

CAMBRIDGE IMPERIAL & POST-COLONIAL STUDIES SERIES

THE 'MERE IRISH'  
AND THE COLONISATION  
OF ULSTER, 1570-1641

GERARD FARRELL



# Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series

Series Editors  
Richard Drayton  
Department of History  
King's College London  
London, UK

Saul Dubow  
Magdalene College  
University of Cambridge  
Cambridge, UK

The Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies series is a collection of studies on empires in world history and on the societies and cultures which emerged from colonialism. It includes both transnational, comparative and connective studies, and studies which address where particular regions or nations participate in global phenomena. While in the past the series focused on the British Empire and Commonwealth, in its current incarnation there is no imperial system, period of human history or part of the world which lies outside of its compass. While we particularly welcome the first monographs of young researchers, we also seek major studies by more senior scholars, and welcome collections of essays with a strong thematic focus. The series includes work on politics, economics, culture, literature, science, art, medicine, and war. Our aim is to collect the most exciting new scholarship on world history with an imperial theme.

More information about this series at  
<http://www.springer.com/series/13937>

Gerard Farrell

# The ‘Mere Irish’ and the Colonisation of Ulster, 1570–1641

palgrave  
macmillan

Gerard Farrell  
Department of History  
Trinity College Dublin  
Dublin, Ireland

Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series  
ISBN 978-3-319-59362-3      ISBN 978-3-319-59363-0 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-59363-0

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017944181

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2017

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover credit: John Derrick, *The image of Ireland: with a discouerie of woodkarne*, (Edinburgh: A. C. Black, 1883), plate 12. Courtesy of The board of Trinity College Dublin

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature  
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG  
The registered company address is: Gwerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

*Bheith fa neart an té is treise is é ceart na críchese.  
The law of this territory is that it shall be subjugate to him who is strongest.*  
Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn<sup>1</sup>

## NOTE

1. Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn, *The bardic poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn*, 2 vols, ed. and trans. Eleanor Knott (London: Irish Texts Society, 1922–1926), vol. 1, p. 120, vol. 2, p. 80.

*To my parents*

## PREFACE

This book seeks to examine the process of conquest and colonisation in Ulster from the perspective of its indigenous population, acknowledging that this is only one aspect of the story, albeit one that is unduly neglected in existing work on the subject. The reasons for this neglect are often cited as the limitations of the primarily-literary Irish-language sources to which, it has often been assumed, any historian making such a study is limited. While specialists like Marc Caball and Breandán Ó Buachalla have ably used this material to explore Gaelic mentalities, this work will also demonstrate how English primary documents, such as the State Papers and 1641 depositions, can be read against their own rhetorical intentions in order to recover something approaching a native Irish history of the plantation. Given the nature of the sources involved, what transpires is, strictly-speaking, a story of interaction between native and colonist (with the effects on Gaelic society kept firmly in focus), rather than a history of events from a native point of view. I hope, however, to have shown that such a perspective is far from irretrievable, and to encourage other historians to attempt the same.

I would like to acknowledge the support and encouragement of Dr. Micheál Ó Siochrú of Trinity College, Dublin, without whom this work would never have been completed or even attempted. For his patient assistance in explaining the more esoteric details of seventeenth-century landownership, my thanks go to Dave Brown. At Trinity library, special thanks go to Seán Hughes and all of those who worked to acquire the Stuart State Papers subscription for the library. I am also grateful

to Nicholas Canny and Jane Ohlmeyer, who acted as examiners for my doctoral thesis and whose insights and helpful suggestions contributed to the form this book has taken. I wish to thank Tom Murphy, whose thesis on Clandeboye (completed at the University of Limerick in 2011) he was kind enough to place at my disposal and, for stimulating discussion of early-modern American parallels, Prof. Frederick Fausz, of the University of Missouri-St. Louis. I would also like to acknowledge the funding provided by Trinity College Dublin's Non-Foundation scholarship from 2008 to 2015, and the Royal Irish Academy's kind assistance through the R.J. Hunter Postdoctoral Fellowship. I wish to thank my parents, John and Teresa, and sister and brother, Celine and Damien. Finally, I would not have been able to complete this book without the love and support of my wife Elin and the acquiescence of my three daughters, Méabh, Billie and Bronwen.

Dublin, 2017

Gerard Farrell

# CONTENTS

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Ulster as a Colony in the Atlantic World</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Broken by a War, Capable of Good Government</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Cultural Superstructure</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Economic Base</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>The ‘Deserving Irish’</b>	<b>215</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>277</b>
	<b>Glossary</b>	<b>303</b>
	<b>Select Bibliography</b>	<b>307</b>
	<b>Index</b>	<b>323</b>

## ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
BSD	Books of Survey and Distribution
CCM	Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts
CPRI	Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Ireland
CSPF	Calendar of State Papers, Foreign
CSPI	Calendar of State Papers, Ireland
HL	Huntington Library, San Marino, California
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
NAI	National Archives of Ireland, Dublin
SP	The National Archives, London, State Papers
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin

## DATES

All dates have adhered to the convention of dating according to the Old Style (Julian) calendar for the date and month, and the New Style (Gregorian) calendar for the year.

## TRANSCRIPTIONS

Spellings have not been modernised except in the following cases:

v replaces u

u replaces v

i replaces j

## LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1	Ulster: plantation precincts	5
Fig. 2.1	Eastern seaboard of North America in the seventeenth century	30
Fig. 2.2	Map of Ireland, 1520s. Courtesy of the British Library, London (Cotton MS Augustus I.ii.21)	33
Fig. 2.3	Detail of ' <i>Hibernia: Insula non procul ab Anglia vulgare Hirländia vocata</i> '. John Goghe, 1567. Courtesy of The National Archives, London (MPF 1/68)	34
Fig. 2.4	Ulster plantation project: Areas of projected native and colonial settlement	50
Fig. 4.1	<i>Top row, left:</i> an Irish priest wearing a Gaelic <i>fallaing</i> or mantle and <i>triús</i> (anglicised ‘trews’ or ‘trouse’), figure adapted from ‘The taking of the earl of Ormond, anno 1600’ (Trinity College, Dublin MS 1209/13); <i>top row, centre:</i> an ‘Irish lackey’ (from the <i>Travel Album of Hieronymus Tielch</i> , c. 1603) wearing <i>triús</i> , and <i>top right:</i> English gentleman wearing doublet and breeches. Author’s illustrations. <i>Bottom:</i> the <i>fallaing</i> or mantle, as worn by a ‘wilde Irish man’ and woman, reproduced from John Speed, <i>The theatre of the empire of Great Britain</i> (London, 1676). Courtesy of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California (RB 204587)	130
Fig. 4.2	Representation of Phelim O’Neill in the late 1640s in English elite attire, lithographic copy of a contemporaneous print in: John T. Gilbert (ed.), <i>A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652</i> , vol. 2 (Dublin: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1880), 208. Courtesy of The Board of Trinity College, Dublin	131

Fig. 5.1	Reputed origins of Ulster <i>sleachta</i>	160
Fig. 5.2	Three <i>bailte biataigh</i> in Monaghan, 1591	164
Fig. 5.3	The class structure of Gaelic society	169
Fig. 5.4	Strabane and Dungannon, physical geography and main settlements	172
Fig. 5.5	Strabane, Irish tenants, 1610–1630s	177
Fig. 5.6	Plantation proportions in Strabane	178
Fig. 5.7	Findings of 1622 commissioners in Strabane	179
Fig. 5.8	Conditions of tenantry in early years of plantation (1612–1624)	181
Fig. 5.9	Conditions of tenantry in Knockninny, Fermanagh in 1631	183
Fig. 6.1	Dungannon: Irish plantation grantees	226
Fig. 6.2	Dungannon: Irish landowners, 1641	227
Fig. 6.3	Principal <i>sleachta</i> of Dungannon	231
Fig. 6.4	Descendants of Eamonn Oge O'Hagan	232
Fig. 6.5	Descendants of Eustace O'Hagan	233
Fig. 6.6	Tiranny: Irish plantation grantees	239
Fig. 6.7	Tiranny: Irish landowners, 1641	240
Fig. 6.8	Overview: branches of the O'Neills	244
Fig. 6.9	O'Neills of Kinard (Caledon, Dungannon)	245
Fig. 6.10	Descendants of Shane na Mallacht O'Neill	248
Fig. 6.11	Descendants of Donall Donn of the Bann	251

## Introduction

This volume is concerned with the effect which the first decades of colonisation had on the indigenous population of Ulster. It may appear surprising that a work which takes this as its subject matter has the year 1570 offered as its *terminus ante quem*, given that this process, almost invariably referred to by historians as the ‘Plantation of Ulster’, is generally understood as beginning in 1609. This book is premised, however, on an understanding of colonisation broader than merely the official project of plantation formulated by the English crown in these years. This is because the native Irish perspective, a recovery of which will be attempted here, would have given little cognisance to the distinction between ‘official’ and ‘unofficial’ plantation which is often made by historians. The geographic as well as chronological scope of this study will, therefore, be accordingly broadened to encompass the counties of Antrim, Down and Monaghan, despite the fact that these were not included in ‘the plantation’ as it is usually understood.<sup>1</sup> Rather than an event with a definite start-date, the colonisation of Ulster is seen here as a process of gradual and faltering encroachment by the state and the year 1570 a more useful, if necessarily arbitrary, place to start.

There are good reasons for regarding 1570 as marking a decisive changeover on the part of the English state from an earlier, hands-off approach, in which alliances were made with local Gaelic rulers in order to exert some measure of influence, to a new strategy of planting colonies as a means of controlling Ulster more directly. Several important milestones are clustered in proximity to this year. Shane O’Neill, who

had risen to power over the most powerful sept in the province in opposition to the government-backed branch of the O'Neills, died in 1567, ending a significant threat to potential English hegemony over the province. His posthumous attainder 2 years later saw the re-assertion of crown rights to large areas of Ulster. These claims, which the English monarchs had inherited from the earls of Ulster in the fifteenth century, would be used to justify the confiscation of huge swathes of territory in the aftermath of the 1607 Flight of the Earls. The decade beginning in 1570 is also important because it saw the first significant attempts in the early modern period to plant colonists in the area, with Thomas Smith's project in the Ards peninsula and the Earl of Essex's more ambitious undertaking following shortly thereafter. This decade could also be said to mark the beginning of an end to seeking to rule by proxy, although subsequent agreements with both Turlough Luineach and Hugh O'Neill to police the province would suggest that this strategy had not yet run its course.

The decades between this and the plantation proper saw the military onslaught of the Nine Years War (1594–1603), followed by a judicial onslaught on O'Neill and O'Donnell power which, as will be argued in this book, were as much a part of creating the groundwork for colonisation as surveys, inquisitions and other formal preparations. This is not to say that colonisation was universally held as the long-term objective of English policy for Ulster throughout the period. On the contrary, the last decades of Elizabeth's reign were marked by the absence of any consistent policy. These years instead saw the testing of various strategies, each of which failed in turn to bring about the desired-for transformation in the north of Ireland. Financial exigency loomed large in all calculations. Acknowledging that the observation is made with the benefit of hindsight, it remains the fact that throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century a Gaelic society in Ulster, which had hitherto been largely independent of the English government's influence, was progressively weakened to the point where it ceased to function as a self-sustaining entity. Due to its importance for the native Irish, the events of this period will be examined in greater detail in Chap. 3. This book, however, takes a broadly thematic rather than a narrative approach to the plantation. A brief outline of the project and its immediate circumstances may, therefore, be useful in order to place this thematic discussion within a narrative context.

While the devastation resulting from the Nine Years War played a role in creating the conditions in which large-scale plantation could be considered a viable strategy for Ulster, the relatively favourable position which Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, negotiated for himself at its end in 1603 would have made this eventuality appear far from likely to contemporary observers. Indeed, the pardon and renewed title to his lands which O'Neill had secured from Lord Deputy Mountjoy caused widespread resentment among military men, known as 'servitors', who had fought in the expectation of being rewarded at O'Neill's expense. This faction came to wield greater power and influence when their champion, Arthur Chichester, was appointed lord deputy in 1605. Chichester hoped to see the creation of a provincial presidency for Ulster and his appointment to the post, a contingency dreaded by O'Neill, who sought to carve out for himself in the new dispensation an autonomous jurisdiction. Chichester was ably assisted in his campaign against this by John Davies, solicitor-general from 1603 and responsible for designing the judicial architecture in which O'Neill would be contained.

O'Neill was finally defeated less by military might than the extension of English civil administration into an area over which he had hitherto enjoyed virtual sovereignty. Strongholds captured in the war were permanently garrisoned, county sheriffs and justices of the peace appointed, and courts of assizes held. At the same time, the newly appointed Protestant bishop of the area, George Montgomery, assaulted the integrity of O'Neill's territorial rights, seeking the wholesale resumption of ecclesiastical property. These authorities' fostering of a dispute between O'Neill and one of his traditional followers, Donall O'Cahan, resulted in legal proceedings between the two, for the resolution of which O'Neill was summoned to London in the summer of 1607. His position was undermined, however, by the activities of some of his fellow Gaelic rulers in the province, whose fortunes after the war had taken an even more unpropitious turn.

Rory O'Donnell, while awarded the title of Earl of Tyrconnell by the crown, had seen his material circumstances decline considerably, as the state allowed his rival and cousin, Niall Garbh, to carve out his own sphere of influence in eastern Donegal, and defended the rights of smaller landholders whom O'Donnell had attempted to dispossess to augment his income. Assisted by Cú Chonnacht, one of the Fermanagh Maguires who had likewise felt himself unfairly treated, O'Donnell made

arrangements to flee the country. When Maguire returned from abroad in September of that year with transport arranged for this purpose, O'Neill, who had advised O'Donnell to seek permission for his departure, was faced with the prospect of being left behind and suspected of complicity in their escape. Already suspected of involvement in a plot with the Catholic Old English, it became clear to him that his chances of obtaining redress of his grievances in London were becoming slimmer by the day and that, in fact, he ran the risk of being arrested there.<sup>2</sup> O'Neill was left with little choice but to flee the country along with O'Donnell, Maguire and many of their followers, an event that has come to be known as 'The Flight of the Earls'.<sup>3</sup>

The fate of these exiles has received more attention from historians than those who, left behind, attempted to accommodate themselves to English rule over the province. This book represents, in part, an attempt to rectify this imbalance. In the immediate aftermath of the flight, three of the most powerful Gaelic rulers—Donall O'Cahan, Niall Garbh O'Donnell and Cahir O'Doherty—while seemingly well-poised to benefit from these events, suddenly fell out of favour with the authorities. The predicament of these individuals is crucial to an understanding of relations between the English authorities and the Gaelic elite and, classed together under the designation 'undeserving Irish', they will be examined in greater detail in Chap. 6. Indeed it was O'Doherty's armed revolt against the governor of Derry in April 1608 which, once it had been suppressed and its leader killed, gave more ambitious form to colonisation projects already being mooted for the province.<sup>4</sup>

The project which emerged in the winter of 1608–1609 involved the confiscation of six entire counties by the crown (Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh and Tyrone) and the distribution of lands to different categories of settlers (see Fig. 1.1). About a hundred English and Scottish 'undertakers' were granted (in portions of 2000, 1500 and 1000 acres) 25–30% of the land, on condition that they build English-style housing, import settlers from across the water, and expel the native population. About fifty military servitors were given approximately 20% and were encouraged (but not obliged) to remove the Irish. Between 20 and 25% of the land was divided up in smaller allotments, among almost 300 native Irish figures, deemed deserving, either because they had assisted the government in the recent wars or were regarded as too influential among their compatriots to be ignored. An entire county, created from the county of Coleraine (which had in turn been carved out of the

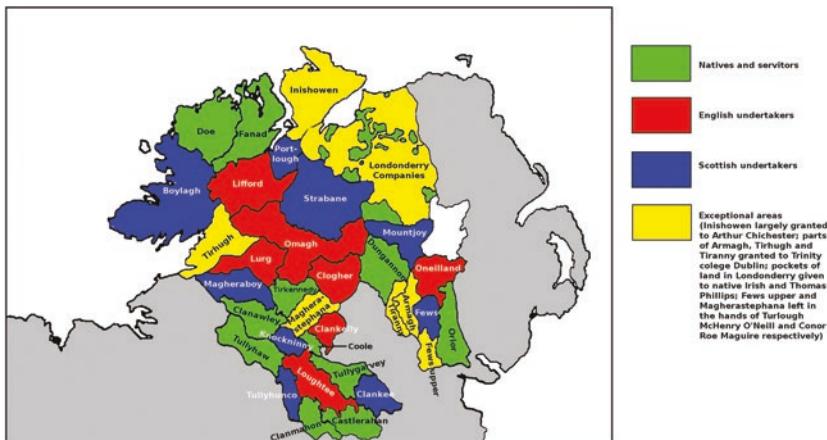


Fig. 1.1 Ulster: plantation precincts

territory of the O’Cahan sept), was awarded to the London livery companies and renamed ‘Londonderry’, with instructions to create urban settlements and promote trade and commerce.<sup>5</sup> Smaller portions of land were allotted to the newly founded Trinity College, Dublin, as an endowment for the foundation of schools in the area, with the ostensible purpose of anglicising the Irish and promoting their conversion to Protestantism.

This scheme, in its disregard for the interests of the indigenous population, had the stamp of Davies and his chief justice, James Ley; it largely ignored many of the recommendations made by Chichester, who, besides arguing for greater rewards for the military caste, also believed that greater native participation would be necessary to make the project a success. The lord deputy’s scepticism about the abilities and commitment of many of the undertakers would be proven substantially correct in the years that followed, as a series of surveys (in 1611, 1613, 1619 and 1622) commissioned by the crown to investigate the progress of the plantation revealed how dilatory many of the colonists were in fulfilling its conditions, especially with regard to the removal of the Irish. Economic relations between the colonial landlords and their Irish tenants will be discussed at length in Chap. 5. There is, however, no great mystery as to why the native Irish were often retained in areas from which they were legally obliged to depart, given that such tenants were prepared to pay greater rents and dues than English or Scots, who were in any case proving difficult to attract.

The colonists' placing of their own economic interests before the state's ideological objectives evinces an antagonism between these two which will be apparent time and time again in what follows. The English government recognised this antagonism by their repeated deferral of the deadline for removing the Irish from the undertakers' lands, first in 1610, then the following year, and once again in 1618, when it was announced that the natives had to leave by the following May Day or be fined. These fines, however, became a source of revenue for the state which it could profitably farm out. The goal of ethnically cleansing the undertakers' proportions was abandoned in practice in 1628, when it was announced that they might keep Irish on one-quarter of their lands, while those on the other three-quarters remained subject to fines; the undertakers themselves were prepared to pay these, as the profits generated by the natives as tenants and labourers clearly outweighed the financial burden of the fines.<sup>6</sup>

Attracting tenants from Britain was especially difficult in the latter half of the 1620s, when migration proved sluggish. Indeed, prospects appeared to improve for the Catholic community in Ireland in 1628, when a series of concessions (of which permission for the Irish to reside on one-quarter of colonists' estates was a part) appeared to have been secured from the crown, addressing, among many grievances, Irish fears of further confiscation and colonisation of their lands. Such developments proved a false dawn, however, as these 'Graces', which had been agreed to by Charles I to alleviate his financial problems, went unhonoured throughout the 1630s: the lord deputy (later lieutenant) Thomas Wentworth pursued an aggressive policy of exacting from the crown's subjects maximum material and ideological subservience, to the thorough alienation of native and newcomer alike. In fact, the political position of the Irish had been irrevocably eroded by this stage. Indeed, the Ulster plantation had been a cornerstone of this erosion, as the creation of new parliamentary boroughs in that province had enabled the government to secure, for the first time, a Protestant majority in the 1613 elections.

On the ground, the position of the Ulster Irish also worsened in the 1630s as the pace of migration, especially from Scotland, picked up, placing renewed pressure on the Irish tenantry, whose interests, all else being equal, would always be secondary to those of their landlords' compatriots. What Aidan Clarke has described as a 'second-phase sorting out process' took place, in many respects more ruinous than any initial act of expropriation, in which the newcomers, now more familiar with the area

and capable of identifying the better-quality land, began to displace the Irish more effectively. The Irish were not so much expelled physically as relegated in the social scale to the status of sub-tenants, often working as cowherds, manual labourers or domestic servants for those who had taken their place.<sup>7</sup> The ‘deserving Irish’ grantees, meanwhile, fared little better in these years, often falling into debt and mortgaging their lands to their English or Scottish neighbours. The reasons why, and the means by which, this occurred will be a major theme of this work.

Another primary purpose will be to determine the temper of relations between native and newcomer in these decades of ostensible peace between the execution of the plantation and the rising of 1641, a period which has attracted far less attention from historians than the violent episodes with which it began and ended. When it has been surveyed, it has often been represented by writers such as Raymond Gillespie and Audrey Horning as a time of accommodation and acculturation between native and colonist; Brendan Bradshaw and David Edwards, on the other hand, have noted the underlying tensions and provincial unrest which characterised Ireland at this time, arguing that this was a far from peaceful period, even if no co-ordinated, widespread resistance to the colony was attempted. It may suffice to say at this stage that conditions existed in 1641 which rendered the native Irish of Ulster deeply hostile towards the colonist community. Whether these conditions had short-term causes, such as religious tensions or a recent economic downturn caused by harvest failure, or more long-term roots in the plantation dispensation itself, has been the subject of intense debate and will be examined in the Conclusion (Chap. 7).

As the brevity of this narrative overview will indicate, this work makes no pretence to being an exhaustive history of the Ulster plantation in all its aspects. On the contrary, it is explicitly concerned with the native experience of the society which emerged. Such an examination is apt, given the relative neglect of the Irish perspective in the existing literature. The Scottish experience of these decades has been examined in detail in Perceval-Maxwell’s work, while the work of Robert Hunter in particular represents a treasure trove of information on the English undertakers and their tenants.<sup>8</sup> The words of Nathan Wachtel—in his masterful attempt to recover an account of the conquest of Peru from the Inca perspective—could apply equally well to Ulster:

There is obviously no purpose to be served by describing the Conquest from the viewpoint of the conquerors (western historiography, as we know, has amply dealt with that aspect of the affair) ... it is just that we must remind ourselves that we have concentrated on the ‘underside’ of a situation.<sup>9</sup>

The narratives of native and colonist in Ulster are often conceived of as competing, but to focus on one does not necessarily imply the denigration of the other. From the colonists’ point of view, the early decades of colonisation might indeed be interpreted as a story of creation, construction and beginnings in a kind of ‘new world’. Equally valid, however, and less often acknowledged, is the story from the native ‘underside’, which, as this book will argue, was often a story of destruction, coercion and endings. Perspective is the key here, as is the healthy dose of relativism that comes from the constant reminder that there are multiple ways of looking at colonial Ulster.

In most of the existing literature concerning the plantation, the natives (when not invisible) are a peripheral and tangential presence, discussed primarily in terms of the threat they posed to the survival of the colony. This evinces an unconscious tendency to—in the terminology of native American historiography—‘face west’ towards the colony from the perspective of the invader, rather than to face east, towards the coloniser, from the perspective of the indigenous peoples being invaded.<sup>10</sup> While revisionism in Irish historiography has shone a much-needed spotlight on some of the assumptions of traditional Nationalist accounts, it has been less zealous in its examination of the subtle (and sometimes not-so-subtle) Anglocentric assumptions that characterise other accounts. These assumptions, all the more pernicious for being unacknowledged, have a long pedigree in Irish historiography. In the late eighteenth century, for example, this period was confidently described as one in which ‘Ireland, from being a land of ire became a land of concord’.<sup>11</sup> Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, another historian asserted that those parts of Ireland where Gaelic culture predominated ‘remained in a state of wilderness’.<sup>12</sup> The narrative is invariably one in which the entire island, fitfully and gradually, comes to enjoy the benefits of English ‘civility’, a process not without its teething troubles and occasional excesses certainly, but an ultimately beneficial and benevolent one. This, however, is no more viable a narrative than the much- (and rightly) criticised

teleological story popular with Nationalist historians of an Irish nation marching towards its manifest destiny.

Such a bias may be forgiven in historians writing before the twentieth century. As Roy Foster has remarked, it is fallacious to expect ‘a detached historical sense exercised on behalf of Irish history at a time when it was not applied to English history, or any other’.<sup>13</sup> The absence of this sense might be viewed solely as the foible of an earlier age, before ‘scientific’ or ‘value-free’ history, except for the fact that it has clearly been carried over into modern histories, if in a subtler form. The west-facing orientation of the historian often continues unchallenged. The opening sentence of T.W. Moody’s seminal *Londonderry Plantation*, for example, reads: ‘Throughout the reign of Elizabeth, Ulster had been a thorn in the side of the English government.’<sup>14</sup> This apparently commonplace assertion, from a historian who extolled the virtues of ‘value-free history’, is instructive in its elision of much that is problematic and value-laden. The passing assertion that it was Ulster which presented difficulties for the English government is highly subjective. The opposite might surely be claimed with (at the very least) equal truth. If the sentence ‘the English government had been a thorn in the side of Ulster’ strikes us as somehow more contentious and Nationalist, we might profitably ask ourselves why an assertion which is perceived as assertively nationalistic in one case is regarded as mundane and unproblematic in another.

The reason why the trope of the native Irish being a thorn in the side of the English appears somehow more natural is surely to be found less in the content of the claim being made than in the way the ‘Irish problem’ has been constructed in the English language—a language which itself cannot claim objective detachment from the historical processes involved. Through repetition and normalisation, certain stock phrases habituate us to accept as self-evident, truisms which on closer examination reveal themselves to tell only half the story. In a similar vein to Moody’s opening line, the first pages of Foster’s *Modern Ireland* describe English colonies in Ireland as ‘superimposed upon an ancient identity, alien and bizarre’.<sup>15</sup> The reader is clearly invited to join the author in this westwards-facing aspect; the fact that the English colonists’ culture was no doubt equally alien and bizarre to the Gaelic Irish is, for some reason, passed over in silence. Such omissions are symptomatic of a blind spot which continues to characterise much history written about the meeting of *Gael* and *Gall*.<sup>16</sup>

This blind spot is also evident in descriptions of Gaelic social institutions—there is a tendency to define these by reference to the features of the English system which they happened to lack. Descriptions of Gaelic landholding practices by Debora Shuger and Perceval-Maxwell are a case in point; aspects such as sub-division, partible inheritance and short tenures at the whim of the Gaelic rulers are all given prominence.<sup>17</sup> As stressed at the time by English observers, who had an interest in denigrating such institutions, the emphasis is on dissolution and fragmentation. It would, however, be equally true to emphasise the fact that the land unit among the Gaelic Irish was corporately owned by the extended kin group and that the splitting up and redistribution of land was not permanent. This struck English observers as odd merely because it differed from their own practice. All European colonial powers constructed a legitimising narrative to justify their conquest of native peoples and the seizure of their lands. Just as the Spanish displayed a remarkable solicitude to determine whether or not the conquered peoples in America were ‘natural slaves’ who could receive the gospel, so too were the English anxious to construct a narrative of their intrusion into native lands which stressed their bringing of Christianity and modern technology. William Alexander wrote in 1624 that the colonist’s aim was to:

preach the Gospel where it was never heard, and not to subdue but to civilize the Savages, for their ruine could give to us neither glory nor benefit, since in place of fame it would breed infamie, and would defraud us of many able bodies, that hereafter (besides the Christian dutie in saving their soules) by themselves or by their Posteritie may serve to many good uses, when by our meanes they shall learne lawfull Trades, and industries.<sup>18</sup>

Claims that the plantation project in Ulster had as its aim the spreading of the reformed faith, as well as acquainting the natives with more advanced agricultural techniques and manufacturing trades, were (and continue to be) made. This book will carefully examine these claims. Such an interrogation must form part of any modern assessment of the place of the indigenous populace in the early modern colony.

Unfortunately, it does not always do so. Shuger’s article, for example, is a prime example of the uncritical acceptance of what Francis Jennings has dubbed the ‘cant of conquest’.<sup>19</sup> It is claimed that the Tudor-Stuart conquerors betrayed ‘little animus against what we now refer to as native culture’ and that the anglicisation of the Gaelic Irish had ‘a great deal

less to do with cultural aesthetics (refined table manners, cleanliness, *politesse*) than with social justice'.<sup>20</sup> This is (putting it mildly) dubious, as is the juxtaposition of a supposedly impartial English common law with Gaelic law, which is presented as perverted by the interference of native rulers, whose brehon judges were mere 'pawns of their clan chiefs'.<sup>21</sup> While the latter depiction could be said to contain a great deal of truth, the former is highly suspect. Shuger's approach casts a coldly critical eye on Gaelic institutions while accepting at face value the claims for the intrinsic superiority of English culture made by commentators such as Edmund Spenser and John Davies, who clearly cannot be regarded as impartial observers. A healthy scepticism is conspicuously absent in the assessment of such writers' claims to be motivated by benevolence in seeking to extend English 'civility' throughout the island: Shuger writes of 'Spenser's compassion for the miseries of "the poore distressed people of the Irish"' and asserts that he took 'both the sufferings and well-being of the common people seriously'.<sup>22</sup>

While a greater critical vigilance for the 'cant of conquest' can go a great deal of the way to correcting the imbalance in such accounts, it must also be recognised that such blind spots are to some extent hard-wired into the language in which most Irish historians work, because it is not the same language through which Gaelic society and its institutions were originally articulated. As will be argued below, this is by no means an insurmountable obstacle, but it must at least be acknowledged and confronted, rather than simply ignored. The best examples of this, like the quotation from Moody above, often come from passing comments which indicate, by their unobtrusiveness, the depth of this mentality. Hiram Morgan, for example, describes as 'crises' the mechanism whereby succession was determined in Gaelic Ireland, but this is to adopt the succession to power in large European monarchies (like primogeniture in England) as the standard of what was normal and routine, whereas among the Gaelic Irish the norm was for the strongest candidate to succeed.<sup>23</sup> For succession to be decided in this manner would indeed constitute a 'crisis' if it took place in sixteenth-century England or France; in a Gaelic context, however, such an event in no way constituted a 'crisis' or a deviation from the norm. Even an author as explicitly sympathetic to the subaltern predicament as D.B. Quinn will use the word 'marauding' to describe the *Gàidhlig* Scots who entered Antrim in the sixteenth century, whereas those incursions sanctioned by the government are accorded more genteel nouns, such as 'settlement' and 'colony'.<sup>24</sup> Given

the excessive violence perpetrated on the indigenous population by the Earl of Essex's efforts to colonise the same area in the 1570s, it is difficult to see in what sense these invaders were any less 'marauding'.

Such language serves to maintain a false dichotomy between civilised and uncivilised which was really only recognised as fundamentally subjective in the second half of the twentieth century. Such a distinction, Jennings writes, 'is a moral sanction rather than any given combination of social traits susceptible to objective definition', and 'a weapon of attack rather than a standard of measurement'.<sup>25</sup> While it may be demonstrated that one culture enjoyed superiority over another in specific, measurable aspects (the military inferiority of Gaelic society can clearly be inferred from its defeat in the Nine Years War, not to mention the numerous adoptions of English military practices and technology it made in its attempt to survive), such examples merely judge the worth of a society and its specific practices by a benchmark of survival or extinction. To infer from this, however, the collective superiority of one culture over another is to enter the realm of value judgements. Historians nevertheless continue to do this, inheriting from early modern thought what Patricia Palmer refers to as a 'colonial discourse of difference' by which:

the colonist, no longer content to acknowledge the autonomy of the other's discourse, extends the bounds of his discursive space and presumes to include—and evaluate—the other and his cultural attributes according to the values of the metropolitan culture [...] The discourse of difference [...] operates by simultaneously devaluing the other and—in an impulse that joins cause with nationalism—validating the self [...] builds up a pattern of paired contrasts, pitting the perfections of the self and his civilisation (taken, in a manner guaranteed to fix the results, as the standard) against the—thereby inevitable—imperfections of the other.<sup>26</sup>

The convenience of this form of discourse is clear for those who sought (and seek) to legitimise and justify the conquest and dispossession of 'lesser' peoples. For historians, however, it is a hindrance to the construction of a holistic picture of colonist-native interaction. Anthropologists and ethnographers have led the way in the adoption of a cultural relativism with which to approach these colonial encounters in a more rounded manner. The adoption of such an interpretive framework among historians has been pioneered by those American scholars attempting to correct the imbalance in their own colonial history and introduce into

their accounts the viewpoint of Native Americans. These historians have championed an ‘ethnohistory’ which privileges, alongside written sources, archaeological remains, oral history, language, and personal and place names. Among these, Dee Brown and the aforementioned Francis Jennings—as well as James Axtell, Neal Salisbury and Frederick Fausz—have been instrumental in defining and defending this approach. Fausz has pinpointed the 1950s and 1960s as witnessing a shift towards ‘an interest in and sensitivity to the “Indian side” of early cultural frontiers’, related to broader societal changes outside of academia, as pioneering Ph.D. students in this regard followed this path ‘in spite of their graduate school mentors’, according to Fausz.<sup>27</sup> To do for the native Irish of colonial Ulster what these historians have done for the natives of New England and Virginia has been one of the guiding aims of this work.

The most oft-cited reason for the lack of attention given to the native Irish perspective in this period has been the paucity of sources left by this segment of the population. It would, of course, be inaccurate to describe Gaelic Ireland, which possessed one of the oldest vernacular manuscript traditions in Europe, as pre-literate in the same way as the native peoples of North America were before their contact with Europeans. Few of the written sources in Irish which have survived, however, give us a detailed insight into the day-to-day realities of social and political life in the Gaelic areas. As Marc Caball has noted, ‘the English record of the plantation is effectively documentary and bureaucratic’, while ‘the Gaelic equivalent is purely literary’.<sup>28</sup> This, added to the fact that these English documentary sources are far more abundant, means that their usefulness for a certain kind of history far outweighs that of the Gaelic literary output. Part of the problem has been the extent to which bardic poetry in particular was reflective of political and social developments. It has been argued by several scholars—chiefly Bernadette Cunningham, Tom Dunne and Michelle O’Riordan—that the bardic poets, restricted by the encomiastic nature of their art and a correspondingly parochial worldview, proved unresponsive to the catastrophic changes taking place around them, which barely registered in their literary output.<sup>29</sup> Both Breandán Ó Buachalla and Marc Caball, however, have conclusively shown that such a claim is difficult to sustain. Caball has argued in his monograph on the subject that the period witnessed ‘ideological innovation in the work of the bardic poets’ and that, far from being overwhelmed, ‘the tradition was transformed’.<sup>30</sup>

Abundant examples of literature from the plantation period clearly reflect the massive dislocation which conquest and colonisation represented for the native people. There is, for example, no ambiguity in the sentiments expressed by the poet Lochlann Mac Taidhg Óig Ó Dálaigh, writing about the exile of the native ruling class and their replacement by newcomers:

Atá againn ‘na n-ionadh  
 dírim uaibhreach eisiodhan  
 d’fhuil Ghall, do ghasraidh Mhonaidh,  
 Saxoin ann is Albonaigh.

We have in their stead an arrogant impure crowd, of foreigners’ blood, of the race of Monadh—there are Saxons there, and Scotch.<sup>31</sup>

As Ó Buachalla has shown, giving as his example the east-Ulster poet Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh, the Gaelic literati were at this time explicitly disavowing the kind of myopic, local focus highlighted by O’Riordan and Cunningham.<sup>32</sup> Far from simply lamenting the loss of patronage, Ó Gnímh’s *Beannacht ar anmain Éireann* [The death of Ireland] lists the various leaders from all over the island who have been brought to ruin by the events of recent years. Patrons and patronage are not mentioned in the poem and Ó Gnímh foresees dire consequences for the entire country’s cultural and religious life from the removal of the native elite.<sup>33</sup> It is necessary to stress that this was an intermediate stage in the development of a consciousness that might be described as a shift from the parochial mode towards the national, and the formulation of a cultural response to the existential threat which the New English represented to it. This development took place throughout the period from the 1570s to 1640s. It is not necessary for a nationalist ideology to come to full fruition in order to discern an unmistakable reaction to the Tudor-Stuart conquest.

Even that poetry which registers the momentous changes occurring in Ulster at this time, however, has its limits as a source for the modern historian, reflecting the distinction between documentary and literary sources made by Caball above. While poems such as those of Ó Dálaigh and Ó Gnímh clearly register change—and despair at this change—they

often attest to little else. Any documentary detail they might possess tends to be obscured by a style that continues to be hidebound by traditional tropes. An example of this is the practice of not naming any other living individuals except the subject of the encomium.<sup>34</sup> A side-effect of this convention is that a large area of potential information that the poet might allude to, at least incidentally, is ruled out of the discussion. The poem *Bean do lamhaigheadh Leith Cuinn*, by Gothraidh McBriar Mac an Bhaird offers an example of the way in which the tropes of traditional bardic poetry could obscure contemporaneous events from view.<sup>35</sup> This elegy for Niall Garbh O'Donnell, who died in the Tower of London in 1626 (see below pp. 219–221), clearly acknowledges and laments the changes which have taken place, but at the same time we can glean little detail about those events in the poem's sixty stanzas. Most of the discussion surrounding the events of Niall Garbh's life takes place in the context of traditional Gaelic mythology or that of the Trojan War. Niall himself does not appear until stanza fifteen, and even then it is really only in stanzas eighteen to thirty-three that events contemporaneous with his life are touched on.

Such poems are clearly of value in the evidence they provide of Gaelic *mentalités*. Extensive references to figures from the corpus of Gaelic myth and pseudo-history, as well as the explication of prominent families in terms of the traditional branches of descent from figures such as Niall Naoighiallach (Niall of the Nine Hostages), point to the continuing currency and circulation of such knowledge well into the seventeenth century. They are also of interest for the decisive evidence they present of a perception, persisting decades after the plantation, that Gaelic leaders had been deprived of lands which were theirs by ancestral right. Despite its value as an indicator of emotional responses, however, such a poem offers little in the way of concrete detail about the native experience of colonial society. The plantation is effectively dehistoricised and the claims that Niall Garbh was universally loved must likewise be treated with scepticism as a mere poetic convention. It is somewhat bizarrely claimed in stanza eighteen that he was a source of strength to both the O'Neills of Tyrone and the O'Donnells in their struggles with the English.<sup>36</sup> As Chap. 6 will show, Niall's defection to Henry Docwra's forces on Lough Foyle in 1600 was in fact one of the pivotal moments in the defeat of the Irish in the Nine Years War. His relentless quest to unseat the ruling O'Donnells in Tyrconnell won him a considerable number of enemies. Life for the Irish in Ulster during the 1630s must have been bleak

indeed if Niall Garbh was being looked back upon with fondness. The formal restrictions of the traditional encomium in Mac an Bhaird's poem, however, means that it offers little real indication of Gaelic perceptions of Niall Garbh.

*Bean do lamhaigheadh Leith Cuinn* is, of course, more traditional in nature than much of the Gaelic poetry emerging in the middle of the seventeenth century. The latter, often written by non-professionals, looser in its forms and broader in its range of subject matter, was clearly a consequence of the loss of patronage resulting from the attenuation of a native elite. While much of this clearly represents a more promising field for the modern historian, the fact that it was either written by exiles, or at least heavily influenced by intellectual developments among the exiles, renders it somewhat less germane to the subject of a work focusing on those Irish left behind in Ulster after 1607, rather than the better-documented ranks of those who fled to the continent. A number of contemporaneous works in Irish will nevertheless be referred to in this work, particularly the *Beatha Aodh Ruadh Ó Dónaill* of Lughaidh O'Cleary, the anonymous *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* (a satire on Gaelic social climbers), the *Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin* (a diary chronicling the war of the 1640s by a Franciscan priest) and the *Annals of the Four Masters*. Just as bardic poetry must be understood on its own terms, and certain conventions not be taken as literal fact, so must a work such as the *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* be read in terms of its own satiric function. Once this is understood, a large amount of information incidental to this function can nevertheless be gleaned from its contents.

A far larger amount of such material is available in English, material which also had its own rhetoric function. The 1641 depositions are perhaps the best example of a source whose utility has been debated. Often dismissed in the past as inherently biased in favour of the Protestant side, it is becoming clear (especially with the greater accessibility their digitisation has facilitated) that, just like Gaelic sources, they offer a wealth of information which is often incidental to their intended function.<sup>37</sup> This function, to record the losses of Protestant colonists and the crimes of their attackers for the purposes of propaganda and judicial prosecutions, as well as compensation claims, means that they (and many of the other English-language sources cited throughout this work, such as the English state papers) must be read against themselves, and against the inherent bias they often convey against anything associated with the 'mere Irish', to salvage something of the native point of view.<sup>38</sup>

Once this is recognised, the observations of English commentators can provide a valuable source of information about Gaelic Ireland at this time, even if much of it was misinterpreted or misrepresented. The colonial discourse is readily apparent in Fynes Moryson's writings, for example, where he summed up the differences between the cultures of the English and Irish as a collection of 'absurd things practised by them, only because they would be contrary to us'.<sup>39</sup> He is nevertheless a valuable source of information on these 'absurd' practices, if his inevitable value judgements are left aside. The following chapters will thus contain many citations from writers as intractably hostile to the Irish as Moryson, John Davies, Edmund Spenser and Barnaby Rich, while recognising the problematic nature of these primary sources. This inherent bias need not be a source of great discouragement for a historian hoping to examine the story of these early years of colonisation from the indigenous people's perspective.

To utilise such sources to the full, it is crucial to overcome the early modern habit of viewing native peoples' culture almost exclusively with reference to one's own. This was a period in which any notion of cultural relativism was almost completely lacking, and this must be borne in mind when confronted with the descriptions of writers such as Fynes Moryson and Barnaby Rich of the Gaelic Irish. While characterised by a deep hostility towards that people and culture, it reflected less the personal animosity of these individuals than the standard reaction of 'cultured' Europeans at the time to people living lives radically different to that defined by their intelligentsia as 'civilised'. A key strategy to overcome this limitation is a certain degree of defamiliarisation; this will allow us to better understand native society on its own terms, instead of—as the commentators on whom we largely rely for sources did—understanding it in terms which a seventeenth-century observer was familiar with. Terminology is a crucial issue here. The recovery of a native perspective necessitates a rigorous questioning of frequently used terms that can perpetuate a Eurocentric or, in the case of Ulster, Anglocentric view of the colony, often without drawing attention to the fact that they are doing so.

To attempt an understanding of Gaelic society on its own terms, therefore, this work will employ Gaelic designations for social forms which the English language has, in merely approximating, distorted our perception of. In plantation Ulster, perhaps the most egregious example of this was the confusion caused by the planners' attempts to make

the Irish land unit, the *baile bó* (plural: *bailte bó*, anglicised ‘balliboe’ and meaning ‘cow land’), serve as the uniform 60-acre townland of their understanding.<sup>40</sup> Sixteen of these townlands were supposed, in turn, to constitute a *baile biataigh* (plural: *bailte biataigh*, anglicised ‘ballybetagh’ and translatable as ‘town of the food-provider’). The *baile bó* was not, however, a measurement of size but a unit of roughly equal agricultural potential: the amount, for example, of land necessary to support a specific number of people or cattle.<sup>41</sup> The *baile biataigh*, in turn, was not uniformly subdivided into sixteen *bailte bó*, but could consist of more or less than this. In imposing their own notions of standardised measurement on the Gaelic way of conceptualising land, outsiders misled themselves into believing that these units contained a uniform 60 and 960 acres respectively when they were in fact far from constant. This was more than a semantic error, as it led to huge discrepancies between the amount of land allocated to plantation grantees on paper and in reality.

Colonists’ attempts to interpret native cultures in terms of their own led to misunderstandings in America as well, where, for example, English preconceptions of hunting as a leisurely pastime led one observer in New England to believe that the native men enslaved their women: ‘the Men for the most part live idly’, wrote Francis Higginson, ‘[and] doe nothing but hunt and fish: their wives set their Corne and doe all their other worke’.<sup>42</sup> This was to ignore the fact that hunting was, to Algonquian peoples, a means of survival rather than sport, and provided a vital component of their diet in conjunction with the maize, beans, squash and pumpkins that were mostly tended to by the women. Such corresponding errors on either side of the Atlantic would suggest, therefore, that Andrew Murphy is incorrect in claiming that those English arrivals who tended to ‘rehearse the alien in terms of the familiar’ in America did not do so in Ireland.<sup>43</sup> On the contrary, the struggle to explain Gaelic society in terms of what was familiar from England characterised much early misunderstanding. Usually, what seemed familiar was in fact familiar *from an earlier period*, reflecting the assumption that native society in both Ireland and America approximated an earlier stage in England’s history.<sup>44</sup> English writers imagined their country’s expansion throughout the Atlantic as akin to the expansion of ancient Rome, civilising ‘backward’ peoples in much the same way as the ancient Britons had been civilised by the Romans. As Thomas Hariot reminded his readers, ‘the Inhabitants of the great Brietannie have bin in times past as sauvage as those of Virginia’.<sup>45</sup> Nor was this unconscious assumption confined to

the early modern period; historians up to the twentieth century have continued to write as if history follows a regular procession of stages through which all cultures pass, some being more advanced on this trajectory than others, leading Eoin MacNeill to warn against such a simplification.<sup>46</sup>

Numerous Gaelic terms will, therefore, be used in this work in order to avoid the pitfalls of presenting the society confronted with colonisation as merely a mirror of medieval England. The Gaelic rulers will, for example, be referred to by the term *tiarna* (plural *tiarnai*), a word usually translated as 'lord'. It is necessary to distinguish role of the *tiarna* from that of a lord in feudal societies, because their rule (*tiarnas*) was characterised by some peculiarly Gaelic features, which will be discussed in the course of this work see Chap. 5.<sup>47</sup> The traditionally defined kin-groups which *tiarnai* ruled over will be here designated by the Irish word *sliocht* (plural *sleachta*) in order to preserve as much as possible of the particularity of the Gaelic way of conceptualising their society. This involved the perceived branching-out of generations from ancient forebears such as Niall Naoighiallach (Niall of the Nine Hostages), a model which also encompassed those branches, with their roots further back in time, known as the *cineáelacha* (singular *cineál*). This model, central to the Gaels' self-perception, will be further discussed in Chap. 5 (p. 159). The *sliocht* can be read as synonymous with 'sept', with which it will here be used interchangeably. The territory ruled over by individual *tiarnai*, usually referred to in English-language works as a lordship (a term which, once again, carries feudal connotations), will be designated here by the word *oireacht* (plural *oireachtaí*), one which Katharine Simms has noted is found 'in place-names formed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries'.<sup>48</sup> This will be used in preference to other Irish terms such as *tuatha* which, according to Kenneth Nicholls, became obsolete soon after the Norman invasion.<sup>49</sup>

It will be noted in all of the above cases that the modern Irish spelling of these terms has been used in preference to the Classical Irish forms. This has been decided upon for both ease of reference and consistency. With respect to Irish personal and place names, anglicised forms have generally been used, although it should be borne in mind that these are names which have often undergone considerable distortion as the cultural corollary of colonisation. Irish names were often anglicised in a bewildering array of forms, as English-speakers struggled to produce in writing some kind of phonetic approximation to the unfamiliar sounds of

a foreign language. Such names were often offensive to the sensibilities of English-speakers who, like Fynes Moryson, regarded them as ‘rather seeming the names of Devowring Giants then Christian Subiects’.<sup>50</sup> This transformation-by-transcription could go so far on occasion as to bury the original signifier completely, confusing later observers about the provenance of Gaelic names. Audrey Horning has written of a ‘rebel with the improbable name of Fairy’ attacking a bawn in the 1640s. There is, however, nothing improbable about the name—it is most likely an English transcription of the name *Fearach* (often transcribed as ‘Farry’).<sup>51</sup> The similarity to the English word ‘fairy’ is merely a superficial resemblance, although probably not a coincidental one, given the tendency, when transcribing names, to pick an existing English word if one existed which was even vaguely similar. In such cases where an anglicised version completely obscures the original, the Irish version will be preferred.

The anglicisation of place names in particular often involved the mutation of words into forms which, combined with the eventual loss of the native language, would result in the thorough alienation of the Irish from the semantic landscape around them. The tableau of place names that overlies the landscape represents a rich vein of knowledge, known to the Irish as *dinseanchas*, which was pragmatic and descriptive as well as mythical and poetic. The transformation of names such as *Tír Leathfhóid* (land of the uneven sod), *Uachtar Achaidh* (upper field) or *Baile an Tréin* (townland of the brave warrior) into *Tirlahode*, *Woteraghy* and *Ballintrain* respectively, represented the first step on their way to their becoming largely meaningless sounds to the people who lived there. Names remained a current and relevant realm of knowledge on the eve of colonisation, however, as shown in the work of Lughaidh O’Cleary.<sup>52</sup>

One interpretive framework which will be ubiquitous throughout this work is a view of Ulster as a node in the seventeenth-century English expansion throughout the North Atlantic. This ‘Atlantic world’ context has been so contested that it will require the chapter which follows (Chap. 2) to examine why it is more appropriate than the contexts which have been proposed in its stead. Such an examination will, furthermore, do much to clarify the nature of the Ulster colony. Chapter 3 will focus on events which created the conditions for a lasting colony to be established in Ulster, while Chaps. 4 and 5 will examine the day-to-day reality of colonial society for the native Irish in its cultural and material aspects. These chapters will explore the changes to native culture largely consequent upon the dictates of economic necessity. The chap. 5 on

economic changes will examine these transformations through the experience of those who comprised the non-elite classes of Gaelic society, both the landless and the tribute-paying landholder classes. The rump of the former elite who did not flee in 1607 or find themselves implicated in O'Doherty's rising would be granted lands in the plantation project. Chapter 6 will examine, in a case study of the plantation precincts of Dungannon and Tiranny, the fate of this class of 'deserving Irish' in the years leading up to 1641. Chapter 7 will assess what conclusions can be reached from the evidence presented here, and how firmly that evidence suggests we can adhere to those conclusions

## NOTES

1. Indeed, by 1641, the 'unofficial' plantation of east Ulster was probably more intensive than the 'official' one. It has been estimated by Michael Perceval-Maxwell that in 1630 Antrim and Down contained more Scottish colonists than all of the escheated counties combined. *The Scottish migration to Ulster in the reign of James I* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 251.
2. Information relayed back to Spain by the country's ambassador in London would suggest that O'Neill's fears were well grounded. Micheline Kerney Walsh, *Destruction by peace: Hugh O'Neill after Kinsale: Glanconcadhain 1602-Rome 1616* (Armagh: Cumann Seanchais Ard Mhacha, 1986), 130.
3. This interpretation of events is substantially that offered by Nicholas Canny, 'The Flight of the Earls, 1607', *Irish Historical Studies* 17, no. 67 (1971): 380–399.
4. Within weeks of the flight, Chichester was advising that the king 'bringe in colonies of civile people of England and Scotland'. Chichester to the Privy Council, 17 September 1607, SP 63–222 no. 137, f. 125v.
5. This work will use the term 'Derry' to refer to the town/city, where a settlement of this name has existed since the Middle Ages. The county created in 1613 will, however, be referred to as 'Londonderry', given that this political entity has never existed under any other name. The name Derry comes from the Irish Doire, meaning 'oak-grove'.
6. 5s per adult per year. T. W. Moody, 'The treatment of the native population under the Scheme for the Plantation in Ulster', *Irish Historical Studies* 1, no. 1 (1938): 62.
7. Aidan Clarke, 'The genesis of the Ulster rising of 1641', in *Plantation to partition: essays in Ulster history in honour of J.L. McCracken*, ed. Peter Roebuck (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1981), 37.

8. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster*. For the numerous works of Hunter consulted here, see the Select bibliography.
9. Nathan Wachtel, *The vision of the vanquished: the Spanish conquest of Peru through Indian eyes, 1530–1570*, trans. Ben and Siân Reynolds (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977), 207.
10. The conceit originates in the work of Dee Brown: ‘Americans who have always looked westward when reading about this period should read this book facing eastward.’ *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (Vintage: London, 1991), xvi. It is also used in the title of Richard Drinnon’s *Facing west: the metaphysics of Indian-hating and empire-building* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997) and Daniel Richter’s *Facing east from Indian Country: a native history of Early America* (Harvard University Press, 2003).
11. George Chalmers, ‘The life of Sir John Davies’, introduction to John Davies, *Historical Tracts* (London: John Stockdale, 1786), vx.
12. The writer in question cites a few lines of Walter Scott’s poetry as evidence that the seventeenth-century Irish built nothing lasting. Herbert F. Hore, introduction to ‘Marshal Bagenal’s description of Ulster, anno 1586’, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, vol. 2 (1854): 138.
13. Roy Foster, ‘History and the Irish Question’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 171.
14. T.W. Moody, *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609–41* (Belfast: William Mullan and Son, 1939), 23.
15. Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972* (London: The Penguin Press, 1988), 3.
16. *Gall*, a generic Irish term for foreigner, originally used to refer to the Norsemen but later encompassed the Anglo-Norman invaders and even Norse-Gaelic warriors from Scotland, the *gall óglaigh*, or ‘gallowglass’.
17. Debora Shuger, ‘Irishmen, aristocrats, and other white barbarians’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (1997): 507. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster*, 16. It is telling that Perceval-Maxwell uses the term ‘gavelkind’ (applied by the English from a somewhat similar practice in Kent with which they were familiar) to describe portable inheritance in Gaelic Ireland.
18. William Alexander, *An encouragement to colonies* (London: 1624), 37–38.
19. Francis Jennings, *The invasion of America: Indians, colonialism, and the cant of conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976).
20. Shuger, ‘Irishmen, Aristocrats’, 513.
21. Shuger, ‘Irishmen, Aristocrats’, 510–511.
22. Shuger, ‘Irishmen, Aristocrats’, 515, 519. For Spenser’s advocacy of the deliberate starvation of the native population in order to clear the country for colonists, see p. 77.

23. It was often not necessary to actually prove this strength in combat. Hiram Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion: the outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1993), 14.
24. David Beers Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1966), 107.
25. Jennings, *The invasion of America*, 8.
26. Patricia Palmer, *Language and conquest in early modern Ireland: English Renaissance literature and Elizabethan imperial expansion* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 22–23.
27. J. Frederick Fausz, 'The invasion of Virginia: Indians, colonialism, and the conquest of cant: a review essay on Anglo-Indian relations in the Chesapeake', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 95, no. 2 (1987): 136.
28. Marc Caball, 'Responses to transformation: Gaelic poets and the plantation of Ulster', in *The plantation of Ulster: ideology and practice*, eds. Éamonn Ó Ciardha and Micheál Ó Siochrú (Manchester University Press, 2012), 192.
29. Bernadette Cunningham, 'Native culture and political change in Ireland, 1580–1640', in *Natives and newcomers: essays on the making of Irish colonial society, 1534–1641*, eds. Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie (Blackrock, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1986), 148–170. Tom Dunne, 'The Gaelic response to conquest and colonisation: the evidence of the poetry', *Studia Hibernica* 20 (1980): 7–30. Michelle O'Riordan, *The Gaelic mind and the collapse of the Gaelic world* (Cork University Press, 1990), 5–6.
30. Marc Caball, *Poets and politics: continuity and reaction in Irish poetry, 1558–1625* (Cork University Press, 1998), 6. In perhaps his most damning criticism, Ó Buachalla argued that O'Riordan deliberately chose those passages and individual poems that illustrated her thesis, deliberately ignoring material which contradicted it. Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'Review Article: Poetry and Politics in Early Modern Ireland', in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr* 7 (1992): 152, 158–159.
31. Lochlainn mac Taidhg Óig Úí Dhálaigh, translated in William Gillies, 'A poem on the downfall of the Gaoidhil', *Éigse* 13 (1970): 205.
32. Ó Buachalla, 'Poetry and politics in early modern Ireland', 157. Cunningham, 'Native culture', 161. In a paper co-authored with Raymond Gillespie, Cunningham has argued that Ó Gnímh's work 'suggests acceptance of the new status quo and there is no attempt to incite the Gaoidhil to revolt against the new order', implying 'an acceptance of the changed conditions of the new century'. Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, 'The east Ulster bardic family of Ó Gnímh', *Éigse* 20 (1984): 108. While his work can certainly be described as

evincing resignation, it is problematic to automatically interpret this as denoting a lack of hostility, or even approval, of the plantation. While this might seem like a hair-splitting nuance, the grey area represented by the continuum of resignation-acceptance-approval will be demonstrated at several points in this work to be vital in assessing native attitudes to the colony planted in their midst.

33. Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh, ‘Beannacht ar anmain Éireann’ [The death of Ireland], in *Irish bardic poetry: texts and translations*, ed. and trans. Osborn Bergin (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1970), 115, 264.
34. Knott noted that this probably originated from a desire by the poets to ‘preserve amicable relations between themselves and any chief upon whom, in the vicissitudes of things, they might one day come to depend’. Knott, *The bardic poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn*, vol. 1, xlvi.
35. Gothraidh McBriar Mac an Bhaird, ‘Bean do lamhaigheadh Leith Cuinn’ [Leath Cuinn is a woman that has been wounded], in *Gleanings from Irish manuscripts*, ed. and trans. Paul Walsh (Dublin: At the sign of the Three Candles, 1933), 27–52. Mac an Bhaird is not identified as the author in Walsh’s edition, but is indicated as such in Katharine Simms’ online database of bardic poetry.
36. Mac an Bhaird, ‘Bean do lamhaigheadh Leith Cuinn’, 36, 45. Tyrone: Tír Eoghain, ‘Eoghan’s country’, i.e. that of Owen, a son of Niall Naoighiallach, eponymous ancestor of the Cineál Eoghain.
37. The most influential proponent of the view that the depositions were essentially useless as a source was W. E. H. Lecky in *A history of Ireland in the eighteenth century*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green, 1893), 71–73. Lecky’s view was greatly informed by the work of Ferdinando Warner, a Church of Ireland cleric working in the eighteenth century. Aidan Clarke has recently shown, however, that Warner’s scholarship was deeply flawed. Aidan Clarke, ‘The 1641 massacres’, in *Ireland: 1641 contexts and reactions*, eds. Micheál Ó Siadhail and Jane Ohlmeyer (Manchester University Press, 2013), 46–48.
38. The phrase ‘mere Irish’ was one of the most common ways in which the Gaelic Irish were referred to at the time; it encapsulates something of the disdain which both the Old and New English in Ireland had for their Gaelic counterparts, as well as some of the ambiguity of their feelings towards them. It must be acknowledged, however, that the word ‘mere’ at this point in history was still used to mean ‘pure’ or ‘unmixed’ (cf. Latin *merus*), as well as its more value-laden homonym meaning ‘nothing more than’, with which it is associated today. Joep Leerssen, *Mere Irish and fíor-ghael: studies in the idea of Irish nationality, its development, and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century* (Cork University Press, 1996), 39. It is unclear to what extent its significance had shifted from

the former to the latter by the seventeenth century. The fact that ‘mere’ is almost always (although not exclusively) found coupled with the word ‘Irish’ would suggest that these negative connotations were already present.

39. Fynes Moryson, ‘The Itinerary’, in *Illustrations of Irish history and topography mainly of the seventeenth century*, ed. Caesar Litton Falkiner (Longmans Green: London, 1904), 263.
40. Philip Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster: British settlement in an Irish landscape, 1600–1670* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1984), 14.
41. There has also been a suggestion that the term derives from the rent of one cow, which was levied on each of these units. Thomas McErlean, ‘The Irish Townland System of Landscape Organisation’, in *Landscape Archaeology in Ireland*, eds. Terence Reeves-Smyth and Fred Hamond (Oxford: BAR, 1983), 328.
42. Francis Higginson, *New England’s plantation, or, A short and true description of the commodities and discommodities of that country* (London, 1630), sig. C4r.
43. Andrew Murphy, *But the Irish sea betwixt us: Ireland, colonialism, and Renaissance literature* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 20–21.
44. See, for example, the assumptions of Thomas Smith below, p. 35.
45. Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (Frankfurt, 1590), sig. E1r.
46. ‘We cannot rightly simplify the history of any race or any region into a regular procession from lower to higher stages.’ Eoin MacNeill, ‘Ireland and Wales in the history of jurisprudence’, *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 16, no. 62 (1927): 253–254.
47. There is much variation in historical works on the preferred term for these Gaelic sovereigns. Those who seek to use a Gaelic term sometimes prefer *taoiseach* (chieftain), although this suggests a bond of subordination to another ruler which is not necessarily implied here. *Rí* (king) is also sometimes used, although this would seem anachronistic in an early modern context as Gaelic rulers had long ceased to use the word to refer to themselves. *Tiarna* will be the preferred term because it appears to have been still in use in the period under discussion. The *Annals of the Four Masters* uses it liberally, while the followers of Conn McNeill O’Neill in Clandeboye apparently referred to him as ‘Great Teirne’ as late as 1603. William Montgomery and Rev. George Hill, eds., *The Montgomery manuscripts: (1603–1706)* (Belfast: Archer and sons, 1869), 21. The reason why no single generic term is completely satisfactory is that Gaelic rulers’ surnames in themselves served as their title, ‘the O’Neill’, ‘the O’Donnell’, etc., being the equivalent of titles like marquis, earl, viscount

or baron. Katharine Simms, *From kings to warlords: the changing political structure of Gaelic Ireland in the later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1987), 11, 33.

48. Simms, *From kings to warlords*, 69.
49. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 25.
50. Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe: unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, being a survey of the condition of Europe at the end of the 16th century*, ed. Charles Hughes (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1903), 195.
51. Audrey Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian sea: colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 228.
52. In his description, for example, of the passage from 'Sith Aodha, across the river, up the bank of Assaroe, at a point that was no usual passage for people up to that, save when champions or strong men would cross it in the drought of summer to prove their strength and courage. That was right, for the name of the place where they entered the river was The Champions' Path.' Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh, *The life of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill*, ed. and trans. Paul Walsh (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1948), 157.

## Ulster as a Colony in the Atlantic World

Goe not thither, for though there be plenty of all thinges, thou shalt starve there, Loyterers and lewd persons in this our new worlde, they will not be indured.<sup>1</sup>

These admonitory words were written in 1610 by Thomas Blenerhasset, in a pamphlet aimed at attracting men of substance and ability to the Ulster plantation project, and dissuading those of more slender means from taking part. In seeking to dispel the illusion that life in the escheated counties represented an opportunity for easy gain at little cost in money and labour, Blenerhasset's use of the term 'new worlde' may appear, to modern readers, incongruous in an Irish context. Certainly the phrase enjoyed common currency at the time, as the Virginia Company was establishing what would become England's first enduring colony in America, but it might be thought Ulster was too close to home to be spoken of as a New World, unless it was with tongue firmly in cheek. A relative latecomer to European expansion in the Atlantic, England was beginning, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, to take a renewed interest in the New World as it is more commonly understood, after a lull of several decades since the failed attempts to establish colonies at Roanoke in the 1580s. It was also beginning to take a renewed interest in colonisation efforts in Ulster, after the unmitigated failure of several projects in the east of the province in the 1570s.

As will be seen in Chap. 3, it had taken a major military investment, resulting in catastrophic social upheavals, and the removal of the resistant element of the native ruling class to lay the groundwork

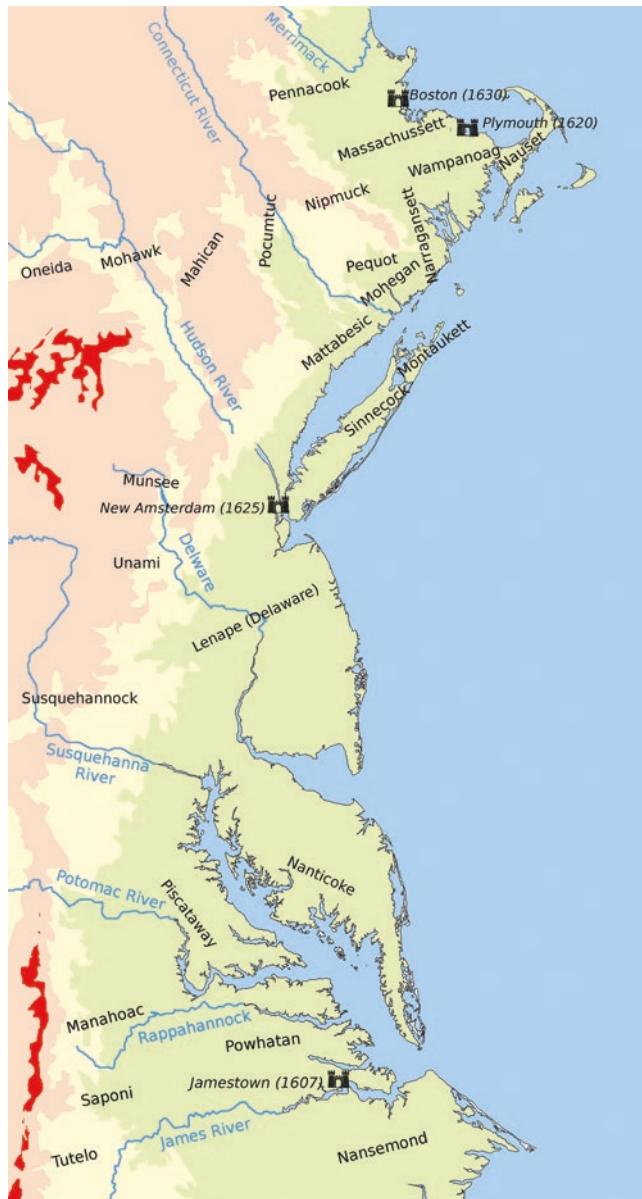
for the plantation project of 1609 and the opportunities publicised by Blenerhasset. While few historians deny that the society which finally emerged from these efforts could be characterised as ‘colonial’, it has been claimed by some that it is a mistake to bracket together these outposts of English expansion on either side of the Atlantic, and that such parallels—initiated by historians such as D. B. Quinn and subsequently advocated most prominently by Nicholas Canny—are misleading.<sup>2</sup> Objections to viewing early modern Ireland in the context of extra-European imperialism have centred around various assertions.<sup>3</sup> It has been claimed, for example, that Ireland was subjected to a type of rule which differed in important respects from that practised in places such as Virginia, New England and the Caribbean. Various comparisons are proposed in their stead: the dispossession of Protestants in Bohemia after defeat at the Battle of the White Mountain has been compared to the confiscation of Irish Catholic land<sup>4</sup>; the consolidation of the state’s authority over peripheral areas of the island of Britain, not only over ethnically distinct peoples in Scotland or Wales, but over the English border areas which had previously enjoyed a great deal of autonomy, has been cited<sup>5</sup>; and some contemporaries such as John Davies found parallels with the Irish situation far closer to home than America, comparing the transplantation of the natives in Ireland to the Spanish expulsion and dispossession of the Moriscos.<sup>6</sup>

It is important to state from the outset that none of these comparisons are necessarily incompatible with an Atlantic context. A view of Ireland as *purely* colonial in this sense is one rarely, if ever, encountered in the literature on the subject, and is not one that will be made here. Raymond Gillespie’s formula of early modern Ireland as ‘a mid-Atlantic polity having some features of both the Old World and the New’ offers a useful reminder that this is not an either/or question of choosing between two distinct frameworks in which to analyse the phenomenon.<sup>7</sup> The mid-Atlantic, however, offers a disconcertingly broad latitude for speculation, and there is a danger inherent in over-emphasising the uniqueness of Ireland’s position to the point where it is denuded of all historic context. This uniqueness is usually presented in terms of being uniquely ambiguous or complex; Andrew Murphy has gone so far as to claim that, ‘of all of the countries that have experienced colonialism, Ireland’s history is the most complex’.<sup>8</sup> Any discrete historical event, however, can be shown to be uniquely complex if dissected at sufficient length, and such a characterisation often tells us more about

the prolixity of that discussion than the inherent complexity of the phenomenon being discussed.

Its entanglement in the wider controversy over revisionism has continually resuscitated this debate over whether Ireland was a kingdom, colony or a hybrid of both. If sought after with sufficient diligence, divergences can of course be found between any two given colonies which in many other ways exhibit similarities. Virginia and New England, for example, have traditionally been viewed as differing profoundly, in that Virginia was a more nakedly commercial venture from the outset compared to the motives driving the Separatists and Puritans in New England.<sup>9</sup> (See Fig. 2.1 for a map of the North American seaboard) In this sense, both these colonies possessed unique features (as well as similarities). Ireland, likewise, had features that were unique to an English colony, such as the fact that it had the constitutional status of a kingdom. To claim that its position was *uniquely* ambiguous, however, is as fallacious as to claim that it was identical with another colony. Exact parallels will always be found lacking when any one colony is examined closely enough. This does not mean that comparisons are by their very nature redundant; the nature of the Ulster colony can be better appreciated by recognising both the differences as well as the similarities with others. Perhaps the best method of clarifying where in the mid-Atlantic the island should be placed conceptually is to address those specific objections that have been made to treating it as a colony in the Atlantic world. This chapter will, therefore, examine these objections in turn.

Whereas most of the published debate has centred on all of Ireland, the following discussion will be concerned with Ulster alone. Justifying this separate treatment of Ulster necessarily involves confronting the first major objection to viewing Ireland as an Atlantic colony, which is that Ireland's proximity to Britain, and the long-standing familiarity between the peoples of the two islands, renders such a comparison unsound. While this particular point may reasonably be made for other parts of Ireland, however, it does not hold for Ulster. The gradual and piecemeal nature of the encroachment of English rule over Ireland meant that the island was subjected to several different kinds of colonialism at the same time. It is thus indiscriminate to discuss all of Ireland without making due distinction between varying patterns of colonial development, geographically speaking. William Smyth, following the lead of D. W. Meinig, has identified three such zones of differing settlement.<sup>10</sup>



**Fig. 2.1** Eastern seaboard of North America in the seventeenth century

First, the west of Ireland, in contrast with other parts of the island, was not intensively settled by English or Scots and retained much of its Gaelic character for longer than other regions. To this day, the vast majority of *Gaeltachtai* in Ireland are situated in the west.<sup>11</sup> Part of the reason that Ulster was made subject to such an exacting project of plantation is that its Gaelic rulers had proved themselves unwilling to accept cultural and political assimilation on the terms of the English government. While the FitzGeralds of Desmond, in the south-west of Ireland, fell prey to a similar fate, in general the Gaelic or Gaelicised rulers in the west and south were amenable to political assimilation in a way that Ulster was not. The earls of Thomond and Clanricard, for example, were prepared to live under a President in Munster and Connacht, whereas the prospect of the creation of such an office for Ulster prompted O'Neill to write to James I to beseech him 'not to graunt any such government'.<sup>12</sup>

A second zone of colonisation, which may loosely be termed The Pale, encompassed most of Leinster and east Munster, and had existed as an English colony in some shape or form since the invasion of the twelfth century. Here, the Anglo-Norman colonists had put down deep roots and significant acculturation had taken place between them and the Irish. The Reformation drove a further wedge between this Old English community and the New English settlers, deepening the affinity between the older community and their 'mere Irish' neighbours. Regarding these neighbours, Ciaran Brady's observation—made of the Irish in contrast to native Americans—may be said to hold true for this particular zone: 'the English and Irish did not meet across a frontier but mingled closely together in a manner which overcame or diluted such cultural differences as existed between them'.<sup>13</sup> It will be argued throughout this work, however, that the same could not be claimed of relations between the natives and colonists in Ulster.

Ulster and a few other areas, such as the mountain fastnesses of Wicklow, formed a third zone largely impervious to direct English administration until the aftermath of the Nine Years War. It was not so much the difficulty of gaining access with troops as maintaining authority in a territory that offered none of the infrastructure to support it. Lord Deputy Sidney's observation when withdrawing troops from Rathlin Island in 1575, that the island was 'veri easy to be wonne at any tyme but very chardgious and hard to be held', could have been said of the entire province of Ulster.<sup>14</sup> Until the second half of the sixteenth

century, the English were thus content to control the province by reaching an accommodation with the strongest local warlord at any given time, usually one of the O’Neills. They were far less concerned with transforming Ulster than simply managing the status quo. This strategy was eloquently expressed by the Earl of Ormond in 1594, who wrote of making Hugh O’Neill ‘an instrument to helpe to supprese and appease the northrin stirres that otherwise may be chardgable to her ma[jes] tie’.<sup>15</sup> John Davies acknowledged that, from the time of the first conquest by Henry II up to the reign of Elizabeth, Irish rulers beyond The Pale had been merely tribute-paying sovereigns and not subjects.<sup>16</sup> When this territory had finally been opened up to colonisation the same writer remarked that Ulster was ‘heretofore as unknown to the English here as the most inland part of Virginia as yet unknown to our English colony there’.<sup>17</sup> When Davies was writing, Ulster was about to become a colony, but a newer kind of colony differing from, though bordering on, an older one, The Pale. Unlike the medieval (but like the American) colonies, Irish native and New English newcomer *did* meet across a frontier in Ulster.

The cultural nature of this frontier will be discussed in more detail in Chap. 4. It is easy to forget, in an age when a trip from London to any part of Ulster can be made in under three hours, that a journey to the interior of the province from the metropolis could take the better part of a month in the early seventeenth century, and that, even after colonisation had begun in earnest, much of that interior remained largely impenetrable to outsiders without a guide.<sup>18</sup> This lack of knowledge is evident from a glance at sixteenth-century maps of the province.<sup>19</sup> In a 1520s map from Robert Cotton’s collection in the British Library (Fig. 2.2), the existence of the province, squeezed into a tiny north-western corner of the island, is almost ignored. By the 1560s, when John Goghe’s map was made (Fig. 2.3), the expanding frontiers of knowledge are apparent, as are its limitations. While the more anglicised parts of the island were depicted with reasonable accuracy, Lough Erne was still being represented as a single lake and Donegal is now swollen out of all proportion; that territory’s resistance to survey is further symbolised by the figures of three warriors. This resistance would be dramatically demonstrated in reality when the cartographer Richard Bartlett was beheaded in 1603 by locals only too aware of the association between the arrival of surveyors, and the armies and settlers which would follow.<sup>20</sup>



Fig. 2.2 Map of Ireland, 1520s. Courtesy of the British Library, London (Cotton MS Augustus I.ii.21)

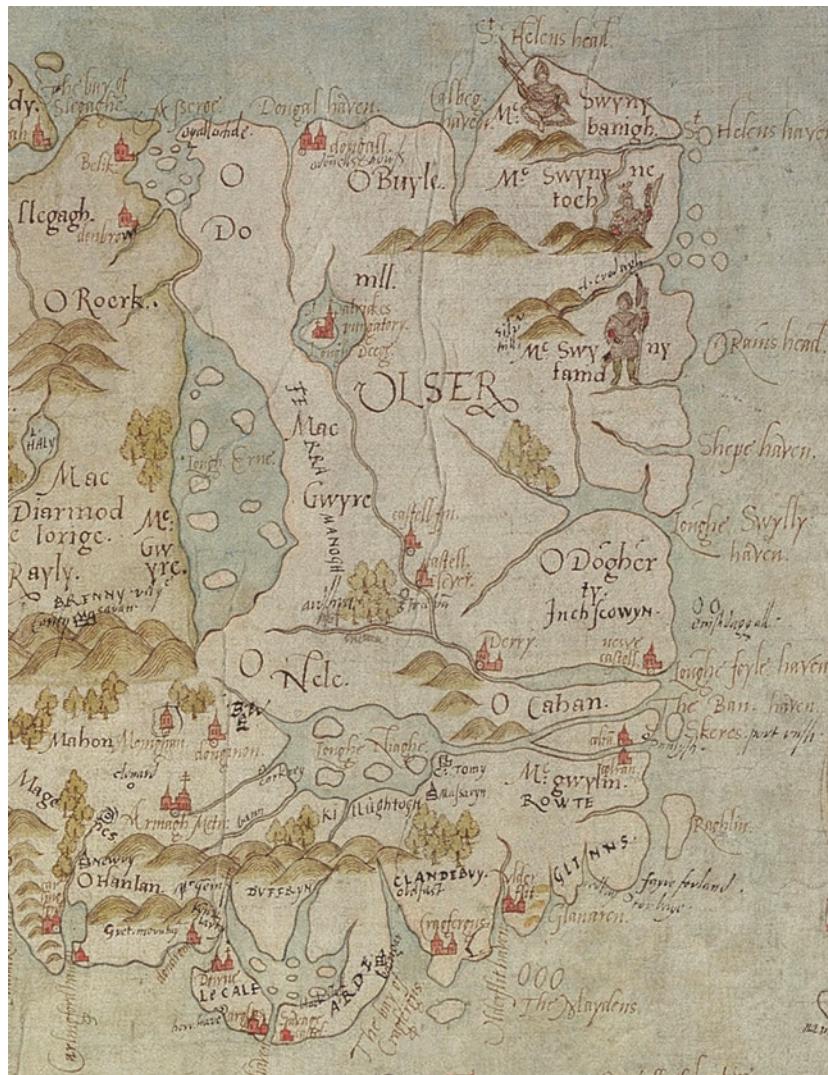


Fig. 2.3 Detail of 'Hibernia: Insula non procul ab Anglia vulgare Hirländia vocata'. John Goghe, 1567. Courtesy of The National Archives, London (MPF 1/68)

It is crucial to appreciate the isolation and relative foreignness of Ulster in order to understand the impact of colonisation on its native inhabitants. There are indications that Ulster's physical proximity to Britain also misled some colonists into believing that it would resemble home far more than it actually did. Thomas Smith seriously underestimated the difficulties presented by the culture of the indigenous population when planning his colony in the early 1570s. The Ards peninsula proved to be an alien and hostile environment for Smith's colonists, not least his son, who was shot dead by an Irishman in their employ.<sup>21</sup> Many of the problems which befell this scheme stemmed from the mistaken belief that the followers of native rulers would spontaneously come over to the colonists' side once they saw the benefits (self-evident to Smith) of English civility. The language which Smith used to describe the native Irish betrays a belief that parasitic Irish 'lords' oppressed their 'churls' with the 'exactions' of their 'Kerne or Galliglas', and merely needed to be replaced by English landlords in order to unleash the economic potential of the 'very simple and toyleseme' natural follower, who wished only 'that he may not bée eaten out with ceasse, Coyne, nor liverie'.<sup>22</sup>

Smith, who had never been to Ireland, trusted too much to such analogies. Although there were certainly similarities in the relationship between lord and churl on the one hand, and the *tiarna* and his followers on the other, there were crucial differences between Gaelic society and the feudal structures of medieval England. The failure to appreciate these differences meant that the colonists were unprepared for the hostile reaction they faced from local rulers such as Brian McPhelim O'Neill of Clandeboye, whose followers, instead of flocking to the colonists as their saviours, were mobilised to attack the Ards and Carrickfergus. The Gaelic social hierarchy was more nuanced than observers such as Smith were prepared to allow. The complexity inherent in the word *biatach*—which can be defined as one who rendered food dues to his *tiarna*—serves to illustrate this. While it included the *daor-bhiatach*, whose status might be said to approximate that of a serf, the word also encompassed a wider range of intermediary social ranks, up to the *brughaidh*, or hospitaller, who enjoyed a high status.<sup>23</sup>

A variety of functionaries, whose offices were often hereditary, such as the learned orders, as well as the *ceithearnach* and *gallóglach* to which ('Kerne' and 'Galliglas') Smith referred, were likewise attached to the retinue of a *tiarna*. Thus, the fabric of Gaelic social hierarchy was multi-layered and characterised by interconnected relations of

reciprocity; followers would provide tribute in the form of food or services in return for protection and, in the case of the non-food-producing elements of society, military services were provided in return for upkeep in the form of *buannacht*, levied on the *biatach*. Smith, however, appears to have laboured under the illusion that the Gaelic followers were bound to their rulers in a type of vassalage inheritable from father to son under feudal law. No such estate of inheritance existed, either in land or serfs, in Gaelic society, and the relationship between a *tiarna* and the various subordinate classes beneath him was contractual and terminable. Implicit in this was the freedom of these subordinates to leave a *tiarna* who was not fulfilling his end of the social contract.<sup>24</sup> This freedom would no doubt have been severely curtailed by the reality of economic dependence, although the same could be said of the wage labourer in the proto-capitalist economy which would supplant the Gaelic one. Smith's efforts were, therefore, thwarted by his own attempts to impose English categories upon a Gaelic cultural landscape.

While some sought the familiar in the unfamiliar society confronting them in Ulster, it was perhaps the experiences of the Ards colonists that men such as Blenerhasset and Davies had in mind when they stressed to their fellow countrymen the newness of this New World. Some historians claim that these comparisons were nothing more than propaganda to disparage the Irish, and are not to be taken as a serious reflection of how they were viewed by English observers.<sup>25</sup> The English, it is argued, were in fact aware that the Irish were not the nomads they were sometimes alleged to be, but in fact cultivated oats to supplement their dairy produce and practised only seasonal migration between upland and lowland pastures. It should be noted, however, that the Algonquian peoples encountered in southern New England also practised a mixed economy which involved tillage. This did not prevent Europeans (and subsequently Euro-Americans) from denying to them, down to the twentieth century, the status of farmer.<sup>26</sup>

The issue was not that Americans or the Irish were not using the land, but rather that they were not using it in the way Europeans did; that is to say, with the aim of producing a surplus and exploiting its commercial potential to the full. A key concept in the early modern period was 'improvement'. John Winthrop, who had considered life as a colonist in Ireland before settling for New England, met the objection that the Puritans had 'noe warrant to enter upon that Land w[hi]ch hath been soe longe possessed by others', with the answer that the Indians 'inclose

noe Land, neither have any setled habytation, nor any tame Cattle to improve the Land by', thus depriving them of any legal rights to the territory.<sup>27</sup> John Temple made frequent reference to the 'improvements' made by the colonists in Ulster and the jealousy of the Irish which had spurred them to attack.<sup>28</sup> Failure to improve the land, John Locke wrote, was the reason why the Americans, 'whom nature having furnished as liberally as any other people, with the materials of plenty', lived in such poverty that 'a king of a large and fruitful territory there, feeds, lodges, and is clad worse than a day-labourer in England'. It is no coincidence that Locke was one of the most influential theorists of the right to take land not being used in recognisably European, commercial ways.<sup>29</sup>

Colonists were often unable, or unwilling, to perceive the ways in which these peoples mixed their labour with the natural resources of their environment. The peoples of New England, for example, had developed over the centuries a sophisticated polyculture which involved planting their crops symbiotically, using the stalk of the maize as a natural frame on which they grew beans. This combination, along with squash and tobacco, maximised soil nutrients and moisture and gave the appearance, to Europeans, of a densely tangled and unweeded garden—nothing like the rows of uniform crops they had come to associate with the word 'farming'.<sup>30</sup> Few cared to look more closely into the matter; indeed, such practices seemed to violate the injunction of Leviticus 19:19: 'thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed.' Roger Williams, one of the few colonists in New England who attempted to understand the natives' way of life on its own terms, recognised that the Algonquians' burning of the undergrowth at regular intervals, both to clear the ground for planting and to facilitate hunting, constituted an improvement and gave them as much right to their land as the King of England had to his royal forests.<sup>31</sup> In a very real sense, the Indians were cultivating the game, because selective burning of the forests lured the deer into areas in which they had cleared, creating an ideal grazing environment.<sup>32</sup> Thus, land which looked as if it were going to waste was, in fact, not. The semi-pastoral way of life led by many in Ulster proved equally problematic to English observers and the misperception has likewise endured to modern times. The geographer Emrys Estyn-Evans in 1973 wrote that: 'the hills and bogs, providing as they did abundant grazing and fuel, were the preferred environment for the traditional pattern of rural life'.<sup>33</sup> While this would have been true if the Irish had remained all the year round in the bogs or upland grazing areas, this was

not the case. The cultivation of oats and wheat took place in more fertile lowland areas which, Estyn-Evans implies, were surplus to the requirements of the Irish.

That such cultivation took place is evident from Lord Deputy Sidney's report on a military expedition against Shane O'Neill in the vicinity of Clogher in September 1566. Passing through 'divers strange partes, and greate wooddes', the soldiers came upon a 'countrie so well inhabited, as wee think no yrishe Countrie in this Realm lik it' and 'remayned in that campe one whole day purposelie to destroye the corne, wherof wee founde no small abundance, burninge that daie above 24 myles compas'.<sup>34</sup> The practice of moving to summer pasture between sowing and harvest, as well as the periodic redivision and redistribution of land, gave the appearance of impermanence and waste to those coming from cultures where agriculture was marked by an uncritical commitment to increased productivity and largely limited to sedentary monoculture. Land was utilised in a far less intensive way in both Ireland and North America, and supported a sparser population than was the norm in many European countries. In many ways, however, such mixed economies were more efficient and ecologically sustainable than the commercial agriculture introduced by colonists, because the latter stimulated the kind of unsustainable population growth often cited as the very reason why overseas colonies were necessary in the first place. 'We are a great people, and the lande is too narrow for us,' declared a pamphlet promoting the Virginia settlement in 1609.<sup>35</sup>

There was a sincerity and a certain logic to the comparisons made by English colonists in America between the natives they encountered there and in Ireland.<sup>36</sup> The Irish being compared were those—frequently prefixed by the adjective 'wild'—from beyond The Pale and not the Old English or those 'mere Irish' (in Leinster for example) who had been in contact with that culture long enough to have adopted its trade and agricultural methods. The English of England may have viewed their Old English counterparts as a breed apart; they would never, however, have categorised them as so alien as to compare them to Americans.<sup>37</sup> A sharp distinction was made between them and the 'wild' Irish, as witnessed by a phrasebook for travellers printed in 1555, which remarked that the 'people of the englishe pale be metely well manered, using the english tungue but naturally, they be testy, specially yf they be vexed', whereas those beyond The Pale were said to be 'slouthful, not regarding to sow and tille theyr landes, nor caring for riches [...] untaught and

rude, the which rudenes with theyr meloncoli complexion causeth them to be angry and testy without a cause'.<sup>38</sup> The difference was that the behaviour of The Pale Irishman, testy if vexed, was at least explicable; the 'wild' Irishman, on the other hand, was liable to become testy for his own inscrutable reasons. Such inscrutability goes some of the way to explaining the identification with far-flung exotic peoples who had yet to be encompassed within the realm of the familiar and predictable.

It could also be averred that within the category of 'mere Irish' in Ulster there existed a social class sufficiently conversant with, and familiar to, the metropolitan society to avoid comparison with Americans.<sup>39</sup> The issue of class differences within pre-colonial Gaelic society has not been adequately taken account of by historians, who have sometimes treated Gaelic society as an undifferentiated mass.<sup>40</sup> The Brian McPhelim O'Neill who confronted Thomas Smith's colonists was precisely the kind of English-backed ruler which a resource-poor government had long relied on to act as its proxy in Ulster. A year prior to finding his lands had been granted to the prospective Ards colony, he had written to the queen of the 'malicious myndes of your graces disloyall subjects' in the area, and the 'incursions of the Irish Scotts', offering to carry out 'the reducinge of these p[ar]tes to due subiection in a shorte tyme' in return for confirmation of his family's ancestral lands.<sup>41</sup>

The most famous example (or infamous, from the point of view of Elizabethan officialdom) of this strategy was Hugh O'Neill, who spent his youth under the supervision of English patrons and was purposely cultivated as an agent for the extension of the state's authority in Ulster. The success of this policy seemed apparent in the comments of the Earl of Essex, who embarked upon his own colonisation scheme in east Ulster shortly after Thomas Smith, and was assisted by Hugh O'Neill in his campaign against the aforesaid Brian McPhelim. He described Hugh as 'very forward in service, and [...] the only man of Ulster that is, in my opinion, meet to be trusted and used'.<sup>42</sup> Even when O'Neill came to disappoint these expectations, he was perceived in the light of a treacherous subject—not unlike the Percy Earls of Northumberland—and unlike his 'wild' followers.

It has been suggested that the existence of a class within the Gaelic world which the English attempted to cultivate as a bridgehead for anglicisation had no parallels in America. No American leader, Raymond Gillespie writes, was treated as favourably in defeat as Hugh O'Neill was at Mellifont.<sup>43</sup> Conversely, Hiram Morgan has suggested that no

American was ‘deemed so threatening to England’s national interest’ as to merit the kind of public execution accorded to Brian O’Rourke in 1591 or Connor Maguire and Hugh McMahon in the 1640s.<sup>44</sup> To address the former point, both Ulster and the American colonies were characterised by a series of *pro tempore* alliances made by colonists with indigenous leaders whom they were not yet ready to confront. It will be argued below (pp. 279–282) that such alliances with the Gaelic Irish—for example, those fashioned under the ‘surrender and re-grant’ schemes, or promises made to Gaelic rulers who would come over to the government’s side in the Nine Years War—may be viewed in the light of similarly expedient arrangements made with American *werowances*, *sachems* and *ogemas* in the infancy of English and French colonisation in North America.

Just as Gaelic rulers were offered earldoms and baronages, attempts were likewise made to draw American rulers away from their traditional political and legal systems and into ‘the ambit of English law’.<sup>45</sup> The Powhatan *werowance* Wahunsenacawh replied, when requested by the Jamestown colonists to come and receive gifts and a crown sent by King James, that he would not come to receive them but that they should come to him. His awareness of the protocol and symbolism in such ceremonies is clear, and suggests that the reasons for his reluctance to ‘kneele to receave his crowne’ were also due to an unwillingness to accept subordination to James as overlord.<sup>46</sup> The Pequots, Narragansett and Wampanoag peoples of New England were allied with, and in turn discarded when such alliances had outlived their usefulness; no conception of the Americans as savages stood in the way of making accommodations with them in the interests of the colony.

After the massacre of a third of Virginia’s settler population in 1622, the English response was initially unrestrained; indeed the Company’s pamphleteer Edward Waterhouse suggested that they should emulate the genocide committed by the Spanish on Hispaniola.<sup>47</sup> By 1625, however, the colonists had realised that the annihilation of the natives was impossible and that, moreover, they had come to depend on the Americans’ corn harvest in order to devote themselves to growing tobacco as a lucrative export crop.<sup>48</sup> In consequence, a peace was negotiated with the *werowance* Opechancanough, who was responsible for the massacre. This peace lasted until 1644 when the elderly leader once again led an attack on the colonists. By this stage, the English were far stronger, both numerically and militarily, and once the Powhatans

had been defeated and their *werowance* captured, there was no need to placate them anymore. Opechancanough was placed on exhibition in Jamestown and then shot by one of his guards in revenge for ‘the Calamities the Colony had suffer’d by this Prince’s Means’.<sup>49</sup>

William Berkeley, however, the governor responsible for capturing Opechancanough, had intended to keep him alive in order to send him to England to be presented as a captive to the king.<sup>50</sup> This would seem to confute Hiram Morgan’s suggestion that Americans were never deemed dangerous enough to merit this kind of treatment. The Narragansett *sachem* Miantonomo was likewise accorded a legal process of sorts when captured by allies of the English in 1643. A meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies was convened; this advised that the Mohegan leader Uncas ‘take away the life of Myantonomo [...] according to justice and prudence’. In order to make sure that the deed was carried out (they themselves were anxious to make it appear that Uncas alone was responsible for the killing), they sent along ‘some discreet and faythfull persons’ to ‘see the execution for our more full satisfacion’.<sup>51</sup> Such actions are reminiscent of the kind of quasi-legal machinations which were practised in Tudor and Stuart Ireland, which for long periods of time was under martial law, and where legal process was often subordinated to political ends.<sup>52</sup>

Even accepting that a more intensive effort was made in Ireland than America to either incorporate or eliminate indigenous enemies of the state, the reasons for this have more to do with pragmatism than differing perceptions of the natives on opposite sides of the Atlantic. In America, where a western frontier existed until its ‘closure’ in the 1890s, Europeans always had vast ‘empty’ territories to their west, into which the retreating Indians could be displaced. Only when this ceased to be the case did the government address the ‘Indian problem’ as anything other than a security threat. The frontier in Ireland, however, closed in the early decades of the seventeenth century. In this case, an effort needed to be made to legally incorporate the indigenous population; this was nowhere near as pressing a necessity in America at that time. The proximity of Ireland, and the possibility of it being used as a staging post by England’s European enemies, also meant that the threat posed by sovereign Gaelic rulers was always going to be a matter of more serious concern. Notwithstanding plans to have Opechancanough transported across the Atlantic, the distances involved made such a procedure generally impractical. The key, therefore, to understanding military and

diplomatic strategies in both Ulster and America is expediency rather than any ideological impulse. A group of native rulers in Ulster were flattered with land and titles when they were powerful enough to represent a threat to stability; once this danger had passed, the state no longer felt compelled to court them. Hugh O'Neill discovered this in the years after Mellifont, when he found to his indignation that he could no longer command respect from the king's officials.<sup>53</sup>

Perceptions of the Gaelic population as savage were rooted less in any specific English antipathy towards the Irish than a perception, general in metropolitan Europe, of what constituted civilised society. This was informed by Renaissance conceptions which transcended religion and nationality. English Catholics such as William Good, visiting Ireland in the 1560s, clearly did not regard the Irish as co-religionists, claiming that they were in the habit of propitiating the new moon and contracted spiritual relationships with wolves.<sup>54</sup> The narrative of Francisco de Cuellar, a survivor of the Armada, makes frequent references to the 'savage' natives and expressly mentions details of unchristian-like mores such as not burying corpses.<sup>55</sup> Michel de Montaigne wrote of the Irish as being at the same stage of development as the ancient Gauls, expressing the belief that they wore hardly any clothes.<sup>56</sup> There was nothing puzzling to early-modern Europeans in finding such 'wild men' on the periphery of their own continent. As late as 1693, the Swedish authorities in Lapland were burning Saami shamans at the stake amidst a vigorous Christianisation campaign, at the same time as missionaries from the same country were, in America, publishing the Lutheran catechism in the language of the native Lenape Delaware.

The difficulty which some historians have had in accepting a colonial reading of Irish history stems largely from a *modern* perception of colonisation as something that happened outside Europe. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans experienced no such difficulty. The primary model from which they took their conception of colonisation was the Roman one; indeed, the word 'colony' has its root in the Latin *colonus*, meaning a settlement of Roman citizens in a hostile, conquered territory. Self-consciously following Roman models, Thomas Smith referred to himself and his deputies as '*coloniae ductores*, the distributors of land to english men in a forein contrey'.<sup>57</sup> The historical misconception is compounded by a modern use of the words 'plantation' and 'colony', which differs from the way these terms were understood at the time. While the word 'colony' is frequently flagged as problematic in relation to Ireland,

‘plantation’ enjoys more or less universal acceptance. Implicit in this is a feeling that the former term is to be reserved for settlement in America and other far-flung locations, while the latter is more appropriate for Ireland. The two words, however, were used interchangeably in the early modern period. Their synonymity is suggested by the fact that the verb related to *colonus* is *colere*, which means to cultivate or plant. As Raymond Gillespie has noted, the word ‘plantation’ was not used in print until 1586, when Walter Raleigh was (somewhat prematurely) praised for making ‘a plantation of the people of your own English nation in *Virginia*’.<sup>58</sup> William Bradford’s famous account of the Plymouth colony’s early years was entitled *Of Plymouth Plantation*. Proposals made concerning Ulster at the start of the seventeenth century, on the other hand, referred as often to the establishment of colonies as they did to plantations.<sup>59</sup>

This anachronistic distinction has had the unfortunate effect of perpetuating and strengthening a perception of difference between these outposts of empire which did not exist at the time. From an English perspective, once the two areas had been opened up to settlement and investment, they were both nodes in the network of empire, spoken of in the same breath. ‘Our plantations go on, the one doubtfully, the other desperately,’ wrote Samuel Calvert in 1612, comparing the situations in Ulster and Virginia respectively.<sup>60</sup> The interconnectedness is apparent in the way Arthur Chichester spoke of the colonial ventures in America detracting resources from Ulster.<sup>61</sup> Francis Bacon’s dismissal of plans for a Virginia colony as ‘an enterprise [...] differing as much from this [Ulster] as *Amadis de Gaul* differs from Caesar’s *Commentaries*’ could at first sight be construed as indicating that Bacon placed the two projects in entirely different categories; however, the fact that the two are bracketed together in the first place is significant and, read in context, he would seem to be expressing the conviction that the plans for Virginia were unrealistic compared to the sound financial proposition that Ulster represented. A more sober comparison is made earlier in the letter, when Bacon, reflecting on the motives that normally drive colonists (pleasure, profit and honour), reflects on the absence of a pleasure motive in Ulster, where there are ‘no warm winters, nor orange-trees, nor strange beasts, or birds, or other points of curiosity or pleasure, as there are in Indies and the like’ to attract potential adventurers, who would have to make do with profit and honour.<sup>62</sup>

Objections to viewing Ireland as a colony were really only taken up later by those such as William Molyneux, who argued that Ireland was

a ‘Compleat Kingdom within it self’ and in no way comparable to that of Rome with one of its colonies.<sup>63</sup> When looking at this constitutional argument for regarding Ireland as a kingdom rather than a colony, the focus must, of necessity, shift away from Ulster, as the debate concerns the entire island as a legal entity. Rather than being a defence of the dignity and sovereignty of Ireland, such arguments were usually made in assertion of the rights of the Protestant ascendancy which had benefited from that conquest. Given the anxiety to reap the rewards of England’s growing maritime dominance in the Atlantic and participate fully in trade with the empire as a part of the hub rather than a colonial outpost, the constitutional status of Ireland as a kingdom offered a means by which it could be distinguished from other territories conquered and settled by the English.

Such arguments were necessary because the tendency persisted—notwithstanding the country’s status on paper—to treat Ireland as a colony. The 1699 Act to restrict the exportation of wool from Ireland to England provides the context for Molyneux’s tract. Legislation already existed banning the export of live cattle to England, and the Navigation Acts which came to restrict trade between Ireland and the rest of the empire would suggest that, far from being an equal kingdom, the country was being governed with the economic interests of England (and later Great Britain) in mind. This was nothing new. As D. B. Quinn has noted, the aim of colonial projects mooted at the beginning of the seventeenth century was ‘to encourage the exploitation of Ireland in the economic interest of England’.<sup>64</sup> The only difference later on was the existence of a class—eloquent, enfranchised and Protestant—to articulate objections to this. Such objections would in time lead to a ‘patriot’ movement in Ireland, and in America to revolution and independence.

The argument that Ireland differed from the American colonies by virtue of its constitutional status is belied by the political realities of the time. The Irish Parliament was, as T. W. Moody has put it, ‘the instrument of the English colony in Ireland’.<sup>65</sup> Lord lieutenants and deputies were invariably English. Above all, however, the country was economically ‘condemned to an instrumental role by the metropolis’, which, Michael Hechter argues, is the ‘pattern of development characterising the colonial situation’.<sup>66</sup> This often takes the form of the ‘development of underdevelopment’ in the interests of the colonising power and is normally associated with extra-European, Third World countries. If, as Steven Ellis has suggested, the ruling elite in Ireland ‘promoted the

development of the local economy', the fact that they were unable to do so effectively, on account of the Irish parliament's impotence, is testament to Ireland's colonial status.

It is interesting in this respect to examine the other grounds on which Ellis has based his assertion that 'a typically European society (as opposed to a colony) was successfully established in Ireland'.<sup>67</sup> Two of these points may be taken together: that Ireland's 'governing elite was generally resident there' and that the country 'enjoyed a very wide degree of self-government'. While it is true that those who sat in the Irish parliament generally did reside in the country, both these statements pose difficulties for the reasons given above, namely that the restrictions imposed by Poyning's Law essentially gave London a veto on legislation from Dublin. This makes the use of the term 'self-government' problematic in this case, as well as the contention that this elite 'governed' in the full sense of the word. Another problem is that the country whose interests this elite represented, insofar as they did govern, was confined to the small minority entitled to participate in the political life of the country. Molyneux's claim that there remained a 'meer handful of the Antient *Irish* at this day; I may say, not one in a thousand' was simply untrue.<sup>68</sup> Between 82% of the population in 1659 and 70% in 1732 were disenfranchised Catholics, excluded from any role in public life; this is not to mention the considerable numbers of Protestant Dissenters who were likewise subject to such impediments.<sup>69</sup> Such legislation also refutes Ellis' contention that the ruling elite 'identified with the country', assuming that 'the country' being referred to consisted of the entire population rather than just the ruling caste. It will be thus seen that the society created in Ireland was far from typically European; it was, in fact, rather unusual in Europe for an ethnic/religious minority to rule over the majority in this way.

Ancillary to the constitutional argument against Ireland's colonial status is the claim that the Irish were incorporated as full subjects of the crown, whereas this was rarely, if ever, envisaged for Americans.<sup>70</sup> Just as the legal status of Ireland as a kingdom presents merely a formal difference between the way that territory was administered compared to Virginia or New England, the same is true regarding the legal positions of the Irish and Americans. It has been noted by Michael Neill that the semantic sleight of hand by which the 1541 Act reclassified 'the king's Irish enemies' as 'the king's Irish subjects', is 'reminiscent of the papal apportionment of New World natives to Spain and Portugal half a

century before'.<sup>71</sup> By this act, the Irish became technically free at law; little or no attempt was made by the English to legally integrate North America's native population with that of the colonists in the same way.<sup>72</sup> Just as the legal designation of 'kingdom' masks a reality that is more complex than appearances would suggest, so does the term 'full subject'. This requires some clarification about what exactly was meant in practice.

It may be inferred from the status of free subject that the Irish became entitled to avail themselves of the common law like any other subject in the three kingdoms. Once more confining our focus to Ulster, it was declared—even before the Flight of the Earls—that the people of the province were 'all his highnesse naturall subiects, so will his Maiestie have an equall respect towards them all'.<sup>73</sup> The benefits of being the king's Irish subjects were proclaimed as a primary justification for the plantation project by John Davies, who argued that the failure to admit the Irish to such benefits in the past had been responsible for most of the colony's troubles. Some of the practical consequences of this failure, Davies reflected, meant that the 'mere Irish' were 'not only disabled to bring any actions, but they were so far out of the protection of the law, as it was often adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in the time of peace'. Davies was among the first justices of assize to sit in Tyrone and Donegal after the Nine Years War, and describes the respective reactions of the Gaelic rulers and their followers:

Though it was somewhat distasteful to the Irish lords, [it] was sweet and most welcome to the common people, who, albeit they were rude and barbarous, yet did quickly apprehend the difference between the tyranny and oppression under which they lived before, and the just government and protection which we promised unto them for the time to come.<sup>74</sup>

It is certain that Hugh O'Neill resented the intrusion of another legal authority into the region, the dictates of which could impinge on privileges he had enjoyed by customary right. In order to discover what the status of free subject meant in practice, and, therefore, to what extent it represents a significant factor differentiating the colonised populations in Ireland and America, it is necessary to examine more closely the picture which Davies paints of the natives' position under the common law.

As O'Neill was to recount in a list of grievances submitted to the king after his flight, the reality of the common law in Ulster in these years was very different from that suggested by the promise to 'governe them all

by one indifferent Law, without respect of persons'.<sup>75</sup> The picture which emerges after the introduction of sheriffs and assizes is one of a society in which the earl could no longer protect his people from the depredations of government officials, who were, in theory, supposed to be upholding the law. It was alleged, for example, that Lord Deputy Chichester had incited O'Neill's inveterate enemies, the sons of Shane O'Neill (d. 1567), to commit robberies and murders among his tenants, sheltering them in Chichester's own lands in Clandeboye, only prosecuting them when they killed one of his own tenants by mistake, then proceeding to use the law to prosecute those tenants who had been robbed of food by the McShanes for 'having relieved the said rebels with meat'.<sup>76</sup> Such arbitrary use of the law to terrorise the population continued throughout the colonial period, and will be illustrated in more detail below (pp. 187–191).

The potential political benefits of being accounted full subjects were likewise tempered by the reality. If the natives' availing of these alleged benefits proved inconvenient to the authorities, this could be bypassed by the selective application or disregarding of the law. While those 'mere Irish' who fulfilled the property qualification were allowed, for example, to participate in elections, in practice they could be thwarted by other means; Turlough McHenry O'Neill in Armagh was simply prevented by a sentry from taking part in the elections to the 1613 parliament.<sup>77</sup> Out of 64 MPs, Ulster returned only one Catholic. The manipulation by which the government ensured a Protestant majority (largely by the creation of boroughs in newly colonised Ulster) was regarded—even in an era when representative democracy by modern standards was an alien concept—as unacceptable.<sup>78</sup>

On the ground in Ulster, therefore, the status of full subject would have meant far less than the rhetoric would suggest; rather than a new dispensation in which an impartial body of law had replaced the arbitrary rule of Gaelic *tiarnai*, the society which emerged in colonial Ulster was characterised by an arbitrary form of rule by the state's representatives. The common law proved little more than a veneer, thinly disguising the rule of force over a conquered people, and from which the colonists themselves were largely immune.<sup>79</sup> In light of these facts, the claim by Fynes Moryson that 'the English always governed Ireland, not as a conquered people by the sword and the Conquerors lawe, but as a Province united upon mariage or like peaceable transactions' may be seen strictly

as self-serving rhetoric designed to ascribe noble motives to the conquest.<sup>80</sup>

The scenario outlined above could, on the other hand, be presented as the teething troubles inherent in the establishment of authority in a new territory. It has been claimed that, despite corruption and inefficiency, the legal system in time came to enjoy a significant level of confidence among the native population.<sup>81</sup> The practice of gauging acceptance of the new order in Ulster by the use which the Irish made of the institutions of English law has led Raymond Gillespie to claim that such acceptance became ‘quite widespread’.<sup>82</sup> There is a danger in gauging acceptance of the new dispensation by this method, however, because the Irish no longer had recourse to any means of legal redress other than English law. A legal system enjoys cogency only to the extent that resources exist to implement it. With the attenuation of a native ruling class capable of enforcing its precepts, Gaelic law had become obsolete; in the absence of any alternative, the fact that the Irish sought redress by the only means which existed tells us very little about acceptance of the new order or otherwise. As Anthony Carty has pointed out, ‘a complete destruction of the cultural-political structures of a society must not be allowed, of itself, to constitute evidence of an acquiescence in their destruction’.<sup>83</sup> It is, of course, perfectly possible that some administrators were sincere in the belief that the extension of common law would enfranchise the Irish and give them a stake in the new status quo, while others saw a convenient instrument for the extension of the state’s power and the exploitation of Ireland’s resources.

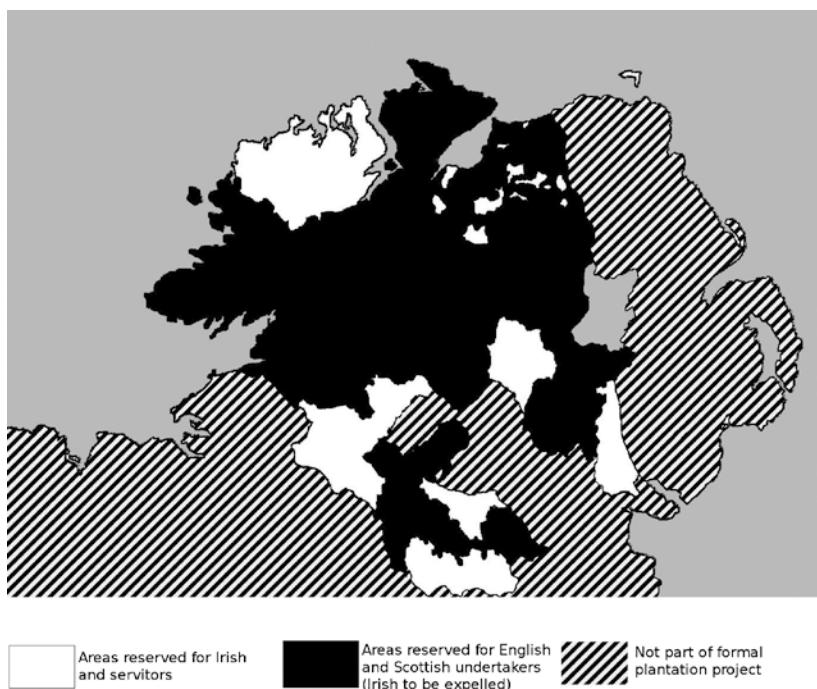
Even accepting for the purposes of argument that the reform/anglicisation of early-modern Ireland was a means of addressing England’s economic and social problems—and was thus, by Hechter’s criteria, colonial in nature—the very existence of such a strategy of reform has been taken to differentiate it from the American colonies. The argument is that, even if the Irish were not yet within The Pale, metaphorically speaking, those shaping policy were working actively to bring them in; this process of anglicisation, however, was never something envisaged for the Americans.<sup>84</sup> To claim that the Americans were never seen by the English colonists (or their Euro-American ancestors) as anything more than a security threat to be displaced ever further westwards elides a period in the first century of colonial America’s history when significant efforts at the cultural reformation of the natives were in fact made by some among the settlers.

There was ever a tension—analogous to that between advocates of reform and colonisation in Ireland—between those who sought to instil these values, usually laying heavy emphasis on the Christianisation element of such reformation, and those who saw them as inimical to the health of the colony. In Virginia, for example, the 1614–1622 period between the first and second Anglo-Powhatan wars was marked by a change in emphasis, from an earlier aggressive stance to one of attempting to conciliate the Americans and win them over to Christianity.<sup>85</sup> These efforts were embodied in the figure of George Thorpe, whose attempts to win converts through persuasion attracted criticism from his fellow colonists for what were perceived as his indulgence towards the natives.<sup>86</sup> Thorpe's death in the massacre of 1622 was seen as evidence of the irredeemably savage nature of the people he had believed reformable. In a sense, this development was welcomed by the Virginia Company who, anxious to 'obtaine their best commodities', were only too willing to conclude that 'the sinnes of these wicked Infidels, have made them unworthy of [...] the eternall good' of salvation.<sup>87</sup>

1622 marks the end of a period when the anglicisation of the native in Virginia was deemed possible.<sup>88</sup> It is remarkable, given the later taboo surrounding intermarriage with the natives, that the marriage between John Rolfe and Pocahontas was not only socially permissible in 1614, but seen as a cause for celebration and publicised in England in the hope of repairing the colony's damaged reputation. In New England, *Thorpe* had his counterpart in figures such as John Eliot and Roger Williams. Their efforts at proselytisation were likewise greeted with a mixed reaction from the colonial population at large, and were conditioned by the stipulation that such efforts led to as little intercultural contact as possible. Separate villages were set up to keep the 'praying Indians' away from both their 'savage' kin and the colonists, and were the object of intense hostility—especially after Metacomet's War in the 1670s—from those who foresaw no role for the Americans in the colony's future.<sup>89</sup>

It is misleading to view the question in binary terms, either in Ireland or America, as a conflict between those who sought to reform and ultimately incorporate the natives as equals, on the one hand, and those who sought to expel or exterminate them on the other. Colonies rarely have a settled policy towards the natives that is uniformly subscribed to by all its members. In Ulster, neither wholesale removal/extermination, on the one hand, nor the elevation of the natives to equal status, on the other, emerged as a practical policy. Chapter 7 outlines a third

alternative, which became the distinguishing policy of the Ulster colony towards its natives in practice. Ultimately, expulsion did not prevail as the settled policy in Ulster, if for no other reason than that it was not feasible. This is not to say that expulsion was not attempted; the plantation project, after all, did aim at the ethnic cleansing of natives from the lands of English and Scottish undertakers in Ulster. The extent of this territory can be seen in Fig. 2.4. The 1650s again saw a wave of confiscation and transplantation which removed practically all Catholic landowners in that province. In America, expulsion largely prevailed over the incorporation and anglicisation of the natives until the late nineteenth century. It is crucial to remember, however, that in the seventeenth century these ultimate outcomes were by no means inevitable. Ulster began, at this time, a process of transformation from being the part of Ireland least integrated into the British polity to being the most integrated. Such an



**Fig. 2.4** Ulster plantation project: Areas of projected native and colonial settlement

outcome has made that region appear, with hindsight, conceptually close to Britain, and the transformative impact of colonisation a phenomenon in need of little explanation.

The comprehensive anglicisation of Ireland has been cited by Steven Ellis as evidence of its position being ‘fundamentally different from that of an extra-European colony’. Cited as examples are African colonies which were colonised for a much shorter length of time, and where the native culture maintained its integrity to a far greater extent than in Ireland.<sup>90</sup> Such a comparison, however, already assumes a dichotomy between Ireland and colonies outside Europe that does not stand up to scrutiny in this particular case. Jared Diamond has shown that settlement in the tropical zone, in which diseases such as malaria were endemic, was a bridge too far for Europeans and, equally importantly, their domesticated animals. Most African colonies were thus home to far fewer settlers than colonies such as Ireland and America.<sup>91</sup> If the North American colonies had been taken as evidence instead, it would be seen that in those cases where indigenous people were swallowed up by the expanding European colony, they generally underwent a process of acculturation at least as thoroughgoing as the Gaelic Irish. In terms of the distinction which Ellis makes between ‘colonies of permanent settlement’ and ‘colonies of exploitation’, therefore, it is Ireland and North America which belong together in the former category, and those in the tropics that belong in the latter. On the other hand, the scarcity of native epidemic diseases in America, coupled with the natives’ lack of immunity to European microbes, constitutes the single biggest factor differentiating colonisation in America, not only from Ireland, but from all Old World colonies, in that the newcomers started out with an enormous genetic advantage over the natives. In seventeenth-century Ireland, on the other hand, it was the newcomers who were more likely to succumb to unfamiliar bacteria, such as the Irish ‘flux’ which decimated English armies in the 1640s and 1650s.<sup>92</sup>

Understandably, given the recent troubled history of the province, the Ulster plantation has often been studied in terms of its ultimate consequences. If it is to be understood in the context of its own time, however, comparisons and contrasts with other projects in the early-modern period are necessary. The context of English expansion throughout the Atlantic world is particularly useful because—our subject being the *native* experience of colonisation—that story will, to a great extent, be one of adaption to dramatically transformative pressures and changes

imposed from outside. The nature of this change in Ulster, from the natives' point of view, bore more similarity with radical changes in the native way of life in America than it did with those undergone by peoples in, for example, peripheral areas of England, where national development took place along the lines of an evolutionary 'diffusion' of the dominant cultural and political values resulting from long-term interaction between core and periphery.<sup>93</sup> A history of the Ulster colony concerned primarily with a segment of the settler population on the other hand—such as Perceval-Maxwell's work on the Scottish colonists—may well find the Atlantic context rather less useful, given the prominence of cross-channel contacts in that story. After all, in the colony's first years, settlers could travel back across the North Channel for religious service on Sundays.<sup>94</sup> Such trips were hardly possible for those settling in America.

Issues of identity, whether ethnic, cultural, religious or otherwise, played a role in Ulster; this was not the case in those territories where the metropolitan culture diffused over a longer timespan. The 'wild' Irish were constructed in the late sixteenth century as counterparts to the 'wild' American, perhaps because they shared with the American a certain exoticness, though with one crucial difference: the English had long possessed an image of the 'mere Irish' which could be used as a 'standard of savage or outlandish reference', not only in reference to 'savages' across the Atlantic, but closer to home. Archbishop Parker, for example, attempted in 1560 to expedite the appointment of resident clergy in the north of England, lest the people there 'should be too much Irish and savage'.<sup>95</sup>

When American colonisation began, this image could easily be transferred across the ocean to the new peoples being encountered there; hence Roger Williams' warning to John Winthrop in 1637 that the Pequots who had surrendered not be enslaved for fear they should 'turn wild Irish'.<sup>96</sup> The Irish experience persisted as a convenient point of reference in America into the old age of those, such as Samuel Gorton in New England, whose childhood had spanned the period when Ulster was being conquered. Gorton used the Nine Years *War* as a salutary warning of the dangers of stirring up native resentment. He clearly had no doubt about the parallels between that struggle and the one facing the colonists in 1675 against a native alliance led by the Wampanoag *sachem*, Metacom or, as he was known to the English, King Philip:

I remember the time of the warres in Ireland (when I was young, in Queene Elizabeths days of famous memory), where much English blood was spilt by a people like unto these [...] And after these Irish were subdued by force, what treacherous and bloody massacres have they attempted is well knowne.<sup>97</sup>

By the time Gorton was writing, such comparisons were becoming rarer. As S. J. Connolly has noted, when the wars in Ireland had receded sufficiently in memory, ‘the wild Irishman rampaging at the frontiers of English settlement gave way in English folklore to the comic provincial’.<sup>98</sup> Swings of public feeling in response to military fortunes are crucial to understanding English attitudes. After the Nine Years War, hostility towards the Irish was gradually replaced by a condescending paternalism; this is evident, for example, in Ben Jonson’s representation of the defeated Irish in the *Masque* (1613), where the Irish are no longer dangerous rebels, but clownish figures squabbling with one another in competition for the king’s favour.<sup>99</sup> A sharp swing back towards a view of the Irish as treacherous and bloodthirsty can be seen in the aftermath of the 1641 rising, the writings of John Temple being only the best known example of an antipathy widespread at the time. Although it took far longer, perceptions of the Native American ultimately underwent a similar process of romanticisation and stereotyping, once the frontier had closed upon the indigenous population and they were no longer seen as a threat.

It might be said that a similar closing of the frontier took place in Ireland with the conquest and colonisation of Ulster. What this actually involved, as indicated in Chap. 1, is often presented solely in terms of the plantation project and the events immediately leading up to it. In fact, the process of preparing Ulster for settlement stretched back to at least the 1570s, during which period a series of strategies were tried (and found to be wanting) to integrate the province into a centralising English (soon-to-be Anglo-Scottish) state. From attempts at private colonisation in east Ulster, to the effort at controlling the province through (it was hoped) a tractable local ally, or from the creation of native free-holders in Monaghan, to a half- and then whole-hearted commitment to military conquest, these efforts have not often been presented by historians as integral to laying the groundwork upon which the plantation took place. The following chapter will seek to demonstrate unequivocally the causal link between the two.

## NOTES

1. Thomas Blenerhasset, *A direction for the plantation in Ulster* (London, 1610), sig. C4v.
2. For Quinn's pioneering work on this, see, for example: 'Ireland and sixteenth-century European expansion' in *Historical Studies: papers read before the Irish Conference of Historians*, no. 1, ed. Thomas Desmond Williams (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1958) and *Ireland and America: their early associations, 1500–1640* (Liverpool University Press, 1991). Nicholas Canny has discussed the issue most thoroughly in: Nicholas Canny, 'The ideology of English colonization from Ireland to America,' *The William and Mary Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1973): 575–598, *Kingdom and colony: Ireland in the Atlantic world, 1560–1800* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988) and a festschrift for Quinn (edited with K. R. Andrews and P. E. H. Hair) entitled *The westward enterprise: English activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480–1650* (Liverpool University Press, 1978).
3. The most articulate and sustained objections to viewing early modern Ireland in this Atlantic context—and those from which most of the arguments addressed here will be taken—have come from Steven Ellis, 'Writing Irish history: revisionism, colonialism, and the British Isles,' *The Irish Review* 19 (1996) and Hiram Morgan, 'Mid-Atlantic blues,' *The Irish Review* 11 (1991). Stephen Howe has also written a survey of this historiographical debate which is essentially an extended attack on the colonial model: *Ireland and empire: colonial legacies in Irish history and culture* (Oxford University Press, 2000). Two works by Andrew Murphy, 'Ireland and ante/anti-colonial theory,' *Irish Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (1999) and a monograph, *But the Irish sea betwixt us: Ireland, colonialism, and Renaissance literature*, are both valuable contributions to the debate, although they are strictly speaking works of literary criticism. Most recently, Audrey Horning's *Ireland in the Virginian sea* has set itself the task of a comparative analysis of the Ulster and American colonies, but ultimately proves ambiguous about asserting parallels, for reasons which will be examined in a later chapter.
4. Morgan, 'Mid-Atlantic blues,' 57.
5. Raymond Gillespie, 'Explorers, exploiters and entrepreneurs: early modern Ireland and its context, 1500–1700,' in *An historical geography of Ireland*, eds. B. J. Graham and L. J. Proudfoot (London: Academic Press, 1993), 152. Counter to the view of Ireland as an external colony, Steven Ellis has stressed the 'location of early modern Ireland within an expanding British periphery'. 'Writing Irish history,' 14.

6. John Davies, A letter from Sir John Davies to Robert Earl of Salisbury concerning the state of Ireland, 1610, in *Historical tracts*, 289.
7. Gillespie, 'Explorers, exploiters and entrepreneurs,' 152.
8. Murphy, 'Ireland and ante/anti-colonial theory,' 160.
9. E. E. Rich, 'The European nations and the Atlantic,' in *The new Cambridge modern history, Volume 4, The decline of Spain and the Thirty Years War, 1609–48/59*, ed. J. P. Cooper (Cambridge University Press, 1971), 681.
10. William J. Smyth, *Map-making, landscapes and memory: a geography of colonial and early modern Ireland, c. 1530–1750* (Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 2006), 435.
11. *Gaeltacht* (plural: *Gaeltachtaí*), in a modern sense meaning a primarily Irish-speaking region, will be used in this work to refer to those areas in the early-modern period remaining under Gaelic rule or 'outside The Pale' in the parlance of the time. The corresponding Scottish Gaelic term *Gàidhealtachd* will be used to signify those areas in the west and highlands of Scotland retaining their *Gàidhlig* character.
12. Hugh O'Neill to King James I, 17 June 1606, SP 63-218 no. 71, f. 221r.
13. Ciaran Brady, 'The road to the view: on the decline of reform thought in Tudor Ireland,' in *Spenser and Ireland: an interdisciplinary perspective*, ed. Patricia Coughlan (Cork University Press, 1989), 35.
14. Henry Sidney to Queen Elizabeth, 1575, cited in George Hill, *An historical account of the Macdonnells of Antrim* (Belfast: Archer, 1873), 156.
15. Ormond to Burghley, 19 August 1594, SP 63-175 no. 65, ff. 266r–266v.
16. Davies, 'A discovery,' in *Historical Tracts*, 83.
17. Sir John Davys to the Earl of Salisbury, 24 August 1609, in *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol. 21: 1609–1612, ed. Geraint Dyfnallt Owen (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), 121.
18. T. W. Moody estimated that 'the journey from London to Londonderry appears to have taken about a month', and Thomas Phillips, one of the most intrepid servitors, who knew Ulster as well as any settler, needed to employ a guide when traveling through the heavily forested areas of Loughlinsholin. Moody, *Londonderry Plantation*, 345, 352. As late as 1635 the route between Newry and Dromore was 'a most difficult way for a stranger to find out', according to William Brereton, 'Sir William Brereton's travels in Ireland, 1635,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 372.
19. Smyth, *Map-making*, 21–53.
20. John Davies to Salisbury, 28 August 1609, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, eds. C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (London: Longman & Co., 1874), 280. In the light of this, the admission of another map-maker, Francis Jobson, that he had of necessity left the counties of Donegal and

Fermanagh ‘un[per]fected’ as he was reluctant to venture into those areas in the 1590s, is understandable, as is his contention that he was ‘every hower in daunger to loose my head’. Francis Jobson, Ulster’s unitie, SP 63-202-4 no. 83, f. 263v.

21. Hiram Morgan, ‘The Colonial Venture of Sir Thomas Smith in Ulster, 1571–1575,’ *The Historical Journal* 28, no. 2 (1985): 261–278; David Beers Quinn, ‘Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory,’ *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 89, no. 4 (1945): 543–560.
22. Thomas Smith, *A Letter sent by I. B. Gentleman unto his very frende Maystet R. C. Esquire* (London, 1572), sig. D3r-D3v.
23. Simms, *From kings to warlords*, 171.
24. Hayes-McCoy, ‘Gaelic society in Ireland,’ 55. Quinn, *Elizabethans*, 38.
25. Morgan, ‘Mid-Atlantic blues,’ 53–54.
26. In the 1930s, for example, A. L. Kroeber described the Algonquians of New England as ‘agricultural hunters, not [...] farmers’. ‘Native American population,’ *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 36, no. 1 (1934): 12.
27. John Winthrop, Reasons to be considered for justifieing the undertakeres of the intended Plantation in New England, and for incouraginge such whose hartes God shall move to ioyne with them in it, in *Life and letters of John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts-Bay Company at their emigration to New England, 1630*, ed. Robert C. Winthrop (Boston: Little, Brown, 1869), 311–312.
28. John Temple, *The Irish rebellion: or, an history of the attempts of the Irish Papists to extirpate the protestants in the kingdom of Ireland* (London: White, Cochrane and co., 1812), 21, 23, 74, 105.
29. John Locke, *Two treatises of government* (London: Whitmore and Fenn, 1821), 222. On p. 209 he wrote: ‘Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property.’
30. William Cronon, *Changes in the land: Indians, colonists, and the ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), 43–44.
31. Master John Cotton’s answer to Master Roger Williams, in Roger Williams, *The complete writings of Roger Williams*, vol. 2 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 48. This argument is known only from Cotton’s refutation, as Williams destroyed his tract on the subject of Indian land rights.
32. Cronon, *Changes in the land*, 51.
33. E. Estyn Evans, *The personality of Ireland: habitat, heritage and history* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 78.

34. Lord Deputy Sidney, Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, Sir Nicholas Bagenal and Francis Agard to Queen Elizabeth, 12 November 1566, SP 63-19 no. 43, f. 86v. There is also evidence that the cultivation of wheat and barley was more common in the early Middle Ages. Katharine Simms, 'Guesting and feasting in Gaelic Ireland,' *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 108 (1978): 79.
35. Robert Gray, *A good speed to Virginia* (London, 1609), f. B2v.
36. Several examples of these comparisons are listed in Quinn, *Elizabethans*, 23–26.
37. It was written in 1598 that 'the descente of the Inglishe (to their great greefe) are here [in England] called and counted Irishe, though there (of the mere Irish) reputed and called Inglish'. Anonymous, That planting of collonies, and that to bee begonne onely by the Dutch, will geve best entrance to the reformation of Ulster, SP 63-202-4 no. 75, f.235v.
38. Andrew Boorde, *The fyrist boke of the introduction of knowledge The whych dothe teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages, and to knowe the usage and fashion of al maner of countreys* (London, 1562), sig. C3r–C3v.
39. As Hiram Morgan has pointed out, the Gaelic nobility participated in the 'meat and drink' of English politics, 'warfare, marriage alliances, faction fighting, litigation and prosecution, the bribery of officials, the selection of JPs and sheriffs, the billeting of troops, the holding of parliament and the constant manoeuvring at Court. There is nothing colonial about any of these activities. They are all recognisably European.' 'Mid-Atlantic Blues,' 52.
40. This will be discussed in more detail in Chap. 5.
41. Brian McPhelim O'Neill to Queen Elizabeth, 6 July 1571, SP 63–33, no. 3, f. 5r.
42. Essex to Burghley, 20 October 1573, in *Lives and letters of the Devereux Earls of Essex in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I, 1540–1642*, 2 vols, ed. Walter Bourchier Devereux (London: John Murray, 1853), vol. 1, 42.
43. Gillespie, 'Explorers, Exploiters and Entrepreneurs,' 152.
44. Morgan, 'Mid-Atlantic blues,' 52.
45. This was Seán Ó Faoláin's description of the strategy in an Irish context. Seán Ó Faoláin, *The great O'Neill: a biography of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, 1550–1616* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1970), 13.
46. John Smith, Proceedings of the English Colonie, in *Complete works of Captain John Smith, 1580–1631*, 3 vols, eds. Thad W. Tate, Philip L. Barbour (University of North Carolina Press, 1986), vol. 1, 236–237.
47. Edward Waterhouse, *A declaration of the state of the colony and affaires in Virginia* (London, 1622), 30.

48. Frederick Fausz, 'Openchancanough: Indian Resistance Leader,' in *The American Indian: Past and Present*, ed. Roger L. Nichols (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992): 30.
49. Robert Beverley, *The history and present state of Virginia, in four parts* (London: printed for R. Parker, 1705), 52–53.
50. Beverley, *The history and present state of Virginia*, 52.
51. Jennings, *The invasion of America*, 266–268.
52. See for example, Peadar Mac Duinnshleibhe, 'The legal murder of Aodh Rua McMahon, 1590,' *Clogher Record* 1, no. 3 (1955): 39–52 and Liam Price, 'The case of Phelim MacFeagh O'Byrne and the lands of Ranelagh,' *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Seventh Series, 13, no. 2 (1943): 50–59.
53. O'Neill complained of being subjected to 'verie hard and dishonorable speche' at the council table. Articles exhibited by the earle of Tirone to the king's most exelent ma[jes]tie, declaringe certaine causes of discontent offered him, by which he toke occasione to dep[ar]t his countrey, 1607, SP 63–222 no. 201, f. 319r.
54. William Good, 'The Maners of the Irishry, both of old of later times,' in William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1637), part 2, 145–146.
55. Francisco de Cuellar, 'An introduction and complete translation of Captain Cuellar's narrative of the Spanish Armada,' trans. Robert Crawford, in Hugh Allingham, *Captain Cuellar's adventures in Connacht & Ulster, A.D. 1588* (London: Elliot Stock, 1897), 41–51 and *passim*.
56. Michel de Montaigne, 'Apology for Raymond Sebond,' trans. M. A. Screech, in *The Complete Essays* (London: Penguin Press, 2003), 510.
57. Thomas Smith to Lord Deputy William FitzWilliam, 31 July 1574, cited in Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith and the beginnings of English colonial theory,' 547.
58. Raymond Gillespie, 'The problems of plantations: material culture and social change in early modern Ireland,' in *Plantation Ireland: settlement and material culture, c.1550–c.1700*, eds. James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 44–45; original in John Hooker, To the Right Worthie and honorable gentleman Sir Walter Raleigh knight, in Raphael Holinshed, *The second volume of chronicles* (London, 1586), f.A3v.
59. For example: Anonymous, 1598, That planting of collonies, and that to bee begonne onely by the Dutch, will geve best entrance to the reformation of Ulster, SP 63-202-4 no. 75, ff. 232r–236v. Anonymous, Certyn notes and observations touching the deducing and planting of colonies, addressed to the Earl of Northampton, Lord Privy Seal, no date,

[BL Cotton Titus BX, ff.402–409], printed in *Plantation Ireland*, eds. Lyttleton and Rynne, 34.

60. Samuel Calvert to William Trumbull, 3 August 1612, in *Report on the manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, 4 vols, ed. A. B. Hinds (London: HMSO, 1938), vol. 3, 344.
61. Arthur Chichester to Salisbury, 2 October 1605, SP 63-217, f. 165v.
62. Francis Bacon, Certain considerations touching the plantation in Ireland, presented to his majesty, 1609, in *The letters and the life of Francis Bacon*, 7 vols, ed. James Spedding (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1868), vol. 4, 121, 123.
63. William Molyneux, *The case of Ireland's being bound by acts of Parliament in England stated* (Dublin: 1698), 148–149.
64. David Beers Quinn, ‘A “Discourse of Ireland” (circa 1599): a sidelight on English colonial policy,’ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C*, 47 (1942): 152.
65. T. W. Moody, ‘The Irish Parliament under Elizabeth and James I: A General Survey,’ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C*, 45 (1940): 43.
66. Michael Hechter, *Internal colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development, 1536–1966* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), 30.
67. Ellis, ‘Writing Irish History,’ 9.
68. Molyneux, *The case of Ireland's being bound by acts of Parliament in England stated*, 20.
69. These figures are extrapolated from Youssef Courbage, ‘The demographic factor in Ireland's movement towards partition (1607–1921),’ *Population: an English selection* 9 (1997): 190.
70. Morgan, ‘Mid-Atlantic blues,’ 52–53; Murphy, ‘Ireland and ante/anti-colonial theory,’ 155.
71. Michael Neill, ‘Broken English and broken Irish: Nation, language, and the optic of power in Shakespeare's histories,’ *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (1994): 5.
72. This would continue to be the case after American independence; the ‘Indians’ were not granted full citizenship until 1924 in the United States and 1947 in Canada.
73. Proclamation of March 1605, SP 63-217 no. 17, f. 43.
74. Davies, ‘A discovery,’ in *Historical tracts*, 82–88, 210.
75. Proclamation of March 1605, SP 63-217 no. 17, f. 43.
76. Articles exhibited by the earle of Tirone, 1607, SP 63-222 no. 201, f. 318r.
77. John McCavitt, ‘Rebels, planters and conspirators: Armagh 1594–1640,’ in *Armagh history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, eds. A. J. Hughes and William Nolan (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2001), 256.

78. A Letter directed to His Majesty, from six Catholic Lords of the Pale, 25 November 1612, in *Desiderata curiosa Hibernica: or a select collection of state papers*, 2 vols (Dublin: printed by David Hay, 1772), vol. 1, 158–162.
79. The rolls of gaol delivery between 1613 and 1618, for example, show that 91% of those tried for crimes in this period by the justices of assize bore unambiguously Irish names. Figures compiled from an analysis of ‘Ulster roll of gaol delivery, 1613–1618,’ ed. James F. Ferguson, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, 1 (1853): 260–270.
80. Moryson, ‘Itinerary,’ in *Shakespeare’s Europe*, 223.
81. Jane Ohlmeyer, ‘A laboratory for empire?: early modern Ireland and English imperialism,’ in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kevin Kenny (Oxford University Press, 2004), 36.
82. Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: the settlement of East Ulster 1600–1641* (Cork: Cork University Press for the Irish Committee of Historical Sciences, 1985), 111.
83. Anthony Carty, *Was Ireland conquered? international law and the Irish Question* (London: Pluto Press, 1996), 41.
84. Morgan, ‘Mid-Atlantic blues,’ 52–53.
85. John Parker has contended that the years 1609–1610 constituted a ‘brief, enthusiastic hour in English and American history, when religion spoke more loudly for empire than either the state or the merchant community,’ in ‘Religion and the Virginia Colony, 1609–1610,’ in *The westward enterprise*, 270.
86. Wesley Frank Craven, ‘Indian Policy in Early Virginia,’ *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 1, no. 1 (1944): 72–73.
87. Waterhouse, *A declaration*, 14–16.
88. Aspirations to incorporate the Americans into colonial society were abandoned in favour of expulsion from the Virginia peninsula, across which a palisade was constructed, in order to enclose a pale. By 1631, the colonial legislature was passing laws forbidding colonists from even talking to the natives: ‘No person or persons shall dare to speake or parlie with any Indians either in the woods or in any plantation, yf he can possibly avoyd it by any meanes.’ *The statutes at large: Being a collection of all the laws of Virginia, from the first session of the Legislature, in the year 1619*, vol. 1, ed. William Waller Hening (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Junior, printer to the Commonwealth, 1809), 167.
89. Neal Salisbury, ‘Red Puritans: The “Praying Indians” of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot,’ *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 31, no. 1 (1974): 41, 53–54.
90. Ellis, ‘Writing Irish history,’ 9–10.

91. Jared Diamond, *Guns, germs and steel: the fates of human societies* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1997), 214.
92. Micheál Ó Siocchrú, *God's executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the conquest of Ireland* (London: Faber, 2008), 10, 32.
93. For Michael Hechter's opposition of this 'diffusion model' with 'internal colonialism' see below pp. 112–113.
94. Aidan Clarke, 'The Plantations of Ulster,' in *Milestones in Irish history*, ed. Liam De Paor (Cork: Mercier Press, in collaboration with Radio Telefis Éireann, 1986), 68.
95. Quinn, *Elizabethans*, 26.
96. Roger Williams to John Winthrop, June 1637, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 6, 4th series (1863): 195.
97. Samuel Gorton to John Winthrop Jr, 11 September 1675, *The Winthrop Papers* 7, 4th series (1865): 629–630.
98. Seán Connolly, *Religion, law and power: The making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford University Press, 1995), 113.
99. Ben Jonson, 'The Irish Masque at Court,' in *The works of Ben Jonson* (London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, 1859), 583–584.

## Broken by a War, Capable of Good Government

Fuaras bruidhne Banbha Cuinn,  
buidhne a h-adhnha 's ní fhaghuiim.

I have found the mansions of Conn's Ireland,  
But I cannot find the companies of her halls.<sup>1</sup>

Such has been the neglect of historians towards a native presence in Ulster before the plantation that it might, at times, appear as if it took place against a pacific blank slate rather than against the backdrop of several decades of war and famine. Perceval-Maxwell, for example, writes of the Scottish colonists developing 'the wilderness of Ulster', a territory that was 'ripe for settlement'. Among the consequences of this settlement was 'the order it established'.<sup>2</sup> The absence of order *before* the arrival of the colonists is clearly implied by such a sentence, and the suggestion is of a land not so much depopulated as empty. The subtle, but crucial, distinction between depopulated and empty will be explored below (p. 74). The English in America were similarly apt to see the land as having been miraculously cleared of inhabitants. The Puritans in New England believed that God had 'made room for his people to plant' by means of virulent epidemics

---

'A barbarous country must first be broken by a war before it will be capable of good government.' Davies, 'A discovery,' reproduced in *Historical tracts*, 4.

that decimated the native population while sparing the (unwittingly immune) English.<sup>3</sup> Such beliefs were not confined to the Puritans; their inveterate enemy Thomas Morton (often represented as sympathetic to the natives), finding in the Massachusetts landscape a ‘new found Golgatha’, opined that the land had been ‘made so much the more fitt for the English Nation to inhabit in, and erect in it Temples to the glory of God’.<sup>4</sup> A similar wish to present Ulster as having been auspiciously cleared of natives lay behind the attempt, when showing representatives of the London companies around the lands earmarked for the colonisation project in 1609, to steer the guests away from any contact with the indigenous population; ‘matters of distaste, [such] as fear of the Irish’, Chichester was instructed, were to ‘be not so much as named’.<sup>5</sup>

One of the purposes of this chapter will be to show that Ulster was not the blank slate which some early modern commentators and subsequent historians have suggested it was. The fact remains, however, that no widespread or co-ordinated resistance to the plantation was offered in these decades from the native inhabitants. This needs to be accounted for, as does the attitude of the native population towards the Ulster colony and to what extent that society was one characterised by conflict or co-operation. Some English observers did not see a lack of outward resistance as necessarily indicating acceptance of the new order. Toby Caulfeild observed in 1610 that the Irish reacted with dismay when Turlough McHenry O’Neill of the Fews arrived back from England with news of the proposed plantation, and were already resigned to being moved off their lands and forced to live as woodkerne; there was, he added, ‘not a more discontented people in Christendome’.<sup>6</sup> His comments suggested not only the hostility of the Irish towards the plantation, but also their lack of means to resist it and their acute demoralisation.

Instead of seeking an explanation for the absence of substantial resistance in the favourable/unfavourable disposition of the Irish towards the colony, the remainder of this chapter offers a more useful avenue of inquiry, suggesting that it may be more profitably sought in the sense of powerlessness attested to by Caulfeild. Evidence indicates that the actions of the vast majority of Irish were in fact determined by the dictates of necessity rather than choice, and that an expedient accommodation may be more fully explained by looking at the condition of native society in Ulster at the outset of the period. When the latter is taken into consideration, it is indeed difficult to imagine what form such resistance could have taken. Looking at the factors that rendered Ulster, in the

aftermath of the Flight, incapable of putting up any meaningful resistance, will thus determine the shape of this chapter. These factors encompass the series of abortive attempts to integrate Ulster through private colonisation schemes, and the devastation caused by the Nine Years War, as well as the perception of Ulster as a ‘land of war’, and subsequently as an ‘empty land’ ripe for settlement.

### PRE-COLONISATION STRATEGIES

The idea of planting colonies among the Irish in Ulster was not new. The presence of Old English names such as Jordan, Savage and White in County Down bore witness to settlement associated with the medieval earldom which had, in its heyday, extended its influence across the province. The Earl of Ulster had, at times, received tribute from all of the most powerful septs of Ulster and behaved in many respects as an integrated part of the warlord-dominated landscape of that province, little different to any other regional Gaelic *tiarna*. In an indenture of 1390, for example, the O’Neills of Tyrone recognised the earls as having rights to the ‘lordships, rents, exactions and answerings of all the Irishmen of Ulster and Uriel’. This included such Gaelic institutions as the *buannacht*, a ruler’s right to billet mercenaries or servants on his subjects, which the ruling O’Neill promised not to ‘intermeddle with’. By this period, as Katharine Simms has remarked, it made little difference to the English government whether the overlord in Ulster was Gaelic or English, as long as he refrained from attacking the Anglo-Irish colony.<sup>7</sup> As far as translating the earl’s sphere of influence into an actual colony of English settlers went, the earldom never expanded beyond east Ulster. By the sixteenth century, the descendants of these settlers had been Gaelicised to the extent that Thomas Smith in the 1570s claimed they ‘save the name remayneth nothing English’.<sup>8</sup>

This part of the province alone—east of the Bann—originally defined the boundaries of ‘Ulster’, a term derived from the ancient kingdom of Uladh. The earls’ claim to wield authority over the entire province meant that by the fourteenth century, it had lost this more restricted meaning and began to be applied to the entire north by the Irish themselves, with the O’Neills adopting the title of *ri Ulaidh* to express their ambitions for province-wide overlordship.<sup>9</sup> While they never achieved such a stable position of dominance in the north, Gaelic rulers did enjoy a resurgence throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the earldom fell

into abeyance. That an overlordship such as that claimed by the earls continued to exercise the minds of the O'Neills is clear from the desire of both Conn Bacach and his grandson Hugh O'Neill to be given the title of Earl of Ulster instead of the more limited earldom of Tyrone. The granting of such titles was in keeping with the crown's policy of controlling Ulster at arm's length, through alliances with local rulers.

A change of policy took place in the 1570s, with the crown promoting private colonies in Antrim and Down. The backdrop against which this shift took place was one in which the Tudor state, from around the middle of the sixteenth century, engaged more actively with Ireland. The conversion of the lordship into a kingdom in 1541 was symptomatic of the changes which fed into this more interventionist approach. The Reformation brought about circumstances under which Irish Catholics would be viewed as potential traitors or, at best, what King James would one day describe as 'half-subjects', while a movement towards 'civilising' the native Irish, arising from the growing influence of humanist ideas among the intelligentsia, played a similar role (see pp. 94–95). The possibility of Ireland being used as a staging post for foreign invasion also meant that the consolidation of control over the island was perceived as an urgent necessity. Perhaps most fundamental of all was a centralising impulse, associated with the rise of national monarchy throughout Europe, which was making its belated arrival in Ireland. The early modern state sought to consolidate control over its territory, laying increasingly insistent claims to a monopoly on violence. The contemporaneous struggles of the English crown against powerful magnates in the North of England, such as the Percys and Dacres, can be seen in this context.<sup>10</sup> Powerful, semi-independent warlords of this kind were no longer acceptable in this new era, and this trend can be seen to play a role in the Tudor move away from entrusting the viceroyalty in Ireland to local magnates such as the Earls of Kildare. Aspirations for a more direct form of rule can be discerned in the fact that, after 1534, the chief governors of Ireland were always English.

As Nicholas Canny has noted, the overthrow of the Earls of Kildare removed a protective bulwark to the west, enabling the Irish of the midlands to attack The Pale directly.<sup>11</sup> The plantations in Offaly and Laois in the 1550s were an attempt to construct another kind of bulwark against such attacks. They are also a good example of how, once set in train, the process of extending English rule over the island generated its own momentum. The shift in policy from delegating rule to local elites

to direct colonisation took place only gradually; efforts to rein in Gaelic rulers provoked a response which, in turn, generated a counter-response from the government, feeding into a self-sustaining spiral of violence which hastened greater military investment by the English. The idea of planting colonies was concomitant with the expanding early modern state. Officials such as Lord Deputy Sidney were familiar with Spanish colonisation strategies in America; Humphrey Gilbert, who also became involved in Ireland at this time, had already been active in promoting English projects across the Atlantic.<sup>12</sup>

In Ulster, however, given the largely notional nature of government rule, such a hands-on approach was not possible in the mid-sixteenth century. An alternative strategy appeared far more appropriate to conditions there. This strategy, dubbed 'surrender and re-grant' by historians, was promoted by the Old English of The Pale with the support of Lord Deputy Anthony St. Leger in the 1540s. Government policy for dealing with the native Irish would vacillate between this, on the one hand, and direct intervention/colonisation, on the other, for the remainder of the century. Surrender and re-grant involved Gaelic rulers relinquishing their territories and receiving them back as fiefdoms held from the crown. Gaelic landholding arrangements were to be replaced by English ones, lands were to be passed on by primogeniture and Gaelic practices such as redistribution of land among the kin group and the institution of the *tánaiste*, would, it was hoped, be abolished. These reforms envisaged a transformation of Gaelic society from the top down. The sons of Gaelic nobles would be sent away to receive an English education, while the Irish, it was felt, would come to see the superiority of English civility over Gaelic barbarity.

Though less costly than military intervention, surrender and re-grant aspired to more than simply leaving the Irish to their own devices. In reality, however, it rarely brought about the profound changes which had been hoped for. In Ulster, it was particularly unsuccessful. Conn Bacach O'Neill, created Earl of Tyrone in 1542, did not enjoy the kind of ascendancy looked for in a proxy, and the campaigns of his son, Shane O'Neill, who had been frustrated in his ambition to succeed his father, highlighted the limits of government control over Ulster. Indeed, Shane O'Neill's final defeat did not even come at the hands of the English. Having been routed in battle by the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell, he fled to the Scots in Antrim, who killed him in revenge for their defeat at Glentaisie two years earlier. The proximity of Scotland

to Ulster and the growing McDonald presence in Antrim in these decades were sources of tremendous concern to the government. Besides reducing the Ulster Irish to ‘civility’ and transforming the province into an obedient, revenue-generating part of the realm, the aim of driving a wedge of English settlement into this cross-channel *Gaeltacht/Gàidhealtachd* provides another crucial element in explaining why, in the 1570s, the government turned from the policies outlined above to an attempt at direct colonisation in east Ulster.<sup>13</sup>

### THE ‘ENTERPRISE OF ULSTER’

Although Queen Elizabeth had written of Ulster to the Lord Deputy Sidney in the 1560s concerning her intention to ‘have that contrey peopled with obedient subiects’, the 1570s did not see a complete revolution in government policy towards the whole of Ulster.<sup>14</sup> Support for private colonisation projects was confined to areas close to either the east coast or The Pale. Elsewhere, the government’s strategy remained one of supporting a local ruler such as Turlough Luineach and (with even greater hopes of success) Hugh O’Neill to uphold their interests.<sup>15</sup> The ‘Enterprise of Ulster’ would be an abject failure in that it established no permanent colonies. As a forerunner to the seventeenth-century plantation, however, it merits examination, not only for the lessons learned by the government from its failure, but also because native reaction to these incursions can indicate to what extent, if any, the Irish were conscious of such changes in strategy.

A new approach to Ulster can be seen in the decision, after Shane O’Neill’s death, to establish a permanent colony of soldiers in the vicinity of Carrickfergus. Thomas Smith spoke of these soldiers as part of a buffer zone for the defence of The Pale. This enlarged Pale would, he imagined, encompass his colony in the Ards and Clandeboye.<sup>16</sup> Smith’s project is the best known of these schemes; he received his patent at the same time as two soldiers, Thomas Chatterton and Nicholas Malby, were granted permission to settle the southern parts of Armagh and the country of the McCartans in Kinelarty, County Down, respectively.<sup>17</sup> These grants were clearly part of a wider plan to insulate The Pale from creeping Gaelicisation, primarily from the Ulster Irish, in the same way that the colonisation of Laois and Offaly had been. The presence of Nicholas Bagenal at Newry—intended as a means to control one of the main points of access to the province at the Moyry Pass—was part of the same strategy.

Chatterton and Malby's schemes amounted to little, both men discovering their means to be wholly inadequate to the task at hand. Few details survive of their failure or of the native inhabitants' reaction in the areas they were to colonise. A document from the time of James' plantation records the reversion of Chatterton's patent to the crown, mentioning that Chatterton himself had been killed by the locals shortly after he received his grant.<sup>18</sup> The cavalier attitude with which he approached the project can be gauged from the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam's complaint that Chatterton and his brothers had journeyed (against the chief governor's express prohibition) into O'Hanlon's country, 'as if he had bin taking of a farm in Mide', and were spreading rumours of their intentions without having the means or the men to quell the disturbances they had provoked.<sup>19</sup> Nicholas Malby, who had been stationed at Carrickfergus and was among those willing to colonise Laois in the 1550s, seems to have expended his energies in assisting the designs of Thomas Smith and his son. While he was confident in October 1572 that they would 'by degrees work another English Pale in the north', two years later, it was being written that his grant would have to be revoked.<sup>20</sup> The ultimate failure of the Ards colony appears to have convinced Malby that his own was not worth even attempting, and he was only too willing to surrender his patent in return for lands in Roscommon and Longford.<sup>21</sup>

These private colonisation schemes had the virtue, from the government's point of view, of being cheap. Whereas surrender and re-grant arrangements had promised the anglicisation of Ulster through a transformation of the Gaelic ruling class, it was now proposed to replace that elite altogether with English colonists who, instead of requiring a vast outlay of men and weapons, would fend for themselves in defence of lands which they had been granted. This imperialism-on-the-cheap sought to marshal the self-interest of colonial landowners instead of taxing the government's resources. The cheapness of such schemes perhaps blinded administrators to their weaknesses. Chief among the difficulties overlooked was the presence of a hostile native population, or indeed, the presence of a native population altogether. Sir Thomas Smith's belief that the Irish 'churl' would see the colonists as saviours from the tyranny of their rulers has already been alluded to; elsewhere in the same promotional pamphlet he depicted a land almost devoid of people altogether.<sup>22</sup>

It is no surprise then that many colonists who had never seen the country arrived with unrealistically high expectations regarding the ease with which it would be occupied. The resistance which confronted

these initial efforts moderated such expectations. When the Earl of Essex arrived in the area in 1573, it was with a force of 1200 soldiers, suggesting that the need for a more robust approach had been recognised. The fact that his force was half-funded by the crown (Essex having borrowed £10,000 from the Queen to enable him to pay his own share) also suggests a dawning realisation that the task was too great for private means alone. It is nonetheless clear that colonial adventurers continued to believe in the prospect of unoccupied land for the taking. As the project began to unravel, Essex complained in his letters that his associates were returning to ‘the delicacies of England’ when they realised that such land would have to be fought for.<sup>23</sup> It was such adventurers, and men such as Chatterton, that Thomas Blenerhasset would later try to disabuse when it came to the plantation of 1609. One lesson learned from the abortive colonies of the 1570s was that quality was more important than quantity; it was better to attract a more realistic and committed class than a large number of adventurers seeking a quick and easy profit.<sup>24</sup>

Perhaps the most lasting lesson learned from these schemes was that privatised colonisation of this sort was a chimera based on an illusion of land either uninhabited or inhabited only by tractable peasants. This had been clear beforehand to realists such as Sidney. He had proposed an unattractively expensive plan in the late 1560s—building a series of fortifications at key strategic points in Ulster—adding that if the government was not prepared to invest in these, it would be better to abandon the province.<sup>25</sup> The failure of the Essex expedition merely confirmed Sidney’s opinion that while colonisation was the right strategy to pursue, the resources required for its proper execution meant that only the state could realistically undertake such a project. It was, he wrote, ‘no subject’s enterprise’.<sup>26</sup> Essex himself came to a similar conclusion, based not merely on the paucity of material resources available to the private individual, but also on the realisation that such an enterprise did not have the prestige associated with a state undertaking, resistance to which could be labelled treason and punished accordingly. This distinction, he observed, was ‘a thinge that the Irrishe have a speciall eye unto’.<sup>27</sup>

A more immediate consequence of this realisation was that the state fell back on its alternative policy of surrender and re-grant, attempting to exert control over the north through the latest in a long line of hopefully pliable local allies, Hugh O’Neill, created Earl of Tyrone in 1587. The spectacular failure of these hopes for O’Neill would entail a lengthy discussion of the genesis and course of the Nine Years War, which

is beyond the scope of this work. It may suffice to say that in the aftermath of that war, and even more so after the Flight of the Earls, a consensus had been reached that, as John Davies observed in 1612, ‘when private men attempt the conquest of countries at their own charge, commonly their enterprises do perish without success.<sup>28</sup> It is somewhat ironic then, that at the time Davies was writing, this consensus was being proved wrong in the very area where these private colonisation schemes had earlier founded. The ‘private’ plantation of Antrim and Down, by means of large grants of land to individuals such as James Hamilton, Hugh Montgomery and Randall McDonald, would prove to be more successful in the long term (if judged by population density of colonists in relation to natives) than the official one. While the McDonald presence in north Antrim had been established by a lengthy struggle against both crown and native throughout the sixteenth century, Hamilton and Montgomery developed their plantations in Clandeboye from 1606 with little resistance from the Irish. The fact that they succeeded where Smith and Essex had failed would suggest that a profound change had taken place in the intervening years, rendering the native Irish no longer able or willing to resist the influx of colonists.

### AN EMPTY LAND, A LAND OF WAR

Two developments took place in the decades after the 1570s which rendered east Ulster a far more pacific environment for colonisation than Smith and Essex had found it; these were the breakup of the once-powerful Gaelic *oireacht* of Clandeboye, and the significant depopulation of the area during the Nine Years War. It would be more accurate to say that these developments accelerated in this period, as the first was already underway when the adventurers of the 1570s arrived, and the campaign of Essex made a major contribution to the second. As much as the depopulation and dislocation caused by the physical assault on Gaelic Ulster, it was the gradual breaking down of that society’s cultural and legal coherence that would prove its ultimate undoing. The fate of Clandeboye is a prime example of this process. The Clandeboye O’Neills were not so much eliminated as a threat to colonisation as rendered powerless by internecine conflict and division within the *oireacht*, a conflict promoted by government policy. This, combined with a series of untimely deaths, and the added threat of the Scots in Antrim on one side and the O’Neills of Tyrone on the other, meant that by the early

seventeenth century, though individual members of the sept might receive grants of land from the crown, Clandeboye was extinct as a political entity.<sup>29</sup>

As will be seen later in this work, the economic forces at work in colonial Ulster tended, with time, to squeeze out the remaining Gaelic landlords at the expense of colonists. In east Ulster, the primary beneficiaries of this process were McDonald, Hamilton and Montgomery. The granting of lands to the latter two figures (McDonald's grant merely recognised his *de facto* standing) has generally been seen as opening the way for the extensive (mainly Scottish) colonisation that followed. Such grants, however, only provided a means by which colonists gained a foothold, and thus provide only a proximate explanation for the success of these projects in the 1600s compared to earlier efforts. The circumscription of a native elite that might have co-ordinated resistance certainly played a role. On a fundamental level, the greater proximity of east Ulster to the island of Britain cannot be discounted; certainly, the medieval settlement of English had been largely confined to this area. Proximity had likewise enabled the Scots from the Western Isles and Highlands to travel back and forth across the North Channel for centuries, and had no doubt played a major role in helping the McDonalds in Antrim defy faraway authorities in Dublin, Edinburgh and London.

The importance of sea links was recognised in the division of Clandeboye; it was specified that 'the sea coasts might be possessed by Scottish men' for trading and defence purposes.<sup>30</sup> Of course, east Ulster was no closer to Scotland geographically in 1605 than it had been 30 years earlier. The difference was that the kingdom across the water and the kingdom which had attempted to implement these earlier colonisation schemes were now ruled by the same king. Migration from lowland Scotland would now have not only the blessing, but also the active encouragement, of the state. James VI and I was, moreover, a king who had already attempted to plant lowland Scots in outlying areas of the Western Isles, whose Gaelic inhabitants he perceived as 'all uterlie barbares, without any sorte or shew of civilitie'.<sup>31</sup>

Such factors alone do not explain why the early seventeenth-century colonisation of east Ulster thrived to a greater extent than colonisation further west.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps the greatest contributing factor to this phenomenon was the depopulation of the area in the preceding decades. The image of Ulster as an 'empty land' will be examined below; while that image will be seen to be problematic, there are good reasons for

believing that the settlers brought over by Hamilton and Montgomery found a land in which the native population had been severely depleted, most recently by the scorched-earth campaigns of Chichester, but also by the earlier depredations of Essex.<sup>33</sup> The letters patent dividing up the lands of Conn O'Neill of Clandeboye described it as 'depopulated and wasted'.<sup>34</sup> The entire county of Antrim was described in similar terms in the 1604 grant to Randall McDonald.<sup>35</sup> It is not hard to find reasons why this was so in the writings of contemporaneous commentators.

Even before the arrival of Smith and Essex, this process was underway. Rowland White wrote in 1571 that, since a garrison had been placed in Carrickfergus, there was 'not any wey within tenne myle about [...] syx plowe lands manured with the tillage any kynde of grayne, but all that province waste where was five or six hundred plowes before'.<sup>36</sup> This implies, incidentally, a fairly dense population before the garrison began to despoil the area. A huge loss of life can be inferred from the period of Essex's campaign in the area. The massacre of Scots on Rathlin Island in July 1575 is only the most famous episode of this expedition. In the same month, the earl boasted to the Queen that he had returned from Clandeboye 'having lefte all the countrey desolate, and without people', two months, incidentally, after receiving notice from Elizabeth that she was withdrawing support for his colonisation project.<sup>37</sup>

It is highly unlikely, Thomas Murphy notes, that the population had recovered by the time of the devastation wrought by Arthur Chichester's forces in the area during the Nine Years War.<sup>38</sup> There is abundant evidence of the massacre of civilians and the deliberate inducement of famine in Chichester's own words. At times, he came close to suggesting the extermination of the entire native population. Arriving in the Route during Randall McDonald's absence in support of O'Neill at Kinsale, Chichester wrote:

I sparde nether house, corne, nor creature [...] I have often sayde and writen yt is famine that must consume them, our swordes, and other indevours worke not that speedie effect w[hi]ch is expected.<sup>39</sup>

In the light of such comments, it is difficult to read his warning (written the same year) that 'the queene wyll never reape what is expected untyll the nation be wholly destroyed or so subiected as to take a neewe impression of lawes' in any way except as suggesting the deliberate depopulation of Ulster.<sup>40</sup> It is not surprising, after his exertions in this

endeavour, that Chichester later resented the acquisition by Hamilton and Montgomery of grants to lands that he had sought to obtain for himself and his associates.<sup>41</sup> In addition to the depredations of outsiders in the area, the internecine wars of the Irish themselves also contributed to the demographic collapse in east Ulster. ‘By meanes of their domestique dissention’, Henry Bagenal wrote of north Clandeboye in 1586, ‘the countrey is for the most parte waste and depopulate’.<sup>42</sup>

The settlers brought over by Hamilton and Montgomery found large areas as sparsely populated as the adventurers of the 1570s had mistakenly believed them to be. The fact that the ‘unofficial’ settlement of east Ulster was predicated on the violence and destruction of this pre-plantation period is testimony to the importance of these decades prior to colonisation in understanding the genesis and growth of the Ulster colony. This violence has at times been elided, in claims, for example, by the Ulster-Scots Agency that the Hamilton and Montgomery settlement was ‘not plantation, not conquest, not invasion [but] settlement’.<sup>43</sup> A distinction is thus implied between an empty land, passively awaiting settlement, and one that has been actively depopulated. That armies, under the direction of the crown, were largely responsible for this depopulation, further renders the distinction between ‘official’ and ‘unofficial’ plantation largely meaningless. The perception of an empty land—which became a kind of self-fulfilling prophesy in Antrim and Down—was not confined to the area east of the Bann. A view of Scottish and English colonists generally arriving in an uncultivated wilderness devoid of significant native settlement has exercised an enduring hold on the imagination. Ian Paisley claimed in 1981 that:

Our ancestors cut a civilisation out of the bogs and meadows of this country while Mr Haughey’s ancestors were wearing pig-skins and living in caves.<sup>44</sup>

There is no doubt that the ravages of the Nine Years War had led to a sharp decrease in the population of other parts of Ulster by the time the plantation project was initiated. A population of somewhere in the region of 250,000 would appear likely for the six escheated counties before this collapse.<sup>45</sup> There are many references in the sources to severe depopulation in the latter years of the war, due largely to the same kind of scorched-earth campaigns Chichester had waged in east Ulster. The latter would later reminisce that the war had ‘destroied the greatest parte

of the people'.<sup>46</sup> This was a result not only of casualties in battle, but also (probably to a greater extent) of the famine caused by widespread destruction of crops and cattle, and the subsequent epidemics to which malnourished populations are vulnerable. Under normal circumstances, Ireland appears to have been a relatively healthy environment, free of epidemics, but a recent 'great plague' is referred to in 1609; this seems to have started at the close of the Nine Years War.<sup>47</sup>

Little aside from anecdotal evidence exists on which to base estimates of the scale of this demographic collapse. Solicitor-general Robert Jacob wrote in 1609, for example, that 20,000 was the number of 'men of the sworde' alone in the whole of Ulster.<sup>48</sup> Extrapolated, this might indicate a population somewhere in the region of 120,000 for the province on the eve of colonisation.<sup>49</sup> This suggests that the population had been reduced by about half. While this might seem excessive, compared, for example, with the 20% mortality rate estimated for the 1649–1653 period of Cromwell's campaign in Ireland, such an estimate does not seem unrealistic in the light of an observation by John Davies, who, in 1604, remarked that so few people remained on Hugh O'Neill's lands that only a twentieth part could be cultivated.<sup>50</sup> Given that part of this fall in population may be accounted for by migration to other parts of Ireland, rather than by mortality (many of O'Neill's followers were said to have fled to The Pale), this estimate should probably be reduced. It is likely, however, that Ulster lost at least two-fifths of its population in this period.

Some writers regard the sparseness of Ulster's population on the eve of plantation as being the result of factors other than the recent war, famine and plague. The low-intensity nature of Gaelic agriculture, as well as accusations that the Irish did not till the land and led a nomadic lifestyle have already been examined in Chap. 2. While such factors no doubt contributed to Gaelic areas having a lower-density population, even in times of peace, than areas such as southern England or the Netherlands, the image of Ulster as being largely empty on account of the inability of the indigenous population to maintain a viable society are unsupported by the available evidence. It was reported on the eve of the Nine Years War, for example, that 'O'Neill's country was never so inhabited in no man's time'.<sup>51</sup> It would be truer to say that Ulster had been emptied, therefore, rather than that it was empty. As for contemporaneous descriptions of Gaelic society as innately rootless and mobile, it will suffice to say here that the most commonly cited observers of this society at the turn of the seventeenth century—men such as John Davies or

Fynes Moryson—had only witnessed that society on a heightened war footing. It is, therefore, not surprising that the impression they took away was one of a people incapable of anything except a hapless nomadic existence. We need not necessarily dismiss as ‘deliberate lies’ (as Hiram Morgan has) the denigrating observations of such commentators.<sup>52</sup> On the contrary, it seems likely that they sincerely believed the claims they were making, based on what they had seen of a society in the final stages of a long and devastating period of conflict.

It is to this period of conflict that we must ascribe the dramatic loss of population outlined above. Not finding the land as empty as they had hoped, the authorities made a decisive contribution to emptying it. Estimates of over 40% mortality appear more plausible when seen as referring to a longer period than merely the last few years of the Nine Years War. A widespread dislocation and militarisation occurred in Ulster from around the middle of the sixteenth century; this has been described by Kenneth Nicholls as ‘a general increase in violence everywhere, leading to a decline in material conditions and economic life’.<sup>53</sup> It is relevant here to look more closely at the roots of this breakdown, not merely because it contributed to depopulation, but also because it contributed to a growing perception among English (and subsequently Scottish) observers of Ulster as a source of instability for the entire island, as a ‘land of war’, underpopulated as a result of the inherently warlike characteristics of its people. The Irish were represented by writers such as Ben Jonson as having been held back by ‘unnatural broils’, which had mired them in servitude, barbarism and poverty.<sup>54</sup> Fynes Moryson painted a picture for his readers of Gaelic Ireland as a society ‘by nature very factious’, one addicted to internecine conflict and trapped in a mentality of ‘defend me and spend me’ which had left them in thrall to their rulers. Aspiring to be swordsmen, and ‘despising all arts and trades to maintain them’, they had failed to develop the settled agriculture based on tillage which was seen as a hallmark of civilisation. This devotion to the narrow military interests of the local *tiarna* had, moreover, left them incapable of seeing beyond personal ties of loyalty and kinship and distinguishing between a just or unjust cause.<sup>55</sup>

English warfare, on the other hand, was represented as something constructive, corrective and conducive to the building of civilisation on the ruins of this barbarism. John Davies likened the destruction of Gaelic Ulster to the tearing down of a house to prevent the spread of fire; on two occasions in his *Discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never*

*entirely subdued* he referred to the necessity of breaking and destroying the people to make way for good government.<sup>56</sup> Confronted by the ‘rufull spectacles of soe manie wretched Carcasses starvinge, goodlie Countriees wasted, [and] so huge a desolacion and Confusion’, Edmund Spenser’s metaphor of choice was that of treating a sick body, so that the soul may be fit to receive ‘spirituall conforte’.<sup>57</sup> Arthur Chichester also advocated the creation of year zero conditions (see p. 73), which would enable the ‘civility’ of the coloniser to take root. The internal contradictions involved in this distinction between ‘civilised’ and ‘uncivilised’ violence was deeply embedded in English culture. Many accounts of the warfare of the period, for example, decry the barbarity of the Irish in beheading their enemies, while triumphantly tallying the count of Irish heads taken by English soldiers.<sup>58</sup>

Nor has such rhetoric been confined to the Tudor and Stuart period. In the nineteenth century, Froude wrote of the Irish that:

Waste, bloodshed and misery held no terrors for a population who for centuries, of their own free choice, had lived in chronic war, and deliberately preferred it to a state of peace.<sup>59</sup>

The trope of Ireland beyond The Pale as a ‘land of war’ (and concomitantly, of ‘English’ Ireland as a ‘land of concord’) had been established in the thirteenth century with the coming of the Anglo-Normans. From the point of view of those living on the borders of The Pale, the Gaelic regions from which they were regularly raided must certainly have appeared to be a ‘land of war’. On the other hand, given Lydon’s observation that the medieval invasion had led to a situation in which ‘war was becoming endemic in the lordship’, it may well have appeared to the Gaels that it was The Pale itself which deserved such an epithet.<sup>60</sup> Such terms are, however, subjective—replete with suggestions that the violence of one community was somehow more legitimate than that of the other—and are of limited value for the historian. It is interesting, however, to reflect upon the significance which they held for early modern commentators. Patricia Palmer has remarked upon the way both Fynes Moryson and Henry Sidney inadvertently contradicted their own easy contrast between civilised English tillers of the soil and uncivilised nomadic barbarians when reporting the destruction of orderly fenced and tilled land by the English forces.<sup>61</sup> Under such circumstances, it is easy to see how the English might have appeared to the inhabitants

of Ulster to be destructive barbarians. Indeed, Lughaidh O’Cleary described them as such in his encomium for Hugh Roe O’Donnell in the 1600s.<sup>62</sup>

The Irish were commonly described in these centuries as ‘outside the king’s peace’, a phrase that bespeaks an aspiration on the part of the coloniser to overarching power, not merely victory over the enemy but a monopoly over the legitimate use of violence. Whereas enemies who conceive of each other as equals might allow the vagaries of battle to decide who had the *right* to victory, the English in Ireland held those in opposition to them not merely to be *their* enemies, but the enemies of peace itself. Numerous examples from the close of this period attest to the fact that Irish prisoners taken in war were not regarded as being entitled to the same treatment as English ones.<sup>63</sup> France, beyond the English enclaves of Gascony or Calais, might be enemy territory, for example, but it was never conceived of as a ‘land of war’. In Ireland, however, the only peace held to be legitimate was that of the English. As Andrew Hadfield has suggested, Spenser’s conception of this peace was an exclusively English one; it excluded the native Irish, in the sense that those Irish who sought to live in peace, but on their own terms, were held to be in a state of war for their refusal to accept this overbearing definition of peace.<sup>64</sup>

The descendants of the Anglo-Norman invaders, however, were gradually forced by pragmatic considerations to engage with Gaelic society on its own terms. The division of Ireland into lands of peace and war cannot have had the same purchase with Gaelicised magnates such as the Earls of Desmond, who—judging by phenomena such as intermarriage with Gaelic ruling families, the fostering of each other’s children, and the assimilation of features of brehon law into feudal law—appear to have accepted to some extent, even when at war with the Gaelic Irish, the necessity of co-existence. The aspiration to monolithic power and an exclusivist definition of peace was revived in the sixteenth century with the Tudor regime’s increasing determination to exercise direct rule over Gaelic areas previously outside its control. The military campaigns associated with this new push towards island-wide hegemony appear to be the most likely cause of the breakdown and militarisation of Gaelic society postulated by Nicholls. This ‘greater instability and violence’ was, according to Katherine Simms, ‘a result of the pressures imposed by the reconquest itself’.<sup>65</sup>

The image of Ulster as a particularly dislocated and warlike society, which was used to justify its conquest and eventual colonisation, thus became increasingly realised, with the Gaelic order supporting a greater and greater degree of mobilisation in order to defend itself. This reaction of Gaelic Ulster to outside aggression was a self-fulfilling prophecy, which was used to justify the intensification of the same aggression. A similar phenomenon has been noted by Anthony Pagden in the context of the Spanish *encomienda* regime in America, where the trauma of conquest was:

directly responsible for many of the features of Indian life which the Europeans found most reprehensible; suicide, infanticide, induced abortions, and what the Spaniards generally referred to as the Indians' 'lack of charity', their willingness to abandon the sick or the old, even to mock the sufferings of the dying.<sup>66</sup>

The observance of such behaviour rarely induced the coloniser to recognise this pattern of brutalisation; more often than not it merely justified greater severity in order to purge the natives of what was believed to be their innate savagery. On occasion, the very behaviour patterns that had been engendered by colonisation were used to support the conclusion that the native was beyond hope of reform. A writer in 1615, for example, put the wickedness of the Irish down to the fact that they moved around too much and did not form stable communities:

Neighbourhood and society is the begetter of lawe, and freindship, and this often removeinge makes them knowe so little charity that the proffitt of xiid will make them cutt one anothers throaths.<sup>67</sup>

To say that Ulster became increasingly militarised in the last decades of the sixteenth century is not to deny that it had been a warrior-based society beforehand. As previously suggested, raids in pursuit of plunder, especially cattle, were a perennial feature of life on the borders of The Pale, and must have contributed to an image, in the English mind, of the Irish as both warlike and devoid of respect for property rights. Gaelic society could indeed be said to have been geared towards the institution of the *táin*, or cattle raid, but this is not to say that it was on a permanent war footing. As discussed in Chap. 1, early modern observers were largely incapable of viewing such activities in their native context. Fynes

Moryson, for example, saw the *táin* as nothing more than theft, the result of an innate idleness and disinclination to live by honest means.<sup>68</sup> Taken in context, however, the acquisition of cattle by raiding was celebrated as the main means by which the *tiarnaí* augmented their power and prestige. As Eoin MacNeill argued, the *táin* was also a conventionally accepted, almost ritualistic, way for a young warrior to provoke battle with a neighbouring *tuath* in order to prove his mettle.<sup>69</sup> Likewise, within Scottish Gaeldom, the institution of the *creach*, or predatory raid, was seen as a kind of ‘graduation ceremony from the clan schools in which the sons of the gentry were instructed in athleticism and military expertise’ and, as Macinnes has pointed out, ‘had not been looked on as robbery’ in the *Gàidhealtachd*.<sup>70</sup>

Given these almost constant raids, a picture of Gaelic Ireland mired in never-ending internecine conflict contains a certain degree of truth. The nature of this conflict, however, was misunderstood, and masked a stability below the surface which outsiders rarely acknowledged. A high rate of attrition, the taking and giving of hostages, alliances through marriage, gossiprid and fosterage, accompanied not only conflict between neighbouring *sleachta* but succession disputes within the *dearbhfhine*. Such consequences, however, were largely confined to the warrior elite. While this state of affairs certainly had consequences for those that had to support this non-food-producing martial class (the periodic stealing of large numbers of cattle upon which they depended for their livelihood undoubtedly resulted in much hardship), there is no evidence for the kind of mass-killing of non-combatants and destruction of crops which would characterise warfare with the Tudor and Stuart state. The instability of Gaelic society was, therefore, ‘mainly at the top’.<sup>71</sup> While the ruling elite chopped and changed, this incessant but low-level type of warfare left society outside this elite (an elite which, after all, constituted only a small minority of the population) relatively untouched, and life must have been carried on in more or less the same fashion no matter which particular *tiarna* was owed tribute.

The ritualistic element of the *táin* is mirrored not only among the Scottish Gaels, but also in the warfare practised by those native Americans that the English encountered in the seventeenth century. The killing of women and children in war was rare—perhaps unknown—to the Powhatans of Virginia before they clashed with the English, and they were said to be ‘appalled by the atrocities done in James I’s name’.<sup>72</sup> The Narragansett allies of the English, who were present at the

massacre of Pequots in 1637, baulked at the burning of non-combatants in their homes and the killing of those attempting to flee, declaring such tactics to be ‘too furious’ and as leading to the slaying of ‘too many men’.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, while the Gaelic rulers were seen as oppressive tyrants through the lens of English cultural values, viewed in their native *milieu*, a strong ruler provided the same kind of stability and guarantee of redress trumpeted by writers such as Davies as the preserve of the common law. As Lughaidh O’Cleary wrote when the young Hugh Roe O’Donnell rose to a position of dominance in Tyrconnell:

he proceeded to govern his principality as was right, preventing theft and evil deeds, banishing rogues and robbers, executing every one who was plundering and robbing, so that it was not necessary for each one to take care of his herds of cattle but only to bed them down on straw and litter, and the country was without guard or protector, without plundering one by the other, and two enemies slept in the one bed, for fear did not allow them to remember their wrongs against each other.<sup>74</sup>

Even making allowances for the eulogistic nature of O’Cleary’s work, the kind of power wielded here is far from the arbitrary, purely self-interested tyranny portrayed in English sources. A kind of social compact operated whereby the yoke of obedience to a local warlord was accepted in return for protection from the uncertainties of a Hobbesian war of all against all. While the vast majority of this society’s members cannot be said to have played any role in the choosing of such a ruler (which could be said of all early-modern societies), a certain degree of consent (on the part of the ruling elite at least) was involved in the sense that a prospective *tiarna* had to retain the support of a sufficient number of his peers to enable to him to fight off any challenges to his authority. While it would be wrong to underestimate the burden of tribute imposed by Gaelic rulers on their subjects, such tribute was nevertheless regulated by custom and law. Far from being free to arbitrarily exact whatever impositions he wished, a *tiarna* was limited by the need to retain the support of his followers.<sup>75</sup> It is, therefore, difficult to see in what way the rule of a Gaelic *tiarna* was any more arbitrary or absolutist than that of the average European monarch.

Defining the concept in culturally relative terms, a stability prevailed in Gaelic Ulster in the late Middle Ages which encompassed all the practices—pastoralism, transhumance, gavelkind, cattle raiding—alleged by

English observers to render the Irish ‘unfitt tenants’ for their own land.<sup>76</sup> As a consequence of this stability, Ulster society in the period prior to the militarisation of the mid-sixteenth century was probably more densely populated, less mobile, and placed a greater emphasis on tillage than would later be the case. Wheat was being cultivated throughout the late Middle Ages in Tyrone; this cultivation declined, however, as the crisis intensified. As Kenneth Nicholls has pointed out, ‘in times of trouble, not only were cattle much less vulnerable than crops; they could be driven off into the woods or a neighbouring area while crops and granaries had to be left at the mercy of an invader.’<sup>77</sup> A more mobile pastoral economy simply made more sense under such circumstances. Katharine Simms has painted a picture of agriculturalists being harassed, expelled and replaced by pastoralists from as early as the fifteenth century, a process that accelerated as a consequence of the Tudor reconquest.<sup>78</sup> This was accompanied by a gradual change in the meaning of the word *caoraidheacht* (anglicised as ‘creaght’) from describing a landowner and his cattle temporarily displaced by war to referring to the widespread organisation of society into units of potentially mobile droves, both for the purposes of transhumance and war.

Such developments masked this earlier, more sedentary pattern of life, and were cited from the 1570s by a new breed of colonial adventurer to argue that the Irish did not use the land in any meaningful way and that, therefore, it would simply ‘lie waste like a wilderness’ if left in their possession.<sup>79</sup> The Old English had, over the centuries, adapted themselves (to a greater or lesser degree depending on the exigencies of the situation) to the nuances of Gaelic culture, including the kind of limited warfare outlined above. While defining themselves as the crown’s loyal subjects (in contrast to its ‘Irish enemies’) and arguing for reform, they had nevertheless acknowledged in Gaelic Ireland an enemy which it was capable of reaching an accommodation, exchanging hostages and making strategic alliances with, sometimes involving intermarriage and the interlinking of families’ long-term fortunes. J. Michael Hill has described the Old English governing class as a ‘buffer’ which was removed with the arrival of this new class, the ‘self-financed colonial enterpriser’.<sup>80</sup> These newcomers had no understanding of such nuances, and their knowledge of Ireland beyond The Pale was often limited to hearsay or writings such as Andrew Boorde’s guidebook for visitors to Ireland, which described the land of the Gaels as ‘wylde, wast and vast, ful of marryces [marshes] and mountains and lytle corne’. Such a description was not totally inaccurate

but, allied to the description of this land's inhabitants as 'slouthful, not regarding to sow and tille theyr landes, nor caring for riches', it tended to fuel the delusions and ambitions of these 'New English', who saw in the native population an obstacle to furthering their interests in a country where land was reputed to be had for the taking and fortunes were easily made.<sup>81</sup>

While Gaelic Ulster had, for centuries, articulated itself on an aristocratic level through the low-intensity conflict associated with cattle raiding, the kind of military developments provoked by the Tudor conquest were of a different order. The most commonly cited innovation of this period was the arming of the Irish labouring class. According to Sidney, Shane O'Neill 'armyth and weaponnyth all the peasanthes of hys cuntry, the fyrist that ever so dyd of an Iryshman'.<sup>82</sup> Another factor contributing to the growing destructiveness of conflict in the sixteenth century was the introduction of firearms, which had become common by the middle of the century.<sup>83</sup> Humphrey Gilbert commented in 1572 that the Irish were:

nowe more apt thereunto by dayly encrease in use of warlike exercises knowledge and use of munition which nove is farre other than it was when the people were more savadge and barbarouse.<sup>84</sup>

Fynes Moryson also commented on the folly of introducing the more advanced military technology of the English into Gaelic Ireland and training the Irish in the 'free use of arms, which should be kept only in the hands of faithful subjects'.<sup>85</sup>

Whereas Gaelic rulers' military requirements had earlier been supplied largely by hostings of their followers, under this growing military pressure they increasingly turned to hired troops from the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland. The migration of mercenaries across the North Channel was of course nothing new; *gallóglacha* had been fighting in the service of Irish rulers since the thirteenth century. Many of these—septs such as the McSweeney's of Donegal and the McDonnells in Tyrone and Armagh (see p. 233–234)—had received land in return for their services and become integrated into settled Ulster society. The sixteenth century, however, saw the seasonal migration of troops known as 'redshanks', who usually returned home after their period of service in the summer months was over. A central figure in this development was Agnes Campbell, a daughter of the Earl of Argyll who was first married to James, head of the McDonalds in Antrim, until his death in 1565.

Her subsequent marriage to Turlough Luineach in 1569 allowed the O'Neills to import thousands of redshanks to supplement his native troops. As a part of the same marriage compact, her daughter with McDonald, Fionnuala, known as Iníon Dubh (the dark daughter), was matched with the young Hugh Roe O'Donnell, thus strengthening the network of military alliances across the North Channel and bringing the traditionally hostile O'Neills and O'Donnells closer together in a foreshadowing of the formal alliance of the Nine Years War.

By the 1590s, about 6000 of these troops were available for use by Hugh O'Neill and his allies.<sup>86</sup> The servicing of this lucrative market in mercenaries contributed to the growing militarisation of the Western Isles in its turn, as able-bodied men were rounded up for service in Ireland. In addition, when this outlet was suddenly cut off with the defeat of the Irish, the return to Scotland of these mercenaries led to further destabilisation in that area.<sup>87</sup> The mere presence in a region of large numbers of men trained in arms can have, on its own, the effect of prolonging a conflict. In Ulster, the influx of soldiers from Scotland also impacted on the consensual aspects of Gaelic rule alluded to above, in that a *tiarna* who had previously needed to take into account the interests and wishes of an extended ruling elite in order to retain their support could now use these mercenaries as an alternative power base, thus freeing himself to some extent from dependence on his traditional followers. Given also that far heavier tributes were imposed on the subservient orders of Gaelic society in wartime, there is evidence that Gaelic rulers became more autocratic in the late sixteenth century. It is this development, argues Simms, that formed the basis of an evolution of Gaelic lordship away from the kings of the Middle Ages towards the warlords of the later period, when 'elections to kingship became a formality, as succession was decided by primogeniture or main force'.<sup>88</sup> The consequences of this can be seen, for example, in some of the privileges which Hugh O'Neill claimed even after his defeat—the right to the forcible return of his former tenants who had fled Tyrone for The Pale, for example.<sup>89</sup> Such a proprietary relationship between lord and subject does not seem to have been a traditional feature of Gaelic society, as will be seen in Chap. 5.

The autocracy of such rulers was in turn cited by writers such as Davies as a primary justification for the colonising of Ulster, despite the fact that it had been largely generated by the pressures created by the very same colonisation project. This appears to have been lost on English observers, however, who imagined that Gaelic Ireland suffered

from an innate instability which only the introduction of colonists might rectify. This ‘civilising mission’ was one of the primary justifications of the plantation project. To accept these professed intentions at face value, however, is clearly inadequate. Subsequent actions are equally, if not more, important when determining what kind of cultural and economic changes the colonisation of Ulster represented. It will be seen that a disparity exists between intention and practice which has not always been sufficiently taken into account when examining what kind of colony Ulster actually was. To take one example, the clearing of the native population from large areas of the province was a professed intention of the project; as King James stated in 1613, the ‘fundamental reason of the plantation’ was the ‘avoyding of ye Irish’.<sup>90</sup> Colonists realised, however, that this massive population transfer was neither feasible nor desirable.

Instead of exclusive zones of native and colonial settlement, therefore, a society emerged which was characterised by cohabitation and acculturation. The nature of this acculturation requires some attention. Existing histories of plantation society have tended to take either a traditional nationalist/unionist position that little acculturation took place between native and newcomer or, more recently, have attempted to emphasise those examples of cultural intermingling that emerge from the primary evidence.<sup>91</sup> In fact, neither of these positions is satisfactory. The fact that Ulster today is overwhelmingly English-speaking, for example, attests to a significant anglicisation of the indigenous population. The idea that colonial Ulster was characterised by cultural intermingling (i.e. two cultures meeting and acting upon one another to a more or less equal extent) is, however, deeply problematic. The next chapter will explore the acculturation of the native Irish, the question of the plantation as a culturally transformative project, and the disparity between intention and practice.

## NOTES

1. Uí Dhálaigh, ‘A poem on the downfall of the Gaoidhil,’ 204.
2. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster*, 18, 29, 311.
3. Edward Johnson, *Wonder-working providence*, ed. J. Franklin Jameson (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1910), 41.
4. Thomas Morton, *The New English Canaan* (Boston: Prince Society, 1883), 134.
5. Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 3 August 1609, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 266–267. As John McCavitt has pointed out, this

design was thwarted at the end of a successful visit when, on their way home, the Londonders' ship chanced to stop at Carlingford Lough at the same time as a boat full of native soldiers, destined for deportation to Sweden, took the captain prisoner and attempted to jump ship. See: [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/plantation/transcripts/ag02\\_t12.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/plantation/transcripts/ag02_t12.shtml), accessed 28 October 2013.

6. Sir Toby Caulfeild to the lord deputy, 27 June 1610, SP 63-229 no. 108i, f. 61v. The *ceithearnach* (plural: *ceithearnaigh*), anglicised as 'kerne' were native foot-soldiers. References to them as 'woodkerne' emerge in the sixteenth century and become more common in the following century as they lost the patronage of their native leaders and were pressed into more marginal areas such as mountains and woods.
7. Katharine Simms, *Gaelic lordships in Ulster in the later Middle Ages* (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1976), 346–347, 724.
8. Smith, *A Letter sent by I. B.* sig. B3v.
9. Simms, *Gaelic lordships*, 677.
10. Steven Ellis has argued that these struggles parallel the crown's dealings with powerful Anglo-Irish rulers such as the Earls of Kildare; see Steven Ellis, 'Nationalist Historiography and the English and Gaelic Worlds in the Late Middle Ages,' *Irish Historical Studies* 25, no. 97 (1986): 13–14.
11. Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland, A Pattern Established* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1976), 31.
12. Quinn, *Elizabethans*, 106–107.
13. For further discussion of this dimension, see pp. 284–286.
14. Elizabeth to Sidney, 11 June 1567. SP 63-21 no. 10, f. 23v.
15. Although, as Hiram Morgan has pointed out, the inclusion in Smith's grant of a vague reference to 'Tyrone and the adjacent places' indicates that the way was left open to colonies in central Ulster if he was successful in Clandeboye and the Ards. Morgan, 'The Colonial Venture of Sir Thomas Smith,' 263–264.
16. William Cecil, Memorall for Ireland, 22 December 1567. SP 63-22 no. 49, ff. 143r–146r. Thomas Smith to his son Thomas Smith, 18 May 1572. SP 70-146 no. 13, f. 80r.
17. For a summary of the Chatterton, Malby and Smith projects ('identical in [...] scope and ultimate failure') see Robert Dunlop, 'Sixteenth century schemes for the plantation of Ulster,' *Scottish Historical Review* 22, no. 87 (1925): 117–124.
18. An Abstract [of] his majesty's several titles, 1610, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 553.
19. Lord deputy Fitzwilliam to Burghley, 26 October 1572. SP 63-38 no. 24, f. 58r.

20. Nicholas Malby to Burghley, 28 October 1572. SP 63-38 no. 25, f. 61r.  
'The meanes how my Lord of Essex maye rayse to his ma[jes]tie in Ulster a yearly revenue of [£]5000', November 1574. SP 63-48 no. 64, f. 197r.
21. Bernadette Cunningham, 'Malby, Sir Nicholas (c.1530–1584)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17856>, accessed 13 Nov 2013.
22. Smith, *A Letter sent by I. B.* sig. B1r.
23. Dunlop, 'Sixteenth century schemes,' 124, 126, 203.
24. This was a problem that would continue to bedevil the execution of colonies in Ireland, as shown by Francis Blundell's plea in 1622 that 'that men of good abilitie be sent thither and no beggars, for such shall not onelye bring our nation into contempt but their disabilities to build and plant may be a great meanes to drawe the kingdome into hazard [...] his ma[jes]tye cannot place anie gift so ill as land in Ireland upon a needie man'. Francis Blundell, Discourse on plantations, c. 1622, BL Harleian MS 3292, f. 44v.
25. Lord Deputy Henry Sidney to William Cecil, 12 November 1568. SP 63-26 no. 18, ff. 71r–75r.
26. Dunlop, 'Sixteenth century schemes,' 211.
27. Essex to the Privy Council, 15 April 1574. SP 63-45 no. 66, f. 170v.
28. Davies, 'A discovery', 129.
29. The zenith of Clandeboye's existence saw leadership pass, almost unbroken, from father to son for almost the entire fifteenth century. The beginning of its demise can be dated from period after the death of Niall Mor O'Neill (d. 1512), with the deaths, in quick succession, of several of Niall's sons (Hugh Meirgeach, d. 1524, Brian Ballach, d. 1529, Feilimí Bacach, d. 1533, Niall Oge, d. 1537), leaving the position of *tiarna* open to many rivals, none of whom enjoyed a clear superiority over his rivals. The instability consequent upon this was ultimately fatal for the integrity of the territory and efforts to resist the English. For a detailed account of this decline see: Thomas Murphy, *Clandeboye: an outline of its rise and decline c. 1350 to 1606* (MA dissertation, University of Limerick, 2011).
30. Montgomery and Hill, *Montgomery manuscripts*, 32.
31. James VI, *Basilikon doron Devideid into three booke* (Edinburgh, 1599), 42.
32. This is indicated by the fact that the native Irish in this area were no longer numerous enough to rise effectively in 1641. Roger Markham remarked that Antrim was safer than other counties because 'there wer small store of Irish'. Deposition of Roger Markham, TCD MS 839 f. 17r. The greater proportion of respondents professing a British identity in the eastern part of Ulster, according to the 2011 census, would also

appear to bear out the long-term consequences of this: <http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/interactive/2012/dec/12/northern-ireland-census-national-identities-mapped?gclid=Data:in%20body%20link>, accessed 15 December 2013.

33. Perceval-Maxwell has referred somewhat euphemistically to the area being ‘made safe by Chichester’s efforts prior to 1610’ in *The Scottish migration to Ulster*, 129. As a factor in clearing the way for the east Ulster colonies, this scorched-earth campaign has been curiously neglected by historians, with the exception of Murphy, *Clandeboye: an outline of its rise and decline*, 53–54.
34. Letters Patent of 3rd James I, to James Hamilton esq., 5 November 1605, in James Hamilton, *The Hamilton manuscripts: containing some account of the settlement of the territories of the upper Clandeboye, Great Ardes, and Dufferin, in the county of Down*, ed. T. K. Lowry (Belfast: Archer & Sons, 1867), Appendix 1, i.
35. Grant of lands to Randall McDonnell, knt, in *A repertory of the inrolements on the patent rolls of chancery, in Ireland; commencing with the reign of King James I*, vol. 1, ed. John Caillard Erck (Dublin: McGlashan, 1846), 137.
36. Rowland White, ‘The Dysorders of the Irisshery, 1571,’ ed. Nicholas Canny, *Studia Hibernica* 19 (1979): 158.
37. Walter Devereux to Queen Elizabeth, 22 July 1575. SP 63-52 no. 67, f. 176v. Queen Elizabeth to Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, 22 May 1575. SP 63-51 no. 39, ff. 106r–107r.
38. Murphy, *Clandeboye: an outline of its rise and decline*, 50.
39. Chichester to Robert Cecil, 22 November 1601. SP 63-209-2 no. 196, f. 203r.
40. Chichester to Cecil, 8 October 1601. SP 63-209-2 no. 133, f. 29v. Of his military operations in Tyrone, Chichester wrote: ‘wee kyll man, woeman, chylde, horse, beast, and whatsoever wee finde’, Chichester to Robert Cecil, 15 May 1601. SP 63-208-2 no. 68, f. 192r.
41. Chichester wrote with concern of the size of the grants to Hamilton in June 1605, Chichester to Salisbury, 19 June 1605. SP 63-217 no. 44, f. 112v.
42. Bagenal, ‘Marshal Bagenal’s Description of Ulster, Anno 1586,’ 154.
43. Italics in original: <http://web.archive.org/web/20131023004204/http://www.hamiltonmontgomery1606.com/home.asp>, accessed 1 November 2013.
44. Paisley was presumably referring to the fact that the parents of the Irish *Taoiseach*, Charles Haughey, were natives of County Londonderry. Quoted in Ed Moloney and Andrew Polak, *Paisley* (Swords: Poolbeg, 1986), 382–383.

45. As noted by Louis Cullen, 'there is little prospect of progressing beyond informed guesswork' with respect to seventeenth-century population figures. A quarter of a Cullen's estimate of 1.4 million for the whole island in 1603 might be tentatively advanced, reduced somewhat to account for the fact that Ulster was less densely populated than other regions. L. M. Cullen, 'Population Trends in Seventeenth Century Ireland,' *Economic and Social Review* 6 (1975): 150, 163. This may be somewhat loosely corroborated by extrapolating from the number of townlands in Ulster (16,300) and the likely number of families living on each. Philip Robinson has suggested two to five, which, according to contemporary observers like Blenerhasset, tended to be large. A low estimate—two families of six living on two thirds of the townlands (many were occupied only seasonally)—would give a population of c.130,400; a high—five families of ten—gives c. 543,000. 250,000 falling in between these extremes, then, may be offered as a very loose estimate for the population of Ulster around 1600. Phillip Robinson, 'The Ulster Plantation and its impact on the settlement pattern of County Tyrone,' in *Tyrone: history & society*, eds. Charles Dillon and Henry A. Jeffries (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2000), 242. Blenerhasset, *A direction for the plantation in Ulster*, Sig.B3v.

46. Arthur Chichester, A note of som of the most materiall services w[hi]ch I have performed since I came into the government of your ma[jes]ties realme of Irelande in Februarie 1604, May 1614. SP 63-232 no. 6, f. 153r.

47. Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 54, although, as has been seen above (p. 51), English soldiers suffered from native diseases such as the 'Irish flux'. Robert Jacob (solicitor-general) to Salisbury, 15 April 1609. SP 63-226 no. 69, f. 190r; see also p.li of *CSPI James I, 1606–1608*, eds. C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (London: Longman & Co., 1874).

48. Robert Jacob (solicitor-general) to Salisbury, 15 April 1609. SP 63-226 no. 69, f. 190r.

49. Based on the assumption that this represented half the male population, multiplying by two for women, and assuming an average family size of at least four children (probably a conservative estimate).

50. Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Atrocity, codes of conduct and the Irish in the British Civil wars 1641–1653,' *Past and Present* 195 (2007): 80. John Davies to Cecil, 19 April 1604, in *CSPI James I 1603–1606*, eds. C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (London: Longman & Co., 1872), 160.

51. Report submitted to Sir Nicholas Bagenal, 1579, in *The Walsingham letter-book or Register of Ireland, May, 1578 to December, 1579*, eds. James Hogan and N. McNeill O'Farrell (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1959), 225.

52. Morgan, 'Mid-Atlantic Blues,' 53–54.

53. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 5.

54. Jonson, ‘The Irish Masque at Court,’ 594.
55. Moryson, ‘The Itinerary,’ in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 283, 311–312.
56. Davies, ‘A discovery,’ 4, 79–80.
57. Edmund Spenser, ‘A View of the Present State of Ireland’ in *Works: vol. 10, Spenser’s prose works*, ed. Rudolf Gottfried (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949), 139, 159.
58. Patricia Palmer, “An headlesse Ladie” and “a horses loade of heads”: ‘Writing the Beheading,’ *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2007): 31.
59. J. A. Froude, *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner’s sons Year, 1888), 66.
60. James Lydon, ‘A Land of war,’ in *A New History of Ireland, volume 2: Medieval Ireland 1169–1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 240.
61. Palmer, *Language and conquest*, 74–75.
62. ‘Ainffine allmhárdha’ (savage foreigners). Ó Cléirigh, *The life of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill*, 37.
63. The most explicit statement of this was made by Parliament during the wars of the 1640s, when the English parliament objected to the execution of English prisoners in retaliation for the execution of Irish ones; for the Irish to ‘be made equall in Exchange with the English Nation, and Protestants’, it was declared, ‘the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of England, cannot with Religion, Honour, or Justice, in any sort consent unto it’. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, *A letter from the Earl of Essex to His Highnesse Prince Rupert concerning the putting to death of souldiers come out of Ireland taken prisoners: with His Highnesse answer thereunto* (Bristol, 1645), 3.
64. Andrew Hadfield, ‘Briton and Scythian: Tudor Representations of Irish Origins,’ *Irish Historical Studies* 28, no. 112 (1993): 403.
65. Simms, *From kings to warlords*, 9.
66. Anthony Pagden, *The fall of natural man: the American Indian and the origins of comparative ethnology* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 35.
67. E. S., A survey of the present estate of Ireland Anno 1615, HL Ellesmere MS 1746, f.20v.
68. Moryson, ‘The Itinerary,’ in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 312.
69. MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland*, 8. The cattle raid enjoyed, remarks Simms, ‘the same honourable status accorded to duelling in the eighteenth century’. Simms, *From kings to warlords*, 4.
70. Allan I. Macinnes, *Clanship, commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 33.
71. Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick, ‘Introduction: Recovering Gaelic Ireland, c.1250–1650,’ in *Gaelic Ireland, c.1250–c.1650: land, lordship and settlement*, eds. Patrick J. Duffy, David Edwards and Elizabeth FitzPatrick (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 43.

72. J. Frederick Fausz, ‘An “Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides”: England’s First Indian War, 1609–1614,’ *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98, no. 1 (1990): 53.
73. As reported by the ringleader of the massacre, John Underhill, in his *Newes from America; or, A new and experimentall discoverie of New England* (London, 1638), 43.
74. Ó Cléirigh, *The life of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill*, 57.
75. Quinn, *Elizabethans*, 51. Hayes-McCoy, ‘Gaelic society in Ireland,’ 48.
76. Anonymous, *Certyn notes and observations*, 34.
77. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 131–132.
78. Katharine Simms, ‘Nomadry in medieval Ireland: the origins of the creaght or caraigheacht,’ *Peritia, Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland* 5 (1986): 383–384.
79. John Davies, letter to Salisbury concerning the state of Ireland, 1610, reproduced in *Historical tracts*, 288.
80. J. Michael Hill, *Fire and sword: Sorley Boy MacDonnell and the rise of Clan Ian Mor, 1538–1590* (London: Athlone Press, 1993), 139.
81. Boorde, *The fyrist boke of the introduction of knowledge*, sig. C3v.
82. Lord deputy Sidney to the Earl of Leicester, 1 March 1566, S.P. 63-16 no. 35, f. 87r.
83. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 99.
84. Humphrey Gilbert, ‘The discourse of Ireland, 1572,’ in *Voyages and colonising enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, ed. David Beers Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940), 125.
85. Moryson, ‘The Itinerary,’ in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 283, 290–291.
86. Jane Ohlmeyer, ‘“Civilizing of those Rude Partes”: Colonization within Britain and Ireland 1580s–1640s,’ in *The Oxford history of the British Empire, Vol. 1, The origins of Empire: British overseas enterprise to the close of the seventeenth century*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford University Press, 1998), 128.
87. Martin MacGregor, ‘Civilising Gaelic Scotland: the Scottish Isles and the Stewart empire,’ in *The plantation of Ulster*, eds. Ó Ciardha and Ó Siochrú, 39–40.
88. Simms, *From kings to warlords*, 19; see also Canny, *The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland*, 24–25.
89. Curiously, although a writer like John Davies claimed that O’Neill exercised a mastery over these followers tantamount to slavery, he reported at the same time O’Neill’s statement that, if these tenants had given him six months’ notice of their departure, he would not have felt entitled to demand their return. John Davies to Cecil, 19 April 1604. SP 63-216 no. 15, f. 45r.

90. Notes on certain documents regarding the Ulster Plantation, SP 63-247, no. 1102, f. 75. The word 'avoyding' should be understood here in its early modern meaning as the action of getting rid of, rather than simply keeping away from, something.
91. Raymond Gillespie has put forward the most articulate argument for a colony characterised by cultural interchange between native and newcomer. See, for example, 'Success and failure,' 111.

## Cultural Superstructure

[A]nd since that you are heere strangers, and come into our Countrey, you should rather conforme your selves to the Customes of our Countrey, then impose yours upon us.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the response of a Nanticoke native of Maryland in 1635 to the demand of an English governor that the Americans hand over those responsible for killing three English colonists. Having offered to ‘make satisfaction’ for the injury according to their own laws (compensation of 100 arms-length of beads for each person killed), the insistence of the governor that this satisfaction should be interpreted in English terms (‘those men, who have done this out-rage, should be delivered unto me, to do with them as I shall thinke fit’) reflects the unthinking assumption on the part of the invader that their own cultural practices should take precedence over those of the indigenous inhabitants. This was far from self-evident to the Americans. The governor’s rejection of the applicability of the natives’ laws in their own land is mirrored in Ireland by the abhorrence of John Davies for the brehon law of the Irish, by which murder was punished by a fine, known as an *éiric*, rather than the death penalty, as in English custom. The idea that the colonists should conform themselves to the customs of the country they were settling in was utterly alien to a figure such as Davies, for whom one of the main objectives of the plantation was the cultural transformation of the Irish so that ‘the next generation will in tongue and heart, and every way else,

become English'. What lay behind this impulse, in Davies' case, was a belief that previous attempts to subdue Ireland had failed because only the colonists had been admitted to the protection of English law, while the native inhabitants had been defined as outside that law, essentially aliens in their own land. Davies believed that the natives would, once admitted to this law, see the self-evident benefits of English civility and abandon their own practices.<sup>2</sup>

Others, such as Edmund Spenser, argued that it was 'vaine to speake of plantinge of lawes and plottinge pollicies till they be altogeaither subdued', and that a period of martial law would facilitate the harsh measures necessary to bring the Irish up to the level of civilisation at which they would be ready for admittance to the status of full subjects. 'Sithens we Cannot now applie lawes fitt to the people', he wrote, 'we will applie the people and fitt them to the lawes.'<sup>3</sup> While the exact sequence of events by which the Irish were to be 'civilised' was debated, a consensus was nonetheless emerging towards the close of the sixteenth century that the anglicisation of the Irish would have to form part of future colonial projects in order for these projects to succeed. It had not always been thus. Earlier settlers in Ireland had shown a far greater willingness to adopt aspects of Gaelic society. The extent of assimilation had varied according to how far the settler in question was from The Pale. While clichés about the Anglo-Normans becoming 'more Irish than the Irish themselves' overstate the case, there is no doubt that colonists from the latter part of the sixteenth century onwards were significantly less inclined to assimilate into Gaelic Ireland.

It may justifiably be asked what had changed that made co-existence with this alien culture increasingly unthinkable. The centralising impulse of an emerging national monarchy has already been alluded to above; this was the political dimension of broader ideological currents, informed by humanist notions of 'primitive' peoples, which had begun to percolate down to the level of administrators and policy-makers. Renaissance humanism, while often understood as a revival of classical scholarship, was also a *reaction* to the intellectual convulsions caused by discoveries such as those of Columbus and Copernicus, which upset the medieval conception of the universe and the Eurocentric view of the world that had hitherto been dominant. Humanism can also be seen as representing the efforts of intellectuals to discern a new kind of stability and order grounded in change and diversity itself. The Spanish encounter with native American peoples initiated an attempt to classify cultures in a systematic manner,

prompting conceptual patterns which were then carried back to Europe and applied to 'primitive' peoples closer to home, such as the Irish.<sup>4</sup>

While regarding such peoples as degenerate, humanists also inherited from classical scholars a doctrine of the Golden Age, which led some to view the same natives as living in a state of primeval innocence untouched by the corruptions of civil life.<sup>5</sup> Such contradictory beliefs would profoundly influence conceptions of indigenous peoples in the centuries of European imperialism which followed. This dichotomy encouraged the tendency to either demonise or romanticise the said natives according to a European conceptual pattern, rather than view them in their own historical and geographical context. There inevitably followed from such systems of classification the construction of a hierarchical relationship between human societies, and a narrative in which cultures developed through a series of recognisable stages on their way to attaining the heights of European refinement.

Notwithstanding the role humanism played in the methods initially determined upon to reform the Irish, it is difficult, however, to see these ideological currents as the prime factor in the colonising process. Even in the case of a consummate humanist scholar such as Thomas Smith, it seems more likely that the investment opportunity was what led to the desire to found a colony in the Ards, rather than any lofty ideals it was claimed to embody. While Smith's colonial theorising based on classical precedents appears to have been sincere, such theories played a corroborative rather than instigating role<sup>6</sup>: they served to strengthen the argument by justifying the invasion of foreign lands on the basis of bringing civilisation and reformed religion to the inhabitants. Additionally, the idea that the natives would eagerly embrace the opportunity to acquire English culture no doubt assuaged investors' fears of violent resistance from that quarter. Circumstantial reasons are, therefore, far more compelling than ideological ones. Rather than seeing the emergence of a disdain for Gaelic culture as purely novel (the medieval English had, after all, also regarded the Gaelic Irish as primitive to some extent<sup>7</sup>), it would be more accurate to say that this period saw a new immediacy in relations between *New* English arrivals and the Gaelic Irish.

Nicholas Canny has stressed the fact that this period saw Englishmen come into direct contact with the Irish in their native *milieu* for the first time since the Anglo-Norman conquest.<sup>8</sup> Throughout most of the late Middle Ages, the English visitor's experience of the Irish was generally of those who lived in The Pale or other anglicised trading towns.

This exposed them not only to the Old English but also to the ‘mere Irish’ of these areas, where the populations had been anglicised to some extent by their contact with the outside world. For the Irish in these areas, the cultural divide between them and the ‘wild Irish’ of Ulster was not so insurmountable that they could not migrate to live among them when the extortions of the English soldiery on The Pale became intolerable in the 1560s. It is significant, however, that an English writer described as ‘contrary to their nature and bringing up’ this migration to live among ‘the savage and rude sorte of Irish men’, which suggests that sufficient cultural differences divided the two groups to be apparent to an outsider.<sup>9</sup> While a newcomer may have been able to see something recognisably ‘civilised’ (i.e. English) in those Irish inhabiting the marches of The Pale, those living beyond, practising transhumance and living under the suzerainty of Gaelic warlords, were apparently regarded as alien, backward and primitive.

This sudden confrontation with the otherness of Gaelic culture contributed to a developing ideology of cultural superiority. This both fed into, and was fed by, a new ethos driving English expansion. This trend involved both a growing aversion on the part of colonists to acculturation, and the intensification in turn of an impulse to anglicise the native population. It must be stressed, however, that the urgency of this reformation was not felt overnight; it would be truer to view it as a resolution—gradually intensifying from the 1530s in response to the resistance of the natives—that Ireland would never be made tractable until it ceased to be Irish.<sup>10</sup> The period also witnessed a significant evolution in the methods felt to be most appropriate in carrying out this transformation. To view this process as merely a humanist-inspired project to reform the Irish through exposure to English culture would be a gross simplification. Instead, we may discern several distinct strategies which co-existed during the whole period of the Tudor conquest. While one or other of these may have gained prominence during certain periods, at no stage did any single one completely eclipse the others. These strategies may usefully be considered under the threefold division of Reform, Reduce and Replace.

### REFORM, REDUCE AND REPLACE

‘Reform’ implied the anglicisation of the Irish by making available to them the accoutrements of English civility: modes of dress, speech, manners, the common law and the reformed church. Implicit in this was the assumption that, given the choice, the Irish would opt for the superior

culture. This in turn reflected a humanist belief in the perfectibility of humans. As Brendan Bradshaw has remarked of the Reformation in Ireland, an optimistic view of human nature—that it was capable of responding rationally to the choice between civility and incivility— informed initial efforts to reform the Irish through persuasion rather than coercion.<sup>11</sup> The Irish simply needed to be given the opportunity to behave civilly in order to become so.

The Old English writer Rowland White, for example, argued that the natives ‘be men reasonable [...] where hitherto lackinge the lawe they colde not lawfullie lyve’.<sup>12</sup> Over time, however, as the natives refused to play the part allotted to them in this narrative, the optimistic view came into conflict with a darker vision of human nature which stressed the predominance of the will over the intellect, and reflected a Calvinist belief in the essentially irrational nature of humankind.<sup>13</sup> A hardening of attitudes took place in the second half of the sixteenth century, giving new vigour to perceptions of the Irish as barbarian. Whereas administrators had once argued that reforms and laws would be sufficient to change the Irish, voices such as Spenser’s—condemning them as responsive only to the sword—became increasingly prominent towards the end of the century.

While the term ‘reform’ has been (and continues to be) used to encompass violent means of bringing about that reform, for the purposes of this discussion, the word here entails peaceful methods of cultural transmission. Violent methods are included within the scope of what will be described as the ‘reduction’ of the native population. This strategy resulted from the failure of the Irish to respond in the hoped-for manner to the civility on offer.<sup>14</sup> John Davies’ assertion that a ‘barbarous country must first be broken by a war, before it will be capable of good government’ expresses the orthodox view current among English administrators by the early seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup> While the reformation of the Irish remained the goal, such an end was felt to be unattainable without first dismantling the infrastructure which sustained Gaelic culture. This reflected the continued hope that it was not the Irish themselves who were fundamentally unresponsive to reform, but rather their leaders and retainers who were obstructing these efforts. As upholders and transmitters of the most problematic aspects of Gaelic culture, this elite had to be removed, or at least divested of its power, for reforming efforts to bear fruit.<sup>16</sup> In this manner, the state would first have to wipe the slate clean before the inculcation of English cultural values could begin. What Ciaran Brady has termed a ‘cultural trauma’, paraphrasing Spenser’s proposals,

would first have to take place, and this is what Chichester meant when he wrote that ‘the queene wyll never reape what is expected untyll the nation be [...] so subiected as to take a neewe impression of lawes’.<sup>17</sup>

A strategy of ‘reducing’ the Irish did not so much supplant the reform agenda as introduce an additional stage which would have to take place before reform was possible. The mechanics of anglicisation were worked out in a more concrete fashion than had previously been the case. This is because it involved the introduction of English (and later lowland Scottish) colonists, who would take the place of the native elite as agents of reformation, ‘by whose life, care, and good husbandrie’, Chichester wrote, ‘it is to be hoped the neigboures wilbe alured to allowe and imitate that course, which brings profit to themselves, theire posterite and the commonwealth’.<sup>18</sup> Clearing the way for the introduction of such colonists, however, necessitated the violent destruction of Gaeldom. English efforts to present their culture as more civil and stable were seriously undermined by the fact that this destruction involved recourse to distinctly uncivil methods. This irony was not lost on English contemporaries; Spenser’s *View* can be read as an attempt (arguably unsuccessful) to resolve the contradiction.<sup>19</sup> David Edwards has noted that martial law continued to be employed extensively in provincial areas in what was, officially at least, peacetime.<sup>20</sup> In the reign of Charles, Irish Catholics had sought among the assurance of the ‘Graces’ that provost marshals would only execute people in time of war.<sup>21</sup>

The extent to which the period between 1609 and 1641 represented a peaceful interlude has been overstated. In an Ulster context, as will be seen in Chap. 5, this apparent peace masked a daily reality of arbitrary punishment for the majority of Irish in colonial society. For those on the receiving end, it must have borne a striking resemblance to no law at all, and can hardly have recommended the English legal order as a more stable and impartial replacement for the Gaelic one. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Irish failed to respond to this strategy of reduction, just as they had failed to respond to reformation. Resistance led to the belief in some quarters that the Irish were utterly incapable of reformation and for some to advocate, especially in the final years of the Nine Years War, a strategy of simply replacing them with colonists from outside.

While few argued for the wholesale extermination of the native population (although some came close), the tendency to believe that Ireland would be pacified only by the replacement of a large part of its population played a major role in the period when the Ulster colony was being

planned. As early as 1566 Lord Deputy Sidney wrote to Cecil that the government could choose ‘ether to bring the people to the just rule of Inglysh law or to banysh them and unpeople the soyle by Inducement of colonyes’, adding that the latter was ‘optable and fesyble’.<sup>22</sup> A ‘Discourse of Ireland’ written in 1599 argued that Ireland would never be made safe until ‘all the race of them’ were moved to England to serve as menials, to be replaced by colonists who were English and Flemish (‘a People of more propinquity to our Nature’).<sup>23</sup> Some of the rhetoric produced in such periods of intense conflict can be assigned to the category of ‘bad-tempered and tough-minded talk’ which, Ciaran Brady cautions, could ‘hardly be said to form the elements of an ideology’.<sup>24</sup> The plans to deport much of the Irish population, however, appear sufficiently thought-out and argued to give the impression that they were informed by a belief that all other options had failed, rather than the simple motive of revenge alone. It is significant that a belief in the incapacity of the Irish for civility was current, if not predominant, at the time when the plantation project was being carried out. In contrast to rhetoric presenting the plantation as an attempt to transform Ulster culturally, the relatively perfunctory efforts made at anglicising the Irish are also consistent with widespread disillusionment about this possibility. Perhaps in no other field is this more apparent than that of religion.

### RELIGION/SUPERSTITION

Even when the Irish had shared the same religion as their conquerors, the subjugation of the island had occasionally been framed in religious terms. In the aftermath of the Anglo-Norman conquest, Gerald of Wales had sought to justify the assumption of lordship by Henry II as a means of ‘reforming the Irish people, who were then very ignorant of the rudiments of the faith, by ecclesiastical rules and discipline, according to the usages of the English church’.<sup>25</sup> Such reforming impulses had no impact on an area as remote from the centre of power as Ulster, and in practice the church beyond The Pale was left throughout the late Middle Ages to develop along its own lines. Clerical marriage was widespread, and the hereditary character of the priesthood in Ireland marked the Gaelic Church off from the mainstream of European Catholicism. As Kenneth Nicholls has noted, such practices did have their parallel in other Celtic areas of Scotland and Wales, but they were markedly less tolerated in the archdiocese of Armagh—which straddled both The Pale and Ulster—by

primates not of a Gaelic background.<sup>26</sup> Because of this, the Church was effectively split up into two units, *inter anglicos* and *inter hibernicos*, and the fact that primates seldom visited the north, leaving it to be administered by Gaelic officials, is testament to the differing character of the Catholic Church in Ulster.<sup>27</sup>

In attempting to define this character more clearly, some qualification must be offered to the tendency among certain English writers, in the wake of the Reformation, to view the Irish as essentially pagan.<sup>28</sup> While this was partly based on the deviations in Gaelic practice from mainstream European Catholicism and the many obvious survivals from pre-Christian religion, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the use of the term ‘pagan’ as illustrative of these survivals, and its use as a term of abuse indicative of a belief that *all* Catholics were unworthy of being deemed Christians. The poet Robert Herrick, for example, described the Catholic faith itself as a ‘mixt religion, part pagan, part papistical’ and the title page of John Bale’s book on his experiences in Ireland depicted ‘The English Christian’ (accompanied by a lamb) and ‘The Irishe Papist’ (with a wolf), as if the two were mutually exclusive categories.<sup>29</sup> This more exclusive definition of what it was to be Christian suggests that we should be cautious in accepting descriptions of the Catholic Irish as pagan at face value. With this in mind, the observations of Catholic outsiders are more likely to offer an ethnographically accurate picture of the practice of religion in Gaelic Ireland at this time, given that they had no propaganda interest in denigrating all Catholics as pagan.

Such writers, even without the ideological motivation to denigrate the Irish as pagans, testify to a religious syncretism in Gaelic Ireland that had probably been widespread across Europe in the Middle Ages. Wherever Christianity took root, it was invariably grafted onto pre-existing pagan beliefs; such a fusion still characterises Catholicism in large parts of Latin America to this day. A French visitor in the 1640s, while acknowledging that the native Irish were ‘very good Catholics’, added that they were ‘not very polished’ and knew little of their religion.<sup>30</sup> In the mid-sixteenth century the English Catholic William Good was appalled by the ‘most filthy life of their Priests, who of Churches make profane houses, and keepe harlots, who follow them whithersoever they goe’, lambasting them for the prodigious number of children they sired with these women, their drunken debauchery and their participation in armed disputes.<sup>31</sup> This last-mentioned phenomenon is symptomatic of the extent to which the Catholic clergy in Gaelic areas were implicated in the distinctly worldly concerns of secular society. Through intermarriage with

ruling families, hereditary land-proprietorship and their participation in political legitimisation and war, priests in Gaelic Ireland far from conformed to the ideal of a detached, impartial class of arbiters; on the contrary, they and their children were often able to avail themselves of the social advantages of the position of priest to maintain hospitality (a key lever of power in Gaelic society) and to raise forces of fighting men to develop their power base and those of their allies.<sup>32</sup> A Counter Reformation zeal for the rectification of this situation animated much of the efforts of the Catholic clergy, trained on the continent, who operated in seventeenth-century Ulster.<sup>33</sup>

Beyond the behaviour of the priesthood, Good noted a number of pagan practices, from the incompatibility of horse-ownership with eating an odd number of eggs, to the widespread attempts of ‘wise women’ to cure diseases by combining non-Christian magic charms with Christian prayers. He concluded:

I cannot tell whether the wilder sort of the Irishry yeeld divine honour unto the Moone; for when they see her first after the change, commonly they bow the knee, and say over the Lords prayer, and so soone as they have made an end, they speake unto the Moone with a loud voice in this manner: Leave us as whole and sound as thou hast found us.<sup>34</sup>

The inordinate veneration—or fear—of the bardic poets can also be seen as a relic of pre-Christian beliefs in the magic efficacy of their ‘versified curses’, whose reputed ability to wield ‘magical harm’ Nicholls has described as an ‘extraordinary survival from an earlier and pre-Christian phase of Celtic life’ when their function had been more explicitly sacral.<sup>35</sup> Other beliefs, such as the ‘inhabited Gyrdles’ reported by Barnaby Rich (which were reputed to protect the wearer from both swords and gunshot) are reminiscent of the Powhatans’ belief in the immunity of one of their number Nemattanew, to harm from bullets.<sup>36</sup> It can even be inferred from an anecdote in Campion’s *Two Histories* that the Irish were, in the sixteenth century, self-consciously tapping into a pagan past, associated with strength in battle, while the Christian legacy was associated with the weakness consequent upon restraint:

In some corners of the land they used a damnable superstition, leaving the right armes of their Infants males unchristened (as they tearmed it) to the intent it might give a more ungracious and deadly blow.<sup>37</sup>

The prayers appealing to God for abundant booty undertaken before setting out on a raid, and their attributing of success to His favour, are further testament to the belief in an immediate and interventionist God among the Irish, compared to the more abstracted and unapproachable deity that had come to dominate the English Protestant mind.<sup>38</sup>

This emphasis on the responsiveness of the natural world, through supernatural agency, to their actions and entreaties increasingly distinguished the religious temperament of the Irish from that of the New English arrivals. Many of the latter were strongly influenced by a Calvinist view of a universe in which God stood largely aloof from creation; in their view, ‘no mere ceremony could have any material efficacy, and [...] divine grace could not be conjured or coerced by any human formula’.<sup>39</sup> Allied to this was the belief that worldly attainments—while not a *means* of achieving salvation—were ‘indispensable as a sign of election’, an intellectual development on which Max Weber based his thesis associating the rise of capitalism with ascetic Protestantism. As Weber observed, an ethos of ‘God helps those who help themselves’ came to supplant earlier modes of thought in which God was believed to dole out rewards and punishment according to ceremonies of propitiation or moral action.<sup>40</sup> It is not difficult to see how a mentality of associating advancement with the grace of God, on the part of the Irish, and activity in the world, on the part of the Protestants, might lead to a tendency towards fatalism among the former, and a contrasting enterprise and dynamism among the latter. We should, however, be wary of imputing too much significance to such broad cultural undercurrents.

For one thing, the recourse to magic had by no means receded to a distant memory among the English themselves. A Puritan such as John Penry in 1587 regarded areas far from the metropolitan south-east, such as Wales and Northumberland, as particularly devoid of anything resembling true faith, describing the people there as ‘either such as never think of any religion, true or false, plainly near-atheists, or stark blinded with superstition’.<sup>41</sup> A belief in the power of the poor’s curse, still potent enough to make the gentry afraid of prohibiting begging, was hardly any less superstitious than fear of the poors in Ireland.<sup>42</sup> Karen Kupperman has remarked that the rank and file colonists in Virginia did not ‘have a much more sophisticated understanding of the operation of the universe than their Indian counterparts’ and that:

They feared not only the military attacks of the Indians or the withdrawal of technological support, but also that the Indians might use magic against them. It is very easy to overdraw the modernity of the English. They and the Indians believed in a world peopled with supernatural forces which could affect their lives.<sup>43</sup>

Belief in magic may have had as much to do with class as with ethnicity. The writer of the *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*, a satire written by a member of the Gaelic elite aimed at those deemed to be social upstarts, clearly regarded the peasantry as so mired in superstition as to be lacking any true understanding of their nominal religion, declaring that they would not have been capable of receiving the faith if Christ Himself had been their teacher.<sup>44</sup>

We must also critically assess what is meant by ‘superstition’, as distinguished from the officially sanctioned religious faith practised by elites. It is difficult to see how the conviction expressed by Lord Deputy Falkland—that God was aiding the government in the capture of fugitive priests—did not itself constitute the same kind of superstition existing at the highest level of society.<sup>45</sup> Keith Thomas has posited a distinction between religion and magic as one defined by the ‘coercive’ nature of the latter and the ‘intercessionary’ nature of the former, but a vast range of religious beliefs and practices do not fit neatly into either category, falling instead somewhere in the grey area between the two.<sup>46</sup> The following formal distinction, which he notes in a later chapter, may be closer to the truth:

The legitimacy of any magical ritual depended upon the official view taken of it by the Church. So long as theologians permitted the use of, say, holy water or consecrated bells in order to dispel storms, there was nothing ‘superstitious’ about such activity.<sup>47</sup>

Often the characterisation of a belief as ‘superstitious’ and ‘primitive’, therefore, appears to have had more to do with a definition of the people who believed in it as primitive than the content of the belief itself.

Another prime example of practices regarded as superstitious merely because they were Irish, was their funerary customs. These seem to have struck many newcomers to the island as especially strange and indicative of both ungovernable emotions and a lack of true faith.<sup>48</sup> The Irish, as Wiley Maley has noted, were ‘wheeled out repeatedly as

illustrations of extreme emotions', and the 'despairefull outcries and ymoderate waylinges' at Gaelic funerals were said by Spenser to 'savor greatye of the Scythyan Barbarisime'.<sup>49</sup> This 'excessive mourning'<sup>50</sup> was said, furthermore, to signify a lack of real belief in salvation. John Bale noted in Waterford:

There wawled they over the dead, with prodigyouse howlynges and pat-  
ternyges, as though their sowles had not bene quyeted in Christe and  
redemed by hys passion.<sup>51</sup>

The subject of the soul's fate in the afterlife was, to such outsiders, conspicuously absent in discussions at the deathbed. This may be deduced by other accounts, such as Good's, to have its origins in a strong reluctance among the Irish to acknowledge the approach of death, lest such an acknowledgement cause the patient to give up the fight for life:

Such as visite and sit by one that lieth sicke in bed, never speake word of God, nor of the salvation of his soul, ne yet of making his will, but all to put him in hope of his recovering: If any one call for the sacrament, him they count past hope and recovery [...] When one lieth ready to die, before he is quite gone, certaine women, hired of purpose to lament, standing in the meeting of crosse high-wayes, and holding their hands all abroad, call unto him with certain out-cries fitted for the nonce, and goe about to stay his soule, as it laboureth to get forth of the bodie, by reckoning up the commodities that he enjoyeth of wordly goods, of wives, of beauty, fame, kinsfolke, friends, and horses; and demanding of him why he will depart? and whither? and to whom? yea they expostulate with his soule, objecting that she is unthankfull.<sup>52</sup>

Once again it appears that it was the mere fact that these differed from English practices, that defined them as barbaric and pagan, and not anything intrinsically more superstitious about them than customs elsewhere.<sup>53</sup>

The 'howling and barbarous outcries' were also seen by writers such as Stanyhurst and Campion as indicative of a lack of sincerity in the Gaelic Irish. Both writers ascribed to the exaggerated emotions displayed at Irish funerals the origin of the proverb 'to weep Irish', which signified (as elaborated by Barnaby Rich) 'to weepe at pleasure, without cause, or grieve'.<sup>54</sup> The hired mourning-women or *bean chaoiante* attested to by Good's account were the most disreputable feature

of such funerals in this respect. This *caoineadh* (a keen or lament) was similar to the *corranach* practised in the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd*, where it was condemned by Calvinist evangelists who, in many other respects, were remarkably tolerant of *Gàidhlig* customs.<sup>55</sup> Although Barnaby Rich claimed that there was ‘neither Jesuite, Seminary, nor Popish priest [...] that wil once rebuke or find fault at the matter’, the *caoineadh* was in fact denounced by the Counter Reformation Church in Ireland, according to John Lynch in the 1660s, who declared it to be ‘offensive to the living and of no use to the dead’.<sup>56</sup> It would appear, however, that such denunciations had little effect. The fact that the custom was mentioned by William Brereton in the 1630s as taking place in the heart of Dublin suggests it was probably widespread in the less-anglicised countryside.<sup>57</sup> The *bean chaoiante* continued to be a prominent feature of Irish funerals throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and thus appears to have enjoyed the semi-toleration of the Catholic Church, only disappearing in the wake of the Great Famine and the more active discouragement expressed by that institution in that period.<sup>58</sup>

Rather than being seen as the detached observations of proto-anthropologists, the commentaries of many outsiders on Irish religious practices must be seen as those of individuals whose own set of values and practices were *believed* to constitute the orthodox and authoritative form of the faith, from which local variations were seen as a deviation. In this, they were not unlike the medieval traveller Ibn Batuta, a Moroccan, who viewed with dismay the practice of Islam in faraway corners of the Muslim world such as Mali.<sup>59</sup> What may have struck English observers of the ‘mere Irish’ was not that they were fundamentally more superstitious, but that their Christianity co-existed with beliefs which did not accord with the elite-sanctioned form of the faith. These remnants of pre-Christian religion were reminiscent of those observed among the poorer classes in England. One Lady Ann Fanshawe, a visitor in 1650, believed she had seen a *bean sí*, a supernatural being in the form of an old woman, believed to appear wailing outside a house where a person was about to die, and came to the conclusion that the greater superstition of the Irish made it a more attractive environment for the devil to stage such apparitions.<sup>60</sup> The fact that she shared this belief in the *bean sí*, however, suggests that she herself did not subscribe to a worldview that was markedly more rationalistic.<sup>61</sup>

Ironically, this perception of the Gaelic Irish as barely Christian led to a belief in the highest circles that they would be easier to win over for the reformed church than the supposedly more staunchly Catholic Old English segment of the population.<sup>62</sup> The fact that the Reformation

subsequently failed to make much headway with these reputedly irreligious natives raises the question of whether or not they were as wayward in their Catholicism as was assumed. There is also the difficulty, alluded to above, of knowing whether or not descriptions of the Irish as pagan were intended as dispassionate observations or merely pejorative remarks on their perceived barbarity. An antagonism seems apparent from the very beginning between those, such as Davies and King James, whose beliefs about the reformability of the ‘mere Irish’ were based less on first-hand experience than generalised speculations about ‘primitive’ people, and those charged with executing the Reformation among the Irish, who were more familiar with conditions on the ground.

Bishop George Montgomery, for example, who was exhorted by Davies to be a ‘new St. Patrick’ among the Irish, wrote in 1607 that his efforts to win over the native clergy to Protestantism were being hampered by resistance coordinated by Rory O’Donnell.<sup>63</sup> O’Donnell’s departure later that year may have temporarily made the bishop’s job easier but his initial success in persuading Catholic priests to become Protestant ministers proved to be a false dawn. The evidence would suggest that many of these conversions were mere outward shows of conformity by priests anxious to safeguard their livelihood and their families. There are several reasons for believing this. First, many of these figures later returned to Catholicism when conditions were more favourable. The years in which the plantation project got underway saw the enforcement of a 1605 royal proclamation ordering the banishment of priests from Ireland and a fine of 12d for those failing to attend Protestant service. This fell largely into abeyance as the years passed and the demands of social stability prevailed over those of religious conformity. Coupled with the arrival of increasing numbers of Tridentine clergy from the continent as enforcement of these edicts eased, this brought many outwardly conforming clergy back into the Catholic camp. The expediency of these ‘conversions’ is also suggested by the fact that the wives and children of these priests refused to attend Protestant services (women and children not being subject to recusancy laws), and that many priests returned to the Catholic Church on their deathbeds.<sup>64</sup>

Even while outwardly conforming to the religion of the coloniser, these clergymen often continued to serve the interests of the Catholic Church in a clandestine fashion. One Brian McShane O’Mellan, while a warden in the Protestant church on the Haberdashers proportion in Londonderry, was accused of harbouring a Catholic abbot, Gillecolme

McTadhg, in his house and of having had sixteen masses said by him.<sup>65</sup> The fact that some were attacked simply for associating with figures who had converted to Protestantism is testimony to the hostility towards the reformed religion among the natives. George Canning, the Ironmongers' agent, reported that the Irish on the company's lands in Londonderry were too afraid of the consequences among their own people to conform to the colonists' religion. An Irishman tending cattle on the Mercers' proportion in 1615 was reported to have been killed, 'for no other cause than that his M[aste]r being an Irishman had conformed himself and came to the Church'.<sup>66</sup> The religious aspect of the violence in 1641 is evident in attacks on those such as Donall O'Leary, an Irishman from outside Belturbet who had married an Englishwoman and become Protestant; having had his goods and rents taken away from him, he was promised by the insurgents that these would be restored to him if he returned to the Catholic faith.<sup>67</sup> Such examples would suggest that resistance to conversion (and adherence to Catholicism) was more deeply rooted in Gaelic Ulster; it was not merely the result of a campaign orchestrated by elite figures such as O'Donnell, or imposed from outside by clergy from the continent.

It remains the case, however, that most sophisticated analyses of the Reformation in Gaelic Ulster have centred around the failures of the Church of Ireland, rather than the success on the part of the Catholics in resisting it.<sup>68</sup> The idea that the Reformation failed implies that, given the right combination of strategy, sufficient funding and dedicated personnel, the natives of Ulster were not so rigidly attached to Catholicism as to be entirely beyond hope of conversion. Indeed, as has been seen, some believed that the 'least civil' Irish would prove most receptive. Where historians have differed is in dating the moment when this hope was abandoned for good. While Brendan Bradshaw has argued that the window of opportunity closed as early as the reign of Queen Mary, and Karl Bottigheimer has written that the Reformation was lost by the 1620s, Nicholas Canny has refuted the idea of its failure in the early modern period altogether, asserting that the issue remained undecided up until the nineteenth century.<sup>69</sup>

There is little doubt, however, that an observer towards the end of the period under discussion here would have conceded such a failure among the Gaelic Irish in Ulster. In 1630, Bishop William Bedell painted a bleak picture of the state of the Reformation in the dioceses that had been committed to his care:

The People, saving a few British Planters here and there, [are] obstinate Recusants. A Popish clergy more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, by their Vicar-General and Officials; who are so confident as they Excommunicate those that come to our Courts; even in matrimonial causes [...] The Primate himself lives in my Parish, within two miles of my house: the Bishop in another part of my Diocess further off. Every Parish hath its Priest, and some two or three a piece; and so their Mass-houses also; in some places Mass is said in the Churches.<sup>70</sup>

Bedell concluded by observing that recognition of James as king by the Irish was ‘but at the Pope’s discretion’. His letter captures the ascendancy of the Catholic clergy despite decades of official proscription. Even from an early stage of the plantation, the optimism of men such as Davies and the king was not shared by all. Chichester confided to James at the astonishingly early date of 1610 that the religious dimension of the plantation had failed. According to him, the Irish were too firmly attached to the Catholic faith and would need to be subjected to the kind of campaign of reduction outlined above in order to be ‘clarified from the dross and poison of the Church of Rome’, as a prerequisite for any successful Reformation. It was clearly believed that such a process would take a considerable period of time, given Chichester’s reference to ‘almightie providence havinge reserved it to be the worke of some other to whom God grannt better succeasse’, implying that neither he nor the king would see this preparatory groundwork completed during their lifetimes.<sup>71</sup>

The lord deputy was, however, unduly pessimistic. The examples cited above of Catholic priests being compelled to conform (if only superficially) in these early years would suggest that the Reformation might have been successfully enforced in Ulster. Nicholas Canny has shown how mere conformity can evolve into conviction over time if initial coercion gives way to intensive evangelisation, as happened in parts of Germany, Bohemia and France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.<sup>72</sup> Neither was the fact that Reformation was being imposed ‘from above’ a bar to success in Ireland. After all, such had been the case in England itself. As G. R. Elton noted, whereas the continental Reformation had its origin in popular alienation from the Catholic Church, and fell into the hands of secular government only in its second stage, the reverse was the case in England; government took the initiative, and it was the political changes imposed from above which led to the subsequent religious transformation.<sup>73</sup> Prior to this transformation

(which can really be said to have taken place only in the reign of Elizabeth), mere outward conformity had characterised the nominally Protestant population in parts of England remote from the centre of power.<sup>74</sup> The idea that the success of the Reformation was far from inevitable in England and Scotland should alert us to the fact that its failure was far from inevitable in Ireland.<sup>75</sup>

In Gaelic Ireland, however, the second stage which followed this government-inspired Reformation elsewhere never took place, and it is the factors which distinguished it from places where the ‘Reformation-from-above’ struck deeper roots among the people which must be examined. The key difference was the colonial relationship in Ireland, which established an antagonistic relationship between the interests of reformers and those they wished to see reformed. The difficulties Chichester reported facing evangelising ministers were a far cry from the somewhat idealised image which Blenerhasset presented in the same year, which suggested that Ulster would soon ‘in civility and sincere Religion, equal even faire England herself’:

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 untaught people worship stones and sticks: thou by carrying millions to heaven, maiest be made an Archangell, and have whiles thou doost live for worldly respects, what not.<sup>76</sup>

The appeal to self-interest in this image of abundant souls waiting to be reclaimed from heathenism suggests another factor which undermined evangelical efforts in Ulster from the outset. The belief thus fostered—that the mission would involve preaching to scarcely Christian barbarians with little or no attachment to Catholicism—was, as has been seen, a misconception, and the kind of ministers attracted by such promises were not likely to persevere once they realised the extent of the task facing them. This was especially true when growing numbers of colonists offered ministers an alternative kind of pastoral work that was both easier and more lucrative.<sup>77</sup> Blenerhasset’s hint at the attractive remuneration to be had for ministering in Ulster foreshadows the kinds of interest which would come to prevail over missionary work with such clergy, and suggests a more likely reason for the hostility of the native Irish towards the Church of Ireland than either Chichester’s explanation of insufficient state coercion or the efforts of the Counter Reformation clergy provides.

Such an explanation places more emphasis on the neglect of the Church of Ireland itself in carrying out the evangelical mission that had been used as a central justification for colonisation. In both Ireland and America, the conversion of native peoples played a central role in this justification, offering a thin veneer of spiritual motives over (scarcely) concealed material ones. John Smith—a central figure in the early years of the colony—criticised the Virginia Company for ‘making Religion their colour, when all their aime was nothing but present profit’.<sup>78</sup> William Bedell referred to the personnel of his own church as ‘the chiefest impediments of the work that we pretend to set forward’. One of the primary impediments, Bedell observed, was the ‘hatred of subdued people to their conquerors’ among the Irish, which his peers, far from allaying, had increased by their ‘extortions’ upon the native population.<sup>79</sup> The risk that Protestantism would be reviled by the Irish due to its association with conquest and defeat had been perceived by Edmund Spenser. He recommended that (after the conquest and coercion which was necessary to render the population docile and receptive):

some discrete ministers of theire owne Cuntrymen be firste sente amon-  
geste them which by theire milde perswacions and instruccions as also by  
theire sober liffe and Conversacion maie drawe them firste to understande  
and afterwardes to imbrace the doctrine of theire salvacion.<sup>80</sup>

For all the harshness in Spenser’s attitude towards the native Irish, he was clearly sincere in his wish to see them converted. Far from following Spenser’s advice, newly arrived ministers accompanying the colonists from England and Scotland preferred to preach to their already reformed compatriots than to a people speaking an alien language, who, in any case, exhibited all the signs of being already damned.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, those clergymen who did take up posts among the natives often compounded the animosity felt towards the Church by treating the position as a sinecure, carrying out little or no pastoral work, a vacuum which the Counter Reformation clergy were quick to fill.<sup>82</sup>

The evidence for such neglect is widespread. Some inhabitants of Tyrone, for example, complained that they were being routinely fined for failing to attend church, ‘when as for the moste p[ar]te there is no church to come unto, and if there be, there is commonlie none but an English or Scottish minister whome the common people understand not’.<sup>83</sup> Chichester expressed concern in 1615 that, ‘intending their own

profit most among the Irish', such ministers had begun to farm out the collection of their tithes to woodkerne 'and such like extortionate people'—in other words, the very class which the plantation had been an attempt to eradicate.<sup>84</sup> Ministers in Monaghan were widely reported to have refused baptism to the children of native Irish unless they received exorbitant fees for doing so, suggesting that monetary gain was a far greater priority than spreading the reformed faith.<sup>85</sup> So derelict were the ministers in their duties that one writer claimed they (often 'Mechanick men' and 'rude bred Souldiers, whose education was at the Musket mouth') spent their time drinking and carousing with the very Catholic priests they were meant to be contending with for the souls of their parishioners.<sup>86</sup> Bedell perceived the disrepute into which such practices were bringing the established Church, and drew an unflattering comparison with the austerity of the early Church:

And that religion that makes men that professe it, and shewes them to be despisers of the world and so farre from encroaching upon others in matter of base gaine as rather to part with their owne [...] This bred the admiration of the Primitive Christians, contrary causes must needs bring forth contrary effects. Wherefore let us preach never so painfully, and live never so piously ourselves, so long as the officers in our Courtes do prey upon the people, they [the Irish] account us no better then publicanes.<sup>87</sup>

Given the prominence accorded to conversion in the rhetoric of plantation, it seems surprising that those on the ground proved so uninterested in the project. There are many explanations for this: greed, the poor quality of personnel, lack of resources, the challenge presented by the Counter Reformation, and simple inertia. None of these are entirely convincing. Notwithstanding the challenges, the impression cannot be avoided that if the will had been present, a way would have been found. This points to a more fundamental reason for the neglect of the mission, which is that a lack of interest in the reformation of the Irish was hardwired into the structure of colonial Ulster. Protestantism, as a cultural marker, was a primary means by which the colonists could signal their identity as a privileged class—civil, placid, sedentary and loyal—in contrast to the uncivil, warlike, transient and disloyal native population. While the crown may have wanted to employ them as a means of making the Irish equally civil, sedentary and loyal, the settlers had a different agenda. To extend the exclusivity conferred by Reformation to the native

population would have been self-defeating in that it would have threatened the maintenance of this privileged position.

This applies as much to church personnel as it does to the lay population. Though compelled to pay lip service to the idea of converting the Irish, English and Scottish ministers had no interest in creating a wave of native Protestant clergy who would provide competition for posts.<sup>88</sup> Other classes of settler proved likewise indisposed to assist in augmenting the proportion of the population with whom they would have to compete for privileges reserved for Protestants. Michael Hechter has analysed this phenomenon, contrasting two different models of core–periphery acculturation. In the first, which he terms ‘social structural convergence’, the social structures and cultural practices of a core will diffuse to the periphery once it has established domination. In time, ‘differences become muted’: ‘the core and peripheral regions will tend to become culturally homogeneous because the economic, cultural, and political foundations for separate ethnic identification disappear.’ This is in contrast to what Hechter refers to as the ‘internal colonial model’, which better describes seventeenth-century Ulster. Notwithstanding its rhetoric of promoting cultural transformation, the core, having dominated the peripheral area, seeks to exploit it materially. The pursuit of this objective entails—in contrast to cultural convergence—the creation of a colonial elite and its subordinate counterpart. An unequal distribution of resources and power between the two is institutionalised and high-status roles reserved for the ruling class:

This stratification system, which may be termed a cultural division of labor, contributes to the development of distinctive ethnic identification in the two groups. Actors come to categorize themselves and others according to the range of roles each may be expected to play. They are aided in this categorization by the presence of visible signs, or cultural markers, which are seen to characterize both groups. At this stage, acculturation does not occur because it is not in the interests of institutions within the core.<sup>89</sup>

Hechter has noted a situation comparable with the failure of the reformation in Ulster in Wales, where Nonconformist sects benefited from the Anglican Church’s lack of interest in preaching to the Welsh-speaking population:

Since the Welsh gentry had ultimately chosen to abandon their Welsh culture, thereby heightening their social status both in Wales and in England,

they were not anxious to devalue this privilege by democratizing access to English culture among the Welsh masses. The value of English culture and most particularly of English speaking in Wales, was a direct function of its exclusivity [...] it was through the maintenance, even the proliferation, of cultural distance that the Welsh squire preserved his domestic privilege. Every interaction with common Welshmen on a basis of equality threatened the squire's own precarious ethnic identity.<sup>90</sup>

Counter-currents to this trend must, however, be acknowledged. The eagerness of colonists to keep the native Irish on their lands has been noted; one of the ways in which investors could evade plantation conditions forbidding them from doing so was to count Irish who had become Protestants as 'British'. The Ironmongers' agent in Londonderry inquired about the legality of doing this in 1615, wondering whether the Oath of Supremacy was required in addition.<sup>91</sup> There would thus appear to have been an interest in ensuring at least outward conformity. On the other hand, as Alan Ford as noted, the strict enforcement of the Reformation might have driven potential tenants away, thus defeating the purpose of converting them if the hope was to retain them as tenants by doing so.<sup>92</sup> Such were the antagonistic impulses which governed the attitude of newcomer towards native (and vice versa) in colonial Ulster. On balance, the benefits of keeping the native Irish in a position of legally disadvantageous Catholicism appear to have outweighed the potential benefits of converting them. No fact is more indicative of this than that, given the higher rents paid by their Irish tenants, undertakers often paid the fines levied on the native Irish for remaining on their lands.<sup>93</sup>

Theological sanction for this cultural divide could be found in Leviticus, where the Israelites were commanded not to take indentured servants from among their compatriots, but 'of the heathen that are round about you'.<sup>94</sup> The idea of demarcating your own community off from an exploitable 'other' was facilitated by the notion of an impervious dividing line between the 'elect' and the 'reprobate' in Calvinist thought, which would appear to render pointless any attempts at missionary work. There was, of course, nothing inevitable about the failure of the Reformation in Gaelic Ulster. We need look no further than the Highlands and Isles of Scotland to find an example of the Reformation successfully extended to a people speaking a language and practising a lifestyle similar to that of the Ulster Irish. The key factor present in the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd*, which distinguished it from Ireland, was the willingness to preach to the people

in their own language. Unlike in Ireland, the native elite and its learned orders were recruited into the service of the new religion. The Protestant message was mediated through the native idiom and adapted to take account of beliefs that would have normally been regarded as 'pagan' or 'idolatrous'. There is evidence that Gaelic Calvinist ministers made a distinction, for example, between black magic and other more benign beliefs, such as in 'second sight' and fairies.<sup>95</sup>

Frowned upon by the Scottish Kirk, this Gaelic Calvinism would come to be eroded by Lowland cultural values as the seventeenth century progressed; it nevertheless gives some indication of what might have been achieved if evangelisation had been carried out in Ulster, as envisaged by isolated figures such as Bedell. In the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd*, therefore, the Reformation did not appear as a front in a campaign of colonial domination. In Ulster, however, it was burdened with the baggage of conquest, dispossession and anglicisation. This is nowhere more evident than in the failure of Church of Ireland clergy to preach in Irish, a failure which is itself indicative of the linguistic state of affairs in colonial Ulster before 1641.

### LANGUAGE

The question of why the Church of Ireland did not make a sustained effort to evangelise to the Irish in their own language has, to a great extent, already been answered. The same lack of interest in carrying out the Reformation by most church personnel explains a reluctance to take on the considerable task of either training ministers in Irish or recruiting Irish-speaking priests to the Protestant cause. This is not to say that some efforts were not made in this respect. One of the ostensible purposes of the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin had been to:

serve as a college for learning, whereby knowledge and civility might be increased by the instruction of our people there, whereof many have usually heretofore used to travel into France, Italy and Spain, to get learning in such foreign universities, where they have been infected with popery and other ill qualities, and so become evil subjects.<sup>96</sup>

The fact that Irish Catholics flocked to continental universities in even greater numbers in the seventeenth century is testament to the failure of the university to fulfil this ambitious programme. It is nevertheless

true that William Daniel's translation of the New Testament into Irish, as well as the initiatives taken by Bedell to encourage the teaching of the language when he became provost of Trinity in 1627, indicate that *some* efforts were made. Between Daniel's departure at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and Bedell's arrival, however, the training of Irish-speaking students was neglected. The reforms attempted by Bedell were partly in response to a situation where scholarships intended for Irish-speakers were being given to anyone born in Ireland.<sup>97</sup> The slackening momentum of this project can be gauged by the falling proportion of native Irish students, roughly a fifth in 1619, compared to just five (of 103) in 1640.<sup>98</sup>

Andrew Knox, appointed Bishop of Raphoe in 1610, was another of those who took seriously the mission of the Reformation in Ulster, although his preferred strategy placed a greater emphasis on coercion than Bedell's. Upon his appointment, he pressed for the adoption of an ambitious series of articles intended to eliminate Catholicism from the kingdom; Perceval-Maxwell has described these as reflecting 'a rather utopian view of the ease with which Protestantism might be made supreme'.<sup>99</sup> Knox did not entirely neglect the persuasive aspect of his mission, however, bringing three *Gàidhlig*-speaking clergy with him to his new diocese, although this only seems to have highlighted his failure to appreciate the size of the challenge he faced. These clergy, living 'under the deadly hatred of the Irish', had to take shelter with the bishop and be protected by a specially appointed militia, suggesting that merely preaching in their native language may not have been sufficient to win over the population.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, whether these Irish-speaking clergy were actually used for evangelising to Irish-speaking inhabitants is open to question. The 1622 visitation book includes among its recommendations that churches and personnel should be moved from areas of native habitation to those where colonists were more densely concentrated, and that a converted native priest (surely perfect material for carrying out the work of conversion) should be moved to an area 'better inhabited by Brittish people'.<sup>101</sup>

This is further evidence of a gulf between the theory and practice of colonisation in Ulster. Given that influential figures such as Knox were aware of the utility of preaching in Irish, it bears asking why so little of it took place. This willingness to adapt aspects of the indigenous culture as an aid to conversion was overpowered by the strong association in the English mind between the Reformation and other aspects of

cultural anglicisation such as language. Although figures such as Bedell sought to disentangle the two, they proved to be inextricably linked. It was a link made explicit in the 1537 ‘Act for the English Order, Habite, and Language’, which stipulated that appointees to positions within the Church be given ‘to such person or persons as can speake English’.<sup>102</sup> While this legislation may have been unenforceable in the period when it was enacted, it articulated the belief among English authorities that civil modes of thought could not take place in a language that was felt to be barbarous. Such was the strength of this belief that, in cases where a minister could not speak English, Latin was prescribed as the alternative by the 1560 Act of Uniformity.<sup>103</sup> Given the importance of preaching in the vernacular to Protestants, this prescription pointedly suggests that anything was seen as preferable to Irish.

As the idea took root, throughout the sixteenth century, that the decay of earlier English colonies was a consequence of colonists’ assimilation into Gaelic society, the need to maintain cultural distance from the Irish became a more pressing concern. Learning Irish appeared to contemporaries a prime example of colonists falling into this trap. A writer in 1526 warned that the ‘vulgare Iryshe tongue inducethe the habit, the habite inducethe the conditions and inordinat lawes and so the tongue habite lawes and conditions makethe mere Iryshe’.<sup>104</sup> The sequence here is noteworthy: it is the Irish language which introduces the corruption; all the other stages of degeneracy follow as a result. A century later, the Anglican bishop Godfrey Goodman warned of ‘base and barbarous languages’ which could disfigure both the mind and body (‘a man must wrong his owne visage, and disfigure himselfe to speake them’). Such languages, claimed Goodman, were:

without gravitie or wisdome in their first imposition, consisting only of many bare, and simple tearmes, not reduced to any certaine fountaines, or heads, which best resemblmeth nature. Many of them hindring mans thoughts, and wanting a sufficient plentie of words, cannot significantly expresse the quicknes of invention or livelylly expresse an action: some giving way to fallacies and sophistrie, through Tautologies, ambiguous words, darke sentences.<sup>105</sup>

Edmund Spenser suggested that there was something inherently treasonous about the Irish language, arguing that English children should not be nursed by Irish women, because, learning their first language from

them, ‘the speache beinge Irishe the harte muste nedes be Irishe’.<sup>106</sup> While stressing the importance of introducing the Reformation to the natives through Irish, therefore, he cannot have intended that outsiders should actively learn it for this purpose.

This fear of contamination by the Irish language points to a linguistic nationalism which characterised English expansion through the Atlantic, and which overrode evangelical concerns. Patricia Palmer has noted that ‘religion and language occupied mirror-image positions within England and Spain’s colonial ventures’, contrasting England’s prioritisation of linguistic integrity with Spain’s religiously sanctioned imperialism, where ‘the Counter-Reformation imperative to evangelise overruled’.<sup>107</sup> Numerous legislative acts, such as those cited, as well as the outlines of plantation projects and treatises written at the time, attest to the fact that imposition of the English language was a central pillar of colonial ideology.

In the seventeenth century, as the English state commanded an unprecedented dominance over parts of Ireland hitherto outside its control, those factors which had once compelled colonists to learn Irish receded in importance, and colonial society became less tolerant of those who crossed the cultural divide. This could take a light-hearted form, such as the mockery William Bedell received from a fellow bishop when it was observed he had taken to wearing Irish brogues.<sup>108</sup> Such disapproval could be framed more severely, as seen in the accusations directed at Bedell of violating the statutes against adopting Irish customs.<sup>109</sup> The fact that Bedell is so often offered as an example of the adoption of Gaelic cultural traits by colonists should alert us to the fact that it was not a widespread phenomenon. In terms of language, while there were certainly examples of colonists learning at least some Irish, and even more of the Irish learning English, it is far from clear that acculturation was taking place in any widespread sense.<sup>110</sup> Certainly, the fact that heavily colonised areas became overwhelmingly English-speaking demonstrates that, in the long term at least, the linguistic assimilation of the Irish to colonial society, rather than acculturation, was the rule. A change had clearly occurred by the seventeenth century that made New English colonists less likely to adopt Gaelic practices than Old English ones. Nicholas Canny has noted a distinction between the anxieties of directors and planners of colonisation such as Chichester and the assurance of those who ‘actually engaged upon these enterprises in Ireland and Virginia’ that their ‘superior culture would inevitably prevail over an inferior one’.<sup>111</sup>

Perhaps the most profound long-term factor which determined that new waves of colonists would maintain their cultural distinctiveness was simple numbers. There was a brutal logic to Fynes Moryson's observation that 'the mere Irish of old overtopped the English-Irish in number, and nothing is more natural—yea, necessary—than for the less number to accommodate itself to the greater'.<sup>112</sup> By the same logic, the demographic catastrophe which engulfed Ulster in the early seventeenth century, compounded by the unprecedented numbers of colonists arriving from across the water, ensured that newcomers would not be 'overtopped' in this manner and that English, lowland Scots and, later, British culture would endure in Ulster. In contrast to those earlier colonists, doomed to be swamped by the culture of the surrounding savages, a writer such as Richard Eburne argued that it was 'the people that makes the land English, not the land the people'.<sup>113</sup> Indicative of this confidence, and the determination to resist any Gaelicising influences, was Vincent Gookin, a settler in Munster who wrote to Wentworth in 1633: 'I have done and ever will stand at distance w[it]h the Irish, and will not soe much as suffer my children to learne their language'.<sup>114</sup>

This shift is evident from as early as the mid-sixteenth century. Christopher Nugent, Baron of Delvin, wrote that 'feawe or none of englyshe natione borne & bredd in England ever had that gifte' of being able to speak Irish.<sup>115</sup> Recent histories have tended to emphasise examples of accommodation between the cultures of native and newcomer. Raymond Gillespie suggests that colonists' knowledge of Irish was proof of cross-cultural bilingualism, while Nicholas Canny writes of the 'emerging bilingual competence by many people in both communities'. Evidence offered of this bilingualism usually rests on apparently unproblematic communication between the Irish and colonists reported in sources such as the 1641 depositions.<sup>116</sup> The fact, however, that two groups of people were able to communicate does not necessarily imply significant levels of bilingualism. Palmer has noted how the presence of interpreters was often elided in early modern English sources. 'Repeatedly', she writes, 'English correspondents presented speeches delivered in Irish as though they had been made, uncomplicatedly, in English.' For example, speeches in English were ascribed to the Irish-speaking Hugh Roe O'Donnell by the Bishop of Meath which he could not possibly have spoken. 'Even when the interpreter is solidly inside the frame', Palmer notes, 'he is not necessarily listed in the credits'.<sup>117</sup>

The reasons why the presence of interpreters went unremarked is most likely because, being omnipresent, it was assumed their participation would be taken for granted by the reader. This is suggested by the very examples which have been offered of colonists learning Irish, implying that such bilingualism was the exception. Elizabeth Price, who gave a deposition in 1643, has been cited by Nicholas Canny as one such example, but the fact that it is explicitly pointed out that she overheard Irish people speaking ‘in Irish words’ suggests that her ability deviated from the norm of understanding through an interpreter.<sup>118</sup> It furthermore seems apparent that the insurgents felt free to speak Irish in her presence in the expectation that they would not be understood. This was certainly the case with one Brian McKilheny, who threatened to kill the deponent John Glencorse and added that he had killed twenty others, ‘not knowing that this examinat understood the language’.<sup>119</sup> The name Glencorse would suggest that the man in question had originally come from Galloway, which was still a *Gàidhlig*-speaking area at the time. It was, therefore, more likely Glencorse’s ability to speak *Gàidhlig* that enabled him to understand McKilheny than any *Gaeilge* he had picked up since arriving in Ulster.

Unequivocal examples of colonists being able to speak Irish are in fact rare in the depositions for Ulster.<sup>120</sup> That a deponent was able to report what Irish insurgents had said need not mean that they themselves understood the language. For someone to report Irish speech, only one member of a group needed to be bilingual to interpret for the others. This indicates that, at the very least, a number of individuals moved in to satisfy the need for interpreters that had sprung up. This is not surprising in a society where, practically overnight, a significant minority of colonists had established themselves, who wielded disproportionate power and influence but who were unable to communicate directly with the bulk of the native population. That individuals sought to meet this demand is equally unsurprising; it would indeed be remarkable if *no-one* had facilitated communication between the two communities, given that it was a means of making themselves useful and employable. In light of this, it seems likely that such individuals were often those in a position of economic subordination and dependence on others.

Certainly, in areas such as Cavan, where they were heavily outnumbered, or the number of native freeholders meant Irish tenants were less dependent on them, it would have been imperative for colonists to

learn the native language. Even in these cases, however, it is just as likely that they employed an Irish interpreter. One example of such arrangements is the household of Anthony Mahue at Limavady, who was visited by an Irishwoman, Honora O'Gilligan, on behalf of her husband James McBrian, in 1615. That Mahue had formed relationships with the Irish in the area is suggested by the fact that O'Gilligan was described as his 'gossip', as well as by the warning he received from her and her husband about the conspiracy being hatched by Rory O'Cahan, Alexander McDonald and their associates. Notwithstanding this, Mahue knew no Irish, and relied on the services of a maid who acted as interpreter. This suggests that even those who formed close relations with the Irish did not necessarily learn their language; it also shows how economically dependent figures such as the maid could increase their importance to an employer by assuming the role of intermediary.<sup>121</sup>

Richard Head, author in 1666 of the popular novel *The English Rogue*, recollects his childhood at the time of the 1641 rising, when he is presented as growing up with Irish-speaking servants (one of whom saves him from the insurgents) but as not learning the language himself.<sup>122</sup> Given the generally subordinate position of the natives economically, it is far more likely that the Irish were compelled to learn English than vice versa. This became correspondingly more likely with the passage of time, as the colony became more firmly established and the number of colonists as a proportion of the population increased. By 1641, for example, there was said to be 'small store of Irish' in County Antrim.<sup>123</sup> Planners such as John Davies foresaw that the everyday necessity of adapting to English norms imposed on the province would be a far more effective way of making the Irish adopt English language and customs than the enforcement of cultural diktats such as the 'Act for the English Order, Habite, and Language'. The inconvenience of relying on an interpreter in transactions with the colonists would, he predicted, make the Irish send their children to learn English, so that within a generation they would be assimilated into the colonial population.<sup>124</sup> The level of English-language acquisition by the Irish in early colonial Ulster suggests that Davies was too optimistic in believing that it would completely replace Irish within such a short time. Certainly, at the outset of the period, the prospects were not good. No doubt embittered by the Nine Years War, there was said to be an abhorrence of the Irish in Ulster towards the English language in 1598.<sup>125</sup> Shortly afterwards, Moryson reported that 'few or none could or would speak English' there, and that even Spanish was

more common, although the latter claim may be hyperbole.<sup>126</sup> If we compare this situation with the post-plantation period, it is clear that knowledge of English increased, but not as dramatically as Davies had hoped.

The fact that Honora O'Gilligan needed an interpreter in order to talk to Anthony Mahue in 1615 is just as telling as the fact that Mahue needed one to talk to her. As depleted as the Irish population of Antrim had become, it proved necessary to carry out court proceedings there at least partly through Irish in 1627.<sup>127</sup> Frustration at the slow pace of acculturation can be gauged in Moryson's claim that the continued use of their own language by the Irish was one of those 'absurd thinges practised by them only because they would be contrary to us'.<sup>128</sup> Richard Head's novel—though, of course, a work of fiction—presents the hero encountering monolingual Irish-speakers in locations as close to Dublin as Ballymore Eustace (30 km) and Baltinglass (50 km), where the inn-keeper's wife 'could speak a little broken English'.<sup>129</sup> The writer, known only as E. S., of a survey of Ireland in 1615 claimed that the Irish learnt English 'to no other ends, but to complaine withall in England, and to be justices of peace in Ireland'.<sup>130</sup> While this jaundiced view of the native Irish is evident throughout his survey, the author nevertheless hit upon a salient point regarding the acquisition of English among them. Rather than being regarded by the Irish as a self-evidently superior, civil form of communication to be learnt for its own inherent worth, the English language was adopted where necessary for interaction with the colonists. Prominent native landowners such as Phelim Roe O'Neill (educated in London), who had a great deal of contact with English institutions, no doubt acquired fluent English. It is far from clear that the majority of the Irish population, however, learnt more than the smattering necessary to transact business with colonists. In those areas where colonial settlement was sparse—places such as north Donegal and upland areas of Tyrone—the Irish would have had little contact with English-speakers and thus little incentive to learn the language.

In 1615, it appears that the situation was similar to that in Wales outlined above (pp. 112–113); the Gaelic elite allegedly did its best to prevent the poorer class of Irish from learning English, perhaps wishing to preserve the economic advantage they possessed over them.<sup>131</sup> This would certainly fit with the picture presented in the *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* of a weakened Gaelic elite attempting to retain as much as possible of the hierarchical society it had once lorded over. While lampooning the efforts of lower-class Irish to master English, it offers a reminder that

it is less helpful, in such situations, to imagine the population divided into those who could and those who could not speak a language than to recognise that there was probably a great many people in between who had picked up a few basic words and phrases or the kind of barely intelligible pidgin [indicated by italics] used by the character of Tomás in the following exchange with an English tobacco-seller:

They were not long then until they saw a young Englishman coming towards them. 'Who is yonder Englishman coming this way?' asked one of them. 'I know him', said another, 'it's Roibín an Tobaca, and the tobacco he brings with him is usually of good quality'. 'We'll buy some of it', said Bernard Ó Bruic, 'and who of us will speak English to him?' 'I myself,' said Tomás. The young Englishman arrived and greeted them politely and said: 'God bless you, Thomas, and all your company'. Tomás answered him in no uncivilised fashion and said: '*Pleshy for you, pleshy, goodman Robin*'. 'By my mother's soul', said Bernard Ó Bruic, 'you have swallowed the best of English'. Everybody gathered round him marvelling at Tomás's English. 'Ask him the price of the tobacco', said Bernard. Tomás spoke and said: '*What the bigg greate órdlach for the what so penny for is the la yourselfe for me?*' Roibín said: 'I know, Thomas, you aske how many enches is worth the penny', and he raised his two fingers as a sign, and said: 'Two penny an ench'. 'By my godfather's hand, it's a good bargain', said Tomás. 'What is it?' asked Dour Diarmuid. 'Two pence an inch', said Tomás. 'Act on our behalf', they all said. 'I will', replied Tomás, and he said: '*Is ta for meselfe the mony for fart you all my brothers here.*' Roibín said: 'I thanke you, honest Thomas, you shall command all my tobacco'. '*Begog, I thanke you,*' said Tomás.<sup>132</sup>

It is interesting to bear in mind that the foregoing was written for the entertainment of Irish-speakers whose English was good enough (the italic sections are as they appear in the original) to laugh at the ludicrous efforts of Tomás to speak the language. To such figures, proficiency in English was clearly a source of pride and status. It would be misleading to portray the Irish attitude towards the English language, however, as simply one of wishing to acquire this key to economic and social advancement without taking into account other, conflicting factors. Despite the pragmatic benefits of learning English, a hostility towards the language was clearly repressed in the years when the province was under the firm control of colonists and the state; it flared up again when the Irish assumed control over large areas of Ulster in 1641.

Just as pressure to conform to the Protestant religion became associated with the conquest and dispossession which attended it, so too was English perceived in some quarters as an instrument of oppression. In 1641, a group of insurgents in Antrim, led by some of the O’Cahans, issued a proclamation forbidding the speaking of English. George Creighton in Cavan spoke of the Irish wishing to frame laws to the same effect; attempts were even made to prevent their prisoners from speaking English.<sup>133</sup> Kathleen Noonan has speculated that the Irish burnt Bibles not because they were Protestant, but because they were in English.<sup>134</sup> This would make it, at least partly, an act of ethnic/linguistic animosity rather than a purely religious one, and would accord with Barnaby Rich’s observations on the hostility of the Irish towards the English printed word, when he noted that they did not regard as binding an oath sworn on an English book.<sup>135</sup> There is no contradiction in the fact that the Irish of colonial Ulster at once resented the imposition of the English language upon the province, and at the same time sought to acquire it in order to advance their own economic interests. In these conflicted feelings about the relative value of their own culture we can discern the beginnings of the kind of ‘double consciousness’ articulated by W. E. B. Du Bois, whereby the colonised subject internalises a negative image of themselves inherited from the coloniser.<sup>136</sup> Irish attitudes to other symbols of English ‘civility’, such as dress, hairstyles, consumption and behaviour patterns, were no less marked by these conflicting impulses of attraction and repulsion.

### CONSUMPTION AND MATERIAL GOODS

These conflicting impulses are most readily seen in the attitude of the Irish towards colonists’ clothing and other material goods. The insurgents in 1641 were reported to express such a hatred towards:

the English and their very fashions in clothes that they resolved after the irish hadd gotten the victory all the women in Ireland should as formerly goe only in smockes, mantles and broages as well Ladies as others & the English fashions to be quite abolished.<sup>137</sup>

When the reports of attacks on the Protestant religion and the English language are taken into consideration, it is clear that widespread animosity towards the culture of the colonists—both material and non-material—was real. This must be reconciled, however, with the evidence,

just as compelling, that many Irish were anxious to acquire those same possessions so redolent of the colonists' power. In consideration of this, it must first be recognised that material objects can often (unlike religions and languages) be demonstrated to be superior or inferior to one another, in that some fulfil their purpose better than others. The picture regarding the native adoption of such cultural artefacts is complicated by this fact. While it cannot be argued that the Irish adopted the English language or the reformed religion for any demonstrably inherent superiority they possessed, it is perfectly possible that the superior material qualities of a coat or a kettle, for example, might outweigh any unwillingness towards adopting the culture of the outsiders. At the same time, material goods are clearly not ideologically neutral—they are not adopted or rejected for their utility alone. Clothing provides the most obvious example of this twofold nature; while clothes were undoubtedly objects of utility, they also held enormous symbolic significance in early modern Ireland as a marker of class and ethnic identity. It is, therefore, worthwhile examining the subject of dress in colonial Ulster.

At its most prosaic level, the clothing of colonists seized in 1641 was seen as of material value by the insurgents. It is easy to forget that the acquisition of the clothes themselves may have been the main object of such attacks, rather than any ritual humiliation of the victims.<sup>138</sup> The clothes on their backs were often among the most valuable movable goods people possessed at this time; that their assailants should target these goods is no surprise, given that colonists were generally wealthier than native Irish and no doubt owned better quality clothes.<sup>139</sup> It is clear, however, that in some cases more was involved. Precisely *because* it was associated with the dominant class, the material culture of the colonists must have assumed a privileged status in the eyes of some Irish at the same time as it aroused the strongly negative feelings attested to above. This would be entirely consistent with the behaviour of other colonised peoples. The eagerness of Americans to trade with colonists is well-documented, not only on account of the utility of many manufactured goods, but also for other, less tangible benefits believed to accrue from such commodities.<sup>140</sup> The Algonquian peoples of New England, for example, observing the immunity of the newcomers to the diseases which were decimating them, sought to acquire by the possession of English goods such as scraps of copper, glass beads and textiles a quality beyond mere functional or aesthetic value—this they termed *manitou*, translated by Neal Salisbury as the ‘power and brilliance’ behind the creation of these objects.<sup>141</sup>

The ascribing of intangible qualities such as status and power to goods (clothing, for example) can be seen in this quasi-religious context. That such qualities were associated with the possessions of colonists seems evident, for example, in the behaviour of a woman from Moira, County Down, who, after her husband Hugh O'Leary had taken possession of William Burley's house:

went up into this deponentes wiffe chamber & seasing on the deponentes wiffes apparrell attired and dressed herself in the best of that apparrell and that done came downe into the parlor, called for strong beare & made her servants fetch it and drinck a Confusion to the English doggs and being sett att the upper end of the table in a chaire asked the people whether that chaire apparrell and place did not become her aswell as Mris Burley.<sup>142</sup>

The adoption of English attire by the poorer class of Irish is a recurrent theme in the *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*, where a dispute takes place about whether the 'lower orders' should wear fine clothes or not. One Giolla Dubh Ua Glaimhin is made to speak for the old order, arguing for a return to old customs, and that 'life was at its best [...] when farmers had trews, mantles and caps, and their shins in leggings'.<sup>143</sup>

Such laments are testimony to the kind of changes taking place in the dress of the Irish under the pressure of colonisation. As with the Irish language, distinctive items of Gaelic dress and hairstyles had long been regarded by the administration as deviations from the English norm and were subject to prohibitory legislation. Up until the sixteenth century, these regulations were largely defensive in nature; they were intended to ensure the maintenance of a distinction in appearance between the Gaelic Irish and the inhabitants of The Pale. The 1447 'Act that he, that will be taken for an Englishman, shall not use a Beard upon his upper Lip alone' is typical in this regard.<sup>144</sup> It can be seen how vital such a distinction could be when it is borne in mind that the beheading of robbers was permitted if their company did not contain at least one member 'in English apparel'.<sup>145</sup> It was not until the reign of Henry VIII, when 'the king's Irish enemies' were transformed (on paper at least) into subjects, that legislation regulating appearance came to apply to the Irish beyond The Pale as well. There followed a series of laws in the sixteenth century forbidding various aspects of Gaelic apparel. The 'Act for the English Order, Habite, and Language' focused specifically on the *glib*, a long fringe of hair hanging down over the eyes, the *croiméal* or moustache

(as suggested by the 1447 Act, a moustache without a beard was perceived as specifically Irish), the use of voluminous shirts dyed with saffron and urine and, perhaps most irksome of all to authorities, the *fallaing*, usually referred to in English sources as the mantle.<sup>146</sup>

The *fallaing* in particular, far from being regarded as a mere item of clothing, appears to have been seen as an instrument of subversion. Spenser condemned it as a ‘fitt howsse for an outlawe a mete bedd for a Rebell and an Apt cloake for a thefe’. His reasons for wishing the abolition of the *glib* were similar in that it made the Irish more difficult to identify by agents of the (English) law.<sup>147</sup> It appears that these artefacts of Irish culture, just like beliefs and language, were regarded as barbaric precisely *because* they were Irish rather than for any barbaric features intrinsic to them. Indeed, in his protracted denunciation of the multiple uses to which the *fallaing* could be put, Spenser inadvertently attests to its remarkable practicality. It was this very practicality which recommended the prohibition of the *fallaing* and the *glib* to the English, who distrusted them for the same reasons that they distrusted a pastoral lifestyle; facilitating mobility and concealment, the garments made the Irish more unpredictable and difficult to monitor. Such utility was also reprehensible in that it made life easier, a quality by no means regarded as laudable in an age when, especially among Puritans, it was believed that an easy life was morally corrosive.<sup>148</sup> William Herbert, defending the stricter enforcement of clothing laws in 1589, argued that ‘a forme of attire and lieffe that requireth no such care, but is had without any industrie at all maketh the mynde lacie idle and abject’.<sup>149</sup>

It has been suggested by Ciaran Brady that Spenser’s comments on Irish dress and hairstyles were ‘not altogether serious’, but the length at which he discussed this issue indicates otherwise.<sup>150</sup> The idea that a form of clothing which facilitated an easy and less productive life could lead to decadence suggests a belief that what a person wore could mould their personality. This idea was made explicit by Spenser, who claimed that an individual’s behaviour was:

often times governed by theire garmentes ffor the persone that is gowned is by his gowne putt in minde of gravetye and allsoe Restrained from lightenes by the verye unaptnes of his wede. Therefore it is written by Aristotle that when Cirus had overcome the Lidians that weare a warlike nacion and devised to bringe them to a more peaceable liffe he Chaunged

theire Apparrell and musicke And in steade of theire shorte warlike Coate cloathed them in longe garmentes like weomen and in steade of theire warlike musicke appointed to them certaine Lascivious layes and loose gigs by which in shorte space theire mindes weare so mollified and abated that they forgate theire former firesnes and became moste tender and effeminate wheareby it appeareth that theare is not a litle in the garment to the fashioninge of the minde and Condicions.<sup>151</sup>

Herbert likewise argued that the Irish:

by the contynuall gesture and wearinge of rude and barbarous attire receiveth an impression of rudenes and barbarisme: and by wearinge civil handsom and cleanlie apparell receiveth a persuacion and adoptacion unto handsomnes cleanelyness and civilitie.<sup>152</sup>

Clothing was clearly a far from trivial matter to such writers. When such beliefs are considered, it is easier to understand the repeated efforts to regulate dress habits through legislation.

Such laws had existed for centuries in England—they are generally referred to by historians as ‘sumptuary’ laws, although Claire Sponsler argues persuasively that this is a misnomer in that such legislation was not primarily intended to limit expenditure, as the term ‘sumptuary’ would suggest, but to ensure that people dressed according to their ordained station in life.<sup>153</sup> It is instructional to compare such laws in Ireland, where they were intended to make different ethnic groups appear more similar, to English laws intended to accentuate the distinction between social classes. Laws regulating dress were repealed in England in 1604, signifying the abandonment by the legislature of any attempt to preserve the appearance of a medieval social hierarchy. It is testament to their differing function in Ireland, and the colonial nature of Irish society, that they continued to be employed there for decades. A 1624 proclamation by the government in Dublin ordered:

No person wearing Irish mantles or trowsers to keep muskets. Any nobleman or gentleman of English dress may seize them. No man to wear after 1 August next any mantles, trowsers, or long skeines [...] No one wearing Irish dress to be admitted to the Council, any Court, or any Magistrate. Sheriffs to break long skeines, and to take off and cut to pieces any mantles or trowsers worn in public. They may be worn in the house.<sup>154</sup>

In contrast to their role in England, such laws in Ireland were designed to promote the appearance of homogeneity. The expression of any Gaelic identity in appearance was something to be confined to the home. Herbert observed that ‘the common people and multitude beinge more ledd by the eie then by any other sence’, the existence of different modes of dress among the Irish and English ‘breedeth and confirmeth in them a strangenes and alienacion of mynde from us, our lawes and government’.<sup>155</sup> A similar sentiment was expressed in the 1537 Act, when it was claimed that such diversity:

by the eye deceiveth the multitude, and perswadeth unto them, that they should be as it were of sundry sorts, or rather of sundry countries, where indeed they be wholly together one bodie, whereof his highness is the onely head under God.<sup>156</sup>

It was to make this largely aspirational unity a reality that distinctive Irish clothing was forbidden in public. Some of these items of clothing are illustrated in Fig. 4.1.

Laws regarding dress were as unenforceable in practice as those which sought to regulate the language people spoke. Those changes which did occur in the dress of the Irish were less to do with legal dictates than the more insidious processes of economic and psychological domination associated with colonialism. The Irish *tríúis*, not mentioned in the 1537 Act, but forbidden by proclamation in 1624, were said to be disappearing in the decades before 1641. In fact, contemporaries attributed this decline as much to the influence of Counter Reformation clergy as to any pressure from the state.<sup>157</sup> It may be presumed from this that the garment was considered indecent by outsiders; the description by Luke Gernon suggests as much:

The trowse is a long stocke of frise, close to his thighes, and drawne on almost to his waste, but very scant, and the prye of it is, to weare it so in suspence, that the beholder may still suspecte it to be falling from his arse.<sup>158</sup>

The replacement of *tríúis* with English-style breeches was clearly far from advanced in Ulster, however, given that phrases such as ‘stinch-  
ing English Churles with great Breeches’ are recorded in the depositions as being used by Ulster insurgents in order to disparage those living in The Pale, suggesting that the wearing of breeches continued to be a contested practice and a marker of alien and low-born identity.<sup>159</sup>

The *fallaing* appears to have remained common among the Irish for a considerably longer period; James Ware remarked in the 1650s that ‘the meaner Sort of People’ still wore it ‘though of a different Kind from the antient one, and without a fringed or shagged Border’.<sup>160</sup> Thomas Dinely observed twenty years later that it was still common among the ‘vulgar Irish’,<sup>161</sup> although its use was clearly in decline, given that an account of Westmeath in 1682 remarked that ‘nor is there now any more appearance of the Irish cap, mantle, or trowsers, at least in these countries’.<sup>162</sup>

The reference to the wearing of breeches by the Old English and the observation that the *fallaing* had disappeared in Westmeath highlights the distinction in dress between groups of people in Ireland who may have shared other cultural traits, such as language and religion. The Palesman Rowland White described the clothes of the Gaelic Irish as ‘saulvage garments’, although he clearly did not ascribe the same importance to them as Spenser or Herbert, given his comment that ‘thapparell can nether helpe nor hinder greatly’.<sup>163</sup> With the colonisation of the north, the distinction in dress between different classes *within* Gaelic society no doubt grew sharper. As will be seen, the ‘deserving’ element of the Gaelic elite that had been integrated into the plantation project were anglicised more rapidly than the non-elite majority in these decades. The image of Phelim O’Neill, presented in a hostile pamphlet from the 1640s as indistinguishable from an English gentleman (see Fig. 4.2), was probably more accurate than the traditional image of a Gaelic chieftain.

The dress of the Gaelic elite had long been characterised by the adoption of high-status features from outside Ireland, social status being signified by the greater number of colours a person wore and the use of silk and a fine woollen fringe.<sup>164</sup> The colour red appears in particular to have been associated with the aristocracy. The author of the *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* lamented that ‘Clan Thomas began to dye their clothes blue and red’ in this period, and asserted that ‘it is a crime that the son of a churl or labourer should be similar to a nobleman’s son or the son of a high-born father’.<sup>165</sup> This concern with the ‘confusion of degrees’ can be seen in any society in periods when rapid social change puts wealth into the hands of a hitherto poorer class, giving them the means to imitate the habits of a (relatively declining) richer one. A late push to enforce a dress code according to social class took place in Elizabethan England as the sons of wealthy capitalist farmers flooded into London and indulged in an orgy of conspicuous consumption felt by traditionalists to be inappropriate to their class.<sup>166</sup> No less than their English counterparts, the



Fig. 4.1 *Top row, left*: an Irish priest wearing a Gaelic *fallaing* or mantle and *triús* (anglicised ‘trews’ or ‘trousers’), figure adapted from ‘The taking of the earl of Ormond, anno 1600’ (Trinity College, Dublin MS 1209/13); *top row, centre*: an ‘Irish lackey’ (from the *Travel Album of Hieronymus Tielch*, c. 1603) wearing *triús*, and *top right*: English gentleman wearing doublet and breeches. Author’s illustrations. *Bottom*: the *fallaing* or mantle, as worn by a ‘wilde Irish man’ and woman, reproduced from John Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britain* (London, 1676). Courtesy of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California (RB 204587)



**Fig. 4.2** Representation of Phelim O'Neill in the late 1640s in English elite attire, lithographic copy of a contemporaneous print in: John T. Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652*, vol. 2 (Dublin: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1880), 208. Courtesy of The Board of Trinity College, Dublin

Gaelic elite had traditionally sought to impose such a code; the brehon laws, for example, contained detailed stipulations regarding dress for the children of aristocrats in fosterage.<sup>167</sup> By 1620, English dress had clearly become associated with privilege and status among the Gaelic elite. Luke Gernon reported in that year that this class were ‘apparellled at all poynts like the English onely they retayne theyr mantle which is a garment not indecent’.<sup>168</sup>

Gernon’s observation that the *fallaing* of the elite was ‘not indecent’ is a reminder that not all outsiders depicted Gaelic dress as repellent and of low quality; there was no doubt tremendous variation depending on the financial means of the wearer. James Ware observed that the *fallaing* could be made, ‘according to the Rank or Quality of the Wearer’:

of the finest Cloath, bordered with a silken or fine woollen Fringe, and of Scarlet and other various Colours. Many Rowes of this Shagg or Fringe were sowed on the upper Part of the Mantle, partly for Ornament, and partly to defend the Neck the better from the Cold.<sup>169</sup>

Writers such as Gernon were open to the possibility that Irish clothes might indeed serve just as well as English ones. This distinguished them from someone such as Spenser, who, despite his detailed description of the *fallaing*’s usefulness, was unable to overcome his repulsion at all things Irish and acknowledge its suitability to Irish conditions. Attitudes among the colonists in America were similarly characterised by this duality: blanket condemnation of all things native by some, and men such as Thomas Morton, on the other hand, who accepted the possibility that native material culture might be better adapted to its environment.<sup>170</sup> Nor were all English observers eager that the Irish should adopt English clothes; Barnaby Rich, so hostile to other aspects of Gaelic culture, wrote that he would ‘not wish the Irish so much harme, to injoyne them to follow our English fashion in apparrell’.<sup>171</sup>

The variation in dress habits between the different classes of Gaelic society accounts in part for the differing assessments of the progress of English customs and dress among the Irish. While one writer in 1579 could observe that these were ‘very little planted’ and ‘utterly dispised’, even ‘in civill places’,<sup>172</sup> another commented in the same period that:

the Irishrye without exception doth seem to be weary of their old trade, and in testimony thereof the better sort of them have changed their habit and put on English garments, outwardly showing that which I pray God may prove inwardly.<sup>173</sup>

The fact that the Nine Years War broke out within a decade of the latter being written by Luke Dillon would suggest the hopes he expressed were illusory. There are several possible reasons why such varied reports could co-exist. Dillon may have been presenting the state of affairs in a deliberately optimistic light for his own diplomatic reasons. There is also the fact that the Irish appear to have deliberately misled authorities, adopting English dress in their interactions with the state and when visiting The Pale, but resuming Gaelic habit in the course of everyday life. The most commonly cited example of this is Gerald FitzGerald, the Earl of Desmond, who donned proscribed Irish attire when returning to his lands after imprisonment by the English.<sup>174</sup> This temporary adoption of English clothes for show continued well into the seventeenth century; the writer known as E. S. asserted in 1615 that:

The Irish go to the Assizes in English clothes and there the judg commends them, and saith he is gladd to see them conformable to the English fashion [...] but before night they are in there trowsers againe, for they keepe there English clothes but onlye for suche tymes.<sup>175</sup>

Gernon also described how the Irish contravened laws banning Irish clothes at public assemblies, removing the fringe around the top of their *fallaing* so that it resembled an English cape, ‘and after the assembly past, to resume it agayne’.<sup>176</sup>

The *glib* was less easy to remove and resume at will. The great pride which the Irish took in their ‘long crisped bushes of heare’ was commented upon by several observers,<sup>177</sup> blonde hair being particularly cherished, from which the common epithet of *bui* (anglicised: boy) or ‘yellow’ derived.<sup>178</sup> D. B. Quinn surmised from the evidence of illustrations that the Irish were already trimming their hair in order to make some concession to English edicts in the late sixteenth century.<sup>179</sup> This trimming of the hair so as to resemble English fashions probably continued over the early part of the seventeenth century, to the point where the law regulating facial hair was repealed in 1635.<sup>180</sup> The argument put forward by Spenser, that the *glib* made the Irish more difficult to

identify by officers of the law, was no doubt part of the reason for the peculiar obsession with eliminating long hair. This gained a new dimension with the rise of Puritan sects and, James Axtell has claimed, took on political significance during the English Civil War, when the long hair and powdered wigs of the Cavaliers came to be associated with excessive pride. Taking their zeal for short hair across the Atlantic, New England Puritans such as John Eliot railed against ‘the wearing of long haire after the manner of Ruffians’, ‘wild Irish’ and ‘barbarous Indians’.<sup>181</sup>

A more mundane reason for the drive to eliminate the *glib* can be inferred from John Hooker’s observation that the hair of the Irish grew so thick and matted, and was often coiled on top of the head, so that it served ‘in stead of a hat, and keepeþ the head verie warme, and also will beare off a great blow or stroke’.<sup>182</sup> Given that the wearing of hats was almost universal in early modern England, the freedom of the Irish from these must have struck outsiders as strange and disturbing. Rowland White’s main objection to the *glib* appears to have been that it prevented the development of a hat-making industry in the country:

the deformytie and kinde of araymente is not so dispayseable, as the use is ympedymente to good exercyse and labor for by wearinge of the glybbed heare thoccupacion of cappers [hatmakers] is greatlie hyndered of which crafte many cyvill men might be maynteyned weare the same forbidden.<sup>183</sup>

The concern of White that the ‘mere Irish’ should be spending more money on hats touches on another key objective in the campaign: to complete the conquest and colonisation of Ireland and thus make it a revenue-generating part of the realm, instead of one that merely drained revenue. This was to transform the culture of the Gaels from one based on gift-giving, customary tribute and hospitality, to one habituated to the sale and consumption of material goods and services. That this represented not merely an economic but a cultural changeover was clear to men such as William Herbert, who bemoaned the failure of the Irish to relate to clothing in this way. It was, he wrote:

conducible to the Common societie, commerse and Interchange of thinges that some porcion of evrie mans substance be bestowed yearly in apparell and things thereunto belonginge [...] the charge that is bestowed upon apparell (so it be not excessive) is of greater use and profit then that which is bestowed in meate drinke, plaie or other like superfluous charge.<sup>184</sup>

This lack of interest among the natives in the pursuit of wealth and material possessions for their own sake struck many English observers in both Ireland and America as curious and problematic. Andrew Boorde remarked that the ‘wilde Irysh’ ‘care not for ryches’ on several occasions in his guidebook.<sup>185</sup> John Locke would attribute the Americans’ poverty to the fact that they ‘contented themselves with what unassisted nature offered to their necessities’. Making a distinction between that ‘part of things really useful to the life of man’ and ‘things that fancy or agreement hath put the value on, more than real use’, Locke argued the failure of some peoples to cultivate a demand for this latter category of goods meant that they failed to improve the land in order to accumulate such goods. According to Locke’s theory, such improvement of property, and the labour that went into making it more valuable, constituted a person’s title to ownership of that property (God had given the world ‘to the use of the industrious and rational’) and, lest some might fail to see how this appropriation of natural resources into private hands benefited society as a whole, Locke asserted that ‘he who appropriates land to himself by his labour, does not lessen, but increase the common stock of mankind’ by making it more valuable.<sup>186</sup>

Thomas Morton, not for the first time, showed himself capable of transcending the limitations of his own cultural mindset when he observed that the Americans were merely poor from the perspective of a European, who was preoccupied ‘with superfluous commodities’. ‘They may’, wrote Morton, ‘be rather accompted to live richly, wanting nothing that is needfull; and to be commended for leading a contented life.’<sup>187</sup> Whatever exchange of goods that did take place in Algonquian society was largely aimed at the maintenance and building of kinship and power networks instead of the accumulation of wealth for investment. The Gaelic economy was likewise geared towards providing a surplus for the elite who, instead of exchanging this surplus and investing or spending the income in a market, had traditionally used it to extend hospitality and largesse to their allies and retainers, thus consolidating their power and reproducing the social order. This spending was perceived by outsiders, trapped within a limited conception of what function an economy was *supposed* to serve, as a squandering of their wealth.<sup>188</sup>

Gaelic rulers were, however, not entirely unfamiliar with a commercial economy; that O’Donnell was known abroad as the ‘king of fish’ for the trade in fish he conducted with foreign wine merchants is testimony to some degree of participation in international trading networks,

probably limited to commodities that could not be obtained at home.<sup>189</sup> Raymond Gillespie has demonstrated the growing importance to the Gaelic elite of consumer goods by analysing the changing subject matter of bardic poetry throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Whereas prowess in battle, leadership qualities and the quantity of cattle a ruler possessed had once been markers of status, the subject of housing and furnishings becomes increasingly prominent in the poetry of this period. The declining importance of the poets themselves is also evidence that the status conferred by their praise was becoming less important than that conferred by conspicuous wealth.<sup>190</sup>

It may be asked why the transformation of the Gaelic Irish into consumers was viewed as a necessity at all. This was by no means universally perceived. Indeed, there is little evidence to suggest that the incorporation of the native Irish into the colonial economy was viewed as an urgent necessity by most settlers on the ground. Beyond the employment of some native Irish as servants, cowherds and manual labourers, there was as little active effort to engage them in the economic activities of the colony as there was to engage them in the religious ones. The Irish, many felt, could 'go to hell their own way', as long as they did not represent a security threat to the plantation.<sup>191</sup> A society, however, whose economy was centred around 'fighting and feasting', where resources were distributed through tribute, hospitality and cattle-raiding, could—from the invaders' point of view—only retard the development of a commercial economy by contributing to instability, defined as anything which hindered the anglicisation of Ulster. Just as the guarantee of inheritance by primogeniture would give eldest sons an interest in developing their lands and properties economically, this line of thought argued that the Gaelic population had to be given an interest in the market economy being imposed upon them, by fostering the desire for consumer goods. This would not only ensure a more sedentary pattern of life; participation in a market economy would also place the Irish in a position of dependency upon the (English) institutions which administered that economy instead of the (Gaelic) ones that dictated the old way of life.

Humphrey Gilbert perceived this in the 1570s when he wrote that the Irish trade with Spain would have to be stopped:

and let them have it by traffique of Englishmen, which shall not only procure love of them unto the English nacion but also bringe them into

that necessitie for ther victuelling and lyving by english men as they shalbe dryven to kepe obedience unto the prince of England and amytie with the English nacion.<sup>192</sup>

While contemporaries such as Gilbert perceived that such economic changes worked to undermine the native way of life, *why* they worked was less well understood and written about at the time. Historians have been better able to give concrete instances of how the sudden exposure to foreign trade networks could destabilise and even destroy a society. Neal Salisbury has shown, for example, how the arrival of Europeans, and the insatiable demand for beaver skins, led the Mi'kmaq people (indigenous to Nova Scotia) to devote themselves almost exclusively to hunting beaver in order to trade with the newcomers. While they had practised a largely self-sufficient mixture of farming and hunting prior to contact, within a few generations, due to this specialisation, they lost the skills necessary to manufacture their own tools and utensils and procure their own food, coming to depend entirely upon trade with the French for these necessities.<sup>193</sup> Once the beaver had been hunted to near-extinction, moreover, they found themselves in a very precarious position of near-total dependency on Europeans for survival. It was not merely this reliance on the colonists for subsistence that led to the ruin of the Americans. As a Euro-American observer looking back at the start of the eighteenth century wrote, the Europeans had 'introduc'd Drunkenness and Luxury amongst them, which have multiply'd their Wants, and put them upon desiring a thousand things they never dreamt of before'.<sup>194</sup>

It might be expected that the experience of colonisation would affect the Irish of Ulster, who were primarily a pastoral people, in an entirely different way. The plantation project, however, initiated economic changes which, while differing in the details, offer parallels in broad outline in that they appeared to give some natives an opportunity to improve their standard of living at the outset, but came to place them in a position of greater dependency upon neighbouring colonists and the state over time. It would, however, be misleading to write of 'the Irish' as one unit in this economic context, because the plantation affected the different classes of Gaelic Ulster in different ways. To examine the processes which followed the plantation, however, is to move from the cultural to the economic aspects of colonisation in Ulster.

## NOTES

1. Thomas Cecil, *A relation of Maryland together with a map of the country* (London: William Peasley, 1635), 35–36.
2. Davies, ‘A discovery,’ 134, 215, 83.
3. Spenser, ‘A View of the Present State of Ireland,’ 55, 199.
4. For the influence of Renaissance Humanism on Irish colonization, see: Brendan Bradshaw, ‘Sword, Word and Strategy in the Reformation in Ireland,’ *The Historical Journal* 21, no. 3 (1978): 475–502, and Nicholas Canny, ‘Ideology of English Colonization,’ 575–598.
5. J. H. Elliott, *The old world and the new 1492–1650* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 42.
6. Hiram Morgan argues persuasively for the influence of Thomas More’s classic humanist text *Utopia* (1516) on Thomas Smith’s plans for the Ards colony. Morgan, ‘The Colonial Venture of Sir Thomas Smith,’ 269–270.
7. John Gillingham has dated to the twelfth century ‘one of the most fundamental ideological shifts in the history of the British Isles’, when not just the Irish, but the Welsh and Scots as well, began to be consistently deprecated as culturally inferior by English writers. It was at this point, Gillingham notes, that ‘a common cultural world in which the Irish could still be teachers’ came to an end. John Gillingham, *The English in the twelfth century: imperialism, national identity, and political values* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), 145.
8. Canny, ‘Ideology of English Colonization,’ 583; Canny, *The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland*, 123.
9. A boke comp[re]hendinge divers articles spe[ci]fyng the miserable estate of the Englishe pale of Ireland, March 1562, SP 63-5 no. 51, f. 137r.
10. The gradualness of this intensification can be gauged by the fact that wholesale anglicisation had still not become the *sine qua non* of policy in the 1560s, when Henry Sidney could argue for the government’s upholding of the Gaelic order in the interests of maintaining the peace in an area, like Ulster, outside the effective range of military control, for example, by supporting Turlough Luineach O’Neill’s authority over the whole of Tyrone. A note of the cheefest matters conteyned in the l[ord] deputies l[ett]ers, w[hi]ch are to be considered and answered, 5 July 1567, SP 63-21 no. 48, ff. 107r–108r.
11. Bradshaw, ‘Sword, Word and Strategy,’ 490–491.
12. White, ‘Discors Touching Ireland,’ 448–449. It is doubtful that Old English advocates of reform were greatly interested in the thorough-going reform of Gaelic culture. Brendan Bradshaw has argued that

the object of their attack ‘was not Gaelic culture or society, but Gaelic dynasticism, a political system that was incompatible with the form of centralised government to which the Pale reformers were totally committed’. *The Irish constitutional revolution of the sixteenth century* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), 42.

13. David Armitage has also written of the ‘lost faith in the effectiveness of such humanist ethical edification during the darkening years of Elizabeth’s last decade’ in *The ideological origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 55.
14. The term ‘reduce’ has been noted by James Axtell as common, in a North American context, to describe the taming of the reputedly ungovernable natives in order to prepare them for anglicisation. *The European and the Indian*, 45–46. In Ireland, likewise, Chichester wrote of the Maguires of Fermanagh being ‘reduced to the state of freeholders’ under the English landholding system’, and an anonymous author of the ‘Discourse concerning the settlement of the natives in Ulster’ in 1628 also wrote of the need ‘to reduce them into obedience’. Lord Deputy and council to the Lords, 12 September 1606, SP 63-219 no. 104, ff. 70r–71r. ‘Discourse’ printed in Mary Hickson, *Ireland in the seventeenth century*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green, 1884), 329.
15. Davies, ‘A discovery,’ 4.
16. Brendan Bradshaw outlines a key difference between the ‘reform’ and ‘reduce’ strategies, in that the former envisaged a situation in which ‘the existing lords were to retain the status and function of leadership in the localities, and local government was to be operated through their agency’, whereas ‘reduce’ represents the ‘later programmes of reform which brought new English officials into the localities to usurp the place of the local leader [and] were sharply resented’. *Irish constitutional revolution*, 230.
17. Brady, ‘Spenser’s Irish Crisis,’ 30. Chichester to Cecil, 8 October 1601. SP 63-209-2 no. 133, f. 29v.
18. Arthur Chichester, Certaine noates of Rememberance touching the plantation and setelment of the escheted lands in Ulster, September 1608, SP 63-225 no. 225, f. 108. It is interesting to contrast Chichester’s proposal that colonists will transform the native Irish by their good example with apparently contradictory recommendations, given little more than a year later that the Irish should not be permitted to intermingle with the colonists lest the latter (as had happened to the Old English) become gaelicised. Certaine Considerations touchinge the king’s escheated lands in Ulster, 27 January 1610, SP 63-228 no. 15, f. 36r.
19. Ciaran Brady has argued that this contradiction is left unresolved by Spenser in *The View*: ‘The road to The View,’ 43.

20. David Edwards, 'Out of the blue?: Provincial unrest in Ireland before 1641,' in *Ireland, 1641: contexts and reactions*, 97–98.
21. Certain humble requests in the behalf of the subjects of Ireland, 24 May 1628, SP 63-246 no. 62, f. 157v. Complaints by the Lord Deputy Falkland that such assurances hampered efforts to suppress the Irish were answered by the crown with promises that the king would never 'tye the hands of his deputie from usinge his power to suppresse disorders in the government'. Lord Conway to Falkland, 18 July 1628, SP 63-247 no. 21, f. 42v.
22. Lord Deputy Sidney to William Cecil, 17 April 1566, SP 63-17 no. 14, f. 38r.
23. Such radical plans reflect a loss of faith in the proximity of English colonists to transform the Irish. Anonymous, 'A Discourse of Ireland (Circa 1599)', 164.
24. Brady, 'Spenser's Irish Crisis,' 23.
25. Gerald of Wales, *The historical works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, ed. Thomas Wright (London: George Bell and Sons, 1894), 260.
26. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 106–113.
27. Robert Hunter, *The Ulster plantation in the counties of Armagh and Cavan, 1608–1641* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2012), 353.
28. Anthony Trollope ('The Irishe men, except [in] the walled townes, are not christyans') and Edmund Spenser ('they are all Papistes by theire profession but in the same so blindelye and brutishlye enformed, for the moste parte as that ye would rather thinke them *Atheists* or infidels') are just two of the many writers to refute the Christianity of the Irish. Trollope to Walsingham, 12 September 1581, SP 63-85 no. 39, f. 97v. Spenser, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland,' 136.
29. Robert Herrick, *The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick*, ed. F. W. Moorman (Oxford University Press, 1921), 91; John Bale, *The vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishiprick of Ossorie in Irelande his persecucions in ye same, & finall delyueraunce* (Rome, 1553), sig. A1r.
30. François Le Gouz de la Boullaye, *The tour of the French traveller M. de La Boullaye Le Gouz in Ireland, A. D. 1644*, trans. Thomas Crofton Croker (London: T. and W. Boone, 1837), 38–39.
31. Good, 'Maners of the Irishry,' 144–145.
32. Good, 'Maners of the Irishry,' 145.
33. The success of these Catholic clergy, in reconciling feuding factions, for example, was even praised by Protestant observers. John Bossy, 'The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Ireland, 1596–1641,' in *Historical Studies: Papers Read before the Irish Conference of Historians*, vol. 8, ed. Thomas Desmond Williams (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1971), 158–159.

34. Good, 'Maners of the Irishry,' 145–146. Lest this anecdote appear a mere rhetorical device on the part of Good to disparage the Irish, such moon worship was alluded to by another visitor to Ireland in the same period. William Lithgow, *The totall discourse, of the rare adventures, and painefull peregrinations of long nineteene yeares travailes* (London, 1640), 433.
35. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 93–94. Edmund Campion observed in the sixteenth century: 'they esteeme theire poetes, who wright Irishe learnedly, and penne therein sonettes heroicall, for the which they are bountefullly rewarded; yf not, they sende owt lybells in dispraise, whereof the gentlemen, specially the meere Irishe, stande in greate awe.' Edmund Campion, *Two histories of Ireland, the one written by Edmund Campion, the other by Meredith Hanmer Dr of Divinity* (Dublin, 1633), 14. An echo of this belief in the magical properties of poetic language can be felt in the idiom of folklore in Ireland down to the twentieth century. Seamus Ennis recorded for Alan Lomax in 1951 a story-song from Connemara in which one character warns the other: 'You had far better be dead when your father arrives, because he'll make a poem that will take the flesh from your bones.' 'Go Deimhin, a Mháire, má d'Imigh an Coileán Uait', <http://c0383352.cdn.cloudfiles.rackspacecloud.com/audio/T3282R06.mp3>, accessed 26 July 2014.
36. Barnaby Rich, *A new description of Ireland wherein is described the disposition of the Irish whereunto they are inclined* (London: Thomas Adams, 1610), 41. John Harrington, in the notes to his translation of *Orlando Furioso*, remarked: 'some say it is a great practise in Ireland to charme girdles and the like, persuading men that while they weare them, they cannot be hurt with any weapon.' Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, trans. John Harrington, ed. Robert McNulty (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 140. Thomas Gainford also wrote that the Irish 'use incantations and spells, wearing girdles of womens haire, and locks of their lovers', in *The glory of England, or A true description of many excellent prerogatives and remarkeable blessings, whereby she triumpheth over all the nations of the world* (London, 1618), 150.
37. Campion, *Two histories of Ireland*, 15.
38. Good, 'Maners of the Irishry,' 144.
39. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic: studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England* (London: Penguin, 1971), 55.
40. Max Weber, *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1930), 115.
41. J. E. C. Hill, 'Puritans and the Dark Corners of the Land,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series 13 (1963): 81.

42. John Walter, *Crowds and popular politics in early modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2006), 203.
43. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: the meeting of English and Indian cultures in America, 1580–1640* (London: Dent, 1980), viii.
44. Anonymous, *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*, trans. N. J. A. Williams (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1981), 66.
45. Falkland to Lord Viscount Killultagh, 29 April 1627, SP 63-244 no. 650, f. 228r. John Davies likewise entertained the idea that God had waited until the reign of a Queen to permit the final subjection of Ireland to English rule ‘that it might rather appear to be his own immediate work’, timing the event to also coincide with the coming of England and Scotland under one crown, ‘to the end that a secure peace might settle the conquest’. Davies, ‘A discovery,’ 60.
46. Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic*, 73.
47. Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic*, 247.
48. There are numerous vivid descriptions of the Irish manner of mourning the dead; see, for example, Campion, *Two histories of Ireland*, 13–14; Stanhurst, ‘The Description of Ireland,’ 67.
49. Willy Maley, ‘Angling for Ulster: Ireland and plantation in Jacobean literature,’ in *The plantation of Ulster*, eds. Ó Ciardha and Ó Siochrú, 228; Spenser, ‘A View of the Present State of Ireland,’ 105.
50. John Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1612), 138.
51. Bale, *The vocacyon*, sig. C1v, f. 17v.
52. Good, ‘Maners of the Irishry,’ 147.
53. James Axtell has noted how fines and whippings were meted out by the Puritans in North America for the natives’ ‘mourning with a great noyse by howling’. Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, 64–65.
54. Stanhurst, ‘The Description of Ireland,’ 67; Campion, *Two histories of Ireland*, 13–14. Rich, *A new description*, 13.
55. Spenser, ‘A View of the Present State of Ireland,’ 105. Jane Dawson, ‘Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland,’ in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, eds. Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis and Andrew Pettegree (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 251–252.
56. Rich, *A new description*, 13. John Lynch, *Cambrensis eversus*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. Matthew Kelly (Dublin: The Celtic Society, 1850), 211.
57. ‘Sir William Brereton’s travels in Ireland,’ 1635, in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 383.
58. Kevin Whelan, ‘The Cultural Effects of the Famine,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*, eds. Joe Cleary and Claire Connolly (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 141–142.

59. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Atlantic in world history* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 47.
60. Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic*, 570.
61. Further evidence of this can be seen in the fact that English merchants, mindful of the absence of snakes in Ireland, would bring Irish soil back home with them 'to caste in their gardens to kepe out and to kyll venenos wormes'. Boorde, *The fyrist boke of the introduction of knowledge*, sig. C4r.
62. Instructions to the lord deputy in 1606 asserted that the people would be 'more easily won' where they were 'least civil'. Lords of the Council to Arthur Chichester, 24 January 1606, in *CSPI James I 1603–1606*, 390.
63. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Carte MS 61, f. 344.
64. Brian Mac Cúarta, *Catholic revival in the north of Ireland, 1603–1641* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 51–52.
65. Examination of Knogher McGilpatrick O'Mullan, of the age of 60 years or thereabouts, taken before Sir Thomas Phillips, 10 May 1615, in *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, eds. C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (London: Longman & Co., 1880), 54–55.
66. Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 434.
67. Deposition of John Hickman, 6 February 1643, TCD MS 833, f. 156r.
68. Bradshaw, 'Sword, Word and Strategy,' 475–502; Nicholas Canny, 'Why the Reformation failed in Ireland: Une question mal posée,' *Journal of ecclesiastical history* 30, no. 4 (1979): 423–450; Karl Bottigheimer, 'The failure of the Reformation in Ireland: une question bien posée,' *Journal of ecclesiastical history* 36, no. 2 (1985): 196–207. The exception to this is the monograph by Brian Mac Cúarta, *Catholic revival in the north of Ireland, 1603–1641*.
69. Bradshaw, 'Sword, Word and Strategy,' 479. Bottigheimer, 'The failure of the Reformation in Ireland,' 200. Hunter likewise concluded that the Reformation had failed amongst the Irish in Ulster by 1641, by which date 'it was clear that protestantism only was to be the religion of the colony'. Hunter, *The Ulster plantation*, 323. Canny, 'Why the Reformation failed in Ireland,' 450.
70. William Bedell to Archbishop William Laud, 1 April 1630, in Gilbert Burnet, *The life of William Bedell, D. D. Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland* (Dublin, 1736), 34–36. In a letter later the same year, Bedell quantified this preponderance of the Catholic clergy, writing that there were 66 priests active in Kilmore and Ardagh, whereas there were only thirty-two Protestant ministers (three of whose wives did not go to church). Bedell to Laud, 18 September 1630, *ibid.* 46.

71. Chichester to the King, 31 October 1610, SP 63/229, f. 172r.
72. Canny, 'Why the Reformation failed in Ireland,' 446.
73. G. R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London: Routledge, 1991), 110.
74. Steven Ellis has noted that 'popular acceptance of Protestantism and the enforcement of parliamentary religious legislation went forward at markedly different rates in the various parts of England'. Steven G. Ellis, 'England in the Tudor State,' *The Historical Journal* 26, no. 1 (1983): 202.
75. Tadhg Ó hAnnacháin has noted that some aspects of Gaelic religious practice, such as clerical marriage, would appear to have been more amenable to Protestantism than reformed Catholicism. *The Church of Ireland and the native Irish population in plantation Ulster* (Dublin: Institute for British-Irish Studies, University College Dublin, 2010), 2.
76. Blenerhasset, *A direction*, sig. D1r.
77. There were, of course, exceptions who were sincerely committed to missionary work, the most famous of whom was William Bedell, the Bishop of Kilmore (1629–1642) and Ardagh (1629–1633), who complained frequently of the corruption and neglect of the Protestant mission in Ulster.
78. John Smith, *Advertisements for the unexperienced planters of New-England, or any where* (London, 1631), 4.
79. William Bedell to Samuel Ward, 2 February 1634, *The Tanner letters: original documents and notices of Irish affairs in the sixteenth & seventeenth centuries, extracted from the collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, ed. Charles McNeill (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1943), 104.
80. Spenser, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland,' 221.
81. Just as Edward Waterhouse (above p. 49) was eager to conclude that the Powhatans of Virginia were reprobate (in the Calvinist sense of the word, meaning not belonging to the 'elect'), Marc Caball has noted a corresponding willingness in Ulster to hold the 'Catholic population to be so innately depraved as to be beyond redemption'; this, he speculates, 'may have encouraged a lukewarm attitude to attempts made to win the Irish to the Anglican church'. Marc Caball, 'Providence and Exile in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland,' *Irish Historical Studies* 29, no. 114 (1994): 187.
82. Bedell's son would later write that 'they generally accounted those livings, where all or most of the people were papists, to be *sine cura* saving only to take care to sell tithes'. Bedell (d. 1670), 'Life and Death of William Bedell,' 36–37, 40.
83. Some agreevances that the poore subiects in the countie of Tyrone undergoe, TCD MS 808, f. 47r.

84. Chichester to the Lords of the Council, 22 March 1615 in *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 23. These tithes, levied on milk, were an innovation, and not something the Church of Ireland could maintain was simply being transferred from Catholic to Protestant use. Mac Cuarta, *Catholic revival*, 57–58.
85. Grievances of the tenants and Inhabitants belonginge to the right honourable the Earle of Essex in Farney, 1622, NLI 8014, vol. 10 (no foliation). All the major religious rites were an occasion for extortion by such officials. One Connor McHenry carried his sick father into Meath so ‘that hee might die there for feare of the ministers ex[t]or[ti]ons’.
86. Lithgow, *The totall discourse*, 439.
87. William Bedell to the Bishop of London (Laud), 10 August 1630, in *Two biographies of William Bedell, bishop of Kilmore: with a selection of his letters and an unpublished treatise*, ed. E. S. Shuckburgh (Cambridge University Press, 1902), 311.
88. Likewise, the revenue from recusancy fines and other exactions proved so lucrative that they can only have acted as a powerful deterrent to undermine their source by converting the Irish. This deterrent can be observed at the highest level of government in the profits accruing from the fines levied on Irish for remaining on undertakers’ land, which explains the almost complete lack of any effort on the state’s part to put these conditions into execution.
89. Hechter, *Internal colonialism*, 7–9.
90. Hechter, *Internal colonialism*, 182–184.
91. Canning to Ironmongers’ Company, 1615, LMA, Guildhall Library MS 17278-1, f. 69r.
92. Alan Ford, *The Protestant reformation in Ireland, 1590–1641* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1987), 178.
93. Moody, ‘The Treatment of the Native Population,’ 62.
94. Leviticus 25: 44–46.
95. Dawson, ‘Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland,’ 231–253.
96. The Queen to the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, and the Council of Ireland, touching the University of Dublin, Westminster, 29 December 1592, in *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of Chancery in Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth*, vol. 2, ed. James Morrin (Dublin: HMSO, 1863), 227.
97. Ford, *The Protestant reformation in Ireland*, 105.
98. Alan Ford, ‘Who went to Trinity? The early students of Dublin University,’ in *European universities in the age of Reformation and Counter Reformation*, ed. Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 66.
99. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster*, 258.

100. His ma[jes]ties direction in favor of the Bishopp of Rapho, 1612, SP 63-232 no. 30, f. 69r.
101. Archbishop Ussher's visitation book, TCD MS 550, f. 223
102. *Statutes Ireland*, vol. 1, 123–127.
103. *Statutes Ireland*, vol. 1, 290.
104. Anonymous, A discourse of the cause of the evell state of Ireland and of the remedies therof, 1526, BL Lansdowne MS 159, f. 8r.
105. Godfrey Goodman, *The fall of man, or the corruption of nature, by the light of our reason* (London, 1616), 293.
106. Spenser, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland,' 119. There would seem to be an internal contradiction in this belief that the most effective means of reforming the Irish would undermine those very efforts. Arthur Chichester's thinking on this matter was similar. He advocated the training of [already] Irish-speaking ministers at Trinity College on the grounds that 'being of the country birth and having the language, [they] may prove profitable members hereafter, either in the church or commonwealth'. Cited in Ford, 'Who went to Trinity?', 63. This was no doubt partly to forestall the learning of Irish by English ministers, as he stressed the dangers elsewhere of contamination by Irish culture. See Chichester, *Certaine Considerations*, SP 63-228 no. 15, f. 36r.
107. Palmer, *Language and conquest*, 125.
108. Bedell (d. 1670), 'Life and Death of William Bedell,' 29.
109. Bedell (d. 1670), 'Life and Death of William Bedell,' 41.
110. The term 'acculturation' is here intended as shorthand for *mutual* acculturation, whereby both cultures influence one another to a greater or lesser extent. Assimilation will be used to describe the process whereby the dominant culture replaces the subordinate.
111. Nicholas Canny, 'Dominant minorities: English settlers in Ireland and Virginia, 1550–1650,' in *Minorities in history: papers read before the thirteenth Irish Conference of Historians*, vol. 12, ed. A. C. Hepburn (London: Edward Arnold, 1978), 54–55.
112. Moryson, 'The Itinerary,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 310.
113. 'And if you will needs live in England, imagine all that to bee England where English men, where English people, you with them, and they with you, doe dwell.' Richard Eburne, *A plaine path-way to plantations that is, a discourse in generall, concerning the plantation of our English people in other countries* (London, 1624), sig.B2v–B3r.
114. Gookin continued: 'I knowe they hate mee, and I make them knowe I knowe it, And that I neither care nor feare their hatred.' Vincent Gookin to Wentworth, middle of 1633, SP 63-270 no. 44, f. 75r.
115. Christopher Nugent, Baron of Delvin, probably 1560s, in Irish Primer, f. 3v. Benjamin Iveagh Library, Farmleigh, Dublin. Brian Mac Cuarta has also noted that the German settler Matthew De Renzy, who learnt Irish,

stood in stark contrast to ‘the vast majority of contemporary English-speaking settlers in Ireland’. ‘A planter’s interaction with Gaelic culture: Sir Matthew De Renzy, 1577–1634’, *Irish Economic and Social History* 20 (1993): 7.

116. Gillespie, ‘Success and failure,’ 111; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 452–453.
117. Patricia Palmer, ‘Interpreters and the Politics of Translation and Traduction in Sixteenth-Century Ireland,’ *Irish Historical Studies* 33, no. 131 (2003): 260–261.
118. Deposition of Elizabeth Price, 26 June 1643, TCD MS 836, f. 104v.
119. Deposition of John Glencorse, 3 May 1653, TCD MS 837, f. 131v.
120. Two other examples have been found. Jane Cooke escaped from her captors ‘becawse she spoke Irish and sayd she was an Irish woman’, and one Michaell Harrison, who lived close to the estates of Phelim Roe O’Neill, also said he could understand Irish. Deposition of Katherin Cooke, 24 February 1644, TCD MS 836, f. 92r; Examination of Michaell Harrison, 11 February 1653, TCD MS 836, f. 127r.
121. Examination of Anthony Mahue, taken before sir Thomas Phillips, 24 April 1615, in *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 48. Audrey Horning has cited O’Gilligan’s visit as evidence that she ‘hoped to speak to Mahue in Irish’, suggesting in turn ‘that some English learned the tongue’. O’Gilligan, being Mahue’s ‘gossip’, however, must surely have been well enough acquainted with him to know he did not speak the language, and therefore entertained no such hope. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian sea*, 213.
122. Richard Head, *The English Rogue: Described in the life of Meriton Latroon, a witty extravagant comprehending the most eminent cheats of both sexes* (London, 1668), 8–9. My thanks to Jane Ohlmeyer for directing my attention to this work.
123. Deposition of Roger Markham, 15 February 1642, TCD MS 839 f. 17r.
124. Davies, ‘A discovery,’ 215.
125. Anonymous, A discourse to show that planting of colonies, and that to be begun only by the Dutch, will give best entrance to the reformation of Ulster, 1598, SP 63-202 part 4 no. 75, f. 234v.
126. Moryson, ‘The Itinerary,’ in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 262.
127. Colin Breen, ‘Randal MacDonnell and early seventeenth-century settlement in northeast Ulster, 1603–1630,’ in *The plantation of Ulster*, eds. Ó Ciardha and Ó Siochrú, 154.
128. Moryson, ‘Itinerary,’ in *Shakespeare’s Europe*, 214.
129. Head, *The English Rogue*, 230–232.
130. E. S., A survey of the present estate of Ireland Anno 1615, HL Ellesmere MS 1746, f. 21r.
131. E. S., A survey of the present estate of Ireland Anno 1615, HL Ellesmere MS 1746, f. 14r.

132. *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*, 40, 97.
133. Examination of Fergus Fullerton, 1 March 1653, TCD MS 838, f. 56r; Deposition of George Creighton, 15 April 1643, TCD MS 833, f. 232v; Deposition of John Mountgomery, 26 January 1642, TCD MS 834, f. 132r.
134. Kathleen Noonan, 'Martyrs in Flames: Sir John Temple and the conception of the Irish in English martyrologies,' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 36, no. 2 (2004): 241.
135. Exasperated as ever with the Irish, Rich added that 'the simpler sort of them, do hold their Oathes to be so much the more, or so much the lesse, according to the bignesse of the book: for if they sweare upon a little Booke, they think they take but a little Oath'. Rich, *A new description*, 29.
136. This process by which a colonised people is taught to perceive themselves through the eyes of the coloniser is one of the classic psychological consequences of long-term colonisation. There are few examples of this 'colonial mentality' more clear-cut than the anglicisation of Ireland, where, in the nineteenth century, the English language was adopted by a people who had come to associate their own language with backwarness and lack of opportunity. It is also sobering to reflect that, in the state schools run by the British government, it was not until 1898 that official sanction was given to teach Irish history to schoolchildren in Ireland. Michael Coleman, 'Representations of American Indians and the Irish in Educational Reports, 1850s–1920s,' *Irish Historical Studies* 33, no. 129 (2002): 45.
137. Deposition of Elizabeth Peirce, 10 October 1643, TCD MS 837, f. 11v.
138. Nicholas Canny has noted that 'the value of clothing, relative to total income, would have been much higher' in this period than today. *Making Ireland British*, 542.
139. Mentions of stripping by deponents most often appear to characterise the act as theft above all else; among many examples are: Deposition of Honorah Beamond, 7 June 1643, TCD MS 834, f. 170r; Examination of Turlough Groome O Quin, 2 June 1653, TCD MS 839, f. 92v; Deposition of Francis Leiland, 19 July 1643, TCD MS 836, f. 98v.
140. Thomas Morton, for example, described the 'coveteous desire they have to commerce with our nation', in *The New English Canaan*, 127.
141. Neal Salisbury, 'Religious Encounters in a Colonial Context: New England and New France in the Seventeenth Century,' *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1992): 502.
142. Deposition of William Burley, 10 August 1644, TCD MS 837, ff. 29r–29v. After this, Mrs O'Leary and those present in Burley's house proceeded to get drunk, wasting a great deal of beer in the mistaken belief that it

had gone bad. Burley returned with some soldiers shortly afterwards and killed them all, in retaliation for which Hugh O'Leary burned the nearby town of Magheralin.

143. *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*, 109.
144. *Statutes Ireland*, vol. 1, 7.
145. *Statutes Ireland*, vol. 1, 28.
146. *Statutes Ireland*, vol. 1, 121.
147. Spenser, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland,' 100, 102.
148. William Alexander, for example, wrote that 'all Adam's posterite were appointed to worke for their food, and none must dreame of an absolute ease'. *An encouragement*, 27.
149. A note of sutch reasons as mooved mea toe putt the statute in execution agaynst Irish habites, William Herbert to Burghley, 25 May 1589, SP 63-144 no. 57-2, f. 186r.
150. Brady, 'Spenser's Irish Crisis,' 28.
151. Spenser, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland,' 121.
152. A note of sutch reasons as mooved mea toe putt the statute in execution agaynst Irish habites, William Herbert to Burghley, 25 May 1589, SP 63-144 no. 57-2, f. 186r.
153. Claire Sponsler, 'Narrating the Social Order: Medieval Clothing Laws,' *Clio* 21:3 (1992): 267-283.
154. A proclamation concerning Warlike Munition and wearing Mantles, Trousers and Skeins, no. 252, 1 April 1624, in *Tudor and Stuart proclamations 1485-1714, ii: Scotland and Ireland*, ed. Robert Steele (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1910), 27.
155. A note of sutch reasons as mooved mea toe putt the statute in execution agaynst Irish habites, William Herbert to Burghley, 25 May 1589, SP 63-144 no. 57-2, f. 186r.
156. *Statutes Ireland*, vol. 1, 120.
157. John Lynch, who used the term *bracce* for this garment, claimed that it had already been abandoned by the elite before 1600, but that the 'humbler orders' continued to use it until the 1640s, when 'they were prevailed upon, partly by the exhortations of the clergy or of their own accord, to lay them aside.' Lynch; *Cambrensis eversus*, vol. 2, 211. James Ware also noted this decline, *The works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland*, vol. 2 (Dublin, 1745), 177. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that this is the third example in this chapter (feuding n. 33, p. 140, the *caoineadh*, p. 105) of the Catholic Church playing an active role in the suppression of Gaelic customs: examples of what Nicholas Canny has noted as the Church 'complementing the civil, if not the religious, objectives of the government'. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 406.

158. Frieze was a kind of rough woolen cloth. Luke Gernon, 'Discourse of Ireland, 1620,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 356.
159. Deposition of Richard Parsons (TCD MS 833) f. 279v; the phrase 'Churles with the greate breeches' also appears in the deposition of Ambrose Bedell, 26 October 1642, TCD MS 833 f. 105v.
160. Ware, *The works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland*, vol. 2, 177.
161. Thomas Dinely, 'Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Dineley, Esquire, Giving Some Account of His Visit to Ireland in the Reign of Charles II,' eds. Evelyn Philip Shirley, and John P. Prendergast, *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, New Series, 1, no. 1 (1856): 186.
162. Henry Piers, 'A Chorographical description of the County of Westmeath, written A.D. 1682,' in *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, vol. 1, ed. Charles Vallancey (Dublin, 1786), 108.
163. Rowland White, Acts and orders for the government of Ireland and reformation thereof, SP 63-32 no. 32, f. 95v.
164. Joseph C. Walker, *An historical essay on the dress of the ancient and modern Irish* (Dublin, 1788), 16.
165. *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*, 83, 109.
166. Wilfrid Hooper, 'The Tudor Sumptuary Laws,' *The English Historical Review* 30, no. 119 (1915): 445.
167. P. W. Joyce, *A social history of ancient Ireland*, vol. 2 (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son Ltd., 1920), 221–222.
168. Gernon, 'Discourse of Ireland, 1620,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 356.
169. Ware, *The works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland*, vol. 2, 175.
170. Morton wrote that the Americans when wearing their own clothes 'doe seeme to me to be hansomer, then when they are in English apparel', observing that 'they looke like Irish in their trouses'. *New English Canaan*, 143–144.
171. Rich's reasons were evidently more to do with his distaste for the frequently changing fashions of the English than any admiration for Irish dress. Rich, *A new description*, 34.
172. The effiente and accidental impiediments of the civilitie of Irelande, 1579, SP 63-70 no. 82, f. 204v.
173. Luke Dillon to Lord Burghley, Dublin, 17 June 1585, PRONI, Ellis papers, D683-1, f. 2r.
174. G. A. Hayes-Mccoy, 'The Completion of The Tudor Conquest and the Advance of the Counter-Reformation, 1571–1603,' in *A New History of Ireland vol. 3: Early modern Ireland, 1534–1691*, eds. F. J. Byrne, F. X. Martin, T. W. Moody (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 99.
175. E. S., A survey of the present estate of Ireland Anno 1615, HL Ellesmere MS 1746, ff. 18v–19r.

176. Gernon, 'Discourse of Ireland, 1620,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 356.
177. Stanihurst, 'The Description of Ireland,' 67. Good, 'Maners of the Irishry,' 148.
178. Moryson, 'The Itinerary,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 321. Gernon also described Irish women as 'very comely creatures' having 'tresses of bright yellow hayre, which they chayne up in curious knotts, and devises'. Gernon, 'Discourse of Ireland, 1620,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 356.
179. Quinn, *Elizabethans*, 92.
180. *Statutes Ireland*, vol. 2, 153–154.
181. Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, 59.
182. The observations were made by Hooker in his annotations to Gerald of Wales's 'The Conquest of Ireland,' in *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. 6: Ireland, 228.
183. Rowland White, Acts and orders for the government of Ireland and reformation thereof, SP 63-32 no. 32, f. 96r.
184. William Herbert to Burghley, 25 May 1589, A note of sutch reasons as mooved mea toe putt the statute in execution agaynst Irish habites, SP 63-144 no. 57-2, f. 186r.
185. Boorde, *The fyrist booke of the introduction of knowledge*, sig.C3r-C3v.
186. Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, 214, 218, 225–226.
187. Morton, *New English Canaan*, 176-8. This is not to suggest that Morton aspired to the Americans' austerity himself.
188. Rowland White, for example, described the institution of *cóisir* whereby a Gaelic ruler periodically exacted hospitality from his followers as 'wastinge and devowryne' the country. Rowland White, Acts and orders for the government of Ireland and reformation thereof, SP 63-32 no. 32, f. 92v.
189. Notes of Ulster, Connaught, Munster and Leinster, 1560, in *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth*, vol. 1, 1515–1574, eds. William Bullen and John S. Brewer (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1867), 308.
190. Gillespie, 'The problems of plantations,' 55–56.
191. The phrase is Bradshaw's: 'Sword, Word and Strategy,' 502.
192. Humphrey Gilbert, 'Discourse of Ireland, 1572,' in *Voyages and colonising enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, 126.
193. Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and providence: Indians, Europeans, and the making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 56–57.
194. Robert Beverley, *The history and present state of Virginia, in four parts* (London, 1705), 63–64.

## Economic Base

Wee have beene your Slaves all this tyme now you shalbe ours.<sup>1</sup>

These words, attributed in 1641 to one Hugh O'Hanratty, a 'late servant to Henry Manning Esquire' in Fermanagh, are of interest for what they reveal about the attitudes of the non-elite Irish towards the Ulster colony; such attitudes are notoriously difficult to illuminate due to the paucity of source material written from their perspective. First, it is clear that O'Hanratty, and no doubt many other natives, did not view the social position he had occupied before the rising as an advantageous one. There is little sign of the kind of economic opportunity which it is sometimes claimed was offered the Irish by the plantation settlement. Both John McCavitt and Nicholas Canny have pointed out that a low population density and the high demand for tenants gave the Irish the possibility of negotiating favourable conditions at the outset of the period.<sup>2</sup> While there is some truth in this, it will be argued in this chapter that the economic effects of plantation on the indigenous population were far more mixed, that they changed over the course of the relatively short period of time considered here, and that the reality of living in colonial society was often very different from the lofty rhetoric surrounding the project at its inception would suggest. The resentment of O'Hanratty towards his colonial masters reflects this reality.

The remarks attributed to O'Hanratty are also a reminder that, far from regarding their engagement with the colonial economy as an opportunity to improve their economic position, many Irish saw themselves as

having suffered a diminution of status. This in turn attests to the complexity of the Gaelic social hierarchy. There has been an unfortunate tendency in the historiography to conflate all ‘native Irish’ with the small elite class from which the ‘deserving Irish’ were drawn. It would be equally mistaken to regard all non-elite Irish as belonging to the labouring class of food producers that supported this elite. As this chapter will set out to demonstrate, insufficient account has been taken of the fact that Gaelic Ulster was a society riven by class distinctions, and that its various classes were effected differently by colonisation. A landless peasant, under the Gaelic system, might scrape out no more than a bare subsistence living and thus welcome the possibility for advancement which the plantation appeared to offer; similarly, the rump of the elite had been deemed deserving of land grants in the plantation. Other categories of native, however, who had either held land under the Gaelic dispensation or belonged to the military or learned orders lost out. These latter groups, whose fate has been curiously neglected, were left with little recourse in colonial society but to sell their labour, and may well have viewed a fate such as domestic service in the household of a colonist as demeaning.

To take Hugh O’Hanratty as a case in point, while it is unclear what status his family occupied immediately prior to the plantation, it is known that the sept had once ruled a territory known as Uí Méith Macha, today approximating the barony of Monaghan, and were referred to as rulers there by the fourteenth-century poet Seán Ó Dubhagáin.<sup>3</sup> By the end of the sixteenth century, they had ceased to be even landholders in the county.<sup>4</sup> This ‘expansion of the ruling or dominant stocks at the expense of the remainder’ was a constant feature in Gaelic society, as the procreation of these ruling families pushing downwards in the social scale displaced those who had previously held land as their subjects.<sup>5</sup> While the O’Hanrattys may have lost their lands long before the plantation itself, the memory of such elite status did not pass quickly into oblivion in a society as acutely conscious of pedigree and lineage as the Gaelic.<sup>6</sup> The sept were still of sufficient status in the seventeenth century to send their children to the continent to study for the priesthood.<sup>7</sup>

Though it may be too much to read this into the offhand remark of Hugh O’Hanratty alone, a perception of the colonists as low-born, upstarts or *bodaigh* was widespread among the Irish.<sup>8</sup> The confiscation of vast amounts of land for the plantation project must have involved the dispossession of large numbers of a middling class—neither elite nor servile—who viewed themselves as the social betters of those newcomers

who now occupied their former lands and on whom they often relied for employment. Members of this class have most often been referred to by the term ‘freeholders’; for reasons explained below (p. 155), they will be signified here by the more general term ‘landholders’. It was no doubt to such individuals that the Franciscan friar Turlough McRodin preached in the woods of Loughinsholin in 1613, telling them that God had ‘punished them by suffering their land to bee given to strangers and hereticques’, but that they should ‘bee of good comfort for it should not be long before they were restored to their former prosperities’.<sup>9</sup>

Resentments such as those expressed by O’Hanratty indicate that cultural factors, such as an attachment to traditional cultural and political practices, might offset purely economic ones. Even in a situation where engagement with the colonists might be economically advantageous, other determinants sometimes came into play. While no doubt in material need of the employment, for example, nobody could be found in the locality of Lough Derg to assist ‘at any price’ in the demolition of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, ordered by the Church of Ireland bishop James Spottiswood in 1632.<sup>10</sup> The behaviour, therefore, of John Davies’ ‘inferior inhabitants’ clearly cannot always be understood in purely material terms, and the attorney general was wrong when he wrote that ‘they love every maister alike, so hee bee praesent to protect & defend them’.<sup>11</sup> While it is useful to bear this in mind in what follows, a Marxian dichotomy of base and superstructure, as the title of this and the following chapter indicates, is here utilised as a fundamentally sound way to analyse and explain change.

This conceptual model of culture (superstructure) as largely a product of changes in the economy (material base) was outlined by Marx in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, in which he argued that the total relations of production constituted the economic structure of society, ‘on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness’, adding that ‘it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness’.<sup>12</sup> It should, however, be noted that Marx himself was not dogmatic on this point, later commenting that such a causal relationship between base and superstructure was merely true of his own times, ‘in which material interests preponderate, but not for the middle ages, in which Catholicism, nor for Athens and Rome, where politics, reigned supreme’.<sup>13</sup> While a useful model, its use here should not be taken to imply a blanket application to early

seventeenth-century Ulster, where traditional modes of thought and living appear to have significantly offset the workings of a rational choice theory model in which autonomous individuals maximise their benefits and minimise their costs. The actions of the Irish in colonial Ulster must, therefore, be understood in the context of such cultural determinants, as well as material ones. The ironic response of an unnamed insurgent in the deposition of George Creighton speaks volumes about the propensity of humans to respond unpredictably to the incentives by which rationalists attempt to systematise their behaviour:

Then this deponent said I will give yow all the poore clothes we have out of this window & what els wee have to give yow content: Give mee (said one of the Rogues) my deare Cozen Turlough McCabe, whoe the other day was killd at Croaghan.<sup>14</sup>

Many of the Gaelic Irish, just as they refused to conform to their assigned role as rational economic actors, persistently clung to the Gaelic social hierarchy decades after that elite had ceased to rule the province. While individuals such as O'Hanratty were unwilling to be 'slaves' to the colonists, others similarly continued to regard as legitimate the social dominance of septs to which they had been traditionally subservient. The ease with which figures such as Phelim O'Neill, Connor Maguire and Philip O'Reilly were able to raise fighting men in 1641 is in part testament to the prestige attached to their names and the bonds of obligation that continued to be felt towards them by their followers. The actions of the McQuaids, who invaded the town of Glaslough in northern Monaghan at the outset of the rising, are indicative of this. Having first entered the town under the pretence of searching for thirty lost sheep belonging to Turlough Oge O'Neill (a younger brother of Phelim who had been fostered with the McQuaids), they ransacked the settlement. The townsfolk, while accepting their inability to defend themselves, 'refused to yelde to those mewades untill some gentleman of qualitye in the Cuntrye Came to us'. Only with the arrival of Turlough Oge shortly afterwards were they prepared to surrender.

This attests to the continuing socially cohesive power of fosterage among the Irish, and an enduring self-identification among the McQuaids as followers of the O'Neills. The fact that the colonists at Glaslough regarded Turlough Oge as a 'gentleman of qualitye', but not those McQuaids who attacked the town, also suggests that even the

English and Scottish were aware of and acknowledged such hierarchies.<sup>15</sup> Other evidence from the 1641 depositions shows that a pre-colonial mindset had not faded three decades after the plantation. The refusal of an O'Kennedy to deliver up a McDonald's house to *any* O'Neill, for example, suggests that, just as the plantation did not sweep away bonds of amity between allied septs overnight, nor did it erase age-old rivalries and vendettas.<sup>16</sup> Nor did the influx of outsiders necessarily widen the mental horizons of the Irish to a significant degree, or expose them to radically different foci for their identification. In Cavan, for example, the hopes of the people that local leader Philip O'Reilly would be made king are reminiscent of a strikingly parochial mode of thought, one receptive to the Gaelic convention of proclaiming the fitness of relatively insignificant local rulers for the high kingship of Ireland.<sup>17</sup>

These cases are offered as a salutary warning against a too-rigid adherence to any materialist interpretation of historical change. Nonetheless, bearing the above caveat in mind, an analysis of the native experience in colonial Ulster in terms of changes in the material base is extremely useful to develop a sense of the transformation in the lives of the Irish. This can best be gauged by looking at the class structure of Gaelic society before the execution of the plantations, both official and unofficial, by assessing the changes that colonisation wrought on this structure, and by examining the fate of each of these classes in turn. It should, of course, be noted that this is not to posit some static, 'pure' state in which Gaelic society had existed from time immemorial. As argued in Chap. 3, the sixteenth century witnessed a disruption of that society as a result of military pressure from outside, resulting in a heightened militarism and autocracy on the part of the elite, and increased mobility among the general population. The period of the Nine Years War which immediately preceded colonisation only added to this sense of dislocation. As suggested by the intense interest in ancestry and the awareness of traditional kinship bonds, however, there was an element of continuity and conservatism in Gaelic society which transcended this instability. The sense of a 'normal' state of affairs to which a desired return had been made impossible by the plantation is attested to in numerous sources.<sup>18</sup> While taking account of the fact that Gaelic society (like any other) did not operate in every time and place in precise accordance with the following model, a reasonably accurate snapshot of how it functioned before its demise can be outlined.

## THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF GAELIC SOCIETY

The first thing to be noted about the hierarchy of Gaelic society is that it was intrinsically linked to the rights and obligations associated with the ownership and rental of cattle, and that landholding, and the conceptualisation of land, differed from that in a common law jurisdiction in several important respects. Instead of being associated with a strict hierarchy of divisions and subdivisions as applied to territories with neatly defined boundaries, sovereignty as exercised by the *tiarnaí* should be understood as largely exercised over specific *sliocht* and their rights to use cattle.<sup>19</sup> Such boundaries could contract, expand or simply move, especially in times of dislocation; therefore, the fluid nature of landholding in Gaelic society must be appreciated. Having said this, the point should not be overstated; the area which constituted an *oireacht* might fluctuate over the centuries, but remained stable enough for the northern half of what is today known as County Londonderry, for example, to be referred to as Oireacht Uí Chatháin, after the O’Cahans.

Just as the territory of a *tiarna* expanded or contracted according to his fortunes in battle and diplomacy, so could the extent of his *tiarnas* (chieftainship or lordship) in relation to other *tiarnaí*. O’Cahan is usually given as the prime example of an *uirrí* or sub-king for his subservient relationship to the O’Neills, but as Nicholls has noted of O’Cahan specifically, relationships as well as territories fluctuated and the control exercised by the O’Neills over O’Cahans was relatively weak compared to that exercised over a less powerful *tiarna* such as O’Gormley.<sup>20</sup> In general, the reciprocal relationship between a *tiarna* and his *uirrí* took the form of tribute and military service, in return for which he received protection from outside threats. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, two overlords—O’Neill and O’Donnell—existed in Ulster, to whom the various *uirrithe* were attached. It is clear, however, that such a system was breaking down, as the growing disorder left some *tiarnaí* unable to maintain alliances with their erstwhile *uirrithe*, whom the government often tried to detach from their allegiance as a means of weakening Gaelic resistance. The ambiguity in Donall O’Cahan’s relationship with his overlord, for example, was exploited by those who wished to undermine the authority of Hugh O’Neill in the immediate post-Mellifont years.

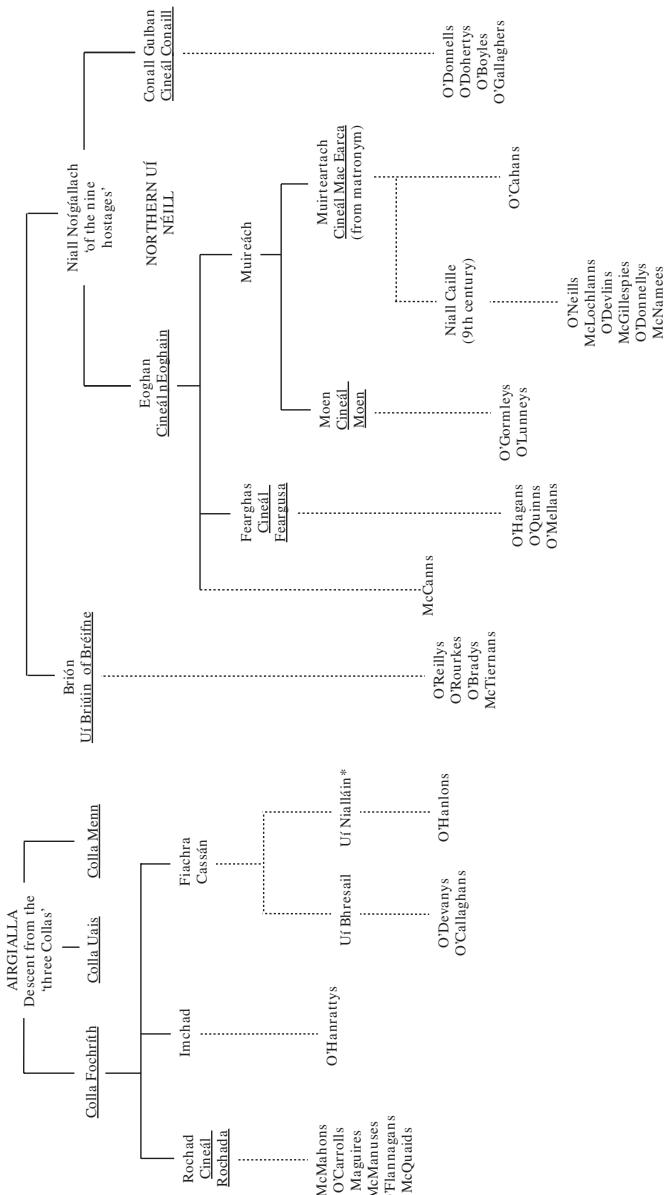
Such was the importance of lineage and hierarchical relationships between different *sleachta* that the Irish primarily identified themselves with perceived common ancestry rather than particular geographical locations.<sup>21</sup> These perceived origins were articulated in terms of the *cineál*,

meaning branch or race, and which connote a more long-term view of ancestry in the distant, semi-mythical past than the terms *sliocht* or *fine*. Most of the prominent *sleachta* of Ulster in the sixteenth century traced their origins to Niall Naoighiallach (Niall of the Nine Hostages), and were thus known as the Uí Néill, the descendants of Niall.<sup>22</sup> These in turn were split into two main lineages, the Cineál Eoghain and Cineál Conaill, said to be descended from two sons of Niall, Owen (in Irish: Eoghan) and Conall Gulban. Within these two groups there existed numerous subdivisions, some of which (those representing the chief *sleachta* at the end of the Gaelic order) are summarised in Fig. 5.1. Several other powerful groups in Ulster did not belong to the Uí Néill, however; the leading *sleachta* of Bréifne in the south of the province—the O'Reillys, O'Rourkes and O'Brady—believed themselves to be descended from a brother of Niall Naoighiallach named Brión, hence their collective name of Uí Bhriúin. The McMahons of Monaghan and the Maguires of Fermanagh were thought to have their ultimate origins in the founders of the ancient kingdom of Airgialla (meaning 'those who give hostages', often anglicised as 'Oriel'), which had once extended across central Ulster but which by the ninth century (and the expansion of the Cineál Eoghain) was largely restricted to the south-east corner of the province. These Airgiallan kin groups survived as clients of the Cineál Eoghain, providing them with military service, by which means their histories became inextricably linked.

The legitimising role played by an ancestor's military exploits can be seen in the lengthy recitation by Owen McHugh McNeill Mor O'Neill of his father's and forefathers' record of service to the English in 1600.<sup>23</sup> The prestige attached to the names of long-dead ancestors can be seen in the habit of leaders of the O'Reillys, for example, to take the name Maolmórdha (which rarely appears in other families), after a twelfth-century ruler, for whom the *sliocht* was known as the Muintir Maolmórdha. Nor were these noble lineages confined to the elite stratum of Gaelic society.

Such was the propagation of dominant families and their displacement of weaker ones that the entire population must have been, by the seventeenth century, able to trace their ancestry back to some noble ancestor in the distant (or perhaps not even very distant) past. This is borne out by Spenser's complaint that:

all the Irishe almoste boste them selves to be gentlemen [...] if he cane derive himselfe from the heade of anie septe as most of them can, they are experte by theire Bardes.<sup>24</sup>

Fig. 5.1 Reputed origins of Ulster *sleachta*

Though they might have been able to trace their lineage back to a venerable aristocracy, in reality the vast majority of the population lived in a condition of greater or lesser subservience to a small minority, here referred to as the elite. For the purposes of this discussion, the definition of elite will be confined to those within the *dearbhfhine* of four generations' descent (that of an individual, sons, grandsons and great-grandsons) deemed eligible to succeed a *tiarna*, and their retainers, both military and learned.<sup>25</sup> This elite maintained control over redistribution of the economic surplus. Rather than selling it for a price determined on a market, food producers offered this surplus as tribute to local rulers, who redistributed it to their allies and retainers in return for loyalty and services. These retainers fell into several categories, which can broadly be categorised as the military and learned castes. The means by which each was supported differed to some degree.

The fighting men of a *tiarna* were supported by a levy imposed on the people known as *coimhtheadh*, anglicised as 'coigny' or 'coyne' and translated as 'guesting'. This involved billeting the ruler's soldiers upon the population. As the Gaelic *tiarnai* of Ulster came to rely less on personal military service from their followers and more on mercenaries (often hired from across the North Channel), a form of this levy known as *buannacht*, or the billeting of mercenary soldiers (*buanna*), grew more common. Such obligations to provide the ruler with payment and lodging for his soldiers were sometimes commuted to a payment in money or produce. The same is true of the *cóisir* (anglicised 'cosher' or 'cohery') or *cuid oicche* ('cuddy', literally: a night's portion), feasts which his followers were obliged to host for a *tiarna* several times a year, but which were also often commuted to payments as the sixteenth century progressed.<sup>26</sup> Besides the military caste and mercenaries, the *tiarnai* also supported a range of other retainers, the learned professions, ranging from poets (who enjoyed the highest status) to jurists and doctors. These orders (the head of which was called an *ollamh*) were maintained by being given lands, usually free of the kind of obligatory payments outlined above, and were monopolised by families whose hereditary role it was to fill these posts.

While some of these hereditary orders had their own lands on which they subsisted, the elite and their military retainers, specialising in war, lived parasitically off the food producers. As has been seen, the soldiers were provided for by billeting them on these followers' lands. To provide for the (presumably considerable) upkeep of the *tiarna* and collateral

branches of his family who constituted the elite, a tribute was levied on the produce of those who held land in the numerous smaller territories into which an *oireacht* was divided. This subdivision was the territory in which the hospitalier or *biatach* collected the tribute due to the *tiarna*, who ruled over these *bailte biataigh*, the number of which depended on the power and prestige of the *tiarna* in question.<sup>27</sup> Kenneth Nicholls has noted a feature peculiar to Ulster in the later Middle Ages, whereby only the mensal lands associated with the office of *tiarna* provided for the upkeep of the ruler. These lands, called the *lucht tighe* (people of the household) were held by a specific *sliocht* whose hereditary responsibility was to farm them and sustain the elite group within the *oireacht*. The lands outside this *lucht tighe*, therefore, provided military service and hospitality to the *tiarna* but, in Ulster at any rate, not necessarily a regular portion of the surplus.<sup>28</sup> When viewed in this light, they must have lived relatively independent of the *tiarna*, although the amount of tribute demanded no doubt fluctuated. Under normal circumstances, it might be stable and sustainable, but in wartime a *baile biataigh* was 'probably compelled to contribute all it could bear'.<sup>29</sup> As the sixteenth century progressed, moreover, war was becoming the norm rather than the exception, and the burden no doubt increased correspondingly.

The individual *baile biataigh* was the unit of land collectively held by a *sliocht*; its members, although not part of the elite ruling class in the sense that they could aspire to sovereignty over the *oireacht*, nonetheless lived in relative autonomy and possessed the land as a corporate body in something akin to the freehold of English common law. It is for this reason that this class have generally been referred to as 'freeholders' by most historians. The broader term 'landholders' is here preferred, however, for the same reason that the verb 'holding' will be preferred to 'owning' to describe their relationship with the land. This is to avoid the tendency to use English approximations to describe Gaelic institutions, which can mask fundamental differences between how land was held under the Gaelic and the English legal systems. The most obvious of these differences was the institution of partible inheritance. Instead of a portion of land being passed from father to son, as under the system of primogeniture, which was the norm in most of feudal Europe, in Gaelic society, the entire *baile biataigh* was divided up into smaller holdings; this, when the holder died, resulted in a redistribution being made between those eligible to hold land—usually the adult males in the *dearbhfhine* of four generations.<sup>30</sup> The means by which this redistribution took place differed

according to time and place. In some areas, the youngest of those eligible to take part divided up the land into portions, which were chosen in order of seniority, from the headman, or *ceann-fine*, downwards; in other areas, the *ceann-fine* himself was responsible for dividing the lands, which no doubt resulted in him getting the most generous share.<sup>31</sup>

An example of how these kinds of division looked in reality can be obtained from the 1591 land settlement imposed on the native Irish of Monaghan. This attempted to freeze the landholding situation and make those in possession of the land under the Gaelic system freeholders with estates of inheritance as individuals under common law. The division of three *bailte biataigh* in Monaghan as recorded at this time, is illustrated in Fig. 5.2.

Excepting the north of the county, where the McKennas were dominant, what is striking throughout most of the county is the prevalence of McMahons. Patrick Duffy has noted that, by 1591, this *sliocht* occupied thirty of the approximately forty-eight *bailte biataigh* which were now to be held as freeholds.<sup>32</sup> While this no doubt reflects the phenomenon, alluded to above, of ruling elites constantly exerting downward social pressure on the weaker landholders and displacing them, it may also be a result of the government's eagerness to transform the ruling *sliocht* of the McMahons from warlords into English-style landlords. In order to accommodate collateral branches of the ruling *sleachta*, land previously occupied by the landholder class must have been confiscated and given to members of the elite, primarily the McMahons, who had previously not held land directly but occupied themselves with fighting and the exaction of tribute and hospitality. Such a dispossession of the landholders foreshadowed the fate of this class in the plantation itself, as they were deemed by John Davies to have 'no estate of inheritance' and were dispossessed not just to accommodate colonists from England and Scotland, but also members of the Gaelic elite.<sup>33</sup>

These constant re-divisions of the *baile biataigh* might result, over many generations, in the land being fragmented into unsustainably small portions. The extent to which this occurred, however, is very much linked to the rate of population growth. That this could present a problem can be seen, for example, in Ireland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where rapid population growth and partible inheritance of land led to smaller and small holdings in the west of Ireland. This would not necessarily be a major problem, however, in a society where the birth rate did not much exceed the rate necessary for replacement. If a population increase from 0.75 million in 1500 to one million a century later

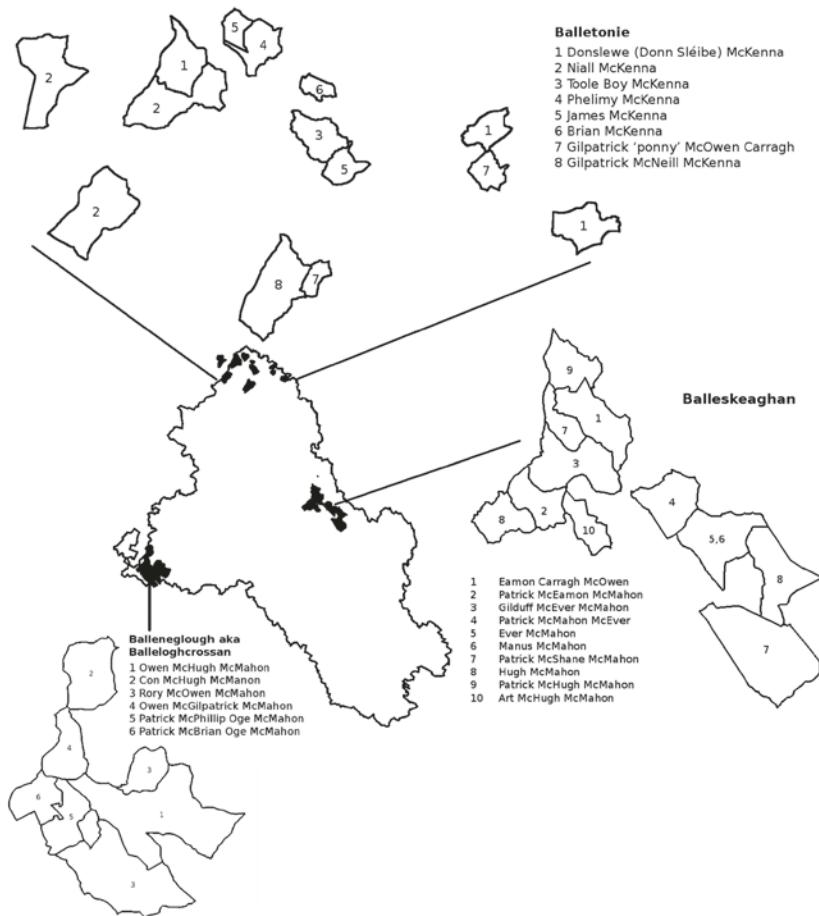


Fig. 5.2 Three *bailte biataigh* in Monaghan, 1591

is accurate, and the fecundity of the Irish attested to by contemporaries is true, it can only be concluded that the mortality rate in Gaelic society was quite high.<sup>34</sup> Given this, it follows that, with the numbers of males dying and coming into their inheritance in near-equilibrium, the subdivision into infinitesimally small holdings would be avoided. One historian has furthermore speculated that the territory of the *baile biataigh* itself may not have been physically divided up, but only the produce thereof.<sup>35</sup> The possibility that the territory was farmed in common is supported by

the fact, pointed out by Audrey Horning, that within each *baile biataigh* there existed ‘the full range of land types necessary to support cattle-raising and grain (most often oat) cultivation’.<sup>36</sup>

When we consider that the landholder class often consisted of collateral branches of the ruling family outside the *dearbhfhine*, the social gulf between the two may have lacked distinction.<sup>37</sup> The separation into hard and fast categories must be seen as a somewhat arbitrary, if useful, convenience. The extent of subordination between landholders and elite was no doubt partly determined by military might, the ability of a *sliocht* such as the McMahons to enforce their rule constituting much of the grounds of their legitimacy. Neither should the importance of precedent and tradition, as has been seen, be underestimated. Again, it must be stressed that these class distinctions were already being upset by the dislocations of the sixteenth century before formal colonisation began. One of the most important features which had distinguished the landholding class from the labourers who farmed their land was that they were allowed to bear arms and owed military service to their *tiarna* in times of war. This convention was upset when Shane O’Neill armed the landless class.<sup>38</sup> Aside from this, perhaps the most obvious distinguishing feature between these two groups is the fact that the productive element in Gaelic society did not have any kind of estate in land, corporately or as individuals. They were, therefore, obliged to sell their labour to those who owned the means of production—the land and cattle—in order to obtain a proportion of the agricultural goods that they produced.

The members of this productive class are often referred to in English sources as ‘churls’ and written of as if their condition were akin to serfdom. This generalisation can be attributed to the unthinking tendency of contemporaries to see in Gaelic Ireland a mirror image of England’s feudal past. Fynes Moryson claimed that this productive class were ‘reputed proper to those lands on which they dwell’, and that Gaelic *tiarnai* vied with one another not so much to conquer lands as the people who were tied to them.<sup>39</sup> John Davies decried Hugh O’Neill’s attempts, in the aftermath of the war, to secure the return of people who had fled to The Pale from his territories, claiming that O’Neill aspired to be ‘maister both of their bodyes & goodes’.<sup>40</sup> It would appear, however, that this is an example of the kind of innovation that accompanied the growing autocracy of Gaelic *tiarnai* in the specific war-torn period during which Moryson and Davies were writing. Kenneth Nicholls observes that the contrary had been the norm during the sixteenth century, and that the landless Irish had in fact been free to wander ‘from place to place and master to master,

apparently driven not by want, but by restlessness and the inducements held out to them'.<sup>41</sup> This freedom was largely due to the underpopulation of the country and the resultant chronic shortage of labour.

It may indeed have been partly due to the problems associated with such a shortage that Gaelic lords began to claim their subjects were not free but bound to the soil. The extent of the freedom and mobility of the productive class in Gaelic society, therefore, fluctuated with shifts in their strength relative to the other classes. The balance of power would have been determined by circumstances; in the power vacuum created by Hugh O'Neill's flight in 1607, for instance, Toby Caulfeild suggested that it was the 'custom of the country' that 'tenants may remove from one lord to another every half year, as usually they do'.<sup>42</sup> Generalising from specific (and unusual) circumstances, Caulfeild was probably overestimating the frequency of such removals and overstating the mobility of the landless class as much as other writers had understated it.

A qualification must also be made to the impression that the landholding class owned one of the vital means of producing the surplus, the cattle, by which they compelled the landless class to work for them. The cows were in fact often owned by the *tiarnaí* themselves, who leased them to their followers in return for a share of the resultant produce.<sup>43</sup> This practice, known to contemporaries as 'commyns' was a kind of pastoral sharecropping and a crucial lever of power in Gaelic society, forming as it no doubt did some kind of legitimising basis for the elite's material dependence on the other classes. Its implications must be understood in order to qualify the image of a hierarchy of sedentary classes, each occupying lands by the grace of the class above it. Rather than the extent of his territorial reach, it was the number of cattle a *tiarna* possessed that constituted his power, the tribute and service he received being primarily for the lease of his cattle rather than the right to occupy land. In a country as sparsely populated as Ulster, land was plentiful and, therefore, relatively valueless without the people and cattle necessary to make it economically productive. The practice would, furthermore, appear to have been closely linked to the custom of fosterage; a 1610 investigation into customary dues suggests that followers would often nurse and foster the children of the ruling elite in return for the lease of cattle.<sup>44</sup>

The struggle for mastery over herds of cattle thus held a prominent place in traditional Gaelic society, wars between neighbouring *tiarnaí* often taking the form of cattle raids and counter-raids, contested not only for material resources but for power and prestige.<sup>45</sup> The grazing of

a *tiarna*'s cattle on the land of his followers must be seen as a means not only of monopolising control over an important source of sustenance, but also of dominating and controlling the population. The exercise of this control in practice can be seen in the twice-yearly count carried out by officials in the employ of a Gaelic *tiarna*; the struggle to assert their former prerogatives in the years after 1603 can be gauged by Caulfeild's observation that many were able to evade a reckoning of their cattle by hiding them, bribing those tasked with the count, or fleeing outside the weakening jurisdiction of the *tiarna*.<sup>46</sup> This breakdown of authority (so often represented as the *establishment* of authority in Anglocentric accounts of Ulster at this time) can also be seen in the retention by former followers of Niall Garbh O'Donnell and Donall O'Cahan of the cattle they had been leased when the men were imprisoned in 1608.<sup>47</sup> Those areas from which rulers had either fled or been imprisoned must have witnessed something of an overthrow of the social order, in that a proportion of the cattle belonging to the former elite wound up in the hands of those who had hitherto been compelled to rent them.

Commyns was a subtler manifestation of the way in which grazing cattle on the land of others was used as a means of domination and control by the elite in Gaelic society. This can also be seen in the existence of mobile herds, the *caoraidheacht* (anglicised as 'creaght'), which Katharine Simms sees as having its origins in a kind of 'aggressive pastoralism' developed in the north of Ireland in the late Middle Ages whereby livestock were deliberately used 'as an instrument of destruction'.<sup>48</sup> Such was the growing disorder of sixteenth-century Ulster that to live in a *caoraidheacht* was becoming a permanent condition for certain sections of the population. The extent of this permanence, and the proportion of the population who moved about in this fashion, continues to be debated, however, as does the nature of the *caoraidheacht* itself.

What is certain is that those who concluded from the existence of the *caoraidheachta* that the Gaelic Irish were nomadic were simply wrong. First, as has been seen in Chap. 2, tillage was practised in Gaelic areas.<sup>49</sup> Secondly, a distinction (rarely noted by contemporaries) must be made between the seasonal migration of herds from winter to summer pasture and back again, and groups of people and their cattle who had either been displaced by war or provided a mobile food source for armies. The former practice, known to anthropologists as transhumance and to the Irish as *buailteachas* (from the Irish *buaile* or place of summer pasture, anglicised as 'booleying'), was an age-old practice in a predominantly

pastoral society where there was abundant upland available to allow much of the population to inhabit different locales at different times of the year. This practice represented an optimal use of marginal land. The existence of many pairs of townlands today, differentiated only by the suffix *-etra* or *-tra* (from the Irish for *uachtar*, upper, and *iochtar*, lower), would suggest that such *bailte bó* were perceived to be associated pasturelands, the corresponding summer and winter quarters of the same kin group.<sup>50</sup> The fragmented look of many *bailte biataigh*, as seen in Fig. 5.2, can also be explained by the apportionment of a mixture of upland and lowland areas to individuals, so that these landholding units might best be imagined as spread out over larger areas rather than solid blocks of territory.

Large numbers of permanently itinerant people with herds are less well-attested than seasonal movement. Certainly, *caoraidheachta* fleeing from, or accompanying, armies were common in times of war (and would once again become so in the 1640s); whether or not they could be described as a permanent feature of Ulster society is open to question. Given the considerable displacement of people from their lands that must have taken place during the plantation, groups of wandering people must have been as common—if not more common—in colonial society than they had been under the Gaelic order. Indeed, it has been shown that transhumance continued to be practised in parts of Donegal until the nineteenth century; it was only when population pressure led to the permanent settlement of the summer pastures that their use as *buailte* came to an end.<sup>51</sup> Although the *caoraidheacht* and *buailteachas* made economic and strategic sense, it was alleged by early modern commentators that Gaelic areas remained predominantly pastoral because they were backward.<sup>52</sup> The pastoralism of such areas was, however, determined geographically rather than culturally. Given the soil type, much land was simply more suitable for pastoral than arable farming. Even today, almost 90% of the farmed area of Ireland is devoted to pasture, hay or silage.<sup>53</sup> It also made sense to cultivate a mobile food source in times of growing instability and war.

A model of four classes (Fig. 5.3) may be usefully employed in illustrating the structure of Gaelic society in its pre-colonial state. Such a schema need to be understood as a blueprint from which reality often deviated, both in terms of local variation and under circumstances which prevented the stable functioning of the Gaelic order. It illustrates that such an order and stability did exist, however, and that the

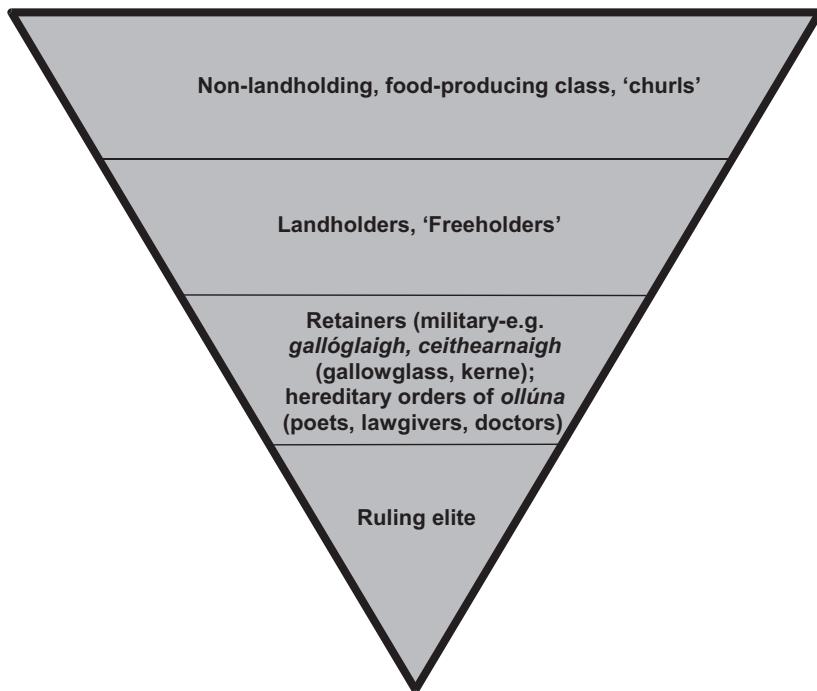


Fig. 5.3 The class structure of Gaelic society

image of an unstructured, nomadic people living in an uncultivated wilderness was entirely false, serving merely to justify the confiscation of the land. This image of rootlessness and chaos was of course strengthened by the very efforts of the Tudors to destabilise the Gaelic order. As William Smyth has pointed out, it was not just these military incursions which weakened a social order based on kin groups and clientship, but also the introduction of common law forms of landholding, market forces and the relations determined and upheld by them, not to mention technical innovations from both England and the continent.<sup>54</sup> Many of these innovations were introduced by those, such as Hugh O'Neill, who sought to engineer the survival of Gaelic Ulster on its own terms by modernising aspects of that society. This attempt failed, and when O'Neill and his associates fled, the colonisers instead brought innovation on their own terms.

To speak of the effects of colonisation on ‘Gaelic society’ would be to invite oversimplification. Each class was affected in different ways. The structure of four classes outlined above can, nonetheless, be conceived of as transformed into a two-class structure as a result of colonisation. These two classes consisted of, on the one hand, those deemed deserving of incorporation into the plantation project, and, on the other, those seen as undeserving of land. This latter group included both those who had been landholders in the Gaelic system and those who had never ‘possessed’ land. While the fate of the Gaelic elite and its retainers will be discussed in the following chapter, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to exploring the fate of the landholding and landless classes of Gaelic society, and how they fared in colonial society.

### THE LANDHOLDERS

The government’s criteria for choosing which natives should receive grants of land had little to do with preserving any vestige of the landholding arrangements of Gaelic society, as was the case in Monaghan, but instead aimed to give those who retained the capability to disrupt colonial society enough of a stake in it to make them think twice about doing so. An insight into the kind of reasoning applied can be gained from a 1610 document in which Toby Caulfeild listed a number of natives (mostly rivals of the departed Hugh O’Neill) worthy of favourable treatment in the aftermath of both the Flight and O’Doherty’s rising. It was primarily due to these individuals, Caulfeild commented, that a general rising had not followed on from O’Doherty’s attempt and ‘the swordmen and ill-disposed persons there (who were abundant in those countries) were kept back from many outrages that they were ready and inclinable unto in those dangerous times’.<sup>55</sup> The capacity to restrain the military castes of Gaelic society was, therefore, a vital criterion in determining the choice of grantees in the formal plantation.

This capacity was largely decided by place in the Gaelic order, meaning that the vast majority of grantees must have been either elite figures with the ability to command some military resources, or their retainers. Proof of loyalty and previous military service for the English played a part but, as will be seen below (below pp. 217–225), this was no guarantee of favour. Nor was military might the only criteria for merit. One individual, Cú Chonnacht O’Devine, was granted an abatement of rents ‘for his maintenance in the college at Dublin, the better to encourage others to conform

themselves in civility and religion'.<sup>56</sup> The O'Devines were a notable family of *airchinnigh*, or hereditary stewards of church lands in Strabane, who most likely occupied the *baile biataigh* referred to as 'Coole Muntedevin' (containing four *bailte bō*) in the 1608 survey which ascertained the extent of the escheated lands.<sup>57</sup> The hope that a prominent religious figure such as Cí Chonnacht would convert and lead other native Irish by his example clearly demonstrates that the desire to accommodate prestigious cultural leaders of the community, as well as military figures, played a role. The fact that several bardic poets, such as Oghy O'Hussey in Clanawley, Fermanagh and Lughaidh O'Cleary in Kilmacrennan, Donegal, would receive grants in the plantation also bears this out.

Those who constituted the class of landholders, as here defined, did not command the resources to instigate material or ideological resistance. In consequence, it was not necessary to buy them off with land grants. The fate of such landholders can best be illustrated by taking as a case study a specific area and contrasting the treatment of this latter group with those Irish in the area whom it was deemed politic to conciliate. The barony of Strabane in Tyrone offers an interesting sample area (Fig. 5.4). Its location, downriver from Derry, one of the principal entry ports to the province for colonists, meant that the density of colonial settlement was significant. As will become clear below, however, the area does appear to have retained a significant Irish population as well. Strabane, therefore, falls somewhere between the most densely settled areas, such as north Down, and areas such as north Donegal which, although formally part of the plantation scheme, were scarcely touched by the presence of English or Scots. It thus comes as close as possible to being an area 'typical' of colonial Ulster society (insofar as anywhere was typical) in that neither native or newcomer decisively outnumbered the other.

The most prominent Irish leader in this area on the eve of colonisation was undoubtedly Turlough McArt O'Neill, the grandson of Turlough Luineach. His father, Art, had been persuaded by Henry Docwra to come over to the government's side at a crucial stage of the Nine Years War but died in October 1600. Turlough's youth (Docwra commented that he 'had not attained to the full age of a man' at the time of his father's death) meant that his position as head of this *sliocht* of the O'Neills was briefly challenged by his uncle, Cormac.<sup>58</sup> The weakness of his position, however, may have saved him from the fate of others such as Niall Garbh O'Donnell and Donall O'Cahan, in that he was not regarded by the English as sufficiently threatening to merit removal.



Fig. 5.4 Strabane and Dungannon, physical geography and main settlements

They, therefore, accepted him over his uncle as the ‘true & imediate heire’ entitled to ‘inherit all the fortune & hopes of his father’.<sup>59</sup> What these hopes consisted of precisely would be unclear for a number of years after the victory of the English government.

The years 1607–1608 saw the rapid removal of rivals to Turlough McArt on all sides. To the west, Rory O’Donnell had fled to the continent and Niall Garbh was imprisoned; to the north, Cahir O’Doherty was dead; Donall O’Cahan to his north-east was soon imprisoned and, most significantly, Hugh O’Neill—whose rise had put an end to the dominance of the *sliocht* Art Oge—went into exile. Normally, such circumstances would have offered a Gaelic *tiarna* remarkable opportunities for an expansion of his power and territory. Turlough was quickly

disabused of any such hopes, however, as Chichester made clear that he was to confine his ambitions to three *bailte biataigh* of land around modern-day Newtownstewart, to be shared with his brother Niall. While the lord deputy thought this sufficient for the brothers, they were far from pleased with this curtailment. It can only be imagined how they felt the following year when the original plan for a more modest plantation grew more elaborate and they learned that the entire barony of Strabane was to be confiscated and allocated to Scottish undertakers.<sup>60</sup>

Turlough, his brothers Niall and Brian, and a number of other leading figures from the area, were to be relocated to the native/servitor precinct of Dungannon, designated as the area for deserving O'Neills and their followers.<sup>61</sup> While Turlough (no. 1, Figs. 6.1 and 6.2) received, according to his patent, 3330 acres to the west and south of Dungannon fort, his brothers—Niall (no. 2, Fig. 6.1 and no. 6, Fig. 6.2) and Brian McArt (no. 3, Fig. 6.1 and no. 8, Fig. 6.2)—received smaller proportions close by.<sup>62</sup> Another grantee in Dungannon was Cormac McNamee (no. 8, Fig. 6.1), whose family had occupied lands near Ardstraw appertaining to the post of hereditary poet to the *sliocht* Art Oge.<sup>63</sup> Cormac was most likely the author of a poem addressed to Turlough lamenting the death of his father Art and the downfall of the O'Neills in general.<sup>64</sup> He was a prominent enough personage in 1601 to warrant a pardon and the grant of a town-land between the modern-day village of Pomeroy and Cookstown.<sup>65</sup>

A number of other grantees in the area around which Cookstown would one day stand also appear to have been transferred from the territory ruled by the *sliocht* Art Oge. The O'Gormleys, for example, were a *sliocht* of the Cineál Moen (see Fig. 5.1) who had held territories, along with the McNamees, around Ardstraw. Once a dominant *sliocht* on the western side of the Foyle, rising to greatest prominence in the twelfth century, the O'Gormleys' resistance to the hegemony of the O'Donnells in Tyrconnell, as well as a 'relentless hostility' to the McLochlanans, led them to gravitate towards the increasingly powerful O'Neills (the McLochlanans' rivals for power in Tyrone) in the later Middle Ages.<sup>66</sup> In the sixteenth century, however, their strength and territorial reach became more and more circumscribed by the O'Neills themselves, to the point where a great deal of their lands came into the possession of the *sliocht* Art Oge.<sup>67</sup> Two of their number can be identified among the plantation grantees, of whom one, Turlough Oge (no. 45, Fig. 6.1), received lands that can be identified today. Commended by Toby Caulfeild for his assistance in quelling O'Doherty's rising in 1608, Turlough Oge was listed among the 'servitors of Irish birth' in 1610.<sup>68</sup> Having served Docwra as

a captain, he no doubt followed the lead of Art O'Neill when he defected from Hugh O'Neill's cause in 1600.<sup>69</sup> For this service he was awarded a pension as well as a townland, although by 1626 he was reported to be in dire financial straits due to the government's tardiness in paying this pension.<sup>70</sup> These difficulties no doubt contributed to his being compelled to sell his land to a Scottish colonist, James Stewart, in 1632.<sup>71</sup>

James McGilshenan (no. 18, Fig. 6.1), also granted a townland in Cookstown, was another member of a sept that followed the *sliocht* Art Oge to Dungannon.<sup>72</sup> One Niall Modartha McGilshenan was, in 1610, listed among those who held land under Turlough McArt in Strabane, recommended to Chichester for the grant of new lands in Dungannon, although he does not appear to have received any.<sup>73</sup> Neither does the Irish servitor Turlough McGilshenan who, like Turlough Oge O'Gormley, followed Art O'Neill into an alliance with Docwra in 1600.<sup>74</sup> The absence of both Niall Modartha and Turlough from lists of native grantees (as well as the fact that James is not referred to elsewhere as performing favours for the English which might merit recompense) would suggest that they died before reaping the rewards of their service, and that James was a relative of one or both who received this reward in their stead.<sup>75</sup> The O'Devines have already been noted as native to the Strabane area. One of that name, Jenkin O'Devine (no. 9, Fig. 6.1), received the townland of Derrygortrevy in the Dungannon precinct.<sup>76</sup> Like Turlough Oge O'Gormley, he was among those noted by Caulfeild as taking part in the suppression of O'Doherty's rising.<sup>77</sup> The land appears to have been held by O'Devine until its forfeiture in the 1650s (no. 26, Fig. 6.2).<sup>78</sup> The removal of these people east of the Sperrins, forced to leave ancestral lands, undoubtedly provoked regret and resentment. At the same time, these grantees were no doubt aware, from the abundant cautionary examples around them, that their fate could have been worse. In Strabane, for example, most of the other landholders received no land at all in the plantation and (it appeared at the outset at least) were to be compelled to move from an area earmarked for exclusively Scottish colonisation.

The fate of these dispossessed landholders is harder to clarify than that of the plantation grantees because the few traces that the native Irish *did* leave in English administrative records largely concern those who received land. There is no doubt, however, that large numbers of these dispossessed landholders considered themselves owners of their lands to at least as great an extent as the 'freeholders' of common law did. This is

clear from the reaction of those Irish in the first area confronted with the reality of dispossession, Cavan, where the native landholders maintained ‘that they had estates of inheritance’, a claim rejected by Davies on the grounds that they did not practice primogeniture, but often divided estates up on the death of their holder. To this was added the assertion that they ‘never esteemed lawful matrimony to the end they might have lawful heirs’ and, finally, ‘that they never built any houses nor planted any orchards or gardens’.<sup>79</sup>

Not possessing their lands in the English manner, therefore, amounted to not possessing them at all. This was, at least, the convenient conclusion reached by the attorney general and those who constructed the legal framework for confiscation.<sup>80</sup> According to Davies, the Irish ‘seemed not unsatisfied in reason’ with this rationale, ‘though in passion they remained ill contented, being grieved to leave their possessions to strangers’.<sup>81</sup> There is no reason to believe that the Irish in other parts of Ulster regarded their relationship to the land any differently to those in Cavan. There are several reasons why a legal challenge took place in that county that has not been recorded elsewhere. It was observed that the natives there, ‘having many acquaintances and alliances with the gentlemen of the English Pale, called themselves freeholders’ and employed a ‘lawyer of The Pale’ to argue their case. Being the first county in which the commissioners arrived to put the plantation into execution, Cavan was seen as the litmus test for legal challenges to the confiscation.<sup>82</sup> When the challenge failed there, the pursuit of legal action was most likely adjudged to be a futile exercise by the Irish elsewhere.

For an area such as Strabane, it remains to try and quantify the numbers of those dispossessed and not deemed deserving of compensatory lands elsewhere. The principal difficulty is the lack of detailed information on the landholding structure of the area prior to colonisation, which is the case for most of Ulster. The 1608 survey did enumerate forty *bailte biataigh* of temporal land in Strabane barony, providing some basis for calculations.<sup>83</sup> To make an estimate of the density of landholders across these forty *bailte biataigh* under the Gaelic dispensation, we must look elsewhere, namely to the only county for which such information was recorded in detail: Monaghan. The government captured something of a snapshot of the Gaelic landholding system in Monaghan, both in 1591 and 1607, when it sought to enshrine the arrangements there in common law, with estates to be inheritable intact and by primogeniture. The 1591 survey, for example, lists 73.25 *bailte biataigh* in the entire

county (not including church lands), divided among a total of 308 free-holders, a figure which includes several individuals (all McMahons, with the exception of one McKenna) who owned several *bailte biataigh* in demesne. This suggests that an average of slightly over four landholders shared each *baile biataigh*, a figure which, if applied to Strabane, would suggest that the barony was 'owned' (in the Gaelic sense of the word) by around 160 landholders.<sup>84</sup> Although the presence of the Sperrins means that it was probably somewhat less-densely populated, unless the pattern of landholding differed profoundly in Strabane from that seen in Monaghan (and there is no reason to suppose it did), there must have been in excess of 100 small landholders dispossessed in the barony. The fate of these former landholders was, at best, to be reduced to the status of tenants of the incoming Scottish undertakers or, at worst, to flee to upland areas and forests not coveted by the newcomers and scrape out a living either by raising livestock on wasteland or by robbing colonists and their more fortunate fellow Irish.<sup>85</sup>

When the information available about the tenantry of Strabane living under Scottish landlords is examined (see Fig. 5.5), it becomes clear that, in common with many other areas reserved for undertakers, the Irish did not leave en masse but remained, often with the encouragement of the colonists. There is no knowing which tenants of the new landed class had their origins in the former landholding class or which had been landless in Gaelic society. Given that the former landholders, however, would have been far more likely to command the resources necessary to make the transition to rent-paying tenantry, the majority of these tenants must have been former landholders, paying rent to newcomers (whom they often looked upon as low-born usurpers) for lands which only a few years earlier they had regarded as their patrimony. The new dispensation involved the re-division of the forty *bailte biataigh* of Strabane into eleven proportions (see map, Fig. 5.6), initially distributed to seven Scottish undertakers under the leadership of James Hamilton, the 1st Earl of Abercorn.

The map of native tenants in the period from c. 1610 to 1641 (Fig. 5.5) shows an apparent concentration of Irish in the south-central and northern parts of the barony. It should be noted, however, that this does not necessarily indicate that these areas were more densely inhabited by natives, because information about tenantry survives for only six of the eleven proportions. A better impression of the ratio of native to newcomer can be gained by the 1622 commission's survey of the area, which indicates, not

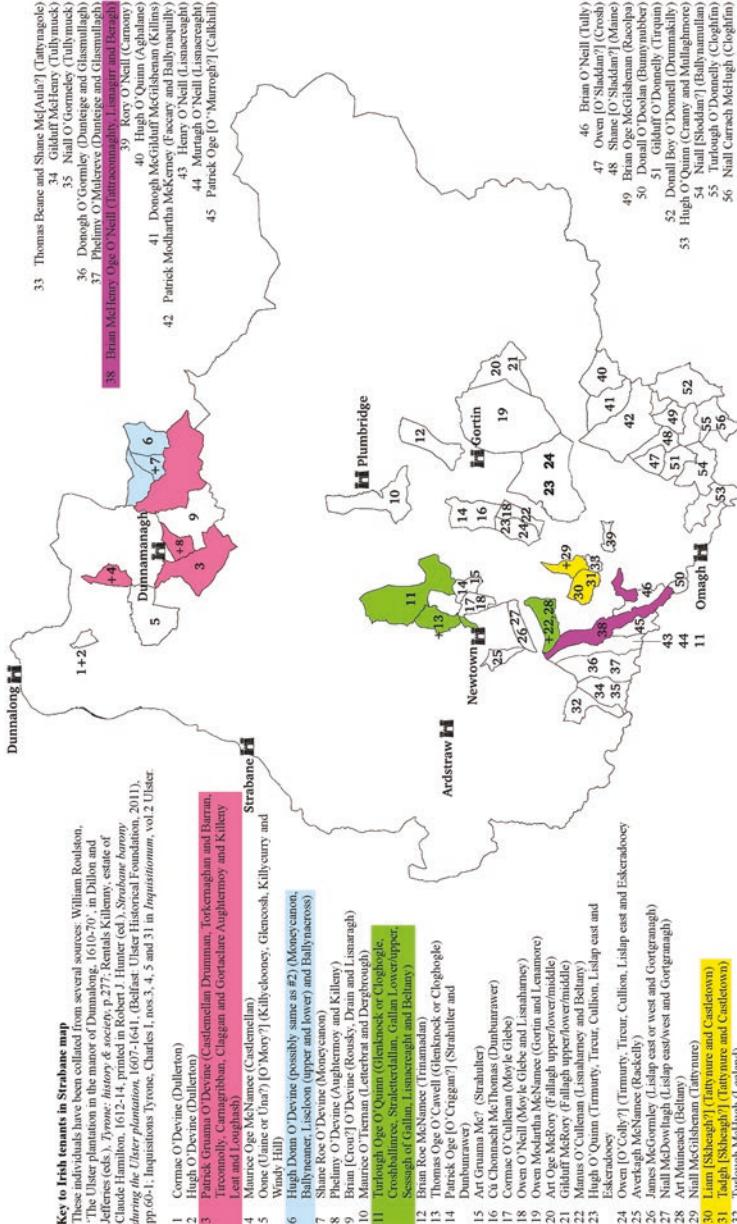


Fig. 5.5 Strabane, Irish tenants, 1610-1630s

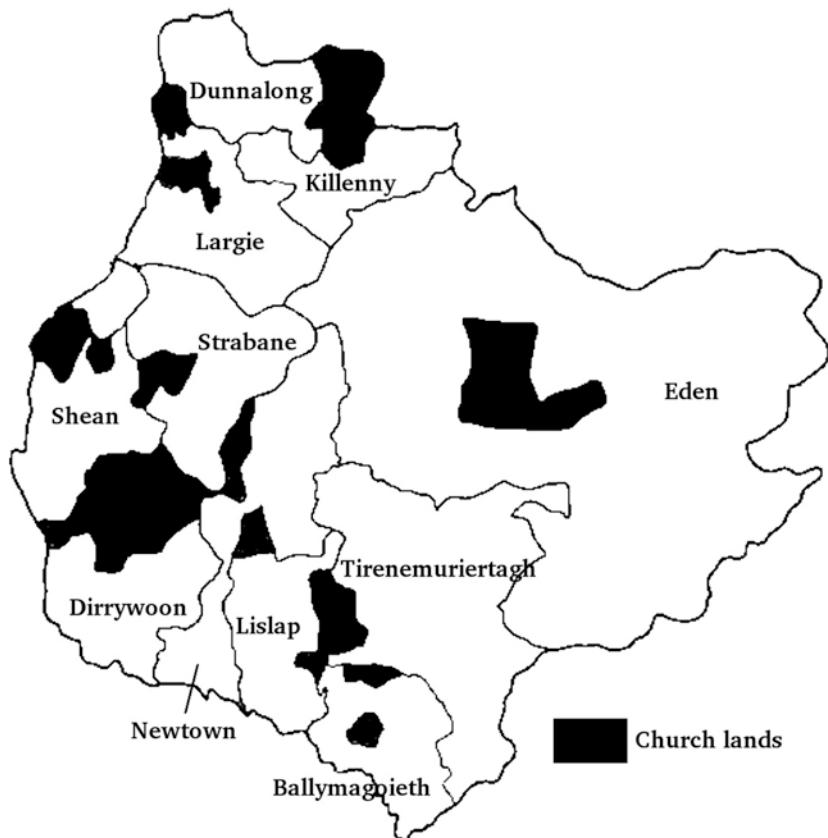


Fig. 5.6 Plantation proportions in Strabane

surprisingly, that proportions closer to the Foyle and the port of Derry were more densely colonised, with the native Irish concentrated further east, in less accessible upland areas (Fig. 5.7).

It becomes clear from the list of tenants' names accompanying Fig. 5.5 that those families already noted as prominent in Strabane also formed the backbone of the tenant class after colonisation. It also appears that members of the same *sliocht* continued to be concentrated in specific areas, suggesting that many Irish remained where they had been before the arrival of the colonists. The seven O'Devines, for example,

<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Undertaker in 1622</i>	<i>'British' families</i>	<i>Irish families</i>
Strabane, Dunalong and Shean	James Hamilton, 2nd earl of Abercorn	94	120
Largie (or Cloghogenhall) and Dirrywoon	George Hamilton	38	88
Ballymagoieth (or Ballenagheagh)	John Drummond	32	40
Newton and Lislapp	Robert Newcomen	36	45
	George Hamilton's half	0	38
Tirenemuriertagh (or Munterlony)	Robert Newcomen's half	7	38
Killenny and Eden (or Teadane)	George Hamilton	0	120

**Fig. 5.7** Findings of 1622 commissioners in Strabane

are almost all found renting in the proportion of Killenny; the three O'Gormleys listed are among those closest to their traditional territory near Ardstraw. That some of the *sliocht* chose to flee the area in the wake of colonisation is clear from a 1627 note which reports them moving south to Munster in hopes of taking passage to the Low Countries.<sup>86</sup> The most prominent of these O'Devines tenants was Patrick Gruama O'Devine, who rented almost 6000 acres of land in the area and, as William Roulston has noted, was of sufficient standing at the outset of the plantation to sit on a jury assembled at Strabane in 1611.<sup>87</sup> That O'Devine possessed the resources to lease such significant quantities of land so soon after the establishment of the plantation would suggest that he had already been a figure of some means and that he was one of the Gaelic landholders whom the government felt it unnecessary to reward in the plantation. That the O'Devines continued to be prominent in the area is shown by the fact that a captain of that name was put in charge of Strabane castle by the Catholic insurgents in 1642.<sup>88</sup>

In many (but not all) areas of Ulster, the absence of any attempt to physically expel the Irish, as well as the fact that many colonial landlords were quite willing to accept them as tenants, meant that landholders such as Patrick Gruama O'Devine had the opportunity to remain in occupation of their lands within a different economic framework. That many attempted to accommodate themselves to the plantation in

this way, rather than flee to the mountains and bogs, is entirely unsurprising and indicates individuals making the best of the situation. That they chose to do this provides little foundation for broader assumptions about their attitude to the colonists. From a purely material perspective, it involved nothing more than the substitution of one group to whom tribute/rent was owed for another. While it is possible to make a comparison of the material burden on the individual of tribute to a Gaelic *tiarna* and rent to a colonial landowner, it must be qualified by a recognition that tribute and rent differ in nature. The latter was governed (to a greater or lesser extent) by market forces, whereas the former was subject to the dictates of custom and contingency. This difference would create difficulties in plantation society for some native landowners, whose income was limited by the resistance of their tenants to an economic rent decided by market prices. The payment instead of something approximating the traditional *ceart* or ‘chiefry’ meant that Irish landlords often received less income from lands of the same value than English or Scottish colonists.<sup>89</sup> Such a phenomenon would strongly suggest that the burden of customary tribute was often significantly lighter than that imposed by an economic rent. This impression is further strengthened when we remember that in Ulster, those followers of a *tiarna* who lived outside their *lucht tighe* lands were not obliged to provide him with a portion of the agricultural surplus.<sup>90</sup> A comparison of rent with the dues rendered to Gaelic *tiarnai*, therefore, bears closer examination.

An impression of this can be gained from Toby Caulfeild’s assessment of the rents due to the departed Hugh O’Neill in 1609 for the cattle he leased to the population.<sup>91</sup> Based on this, Phillip Robinson has suggested a rent of 4 s per year per cow, translating into an average of 9.5 cows per *baile bó*.<sup>92</sup> This commyns can in turn be translated into a rough estimate of £1 18 s per townland before colonisation. This translation of commyns to a money rent is, of course, nothing more than a crude equivalent, and leaves out other exactions more difficult to quantify in monetary terms. The same can be said, however, for the rents charged by colonial landlords, which often included the obligation to perform labour service in addition to a money rent. The table in Fig. 5.8 includes some figures from the map of Strabane above, and then a representative selection of tenants from other areas of Ulster where the information has been recorded.

As seen from this table, the average rent (in this sample, almost £6) of a townland in colonial Ulster was generally higher—sometimes significantly higher—than the estimated £1 18 s owed on average to a *tiarna*

Tenant(s)	Townland(s) rented (modern names)	Rent total	Rent per townland (decimalised)	Other dues and notes
<b>Killenny, estate of Claude Hamilton: Strabane, Tyrone (Source: Rentals for 1612-14, printed in Hunter (ed.), <i>Strabane barony during the Ulster plantation</i>.</b>				
Hugh Donn O'Devine	Moneycanon, Ballyneane, Liscloon (upper and lower) and Ballynacross	£10	£2	16 days service
[Oone O'Mory?]	Killyclooney, Glencosh, Killycurry and Windy Hill	£10	£2.50	24 days service, 4 barrels of barley, 3 sheep, 3 pigs, 18 hens and capons
Patrick Gruama O'Devine	Drumman, Torkernaghan and Barran	£20	£6.66	18 days service (with horse), 8 barrels of barley, 8 sheep, 8 pigs, 36 hens and capons, 1 barrel of butter, 1 cow and calf
Patrick Gruama O'Devine	Tirconnolly, Carnagribban, Claggan and Gortaclare	£9	£2.25	16 days service, 4 barrels of barley, 4 sheep, 4 pigs, 1 cow and calf
Brian [Crou?] O'Devine	Rousky, Drain and Lismaragh (Scotch and Irish)	£9	£2.25	32 days service, 6 barrels of barley, 10 sheep, 10 pigs, 24 hens and capons
<b>Oneiland, Armagh (Source: 1624 survey of Irish living on colonists' lands in Armagh, SP 63-238-1, ff.140r-141r)</b>				
Colla McCallaghan, Owen O'Garvan, Rory McRory, Maurice Oge O'Cullan, Hugh O' Gorman, Brian O'Donogh	Mullaetragh	£4	£4	Tenant of Francis Sacheverell on the proportion of Mullaleish; 'pay for the rent the halfe of the come and fower pounds rent by the yeare for the grasse'
Tadhg Ó Cuinn and Pádraig Ó Cuinn	Ballyloughan ('a quarter of the towne of Balliolahan')	£4	£16	Tenant of Francis Sacheverell
Donall [McCawke?], Donall Oge [McCawke?], Donall O'Moran, Tadhg O'Corr, Turlough Dubh O'Corr	Toberhewny	£7	£7	Tenant of William Brunker
[Eddie?] McCann, Hugh Carrach McEver, Niall McEver, Rory McEver	Derryinver	£6	£6	Tenant of William Brunker
Donogh O'Hegarty, Patrick O'Toner, Manus O'Murray, Tadhg Boy O'Biorna	Ballymagerny	£14	£14	Sub-tenant—rented from Richard Cope who in turn leased from Lord Saye and Sele; rent was 'about fowtere or fifteene pounds'
<b>Leginn, estate of James Balfour: Knocknинny, Fermanagh (Source: 1624 survey of Irish living on colonists' lands in Fermanagh, SP 63-238-1, ff.62r-64r)</b>				
Cathal McGilpatrick Maguire	Aghakillymaud	£4	£4	
Eamonn McBriar McShane Maguire, Donall Maguire, Turlough O'Reilly, Rory McGillroy	Aghnacloy	£9	£9	
Shane O'Gormley	Carn	£8	£8	
Shane [Kany?] O'Droma, [Gillittera?] (Giolla Tighearnain?) O'Mullanphy, Gilpatrick Modartha [McVanaghie?]	Clonfane	£8	£8	
Shane Roe McAloon, Niall McAloon, Hugh McAloon	Corradovar	£8	£8	
Shane Roe McAloon, Niall McAloon	Drumbrughas	£4	£4	
Redmond McCabe, Melaghlin Oge McCorry	Gortoral	£4	£4	
Owen Maguire, Gilpatrick [Magitas?] McManus	Killygreagh	£4	£4	
Philip McThomas Maguire, Owen McCormac, Cormac [McGillaghin?] (Giolla Lochlainn?)	Kilnakelly	£7	£7	
Hugh McShane Boy Maguire and Eamonn Ballach	Leginn	£6	£6	
Art Boy O'Gallion, Hugh O'Gallion	Mullyneceny	£1 10s	£1.50	
Brian Oge McEamonn Maguire, Art Boy [O'Muckigar?], Eamonn Modartha McAloon	Tonyvarnog	£5	£5	

**Fig. 5.8** Conditions of tenantry in early years of plantation (1612–1624)

for commyns. It must also be recognised that the first set of tenants from Strabane are recorded more than a decade before those in Oneiland and Knocknинny, a period which saw a significant increase in rents. This illustrates a phenomenon long commented upon by historians, namely the

gradual worsening conditions for Irish tenants in the decades between 1610 and 1641. At the beginning of colonisation, as many proprietors had difficulty attracting English and Scottish colonists to Ulster and needed to keep the Irish on their lands in order to ensure a steady income, there was little or no increase in the burden of rent on the native population. As undertakers became more familiar with the environment and more colonists arrived, either to compete for lands with the Irish or to form an intermediary sub-letting class of tenantry that further inflated prices, the bargaining position of the Irish was progressively weakened. Forced to renegotiate ever more onerous terms, some either became homeless or moved onto cheaper, marginal lands.<sup>93</sup>

There is some evidence that this rise in the price of land affected natives more severely than colonists. For a start, although it has often been observed that many English or Scottish undertakers, as well as the London companies, showed a preference for native tenants, this was only because the Irish, desperate to remain on their lands, were prepared to pay higher rents. This supplemental burden was essentially a premium paid to overcome the disadvantage resulting from the fact that colonist landlords were in fact more likely to favour their fellow countrymen, all else being equal. It was explicitly suggested by Thomas Phillips that the London companies were aware of this attachment to lands that went beyond their use-value, and exploited it to triple or even quadruple the rents they charged. Such was the effect of these extortionate rates on the Irish that by 1628, Phillips claimed that a:

man that had 100 cowes have scarce six left and those that were wont to howld a towne or two of themselves are now growen so miserably pore that 6 or 7 can scarce paye the Rent of one Towne.<sup>94</sup>

In the case of Knockninny, County Fermanagh, we can examine these rent increases by looking at the situation in the townlands listed above seven years after the 1624 survey (see Fig. 5.9). The average rise of 46% illustrated here took place over only seven years. Furthermore, an average townland rent of £7 represents more than a tripling of the estimated equivalent due to a Gaelic ruler. Some Irish, unable to sustain this increasing burden, dropped out of the tenant class altogether and adopted an itinerant existence, grazing their cattle in *caoraidheachta*. These mobile herds and their attendants sometimes existed in the vicinity of the colonists, as can be seen in the 1622 commissioners' observation

Tenant(s)	Townland(s) rented (modern names)	Rent total	Rent per townland (decimalised)	% change in rent since 1623	Other dues and notes
Phelim Dubh McBriar McRedmond	Aghakillymaud	£12	£12	+200%	'4 fatt unshorne muttons, 12 hennes, 8 days work.'
Cathal Maguire	Aghnacloy	£9	£9	0%	'4 fatt unshorne muttons, 12 hennes, 8 days work.'
Turlough McAloon, Eamonn Modartha McAloon	Carn	£5 10s	£5.50	-31.25%	
Shane [Campa?] O'Droma	Clonfane	£8 10s	£8.50	+6.25%	
Hugh McAloon	Corradovar	£8	£8	0%	'2 fatt hogges, 12 hennes, 8 able workmen, with horses.'
Redmond McAloon	Drumbrughas	£5 10s	£5.50	+37.5%	'2 fatt unshorne muttons, 6 hennes, 4 days work.'
Turlough McManus	Gortoral	£6 10s	£6.50	+62.5%	
Shane [Kenge?] and Phillip Maguire	Killyreagh	£5	£5	+25%	'2 fatt unshorne muttons, 12 hennes, 4 days work, with an able house and man, the kings rent and country charges.'
Philip McThomas Maguire	Kilnakelly	£8	£8	+14.28%	'4 fatt unshorne muttons, 12 hennes, 8 days work of an able man and house, the kings rent and country charges.'
Hugh McShane Boy Maguire	Leginn	£7	£7	+16.66%	'2 fatt unshorne muttons, 12 hennes, 4 days work, with an able house and man, the kings rent and country charges.'
Art Boy O'Gallion "and others"	Mullyneeny	£5	£5	+233.33%	'1 fatt hog, 12 hennes, 8 workmen.'
C? Modartha Maguire	Tonyvarnog	£4 10s	£4.5	-10%	'10s 2 fatt unshorne muttons, 12 hennes, 8 workmen.'
Average % change: +46.18%					

Fig. 5.9 Conditions of tenantry in Knockninny, Fermanagh in 1631

in Strabane that there were '7 or 8 Creats neare adioyning to the place where the castle and bawne is begunn' on the proportion of Shean.<sup>95</sup> The growing scarcity of land would explain the 1615 report that these herdsmen had taken to sneaking onto colonists' land at night and grazing their cows while the landowners were asleep.<sup>96</sup> Some drifted away from the more densely colonised areas to scrape out an existence on marginal lands which had once been inhabited only in the summer months. That this was seen as only fitting by the authorities can be seen in the list of mountainous townlands 'most fitt and convenient [...] to be graunted and lett to the inhabitants and meere natives of this countrey' appended to an inquisition condemning the letting of lands adjudged too valuable for them to inhabit.<sup>97</sup> To see the Irish living in such areas no doubt reinforced the colonists' belief, echoed centuries later by Estyn-Evans (above pp. 37–38), that this was their 'preferred environment'.

This state of affairs led some to adopt the lifestyle of the woodkerne, living by robbery and violence. Others took the more drastic step of seeking to flee the country altogether. It is unclear how numerous this itinerant component of the native population was in colonial Ulster. As Robert Hunter has observed, while they 'far exceeded the number of settlers', the nature of their existence was such that they remain 'as hidden as most of their sixteenth-century predecessors, for whom there is little clear impression of either their numbers or their social structure'.<sup>98</sup> While

these people may be practically invisible in the historical record, this does not mean that little had changed from their perspective. While the displacement of the landholding class in native society by colonists may, in one sense, be seen as a continuation of their displacement by the Gaelic ruling elite, this does not mean that the Irish saw it this way. It must once again be emphasised that the evidence available would suggest that in the minds of the native population, the colonists lacked the legitimacy which the native elite had possessed, and treatment which might be regarded as the ‘natural’ operation of a social hierarchy at the hands of native rulers was seen as oppressive when experienced at the hands of outsiders.

The landholding class has been described by Hiram Morgan as a ‘disaffected group which constituted the Achilles heel’ of Gaelic society.<sup>99</sup> This would appear to have been the government’s hope as well in an earlier period, when they attempted to turn the landholders against the elite by offering them secure title to their lands under the crown instead of Gaelic *tiarnaí*. Such were the vicissitudes of the Nine Years War, and the events which led to the Flight of the Earls, that the strategy was abandoned in favour of the wholesale introduction of colonists. As a consequence, the interests of the landholders were abandoned in favour of the remaining Gaelic elite. Notwithstanding the legitimacy attached to native elite figures such as Turlough McArt O’Neill (noted above), the landholders of Dungannon who were supplanted to make way for these ‘deserving Irish’ cannot have been any less pleased to be dispossessed than those in Strabane. In fact, the strategy of the English towards the native landholding class can be seen, in the Jacobean plantation, to have come full circle, back to the policy mooted in Henry VIII’s reign of getting the Irish ruling class to ‘connive at the reduction of local landholders to the status of tenants [...] in return for the confirmation of their own titles’.<sup>100</sup>

### THE LANDLESS IRISH

As mentioned at the start of this chapter, several factors appeared to point towards a favourable economic outlook for the class which, while producing most of its wealth, commanded the fewest resources in Gaelic society. The rise in rents noted above, and the growing competition for land which characterised plantation society, however, suggests that this window of opportunity closed rather quickly as the colony put down deeper roots. This applied as much to those who had never possessed lands as to those who had. Whatever advantage arose from a situation

whereby the landless Irish were able to assume ownership of the cattle of their former rulers who had either fled or been imprisoned was soon curtailed by the arrival of colonists who took possession of their lands. This is because, just as land was useless from a pastoralists' point of view without the cattle to graze on it, so were cattle economically unproductive without land to graze them on.

In the power vacuum that obtained around 1608–1609, it must indeed have appeared as if the subordinate classes of Gaelic society had been freed from their dependence on the traditional ruling elite. Whereas they had previously occupied the land but not the cattle to graze on it, for a brief period they possessed both cattle and land. Once the plantation was established, however, the native Irish in large areas of Ulster possessed the cattle, but not the land. The 1624 survey of natives living on colonists' lands in Armagh and Fermanagh contains numerous references to Irish servants and herdsmen whose wages consisted of grazing rights for their cows.<sup>101</sup> While the commodities exchanged differed, the economic transaction in principle was the same in both Gaelic and colonial Ulster: labour being exchanged in return for the leasing of the means (cattle/land) of producing sustenance.

There is a logic to the theory that the removal of the native elite would offer greater economic opportunities to the landless class of Irish, especially when it is considered that many of the colonial theorists and administrators who asserted this relied for their information on the Gaelic economic system primarily on commentators who portrayed the social order as one of unalloyed tyranny. It was claimed that Niall Garbh O'Donnell asserted ownership of the people as well as the lands traditionally ruled by the O'Donnells, implying that the subjects of a *tiarna* were slaves.<sup>102</sup> Fynes Moryson likewise claimed that the *tiarnaí* 'challenged right of Inheritance in their Tenants persons, as if by old Covenants they were borne slaves to till their grounde' and depicted them (not entirely inaccurately in the context of the Nine Years War) as imposing an arbitrary and unpredictable burden of tribute upon their people on 'occasions of spending' which were 'sometymes true, sometymes fayned'.<sup>103</sup>

The distinction between 'true' and 'fayned' occasions is interesting for what it implies about a perceived difference between the exactions levied by the Gaelic rulers in the form of commyns, tribute and hospitality, and those charged by the English government in the form of taxation and cess. While the latter were held to be acceptable because they were to be spent in the upkeep and defence of the public good, the former were

seen as being imposed for the private entertainment of the *tiarna* and his cronies. The distinction is, however, less clear-cut, firstly because a concept of public liability for public works *did* exist in the laws governing the exaction of tribute in Gaelic Ireland and secondly, because it is clear that taxes in the typical early modern European state were often *not* spent on works of public utility but used to finance private interests such as the maintenance of the elite's luxurious lifestyle.<sup>104</sup> The supply of the viceroy's household during the period of Sussex and Sidney's rule placed an enormous burden on the country, leading one commentator to remark that such exactions 'have done more harm to the country than ever the Irish did'.<sup>105</sup> It would be more accurate to say, therefore, that the distinction contemporaries made between 'rent' and 'black rent' was merely a subjective one between revenue flows which they found acceptable on the one hand and repugnant on the other: 'rent' enriched the government, 'black rent' did not. In reality, little more than the negative-sounding adjective 'black' distinguished them.

The notion that the landless Irish were slaves whose economic potential would be liberated by the removal of the Gaelic elite rested both upon an exaggeration of their perceived lack of freedom (see above pp. 165–166) and an illusory belief in the equality of opportunity in the market economy introduced to Ulster. Any economic opportunities this presented to the poorer Irish were largely nominal. Certainly, compared to a system in which tribute and services were established by custom, a market economy offered opportunities to those with capital and entrepreneurial know-how. Most of the Irish, however, lacked both these advantages. The economic decline of the 'deserving' grantees and their descendants will be examined in the next chapter. The fate of those who engaged in the colonial economy without starting capital or assets was largely preordained, given that participants in a market economy rarely start out as equals, and that the leverage enjoyed by one contender over another at the outset usually plays a decisive role in determining success or failure. The plantation, which was, after all, established primarily to offer economic opportunities to the undertakers, presented other disadvantages to the native population. Many of the possible benefits opened up to the Irish by the existence of markets in which to sell their produce were offset by the difficulty of accessing such markets. Philip Robinson has noted that while 90% of British-owned farms were within a five-mile radius of a market, Irish farms, 'occupying marginal lands', were often outside their effective range.<sup>106</sup>

Nor did colonisation eliminate all the features of the Gaelic economy which were felt to be so deleterious, such as the imposition of irregular and uncertain tribute as opposed to economic rent. It was noted in 1628 that undertakers were inclined to keep Irish tenants on their lands in preference to English and Scottish ones, because the Irish, being 'more servile', were prepared not only to pay higher rents but to 'give more custom', the kind of custom levied by their former rulers that the plantation was supposed to eradicate.<sup>107</sup> These former rulers, transformed in theory from warlords to landlords, continued to be denounced for oppressing their people within a colonial framework. In 1615, the typical Irish landlord was depicted as 'seated in the midest of his tenants like to a spider in a webb', using the priests' power of excommunication, not to mention their information-gathering services through the confessional, to control and oppress his tenants at will. Instead of using access to cattle, and the levying of *cóisir*, *buannacht* and *coinmheadh* as a means of exerting this control, Irish landlords allegedly utilised the very legal instruments which had been meant to bypass their power. The writer quoted here claimed that the manorial courts were exploited so that 'the subiect almost forgett that he hath a soveraigne, knowinge no law but of his landlords making'. The use of such courts to enforce the traditional demand for hospitality, for example, can be seen in the case of a tenant being fined 20 shillings 'for not enterteyning a gentlewoman that was his landlords kinswoman'.<sup>108</sup>

The imposition of English common law on the province had, of course, been vaunted as the cornerstone of a new dispensation in which all classes of native would enjoy equal status as subjects of the king. One of the 'excellent good effects' of its extension to Ireland would be (according to Davies) to teach the:

common people [...] that they were free subjects to the kings of England, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords: that the cuttings, cosheries, sessings, and other extortions of their lords were unlawful, and that they should not any more submit themselves thereunto, since they were now under the protection of so just and might a prince as both would and could protect them from all wrongs and oppressions.<sup>109</sup>

The reality of this new status as 'free subjects' fell far short of Davies' rhetoric. The new legal system in fact did little to guarantee non-elite Irish equal treatment before the law. Indeed, those charged with

executing the law were often the most flagrant in breaking it. From the very beginning of the colonial period in Ulster, the enforcement of common law was used as a pretext for exploiting the native population. It was reported that the fines levied for ploughing by the horse's tail in Tyrone, for example, went 'into pryvat mens purses and brings noe profit to the kings coffers'.<sup>110</sup> Those exacting such fines from the Irish in Farney, County Monaghan, were said in 1622 to be themselves deciding how much to charge, demanding hospitality and accommodation, as well as any of the inhabitants' possessions that took their fancy.<sup>111</sup>

The use of the law as an instrument for enriching those entrusted with its execution is nowhere better illustrated than in a scheme operating in Tyrone where any who refused to bribe the bailiffs to escape prosecution were summoned to trial, with those who refused to attend being summarily fined.<sup>112</sup> The fines levied on the native Irish who remained on undertakers' lands were, by 1622, being referred to as a 'tax', the proceeds of which served to 'inrich the purses of a fewe pryvat men'.<sup>113</sup> By such means, it was pointed out, not only were the native Irish being exploited, but the crown was being deprived of revenue. The stated intention of these fines, moreover, which was to induce the Irish to leave those lands earmarked for exclusive colonial habitation, was subverted, and the fines instead became an entrenched part of the revenue of a class who had little interest in seeing the articles of plantation complied with. In this way, the state undermined its own intentions when it farmed out such revenues.<sup>114</sup> By the 1620s, servitors whose pay was in arrears were being encouraged to take such arrears out of the goods forfeited by the Irish for infringements of English law.<sup>115</sup> While such expedients relieved pressure (in the short term) on a crown struggling to manage its finances, they effectively stymied any efforts to transform Ulster society. Far from removing the Irish to their designated areas, or transforming them in the image of their English or Scottish neighbours, their precarious legal situation in colonial society was turned into a source of revenue, a state of affairs which few on the ground had any interest in altering.

Another feature of this regime was the collective punishment of the population for transgressions against colonists. Among the complaints made by O'Neill before his flight was that Chichester had sent soldiers to seize goods as compensation from the entire population, some of whom had themselves been robbed by the same 'woodkerne' responsible for the robberies being punished. Some of these soldiers, it was added, wounded a man, and when the wounded man and his kin went to Derry

to complain to the governor, they were placed in the stocks as punishment for disarming the offending soldier. Soldiers ravaged the countryside, acting with impunity, demanding food and quarterage—ironically, exactly the kind of arbitrary exactions it had been promised that the introduction of the common law would eradicate. Sir Henry Folliot, it was claimed, stole 200 cows from O'Neill's tenants in 1604, causing the deaths of over 100 people from starvation.<sup>116</sup> Nor had things changed by 1622, when it was reported that:

oftentimes [...] men are casually robbed by the highwaie or theire cattell stollen by negligence, the poore inhabitants of the Irish natives that are honest poore husbandmen, are comelled by order of the judges of Assize or by the justice of the peace to paie for those robberies and thefts.<sup>117</sup>

It is extremely unlikely, therefore, that the Ulster Irish viewed English law as a qualitatively more impartial or egalitarian legal system. On the contrary, it would have appeared as a crude mechanism by which one interest group dominated another. This was analogous to the crown's use of the Campbell clan to subjugate western Scotland during the same period, where appeal to the law essentially meant appealing to 'Campbell justice'.<sup>118</sup> Just as there was little point in appealing to the Campbells to rectify injustices committed by them or their retainers, there was little point in appealing to the common law in Ulster to make amends for transgressions committed by its officers. That the Irish perceived the judicial process as little more than a kind of institutionalised violence is suggested by instances during the 1641 rising of judicially sanctioned violence being mimicked in the killing of colonists. Mock trials and executions parodied the claims of the common law to being somehow different to the settling of disputes by brute force. They illustrated that, dressed up with a few legalistic rituals, the insurgents' violence differed little from that perpetrated by the state. It is not surprising that the Irish viewed the operations of the common law with such derision. In a situation where its agents extorted 'almoste what they list from the Irishe inhabitants', those who resisted them were summarily accused of relieving woodkerne:

And under cullor of that accusation the provost marshall he seazes his goodes and imprisons the poore man. And so terrifies and threatens him betweenes him and his man, that be yt right or wronge, the poore wretche is to give them a p[ar]te of his goodes to lett him alone.<sup>119</sup>

It is interesting to note that, in this particular case, native Irish figures were themselves complicit with the colonial authorities in the intimidation and plundering of their fellow Irish. The provost marshals were said to ‘keape 10 or 12 or more of such as have been the most notorious kearne and theeffes themselves formerlie in all the countrey’.<sup>120</sup> This complicates the picture of a subject population being oppressed by a regime consisting exclusively of colonist personnel. Just as some ‘deserving Irish’ were awarded land in order to secure their co-operation, more modest material opportunities also existed for those Irish prepared to work as enforcers under the aegis of a colonial ruling class instead of a native one.<sup>121</sup> It is unclear to what extent the victims would have perceived a difference in exactions made under a Gaelic or colonial order. While Gaelic society had offered military figures some scope to demand food and lodging from the productive population, such demands were normally regulated by custom and the legitimating authority of the *tiarna*. The powerful persistence of conceptions of serving specific *sleachta* has already been alluded to. Even if both kinds of exaction were resented, it seems unlikely that the unpredictable and arbitrary exactions of colonial militias consisting of hired Irishmen would have been regarded with the same legitimacy as traditional ones.

It is clear that the Irish engaged with the colonists’ law to a degree, both as executors and as litigants. It has been argued, however, in Chap. 2 (p. 48) that the extent to which engagement implies acceptance, or even approval of the plantation, is limited. The same is true of native figures occupying positions in the colonial regime, whose motives would have been primarily opportunistic rather than political in nature. This is suggested, for example, by the fact that the 1641 depositions identify Gaelic Irish insurgents who had previously occupied a range of positions, from bailiffs and sheriffs, not to mention MPs such as Phelim Roe O’Neill.<sup>122</sup> Even before the breakdown of the colonial order in 1641, many Irish who occupied such offices were using their position to further interests directly contrary to the stated aims of the plantation. The collection of tithes claimed by Catholic clergy was facilitated by Irish sheriffs in County Down in the 1630s, for example, and funds were collected by the sheriff’s bailiffs in Fermanagh to send a delegation to advance the Catholic cause in London in 1613.<sup>123</sup> In this way, the Irish sometimes adopted the common law—just as they sometimes adopted English military techniques—in order to further their own agendas.

Some of the more shrewd observers sensed a profound resentment and anxiety in the native population as a result of the uneven and

arbitrary application of the law, and that an opportunity had been lost to win them over to the new order by applying the kind of blind, impartial justice heralded by Davies.<sup>124</sup> Francis Annesley, who reported on the state of the country in 1629, is worth quoting at length:

Provost marshalls who doe comonly use and imploy soldiours in their journeys doe exacte meate drinke lodging horsemeat and monye. And albeit theise abuses have ben often times complayned of by noblemen and oth-ers yet noe redres hath ben given in soe much as the poore people growe nowe afearede to complayne least the soldiours should use them the wors for theire complayninge and doe therefore rather give over theire farms then subiecte themselves to such oppressions as they are not able to beare and pay theire rents by which meanes greate dearth of corne hath ben in this Kingdome and is like to continue.<sup>125</sup>

The fact that the native Irish were abandoning their lands, and any attempt to adopt a sedentary lifestyle based on tillage, speaks to a profound lack of confidence, not only in the justice of the colonists, but in the very possibility of securing a sustainable place in colonial society in the future. Nicholas Pynnar pointed out as early as 1619 that the plantation had placed the Irish in such an insecure position that they had little incentive to sow crops on land from which they might be expelled at any moment.<sup>126</sup> The exactions of soldiers and ministers in south Monaghan were, in 1622, reportedly driving the native inhabitants to flee into the neighbouring counties of Louth and Meath.<sup>127</sup> One of the most profound indications of a society's stability is its confidence in the future. In this sense, the plantation undoubtedly increased, rather than decreased, the element of instability and uncertainty in the lives of the native Irish.

The short-term interests of those who put the plantation into execution subverted the professed intentions of those who planned and theorised it. From provost marshals who abused their positions of power, to Church of Ireland clergy who disdained preaching to the natives, and undertakers who exploited the vulnerability of native tenants—such groups found it far more congenial to maintain the subordinate position of the native Irish underclass inherited from the Gaelic elite than to create new social structures which might have offered the Irish opportunities for economic advancement through the adoption of English cultural and economic norms. The plantation project had claimed to provide such opportunities by permitting the Irish 'churls' to remain in selected areas (in white, Fig. 2.4), where, it was hoped, sheer proximity to the

colonists would bring about such acculturation. In an effort to balance these lofty aspirations with more pragmatic security considerations, the black areas in the map were to be cleared and populated exclusively with colonists. The fact that such strict segregation did not materialise in reality reflects both the pragmatic self-interest of the colonists and a disparity in views of the native Irish between planners, on the one hand, and those who put the plans into effect, on the other.

Planners such as Davies, Chichester and King James viewed the Irish as having been liberated from the tyranny of their former rulers by the recent war and subsequent Flight of the Earls; only the salutary example of industrious colonists was needed to complete the transformation. The way the colonists related to the Irish, however, appears to have had far more in common with the view promulgated by Thomas Smith in the 1570s. It has been observed by Nicholas Canny that Smith, in his Ards colony:

was totally abandoning the notion of the Old English that the native Irish were enslaved by their lords and were crying out for liberation. The Irish, in his view, were indeed living under tyranny but were not yet ready for liberation since they were at an earlier stage of cultural development—the stage at which the English had been when the Romans had arrived. They needed to be made bondsmen to enlightened lords who would instruct them in the ways of civil society.<sup>128</sup>

It might be expected that one of the most obvious lessons learned from the failure of Smith's project was that the natives were not as docile as he had believed. A similar attitude to the native population appears to have prevailed, however, among the colonists in Ulster after 1609.<sup>129</sup> Only with the perceived treachery of the 1641 rising did the attitude towards the Irish become one of widespread suspicion and mistrust. Prior to 1641, the evidence would suggest that most colonists viewed the non-landowning Irish with condescension rather than outright hostility—they were a class of people fit to occupy a place in colonial society as manual labourers rather than to be expelled.<sup>130</sup> Karen Kupperman has argued that the first colonists in Virginia made no fundamental distinction between the inferiority of the lower classes at home and the natives they encountered in America.<sup>131</sup> While an ethnic element, present in Ireland and America, was lacking in relations between gentry and lower classes in England, there is much supporting this view. Racial antipathy and the move towards segregation of native and newcomer only became the rule

after the events of 1641 in Ireland and 1622 in Virginia, confirming for many that the natives were unassimilable into colonial society.<sup>132</sup>

The idea that the natives in Ulster and America might be made to fit the role of docile peasantry proved particularly attractive in an era when the increasing commercialisation of agriculture in England was disrupting the traditional social hierarchy. Kupperman has noted that England was undertaking colonisation on a significant scale for the first time during a period of serious social dislocation at home:

Many people of all walks of life looked back nostalgically, and with a good deal of romanticism, to a settled past where everyone had had a place in society and money meant less than place.

‘Gentry or aristocratic colonial leaders’, Kupperman adds, ‘sometimes came to America looking for a chance to recreate such a society, organized semi-feudally around the lord of the manor’.<sup>133</sup> The rural squirearchy envisaged by the Ulster plantation project also had a distinctly feudal look to it. A society organised around manors held by the (even then outmoded) tenure of knight’s service appears to have been tailored to attract a gentry longing to escape the harsh economic realities of England and recreate some imagined feudal Arcadia, rather than a class of entrepreneurial capitalist farmers seeking to expand the early modern economy into the north of Ireland.<sup>134</sup> When Fynes Moryson wrote that the ‘manners and customs of the mere Irish give great liberty to all men’s lives, and absolute power to great men over the inferiors’, he was reflecting a belief that Irish conditions lent themselves to the kind of social hierarchy and deference that was felt to be disappearing in the metropolitan society.<sup>135</sup> Those who aspired to recreate such an imagined community were no doubt partly inspired by nostalgic images of simpler, more socially static times past.

Idealised visions of the ‘noble savage’ played a part too, but the proximity of the Irish made it more difficult to fit them into this conceptual mould. As Raymond Gillespie has remarked, ‘Irishmen who arrived in England in the 1620s were more likely to be deported under the vagrancy acts than marvelled at for their exoticism as was Pocahontas’.<sup>136</sup> Traces of a ‘noble savage’ conceit can nevertheless be discerned in images of the lower-class Irish as naturally deferential and obedient, such as Thomas Smith’s descriptions of the ‘the sweetness which the owners shall find in the Irish churl, giving excessively’.<sup>137</sup> Even a writer

as implacably hostile to the Irish as Edmund Spenser could wax lyrical about a pastoral Eden in Book 6 of the *Faerie Queene*, while furiously denouncing such a lifestyle in the real world in his prose work. While this romantic image may have faded somewhat in the years since Smith wrote, it appears that many colonists subscribed to a view of the Irish as ‘natural followers’, and sought to simply assume the place of the Gaelic aristocracy in Ulster, instead of effecting the economic and cultural transformation of the colonised areas. That some were attracted by the mirage of cheap land and cheap (deferential and obedient) labour is suggested by promoters’ attempts to disabuse such potential colonists of these notions. Thomas Blenerhasset’s attempt to deter ‘loyterers and lewd persons’, cited at the start of Chap. 2, is a case in point. William Alexander similarly urged caution to those who might read Edenic descriptions of the colonial environment too literally, warning that ‘there is no land where man can live without labour.’<sup>138</sup> The image of colonial society in County Down, as presented by William Montgomery in the late seventeenth century, would also suggest that colonists there, choosing to conceive of the area as a blank slate on which to build a new society, had looked to recreate some kind of idealised earlier society, less complicated and harsh than the one they had left behind:

Now every body minded their trades, and the plough, and the spade, building, and setting fruit trees, &c., in orchards and gardens, and by ditching in their grounds. The old women spun, and the young girls pleyed their nimble fingers at knitting and every body was innocently busy. Now the Golden peacable age renewed, no strife, contention, querulous lawyers, or Scottish or Irish feuds, between clanns and families, and surnames, disturbing the tranquillity of those times.<sup>139</sup>

Such an image might seem hopelessly romanticised, but east Ulster probably did suffer less from tensions between colonist and native, on account of the more extensive depopulation of that area at the time when colonisation commenced compared to other regions. In this sense, the idyll which Montgomery depicted had been founded upon the genocidal military strategy pursued by Essex and Chichester decades earlier, although by the time Montgomery was writing, enough time had passed to obscure the violence.

To the Ulster Irish at the time of the plantation, however, this violence must have been quite fresh in the memory. This fact appears to

have escaped many colonists, who viewed the Irish as naturally fitting the role of an underclass. This was because they were, it was believed, already habituated to abject servitude under Gaelic rulers. In the early seventeenth century, the belief was widespread in the highest official circles that the Irish (as Davies put it) ‘desire naturally to bee followers, & cannot live w[it]hout a maister’, and needed only to be provided with a ruling elite to replace the Gaelic one, whom they would follow as ‘willingly, & rest as well contented under their wings, as young fesants doo under the wings of an House-hen though shee bee not their naturall mother’. <sup>140</sup> Chichester, in his ‘Notes of Remembrance’, expressed similar sentiments:

Wee shall have noe greate cause to take care for the inferior natyves for they will all settele themselves, and theire dependency, upon the Bishops, undertakers, or the Irish landlords that shalbe established by his Ma[jes]ties gratious favor, for most of them are by nature enclyned rather to be followers and tennants to others then lords or freeholders of themselves. <sup>141</sup>

Such attitudes altered little in the decades before the 1641 rising. Wentworth, for example, writing in 1639, expressed his confidence that the tenants and freeholders of the Protestant Earl of Ormond would adopt the reformed faith, ‘it being most certaine that no people under the sunne are more apte to be of the same religion which their great lords as the Irish be’. <sup>142</sup> Even those who rounded on the Irish as irredeemably treacherous in the aftermath of the 1641 rising could not help feeling, as Temple did, that ‘a blind, ignorant, superstitious people’ could not have taken the initiative in such a matter and that it must have been conceived of and set afoot elsewhere (i.e. Rome), the natural order being for ‘the great ones mischievously to plot and contrive, the inferior sort tumultuously to rise-up and execute whatsoever they should command’. <sup>143</sup> The Irish were even reported to *sound* like a subordinate, defeated people; according to a number of visitors, their ‘querulous and whining’ tone of voice being conjectured by a Welsh visitor in Dublin to ‘proceeded from their often being subjugated by the English’. <sup>144</sup> Both Davies and Luke Gernon also commented on this ‘whining tone’, and remarked on it as being peculiar to the poorer Irish. <sup>145</sup>

It follows from this belief in a naturally subservient population that they were adjudged by the colonists to be fit only for unskilled work or their traditional agricultural occupations. At best, those Irish seeking to avail themselves of the new opportunities made available by colonisation

could aspire to domestic service. Even this was deemed to place the natives in a position of too great a proximity by some, who sought to introduce a ban on colonists retaining any Irish in their household. The same instructions, however, regarded as acceptable the employment of Irish for outdoor labour such as ploughing, ditching and digging, as long as the individuals in question were conformable in religion.<sup>146</sup> The issuing of such edicts ran directly counter to the avowed aspiration that the Irish would, by imitation, learn trades and manufacturing skills, and yet such segregation was also, as has been seen, just as much a part of the plan of plantation as integration. These two contradictory impulses co-existed and worked against each other throughout the period in question.

The employment of the Irish in a capacity other than unskilled labour or domestic servitude is not attested to in significant numbers. The evidence, indeed, would point to the contrary. After three decades of colonisation, only a limited number of native Irish had acquired the kind of skills it had been envisaged plantation society would offer. Audrey Horning has noted, for example, that only English and continental workers were employed on ironworks.<sup>147</sup> Numerous other examples emerge from the depositions of colonists kept prisoner because they possessed skills the insurgents themselves lacked; the fact that the Irish coveted not merely the property but also the skills of a gunsmith, weaver, miller, shoemaker or blacksmith suggests that they had not engaged in these occupations themselves to the extent that there were many Irish capable of taking over the role from the colonists they had killed or expelled.<sup>148</sup> While colonists may have been happy to employ native Irish on their lands as herdsmen and servants, skilled workers were almost always imported from England or Scotland. Even in cases where apprentices were to be trained in Ulster, regulations stipulated that underprivileged children be brought over from England for the purpose and explicit instructions were given that ‘the inhabitants shall not take praentliches of Irishe’.<sup>149</sup>

The notion that the native inhabitants might become a class of docile manual labourers serving the colonists reflects standard practice in seventeenth-century colonisation. In New England, as James Axtell has noted, ‘skilled trades for the Indians were seldom considered and, when they were, were quickly shunted aside for fear of providing unnecessary competition for colonial workers.’ Even those ‘praying Indians’ who had been given the rudiments of an English education were limited to ‘marginal home industries, such as the manufacture of brooms, pails, and baskets, berrying, and hunting and fishing for hire’.<sup>150</sup> In Virginia, it had

become clear to the Powhatan leadership by 1622 that the newcomers could not be assimilated into native culture, and that their vision for the country would include natives ‘only if they sacrificed their identity, their culture, and their souls’.<sup>151</sup> In the aftermath of the 1622 massacre in Virginia, Samuel Purchas’ policy for the Americans contended that:

servile natures be servily used; that future dangers be prevented by the extirpation of the more dangerous, and commodities also raised out of the servilenesse and serviceableness of the rest.<sup>152</sup>

Some limited education and assimilation of the natives was indeed attempted in all three of these Atlantic colonies—Ulster, New England and Virginia—but only to the extent that it might engender the desired transformation of them into a subject population akin to the peasantry at home, or rather, one that behaved as it was felt the peasantry at home *ought* to behave. Following such an education, largely designed to eliminate ‘primitive’ traits perceived as inimical to the interests of the colony, the natives tended, as Bernard Sheehan has observed in an American context, ‘to become disintegrated Indians rather than Englishmen’.<sup>153</sup> In Ulster—as in America—the period between the establishment of the plantation and the 1641 rising witnessed the attempted destruction of the structures of native society, rather than the physical destruction of the individuals that made up that society. This does not mean that the ranks of undertakers, servitors and company agents were completely devoid of figures who took to heart the civilising rhetoric of the plantation planners. They were, however, few and far between; as noted in Chap. 4, the fact that William Bedell in Cavan is so often offered as an example of such individuals indicates how exceptional he was.

The attitude of colonists towards native participation in the economy was characterised by pragmatism. This means that native Irish were accommodated within colonial society to the extent that this served colonists’ interests (a tendency which has been stressed in the recent literature), but also discouraged from participating in areas of the economy which the colonists wished to reserve to themselves. The attitude towards the Irish can best be encapsulated in the wish expressed by Chichester in 1609 that the undertakers should be restrained from marrying the Irish, but instead encouraged to intermarry within their own community, ‘to strengthen one another against the common enemy’.<sup>154</sup> While many colonists were prepared to countenance the involvement

and proximity of the Irish to a greater extent than the lord deputy, they did share a perception of the Irish as a common enemy and displayed, in their relations with them, a concern similar to that displayed in America, that the natives should not, by the acquisition of skills and trades from the colonists, become their competitors.

A general anxiety that Ireland, if made ‘civil’, might become a ‘more noisome and dangerous neighbour to England’ was described in 1583 as a ‘common objection’ among English administrators to developing the country.<sup>155</sup> This was widely believed among the Irish, who felt that the English wished to keep the country permanently at war and unsettled, lest (it was stated in 1579) ‘being cyvile her enemyes would be the stronger and so growe to her maesties greate detrymente’.<sup>156</sup> This strategy was based on the fear that the Irish might adapt forms of social organisation and technology from the English while rejecting the religious and political foundations of attachment and loyalty to the crown. If this were to happen, it would gift them the means to resist more effectively the very authority which sought to impose itself upon them. Referring to the court of wards, which had given an English education to numerous members of the Gaelic elite, but failed to make them Protestant, the Earl of Orrery remarked that ‘an English education, & an Irish religion, is much more dangerous then if both were Irish’.<sup>157</sup> Such a danger had been illustrated most vividly in Hugh O’Neill, who had used the knowledge of English military techniques gained during his upbringing in The Pale against the government.<sup>158</sup> Those who had experienced the enhanced effectiveness of the Irish forces in the Nine Years War were thereafter acutely conscious of the dangers posed by the Irish emulating their enemy. Fynes Moryson observed that at the start of the war, it took three Irish soldiers to fire a musket, ‘one had it laid on his shoulders, another aimed it at the mark, and a third gave fire, and that not without fear and trembling’, but that within a few years they had become completely proficient in the use of such weapons. The English should take their cue from the ancient Spartans, he mused, who:

made a law never to make long war with any of their neighbours, but after they had given them one or two foils for strengthening of their subjection, to give them peace, and lead their forces against some other, so keeping their men well trained, and their neighbours rude, in the feats of war.<sup>159</sup>

Colonists in America such as William Bradford likewise condemned those such as Thomas Morton who had traded European weapons with the

natives and taught them how to use them.<sup>160</sup> Such trading led the colony to attempt a ban on selling firearms to the Americans.<sup>161</sup>

Fears that the English were, at the very least, equivocal in their desire to develop Ireland economically proved well founded. This is clear from the correspondence of those at the highest level of government. Thomas Wentworth, for example, wrote in 1639 that if the Irish were allowed to manufacture their own woollen clothes—the manufacturing of clothing being vital to the English economy—then they might undersell English products on the market. Such manufacturing, Wentworth concluded, must be retarded, not only for economic reasons but for:

reason of state, [because] soe long as they did not indrape their owne wooles, they must of necessity fetch the clothings from us, and consequently in a sort depend upon us for their livelihood, and thereby become soe dependant upon this crowne as they could not depart from us, without nakedness to themselves and children.<sup>162</sup>

Later legislation (the Navigation Acts, for example) would suggest that this concern not to develop Ireland into an economic competitor to the ‘mother country’ continued to dictate economic policy into the eighteenth century and beyond.

In conclusion, to represent the plantation as offering the landless Irish significant economic opportunity not only overestimates the extent to which they were integrated into the colonial economy, but also the extent to which the whole economy was transformed, in the decades before 1641, from a reciprocal/redistributive one based on personal kinship and alliances to one based on the exchange of consumer goods. Perhaps most misleadingly, it assumes the sincerity of those who put the project into execution. When the practice of colonisation in Ulster is closely examined, it becomes clear that the economic transformation of the natives was low on the list of priorities for most participants. From its very inception, the primary objective of the project was the acquisition of land, which was to be distributed to a class of colonists who would make the province both governable and taxable. Many, indeed, saw the primary object of warring in Ireland not as a means of punishing traitors or ‘civilising’ the country, but as a means of acquiring land for themselves and their descendants.

The economic relations between native and newcomer described in this chapter would suggest that little changed in the social dynamics between ruler and ruled in the transition from Gaelic to colonial society beyond

terminology: *tiarnai* were exchanged for landlords, landholders became tenants, *ceitbearnaigh* became provost marshals. Aidan Clarke has pointed out that the economy of the province ‘was not dramatically transformed by the plantation’, and that there was no immediate changeover from pastoralism to arable farming.<sup>163</sup> Instead, a society of commercial agriculturalists sought to impose itself upon the base of pastoralists which had sustained Gaelic society, making little effort to transform this base, either culturally or economically. The sort of relations which emerged bore a superficial resemblance to those imagined by Thomas Smith when he planned his Ards colony. Far from expelling the Irish to the limited areas outlined in Fig. 2.4, many undertakers were eager to retain Irish tenants, bearing out predictions which Smith made, cited above (p. 193), if by ‘sweetness’ was meant a source of cheap labour and high rents. What Smith underestimated, and what colonists continued to underestimate, was the resentment of the natives towards this new ruling elite which sought to supplant the old one without the legitimacy afforded by longevity and tradition. This resentment became suddenly apparent in 1641, leading the Cavan clergyman George Creighton to conclude that the Irish had ‘covered soe great bitternes soe long a tyme in their harts’<sup>164</sup>

## NOTES

1. Hugh O’Hanratty, cited in Deposition of John Cox, 5 January 1642, TCD MS 835, f. 95r.
2. John McCavitt, ‘The Political Background to the Ulster Plantation,’ in *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising*, ed. Brian Mac Cuarta (Queen’s University, Institute of Irish Studies, 1993), 44. Canny, *Kingdom and colony*, 44.
3. John O’Dubhagain, *The topographical poems of John O’Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O’Huidhrin*, ed. John O’Donovan (Dublin: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1862), 30–31.
4. Such a displacement, probably at the hands of the dominant McMahons, is at least suggested by the absence of the name from the 1591 and 1607 allocations of land to the Monaghan Irish by the government. The 1591 division is in: *Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum cancellariae Hiberniae asservatarum, repertorium*, vol. 2: Ulster, ed. James Hardiman (Dublin: Printed by Grierson and Keene, 1829), xxi–xxxii. The 1607 division is in: ‘Division of the county Monaghan’, in *CSPI James I, 1606–1608*, 164–187.
5. As examples of the rapidity of this displacement, Nicholls has shown how the Maguires, whose reign as rulers in Fermanagh began in 1282, had

by 1607 come to possess at least three-quarters of the entire county. Such expansion is not surprising when we consider that Philip Maguire alone, who died in 1395, had at least two sons each by eight different mothers, and at least fifty grandsons. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 11–12.

6. Fynes Moryson complained that ‘the poorest of any great sept or name repute themselves gentlemen’. ‘The Itinerary,’ in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 283.
7. Their most illustrious representative from this period being Patrick O’Hanratty, who had studied in Bordeaux and was appointed vicar apostolic to Down and Connor in 1614.
8. Disdain of the Irish for *gaill*, or foreigners, is well attested. Richard Stanyhurst observed that ‘the Irishman standeth so much upon his gentilitie that he termeth anie one of the English sept, and planted in Ireland, Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, English churl: but if he be an Englishman born, then he nameth him, Bobdeagh Saxonnegh, that is, a Saxon churl: so that both are churls and he the only gentleman’, in ‘The Description of Ireland,’ in *Holinshed’s Chronicles*, vol. 6: Ireland, 67. Numerous depositions would suggest that three decades of colonisation did little to alter this perception. Armed children were reported by Nicholas Simpson to have taunted the colonists during the 1641 rising with cries of ‘bodagh sasanaghe’ (Saxon churl). Deposition of Nicholas Simpson, 6 April 1643, TCD MS 834, f. 184v.
9. ‘Examination of Teag Modder McGlone, taken before me Sir Toby Caulfeild’, 21 October 1613, SP 63-232 no. 21, 22, f. 137r.
10. Mac Cuarta, *Catholic revival*, 98.
11. John Davies to Salisbury, 24 September 1610, SP 63-229 no. 125a, f. 129v.
12. Karl Marx; S. W. Ryazanskaya (trans.), *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, first published 1859, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm>, accessed 13 April 2015.
13. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, ed. Frederick Engels, first published 1867, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch01.htm#34>, accessed 13 April 2015.
14. Deposition of George Creighton, 15 April 1643, TCD MS 833, f. 233r.
15. Deposition of Nicholas Simpson, 6 April 1643, TCD MS 838, ff. 182r–184r. Another deponent, Jane Cuthbertson, also recognised the O’Clearys as ‘Ould fosteres to the said Captane Hugh Rellie’. TCD MS 833, 3 February 1644, f. 243r.
16. Deposition of Margarett Dunbarr, 8 May 1653, TCD MS 838, f. 237r.

17. Deposition of William Watte, 12 November 1642, TCD MS 833, f. 200r.
18. Caball, 'Providence and Exile,' 174–188.
19. MacNeill observed that in the Gaelic social system 'the idea of the ownership of land is nowhere prominent'. MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland*, 111.
20. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 26.
21. Much of that which was understood as history by contemporaries was no doubt legend. As Dáibhí Ó Cróinín has remarked of the O'Neills' genealogy: 'There is more than a suspicion that what survives in the way of genealogical and pseudo-historical tradition about them has been doctored, if not concocted.' Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, 'Ireland, 400–800,' in *A New History of Ireland, volume 1: Prehistoric and early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 201. Whether or not such ancestries were based on historical fact or not is less important, in understanding modes of self-identification among the Irish, than the fact that they were believed to be true.
22. This broader meaning of the Irish 'Uí Néill' should be distinguished from the narrower sense conveyed by the anglicised form 'O'Neills', which is almost always understood to mean the descendants of Niall Glúndubh (d. 919), who dominated Tyrone from the thirteenth century onwards.
23. Seeking the crown's favour, this O'Neill of the Fews in Armagh stressed not only the services rendered by his father and grandfather in fighting against both Shane O'Neill and Conn Baccach, but also made pointed references to Turlough Luineach O'Neill's aspiration to be made 'The O'Neill' (which he reminded the reader was 'the title of a traitor') in order to sully the reputation of Turlough's son Art, with whom Owen competed for favours. SP 63-207-4, no. 22, f. 57r.
24. Spenser, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland,' 203. Barnaby Rich likewise remarked that 'the meanest Shackerell that hath scarce a mantle to wrap himselfe in hath as proud a mind as Oneal himselfe, when he sits upon a green banke under a bush in his greatest maiesty', in *A new description*, 9.
25. Neither land nor leadership was formally governed by principles of primogeniture in Gaelic society. While the extended family unit denoted by the term *dearbhfhine* could, in theory, provide the successor to a *tiarna*, by the sixteenth century it had become the normal practice for a son to succeed his father as ruler, certainly among the O'Neills and O'Donnells.
26. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 37–38.
27. Geoffrey Keating described Ulster as consisting of 36 'triochas' (an older term which he appears to use synonymously with *oireacht*), each

consisting of, on average, 30 *bailte biataigh*. It would be misleading to claim from this that the *oireacht* consisted of a uniform number of 28 *bailte biataigh*, but it gives a rough idea of their extent. Geoffrey Keating, *The history of Ireland*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. David Comyn (London: Irish Texts Society, 1902), 119.

28. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 40.
29. Hayes-McCoy, 'Gaelic society in Ireland,' 48.
30. Women, whose children would belong to their father's rather than mother's *sliocht*, could not inherit, although Nicholls has noted that they sometimes held land in pledge for a dowry, passed on to the male heirs when the woman in question was married. Nicholls, 'Gaelic society and economy,' in *A New History of Ireland, volume 2*, 433.
31. Nicholls, 'Gaelic society and economy,' 432.
32. Patrick Duffy, 'The territorial organisation of Gaelic landownership and its transformation in County Monaghan, 1591–1640,' *Irish Geography* 14 (1981): 8.
33. John Davies to Salisbury, 24 September 1610, SP 63-229, no. 125a, f. 128v.
34. These estimates of Nicholas Canny and Pádraig Lenihan are summarised in Appendix 1 of S. J. Connolly, *Contested island: Ireland 1460–1630* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 404–406. Thomas Blenerhasset claimed of the Irish that they 'encrease ten to one more then the English, nay I might well say twenty' in *A direction*, sig.B3v.
35. William F. T. Butler, *Confiscation in Irish history* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1918), 81.
36. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian sea*, 34.
37. Hayes McCoy has noted that some *bailte biataigh* were exempt from tribute when ruled by collateral branches of the ruling *sliocht*. It is tempting to see the practice, peculiar to Ulster, of only demanding tribute from the *lucht tighe* areas (which tended to be ruled by other families, e.g. in Tyrone: O'Hagans and O'Quinns) as being linked to this exemption. Hayes-McCoy, 'Gaelic society in Ireland,' 48.
38. Lord Deputy Sidney to the Earl of Leicester, 1 March 1566, S.P. 63-16 no. 35, f. 87r.
39. Moryson, 'Itinerary,' in *Shakespeare's Europe*, 194.
40. John Davies to Cecil, 19 April 1604, in SP 63-216, no. 15, f. 45r.
41. Nicholls, 'Gaelic society and economy,' 409. Patrick Duffy likewise notes a 'tendency for tenants and labourers to abandon oppressive and war-torn lordships' in Patrick J. Duffy, 'Social and spatial order in the MacMahon lordship of Airghialla,' in *Gaelic Ireland*, eds. Duffy, Edwards and FitzPatrick, 122.

42. Toby Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone's rents from his flight in 1607 till 1 November 1610, when the lands were given out to undertakers, 18 December 1610, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 533.
43. At the time of the Earls' flight, the rent paid for each cow was estimated to be 12d, paid not only in dairy produce but oats, pigs mutton and sometimes partly in money. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone's rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 533.
44. Instructions for the commissioners appointed to deal in matters of comynes, 28 August 1610, in *Calendar of the Carew manuscripts, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth*, vol. 5, 1600–1623, eds. J. S. Brewer and William Bullen (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1873), 58–59.
45. That the Irish continued into the 1640s to view military success in terms of successful cattle raids is evident in the *Cín Lae* of Turlough O'Mellan and by the deponent who spoke of the Irish celebrating the victories of Phelim Roe O'Neill in songs about vast numbers of cattle being slaughtered. Tarlach Ó Mealláin, 'Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,' in *Tyrone: history & society*, 345–346. Examination of Michaell Harrison, 11 February 1653, TCD MS 836, f. 132r.
46. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone's rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 533.
47. Lords of the council to Chichester (and enclosures following), in *CSPI James I, 1611–1614*, eds. C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (London: Longman & Co., 1877), 390–392.
48. Simms, 'Nomadry in medieval Ireland,' 383, 390.
49. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 131–132. Lord Deputy Sidney's description of destroying 24 square miles of crops near Clogher in 1566 confirms the 'no small abundance' of cultivation in Ulster. Henry Sidney, Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, Sir Nicholas Bagenal and Francis Agard to Queen Elizabeth, 12 November 1566, SP 63-19 no. 43, f. 86v.
50. Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster*, 34.
51. Jean M. Graham, 'Southwest Donegal in the seventeenth century,' *Irish Geography* 6:2 (1970): 141.
52. John Davies was most explicit in his depiction of a pastoral lifestyle as a consequence of barbarism. Letter to Salisbury concerning the state of Ireland, 1610, in *Historical tracts*, 287–290. This conception of a pastoral economy as primitive and uncongenial to 'civil' society appears to have been more deeply ingrained in the colonial psyche than merely a concern for economic productiveness. As noted above (p. 126), elite figures, contemplating colonies in both Ireland and America, felt an innate suspicion for any way of life that provided the means of sustenance with

too much ease. The excess energy, it was felt, inevitably ended up being spent in raiding cattle, fighting one another or, worse still, fighting the government. This energy, Spenser believed, would be dissipated by a sedentary agricultural lifestyle. Spenser, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland,' 216.

53. Figures for 2012 in *Statistical yearbook of Ireland, Central Statistics Office* (Dublin: The Stationery Office, 2013), 173.
54. Smyth, *Map-making*, 82–83.
55. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone's rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 539.
56. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone's rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 540.
57. A booke of the Kings lands founde upon the last generall survey within the province of Ulster anno le: 1608, MS. Rawlinson A. 237, printed in *Analecta Hibernica* 3 (1931): 157.
58. This branch of the O'Neills will be here referred to as the 'sliocht Art Oge', descendants of Art Oge (d. 1519), a brother of Conn Bacach O'Neill, 1st Earl of Tyrone. Confusion can easily arise between this group and the 'sliocht Art' of Omagh, who were descendants of an Art who died in the mid-fifteenth century and once dominated the Omagh area. Confusion is compounded by the fact that the *sliocht Art Oge* came to dominate the Omagh area in the sixteenth century and the *sliocht Art*, while remaining, became subordinate to the new ruling sept.
59. 'The service he was able to doe was not greate', Docwra wrote, 'but some use wee had of him.' Henry Docwra, 'A narration of the services done by the army ymployed to Lough-Foyle, under the leadinge of mee Sir Henry Docwra,' in *Celtic Miscellany*, ed. J. O'Donovan (Dublin: Celtic Society, 1849), 247.
60. Arthur Chichester, Certaine noates of Rememberance, September 1608, SP 63-225 no. 225, f. 112r. Lords of the council to Arthur Chichester, 30 April 1610, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 438–439.
61. See map and discussion of grantees in Dungannon in the chapter which follows.
62. Turlough received over 19,000 in reality, Niall 800 acres on paper, 4800 in reality, Brian, 370/3200. Estimates of actual sizes of grant have been made by adding together the acreage of modern-day townlands contained in the grant. Given that the boundaries of most townlands have remained static in the intervening centuries, this should give a reasonably accurate idea of the actual sizes of proportions and of the sometimes huge disparity between this figure and that officially cited on patents. The average size of townlands contained in a grant can additionally be used to gauge the quality of the land granted (see pp. 237–238).

*Calendar of the patent rolls of Ireland, James I* (Dublin, H.M.S.O., 1800), 272.

63. According to the *Ceart Uí Néill*, the family were obliged to provide The O'Neill with food if he spent the night in the vicinity. ‘Ceart Uí Néill: A Discussion and Translation of the Document,’ ed. Éamon Ó Doibhlin, *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 5, no. 2 (1970): 346.
64. This poem is in TCD MS 1291 f. 89v. Diarmuid Ó Doibhlin, ‘Tyrone’s Gaelic literary legacy,’ in *Tyrone: history & society*, 405.
65. Fiant no. 6489, in *Seventeenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland* (Dublin: Alex. Thom, 1885), 175. Grant to Cormock McNemee, *CPRI James I*, 192. Cormac died in 1627, leaving the land to his son Brian Oge, although by 1641 it has passed into the hands of an Irishman, Cormac McOwen O’Hagan (see below, p. 232 no. 16, Fig. 6.2), from whom it was confiscated during the 1650s. Tyrone, Charles I, no. 13, *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2 Ulster. Down Survey, PRONI D594/4/51; *The Civil Survey A.D. 1654–1656. Vol. 3, Counties of Donegal, Londonderry and Tyrone*, ed. Robert Simington (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1937), 282; NAI, Books of Survey and Distribution (hereafter BSD), vol. 7, f. 172v.
66. Simms, *Gaelic lordships*, 443, 626, 654.
67. Ó Doibhlin, ‘Ceart Uí Néill,’ 346.
68. *CPRI James I*, 192. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone’s rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 540. Charge of his majesty’s army and garrisons in pay for half a year from 1st April to 30th September 1610, 30 September 1610, SP 63-229 no. 128a, f. 154r.
69. He received a pardon in 1606 for whatever role he had played in fighting the government. *CPRI James I*, 88.
70. Lord deputy and council to the English privy council, 27 February 1626, SP 63-242, no. 244, f. 126r.
71. ‘Killdugan’, *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 257.
72. *CPRI James I*, 192.
73. Lords of the council to Arthur Chichester, 30 April 1610, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 439.
74. Henry Docwra to the Privy Council, 28 September 1601, SP 63-209, no. 109 ff. 277r–278r.
75. James may be one of the two named in the long list of McGilshenans appended to the pardon given to the leading members of *slíocht* Art Oge in 1601. Fiant no. 6489, in *Seventeenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland*, 174. He was succeeded by his son Art Modartha on his death in 1623 but Art sold his land soon afterwards to Francis Capron, an English settler. Tyrone, Charles I, no. 28, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2 Ulster. ‘Killchichan’, *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 257.

76. Derrygortrevy (Doire an Ghoirt Riabhaigh, meaning ‘wood of the striped field’) appears to have been granted to both O’Devine and Turlough McArt O’Neill. Grant to Jenkin O’Deven of ‘Dirigortenhugh’, 27 February 1611; grant to Tirlagh O’Neale of ‘Dirrigortenhugh otherwise Dirrigortlewy’, 9 December 1614, *CPRI James I*, 192, 272. It is unclear how the (by no means rare) error was dealt with, and in whose favour. The ‘Commission for decindinge differences in the plantation,’ which was established to resolve such issues, does not mention it. TCD MS 806, ff. 10v–29r.
77. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone’s rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 540.
78. ‘DIREGORTNE’, *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 282. O’Devine is recorded there as forfeiting another townland called ‘Shrew’, but it has been impossible to identify this with any certainty.
79. John Davies to Salisbury, 24 September 1610, SP 63-229 no. 125a, ff. 128r–128v.
80. Davies use of such legal pretexts is a clear example of what Hans Pawlisch referred to as ‘legal imperialism’. That expedience and pragmatism dictated actions, and not the consistent imposition of a body of law, is clear from the fact that only four years earlier, Davies himself had argued that the same class of natives ‘were not tenants at will, as the lords pretended, but freeholders, and had as good and large estate in their tenancies as the lords had in their seignories’. This, of course, was written at a time when the government was seeking to buttress this class of ‘freeholders’ as a means of weakening Hugh O’Neill, who was still suspected of pretensions to regional sovereignty. Davies to Salisbury, 12 November 1606, SP 63-219 no. 132, f. 174r. Accommodation was, given the strength of the government’s position in 1610, no longer necessary to such an extent that the native landholders needed to be encompassed. Which legal interpretation of the rights, in English law, of these Irish to possess their lands was actually correct is an unanswerable question, given that Ulster had hitherto been no more than nominally part of the realm ruled by the English kings, and that the rights of the Irish to hold their land were of course grounded in their own laws and customs. To ask whether or not the natives of Ulster had common law title to their land was as absurd as asking whether the natives of Virginia or New England had such a title. It lent a veneer of legal formality to the act of dispossession by brute force and, in this sense, can be compared to the Spanish *requerimiento*, which invited uncomprehending natives in America, on first contact, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Pope and Spanish monarch over their lands, on pain of being accounted a legitimate target for killing and enslavement.

81. John Davies to Salisbury, 24 September 1610, SP 63-229 no. 125a, f. 129r.
82. Davies observed that ‘the eyes of all the inhabitants of Ulster were turned upon this county of Cavan’. John Davies to Salisbury, 24 September 1610, SP 63-229 no. 125a, f. 129r.
83. A booke of the Kings lands, MS. Rawlinson A. 237, 156–158.
84. The corresponding figure in the 1607 settlement was 80 ballybetaghs between 335 owners, giving almost-identical averages of 4.2 and 4.18 owners per *baile biataigh*.
85. Numerous accounts testify to the existence of large numbers of these people living ‘upon their keeping’ on the outskirts of colonial society. By the 1620s, they were said to be growing more numerous and bolder. Francis Annesley to Edward Conway, 27 March 1624, SP 63-238-1 no. 31, f. 108v.
86. The second examination of Brian O’Hogan taken by direction of the right honorable the Lord Deputye, 2 March 1627, SP 63-244 no. 606, f. 145v.
87. This is based on the acreage, by modern measurements, of the thirteen townlands O’Devine rented, as attested to in the sources in Fig. 5.6. William Roulston, ‘The Ulster plantation in the manor of Dunnalong, 1610–70,’ in *Tyrone: history & society*, 277.
88. Relation by Audley Mervyn, 4 June 1642, in *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ed. John T. Gilbert (The Irish Archaeological and Celtic society. 1879), 474.
89. Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 141–142, 200.
90. As noted above, however, in times of war the burden could grow very heavy indeed. Robert Hunter has argued, for example, that the conditions in Cahir O’Doherty’s patent for Inishowen in 1605 were less onerous than the ones which had been demanded by The O’Donnell. It must, however, be noted that the (burdensome) tribute cited by Hunter was owed to Hugh Roe O’Donnell at the height of the Nine Years war, and so should not be compared to an economic rent owed to the crown in peacetime. Robert Hunter, ‘The end of O’Donnell power,’ in *Donegal: history and society, interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, eds. William Nolan, Liam Ronayne, Mairead Dunlevy (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1995), 231, 258, n. 19.
91. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone’s rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 532–536.
92. Robinson, ‘The Ulster Plantation and its impact on the settlement pattern of County Tyrone,’ 243.
93. This ‘second-phase sorting out process’ has been best described by Aiden Clarke in ‘The genesis of the Ulster rising of 1641,’ 37, and ‘The Plantations,’ in *Milestones*, 67.

94. The humble petecion of Sir Thomas Phillipps knight, June 1628, SP 63-271 no. 25, f. 50v. The calendar in question dates this document 'about May 1635', but Moody has concluded that it must be from June 1628. *CSPI 1647-1660*, ed. Robert Pentland Mahaffy (London: H.M.S.O., 1903), 208. Moody, *Londonderry Plantation*, 240.
95. Treadwell, 'The Survey of Armagh and Tyrone, 1622, part two,' 142.
96. E. S., A survey of the present estate of Ireland Anno 1615, HL Ellesmere MS 1746, ff. 12v-13r.
97. Tyrone, Charles I, no. 5, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2 Ulster.
98. Robert Hunter, 'Plantation in Donegal,' in *Donegal: history and society*, 309-310.
99. Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion*, 80-81.
100. Bradshaw, *Irish constitutional revolution*, 204.
101. SP 63-238-1, ff. 57r-83r, 139r-144r.
102. It should be noted, however, that we rely for this information exclusively on Henry Docwra's interpretation (no doubt through an actual interpreter) of O'Donnell's pretensions, and the claim in question may have as much to do with Docwra's preconceptions about the nature of Gaelic *tiarnas* as any demands made by O'Donnell. Docwra, 'A narration of the services done,' 249.
103. Moryson, 'Itinerary,' in *Shakespeare's Europe*, 196-197.
104. Simms, 'Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland,' 84. It is also worth noting, as D. B. Quinn has, 'how precise and uncasual' were the exactions of the Gaelic rulers, 'much more closely defined by Irish law and practice than English writers, who saw in them solely arbitrary exactions realised'. *Elizabethans*, 51.
105. Edward Walsh to Cecil, 23 August 1559, cited in Ciaran Brady, *The Chief Governors: the rise and fall of reform government in Tudor Ireland, 1536-1588* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 89. Brady gives some indication of the magnitude of this burden: 'In one year alone he [Sussex] ceded almost 35,000 pecks of grain, 700 beeves and 200 muttons for his own use. Sidney took over 740 pecks of grain and 3000 animals in the first months of 1567 alone. Between September 1568 and March 1569 his butcher slaughtered over 10,000 animals for his household's use. In the later 1570s Sidney made little attempt to curtail his demands: each year he took up over 2200 pecks of grain and 7500 beasts.' *Ibid.* 226.
106. Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster*, 166.
107. Discourse concerning the settlement of the natives in Ulster, 1628, printed in Hickson, *Ireland in the seventeenth century*, vol. 2, 327.
108. E. S., A survey of the present estate of Ireland Anno 1615, HL Ellesmere MS 1746, ff. 16r-16v, 17v-18v.

109. Davies, 'A discovery,' 212.
110. Some agreevances that the poore subiects in the countie of Tyrone undergoe, 1622, TCD MS 808, f. 47r.
111. Grievances, NLI 8014, vol. 10.
112. Some agreevances that the poore subiects in the countie of Tyrone undergoe, 1622, TCD MS 808, f. 49r. A similar scheme, with an ecclesiastical flavour, was being operated in the parish of Donaghmoyne, Monaghan, where the archdeacon's officers took money in exchange for not presenting parishioners in the archdeacon's court. The grevances of the inhabitants of Donnamanie in Farny, 1622, NLI 8014, vol. 10.
113. Some agreevances that the poore subiects in the countie of Tyrone undergoe, 1622, TCD MS 808, f. 49r.
114. In 1619, for example, one Edward Wray was granted for the following seven years the aforementioned fines for a yearly rent of £100. 6 April 1619, in *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 244.
115. Report of the Irish commissioners on the case of Henry Smith, 23 June 1626, SP 63-242 no. 359, f. 357r.
116. Articles exibited by the earl of Tirone, 1607, SP 63-222 no. 201, f. 318r.
117. Some agreevances that the poore subiects in the countie of Tyrone undergoe, 1622, TCD MS 808, f. 50r.
118. MacGregor, 'Civilising Gaelic Scotland,' 44–45.
119. Some agreevances that the poore subiects in the countie of Tyrone undergoe, 1622, TCD MS 808, f. 49r. It was reported by the commissioners in the same year in Monaghan that those who dared complain of such treatment simply invited greater extortion as a consequence. One Patrick McCraven was fined 7s for ploughing in the Irish manner in 1621 and, having complained of this at the general sessions, found the fine increased to 10s the following year. Grievances, NLI 8014, vol. 10.
120. Some agreevances that the poore subiects in the countie of Tyrone undergoe, 1622, TCD MS 808, f. 49r.
121. Many of those cited as extorting money, hospitality and personal possessions from the tenants of Farney, County Monaghan, in 1622, bear Irish names; they were often working under the supervision of individuals with English surnames. In many cases, McMahons are found taking part in the spoilation of their fellow McMahons. NLI 8014, vol. 10 (no foliation).
122. Donogh McManus (Deposition of Thomas Manton, 22 May 1642, TCD MS 835, f. 211r) and Turlough Oge Maguire, bailiff to the sheriff Redmond 'McCosker' (Deposition of Sara Ranson, 22 August 1642, TCD MS 835, f. 217r) can both be found in the Fermanagh depositions, for example.
123. Mac Cuarta, *Catholic revival*, 86, 121.

124. A continuing association between English law and the arbitrary exercise of power would damage the claims of the colonial regime to legal legitimacy in the minds of many Irish for centuries to come. These attitudes are reflected in the observations of de Tocqueville in the 1830s, that the poorer class of Irish were 'treated as a conquered one by the landowners', and that they had 'not the slightest confidence in justice', believing 'themselves to be somehow outside the law'. This impression was confirmed when the French visitor was told by the Secretary of the Poor Law Commission that 'in Ireland almost all justice is extra-legal' and 'the jury system is almost impracticable'. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1958), 119, 132–133.

125. Francis Annesley, The present state and condicion of the Realme of Ireland worthy of speedy and serious consideracon, 21 March 1629, SP 63-248 no. 45, f. 139v. It is curious to note, incidentally, that the rather gloomy ending of Annesley's report, 'as things nowe stand the success may be feared' (f. 141r) is transformed to 'all may yet be well' in the calendar entry, in the printed calendar of the state papers. *CSPI Charles I, 1625–1632*, ed. Robert Pentland Mahaffy (London: H.M.S.O., 1900), 442.

126. Captain Nicholas Pynnar to the Lord Deputy and Council, 28 March 1619, in *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 387.

127. Grievances, NLI 8014, vol. 10 (no foliation).

128. Canny, 'Ideology of English Colonization,' 589.

129. The sentiments expressed by the author of a tract in 1618 ('There is no doubt but a great number of husbandmen, which the country calleth churls, will come and offer to live under them [the Ironmongers' company] and farme the groundes both such as are of the country birth and others, both of the wild Irish and the English pale') are almost identical with the belief expressed by Smith more than forty years earlier. Indeed, it may be suspected that the passage was copied from Smith, given that the wording is almost identical as well: 'There is no doubt but ther will great numbers of the Husbandmen which they call Churles, came and offer to live under us, & to ferme our grounds: both such as are of the Cuntry birth, and others, bothe out of the wilde Irishe and the Englyshe pale.' The Particular Discription of the Countrie and State of Ireland, 1618, BL Additional MS 4780 f. 69v. Smith, *A Letter sent by I. B., sig.D3v*.

130. Administrators who viewed Ulster at a greater distance from those on the ground were often less sanguine, especially those, such as Chichester, with fresh memories of the Nine Years War. Others like Falkland and Blundell continued to warn, into the 1620s, of the

potential dangers of planting colonies too sparsely amidst the Irish. Falkland wrote in 1627, for example, that 'the Brittons of that province [Ulster] are manie but too confident, careless, il armed and not trained.' Falkland to Conway, SP 63-245, no. 883, f. 298v.

131. Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 2–5.
132. In the 1650s, for example, Richard Lawrence advocated the separation of natives from newcomers. Even those Irish who had converted to Protestantism would require the testimony of two justices of the peace and two ministers of the Protestant Church to prove their fitness to live among the colonists. Richard Lawrence, *The interest of England in the Irish transplantation, stated* (London, 1655), 16.
133. Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 9.
134. It should, however, be noted that this relatively onerous form of tenure was later converted to free and common socage in response to complaints by potential undertakers. T.W. Moody, 'The revised articles of the Ulster Plantation, 1610,' *Historical Research* 12, no. 36 (1935): 181.
135. Moryson, 'The Itinerary,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 310.
136. Gillespie, 'The Problems of Plantations,' 60.
137. Smith, *A Letter sent by I. B.*, sig. D4r.
138. Alexander, *An encouragement*, 27.
139. Montgomery and Hill, *Montgomery manuscripts*, 66.
140. Davies to Salisbury, 24 September 1610, SP 63-229, no. 125a, f. 129v.
141. Arthur Chichester, Certaine noates of Rememberance, September 1608, SP 63-225 no. 225, f. 114r.
142. Thomas Wentworth to Christopher Wandesford, 1639, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Carte MS 1, f. 127v.
143. Temple, *The Irish rebellion*, 63.
144. Letter 'to the R.H. the E.R.', 9 August 1630, James Howell, *Familiar letters: or, Epistolae Ho-Elianae* (London: J. M. Dent, 1903), 205.
145. 'All the common people have a whining tone, or accent, in their speech, as if they did still smart or suffer some oppression.' Davies, 'A discov-  
ery,' 142. 'They speach hath been accused to be a whynning language, but that is among the beggars.' Gernon, 'Discourse of Ireland, 1620,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 356. Richard Stanyhurst confined such comments to his discussion of the Irish women speaking English in The Pale: 'Women have in their English toong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with uttering their words so peevishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset.' (posset: a medicinal drink of hot milk mixed with beer or wine and laced with sugar and spices). Stanyhurst, 'The Description of Ireland,' 4.

146. The cerifacat touching the undertakers of Ulsters lands, 23 February, 1621, SP 63-236 no. 4a, f. 19r.
147. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian sea*, 333.
148. For example, the gunsmith Thomas Smith from Belturbet; Deposition of Thomas Smith and Joane Killin, 8 February 1644, TCD MS 833, f. 265r. It was additionally believed that George Wirral knew how to make gunpowder, although Wirral himself denied it, claiming only to have worked as a clerk for a 'Saltpeter master in London'. Deposition of George Wirral, 18 July 1642, TCD MS 835, f. 231r. The husband of Audrey Carington was encouraged to return to his occupation as a weaver by the insurgents in Clankelly, Fermanagh. Deposition of Audrey Carington, 27 October 1645, TCD MS 833, f. 282r. Thomas Dixon from Armagh claimed he had been spared by Phelim O'Neill (and promised exemption from rent during the war) if he would keep his mill running. He also reported that O'Neill attempted (in vain) to save an English surveyor named Thomas Cleever. Examination of Thomas Dixon, 26 February 1653, TCD MS 836, ff. 194r-119v. Richard Miles from Lisburn was kept alive by the insurgents 'in regard he was a Shoemaker & Serviceable for them'. Examination of Richard Miles, 3 March 1653, TCD MS 836 f. 214r. Blacksmith Edmond Knowles from Lissan (near Cookstown) was kept prisoner and 'forced by Neile oge ó Quin to worke in his trade'. Examination of Edmond Knowles, 25 March 1653, TCD MS 839 f. 66r.
149. A precept receaved [...] from the governor and committees of the Irishe plantation, 2 March 1617, LMA, Guildhall Library MS 17278-1, ff. 118r-118v.
150. Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, 65.
151. Matthew Kruer, *Red Albion: Genocide and English Colonialism, 1622-1646* (MA thesis, University of Oregon, 2009), 65.
152. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimes*, part 2, book 9, chapter 20 (London, 1625), 1819.
153. Bernard W. Sheehan, *Savagism and civility: Indians and Englishmen in colonial Virginia* (Cambridge University Press, 1980), 181.
154. Arthur Chichester, Certaine consideracons touchinge the plantation of the kings escheated lands in Ulster, 27 January 1610, SP 63-228 no. 15, f. 35v.
155. A discourse for the reformation of Ireland, 1583, in *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth*, vol. 2 (1575-1588), eds. William Bullen and John S. Brewer, (London: Longmans, 1868), 370.
156. The efficiente and accidentall impediments of the civilitie of Irelande, 1579, SP 63-70, no. 82, f. 204v.

157. The earl of Orrery to secretary Edward Nicholas, 7 September 1661, SP 63-307-2 no. 200, f. 71v.
158. O'Neill's soldiers were described in 1596 as 'cannyballs' who had learned to use muskets, pikes and other weaponry 'which these traitors were not accustomed to have in this measure'. John Dowdall to Burghley, 9 March 1596, SP 63-187 no. 19, f. 32v.
159. Moryson, 'The Itinerary,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 286.
160. William Bradford, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, 1606–1646, ed. William T. Davis (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 238–239.
161. Charles Francis Adams Jr., 'Morton of Merrymount,' in Morton, *New English Canaan*, 20–22.
162. Thomas Wentworth to Christopher Wandesford, 1639, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Carte MS 1, f. 128v–129r.
163. Clarke, 'The Plantations,' 66. There has, however, been some disagreement about the extent of this transformation. Raymond Gillespie writes of 'the replacement of a Gaelic lordship economy by an English-style market economy' in this period, whereas Nicholas Canny has come to a similar conclusion as Clarke, namely that the notion of a 'dramatic transformation in every aspect of life' is a 'myth'. Gillespie, 'Explorers, Exploiters and Entrepreneurs,' 136; Nicholas Canny, 'Migration and Opportunity: Britain, Ireland and the New World,' *Irish Economic and Social History* 12 (1985): 27; Raymond Gillespie, 'Migration and Opportunity: a comment,' *Irish Economic and Social History* 13 (1985): 90–95 and Canny's reply to this critique, 98.
164. Deposition of George Creighton, 15 April 1643, TCD MS 833, f. 235r.

## The ‘Deserving Irish’

[N]ever were subiects purchased with soe much expense and bludd, and  
keep with soe little profit.<sup>1</sup>

Some preliminary discussion has already taken place regarding that class categorised by historians as the ‘deserving Irish’, in the previous chapter’s examination of the relocation from Strabane to Dungannon of Turlough McArt and his followers. Dungannon was earmarked by the plantation planners as the locale for the resettlement of native Irish grantees from all over central Ulster. These areas, reserved for natives to share with servitors, amounted to roughly a quarter of the escheated territory. Considerations of space dictate that a detailed analysis of the native grantees’ fate in each of these areas is impossible here. In this chapter, therefore, the focus will remain on Dungannon (with the addition of the small barony of Tiranny) as a case study, bearing in mind that, while this area can be seen as representative of the native/servitor precincts in many ways, there was an element of local variation in the execution of the plantation project in different areas. Where appropriate, attention will be drawn to those respects in which the more general native experience of plantation deviated from the example of Dungannon and Tiranny.

Before this class is examined in detail, however, the term ‘deserving Irish’ requires further examination. Its frequent use in secondary sources to describe the class of native grantees seems to imply that it was used at the time of the plantation. This does not, however, appear to have been

the case. The phrase hardly occurs in primary sources from the seventeenth century nor is it used with any regularity in histories written about the period until the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> What appears to have happened is that the adjective ‘deserving’, employed until the nineteenth century to describe both native and non-native grantees, came to be increasingly used with reference to the Irish grantees alone.<sup>3</sup> This is not surprising given that the granting of land to the native Irish was, under the circumstances, in greater need of explanation. Frequent usage in this context led to the formulation of the stock phrase ‘deserving Irish’, to the point that it has been presented as if taken from contemporaneous usage. In *A New History of Ireland*, for example, it is presented in inverted commas, suggesting it was a categorisation, like ‘mere Irish’ or ‘wild Irish’, used at the time.<sup>4</sup> Such usage has further reinforced the idea that this was indeed the case—some recent secondary works explicitly claim that this is what the English called the Irish grantees.<sup>5</sup>

This in turn has led to the common assumption that the phrase denoted a favoured class of beneficiaries who ‘were not the dispossessed Irish’, and had been ‘allowed to benefit from the plantation’.<sup>6</sup> While this may well be how Irish plantation grantees were seen by colonial planners, it does not do justice to the complexity of their situation or reflect how they themselves viewed their fate. The notion of a class of ‘deserving’ natives, treated favourably because they were allowed to retain lands (in most cases far less than the amount they previously possessed) is a historian’s construct, unduly skewed to reflect the perspective of one side in the conflict of interests represented by the plantation. Indeed, the idea that the natives were unambiguously pleased with this dispensation itself elides this conflict of interests. In this sense, the term ‘deserving Irish’ is problematic and has been placed throughout this work within inverted commas to draw attention to this.

Another simplification which the term tends to reinforce is that the English government regarded as deserving of favour those Irish who had been loyal to them in the preceding period of conflict with Hugh O’Neill and his allies. In fact, loyalty was no guarantee of favour. The considerations which the government were attempting to balance in their choice of native grantees proved to be more complicated than simply a case of rewarding loyal natives. We can, in fact, learn a great deal about what the government was hoping to achieve, by examining the fate of a number of *tiarnaí* who, in their service to the English, appeared to possess all the qualifications for ‘deserving’ status, but whom the

government in fact took decisive measures to exclude from the plantation arrangements. Certainly, in some cases, the potential ability of an individual to mobilise their followers if they became disaffected towards the colony could weigh positively in the balance. In some cases, this dictated the granting of lands to Irish who might not otherwise have qualified. The uncles of Phelim Roe O'Neill who were granted lands, for example, should not technically have been entitled to any part of Phelim's inheritance under the principle of primogeniture, which the plantation was ostensibly meant to enforce.<sup>7</sup>

The government also made allowance for minor figures from traditional leading families who might otherwise have proved a potential focus for resistance. Successive lord deputies provided an education and pension to Conn McCafarr O'Donnell in Donegal (a nephew of the exiled Earl of Tyrconnell) because they took into account, as Falkland wrote in 1625, 'the greatnes of his blood, and how quickly hee may make himself eminent by a multitude of dependancies, if the tymes shall happen to bee stirring'.<sup>8</sup> Figures such as O'Donnell, however, were minor enough to be deemed assimilable into the colonial settlement of the province. In other cases, while their stature among the Irish had previously recommended them as useful allies, after 1608, the most powerful Gaelic *tiarnaí* who remained were suddenly objects of suspicion for precisely the same reason. Cahir O'Doherty, Niall Garbh O'Donnell and Donall O'Cahan all found themselves standing in the way of more grandiose plans for Ulster than merely the domination of the province through sheriffs and provost marshals.

### THE 'UNDESERVING IRISH'

That the authorities deemed it expedient to dispose of these former allies is evident. Chichester had outlined such a strategy of alliance and subsequent betrayal with relation to Donall O'Cahan when he wrote in 1602 that it would be:

profetable to temporize w[it]h [O'Cahan] untyll the greatest worke [the overthrow of O'Neill] be done, after w[hic]h these pettie lordes wylbe dealt w[ith]all att pleasure.<sup>9</sup>

The case of Cahir O'Doherty is a less clear-cut example of this kind of strategy. Assisted by the English to the leadership of the O'Dohertys,

the ruling sept of Inishowen, on the death of his father in 1601, Cahir seemed well-placed at the end of the war to benefit from his alliance with Henry Docwra and to break free of his family's traditional dependence on the O'Donnells. While there seems to have been a genuine rapport between the young O'Doherty and Docwra, when the latter was replaced as governor of Derry by George Pawlett in 1606, O'Doherty's position deteriorated rapidly. Pawlett belonged to a class of servitors who felt no obligation to honour agreements made with Irish allies, and in the subsequent period of tension between him and O'Doherty, the latter sought to portray himself as a loyal servant of the crown stymied by local officials who, he claimed, 'wold rather geit a litle to themselfe then to advance the kings searvis'.<sup>10</sup> On the eve of taking up arms, O'Doherty was still striving to advance his interests by co-operation with the government.<sup>11</sup> Like Brian McPhelim O'Neill in Clandeboye, he sought to secure for himself favourable terms in a colonial Ulster by serving the English and took up arms only on perceiving that this avenue had been closed off to him by Pawlett, who first attempted to seize his house and turn his wife (a daughter of the Viscount Gormanston) against him, and followed this up with the decisive insult—physically striking O'Doherty and leaving him with little choice but to defend his honour. The rising achieved little beyond personal revenge on Pawlett, and led to O'Doherty's death in battle at Kilmacrennan in July 1608, aged twenty-one.

It is debatable whether O'Doherty would have fared much better if he had held his nerve and refrained from attacking Derry in April 1608. Like O'Donnell and O'Cahan, it seems likely that he would have found himself languishing for years in prison no matter what his conduct, especially since Inishowen was coveted by Chichester, for whose benefit the area was excluded from the plantation project. It is not difficult to see why O'Doherty's rising did not attract widespread support among the rump of the Gaelic elite. In the aftermath of the flight, Gaelic Ulster was split in its disposition towards armed resistance to the encroaching English state. Chichester noted that:

such as are well affected or welthie and att their ease, are fearfull of warr, and much perplexed how to prevent or evade the future danger of their persons, and the losse of their goodes; [?] the idle and laise men, whereof the number farr exceed the former, do hope for stirres and alteracon, and so speciallie desire it.<sup>12</sup>

While the latter group constituted the majority of the native population, the elite had little to gain from taking up arms against a government which clearly had the upper hand militarily. Certainly, the doubtful chances of insurrection can have held few attractions for either Niall Garbh O'Donnell or Donall Ballach O'Cahan. O'Donnell, whose career up to that point had been dominated by a sense of having been deprived of his rightful position of leadership in Tyrconnell, had good reasons for believing that his efforts in the service of the crown were finally about to bear fruit.<sup>13</sup> He also had every reason to proceed with caution, however, given that he had been disappointed before in his hopes for preferment. In the aftermath of the Nine Years War, after his rivals within the O'Donnell *sliocht* had been defeated, Niall Garbh, instead of being rewarded for his assistance to Docwra, was regarded as a decidedly inconvenient presence. Hugh Roe O'Donnell's brother, Rory, was, therefore, given lands and the earldom of Tyrconnell, perceiving 'howe notable an instrument he may be made to bridle the Insolencie of Sir Neale Garvagh (w[hi]ch is growen intollerable)'.<sup>14</sup>

Niall Garbh, clearly failing to recognise the changed circumstances, had himself inaugurated as The O'Donnell and rode into Derry, confronting Docwra with his new title and offering to let bygones be bygones as if he spoke from a position of strength. Following Niall Garbh's arrest and escape, the reaction of the lord deputy is perhaps more significant than any other detail of the story. Mountjoy wrote that 'this accident falls nott out ill for the kinges servis, for he would never be made honest', clearly indicating that the authorities were looking for a pretext to remove Niall Garbh from the scene or at least clip his wings substantially.<sup>15</sup> Recapture seems to have chastened him at this juncture, for he managed to secure his release and accepted a more modest portion of lands around Castlefinn, 'which he possessed when he lived under and in amity with Hugh Rufus O'Donell'.<sup>16</sup> Such a restoration of the pre-war situation was surely bitter recompense, however, for his support of the English and all the sacrifices this had entailed.<sup>17</sup>

By 1607, Niall Garbh was again attempting to ingratiate himself with the government by helping to subdue the kind of minor notables who would be rewarded in the plantation. Once again, he appears to have been unaware of the nature of the calculations which determined that he would never be deemed deserving of a place in colonial Ulster. Chichester reflected on his service at this time:

If I can satisfie these younge men w[it]h a reasonable portion of lande, they maye be preserved to good purpose to swaye the greatnes of others in those parts.<sup>18</sup>

It is clear from the context that Niall Garbh was among those who, aspiring to greatness, would not be satisfied with a ‘reasonable portion’, and as such were a far bigger source of concern to the authorities, notwithstanding all their efforts to make themselves useful.

O’Doherty’s rising provided the context in which Niall Garbh was disposed of. This was a period in which he had every reason to hope for reward and little reason to embroil himself in a hopeless attack on the English at Derry. His involvement in the plotting of the rising, as alleged by the government, would appear inexplicable. Some historians have, however, given this theory credence, suggesting that Niall Garbh encouraged O’Doherty to take up arms in the hope of being rewarded for helping to quell it.<sup>19</sup> While such scheming is conceivable, and certainly in character, it must be stressed that absolutely no concrete evidence for such a stratagem exists. The neatness of this explanation is, moreover, problematised by the question of why he did not offer more immediate and enthusiastic support for the government’s forces when they arrived in the area, if this had been his intention from the start. The most likely explanation for this is that Niall was, as ever, playing his own game—withholding assistance in the hope that the government would grow desperate enough to grant him the coveted earldom of Tyrconnell in return for it.<sup>20</sup> This was, it would transpire, a foolhardy and costly gamble.

A number of local adversaries were compelled by the English to testify to Niall Garbh’s involvement in the rising, although much of this must be open to suspicion as coming from individuals who had every reason to corroborate any trumped up charge that would assist in getting him out of their way.<sup>21</sup> What is less relevant here than the question of his guilt or otherwise is the government’s determination to use the uncertainty surrounding his loyalty to have him removed from the scene. His (at most, indirect) support for O’Doherty would seem, under the circumstances, insufficient as an explanation for the abortive trial and years of imprisonment which followed. His lack of zeal in prosecuting O’Doherty was deliberately construed as treasonous, but in this he was no more disloyal or loyal than many of those who would subsequently be regarded with favour. The government could have used evidence of

the complicity of others in O'Doherty's rising to have them imprisoned, but chose not to. Several individuals attested to the involvement of Brian Crosach O'Neill in the plot (see below pp. 252–256), and yet he came to be rewarded with lands in the plantation. Certainly, the evidence implicating him was flimsy, and yet it would be on equally flimsy grounds that Donall O'Cahan was locked up indefinitely.

What this in fact reveals is that, from the English perspective, there were two kinds of native allies. Niall Garbh belonged to the category described by Mountjoy in 1600 as 'rebeles of the most stirring sorte thatt would make good rodds to scourge these traytors and after to be throwen into the fyer themselves'.<sup>22</sup> The authorities' (quite likely correct) conviction that he would never be truly reconciled to life as a land-owner in County Donegal, as opposed to a sovereign in Tyrconnell, meant that Niall Garbh was destined to be thrown into the fire after he had served his purpose. It is this Mountjoy had meant when he said that Niall Garbh 'would never be made honest' and expressed satisfaction at developments which would allow the state to renege on its promises to him.<sup>23</sup> John Davies was quite candid about this strategy of manipulating the judicial process to remove former allies who were of too great a stature to integrate easily into colonial society. Having failed to secure a guilty verdict, his comment that O'Donnell 'must bee kept in prison till the colonies of English and Scottish bee planted in Tirconnell' strongly suggests that this was the object of his prosecution rather than any real belief that he had collaborated with O'Doherty.<sup>24</sup>

The difficulty which the state had in prosecuting Niall Garbh O'Donnell also led to the abandonment of its case against Donall O'Cahan. The grounds on which O'Cahan had been accused of complicity with O'Doherty were even flimsier. That Davies and Chichester knew this is palpable in their letters.<sup>25</sup> The events that led up to his arrest and imprisonment have, with hindsight, a kind of inevitable monotony to them. Donall Ballach ('the freckled') O'Cahan had been Hugh O'Neill's most powerful *uirri*, ruling an area referred to as Ciannacta or Oireacht Uí Chatháin, which encompassed the north of modern-day County Londonderry between the Bann and Foyle. O'Cahan's position as a dependent of the Earl of Tyrone was confirmed by the peace agreement made at Mellifont. This is despite promises made to O'Cahan when he joined the English that he would be recognised as a landowner independent of O'Neill once the war was over. The pattern will by now be familiar: promises were made by Docwra in order to win over the Irish

ruler, but Docwra was later compelled to break them at the insistence of Mountjoy.<sup>26</sup>

During the regime of Chichester and Davies, however, O’Cahan became useful as one means by which the curtailment of O’Neill alluded to in Chap. 1 might be accomplished. O’Cahan was encouraged to pursue his landholding rights to the full, and also to divorce his wife, O’Neill’s daughter. It was just before seeking arbitration of this dispute that O’Neill instead decided to flee the country in September 1607. Just like O’Doherty and O’Donnell, O’Cahan’s prospects must have seemed bright at this juncture, but in common with the latter, O’Cahan had exercised poor judgement, failing to perceive that, while O’Neill was no doubt an overbearing neighbour, the state threatened his very existence as the major landowner in the area. Like O’Donnell, O’Cahan does not appear to have perceived that the removal of his rival left him with comparatively little to recommend him to the government as a useful ally. Instead, he behaved as if his position was much stronger than it actually was, ignoring summonses by the government to answer questions about the flight, or to attend a commission for governing the north. He also found himself in dispute with Bishop George Montgomery about the Church of Ireland claiming rents on his land, and expelled the bishop’s rent-collectors.<sup>27</sup> While it might conceivably be argued that, like O’Doherty, O’Cahan might have played his hand more cautiously at this point and made himself amenable to the government’s plans for Ulster, it appears far more likely that they were already seeking a pretext to arrest him.

While plans for a colony by the London companies in the area had yet to crystallise, it is clear that more general plans for colonisation were already in existence before O’Doherty’s rising. To allow O’Cahan to claim all the lands he had been granted in his agreement with Docwra in 1602 would prove an obstacle to the building of a colony in the area. It was acknowledged by officials that the only way to render it void was through his attainder.<sup>28</sup> It is vital to remember that O’Cahan was arrested in February 1608, two months before the rising, yet the state still managed to contrive accusations of his involvement in it. The prominent part played by his brother, Shane Carrach (‘the scabby’), allowed the English to implicate Donall Ballach. Once Shane was arrested and interrogated, he claimed that his brother, around Christmas 1607, had encouraged him to gather men and arms in preparation for O’Neill’s imminent return from exile and ‘moved and procured’ him into

rebellion.<sup>29</sup> There are several possible explanations for Shane Carrach's accusations, but the most plausible do not suggest that Donall Ballach was actively in league with O'Doherty. It may be that Donall's failure to discipline his brother's woodkerne activities was deliberately construed as abetting them.<sup>30</sup> It is also possible that Donall *did* encourage his brother's activities, but in the hope of seeing him arrested and of ridding himself of a rival—just as Niall Garbh O'Donnell is said to have encouraged O'Doherty. It may also be that these accusations were actually made as they are recorded in the sources, and that the already-condemned Shane was attempting to take to the scaffold with him a brother he bitterly resented.

Even more instrumental in O'Cahan's downfall was another brother, Manus, who made even more extravagant accusations in November 1608, claiming that Donall Ballach was secretly in league with O'Neill and had intended to flee with the earls the year before, being prevented from doing so only by the absence of the ferryman to cross the Foyle on the appointed day.<sup>31</sup> For O'Cahan to desire O'Neill's return was, as has been seen, highly unlikely, but Manus, unlike Shane Carrach, was rewarded for his testimony, receiving lands amounting to 2000 acres along the east bank of the River Faughan.<sup>32</sup> Clearly Manus was felt to be modest enough in his ambitions to be allowed to live only a few kilometres from such a vital settlement as Derry. While Donall would not be content with 'two partes of that country', Chichester wrote in 1608, Manus should, the lord deputy argued, be rewarded for his loyalty.<sup>33</sup>

What is once again most evident is not the murky details of Donall Ballach's alleged treason but the determination of the government to interpret his actions as grounds on which to imprison him, and the willingness of local contenders to feed the state's appetite for incriminating evidence. Like O'Donnell, O'Cahan was imprisoned indefinitely without trial, first in Dublin and then (after an escape attempt in February 1609) in the Tower of London, where he died in 1616. He was never charged with any crime. A letter accompanying O'Cahan on his transfer to England by Chichester, who had written of the necessity of removing Donall, summed him up as one who 'hath ever byne reputed a man trewe of his worde, valeant but unactive', and that the accusations were 'more probable' against Niall Garbh than himself. It was thus strongly hinted that the charges had been trumped up to effect his removal. Chichester's choice of the word 'unactive' is also interesting here, in that it implies that, even if he had not taken any active steps against

the government, the definition of treachery had grown so broad that it encompassed failure to actively help the government against its native enemies.<sup>34</sup> In such an atmosphere, almost everyone could be construed as guilty if they stood in the way of the plantation.

Thus were O'Doherty, O'Donnell and O'Cahan deemed undeserving of a place in the new colonial dispensation. The perceived potential of these individuals to disrupt the government's plans for a colony in Ulster doomed them to exclusion from those plans. Those members of the Gaelic elite who remained, therefore, were judged by plantation planners to be of lesser stature in comparison, locally influential enough for the granting of lands to induce them to act as leaders of a compliant native population in the new colonial order, but harmless enough to make them unlikely leaders of resistance. That the Irish understood this is evident from the elegy written in 1626 for Niall Garbh, which contended that the flower of the Gaelic ruling elite (the tall trees) had been eliminated in Ulster prior to the plantation, leaving behind only lesser figures (the smaller hazel trees).

Leth Mogha déis na healbha  
 tarrthaidh tuisle a creidemhna,  
 leth Cuinn s as crainn do tesgadh  
 ni caill fa thtuinn tarrthasdar.

Leith Mogha sustained a stagger in its glory by the loss of the princes; it was in Leith Cuinn the trees were cut down, nor was it the hazels which fell to the ground.<sup>35</sup>

This less threatening residue of the elite constituted figures such as Manus O'Cahan, or individuals such as those cited by Donall Ballach in his letter to his brother: Turlough McArt O'Neill, the grandson of Turlough Luineach discussed in the previous chapter, and Brian Maguire, brother of the Cú Chonnacht who was instrumental in arranging O'Neill's flight. Abandoning any traditional aspiration to sovereignty over their followers, they accepted a place as landowners in colonial Ulster. It will be noted, however, that in the long term, many of these figures—seeing their economic fortunes decline over the years and haemorrhaging lands to more successful colonist neighbours—ultimately

shared a similar fate to the 'undeserving' natives, in that it became clear that plantation Ulster held no place for them in the long term. Seeing themselves as destined in the end for the same fate as the latter, albeit by means of economic forces rather than formal government scheming, their desperation was channelled into the taking up of arms in 1641. In this sense, the following case studies will illustrate that a hard and fast distinction between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' Irish is, in this sense, problematic.

### THE 'DESERVING IRISH' OF DUNGANNON AND TIRANNY: A CASE STUDY

The 'deserving Irish' term may also be questioned if it suggests that the native grantees were pleased with the proportions allotted them. An understanding of the native grantees' experience of colonisation should be based not on what administrators believed the Irish should feel about their lot, but on what the evidence suggests the reality of living in colonial Ulster for a native Irish landowner was. To further this understanding, this chapter will, therefore, move the focus from broader themes to a close examination of the native grantees in Dungannon and Tiranny, who are illustrated in the maps in Figs. 6.1, 6.2, 6.6 and 6.7.

The first group of grantees examined here offer immediate evidence that the award of lands was not unequivocally welcomed by the Irish. These were the *sleachta* who had held hereditary military and administrative positions under O'Neill in the area: the O'Quinns, O'Hagans, O'Donnellys, O'Devlins and McDonnells. Several members of the first two septs refused to accept portions of land when the plantation commissioners arrived in Tyrone in 1610. Davies noted their preference:

to bee tenants at will, to the servitors, or others who had competent quantities of land to receive them, then to bee freeholders to his m[ajes]tie; of such small parcels, for which they should bee compelled to serve in Juries and spend doble the yearly valew thereof at Assizes and Sessions.<sup>36</sup>

Davies went on to ascribe this to a natural desire on the part of these groups to be followers of a Gaelic *tiarna* rather than become part of the native landed gentry which the colony sought to establish. While there was no doubt a great deal of flippancy in the remark, the status which these *sleachta* had enjoyed in Gaelic Ulster may have played a

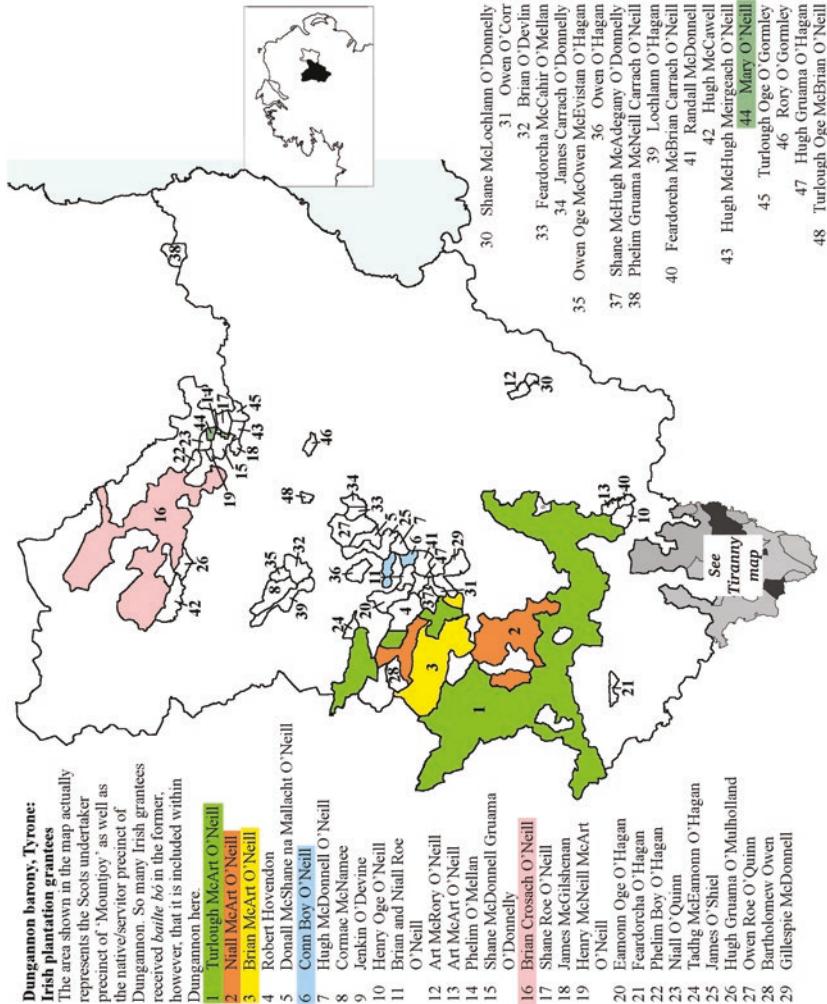


Fig. 6.1 Dungannon: Irish plantation grantees

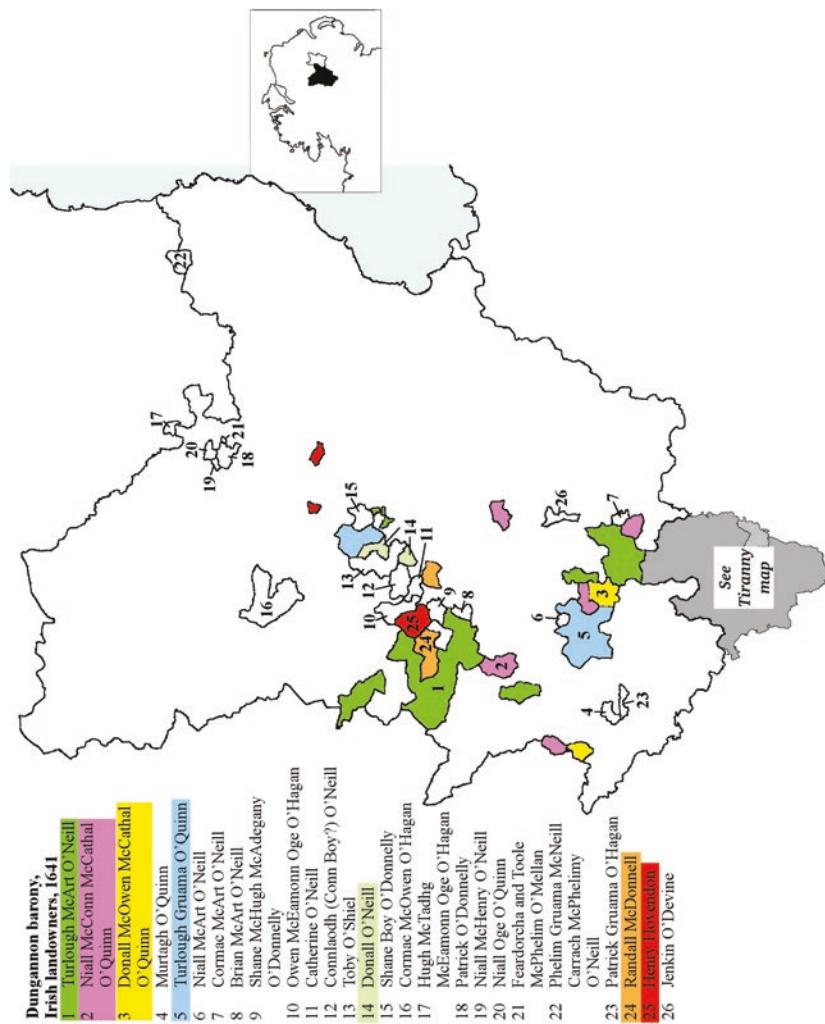


Fig. 6.2 Dungannon: Irish landowners, 1641

role in their reluctance to accept the small parcels of land on offer. The O'Quinns and O'Hagans had been the chief lieutenants of The O'Neill in Tyrone since the thirteenth century, when the O'Neills prevailed over their chief rivals, the McLochlanns.<sup>37</sup> Unlike the *uirrithe*, these groups were not independent rulers paying tribute to the *tiarna*, but inhabited his *lucht tighe* ('people of the household') lands, monopolising a number of hereditary roles as administrators of O'Neill's territory over the following centuries. An O'Quinn, for example, fulfilled the role of law-enforcement official and guardian of O'Neill's supplies, both military and domestic. It is for this reason that their territory of Ballyquin, encompassing Roughan Lough near modern-day Stewartstown, contained a number of *crannóga* (defensible island dwellings). The O'Hagans, on the other hand, played an important role in the inauguration of The O'Neill (having their territory of Ballyhagan close to the inauguration place at Tullyhogue), as well as holding the office of chief administrator and collector of rent and food dues.<sup>38</sup>

These groups exemplify the (at times, somewhat murky) distinction between the elite of Gaelic society and the landholding class discussed in the previous chapter. While *sleachta* such as the O'Quinns and O'Hagans possessed lands which supported them, at the same time their military and administrative roles meant that many of them were not (unlike the landholders) directly engaged with agriculture. The transformation from retainers in the administration of a native warlord to landlords in a colony ruled by outsiders (with whom they had, until recently, been at war) may thus have appeared unappealing to them.<sup>39</sup> While this disinclination might have played a part, there is of course the simpler explanation of rational economic choice: having assessed the deal on offer, these O'Quinns and O'Hagans came to the conclusion that it was a bad one. Perceiving in the small portions of land offered them a landowning status incommensurate with their cattle-owning one (and one which, furthermore, would not compensate them adequately for the expenses incurred by the obligation to serve on juries and attend assizes and sessions), they preferred the less onerous condition of tenantry. As will be seen in this chapter from the difficulties faced by most Irish grantees, this choice would appear in retrospect to have been an astute one.

According to Davies' account, it was precisely because these individuals had 'good stocks of cattle' that they were allocated portions of land.<sup>40</sup> The fact that they found themselves in possession of a significant number of cows was due to the rights and privileges they enjoyed, as

outlined in the *Ceart Uí Néill* above. It would also suggest that they were among those discussed in the previous chapter (see p. 167) who had taken advantage of the chaotic situation following the flight of O'Neill. Their role as trusted servants of the *tiarna* and custodian of his material resources probably enabled them, in his absence, to appropriate these resources for themselves. While an explanation foregrounding self-interest and economic factors appears the most compelling, the fact remains that it was members of these specific *sleachta*, the closest lieutenants to O'Neill in Gaelic society, who are mentioned as rejecting the offer of plantation lands in Davies' account.

A principled objection to co-operation with the plantation commissioners, related to their traditional alliance with the O'Neills, cannot, therefore, be easily dismissed. Like all groups in Gaelic society, colonisation provoked a variety of responses from these septs, and there were no doubt variations in the degree of loyalty which individual O'Quinns and O'Hagans felt towards O'Neill. While a refusal to accept the role of colonial landowner is not necessarily indicative of hostility to the plantation as such, others such as Shane 'Na Puint' O'Hagan, O'Neill's rent-gatherer, and his 'attendinge servant' Murtagh O'Quinn unambiguously sided with O'Neill by choosing to flee with him in 1607.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, four O'Quinns and two O'Hagans sat on the jury which carried out the 1609 inquisition into O'Neill's escheated lands in Tyrone.<sup>42</sup> Four of these six received grants in the plantation: Owen Roe O'Quinn (no. 27, Fig. 6.1), Murtagh O'Quinn (unnumbered), Eamonn Oge O'Hagan (no. 20) and Owen Oge O'Hagan (no. 35). It is the stories of such individuals that must provide the evidential basis of any assessment of the experience of the 'deserving Irish' as a class.

Owen Roe O'Quinn was likely the brother of the Murtagh who accompanied O'Neill into exile.<sup>43</sup> He received three *bailte bó* just north of the present-day village of Donaghmore.<sup>44</sup> Based on the fact that these were all in the possession of Turlough Gruama O'Quinn in 1641 (no. 5, Fig. 6.2), it seems likely that Owen was the father of the aforementioned Turlough, an adolescent at the outset of the plantation, who acquired a number of *bailte bó* about 14 km south of his father's grant in the intervening thirty years.<sup>45</sup> Notwithstanding this improvement in his family's landholding status (he was the third-largest native landowner in the barony in 1641), Turlough was one of the most senior military figures in the rising and led the attack on Mountjoy castle in its first days.<sup>46</sup> That the Murtagh who sat with Owen Roe on the August 1609 inquisition at

Dungannon was not his brother is clear from the fact that Chichester's letter mentions the latter as being in Flanders at that time. It is most likely he who shortly afterwards received a grant of two *bailte bó* referred to as 'Tanagh and Dirrie' in the patent.<sup>47</sup>

The plantation grantee Niall O'Quinn (no. 23, Fig. 6.1) died in 1621, passing his *baile bó* of Loy (today in the town centre of Cookstown) on to his 32-year-old son, Niall Oge (no. 20, Fig. 6.2).<sup>48</sup> The elder Niall, one-time 'chief favourite' of Hugh O'Neill, had been captured by the English while drunk in 1600, having performed the traditional O'Quinn offices in O'Neill's service by commanding his fortified islands and keeping his prisoners. After he had been interrogated (this was delayed as 'drinke had made him both soe senceles and speachles'), Niall was rumoured to have 'promised somethinge whereupon he is yet preserved'.<sup>49</sup> It was in such moments of negotiation that survival or extinction was decided.<sup>50</sup> Intriguingly, just before O'Quinn returned to the Irish, Mountjoy spoke of bringing him north from his captivity 'for some speciall occasions of the service'.<sup>51</sup> Nothing more, however, is heard of this Niall O'Quinn until the name once again emerges in the patent rolls, which show land granted to him in the plantation. Niall Oge, the successor of this grantee, was, by the time of the 1641 rising, in his fifties with two sons named Owen and Naos, and described as a tenant of the colonist Thomas Staples in Lissan.<sup>52</sup> He took a leading part in the capture of nearby Moneymore, on the Londonderry lands of the Drapers' Company, and the ironworks in Lissan.<sup>53</sup> The reason why Niall Oge's activities at this time are recorded in several Commonwealth depositions is that he had been captured and held prisoner in Coleraine by 1653, and was executed shortly afterwards.<sup>54</sup> His 135 acres were confiscated and, along with the surrounding district, came into the possession of one Thomas Coote.<sup>55</sup>

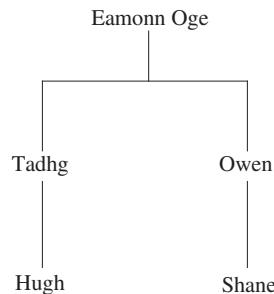
Of the O'Hagans who, like the O'Quinns, had occupied lands at the heart of O'Neill's territory (Fig. 6.3 illustrates the principal *sleachta* in Dungannon) and served him right up until the collapse of the Gaelic order, eight received grants of land in Dungannon. One of these, Eamonn Oge (no. 20, Fig. 6.1), sat on the 1609 inquisition and received two *bailte bó* (Gortindarragh and Glenburrisk), just north of Castlecaulfeild, as reward for his co-operation.<sup>56</sup> It seems likely that Tadhg McEamonn Oge (no. 24), who received a *baile bó* nearby, was his son, although the relationship is slightly confused by the existence of two inquisitions recording the death of Eamonn Oge in different years,



Fig. 6.3 Principal *sleachta* of Dungannon

one in 1616 and another in 1624. The latter seems to suggest that the *baile bó* mentioned in Tadhg's patent, Drummond (with the addition

**Fig. 6.4** Descendants of Eamonn Oge O'Hagan

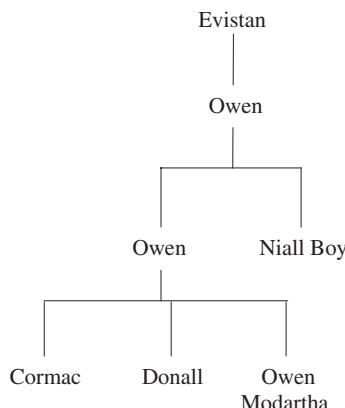


of nearby Aghafad), passed to him only on his father's death, while the former, in recording Eamonn Oge's death eight years earlier, attests to the passing of those lands listed in his original patent to another son, Owen.<sup>57</sup> These relationships are illustrated in Fig. 6.4.

This son (no. 10, Fig. 6.2) was already forty years old in 1616 and had received a pardon in 1608, presumably for anti-government activities in the Nine Years War.<sup>58</sup> Still holding these *bailte bó* in 1641, his death at some point during the wars that followed can be assumed, given that the Down Survey records the land as having been forfeited by his heirs.<sup>59</sup> With Owen in his sixties, his son Shane was the family's most prominent participant in the 1641 rising. Described as a captain of Phelim O'Neill from Tullyhogue, the *Cinn Lae* of Friar O'Mellan records his successful defence of a *crannóig* in Loughinsholin in April 1643.<sup>60</sup> Although mentioned several times in the depositions, it is often impossible to distinguish him from another prominent Shane O'Hagan, son of Cormac (no. 16, Fig. 6.2), and a grandson of the plantation grantee Owen Oge McOwen McEvistan O'Hagan (no. 35, Fig. 6.1, p. 266).

This Owen Oge, who sat with Eamonn Oge O'Hagan on the inquisition in 1609, was awarded two *bailte bó* a few kilometres north of the latter.<sup>61</sup> While compliant enough to be regarded as 'deserving', he aroused the authorities' mistrust by providing refuge to the fugitive Franciscan friar Turlough McRodin in 1613.<sup>62</sup> On his death in 1622, these lands passed to the aforementioned Cormac, who led the seizure of Antrim town at the start of the 1641 rising, and was killed in a battle at Clones in June 1643.<sup>63</sup> Cormac and his father, although their lands were located about 7 km south-west of Cookstown, appear to have lived in or near Moneymore in Londonderry; they are described as coming from this locality in sources from the 1620s and 1640s.<sup>64</sup> Cormac's

**Fig. 6.5** Descendants of Evistan O'Hagan



Note: Owen Modartha is attested to in: Depositions of Anne Smyth, Susana Wright, Anne Walton, 15 September 1642, TCD MS 839, f.102r. Deposition of Robert Waringe, 12 August 1642, TCD MS 839, f.109r would suggest that he had the epithet 'Modartha' (Surly, overcast) and that there was another brother named Donall in the family.

son, Shane, attacked Moneymore in October 1641 with a company of foot-soldiers, initially recruited for the king's service, which he had licence to transport into Spanish service.<sup>65</sup> These probably provided the bulk of the insurgents' forces in the area after the outbreak of the rising. Owen O'Hagan (no. 36, Fig. 6.1), who received the single *baile bó* of Dungororan in the plantation, was described in his pardon of 1602 as 'chief of his name'.<sup>66</sup> Taking into account the evidence of patronyms, and the placing of Owen's grant immediately before Owen Oge's in the patents, it is likely that Owen was the father of the Owen Oge discussed above. If this was the case, the family tree in Fig. 6.5 can be constructed for the above individuals.<sup>67</sup>

After his death in 1618, Owen's land passed to another son, Niall Boy, who was already in his forties at the time.<sup>68</sup> This Niall does not appear to be mentioned in the depositions and the land is no longer recorded as belonging to the family by the time of the Down Survey.<sup>69</sup>

Another prominent *sliocht* of military retainers under O'Neill were the McDonnells, who were descended from Scottish *gallóglach* first imported into Ulster in the thirteenth century and were given lands

in Tyrone in the fifteenth.<sup>70</sup> These McDonnells (this spelling will be employed to distinguish it from the more recently arrived McDonalds in Antrim) were given lands which came to be called Baile Mic Dhónaill, today the *baile bó* of Knocknaclogha in Altmore Forest, west of Dungannon town.<sup>71</sup> Randall Garbh McFeardorcha McDonnell (no. 41, Fig. 6.1 and no. 24, Fig. 6.2) and his brother, Gillespie (no. 29, Fig. 6.1) subsequently received lands only a few kilometres to the east of these ancestral lands. These two brothers were among the leaders of Hugh O'Neill's McDonnell soldiers in the latter stages of the Nine Years War and fought with him at Kinsale, where their brother Rory was killed.<sup>72</sup> Unlike many 'deserving Irish' grantees, the McDonnell brothers' resistance to English colonisation appears to have continued beyond O'Neill's flight and to have encompassed participation in O'Doherty's rising; this, at least, is what the government suspected.<sup>73</sup>

The fact that they received a pardon the following year and lands in the plantation, as opposed to being rounded up for transportation to Sweden, suggests that the authorities' approach to each group of natives was decided on a case-by-case basis. The colonial government balanced the possible security risks posed by specialist martial groups such as the McDonnells against the benefits of placating them with land grants, not forgetting the considerable trouble of apprehending and transporting them out of the country.<sup>74</sup> Clearly there was a fine line dividing figures such as Randall and Gillespie McDonnell in Tyrone from Oghy Oge O'Hanlon in Armagh, who was deported for his part in aiding O'Doherty. There is no record of Gillespie's death, but an inquisition held at Dungannon at the end of the 1630s records the two *baile bó* granted to him as being in the hands of William Caulfeild.<sup>75</sup> Randall not only managed to retain the *baile bó* of Kilnaslee, but actually augmented his holdings during this period, by the acquisition of several *baile bó* from the *sliocht* Art Oge.<sup>76</sup> Despite the fact that Randall must have been relatively advanced in years, he led the initial attack on Dungannon in 1641 and was afterwards appointed governor of the castle by Phelim Roe O'Neill.<sup>77</sup> He was killed in a skirmish while tending to the army's *caoraidheacht* in Cavan in August 1643, one of the few military figures whose career spanned both the Nine Years War and the struggles of the 1640s.<sup>78</sup>

The O'Donnells had also been military retainers of the O'Neills prior to the collapse of the Gaelic order. They were, however, reluctant allies of the Earl of Tyrone, being adherents of his great rivals, the numerous

progeny of Shane O'Neill, who died in 1567.<sup>79</sup> It was an O'Donnell who carried out the murder of O'Neill's father, 'Matthew' Feardorcha, on Shane O'Neill's behalf in 1558. Their animosity towards the Earl of Tyrone (as well as the fact that he brought them to heel) is clear from the observations of English writers who, while describing them as subordinates to the earl, remarked they were held in that position 'onely by pledges and constraints'.<sup>80</sup> In 1598, they were described as a 'great faction [...] which the Erle doth seeke by all the meanes he can to suppresse in respect of the love which this nation beareth unto Shane Oneales sonnes'.<sup>81</sup> While the O'Donnells nominally assisted O'Neill in phases of the Nine Years War, and Shane McDonnell Gruama served as his marshal, they cannot be described as genuine allies. In 1601 this Shane McDonnell Gruama went over to the English after Mountjoy's forces penetrated deep into Tyrone and burnt all the corn in his country of Ballydonnelly, where Castlecaulfeild today stands.<sup>82</sup> It was he who provided the crown forces with a detailed list of the companies O'Neill had at his disposal in Tyrone.<sup>83</sup>

It is no surprise that the O'Donnells came to be seen by the government as a group who might be accommodated within the plantation settlement, given their antagonistic relationship to O'Neill and his interests. For his co-operation with the government, Shane McDonnell Gruama O'Donnell (no. 15, Fig. 6.1) was awarded a *baile bó* in the location of what is today Cookstown, about 15 km from the ancestral lands of the O'Donnells, which were for the most part granted to Toby Caulfeild. When Shane died in the early 1620s, his land passed to his son Patrick, who still held it in 1641 (no. 18, Fig. 6.2).<sup>84</sup> Although a number of historians have concluded that this Patrick played a prominent role in the rising in Tyrone, it would appear that he is often conflated with another individual, Patrick Modartha O'Donnell, described in several sources as being from the vicinity of Castlecaulfeild, and a 'silicitor' to Toby Caulfeild (the third baron) before the rising.<sup>85</sup>

The proximity of Castlecaulfeild to the *baile bó* of Crosscavanagh would suggest that, instead of being the son of the Shane McDonnell Gruama above, he was kin to Shane McHugh McAdegan O'Donnell (no. 37, Fig. 6.1 and no. 9, Fig. 6.2), who received Crosscavanagh in the plantation.<sup>86</sup> Underlining the persistence of sept alliances into the colonial era, the continuing association of the O'Donnells with Shane O'Neill's family is attested to by the fact that this Patrick Modartha received some lands in Fermanagh from Conn, Shane's son, when Conn

died in 1622.<sup>87</sup> In 1641, Patrick Modartha O'Donnelly retook the family's lands in Ballydonnelly from Caulfeild and was involved (with Randall McDonnell) in the taking of Dungannon Castle.<sup>88</sup> He also led the attack on Drogheda in February of the following year, and was placed in charge of Dungannon after it was retaken by the Irish in August 1642.<sup>89</sup> His position in the service of an English colonist no doubt allowed him to gain access in October 1641 to such a vital stronghold as Dungannon, just as Phelim Roe O'Neill's acquaintance with Caulfeild allowed him to gain access to Charlemont. Once again, we should be wary of mistaking, as many colonists appear to have done, the appearance of contentment for actual contentment.

Brian O'Devlin (no. 32, Fig. 6.1), who was granted the *bailte bó* of Moneygaragh and Knockavaddy, was the only individual of that name to receive land in the plantation.<sup>90</sup> The O'Devlins, along with the McCawells and McMurphys, belonged to what was known as the O'Neill's *fircheithearn* or 'true kerne', whose responsibilities under the Gaelic order had included the taking of hostages and guarding the camp of O'Neill when he was on a hosting. They had been entitled to a commission of two sheep for every cow accruing to their *tiarna* in the form of fines for robbery, bloodshed or the breaking of old customs.<sup>91</sup> As Éamon Ó Doibhlin has noted, in an earlier period, fighting in battles was limited to these *sleachta*, alongside the O'Donnellys and *gallóglach*, in contrast to the O'Hagans and O'Quinns, who administered the internal affairs of O'Neill's lands.<sup>92</sup> The restriction of military functions to this limited number of septs, however, was already a thing of the past by the time of the Nine Years War (Fig. 6.5).

The Brian listed in the plantation settlement was most likely the 'chief of his name' pardoned towards the end of Elizabeth's reign.<sup>93</sup> The *bailte bó* he received were far inland from the sept's ancestral lands, which bordered on the western shores of Lough Neagh.<sup>94</sup> The fact that individuals such as Shane McHugh O'Donnelly and Randall McDonnell were allowed to remain in their own territories, whereas O'Devlin and many others were relocated with little or no regard to their relationships with specific locales, is reflective of the strategic considerations dictating government policy. The wish, for example, to move O'Devlin away from his traditional territory in order to detach him from his followers is suggested by the claim of a writer (most likely John Davies) claim that it would be:

safest to make that portion [allocated to 'deserving Irish'] to consist of several parcels not lying together but scattered or distant from another for hereby that will come to pass, that if they should have [?] to stir they shall not have opportunity so easily to conspire or to combine with their tenants and followers, nor to assemble so suddenly to do mischief.<sup>95</sup>

It may also have been the location of this territory which necessitated the relocation of Brian O'Devlin. Coastal and riverine areas such as those of the O'Devlins provided a tactical advantage in the event of war. This was made clear by Arthur Chichester in his recommendations of 1610: 'none of the islands in the rivere of Loughearn [are to] be lefte or past to anie of the Irish.'<sup>96</sup> Chichester went on to single out the area of 'Munterdevlin' as being of particular importance, and asked that it be granted to his fellow military servitor Francis Roe.<sup>97</sup> His strategy concerning the placement of Irish grantees was spelled out by him in another document of the same year. It would be necessary:

to appoint them [the Irish] some one parte of the plainest ground of theire owne countrie [...] where they may be invironed w[i]th seas, stronge houlds and powerfull men to overtope them.<sup>98</sup>

That the O'Devlins' lands were not awarded to Francis Roe but to Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree (later Castle Stewart) is testament to the fact that Chichester's recommendations were not always taken up, and that the interests of influential undertakers often overrode those of the military servitors.<sup>99</sup> For the same reasons, Irish grantees did not always receive the 'plainest ground' of the precincts they were allocated. Such areas were more likely to be highly prized agricultural land, often earmarked for undertakers instead. Thus, while it was clearly unsatisfactory to remove all the Irish landowners into inaccessible mountainous or boggy areas, where they would be difficult to surveil and control, at the same time the distribution of land in the map of grantees in Dungannon above clearly shows a correlation in the barony between areas given to natives and the western uplands of the barony, as far away as possible from Lough Neagh. This impulse to allocate poorer quality, less accessible areas to the Irish cannot, therefore, be completely discounted. As Phillip Robinson has observed, the size of a *baile bó* reflected a Gaelic perception of its ability to yield a defined agricultural output. *Bailte bó* containing poorer land would thus need to be larger

to fulfil their economic potential, while smaller ones reflected land capable of supporting a greater density of people and livestock. The impression that larger townlands tended to be granted to ‘deserving Irish’ is confirmed by a comparison, in Dungannon, of the size of townlands given to colonists and those in the north and western parts of the barony granted to people such as Turlough McArt and Brian Crosach O’Neill (Fig. 6.6).<sup>100</sup>

A similar pattern is seen in County Armagh, where the better quality lands in the north of the county were reserved for English and Scottish undertakers, while the south of the county was distributed to natives and servitors, or left in the possession of Turlough McHenry O’Neill.<sup>101</sup> In general, the precincts earmarked for English or Scottish settlement correspond to economically more promising areas, not only in terms of quality of soil and altitude, but also proximity to rivers and harbours.<sup>102</sup> Any effort to assign the better quality land to colonists, however, was made only in the crudest sense. Given that only a few years before the plantation took place the escheated counties of Ulster were practically *terra incognita* from London’s point of view, it could hardly have been otherwise. While a number of surveys were commissioned to assess the extent and nature of the land confiscated, these contained nowhere near the level of detail necessary for a systematic apportionment of land on the basis of quality. Instead of being a marked feature of the plantation at its outset, then, the settlement of natives on poorer land was a phenomenon that became more pronounced over time, exacerbated by informal economic processes rather than the plantation project per se. The plantation can, however, be seen as the catalyst for this process.

Besides Brian O’Devlin, the only other ‘deserving’ individual from one of those *sleachta* designated as *fircheithearn* was Hugh McCawell (no. 42, Fig. 6.1), whose ancestors had assisted the O’Neills in their rise to power in the twelfth century.<sup>103</sup> Despite this, by the sixteenth century they had been displaced from their lands by the ruling O’Neills and held lands immediately to the west and north-west of these *lucht tighe* lands (see Fig. 6.7); they had ceased to function primarily in a military capacity, being for the most part devoted to ecclesiastical affairs.<sup>104</sup> This, however, was no bar to military service in Gaelic society, and, Hugh McCawell, who received the *baile bó* of Tulnacross (7 km west of Cookstown) served as an officer in 1600 under Cormac McBaron, O’Neill’s brother.<sup>105</sup> He was later commended by Caulfeild for his role in helping defend Dungannon during O’Doherty’s rising, and this was

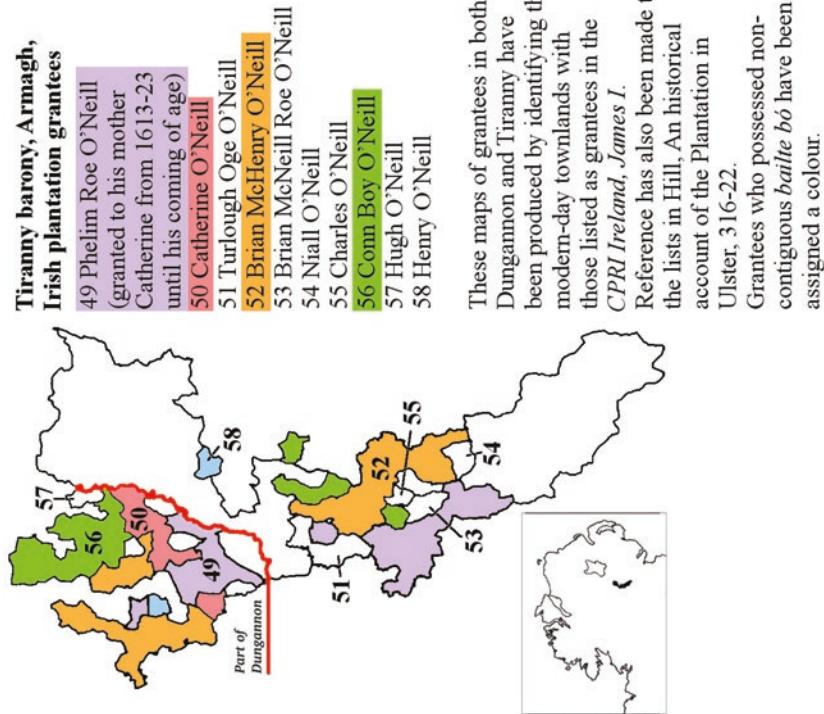


Fig. 6.6 Tiranny: Irish plantation grantees

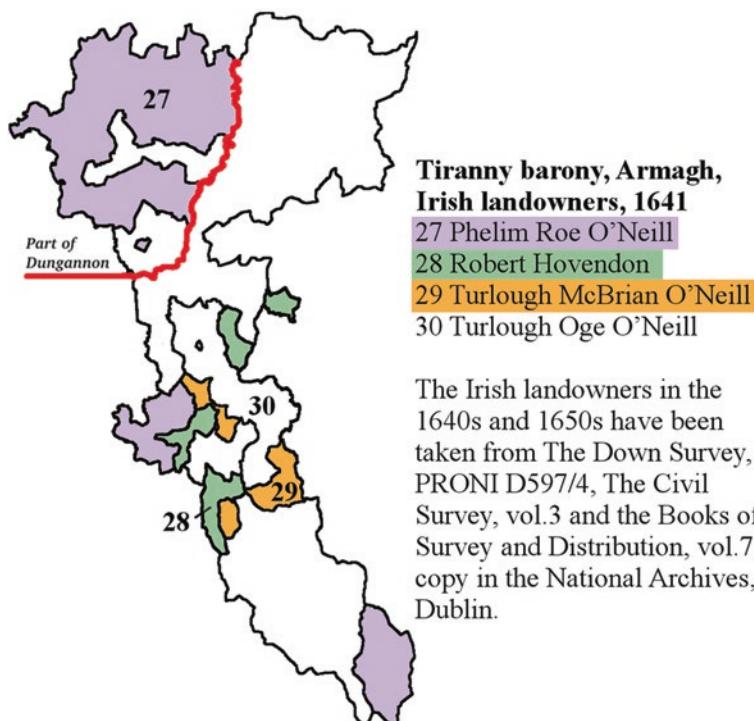


Fig. 6.7 Tiranny: Irish landowners, 1641

no doubt instrumental in his inclusion among the native grantees.<sup>106</sup> Hugh's proximity to the lands granted to Brian Crosach, Cormac McBaron's son—whose short-lived co-existence with colonial society ended with his execution in 1615 (see below pp. 252–256)—suggests a continuing attachment to this family; his tenure as proprietor of Tulnacross had already ended by 1641, when William Parsons was in possession.<sup>107</sup>

His neighbouring grantee, Hugh Gruama O'Mulholland (no. 26, Fig. 6.1) was another of those who sprang from a primarily ecclesiastical rather than military *sliocht*—his name indicated the sept's (the Uí Mhaolchallann) ancestral devotion to St. Calann. They (and the O'Mellans) were hereditary keepers of the bell of St. Patrick, now in the National Museum of Ireland, which remained in the family until the nineteenth century.<sup>108</sup> At the time of the plantation, this sept was still primarily based in Loughinsholin, close to where Hugh Gruama

received his *baile bó* of Corkill, although several branches existed in other parts of Ireland.<sup>109</sup> O'Mulholland sold his land to William Caulfeild in 1620.<sup>110</sup> The other Corkhill in Dungannon was granted in 1611 to James O'Shiel, a Leinsterman described eleven years earlier as a 'pryncipall practiser for Tyrone in Mounster and Leynster'.<sup>111</sup> In 1601, an intelligence report asserted that he had commanded 200 men in O'Neill's 'own guard'.<sup>112</sup>

At the time of the plantation, O'Shiel remained in Ulster and had won the trust of the government to the extent that he was put in charge of one of their forts on the Blackwater. He nevertheless continued to be regarded with suspicion by some. In a 1609 report to Salisbury, he was included among the 'dangerous persons' who were said to openly commend O'Neill and his actions; the forts, this writer advised, would be better entrusted to 'honester men'.<sup>113</sup> Notwithstanding such warnings, O'Shiel established his credentials as a 'deserving' native and served on the government's inquisition into escheated lands in Dungannon, receiving two *baile bó* nestled between the other native grantees in Donaghmore parish.<sup>114</sup> It might, indeed, be argued that to classify O'Shiel among the 'natives' is problematic; certainly, he was not native to the area in which he settled, and the locals may well have viewed him as a figure as alien as any of the colonists from England or Scotland.<sup>115</sup> More plausibly perhaps, he should be seen as a hybrid figure, comparable to the Hovendons, originally from Kent, who became associated with the O'Neills through fosterage and were Gaelicised to the extent that they were included in the list of native grantees (see below p. 241).<sup>116</sup>

When James O'Shiel died in 1618, these lands passed to his thirteen-year-old son Toby, likely named after Caulfeild.<sup>117</sup> Toby (no. 13, Fig. 6.2) appears to have fared reasonably well in the following decades, cultivating outside economic interests and marrying into the distinguished Pippard family of Drogheda. In 1637, he was described as a merchant in Dublin, and is recorded as importing wine from Spain in 1640.<sup>118</sup> It is perhaps no coincidence that one of the few 'native' grantees to prosper economically was one who had a foot in the cultural life of The Pale, and some familiarity with English economic and legal practices. Most likely residing in Dublin, Toby O'Shiel was not present in Ulster at the beginning of the rising in 1641.<sup>119</sup> Although, as a Catholic landowner, his lands were confiscated in the 1650s, his absence from the province at the time of the rising probably helped his family recover the

lands at the Restoration Court of Claims (Toby himself died in 1658), the only successful claim of its kind in Dungannon.<sup>120</sup>

Another of those ‘dangerous persons’ entrusted with the Blackwater forts in 1609 was Bartholomew Owen (no. 28, Fig. 6.1), who received the *baile bó* of Knocknaclougha, close to Altmore where the O’Shiels would come to reside.<sup>121</sup> The origins of this individual are difficult to ascertain. Charles Meehan claims he was a Franciscan friar, but the few primary documents that refer to him would suggest he was a captain—Catholic, of Irish birth, possibly with family links in Cheshire—who fell in with O’Neill at some point during the wars.<sup>122</sup> He was most likely a soldier of fortune of English or Old English origin, and might be counted among the servitors granted land in Ulster but for the fact that he was explicitly listed in documents at the time as a ‘native’ grantee.<sup>123</sup> Despite serving the government, claims that he and James O’Shiel continued to support O’Neill’s interests are substantiated by other accounts, such as that of Toby Caulfeild, who asserted that Owen had defended O’Neill in conversation with him shortly before the flight.<sup>124</sup> Others claimed he had only missed the opportunity to travel into exile because he was absent in Dublin on business for the earl at the time, ‘yet carriedit him selfe in so subtil a fashion as the horses and many other things lefte by the said Earle was comitted to his custodye’.<sup>125</sup> Instead of seeing this as reason to exclude him from the plantation settlement, however, officials appear to have concluded that it necessitated buying him off. Despite his mistrust, Caulfeild certainly felt it worthwhile doing him ‘manie curtesies’ in order to win him over.<sup>126</sup> Unfortunately, none of the sources refer to Owen’s lands subsequently, and it is impossible to determine whether he still held them or not in 1641. He does, however, appear to have been still alive in 1623, and in receipt of a pension awarded by Chichester for his services to the government.<sup>127</sup>

The Hovendons, as noted above, were descended from an English soldier, Giles Hovendon, who came to Ireland in the 1530s and whose son, Henry, was recorded as foster-brother to Hugh O’Neill in 1583. O’Neill spent much of his upbringing with this Henry (Hovendon’s mother is described as having ‘brought upp the barron, from a childe’), thus accounting for the strong bond between the families in subsequent years.<sup>128</sup> While Henry Hovendon was listed in 1583 as an ‘Englishe gent’, by the time of the plantation his son, Robert, was counted among the natives, a late example of the kind of assimilation of outsiders into Gaelic society that had been commonplace in the Middle Ages. While

his father fled with O'Neill in 1607 (he later claimed that he had been as surprised as anyone else at the hasty flight and sought a means to return to Ulster and recover his lands), Robert (no. 4, Fig. 6.1) received Glenbeg, Galbally and a third of Lurgylea, alongside the other natives planted in Donaghmore parish (Pomeroy today).<sup>129</sup> His marriage to Catherine O'Neill, however, which took place prior to 1613, brought Robert into alignment with an alternative branch of the O'Neills. Catherine was a daughter of Turlough McHenry of the Fews, but more crucially for Robert's future, the widow of Turlough O'Neill from the O'Neills of Kinard (Caledon today) in the far south of Dungannon, bordering on the small barony of Tiranny.<sup>130</sup> Turlough had been killed, along with his father Henry Oge, fighting on the government's behalf against O'Doherty. Before his death, he had fathered a child with Catherine, Phelim Roe, who would become the famed leader in 1641. The lands Catherine received in the plantation, along with those she received in trust for her son, made the family extensive landowners in the area, with far greater holdings than Robert. For this reason, it is not surprising that Hovendon had relocated to this area by the 1640s (no. 28, Fig. 6.7) and a kinsman, Henry Hovendon, held those lands which Robert was granted in the plantation (no. 25, Fig. 6.2).<sup>131</sup>

That Robert established himself, alongside Phelim Roe O'Neill, as a pillar of colonial society is clear from his inclusion in a list of commissioners to raise money for the army in 1627.<sup>132</sup> He also began to accumulate enormous debts in the 1630s, borrowing (with his in-laws) in excess of £8000.<sup>133</sup> The question of just why Hovendon and the O'Neills of Kinard found themselves borrowing so much will be addressed below (pp. 247–248); it may suffice to say at this juncture that, while Hovendon belonged to the category of grantees who genuinely tried to engage with the commercial economy introduced by colonisation, by 1641 he was in serious financial difficulties. In the event, Robert did not live to see the outbreak of the rising in Ulster, as he died in May 1641.<sup>134</sup>

His son Alexander, step-brother to Phelim Roe O'Neill, played a prominent part in the attack on Armagh town at the beginning of the rising and, according to John Wisdome, he and others broke a promise made to the besieged colonists in the church that they would be allowed to carry away their possessions if they surrendered.<sup>135</sup> A very different picture of Alexander's conduct emerges from the deposition of Robert Maxwell, the rector of Tynan, who claimed that Hovendon was the only

commander who kept promises to conduct English prisoners to safety, and that he saved Armagh town being burnt to the ground on two separate occasions. Even if Maxwell was mistaken in his belief that Hovendon disobeyed ‘secrett direccions to have murthered them’, and that the English ‘would trust noe other Convoy then himselfe’, he was clealy held in some esteem by the local colonists.<sup>136</sup> O’Mellan records his death in a skirmish near Benburb in September 1644.<sup>137</sup>

Discussion of the Hovendons brings us, finally, to those O’Neills who remained behind and attempted to adapt to colonial society in this area. As evinced by his role in 1641, it is fair to say that Phelim Roe O’Neill (no. 49, Fig. 6.6 and no. 27, Fig. 6.7) became the leader of the native Irish community in colonial Ulster. This was not predetermined, however, by the extent of lands granted to his family. Other ‘deserving Irish’ in Ulster received far larger amounts of land in the plantation scheme; while Phelim got roughly 5000 acres (granted to his mother in trust until he came of age in 1623), Turlough McHenry, his maternal grandfather, received the entire southern part of the Fews barony (approximately 30,000 acres); a cursory glance at Figs. 6.1 and 6.6 will

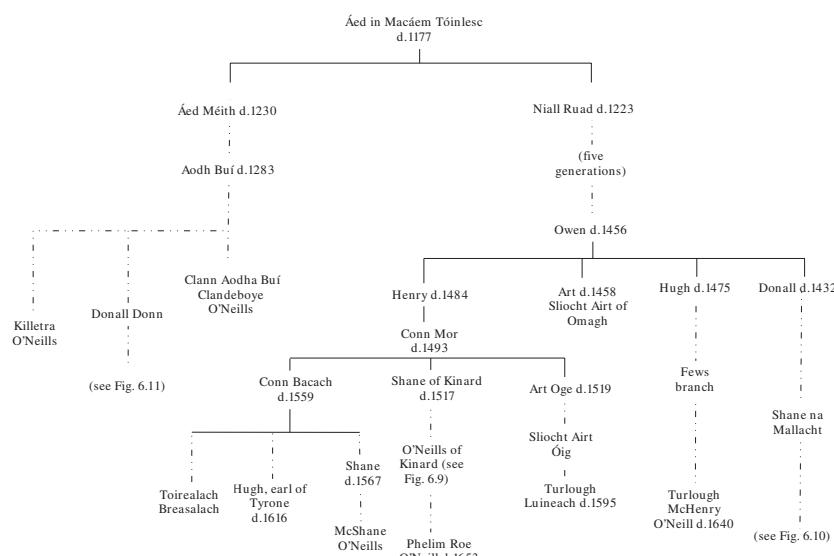


Fig. 6.8 Overview: branches of the O’Neills

show that the family of Turlough McArt received far more land than the *O'Neills* of Kinard. By the 1640s, however, as a comparison of the two maps shows, Phelim Roe had augmented his landholdings significantly. He had also obtained an education at Lincoln's Inn, London, and fought with the English army in France in the 1620s, thus establishing himself as a 'socially and politically acceptable member of the propertied class' (Fig. 6.8).<sup>138</sup>

John Temple gives the impression that native landowners such as O'Neill had adapted to the commercial realities of the colony to the extent that they were prepared to expel their Irish tenants in order to take English ones, 'who were able to give them much greater rents, and more certainly pay the same'.<sup>139</sup> The possibility that Irish landowners preferred colonists as tenants is far from implausible. It would not be surprising if the economic pressures under which native landowners found themselves put a strain on the traditional bonds tying a *tiarna* to his followers. Temple's claim, however, occurs in the midst of a long passage depicting implausibly idyllic relations between native and colonist, the literary function of which appears to be to heighten the treachery of the Irish in October 1641. The notion that the contrast between

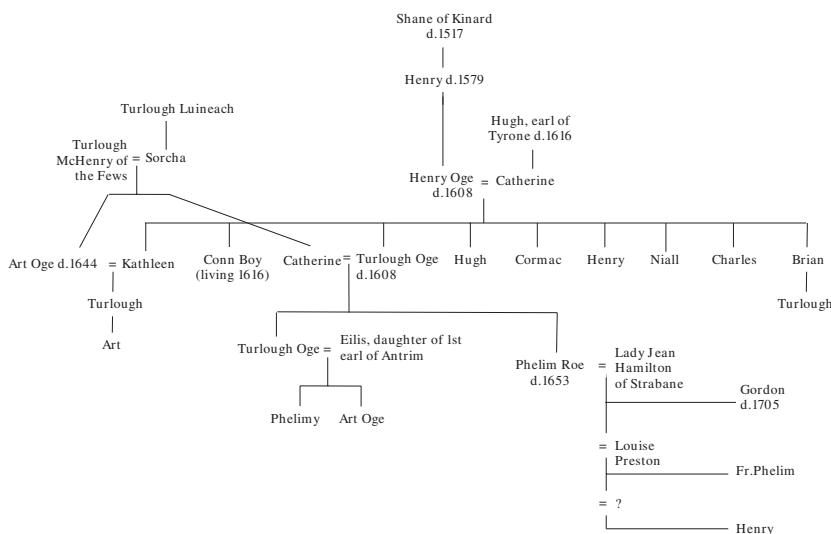


Fig. 6.9 O'Neills of Kinard (Caledon, Dungannon)

enterprising colonist and feckless native was so great that it outweighed cultural affinities between the Gaelic elite and the tenantry fitted his rhetorical aims, but is not supported by any substantial evidence.<sup>140</sup>

Nor should the community of interest that had existed *before* colonisation be overstated. Given the class divisions that existed in Gaelic society, the pursuit by Irish landowners of their own commercial interests in the plantation does not represent as profound a break from the past as it might at first appear. The ruling elite in Gaelic society was just as likely as the colonists to sacrifice the needs of weaker elements in society when their own interests were at stake. ‘Ceremonial propaganda’, as Lenihan has aptly termed it, was indeed necessary to bolster the appearance of common interests, but this was as true under the Gaelic order as afterwards. Phelim Roe O’Neill was, furthermore, equivocal in his conversion to the new order. He differed from an individual such as Brian Maguire of Tempo, for example, in that he attempted to maintain a foot in both worlds. The activation of traditional networks of allegiance under his leadership in 1641 is testament to this, and he might best be seen as a figure akin to Hugh O’Neill, seeking to adapt to English cultural, legal and political institutions as a means of preserving the vestigial power of the Gaelic elite. The fact that he subsequently found it difficult to control the violence of the native population is also illustrative of the weakening of the social control his class had once wielded.

Phelim Roe O’Neill would thus seem to fit into the category of native landowner whom Nicholas Canny has described as ‘under local pressure to maintain an extended kinship group in idleness and to provide patronage to priests, poets, and literati, as their forebears had done’. Canny has also noted that those landowners who found themselves in this position tended to be the ones who fell most deeply into debt, due to the maintenance of such retainers, and the fact that their attempt to fulfil a traditional Gaelic role ‘prevented them from maximizing their rents as the settler landowners were doing’.<sup>141</sup> Some of the considerable debts accumulated by O’Neill, as recorded in the statute staple books, have already been examined in relation to his step-father Robert Hovendon.<sup>142</sup> The total amount of debt accumulated by him (in some cases with his brother Turlough Oge, Robert Hovendon and Art O’Moore) recorded in the staple amounts to £9300. This does not take account of money O’Neill may have borrowed from other members of the landed gentry in Ulster, nor does it include the sums which he borrowed in London.<sup>143</sup> His total indebtedness on the eve of the rising was most likely well in excess of

£10,000. It is open to question whether these debts were a factor in his decision to hatch a conspiracy in 1641, as the kind of upheaval initially envisaged may not have been so extensive as to offer the possibility of default on his debts. That this became a factor with Phelim Roe, however, seems likely; one deponent, Nicholas Simpson, certainly believed that the retaining of his estate was:

the onelye Cause hee entred into this Rebellion, & not religion would often tymes aske mee, where were nowe our Statute staples, our executions, & our potestations hee Cared not a farte for them all.<sup>144</sup>

The cost associated with the lifestyle of an English landlord, the purchase of a knighthood, and the settlement of the value of his wardship and marriage was also a significant drain on his finances.<sup>145</sup> Any success which O'Neill achieved in passing himself off as a wealthy landed gentleman, therefore, must be tempered by an acknowledgement that it was based on unsustainable borrowing. It must also be questioned how representative this 'success' was. Few of the 'deserving Irish' improved their material conditions in the space of the three decades examined here or engaged in the colonial economy to the extent that Phelim Roe O'Neill did. On the contrary, a loss of lands was the fate of the majority of those listed in Figs. 6.1 and 6.6; six of them increased their family's landholding stake, while thirty lost land over the period. Some, indeed, lost all the lands they had been granted and descended to landless status. It is also important to note that in those few cases where native landowners did increase their holdings, it was inevitably at the expense of their fellow Irish.

The general failure of Irish landowners to thrive in the plantation economy has occasioned much comment. Certainly, a commitment to traditional kinship networks, which prevented landlords from either charging an economic rent or expelling tenants from their lands, played a role, as did the attempt (mentioned above) to maintain retainers. Perhaps most decisive is the fact that Irish landlords were suddenly competing in a market economy with English and Scottish settlers already familiar with this economic system. Besides incorporating a set of social relations guaranteed by the state's enforcement of property rights, a commercial economy also consists of cultural practices which, while native to the newcomers, were newfangled to the natives. Such habits of thought could not be internalised overnight, and anecdotal evidence

would suggest that the shift to a commercial mindset was not always as smooth as those who posit the rational response of the Irish to economic incentives might believe. Indeed, English observers were sometimes exasperated by the failure of the Irish to assume the role of rational economic actor. One writer in 1615 commented that:

they never value there owne labour, if a man ever owe of them iid, he will goe ten miles to demand it, if one of them should hire him to go so farre, he would not doe it for xiid, so maliciously improffitable are they not onlie to others, but even to them selves.<sup>146</sup>

Some adapted better than others. Phelim Roe O'Neill succeeded well enough to be regarded as credit-worthy, but he was clearly living on borrowed time. The gains in land he made were almost all made at the expense of other members of his family.

The land which Phelim Roe's mother, Catherine (no. 50, Fig. 6.6) received in her own right was swallowed up by her son's holdings in the far south of Dungannon. By the 1650s, she held one *baile bó*, Kilmore (no. 11, Fig. 6.2), previously shared by Brian and Niall Roe O'Neill, which lay very close to the property given to her husband, Robert Hovendon (no. 4, Fig. 6.1).<sup>147</sup> Robert Maxwell, who deposed concerning the leniency of her son Alexander, likewise claimed that Catherine showed a great deal of compassion to colonists made homeless by the rising, having fed and housed twenty-four of them in her own house for nine months, before the approach of an army made it impossible for her to stay there any longer.<sup>148</sup> She was still alive in 1661, attempting

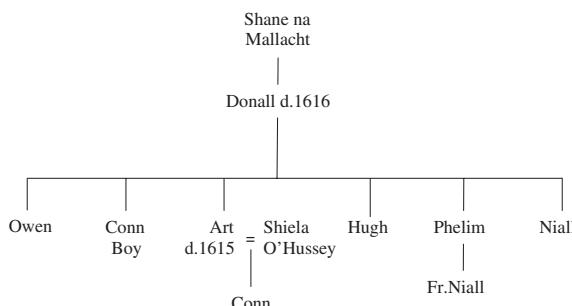


Fig. 6.10 Descendants of Shane na Mallacht O'Neill

to reclaim from a Cromwellian adventurer, Maurice Thompson, some of the lands forfeited by her sons in the barony of Tiranny.<sup>149</sup> Catherine's younger son by her first husband, Turlough Oge (no. 51, Fig. 6.6), had also increased his share of lands by 1641 (no. 30, Fig. 6.7). He was described as a 'gentleman of quality in the Cuntrye' at the time of the 1641 rising and lived at Ardgonnell Castle, near Middletown, County Armagh.<sup>150</sup> He shared this residence with Robert and Alexander Hovendon (mentioned above).<sup>151</sup>

While living at Ardgonnell Castle, Turlough Oge's power base was in the barony of Trough, north County Monaghan, where he had been fostered by the McQuaids. He married a daughter of the first Earl of Antrim, Eilis, which is interesting in light of his mother's refusal to offer hospitality to one of the second earl's footmen, a slight 'which gave much occasion of discourse in that Country', and indicates perhaps a degree of discord within the family about political allegiances and strategies.<sup>152</sup> This is further suggested by the claims that Turlough had not been in favour of the rising at all and had attempted to dissuade his brother from any involvement in it.<sup>153</sup> There were even rumours that he had attempted to make a deal 'to deliver upp the Castle of Charlemont, And his Brother Phelemie alive or dead in itt' in the hope of receiving a pardon.<sup>154</sup> In the event, Turlough Oge does not appear to have lived long enough to have received any kind of pardon. Friar O'Mellan mentions him accompanying the forces of Owen Roe O'Neill on the eve of the battle at Benburb in June 1646.<sup>155</sup> He does not appear in any sources after this date and it may be that he was killed in this battle.

Of the remaining O'Neills who were given land in Dungannon, Donall McShane na Mallacht O'Neill (no. 5, Fig. 6.1), was awarded one *baile bó*, close to his son, Hugh (no. 7, Fig. 6.1) in Donaghmore parish.<sup>156</sup> This branch of the O'Neills (see Fig. 6.10) were descended from Owen, king of Tyrone (d. 1456) through his son Donall (see Fig. 6.8). Donall's father Shane had been given the byname na Mallacht ('the cursed'), and the name seems to have passed down to his son and grandchildren. He served Hugh O'Neill in the Nine Years War and submitted to the government in July 1602.<sup>157</sup> Two of his sons—the aforementioned Hugh, and Niall—are also recorded as commanding troops under Brian McArt, the Earl of Tyrone's nephew, in August 1601.<sup>158</sup> Niall does not appear to have received compensatory lands in the plantation, nor do the other sons of Donall—Art, Phelim, Owen and Conn Boy. Phelim's existence can be deduced only from a reference in the *Cinn Lae* of

O'Mellan to a Franciscan friar named Niall McPhelim McDonnell, likely a grandson of this Donall.<sup>159</sup>

Owen and Conn Boy are likewise attested to only by two different inquisitions recording the death of Donall, both claiming his land passed to them and both giving different dates for his death, either 1616 or c. 1629.<sup>160</sup> By the 1640s, the proprietor of this land was Donall O'Neill (no. 14, Fig. 6.2), most likely the son of plantation grantee Hugh, who had also inherited his father's *baile bó* of Skea.<sup>161</sup> Perhaps the most interesting member of the family was Art, who was one of the three sons of Donall McShane na Mallacht O'Neill singled out for a two-year remittance of rent by the government in 1610, 'in regard of their fidelity in the time of O'Dogherty'.<sup>162</sup> The fact that Art was not subsequently awarded lands in the plantation may account for his involvement in the conspiracy of 1615, for which he was hanged, drawn and quartered.<sup>163</sup> His son Conn continued the family's tradition of leading resistance to the colonists; O'Mellan mentions him as commanding the 'men of Keiregeir' (today, the area around the village of Augher) at the capture of Liscallaghan (Fivemiletown) in October 1641.<sup>164</sup>

Phelim Gruama McNeill Carrach O'Neill (no. 38, Fig. 6.1) hailed from a branch of the O'Neills based in Killetra, part of a vast wooded area between the Ballinderry and Moyola rivers. The woods to the north were known as Glenconkeyne. This *sliocht* was more closely related to the Clandeboye O'Neills than those west of the Bann. It had been powerful enough for Hugh O'Neill to have its leader, Phelim McTurlough, whom he saw as a threat to his hegemony in the province, killed in 1593. It is difficult to determine the relationship between this Phelim and the Phelim Gruama awarded the *baile bó* of Lanaglug on the shores of the Ballinderry, within Dungannon but as close as possible to Killetra, where the Salters' company in Londonderry became his neighbours after the plantation.<sup>165</sup> Given that he was the only native landowner in the area of Ballinderry, it is impressive that Phelim Gruama managed to hold onto his land until the 1640s; the Civil Survey records its confiscation in the 1650s, although he had been killed at Glenmacquin in 1642 fighting the 'Laggan army'.<sup>166</sup>

While Phelim Gruama may have received plantation lands reasonably close to his family's territory, the same cannot be said of Feardorcha McBriar Carrach O'Neill (no. 40, Fig. 6.1), scion of another branch of the O'Neills from the area between Tyrone and Clandeboye, namely the *sliocht* Donall Donn, descendants of a Donall Donn ('brown') who lived

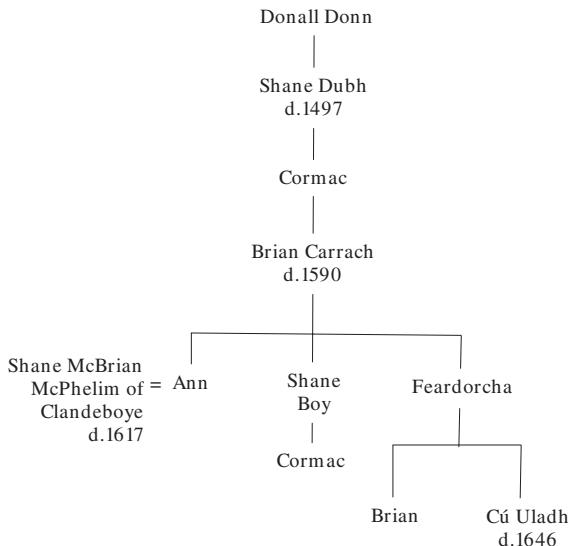


Fig. 6.11 Descendants of Donall Donn of the Bann

in the fifteenth century (see Fig. 6.11). These O'Neills had occupied lands straddling the River Bann, owing tribute to the Tyrone O'Neills on the west side and the Clandeboye O'Neills on the east. The name of this *slíocht* led English commentators to dub them and their territory 'Clandonnell', and this sometimes led to the mistaken belief that they were related to the Scottish McDonalds who had settled in Antrim.<sup>167</sup> Brian Carrach O'Neill, the father of the plantation grantee, was a formidable figure in the region, and contemporaneous maps of the area bear his name.<sup>168</sup> He transferred his allegiance from Turlough Luineach to Hugh O'Neill in 1586 and died in 1590, presumably in the service of the latter.<sup>169</sup> His place as leader of the *slíocht* was taken by a son, Shane Boy, who was listed by both Fynes Moryson and John Dymmock among the forces ranged against the government in 1599, although his ultimate fate is not apparent from the sources.<sup>170</sup> Neither is it clear what specific services Feardorcha, Shane Boy's brother, performed for the government to merit land in the plantation. The *baile bó* of Terryglassog he received was situated far from the traditional lands of his *slíocht*.<sup>171</sup> Feardorcha did not prosper as a colonial landlord; by the 1640s, the area was owned by

one Sutton Clark with Feardorcha's son, Brian, clearly belonging to the malcontents of Tyrone society, given his role as a 'captain of Tullahoge' in 1641.<sup>172</sup>

The final two individuals to be accounted for here are the children of Cormac McBaron O'Neill, brother of the departed Earl of Tyrone. The actions of Cormac in the immediate aftermath of the flight are somewhat bizarre. Chichester informed the Privy Council that he was the first to come to Dublin with news of the earls' departure. The fact that Cormac's eldest son, Art Oge, went into exile with his uncle led the lord deputy to suspect that Cormac was 'not unacquainted with their purpose'.<sup>173</sup> It is unclear whether his remaining behind was part of some strategy on the part of the O'Neills, or whether he genuinely hoped to gain favour by informing the authorities of the flight. Either way, it proved to be a tragic misstep. John Davies embellished these suspicions a few days later, refusing to take at face value Cormac's decision not to travel with his kinfolk:

It was noted that Sir Cormack had his private end in this; for withall hee was an earnest suitor to have the custodiam of his brothers cuntrey, which perhaps might bee to his brothers use by agreement betwixt them, and therefore for this and other causes of suspition, the constable of the castle of Dublin hath the custodiam of him.<sup>174</sup>

Cormac had followed O'Neill and the rest of his party as far as Dunnalong, only a few miles from the garrisons at Lifford and Derry, whom he failed to inform of the earl's intentions, waiting instead for confirmation that they had departed before heading to Dublin.<sup>175</sup> Under interrogation, Cormac himself claimed that relations with his brother had deteriorated since the end of the Nine Years War, and that he would prefer prison to the company of his brother.<sup>176</sup> He got his wish, being imprisoned without trial for the remainder of his life, although the evidence would suggest that, just like Donall O'Cahan, the state had come to the conclusion that he represented no real threat.<sup>177</sup> The granting of land to two of his children, however, suggests that the expediency of giving his family some stake in the plantation was recognised.<sup>178</sup> An allowance was thus made in 1610 for the relief of Cormac's wife (Mairead O'Donnell, sister of Rory, the departed Earl of Tyrconnell), a daughter Mary, and a son, Brian Crosach.<sup>179</sup>

Mary O'Neill (no. 44, Fig. 6.1) was awarded Coolnahavil and Coolnafrank in the territory known as Arachtra before the plantation (now the area around Cookstown).<sup>180</sup> Her brother Brian Crosach (no. 16, Fig. 6.1) became the second-largest native grantee in Dungannon after Turlough McArt, receiving almost 8000 acres of mostly poor quality land around Oughtmore and Fir Mountains to the west of Mary's portion.<sup>181</sup> This area was far from their father's power base in the barony of Clogher, about 40 km to the south-west.<sup>182</sup> Mary married a Scottish colonist, William Stewart, who was probably related to the family of Lord Ochiltree (later Baron Castle Stewart). They had a son, also called William, who inherited Mary's lands on her death in the early 1620s.<sup>183</sup> Another son called Robert, however, sold Coolnafrank to James Stewart in 1632, who was also in possession of Coolnahavil by the 1640s.<sup>184</sup> That Mary's husband William was a not entirely reputable member of the Stewart family is suggested by allegations that he was involved in the conspiracy of the Irish against the colony in 1615. Brian Crosach claimed that William had sworn to assist the conspirators, and would bring with him the assistance of the 'best of the Scots'. While his interlocutor expressed doubts, the possibility cannot be dismissed out of hand, given that the two men were brothers-in-law, and that the plot involved the release of Williams' father-in-law and another brother-in-law, Henry.<sup>185</sup> To understand the context in which Brian Crosach O'Neill—who had apparently enjoyed the beneficence of the plantation commissioners—became involved in such a desperate and ill-fated design as the conspiracy of 1615, it is worth attempting to piece together the course of his fortunes in the years leading up to this.

From the time of the flight and his father's imprisonment, the government's attitude towards Brian Crosach was ambiguous. Chichester and his colleagues had to weigh up the potential benefits of winning his allegiance to the new order against the dangers of leaving him at large. At the time of O'Doherty's rising in 1608, Toby Caulfeild, recognising Brian's capacity to 'to draw a great many of idle followers after him to commit villainy', bought the young man off with the rents (£40) of a *baile biataigh* for two years.<sup>186</sup> Notwithstanding this, doubts were cast upon Brian's dependability in the aftermath of the rising, with several of those involved claiming that he had been sympathetic to O'Doherty and had at least flirted with the idea of joining him.<sup>187</sup> No doubt Brian Crosach, like many other native leaders at the time, was unwilling to

commit himself to O'Doherty's cause until he could be assured it stood a reasonable chance of success.

Notwithstanding these allegations, Brian Crosach's relatively large grant in 1611 suggests that he was given the benefit of the doubt and, unlike his father and others who fell under suspicion in the wake of O'Doherty's rising, was recognised as 'deserving' in 1611. At this point, he may have seen the plantation as a welcome opportunity for social and economic advancement. Raymond Gillespie argues that 'despite the fears of the Dublin government the plantation scheme did not provoke widespread hostility among the Ulster Irish'. In Brian's specific case, Gillespie claims that colonial society would have offered opportunities for social advancement which, as an illegitimate son of Cormac McBaron, would have been denied him under the Gaelic order.<sup>188</sup> As Kenneth Nicholls has shown, however, illegitimacy was not so heavily stigmatised in Gaelic society as in English; it did not distinguish, for example, between legitimate and the illegitimate' heirs in matters of succession.<sup>189</sup> To be an illegitimate son was a greater obstacle to advancement in English society than it was among the Irish. It is difficult, therefore, to see how the imposition of English mores and values on the province would have offered somebody in Brian Crosach's position greater freedom for advancement.

It is likely that Brian Crosach viewed this grant of lands in the foot-hills of Slieve Gallion as better than the alternatives on offer—following his uncle into exile or living 'on his keeping' in the forests and fastnesses of the Sperrins or Glenconkeyne-Killettra. It does not necessarily follow, however, that he viewed the plantation as a positive development or saw in it an opportunity to improve his lot. On the contrary, there are good reasons for doubting that this was the case, or at least that such a frame of mind did not last long beyond the date of his grant in 1611. First, the London companies to his north argued in 1612 that the land awarded to Brian Crosach was actually not in Dungannon at all, but the barony of Loughinsholin (which had recently been transferred from Tyrone to the newly created county of Londonderry), and that his patent should be cancelled and the land given to them.<sup>190</sup> It is not surprising that Brian attempted to sell his land to the Londoners at this point, strongly implying that he did not view his future as a colonial landowner with any great confidence.<sup>191</sup> Although Gillespie has claimed that the Londoners' demand was not acceded to by the government, and that the whole question of Brian's lands being within the confines of Londonderry was

proved on investigation to be false, none of the references cited conclusively prove that the issue was laid to rest there.<sup>192</sup>

The following year, 1613, the Bodley survey reported that Brian had done little or nothing to develop his lands.<sup>193</sup> It may well be that the option of cutting his losses and fleeing the country *did* appear more attractive; that flight was on his mind is suggested by the fact that he and his fellow conspirators in 1615 included in their plans the provision of a boat to transport them abroad.<sup>194</sup> As has been argued elsewhere in this work, the plantation introduced an element of insecurity into the lives of many Irish in Ulster, which made them less—not more—likely to develop the trappings of sedentary life, such as tillage agriculture and permanent dwellings. Furthermore, there were more than purely economic interests at stake. Despite Brian's grant of lands being better than nothing, a displeasure comparable with Turlough McArt O'Neill and Connor Roe Maguire's—that he had had not received lands commensurate with his status—would be consistent with Brian Crosach's subsequent actions.

That aristocratic pride played a part in his calculations is suggested by a complaint he made of his treatment at the summer assizes in 1614, where he claimed the New English judge Aungier, 'was ready to revile me like a churl'.<sup>195</sup> Gillespie traces Brian Crosach's involvement in the plot largely to this slight, dismissing other factors such as dissatisfaction with the plantation, and suggesting that he may not have agreed to conspire with the others until after this.<sup>196</sup> This incident, however, should not be over-emphasised. Brian's own account of the confrontation suggests his resentment ran deeper than a mere insult. First, the imprisonment of his father on no charge for the past seven years must have alienated him from any new order that could perpetrate such an injustice. Added to the disrespect he received at the hands of Justice Aungier, Brian Crosach furthermore claimed 'the other black judge would lean his head upon one shoulder to see if he could espy any occasion to hang me'. Something more tangible than disrespect may have occurred at these assizes which drove Brian to declare the following year: 'I will not, by my good will, ever come among them any more.'<sup>197</sup> It is curious that the patent recording the transfer of his lands after his attainder to Francis Edgworth, while issued in 1616, dates Edgworth's deed to these lands 30 July 1614, *before* Brian Crosach entered into conspiracy.<sup>198</sup> If he had already been dispossessed of his lands in 1614, the question of his motivation for involvement in 1615 suddenly becomes a lot more straightforward.

As for the conspiracy itself, the rather sordid course of events that led to its disclosure, and the arrest and execution of its leading figures (including Brian Crosach) has been recounted at length in Gillespie's monograph. Observers such as Francis Blundell and Robert Jacob, the solicitor-general, argued that it had been blown out of proportion by the class of military servitors led by Chichester, who had a vested interest in convincing the government that the colony was under threat. Blundell went so far as to suggest the plot had been invented by one Tadhg O'Lenan, who, in danger of being hanged himself, had sought to save his life by incriminating 'divers active young men of the ancient septs of the Irish'.<sup>199</sup> Such conspiracies were all markedly local in focus, and attracted little support outside a small group of conspirators.<sup>200</sup> Gillespie has similarly claimed that there was no widespread resentment towards the plantation beyond 'some initial dissatisfaction', which 'does not seem to have developed into a more coherent movement and had melted away by 1616'.<sup>201</sup>

Numerous examples have been offered in this work, however, of English administrators attesting to the discontent of the Irish on the plantation in these years. Brian's belief that the 'black judge' was seeking an opportunity to hang him is illustrative of the view that the implementation of English law was often nothing more than a continuation of a process of conquest and dispossession by judicial means rather than military ones. His speech to Dermot Oge McDunne (see below pp. 281–282) reflects a profound disenchantment with colonial society and a belief that it would never genuinely accommodate the native Irish beyond the strategic extent necessary to suppress dissent. In one respect, however, Gillespie is correct in that dissatisfaction did not develop into any coherent movement in these early years. This was as much to do, however, with a lack of leadership and the exhaustion of the population after a long period of war as with any significant level of contentment among the general population. Solicitor-general Jacob remarked in 1609 of the Irish in Ulster:

They want a great man to be president amongst them, whose countenance, power, and authority might governe them and keep them in awe; for nowe they are a multitude w[i]thout a head.<sup>202</sup>

With the departure of the earls and their retinue, the only others who might have been in a position to lead native resistance to colonisation were those who had been given the hope of a stake in the plantation by grants of land. While a few of these, such as Brian Crosach, came to the conclusion that this new dispensation was, in the long term,

disadvantageous to the Irish, most had yet to come to this realisation by 1615. The handful who participated in the conspiracy of that year could hardly be described as a 'coherent movement', being neither competent nor numerous enough to seriously threaten the colonial administration. By 1641, a sufficient proportion of the native landowning gentry had lost faith in the possibility of advancement, or even in the maintenance of their position, through co-operation with the plantation project, for them to form the ranks of a native leadership capable of taking over central Ulster with relative speed.

Belief in the opportunities represented by engagement with the colony may have been prolonged by the negotiation of the 'Graces'; in some quarters, it lasted into the 1630s. By 1641, however, judging by the level of participation in the rising among the native landowning class, it is clear than most of this group had belatedly come to conclusions similar to those of Brian Crosach O'Neill twenty-six years earlier. Both Gillespie and Aidan Clarke have argued that short-term political factors, such as the growing intransigence of the Puritan element in the London parliament and the failure of Wentworth's government to honour the 'Graces', were more instrumental in the minds of those who planned the rising than the overthrow of the plantation itself.<sup>203</sup> While it is certainly true that such considerations determined the timing of the conspiracy that sparked the rising, they alone do not explain the fact that it occurred. While the Irish gentry may well have had less radical objectives than the overthrow of the plantation to start with, these objectives appear to have evolved with the changing tactical situation. The crippling debt in which a 'successful' native landowner such as Phelim Roe O'Neill found himself would certainly have given him a powerful incentive to overthrow the colonial order when that opportunity presented itself. It should also be borne in mind, however, that different insurgents no doubt harboured different hopes for the rising, as evinced by the example of Phelim's brother, Turlough Oge, above.

While some 'deserving Irish' may have wanted changes in colonial society, there was no doubt a limit to the social revolution they were prepared to countenance. This is why it is once again important to take cognisance of the class divisions that existed in the ranks of the native Irish in plantation society and to recognise that two risings took place in 1641. One was planned by a small group of conspirators, relatively conservative in their aims, seeking to seize a few strategic forts and towns and negotiate from a position of strength. The other was a more spontaneous outburst of violence by an oppressed colonial underclass that sought the complete overthrow of the existing order. An awareness of divergent class

interests within the ranks of the Irish suggests that the co-existence of both risings was in no way contradictory. The more limited rising of the conspirators, as portrayed by Clarke and Gillespie, makes sense if understood as relating to the Irish gentry alone. Confusion has arisen from the tendency to conflate this group (who constituted, after all, a small minority of the native population in Ulster) with the whole. In this way, the majority has to some extent been written out of the history of this period. It was in fact this landless majority which seized the initiative in October 1641 and determined the character of the rising, especially in Ulster.

To posit a rising that was *not* a consequence of deep-seated resentment towards the colonial order in Ulster is to reject a simpler and more straightforward explanation (for which abundant evidence exists) for a far more proximate and convoluted one. It also appears to imply a colonial society that was largely harmonious being suddenly destabilised by political crisis and harvest failure.<sup>204</sup> To speculate on the contentment or otherwise of the native population in plantation society, however, it is necessary to move beyond this case study of the ‘deserving Irish’, and to examine some of the broader questions surrounding the Ulster colony.

## NOTES

1. Anonymous memorandum concerning Ireland, 26 July 1633, SP 63-254 no. 49, f. 91v.
2. It appears once in a document probably written by John Davies in late 1608, SP 63-225 no. 281, f. 261v. In the eighteenth century, it occurs in Thomas Carte, *An history of the life of James Duke of Ormonde, from his birth in 1610, to his death in 1688*, vol. 2 (London, 1736), 385. The standalone adjective ‘deserving’ was sometimes used, both by contemporaries and historians, to describe the native grantees. Chichester, for example, described as ‘the honeste sorte, and best deservinge’ as among those it would be necessary to consider in awarding land. Chichester to the Privy Council, 14 October 1608, SP 63-225, no. 224, f. 105r. He uses the phrase ‘good and deserving men’ to describe undertakers and servitors, however, and the adjective clearly had no use specific to the Irish at the time. Chichester to the Earl of Northampton, 5 February 1609, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 145.
3. George Hill’s nineteenth-century work on the plantation, for example, uses the adjective to describe both Irish and non-Irish grantees, *An historical account of the Plantation in Ulster at the commencement of the seventeenth century, 1608–1620* (Belfast: McCaw, Stevenson & Orr, 1877), 153, 578.

4. Clarke, 'Plantation and the Catholic question, 1603–1623,' in *A New History of Ireland*, vol. 3, 201–202.
5. Jerrold Casway, for example, uses the phrase 'these deserving Irish, as they were termed' in 'The decline and fate of Dónal Ballagh O'Cahan,' in *Kingdoms in crisis: Ireland in the 1640s: essays in honour of Dónal Cregan*, ed. Micheál Ó Siochrú (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 62. John McCavitt has claimed on his Flight of the Earls website that 'the native inhabitants of the affected areas' were 'known as the "deserving" Irish'. [http://www.theflightoftheearls.net/plantation\\_of\\_ulster1.htm](http://www.theflightoftheearls.net/plantation_of_ulster1.htm) (accessed 10 December 2014).
6. This example is taken from Tim Harris, *Rebellion: Britain's First Stuart Kings, 1567–1642* (Oxford University Press, 2014) 434.
7. This decision was made under advice from Chichester, it being felt that 'it would tend to the quiet of those parts if the said lands were divided in some convenient manner amongst the issue male of the said Sir Henry' (Phelim's grandfather). The king to Chichester, 31 March 1612, in *CSPI James I, 1611–1614*, 260.
8. Falkland to Lord Conway, 24 December 1625, SP 63-241 no. 174, f. 364r.
9. Chichester to Cecil, 20 June 1602, SP 63-211-2 no. 58, f. 152r.
10. Cahir O'Doherty to Arthur Chichester, 4 November 1607, SP 63-222, no. 169, f. 231r.
11. He acted as a foreman to the jury which indicted the departed earls and lobbied to be appointed to the household of the Prince of Wales at court.
12. Chichester to the Privy Council, 17 September 1607, SP 63-222 no. 137, f. 124r.
13. Niall Garbh was the grandson of An Calvagh O'Donnell, who had ruled Tyrconnell in the 1560s, and whose imprisonment by Shane O'Neill had allowed Hugh Roe's branch of the family to seize power for themselves. Following Hugh Roe's escape from imprisonment and his consolidation of power in Tyrconnell, Niall was obliged to co-operate with his rival throughout the 1590s. It was only with the arrival of Henry Docwra's forces on Lough Foyle that it became feasible for the pretender to challenge the ruling O'Donnell; in October 1600, he and his brothers joined forces with the English in return for recognition of his lordship over Tyrconnell.
14. Lord deputy and councillors at Athlone to the English Privy Council, 9 January 1603, SP 63-212 no. 114, f. 277v.
15. Mountjoy to Cecil, 25 April 1603, SP 63-215 no. 38, f. 85r.
16. *CPRI James I*, 272.

17. Among these sacrifices was the loss of his wife, Nuala O'Donnell, sister of Rory, who had abandoned Niall Garbh when he went over to the English in 1603 and subsequently fled to the continent with her brothers in 1607.
18. Chichester to the Salisbury, 28 March 1607, SP 63-221 no. 34, f. 88v.
19. Aidan Clarke, 'Plantation and the catholic question, 1603–1623,' in *A New History of Ireland*, vol. 3, 197.
20. For differing interpretations of Niall Garbh's involvement in the 1608 rising, see: Séan Ó Domhnaill, 'Sir Niall Garbh O'Donnell and the Rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Doherty,' *Irish Historical Studies* 3, no. 9 (1942): 34–38, and F. W. Harris, 'The rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Doherty and its legal aftermath,' *Irish Jurist* 15 (1980): 298–325.
21. One of its central figures, Phelim Roe McDavitt, asserted that O'Doherty had been persuaded by O'Donnell to burn Derry and massacre its inhabitants. This allegation might plausibly be seen as a spiteful attempt by McDavitt, who was already condemned, to implicate O'Donnell along with him as revenge for *not* receiving assistance. Examination of Phelim Reagh [McDavit], 3 August 1608, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 2. The testimony of his mother-in-law, Iníon Dubh (the mother of Hugh Roe and Rory O'Donnell), must be regarded as suspect for several reasons: she was the mother of his bitterest rivals in the O'Donnell dynasty. Indeed, Niall Garbh killed another of her sons, Manus. Of more immediate relevance in the context of O'Doherty's rising is the fact that Niall, at its breaking out, drove her from her castle at Mongavlin and occupied it. Examination of John Lynnshull, Sir Neale O'Donnell's secretary, 15 June 1608, in *CSPI James I, 1606–1608*, 564.
22. Mountjoy to Cecil, 4 July 1600, in SP 63-207-4 no. 5, f. 23r.
23. Docwra recalled being told by the lord deputy to 'sett downe in writing the uttermost of what I could charge him withall'. Docwra, 'A narration of the services done,' 274.
24. The jury (whose composition Niall objected to) was starved over a weekend in order to coerce them into finding O'Donnell guilty. When they nevertheless refused, Davies suspended the trial in order to avoid a verdict of not guilty being returned, 'pretending that I had more evidence to give for the King, but that I found the Jury so weak w[it]h long fasting that they were not able to attend that service', and recommending that Niall either be removed to England and tried there, or simply locked up indefinitely without trial, as he subsequently was. Davies to Salisbury, 27 June 1609, SP 63-227 no. 89, ff. 11r–12v.
25. Chichester to Salisbury, 31 October 1609, SP 63-277 no. 150, f. 157r.
26. Articles of agreem[en]t betweene Sir Henry Dockwra knight gov[er]nor of Loughfoile and O Cahan, 27 July 1602, SP 63-211-1 no. 98, f. 268r.

On being asked to go back on his word to O'Cahan, Docwra is said to have asked the lord deputy: 'how shall I looke this man in the face when I shall knowe myselfe guilty directlie to have falsified my word with him?' At this Mountjoy is said to have replied: 'Hee is but a drunken ffellowe.' When Docwra broke the news of this betrayal to O'Cahan shortly afterwards, he reportedly 'bad the Devill take all English Men & as many as put theire trust in them'. Docwra, 'A narration of the ser-vices done,' 274, 277.

27. Casway, 'The decline and fate of Dónal Ballagh O'Cahan,' 53.
28. Arthur Chichester, Certaine noates of Rememberance, September 1608, SP 63-225 no. 225, f. 111v.
29. This testimony seems suspect for several reasons. First, there is the obvious fact that joining forces with O'Neill was the last thing on O'Cahan's mind; given their recent quarrel, he had no incentive to welcome his return. Secondly, Donall and his brother had been estranged for years; although Shane's 'voluntarie confession' recognises this inconsistency (claiming that Donall had suddenly sent for him and 'desired him to bee frends'), this sudden reconciliation is left unexplained. The state of the cause touching Sir Donell Ochane, October 1609, SP 63-227 no. 150a, f. 163r.
30. In January 1608, John Davies wrote testily to London of a 'base brother' of Donall (most likely Shane) 'who doth play Robin Hood in his cuntry and is, as wee hear, countenanced by him'. Davies to Salisbury, 6 January 1608, SP 63-223 no. 2, f. 6v.
31. The state of the cause touching Sir Donell Ochane, October 1609, SP 63-227 no. 150a, f. 164r.
32. The agreement made by Jo: Rowley and Tristram Berisford Agentes for the Cittie of London, with the Freeholders of Colrayne the 16th of Augste 1611, 'Ulster Plantation Papers,' *Analecta Hibernica* 8 (1938): 211–212.
33. Arthur Chichester, Certaine noates of Rememberance, September 1608, SP 63-225 no. 225, ff. 111v-112r. The 'loyalty' of Manus extended to passing on to Chichester a letter written to him from Donall in 1610 begging him to 'perform a brotherly part to gain yourself a loving brother' and come to England to sue for his release. Donall further pleaded with his brother not to be tempted into betraying him by the promise of small amounts of land from the English. He argued that the parcels of land given to figures such as Turlough McArt O'Neill and Brian Mac Cú Chonnacht Maguire were paltry compared to what Manus had been offered by him. Donall O'Cahan to his brother Manus, 1 June 1610, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 504–505. Manus was however, by 1627, disaffected enough to be in contact with his two sons

in Spanish service in the Netherlands about a planned invasion led by Shane McHugh O'Neill (Tyrone's heir), and was considered by the latter to be the 'onely principall man on whom he relied to take the cit-tye and countye of Derrye'. The examinacion of Brian McDonnogho Braddaugh O'Hagan alias O Hogan, taken before me on the 17 day of February 1626[27], SP 63-244 no. 582, f. 86r.

34. Niall Garbh's son, Neachtain O'Donnell, who was sent into imprisonment in England along with his father and O'Cahan, was said by Chichester to have committed no crime ('he hath done no harme neither is he charged with anie') beyond being 'as proude spireted as his father'. Chichester to Salisbury, 31 October 1609, SP 63-227 no. 150, f. 157r.
35. Mac an Bhaird, 'Bean do lamhaigheadh Leith Cuinn', in *Gleanings*, 27-52. The division of the island into Leath Cuinn (Conn's Half, the north) and Leath Moga (Mugh's half, the south) was believed by the Irish to date from its partition among two legendary heroes, Conn Céttchathach ('of the hundred battles'), from whom the Connachta and Uí Néill dynasties were believed to descend, and Owen Mor, from whom the Eóganachta, based around Cashel, claimed descent. Owen defeated Conn at the battle of Maigh Nuadad in 123 and compelled him to cede the southern half of the island to him.
36. Davies to Salisbury, 24 September 1610, SP 63-229, no. 125a, f. 129v.
37. The O'Quinns were assigned a two-thirds share, and the O'Hagans one third, of the profits given to the two septs from O'Neill, on account of the presence of two O'Quinns and one O'Hagan at the killing of McLochlann in battle. Ó Doibhlin, 'Ceart Uí Néill,' 324, 345, 357.
38. Éamon Ó Doibhlin, 'O Neill's 'Own Country' and Its Families,' *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 6, no. 1 (1970): 9.
39. The comments of several contemporaries (see, for example, Moryson, 'The Itinerary,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 22, 24, Camden, *Britain*, part 2, 98 and Rich, *A new description*, 36) on the 'natural sloth' of the Irish and their preference for battle and robbery above 'honest labours' were no doubt partly informed by prejudice; they may also, however, have been an observation based on the disdain of these former retainers of great *tiarnai* for agricultural labour, and the much greater esteem in which military service was held by the Irish generally. There was, of course, nothing peculiarly Irish about this esteem for military over civilian occupations, which had held throughout medieval Europe and was only in the early modern period being challenged by the rise of a commercial farming and merchant class.
40. Davies to Salisbury, 24 September 1610, SP 63-229, no. 125a, f. 129v.

41. *Na punt* meaning 'of the money', suggesting he was the collector of O'Neill's rents. *CSPI James I, 1606-1608*, 436, 555. The description of Murtagh O'Quinn as O'Neill's servant is in SP 63-218 no. 18i, f. 44v.
42. Appendix: Tyrone inquisition, Dungannon 23 August 1609, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2 Ulster.
43. That is, presuming he is the same 'Owen Roe O Quyne' whom Murtagh wrote to, seeking license to return. Chichester to Francis Annesley, November 1609, SP 63-227 no. 165a, f. 198r.
44. *CPRI James I*, 192.
45. The epithet 'Gruama' means 'melancholy'. Éamon Ó Doibhlinn has no hesitation in identifying Owen Roe as Turlough's father. 'Domhnach Mór: Part III: The Plantation Era,' *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 3, no. 1 (1958): 221. Turlough's age can be gauged from the fact that he was said to be aged '55 years or thereabouts' at the time of his interrogation by the Cromwellian authorities in 1653. Examination of Turlough Groome O Quin, 2 June 1653, f. 91r. Almost all of the *baile bó* were acquired from Turlough McArt O'Neill who, as a comparison of Figs. 6.1 and 6.2 shows, while still retaining some lands in 1641, had by then been considerably reduced in his holdings. Turlough Gruama's lands at the end of this period are attested to in: PRONI D594/4/54 and *BSD* vol. 7, ff. 176v, 180v.
46. He is referred to as one of Phelim Roe O'Neill's chief captains in O'Mellan's journal. Ó Mealláin, 'Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,' 336, 338.
47. *CPRI James I*, 192.
48. *CPRI James I*, 192. Tyrone, Charles I, no. 2, *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2 Ulster. The Down Survey records its forfeiture from Niall Oge in the 1650s: PRONI, D597/4/45 and *BSD* vol. 7, f. 188v.
49. Griffin Markham to Robert Cecil, Newry, 8 November 1600, SP 63-207-6 no. 19, f. 55v.
50. He must have an individual of some importance (Mountjoy described him as 'chiefe Favourite unto Tyrone') because O'Neill appears to have provided Mountjoy with pledges for his good behaviour in order to secure his return. Mountjoy and council to the Priy Council, Dublin, 26 November 1600, SP 63-207-6 no. 29, f. 75r. Mountjoy to George Carey, 8 August 1601, Camp near Mountnorris, Armagh, SP 63-209 no. 9, f. 18v.
51. Mountjoy to George Carey, 23 May 1601, Drogheda, SP 63-208-2 no. 91, f. 257r.
52. Examination of James Steile, 14 March 1653, TCD MS 838, f. 76v. Lissan lies on the border between Dungannon and County Londonderry, just north of the *baile bó* Niall and Niall Oge owned.

53. On orders from Phelim Roe O'Neill, he kept the workers at the iron-works alive in order to keep them productive in the insurgents' cause. Examination of Margaret Armstrong, 18 March 1653, TCD MS 838, f. 80v.
54. Examination of Lawrence O Cullen, 7 March 1653, TCD MS 838 f. 66v. Niall Oge's interrogation is recorded in: Examination of Neile oge O Quin, 17 March 1653, TCD MS 838 ff. 38r-39v. 'A list of those persons who were condemned by the High Court of Justice in the Province of Ulster for murder, and executed,' in *Mercurius Politicus*, no. 162 (London, 1653), 2591.
55. *BSD* vol. 7, f. 189r.
56. *CPRI James I*, 192.
57. *CPRI James I*, 192. Additional confusion is caused by the fact that Drummond appears to have been granted to Owen Roe O'Quinn (no. 27, Fig. 6.1, p. 226) as well; for this reason, it is represented on the map as belonging to the latter, and Tadhg McEamonn Oge is shown in the location of Aghafad. The fact that a Hugh McTadhg O'Hagan (no. 17, Fig. 6.2, p. 227), apparently Tadhg's son, is recorded as possessing the *baile bó* of 'Drumnan' in 1641 (a *baile bó* in the parish of Derryloran, north of Cookstown and actually outside the borders of Tyrone), opens up the further possibility that the 'Ballidromon' in Tadhg's patent referred to this *baile bó*, although this seems less likely, given that there is no *baile bó* with a name resembling 'Aghefaddein' nearby. Down Survey, PRONI D597/4/45 and *BSD* vol. 7, f. 188v. Inquisitions: Tyrone, Charles I, no. 26 and Tyrone, James I, no. 7, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2 Ulster.
58. This pardon was issued in February of that year and therefore does not indicate his participation in O'Doherty's rising later that year. 23 February 1608, *CPRI James I*, 117.
59. Down Survey, PRONI, D597/4/54 and *BSD* vol. 7, f. 176v.
60. Ó Mealláin, 'Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,' 340, 348.
61. *CPRI James I*, 192.
62. The examynation of Teag Modder McGlone taken before me Sir Toby Caulfeild, knight, 21 October 1613. SP 63-232, nos. 21, 22, ff. 136v-138r.
63. Tyrone, Charles I, no. 2, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2 Ulster. Down Survey, PRONI D594/4/51, *BSD* vol. 7, ff. 172v, 173v and *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 282. Ó Mealláin, 'Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin', 336, 351.
64. In the inquisition recording his death, Owen Oge is described as 'late of Moneymore': Tyrone, Charles I, no. 2, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2 Ulster.
65. Examination of Neile oge o Quin, 17 March 1653, TCD MS 838, ff. 38r-38v.

66. Pardon, 20 November 1602, in *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of Chancery in Ireland, from the 18th to the 45th of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 2, ed. James Morrin (London: H.M.S.O., 1862), 632. The patent to his plantation grant also describes him as leader of the O'Hagans: *CPRI James I*, 192.
67. Owen Modartha is attested to in: Depositions of Anne Smyth, Susana Wright, Anne Walton, 15 September 1642, TCD MS 839, f. 102r. Deposition of Robert Waringe, 12 August 1642, TCD MS 839, f. 109r would suggest that he had the epithet 'Modartha' ('surly', 'overcast') and that there was another brother, called Donall, in the family.
68. Tyrone, James I, no. 7, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster.
69. It is recorded as being in the possession of William Groves, an English colonist, *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 282.
70. Donald M. Schlegel, 'The MacDonnells of Tyrone and Armagh: A Genealogical Study,' *Seanchas Ardmbacha* 10, no. 1 (1981): 199–200.
71. John O'Donovan, ed., *Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four masters*, vol. 5 (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1856), 1365.
72. Schlegel, 'The MacDonnells of Tyrone and Armagh,' 211.
73. Demands to be made to Philemy Reagh [McDavit], 1 August 1608 and Examination of Phelim Reaghe [McDavit], 3 August 1608, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 1–3.
74. *CPRI James I*, 132.
75. Tyrone, Charles I, no. 50, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster.
76. Aghnaskea, and possibly Sessiagonagh and Altmore. There is a discrepancy between the Down Survey and the Books of Survey and Distribution. The former claim that Turlough McArt O'Neill remained in possession of these two *bailte bó*, whereas the latter state they had come into Randall's possession. Down Survey, PRONI D597/4/54 and *BSD* vol. 7, f. 177v. In the map above, Sessiagonagh has been assigned to Randall and Altmore to Turlough.
77. Deposition of George Burne, 12 January 1644, TCD MS 839, f. 38r; Deposition of John Kerdiff, 28 February 1642, TCD MS 839, f. 16r; Deposition of Anthony Stratford, supplement, 7 February 1643, TCD MS 839, f. 24r.
78. Ó Mealláin, 'Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,' 354.
79. One of Shane O'Neill's epithets was 'Donnghaileach', signifying fosterage with that *sliocht*.
80. Lord deputy and council to Burghley, 2 May 1590, SP 63-152 no. 4, f. 26r.
81. The factions through the north of Ireland, May 1598, SP 63-202-2 no. 54, f. 179r.

82. Fynes Moryson, *An itinerary containing his ten yeeres travell through the twelve dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland & Ireland*, vol. 2 (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1907), 414.
83. The perfect names of such captens and commanders with their severall companies as are now under the command of the Traitor Tyrone within Tyrone, 9 August 1601, SP 63-209-1, no. 10c, f. 28v.
84. Two inquisitions record the death of Shane, either ten or eight years before the date they were made (in 1631). Tyrone, Charles I, no. 23 and Tyrone, Charles I, no. 34, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster. Down Survey, PRONI D597/4/45 and *BSD* vol. 7, f. 188v.
85. O'Donovan, *Annala Rioghachta Eireann*, vol. 6, 2429, and Michael McRory, 'Life and Times of Doctor Patrick O'Donnelly, 1649–1716: The Bard of Armagh,' *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 5, no. 1 (1969): 4. Patrick Modartha himself gave the location as 'neere Castlecaulfeild', Examination of Patrick Modder o Donnelly, 30 March 1653, TCD MS 838, f. 42r. Nicholas Combe provides the exact location, Ballyward, a townland just to the south of this location, and owned by Caulfeild in 1641. O'Donnelly was therefore his tenant as well as his employee prior to the rising. Examination of Nicholas Combe, 4 June 1653, TCD MS 839, f. 78r; Deposition of George Burne, 12 January 1644, TCD MS 839 f. 38r. 'Silicitor' in this context most likely signified an agent as opposed to a law officer.
86. *CPRI James I*, 192. This Shane's patent includes the patronym 'McAdegan', an anglicisation of Mac an Deagánaigh, meaning one of his forebears was a dean in the church, not an occupation we would expect to find in a *sliocht* traditionally associated with military functions. He was still in possession of Crosscavanagh on the eve of the rising, and may have still been alive at the time of the Down Survey, which refers to his possession of the land rather than his heirs'. *BSD* vol. 7, f. 175v; Down Survey, PRONI, D597/4/54 and *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 288.
87. Fermanagh, Charles I, no. 23, *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster.
88. Information of Captain John Perkins, 8 March 1644, TCD MS 839, f. 40r.
89. Ó Mealláin, 'Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,' 336, 338, 346.
90. *CPRI James I*, 192.
91. Ó Doibhlin, 'Ceart Uí Néill,' 353.
92. Ó Doibhlin, 'O'Neill's 'Own Country' and Its Families,' 13.
93. Fiant no. 6713, in *Eighteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland* (Dublin: Alex. Thom, 1886), 107.
94. These lands are recorded under several names in the English surveys of the period: they appear as 'Munter Develin' (20 *bailte bó*) in the 1608

survey. A booke of the Kings lands, MS. Rawlinson A. 237, 152. In the more thorough survey carried out under Josias Bodley's supervision in the following year, they appear on the maps divided into two sections, 'Revelinowtra' and 'Revelinyetra' (upper and lower). Part of the barony of Donganon, SP MPF-1-45-1. Brian sold the land he had been granted in 1615 to a 'Dame Margery Roe' according to the *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 264.

95. Anonymous, 'Certyn notes and observations,' 41. The same writer asserted that 'barbarous people have no strength or power to rebel when they are removed from that earth or land wherein they are bredd'. *Ibid*, 38.
96. Arthur Chichester, Remembrancies in the behalfe of p[er]sons of qualitie and desert to be recommended to the king's ma[jes]tie and the lords of the councell, January 1610, SP 63-228 no. 16, f. 39v.
97. Chichester, Remembrancies, SP 63-228 no. 16, f. 39r.
98. Note the word 'plainest' used here should be understood as meaning 'open, unobstructed, unsheltered, exposed'. Chichester, Certaine Considerations, SP 63-228 no. 15, f. 35v.
99. Chichester to Salisbury, 27 September 1610, SP 63-229 no. 126, ff. 133r-133v. Chichester to Salisbury, November 1610, SP 63-229 no. 135, f. 174r.
100. Robinson, 'The Ulster Plantation and its impact on the settlement pattern of County Tyrone,' 245.
101. Chichester noted, for example, that O'Neill's lands in the southern half of the Fews were 'more woode and bogge than pasture or arrable grounde'. Arthur Chichester, Certaine noates of Rememberance, September 1608, SP 63-225 no. 225, f. 112v. Perceval-Maxwell has also noted that the northern part of this barony, allocated to Scottish colonists, 'was the best portion of the precinct'. *The Scottish migration to Ulster*, 120.
102. Interestingly, a hierarchy of ethnic groups within the class of colonists can also be detected in some writings. A proposal for plantation on the lands of the Earl of Essex in Farney, County Monaghan, in 1622 suggested that the 'the wast land on the north' of Essex's lands, 'to the w[hi]ch English wilt hardly be drawen it wear good to sett it to Scotch men'. Such poorer quality land was felt to be more fitting for Scottish settlers; also, their presence would have the added advantage of acting as a buffer between the English to the south and the native Irish: 'the Scotch shalbe as awall betwist them and the Irish throw whose quarter the Irish wilt not pass to cary any stealths.' Mr Taylor of Ardmagh his propositions for planting my Lo: of Essex land, 1622. NLI 8014, vol. 10 (no foliation).

103. Ó Doibhlin, ‘O Neill’s ‘Own Country’ and Its Families,’ 17–18. The name Mac Camhaoil has been anglicised in a bewildering variety of ways (McCawell, Campbell, McCaul), one of which is Caulfeild, no doubt an attempt to share in the reflected status of one of the most prominent colonist families in the area. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the anglicisation of the name Ó Gnimh in Clandeboye, to Agnew, prominent tenants of the Earl of Antrim.

104. Éamon Ó Doibhlinn, ‘Domhnach Mór: Part II,’ *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 2, no. 2 (1957): 420. Ó Doibhlin, ‘O Neill’s ‘Own Country’ and Its Families,’ 18. Perhaps the most noteworthy individual of this name in plantation society was Owen McCawell, an *airchinneach* of Dunboe parish whom Bishop George Montgomery sought to win over to the Protestant cause. ‘Bishop Montgomery’s survey,’ *Analecta Hibernica* 12 (1943): 101. This is most likely the same individual who was awarded a *baile biataigh* of lands in the midst of the Mercers’ proportion in Londonderry.

105. *CPRI James I*, 192. The perfect names of such captens and commanders with their severall companies as are now under the command of the Traitor Tyrone within Tyrone, 9 August 1601, SP 63-209-1, no. 10c, f. 28r.

106. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone’s rents, *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 542.

107. *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 260.

108. ‘The bell of St. Patrick and its shrine, Armagh, Co. Armagh,’ National Museum of Ireland website, <http://www.museum.ie/en/exhibition/list/ten-major-pieces.aspx?article=3a7f87c7-ee55-459d-b7c8-577becc19e15>, accessed 16 January 2015.

109. An account written by the sheriff of the area in 1609 lists the O’Mulhollands as one of the principal septs in that barony. John Teighe, A brief of some things which I observed in the several baronies of the county of Tyrone during the time that I was High Sheriff of that county in Anno 1608, in *CCM* vol. 5, 30. *CPRI James I*, 192. A large number of individuals with this name (usually anglicised as ‘Mulholland’) were demised land by Niall Oge O’Neill in the parish of Killead, Co. Antrim, on the eastern shore of Lough Neagh, suggesting a high concentration there as well. Inquisition made at Carrickfergus, 30 March 1640. Antrim, Charles I, no. 143, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster.

110. *CPRI James I*, 536. *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 260.

111. It has been deduced that the Corkhill next to Tullyaran was the one granted to O’Shiel, because he received this *baile bó* as well. The other Corkhill, granted to O’Mulholland, must therefore have been the one further north. *CPRI James I*, 192. The term ‘practiser’ here means

'conspirator' or 'schemer'. Intelligence from the parson of Trym, 17 June 1600, SP 63-207-4 no. 5ii, f. 26r.

112. The perfect names of such captens and commanders with their severall companies as are now under the command of the Traitor Tyrone within Tyrone, 9 August 1601, SP 63-209-1, no. 10c, f. 28r.
113. Henry Pepwell to Salisbury, 22 August 1609, SP 63-227 no. 122, f. 92v.
114. Appendix: Tyrone inquisition, Dungannon 23 August 1609, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster.
115. There were several *sleachta* in Gaelic Ireland who bore this name. The ancestors of this James were probably of that branch who had occupied the hereditary position of physicians to the ruling sept in Offaly.
116. Names of servitors and natives to whom Lands are now granted in the Precinct of Donganon, in *CCM*, vol. 5, 237.
117. Tyrone, James I, no. 7, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2 Ulster. Éamon Ó Doibhlinn, 'Domhnach Mór Part V: The Cromwellian Settlement and Its Aftermath,' *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 4, no. 1 (1961): 184.
118. Wyne importes into the porte of Dublin from michaelmas 1640 unto Michaelmas primo dec 1640, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Carte MS 1, f. 272v.
119. Opportunities for economic advancement beyond agriculture being no doubt scarce in Ulster, native landowners such as O'Shiel may have chosen not to reside on the lands which they had been granted. A comparable example may be found of Brian Maguire (a brother of that Cú Chonnacht Maguire who fled with O'Neill), who was another of those who adapted particularly well to plantation society. In the 1622 survey he was reported to live 'very civil after the English manner'. This relative success may have incurred the jealousy and resentment of his fellow natives, for the same survey reports that he had taken a house in The Pale, 'to avoid the accustomed great reportes of his kinsmen and others of his howse'. A Brief Returne of a view and survey taken in the moneth of August 1622 by Sir Francis Annesley, Knight Baronett and Sir James Perrott, Knight, of the present state and Conditions of ye Plantation in the Counties of Cavan and Fermanagh, (BL Additional 4756), printed in P. Ó Gallachair, ed. 'A Fermanagh Survey,' *Clogher Record* 2, no. 2 (1958): 306. His alienation from (or at least a lack of identification with) the other native Irish in Ulster is suggested from his refusal to side with the Irish in 1641 and his giving of assistance to William Cole, the leader of the colonists' forces in the area. That these feelings of alienation were mutual is suggested by the fact that, by the 1650s, Brian was said to be 'in a very necessitous condition, occasioned by the several plunderings made upon him by the rebels for his faithfulness to the English interest'. The Council of Ireland to the Protector,

16 June 1656, in *A collection of the state papers of John Thurloe*, vol. 5, ed. Thomas Birch (London, 1742), 121.

120. They are listed as forfeit in the *Civil Survey* vol. 3, 288. Ó Doibhlin, 'Domhnach Mór Part V,' 187–190.

121. *CPRI James I*, 192.

122. Charles Meehan, *The fate and fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donel, earl of Tyrconnel* (Dublin: J. Duffy, 1886), 63, 134. Annuities and pensions graunted in Irleande determinable upon the death of the parties, 1623. SP 63-237 no. 79, f. 197v. He was described as 'much accounted of, and privately trusted by the Earle of Tirone'. John Bourchier to Salisbury, 21 June 1609. SP 63-227 no. 87, f. 7r.

123. List of Pensioners, 9 March 1606. SP 63-218, no. 28, f. 79v. Two lists include Owen among the native grantees, one among the Carew papers at Lambeth Palace and one at Trinity College, Dublin, printed in the following collections: Names of servitors and natives to whom Lands are now granted in the Precinct of Donganon, in *CCM*, vol. 5, 237 and 'Ulster Plantation Papers,' 214. By 1623, he was described as a servitor and still receiving a pension. Annuities and pensions, SP 63-237 no. 79, f. 197v.

124. Toby Caulfeild, 'A coppie of a letter for my lieutenant', 25 January 1606, SP 63-218 no. 18i, f. 45r.

125. It was furthermore maintained by Bourchier that Owen planned to join O'Neill at the earliest opportunity. John Bourchier to Salisbury, 21 June 1609. SP 63-227 no. 87, f. 7r.

126. Toby Caulfeild, A coppie of a letter for my lieutenant, 25 January 1606, SP 63-218 no. 18i, f. 44v.

127. Annuities and pensions, SP 63-237 no. 79, f. 197v.

128. Lords Justices to the Privy Council, 23 August 1623. SP 63-104 no. 28, f. 71v.

129. Thomas Edmonds to Salisbury, Brussels, 4 November 1607, *CSPI James I, 1606–1608*, 632. It does not appear that Henry ever did return to Ulster, as Caulfeild is recorded in 1609 as making allowance for the relief of the wife and children he left behind. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone's rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 543. Plantation grant to Robert Hovenden in *CPRI James I*, 192.

130. *CPRI James I*, 262.

131. *BSD* vol. 1, f. 39v. This Henry was either a son or nephew of Robert. On Robert's death in 1641, a two-year-old nephew was recorded as inheriting his lands in Armagh. Armagh, Charles II, no. 9, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster. Down Survey, PRONI, D597/4/54 and D597/4/61.

132. Commissioners for the counties of Ireland, 16 July 1627, SP 63-245 no. 729, f. 83r.

133. Statute staple, Dublin, no. 1797, no. 1818, no. 1965, no. 2055, no 2062, no. 2185, no. 2197. *The Irish statute staple books, 1596–1687*, eds. Jane Ohlmeyer and Éamonn Ó Ciardha (Dublin Corporation, 1998), 56, 78, 82, 144, 149, 240, 261 and 270. That Hovendon was also borrowing from local colonists is evident from the depositions. A parson's wife from Loughgall, for example, named him among their debtors. Deposition of Ellenor Fullerton, 16 September 1642, TCD MS 836 f. 50r.

134. Armagh, Charles II, no. 9, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster. Although, curiously, one deponent reported him to be 'overjoyed' by its outbreak. Deposition of Robert Maxwell, 22 August 1642, TCD MS 809, f. 5r.

135. Deposition of John Wisdome, 8 February 1642, TCD MS 836, f. 14r.

136. Deposition of Robert Maxwell, 22 August 1642, TCD MS 809, f. 9v.

137. Ó Mealláin, 'Cínn Lae Uí Mhealláin,' 360.

138. Clarke, 'Ireland and the General Crisis,' 88–89.

139. Temple, *The Irish rebellion*, 23. The claim was repeated in Richard Head's novel, *The English Rogue* (1666), although the fact that it follows Temple's wording almost verbatim suggests it may simply have been lifted directly from the latter's work. Head, *The English Rogue*, 11.

140. Pádraig Lenihan, for example, has claimed that 'O'Neill had recently evicted his Irish tenants from a parish near Caledon (then called Kinard) and planted 48 British families', citing as evidence a deposition given by Captain John Perkins in 1644 (TCD MS 839, f. 43r). The deponent in question, however, merely states that the 48 families had been 'protected by Sir Phelim three quarters of a yeare & more'. It seems, furthermore, unlikely, if they were residents of the parish of Killyman (the text is unclear), they were his tenants, given that O'Neill does not appear to have owned any lands in that area. In the light of this, and pending further evidence, the claim that O'Neill replaced many native tenants with English or Scottish ones must be regarded as unproven. Pádraig Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war, 1641–49* (Cork University Press, 2000), 31.

141. Canny, *Kingdom and colony*, 56–57.

142. The only bond not cited above, in which Hovendon was not involved, no. 2819, 2 February 1639, a loan of £1000 from Edward Bolton. *Irish statute staple*, 69, 270.

143. Some of these are detailed in Tyrone, Charles II, no. 3, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster.

144. Deposition of Nicholas Simpson, 6 April 1643, TCD MS 834 f. 184v. George Creighton described the plans of his captors to 'burne & ruin it distroy all records & monuments of the English government'. Deposition of George Creighton, 15 April 1643, TCD MS 833, f. 232v.

Other deponents also described the deliberate destruction of accounts recording debts. Deposition of John and Isabell Gowrly, 8 November 1642, TCD MS 836, f. 57r.

145. Jerrold Casway, O'Neill, Sir Phelim Roe (1603–1653), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.lib.tcd.ie/view/article/20784>, accessed 22 January 2015.
146. E. S., A survey of the present estate of Ireland Anno 1615, HL Ellesmere MS 1746, f. 15r–15v.
147. The grant to Brian and Niall Roe is in *CPRI James I*, 192. ‘Katherin Ny o Neale’ is listed as proprietor of ‘Killmoore’ in the Down Survey, PRONI MS D597/4/54.
148. Deposition of Robert Maxwell, 22 August 1642, TCD MS 809, f. 9r.
149. Armagh, Charles II, no. 2, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster.
150. Deposition of Nicholas Simpson, 6 April 1643, TCD MS 834 f. 182r.
151. Ó Mealláin, ‘Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,’ 393–394. *BSD* vol. 1, f. 33v–34v.
152. Deposition of Nicholas Simpson, 6 April 1643, TCD MS 834 ff. 182r–182v; Deposition of Robert Maxwell, 22 August 1642, TCD MS 809, ff. 7v–8r.
153. He reportedly protested ‘against those Courses of his brother Sir Philomye, & that hee beeing Shreife of that Countie, [he] woulde keepe the Brytishe from all oppression & wronge’. Deposition of Nicholas Simpson, 6 April 1643, TCD MS 834 f. 182v–183r.
154. Examination of Captain Thomas Chambers, undated, TCD MS 836, ff. 38v–39r.
155. Ó Mealláin, ‘Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,’ 369.
156. *CPRI James I*, 192.
157. The names of the submittees, 29 July 1602, Newry, SP 63-211-1 no. 103a, f. 281r.
158. The perfect names of such captens and commanders with their severall companies as are now under the command of the Traitor Tyrone within Tyrone, 9 August 1601, SP 63-209-1, no. 10c, f. 28r.
159. Ó Mealláin, ‘Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,’ 352.
160. The first states that he died on the 9 April 1616 and was succeeded by Owen (then aged 20), the second records his death taking place c. 1629 and claims he was succeeded by Conn Boy. Tyrone, Charles I, no. 2, and Tyrone, Charles I, no. 25, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster.
161. Down Survey, PRONI, D597/4/54. *BSD* vol. 7, f. 176v. *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 288.
162. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone’s rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 540.
163. The voluntary confession of Gorrie McManus O’Cahan, 21 June 1615, in *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 74.

164. It is only through this reference to Conn in the *Cinn Lae* that Art can be identified as a member of this family at all. Ó Mealláin, 'Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,' 336. 'Keiregeir' is clearly visible on the Bodley map of Clogher from 1609. The baronie of Clogher, SP MPF-1-51. The reference to Art's execution is in: Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, ed., 'Cín Lae Ó Mealláin,' *Analecta Hibernica* 3 (1931): 6 n.3.

165. *CPRI James I*, 192. He may have been a grandson of Phelim McTurlough; his descent is recorded as 'son of Niall, son of Feilim Balbh' by O'Mellan, when recording his leading an attack on the Salters' castle in 1641. Ó Mealláin, 'Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,' 336.

166. *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 283. Ó Mealláin, 'Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,' 342.

167. Henry Bagenal described them as a 'bastard kinds of Scotts' in his account of 'Brian Caraghe's country' in 1586, adding that, while not large in numbers, the sept was extremely difficult to attack given the inaccessibility of their territory, 'which in dede is the fastest grownde in Ireland'. William Camden referred to the area being left, after the failure of the Earl of Essex's expedition, to 'Brian Carragh, of the Mac-Conells race'. Bagenal, 'Marshal Bagenal's Description of Ulster, Anno 1586,' 154–155. Camden, *Britain*, part 2, 113.

168. In Francis Jobson's map of 1590, for example, the area is marked 'Brian Caragh'. A map of the Ulster counties, TCD MS 1209-15. Even after his death (c. 1590) it continued to be referred to by his name; in Bartlett's map of Ulster the name 'Brian Carrogh' is emblazoned across the area. Richard Bartlett, *A Generalle Description of Ulster*, SP MPF 1-35.

169. Wallop to Burghley, 12 August 1586, SP 63-125 no. 47, f. 178r. *The Annals of Loch Cé*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. William M. Hennessy (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1939), 509.

170. Moryson, *An itinerary*, vol. 2, 232. 'Shane mac Bryan Carragh, and his country joyning on the Bansyde' is also mentioned in John Dymmok, 'A Treatise of Ireland,' in *Tracts relating to Ireland: printed for the Irish archaeological society*, vol. 2 (Dublin: Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1843), 29.

171. *CPRI James I*, 192.

172. *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 271. Ó Mealláin, 'Cinn Lae Uí Mhealláin,' 340.

173. Lord deputy and council to the Privy Council, Rathfarnham, 9 September 1607, SP 63-222, no. 129 f. 105r.

174. John Davies to Salisbury, 12 September 1607, SP 63-222 no. 133, f. 114r.

175. Chichester to the Privy Council, 7 September 1607, SP 63-222 no. 126, f. 90r.

176. An abstract of the voluntarie confession and offers of Sir Cormock O Neile, knight, October–November 1607, SP 63-222 no. 164a, f. 216r.
177. The future lord deputy, Oliver St. John, wrote of Cormac in December of that year: ‘besides the oppinion of his house, hath little in him to make him dangerous, but I wish he may be kept secure so long as there is any hope of his brothers retorne.’ St. John to Salisbury, 11 December 1607. SP 63-222 no. 192, ff. 287v–288r.
178. Chichester included ‘the childeeren of Sir Cormock Mc Barron’ among those who would ‘kindle a neowe fyre in those p[ar]tes at one tyme or other, yf they be not well looked unto or p[ro]vided for in some reasonable measure’. Certaine noates of Rememberance, September 1608. SP 63-225 no. 225, f. 112v.
179. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone’s rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 539. Mairead was later given a pension of £100 per year in 1617, *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 152.
180. *CPRI James I*, 192.
181. *CPRI James I*, 187.
182. Chichester, Certaine noates of Rememberance, September 1608. SP 63-225 no. 225, f. 112r.
183. Tyrone, Charles I, no. 21, in *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster.
184. ‘Cullnefrangan’, *Civil survey*, vol. 3, 257. Down Survey, PRONI, D597/4/45 and *BSD* vol. 7, f. 188v.
185. Examination of Dermot oge McDonne taken before the Lord of Meath, Sir Toby Caufield, Captain Doddington, and Francis Annesly, 3 April 1615, in *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 32–33. The intention of freeing ‘Henry McCormacke McBarron’ is mentioned in Additions upon a second Examination of the above-named Teage O’Lennan taken by Sir Thomas Phillips, knight, 12 April 1615, in *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 43.
186. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone’s rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 539.
187. O’Doherty’s brother, Donall, alleged that Brian promised to join their party as soon as the lord deputy had returned to Dublin, and that he had promised to use powder, but no bullets, in their weapons when fighting the insurgents. Phelim Roe McDavitt likewise claimed Brian had made a pact with him, but implied that he had later been betrayed. The voluntary confession of Daniel, the brother of Sir Cahir O’Dogherty, June 1608, in *CSPI James I, 1606–1608*, 583. Examination of Phelim Reaghe [McDavit], 3 August 1608, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 3.
188. Raymond Gillespie, *Conspiracy: Ulster plots and plotters in 1615* (Belfast: Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies, 1987), 25, 31–32.

189. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland*, 88.
190. A remembrance of such impediments as the Londoners pretend to be the hinderance and lett of their proceeding in the Plantation of Ulster, 20 June 1612, in *CSPI James I, 1611–1614*, 273.
191. The points in the lord deputy's letter of the 29 April 1612, in Thomas Phillips, *Londonderry and the London companies, 1609–1629: being a survey and other documents submitted to King Charles I*, ed. D. A. Chart (Belfast: H.M.S.O, 1928), 36.
192. Gillespie, *Conspiracy*, 32.
193. Francis Bickley, ed., *Report on the manuscripts of the late Reginald Rawdon Hastings, Esq., of the Manor house, Ashby de la Zouche*, vol. 4 (London: H.M.S.O., 1947), 179.
194. Examination of Dermot oge McDonne taken before the Lord of Meath, Sir Toby Caufield, Captain Doddington, and Francis Annesly, 3 April 1615, in *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 32.
195. Examination of Dermot oge McDonne, *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 31.
196. Gillespie, *Conspiracy*, 16, 33.
197. Examination of Dermot oge McDonne, 3 April 1615, *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 31.
198. *CPRI James I*, 354–355. Brian Crosach's attainder is recorded in: Tyrone, James I, no. 3, *Inquisitionum*, vol. 2, Ulster.
199. Francis Blundell to Sir Ralph Winwood, 26 April 1615, SP 63-233 no. 16, f. 49v. Jacob wrote of the affair as 'a matter of no great importance, howsoever some men doe magnifye itt'. Robert Jacob to R. Winwood, 28 April 1615. SP 63-233 no. 18, f. 54r.
200. This low-level violence against the plantation in the decades prior to 1641 has been explored in more detail in: Edwards, 'Out of the blue?: Provincial unrest in Ireland before 1641,' 95–114.
201. Gillespie, *Conspiracy*, 25.
202. Robert Jacob (solicitor-general) to Salisbury, 15 April 1609, SP 63-226 no. 69, f. 190r. That this had hardly changed by 1625 seems apparent from a writer's comment that the six escheated counties had been 'soe weaklie planted by the undertakers as without speedie and more effectuall proceedings, upon any stirre of the Irish, they willbe supplanted [...] [and] will give easie entrance of invasion, betwixt Tirone and Tirconnell who will cast all the other northern plantacions into great dangers. Abstract of divers papers concerning Ireland, 1625, SP 63-241 no. 190, ff. 399v–400v.
203. Gillespie, 'Success and failure,' 98. Clarke, 'Ireland and the General Crisis,' 89. To these immediate causes Raymond Gillespie has also added economic factors, such as the series of poor harvests in the years leading up to the rising. Raymond Gillespie, 'Harvest crises in early

seventeenth-century Ireland,' *Irish Economic and Social History* 11 (1984): 5–18. Brendan Bradshaw, on the other hand, writing in 1994, found it 'dismaying to find Raymond Gillespie still hammering home Aidan Clarke's thesis that the Ulster Rising came as a bolt from the blue', and that the Irish had 'reconciled themselves to making the most of the crumbs that came their way'. Brendan Bradshaw, 'The invention of the Irish: Was the Ulster rising really a bolt from the blue?' *The Times Literary Supplement*, 14 October 1994.

204. This appears to take upon trust the kind of idyllic picture painted by John Temple (after the outbreak of the rising) of that society before the eruption of violence: 'as for the ancient animosities and hatred, which the Irish had ever been observed to bear unto the English nation, they seemed now to be quite laid aside and buried in a firm conglutination of their affections and national obligations passed between them. The two Nations had now the lived together forty Years in peace, with great security and comfort; which had in a manner consolidated them into one body, knit and compacted together with all those bonds and ligatures of friendship, Alliance and Consanguinity, which seemed fitted to make up a constant and perpetual union betwixt them.' Temple, *The Irish rebellion*, 23.

## Conclusion

Partial and fitful cruelty lays up only a long debt of deserved and ever-deepening hate.<sup>1</sup>

A major objection to seeing the rising as a consequence of the plantation has been the 30 year gap between the execution of the project and the 1641 rising.<sup>2</sup> If Ulster was as peaceful and harmonious in these decades as some historians have suggested, then three decades without any widespread resistance to colonisation by the Irish really require no further explanation. It has been seen, however, that colonial Ulster was a society riven by underlying tension and conflict. This is evinced not only by what happened in 1641 but by the writings of a number of perspective observers throughout the whole period in question. In 1622, Francis Blundell noted that as things stood then, the Irish would ‘rather chose to die in rebellion then live under such a government wher ther lands are taken from them upon base pretences or obscure titles at the best’.<sup>3</sup> Three years later, an anonymous commentator wrote that ‘the dispossession of the lands they formerly held’ was one of the main causes of the natives’ discontent.<sup>4</sup> Clearly, then, any putative benefits or opportunities offered to the native Irish by the plantation had not dulled the memory of the wholesale dispossession which the process involved.

Neither does the evidence suggest that the violence done to native society three decades earlier was only ‘half-remembered’ by 1641, as Audrey Horning has suggested.<sup>5</sup> The depositions offer abundant evidence that, among the insurgents, a widespread perception persisted

that they and the generation before them had been unfairly dispossessed of their lands by force and legal chicanery. Dorothy Moigne in Cavan, for example, reported her attackers telling her that she and her family had ‘enyoid wrongefully the said Landes too longe’; not content with repossessing these lands, these insurgents were also said to have claimed ‘the areres of rent of the said landes durante the undertakers possession’.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, it was the economic realities of plantation society, as much as the original act of dispossession, that stoked this smouldering resentment. Thomas Phillips, speaking from the kind of first-hand experience few English commentators possessed, followed his remarks on the impoverishment of the natives in 1628 (see above, p. 182) by observing that half the native population had been reduced to begging and stealing.<sup>7</sup>

Froude’s comment (at the head of this chapter) is particularly apt here. Rather than seeing widespread transplantation as the source of their ‘ever-deepening hate’, it was the very incompleteness of the native inhabitants’ dispossession which generated resentment and, eventually, violent retaliation. Remaining in many cases on or near their ancestral lands, they continued living in proximity to the outsiders who had assumed ownership of these lands and often came to rely on these same colonists for employment, all the while conscious that they had been, within living memory, usurped. As Raymond Gillespie suggests, therefore, the fact that the 30 years between plantation and rising saw no widespread or co-ordinated resistance to colonisation really *does* require some explanation. To this must first be attached the caveat that the alleged peacefulness of colonial Ulster was largely on the surface. A writer in 1625 characterised the mood as ‘externally in peace, internally subject to perturbation’.<sup>8</sup>

It has been shown in Chap. 5 that the day-to-day reality of life for the native inhabitants was one in which they were subject to arbitrary arrest, fines and violence. Nor should local and less co-ordinated conspiracies directed against individual colonists always be understood as mere criminality wholly lacking an ideological dimension. The previous chapter has argued that the involvement of individuals such as Brian Crosach in the 1615 conspiracy was a consequence of the plantation. Likewise, less well-known events, such as the ‘conspiracy intended by the Maguyures and Magaurans’ discovered in 1625, were said to involve ‘many if not most of the principall natives’ in the area, and differ only from sundry episodes during the 1641 rising in that the seizure of wealthier colonist neighbours’ lands and goods lacked a wider context.<sup>9</sup> The distinction between ideologically motivated resistance and criminality is often merely one

of scale. What may have appeared as entirely self-interested robbery to the English may have been understood in an ideological context by the natives.<sup>10</sup> Those living by robbing colonists in Kinelarty, County Down, were reported to have the assistance and sympathy of the local Irish in 1627.<sup>11</sup> It would be ironic if resentment towards the exactions of the military castes had indeed characterised Gaelic society, only for the far greater exactions of the plantation to push many Irish into identifying (if they did not actively join their ranks) with the *ceithearnach*, as long as attacks were confined to the colonists.

Even if a co-ordinated military response to the plantation was not possible, some of the everyday incidents of petty violence against the colonists indicate an attempt by the Irish to sabotage efforts to establish a firm foothold. On the Ironmongers' proportion in 1616, workers, who had been threatened with decapitation by the locals, were (understandably) afraid to go into the woods except in large groups.<sup>12</sup> By the mid-1620s, parts of Londonderry were no-go areas into which the colonists feared being lured by 'ambuscadours'.<sup>13</sup> These efforts at sabotage could take more subtle and clandestine forms; it was said of a colonist who had gone to the trouble of removing all the stones from a meadow, that when he 'came to mowe his grounds, he found more stones then he tooke out (for the Irish never went that way day or night but threwe in stones from under theire mantles').<sup>14</sup>

The reasons why it took until 1641 for a substantial uprising to occur must surely be sought elsewhere than in the actual contentment of the Irish. These can be clearly found in the conditions of widespread devastation and depopulation illustrated in Chap. 3, allied to the removal of a native elite that might have co-ordinated resistance. As seen in the last chapter, those members of the native elite who remained behind were dissuaded from leading resistance by the granting of land. That these 'deserving Irish' eventually came to see the actual (as opposed to projected) plantation as detrimental to their interests indicates a delayed reaction among native leaders characteristic of colonial situations across the Atlantic. The belief of Brian McPhelim O'Neill of Clandeboye that he could play the English off against his local rivals has been alluded to above (p. 39). Only belatedly did he realise that his use of outside forces to bolster his power had fatally undermined his rule.

Successive native rulers in New England, for example, embraced a strategy of alliance with the intruders, hoping to make use of their power in local power struggles, only to fall victim to the colonists' expansion

once they had outlived their usefulness.<sup>15</sup> This pattern occurs repeatedly. The Pequots, who had used an alliance with the Dutch to grow powerful, incurred the enmity of the neighbouring Narragansetts, whose jealousy the English were only too happy to exploit in order to engineer the removal (and near extermination) of the former. The Pequots had warned the Narragansetts that this assistance ‘did but make way for their owne overthrow, for if they were rooted out, the English would soone take occasion to subjugate them’.<sup>16</sup> When the Narragansetts in turn came to be seen as an obstacle to English expansion, their *sachem*, Miantonomo, issued a plea for native unity against the colonists:

For so are we all Indians as the English are, and say brother to one another; so must we be one as they are, otherwise we shall be all gone shortly.<sup>17</sup>

This plea likewise fell on deaf ears, as the Mohegans, embroiled in a bitter dispute with the Narragansetts, assisted the English in their destruction. The pattern repeats itself as the Wampanoag, who had managed to ingratiate themselves with the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies by helping them against their fellow natives, eventually came to grief in the 1670s under their leader, Metacomet, a key role in their defeat being played by the Mohawk, an Iroquois people who lived to the northwest of New England. The Mohawk, who had been steadfast allies of the English, gradually became alienated by the colonists’ encroachment onto their lands to the extent that they took the side of the British crown in the American Revolution. A belated realisation of the threat posed by the colonial power is a common theme in these encounters, as leaders urged native unity only when they themselves were directly threatened. It bespeaks the persistence of a local, self-interested perspective which was always too late in comprehending its insufficiency.

For their part, the English, once they had more firmly established their presence, felt themselves under no obligation to honour agreements they had made with the Americans in earlier, more vulnerable periods.<sup>18</sup> The early concern of the Plymouth colonists to appease the natives while the colony remained small and vulnerable must be seen in this light.<sup>19</sup> This may be contrasted with the hubris displayed by the same New Englanders in 1660, who were said to boast: ‘we are now twenty to one to what we were then, and none dare meddle with us.’<sup>20</sup>

It is not difficult to find parallels in Ulster to the notion that agreements with the natives were not binding in the same way as those made with ‘civil’ people. Successive lord deputies dismissed any scruples about breaking promises made to native Irish allies, by dismissing the latter as drunken, barbarous and unworthy of such consideration.<sup>21</sup> A conscious policy of utilising the natives until sufficient numbers of colonists had come over to make them dispensable is evident in a statement of the London companies in 1612:

We desire them [the Irish] not in Perpetuity but for a small time of 2 or 3 years till we have performed the Great Works in the Town and City, or otherwise we shall not be able to feed our number of Workmen and Soldiers.<sup>22</sup>

A concern not to provoke the Irish into resistance too early likewise moved Chichester to advise Toby Caulfeild not to impose innovative rents or taxes on the natives in the early years, so as to:

make it appear unto them that his Majesty would be a better and more gratious landlord to them in all respects then Tyrone was or could be.<sup>23</sup>

Many Irish, for their part, appear to have cherished the belief that the intruders would not stick it out for long and would abandon the project at the first sign of difficulty.<sup>24</sup> Their immediate objective was to retain occupation of their lands. Under the circumstances, the most effective way to safeguard their interests was to make themselves useful—if possible, indispensable—to the newcomers. In return for their help, some colonists explicitly promised the Irish that they would intercede with the crown on their behalf to help them stay on their lands.<sup>25</sup>

But Ulster was not entirely devoid of individuals who saw the dangers inherent in such short-term accommodation. Before the plantation, Lughaidh O’Cleary had spotted the pattern by which the English forged alliances in order to weaken the ranks of the Irish, going back on their promises and turning on those erstwhile allies once they had succeeded in removing the greater threat.<sup>26</sup> Such sentiments match those expressed by Brian Crosach O’Neill when he was trying to convince one of his fellow natives, Dermot Oge McDunne, who had been serving the English, to come over to the conspirators’ side in 1615:

Dermot, thou hast been a servitor for the King, and hast brought many men to great trouble and some to their deaths. Let me see what thou has got by it? If thou shouldest serve for five years more and cut off many more, thou shouldest have nothing, but in the end be hanged for thy labour.<sup>27</sup>

But such perception was rare in the twilight years of Gaelic Ulster. Just as in America, most native Irish leaders seemed to perceive the English as just another group who might be accommodated within the nexus of regional rivalries. There was, however, a world of difference between the cultural aloofness of the seventeenth-century colonists and the way Anglo-Norman invaders had been assimilated into the internal politics of Ulster. In the earlier period, it was possible for a *tiarna* to view the English as just another regional player, larger and more powerful than their neighbours certainly but, crucially, more distant. The delusion that nothing had changed can be discerned in the offer of Owen O'Neill of the Fews to defeat the Earl of Tyrone in 1600 ‘with the assistance of her ma[jesty]s forces to be planted upon the border’.<sup>28</sup> With hindsight, the belief that these forces would retreat from the border back to The Pale once Tyrone was defeated, and leave the O’Neills to enjoy their traditional territorial rights, is inexplicably naïve.

This failure to realise the threat presented by the expanding early modern state and its colonial vanguard attests to an asymmetry in the knowledge that colonising and colonised peoples had of each other. Jared Diamond has shown how this was one of the most profound factors determining the eclipse of native societies by invading ones in the ‘New World’. Like the lack of immunity to European disease, this asymmetry of knowledge was a more significant factor in America than Ireland. It is testament to the Americans’ poor knowledge of the Europeans, for example, that the Incas knew nothing of the Spanish conquest of Panama, which began in 1510, when Pizarro arrived on their shores in 1527.<sup>29</sup> This contrasts with the Europeans’ diligence in gathering information about native society. The Plymouth colonists exhibited a strong interest in assessing the internecine rivalries and tensions within Algonquian society—mapping out local animosities and alliances was a key foundation for the successful execution of a divide-and-conquer strategy.<sup>30</sup> Such assessments were, if anything, even more frequently carried out in Ireland, such as the 1608 report of the high sheriff in Tyrone on the various rivalries within the ranks of the O’Neills and their erstwhile followers, or the

1625 survey of those in Ulster who were to be ‘cherished’ and those who were to be ‘watched’.<sup>31</sup>

The antithesis of this was the natives’ almost complete ignorance of the invaders’ culture and politics. His English hosts were reportedly amused by the behaviour of Uttamatomakkin, an uncle of Pocahontas who accompanied her on her visit to England in 1616 and who had been directed to record all the people he saw in England by notches on a tally stick, a task he quickly realised was futile.<sup>32</sup> The English and French took time out from a stand-off at Port-Royal, Nova Scotia, in 1613 to laugh at the natives’ failure to perceive that they came from different countries.<sup>33</sup> The abiding unworldliness of the Ulster Irish was commented upon by Chichester, who wrote at the time of the plantation that they ‘understand no truth of the affaires of the world’.<sup>34</sup> Despite attempts, for example, to instil in Irish rulers a sense of the impersonal connection between subject and sovereign, loyalty continued to be perceived by many as a personal bond tying individual *tiarnaí* to English administrators rather than to the crown in the abstract. The above Owen’s cousin, Turlough McHenry O’Neill, appears for example to have regarded his alliance with the government as falling into abeyance on the death of Lord Deputy Burgh (with whom he had established a rapport) in 1597.<sup>35</sup> Shane O’Neill was still, in the 1560s, attempting the old strategy of binding himself to a powerful ally through family links by having the lord deputy, Henry Sidney, stand godfather to one of his children, but the world had moved on.

This is only one of several respects in which the interaction of colonist and native in Ulster paralleled that on the other side of the Atlantic. Throughout this book, the usefulness of this Atlantic context has been demonstrated. Parallel attitudes towards the native Irish and Americans were possible because of a colonial discourse of difference which intensified throughout the sixteenth century, to the point where a view of the ‘mere Irish’ prevailed as a people not merely different, but lacking culture altogether: ‘primitive’ in the same sense that the natives of New England or Virginia were perceived as ‘primitive’. Whereas colonists settling in Ireland during the Middle Ages came to view the Gaelic Irish as, if not equals, a people with whom which they might reach an accommodation, this was no longer the case in the plantations of the seventeenth century.

In practice, as opposed to planning, the strategy settled on in colonial Ulster was one of ‘reducing’ the Irish from their purportedly wild and

ungovernable state, rather than reforming them by peaceful means or completely replacing them with colonists. While all the evidence points to the retention of the Irish in many areas from which they were scheduled to be expelled, it does not necessarily follow that the co-habitation of native and newcomer in these areas led to an attempt at anglicisation, with the ultimate goal of admitting the natives to colonial society on an equal footing to the colonists. A misunderstanding of the natives' fate in colonial Ulster has followed from the notion that we must choose between attributing a strategy of integration or expulsion to the colonists. A third alternative in fact characterised this society, namely, that while many natives remained within the plantation's territory geographically, they were not, to any great extent, admitted into the commercial agricultural and manufacturing economy it was designed to create. On the contrary, the Ulster Irish (with the exception of a few elite figures) were regarded as a kind of ready-made *untermensch*, to be 'civilised' only to the extent that they could carry out the unskilled manual labour that colonists in a New World had come to escape. A corollary of this is that, while the physical elimination of the Irish population was not aimed at in the plantation, their elimination as a people with a distinct culture and social system most definitely was.

A failure to recognise this has led to a tendency, especially in recent times, to portray colonial Ulster as a society characterised by far more integration between native and newcomer than was actually the case. As Nicholas Canny has recently noted, once the model of colonisation is replaced by a 'reconciliation-friendly version of Ireland's past', it tends in practice to obscure the conflict and underlying social tensions so central to the story of these decades.<sup>36</sup> If these features of colonial Ulster are ignored, much of the violence perpetrated against the colonists in 1641 becomes simply inexplicable. An indication of what these alternative, 'reconciliation-friendly' versions might look like can be gleaned from Bottigheimer's description of the plantation as a 'natural migration', and the assertion, for example, that Scottish colonial settlement was merely the continuation of a centuries-old pattern of 'spilling back and forth across the North Channel since the Celts first inhabited the British Isles'.<sup>37</sup> The attractiveness of this idea for Unionists has been correctly identified by Roy Foster—it offers support for the argument that 'Ulster's different nature is immemorial and uncontrollable, and stems from something more basic than English governmental policy'.<sup>38</sup>

T.W. Moody, however, has dismissed this ‘effort to prove that the Scots who came to Ulster in plantation days were really Gaels returning home after centuries of sojourning abroad’ as ‘romantic shadow-hunting’.<sup>39</sup> Clarke and Perceval-Maxwell have concurred with this assessment, stressing that those Scots who came over in conjunction with the plantation ‘were Lowland Protestants rather than Highland Catholics, welcome allies of the state, not unruly intruders, and they represented a wholly new departure in the tradition of Scottish relations with Ireland’.<sup>40</sup> Those Scots who came over in conjunction with both the unofficial and official plantations after the Nine Years War must, therefore, be distinguished from the McDonald settlement in Antrim during the sixteenth century. The latter may indeed be classed among the ‘unruly intruders’ (from the English government’s point of view) and a continuation of this ‘spilling back and forth across the North Channel’. These Catholic, *Gàidhlig*-speaking settlers shared a language and religion with the indigenous people, and the links binding these inhabitants of the Hebrides with the north of Ireland were probably far more tangible than those binding them to the rest of the Scottish kingdom. The fact that Lowland Scots at the time referred to *Gàidhlig* as ‘the Irish tongue’ would suggest that, for them, an identification of Highlanders and islanders as fellow Scots was far from straightforward.<sup>41</sup>

Indeed, one of the intentions of the plantation was to sever this cross-channel *Gaeltacht/Gàidhealtachd*, and prevent whatever cultural and linguistic unity existed across the channel from developing a political dimension.<sup>42</sup> Since the fifteenth century, a fear had existed that these ‘Scottyshe Irysshe’ might overrun the north of Ireland and replace the largely nominal English hold over the province with a Scottish hegemony. The planting of English colonists in Ulster with a view to keeping out the Scottish had been discussed by Elizabeth and Lord Deputy Sidney as far back as 1567.<sup>43</sup> Docwra was instructed in 1599, amidst the busy traffic between Ulster and Scotland, not to trade with the ‘wrong’ kind of Scots, and to prevent them from trading with O’Neill and his allies. At the same time he was encouraged to trade with, and protect, the ‘right’ kind of Scots, and warned not to do anything which might threaten the good relations between Elizabeth and her future successor, James VI of Scotland.<sup>44</sup> When Scots were invited to participate in the colonising endeavour under James, it was explicitly made clear that only English-speaking, Protestant, ‘inland’ Scots—not Highlanders or

islanders—need apply.<sup>45</sup> The evidence would suggest that this attempt to filter the flow of Scots across the North Channel was, broadly speaking, successful. Those who took part in the colonisation of Ulster after 1606 were generally English-speaking Protestants.<sup>46</sup>

The fact that seventeenth-century colonisation took place under the auspices of a government pursuing an explicit policy of removing the indigenous population from large parts of Ulster indicates that the term ‘migration’, suggesting a movement of people due to economic and demographic factors, does not do justice to the violence and deliberative government planning that went into the plantation. Even where direct government supervision was lacking, such as in the Hamilton and Montgomery projects in County Down, the settlement of non-Irish on the lands was stipulated in grants to the individuals concerned, and the successful colonisation of the area could not have occurred without the military conquest and the extensive ethnic cleansing which preceded it. These more disagreeable qualities are played down in much of the recent scholarship, however, which tends to emphasise characteristics of that society which point towards harmony, cooperation and mutual acculturation. This bears examination, given that the society depicted in this book is clearly at odds with this image.

It is, first, important to acknowledge the existence of other imperatives, informed by contemporary ideology and politics, which influence the historiography of a subject that has had profound consequences for those living in Ulster today. Audrey Horning, for example, whose *Ireland in the Virginian sea* would appear to represent the kind of comparative Atlantic study of colonisation advocated here, openly states that the recent Troubles in Northern Ireland have influenced the character of her research. Nicholas Canny noted in his review of this work that Horning appears to recoil from this colonial context because, among other reasons, ‘the term colony has become a partisan word favoured in the Nationalist community and resented by Unionists’.<sup>47</sup> In Horning’s own words, the fact that ‘significant members of the unionist community would not self-identify as colonists’ renders the word ‘colony’ ‘challenging’.<sup>48</sup> The same author has elsewhere noted that she has ‘found English students to be uncomfortable with discussing any aspect of colonialism, initially unable to disassociate themselves from feeling implicated in the process’.<sup>49</sup>

Horning’s solution to this dilemma appears to be to lay emphasis on those aspects of colonial Ulster which made the movement of people appear more like the kind of ‘natural migration’ alluded to above.

Thus, the imperative to produce a history fit for the purpose of healing sectarian divisions in Northern Ireland dictates what elements are to be emphasised, included and omitted. Inevitably in such an enterprise, each wrong or injustice inflicted by one ‘side’ is to be counterpoised, in the interests of ‘balance’, by one committed by the other. While this may indeed produce a more ‘balanced’ picture, it does not necessarily guarantee a true one. The subordination of the evidence to produce history which promotes inter-sectarian reconciliation must inevitably suffer from the same shortcomings as history designed to promote divisions and animosity. Such work has as its predetermined outcome the foregrounding of ‘ambivalence and ambiguity attendant upon encounter and exchange’, and the ‘acceptance of complexity’.<sup>50</sup> While ‘ambivalence’, ‘ambiguity’ and ‘complexity’ must indeed be acknowledged and ‘accepted’ where they characterise a historical period, we must also recognise that *any* given account can be rendered ambivalent, ambiguous or complicated by the accumulation of detail and caveats. This invariably serves to problematise all patterns, trends and explanations; but it is surely the historian’s task to tease these out where they are apparent.

The pursuit of ‘balance’ tends, in practice, to obscure what Brendan Bradshaw has referred to as the ‘catastrophic dimension of Irish history’.<sup>51</sup> A palpable straining and stretching of the facts to create an image of colonial Ulster society marked by mutual acculturation and consensus can be detected, for example, in the account of an incident on the Mercers’ proportion in Londonderry in 1615, when three English were killed by a band of ‘woodkerne’ at a makeshift inn run by one John Browne and his wife. Far from seeing this as evidence of hostility on the part of the Irish who attacked Browne’s household, Horning speculates that:

The murders do not seem to have been premeditated acts of resistance, as the attack occurred after John Browne, his wife, and three of their Irish neighbors spent several hours imbibing ‘beer, wine, and aqua vitae’ together with the nine woodkerne in Browne’s home. The drunken brawl that ensued might have been sparked by an inappropriate comment or perhaps by a demand for payment on the part of Mrs. Browne, [whose] Irish guests viewed the proffering of drink as a gesture of hospitality and would readily take umbrage at its reduction to an economic exchange. Whatever the impetus, such shared consumption of alcohol, be it in the Browne house or in Agent Russell’s alehouses, provided the spaces for exchanges of cultural knowledge, which only become problematic when there is

a misunderstanding. Certainly, the widespread practice of intercultural imbibing was a perennial cause for concern to individuals like Sir Thomas Phillips, who recommended in 1623 that no alehouses be allowed in remote places.<sup>52</sup>

The notion that such ‘intercultural imbibing’ was taking place between the English and their attackers is contradicted, however, by a close examination of the primary source on which this story is based. In this, the Ironmongers’ agent clearly states:

Browne with his wife and Williams and 3 Irishmen their neighbours were sitting by the Fier (the wife of the house had beare, wyne and Aquavite to sell) and as they were sitting together in came the rebels, some 9 of them and fell upon both the Englishmen and bound them, after they bound the three Irishmen that were with, and gagged them with great sticks in their mouthes, that they should not crye. There they tarried all that day drinking and making merry with such victuals as they found in the house.<sup>53</sup>

The nine woodkerne who attacked the house, therefore, *immediately* bound and gagged its occupants instead of drinking convivially with them for several hours. The killing of Browne, his fellow Englishman John Williams and one of their employees who returned to the house later in that day, took place after their assailants had been drinking for several hours, but the entire complexion of the story is altered by the fact that this *was* a simple case of natives attacking colonists, minus the preliminary ‘intercultural imbibing’ which it is claimed preceded the attack. Horning’s version of events may simply be a mistaken reading of the sources, or a mistaken reading of Nicholas Canny’s account in *Making Ireland British*, published some years prior to Horning’s book, in which it is simply stated that ‘no disturbance occurred until the raiders had been drinking for several hours’.<sup>54</sup> It is difficult to avoid the impression, however, that an eagerness to discern cordial relations between the Irish and the colonists may have coloured her interpretation of the incident.

This illustrates the pitfalls of trying too eagerly to see accommodation between native and colonist, which is potentially just as misleading as earlier generations’ eagerness to perceive intractable divisions between the two. When we consider the first decades of colonisation with respect to the indigenous population of Ulster, one of the central

aims of this work has been to show that due attention must be given to the catastrophic dimension, reflecting their experience. Nor, incidentally, is an image of colonial Ulster which recognises these facts any less ‘reconciliation-friendly’. We would do well to heed Bradshaw’s warning, written in the darkest days of the Troubles:

The antidote to the neurosis engendered by folk-memory is not induced forgetfulness but rational reflection upon the past based on a scientific examination of it. The mistake about Irish history is not that it is too much remembered but that it is remembered too little, for only by taking possession of our past by historical investigation can we prevent it from taking possession of us in the form of irrational myths, prejudices, and hatreds. By distinguishing fact from fancy, historical investigation subjects the popular traditions that inevitably spring up around significant past events and personalities to the purificatory process of demythologization.<sup>55</sup>

Indeed, in order to better understand the fissures and conflicts of interest that have characterised contemporary Northern Ireland, it is surely more useful to recognise the strained and tense relations between native and newcomer in these early decades of colonisation than to pretend that this was not the case. Such recognition would be more conducive to inter-communal understanding in the long term if the aim is to understand the past rather than simply paper over its cracks.

It must, however, be recognised that this impulse to stress the harmonious aspects of colonial Ulster emerged as a response to earlier historical works which were designed to serve a political agenda. Some of the best work on the subject has involved revisions of Nationalist history regarding the period, such as T. W. Moody’s ‘Treatment of the Native Population’, which explores the retention of the natives on lands from which they had been slated to be expelled.<sup>56</sup> Such examinations have left us with a more nuanced and sophisticated picture of colonial Ulster than is suggested by either a Nationalist fable about complete expulsion or extermination, or a Unionist one of a barren wilderness being settled by brave pioneers. Unfortunately, much of the revisionist work has, in practice, aimed its revisions almost exclusively at the misconceptions attendant upon Nationalist historiography, leaving other (often unacknowledged) ideological positions largely untouched. The kind of crude Nationalist interpretation of the plantation which no doubt needed correcting has, however, largely disappeared from serious academic

discussion. A revised view of colonial Ulster, obscuring the violence inherent in colonisation, could be said to constitute a new orthodoxy, and yet is curiously unwilling to acknowledge its position, clinging steadfastly to an image of itself as an iconoclastic alternative to the dominant consensus.<sup>57</sup>

This allows some historians to continue what is essentially the practice of addressing straw man arguments which few serious scholars actually hold. Jonathan Bardon's recent monograph on the plantation, for example, makes the following observations:

The assumption that religious and cultural differences kept British colonists and Gaelic Irish, and their descendants, as rigidly separate ethnic groups does not stand up to close scrutiny. There was far more intermingling than is generally acknowledged; otherwise British surnames, such as Hume, Adams and Sands, would not be found amongst Catholic nationalist activists, nor would native Irish ones, such as O'Neill, McCusker and Maginnis, be found amongst Protestant Unionist politicians.<sup>58</sup>

That such an assumption continues to be widely held is, however, highly questionable, as is the existence of a class of historians positing such a level of segregation that could have prevented native and newcomer from interbreeding over the course of 400 years. The fact that such interbreeding did indeed take place, it is further implied, attests to an 'intermingling' between the two communities that belies an antagonistic relationship, but this by no means follows. The existence of mulattos and mestizos in America, after all, does not attest to the racial integration of those societies or disprove the existence of widespread segregation. It is likewise with the observation by Douglas Carson cited in the frontispiece to Bardon's book—that Elizabeth II is the direct descendant of Hugh O'Neill through his daughter Sorcha, and that the present British queen therefore 'embodies' the dynasty of O'Neill. While this might initially strike the casual reader as ironic, suggesting a profound distortion in our view of Ulster's history, this fact becomes distinctly less remarkable—in truth, distinctly meaningless—when we consider that the thirteen generations separating Hugh O'Neill from Elizabeth Windsor have, at a very conservative estimate, spawned over 60,000 people. As a researcher into population growth, Steve Olson, has demonstrated: 'virtually anyone with a European ancestor descends from English royalty.'<sup>59</sup> We would, in fact, be hard pressed to find a historian of the last 100 years positing the

kind of rigorously supervised apartheid that could have kept natives and colonists apart to such an extent. It is thus misleading to describe this as in any way representing an orthodox position.

A stress upon mutual acculturation and peaceful coexistence tends to present the colonisation of Ulster as a migration across the North Channel by people who were willing to treat with the native population as equals. In this reinterpretation, the natives are portrayed as generally consenting to the plantation, from which they benefited by the economic opportunities on offer. This belief rests partly upon a fundamental misunderstanding of pre-colonial society in the province, assuming that the native population was divided into a military elite of warlords and a mass of people who lived in abject subordination to this elite and were happy to be liberated from it. This ignores, however, the existence in Gaelic society of a large class of landholders who lived semi-independently of the ruling elite and who were the major losers of the plantation scheme. To fully acknowledge the existence and importance of this class of landholders has been another of the central aims of this book. The transformation from a class structure with three divisions (elite, landholding and landless) to a twofold division of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' was the work of the plantation, and goes a great deal of the way towards explaining the dual nature of the insurgency in 1641.

It is the events of October 1641 which attest more powerfully than anything else to the profound failure to integrate the indigenous population into the colony. While short-term political and economic crises may have determined the timing of the rising, the pent-up alienation and resentment that characterised the native experience of colonisation made its outbreak practically inevitable. That contemporaries failed to see it coming, and claimed that it emerged as a bolt from the blue, had more to do with either accentuating the treacherousness of the Irish, or simple inattention to their resentment. It has already been seen that more perceptive elements in the administration were, in fact, well aware of the dangers posed by a native population ostensibly quiescent but unrecconciled to the colony. In 1628, Thomas Phillips wrote to the king that 'those that were children at there [the colonists] fyrist cominge, are now growen to be men' and were likely to 'rise upon a sudden and cutt the throte of the pore disperssed Brittishe'.<sup>60</sup>

The fact that many colonists were ignoring the conditions for maintaining arms laid down by the government would also suggest that there

was a certain amount of unpreparedness borne of complacency.<sup>61</sup> This becomes more apparent after the period of tension—largely due to the failure of the ‘Spanish match’—in the 1620s had passed, and the ‘Graces’ appeared to offer hope that Irish Catholics might secure some form of *de facto* toleration. Thomas Wentworth expressed confidence, only two years before the rising of 1641, that there was ‘neither couradge nor hope left for opposition’ from the Irish.<sup>62</sup> A perusal of the 1641 depositions for Ulster reinforces the impression that many colonists were genuinely surprised when their Irish neighbours turned on them. Nicholas Simpson, who reported the attack on Glaslough by the McQuaids (see above, pp. 156–157), remarked that the colonists:

were not able to resist them, ffor besides the suddayenes, wee had no powder amongst us, the late proclamacion against hayinge of powder beeing so stricte that none Could bee gotten but by lycence from the newrye.<sup>63</sup>

Not only had the colonists in Glaslough (where ‘the greatest parte were Irishe’) not provided themselves with gunpowder for such an eventuality, but their ability to procure it was obstructed by official regulations.

The rising could fairly be said, therefore, to have taken many colonists by surprise. This surprise must be accounted for if the image of a society presented here, as characterised by underlying conflict and tensions, is to be sustained. The key word is *underlying*. Without the prospect of foreign assistance and the temporary appeasement of the native elite, there was no prospect of overt, large-scale resistance to the plantation for many years. The idea of a collective native response to colonisation, therefore, fell into abeyance, and reaction among the Irish was atomised into an individualist struggle to adapt to and survive the new dispensation. In most cases, this involved accommodation and adaptation to the newcomers’ culture and economic patterns. Such surface accommodation no doubt convinced many colonists that the Irish were content with their lot. They were, in any case, not predisposed to exert themselves in seeking out signs of discontent. Speaking a foreign language and markedly uninterested in the native culture, colonists proved unreceptive to signs of resentment among the natives. As the years passed without any major challenge to their settlement, complacency set in; this complacency was subsequently transformed into Irish treachery by writers such as John Temple. The fundamental reason why the warnings of men

such as Phillips and Blundell fell on deaf ears is suggested by a line of Temple's: 'For what cause, offence, or least seeming occasion of provocation, these woes have come upon us, our souls could never imagine'.<sup>64</sup> It was this failure of the imagination which left the colonists incapable of empathising with, and putting themselves in the shoes of, the native in Ulster (or for that matter, in America), and of imagining how they would react if their roles had been reversed.

Just like Temple's belief that foreign agents had instigated the 1641 plot (p. 195), Barnaby Rich could not bring himself to believe that the discontent of the Irish lay behind the frequent disturbances to which the country was subject, but that it was 'only the poison of the Popes doctrine that inciteth to seditions, to Rebellions, and that setteth subiects against their Princes'.<sup>65</sup> A memorandum on the state of Ireland in 1625 likewise emphasised this image of the Irish as mere dupes to malign foreign influence, claiming that:

theese discontenements of theires have bin formented and entartayned by a correspondence with some Jesuites in Spaine [...] cheife septs of the Irish declared Rebells to the king [...] have bin chefished and entartayned by the king of Spaine as instruments reserved for a mischeivous day.<sup>66</sup>

This belief in the Gaelic Irish as a naturally subordinate people dovetailed neatly with the notion, frequently summoned to justify colonisation, of the colonists saving the mass of the people from the tyranny of their ruling elite. It sat uneasily, however, alongside another current perception of them as (in the words of Fynes Moryson) 'subtle temporisers'.<sup>67</sup> The idea that the Irish were inherently hostile to the English and their interests, but had become expert at concealing it, was not new. It is suggested by Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam's comment, when Brian McPhelim O'Neill was finally provoked into action by Thomas Smith's colonists in 1572, that Brian had 'nowe discovered his Irishe nature full'.<sup>68</sup> According to Moryson, the stereotypical Irishman's skill consisted in appearing to be a 'natural fool' but having the 'craft of humouring every man to attain his own ends'.<sup>69</sup>

This belief holds the key to another factor which may have blinded the colonist to native resentment, that is, the fact that the Irish *were* concealing it. Nor do we need to posit some kind of innate duplicity in the Irish character to entertain this possibility. It has been remarked above that, for the natives, successful adaptation to colonial society often

necessitated making themselves useful and amenable to the newcomers. The concealment of enmity no doubt became a survival mechanism under these circumstances, the colonial dispensation engendering a kind of learned deceitfulness and unctuousness, traits which Luke Gernon (who described them as ‘servile, crafty and inquisitive after newes’) noted perceptively were ‘the simptomes of a conquered nation’.<sup>70</sup> Nor was this merely something noted by English observers. The Gaelic writer of the satirical *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* imagined a parliament run by the ‘lower orders’ of Gaelic society, in which decrees were issued ordering each to procure ‘a powerful bosom friend of an Englishman’ and to ‘laugh with your enemy and to slander him behind his back’.<sup>71</sup> Such, suggested the poet, was the decline of personal integrity brought about by the need to appease the country’s new rulers. Internalised over time, such habits could, like the ‘double consciousness’ discussed in Chap. 4 (p. 123), be counted among those traits associated with a ‘colonial mentality’ as described by Frantz Fanon.<sup>72</sup>

There are, therefore, no shortage of explanations for the widespread failure to perceive indigenous resentment. These explanations are far more plausible than the possibility that this resentment did not exist in the first place. The picture that emerges from the primary source material is of a society in which natives interacted in legal and economic terms with the colony, while maintaining their own discrete culture and religious sphere separate from the colonists. As long as material conditions were not too onerous or hope of improvement remained, there were significant numbers of Irish who preferred the chances offered by personal accommodation with the colony over the extremely doubtful benefits of armed insurrection. As new waves of colonists arrived, and the Irish found it increasingly difficult to compete for land and employment, such opportunities became more circumscribed. A series of harvest failures and (especially relevant for the ‘deserving Irish’) further pressures for political and religious conformity increased the chances of the native population ‘rising out’. The underlying reasons for this uprising, however, were the failure to give the Irish a significant stake in the colony’s future.

Although Froude had been referring with macabre irony to the negligence of Humphrey Gilbert in leaving survivors who might avenge his victims, the actual (as opposed to planned) plantation in Ulster could also be said to represent the kind of ‘partial and cruelty’ which he censured—cruel, because it involved widespread dispossession and

left most natives outside the charmed circle of those who might benefit from the changes it effected in Ulster; 'partial and fitful', because it did not extirpate completely the Irish from Ulster. Instead, a subjugated and resentful population remained which, while useful as a source of rents and cheap labour, represented a security threat, heavily outnumbering the colonists in many areas and easily able to overwhelm them when the opportunity arose. In the sense that it failed to establish a stable and sustainable community of interest, therefore, this first effort to colonise the province was a failure. As Jane Ohlmeyer has argued, it was really only later in the seventeenth century, and especially after the completion of the Williamite conquest, that the colony ensured its survival and 'the Protestant interest finally closed the frontier in Ireland'.<sup>73</sup> Spenser had warned that any future colonisation efforts would be futile if the Irish were left to their own devices, as they had been during the previous conquests of Ireland dating back to Henry II.<sup>74</sup> Yet another *Present State of Ireland*, written in 1673, argued that the same mistake had been made in the years before 1641, by leaving 'the antient inhabitants' to:

shift for themselves, who being strong in body, and daily increasing in number, and seeing themselves deprived of their means and maintenance, which they and their Ancestors had formerly injoyed, would undoubtedly be ready, when any occasion offered it self, to disturb our quiet.<sup>75</sup>

The only native presence to be tolerated in the Ulster colony, then, was one which did not disturb the quiet of the colonists. That a society could be regarded as quiet in which the majority of its inhabitants had been 'deprived of their means and maintenance' is testament to the process of othering which, by the seventeenth century, had reached the point where the native Irish were seen less as individuals with whom the colonists might share similar hopes and ambitions than as a class of people content to assume their purported station in life, as the proverbial hewers of wood and drawers of water.<sup>76</sup>

## NOTES

1. James Anthony Froude was reflecting here upon the conduct of the Tudors in their Irish wars, referring with macabre irony to the tactical error of servitors like Humphrey Gilbert in not killing every single Irish man, woman and child, instead leaving behind survivors who might avenge his actions.

*History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the defeat of the Spanish Armada* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893), 254.

2. Moody's monograph on the Londonderry plantation was faulted for leaving this 'gap of thirty years of peace before the rising' unexplained. Raymond Gillespie, 'Review: T. W. Moody, The Londonderry Plantation, 1609–1641,' *Irish Historical Studies* 29, no. 113 (1994): 112.
3. Francis Blundell, 'Discourse on plantations', c. 1622, BL Harleian MS 3292, f. 44v.
4. Abstract of divers papers concerning Ireland, 1625, SP 63-241 no. 190, ff. 399v–400v.
5. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian sea*, 263. My italics.
6. Deposition of Dorothy Moigne, 5 March 1642, TCD MS 833, f. 36r. John Brooks likewise reported that the insurgents had 'said that they had longe paid rents to the English but they wold make them pay it back againe'. Deposition of John Brooks, 5 January 1642, TCD MS 832, f. 193r. Similar sentiments were reported in: Deposition of Edward Cooper, 24 May 1642, TCD MS 833, f. 123r, William North, 30 June 1642, TCD MS 833, f. 179r, Francis Greham, 2 November 1642, TCD MS 833, f. 153r, John McKewne, 12 November 1642, TCD MS 833, f. 165v, John mcSkimmeine, TCD MS 833, 12 November 1642, f. 187r and William Baxter, 22 September 1642, TCD MS 835, f. 192r.
7. The humble petecion of Sir Thomas Phillipps knight, SP 63-271 no. 25, f. 50v.
8. Abstract of divers papers concerning Ireland, 1625, SP 63-241 no. 190, ff. 399v–400v.
9. Just as Tadhg O'Lenan was alleged to have conjured up, or at least exaggerated, the 1615 plot, so in Fermanagh it was noted in 1625 that the testimony of the accuser, Phelim McSorley McCabe, might be tarnished by the fact that ancestors of the 'some of the prisoners ancestors hadd killed some of the accusers Friends and kindred in Rebellion'. The discov[er]y of a conspiracy intended by the Maguyures and Magaurans, 21 August 1625, SP 63-241 no. 118a, ff. 233r–233v.
10. The elevation in Irish folk culture of individuals seen by the English authorities as common criminals, to a status akin to freedom fighters, has been explored by Ray Cashman, 'The Heroic Outlaw in Irish Folklore and Popular Literature,' *Folklore* 111, no. 2 (2000): 191–215.
11. H. Kinaston to Falkland, 21 February 1627, SP 63-244 no. 611c, f. 159r.
12. George Canning to Ironmongers' Company, 11 August 1616, LMA, Guildhall Library MS 17278-1, ff. 135v, 140v.
13. James Perrot, The townes in Ireland most to bee feared for surprisal or Insurreccons and the meanes to prevent itt, 1625, SP 63-241 no. 149a, f. 302r.

14. E. S., A survey of the present estate of Ireland Anno 1615, HL Ellesmere MS 1746, f. 13r.
15. For the location of the ethnic groups mentioned here, see Fig. 2.1. For an excellent summary of the successive attempts by different native groups to ally with the English, only to find themselves courting annihilation, see Kruer, *Red Albion*, 147–149. For a more detailed treatment, see Salisbury, *Manitou and providence* and Jennings, *The invasion of America*.
16. Bradford, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, 338.
17. This was Miantonomo's speech as reported by Lion Gardiner in *A history of the Pequot war* (Cincinnati, Ohio: W. Dodge, 1860), 26. While the speech itself was most likely Gardiner's articulation of what he thought Miantonomo *might have said*, it is clear that the Narragansett *sachem* was indeed travelling among the Algonquian groups of the area to build an alliance against the intruders.
18. The general sentiment was expressed by William Samuel Johnson, who wrote in 1743 that agreements with the Mohegan had no validity as they had been made 'with savages, whom they were to quiet and manage as well as they could, sometimes by flattery, but oftener by force. Who would not Treat if he saw himself surrounded by the Company of Lyons, Wolves or Beasts whom the Indians but too nearly resembled?' Cited in James Tully, *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 168.
19. Bradford, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, 136.
20. Gardiner, *A history of the Pequot war*, 23.
21. As noted above (p. 261), Mountjoy dismissed Docwra's scruples about the betrayal of promises made to Donall O'Carhan. Chichester likewise brushed aside the complaint of Connor Roe Maguire that he had been promised three baronies in Fermanagh instead of one: 'I see not that the kinge is bounde in honor or otherwise to make so barbarous and unworthy a man greater then his neigboures.' Chichester, Remembrancies, SP 63-228 no. 16, f. 39v.
22. The points in the lord deputy's letter of 29 April 1612 which concern the Londoners and to which they are to make answer, followed by the Londoners' answers, in Phillips, *Londonderry and the London companies*, 37.
23. Caulfeild, The collection of Tyrone's rents, in *CSPI James I, 1608–1610*, 533–534.
24. Sir Oliver St. John to Salisbury, 21 April 1610, SP 63-228 no. 83, f. 226r. Chichester also believed that many of the undertakers, lacking the necessary military background, would be scared away by the 'least trouble or alteration of the tymes'. Chichester to Salisbury, 27 September 1610, SP 63-229 no. 126, f. 133r. Chichester to Salisbury, November 1610, SP 63-229 no. 135, f. 174r.

25. Chichester to Salisbury, November 1610, SP 63-229 no. 135, f. 174v.
26. Ó Cléirigh, *The life of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill*, 129–131.
27. Examination of Dermot oge McDonne, 3 April 1615, in *CSPI James I, 1615–1625*, 31.
28. Certayne notes that Owen Mack Hugh, Mack Neale, Moore Oneale, desirereth to be made knownen, 17 July 1600, SP 63-207-4 no. 22, f. 57r.
29. Diamond, *Guns, germs and steel*, 78–80.
30. In their first meetings with the Massachusett, for example, Bradford noted they ‘were much affraid of the Tarentins [Mi’kmaqs]’. Bradford, *Bradford’s History of Plymouth Plantation*, 120.
31. John Teighe, A Brief of some Things which I observed, *CCM*, vol. 5, 30–31. Abstract of divers papers concerning Ireland, 1625, SP 63-241 no. 190, f. 399r.
32. John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (London, 1624), 423–424.
33. Alexander, *An encouragement*, 23.
34. Chichester to the Privy Council, 23 September 1610, SP 63-229 no. 125, f. 126r. For examples of this markedly parochial mentality displayed by the followers of Philip O'Reilly and Turlough Oge O'Neill, see above, pp. 156–157.
35. Tomás Ó Fiaich, ‘The O’Neills of the Fews,’ *Seanchas Ardmbacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* 7, no. 1 (1973): 36.
36. Nicholas Canny, ‘Reconciled to colonialism?: Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic,’ *The Irish Times*, Dublin, 24 May 2014.
37. Karl S. Bottigheimer, ‘Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Westward Enterprise,’ in *The Westward Enterprise*, 57. Andrew Murphy has described this settlement as a ‘traditional circulation’, ‘Ireland and ante/anti-colonial theory,’ 157.
38. Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 78. As an example of the credence given to this line of thought, taken to extremes, an article published on the website of Ian Paisley purports to prove that Ulster was originally inhabited by a British people called the ‘Utili’, who were driven out by Irish colonisers in the third century. The writer of this article uses this thesis to assert that ‘the Ulster Scots, not the Irish, were the original inhabitants of Ulster and as such are its rightful historical owners’. Arthur Noble, ‘The Mentality of Deceit: Unmasking Ancient Irish History,’ <http://www.ian-paisley.org/article.asp?ArtKey=mentality>, accessed 6 March 2015.
39. T. W. Moody, ‘The Ulster Scots in Colonial and Revolutionary America,’ *An Irish Quarterly Review* 34, no. 133 (1945): 87.
40. Clarke, ‘The Plantations,’ 62–63. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster*, 10.

41. Ohlmeyer, 'Civilizing of those Rude Partes,' 126. The inhabitants of the Lordship of the Isles were described in 1545 by an English source as 'the Scottyshe Irysshe'. Ellis, 'Nationalist Historiography', 7. Brian McPhelim O'Neill of Clandeboye described the McDonalds of Antrim as 'Irish Skotts'. Brian McPhelim O'Neill to Queen Elizabeth, 6 July 1571, SP 63-33 no 3, f. 5r. A 1639 account describes the tutor of Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll, as being competent in both 'Inglis and Erise', clearly meaning *Gàidhlig*. Macinnes, *Clanship, commerce and the House of Stuart*, 13. This, Jane Dawson notes, may in fact have been an innovation of the late Middle Ages, with the Latin terms 'Scotice, lingua Scotica' regularly applied to the Gaelic language until the fifteenth century, after which it was increasingly referred to as 'Hibernice', 'Erse' or 'Irish', and the term 'Scottis' appropriated by the Lowlanders for their own dialect of English. Jane Dawson, 'The Gàidhealtachd and the emergence of the Scottish Highlands', in *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, eds. Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 283-284.
42. Aidan Clarke has described the 'desire to drive a wedge into the midst of this Gaelic zone' as a 'spur to the colonisation of Ulster', in 'The Plantations,' 62.
43. Elizabeth to Sidney, 6 July 1567, SP 63-21 no. 49, ff. 109r-109v.
44. Docwra, 'A narration of the services done,' 291-292.
45. A 'bond for performance of conditions of plantation by British undertakers' in 1610 specifically says that those brought over by undertakers must have been either 'borne in England or the Inland p[ar]tes of Scotland'. The 'proiecte for the devision and plantac[i]on of the escheated laundes' likewise explicitly stipulated 'inland Scottish' colonists. Both these documents have been printed in 'Ulster Plantation Papers,' 197, 289. 'Inland Scottish inhabitants' is also the term used in the Orders and Conditions of plantation. *A collection of such orders and conditions, as are to be observed be the undertakers, upon the distribution and plantation of the eschaeted lands of Ulster* (Edinburgh, 1609), sig.A3r.
46. But not exclusively. Allan Macinnes has noted that 'colonising by Scots in Ulster should not be regarded as the preserve of Lowlanders'. *Clanship, commerce and the House of Stuart*, 68. As the reference to a deponent from Galloway above (p. 119) demonstrates, there were indeed some Scottish colonists who were at least familiar with the *Gàidhlig* language, if not native speakers. It does not appear, however, that Highlanders participated in the plantation to any significant degree.
47. Canny, 'Reconciled to colonialism?' 12.
48. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian sea*, viii.

49. Audrey Horning, 'Cultures of contact, cultures of conflict?: Identity Construction, Colonialist Discourse, and the Ethics of Archaeological Practice in Northern Ireland,' *Stanford Journal of Archaeology* 5 (2007): 115.
50. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian sea*, 12.
51. Brendan Bradshaw, 'Nationalism and Historical Scholarship in Modern Ireland,' *Irish Historical Studies* 26, no. 104 (1989): 350.
52. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian sea*, 235. Such is the importance Horning accords this anecdote that she refers to it once again in her summing-up, 361, and at length in another essay, where she claims of this incident: 'Irish and English on the Mercers' proportion were content to drown their sorrows and share their joys together with ale and spirits.' 'The root of all vice and bestiality: exploring the cultural role of the ale-house in the Ulster Plantation,' in *Plantation Ireland*, eds. Lyttleton and Rynne, 123–124.
53. Canning to Ironmongers' Company, 15 January 1616, LMA, Guildhall Library MS 17278-1, ff. 109v–110r.
54. Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 435. The same story is also presented as an example of 'how settlers and natives lived alongside each other on cordial terms' in a BBC television programme from 2004, *You Thought You Knew*, in which the presenter, Jim McDowell, claims that 'nothing happened until after several hours of drinking, when the woodkerne drew their swords and slew the two Englishmen.' <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00c6fl1>, accessed 18 March 2015.
55. Brendan Bradshaw, 'The Elizabethans and the Irish, review of *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland* by Nicholas Canny,' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 66, no. 261 (1977): 38.
56. Moody, 'The Treatment of the Native Population,' 59–63.
57. This has been noted by Kevin Whelan in 'The Revisionist Debate in Ireland,' *Boundary 2* 31, no. 1 (2004): 192.
58. Bardon, *The Plantation of Ulster*, x.
59. Steve Olson, 'The Royal We,' *The Atlantic Monthly* 289, no. 5 (2002): 63.
60. The humble petecion of Sir Thomas Phillipps knight, June 1628, SP 63-271 no. 25, ff. 50v–51r.
61. Falkland to Conway, 24 April 1624, SP 63-238-1 no. 45, f. 147r and SP 63-245 no. 883, f. 298v.
62. Wentworth to Christopher Wandesford, 1639. Bodleian library, Oxford, Carte MS 1, f. 126r.
63. Deposition of Nicholas Simpson, 6 April 1643, TCD MS 838, f. 182r.
64. Temple, *The Irish rebellion*, 105–106.

65. Rich, *A new description*, 80.
66. Memorandum on the present state of Ireland, 11 November 1625, SP 63-241 no. 147, f. 294r.
67. Moryson, 'The Itinerary,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 315–316.
68. Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam to Burghley, 4 October 1572. SP 63-38 no. 4, f. 11r. Brian McPhelim's correspondence with the crown and its servitors, of course, shows him to have been anything but a 'rebel' by choice.
69. Moryson, 'The Itinerary,' in *Illustrations of Irish history*, 315–316.
70. Gernon 'Discourse of Ireland, 1620,' 356. De Toqueville made a similar reflection in the 1830s on the comments of the Secretary of the Poor Law Commission that 'there is no other country where it is more difficult to get the truth out of a man' when he wrote: 'This has always been the vice of the unfortunate and of slaves.' De Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland*, 119.
71. *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*, 114.
72. Frantz Fanon, *Black skin, white masks* (London: Pluto Press, 1986).
73. Ohlmeyer, 'Civilizinge of those rude partes,' 145.
74. Spenser, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland,' 56.
75. Anonymous, *The Present state of Ireland together with some remarques upon the antient state thereof* (London, 1673), 59–60.
76. The phrase, having its origin in the Canaanite inhabitants of Gibeon, condemned to manual labour by the invading Israelites (Joshua 9:27), was drawn on by Jonathan Swift in reference to the Irish Catholics of his time: 'When foes are o'ercome, we preserve them from slaughter, To be hewers of wood, and drawers of water.' 'A serious poem upon William Wood,' in *The poetical works of Jonathan Swift*, vol. 3 (London: W. Pickering, 1834), 113. 'The common People without Leaders, without Discipline, or natural Courage, being little better than Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water, are out of all Capacity of doing any Mischief, if they were ever so well inclined.' Jonathan Swift, 'A letter concerning the sacramental test,' 4 December 1708, in *The works of the Rev. Jonathan Swift*, vol. 4, eds. John Nichols and Thomas Sheridan (New-York: William Durell and Co., 1812), 36.

## GLOSSARY

Modern Irish form  
*airchinnigh*

*baile bó* (plural: *bailte bó*)

*baile biataigh* (plural: *bailte biataigh*)

Anglicised form, meaning  
Erenagh. Hereditary stewards of  
church lands in Gaelic society.

Balliboe, ballybo. Meaning ‘cow  
land/town’, a Gaelic land unit,  
the amount of land necessary to  
support a given number (which is  
unclear to historians) of people or  
cattle. The term may derive from  
a rent of one cow levied on each  
of these units by the ruling elite.  
The *bailte bó* were carried over,  
apparently almost unchanged  
but renamed ‘townlands’, to the  
English landholding system.

Ballybetagh. May be translated  
as ‘town of the food-provider’,  
a Gaelic land unit, often  
consisting of around sixteen *bailte bó*,  
which was the constituency  
through which hospitality and  
tribute to the ruling elite was  
channelled.

<i>buaile</i>	Booley, booly. Place of summer pasture.
<i>buailteachas</i>	Booleying, boolying. The practice of moving between summer and winter pastures, in scientific terminology known as 'transhumance'.
<i>buannacht</i>	Bonagh, bonny. The billeting of a Gaelic ruler of mercenaries or servants on his subjects.
<i>caoraidheacht</i>	Creaght. Mobile herds of cattle and their herders.
<i>ceann-fine</i>	Head of a kin-group or extended family.
<i>cineál</i> (plural: <i>cineálacha</i> )	Kindred, race, nation. Descendants of a particular individual in the past. Usually implies an ancestor in the more distant, generally semi-mythical, past than the term <i>sliocht</i> (see below). Often the Old Irish spelling <i>cenél</i> is employed.
<i>coinmheadh</i>	Coigny, coyne or guesting. Billeting the ruler's retainers upon his subjects.
<i>cóisir, cuid oíche</i>	Cosher, coshery or cuddy. Obligatory banquet provided for the ruler by his wealthier vassals at intervals throughout the year. <i>Cuid oíche</i> translates as a 'night's portion'.
<i>dearbhfhine</i>	Kin-group consisting of relations stretching back to a common ancestor four generations back.
<i>éiric</i>	Eric. A fine or compensation payment under Gaelic law, usually for manslaughter.
<i>fallaing</i>	Mantle. A heavy multi-purpose cloak, usually made of rough woollen material.
<i>fine</i>	Extended kin-group.

<i>Gaeltacht</i>	Irish-speaking areas of Ireland. In early-modern usage, generally refers to that part of the island remaining predominantly Gaelic in character.
<i>Gàidhealtachd</i>	That part of Scotland retaining a predominantly Gaelic culture.
<i>galláglagh</i>	Gallowglass. Mercenaries imported from Scotland into Ulster in the thirteenth century, many of whom were subsequently integrated into Gaelic society.
<i>glib</i>	Shaggy fringe of hair hanging down over the face, often worn by the Gaelic Irish.
<i>oireacht</i> (plural: <i>oireachtaí</i> )	Iraght. Territory ruled by the <i>tiarnaí</i> (see below) or Gaelic rulers, enjoying varying degrees of sovereignty in the later middle ages.
<i>sliocht</i> (plural: <i>sleachta</i> )	Sept. Descendants of a particular individual, usually some notable personage in the past. See also <i>cineál</i> .
<i>táin</i>	Predatory cattle raid.
<i>tánaiste</i> (plural: <i>tánaistí</i> )	Tanist. Appointed successor and second-in-command to a living Gaelic ruler.
<i>tiarna</i> (plural: <i>tiarnaí</i> )	Lord. Gaelic ruler.
<i>tiarnas</i>	Lordship.
<i>triúis</i>	Trousers, often of wool, worn tight to the skin and reaching all the way down to the ankles, unlike the breeches which were common in English society, which reached to just below the knee.
<i>uirrí</i> (plural: <i>uirríthe</i> )	Sub-king or a <i>tiarna</i> in a subordinate relation with another akin to vassalage.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

#### Manuscript

##### IRELAND

*Marsh's Library, Dublin.*

Z3, 1.1, no. 66, ff. 53r–53v, George Thornton's accusation against Mr. Shachivarrell.

Z3.2.6, no. 60, ff. 131r–131v, A licence from the lord deputy and council for Capt. Anthony Smith.

*National Library of Ireland, Dublin.*

MS 8014, Papers of Sir Nathaniel Rich concerning the Commission of 1622, vol. 10.

*Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast.*

D597-4, Eighteenth-century copies of Petty's Down Survey maps.

D683-1, Ellis papers.

D1939-15-2-1, Earl of Erne Papers.

*Trinity College Library, Dublin.*

TCD MS 550, pp. 211–23, Archbishop Ussher's visitation book.

TCD MS 806, ff. 10v–29r, Commission for decindinge differences in the plantation.

TCD MS 808, ff. 47r–50r, Some agreevances that the poore subiects in the countie of Tyrone undergoe, 1622.

TCD MSS 832-839, 1641 Depositions, Ulster.

TCD MS 1209-15, Francis Jobson's map: The Provence of Ulster, 1590.

## BRITAIN

*British Library, London.*

Additional MS 4780 ff. 1r-87v, The Particular Discription of the Countrie and State of Ireland, 1618.

Harleian MS 3292, ff. 40-45, Francis Blundell on plantations, c. 1622.

Lansdowne MS 159, ff. 4r-18r, A discourse of the cause of the evell state of Ireland, and of the remedies therof, 1526.

*London Metropolitan Archive, Guildhall Library.*

MS 17278-1, Records of the Ironmonger's Company.

*National Archives, London.*

SP MPF 1-35, Richard Bartlett's Generalle Description of Ulster, 1603.

SP MPF 1-38 to 64, Bodley Survey maps, 1609.

SP 63 State Papers Ireland, vols. 5, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 26, 32, 33, 35, 38, 45, 48, 51, 52, 60, 70, 85, 104, 111, 125, 128, 130, 140, 144, 152, 161, 163, 175, 178, 187, 202, 203, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 232, 233, 236, 237, 238, 241, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 253, 254, 270, 271, 277, 307.

SP 70 Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth I, 1558-1577, vol. 146.

*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

Carte MSS, vols. 1, 61.

*Exeter College, Oxford.*

MS 154, ff. 55-74, Anonymous, Discourse on the mere Irish of Ireland, sometime between September 1607 and November 1608, transcription by Hiram Morgan: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E600001-004.html>.

## UNITED STATES

*Huntington Library, San Marino, California.*

E. S., A survey of the present estate of Ireland Anno 1615, HL Ellesmere MS 1746.

**Printed***Calendars, Administrative & Legal Records*

Abbot, Thomas Kingsmill, ed., *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1900.

Atkinson, Ernest George, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth I*, vols. 1599-1600, 1600, 1600-1601. London: H.M.S.O., 1899, 1903, 1905.

Brewer, John S. and Bullen, William, eds., *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth*, vols. 1, 2, 3, 5. London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1867-1873.

*Calendar of the patent rolls of Ireland, James I.* Dublin: H.M.S.O., 1800.

Hardiman, James, ed., *Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum cancellariae Hiberniae asservatarum, repertorium*, vol. 2: Ulster. Dublin: Printed by Grierson and Keene, 1829.

Mahaffy, Robert Pentland, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, Elizabeth I, vols. 1601–1603, Charles I, vols. 1625–1632, and vol. 1647–1660. London: H.M.S.O., 1900, 1903 and 1912.

Ó Ciardha, Éamonn and Ohlmeyer, Jane, eds., *The Irish statute staple books, 1596–1687*. Dublin Corporation, 1998.

O'Dowd, Mary, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Tudor Period, Revised edition Vol. 3: 1571–1575*. Dublin: Irish Manuscript Commission and National Archives, 2000.

Prendergast, John P. and Russell, C.W., eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, James I, vols. 1603–1606, 1606–1608, 1608–1610, 1611–1614, 1615–1625*. London: Longman & Co., 1872, 1874, 1877, 1880.

Simington, Robert, ed., *The civil survey A.D. 1654–1656. Vol. 3, Counties of Donegal, Londonderry and Tyrone*. Dublin: Stationery Office, 1937.

Steele, Robert, ed., *Tudor and Stuart proclamations 1485–1714, ii: Scotland and Ireland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.

### *Contemporaneous Published Works*

Alexander, William, *An encouragement to colonies*. London, 1624.

Blenerhasset, Thomas, *A direction for the plantation in Ulster*. London, 1610.

Bradford, William, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1606–1646*. Edited by William T. Davis. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908.

Boorde, Andrew, *The fyrt boke of the introduction of knowledge, The whych dothe teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages, and to knowe the usage and fashion of al maner of countreys*. London, 1555.

Camden, William, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland*. London, 1637.

Campion, Edmund, Hanmer, Meredith, Ware, James, and Spenser, Edmund, *Two histories of Ireland, the one written by Edmund Campion, the other by Meredith Hanmer Dr of Divinity*. Dublin, 1633.

Davies, John, *Historical Tracts*. London: John Stockdale, 1786.

Eburne, Richard, *A plaine path-way to plantations that is, a discourse in generall, concerning the plantation of our English people in other countries*. London, 1624.

Gainford, Thomas, *The glory of England, or A true description of many excellent prerogatives and remarkeable blessings, whereby she triumpheth over all the nations of the world*. London, 1618.

Gardiner, Lion, *A history of the Pequot war*. Cincinnati, Ohio: W. Dodge, 1860.

Gray, Robert, *A good speed to Virginia*. London, 1609.

Hariot, Thomas, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia.* Frankfurt, 1590.

Head, Richard, *The English Rogue: Described in the life of Meriton Latroon, a witty extravagant comprehending the most eminent cheats of both sexes.* London, 1668.

Johnson, Robert, *Nova Britannia offering most excellent fruites by planting in Virginia: exciting all such as be well affected to further the same.* London, 1609.

Locke, John, *Two Treatises of Government.* London: Whitmore and Fenn, 1821.

Lynch, John, *Cambreensis eversus*, 3 vols. Edited and translated by Matthew Kelly. Dublin: The Celtic Society, 1848–52.

Molyneux, William, *The case of Ireland's being bound by acts of Parliament in England stated.* Dublin: 1698.

Morton, Thomas, *The New English Canaan.* Boston: Prince Society, 1883.

Moryson, Fynes, *Shakespeare's Europe: unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, being a survey of the condition of Europe at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.* Edited by Charles Hughes. London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1903.

Moryson, Fynes, *An itinerary containing his ten yeeres travell*, four vols. Glasgow: MacLehose, 1907–08.

Rich, Barnaby, *A new description of Ireland wherein is described the disposition of the Irish whereunto they are inclined.* London, 1610.

Smith, John, *The Generall Historie of Virginia.* London, 1624.

Smith, John, *Advertisements for the unexperienced planters of New-England.* London, 1631.

Smith, Thomas, *A Letter sent by I. B. Gentleman unto his very frende Maystet R. C. Esquire.* London, 1572.

Speed, John, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine.* London, 1612.

Spenser, Edmund, 'A View of the Present State of Ireland' in *Works: vol. 10, Spenser's prose works.* Edited by Rudolf Gottfried. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949.

Stanhurst, Richard, 'The Description of Ireland', in Holinshed, Raphaell, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, vol. 6: Ireland. London: J. Johnson *et al.*, 1808, pp 1–69.

Stuart, James (James VI and I), *Basilikon doron Devided into three booke.* Edinburgh, 1599.

Temple, John, *The Irish rebellion: or, an history of the attempts of the Irish Papists to extirpate the protestants in the kingdom of Ireland.* London: White, Cochrane and Co., 1812.

Underhill, John, *Newes from America; or, A new and experimentall discoverie of New England.* London, 1638.

Waterhouse, Edward, *A declaration of the state of the colony and affaires in Virginia.* London, 1622.

Winslow, Edward, *Good newes from New-England.* London, 1624.

### *Family and Personal Letters and Unpublished Papers*

Allingham, Hugh, *Captain Cuellar's adventures in Connacht & Ulster, A.D. 1588*. London: Elliot Stock, 1897.

Bagenal, Henry; Hore, Herbert F., ed., 'Marshal Bagenal's Description of Ulster, Anno 1586.' *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, 2 (1854): 137–60.

Boullaye, François Le Gouz de la, *The tour of the French traveller M. de La Boullaye Le Gouz in Ireland, A. D. 1644*. Translated by Thomas Crofton Croker. London: T. and W. Boone, 1837.

Docwra, Henry; O'Donovan, John, ed., 'Docwra's relation of service done in Ireland' and 'A narration of the services done by the army ymployed to Lough-Foyle, under the leadinge of mee Sir Henry Docwra.' *Celtic Miscellany* (1849): 187–325.

Montgomery, William and Hill, Rev. George, eds., *The Montgomery manuscripts: (1603–1706)*. Belfast: Archer and Sons, 1869.

Phillips, Thomas, *Londonderry and the London companies, 1609–1629: being a survey and other documents submitted to King Charles I*. Edited by D. A. Chart. Belfast: H.M.S.O, 1928.

Quinn, D. B., ed., "A Discourse of Ireland" (Circa 1599): A Sidelight on English Colonial Policy. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C*, 47 (1942): 151–66.

White, Rowland; Canny, Nicholas, ed., 'Discors Touching Ireland, c. 1569.' *Irish Historical Studies* 20, no. 80 (1977): 439–63.

White, Rowland; Canny, Nicholas, ed., 'The Dysorders of the Irisshery, 1571.' *Studia Hibernica* 19 (1979): 147–60.

### *Source Compilations*

*Analecta Hibernica*, no. 3 (1931): MS. Rawlinson A. 237: A booke of the Kings lands founde upon the last generall survey within the province of Ulster anno le: 1608, 151–218.

*Analecta Hibernica*, no. 8 (1938): Ulster Plantation Papers.

Falkiner, Caesar Litton, ed., *Illustrations of Irish history and topography mainly of the seventeenth century*. Longmans Green: London, 1904.

Gilbert, John T., ed., *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652*, five vols. The Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1879–80.

Hadfield, Andrew and McVeagh, John, eds., *Strangers to that Land: British Perceptions of Ireland from the Reformation to the Famine*. Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1994.

Hickson, Mary, ed., *Ireland in the seventeenth century*, vol. 1. London: Longmans, Green, 1884.

Ferguson, James F., ed., 'Ulster Roll of Gaol Delivery, 1613–1618.' *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series (1853–4), vol. 1: 260–70 and 2: 25–8.

### *Works in Irish*

Listed under author's surname or, if a compilation, editor/translator's.

Anonymous, *Pairleament Chloinne Tomáis*. Translated by N. J. A. Williams. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1981.

Bergin, Osborn, ed. and trans., *Irish bardic poetry: texts and translations*. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1970.

Ó Cléirigh, Lughaidh, *The life of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill*. Edited and translated by Paul Walsh. Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1948.

Ó Doibhlin, Éamon, ed., 'Ceart Uí Néill: A Discussion and Translation of the Document.' *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 5, no. 2 (1970): 324–58.

Ó hUiginn, Tadhg Dall, *The bardic poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn*, two vols. Edited and translated by Eleanor Knott. London: Irish Texts Society, 1922–26.

Uí Dhálaigh, Lochlann mac Taidhg Óig; Gillies, William (trans.), 'A poem on the downfall of the Gaoidhil.' *Éigse* 13 (1970): 203–10.

Ó Donnchadha, Thadhg, ed., *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe*. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1931.

O'Donovan, John, ed., *Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four masters*, seven vols. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1848–51.

O'Rahilly, Cecile, ed., *Five seventeenth-century political poems*. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1952.

Walsh, Paul, ed. and trans., *Gleanings from Irish manuscripts*. Dublin: At the sign of the Three Candles, 1933.

### *Secondary Works*

#### Monographs

Axtell, James, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnobiography of Colonial North America*. Oxford University Press, 1981.

Bardon, Jonathan, *A history of Ulster*. Belfast: Blackstaff, 1992.

Bardon, Jonathan, *The Plantation of Ulster: the British colonisation of the north of Ireland in the seventeenth century*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2011.

Bradshaw, Brendan, *The Irish constitutional revolution of the sixteenth century*. Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Brady, Ciaran, *The Chief Governors: the rise and fall of reform government in Tudor Ireland, 1536–1588*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Canny, Nicholas, *The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland, A Pattern Established*. Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1976.

Canny, Nicholas, *Kingdom and colony: Ireland in the Atlantic world, 1560–1800*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Canny, Nicholas, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650*. Oxford University Press, 2001.

Cronon, William, *Changes in the land: Indians, colonists, and the ecology of New England*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1984.

Gillespie, Raymond, *Colonial Ulster: the settlement of East Ulster 1600–1641*. Cork University Press for the Irish Committee of Historical Sciences, 1985.

Gillespie, Raymond, *Conspiracy: Ulster plots and plotters in 1615*. Belfast: Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies, 1987.

Hechter, Michael, *Internal colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development, 1536–1966*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

Hill, George, *An historical account of the Plantation in Ulster at the commencement of the seventeenth century, 1608–1620*. Belfast: McCaw, Stevenson & Orr, 1877.

Horning, Audrey, *Ireland in the Virginian sea: colonialism in the British Atlantic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013.

Hunter, Robert, *The Ulster plantation in the counties of Armagh and Cavan, 1608–41*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2012.

Jennings, Francis, *The invasion of America: Indians, colonialism, and the cant of conquest*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl, *Settling with the Indians: the meeting of English and Indian cultures in America, 1580–1640*. London: Dent, 1980.

Lenihan, Pádraig, *Confederate Catholics at war, 1641–49*. Cork University Press, 2000.

McCall, Timothy, *The Gaelic background to the settlement of Down and Antrim*. MA dissertation, Queen's University, Belfast, 1983.

Mac Cúarta, Brian, *Catholic revival in the north of Ireland, 1603–41*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007.

Montaño, John Patrick, *The roots of English colonialism in Ireland*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Moody, Theodore William, *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609–41*. Belfast: William Mullan and Son, 1939.

Morgan, Hiram, *Tyrone's Rebellion: the outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1993.

Muldoon, James, *Canon law, the expansion of Europe, and world order*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.

Murphy, Andrew, *But the Irish sea betwixt us: Ireland, colonialism, and Renaissance literature*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999.

Murphy, Thomas, *Clandeboye: an outline of its rise and decline c. 1350 to 1606*. MA dissertation, University of Limerick, 2011.

Nicholls, Kenneth, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1972.

Ó Faoláin, Seán, *The great O'Neill: a biography of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, 1550–1616*. Cork: Mercier Press, 1970.

Ó hAnnracháin, Tadhg, *The Church of Ireland and the native Irish population in plantation Ulster*. Dublin: Institute for British-Irish Studies, University College Dublin, 2010.

O'Riordan, Michelle, *The Gaelic mind and the collapse of the Gaelic world*. Cork University Press, 1990.

Ó Siochrú, Micheál, *Confederate Ireland 1642–1649: a constitutional and political analysis*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999.

Ó Siochrú, Micheál, *God's executioner: Oliver Cromwell and the conquest of Ireland*. London: Faber, 2008.

Pagden, Anthony, *The fall of natural man: the American Indian and the origins of comparative ethnology*. Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Palmer, Patricia, *Language and conquest in early modern Ireland: English Renaissance literature and Elizabethan imperial expansion*. Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Pawlisch, Hans, *Sir John Davies and the conquest of Ireland: a study in legal imperialism*. Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Perceval-Maxwell, Michael, *The Scottish migration to Ulster in the reign of James I*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.

Quinn, David Beers, *The Elizabethans and the Irish*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1966.

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

Salisbury, Neal, *Manitou and providence: Indians, Europeans, and the making of New England, 1500–1643*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Sheehan, Bernard W., *Savagism and civility: Indians and Englishmen in colonial Virginia*. Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Shuckburgh, Evelyn Shirley, ed., *Two biographies of William Bedell, bishop of Kilmore: with a selection of his letters and an unpublished treatise*. Cambridge University Press, 1902.

Simms, Katharine, *Gaelic lordships in Ulster in the later Middle Ages*. PhD thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1976.

Simms, Katharine, *From kings to warlords: the changing political structure of Gaelic Ireland in the later Middle Ages*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1987.

Smyth, William J., *Map-making, landscapes and memory: a geography of colonial and early modern Ireland, c. 1530–1750*. Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 2006.

Thomas, Keith, *Religion and the decline of magic: studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England*. London: Penguin, 1971.

Wachtel, Nathan, *The vision of the vanquished: the Spanish conquest of Peru through Indian eyes, 1530–1570*. Translated by Ben and Siân Reynolds. Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977.

### *Edited Collections*

Andrews, Kenneth Raymond, Cann, Nicholas, and Hair, Paul Edward Hedley, eds., *The Westward Enterprise: English activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480–1650*. Liverpool University Press, 1978.

Armitage, David and Braddick, Michael J., eds., *The British Atlantic world, 1500–1800*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Brady, Ciaran and Gillespie, Raymond, eds., *Natives and newcomers: essays on the making of Irish colonial society, 1534–1641*. Blackrock, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1986.

Byrne, F. J., Martin, F. X., Moody, T. W., eds., *A New History of Ireland vol. 3: Early modern Ireland, 1534–1691*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Canny, Nicholas, ed., *The Oxford history of the British Empire. Vol. 1, The origins of Empire: British overseas enterprise to the close of the seventeenth century*. Oxford University Press, 1998.

Coughlan, Patricia, ed., *Spenser and Ireland: an interdisciplinary perspective*. Cork University Press, 1989.

De Paor, Liam, ed., *Milestones in Irish history*. Cork: Mercier Press, in collaboration with Radio Telefís Éireann, 1986.

Dillon, Charles and Jefferies, Henry A., eds., *Tyrone: history & society*. Dublin: Geography Publications, 2000.

Duffy, Patrick J., Edwards, David and FitzPatrick, Elizabeth, eds., *Gaelic Ireland, c.1250–c.1650: land, lordship and settlement*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001.

Dunleavy, Mairead, Nolan, William and Ronayne, Liam, eds., *Donegal: history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*. Dublin: Geography Publications, 1995.

Edwards, David, ed., *Regions and rulers in Ireland, 1100–1650: essays for Kenneth Nicholls*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.

Edwards, David, Lenihan, Pádraig and Tait, Clodagh, eds., *Age of Atrocity: Violence and Political Conflict in Early Modern Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007.

Hayes-McCoy, Gerard Anthony, ed., *Historical Studies: papers read before the Irish Conference of Historians*, no. 4. London: Bowes and Bowes, 1963.

Hepburn, A. C., ed., *Minorities in history: papers read before the thirteenth Irish Conference of Historians at the New University of Ulster, 1977*. London: Edward Arnold, 1978.

Hughes, A. J. and Nolan, W., eds., *Armagh: history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*. Dublin: Geography Publications, 2001.

Hunter, Robert, ed. (with Strabane Local History Group), *The Plantation in Ulster in Strabane Barony, Co. Tyrone c.1600–41*. Derry: New University of Ulster, 1982.

Lyttleton, James and Rynne, Colin, eds., *Plantation Ireland: settlement and material culture, c.1550–c.1700*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009.

Mac Cúarta, Brian, ed., *Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising*. Queen's University, Institute of Irish Studies, 1993.

Ó Ciardha, Éamonn, and Ó Siochrú, Micheál, eds., *The plantation of Ulster: ideology and practice*. Manchester University Press, 2012.

Ohlmeyer, Jane and Ó Siocchrú, Micheál, eds., *Ireland: 1641 Contexts and Reactions*. Manchester University Press, 2013.

Roebuck, Peter, ed., *Plantation to partition: essays in Ulster history in honour of J. L. McCracken*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1981.

### Articles

Baker, David J., “‘Wildehirishman’: Colonialist Representations of Shakespeare’s Henry V.” *English Literary Renaissance* 22 (1992): 37–61.

Bigger, Francis Joseph, ‘Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland. With Some Notes on the Plantation of Ulster.’ Parts 1–4, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, 10, nos.1–4 (1904): 1–12, 56–66, 104–12 and 158–66.

Bottigheimer, Karl, ‘The failure of the Reformation in Ireland: une question bien posée.’ *Journal of ecclesiastical history* 36, no. 2 (1985): 196–207.

Bourke, E., ‘Irish levies for the Army of Sweden (1609–1610).’ *The Irish monthly* 46 (1918): 396–404.

Bradshaw, Brendan, ‘Sword, Word and Strategy in the Reformation in Ireland.’ *The Historical Journal* 21, no. 3 (1978): 475–502.

Bradshaw, Brendan, ‘Nationalism and Historical Scholarship in Modern Ireland.’ *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 26, no. 104 (Dublin University Press, 1989): 329–51.

Bradshaw, Brendan, ‘The invention of the Irish: Was the Ulster rising really a bolt from the blue?’ *The Times Literary Supplement*, 14 October 1994.

Brady, Ciaran, ‘Spenser’s Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s.’ *Past & Present* 111 (1986): 17–49.

Caball, Marc, ‘Providence and Exile in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland.’ *Irish Historical Studies* 29, no. 114 (1994): 174–88.

Canny, Nicholas, ‘Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and the Changing Face of Gaelic Ulster.’ *Studia Hibernica* 10 (1970): 7–35.

Canny, Nicholas, ‘The Ideology of English Colonization from Ireland to America.’ *The William and Mary Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1973): 575–98.

Canny, Nicholas, ‘Why the Reformation failed in Ireland: Une question mal posée.’ *Journal of ecclesiastical history* 30, no. 4 (1979): 423–50.

Canny, Nicholas, ‘Migration and Opportunity: Britain, Ireland and the New World.’ *Irish Economic and Social History* 12 (1985): 7–32, and ‘A reply,’ 13 (1986): 96–100.

Canny, Nicholas, 'Protestants, Planters and Apartheid in Early Modern Ireland.' *Irish Historical Studies* 25, no. 98 (1986): 105–15.

Canny, Nicholas, 'Spenser's Irish Crisis: Humanism and Experience in the 1590s.' *Past & Present* 120 (1988): 201–9.

Canny, Nicholas, 'Reconciled to colonialism?: Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic.' *The Irish Times*, Dublin, 24 May 2014.

Cathcart, Alison, 'The Statutes of Iona: The Archipelagic Context.' *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 1 (2010): 4–27.

Chart, David Alfred, 'The Break-Up of the Estate of Con O'Neill, Castlereagh, County Down.' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, 48 (1942): 119–51.

Cherry, Jonathan, 'Colonial appropriation of Gaelic urban space: creating the first Ulster plantation town.' *Irish Geography* 40, no. 2 (2007): 112–27.

Cheyney, Edward P., 'Some English Conditions Surrounding the Settlement of Virginia.' *American Historical Review* 12, no. 3 (1907): 507–28.

Clarke, Aidan, 'Ireland and the General Crisis.' *Past & Present* 48 (1970): 79–99.

Craven, Wesley Frank, 'Indian Policy in Early Virginia.' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 1, no. 1 (1944): 65–82.

Cullen, Liam, 'Population Trends in Seventeenth Century Ireland.' *Economic and Social Review* 6 (1975): 149–65.

Cunningham, Bernadette, and Gillespie, Raymond, 'The east Ulster bardic family of Ó Gnímh.' *Éigse* 20 (1984): 106–14.

Dolley, Michael and Seaby, W. A., 'Le money del O'Raylly', *British Numismatic Journal* 36 (1967): 114–18.

Duffy, Patrick, 'Patterns of landownership in Gaelic Monaghan in the late sixteenth century.' *Clogher Record* 10, no. 3 (1981): 304–22.

Duffy, Patrick, 'The territorial organisation of Gaelic landownership and its transformation in County Monaghan, 1591–1640.' *Irish Geography* 14 (1981): 1–26.

Dunlop, Robert, 'Sixteenth century schemes for the plantation of Ulster.' *Scottish Historical Review* (1925): vol. 22, no. 85, 51–60; no. 86, 115–26; no. 87, 119–212.

Dunne, Tom, 'The Gaelic response to conquest and colonisation: the evidence of the poetry.' *Studia Hibernica* 20 (1980): 7–30.

Edwards, David, 'Atrocities: Some Days Two Heads and Some Days Four.' *History Ireland* 17, no. 1 (2009): 18–21.

Ellis, Steven, 'Nationalist Historiography and the English and Gaelic Worlds in the Late Middle Ages.' *Irish Historical Studies* 25, no. 97 (1986): 1–18.

Ellis, Steven, 'Writing Irish History: Revisionism, Colonialism, and the British Isles.' *The Irish Review* 19 (1996): 1–21.

Fausz, Frederick J., 'The Invasion of Virginia: Indians, Colonialism, and the Conquest of Cant: A Review Essay on Anglo-Indian Relations in the

Chesapeake.' *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 95, no. 2 (1987): 133–56.

Fausz, J. Frederick, 'An 'Abundance of Blood Shed on Both Sides': England's First Indian War, 1609–1614.' *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 98, no. 1 (1990): 3–56.

Flavin, Susan, 'Consumption and material culture in sixteenth-century Ireland.' *Economic History Review* 64, no. 4 (2011): 1144–74.

Fowler, Elizabeth, 'The Failure of Moral Philosophy in the Work of Edmund Spenser.' *Representations* 51 (1995): 47–76.

Gillespie, Raymond, 'Harvest crises in early seventeenth-century Ireland.' *Irish Economic and Social History* 11 (1984): 5–18.

Gillespie, Raymond, 'Migration and Opportunity: a comment.' *Irish Economic and Social History* 13 (1986): 90–5.

Graham, Jean M., 'Southwest Donegal in the seventeenth century.' *Irish Geography* 6:2 (1970): 136–52.

Harris, F. W., 'The rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Doherty and its legal aftermath.' *Irish Jurist* 15 (1980): 298–325.

Hayes-McCoy, Gerard Anthony, 'Sir John Davies in Cavan in 1606 and 1610.' *Breifne: Journal of Cumann Seanchais Bhreifne* 1, no. 3 (1960): 177–91.

Hore, Herbert Francis, 'Woods and Fastnesses in Ancient Ireland.' *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, 6 (1858): 145–61.

Horning, Audrey, 'Cultures of contact, cultures of conflict?: Identity Construction, Colonialist Discourse, and the Ethics of Archaeological Practice in Northern Ireland.' *Stanford Journal of Archaeology* 5 (2007): 108–33.

Huck, Christian, 'Clothes Make the Irish: Irish Dressing and the Question of Identity.' *Irish Studies Review* 11, no. 3 (2003): 273–84.

Hunter, Robert, 'Towns in the Ulster Plantation.' *Studia Hibernica* 11 (1971): 40–79.

Hunter, Robert, 'Sir William Cole and Plantation Enniskillen, 1607–41.' *Clogher Record* 9, no. 3 (1978): 336–50.

Jones, Howard Mumford, 'Origins of the Colonial Idea in England.' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 85, no. 5 (1942): 448–65.

Lee, Wayne E., 'Using the Natives against the Natives: Indigenes as Counterinsurgents in the British Atlantic, 1500–1800.' *Defence Studies* 10.1 (2010): 88–105.

Mac Duinnshleibhe, Peadar, 'The Legal Murder of Aodh Rua McMahon, 1590.' *Clogher Record* 1, no. 3 (1955): 39–52.

Mcveigh, Robbie, '"The balance of cruelty": Ireland, Britain and the logic of genocide.' *Journal of Genocide Research* 10, no. 4 (2008): 541–61.

Maguire, William, 'The Lands of the Maguires of Tempo in the Seventeenth Century.' *Clogher Record* 12, no. 3 (1987): 305–19.

Marshall, John J. 'The Hovendens: Foster Brothers of Aodh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster (Earl of Tireoghan).' *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, 13, nos. 1 and 2 (1907): no. 1, 4–21 and no. 2, 73–83.

Moody, Theodore William, 'The revised articles of the Ulster Plantation, 1610.' *Historical Research* 12, no. 36 (1935): 178–83.

Moody, Theodore William, 'The Treatment of the Native Population under the Scheme for the Plantation in Ulster.' *Irish Historical Studies* 1, no. 1 (1938): 59–63.

Moody, Theodore William, 'The School-Bills of Conn O'Neill at Eton, 1615–22.' *Irish Historical Studies* 2, no. 6 (1940): 189–204.

Moody, Theodore William, 'The Irish Parliament under Elizabeth and James I: A General Survey.' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, 45 (1940): 41–81.

Moody, Theodore William, 'The Ulster Scots in Colonial and Revolutionary America.' *An Irish Quarterly Review* (1945), (two parts) vol. 34, no. 133: 85–94 and no. 134: 211–21.

Morgan, Hiram, 'The Colonial Venture of Sir Thomas Smith in Ulster, 1571–1575.' *The Historical Journal* 28, no. 2 (1985): 261–78.

Morgan, Hiram, 'Mid-Atlantic Blues.' *The Irish Review*, 11 (1991): 50–55.

Murphy, Andrew, 'Ireland and ante/anti-colonial theory.' *Irish Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (1999): 153–61.

Nash, Catherine, 'Irish placenames: post-colonial locations.' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 24, no. 4 (1999): 457–80.

Neill, Michael, 'Broken English and broken Irish: Nation, language, and the optic of power in Shakespeare's histories.' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (1994): 1–32.

Noonan, Kathleen, "The cruell pressure of an enraged, barbarous people": Irish and English identity in seventeenth-century policy and propaganda.' *Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1998): 151–77.

Noonan, Kathleen, "Martyrs in Flames": Sir John Temple and the Conception of the Irish in English Martyrologies.' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 36, no. 2 (2004): 233–55.

Ó Buachalla, Breandán, 'Review Article: Poetry and Politics in Early Modern Ireland.' *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 7 (1992): 149–75.

Ó Doibhlin, Éamon, 'O'Neill's "Own Country" and Its Families.' *Seanchas Ardánacha* 6, no. 1 (1970): 3–23.

Ó Dónaill, Seán, 'Sir Niall Garvh O'Donnell and the Rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Doherty.' *Irish Historical Studies* 3, no. 9 (1942): 34–8.

Ohlmeyer, Jane, 'Driving a Wedge within Gaeldom: Ireland & Scotland in the Seventeenth Century.' *History Ireland* 7, no. 3 (1999): 27–31.

Ohlmeyer, Jane, 'Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories.' *American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999): 446–62.

Ó Siochrú, Micheál, 'Atrocity, codes of conduct and the Irish in the British Civil wars 1641–1653.' *Past and Present* 195 (2007): 55–86.

Ó Siochrú, Micheál, 'Civil Autonomy and Military Power in Early Modern Ireland.' *Journal of Early Modern History* 15 (2011): 31–57.

Palmer, Patricia, 'Interpreters and the Politics of Translation and Traduction in Sixteenth-Century Ireland.' *Irish Historical Studies* 33, no. 131 (2003): 257–77.

Palmer, Patricia, "“An headlesse Ladie” and “a horses loade of heads”: Writing the Beheading." *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2007): 25–57.

Quinn, David Beers, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the beginnings of English colonial theory.' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 89, no. 4 (1945): 543–60.

Salisbury, Neal, 'Red Puritans: The “Praying Indians” of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot.' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 31, no. 1 (1974): 27–54.

Salisbury, Neal, 'Religious Encounters in a Colonial Context: New England and New France in the Seventeenth Century.' *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1992): 501–9.

Salisbury, Neal, 'The Indians’ Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans.' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 53, no. 3 (1996): 435–58.

Salmon, Vivian, 'Missionary linguistics in seventeenth-century Ireland and a North American analogy' in *Historiographia Linguistica* 12 (1985): 321–49.

Schlegel, Donald M., 'The MacDonnells of Tyrone and Armagh: A Genealogical Study.' *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 10, no. 1 (1981): 193–219.

Simms, Katharine, 'Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland.' *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 108 (1978): 67–100.

Simms, Katharine, 'Nomadry in medieval Ireland: the origins of the creaght or caraigheacht.' *Peritia, Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland* 5 (1986): 379–91.

Tait, Clodagh, 'Namesakes and nicknames: naming practices in early modern Ireland, 1540–1700.' *Continuity and Change* 21 (2006): 313–40.

Vaughan, Alden T., 'Expulsion of the Salvages: English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622.' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 35, no. 1 (1978): 57–84.

Wormald, Jenny, 'The Creation of Britain: Multiple Kingdoms or Core and Colonies?' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 2 (1992): 175–94.

### *Online Resources*

1641 Depositions, Trinity College, Dublin. <http://1641.tcd.ie>.

*Dictionary of Irish Biography*. <http://dib.cambridge.org>.

The Down Survey of Ireland, Trinity College, Dublin. <http://downsurvey.tcd.ie>.

National Museum of Ireland website, Dublin. <http://www.museum.ie>.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. [www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com).

Placenames Database of Ireland. [www.logainm.ie](http://www.logainm.ie).

Placenames Northern Ireland. [www.placenamesni.org](http://www.placenamesni.org).

# INDEX

## A

Algonquian peoples, 18, 36, 37, 124, 135, 282. *See also* Mohegans, Narragansetts, Pequots and Wampanoag  
Anglo-Normans. *See* Old English  
Annesley, Francis, 1st viscount Valentia, d.1660, 191  
Antrim, County, 1, 11, 66–68, 71–74, 83, 120, 121, 123, 234, 249, 251, 285  
Antrim, town, 232  
Ards peninsula, 2, 35, 36, 39, 68, 69, 95, 192, 200  
Armagh, County, 4, 47, 68, 83, 99, 185, 234, 238, 249  
Armagh town, 243–244  
Athens, classical, 155  
Atlantic world, 18, 20, 27–53, 67, 117, 197, 279, 283, 286

## B

Bacon, Francis, d.1626, 43  
Bagenal, Henry, d.1598, 74

*baile biataigh*, 18, 162–164, 168, 175, 176  
*baile bó*, 18, 168, 180, 237–238  
Bale, John, d.1563, 100, 104  
balliboe, ballyboe. *See* *baile bó*  
ballybetagh. *See* *baile biataigh*  
Bann, river, 65, 74, 221, 250–251  
bardic poetry. *See* Irish (language) literature  
Bartlett, Richard, d.1603, 32  
Bedell, William (Bishop), d.1642, 107, 108, 110, 111, 114–117, 197  
Berkeley, William d.1677, 41  
Bible, The, 37, 113, 115, 123  
billetting, Gaelic custom. *See* *buannacht*  
Blackwater, river, 241–242  
Blenerhasset, Thomas, d.1624, 27, 28, 36, 70, 109, 194  
Blount, Charles, 8th Baron Mountjoy, d.1606, 3, 219, 221, 229, 235  
Blundell, Francis, d.1625, 256, 277, 293  
Bodley’s survey, 1613, 5, 255  
Bohemia, 28  
Bradford, William, d.1657, 43, 198

brehon law, 78, 93, 132  
 Britons, ancient, 18  
*buannacht*, 36, 65, 161, 187  
 Burgh, Thomas, 3rd Baron Burgh, d.1597, 283  
 Butler, James FitzThomas, 1st Duke of Ormonde, 12th Earl of Ormond, d.1688, 195  
 Butler, Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormond, d.1614, 32

**C**  
 Calais, 78  
 Calvinism, 97, 102, 105, 114, 144  
 Campbell, Agnes, 1601, 83  
 Campbell clan, Scotland, 189  
 Campion, Edmund, d.1581, 101, 104  
*caoraidheacht*, 82, 167, 168, 182, 234  
 Carew's survey, 1611, 5  
 Carrickfergus, 35, 68, 69, 73  
 Cary, Henry, 1st Viscount Falkland, d.1633, 103, 217  
 Castlecaulfeild, County Tyrone, 230, 235  
 Catholic church, Catholicism, 99–114, 115, 155, 190, 195  
 Caulfeild, Toby  
   1st baron Caulfeild of Charlemont, d.1627, 64, 166, 167, 170, 173, 174, 180, 235, 241–243, 253, 281  
   3rd baron Caulfeild of Charlemont, d.1642, 235  
 Cavan, County, 4, 119, 123, 157, 175, 197, 200, 234, 278  
 Cecil, William, 1st Baron Burghley, d.1598, 99  
 Charlemont, fort, 249  
 Charles I, King of England, Ireland and Scotland, d.1649, 6, 98

Chichester, Arthur, d.1625, 3, 5, 43, 47, 64, 73, 74, 77, 98, 108–110, 117, 173, 174, 188, 192, 194, 195, 197, 217–219, 221, 223, 230, 237, 242, 252, 253, 256, 281, 283  
 Church of Ireland (Anglican Communion), 106, 107, 109, 110, 114, 155, 191, 222  
 Cineál Conaill, 159  
*cineál*, definition, 19, 158  
 Cineál Eoghain, 159  
 Civil Survey, 1654–56, 250  
 Clandeboye, 47, 68, 71–74, 250–251, 279  
 Clanricard, earldom of, 31  
 Clogher (barony, civil parish and town), 38, 253  
 Clones, County Monaghan, 232  
 cohery. *See cónisir*  
 coigny. *See coinmheadh*  
*coinmheadh*, 161, 187  
*cónisir*, 151, 161, 187  
 Coleraine, County, 4  
 1615 conspiracy, 220, 250, 253–257, 278, 281  
 1622 commission, 5, 115, 176, 182  
 common law, English, 11, 46–48, 81, 96, 162, 163, 169, 174, 175, 187–190  
 commyns, 166, 167, 180, 181, 185  
 Connacht, 31  
 Cookstown, County Tyrone, 173, 174, 230, 232, 235, 238, 253  
 cosher. *See cónisir*  
 Cotton, Robert, d.1631, 32  
 Counter-Reformation, 101, 105, 109–111, 117, 128  
 coyne. *See coinmheadh*  
 creaght. *See caoraidheacht*  
 Creighton, George, clergyman, 123, 156, 200

cuddy. *See* *cuid oíche*

Cuellar, Francisco de, 42

*cuid oíche*, 161

## D

Davies, John, d.1626, 3, 5, 11, 17, 28, 32, 36, 46, 71, 75, 76, 81, 84, 93, 94, 97, 106, 108, 120, 121, 155, 163, 165, 175, 187, 191, 192, 195, 221–222, 225, 228–229, 236, 252

1641 depositions, 16, 118, 119, 156, 157, 190, 233, 243, 277, 292

Derry, city, 4, 171, 178, 188, 218–220, 223, 252

Derry, county. *See* Londonderry, county

deserving Irish (term), 215–217, 225

Desmond, Earls of, 78

Docwra, Henry, d.1631, 15, 171, 173, 174, 217–219, 221, 222, 285

Donaghmore, County Tyrone, 229, 241, 243, 249

Donegal, County, 3, 4, 32, 46, 81, 83, 121, 168, 171, 217, 219, 221

Down, County, 1, 65, 66, 68, 71, 74, 125, 171, 190, 194, 279, 286

Down Survey, 232, 233

Drapers' Company, 230

Drogheda, County Louth, 236

Dublin, 72, 105, 121, 127, 195, 223, 241, 242, 254

Dungannon, barony and plantation precinct, 21, 173, 174, 184, 215, 225–258

Dungannon fort, 173, 234, 236, 238

Dungannon, town, 234

## E

Earldom of Ulster, 2, 65

Earls of Desmond, 31

Edinburgh, 72

Eliot, John, d.1690, 49, 134

Elizabeth I, Queen of England, d.1603, 2, 9, 32, 53, 68, 73, 109, 285

Elizabeth II, Windsor, Queen of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth, 290

English language, 17, 123, 124

Essex, Earl of, Walter Devereux d.1576, 2, 12, 39, 70, 71, 73, 194

## F

Falkland, viscount, lord deputy of Ireland, 1622–26. *See* Cary, Henry, 1st Viscount Falkland, d.1633

*fallaing* (mantle), 126–133

Fanon, Frantz, d.1961, 294

Faughan, river, 223

Fermanagh, County, 3, 4, 153, 159, 171, 182, 185, 190

FitzGerald, Gerald, 15th earl of Desmond, d.1583, 133

Flanders. *See* Low Countries, The Flight of the Earls, The, 2, 4, 46, 71, 184, 242–243

Folliot, Henry, d.1622, 189

Foyle, lough, river, 15, 173, 178, 221, 223

France, 78

Froude, James Anthony, d.1894, 77, 278, 294

## G

Gaelic language. *See* Irish language *Gàidhlig* (language). *See* Scottish Gaelic

*galláglagh*, 83, 233, 236  
 gallowglass. *See galláglagh*  
 Gascony, 78  
 gavelkind. *See* partible inheritance  
 Gerald of Wales, d.c.1223, 99  
 Gilbert, Humphrey, d.1583, 67, 83, 136, 137, 294  
 Glenconkeyne, County Londonderry, 250–254  
 Glenmacquin, Battle of, 1642, 249  
*glib*, 126  
 Goghe, John, 32  
 Good, William, 42, 100, 101, 104  
 Gookin, Vincent, d.1638, 118  
 Gorton, Samuel, d.1677, 52, 53  
 Graces, The, 1628, 6, 98, 257, 292  
 guesting. *See coinmheadh*

**H**  
 Hamilton, James, 1st earl of Abercorn, d.1618, 176  
 Hamilton James, 1st Viscount Claneboye, d.1644, 71–74, 286  
 Head, Richard, d.1686, 120, 121  
 Henry II, King of England, duke of Normandy and of Aquitaine, d.1189, 32, 99, 295  
 Henry VIII, King of England, d.1547, 125, 184  
 Hiberno-Normans. *See* Old English  
 Hobbes, Thomas, d.1679, 81  
 Hovendon, Alexander, d.1644, 243, 248  
 Hovendon, Giles, 242  
 Hovendon, Henry, d.163?, 243  
 Hovendon, Henry, d.post 1607, 242  
 Hovendon, Robert, d.1641, 242–243, 246, 248–249  
 humanism (Renaissance), 94

**I**  
 Ibn Batuta, d.c.1368, 105  
 Iníon Dubh, Fionnuala, daughter of James McDonald and Agnes Campbell, wife of Huge Roe O'Donnell, d.1608, 84  
 Inishowen, County Donegal, 217  
 Irish language, 13, 17, 19, 20, 110, 114–123, 125, 126  
 Irish (language) literature, 13–16, 101, 136, 171  
 Ironmongers' Company, 107, 113, 279, 288

**J**  
 Jacob, Robert, d.1618, 75, 256  
 James I and VI, King of England, Ireland and Scotland, d.1625, 31, 40, 66, 72, 80, 85, 106, 108, 192, 285  
 Jamestown, 40, 41  
 Jonson, Ben, d.1637, 53, 76

**K**  
 Killetra, County Londonderry and Tyrone, 250, 254  
 King Philip's War (1675–78). *See* Metacomm's War (1675–78)  
 Kinsale, Siege of, 1601–02, 73, 234  
 Knox, Andrew (bishop), d.1633, 115

**L**  
 learned orders, Gaelic, 35, 114, 154, 161  
 Leinster, 31, 38, 241  
 Ley, James, 1st Earl of Marlborough, d.1629, 5

Locke, John, d.1704, [37](#), [135](#)  
 London, [32](#), [72](#), [121](#), [129](#), [190](#), [238](#),  
   [245](#), [246](#)  
 London companies, [5](#), [64](#), [182](#), [222](#),  
   [254](#), [281](#)  
 Londonderry, city. *See* Derry, city  
 Londonderry, County, [5](#), [106](#), [107](#),  
   [113](#), [158](#), [221](#), [230](#), [232](#), [250](#),  
   [254](#), [279](#), [287](#)  
 Lough Erne, [32](#)  
 Loughinsholin, County Londonderry  
   (formerly part of County Tyrone),  
   [155](#), [232](#), [240](#), [254](#)  
 Lough Neagh, [236](#), [237](#)  
 Low Countries, The, [179](#), [230](#)  
   *lucht tighe*, [162](#), [180](#), [228](#), [238](#)

**M**

Mac an Bhaird, Gothraidh McBrian,  
   [15](#), [16](#)  
 MacNeill, Eoin, d.1945, [19](#), [80](#)  
 Maguire, Brian (of Tempo), d.1655,  
   [224](#), [246](#)  
 Maguire, Connor, 2nd Baron of  
   Enniskillen, d.1645, [40](#), [156](#)  
 Maguire, Connor Roe, d.1625, [255](#)  
 Maguire, Cú Chonnacht, d.1608, [3](#),  
   [224](#)  
 mantle. *See* *fallaing*  
 Marx, Karl, d.1883, [155](#)  
 Massachusetts, [64](#), [280](#)  
 McCawells of Tyrone, [235](#), [238](#)  
 McDonald, Alexander, d.1634, [120](#)  
 McDonald, James, 6th laird of  
   Dunnyveg, d.1565, [83](#)  
 McDonald, Randall, 1st Earl of  
   Antrim, d.1636, [71](#)–[73](#), [236](#), [249](#)  
 McDonnells of Tyrone, [83](#), [225](#), [233](#)  
 McKennas of Monaghan, [176](#)  
 McLochlanns of Tyrone, [173](#), [228](#)  
 McMahon, Hugh Oge, d.1644, [40](#)  
 McMahons of Monaghan, [159](#), [163](#),  
   [165](#), [176](#)  
 McNamee, Cormac, d.1627, [173](#)  
 McNamees of Strabane, [173](#)  
 McQuaids, followers of the O’Neills,  
   [156](#), [249](#), [292](#)  
 McSweeneyes of Donegal, [83](#)  
 Mellifont, Treaty of, 1603, [39](#), [42](#),  
   [158](#), [221](#)  
 Mercers’ company, [107](#), [287](#)  
 mere Irish (term), [24](#), [216](#)  
 Metacomm’s War (1675–78), [49](#), [52](#)  
 Miantonomo (Narragansett sachem),  
   d.1643, [41](#), [280](#)  
 Micmac people. *See* Mi’kmaq people  
 Mi’kmaq people, [137](#)  
 Mohawks, [280](#)  
 Mohegans, [41](#), [280](#)  
 Molyneux, William, d.1698, [43](#)–[45](#)  
 Monaghan, County, [1](#), [53](#), [111](#), [154](#),  
   [156](#), [159](#), [170](#), [175](#), [176](#), [188](#),  
   [191](#), [249](#)  
   1591 and 1607 land settlement  
     (‘natives’ plantation’), [163](#), [175](#)  
 Moneymore, County Londonderry,  
   [230](#), [232](#), [233](#)  
 Montaigne, Michel de, d.1592, [42](#)  
 Montgomery, George (Bishop),  
   d.1621, [3](#), [106](#), [222](#)  
 Montgomery, Hugh, 1st Viscount  
   Montgomery of the Ards, d.1636,  
   [71](#)–[74](#), [286](#)  
 Moriscos, [28](#)  
 Morton, Thomas, d.1647, [64](#), [132](#),  
   [135](#), [198](#)  
 Moryson, Fynes, d.1630, [17](#), [20](#), [47](#),  
   [75](#)–[77](#), [79](#), [83](#), [118](#), [120](#), [121](#),  
   [165](#), [185](#), [193](#), [198](#), [251](#), [293](#)

Mountjoy, Lord Deputy/Lieutenant of Ireland 1600-04. *See* Blount, Charles, 8th Baron Mountjoy, d.1606

Munster, 31, 118, 179

## N

Narragansetts, 40, 41, 80, 280

Navigation Acts, 1660, 44, 199

Nemattanew, Powhatan religious leader, d.1622, 101

New England, 13, 18, 28, 30, 36, 37, 40, 45, 49, 52, 63, 124, 134, 196, 197, 279, 280, 283

New English, 14, 31, 32, 83, 95, 102, 117

New Netherlands colony, 280

Newtownstewart, County Tyrone, 173

Niall of the Nine Hostages (Niall Naoighiallach), 15, 19, 159

Nine Years War, The (1594-1603), 2, 3, 12, 15, 31, 40, 46, 52, 53, 65, 70, 71, 74-76, 84, 98, 120, 133, 157, 171, 184, 198, 219, 232-236, 249, 252, 285

Nugent, Christopher, 5th Baron Delvin, d.1602, 118

## O

O'Brady's of east Bréifne (Cavan), 159

O'Cahan, Donall, d.1616, 3, 4, 158, 167, 171, 172, 217-219, 221-224, 252

O'Cahan, Manus, d.ante.1639, 223, 224

O'Cahan, Rory, d.1615, 120

O'Cahan, Shane Carrach, d.1608, 222, 223

O'Cahans of Oireacht Uí Chatháin (modern-day Londonderry), 123, 158

O'Cleary, Lughaidh, d.c.1616, 16, 20, 78, 81, 171, 281

Ó Dálaigh, Lochlann Mac Taidhg Óig, fl.1620s, 14

O'Devine, Patrick Gruama, 179

O'Devines of Tyrone, 178

O'Devlins of Tyrone, 225, 236-237

O'Doherty, Cahir, d.1608, 4, 170, 172-174, 217, 218, 220-222, 224, 234, 238, 243, 253-254

O'Doherty of Inishowen, 217

O'Doherty's rising (1608). *See* O'Doherty, Cahir, d.1608

O'Donnell, Hugh Roe, d.1602, 78, 81, 84, 118, 219

O'Donnell, Niall Garbh, d.1626, 3, 4, 15, 16, 167, 171, 172, 185, 217-221, 223, 224

O'Donnell, Rory, 1st Earl of Tyrconnell, d.1608, 3, 106, 107, 172, 217, 219

O'Donnells of Tyrconnell, 15, 67, 84, 135, 173, 185, 218

O'Donnells of Tyrone, 225, 234-236

Ó Gnímh, Fear Flatha d.1640, 14

O'Gormleys of west Tyrone, 158, 173, 179

O'Hagan, Shane 'Na Puint', 229

O'Hagans of Tyrone, 228-233, 236

O'Hanlon, Oghy Oge, 234

O'Hussey, Oghy, d.c.1612, 171  
*oireacht*, definition, 19

Oireacht Uí Chatháin, 158, 221

Old English, 4, 31, 38, 65, 67, 77, 78, 82, 94, 96, 105, 117, 129, 192, 242

O'Mellan, Turlough, d.1650, 16, 232, 244, 249-250

O'Neill, Art McTurlough Luineach, d.1600, 171, 173, 174

O'Neill, Brian Carrach, d.1590, 251

O'Neill, Brian Crosach, d.1615, 220, 238, 240, 252–257, 278, 281

O'Neill, Brian McPhelim (of Clandeboye), d.1574, 35, 39, 218, 279, 293

O'Neill, Catherine, d.post 1661, 243, 245, 248

O'Neill, Conn of Clandeboye, d.1618, 25, 73

O'Neill, Cormac McBaron, d.post 1607, 238, 252–254

O'Neill, Donall McShane na Mallacht, d.1616 or 1629, 249–250

O'Neill, Hugh, 2nd earl of Tyrone, d.1616, 2, 3, 32, 39, 42, 46, 47, 66, 70, 73, 75, 84, 158, 165, 166, 169, 170, 172, 174, 180, 189, 198, 216, 221–223, 230, 233, 234, 242, 246, 285, 290

O'Neill, Owen McHugh McNeill Mor, of the Fews, d.1634, 159, 282

O'Neill, Phelim Roe, d.1653, 121, 129, 156, 190, 217, 232, 234, 236, 243–249, 257

O'Neill, Shane, d.1567, 1, 38, 47, 67, 68, 83, 165, 235, 283

O'Neill, Turlough Luineach, d.1595, 2, 68, 84, 171, 224, 251

O'Neill, Turlough McArt, d.post.1642, 171–174, 184, 215, 224, 238, 245, 253, 255

O'Neill, Turlough McHenry, d.1640, 47, 64, 238, 243–244, 283

O'Neill, Turlough Oge, d.c.1646, 156, 246, 249, 257

O'Neills of Clandeboye, 71, 250

O'Neills of Kinard, County Tyrone, 243–245

O'Neills of Tyrone, 2, 15, 32, 65, 66, 71, 84, 158, 173, 225, 227, 234, 236, 238, 241, 282

Opechancanough, d.1646, 40, 41

O'Quinns of Tyrone, 225, 228–230, 236

O'Reilly, Philip McHugh, d.1655, 156, 157

O'Reillys of east Bréifne (Cavan), 159

Ormond, earl of. *See* Butler

O'Rourke, Brian, d.1591, 40

O'Rourkes of west Bréifne (Leitrim), 159

**P**

Paisley, Ian, d.2014, 74

Pale, The, 31, 32, 38, 39, 48, 66–69, 75, 77, 79, 82, 84, 94–96, 99, 125, 128, 133, 165, 175, 198, 241, 282

parliament, Dublin, 6, 44, 45, 47

parliament, London, 45, 257

partible inheritance, 10, 22, 81, 162, 163

Pawlett, George, governor of Derry, d.1608, 218

Pequots, 40, 52, 81, 280

Phillips, Thomas, d.1636, 182, 278, 288, 291, 293

Pilgrim fathers. *See* Puritans: Separatists

Plymouth colony, 43, 280, 282

Pocahontas, d.1617, 49, 193, 283

Population estimates, Ulster and Ireland, 75, 163

Powhatan (people), 40, 49, 80, 101, 197

Powhatan (ruler). *See* Wahunsenacawh

Protestantism, 5, 102, 106, 107, 109–116, 123, 198, 285, 286, 295

Purchas, Samuel, d.1626, 197

Puritans, 102, 126, 134, 257  
Separatists, 30, 36, 63, 134

Pynnar, Nicholas, d.c.1644. *See* Pynnar's survey, 1619

Pynnar's survey, 1619, 5, 191

**R**

Raleigh, Walter, d.1618, 43

Rathlin Island, 31, 73

Redshanks, 83

Reformation, Protestant, 31, 66, 97, 100, 105–109, 111, 113–115, 117

Revisionism (Irish historiography), 8, 30, 289

Rich, Barnaby, d.1617, 17, 101, 104, 105, 123, 132, 293

1641 rising, 7, 21, 53, 107, 120, 122–124, 153, 189, 190, 192, 193, 195, 197, 200, 225, 230, 232, 233, 235, 241, 243–249, 245, 257–258, 277–279, 284, 291–293

Roanoke colony, 27

Rolfe, John, d.1622, 49

Rome, classical, 18, 42, 44, 155, 192

**S**

Saami (Lapland), 42

Saint Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg, Donegal, 155

Salters' company, 249

Scottish Gaelic, 113, 115, 119, 285

sept, definition, 19

Sidney, Henry, d.1586, 31, 38, 67, 68, 70, 77, 83, 99, 186, 283, 285

*sliocht*, definition, 19

Smith, John (captain and explorer), d.1631, 110

Smith, Thomas, d.1573, 35

Smith, Thomas, d.1577, 2, 35, 39, 42, 65, 68, 69, 71, 95, 192, 193, 200, 293

Spain, 28, 136

Spain, the Spanish, 40

Spenser, Edmund, d.1599, 11, 17, 77, 78, 94, 97, 98, 104, 110, 116, 126, 129, 132, 133, 159, 194, 295

Sperrins, mountain range, 174, 176, 254

Spottiswood, James (bishop), d.1645, 155

Stanyhurst, Richard, d.1618, 104

State papers, English, 13, 16

Stewart, Andrew, 3rd Lord Ochiltree and Baron Castle Stewart, d.1629, 237, 253

Strabane, barony, 171, 173–176, 178–181, 183, 184, 215

Strafford, 1st Earl of. *See* Wentworth, Thomas

Surrender and re-grant, 40, 67, 69, 70

1608 survey, 171, 175

Sussex, Thomas Radclyffe, 3rd earl of (lord deputy of Ireland), d.1583, 186

Sweden, the Swedish, 42, 234

**T**

Temple, John, d.1677, 37, 53, 195, 245, 292, 293

Thomond, earldom of, 31

Thorpe, George, d.1622, 49

*tiarna*, definition, 19

Tiranny, barony and plantation precinct, 21, 215, 243–249

Trinity College, Dublin, [5, 114, 115, 170](#)  
*triús* (Gaelic trousers), [128](#)  
 Troubles in Northern Ireland, c.1968-1998, [286, 289](#)  
 Tullyhogue, County Tyrone, [228, 232](#)  
 Tyrconnell. *See* Donegal, County  
 Tyrconnell, earl of. *See* O'Donnell, Rory, 1st Earl of Tyrconnell, d.1608  
 Tyrone, County, [4, 82, 121](#)  
 Tyrone, Earl of. *See* O'Neill, Hugh, 2nd earl of Tyrone, d.1616

**U**  
 Uí Néill, descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, [159](#)  
 Uncas (Mohegan sachem), d.c.1683, [41](#)

**V**  
 Virginia, [13, 18, 27, 28, 30, 32, 38, 43, 45, 49, 80, 102, 110, 117, 192, 196, 197, 283](#)  
 1622 massacre, [40, 193, 197](#)  
 Virginia Company, [49](#)

**W**  
 Wahunsenacawh (Powhatan ruler), d.1618, [40](#)  
 Wales, [28, 112](#)  
 Wampanoags, [40, 52, 280](#)  
 Waterhouse, Edward, [40](#)  
 Wentworth, Thomas, 1st Earl of Strafford, d.1641, [6, 64, 118, 195, 199, 257, 292](#)  
 Western Isles (Scotland), [72, 83, 84, 113, 285](#)  
 White, Rowland, d.1572, [73, 97, 129, 134](#)  
 Wicklow, County, [31](#)  
 Williams, Roger, d.1683, [37, 49, 52](#)  
 Winthrop, John, d.1649, [36, 52](#)  
 Wool Act, 1699, [44](#)