

1 THE ENGLISH IN ELIZABETHAN ULSTER

In the course of the 1500s the English Crown gradually extended its authority across Ireland so that by 1603, following the Nine Years' War, the entire island was under its control. For most of the sixteenth century, however, the power of the O'Neills and other Ulster lords remained strong. The royal writ was limited to a few outposts such as Carrickfergus where its impressive Norman castle was the most important English garrison in the province.

Another important outpost was at Newry under **Nicholas Bagenal**. The son of a tailor who had served several times as mayor of Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, Bagenal had fled to Ireland in the late 1530s to escape a murder charge. Having secured a pardon in 1543, he was granted the properties of the suppressed Cistercian abbey at Newry in 1550 with the purpose of reducing **'those rude and savage quarters to better rule and obedience'**.

The town of Newry began to take shape and included Bagenal's castle and the first church built specifically for Protestant worship in Ireland. In 1575 the town was described as **'increased in bewtye and buydinge'**. A list of the tenants from this time shows that in the 'high street' the names were a mixture of English, Welsh and Irish. One historian has called the settlement **'a bastion of English civility in southern Ulster'**.



Dalway's Bawn, Sir Thomas Smith and the Earl of Essex

The relative success of Bagenal's settlement at Newry stands in sharp contrast to the abysmal failures of the Smith and Essex enterprises. In 1571 **Sir Thomas Smith**, Elizabeth I's Secretary of State, proposed the establishment of an English colony in Ulster. Having won the Queen's backing, he was granted 360,000 acres in south Antrim and north and east Down. However, the scheme, which was initially focussed on the Ards peninsula, was beset by delays, Irish opposition and disagreements among the colonists, and was abandoned in 1575.

In 1573 the **Earl of Essex** secured a royal grant of most of County Antrim and in the summer of that year led an expedition to Ulster. Though ultimately a failure, the endeavour did result in a number of Englishmen securing a foothold in the vicinity of Carrickfergus. The most successful of these adventurers was **John Dalway** who came to Ulster as a cornet in Essex's army, and went on to acquire property at Broadisland, Kilroot and Ballynure. He built the structure known as Dalway's Bawn near Ballycarry.





2 PREPARATIONS FOR PLANTATION

The decision to carry out a plantation in Ulster was based on two considerations: fear and opportunism. The fear was that following the 'Flight of the Earls' in September 1607, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell would return to Ireland with Spanish military support. With their departure the opportunity now presented itself to the Crown to destroy forever the power of the O'Neills and O'Donnells.

Following the departure of the earls, the government took control of the lands of **O'Neill** and **O'Donnell**. The territories of further chieftains were also confiscated so that by the end of 1608, following further forfeitures in the wake of a failed **O'Doherty** rebellion, the greater part of counties Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh and Tyrone had been seized.

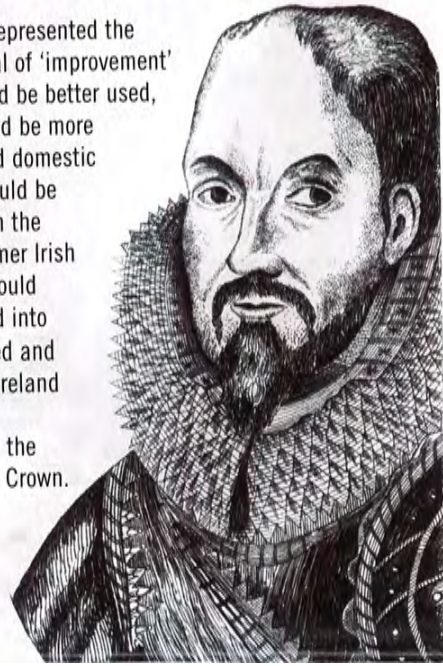
The process of designing what turned out to be a complex and systematic plantation plan, and the necessary preliminaries to its implementation, took some two years and it was not until 1610 that the new ownership arrangements could be brought into being. Two of the key architects of the scheme were **Sir Arthur Chichester**, the lord deputy, and **Sir John Davies**, from Wiltshire, but of Welsh ancestry, who was the attorney general in Ireland.

The scheme eventually adopted affected the six aforementioned counties – the 'escheated' or planted counties – and in five of these a relatively uniform plan was followed (the exception was Coleraine, later renamed Londonderry, which was granted for the most part to merchant companies in London).

The ownership arrangements provided for two types of new proprietor – undertakers (English and Scottish) and servitors (nearly all English), as well as 'deserving Irish'. Land was also set aside for institutions such as the (Protestant) Church, Trinity College and schools.

Estates were to be of moderate size, to encourage effort and lest their new owners in turn should become overmighty. The original proposal to distribute the estates by lottery was not adhered to. Instead, following the creation of a remarkable set of maps under the direction of **Sir Josias Bodley** in 1609, it was decided to allocate estates to 'consorts' of undertakers, with English and Scots kept separate, on a barony (or precinct) basis. Servitors and native Irish grantees would be grouped together in other baronies.

Plantation represented the English ideal of 'improvement' – land would be better used, society would be more ordered, and domestic dwelling would be improved. In the process former Irish lordships would be absorbed into a centralised and integrated Ireland under the authority of the now British Crown.





ENGLISH UNDERTAKERS

Seven baronies or precincts were allocated to the English undertakers (so-called because they agreed to **undertake** the 'planting' of British settlers on the estates). These were **Oneiland** in County Armagh, **Lifford** in County Donegal, **Clogher** and **Omagh** in County Tyrone, **Loughtee** in County Cavan, and **Clankelly**, and **Lurg and Coolemakernan** in County Fermanagh. Altogether there were 51 English undertakers and between them they received 81,500 plantation acres. (This compares with 59 Scottish undertakers who received 81,000 acres in all.)

The individual blocks of land, known as proportions, granted to the undertakers were of three sizes – 1,000 acres, 1,500 acres and 2,000 acres (often denoted 'small', 'middle' and 'great'). An undertaker could own more than one proportion so long as his total acreage did not exceed the stipulated amount. The undertakers were expected to introduce British settlers to their estates and were forbidden to have Irish tenants.

A number of the English undertakers were men with existing connections to Ireland and there was an overlap between the undertakers and the servitors (see next section). However, most of the English undertakers were newcomers, and in general, where their places of origin are known, from **East Anglia** and the **Midlands**. Eight undertakers have known origins in **Norfolk**, and another five in **Suffolk**.

The undertakers came from a varied range of backgrounds. Only a few were from the highest echelons of society and most were not people of special substance by the standards of contemporary England. Chichester noted in 1610 that the settlers from England were **'for the most part, plain country gentlemen ... If they have any money they keep it close.'**

The chief undertaker in the barony of Clogher was **Lord Audley** whose ambition was to **'advance the ruin ... of an old and decayed house'**. More unusual was a grantee of lands in Oneiland barony, **Richard Rolleston**, a Cambridge graduate, who was an ordained, but possibly not beneficed, clergyman, and an inventor of a power-driven sawmill.

Some of the undertakers may have seen principle behind their potentially perilous advancement: through it they would advance the English Protestant cause and English civilisation generally. Norfolk-born **Thomas Blennerhasset** (c. 1550–1624), the grantee of an estate in the barony of **Lurg and Coolemakernan**, published a tract in 1610 entitled *A direction for the plantation of Ulster*, in which he set out his own ideas on promoting the scheme.

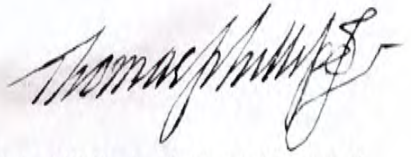
A DIRECTION FOR THE PLAN- TATION IN VLSTER.

Contayning in it, fixe princi-
pall things, *Viz.*

1. The securing of that wilde Countrye to the Crowne of England.
2. The withdrawing of all the charge of the Garrifon and men of warre.
3. The rewarding of the olde Seruitors to their good content.
4. The meanes how to increafe the Renueue to the Crowne, with a yearly very great somme.
5. How to establish the Puritie of Religion there.
6. And how the vndertakers may with securitie be enriched.

Left: Sir Arthur Chichester, Thomas Blennerhasset's tract

4 ENGLISH SERVITORS



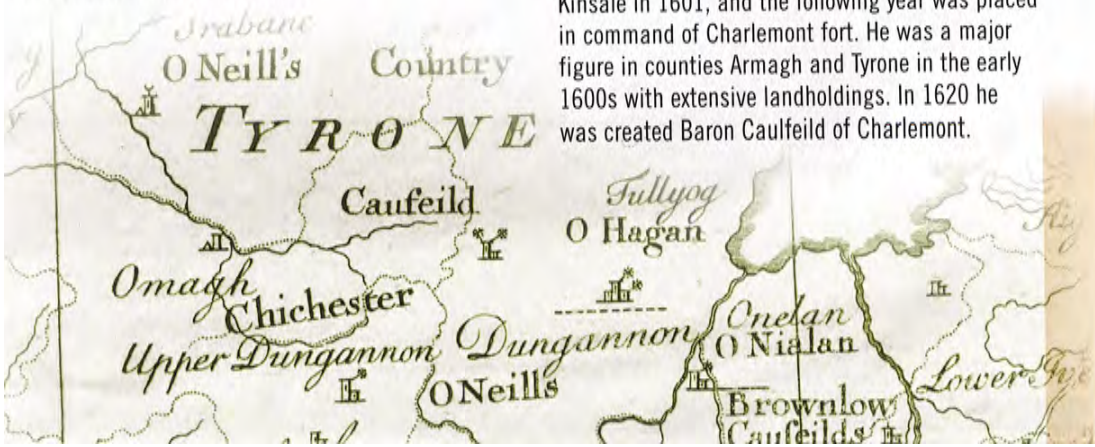
Servitors were men who had served the Crown in Ireland as soldiers or government officials. With the exception of two Scots and a handful of Welsh, they were English. Altogether the servitors received nearly 55,000 acres in the Plantation counties. Most were given estates of 1,000–2,000 acres, but some of them received as little as 200 acres. The baronies or precincts that were allocated to the servitors were **Orior** in County Armagh, **Castlerahan, Tullygarvey, Clanmahon** and **Tullyhaw** in County Cavan, **Kilmacrenan** in County Donegal, **Coole and Tirkennyd**, and **Clanawley** in County Fermanagh, and **Dungannon** in County Tyrone. Unlike the undertakers, the servitors were allowed to have both Irish and British tenants.

The son and heir of Walter Lambert, an alderman of Southampton, **Oliver Lambert** had pursued a varied military career, in both Ireland and on the Continent. He received an estate of 2,000 acres as a servitor in Clanmahon and in 1613 was returned as MP for County Cavan. His military career continued and in 1614–15 he was part of the military expedition to retake Dunyvaig Castle on the Scottish island of Islay. In 1618, the year of his death, he was created Baron Lambert of Cavan.

A number of the key individuals in the English administration in Ireland were beneficiaries of Plantation land. The lord deputy, **Sir Arthur Chichester**, was granted 1,320 acres in the barony of Dungannon. Though this grant might appear comparatively small for a man of his standing it must be pointed out that in 1608 he had been granted the entire Inishowen peninsula in County Donegal and had also acquired a vast estate in County Antrim.

From Worcestershire, **Sir Henry Folliott** had come to Ireland as a captain in 1596 and in 1602 was in command of the English garrison at Ballyshannon in County Donegal. This was a base from which he built up a significant landholding in south-west Donegal. In addition he received 1,500 acres as a servitor in Coole and Tirkennydy.

A grantee of lands in the barony of Dungannon, **Toby Caulfeild** (1565–1627) was from Great Milton in Oxfordshire. Pursuing a military career, he saw action in France, the Low Countries and Cadiz. He was sent to Ireland in 1598, was present at the Battle of Kinsale in 1601, and the following year was placed in command of Charlemont fort. He was a major figure in counties Armagh and Tyrone in the early 1600s with extensive landholdings. In 1620 he was created Baron Caulfeild of Charlemont.



5 THE LONDONDERRY PLANTATION

In order to ensure the success of the Plantation, the King was anxious that the great merchant companies of London would be involved. In 1610 a body composed of London aldermen, merchants and representatives of livery companies was formed to further the involvement of the city of London in the Plantation scheme. This body eventually became known as the Irish Society, a joint-stock company that can be compared with the East India Company or the Virginia Company. **John Rowley** from Cheshire and **Tristram Beresford** from Kent were appointed the Society's agents in Ulster.

County Coleraine, as it was then called, was earmarked for the Londoners and the greater part of it was to be granted out in estates to the companies. In 1613 the county was renamed Londonderry (as was the settlement at Derry) to emphasise the connection with the city of London, and by this time adjoining portions of counties Antrim, Donegal and Tyrone had been added to it. The Irish Society was specifically responsible for developing the strategic towns of Coleraine and Derry.

Progress was initially slow with a degree of reluctance on the part of the Londoners to commit to the Plantation. It was not until late 1613 that the allocation of lands in County Londonderry to the companies was carried out

by lot. There were twelve 'chief companies', most of which had a number of 'associate companies', though the latter were to play a fairly minor role in the Plantation. The chief companies were:

Clothworkers	Ironmongers
Drapers	Mercers
Fishmongers	Merchant Taylors
Goldsmiths	Salters
Grocers	Skinners
Haberdashers	Vintners

In theory each of these land grants was 3,210 acres, but in reality they were much greater. For instance, the estate of the Skinners' Company extended to nearly 50,000 acres, though much of this was mountain and bog.

The other major landowner in County Londonderry was **Sir Thomas Phillips**. He had been an officer in the army in Ireland and in the early 1600s had acquired a grant of monastic land at Coleraine and began to develop a town there. An important promoter of the Londonderry Plantation, he relinquished Coleraine to the Londoners and instead received lands elsewhere in the county, mainly in the Roe Valley where he founded the town of Newtownlimavady.

Below: Thomas Raven's map of the Salters' buildings at Magherafelt, 1622



6 THE EVOLUTION OF OWNERSHIP



Because so many of the original grantees lacked either the desire to stay or the financial resources to fulfil their plantation obligations, the years after the inauguration of the Plantation scheme witnessed numerous changes to the pattern of landownership. In fact within ten years of the inauguration of the scheme only 29 of the 51 estates allocated to English undertakers remained in the hands of the original grantees.

Many of the original undertakers sold-out at an early stage and, if they had even ventured to Ulster at all, returned to England. For example, **Sir Richard Fiennes**, Lord Say and Seale, the chief undertaker in Oneilland was one who promised more than he was wealthy enough to fulfil. Promising to found a town to be named in honour of Sir Robert Cecil, he took out his patent in 1610, but by the following year had disposed of his 3,000 acres to **Anthony Cope**.

One of the main consequences of this active market in plantation land was that landownership was consolidated in fewer hands, something that clearly ran counter to the original intentions of the Plantation scheme. At the same time, those who acquired property from disengaging undertakers were usually men of ability with the drive to make a success of their estates. Servitors in particular rank prominently among those taking advantage of this opportunity to expand their landholdings, **Sir Ralph Bingley** and **Sir William Cole** being two leading examples.

Some of the original undertakers were also able to expand their holdings, in some cases quite considerably so. From Stotford in Bedfordshire, **Sir Stephen Butler**, the grantee of an estate in Loughtee, County Cavan, acquired several estates originally allocated to Scottish undertakers in Knockninny, County Fermanagh. On one of these he founded the village of Newtownbutler.

The evolution of landownership in the barony of Omagh reveals how complex these changes could be. In 1610 the undertaker lands in this barony were granted to **Lord Audley**, two of his sons (**Mervyn** and **Ferdinand**) and his two sons-in-law (**Sir John Davies** and **Edward Blunte**). By 1619 Audley's son Lord Castlehaven was in possession of the estates of his deceased father, two brothers and brother-in-law Blunte, though his widowed mother claimed the income from the lands of her late husband. By 1622 the lands originally allocated to Mervyn, Ferdinand, and Blunte (6,000 plantation acres in all) were in the hands of another of the late Lord Audley's sons-in-law, **Sir Henry Mervyn**. Given these changes, it is hardly surprising that Omagh was initially one of the baronies where the Plantation made the least impact.



Right: Castle Mervyn

Below: A caption from Thomas Raven's map 'The Buildings of the Company of Ironmongers', 1622

*Freeholders resident upon the
in their proportion*

7 ENGLISH SETTLERS



For every 1,000 acres he was granted an undertaker was expected to introduce at least ten British families that together were to comprise 24 adult males. On most English-owned estates settlement was initially slow, but within a few years settler communities of some significance had emerged on some of them.

Sir William Cole received high praise from the commissioners of inquiry in 1622 for the progress on his estate in Magheraboy, County Fermanagh:

'... And he hath let his land at easy rents and for long terms, which is the cause it is so well planted, we having seen none like it, for which the gent[leman] deserves high commendations, and we wish that others who are deficient would take example by him. Then would the conditions of the plantations be speedily performed, the country wonderfully strengthened, and the lands generally improved to the great comfort and benefit of them and their posterities ...'



Castle Raw, County Armagh, built by Anthony Cope

On other estates, however, landowners found it virtually impossible to induce families to settle. **John Leigh**, the owner of a proportion in the barony of Clogher, complained in 1622 that such a large part of his lands was **'so bad, being only heath and boggy mountain land ... that no British tenant will be drawn to inhabit upon it upon any terms or conditions'**.

The behaviour of some landlords almost seemed designed to drive tenants away. In 1618–19 Captain Pynnar was told by some of the tenants on the Castlehaven estate in Omagh barony that unless they were prepared to pay treble the rent they would not have their leases recognised. On the other hand, there were landlords or their representatives who were highly respected by the tenants. Of **Robert Harrington**, agent for the Grocers' Company of London, the tenants said: **'so kindly and so uprightly has he dealt with us that we cannot but much desire we may never change him for any other whatsoever'**.

Most of the tenantry were of rural background, poorish and engaging in energetic betterment, with some probably to be more innovative than others in their new environment. For many of the settlers from England life was a struggle and crossing the Irish Sea did not bring them all the benefits that they had hoped for. On one of the estates that **Sir Stephen Butler** had acquired in Fermanagh, it was noted in 1622 that the settlers **'seemed to have so little encouragement as they wish themselves again in their own country'**. Others, however, had the necessary skills to prosper in Ulster. In terms of numbers, it would appear that there were some 3,200 adult Englishmen in the escheated counties in 1622.

Imprinted at London by Ed. Alde
for Iohn Budge, dwelling at the great
South doore of S. Paules
Church. 1610.



8 CORPORATE TOWNS

Although there were urban aspects to various colonising schemes in Ireland in the second half of the sixteenth century, the plantation in Ulster was the first with formal urban proposals. In the minds of those who devised the scheme of Plantation, towns would be both centres of trades and commerce and lanterns of local civility – hosts of schooling, law, church and administration. The poet and Munster settler, **Edmund Spenser**, wrote in 1596: **'nothing doth sooner cause any civility in any country than many market towns'**.

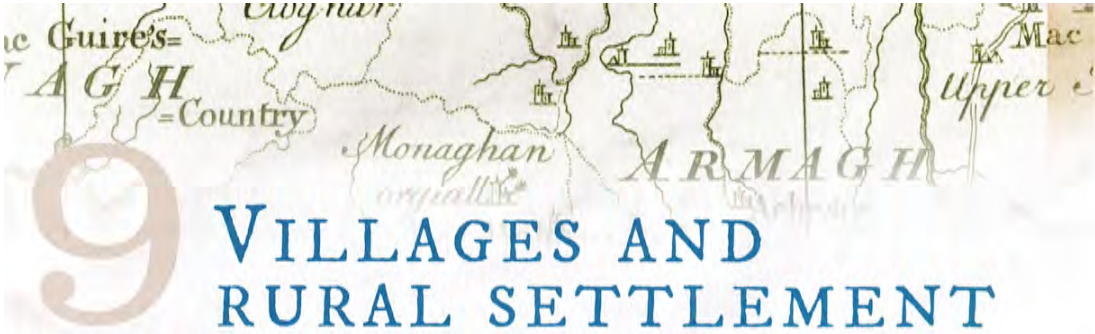
At the apex of the hierarchy of settlement, at least in terms of status and legal privileges, though not necessarily in size, was the corporate town. In November 1610 the town of **Cavan** was incorporated, while between 27 November 1612 and 29 April 1613 thirteen further places in the six planted counties – **Dungannon, Strabane, Augher** (County Tyrone); **Limavady, Coleraine, Londonderry** (County Londonderry); **Belturbet** (County Cavan); **Armagh, Charlemont** (County Armagh); **Enniskillen** (County Fermanagh); **Ballyshannon, Donegal, Lifford** (County Donegal) – received charters of incorporation. With the exception of Cavan and Strabane, all of these places were essentially English-founded settlements. Others were to follow and corporate towns were also established in the other three counties in Ulster in the early 1600s.

The most important town in the planted counties was Derry (renamed Londonderry in 1613). It had of course an important pre-Plantation history, but from 1610 its development was the responsibility of the Irish Society. Its walls, perhaps the most iconic symbol of the Plantation, were built between 1613 and 1618 under the supervision of London-born **Peter Benson** who would also acquire undertaker land in County Donegal. By 1616 the Irish Society had built some 215 houses within these walls, and, initially at any rate, the town was predominantly English in character. Second to Derry in terms of population was Coleraine, also the responsibility of the Irish Society, which possessed 116 houses in 1616.

Other corporate towns rarely exceeded some 30–40 houses. The son of **Bishop William Bedell** of Kilmore wrote that Belturbet in Cavan was **'the only considerable town in the whole county ... yet was but as one of our ordinary market-towns here in England, having only but one church in it'**. Public buildings within towns included churches, schools, market houses and gaols. By 1622 Dungannon possessed a battlemented gaol with walls 4 feet thick. There was also a **'session house built of timber of strong cagework ... under which is a large market house'**.

*S^t Thomas Phillips Bldinge at Newtowne
A mile from Limavady*





9

VILLAGES AND RURAL SETTLEMENT

The settlement pattern envisaged by the devisers of the plantation scheme was essentially one of an English model of settlement. The settlers were to live in villages, fields were to be enclosed and English agricultural practices were to be used. The regulations drawn up in 1610 specified that on each manor the tenants' houses were to be built adjacent to the fortification on the estate, **'as well for their mutual defence and strength, as for the making of villages and townships'**.

Most of the estate villages that emerged were places of little consequence. In 1616 **George Canning**, the agent of the Ironmongers' Company, observed that even a collection of six houses was considered **'a great towne in this Country'**. On the other hand, some estate villages were places of significance, occasionally larger than many of the corporate towns.

Among the most important was Lurgan in County Armagh, founded by the **Brownlows**, and here we have an idea of the range of occupations found in it. In 1622 it consisted of forty-seven houses and its inhabitants comprised a mason, a butcher, a carpenter, a tanner, a smith, a weaver, and a tailor. There were two coopers, four joiners, three turners, and two shoemakers. The Englishness of some of these settlements is captured in the description of Tandragee in 1622 as **'well built of the English fashion'**.

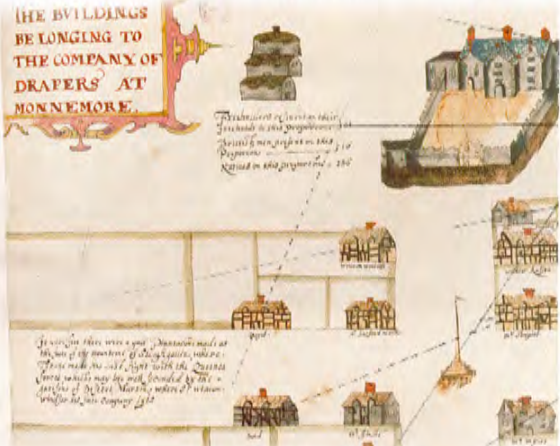
The London companies were responsible for the development of a number of villages on their estates. Moneymore, established by the Drapers, was described by Pynnar in 1618–19 in the following terms:

'... Right before the Castle, there are built 12 Houses, whereof six are of Lime and Stone, very good, and six of Timber, inhabited with English Families; and this the best work that I have seen for building ... A quarter of a Mile from the Town there is made a Conduit Head, which bringeth Water to all Places in the Bawn and Town, in Pipes.'

We also have the maps prepared by Thomas Raven of the estates of the London companies in 1622 which include depictions of the villages that provide an insight into their layout and the housing types found therein.

For the most part, however, the rural settlement pattern was dispersed, and most estates did not have a nucleated settlement. It was said of County Cavan that it was **'meetly well planted with English, but scatteringly here and there which facilitated their ruin.'** On the Castlehaven estate in Omagh barony, Pynnar found that the tenants **'do dwell dispersedly upon their land'**, having been forced to do so upon forfeiture of their leases.

Below: Thomas Raven's map of Moneymore, 1622



Left: Corporate Seal and Thomas Raven's map of Newtown Limvady, 1622

10

INDUSTRY, TRADE AND COMMERCE

The Plantation resulted in many economic changes and in particular saw the rise of a market economy across much of Ulster. On the eve of the Plantation a government-recognised network of fairs and markets did not exist in the province. However, routinely included in the grants of land issued to the new landowners under the Plantation scheme were patents for markets and fairs. The plantation thus introduced a system that facilitated the exchange or sale of commodities in a competitive environment. At the same time the fair, if not the market which was held after very short intervals, provided scope for peripheral activities, entertainment and the like.

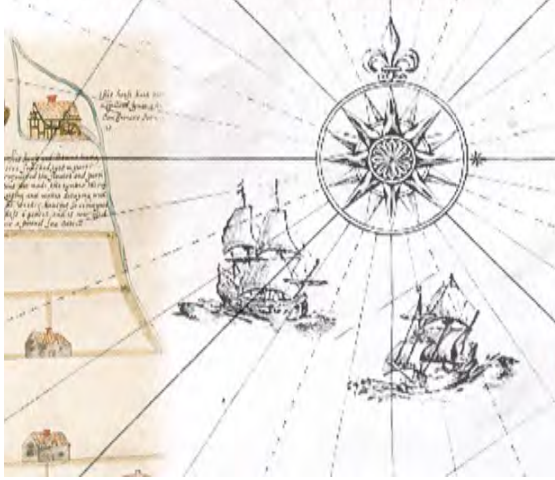
An established merchant community emerged in a number of the larger towns. These merchants tended not to specialise, but rather dealt in a broad range of commodities. A little is known of some of these individuals. For instance, **Jesse Smith**, one of the leading merchants in Derry, was probably made a freeman of Chester in 1585; he was a pre-Plantation settler in Derry and went on to become a member of the corporation in 1613 and mayor in 1620.

The surviving Ulster port books of 1612–15, covering Derry, Coleraine, Carrickfergus and the Lecale ports in County Down, provide a fascinating picture of material culture in Ulster during the early stages of the Plantation. For example, in November 1614 the ship *Margaret* of Barnstaple in Devon unloaded the following goods at Derry:

'... Spanish iron, English iron, French vinegar, Madeira sugar, white powder sugar, soap, French salt, cotton, tin spoons, pepper, cinnamon, currants, prunes, chopping hooks, shovels, hatchets, saws, earthen pots, Newland [i.e. Newfoundland] fish, etc. ...'

The Plantation saw the establishment of a number of small-scale industrial enterprises. Mills, for example, were established on many estates. Most of these were water-powered, but there are examples of windmills being constructed. The mills were mainly corn mills, though tuck mills (for 'fulling' woollen cloth) were also established. The contract between the Drapers' Company and **Elijah Heatley** for building a mill at Moneymore survives and provides an insight into technological developments at the time.

Other industrial sites included charcoal-burning ironworks which were set up at a number of locations in Ulster in the early 1600s, including at **Lissan** on the Londonderry-Tyrone border, which was established by the Staples family, **Tullyhaw** in Cavan, established by the Cootes, and **Clonelly** in Fermanagh, established by the Blennerhassetts. A glassworks was established by the Salters' Company near **Lough Neagh**, though this was 'gone to decay, and utterly undone' by 1619.



DEPTHS NE MEN PR...
 • whereof armen —————> 50
 Natives on this proportion —————> 132

11

THE ENGLISH AND THE IRISH

A full consideration of the effects of the Plantation on the Irish population is hampered by the paucity of relevant sources and so no precise and therefore entirely satisfactory answer can be given to the question of the response of the Irish to the changes of the early 1600s. Under the rules of the Plantation the undertakers were forbidden to lease land to Irish tenants. As with so much else about the Plantation, the theory was very different from the practice. In general terms no systematic and thorough government-conducted driving off of all of the native population from the undertakers' lands was carried out.

In reality, as is consistently revealed by the official surveys of the Plantation, the Irish remained in some numbers on nearly every estate. Rare indeed was the comment made of **Sir William Cole's** lands in **Magheraboy**, County Fermanagh, in 1622: 'And we cannot learn of any one Irish upon the land for grazing or otherwise, for the landlord conditions strictly with the tenants not to let to Irish.' On the other hand, Pynnar found on the Ironmongers' estate 'an infinite Number of Irish upon the Land, which give such great Rents that the English cannot get any Land'.

In the English-granted precinct of **Lifford** the little that does emerge on the Irish in these years is that many of the tenancies held by the native population were in reality sub-tenancies, indicating that many Irish landholders had undergone a marked descent in status to sub-tenants. The majority of the Irish population remains as hidden as most of their sixteenth-century predecessors, for whom there is little clear impression of either their numbers or their social structure, especially the proportions of labourers and artisans.

Undoubtedly there was considerable Irish resentment against the settlers and anger at the consequent dislocation to their way of life. One Gaelic poet described the newcomers as 'a conceited and impure swarm'. For some, the spread of Protestantism as a result of the Plantation was a major concern. In 1636 the Catholic **bishop of Raphoe** wrote to Rome 'not without deep sadness of heart' at 'how thick [were] the weeds which the persistent heresy daily sows' through the influx of Protestant settlers to his diocese.

Nonetheless it is also clear that there was a certain amount of cooperation between native and newcomer. The reality was that the newcomers frequently relied on the Irish for assistance in establishing themselves in Ulster. Other Irishmen were involved in estate management. For instance, the agent on **James Hatton's** Fermanagh estate was an Irishman named **Patrick O'Brien**, whom Hatton described in his will of 1637 as one 'who hath spent his youth with me and done me faithful service'. There was also a degree of intermarriage which affected all levels of society. For example, **William Brownlow** of Lurgan married one of the O'Dohertys of Inishowen.



Right: English and Irish dwellings – a detail from Thomas Raven's map 'The Buildings of the Company of Ironmongers', 1622

12

THE ENGLISH
AND THE CHURCH

Though neither coincided exactly with the other, the implementation of the Plantation scheme facilitated the extension of the Reformation in Ulster. A parochial ministry was introduced and lands were set aside in each parish for the support of these clergymen. The existing medieval network of parishes continued more or less intact. A more effective, if more expensive, church would have been created had each estate been made a parish, as had formed part of the original plantation plan.

A number of the English landlords built a Protestant church as part of the development of an urban settlement. For instance, the 1622 visitation recorded a 'church new built, part by the **Lord Grandison**

who also hath given a bell, chalice & pulpit to the same, the parishioners & recusants' fines

have built the rest'. Other English landowners who built churches included **Sir William Cole** at Enniskillen and **Sir Arthur Chichester** at Dungannon; **Sir Richard Hansard** bequeathed money to build a church in Lifford.

In his 1610 pamphlet promoting the Plantation **Thomas Blennerhasset** wrote 'Art thou a minister of God's word? Make speed, the harvest is great, but the laborers be fewe'.

Undoubtedly some clergymen shared such views and so were drawn to seek appointments in the province. However, their lack of understanding of the Irish language was a major barrier to ministering to the Irish and they tended to restrict their work to the settler population.

The background of many of the English clergy in Ulster is known. In Derry diocese there was a strong Yorkshire connection in the 1630s thanks to the presence as bishop of **John Bramhall**, a native of Pontefract. Three successive deans of Derry were also Yorkshiremen.

A number of clergymen acquired landholdings of their own. **Rev. Edward Hatton**, possibly of Cheshire background, had been a clergyman in Suffolk, where his patron had been **George Montgomery**, dean of Norwich and subsequently bishop of Clogher. Hatton followed Montgomery to Clogher diocese and combined his clerical duties with the acquisition of property. In 1614 acquired an estate in County Fermanagh and in 1618–19 Pynnar described him as 'a Minister, and a good Teacher of the Word of God'. By the time of his death in 1632 he had also propertied interests in County Monaghan and the city of Armagh.

In the case of **Rev. James Matchett** we find the opposite occurring. Matchett, who was from Tremingham in Norfolk, had been one of the original undertakers in Oneilland in Armagh. However, possibly because of a lack to resources to fulfil the conditions of Plantation, he disposed on his lands at an early stage and became a beneficed clergyman in the archdiocese of Armagh.

Left: Effigy of an earlier Sir Thomas Blennerhasset, Church of St Andrew the Apostle, Frenze, Norfolk



13 ENGLISH IN ANTRIM, DOWN AND MONAGHAN

Though not part of the formal Plantation scheme that affected the escheated counties, Antrim and Down witnessed the arrival in some numbers of settlers from England. A number of the army officers who had been involved in the Nine Years' War remained in Ulster and acquired estates of their own.

The most successful of these was the lord deputy, **Sir Arthur Chichester**, from Raleigh in Devonshire, who acquired a vast swathe of land in the Carrickfergus and Sixmilewater Valley areas, as well as Belfast. In 1611 it was noted that on his estate there were '**many English families, some Scottes, and dyvers cyvill Irish planted**'. Chichester built fine houses at both Belfast and Carrickfergus, the latter known as Joymount. His high-quality monument can still be seen in St Nicholas' Church in Carrickfergus.

One of Chichester's chief lieutenants was **Moses Hill**. Like Chichester, he was from Devonshire, and in the early 1600s he built a small tower house at Whitehead at the entrance to Belfast Lough which he named Castle Chichester. Hill would also acquire other lands and built fortified houses at Malone and Stranmillis in south Belfast and at Hillhall between Belfast and Lisburn. In 1635 **Sir William Brereton** visited Ireland and noted that on the Hill estate '**many Lanckashire and Cheshire men are here planted**'.

Around what is now the town of Antrim the representative of another Devonshire family, **Sir Hugh Clotworthy**, also a close ally of Chichester's, acquired a large estate. In south Antrim **Fulke Conway**, from Warwickshire, acquired a large estate and founded the modern town of Lisburn. In County Down, the **Hills** extended their landholdings into the Hillsborough area, while the **Cromwells**, descendants of Henry VIII's chief minister, built up a large estate around Downpatrick and Dundrum. In mid and south Down, which remained largely in Irish ownership in the early 1600s, a number of estates were acquired by Englishmen such as that at Loughbrickland by **Marmaduke Whitechurch** from Staffordshire.

Monaghan was another county not part of the official Plantation scheme, but here too small pockets of settlement had emerged by the 1630s at a number of locations. In 1609 Devon-born **Sir Thomas Ridgeway**, later to receive an estate in County Tyrone under the official scheme of Plantation, was granted lands in Glaslough. In 1610 it was recommended that 'trustworthy' Englishmen should be planted around Clones. In the grants made to **Edward Blayney** of lands in the Castleblayney area he was required to plant at least six tenants who had been born in England or who had English parents.



Above: 'The Massereene Wolfhound', c. 1612, on display at Clotworthy Arts Centre in Antrim



Above: Ragley Hall, Warwickshire – the estate of the Conways
Left: Sir Moses Hill

14 THE WELSH IN EARLY 17TH-CENTURY ULSTER

The story of the Welsh in the Plantation of Ulster has generally been overlooked or conflated with that of the English. In part this is because the contemporary documentation often categorises Welshmen as English. However, individual Welshmen did contribute to the shaping of Ulster in this period, while in some areas small colonies of Welsh settlers emerged.

Originally an officer in the Elizabethan army in Ireland, **Sir John Vaughan**, born in Wales, was one of the leading figures in the early development of Derry and Londonderry. In 1610 he and his brother **Henry** received land grants as servitors in the barony of Kilmacrenan in County Donegal. Sir John supervised the construction of St Columba's Cathedral in Derry (1628–33).

In 1613 **Robert Davies**, an Oxford graduate, of Gwysaney, near Mold in north Wales, purchased one of the undertaker estates in the precinct of Lifford. His presence in Donegal can have been no more than intermittent and by 1619 he was represented by his brother Thomas. The muster roll of c. 1630 reveals many Welshmen on his estate and their legacy is reflected in the place-name Welshtown.

In County Monaghan the dominant figure of settler background in the early seventeenth century was **Edward Blayney**. The son of a Welsh gentleman, and from a family claiming descent from Cadwallader, a seventh-century Welsh king, Blayney had seen military service in Spain and the Low Countries before coming to Ireland. He was appointed governor of the county in 1604 and two years later he received a lease of the castle, town and lands of Monaghan. Soon Blayney extended his territories through the acquisition of lands that were to form the basis of his Castleblayney estate.

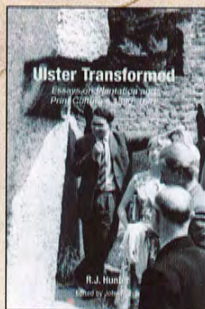
In County Down Newry had a strong Welsh element to its population at the beginning of the 1600s, thanks to the Bagenals' connections with north Wales. A figure of some importance in this area in the early 1600s was **Captain Edward Trevor**, who was from Brynkinalt in north Wales. Through a series of land acquisitions he built up a substantial, though rather scattered, landholding in the south and west of County Down. Rostrevor (or Rose-Trevor) was named after his second wife. Trevor maintained his Welsh links and in 1612 built a mansion on his Brynkinalt estate which forms the core of the present house there.

Originally from Broughton in Flintshire, **Sir Ralph Bingley** was a professional soldier who first appears in Ireland in 1598. Prior to this, in 1595–6 he had taken part in an expedition to Panama and Puerto Rico under Drake and Hawkins. During the Nine Years' War, he played a leading role in Sir Henry Docwra's Lough Foyle campaign which began in May 1600. He built up a significant landed portfolio, and in 1610 received a grant of servitor land in Kilmacrenan barony. He subsequently acquired undertaker lands in the precinct of Lifford. Bingley was killed in October 1627 during an expedition led by the Duke of Buckingham at Ile de Ré, off La Rochelle, in support of a Huguenot rebellion.

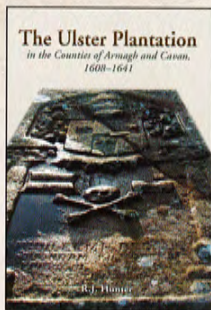


Above: Brynkinalt Hall, estate of the Trevors

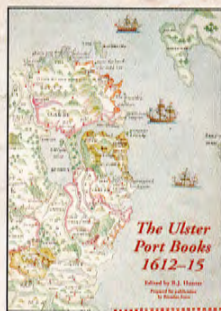
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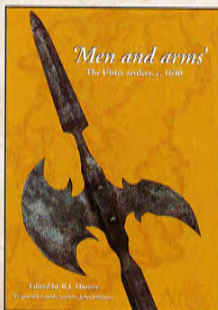
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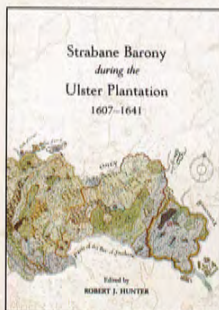
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R.J. HUNTER & PLANTATION STUDIES

Robert John (Bob) Hunter was born in rural Meath in 1938 and was educated at Wesley College and Trinity College, Dublin. After graduation in 1960, he began research on the Ulster Plantation in the counties of Armagh and Cavan, 1608–41. This interest in the Plantation, and early modern Irish history generally, was to dominate his life.

In 1963 he was appointed Assistant Lecturer in History at Magee College, thus beginning an association with the city of Derry/Londonderry that was to continue for the rest of his life. The creation of what was to become the University of Ulster also saw him teaching regularly at Coleraine.



Robert John (Bob) Hunter, 1938–2007

Through meticulous research he developed an encyclopaedic knowledge of his subject, traversing such themes as the development of towns, the role of the English planters, the history of trade and migration, and the intellectual and cultural life of Ulster more generally.

Through his untimely death in 2007 was to cut short his ambitions for further writing, he was nevertheless to leave behind numerous articles, essays, reviews, etc. which were the result of painstaking study conducted with a careful eye for detail and relevance.

Drawing on R.J. Hunter's writings, this publication, *The Plantation of Ulster: the story of the English*, looks at a number of aspects of English settlement in early seventeenth-century Ulster.

The R.J. Hunter Committee works 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.



Great Milton, Oxfordshire, childhood home of the Ulster planter Sir Toby Caulfeild, subject of one of R.J. Hunter's contributions to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
(Photo courtesy Colm Donnelly)

DISCOVER THE CONNECTIONS EXPLORE THE HISTORY VISIT THE SITES

The Ulster Plantation of the early seventeenth century is widely accepted as a period of critical importance in the shaping of modern Ulster and one of the most significant projects of colonisation in the early modern world.

This map is a companion to *The Plantation of Ulster: the story of the Scots* and considers the involvement of the English in the Plantation. It comprises a pocket history of the English engagement in Plantation Ulster with a map of key sites and places to visit to discover at first hand the legacy of English planters.

It focuses on a number of R.J. Hunter's key research interests – the English undertakers and servitors, the establishment of corporate towns, and trade and commerce, as well as other aspects of English settlement in Ulster in the early 1600s.



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