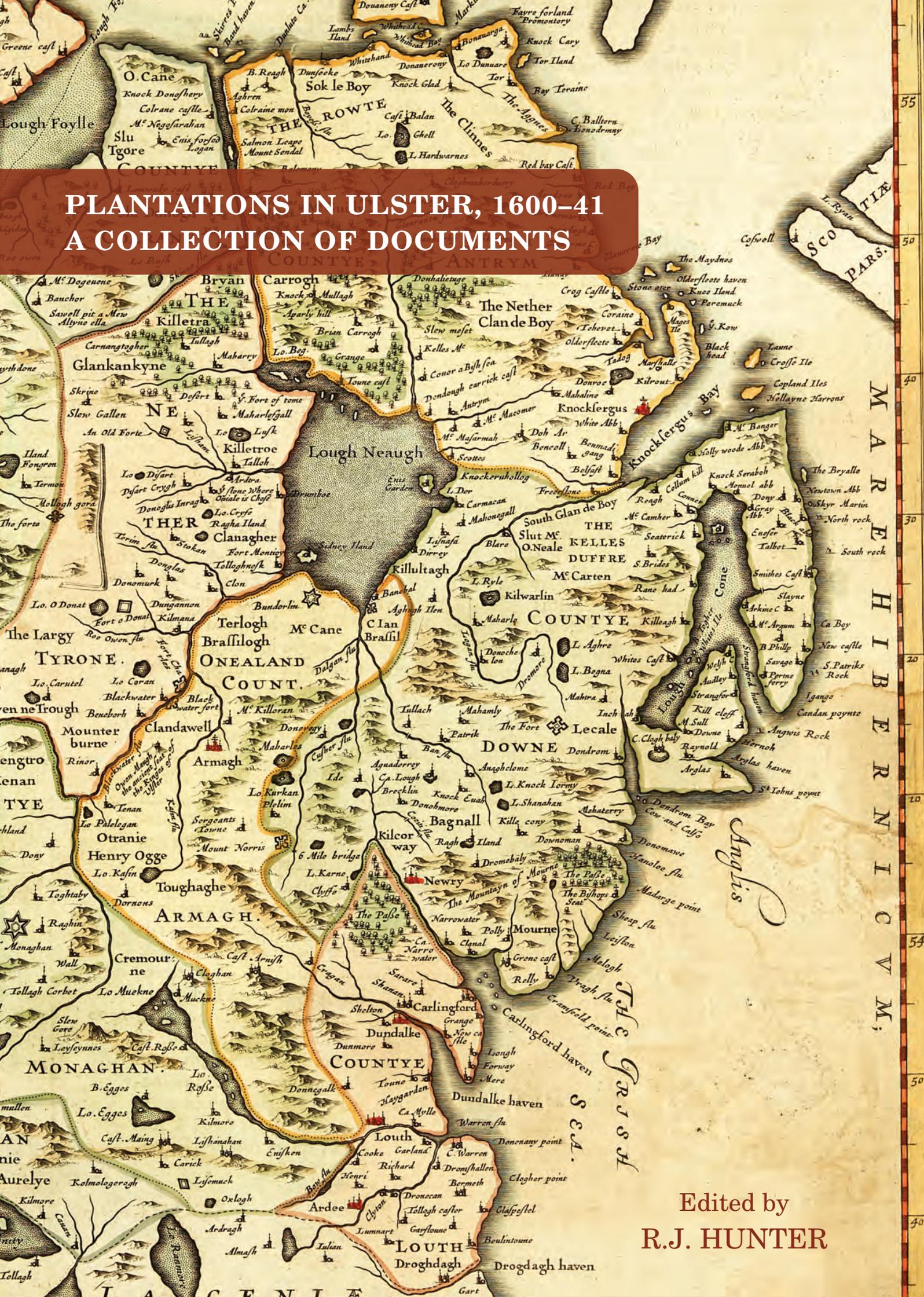


PLANTATIONS IN ULSTER, 1600-41

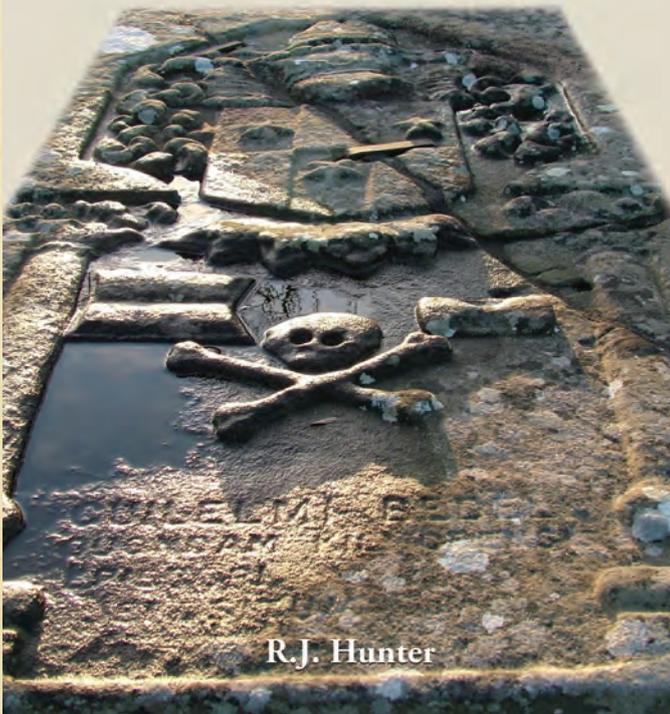
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The Ulster Plantation

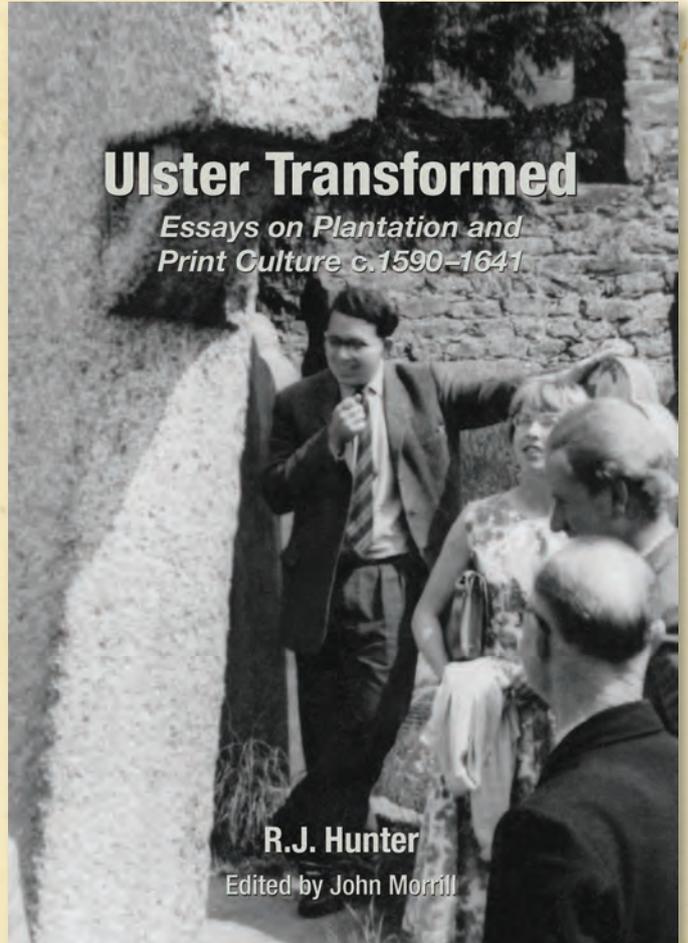
*in the Counties of Armagh and Cavan,
1608–1641*



R.J. Hunter

Ulster Transformed

*Essays on Plantation and
Print Culture c.1590–1641*

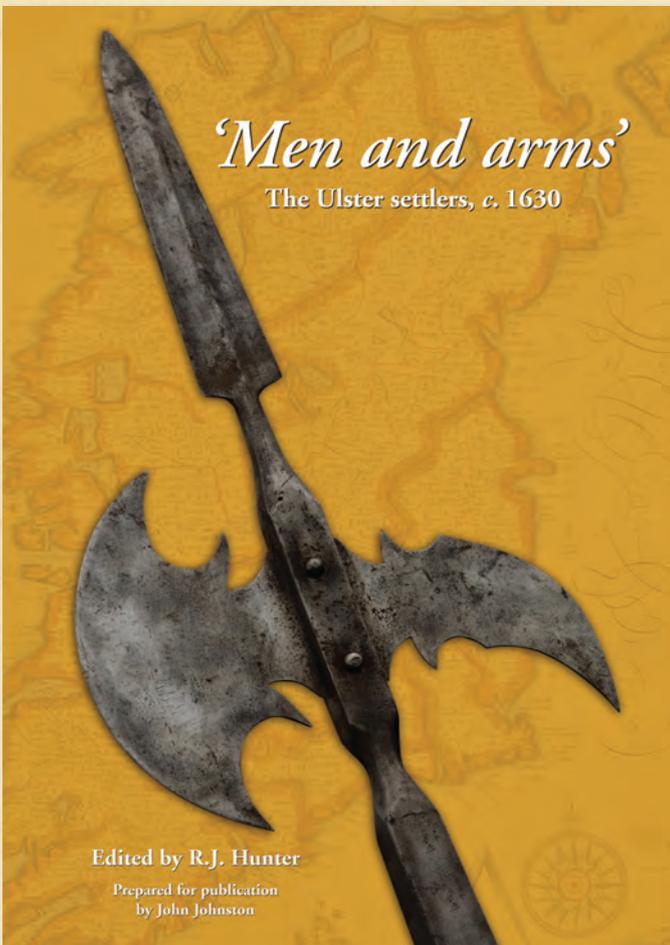


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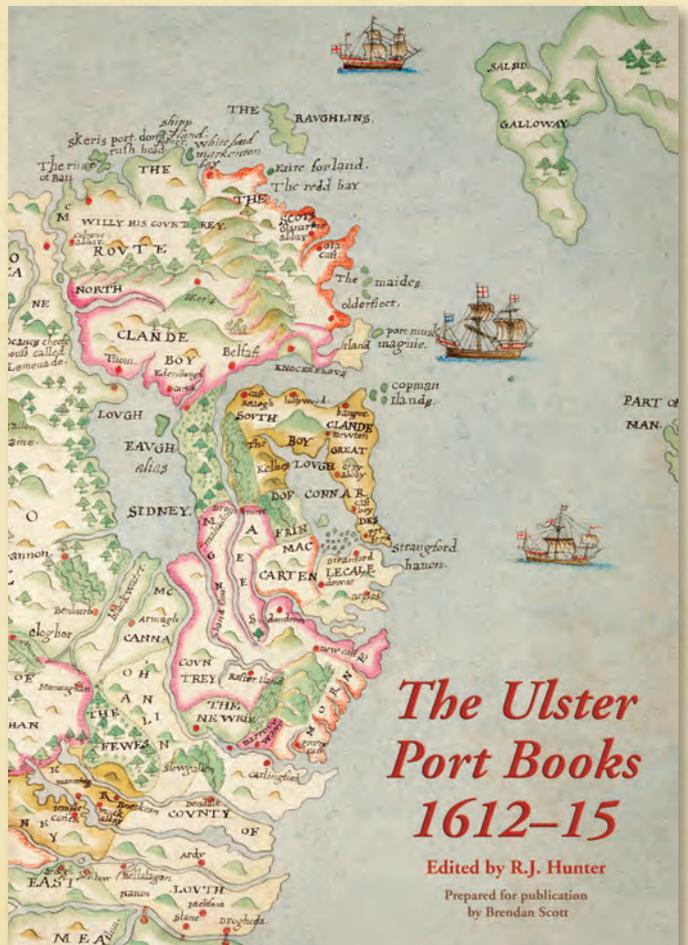
'Men and arms'

The Ulster settlers, c. 1630



Edited by R.J. Hunter

Prepared for publication
by John Johnston



The Ulster Port Books 1612–15

Edited by R.J. Hunter

Prepared for publication
by Brendan Scott

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

Published in association with the R.J. Hunter Committee.
The Committee was established to acknowledge the contribution R.J. Hunter made to the study of our past by making more widely known the results of his research, as well as giving limited support to others engaged in associated endeavours.

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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.

Ulster Transformed: Essays on Plantation and Print Culture, c. 1590–1641.

'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

Bardon, Jonathan, *The plantation of Ulster: the British colonisation of the north of Ireland in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 2011).

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).

Gillespie, Raymond, *Colonial Ulster: the settlement of East Ulster, 1600–1641* (Cork, 1985).

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 sept, Irish and Scottish* (Belfast, 1873).

Hill, George (ed.), *The Montgomery manuscripts: (1603–1706) Compiled from family papers* (Belfast, 1869).

Moody, T.W., *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609–1641: The City of London and the plantation in Ulster* (Belfast, 1939).

Perceval-Maxwell, Michael, *The Scottish migration to Ulster in the reign of James I* (London, 1973).

Robinson, Philip, *The plantation of Ulster: British settlement in an Irish landscape, 1600–1670* (Dublin, 1984).

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 Down Survey of Ireland: The maps created for the Down Survey of Ireland between 1656 and 1658 and associated documents. <http://downsurvey.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 roiggid [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. Pynnar 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).
6. Bodley's survey of the plantation in the barony of Strabane, 1613 (Huntingdon, Hastings MS HA 13964).
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).
14. Summary page of the Ulster muster book, c. 1630 (BL, Add. MS 4770).
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 Carvile'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.
28. Genealogy of Sir William Cole, Enniskillen, 1630 (PRONI, D1702/7/5).
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).

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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'.

911
 James
 1609

A proiect for the division & plantation
 of the escheated lands in 6 severall
 Counties, namely Tyrone, Connaught, Downe,
 Fermanagh, Ardmagh and Cavan.

In this proiect we have first considered & provided
 points to be observed in every County viz:

1. First: That the proportion of land to be distributed
 to undertakers shall be of three different quantities,
 the first and least quantity shall consist of soe many
 acres of land as will make 1000 English acres or Gene-
 rals, the second and middle proportion of soe many
 acres of land as will make 2000 English acres or Gene-
 rals, the third and greatest of soe many acres
 as will make 3000 English acres or Generals.
 2. Secondly that all the lands left vacant in every County
 shall be divided into four parts, the first part shall be
 divided into proportions consisting of 1000 acres or more,
 the second part into proportions of 2000 acres, the third
 part into proportions of 3000 acres.
 3. Thirdly that every proportion be made a parish, and a
 parish of wife settled upon. And that the Inhabitant
 may be endowed wth glebes of severall quantities viz
 in Inhabitant of a parish of 1000 acres to have 60 acres
 an Inhabitant of a parish of 1500 acres to have 90 acres
 and an Inhabitant of a parish of 2000 acres to have 120
 acres, And that the best houses and the ducts of
 every parish be allotted to every Inhabitant w^{ch} he
 shall desire.
- Fourthly that the
 undertakers of these
 lands be of three sorts
 viz:
1. English and Scotch who are to
 have Gene proportions w^{ch} English
 and Scotch towns.
 2. Strangers in Ireland whoe shall
 take English or Irish towns &
 Gene proportions.
 3. Natives of these Counties who
 are to be made freeholders.
5. Lastly the said lands havinge made choice of such persons shall be
 planted in every County, to avoid the emulation amongst
 them. the sites of plant of their proportions shall be distributed
 by lotte.

231

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)

PARTE OF THE BARONIE OF STRABANE

OMEY

Castle of Omege
Orte of Omege



Parte of this Bar: of Strabane

Mourne Mts.

the River

OMEY

Donganon

Tireconell

No. 3

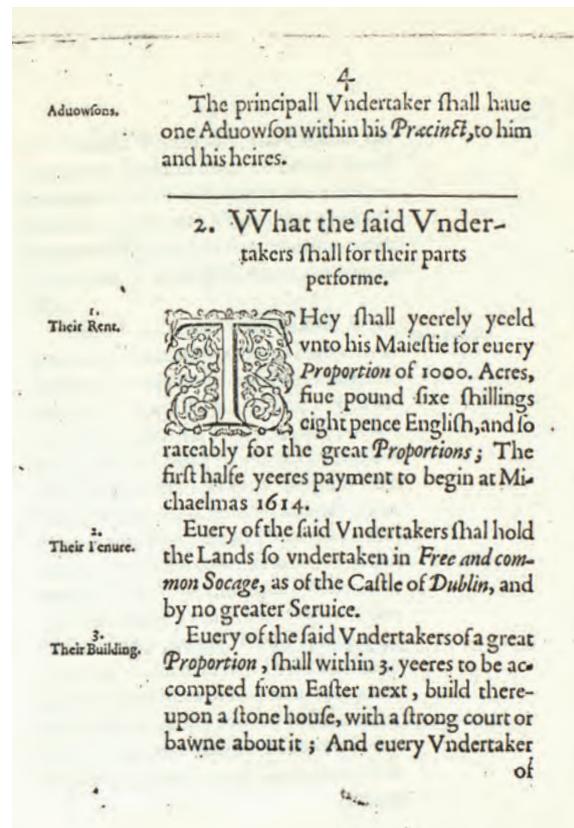
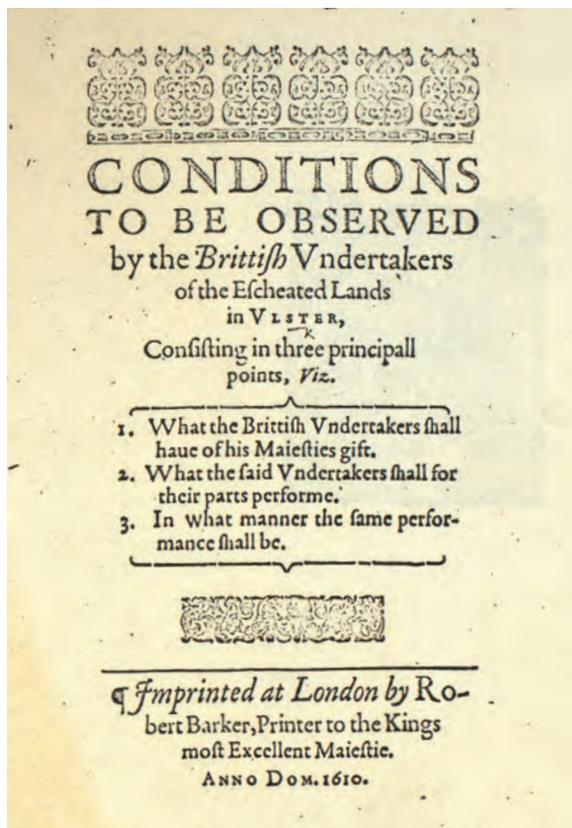
Part of the 'revised articles' of the plantation, produced in the spring of 1610

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 tenancing 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)



5
23
of a middle *Proportion*, shall within the same time build a stone or bricke house thereupon, with a strong court or bawne about it; And every Vndertaker of a small *Proportion*, shall within the same time make thereupon a strong Court or bawne at least.

Every Vndertaker shall within three yeeres, to be accompted from Easter next, plant or place vpon a small *Proportion*, the number of 24. able men of the age of 18. yeeres or vpwards, being English, or Inland Scottish; And so rateably vpon the other *Proportions*; Which numbers shall be reduced into 10. families at least, to be settled vpon euery small *Proportion*, and rateably vpon the other *Proportions* in this maner; Viz. The principall Vndertaker and his family to bee settled vpon a Demesne of 300. Acres; Two Fee-fermours vpon 120. Acres a peece; Three Leaseholders for three liues or 21. yeeres vpon 100. Acres a peece; And vpon the residue being 160. Acres, foure families or more of Husbandmen, Artificers or Cottagers; their

Portions

4. Their Families.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

6
Portions of Land to bee assigned by the principall Vndertaker at his discretion.

Every of the said Vndertakers shall draw their Tenants to build houses for themselves and their families, not scattering, but together, neere the principall house or bawne, aswell for their mutuall defence and strength, as for the making of Villages and Towneships.

The said Vndertakers, their heires and assignes, shall haue ready in their houses at all times, a conuenient store of Armes, wherewith they may furnish a competent number of men for their defence, which may be viewed and mustered euery halfe yeere, according to the maner of England.

Every of the said Vndertakers; before he be receiued to be an Vndertaker, shall take the Oath of Supremacie, either in the Chancerie of England or Scotland, or before the Commisioners to bee appointed for the establishing of the *Plantation*; And shall also conforme themselves in Religion according to his Maiesties Lawes; And euery

5 The Building of the vnder-Tenants.

6 Armes.

7. Oath of Supremacie.

7
2
euery of their Vnder tenants being chiefe of a family, shall take the like Oath before the said Commisioners, or the Iustices of Assize comming into the Countie, wherein the said Tenants shall be placed at the next Assizes, after they shall sit downe and inhabite in the said seuerall Counties. And they and their families, shall be also conformable in Religion as aforesaid.

Every of the said Vndertakers for the space of five yeeres, to be accompted from Michaelmas next, shall be resident himselfe in person vpon his *Portion*, or place some such other person thereupon, as shall be allowed by the State of England or Ireland, And shall take the Oath of Supremacie; and likewise be himselfe with his family conformable in Religion as aforesaid, who shall be resident during the said five yeeres, vnlesse by reason of sicknesse or other important cause, he be licensed by the Lord Deputie and Councell of Ireland to absent himselfe for a time.

The said Vndertakers, their heires and assignes, shall not Alien or demise their

B *Portions*

8. Residence.

9. Restraint of Alienation to the Irish.

8
Portions or any part thereof to the meere Irish, or to such persons as will not take the said Oath of Supremacie; And to that end a proviso shall be inserted in their Letters Patents, that the parcell of land so aliened shall be forfeited.

The said Vndertakers shall not Alien their *Portions* during five yeeres, to be accompted from Michaelmas next; but vnto their Vnder tenants, in the forme before expressed in the fourth Article.

The said Vndertakers shall not referre any vncertaine Rent, but the same shall be expressly set downe without reference to the custome of the Countrey.

3. In what maner the said performance shall be.

10. To repaire into Ireland before Midsummer next.

11. Vncertaine Rents.

12. He said Vndertakers either in person, or by such Agents as shall be allowed by the Councils of Estate of England or Scotland respectively, shall before Midsummer day next,

10. Restraint of Alienation within five yeeres.

11. Vncertaine Rents.

12. To repaire into Ireland before Midsummer next.

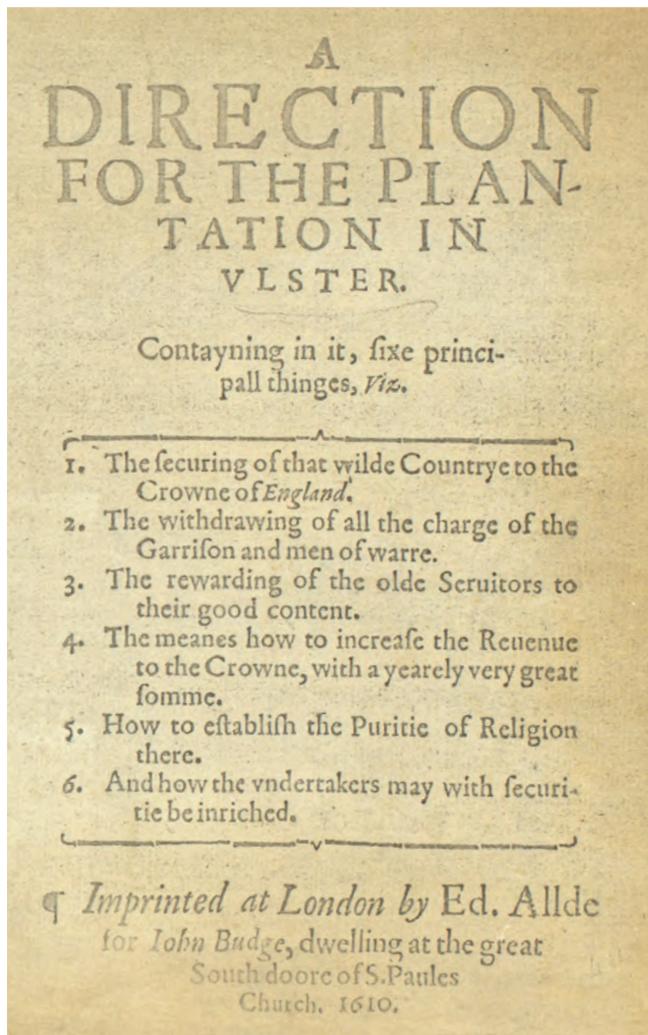
No. 4

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 indeavours ... Art thou a Gentleman that takest pleasure in hunt? the Fox, the Woolfe, and the Wood-Kerne doe expect thy coming 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 maifest 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

Moreouer the frowning countenance of chance and change, (for nothing so certaine as that all things are most vncertaine) doth also incite a prouident vndertaker to lay such a foundation, as it should be rather a violent storme then a fret of foule weather that should annoy him. A scattered plantation will neuer effect his desire: what can the countenance of a Castle or Bawne with a few followers doe? euen as they at this present doe: which is nothing to any purpose.

What shall we then say? or to what course shall we betake our selues? surely by building of a wel fortified Towne, to be able at any time at an houres warning with siue hundred men well armed, to encounter all occasions: neither will that be sufficient, except that be seconded with such another, and that also (if it may be, as easily it may) with a third: so there will be helpe on euery side, to defend, & offend: for as in England, if a priuy watch be set, many malefactors are apprehended; euen amongst their cuppes: so there where the spaces in the Woods be cut out, and the bogges

of V L S T E R.

bogges be made somewhat passible, then these new erected townes intending a reformation, must often times at the first set a vniuersall great hunt, that a suddaine search may be made in all suspicious places, for the Woolfe and the Wood-kerne, which being secretly and wisely appointed by the gouernors, they with the helpe of some Irish, well acquainted with the holes and holdes of those offenders, the generallitic shall search euery particular place.

For an example, the fourth day of March, the Lyfford, the Omigh, they in Farmanagh, Donganon, and Colrayne, shall on that day send forth from euery one of those places, an hundred men; which siue hundred men shall as then make search in all, or in all the most suspicious places: and by being at one instant dispersed with furniture fit for such busines, they shall discouer all the Cauies, holes, & lurking places of that country, euen for an hundred miles compasse: & no doubt it will be a pleasant hunt, and much preye will fall to the followers: for what dooth escape some, will fall to the hands of others,

Hassets
Hunt.

B 2

and

For the Plantation

uenue? make speed without racking of rents, or other officiuie meanes; thou shalt doe God and thy Prince excellent seruice. Thou hast the three brayded bande which will binde Beares, vse there thy talent, it will be quickly a million.

Art thou a poore indigent fellow? and hast neither faculty nor mony? goe not thither, for though there be plenty of all thinges, thou shalt starue there, Loyterers and lewd persons in this our new worlde, they will not be indured. Art thou a Tradesman? a Smith, a Weauer, a Mason, or a Carpenter? goe thither, thou shalt be in estimation, and quickly enriched by thy indeauours. Art thou an husband man, whose worth is not past tenne or twenty pounds? goe thither, those new Manor-makers will make thee a Coppy holder: thou shalt whistle sweetely, and feede thy whole family if they be six for six pence the day. 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.

of V L S T E R.

dish. There thou shalt haue elbowe roome, the Eagle and the Earne and all sorts of high flying fowles do attend thee. Art thou a Minister of Gods word? make speed, the harvest is great but the laborers be fewe: thou shalt there see the poore ignorant vntaught people worship stones and sticks: thou by carrying millions to heauen, maiest be made an Archangell, and haue whiles thou doost liue for worldly respects, what not. So *Pl-ster* which hath bene hitherto the receptacle and very denne of Rebels and deuowring creatures, shall farre excell *Munster*, and the ciuellest part of all that country, and peradventure in ciuility and sincere Religion, equal euen faire England herselfe, with a christian and comfortable society, of neighbourhood, & so they at the least * three hundred thousand soules, besides Children (which are no lesse in number) may come vnto the true knowledge of God, and by faith in Iesus Christ may be freed from euerlasting damnation. So the Kings maiestie shall be disburthened of a very great charge out of the Exchequer, the Country safely secured

* In all
Ireland

D

vnto

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 Earle 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 famelie and hath buylte for the pr[e]sent neere the Towne of Straban some large tymber houses w[hi]ch he hath invironed a Courte 116 foote in length and 87 foote in bredth, the groundsell of o[a]ken tymber and the rest of Allor and birtch 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 famelie and is providinge 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 famelie, 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 famelies 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 Scotishman one his Lande and 2 garrans 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[ear]ed 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 thowsand acres in the said pr[e]cincte, hath taken possession and is resident, makinge provisions for his buyldinge.

(Source: Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS, 630, f. 100 v.)

The Precinct of Strabane. / The Earle of Abertone beinge undertaker in
that parte of Strabane in the Countie of Tyrone
hath taken possession of 1500 land, and is there
resident wth his lady and familie, and hath
buyldt for the present neere the Towne of Strabane
some large timber houses, w^{ch} w^{ch} he hath in-
divided a house 116 foote in length and 87 foote
in bredth, the ground floor of stone timber and
the rest of Allow and birtie w^{ch} is well
fitted wth heath and furred
he hath buyldt a grate brewhouse w^{ch} is
about 46 foote long and 25 foote wyde, his
followers and tenants have since may last buyldt
28 houses of sayre Doyles, and before may be
his tenants w^{ch} are all Englishmen the number
of 32 houses of like goodnes.
he is providinge of necessarye materials for
buyldinge of a sayre Castle and a barrow, w^{ch}
he meane to put in hande the next Springe
there is 120 Barrowes in stocke from his Lande
for his owne use. /

Sr Thomas Boyd beinge undertaker of a
proportion of land in that parte is there
resident wth his familie and is providinge of
materials for his buyldinge. /

Sr George Hamilton beinge undertaker of a
proportion of land in that parte, is resident
there wth his wife and familie, he hath buyldt
a good house of timber for the present 62 foote
long and 30 foote wyde, he hath brought
over some familie of English w^{ch} have buyldt
them a barrow and good timber house, they
have 80 Barrowes and 16 garratt amonge
them. /

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 Bynning'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

[Acres]

- 4500 149 The Earle of Aberkorne, who undertaketh for the proportions of Straban, Donnalong, and th[at] of Skean assigned to Sr Tho. Boide hath planted those proportions w[ith] nerre a hundred householders w[hi]ch have setled, and are setling themselves, w[ith] theyr stocks of Cat[t]le theron, and are for the moste parte sufficiently provided of armes, besides his Lo[rdshi]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.
- 1500 150 Sr George Hamelton w[ith] his Lady, his famely & stock of cattle is resident upon his proportion in a convenient house, w[hi]ch for the time he hath built, having also caused to be sett up very neere threeskore Irishe housen or cabins upon his said land, for the present relief of his tenants & followers, who are estated according to the conditions, have good store of Cat[t]le & are well furnished w[ith] 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.
- 1000 151 George Hamelton hath onely 8 or 9 tenants on his proportion, otherwise nothing don[e] theron. Sr George Hamelton (in his absence) aswereth for that proportion.
- 2000 152 James Claphoune hath a sufficient house & baune w[hi]ch hee found re[a]dy built at Newtown w[ith]in his proportion & 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, & for any backwardnes or omission of his in performance of Conditions hee hath recourse to his Ma[jes]ties mercy.
- 2000 153 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 Country.

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 Earle 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 w[hi]ch Towne there are above 100 dwelling houses diverse of them of stone and lyme, and 120 Brittish 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, w[hi]ch is a place of good defence.

There is also a Watermill built, with stone, with a Bridge over the Water, w[hi]ch by the said Mill at the charges of the late Earle of Abercorne. There are upon the said Proporc[i]on of Brittish Families

Freeholders	5	1. Haveing 240 acres	Tenants at Will	Freeholders within the Burrogh
	vizt.	1. haveing 120 acres	tht have no	of Strabane who have a howse,
		2. haveing 60 acres apeece	Setled Tearme	garden and smale quantities of
		1. haveing 30 acres	10.	land apeece 30.

This Plantac[i]on being cherished by yo[u]r Ma[jes]ties favo[u]r 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 yo[u]r Ma[jes]ties favo[u]r they are made a Corporac[i]on, yet they have no Land for supportac[i]on of their Ordinarie charge, nor Com[m]on belonging thereunto; which it may please your Ma[jes]tie to take into yo[u]r gracious considerac[i]on, and that some convenient quantitie of the Lands adioyni[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 o[u]r fellow Com[missione]rs the late Earle promised.

2000 acres) The said Earle hath more 2000 acres, called Dunalong, upon which is built agood 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.

(18) 500 acres.

Mr John Davis had 500 acres called Corinnis assigned to the Lord Audley upon the Plantacon without condition of Building, in regard the 2000 acres allotted to the said Lord Audley, as a service in Oxen, was not to come to him till the death of Arthur m. Baron, and his Wife who is yet living. This said 500 acres is now in the hand of the Lord Grandison, by Purchase, and no Bindings upon it.

The said 2000 acres, was omitted in Cap. Gymeres Survey, and is now in the Possession of Arthur m. Barons Wife, after whose decease the land is to come to Mr Pierce Crosby, in the right of the Countess of Castle-Raddon, who hath yet built nothing thereon.

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

(1) 1000 acres.

The Earle of Abercorne hath 1000 acres called Strabane, upon this there is a strong Castle of stone and hime which standeth within the Towne of Strabane; In w^{ch} Towne there are above 100 dwelling houses diverse of them of stone and hime, and 120 British Families, which are able to make 200 able men furnished with shot and pike, in which is also built a Sessions-house, and a Markett Cross of stone & hime, with a strong Round under it, to keep Prisoners in; and a Platt forms on the top, w^{ch} is a place of good defence.

There is also a Water mill built with stone, with a Bridge over the Water w^{ch} runneth by the said Mill at the charges of the late Earle of Abercorne. There are upon the said Precinct of British Families

Freeholders. 5 vizt.

- 1. Having 240 acres.
- 1. having 120 acres.
- 2. having 60 acres apiece.
- 1. having 30 acres.

Tenants at will q^t have no settled Tenants 10.

Freeholders within the Burrough of Strabane who have a house, Garden, and small quantities of land apiece. 30.

This Plantacon being cherished by yo^r Ma^{ties} favo^r, is like to prosper, and to growe unto a good strength for the defence of those partes; for we finde that the Inhabitants are very industrious; and doe daily beautifie their Towne with new Buildings, strong & defensible; but that which doth much discourage is; that though by yo^r Ma^{ties} favo^r, they are made a Corporacon, yet they have no Land for supportacon of their Ordinarie charge, nor Common belonging thereunto; which it may please your Ma^{ty} to take into yo^r gracious consideration, and that some convenient quantitie of the Land adjoining to the said Towne, may be given unto them in Burgage; for which the said Earle may have a valuable recompent out of some other Echeated Lands, when occasion shalbe offered, which, say we are informed by some of o^r fellowes Coun^{ty}, the late Earle promised.

2000 acres.

The said Earle hath more 2000 acres, called Dunalong, upon which is built a good Castle of stone & hime 3 Stories high; but no body at this time dwelling in it; and about it adavance 54 foot long = 42 foot broad, and 8 foot high; with two open Flankers; but there is no Gate to the Barrow.

There are planted upon this of British Families.

Freeholders. 5 vizt.

- 1. Having 420 acres.
- 1. having 180 acres.
- 1. having 120 acres.
- 2. having 60 acres apiece.

Whereof 3 vizt. Hugh Hamilton, James Hamilton & Wm Lyn have built themselves 3 good stone houses. British Tenants whose Estates are implead 24 Families.

1500 acres.

The said Earle hath more 1500 acres called Sleane; of which Mr Thomas Boyde was first Patentee upon this is begunne a Barrow of hime and stone 48 foot long, 42 foot broad, and 4 foot high, w^{ch} one small Flanker covered with thatch, in which Mr Robert Hamilton, and his Wife doe dwell; but he is now in Scotland; Sonely his wife with 2 or 3 servants are there.

But there is a foundation of a Castle of hime, and stone raised to the second storie; which being finished will make a convenient dwelling.

There is planted upon this Precinct of British Families.

Freeholders 4 vizt.

- 1. Having 240 acres.
- 1. having 120 acres.
- 2. having 60 acres apiece.

British Ten^{ts} whose Estates are implead 10.

Upon all these Precincts before named (w^{ch} belong to the Earle of Abercorne) there are (as we are informed) 120 Irish Families.

There are planted upon this of British Families

Freeholders	5	1. Haveing 420 acres	Whereof 3 vizt. Hugh Hamilton, James Hamilton & Wm.
	vizt.	1. haveing 180 acres	Lynn have built themselues 3 good stone houses
		1. haveing 120 acres	British Tenants whose Estates are unsetled 24 Families.
		2. haveing 60 acres apeice	

1500 acres) The said Earle hath more 1500 acres called Slean; of which Sr. Thomas Boyde was first Patentee: upon this is begunne a Bawne of lyme and stone 48 foot long, 42 foot broad, and 4 foot high, w[i]th one smale Flancker covered with thatch, in which Mr. Robert Hamilton, and his Wife doe dwell, but he is now in Scotland; & onely his wife with 2 or 3 servants are there.

But there is a foundac[i]on of a Castle of lyme, and Stone raised to the second Storie; which being finished will make a convenient dwelling.

There is planted upon this proporc[i]on of British Families

Frreholders	4	1. Haveing 240 acres	British Ten[an]ts	Upon all these proporc[i]on
	vizt.	1. haveing 120 acres	whose Estattes are	before named (w[hi]ch belong to
		2. haveing 60 acres apeece	unsetled 16	the Earle of Abercorne) there are
				(as we are informed) 120 Irish
				Families.

(Source: British Library, Add. MS 4,756, f. 110)



The Place of Paisley, the Scottish home of the Hamiltons.

No. 8

Part of a submission by a prominent Scottish undertaker in Fews barony in County Armagh, Sir Archibald Acheson, to the commissioners of inquiry of 1622 (No. 7), about the progress of plantation on his estate

The submission provides an unusually full description of his defended stronghold and associated buildings, as well as a list of his arms (see No. 14). All the same, it would not be safe to assume that his stronghold, which was described approvingly by the commissioners as ‘a convenient dwelling house ... environed with a bawn’, was typical of the buildings erected throughout the plantation. Indeed, in the same barony the buildings of the two other contemporary undertakers, Acheson’s brother, Henry, and John Hamilton, brother of Sir James of County Down (who had recently acquired this land in Armagh, thereby establishing a link between the formal plantations in the six escheated counties and the Scottish settlements (No. 12) in County Down), were found inadequate and criticised. Henry Acheson had a bawn of substantial proportions, but it had neither gate nor house within and was ‘of no use in regard it [was] so ill built’. As to Hamilton, the commissioners commented that ‘all his building is soe ill that it is fit for nothing but to be pulled down and re-edified’, adding that he had promised to do that and then live there. It is probably fair to say that over the whole six counties the condition of the undertakers’ buildings fell somewhere between the two extremes described in this barony.

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
beinge 2000 Acres of land lyeinge w[i]thin the barrony
of ffues and countye of Ardmagh and belonginge to Sr
Archbald Acheson knight.

The Buyldinges

Imprimis there is a stone Bawne of six scoare foote longe and foure scoare foote wyde, and ten foote high, haueinge foure fflankers, three of them beinge ffiftene foote high and foureteene foote wyde, conteyneinge two roomes apeece beinge two storyes 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 thirtye eghte foote high in the three gabells, And haueinge a rounde fflanker of twentye two foote high and ffoureteene foote wyde, w[i]thin the walls, All three foote thicke of wall slaited, and haueinge foure stackes of bricks Chimneyes.

Item the ffirst storrye of the said howse conteyneth a hall of 36 foote longe, a parler of eightene foote square, a vault w[i]thin the parler of foureteene foot 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 eightene foot wyde.

Item the second storrye contayenth above the hall and pantrye, two Chambers, the one of twentye two foote longe and the other of eighteen haueinge three studyes, And above the parler is Another Chamber of eightene foote square, and above the fflanker vault is another Chamber of ffoureteene foote square.

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

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

Item w[i]thout the gate is buylded a malt howse and killne of stone two storyes high, and three scoare 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 fiftye two pykes, twenty five horsemens staves, twelve musketts ten Callevers five longe ffowleinge peeces, two paire of longe rowat worke pistolls, and two paire of shorte snapp worke pistolls, foureteen tergetts, six bowes, two halberts, two two handed swordes, twelve other swords, Drum and Cullors.

(Source: National Library of Ireland, MS 8,014/ix)

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 uncapitalised, 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 barrell [sic] bundell w th fryng pans tg iC	£00 10 0	
	ix Iron potts w th one Iron kettell	£00 16 8	
	one punction 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 barrells Soape valued at	£06 0 0	
	iii Iron Morters w th pestells	£00 6 8	
£23 16 8	i Iron Beame valued at	£01 0 0	
	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	
	iiii peeces of reasons val at	£2 0 0	
	i quoile of roape tg iii qr. val	£0 7 6	
£34 8 2	i faggott of Steele tg iC val	£0 15 0	
	lviii barres of Iron tg xviC	£8 0 0	
	Citty of London Entred		
	xi barrells 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	
	xlviiii Cosletts valued at	£24 0 0	
	xlviiii Pikes w th headepeeces	£15 12 0	
	icxliiii Swords valued at	£13 6 8	
	vi barrells of gunpowder at	£8 0 0	
	ii barrells 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
	In the Swallow of Donberton 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 p ^d ict entred		
	iii Tonne Coales at vs	£00 15 0	
	Subsid	£00 0 0)	
	Petty sub	£00 0 2¼)	tot £00 0 11¼
	Som' £xi iiiii ¾d		Tot £11 4 0¾

July 10 In the Scalloway of London In the Scalloway of London

George Hamond entred
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 101. 10. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 100. 10. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 100. 16. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 106. 13. 4
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 100. 10. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 103. 0. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 106. 0. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 100. 6. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 101. 0. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 103. 10. 0

223. 16. 0

George Swetnam entred
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 102. 0. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 110. 0. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 11. 16. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 114. 10. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 113. 14. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 115. 0. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 112. 0. 7. 6
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 110. 15. 0

234. 0. 2

City of London entred
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 114. 0. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 112. 0. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 114. 4. 4
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 120. 2. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 124. 0. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 118. 12. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 113. 6. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 110. 0. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 113. 14. 0
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 110. 13. 4

215. 13. 0

Vat m^ol^o 2216. 17. 10 Subs. 110 16 10

In the Swallow of Donberlon, burison & tom

Williamson m^o entred m^o w^h Iron ware
 Hugh Tomison entred
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 105. 0. 0
 Subs^{id}: 100. 5. 0
 P^ol^o Sub 100. 1. 3

401. 200 06 03

In a small boate of Croftland burison & tom

John Williams m^o entred m^o w^h Iron ware
 one barrell w^h Iron ware val^u - 100. 15. 0
 Subs^{id}: 100. 0. 9
 P^ol^o Sub 100. 0. 2

401. 200 00 11

Sum v^l m^o 2. 2. 7

401. 211 4 07

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)



The Countie of Antrim

THE MAINE SEA

Dunluce Colrane

Joame

Part of Londons Neagh

Part of F. msh
Owenn

Part of the Countie
of
Tyronne.



Liffey

Straban.

AGNERALL PLAT
of the lands belonging to the
Citie of london as they are divided
and let out to the 12. Companies as the
dooe Butt and Bound ech upon othe
the preticular platts so here off doe
followe more at large Described



1627

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.

Wee finde that Patricke O’Kelly and Hughe O’Cregan are servants to Mr Anthony Coape.

Mr Herons }
proporc’ on }

Wee finde that Donell mcCan doth reside uppon the towne of Broghes as a servant to George Pinson, who hath theis 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,

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

Wee 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,

Wee 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,

Wee 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

Wee 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 depasture his Cowes there,

Wee finde that Hugh Duffe mcDonnell doth reside uppon Neevore,

Wee 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,

Wee 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 earch 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)

M^r Herons
procurator

Wee finde that Patrick O'Kelly and Hugh O'Kerigan are
servants to M^r Anthony Coape,

Wee finde that Dentell in Can doe reside vppon the towne of
Shrewsbury as a servant to George Winton, who hath the land in lease
and doe depasture seven or eight Cowes there, and alsoe that Colborne
in Edmund Groom in Can, and Frederick in Can, doe reside
vppon the same towne, and doe rent a quarter of it from year
to year at forty Shillings the year,

Wee finde that Willmet Durnell (an Irish woman) doe reside vppon
Gulston and depasture one Cowe there,

Wee finde that Owen O'Duvelin and Brian O'Duvelin doe reside
vppon the halfe of Dromsalij and have it from George Wharham,
till may next for thirty Shillings the rent, and doing some
bedging for the same,

Wee finde that Patrick in Comell, Deale in Comell, and Brian
in Redardij doe reside vppon two messuages of Abroggus and have
the same from Henry Murray, who hath the land in lease, and
they pay rent yearly fifteen pennes,

Wee finde that Patrick O'Duvelin doe reside vppon a messuage of
of Dromsalij from Henry Willinton a tenant of the same land
till may next at forty Shillings yearly,

M^r Stanham his
procurator

Wee finde that Laurellin O'Kin doe reside vppon the towne of
Dromsalij as servant to Eshyne Wittingham who hath the same
in lease and doe depasture six Cowes there,

Wee finde that Hugh Daffe in Comell doe reside vppon Mevoni,

Wee finde that Hugh Nire in Deale, and David in Deale doe
reside vppon the towne of ~~Shrewsbury~~ Dromsalij, and hold the same
from year to year, and pay yearly about seven pennes
rent.

Wee finde that Patrick O'Conlan Mustage, O'Conlan Dond
O'Conlan Whelomic O'Duvelin and Edmund Oge in Can doe reside
vppon the towne of Elemerie and depasture their Cowes at a
penning a week for each Cowe and two pennes a week for each
horse, and take the same from M^r John Norton who hath the
land in lease

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.



James Hamilton, later Viscount Claneboye.
This portrait is held by the National Trust
in Castle Ward, County Down

An Inquisic[i]on taken at Downe Patricke within the Countie of Downe afforesaide uppon the thirteenth day of October An[n]o Dom[in]i 1623 and in the yeare of the Raigne of Oar Sovereigne Lord James by the grace of God of Englande, ffrance, and Irelande Kinge Deffender of the faithe &c the one & twentieth and of Scotland the Seaven and ffiftieth,

Before Sr John Blenerhassett kt Lord Cheiffe Barron of his Ma[jes]t[ie]s Court of Excheq[ue]r in this his saide Realme of Irelande, Sr Christopher Sibthorpe kt. Second Justice of his Ma[jes]t[ie]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 Sovereigne 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 Dublin, the Seaven and twentieth daye of Jun in the saide one and twentieth yeare of his Ma[jes]t[ie]s said Raigne of Englande ffrance and Ireland, to them the said Comissioners 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)

<p>Nicholas Warde of Castleward Esqr Georg Russell of Rathmullen gen' Richard Russell of Rosglisse gent Simone Jordane of Danfford gent Owen mcRowry of Clogher gent Robert Sowrds of Rathcalp gent Patricke mcCartane of Ballykine gen' Patricke mcCormock of Killoscolban gen'</p>	}	<p>Jur</p>	<p>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</p>	}	<p>Jur</p>
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(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, T856/1, p. 1)



Hugh Montgomery, later Viscount Montgomery of the Ards

7th Down

Inquisition taken at Down

at Downe within the Countie of Downe
 of October Anno Domini 1623 and in the year of the Reigne of our
 Sovereign Lord James by the grace of God of England, of France
 and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, & the one twentieth
 and of Scotland the Seaven and fiftieth, Before Sir John
 Blenchepell Knight, Chief Baron of his Ma^{ty} Court of Exchequer
 in this his said Realme of Ireland, Sir Christopher Sibthorpe
 second Justice of his Ma^{ty} Courts of Chief Place within this said
 Realme, Richard Esq^r, Walter Esq^r, Esq^r and Stephen Allen
 Esq^r Deputy Solicitor of this said Province of Ulster, Commissioners
 of our said Sovereign Lord the King, by Letters of his highnes
 Commission under the great Seale of this his highnes said Realme of
 Ireland, bearing date at Dublin the Seaven and twentieth day
 of June in this said one and twentieth year of his Ma^{ty} said Reigne
 of England, of France and Ireland, to them the said Commissioners
 and other or any foure or more of them in that behalf directed
 and to their Inquisition Answer, by the Oathes of Good Lawfull
 men of this said Countie, whose Names are under written (viz)

- | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Micholas Ward of Castleward Esq ^r | George Russell of Rathmullen gent | George Russell of Rathmullen gent | George Russell of Rathmullen gent |
| Richard Russell of Rathmullen gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent |
| Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent |
| Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent |
| Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent |
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| Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent |
| Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent |
| Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent | Simon Jordan of Danford gent |

It is

beinge duly sworn upon the Oath
 Dothe Saye as followeth (viz) that the Countie or
 Countie called the Clonboyes in the said Countie of Downe, in the
 Commission Mentioned, hath two Mottes, Barmes, and Barmes in some
 followinge (viz) towards and nigh to the North west part of the Territory
 of the River of Baggane with hath two mottes, and nigh to the River
 of Knockree is the most known barmes of the Territory of the
 betwene y^e lands of the same.

The Mott or mottes
of the Clonboyes.

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 knight; 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 turnes North-west & by North
alonge 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 soe alonge the said
Highwaie (18 p[er]ch or thereabouts), it turnes 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, passage by a Cave, to or against an other Cave
uppon the banck side of the brooke of Rabegge, then the Meare runs by the midst of the said brooke of
Rabegge, Upp to a ffourd at the south corn[er] of Ballie Noagh als Newtowne, at w[hi]ch place (leaving
the brooke) the Meare turnes Northwest & by west to and by the soueth side of an old hiap of Stones
called Cragneconboy & soe directlie ou[er] to an other ffourd 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
midest of the streame of the said brooke, Upp to a Greate ffourd at the Northwest corn[er] of the said
Ballie Noagh als Newtowne, there theis lands of Antrim & Altnescullvoe meets with the same, from thence
alonge 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

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/ Calleuers/ Snaphances/ Halberts/ Launces.

(Source: British Library, Add. MS 4770, f. 283)

The totall of every particular County within the Province of Ulster	Men	horses	pleas	Musketts	Ballist	Archeres	halberds	282. 282.
In the County of Cavan	795	166	100	17	8	46	3	
In the County of Dromagh	902	295	146	28	50	70		
In the County of Fermanagh	913	476	224	24	46	56	5	
In the County of Tyrone	1538	896	341	42	53	197	7	
In the County of Londonderry	1930	1164	335	178	149	152	18	
In the County of Antrim	1618	575	102	3	4	17	1	
In the County of Donmagall	1258	746	162	20	9	119	8	
In the County of Downe	4045	2848	1633	386	63	177	27	
In the County of Monaghan	93	60	42	2	2	2		11
the totall	13092	7226	3085	700	384	836	69	11

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.

To the R[igh]te Hon[our]able the Commissi[one]rs for the Reformation of Abuses in the Kingdom of Ireland

The humble petic[i]on of the Inhabitants of the Barrony of Loghansholin in the County of Londonderry

Humbly sheweth

The peticon[e]rs complain of the length of their journeys to the Derry, the remotest part of the county, to the Assizes, and of oppression by service, there being noe freeholders.

That yo[u]r poore pet[it]ione[r]s w[i]thin the Barrony of Loughinsholin 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 p[ar]te of the s[ai]d county from the said Barrony, and wheres the greatest p[ar]te 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 notw[i]thstanding fined for their not appearance, the poorest man not being able to goe thither to giue his attendance there, and to returne w[i]th out the expending of 30 or 40s., whereas there are manie compeled to tht service of going to the assizes and sessions, that haue nothing but their dailie labour to maintaine them, and divers tht are not worth £10, And all in gen[era]ll tht haue but a lease of 20 years, and many at rack rents for short terms are likewise compeled to this service and great expence hauing but £4 or £5 p[er] annu[m] to live by or caused by the said Journys to expend £7 or £8 to the imp[er]ishm[en]t of all and the utter undoeing of many and wilbe to the subvertion of the whole plantac[i]on in those p[ar]ts if yo[u]r hon[ou]rs take not into considerac[i]on the miserable estat of the poore PLANTERS and cause the Assizes and Sessions to be kept in some indifferent place or in the middle of the said County and tht none but freehold[e]rs may be compeled to serve, And wheres by reason of the multiplicite of Courts, first the sherrifs Courts in eu[e]ry Barrony once every 3 weeks, and the man[o]r Courts w[i]thin the seu[era]ll

They Desire

1. the assizes and ses[s]ions to be kept at a place indifferent;
2. tht none but freehold[e]rs be compeled to serve

To the R^{ty} Hon^{ble} the Commis^s for y^e Reformation
of Abuses in the Kingdom of Ireland

The humble petition of the Inhabitants of the Barony of
Loughanshalin in the County of Londonderry
Humbly Sheweth

The petition
complain of y^e
length of their
Journies to the
County to the
offices and of
Service there
being no
freeholders

That Whereas yo^r poore pet^r 10th in y^e Barony of Loughanshalin are
compelled to Travell twice a year unto y^e Shire of Londonderry for y^e assizes
and 4 times every year to y^e quarter sessions, w^{ch} are continually held at the
Shire of Londonderry as in y^e utmost & remotest pt of y^e County from
the said Barony And Whereas y^e greatest pt of the said Barony are compelled
at y^e said assizes & sessions to travell above 40; miles o^r more, some untill and
miserable mountainy wooddy & boggy ways, that in y^e winter time it is hardly
passable, and very dangerous both for man & horse, and there are many great
and impassable rivers, w^{ch} doth often hazard y^e life of many poore subjects, yet
howsoever they escape with life & burthen of y^e charges is so intolerable, that
many are compelled to spend all y^e they have in these Journies, and many
times y^e people being hindered by y^e waters are notwithstanding fished for
their not appearance, the poorest may not being able to get thither to give
his attendance theret, and to returne wth y^e expending of 20 or 40, whereas
there are many compelled to y^e service of going to y^e assizes & sessions, that have no
thing but their daily labour to maintaine them, and divers y^e are not worth
10, and all in gen^l y^e have but at best of 20, years, and many at east rents
for spot farms are likewise compelled to this service and great expence having
but 4 or 5, pound to live by, or raised by y^e said Journies to expence 7 or 8 for
murthering, of all y^e y^e utter undoing of many y^e wilbe to y^e subvertion of the
whole plantation in those pts if yo^r hon^{rs} take not into Consideration the miserable
state of y^e poore Planters and raise the Assizes & sessions to be held in some
indifferent place or in y^e middle of y^e said County, and y^e want but freehold^{rs}
may be compelled to serve, And whereas by reason of y^e multiplicity of Courts, first
the Shire Court in every Barony out every 3 weeks, and y^e man^y Courts w^{ch} in the
said portions, every 3, weeks, besides y^e Shires Court for y^e many times they being
upon one day y^e poore people give their attendants at one place and are fined
at another, y^e divers fines & amercement levied by y^e Bailiffs of y^e Shires, in their
Shires, & are a gaine levied on y^e said poore people by Ware from y^e Shires in his Court
lets to the great grievance of many poore Planters, and y^e some of y^e Underlakers
themselves have their shire lands on such hard terms, that many faile of making
their rents from the Mortgages, and much less are able to build & sit at a reasonable bargains
to Breiffis

They desire
1 y^e assizes and
sessions to be
held at a place
indifferent
2 y^e man^y Courts
to be removed
to one place
3 y^e multiplicity of
Courts to be
reduced to one
4 y^e fines and
amercement to
be reduced
5 y^e Mortgages
to be reduced
to one place

May it therefore please yo^r hon^{rs} to Considerate y^e poore estate of yo^r poore pet^r
and to be pleased to cause reformation, And yo^r pet^r shall according to their bounden
duty ever stand

Signed Robert King
his mark
Wille^m Cooke
his mark
Rich^d R. Webb
his mark
Tho^s S. Sperry
his mark
Rich^d H. Overy
his mark
Richard Overy
Edward Young

William Windsor
Bap. Jones
Tho. Staples
D. Pike
John Martin
Rob^t W. Stegemon
Henry O'Reilly
Thomas Cowan
Daniel Hall

3. tht they may be eased of multiplicity of Courts;
4. tht the Shreues and bailys may be retained from Leving fines unjust
5. and tht their Excessive rents may be abated

p[ro]portions eu[e]ry 3 weekes, besides the B[isho]pps Court soe tht many times they being upon one day the poore people give their attendance at one place and are fined at anoth[er] and divers fines and am[er]ciam[en]t[s] levied by the bailifs of the L[or]ds of the man[or]s in their Seu[er]all Leets, are againe levied on the said poore people by warr[an]t from Shreifs in his court Leet to great greivance of many poore PLANTERS and tht some of the UNDERTAKERS themselves haue their seu[er]all Lands on such hard tearms that many faile of making their rents from the Natives, and much less are able to build and let reasonable bargains to British.

May it therefore please yo[u]r hon[ou]rs to Com[m]iserate the poore estate of yo[u]r poore peti[tione]rs and to be pleased to sause reformation, And yo[u]r peti[tione]rs shall (according to their bounden duty) ever pray.

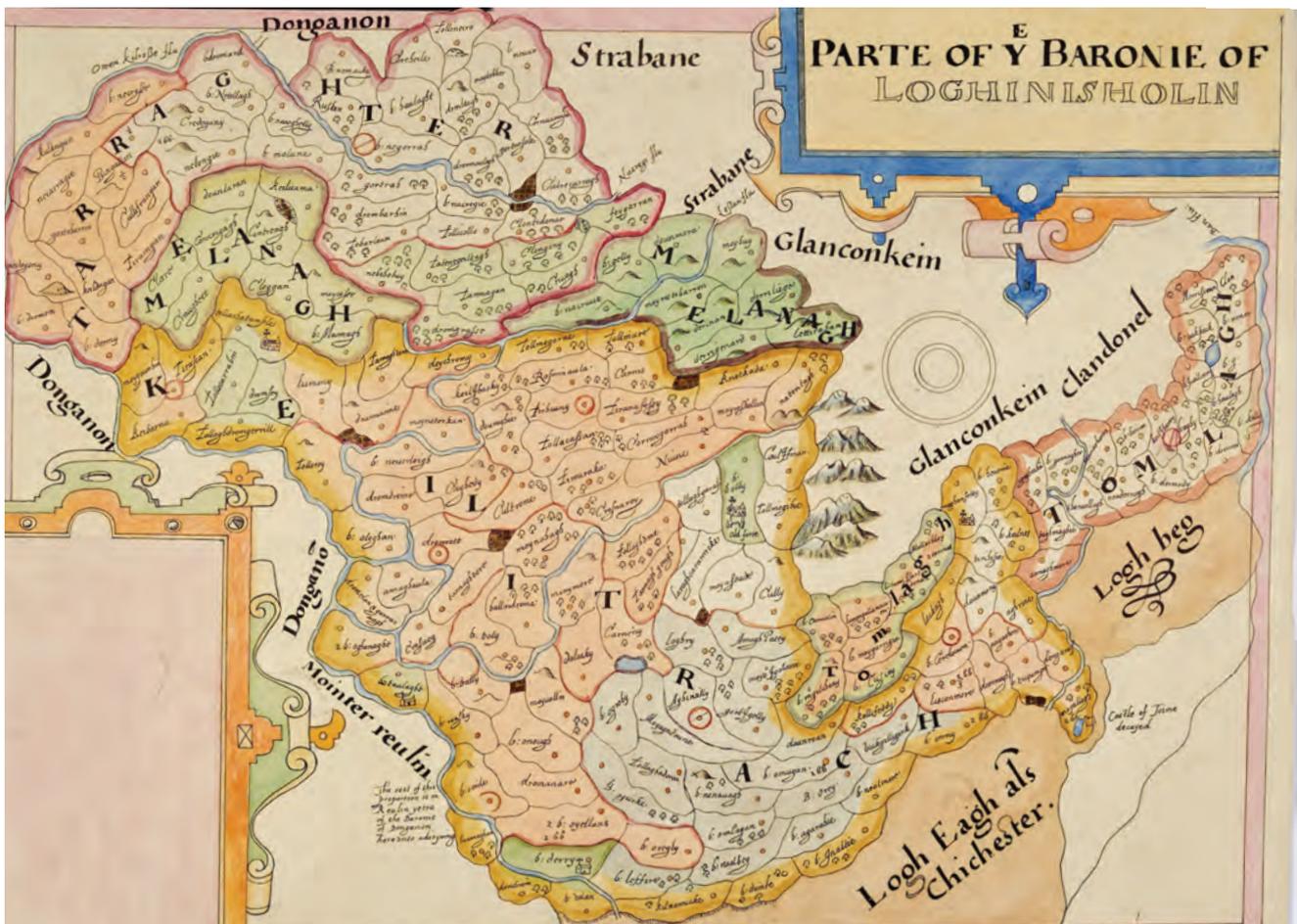
Signed

William Windsor
 Bap. Jones
 Tho. Staples
 Ed. Pike
 John Mortimer
 Rob't X Stevenson
 his marke
 Henry X Pretty
 his marke
 Thomas Lowen
 Daniell Hall

Robert X Kinge
 his marke
 Willi. X Cocks
 his marke
 Rich'd X Webb
 his marke
 Tho. X Spurry
 his marke
 Rich. X Avery
 his marke
 Richard Avry
 Edward Young

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

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, T510/2, p. 56)



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 'vicessima' 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 Donneggall 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.

Donaghkiddy

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.

Leakepatrick

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

The valua[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.

Camos iuxta Morne

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. iiiii d.

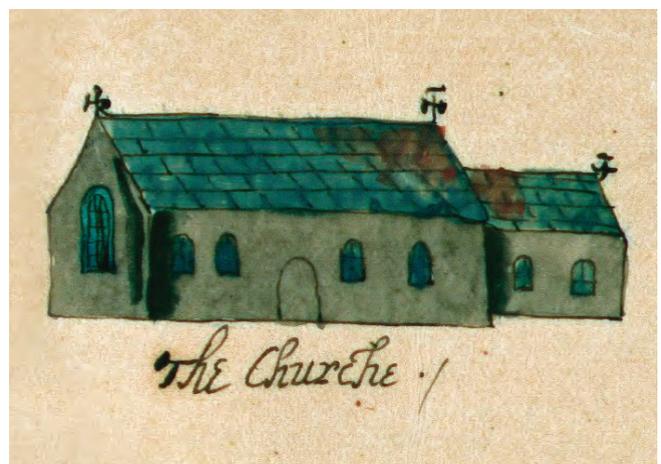
This parishe beinge smale, and the towne of Strabane built in the confines thereof, I united in the former incumbents time these two parishes, and thinke them fitt to be United, the rather bycause there is a fayre Church begune by the late Earle of Abercorne intended to serve for those two contiguous 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)



Church on the Merchant Taylors' estate at Macosquin, County Londonderry, 1622. (Source: PRONI, T510/1/26)



Church on the Fishmongers' estate at Ballykelly, County Londonderry, 1622. (Source: PRONI, T510/1/16)

The 7 last mentioned are in the barony of Fingheen unto every
 whereof the new globe of 60 acres hath been assigned by the
 to Treasurer.

The Deanry of
 Mohey.

1 The Church of Donaghfidby, hath sufficient walls but is. Donaghfidby
 uncovered.

The Incumbent is Robert Compill m^r of Dnt, an honest
 man and a preacher.

The valuation in the Kings book is 4 s^d. wt is the 1/2 part
 of the cleare value.

There are three townlands of globe, upon one whereof ~~there~~
 there is a stone house or castle formerly built.

The Incumbent is resident, and discharge the cure in his
 own person.

2. The Church of Leabpatrick remaineth uncovered.

Leabpatrick

The Incumbent is Henry Noble m^r of Dnt, a good preacher
 of competent learning and of a good conversation.

The valuation in the Kings book is 3 s^d. wt is about the
 1/2 part of cleare value. The vicarage 2 s^d.

3 The Church of Camos is ruined.

Camos iuxta
 Morne

The Incumbent is the said Henry Noble

The valuation in the Kings book 2 s^d 10 s^d 10 s^d. wt is
 about the 1/2 part of the cleare value. The vicarage 2 s^d.

The parishes being small, and the towns of Strabane built
 on the confines thereof, I united in the former incumbents time
 these two parishes, and think them fitt to be united, the rather
 because there is a fayre Church begun by the late Earl of
 Downe intended to serve for these two contiguous parishes.
 In witness that building of the Church wt the death of the Earl
 hath ceased.

There are two townlands of globe belonging to these two parishes
 but the Incumbent hath not built one upon; because he dwelleth
 in the town of Strabane, where he is resident and discharge
 the cure.

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 proporc[i]on of lands aswell for London Derry, as for Dongannon or Donegall, yett both these have fayre p[ro]porc[i]ons Alotted 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, Notw[i]thstanding there is a fayre Schoolehouse built at London Derry [by] Mathias Springham Marchant Taylor of London, and the City 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.

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.

As for ancient records we have not any before the burning
of the derry, yet was about 17 years ago a good many would
be needfull to distinguish the several presentations
from others, some all in the derry we presentate excepting
the two parishes of Dergaven and Derryve.

Next for some years how the alienations of lands and inclosures
to the prejudice of the incumbents.

Schools

As touching schools it is well known that he intended
a convenient proportion of land as well for London derry
as for Dergaven or Dergall, yet both these gave sayre
portions allotted unto him for the maintenance of schools
and the lands intended for the schools at the derry are
swallowed up & known not by well by whom, but the
generall surveyor is the bestest to know what is become
of them. Notwithstanding there is a faire school built
at London derry Mathias Springham Mary and Taylor
of London, and the City of London gave assigned a
yearly stipend of 20 marks to be given to the schoolmaster
but on gracious Kings grant is suppressed.

Concerning land or goods given to good uses we have a
worthy professor of the said St. Dunstons, who departed
this life about the 4th of October 1519 by his last
will and testament the executors whereof he appointed to be
Sir John Vaughan St. George Marbury St. and Thomas
perkins of the City ordained that after the death of the said
he should be a faire school built in Lifford by his executors
who have accordingly laid the foundation thereof, and after
the building of the school he hath appointed that a school
shall be made built with houses for the master and 12
and that he shall have for ever a yearly stipend of 50
the hath also by his last will bequeathed a salary of 20
per annum to be given to the warden of Lifford for the time
being, and 10 yearly to the recorder or Town clerk
and 13 & 4 to two sergeants, with salaries as to be
paid after a quarter of mortmaine shall be provided.

Jurisdiction

Besides the Jurisdiction exercised by my Exalted and
official there is a Jurisdiction usurped by authority
from Rome to the great dishonour of god Indurance
of religion and shame of the government.

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.

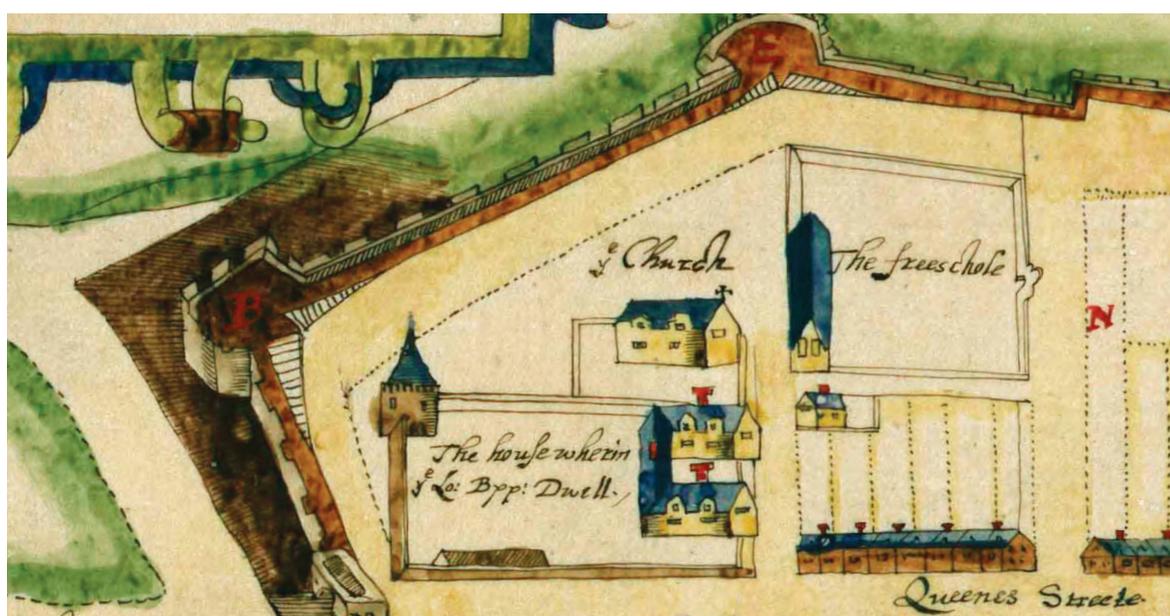
There is granted by his Ma[jes]tie for the maintenance of the ffree school within the County of Donnegall a quarter and a half of Land, amounting to two hundred acres or thereabouts and is worth thirty pounds Ster[ling] p[er] ann[um].

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 British 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 enjoyned 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)



Excerpt from a map of Derry, 1622 (No. 20), showing 'The freeschole'.
(Source: PRONI, T510/1/7 and 8)



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 Geisby 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 preffession 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 rebellion 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[i]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 Lincolnshire Esquire. He ordained by his will Sr John Vaughan Knight Sr George Merbury Knight and Thomas Perkins Esquire then Liftennant to his company his execitors 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 (videlicit to the Warden of Lifford £XXX 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[i]thin his
kingdome of Ireland

The humble petic[i]on 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 givinge 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 peticoners some landes neere the saide Burgh for free Burgage and a Com[m]on: And yo[u]r Supl[ia]ntes according to their bounden duty shall always pray &c.

(Source: National Library of Ireland, MS 8014/ix)

To the Right honorable and worshipfull his
Majesties Commissioners for hearing the grie-
vances of his subjects within his Kingdom
of Ireland.

The humble petition of the Mayor
and Burgesses of his Highnes
Burgh of Straban

Most humbly craving, That whereas the said Burgh
is situated in an eminent place, incorporated & peopled
with a good number of inhabitants for his Majesties service
wher they are the best able to performe, either in buying
and maintaining of Armes, bearing of two Burgeses
appointed at every Parliament, paying of Subsidies and
taxes and fulfilling such offices and duties, as of the
like place are required, by reason that they have not
one foot of land given or belonging to the said town
It may please your honors and worshipped, and specially
ye who have seen the place to be mediatore to move
his Highnes to take into his royal consideration the petition
of the said Burgh and to cast a favorable aspect upon
the same, in giving some of his Majestyes lands unto
the Burgh of the late Earl of Downe (since whose
death the said place hath languished and drooped) that
they may by some assigne over unto the said petitioners
some lands near the said Burgh for two Burgesses
and a woman. And your Supplies according to their
bounden duty shall always pray for

No. 19

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 $\frac{2}{3}$ at 18 foote to the p[er]che, besides the 4 gates w[hi]ch 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 Bullwarkes and for 4 of them there maie be placed 4 Cannons or other great peeces, 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[hi]ch is most extreame in theis p[ar]tes, Since the last Survey there is built a Schoole w[hi]ch 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 Familyes w[hi]ch are farr to few number for the defence of such a Circuit they beinge scarce able to man one of the Bullwarkes 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)



Plan of the fort at Culmore, near Derry, 1622.
(Source: PRONI, T510/1/10)

The Cittie and Countie of London Derry

181

The Cittie of London Derry is now compassed about wth
 a verie stronge wall excellently made and neatly wrought
 being all of good lyme and stone the circuit whereof is 284
 paces and $\frac{2}{3}$ at 18 footes to the pace, besides the 4 gates w^{ch}
 containe 84 feete and in every place of the wall it is 24 foote
 high and 6 foote thick, the gates are all battlemented, but
 to two of them there is no gonges, soe that serve to no
 great use, neither have they made any leaved for their gates
 but make 2 Drawbridges serve for two of them, and 2 pullies
 for the other two. The Bullwarthes are verie large and
 good beinge in number nine, besides 2 English Bullwarthes and
 for 4 of them there maye be placed 4 Cannons or other great
 peeces, the rest are not all out so large, but wanteth verie
 little, the Rampart w^{ch} in the Cittie is 8 foote thick
 of earth. All thinges are verie well and substantially
 done. Savinge there wanteth a house for the solia^rs to
 waite in and a Centinell house for the solia^rs to stand
 in. In the night to defende them from the weather w^{ch}
 is most extreame in this ptes, Since the last survey
 there is built a s^{er}geons w^{ch} is 67 foote in length and
 25 in breadth w^{ch} 2 other small houses, other buildings
 there is not anye w^{ch} in the Cittie. The w^{ch} number
 of houses w^{ch} in the Cittie are 92 and in them there
 is 102 families w^{ch} are farr to fewe a number for the
 defence of such a circuit thep beinge farre able to
 man one of the Bullwarthes neither is there room enough
 to sett by 100 houses more, unless they will make them as
 little as the first and name care rooms for a house.

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

(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)

**THE PLAT OF THE
CITTIE OF LONDON:
DERKIE AS, IT STAND
BUILT AND FORTIFY-
ED**

Sailed Peter

200 100

The number of families now inhabiting in the City
of London, diverse Souldiers and officers abt 1664, 1665
Amounting to 50000. Houses 100000
Families of poor Trades & Poor labouring men 12
The number of families who dwell in
within the walls of the City are 120
The number of men present was 100
within the walls of London being 100
presented by the Mayor in a sermo
of Sermons near the tower 63

The River of
Longspole



No. 21

John Carvile's proposal for a private plantation in Ireland, 1609

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]iect and desire concerninge plantation in Ierland

ffor place to plant in	<p>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 carryed with me out of England), altogether; in two manner houses, and 4 hamlets, to be fitly cast and built (for exercisinge of husbandry) alltogether.</p> <p>That the place may be such as hath within the p[re]cinct therof, some convenient river or streame wheruppon may be built one or moe corne milnes and a fullinge milne, woods havinge with sufficient tymber for all manner of buildings and plowgears, and sufficient underwood for fire and hedginge, and stone for wallinge slatinge and lyme</p>
The p'sons to be planted, of families to be carryed over besydes mine owne	<p>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 behavioir that have some skill in fortifications and trayninge of men to fortifye 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 xxx ministers to preach catichise and teach children.</p>
The p[er]sons of mine owne family	<p>The persons whom I intend to carry in mine owne household 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.</p>
The quantite of grownd to be planted uppon	<p>The quantite 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: ffor 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[hi]ch 1000 acres to be assigned for the demesnes of either manner house, and 500 acres amonge the artificers in either village.</p>

(Source: The National Archives, London, SP 63/227, ff 191–3)



For place to plant ^{to} have a place assigned ther, where I may settle my self, with 24 men servants in my family, and about 200 families more of artificers husbandmen and laborers to be carried with me out of (England) altogether; In two manner houses, and 4 families, to be fitly cast and built for accomodation of husbandry altogether;

That the place may be free, at half within the period year, for convenient view or pleasure, whereupon may be built one or more towns miles and a fulling mill woods ^{and} sufficient timber for all manner of building and plowage, and sufficient underwood for fire and godging, and stone for walling, stables and lime;

That there be planted of families to be carried over the sea into the same.

That there be carried over the sea into the same, as to be in myne own house be 2. fulling mill of good labourer that have some skill, in fortifications and traininge of men, to fortifie and direct for defence against sudden inuasions of waile ships; & further to plot and measure out, the place to be planted at I shall direct. 1. 2. carpenters 2. millwrights and 2. ropewrights, for woodwork; 2. masons. 2. wallers and 2. stonemasons or tilters, for stone work. 1. 2. millers wether of the one to have skill in fulling of cloth; 2. blacksmiths, 1. lock smith and 1. cutter for iron work; 2. clothworkers for makinge of woollen cloth, and 2. linnen weavers for makinge of lynn cloth; 40. husbandmen with a drayght or team of Oxen or horse for sowing of the same, and 16. or 20. laborers for husbandry work; And 2. ~~the~~ ministers to preach, to cathechise and teach children;

That there be of mine own family;

That there be of mine own family; 8. plowmen 4. shepherds; two clerks, one butler one cook, one or two for brewing and baking, 2. yeomen and 2. gardeners;

That quantity of ground to be planted upon

That quantity of ground (which I desire, to plant all these years upon) be 8000. acres ^{to be divided and set forth as follows} viz

For 2. severall manner houses to be built, with a convenient village to adjoyne to either of them (wherein half the forefayd artificers or to be planted viz half of them in the one village, and half in the other village) 3000. acres; of which 2000. acres to be assigned for the usefull of either manner house, and 500. acres, for amange the artificers in either village.

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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)

Translation of the charter of the town of Belfast, 1613

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 Clondeboye. The Earl of Essex, who attempted to establish an English colony in the Clondeboye 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.



By Lawes

Burgess **Belfast** At an Assembly held for the Burrough
 aforesaid the 10th day of March
 1638.

Whereas much as by day by experience it is
 founde that Maill bills were in the body of
 the Burrough are being dangerous and enormous
 and may upon the least accident, endanger the
 whole Burrough to be consumed by fire, It is
 therefore ordered and established by the
 Burroughs Burgeses assembled by and with
 the consent of the Right Honorable Edward Lord
 Lieutenant the highest Lord of the Castle of
 Belfast, and by Lawe actually for many
 that from henceforth no person or persons, inhabiting
 within the Burrough of Belfast shall ever
 make any Maill bill, or use the use of any Maill bill
 already printed and sent into the Burrough
 Burrough, but in future Burroughs shall be
 shall be allowed of by the Lord of the Castle
 and the Governour of the Burrough for the
 time being together with five of the
 Burgeses at the least upon paine of
 forfeiture of five pounds for ever
 for fault to be levied, that shall be preserved

Edward Chester

Henry de Snyre
 soueraine

John Wolfe
 John Wolfe

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)

No. 23

Report by Alderman George Smithes and Mr Mathias Springham on the Londonderry Plantation, 1613

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. Reformaions

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 Comanded 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 p[re]sent 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)

Opposite page: Plan of the town of Coleraine, 1622, showing proposed fortifications and bridge over the River Bann. (Source: PRONI, T510/1/23)

Abuses and Negligences. Reformation

1- We found the Church at Colraine implastered within fowls unwholesome and unhandsome and small store of Pewes in the Church, the Church being well frequented with people.

1- We gave order that the Church should be plastered in the inside and made somewhat handsome.

2 We found the Saturdays Market kept out of the Town of Colraine on the other side of the River of Bann on Mr. Rowlys ground being the Churchs Land, and a Cross sett up in the Market place there with the Letters of S and R on the top of it.

We there commanded proclamation to be made by the Market on the Saturdays should be from thenceforth held within the Cittie Town of Colraine and not any longer continued there, which on the Saturday was observed and soe it hath been ever since.

3 We found the Chief Street in Colraine unpaved and very fowle, and almost unpassable.

We caused it to be paved and saw it done before our departure from thence.

4 We found in Colraine divers houses unplastered lying open to the Weather and not Care taken for the finishing of them against the Winter and soe they were unletton.

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

5 We found that it rained into the Store house most shamefully and the Store laid disorderly and Confusedly, Great spoils of the things as firkins 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.

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]poron into anothr and they are to persue them, and wth those of the next plantacon to follow them alltogeth till they are taken.
- 2 That there be at the charge of the said Plantacion two sufficient 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.
These 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 anssw[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 coves be bought out of the markett

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, T510/2)

Orders Conceiv'd by S^r Tho. Phillips
Expressing

57

What in his Judgm^t is fitt to be don for y^e present
Reformacion and Safety of this poore Kingdome

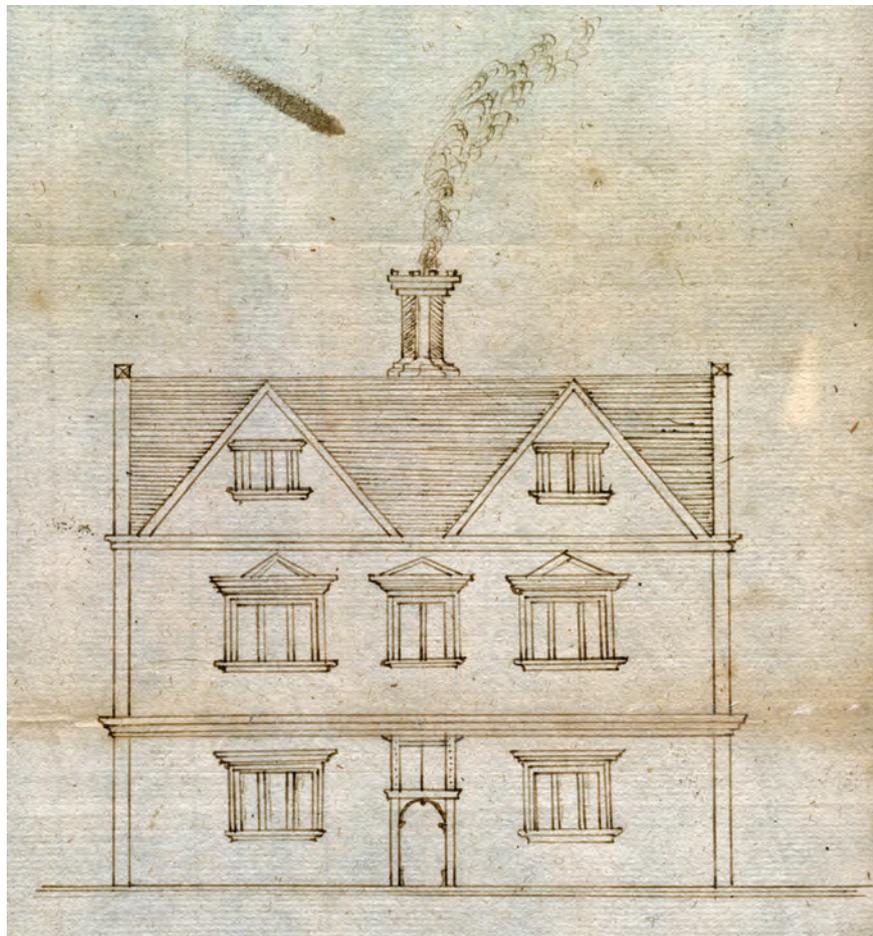
- 1 That a sufficient number of men to be set forth in every Proportion for y^e space of 2 moneths with shind, and to range continually through their owne portion, whoso they are not to suffer any Idle person, to remaine, but to apprehend them, and bring them to the next Justice of y^e Peace, to be examined, and if any Idle person or Rebelle, haue any to fly out of one portion into another, they are to pursue them, wth host of y^e next plantation, to follow y^e altogether till they are taken
- 2 That there be at y^e charge of y^e said Plantation two sufficient men sett out armed to serve for arming weath^r (viz) to be divid^d in two parts of the County according to the Downe command of y^e Proportion whome wilbe 12 in a Company
Choyse using their endeavours, wilbe to good purpose
- 3 That y^e Inhabitants sitrallid on every of y^e portions be strictly required, that they in no wise receive or receive, any Idle person or officers upon their feaung, either wth meate drinke or lodgins, but if upon their denying them they haue any forcible to take it, they to apprehend them if it may be, or if they cannot p^rsently, to follow them wth hind and cry from Plantation to Plantation, Als also y^e Inhabitants throughout the said portions, if any person or persons being a stranger coming to any of their houses or Cabbins for lodgins, they p^rsently bring y^e party or parties before y^e Constable to y^e and if may be known what they are and he to carry them before the next Justice of y^e Peace
- 4 That noo principal of one or more ballibods or Towne Land, doe make or receive any undertakings or assigns unto the same lands, but such as he will be answerable for upon all occasions, and to bring in account or hold in receiving, by him subscribed of his and their names, And that all persons Inhabiting upon any lande not soe booked, shall be reputed, and affected for Idle persons
- 5 That wth out ord^r, be taken to them out of remote places, compelling them to dwell in Courtyes, and y^e Recting, may be abolished, being the nursery of all Idleness and rebellion
- 6 That every Landlord bring his owne Cartts and his Connants
- 7 That noo Swords be bought out of the Marchett

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 Woo[rship]full

Wee yo[ur] poore Tenn[an]ts, whose names are under written have p[re]sumed to address o[ur] selves unto yo[ur] w[orships], not only to entreate yo[ur] woo[rships] care and favor towards us in the settleinge and establishinge us heere upon yo[ur] lands; but alsoe to entreate the p[er]formance of such covenants and agreem[en]ts, as have bene propounded (and should have bene p[er]formed, by yo[ur] former Agent Mr Rowly: and some other reasonable requests, for the benefit of the Towne, and the good of yo[ur] poore tenn[an]ts and inhabitants. Wh[ic]h wee hope will not be anie waye distastfull to yo[ur] woo[rships].

First o[ur] humble
suit to yo[ur]
woo[rships] is

That yo[ur] w[orships] would be pleased before you dispose of yo[ur] lands, to make good o[ur] estates unto us w[hic]h we are p[ro]mised by yo[ur] forme[er] Agent Mr Rowly, As namely the mayntaininge of the water woorke to the Towne, the want of w[hic]h is an extraordinarye charge and trouble to the poore inhabitants, ev[er]ye man allowinge Tenne Shillings p[er] ann[um] in their rents towards the mayntaineing of yt, and yet enjoye not the benefit according to the covenant.

Secondly

That yo[ur] w[orships] wilbe pleased to Pave the streets w[hic]h in wynter is soe Noysume and Troublesome unto us, that for verye dyrt and myre we are scarce able to goe from one house to an other without boots.

Thirdlye

That yo[ur] w[orships] wilbe pleased to procure the mayntininge of A market and a Fayer to be kept heere in the towne According to p[ro]missed covenant made by Mr Rowly, w[it]hout w[hic]h wee shall not be able to paye yo[ur] w[orships] such greate rents for o[ur] houses as we doe, ...

Fourthlye

... To speake of the dangerousness of the place wherein wee live; wee need not make anie ample relation of it, noe man havning bene In these p[ar]ts, but can testifie of yt, that the like or equall yt is not almost to be found in Ireland, Wee here beinge dayly subiectt to the incursions and continuall stealthes of the woodkerne, w[hi]ch these p[ar]ts allwaies hitherto have been subject unto, and wee thinke will nev[er] be free from, Manie of yo[ur] poore tenn[an]ts havinge 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)

Right woor

Where your Tenants, whose names are under written have presumed to address & solace unto you, not only to entreat you more favor towards, & in the settling & establishing of your lands; but also to entreat the performance of such promises & agreements as have bene propounded (and should have bene performed, by you for more Agent in Town; and some other reasonable requests, for the benefit of the Town, and the good of your poore Tenants & inhabitants, which we have will not be a mis waye Vnjustfull to you woor.

First & humble suit to you woor.

That you would be pleased before you dispose of your lands, to make good & establish unto us, in your wards granted by your former Agent in Town, the maintenance of the water works to the Town, the want of which is an extraordinary charge & trouble to the poore inhabitants, & your man allowances some shillings per Annum in their duty towards the maintenance of it, And yet we may not the benefit according to our mind.

Secondly

That you would be pleased to have the streets, in your ward of St. Nicholas and Troublesome unto us, that for many years past and more, are not able to goe from one house to an other without boats.

Thirdly

That you would be pleased to procure the maintenance of a water house & a fayer to be kept here in the Town according to a commission made by our Town, without which we shall not be able to pay your great debt for a fayer at our own charge, & the value of our goods will abate, the land beinge of little value that belongs to them, or most of them, in respect of the remoteness thereof from the market, and your buildings beinge now finished, our same same will be a great disability of our money to be stirringe years; in respect of our goods you have the great and tender respect, for best furtherance thereof there is a great Tower of small Tombs made in the middle of the Town, which runneth into the backside of the Church house & takes awaye the most part of them, to the great hinderance and annoyance of the Tenants that dwell in them, besides those drops of water or the most of them bringe some waste, beinge not any waye fit to be inhabited, nor gaunge a handfull of backside allotted to them. Our humble desire therefore is, that either they maye be removed out of a backside, and sit in some other place more convenient for the enlargement of the Town; or else that those Tenants might have their backside by reason of them, maye for some small allowance have and recover them to their own proper use.

Howbeit

To speake of the dangerousness of the place where in our line; we need not make any ample relation of it, nor man hauntings bene in these parts, but some testimony of it, that the like to equal it is not almost to be found in England, nor good beinge dailye subject to the infection and continuall stalling of the woodkerne, which these years allwarde hath bene subject unto, and wee thinke will never be free from the same of your poore Tenants hauntings left in our night (very lately) found or five head of cattle, beinge all that wee have had in the world, all which beinge taken into your mature consideration; The request of some mitigation of our countrye perpetuallye, And also to observe the Assise and Sessions, which is not only exceeding dangerous and tedious to us, but also a great charge and hinderance unto your poore Tenants.

1667

No. 26

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 governvr of this towne & of the covntries adjoining descended of the avncient & noble hovse of the Chichestros 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 their accomplice &: settled the plantacon of this province & well & happily governed this kingdome in floverishing estate vnder James ovr king the space of n yeare &: more. Whilst he was Ld Depetie & governvr their of, retyred himself into his private government & being mindfvl of his mortalitie represented vnto him by the vntymely death of Arthvr his sonne the only hope of his hovse, who lived not fvll 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 precedent governvr of this towne, hath causd this chappell to be repaired & this valt & monvment to be made and erected as well in remembrance of them whose statves are expressed & their 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 they most constanly beleive there to beehold with their bodily eyes to their endless blessedness & everlasting comfort.

gladivs mevs non salvabitme.

Fatvm mortis a domino injvnctvm est.

If that desire, or chance thee hither lead;
vpon this marble monvment to tread;
let admiration thy best thoughts still feed;
while weeping thov, this epitaph doest reade
&: let distilling teares, thy commaes be.
as tribvte dve, vnto this eligie.

Epitaphe.

Within this bedd of death, a viceroy lyes,
whose fame shall ever live, vlrve nere dyes;
for he did virtve and religion norishe;
& made this land, late rvde, with peace to flovrishe.
The wildest rebell, he be power did tame
& by trve jvstice gayned an honord name;
then now, though 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 soe soone goodnight.
Intomed by them here allsoe doth remayn,
his worthy brother, by base rebels slayn,
as he in martiall, & brave warrelike feight,
opposde their evrie in his cvntreys right.
& in memoriall of their endless praise,
this monvment is left to after dayes.

Opposite page: Chichester memorial, St Nicholas' Church, Carrickfergus.
(Courtesy Historic Environment Division, Department for Communities)



EN ME TRIUMPHANTE

DOMINI REGNI EFFICIENTEM



No. 27

Robert Algeo's crucifixion plaque, Artigarvan, County Tyrone, 1625

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.

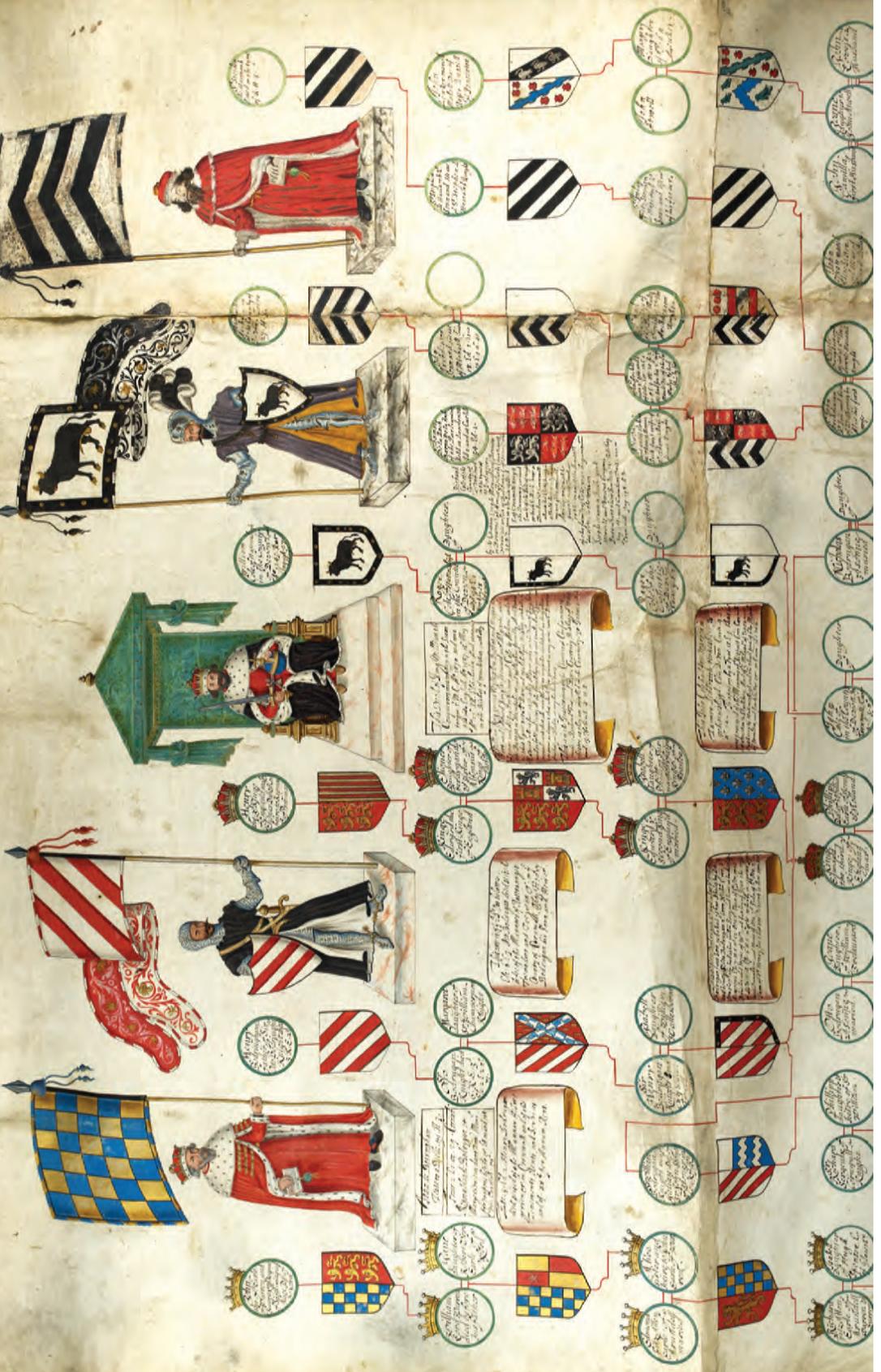
Cole was born in London and most of his immediate family were merchants or lawyers. The genealogy, however, emphasises that the Cole family were landed gentry from Devon and connected with other gentry families in the county. The plantation provided opportunities for social mobility for many settlers 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 Firmanagh in the Kingdome of Ireland knight, whoe faithfully serued Queene Elizabeth in her warrs of Holland and Ireland, and sithence in like manner serued Kinge James, and his Matie that now is, in eminent places and Offices as well in their Martall as Ciuill affaires and is lyneally descended of the Auncient howse of Cole of Deuon and Cornewall, wherin is sett forth the discentes lynes and branches of the Seuerall fameleys of that howse and sirname, together 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 Exemplified 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 Brittainne France and Ireland defender of the faith & c. Ao Dm: 1630

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D1702/7/5)



The Genealogie of the right Worshippfull and noble the Captaine Sir William Cole of the
 Castle of Eneskillen in the Countie of Firmanagh in the Kingdome of Ireland, who hath faithfully served Queen Elizabeth in her wars of Holland, and
 Ireland, and sithence in like manner served King James and his Ma: that now is, in sundry Places and Offices as well in these parts as in
 the Countie of Devon and Cornewall, wherein is left forth the descents, lynes and branches of the Seuerall famelies of that howse, and
 descended of the Auncient howse of Cole of Devon and Cornewall, their Armes and Ensignes; Carefully Collected out
 of, and proued by diuers matches and alliances to other right Noble, worthe and worshipfull families; their Armes and Ensignes; Carefully Collected out
 of, and proued by diuers Records, Decrees, Wills, Euidences, Inquiliens, Monuments, Roles, and the Visitations and
 London and other authentick authorities, and as hereunder followeth Exemplified this xxx. day of Iuly in the Sixt yeere of the Reigne our dread Soueraigne
 Lord Charles by the grace of God Kinge of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. A. D. 1570.



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.

For more on this estate, see John Johnston, 'Settlement on a plantation estate: the Balfour rentals of 1632 and 1636', *Clogher Record*, xii, no. 1 (1985), pp 92–109.

10 May 1636

Knockninny	A true Rentall of the ho[noura]ble Sr Will[ia]m Balfour kn[igh]t his Ma[jes]ties Leiuetennt of the Royall Castle the Tower of London of his Mannors, proporcons & lands in the County of ffermanagh, and Baronies of Knockininy & 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 menconed in the grant beinge more or lesse	The greate proporcon & Mannor of Legan consisting of 2000 Acres more or less.	
Legan 1 greate tate	Leased by Sr Willm Balfour from May 1635 to Martha Slack widd[ow] for 3 years from thence next ensuinge at £10 ster English p[er] Ann[um], the kinges rent and Countrey charges for halfe a year end at May last.	£ s d 05 00 00
Killegreagh 1 great 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	03 15 00

Dromsilvester
½ part of a tate

Sett by Middleton to Bryan m^c Dun Magwire from all S[ain]ts last
for one yeare at £4 10s p[er] Ann[um], one fatt unshorne mutton,
6 henns, 4 able workemen wth horses yearely, the kings rent and
Country charges

02 05 00
11 00 00

(Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D1939/15/2/2)

1^{mo} Maij 1636

A true Rentall of the Hon^{ble}
Knockniny ^{William Dalfour Esq: his Ma^{ties} Chamberlaine} of the Royall Castle the
Tower of London of his Ma^{ties} proportioned Lands in the County
of Ffermanagh, and Baronic of
Knockniny & Magherapetragh in
the Countie of Fferland as they
payd at May last for halfe a yeare.

Greate Dates containinge 60.
as they are ad-
mitted in the
rentall as they
are mentioned
in the skant
beinge more or lesse.

The greate proportion & Maime of
Leish consistinge of 2000. Acres more
or lesse.

Leggan Leased by ^{William Dalfour from May} 1635 to Martha Slatt for xij. yeares
from thence next ensuing at x. s. the English
and the Kings rent and Countie
charges for halfe a yeare end at May last

Leish £ . 8. 0
05 - 00

Killeweagh Leased by Middleton from all S^{ts} last to
Patrick Magwire and Ceasr Magwire
for one yeare, at xij. s. p. land. 11 fatt
unshorne Muttons 6. s. henns. iij. workemⁿ
men wth horse all wth maime yearly
the Kings rent and Countie charges.

05 15 00

Dromsilvester Sett by Middleton to Bryan m^c Dun Magwire
from all S^{ts} last for one yeare at iij.
s. p. land. 11 fatt unshorne mutton. 6.
henns. iij. able workemen wth horses yearly
the Kings rent and Countie charges

02 05 00

ii - 00 - 00

No. 30

A lease from the Earl of Antrim to Toole McAllester of lands in the Barony of Dunluce, County Antrim, 1637

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 Glynnys 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.

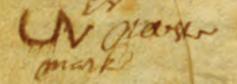
Opposite page: Genealogy, in Irish and English, of the 4th Earl of Antrim, 1704.
(Source: PRONI, D2977/5/1/4/3)

This indenture made the twentieth day of July Anno Dom[ini] one thousand six hundred thirty and seven Betweene the right honorable Randall Earle of Antrim and Alexander Mc Donell Esq brother to the sayd Earle of the one p[ar]te And Toole Mc Allester of Carnkirm in the County of Antrim gentel[man] of the other p[ar]te Wittnesseth that the sayd Earle of Antrim and Alexander Mc Donell for and in consideraton of the rents improvements and services heereafter 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 q[uar]ter of land of Bellangorre, the q[uar]ter of land of Cregatimpan, and the q[uar]ter of land of Glassanyarin with the apptennces scittn 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 p[ar]te or p[ar]cell thereof And excepting and reserving unto the sayd Earle and his heires and to him and them who wil lie in the immediat reversion or remainder of the premisses his and their servants by his of their speciall direction free liberty to fish foule hunt and haucke in and upon the premisses and every p[ar]te or p[ar]cell thereof To Have and and to hould the sayd prmises with the apptennces (except before excepted) unto the said Toole McAllester his executors administrators and assigns for and dureing the tearme 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 hies executors administrators and assignes thereout yeelding reserving and paying unto the sayd Earle of Antrim hies hiers and assignes the yeerely rent of forty pounds st[irling]le currant money of England p[e]r ann[um] payable at the usuall feaste or dayes of payment of all s[ain]ts or the first day of the month of November, and of S[ain]ts 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 assignes shall for every yeere during the s[ai]d tearme enclose the quantity of fower acres of land having one hundred and sixty pearche of the p[re]messes which is not allready sufficiently enclosed by water or otherwise which enclosure shal be wth a ditch of three foote and half broade and three foote deepe (if the ground will soe pmitt) and if not then soe farr 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 p[ro]fittable land of the p[re]misses be thoroughly enclosed as aforessayd and shall likewise plant every yeere and allwayes p[re]serve twenty and five ashs oake or sickamore upon some p[ar]te of the p[re]misses, and shall maintaine uphoold and keepe the sayd enclosures and trees to be planted as afforesayd in good & sufficient sorte ...

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



This Indenture made the twentieth day of July Anno dⁿⁱ 1530 and thousand six hundred thirty and seven between the right honorable and noble
Earle of Cheshire and Alexander in Donnell Esq. brother to the said Earle of Cheshire; And Doctor Master of Cheshire in the County of Cheshire
gentle of the other party **Avintuseth** that the said Earle of Cheshire and Alexander in Donnell for and in consideration of the rents and services
and services hereafter in and by these presents reformed, shal be demised sett and to ferme letten and by these presents they doo demise sett and
to ferme let into the said Doctor Master, all that and the several quarters of land of Droghadulke, the pt of land of Kiltanagore, the pt
of land of Droghadulke and the pt of land of C. Lafanarum with the appertinences situate and being in the barony of Cheshire in the County
of Cheshire aforesaid, Certeing all mills, millwaters and ponds, and weyting all mynes of brass, lead, iron, coal and other mynes
minerals, together with free liberty to digg and take away the said Mynes and minerals And also receiving all Saluon fishing, and
likewise receiving all warms of hawks and other game and other whatsoevers arising growing or being in or upon the premises
or any pt thereof or great thereof, And receiving and referring unto the said Earle and his heirs and to him who will be in their
mediat reversion or remainder of the premises his and their servants by him or their special direction free liberty to fish for eels, curd and
hawk in and upon the premises and appertinences and great thereof **To have and** and to hold the said premises with the appertinences
except before excepted unto the said Doctor Master his executor, administrators and assignes for and during the term of years and
space of twenty, and one year from the first day of May last past fully to be remembred and ended, The said Doctor Master his
executor administrators and assignes thereout yearly referring and paying unto the said Earle of Cheshire his heirs and assignes the yearly
rent of forty pounds sterling current money in England, and payable at the usual feast or dayes of payment of the said Earle or the first
day of the month of November, and of St. Michell and Katol. on the first day of May by even and equal portions, And referring
likewise the yearly rent of thirty shillings ster towards the payment of his Ma^{ty} rent, and the yearly rent of twenty shillings ster
and above the said rent for and towards the said Earle his heirs and assignes his and their servants for payable yearly during the
termes by even portions as aforesaid **And** referring likewise the best best which shall belong to the said Doctor Master his executor
and assignes his and their servants and heirs at the time of his or their decease, respectively for and in the name of an grant, And if the said
yearly rent or rents or any pt thereof or heriote be behind and unpaid for the space of fifteen dayes after any of the said dayes
of payment that then the said Doctor Master his executor and assignes shall forfeit, unto the said Earle his heirs and assignes
forever shewing & deim acts **And** that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Earle of Cheshire his heirs and assignes into the said premises to enter, and
for the said Earle his heirs and assignes to cause and assess the same to be straitened and the distresses and distresses thereof to be carried
away and also according to the Statute in that behalf made **Provided** nevertheless that if the said premises shall continue void
for one whole year without any sufficient distress thereunto be had that then the said yearly rent shall be waived **And** the said Earle
of Cheshire and Alexander in Donnell for them their heirs and assignes doo consent and agree to and with the said
said Doctor Master his executor administrators and assignes the premises (except and in manner as aforesaid) during the termes aforesaid
unto the said Doctor Master his executor administrators and assignes to warrant against the said Earle of Cheshire Alexander in Donnell James
of Cheshire and every of them their heirs and assignes **And** the said Doctor Master doth for himselfe his executor administrators and assignes
renewant and grant to and with the said Earle of Cheshire his heirs and assignes for to doo performe and satisfie the rateables and rates of all usages out ground
quellum price that will be required to be done in or by the inhabitants of the County of Cheshire for the service of his Ma^{ty} his heirs and assignes according to the
aforesaid **And** that the said Doctor Master and all others dwelling or residing upon the premises and any pt thereof shall doo suits and services to the Countess Dowager
or male in the nature of a Court Baron to be held within the County of Cheshire by or for the said Earle of Cheshire his heirs and assignes, And shall doo suits unto and send his and their
suits to be granted in the said Earle's next advent into the barony aforesaid, paying only therout the usual and lawful toll and no more And that the said Doctor Master his
executor administrators and assignes shall for every year during the termes aforesaid the quantity of fowre acres of land having one hundred and sixty peash to each acre and twenty
fords to every acre of the premises which is not already sufficiently enclosed by a ditch or otherwise which is to be made in the said premises and shall be made and
fords deep by the ground will soe count, And if not then for fowre and the ground will soe count, the hedge shall be two fots and a half high about the said ditch and well
fords, and all the profitable land of the premises be thoroughly enclosed, as aforesaid, And shall likewise plant only yewes and alwayes yewes, holly, and fine ash, oak
or sithmore upon some pt of the premises, And shall maintain uphold and keep the said enclosure and hedges to be planted as aforesaid in good & sufficient
state **Provided** always and upon condition that the said Doctor Master his executor administrators and assignes shall not alien grant or dispose the said
termes or any pt of the said termes of the premises or of any pt of the premises unto any person or persons whatsoever in possession or future interest
longer then seven years in several possession at any most wile the said Earle of Cheshire his heirs or assignes **Witness** whereof the said
they have to the said Indenture **At** the said place the day and year first above written

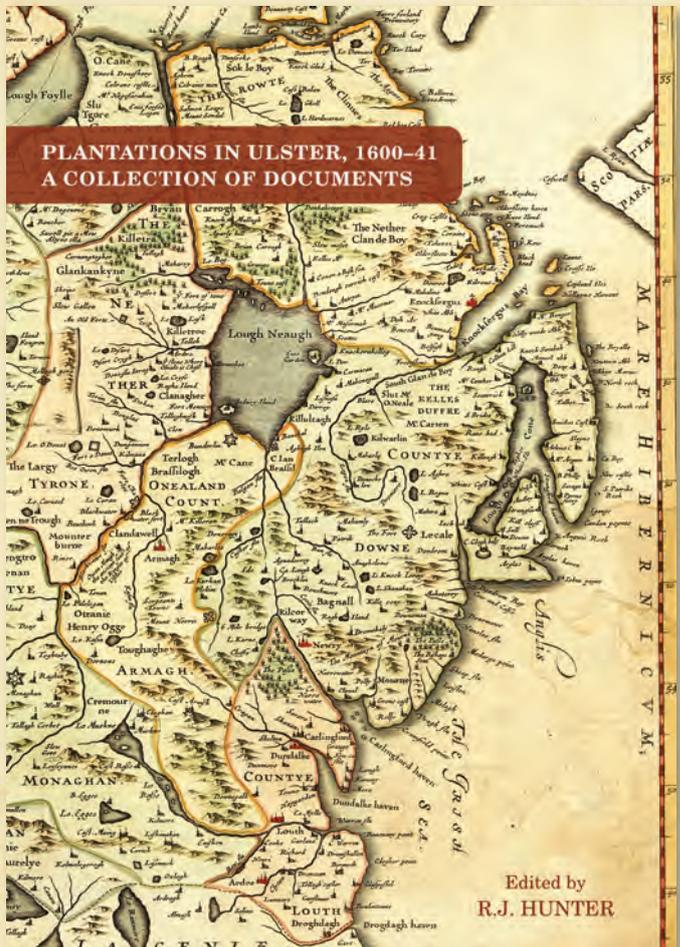
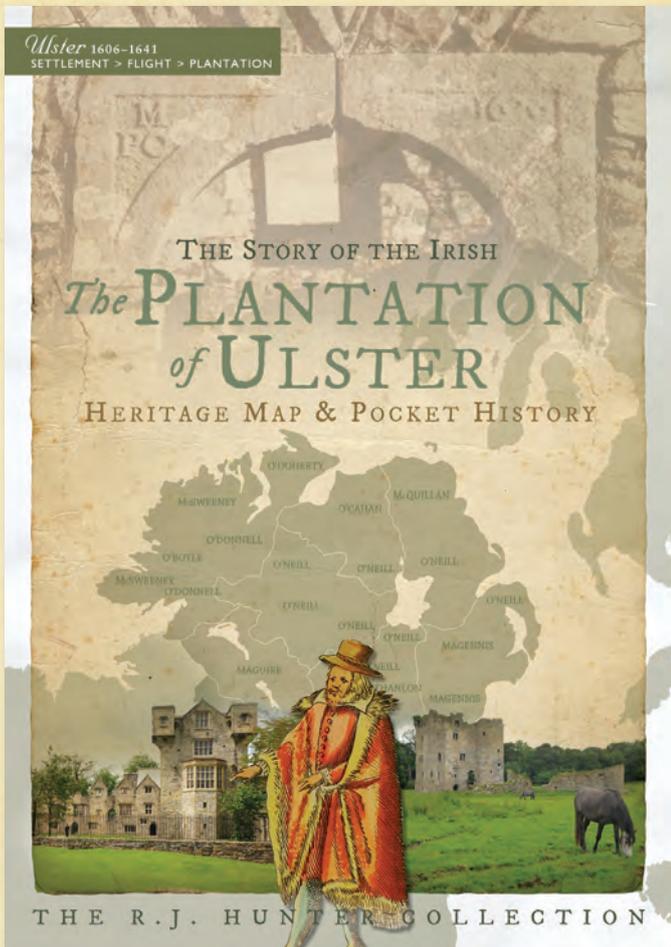
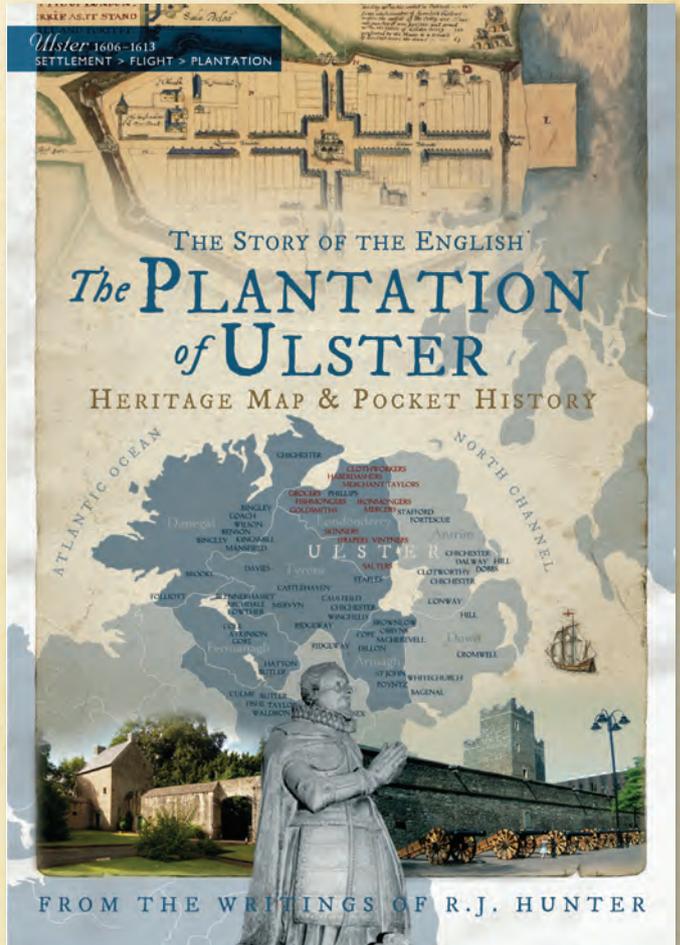
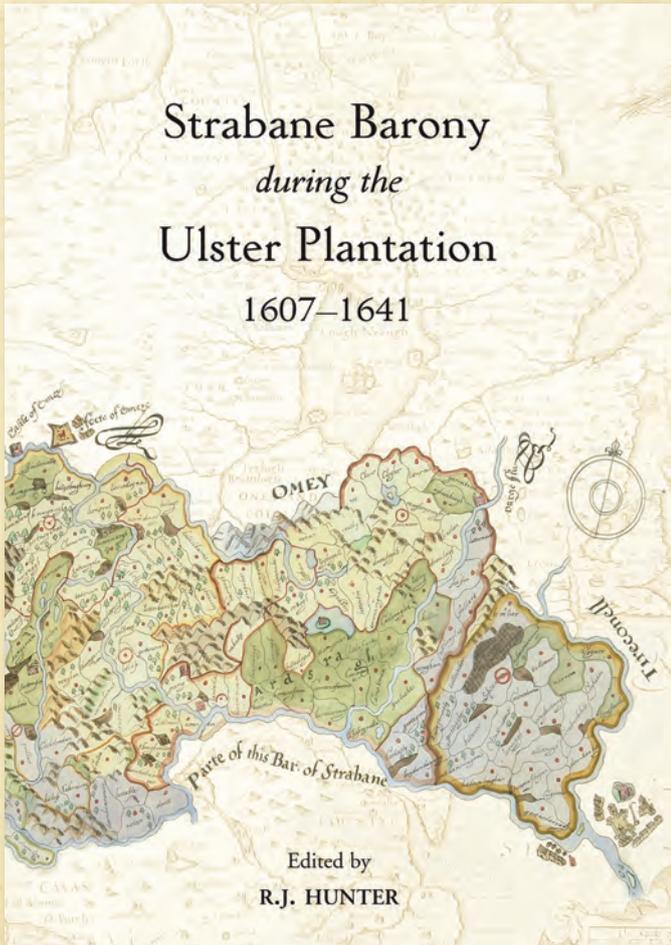
Doctor M^r 



Map of Ulster attributed to Willem Blaeu, c. 1603-10 (PRONI)



Clothworkers





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.



M. Hibernica