

Scots-Irish Workshop Part 2

Plantation and Settlement of 17th Century Ulster - 1

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DESIRED OUTCOMES FOR THIS SESSION

At the conclusion of this session, participants should have an understanding of the following:

- A. The history of the confiscation and resettlement of Irish land
- B. The London companies
- C. The Scottish connection
- D. Governance and protection
- E. Effects of migration and emigration
- F. Adventurers and Discoverers
- G. The record sources available for this time period

CONFISCATION AND RESETTLEMENT

The Ulster Plantation scheme had its parallel in the settlement of the United States and it is easy to see the propagation of the idea on how 'Westward Expansion' took form in the same manner that the Scots-Irish had experienced overseas. In Ulster, land was confiscated from the Catholics who were living on the land, relocating them to other parts of Ireland, principally the Province of Connacht. By law, only one-quarter of the residents in Ulster after the implementation of the settlement scheme were to be Catholics. However, greed for high rents led to the widespread disregard for the laws of settlement.

Those who settled in Ulster from this point were supposed to be *Protestant* and speak *English*. When James I became King of England, he united both Scotland and England and in the process gained possession of Ireland since it was considered an English possession. This opened the settlement of Ulster as a joint venture between the English and Scottish and involved the counties of Armagh, Cavan, Londonderry (originally named Coleraine), Donegal, Fermanagh, and Tyrone. The new settlers were drawn from two major groups:

Undertakers – Principal Landowners

These were to be wealthy estate owners (also known as chief planters) in England and Scotland that would resettle tenants from their existing estates to Ulster.

Servitors – Veterans of the War in Ireland

Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy, was successful in his bid to have officers who had served in the war receive land grants underwritten by the London Companies – the trade guilds in the City of London.

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As a result of the confiscation, the Church of Ireland was granted all of the lands and buildings previously held by the Catholic Church. This formed a sizeable financial resource for the State Church and generated a sustainable income.

The land was surveyed by Sir Josias Bodey who in addition to mapping the proposed estates also valued its acreage and laid out the lands that were to be considered spiritual lands and thus assigned to the Church of Ireland. This amounted to sixteen-percent of the land within the mapped area. Of the twenty-eight baronies that were mapped, eight each were allotted to English and Scottish undertakers and twelve to the servitors and native Irish landlords who had been allowed to remain on roughly twenty-percent of the land due to their support of the Crown during the Nine Years War.

Grants to the Undertakers were made in 3,000 acre increments with the stipulation that they would supply at least forty-eight adult males, twenty of which had to have families. The population by the early 1630's showed 20,000 adult males of British origin and demographers estimate that associated family members would have brought the total population of Ulster to a figure as high as 80,000.

Pynnar's Survey of 1619 was commissioned to respond to negative reports that the settlements were not progressing as they were intended. Indeed, the investigations found that the fortifications, roads and other infrastructure were lagging behind the intended design.

At the same time, two adventurers, James Hamilton and Hugh Montgomery were unofficially settling the northern portion of County Down in the same manner and Sir Randall MacDonnell was following suit in the southern portion of County Antrim.

Actions by the English government in other parts of Ireland also affected Ulster. There was an intense effort to Anglicize Ireland with a succession of penal laws, originally intended as a punitive measure on Catholics, but the laws were written in such a way that they had a similar effect on the Scottish Presbyterian population as well.

The Catholic population of Ulster and many of the bordering counties spent the remainder of the 17th century struggling to overturn the Cromwellian Act of Settlement.

The following table illustrates the population growth in the seventeenth-century in a typical Ulster settlement:

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POPULATION TRENDS IN O'NEILLAND BARONY, 1619-96

YEAR	SURVEY	BRITISH	IRISH	TOTAL IN RECORD	TOTAL POPULATION
1619	Pynnar's Survey (a)	393	[161]	554	1741
1622	Plantation Commission (b)	400	161	561	1763
1630	Muster Roll (c)	420	–	–	1320*
1659	Pender's Census (d)	1269	1366	2635	2635
1664	Hearth Money Roll (e)	2232	1363	3594	3594
1696	Poll money returns (f)	–	–	13453	13453

*British Population Only

Source: Gillespie, R. G. *Settlement and Survival on an Ulster Estate*. Belfast: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 1988, p. xvi.

In the above table, 'the figures for 1619, 1622, and 1630 represent males, and have been adjusted as described in R. Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster* (Cork, 1985), pp 55-6. Those for 1664 have been adjusted as described in D. Dickson, C. O Grada, S. Saultry, 'Hearth Tax, Household size and Irish population change, 1672-1821', in *Proc. R.I.A.*, LXXXII, C (1982), p. 153. Those of 1696 have been estimated from the sums paid in the poll money return using 12d. per head as specified in the Poll Money Act. This is probably an overestimate because of the sliding scale of poll money payable but it is not improbably in the context of county population estimates based on hearth money data.'

Sources of data for the above table are:

- (a) George Hill, *The Plantation of Ulster* (Belfast, 1877), pp 555-64
- (b) B.L., Add. Ms. 4756, f. 180
- (c) B.L., Add. Ms. 4770
- (d) S. Pender (ed.), *A Census of Ireland*, c. 1659 (Dublin, 1939), pp 35-9
- (e) P.R.O.N.I., T. 604
- (f) *Commons Journals, Ire.*, ii, pt II (1796), p. xxxv.

LONDON COMPANIES

Ten percent of the applications for grants of land in Northern Ireland were awarded to the London Companies for the settlement of Londonderry, known to local residents as Derry, but renamed due to the now close association of the guilds of the City of London. The twelve London Guilds with interest in Londonderry were:

Salters	Drapers	Goldsmiths
Grocers	Fishmongers	Haberdashers
Clothworkers	Tailors	Ironmongers
Mercers	Vintners	Skinners

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SCOTTISH CONNECTION

Scottish undertakers were selected through an application process and there were a number who were immediately interested and in 1609, the first to be awarded lands were:

NAME	SCOTTISH COUNTY WITH WHICH ASSOCIATED	PRECINCT ASSIGNED	ULSTER COUNTY
Michael Balfour, Lord Burley	Kinross	Knockninny	Fermanagh
Sir James Douglas of Spott	Haddington	Fews	Armagh
Sir Alexander Hamilton of Inerwick	Haddington	Tullyhunco	Cavan
James Hamilton Earl of Abercorn	Renfrew	Strabane	Tyrone
Sir John Home of North Berwick	Haddington	Magheraboy	Fermanagh
Sir Robert McClelland of Bomby	Kirkcudbright	Boylagh and Banagh	Donegal
Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree	Ayr	Mountjoy	Tyrone
Esmé Stewart, Lord Aubigny	Stirling	Clankee	Cavan
Ludovic Stewart, Duke of Lennox	Stirling	Portlough	Donegal

Source: Perceval-Maxwell, M. *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973, 97.

The lands granted to the Scottish undertakers were marked off in lots of 1,000 acres and were predominantly awarded to chief planters from the Lowlands of Scotland. These lands were lower quality than those awarded to the English undertakers and the annual rent amounted to about £150 per acre versus £200 for the English.

By 1622, the Scottish settlements were distinctive from the English and Irish communities and the patterns of religious worship, culture and traditions were all present – the same attributes that would later be taken to America.

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GOVERNANCE AND PROTECTION

To attract settlers to the area of the newly confiscated lands, the government promised protection from the native tenants and an element that became known as 'woodcairns' - a group who having been displaced from their lands, determined to attack the new settlers whenever and wherever possible. When caught, they were hung resulting in the death of many hundreds of the former tenants.

Although the servitors were not to rent lands to the native Irish, the fact that they were willing to pay high rents led many to ignore this policy.

EFFECTS OF MIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

Impact on the Catholic Population of Ulster and Connacht - by 1610, many of the Irish who now found themselves landless were instructed to take residency on the servitor or church estates. However, the settling of these estates was moving slower than anticipated, so many were allowed to remain on their original lands.

During the confiscation, many of the Catholics were instructed to remove themselves to the west of the Shannon River into the Province of Connacht. The sentiments were strongly reflected in the saying, 'To Hell or Connacht.'

Tenants on the estates of the undertakers in England and Scotland were relocated to the Ulster Plantations, thus a record of that tenant may be found in both the estate records of the owner in both Ulster and England or Scotland. For many in Scotland, the lure of both land and a perceived lessening of religious persecution pulled them to the new settlements. Once there however, many were disappointed with the results and many of the descendants would live to incur the effects of the enactment of the Penal Laws - effectively pushing them out of Ulster and on to America.

ADVENTURERS AND DISCOVERERS

Adventurers were those who advanced money for the 1642 Adventurer's Act (17 Chas. I, c. 34). In return, they were awarded confiscated lands.

Discoverers emerged as a result of an amendment to the 'popery act' (8 Anne c. 3, 1709). Their role during this period was to uncover the lands of Catholics who could be shown to have circumvented the penal laws to secure legal title. It is known that in some instances, friendly Protestants would 'Discover' the land, file for title and then lease it to their Catholic friend for a token amount. In this way, the lands were protected from those Discoverers with harsher intents.

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A good example of a Discoverer's Land Deed is found in: Roulston, William J. *Researching Scots-Irish Ancestors* Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2005, pp. 79-80.

Volume 107, page 297, memorial number 73998

A memorial of an assignment bearing date the 27th day of April 1742 between Rowland Kane of Desertmartin, in the County of Londonderry, gent., and Hugh Montgomery of Derrygonnelly, in the County of Fermanagh, esq.; reciting that the said Rowland Kane hath exhibited his bill in his Majesty's County of Exchequer in Ireland on or about the 16th day of February last past against Hugh O'Donnell of Mullaghbane in the County of Fermanagh aforesaid, Esq. and John Cole of Florence Court within said County, Esq., as a Protestant Discoverer to be decreed to the benefit of a lease or term of years of the town and lands commonly called & known by the names of Aghagilgulman [there follows a long list of the place names] situated in the barony of Glenawley & County of Fermanagh aforesaid made by the said John Cole to the aid Hugh O'Donnell who is disabled to take such lease term or int. by the laws and statutes in force in this kingdom. [Kane then assigned the lands in question to Montgomery for the sum of 5 shillings.]

RECORD SOURCES

London Companies - the records of the London Companies are held at the Guildhall Library, London. However, very few of the records date to the period of the settlements in Northern Ireland and therefore fail to record the names of the tenants during this time period.

Plantation Records - the best source of information with a detailed listing of the available records and what has previously been published is printed in William J. Roulston's *Researching Scots-Irish Ancestors*, pp. 47-8 (section 4.2). Details of the survey's made in 1611, 1613, 1618-9, and 1621 are all included. Armed with this information, a detailed table of the population may be reconstructed following the pattern of the table for the O'Neilland Barony illustrated previously.

Estate Records - many are available in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, the National Library of Ireland and the Scottish Record Office. In some instances, they are still in private hands and appointments to have a record agent examine them or a personal visit are required.

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CONCLUSION

- There is still much to be identified in record sources in original records.
- Gather fragmentary evidence and isolate the information to specific individuals.
- Estimate the population for the area in question.
- Search the available records with reasonably exhaustive research.
- Record your searches, document the sources, and summarize your hypotheses and conclusions.

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