twenty-five corporate towns (later reduced to eighteen) although progress was slow in the early years of the plantation. In the east of Ulster there was no formal plan for creating new towns, but many of the new landowners took the opportunity to develop settlements.

There is evidence of a settlement at Belfast from the twelfth century when a castle was built in the area, probably by Hugh de Lacy, to control the nearby ford over the River Lagan. This castle later came under the control of the O’Neills of Clandeboye. The Earl of Essex, who attempted to establish an English colony in the Clandeboye lordship in the 1570s, identified Belfast as a place ‘meet for a corporate town’ but was unable to make any progress with the project. In 1603, Sir Arthur Chichester, who served as Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1605 to 1615, obtained a large estate in south Antrim including the site of Belfast (Nos 13 and 26). He proceeded to develop the town and by 1611 the plantation commissioners reported that a number of families from England, Scotland and the Isle of Man had settled in Belfast and that new houses had been built.

Belfast was one of forty settlements in Ireland, nineteen of which were in Ulster, to receive a charter of incorporation in 1612–13. The immediate reason for the issue of the charters was to secure a Protestant majority in the Irish parliament which was due to meet in 1613. Parliament was comprised of two members elected from each county and borough and most of the older boroughs were expected to return representatives hostile to the crown’s religious policy. By granting charters creating new parliamentary boroughs, controlled for the most part by the Protestant undertakers, the government was able to ensure that the new religious and land settlements were established in law. In the longer term, the charters provided the new settlements with an administrative framework which allowed them to establish markets and make regulations for their communities.

As with the other plantation towns, the charter was framed to ensure that the new settlement remained under the control of the proprietor. The first sovereign and burgesses, most of whom were associates of Chichester, were nominated in the charter and thereafter the members of the corporation could appoint their own successors. This ensured that the corporation of Belfast remained under the control of the Chichester family until it was abolished in 1840. Note: the text of the original charter is in Latin. The transcription below is taken from a translation made in the twentieth century.
Page from the Town Book of Belfast, the earliest record of the Corporation of Belfast.
James, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all to whom these our present letters shall come greeting

Know you, that we, as well on the humble petition of the inhabitants of the town of Belfast in our County of Antrim in our province of Ulster in our Kingdom of Ireland, as for the inhabiting and planting of the northern parts of our said Kingdom now depopulated and laid waste, according to the established form in our kingdom of England, excellently begun, and for the better progress in and perfection of our new plantations, lately happily undertaken, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and our mere motion, by and with the assent of our well beloved and faithful councillor Arthur Lord Chichester of Belfast, our Deputy General of our said kingdom of Ireland, and also according to the tenor and effect of our certain letters, signed with our proper hand and under our seal, bearing date at our Manor of Farnham the last day of July in the year of our reign of England, France and Ireland the fifth and of Scotland the two and fortieth and now enrolled in the rolls of our Chancery of our Kingdom of Ireland.

We do appoint, ordain and declare by these presents that the aforesaid town of Belfast and all singular castles, messuages, tofts, mills, houses, edifices, structures, curtilages, gardens, orchards, wastes, rivers, lands, tenements and hereditaments, whatsoever, with their appurtenances, lying or being within the said town or village or precincts of the said the Castle of Belfast, and all curtilages, gardens, orchards, fruiteries and edifices whatsoever to the said castle now belonging, only excepted, from henceforth, shall be forever one sole and free borough of itself by the name of the borough of Belfast, and the borough of Belfast from henceforth shall be called, named and known and in all things into one whole and free borough in itself by the name of the borough of Belfast, we do erect constitute make and ordain by these presents.

And further we will ordain and appoint, by these presents, that the borough aforesaid may be one body corporate and politic, consisting of one sovereign, twelve free burgesses and commonality and that all the inhabitants within the town and lands aforesaid, from henceforth for ever may and shall be, by virtue of these presents, one body corporate and politic in word, deed and name by the name of sovereign, free burgesses and commonality of the borough of Belfast …

And that they the aforesaid sovereign and free burgesses of the borough of Belfast aforesaid and their successors for ever may have full power and authority to elect, send and return two discreet and proper men to serve and attend in every the parliaments hereafter to be held in our said kingdom of Ireland and which said men so elected and chosen and returned may have full power and authority to treat and consider of the above mentioned things and matters which to them and others are expounded and declared and thereupon more ever to return and render their free voice and suffrages and to do and execute all other matters and things whatsoever, as fully and freely as any other burgesses of any ancient borough in our said kingdom of Ireland or in our said kingdom of England in the parliaments of the same, are accustomed to do and execute. …

And that the same may appear hereafter that this our new and already incorporated body is composed of just and honest men we do make constitute and appoint John Vesey to be our first and modern sovereign of our said borough to continue in the said office until the feast of St Michael the Archangel next after the date of these presents. And in the like manner we do make constitute and appoint Fulke Conway, knight, Thomas Hibbotts, Esquire, Moses Hill Esquire, Humphry Norton, Esquire, William Lewsly, John Willoughby, Carew Harte, John Aysh, Daniel Boothe, James Burr, Walter Crimble, and John Burr to be the first and modern twelve burgesses of the borough aforesaid to continue in the said office of free burgesses of the said borough during their several and respective lives unless for their bad behaviour or for any other reasonable cause he or they shall be removed from the office aforesaid, and all the inhabitants of the town aforesaid and all and every other men whom the Sovereign and free Burgesses of the same borough for the time being, into the liberty of the borough shall admit, we will constitute and appoint to be of the commonality of the borough aforesaid.

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, LA/7/1/A/1)
Charter of the town of Belfast, 1613. (Courtesy Belfast City Council)
Interest in the plantation project had been slow to develop in England and the Crown turned to the wealthy City of London to supply some much needed capital and expertise. In January 1610, articles of agreement were signed under which the City agreed to undertake the plantation of the County of Coleraine, along with the barony of Loughinsholin in County Tyrone and the towns of Derry and Coleraine. These territories became the county of Londonderry in 1613. The individual London livery companies were granted estates in the new county, which they were to develop and populate with British tenants (No. 10). A new body called the ‘Society of the Governor and Assistants, London, of the New Plantation in Ulster’ (generally known as the Honourable The Irish Society) was created to oversee the plantation. The Irish Society also undertook the development of the towns of Londonderry and Coleraine, which were incorporated in 1613.

Work on the Londoners’ estates began immediately after the signing of the articles of agreement and in June 1613 the Common Council of the City sent two special commissioners, Alderman George Smithes and Matthias Springham, to report on progress to date. They spent two months in Londonderry and presented detailed reports to the Irish Society and to the Common Council. As well as reviewing the progress of the plantation, Smithes and Springham also investigated a series of complaints made against the Irish Society’s agents, John Rowley and Tristram Beresford. They found that both men had been exploiting their position to enrich themselves and neglecting the interests of the Londoners. Rowley had...
gained control of land allocated to the bishop of Derry near to Coleraine and, as they report in paragraph 2, had moved the town market to his own land. He had also felled much of the woodland of Loughinsholin and sold off the timber as barrel-staves. As a consequence of Smithes and Springham’s report, Rowley was dismissed by the Irish Society. He subsequently became agent for the Drapers’ Company estate (No. 25).

The report does show that some progress had been made in developing Derry and Coleraine. In Coleraine 116 houses had been built and there were also some older houses and ‘cabins’. However, many of the houses were unlet and were already in a bad state of repair. The town had been surrounded by a wall but more work was needed to complete the fortifications. A map of the town made by Thomas Raven for Sir Thomas Phillips in 1622 indicates that there were 145 families living within the walls. However, it was noted that the ramparts were still incomplete and in some areas ‘continuallie falling downe’. The wall along the river frontage and the bridge across the Bann shown on the map had not in fact been built at this time. Although the building of a bridge at Coleraine had been proposed in the articles of agreement of 1610, it was not erected until 1673.

Abuses and negligences. Reformations
1. We found the Church at Coleraine unplastered within, fowl, unwholesome and unhandsome and small store of Pews in the Church, the Church being well frequented with people.
   1. We gave order that the Church should be plastered in the in side and made somewhat handsome.
2. We found the Satterdays Market kept out of the town of Coleraine on the other side of the River of Bann on Mr Rowlys ground being the Church Land, and a Cross sett up in the Market place there with the letters of J and R on the top of it.
   2. We there Commanded proclamation to be made that the Market on the Satterdays should be from thenceforth held within the citties Town of Coleraine and not any longer continued there which on the Satterday was observed and so it hath been ever since.
3. We found the Chiefe Street in Coleraine unpaved and very fowl, and almost unpassable.
   3. We caused it to be paved and saw it done before our departure from thence.
4. We found in Coleraine divers houses unplastered, lying open to the Weather and not care taken for the finishing of them against the Winter, and so they were unletten.
   4. We gave order for the present finishing of them and we hope they will be all finished at Xmas next.
5. We found that it Rained into the Storehouse most shamefully and the store laid disorderly and confusedly. Great spoile of the things as Firgins of butter decayed and spoiled, cheeses rotten grievous to behold, nails of divers sorts sent from the Derry in open baskets without number or taile very rusty which came thither (as we conceive) not without great loss.

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D683/27)
He found the Church at Colonna unplastered within and without, and an old stone wall there in the Church, the Church being well frequented with people.

We gave order that the Church should be plastered within and without, and somewhat randomized.

We found the Saturday Market kept out of the Town of Colonna in the other part of the River of Brano on the body of ground being the Church Lord, and a Booth set up in the Market place there with the letting of Goods on the top of it.

We there commanded proclamation to be made in the Market on the Sabbath, that the same thenceforth held within the City of Colonna and not any longer continued there, which on the Sabbath was offered and for it halfe of an hour.

We found the chief street in Colonna unpaved and very foul, and almost impassable.

We caused it to be paved and saw it done before.

We departed from thence.

We found in Colonna seven houses unplastered lying open to the weather and not been taken for the finishing of them against the Winter and for they were unheated.

We gave order for the same finishing of them and we hope they will be all finished by Winter next.

We found that the church most clean fully, and the floor laid disorderly and confusedly, great spots of the walls as figures of butterflies and images, three single apart to be built with tiles of Diano's stone, and from the door in open baskets without a number of tiles very ugly which came thither as we conceived not without great cost.
No. 24

Sir Thomas Phillips’ suggestions for improving the security of the Kingdom, 1623

Phillips’ ‘Orders’ reflect both the insecurity felt by many of the early settlers and the clash of cultures which the plantation generated. Sir Thomas Phillips (c. 1560–1636) was a professional soldier of wide experience who had acquired land in what is now County Londonderry at the end of the Nine Years’ War. He was instrumental in encouraging the London livery companies to become involved with the plantation and acquired substantial estates himself around Limavady and Toome (No. 10). Disagreements soon emerged between Phillips and the London companies leading to a number of protracted court cases. The Londoners were accused, among other things, of failing to develop their estates as agreed. Phillips was also concerned by the number of Gaelic Irish tenants who had remained on the estates of the London companies.

In 1615, a conspiracy had been uncovered involving several dispossessed Irish lords who planned to overthrow the plantation and kill Phillips. In the succeeding years there were several attacks on settlers which were blamed on ‘woodkern’, landless men living on the fringes of the settled areas, hence Phillips’s concern with controlling the movement of landless and ‘idle’ persons. The distrust of ‘creaghting’, also known as ‘booleying’, the movement of large numbers of people and animals between summer and winter pasture, was a longstanding issue for English commentators on Ireland. It reflected cultural differences between settled agricultural cultivation and an older tradition of pastoral farming which was viewed as primitive and uncivilised. Phillips sent his proposals to the lord deputy of Ireland who issued instructions, as suggested by Phillips, for the ‘booking’ or registering of Irish tenants. However, according to Phillips, the local agents for the London companies refused to implement them.

Plan of Limavady owned by Sir Thomas Phillips, 1622. (Source: PRONI, T510/1/18)
Orders conceived by Sr Tho[ma]s Phillips expressing

What in his Judgmt is fit to bee don for the present reformacon and safety of this poore Kingdome

1 A competent number of men to be set forth in evry Proportion for the space of 2 months well arm'd and to range continually through their own p[ro]portion, where they are not to suffer any idle person to remaine but to apprehend them, and bring them to the next Justice of the Peace, to be examined, and if any idle p[er]son or Rebell happen to fly out of one p[ro]portion into anothr and they are to persue them, and wth those of the next plantacon to follow them altogeth till they are taken.

2 That there be at the charge of the said Plantacion two sufficent men sett out armed to serve for a running watch (vizt) to be divided in two parts of the county according to the convenience of the proporcion which will be 12 in a Company. Theise using their endeavours, will be to good purpose.

3 The inhabitants severallie on every of the p[ro]portions be strictly required that they in noe wise receive or relieve anye idle p[er]son or others upon their keeping, either wth meate drinke or lodging, but if upon their denying them they happen forcible to take it, they are to apprehend them if it maie be, or if they cannot p[re]sently, to follow them wth hue and cry from Plantacon to Plantacon, As also the inhabitants throughout the sev[er]le p[ro]portons, if any p[er]son or p[er]sons being a stranger coming to any of their houses or cabins for lodgings, they p[re]sently bring the p[er]son or p[er]sons before the Constable for the end it maie be knowne what they are and he to carry them before the next Justice of the Peace.

4 That noe principall takers of one or more balliboes or towne lands, doe make or receive any under tennents or assigns onto the same lands, but such as he will be answ[er]able for upon all occasions, and to bring in a booke or note in writing, by him subscribed of his and their names. And that all p[er]sons inhabiting upon such lands not soe booked shall be reputed and attested for idle p[er]sons.

5 That p[re]sente order be taken to draw them out of remote places compelling them to dwell in townreeds and th[at] creteing maie be abolished being the nursery of all idlenesse and rebellion.

6 That every landlord brand his own cattle and his tennants

7 That noe cowes be bought out of the markett

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, T510/2)
Orders Conceived by S. The Duke

What in his Judging a fit to be done for the present

For the protection and safety of this present Kingdom.

1. Ordered that a number of men be set in this plantation for the protection, for a year or two months, backhand, and so taught to continue in the several parts of the plantation, where they are to suffer any Inhabitants, to remain but to apprehend and bring them into the nearest parts of the plantations, to be brought back in off every plantation, to be either worked on or sold in the plantations, and to be turned into a useful and profitable manner, to follow all sorts of useful plantations, to be sold to the best advantage.

2. That there be in charge of some part of the plantation, sufficient men to be divided by two or three parts, of the plantation, according to the division of the plantation, into two or three parts, of the plantation, to be used in such a manner as they shall be used for any useful or profitable service, and to be turned into a useful and profitable manner, to follow all sorts of useful plantations, to be sold to the best advantage.

3. That all Inhabitants, notwithstanding any destructions, be strictly enjoined, that they in no wise receive or refuse, any order or message, or in any manner to do so upon their planting, either to be made or to be done, but if any order or message is made or given, it shall be given to the Inhabitants, to be used in such a manner as they shall be used for any useful or profitable service, and to be turned into a useful and profitable manner, to follow all sorts of useful plantations, to be sold to the best advantage.

4. That no man shall, nor woman, nor child, nor any other person, in any plantation, be engaged in any plantation, but such as shall be given to them, shall be used in such a manner as they shall be used for any useful or profitable service, and to be turned into a useful and profitable manner, to follow all sorts of useful plantations, to be sold to the best advantage.

5. That no man, nor woman, nor child, nor any other person, in any plantation, be engaged in any plantation, but such as shall be given to them, shall be used in such a manner as they shall be used for any useful or profitable service, and to be turned into a useful and profitable manner, to follow all sorts of useful plantations, to be sold to the best advantage.

6. That every Inhabitant, on his own account, and his own account, to be used in such a manner as they shall be used for any useful or profitable service, and to be turned into a useful and profitable manner, to follow all sorts of useful plantations, to be sold to the best advantage.
No. 25

Letter from the inhabitants of Draperstown [i.e. Moneymore] about the maintenance of the town waterworks and other grievances, 1625

The Worshipful Company of Drapers was one of the twelve 'great' livery companies of London which invested in the plantation in County Londonderry (Nos 10 and 23). They received a proportion in the southern part of the county amounting to around 39,000 acres in December 1613 and work began in the spring of 1615 to develop the estate. Initial progress was slow. John Rowley, who had been dismissed as agent for the Irish Society (No. 23) was appointed to manage the proportion. On his death in 1617 he was replaced by Robert Russell. Both men were criticised for spending large sums of money to little effect, with Russell accused of being more interested in developing his brewery and selling beer to both settlers and the native Irish. By 1622 a castle and bawn had been built at Moneymore, the main settlement on the proportion, but both were unfinished and in a poor state of repair. There was also a chapel, mill, smithy and a number of English-style timber-framed houses. Pynnar reported that there were just sixteen British men on the estate in 1619. This had risen to thirty-four by 1629.

The letter sent by the British tenants on the proportion to the Drapers’ Company in London in June 1625 lists a number of grievances and suggestions for the improvement of the settlement at Moneymore. (This is sometimes referred to as ‘Drapers Town’, but is not to be confused with the modern Draperstown, which was developed in the nineteenth century.) The first agent, John Rowley, had provided a piped water system for the town. However, by 1619 this was in need of extensive refurbishment, although the tenants were still paying for the system through their rents. The other complaints focus on the undeveloped nature of the settlement: the unpaved streets, unfinished buildings and the lack of a market or regular fairs, a problem made worse by the remoteness of Moneymore from the rest of the British plantation. They are also concerned with the lawless nature of the country and the continuing attacks of ‘woodkern’ (No. 24).
Right Worshipfull

Wee your poore Tenants, whose names are under written have presumed to address our selves unto your worships, not only to entreate your worships care and favor towards us in the settleinge and establishinge us heere uppon your lands; but alsoe to entreate the performance of such covenants and agrements, as have bene propounded (and should have bene formed, by your former Agent Mr Rowly: and some other reasonable requests, for the benefit of the Towne, and the good of your poore tennants and inhabitants. Which we hope will not be anie waye distastfull to your worships.

That your worships would be pleased before you dispose of your lands, to make good our estates unto us which we are promised by your former Agent Mr Rowly, As namely the maintaineing of the water worke to the Towne, the want of which is an extraordinary charge and trouble to the poore inhabitants, ever ye man allowinge Tenne Shillings per annum in their rents towards the mayntaineing of yt, and yet enjoye not the benefit according to the covenant.

That your worships wilbe pleased to Pave the streets which in wynter is soe Noysome and Troublesome unto us, that for verye dyrt and myre we are scarce able to goe from one house to an other without boots.

That your worships wilbe pleased to procure the mayntaininge of A market and a Fayer to be kept heere in the towne According to promised covenant made by Mr Rowly, without which wee shall not be able to paye yo[ur] worships such greate rents for our houses as we doe, …

To speake of the dangerousness of the place weare in nowe live; wee need not make anie ample relation of it, noe man havning bene in these parts, but can testifie of yt, that the like or equall yt is not almost to be found in Ireland, Wee here beinge dayly subiected to the incursions and continuall stealthes of the woodkerne, which these parts alwaies hitherto have been subject unto, and wee thinke will nev[e]r be free from, Manie of your poore tennants having lost in one night (verye lately) fower or five head of cattle, being all that ever they have had in the world, …

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D3632/A/212)
Sir Arthur Chichester’s memorial inscription, St Nicholas’ Church, Carrickfergus

St Nicholas’ Church in Carrickfergus, County Antrim, is the only parish church in use in Ulster which retains substantial elements of its medieval fabric. Begun in the late twelfth century, what survives today is an amalgamation of rebuilding and alteration over centuries. A major programme of refurbishment was carried out in the early seventeenth century, including the reconstruction of the north transept.

Placed against the back wall of this transept is the Chichester monument. This alabaster memorial consists of a large sarcophagus, which supports the life-size kneeling figures of Sir Arthur and his wife Lettice with that of their infant son situated between them in a cradle. On a plinth in front of them is the smaller effigy of his brother, Sir John Chichester, who was killed near Carrickfergus in 1597 during an encounter with the MacDonnells. The whole monument is framed by two Corinthian columns which support a rich architrave and entablature, which is surmounted by an attic on which the family arms are sculptured in high relief; on each side are two more Corinthian columns supporting an entablature. The pediment supports two large black tablets displaying a lengthy epitaph alongside panels decorated with trophies and military devices.

The Chichester memorial is widely regarded as one of the most outstanding Renaissance funeral monuments in Ireland. The name of the sculptor is not known, but the high quality workmanship suggests that it was imported from England. The monument is a reflection of Chichester’s wealth and social standing. In addition to serving as the lord deputy of Ireland, he was a major landowner in counties Antrim, Donegal and Tyrone (Nos 13 and 22). The seats for the Chichester family and their retainers were positioned in front of the monument. Portions of these survive as the original oak panelling and wood carving in the front pews. Under the floor of the transept, which is raised several feet above the floor level of the nave, is the Chichester vault, which has a barrel roof and is built of dressed red sandstone.
Sacred to god and eternal memorie.
Sr Arthur Chichester knight baron of belfast, Lo[rd] High Treasvrer of Ireland governour of this towne &
of the countries adjoining descended of the avncient & noble hovse of the Chichesters in the cvntie of
Devon, sonne of Sir John Chichester of Raleiche kt. & of his wife Gartrvd Covrtney grand child of Sr
Edwd. Chichestor & of his wife Elizabeth daughter of John Bovrgcheir Earl of Bath.
After the flight of the earls of Tiron & Terconnel other arch traytors theire accomplice &: settled the
plantacon of this province & well & happily governed this kingdom in floverishing estate vnder James
ovr king the space of n yeare &: more. Whilst he was Ld Depetie & governour theirof, retreyd himself
into his private government & being mindful of his mortalitie represented vnto him by the vntymely
death of Arthvr his sonne the only hope of his hovse, who lived not full 2 months after his birth, as allsoe
of his noble and valiant brother Sr John Chichester knight, late serjeant maior of the armye in this
kingdome & the pracedent governour of this towne, hath cavsed this chappell to be repaired & this valt
& monvment to be made and erected as well in remembrance of them whose statues are expressed &
theire bodyes interred, as allsoe a resting place for the body itself & his most dear & best beloved wife the
noble & vertvovs lady Lettice. eldest davghter of Sr John Perrot, knight sometyme worthye depvtie of
this kingdome which they shall hear rest in peace vntill the second coming of their crvcified redeemer
whome theye most constanly beleive there to beehold with their bodily eyes to their endless blessedness
& everlasting comfort.

Epitaphe.
Within this bedd of death, a viceroy lyes,
whose fame shall ever live, vltvte nere dyes;
for he did virtue and religion norishe;
& made this land, late rvde, with peace to florvish.
The wildest rebell, he be power did tame
& by trve jvstice gayned an honord name;
then now, thoug he in heaven with angells be,
let vs on earth still love his memorie.
By him intered, his noble ladye is,
whoe partake with him in heavenly blisse,
for while the earth, vnto them was a seat,
blessed they were, being both good and great.
With them doth rest, their one & only sonne,
whose life was short, and soe his glass soone rvn;
the heavens not earth, was his allotted right,
for which he badd the world sooone goodnight.
Intomed by them here allsoe doth remayn,
his worthy brother, by base rebels slayn,
as he in martiall, & brave warrelife feight,
opposse their evrie in his cvntreys right.
& in memoriall of theire endless praise,
this monvment is left to after dayes.

Opposite page: Chichester memorial, St Nicholas’ Church, Carrickfergus.
(Courtesy Historic Environment Division, Department for Communities)
This sculpted crucifixion plaque in Artigarvan, County Tyrone, bearing the name Robert Algeo and the date 1625, points to a highly exceptional feature in the plantation in the neighbourhood of Strabane: the presence of a small Catholic element, mainly Scots, possibly some English and even some Irish of Old English extraction, within the settler population of this region (No. 6). Of a surname commonly found then only in Renfrewshire, Robert Algeo was a prominent figure in the plantation: he was one of a number of agents or estate managers, obviously men of considerable ability, employed by the Hamilton grantees of lands in the barony of Strabane.

Algeo first appears in an administrative role in 1614 on the estate granted to Sir Claud Hamilton of Schawfield, Lanarkshire, a brother of the chief undertaker in Strabane, the 1st Earl of Abercorn. With the death of Sir Claud in that year, that estate came thereafter under the management of another brother, Sir George Hamilton of Greenlaw, himself also the grantee of an estate in his own right. Algeo emerges in 1622 as linked to Sir George Hamilton, having then himself the oversight of both estates on Sir George’s behalf. He was also a leaseholder of land on Sir George’s own estate – called Cloghogenall and including Artigarvan – on which he had built a stone house. Further indication of the special position accorded to him in settler society is found when he is seen in 1630 as the bearer of the colours in the settler militia mustered for Strabane.

On the death in 1618 of the 1st Earl of Abercorn, who had been Protestant, Sir George, who came to be guardian of the earl’s children, and generally very influential in Strabane barony, and the earl’s son, Claud, known as the Master of Abercorn (d. 1638), who inherited the Strabane lands when he came of age, were both Catholic. It was under Sir George’s and the Master’s patronage that a significant, if small, number of lay Catholic settlers had grown up around Strabane.

The slab itself is some 53½ inches long, its width about 22 inches while the length of the cross is just very slightly less than 22 inches. It is carved in raised relief within a moulded border, the latter lost along the top edge. The Latin inscription I.N.R.I. appears above the figure, which is flanked by AD DEI GLORIAM (to the glory of God), with below it Robert Algeo’s name and, below again, the date 2 May 1625, the panel beneath being left blank. The semi-circular ornament at the foot of the cross is either a rendering of the hill of Golgotha or perhaps of the skulls, legendarily found there, or just simply some decoration. Christ’s arms are somewhat drawn up, especially on the left, though not pronouncedly so, and his head tilts slightly. He is wearing a short and flowing perizonium, a feature characteristic of the Renaissance, rather than one of knee-length. Its other notable feature is that Christ is nailed to the cross with three nails, one foot being placed over the other, as opposed to four nails with his feet placed on suppedaneum. It has been shown that the design of the crucifix had gone through an evolution with three nails long common by the fifteenth century.

The intended destination of the slab cannot now be determined, unless it had been proposed to erect it within the church in Strabane, previously unfinished, and planned originally for Protestant worship. Since Robert Algeo was alive in 1630, it was not a grave monument. It derives its very special interest from the circumstances of its creation combined with its present highly impenetrable location beside the footing of the bridge at Artigarvan, deeply below the ground level above, where, according to a brief nineteenth-century notice of it, it had been placed by a man, compelled to do so by spirit visitations having first removed it from some church ruin to his home.

Note: the above text has been edited from R.J. Hunter, 'Style and form in gravestone and monumental sculpture in Co. Tyrone in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', first published in C. Dillon and H. Jefferies (eds), Tyrone History and Society (Dublin, 2000), and more recently in R.J. Hunter, Ulster Transformed: Essays on Plantation and Print Culture c. 1590–1641 (Belfast, 2012).
No. 28

Genealogy of Sir William Cole, Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, 1630

William Cole (1576–1653) was an English soldier and administrator who was granted land as a servitor in County Fermanagh. After service in the Nine Years’ War he commanded a naval force on Lough Erne and became constable of Enniskillen castle. In 1611, he received a grant of land near Enniskillen and later purchased additional property nearby. Over the next thirty years he developed the town of Enniskillen, which received a charter of incorporation in 1613, and became one of the leading figures in the administration of County Fermanagh. He was knighted in 1617 and was elected a member of parliament for Fermanagh in 1634 and 1640. His descendants became the earls of Enniskillen, building Florence Court in the south of county in the eighteenth century.

Cole was born in London and most of his immediate family were merchants or lawyers. The genealogy, however, emphasises that the Cole family were landed gentry from Devon and connected with other gentry families in the county. The plantation provided opportunities for social mobility for many settlers by allowing entry into the landowning class. This ornate (and probably very expensive) professionally produced pedigree indicates how concerned many of them were to show that they were people of substance.

The Genealogie of the right Worshipfull and worthie Captaine Sir William Cole of the Castell of Eneskillen in the countie of Firmanaugh in the Kingdome of Ireland knight, whoe faithfully serued Queene Elizabeth in her wars of Holland and Ireland, and sithence in like manner serued Kinge lames, and his Matie that now is, in eminem places and Offices as well in their Martall as Ciull affaires and is lyneally descended of the Auncient howse of Cole of Deuon and Cornewall, wherin is sett forth the discents lynes and branches of the Seuerall fameleys of that howse and sirname, togeather with their matches and alliances to other right Noble, worthie and worshipfull famileys, their Armes and Ensignes; Carefully Collected out of; and proued by diuers Records, Deedes, Wills, Euidences, Inquisicons, Monuments, Roles, and the Visitations and bookes of the Office of Armes at London and other authentick authoreties, and as heere under followeth Exemplisied this xxxth day of July in the sixt yeare of the Raigne our dread Soueraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God Kinge of Greate Brittaine France and Ireland defender of the faith & c. Ao Dm: 1630

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D1702/7/5)
The Genealogy of the right Worshipful and worthy Captain William Cole of the Castell of Enniskillen in the county of Fermanagh in the Kingdom of Ireland who was faithfully served Queen Elizabeth in her wars of Holland and Ireland, and Silence in like manner served King James and his Majesties in all times and places and officers as well in their Majesties' Girlls affairs and is typically descended of the Ancient house of Cole of Devon and Cornwall; wherein it is left both the diligent long and branches of the Seigniory families of that house and his name together with their matches and alliances to other right Noble, worshipful and worshipful Estates, these Arms and Devices Carefully Collected out of and proved by divers Records, Deeds, Wills, Evidence of Inquisitions, Monumental Rests, and the Visitations and other works of the Office of Arms at London and other autenticated authorities and at other under hand. Examin'd this day in the Black Letter, the Reign our dread Sovereigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of Great Britaine France and Ireland descendant of the faithfull, &c. This 35th.
No. 29
Part of a rental of the estate of Sir William Balfour, County Fermanagh, 1636

Under the original plans for the escheated counties it was envisaged that proportions granted to British (i.e. English and Scottish) undertakers would be settled exclusively by British tenants. The Gaelic Irish were to be removed to the areas reserved for servitors and Irish grantees (Nos 1 and 3). In the event undertakers often preferred to let land to the resident population, who were prepared to pay higher rents, with many Gaelic Irish also remaining as subtenants or landless labourers. As the plantation developed, Irish tenants often became squeezed out, moving to marginal land or becoming undertenants to the new settlers (No. 11).

The progress of British settlement can be traced through the records of the estate of Sir William Balfour in south Fermanagh. Balfour, the Keeper of the Tower of London, was the brother of the original grantee of 3,000 acres in the precinct of Knockninny. The town of Ballybalfour, now known as Lisnaskea, developed on this estate. Although the Balfours introduced British settlers to the area, they also leased land directly to Gaelic Irish tenants, particularly in the more remote areas of the estate. Some of these tenants leased substantial quantities of land which they sublet to other Irish tenants, suggesting that some elements of the old Gaelic system survived. Over time British settlement became concentrated in the area around the town of Ballybalfour. The new tenants were attracted by better agricultural land and access to the local markets and the main road from Dublin to Derry, which passed through the town.

Most of the leases listed in the rent roll were for one or more tates, an area which was supposed to contain 60 acres of profitable land, but which generally equated to a modern townland. As this is a larger area than one family could manage, it suggests that part of the holding would be sublet. In the case of the two tates held by Irish tenants, part of the rent is paid in kind, i.e. by the provision of sheep and hens and the work service of men and horses. This was quite common in leases to both British and Irish tenants across the plantation area.

Martha Slack was the widow of the Rev. James Slack, Church of Ireland rector of Enniskillen, who had leased a number of tates from the Balfour estate in 1631. The lands referred to in the rental are Legan (the modern townland of Leginn), Killegreagh (Killygreigh) and Dromsilvester (probably the modern townland of Grattan), all in the parish of Kinawley.


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10 May 1636

| Knockniny | A true Rentall of the honourable Sr Will[ja]m Balfour kn[jgh]t his Maj[ies]ties Lieuenent of the Royall Castle the Tower of London of his Mannors, proporcons & lands in the County of ffermanagh, and Baronies of Knockniny & Magherystephanagh in the Realme of Ireland, as they payd at May last for halfe a yeare. |
| Greate Tates containing 60 acres apiece as they are mentioned in the grant beinge more or lesse |
| Leased by Sr Willm Balfour from May 1635 to Martha Slack widd[ow] for 3 years from thence next ensuigne at £10 ster English p[er] Ann[um], the kinges rent and Countrey charges for halfe a year end at May last. |

| Legan 1 greate tate | Leased by Middleton from all S[ain]ts last to Patrick Magwyre and Teige Magwyre for one yeare, at £7 10s p[er] Ann[um], 2 fat unshorne muttons, 12 henns, 4 workemen wth horses all upon demand yearely, the kings rent and Countrey charges |
| Killegreagh 1 great tate |

£  s  d
05 00 00
03 15 00
Dromsilvester
½ part of a tate
Sett by Middleton to Bryan m‘ Dun Magwire from all Stains last
for one yeare at £4 10s p[er] An[m]um, one fatt unshorne mutton,
6 henns, 4 able workemen with horses yearely, the kings rent and
Country charges

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D1939/15/2/2)
During the plantation period, the ways in which land was owned and inherited changed. The old Gaelic customs of tanistry, where an heir was selected from among the adult males of the family during the lord’s lifetime, and gavelkind, by which an estate was divided among a number of sons, were declared illegal. The principle of primogeniture, whereby the eldest son inherited everything became the norm. There was also a move away from the feudal concept of holding land in return for military or other services towards leasehold. Tenants now received a written lease and paid a cash rent for their land. Leasehold was encouraged by the government which saw it as a way of reducing the power of the large landowners. It was hoped that the security provided by a lease would encourage tenants to build houses and improve their holdings. As a consequence of the move to leasehold significant numbers of written leases, such as the one below, survive from the plantation period.

The earls of Antrim were a rare example of Gaelic lords who not only survived but prospered during the plantation. They were descended from Clan Donald, the Lords of the Isles, who controlled much of the western highlands and islands of Scotland during the Middle Ages. The family had established themselves in County Antrim during the fifteenth century despite opposition from the O’Neills, the dominant Gaelic family in Ulster, and the English administration in Dublin. Randal MacDonnell (d. 1636), the head of the family in Ulster, sided with the crown in conflicts in both Ireland and Scotland and in 1603 received a royal patent confirming his ownership of the area known as the Route and the Glyns in County Antrim. Although viewed with distrust by the administration in Dublin, he retained the support of the crown and was made Earl of Antrim in 1620. This support was mainly due to his adoption of the principles and practices of the plantation. He encouraged the settlement of English and lowland Scots tenants on his estate and supported the established Protestant church, although the Antrim family were to remain Catholics until the mid-eighteenth century. These policies were continued by his son Randal, the second earl, later created marquess of Antrim (1609–83).

While the earls of Antrim introduced significant numbers of English and lowland Scots tenants into their estates, they were also prepared to grant leases on the same terms to the Gaelic Irish. The MacAllesters were a branch of Clan Donald who had moved to north Antrim in the fifteenth century where they had served the MacDonnells as gallowglass or professional soldiers. The Toole (or Tuathal) McAllester who held this lease may have been a descendant of one of these gallowglass, although he now held his land in exchange for a cash rent rather than as an armed follower. He was one of a number of McAllesters who held land on the estate. Given the size of the holding, and the fact that McAllester is described as a gentleman, it is likely that he would have sublet his holding to a number of tenants.

The lease reserves to the landlord a number of rights over the land. These include the power to exploit any minerals on the property, fishing and hunting rights and the operation of any mills. These were important sources of additional revenue for the earls, particularly the valuable north Antrim salmon fisheries. As with many leases from this period the tenant is required to ‘improve’ the property. In the case of this lease he is required to enclose the profitable parts of his holding with hedges or ditches and to plant trees. Other leases required tenants to build stone houses.

The lands referred to in this lease are the townlands of Droghedulke (modern Drunkendult), Bellanagoree (Ballynagor), Gregatimpan (Craigatimpan) and Glassanyarin (Glassaneeran), all in the parish of Blyy (Billy), a few miles north-east of Ballymoney.
This indenture made the twentieth day of July Anno Domini one thousand six hundred thirty and seven Betweene the right honnorable Randall Earle of Antrim and Alexander Mc Donell Esq brother to the sayd Earle of the one part And Toole Mc Allester of Carnkirm in the County of Antrim gentelman of the other part Wittnesseth that the sayd Earle of Antrim and Alexander Mc Donell for and in consideration of the rents improvements and services hereafter in and by these presents reserved, Have demised sett and to fearme letten and by these presents they doe demise sett and to fearme lett unto the sayd Coole McAllester, all that and those vizt. the quarter of land of Droghedulke, the quarter of land of Bellangorre, the quarter of land of Cregatimpan, and the quarter of land of Glassanyarin with the appentnces scitt at and being in the Barrony of Dunluce in the County of Antrim afforesayd, excepting all mills millseates and ponds, and excepting all mynes of brasse leade frome coale and other mynes and mineralles, together with free liberty to dig and take away the sd mynes and minerals And also excepting all salmon fishing and likewise excepting all manner of hauckes and other game and Royalties whatsoever arising growing or being in or upon the premises or any part or cell thereof And excepting and reserving unto the sayd Earle and his heires and to him and them who will lie in the immediat reverson or remainder of the premises his and their servants by his of their speciall direction free liberty to fish foule hunt and haucke in and upon the premises and every part or cell thereof To Have and and to hould the sayd premises with the appentnces (except before excepted) unto the said Toole McAllester his executors administrators and assigns for and during the terme tyme and space of twenty and one yeeres from the first day of May last past fully to be complete and ended. The sayd Toole McAllester his executors administrators and assigns thereout yeelding reserving and paying unto the sayd Earle of Antrim hies hiers and assigns the yeerely rent of forty pounds st[irling]e currant money of England per annum payable at the usuall feaste or dayes of payment of all saits or the first day of the month of November, and of saits Phillip and Jacobe or the first day of May by even and equal porcons … And that the said Toole McAllester his ex[ecut]ors administrators and assigns shall for every yeere during the sd terme enclose the quantity of lower acres of land having one hundred and sixty pearche of the premises which is not already sufficiently enclosed by water or otherwise which enclosure shall be with a ditch of three foot and half broade and three foote deepe (if the ground will soe pmitt) and if not then soe far as the ground will p[er]mitt, the hedge shall be two foote and a halfe high above the sayd ditch and well quick setted, until all the prop[er]itable land of the premises be thoroughly enclosed as aforessayd and shall likewise plant every yeere and allwayes p[er]serve twenty and five ashes oake or sickenmore upon some part of the premises, and shall mantaine uphoold and keepe the sayd enclosures and trees to be planted as aforessayd in good & sufficient sorte …

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D2977/3A/3/1/1A)
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