

The Scots as a People on the Move:

The Cornerstone of the British Colonization of Ulster in the Early Seventeenth
Century

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A Thesis submitted to
the Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages at the
Faculty of Humanities

ENG4790 – Master's Thesis in English, Secondary Teacher Training (30 ECST)

University of Oslo
Spring 2023

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Abstract

This thesis re-examines the Scottish migration to the province of Ulster, Ireland in the early seventeenth century, from 1603-1625. The Plantation of Ulster, initiated by the English government in 1609, marked the beginning of a new era in Ireland. The following will argue that the Scots, as a mobile people with experience of migration prior to the seventeenth century, provided a significant contribution to the English plantation scheme. The Plantation lasted from 1610 to the 1690s, but this thesis focuses primarily upon the first two decades of the seventeenth century, arguing that it was these years which were most significant to see if the Plantation would last. The Scots were a highly mobile people in the early modern period, already from the fifteenth century. At this time, they were already travelling to various European countries for shorter or longer periods of time – for trade, education or similar reasons. This thesis argues that Scottish migration to Ulster proved invaluable for the Plantation scheme and contributed significantly to the stability of the British settlement during its first decades. There were several push- and pull-factors that drove the Scots to emigrate, among others that the rising population in Scotland made for a sort of inland migration. During the early seventeenth century, this inland migration moved abroad across the Irish Sea. In East Ulster, a significant number of Scots settled in private plantations that would later inspire the official Plantation in 1609-10. Lastly, this thesis will argue that it was the unique Scottish determination and willingness that made for a lasting British presence in Ulster.

Acknowledgements

This thesis marks the end of five amazing years as the University of Oslo. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Atle L. Wold. Your comments and edits have been invaluable whilst developing and writing this thesis. Thank you for believing in my work even when I doubted myself.

This thesis would not have been written had it not been for my semester abroad in Glasgow in 2022, and I would therefore like to thank my professor at Strathclyde University: John Young. Your enthusiasm for, and knowledge about, seventeenth century Scotland and Ireland is what inspired me to research this further.

A special thank you to my husband, Nabil, for your amazing support and comfort during these past few months. I am so excited to see what our future holds. I would also like to thank my parents, Maria and Ole Kristian, and my brother, Ole Tobias, to whom I look up so much. Thank you for always believing in me in everything that I do.

I am so grateful for all the people I've met during my time as a student. Thank you to Hilde Andrea and Karoline, my friends from Lektorprogrammet, you really cheered me up during the final few weeks before submitting this thesis.

A special thanks to U1, where I've spent a lot of time and found some of the greatest friends one could ask for. Hanna, Anna, Thea, and Synnøve – thank you for all the amazing moments we've shared, I can't wait for many more.

Konstanse Bjellaanes Reistad

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1 Introduction

In 1610, one of the largest British plantation schemes ever carried out in Ireland was initiated in the province of Ulster. Ulster consisted of nine counties, out of which six – Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine (in 1613 renamed Londonderry), Donegal, Fermanagh, and Tyrone – became part of the British colonization scheme. Two east Ulster counties – Antrim and Down – became the place of private Scottish plantations. Over the next century, thousands of British settlers made their way across the Irish Sea to be part of what we refer to as the Plantation of Ulster. This, in addition to the colony in North America, marked the beginning of the expansion of the English, and later British, Empire and their colonization of an extensive amount of land. Regaining English control over Ireland had been attempted many times before, but plantation schemes in the late sixteenth century had failed under Queen Elizabeth I. The opposition against English rule in Ireland eventually led to the violent Nine Years War between 1593-1603 and was mainly fought in the province of Ulster. The Irish alliance opposing English rule surrendered in 1603, and many Ulster earls shortly after fled the lands in fright of punishment – leaving a large amount of land open for conquest. Queen Elizabeth died that same year and was succeeded by her nephew, the king of Scotland. The succession of the Scottish King James VI to the English throne as King James I, changed the course of British and Irish history as it united England and Scotland – a union still intact today. The Plantation of Ulster, planned thoroughly at the commencement of the seventeenth century, was initiated in 1609-10, and offered both Scots and English cheap lands in Ulster where they could settle and cultivate their own lands. This thesis aims to investigate and discuss the Scottish settlement in Ulster and their contribution to the Plantation scheme. The following will argue that the Scottish involvement in Ulster was crucial for its success in its early stages, and that this is in part due to the Scottish migration tradition.

This thesis focuses primarily on early seventeenth century Ulster, 1603-1625, in the reign of James I, as these first decades were significant to see if the Plantation scheme would collapse or survive. And while many will argue that it was the larger influx of Scots towards the end of the century that created any significant Scottish community in Ulster, the following will strengthen the idea of that the earlier stages of the Plantation were ground-breaking for the English government's success in Ireland. Although considerable research has been conducted on the Scottish migration to Ulster, some aspects remain understudied. Scottish migration to Ulster in the early years of the Plantation deserves more attention and is

beneficiary to understand the value and future consequences of the Scottish involvement in Ulster. In her 2021-PHD “The Great Scottish Migration to Ulster in the 1690s,” Lauren Bell aims to re-examine the 1690s Scottish migration to Ulster, which she states is a “largely neglected topic.”¹ Throughout her thesis she aims to discover the reasons for the massive influx of Scottish migrants to Ulster and argues that this migration was necessary for the lasting Scottish presence in Ireland today. Although her arguments are solid and based on a broad spectrum of both primary and secondary source material, a focus on the earlier decades of the seventeenth century allows for a different take on the Scottish experience in Ulster. The impact the Scottish migration to Ulster had on the Plantation scheme as a whole in the early stages of the Plantation deserved greater scholarly attention. While many scholars, as Bell, write about Scottish migration in relation to the creation of Scottish communities and diasporas abroad, this thesis aims to examine the establishment of Scottish communities in relation to the colonization of Ulster, and that these communities were significant for the survival of the Plantation. Therefore, it is significant to investigate the Plantation’s earlier years and the official plans made by the English government. Scotland’s tradition for migration will also make up one of the central points when arguing their contribution to the Plantation scheme. Thomas C. Smout, Ned C. Landsman and Thomas M. Devine describe Scotland as a country with a “strong migratory tradition.”² Migration is a phenomenon that has been around since the beginning of time, and it has led to the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society we know today. However, some nations’ tradition for migration differs from others, and we find here the case of Scotland. This country – once part of the British Empire and today part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain – has for centuries had a unique migratory tradition and has marked the Scots as a *people on the move*. This distinctive trait, in relation to the establishment of a British plantation in Ireland will open for examination of the Scots as one of the most important factors for the British plantation’s success.

In comparison and as an addition to this, an exploration of the Scottish migration waves elsewhere in Europe prior to and during the early seventeenth century will enhance our understanding of the Scottish people as uniquely capable to settle down on foreign land. The Scots became important parts of communities abroad, and even integrated as part of their host

¹ Lauren Bell, “The Great Scottish Migration to Ulster in the 1690s” Unpublished PHD (Ulster University, 2021), 1.

² Thomas Christopher Smout, Ned. C Landsman, and Thomas Martin Devine, “Scottish Emigration in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration 1500–1800*, ed. Nicholas Canny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 76, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198204190.003.0005>.

societies prior to the seventeenth century. From the similarities and differences between the different migration destinations in Europe, it will become clearer how Ulster differed from the others. As importantly, this will again contribute to the thesis' argument that the Scots were a vital contribution to the Plantation of Ulster, and lead to a discussion of whether the Plantation would have been a success without the Scottish involvement, because the Scots had prior experience with migration and settlement. Various push- and pull-factors will be highlighted and discussed, and the unique traits of the Scottish settlement will be a vital element in the following discussion. Even before the official Plantation of Ulster was commenced in 1610, many Scots had already travelled to east Ulster – closest to Scotland – and settled there. These private plantations, created mainly by two Protestant Scots – Hugh Montgomery and James Hamilton – proved to be where the Scots would settle in great numbers and create lasting Scottish communities.

Literature and Methodology

The research for this project began with a trip to the National Library of Scotland (NLS) in Edinburgh, with the hope of finding useful material relating to the Scottish experience in Ulster. Not many personal accounts from the Scottish undertakers and tenants in Ireland are preserved from the seventeenth century, and therefore it became difficult to focus solely on the Scottish experience in Ulster at the commencement of the century. The 1641 Depositions from both Protestants and Catholics in the aftermath of the 1641 Rebellion are an exception but were not relevant for this thesis' arguments.³ At the NLS, however, they hold a copy of George Hill's monograph *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century, 1608-20*, which inspired me to investigate the Scots in relation to the official Plantation plans laid forward by the government.⁴ Although published in 1877, and not a primary source as such, Hill's work has been central to this investigation because he includes transcribed primary sources. In Hill's work we find the complete *Collection of such Orders and Conditions as are to be Observed by the Undertakers upon the Distribution and Plantation of the Escheated Lands in Ulster* (hereafter called only

³ The 1641 Depositions are witnesses testimonies from several thousand Protestants and some Catholics in the aftermath of the 1641 Rebellion in Ulster. The Depositions have been transcribed and published online on the website of Trinity College Dublin.

⁴ Hill's monograph is also available online at archive.org, and it is this scanned version that has been used where the text refers to Hill.

Orders and Conditions), which were quickly followed by the official *Project for Plantation*. These were “guidelines” and “rules” that the English government worked out in the years before the initiation of the Plantation. Both the *Project for Plantation* and the *Orders and Conditions* contained detailed information on how the Plantation scheme would be played out. The *Project* also contained information about the situation in the six escheated counties and what role the different undertakers would have. Both the *Project* and the *Orders and Conditions* are therefore a major part of the evidence supporting this thesis’ argument. Many of the historians cited in this thesis also rely upon Hill’s work.

At the NLS, it quickly became evident that most relevant primary source material was held in archives in Ireland, Northern Ireland or in the National Records of Scotland, however, much of this is now available online. This was also the case for *The Montgomery Manuscripts* which is another monograph edited and published by Hill, in 1869.⁵ This monograph contains accounts from the Montgomery-family during the seventeenth century. *The Montgomery Manuscripts* were originally written by William Montgomery between the years 1696 and 1706. William was a descendant of Sir Hugh Montgomery, who was one of the first Protestant Scots to settle in east Ulster in the seventeenth century. The *Manuscripts* were in the nineteenth century collected and edited by Hill. Although a valuable source, this thesis has focused more upon Hill’s *Plantation in Ulster*. This is because the evidence in the latter provided more relevant material to support this thesis’ argument.

In addition to Hill’s *Plantation in Ulster*, other primary source material is extracted from Historian Robert J. Hunter’s “Plantations in Ulster 1600-41: A Collection of Documents” which, as this thesis, focuses on the first half of the seventeenth century. Hunter’s work is a digitalized document and published by Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and accessible through Northern Ireland’s government website. Hunter’s work is described in its Foreword as revealing “the perspectives of Dublin or London, the thoughts and records of the planners of plantation. This remains the spine of plantation studies.”⁶ For this thesis it has been helpful to have both Hunter and Hill’s works, as they focus on different aspects of the Plantation process. Hill provides more detailed discussion around the different steps of the Plantation plans, while Hunter provides some of what he believes to be the most important primary documents relating to the Plantation scheme. Hunter’s “Collection”

⁵ Scanned version from archive.org has been used where quotations are made.

⁶ R. J. Hunter, “Plantations in Ulster, 1600-41: A Collection of Documents,” ed. Ian Montgomery and William J. Roulston (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and Ulster Historical Foundation, 2018), 7, https://www.nidirect.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/Plantations_in_Ulster.PDF.

consists of documents retrieved from various archives in Britain and Ireland. This work has been much appreciated, and Hunter and his co-editors have done important work in gathering and collecting what they believe to be the most important and interesting documents from the seventeenth century relating to the Plantation of Ulster.⁷

A broad spectrum of secondary source material has been consulted when developing the thesis argument and when writing. The following includes work carried out by distinguished historians, and my hope is that this thesis adds to their work and legacy. Michael Perceval-Maxwell is the author of *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I*, a book that has been most valuable as will be displayed in the footnotes. Raymond Gillespie's *Colonial Ulster: The Settlement of East Ulster 1600-1641* has been most valuable when researching the Scottish settlement in Antrim and Down. Also, Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean's *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* includes several chapters that allow for a deeper understanding of the Scots as a mobile people.

Using a historiographic research method with a qualitative approach, this thesis is divided into three main chapters. The first chapter will examine the Scottish migration patterns in Europe prior to the seventeenth century. This will provide a picture of them as a migratory nation, which will lead to their involvement in the Plantation of Ulster. How they came to be a part of the Plantation will be examined, and the Scottish presence in Ulster prior to the initiation of the Plantation will be highlighted and discussed. The second chapter focuses on the official Plantation plans and how these related to, and affected, the Scottish migration to Ulster. Various push-factors from Scotland and pull-factors to Ulster will be considered, and how these impacted the Scottish migration patterns. Although these are topics that are discussed by both Perceval-Maxwell and Gillespie, they will be put into a different context considering how these push-and pull-factors made the Scottish contribution be especially significant for the Plantation. The cited historians' different takes and angles on this complex and interesting century allows for the arguments to be developed with a firm base of evidence. The three monographs mentioned above include a significant amount of both primary and secondary source material, and the following will be supported by that literature and the evidence they hold. The third chapter will examine the Scottish contribution in Ulster in the light of *settler colonial* theory. At the beginning of the research process, I read an article by Nancy Shoemaker, and American Professor of History called "Settler

⁷ Following R.J Hunter's passing in 2007, the R.J Hunter completed any unfinished works by Hunter and published them through the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. William Roulston and Ian Montgomery are the co-editors on Hunter's publication used in this thesis.

Colonialism: Universal Theory or English Heritage?”⁸ I researched this line of theory and found many connections between the Plantation of Ulster and the theory of *settler colonialism*. The theory strengthens this thesis’ argument by adding depth in the examination of the Scottish migration experience to Ulster. Patrick Wolfe and Lorenzo Veracini are central figures in this relatively new discipline and allow for a valuable and interesting new take on a much-researched time in history. It was not until the very end of the twentieth century that *settler colonialism* first became a developed theory researched by scholars from various fields. Veracini emphasizes that settler colonialism is both “transnational and transcultural” because of the relationship the settlers still have with their original home and to the colonizing metropole.⁹ Furthermore, according to Wolfe, “settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event.”¹⁰ This significant remark by Wolfe, that the settlers *come to stay*, is significant for this thesis. Settler colonists come to permanently settle foreign land, and to build new social, political, and religious structures. This differs from *colonialism* where the colonizers economically exploit the land they have invaded and where they use the natives as workforce. This form of colonialism does not include settlers who have as intention to stay on the foreign land for the rest of their lives and for future generations. The third chapter therefore argues that the Scots in many ways can be depicted as *settler colonists* because of their determination to stay and settle permanently in Ulster. This, again, will add to the thesis’ argument that the Scots were a significant contribution to the Plantation scheme.

⁸ Nancy Shoemaker, “Settler Colonialism: Universal Theory or English Heritage?,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (2019): 369–74, <https://doi.org/10.5309/willmaryquar.76.3.0369>.

⁹ Lorenzo Veracini, “‘Settler Colonialism’: Career of a Concept,” *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, no. 2 (June 2013): 313, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2013.768099>.

¹⁰ Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 388, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240>.

2 Scottish Migration History and their Motivation for the Plantation of Ulster

The Plantation of Ulster was not, perhaps in contrary to common belief, the first waves of emigration from Scotland to Ireland in early modern times. Scottish emigration to what we today know as Northern Ireland was not the first time the Scots were on the move; indeed, Thomas C. Smout once described the Scottish people as a “a people quick to seek their fortunes abroad by temporary or permanent migration.”¹¹ This migration, according to Smout, dates all the way back to the Hundred Years War in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. While the following chapters will focus upon the Scottish migration to Ireland in particular, some knowledge of the Scots as a mobile people in general will only add more depth to the thesis’ argument. Next will follow a presentation of the several Scottish movements to European countries prior to the Plantation of Ulster, from which we will achieve a better understanding of the Scots as eager and adventurous and in wanting of greater opportunities. This will again lead to the main goal of this thesis which is to examine and argue the significant role the Scots had in the colonization of Ireland.

2.1 Early Scottish travels and migration

While the Scots who went to Ulster in the seventeenth century were the first big wave of Scottish emigrants whose goal was to specifically settle another land, emigration from Scotland had begun centuries earlier. The following will first examine the Scots who left in search for education, and next examine the Scottish relationship with Scandinavia. This will open for the discussion of the Scots as a people highly capable of adapting to foreign societies, and their desire to thrive more than they had the opportunity to do in their homeland. The Plantation of Ulster was a planned project by King James I and VI that involved the Scots from the very beginning, and indications are that the scheme was very popular in Scotland, and that many were interest in taking part. Ulster could provide them with opportunities for a new and better life. First, however, the Scots travelled abroad in large numbers because of education. While many of these Scots later returned home, it is still

¹¹ Thomas Christopher Smout, “Foreword,” in *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2005), viiii.

significant to highlight as it represents some of the first movements of Scots outside of Scotland.

One of the main reasons for Scottish travel prior to the fifteenth century was education.¹² Universities in European cities such as Paris and Bologna were attracting Scots as they had no universities of their own until the establishment of St. Andrews University in the early 1400 hundreds.¹³ While many of these would study and then return home, a few stayed and settled permanently. The Scots sought wisdom and knowledge and went to places near and far to find it, and this reason for human mobility was not eliminated even when Scotland built their own universities. According to Scottish historian Gordon Donaldson, “The tradition of the wandering scholar and churchman did not come to an end with the Reformation, for the Reformation was itself an international movement, and did something to stimulate migration.”¹⁴ Donaldson uses the word *migration*, most likely to make a point that the Reformation made for new relationships between Protestant nations, and that the Scots were motivated by this to travel and some to permanently settle elsewhere in Europe. However, *migration* refers to the permanent settlement abroad, and most Scots were still returning home after studying abroad. Nevertheless, some Scots, those who could afford it, got to experience life outside of Scotland, and it made for a long-standing tradition of Scots going abroad to study. The further establishment of more universities in Scotland did not halt students from going abroad, and education changed the tradition for migration and triggered new possibilities and motivations for people to travel. Still education as the main purpose, travel to England became popular among Scots post-Reformation. The two countries had been in a hostile situation prior to the Reformation, with the Scots supporting France in the Hundred Years War. As the two countries were now both Protestant, it made for a more amicable relationship than before.¹⁵ This allowed for many Scots to travel to England for various purposes, not just the student. Salesmen, tradesmen, men in search for a military carrier, and students were all part of the group that crossed the southern border to England. Scotland’s coastal border to the North Sea in the west made for another flourishing relationship – trade with Norway. The next section will highlight the importance of trade with Norway, and what other reasons that drove the Scots to settle there.

¹² Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London: Robert Hale, 1966), 23.

¹³ Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, 24.

¹⁴ Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, 24.

¹⁵ Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, 27.

Because of Scotland's coastline, easy access to Norway made for a good trading relationship with the Scandinavian country. The relationship between Scotland and Norway became an amicable one after the Treaty of Perth in 1266 between the two nations (ratified on several occasions after this, the latest in 1426) which according to Nina Østby Pedersen settled "territorial differences, whereby the Norwegians had to surrender the Hebrides to the Scottish Crown [and] laid the foundation for friendly interaction between the two parties."¹⁶ In the centuries that followed there would be much interaction between the two countries. This involved not only short-term visits of Scots to and from Norway in relation to trade, but instead an influx of Scots to Norway who settled on a permanent basis. The opportunities for the Scots in Norway were many, and men with different professions had the opportunity to profit from moving abroad. Described in a document from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Scottish-Norwegian relationship was, after the Treaty of Perth, also strengthened by their shared religion and "Ties were forged between individual British and Norwegian churches and often resulted in practical exchanges of manpower and resources."¹⁷ After the settling of differences, the two countries saw that they had a mutual benefit of a good relationship. In the Norwegian town Bergen, on Norway's coastline, the Scots made up a large percentage of the burgess-ship, along with other European nations.¹⁸ When the Hansa (German) merchants lost their domination over Bergen's economic life in the sixteenth century, the Scots, according to Pedersen, "entered a welcoming society in every respect, one in which they were happy to integrate rather than challenge for superiority."¹⁹ Pedersen's research shows a shift of Scots in the early sixteenth century from a people quick to settle in "ethnically separate quarters," to an integrated people in a large multi-ethnic society.²⁰ This is a clear indication that there were people in Scotland, perhaps many, who were prepared to emigrate and settle in Norway and other European countries where they had the ability to thrive both socially and economically. This is also a clear indication that Bergen was, as Pedersen depicts it, "a welcoming society."²¹ Placenames such as *Skottehallen* (*the Scottish Hall*) and *Tyskebryggen* (*the German Dock*), depict an expectance towards foreigners in

¹⁶ Nina Østby Pedersen, "Scottish Migration to Bergen in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2005), 141.

¹⁷ Joanna Griffiths, *Norway and the United Kingdom* (Oslo: Royal Norwegian of Foreign Affairs, 2001), 5, https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kilde/ud/bro/2001/0010/ddd/pdfv/139387-norway_uk.pdf.

¹⁸ Pedersen, "Scottish Migration to Bergen," 145.

¹⁹ Pedersen, "Scottish Migration to Bergen," 162.

²⁰ Pedersen, "Scottish Migration to Bergen," 157.

²¹ Pedersen, "Scottish Migration to Bergen," 157.

Bergen and their continued presence there. These placenames, however, appeared when the Scots lived separate from the Norwegians and other nationalities, as described above, and Pedersen finds that it was not until the mid-seventeenth century that Scots were “scattered around Bergen, co-existing with residents of many nationalities.”²² However, these names stuck, and they are still to be seen in Bergen today. This gives an impression of the Scots’ ability to have a large impact on a foreign society, and their desire to emigrate.

Considering push- and pull factors for migration, there were many reasons for the Scots’ links to then Denmark-Norway. As already emphasized, the trading relationship between the two allowed for a mutual beneficial relationship. In addition, both Pedersen and Steve Murdoch emphasize the importance of the royal connections between Scotland and Denmark-Norway.²³ When the Scottish King James VI married the Danish Princess Anna in 1589, the result was “a long period of flourishing relations between the two monarchies.”²⁴ Almost a century before this, in 1469, Christiern I of Denmark-Norway’s daughter Margaret married the King James III of Scotland, resulting in the surrender of the Northern Isles from the kingdom of Norway to the Scottish Crown.²⁵ However, the relationship between Scots and the Danish-Norwegians did not change significantly in the fifteenth century, other than strengthening the Scottish motivation for emigrating to Norway. After the marriage in 1589 however, the Scots experienced a shift in their position. According to Murdoch, between the years of 1589 and King James’ death in 1625, “some 40 Scottish gentlemen were commissioned into the Danish-Norwegian armed forces while numerous others served both James VI and Christian IV as diplomats and royal servants in both the Stuart and Oldenburg courts.”²⁶ The royal connections between the two countries did have a positive effect for the Scottish migrants living in Bergen and elsewhere in Denmark-Norway, and their trading relationship flourished into the seventeenth century. This indicates in several ways that the relationship between the Scots and the Norwegians/Danes was an important factor for the Scots’ ability to settle down in Bergen and elsewhere in Denmark-Norway.

Although in a different way, the royal connections between England and Scotland after the Union of Crowns in 1603 allowed for some of the same positive outcomes as

²² Pedersen, “Scottish Migration to Bergen,” 157.

²³ Steve Murdoch, “Scotsmen on the Danish-Norwegian Frontiers c. 1580-1680,” in *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c.1600-1800. A Study of Scotland and Empires*, ed. Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2003), 3., and Pedersen, “Scottish Migration to Bergen,” 144.

²⁴ Pedersen, “Scottish Migration to Bergen,” 144.

²⁵ Pedersen, “Scottish Migration to Bergen,” 142.

²⁶ S. Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603-1660* (East Linton:2003). Cited in Murdoch, “Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c.1600-1800,” 4.

between Scotland and Denmark-Norway after their Union through marriage. Although the Scots had established a strong presence in Bergen long before 1589, James VI's marriage to Princess Anna strengthened their position as they held equal status to Danes and Norwegians.²⁷ Because of these favored conditions many Scots were sure to set sail for Bergen but also other Norwegian towns such as Stavanger. From this came also strengthened political ties and a strong alliance. Pedersen emphasizes the affect the political environment between the two nations had on Scottish migration to Norway. She depicts that the Scottish migration to Norway declined in the decades after the succession of Charles I in 1625. The reasons for the decline in migration to Norway could in some degree also be explained by the increase in migration to Ulster and America, but the altered political relations between Scotland and Denmark-Norway proves the most significant reason. As their political relationship weakened the motivations for emigrating to Denmark-Norway diminished as the opportunities and status for Scots was no longer the same. In Ulster, however, the opportunities were many and this became a popular destination for adventurous Scots. The case of Norway thus serves to demonstrate that the Scots had been a travelling people for some time when the opportunity to move to Ulster appeared, and this may serve to explain the readiness with which many Scots volunteered for the scheme. This depicts the Scottish people as one eager to migrate where they could thrive, and the destinations changed with time. By the end of the seventeenth century, for example, Scots set sail for America and continued to do so into the eighteenth century. The case of Scottish migration to Ulster, however, was different than other migration destinations as it was a planned scheme by the English government. The Scots were, at its commencement, included in the plan to colonize Ulster, and this proved an opportunity for the Scots to thrive both socially and economically there.

2.2 Interest in Ulster

When researching the Scots' motivation for taking part in the Plantation of Ulster, several factors must be considered. It could be assumed that the Scots were brought into the plans by the English government, simply expected to be part of the scheme that was initiated in the years prior to 1610. However, it was much more complex than this. While many historians tend to focus on the official Plantation of Ulster around 1610 and onwards, the years prior are

²⁷ Pedersen, "Scottish Migration to Bergen," 163.

necessary to understand the Scots' motivations for taking part in the Plantation scheme, and to understand their long-lasting presence in Ulster.

Prior to the Plantation of Ulster, some Scots attempted to colonize the Isle of Lewis, today a part of Scotland. According to Michael Perceval-Maxwell, some 500-600 Scots attempted to colonize the Isle of Lewis in the year of 1599.²⁸ Although a failure as most of the Scots who took part in the scheme either died on the journey or were killed by the local inhabitants, King James VI was reluctant to let the Isle be untouched by Scots. Disappointingly for James, several attempts to settle the island in the years after 1603 also proved unsuccessful.²⁹ However, as Perceval-Maxwell significantly highlights, "Unsuccessful as these early attempts at colonization had proved, the Scots had nevertheless revealed both the desire and energy to initiate settlement schemes."³⁰ It should, however, be stressed that the conditions on the Isle of Lewis cannot be compared to those in Ulster, as the Ulster scheme was carefully planned and were to be carefully executed. Although the failed attempts at Lewis portray the Scots as somewhat incapable as effective colonists, the colonization of Ulster was to happen in a unique way. The Scots were asked to settle down and create lasting communities, not simply exploit the Ulster lands and the Irish natives – a strategy that correlates with the theory of *settler colonialism* and to which we will return to in the last chapter. The following will examine the Scots in Ulster prior to the seventeenth century to prove how and in what ways they accepted the challenge to colonize Ireland, and their motivations for doing so. This will lead to a discussion of the Scots as the most vital part of the colonization of Ulster.

There is no doubt that the Scots were a mobile people in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, as is evident from their emigration to Norway, but also to other European countries such as Poland.³¹ Moreover, there was a Scottish presence in Ireland even before the official Plantation of Ulster was initiated. The goal for the Plantation of Ulster was to introduce Protestant British settlers to Ireland to re-claim English control of the land. However, prior to the seventeenth century there were several Catholic Scots in Ulster, specifically in the

²⁸ Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 12.

²⁹ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 12.

³⁰ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 13.

³¹ Waldemar Kowalski, "The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2005), 53–103. Waldemar Kowalski examines the wave of many Scots who decided to emigrate to Poland, primarily for trade and religious reasons. As a result of the Reformation many Catholic Scots went to Poland to escape persecution. Many settled permanently.

counties Antrim and Down. Perceval-Maxwell emphasizes that “The significance of the Scottish penetration must be assessed with caution,” as “the sixteenth-century movement to Ireland cannot be regarded as a vanguard of the main body that migrated to Ulster in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.”³² Perceval-Maxwell’s argument is solid, because the settlement of Catholic Scots in Ireland in the sixteenth century was minimal in comparison to the Protestant Scots who settled in Ulster the following century. Nevertheless, the knowledge of the Scottish Catholics in Ireland prior to the Ulster Plantation allows for knowledge of the Scottish migration patterns, and from those we can draw lines into the seventeenth century. The Scottish presence in Antrim and Down in the sixteenth century was not any vital part of the colonization of Ulster as this was happening in the Elizabeth I’s reign. However, it does depict a Scottish interest in east Ulster long before the Scots were meant to take any part in colonizing the Ulster lands. Perceval-Maxwell has found that the archbishop of County Armagh gave a report in 1558 that “twenty years earlier County Down ‘was as English as any parte of the Pale’, but was ‘nowe under Irishe men and Scotts.’”³³ “The Pale” refers to the Irish lands that were still under English control in the sixteenth century. The Scots then had a significant foothold in County Down in Ulster even prior to the Union of the Crowns in 1603, even if it cannot be seen in total correlation with the migration of Protestant Scots to Ulster in the decades to follow. This demonstrates their willingness to migrate, and to Ireland too.

When attempting to examine the Scots’ growing interest in migration and their contribution to the Plantation scheme, there are some important lines to be drawn between the Catholic Scots that came in the sixteenth century and those who came in the seventeenth century. The Scots who came as part of the Plantation were not simply a subject of the English crown – a piece of a bigger puzzle. They were aware of the opportunities in Ulster and were ready to emigrate. The main difference between the sixteenth century Scots and the seventeenth century Scots lies in their reasons for emigrating. Owing to Perceval-Maxwell for the formulation, “The Islanders came as soldiers first and secondly as settlers, while the Lowlanders, came primarily as settlers though prepared, if necessary, to become soldier.”³⁴ The “Lowlanders” means those Scots who came from Lowland Scotland, closer to the English border – it was primarily these men who took part in the official Plantation of Ulster. The Islanders refer to the Scots who migrated to Ulster in the sixteenth century and prior, primarily from the Highlands and the Islands in the north of Scotland. The Lowland Scots

³² Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 10.

³³ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 3.

³⁴ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 10.

who took part in the Plantation were, as emphasized, primarily settlers, but their reasons for migrating were varying and proves an important factor when describing the migration pattern to Ulster in the early seventeenth century.

The economic conditions in Scotland proved a significant push-factor for the Scots to take part in the Plantation. Although Scotland's economy was in many ways thriving at the turn of the sixteenth century; Perceval-Maxwell highlights that Scotland "enjoyed an ample supply of natural resources,"³⁵ the economy was not expanding sufficiently in relation to the rising population.³⁶ In simple terms, Scotland was on the verge of becoming over-populated. British Professor Ian D. Whyte argues in his chapter on Scottish mobility and migration that mid-sixteenth century Scotland "saw increasing stress in problems of poverty and vagrancy at home," and that "these indications suggest growing population pressing on limited resources with growing involuntary mobility among the poorer elements of society."³⁷ An over-populated Scotland seems to explain much of the emigration to Ulster, but there were other factors as well. Historian Louis M. Cullen argues in his chapter on Scotland and Ireland in the early modern period that not all Scottish emigration to Ulster was "dictated by crises,"³⁸ but rather that the "movement to Ireland, where Scots were already settled, was almost an extension of inland movement."³⁹ The Scottish tradition for migration had been developed long before the turn of the sixteenth century and because Ulster was easy to reach geographically it became the natural place for Scots to emigrate. Both struggling conditions in Scotland and an eagerness to migrate are the reasons for the steady influx of Scots to Ulster in the early years of the seventeenth century. Some Scots, however, discovered the opportunities in Ulster some years before the official Plantation was initiated. These were not part of the same wave as the Catholic Scots discussed above, but another wave of Lowland Scots. These Scots settled in the counties of Antrim and Down with the encouragement of King James I. These private settlements attracted many Scots to east Ulster and was a vital contribution to the Plantation scheme even if it was not regulated by the same rules. It is this settlement we will examine next.

³⁵ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 29.

³⁶ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 28.

³⁷ I.D. Whyte, "Population Mobility in Early Modern Scotland," in *Scottish Society, 1500–1800*, ed. Robert Allen Houston and Ian D. Whyte, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 41, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511660252.002>.

³⁸ L.M. Cullen, "Scotland and Ireland, 1600–1800: Their Role in the Evolution of British Society," in *Scottish Society, 1500–1800*, ed. Robert Allen Houston and Ian D. Whyte, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 229, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511660252.009>.

³⁹ Cullen, "Scotland and Ireland, 1600-1800," 229.

2.3 The Settlement of 1606

Antrim and Down quickly crawled with Scots. The two east Ulster counties already had a Scottish presence before the turn of the century but was now to be populated in great numbers in the seventeenth century. There is some discrepancy however as to how exactly the Scottish settlement of Antrim and Down began. In the view of Raymond Gillespie, the Scots first came because many Irish landowners were forced to sell lands in the aftermath of the Nine Year's War, which had left the native Irish who had rebelled against the English in a tough economic state. As both Scots and English were eager to settle there, it gave them the perfect opportunity to purchase cheap lands. According to Gillespie, the Ulster lands were an "investment opportunity" and "In this way, a colonization of east Ulster began."⁴⁰ There are, however, some other factors which contributed to this first settlement which will be discussed below. Antrim and Down proved a perfect place for the Scots to settle as the geographical conditions made for a relatively short distance between the South-West side of Scotland and east Ulster. Two Scots took upon them the challenge of pursuing this unique possibility in Ulster and made the journey in 1606. These men were named Hugh Montgomery and James Hamilton, and they are often represented as the very beginning of the significant Scottish presence in Ulster.⁴¹ Montgomery was the *laird* of Braidstane in Ayrshire, and Hamilton was a Scottish agent to the English court who had been appointed agent under Elizabeth's reign. Montgomery and Hamilton were wealthy and had the money to invest in the Ulster lands, however, there were other factors involved in their possibility to do so.

The royal connections between Scotland and its host nations proved important for the Scottish migration patterns in Europe, as stressed above. While Gillespie explains the move of Scots to Antrim and Down by the economic downfall of many native Irish, Michael Fry stresses the importance of the Union of the Crowns in 1603, and in what ways the succession of King James I provided new incentives for the Scots to migrate to Ireland.⁴² This resembles the positive impact the royal connections between Scotland and Denmark-Norway had on their trading relationship. Fry's wider explanation seems more plausible, although the economic situation was also an important factor. Scotland and England now shared the same monarch, and a beneficial relationship could now flourish between them. A good eye to the King would also prove useful when in the want of lands, as was the case for Montgomery and

⁴⁰ Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: The Settlement of East Ulster, 1600-1641*, Studies in Irish History (Cork: Cork University Press for the Irish Committee for Historical Sciences, 1985), 5.

⁴¹ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 49–51.

⁴² Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell; Birlinn Ltd, 2001), 10.

Hamilton. The two Scotsmen were granted lands in County Down by King James himself, most likely because of their status and wealth. These lands came from Irish landowner Con O'Neill, who in the aftermath of the Nine Year's War was forced to give up parts of his land after rebelling against the English. One third of the land he was allowed to keep himself, while the rest was divided between Montgomery and Hamilton. The two Scots had ambitions in Ireland and were ready to settle there permanently, soon to attract more Scots to cross the Irish sea. And while some Scots had already attempted, and failed, at colonizing the Isle of Lewis, Fry highlights that "in Ulster they struck root and flourished, to effect indeed a profound change in the whole course of Irish history."⁴³ That they "struck root" is in effect one of the main reasons why we can regard the Scottish settlement in Ulster as particularly significant for the success of the colonization of Ireland. As the goal was to colonize Ulster by bringing in British settlers, even these private settlements in Antrim and Down aided the scheme even though they were not part of the official Plantation. As Perceval-Maxwell has argued, "For these reasons the Down plantation was of far more than mere local importance."⁴⁴ It was in Down in particular that the Scots settled in great numbers, although both Antrim and Down were part of private Scottish plantations.

In *The Montgomery Manuscripts* it reads that "Mr. Hamilton and Sir Hugh were obliged in ten years' time, from November, 1605, to furnish British inhabitants (English and Scotch Protestants) to plant one-third of Con's lands granted to himself."⁴⁵ This shows, not surprisingly, that the granted lands came with certain expectations from the Crown and King James. The goal was, even before the official Plantation began, to settle Ulster with as many British Protestants to regain British control of the area, and many Scots were eager to become tenants. The settlement of Montgomery and Hamilton then signified the commencement of a new era in Ulster and a new era for the Scottish people. As will be discussed further in the next chapters, the Scots were eager to settle down in Ulster and Fry describes the Scottish migrants as the

younger sons of the gentry in Scotland, or people who had found no economic opportunities there. For these, and especially for their children, Ulster was really the only home they knew. But they kept alive their sense of being Scots, maintaining such close links with the homeland that the plantation was rather an extension of it than a separate colony.⁴⁶

⁴³ Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, 10.

⁴⁴ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 53.

⁴⁵ William Montgomery, *The Montgomery Manuscripts (1603-1706)*, ed. George Hill (Belfast: Belfast Archer, 1869), 51.

⁴⁶ Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, 10–11.

Fry's formulation is intriguing, as it sparks a discussion of whether the Scots in Ulster should be looked at more as immigrants than as settler colonists. Fry's quote also supports Cullen's argument that the movement of Scots to Ulster followed the internal movement in Scotland. The Scots as a mobile people aided the initiation of the Plantation in a way that would make it a long-term success. The following chapter will take a closer look at the official Plantation scheme, and the Scottish role in it.

3 The Ulster Plantation Plans and the Scottish Involvement

“A proiecte for the deuision and plantac[i]on of the Escheated Landes in 6 seuerall Counties, namely Tyrone, Coulrane, Donegall, ffarmanagh, Ardmagh and Cavan.”⁴⁷ So reads the initiation of the Plantation of Ulster, in 1609, which would bring a large influx of Scots to Ulster through the government-led scheme. The following will examine the plans laid forward for the official Plantation of Ulster, and how the Scots fit into these. The above quote is taken from the official *Project for the Plantation*, which was part of the government plan that stated how the Plantation was to be commenced and what the undertakers’ roles were.⁴⁸

As have been emphasized, the Scots were a mobile people long before the Plantation of Ulster was initiated by the English government. They even emigrated to Ulster before the official plans for the Plantation were presented. It is perhaps easy to assume that the seventeenth century would have seen an influx of Scots to Ulster even if there was no government-led plan. After all, the Scots went to Norway and to other European countries during the same years. However, the case for Ulster is very different from that of Norway and other European countries that attracted Scots during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While Norway attracted Scots because of the economic opportunities through trade and merchandise, the attraction of Ulster was the availability of land (which, for many, would have been more interesting than the opportunity to do trade). Although the opportunities to prosper economically in Ulster were many, the distribution of land had to be done in a controlled and systematic way to achieve the optimal result for the English government – regaining complete control over Ulster. How the Scots fit into these plans can be seen from the extensive Plantation plans laid forward from the English government. The Plantation plans found in George Hill’s monograph *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster* and Robert J. Hunter’s document “Plantations in Ulster 1600-42: A Collection of Documents” contribute to the analysis and discussion of the Scots’ role in Ulster. From these plans we can discover in much detail how the Scots were meant to take part in the Plantation, and what role they ended up playing as settlers. There is no doubt that the extensive planning that went into establishing the Plantation had a lasting impact on the Scottish presence in Ulster. The following will look at the Plantation plans in more detail, but first the “Flight of the Earls” needs to be addressed as this event led to even more land to be part of the Plantation.

⁴⁷ Hunter, “Plantations in Ulster, 1600-41,” 14. Originally retrieved from Trinity College, Dublin.

⁴⁸ See Introduction.

The two Ulster earls Rory O'Donnell of County Tyrconnell (Donegal) and Hugh O'Neill of County Tyrone left Ulster in September 1607, with what Perceval-Maxwell has found to be between thirty to sixty followers.⁴⁹ In the aftermath of the Nine Years War, which took place between 1593 and 1603 between the Irish who opposed English rule in Ireland and those supporting it, their situation in Ulster had altered dramatically. O'Neill and O'Donnell were on the rebellion's side and lost the war against English rule. Although O'Donnell and O'Neill were pardoned by King James for their involvement in the war as the King found it more convenient to remain amicable, they had lost a substantial amount of land and they were unhappy with the new system being imposed on them by Lord deputy Chichester in Ireland. Irish historian Nicholas Canny stresses in his article "XVI The Flight of the Earls, 1607" that the departure of the two earls left the Irish province "leaderless and unprotected, and what remained of the Gaelic way of life was soon to be undermined by the plantation in Ulster."⁵⁰ Canny continues by arguing that "the 'flight of the earls' is one of the black pages of Irish history and the event marks the end of an age."⁵¹ It is indeed true that the departure of the two earls marked the end of Ireland as it was known in the middle ages and the beginning of the early modern period. It also marked the beginning of a continuous flow of Scottish and English migrants to Ireland who would settle down and shape a new modern Ireland. The departure of the two earls opened for even more land to fall in the hands of the Crown, and the Plantation scheme would now be more extensive than first anticipated. This in return opened for even more Scots to go to Ulster when the official Plantation plans were laid forward in 1609.

3.1 The Plans for the Plantation

The Scots, although quite new to the role of colonists, were soon to obtain a vital role in King James' attempt to colonize Ulster. Queen Elizabeth I had attempted to plant Ireland with settlers already in the sixteenth century but without any great success. In the decades prior to the initiation of the Plantation of Ulster, however, there had been no attempts by the English at colonizing Ireland. According to Gillespie, this was because there was a "certain reluctance by the administration to become involved in an Irish plantation scheme after the failure of the

⁴⁹ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 71.

⁵⁰ Nicholas P. Canny, "XVI The Flight of the Earls, 1607," *Irish Historical Studies* 17, no. 67 (March 1971): 380. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30005765>

⁵¹ Canny, "XVI The Flight of the Earls, 1607," 380.

settlement in Munster.”⁵² The Munster Plantation was initiated in the 1580s with English settlers but had been no great success. There is no certain way of knowing whether the English lacked the skill as efficient settlers or if the English government had not sufficiently planned for the Munster Plantation – either way it proved a failure, and under Elizabeth’s rule no further attempts were made to colonize Ireland. The succession of King James VI to the English throne, Gillespie highlights, changed matters. The now Scottish *and* English king had grown concerned about the state of Ireland. Perceval-Maxwell emphasizes the economic, strategic, and religious reasons for initiating the Plantation of Ulster, whereas the two former were the most crucial.⁵³ As Perceval-Maxwell argues, “Ulster could not be left to go its own turbulent way, because a disordered Ulster threatened the very life of England.”⁵⁴ The *life* of England is here closely linked to the *expansion* of England, and a troubled and rebellious Ulster would cause disruptions in England’s plans to expand their territory. The only solution, therefore, was to plant Ulster with Scottish and English settlers. The inclusion of the Scots in this plan would only lead to a stronger hold on Ulster as Scotland and England now were united. Interestingly, the King meant to plant Ulster either way if only for the religious reasons. In a letter from King James to Lord Deputy Chichester in 1612, after the Plantation was initiated, the King wrote that he believed ““the settling of religion, the introducing civility, order, and government amongst a barbarous and unsubdued people, to be acts of piety and glory, and worthy always of a Christian prince to endeavour.””⁵⁵ To obtain this then, the King had carefully chosen those best suited for the task. They had to be Protestant settlers with the desire to bring their culture, religion, and traditions with them to influence the native Irish. Thus, King James’ reasons for pursuing the Plantation did not necessarily mirror his desire to bring his people, the Scots, along on an exciting journey, but had instead more to do with the future and fate of England and eventually Britain as a powerful country, and with being missionaries. Even so, the Scots proved efficient settlers once included in the plans.

At first, the Scots were meant to simply have a secondary role in the Plantation, as Lord Deputy Chichester visualized the Scots only as undertenants.⁵⁶ There is therefore much reason to believe that he visualized and perhaps wanted the English to play a bigger role in the Plantation than they eventually did, as he was an Englishman himself. Chichester, as Hill

⁵² Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 87.

⁵³ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 74–75.

⁵⁴ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 75.

⁵⁵ King to Chichester, 21 December 1612 (*Cal S.P Ire., 1611-14*, p.310), in Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 75.

⁵⁶ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 77.

describes, had “no special affection for Scotchmen high or low, gentle or simple, and besides he had expended much of his time and ingenuity ever since his coming to Ireland, in the work of repelling and expelling Islesmen and other northern Scots from the coasts of Ulster,” in the years prior to the official Plantation.⁵⁷ These *Islesmen* and *northern Scots* were Catholic Scots who settled in Ulster in the sixteenth century, as discussed in the previous chapter. However, as is pointed out by Perceval-Maxwell, “such was the demand for British settlers, they could hardly afford to exclude them [the Scots],” and “just as the Scots had begun to show interest in plantation, the English found themselves in need of planters.”⁵⁸ Importantly, this must be seen in relation to the colony established in Virginia, America at about the same time as the Plantation of Ulster was being planned.⁵⁹ English settlers were migrating to America, and the English government was therefore in need of more settlers to make up for the once who had already left for America, and the obvious choice was to use the Scots. This does not mean, however, that Chichester had any great desire to include them in the plans, but simply that he understood that he could hardly exclude them. Especially after the success of the private plantations in Antrim and Down, it was obvious that the Scots would be a vital contribution in establishing a strong British presence in Ulster. What is more certain is that Chichester quickly realized that the English *needed* the Scots to uphold rule in Ulster. In 1608, after what Perceval-Maxwell describes as a “hopeless rebellion”⁶⁰ from Sir Cahir O’Dogherty, Lord of Inishowen in Derry and a previous supporter of the Crown, the administration in Ireland was forced to seek military aid from the Scots. O’Dogherty was, as many other Irish landowners, unhappy with English rule being forced upon him and staged therefore a rebellion. Two hundred Scots were sent to Ulster to tackle the uprisings and, as Perceval-Maxwell states, “From these small beginnings began the English tradition of using Scottish troops for conquest abroad.”⁶¹ This clearly indicates, already at the very beginning of the seventeenth century, how important the Scots would be to the Plantation in Ulster and generally to the Crown in the years to come. The expansion of England had already begun across the Atlantic, and with the aid from Scots as both settlers and military forces in Ulster, King James was soon to claim a great deal of territory under English rule. The English government needed settlers, but there was never any need to force the task upon the northern neighbors as they

⁵⁷ George Hill, *An Historical Account of The Plantation in Ulster at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century, 1608-1620* (Belfast: M’Caw, Stevenson & Orr, 1877), 73.

⁵⁸ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 14.

⁵⁹ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 14.

⁶⁰ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 77.

⁶¹ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 78.

willingly offered their services. This would ultimately give them the opportunity to be part of what would soon be the English, and later British, Empire. And it was perhaps this unique eagerness and determination from the Scots that made sure that the Plantation did not collapse during its first years. In addition, the scheme had undergone several surveys to make sure it was as thorough as possible, as will be explained further down.

The “rules” were many and strict, presented in the *Orders and Conditions* and *Project for Plantation*.⁶² Although Lord Deputy Chichester was reluctant to the inclusion of the Scots in the Plantation plans, it was made clear in the official *Project* document by “his Majesty’s Commissioners” that they were to be included. In article IV it reads

That the Undertakers of these Lands [the escheated counties] be of several sorts. 1. English and Scottish, who are to plant their Proportions with English or Scottish Tenants. 2. Servitors in Ireland, who may take English or Irish Tenants at their choice.⁶³

This article in the *Project* provides clarity in that the Scots no longer were meant to have a secondary role in the Plantation scheme but were equal to the English. Although the Scottish participation no longer was to be questioned, the *Orders and Conditions* were revised between the years 1609 and 1610, as several surveys had found the articles to be too vague.⁶⁴ The commissioners, the men in charge of the planning of the Plantation, travelled to the different escheated counties to be certain that the *Orders and Conditions* agreed with the situation in each county.⁶⁵ In contrary to the 1609-version of the *Conditions*, Perceval-Maxwell found that the 1610-*Conditions* provided the exact number of Scots or English tenants to be placed on each piece of land by the undertakers: “On every 1,000 acres had to be planted twenty-four able-bodies Scots or Englishmen over the age of eighteen, and these were to come from at least ten different families.”⁶⁶ The fact that the tenants had to come from many different families opened up for the possibility of eventually introducing more Scots to Ulster. Furthermore, it turned out that far more Scots showed interest in the Plantation than the commission had accommodated for.⁶⁷ Seventy-eight Scots applied to be undertakers in the Plantation scheme, but only sixteen of these were granted the lands, and Perceval-Maxwell highlights that it was surprising that it was so many Scots, of “the urban middle class and

⁶² See Introduction.

⁶³ Hill, *The Plantation in Ulster*, 91-92.

⁶⁴ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 86.

⁶⁵ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 85.

⁶⁶ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 87.

⁶⁷ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 96.

petty gentry, and not the aristocracy, that showed this enthusiasm.”⁶⁸ This remark suggests that the Scottish people had taken an interest in the possibilities that Ulster had to offer, and that they saw a future there. Not only those who were wealthy, but *normal* families were eager to seek their fortunes abroad – just as they had done in other European countries prior. Although the government’s planning and guidelines for the Plantation was sure to have an impact on its success, it was up to the actual settlers to do the job. Therefore, it was significant that common families *wanted* to take part in the Plantation scheme, and this clearly indicates that there were many factors involved that drove Scots across the Irish sea.

3.2 Pull- and Push Factors

The influx of Scottish migrants to the six escheated counties did not only occur because of a plan put forward by the English government. Surely the Plantation was government-initiated, but the settlers involved were eager to be part of it either way because of many pull-factors *to* Ulster and push-factors *from* Scotland. One of the reasons for this extensive interest came from the offer of land of higher quality.⁶⁹ The land was far more suitable for growth than many areas in Scotland, and it attracted farmers from many different places in Scotland, not just those living close to the Irish sea. Fitzgerald has found that “The fact that settlers experienced few harvest failures and several abundant harvests in the early years of settlement was also important in establishing momentum in the movement.”⁷⁰ Had the harvests gone badly the first few years, there is no doubt that many settlers would be uncertain about their future in Ulster, but when this did not happen, they were convinced to stay. Had the harvest gone badly it is likely that many would have returned to Scotland, and many even did so later in the century. However, this was not only because of harvest failures but because of war and rebellions and there were many events of return-migration to Scotland followed by a new influx of Scots to Ulster.

Another pull-factor to be part of the government-led Plantation in the six escheated counties was the success that the private plantations in County Antrim and County Down had had just a few years prior. Although Perceval-Maxwell argues that there is no “clear-cut evidence” that the private plantations of Montgomery and Hamilton influenced the official Plantation a couple years later, he also states that

⁶⁸ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 96.

⁶⁹ Patrick Fitzgerald, “Scottish Migration to Ireland in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2005), 38.

⁷⁰ Fitzgerald, “Scottish Migration to Ireland,” 38.

it must be remembered that when the officials in London and the deputy in Ireland had to work out their initial conceptions of what plantation was to mean, they did so in the context of the situation prevailing in Down and Antrim.⁷¹

The plantations in Antrim and Down had been in effect for four years before the official Plantation was commenced, and although the two east Ulster counties did not fall under the formal scheme and had to obey to the same *Orders and Conditions*, they had proved efficient in bringing British settlers to Ulster. Of these British settlers, the English were outnumbered by the Scots according to the 1630 muster rolls.⁷² This is a significant point to prove that the Scots' success had less to do with the orders from the government, but more to do with the willingness of the Scots to emigrate to Ulster. Montgomery in particular, was able to establish long-lasting urban communities in County Down, as has been described by Fitzgerald:

As early as 1611 it was reported to the government that 'Sir Hugh Montgomery, Knight, hath repaired part of the abbey of Newtowne for his own dwelling and made a good town of hundred houses or thereabouts, all peopled with Scots.'⁷³

Montgomery's contribution so early in the century made sure that these private plantations were not a failure, and even became the prime example for others to follow. Montgomery's effort laid the groundwork for the continuous stream of migrants to east Ulster in the seventeenth century, most of whom were Scots.⁷⁴ And while Montgomery attracted Scots mostly to the private plantations in Down and Antrim, it is safe to assume that he attracted Scots in general to take part in the building of a strong British presence in the escheated counties as well. This again strengthens the idea of the willingness the Scots had to emigrate to Ulster to discover the opportunities there, and at the same time contribute to what was a major colonization scheme. Once Scots saw what life could be here, they were eager to continue to uphold the British presence in Ulster, thus strengthening the hold that the English government had over Ireland.

3.3 The "Scottish" colony in Ulster

The value of the Scottish contribution to the colonization of Ireland is difficult to overlook. We understand this from their efforts in both the private and the official plantations in Ulster. The Scots, according to historian James C. Beckett, "proved themselves in some ways the

⁷¹ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 89.

⁷² Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 233.

⁷³ Fitzgerald, "Scottish Migration to Ireland," 38.

⁷⁴ Fitzgerald, "Scottish Migration to Ireland," 38.

more efficient colonists,” compared to the English.⁷⁵ He further states that the Scots already present in Ulster proved the most important factor to bringing more people to Ulster and to build the modern towns and societies. As already emphasized, the Scottish settlement in Antrim and Down was significantly higher than the English settlement. This was the case for many of the escheated counties as well. The Scottish presence both in County Tyrone, which was one of the six escheated counties, outnumbered both Irish natives and the English settlers.⁷⁶ In addition, as Perceval-Maxwell highlights, “Chichester remarked that the Scots arrived with more followers than the English” and “that initially planters had little difficulty in persuading men to join them.”⁷⁷ Persuading more Scots to come proved no challenge as the conditions in Ulster were favored over those in Scotland. Although famine would affect both countries during the seventeenth century, and therefore migration and *return*-migration would affect the second half of the century, Ulster’s lands were sought after by many. Once Scots had planted their roots, they would, as Fry puts it above, become “the only home they knew.”⁷⁸

The exact reason why the English did not seem as eager as the Scots could be further examined in another study, but the evidence presented above does argue that the Scots did have the more significant role in the establishment of a strong British presence in Ulster, and therefore ultimately in the success of the colonization of Ireland. If we draw lines between Ulster and the failed Plantation in Munster in the 1580’s, one of the main differences is that the Munster Plantation involved only English settlers. First after the succession of King James VI to the English throne as James I was it the obvious choice to include the Scots in any plans of a Plantation in Ireland. The Scots also seemed more *determined* to make a success of their settlement in Ulster. This can be seen from Beckett’s findings that the Scots “were readier than the English to sink labour and capital into tillage.”⁷⁹ This suggests that from the very commencement of the Plantation they were eager to create something that would last, not just for themselves but for future generations. This suggests that the Scots were not only inspiring more Scots to come to Ulster, but those who came were determined to settle down. In the permanent settlement of so many Scots came the introduction of new social, cultural, and religious structures to Ulster. Religion had always been one of the major differences between

⁷⁵ James C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1966), 47.

⁷⁶ Fitzgerald, “Scottish Migration to Ireland,” 41–42.

⁷⁷ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 120–21.

⁷⁸ Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, 10–11.

⁷⁹ Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*, 47. *Tillage* means land under cultivation.

Ireland and Britain, but the settlement of Scottish and English Protestants changed the environment.

The establishment of new religious environments in Ulster was always the government's plan. From the *Orders and Conditions* for the Plantation, the Scots and English were supposed to bring Protestantism with them. This was a non-negotiable from the governments part as they believed this would ensure stability against the Irish natives. For the British settlers this meant that they had to establish whole new religious communities as most of Ireland was Catholic. In the third article of the initial part of the *Project* in 1609 it was stated "That every Proportion be made a Parish, and a Parish Church erected therein."⁸⁰ The "proportion" refers to the land given to each Undertaker, and the "Parish" was the small Christian administration within this area. The chosen Undertakers, or planters, were therefore expected to establish a Protestant Church within each of their respective areas. This would ensure stability in the first years of the Plantation. It was crucial that this was secured at the commencement of the Plantation, or the whole scheme could have collapsed. This task provided the British settlers both with the challenge and responsibility, but also the opportunity to create lasting communities on Irish ground. The fact that the Scots were successful in bringing their religion with them was crucial for the success of the Plantation in the escheated counties, and with the lasting impact the Scots have had in Ulster. It should be noted, however, that the number of native Irish who converted from Catholicism to Protestantism were few. Indeed, and not surprisingly, most of the Protestants were the settlers that came from Scotland and England. This does not, however, prove that Protestantism in Ireland during James' reign was, as Perceval-Maxwell states, a "failure."⁸¹ Protestantism did perhaps not spread as the government had hoped or wished, but the settlers who brought the religion with them would pass it on to their children and grand-children and that ensured that it became a much practiced religion in the future generations of the Scots in Ulster.

It must also be stressed that religion was not only a forced-upon element of those planning to become Undertakers in Ulster, but it also became a push-factor from Scotland during the 1620s. The English Parliament ratified in 1618 the Five Articles of Perth, which was an attempt by King James to unite the Church of Scotland, which was Presbyterian, with the Church of England, which was Anglican. This ultimately proved a failure as most Scots were unwilling to change their religious practice, especially their form of worship and how to

⁸⁰ Hill, *The Plantation in Ulster*, 91.

⁸¹ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 255.

take communion.⁸² This ultimately resulted in the emigration of many Presbyterian Scots to Ulster who were afraid of persecution because of their reluctance to changing their religious practice. This again led to the strong presence of a Scottish Presbyterian community in Ulster. However, Perceval-Maxwell does argue that the Scots who immigrated to Ulster due to fear of religious persecution “was not contributing to the causes on immigration but in shaping the nature of society created by the immigrants.”⁸³ This is closely linked with that described above. The Presbyterian Scots were in some ways separated from their people in Scotland and not only geographically. In Ulster the Presbyterians could practice religious freedom and establish religious communities safe from persecution, and their society as, Perceval-Maxwell highlights, was different than in Scotland. This meant that the Scots in Ulster had established a strong presence because of their religion. Even though religion never became a significant push-factor from Scotland, the Scottish society created by the Presbyterians in Ulster became known in Scotland and this became a pull-factor *from* Ulster.

The English settlers did not have this same motive for emigrating to Ulster, and one could again depict the difference in their incentives for settling in Ulster permanently. Gordon Donaldson even goes as far as to say that the Plantation of Ulster was “indeed the most successful *Scottish* colony of all time,”⁸⁴ even though it was in fact a *British* colony. He does not make this statement without reason. Indeed, Donaldson’s argues, just as Louis Cullen presented in chapter one, that “The share of Scots in that plantation was, indeed, in more ways than one a logical extension of the developments which had already proceeded within Scotland itself.”⁸⁵ Seventeenth century Scottish society experienced major economic and demographic changes and mobility was already a phenomenon inside its borders. Thus, when the opportunity presented itself, Ulster, located only a short distance across the Irish sea, became the most natural place to emigrate to. The following will take a closer look at the Scots as colonists in the light of *settler colonial* theory and use this theory to examine their efforts in both the private and official Plantations of Ulster in relation to the success of the colonization of Ireland. The *Orders and Conditions* for the Plantation will again be examined more in-depth to see it in relation with a clear motive of colonization. So far, this thesis has discussed the Scots’s motivations and role in the Plantations using primary and secondary

⁸² Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 44.

⁸³ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 45.

⁸⁴ Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, 29. Emphasis added.

⁸⁵ Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, 29.

literature. With that as a useful backdrop, *settler colonial* theory will provide further evidence of the Scots as one of the most important contributions to the colonization of Ireland.

4 The Scots as *Settler Colonists*

The Scots had a unique way of settling in Ulster and differed from the English settlers. The reasons for this are varying and many, and while some had to do with convenience – Scotland was geographically closer, especially to Antrim and Down – some reasons had more to do with motivation and personal reasons for migration. All these reasons combined led to the success of the Scots in Ulster, and the Scottish planters should be seen as a one of the most important contributions for the positive outcome of the Ulster Plantation for the English government. While “positive” and “success” are two words which in this context must be handled with the outmost care, the point to be made concerns the Scottish ability to accept and carry out the challenge given to them, and to establish a functioning Plantation in Ulster.

During the twentieth and twenty-first century, much focus has been granted to the study and analysis of colonialism. Many of these studies focus upon the nineteenth and twentieth century Empires and their colonies, and eventually the decolonization of these. In recent decades, however, some scholars have developed a new way of looking at colonialism – naming it *Settler Colonialism*.⁸⁶ Having also focused mainly upon the last two centuries, settler colonial theory has yet to be fully explored. This last chapter will examine the Scottish contribution to the Plantation of Ulster with aid from settler colonial theory. This will strengthen the argument of the Scots as invaluable for the success of the Plantation of Ulster, and in addition add to the study of *settler colonialism*. The following will first revisit the *Orders and Conditions* laid forward by the government to see whether these can be connected to settler colonial theory, and then connect these to the private plantations in Down and Antrim.

4.1 *Settler colonialism* in the official Plantation

The English government had no way of knowing how the start-up of the Plantation would go in its first years. All they had to rely on were the *Orders and Conditions* they laid forward, and several surveys to see whether the planters had succeeded with the task at hand. These *Orders and Conditions* therefore allows for a closer examination of the Scots as settler colonists. The third document included by Hunter reveals part of the revised *Orders and Conditions* from 1610. As already described in the previous chapter, the revised *Orders and*

⁸⁶ See introduction for a more in-depth explanation about settler colonialism.

Conditions mainly concerned the tenants and how many were to be placed in each division of the county – called *barony*. In the revised *Orders and Conditions* from 1610 it was stated that

The said Undertakers, their heires and assignes, shall not Alien or demise their Portions or any part thereof to the meere *Irish*, or to such persons as will not take the said Oath of Supremacie.⁸⁷

The British undertakers were thus granted lands to keep for themselves, their families, and their Scottish or English tenants. The native Irish were to be removed from most of the lands, except where they were allowed to be taken as tenants – this was under servitors and on the church lands as will be explained further down. The exclusion of the native Irish falls in line with the settler colonial theory, where Patrick Wolfe argues that “Settler colonialism destroys to replace,” and that the elimination of the native is necessary to be able to build new structures on the colonized land.⁸⁸ From the 1610-*Condition* above we can safely assume that the government’s plan was from the very beginning to clear the lands of the native Irish so that the newly settled British planters could create their own communities and flourish. This also becomes clearer as Hunter argues that the “Baronies allocated to undertakers (except for areas of land within them held by the Church or perhaps pieces of former monastic property) were to be cleared of native Irish residents.”⁸⁹ Very few areas then, according to Hunter, in the escheated counties were available to the native Irish after 1610, or at least that was the intention. By the elimination of the native Irish, the hope was probably to make it easier for the British planters to bring their own religion, culture, and traditions without the direct opposition from the Irish. However, as the second half of the seventeenth century proved, the Irish did oppose the new regime and there were multiple rebellions. The plans behind the Plantation and how it evolved after the 1630’s is certainly an interesting topic – many historians to whom I refer to in this thesis have written about these important decades – but will not be discussed further in the following. What is important to emphasise, however, is the fact that opposition from the Irish was repeatedly manifested through demonstration and eventually war. The fear of opposition from the native Irish was most likely one of the main reasons to exclude them from the main Plantation plans. In relation to *settler colonialism*, however, the total exclusion of the natives is not necessarily the only “option” to obtain the result that the colonizers want, indeed the differentiation between colonists and natives can be

⁸⁷ Hunter, “Plantations in Ulster, 1600-41,” 19. Originally retrieved from the British Library, Landsdowne. Transcribed here without the original letters, but original spelling.

⁸⁸ Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 388.

⁸⁹ Hunter, “Plantations in Ulster, 1600-41,” 18.

achieved in several ways. The native Irish could, as Lorenzo Veracini states, be “physically eliminated or displaced, having one’s cultural practices erased, being ‘absorbed’, ‘assimilated’ or ‘amalgamated’ in the wider population, but the list could go on.”⁹⁰ While we can know for sure that the English government and the administration in Dublin did not follow any theory of colonisation – the word had not even been used for the first time yet – many of their regulations of the native Irish fit within the theory of *settler colonialism*. From the *Orders and Conditions* already emphasized it is evident that the English government extensively worked for the native Irish to be physically displaced, however the following will indicate that the British undertakers had other opinions and ideas on how to “handle” them.

The native Irish are seldom given much room when examining the commencement of the Plantation early in the seventeenth century – indeed a larger part of the focus lies on the British undertakers and the tenants. Analysing the Plantation scheme through the lens of *settler colonial* theory, however, requires more focus on the native Irish, but with the point of view of the people behind the Plantation scheme. This allows for a clearer image of British settlers as settler colonists, and how the Scottish migrants took it upon them to be effective colonists. In the article “The Treatment of the Native Population under the Scheme for the Plantation in Ulster,” historian Theodore W. Moody explains how the native Irish were to be handled in relation to the new settlers. He argues that “This segregation of the incoming settlers from the native population was to ensure that the colony would take firm root,” hence proving that the government was convinced that the Plantation scheme could not function with the direct involvement of the native Irish.⁹¹ The idea of a British-only environment mirrors the idea behind *settler colonialism* as the goal is to create new political and social structures by planting settlers who have as intention to stay and settle permanently. Although many of the native Irish opposed English rule in Ulster – and therefore it was the wise decision by the English government to keep them separated from the incoming British settlers – it should be emphasised that the segregation of the native Irish from the British settlers did not mean their complete expulsion. Moody stresses that

it did not mean either that they were to be expelled wholesale from the escheated counties or that they were to be driven indiscriminately into the hills and bogs. Absolute expulsion, it is

⁹⁰ Veracini, “Introducing *settler colonial studies*,” 2.

⁹¹ T. W. Moody, “The Treatment of the Native Population under the Scheme for the Plantation in Ulster,” *Irish Historical Studies* 1, no. 1 (March 1938): 60. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30006561>.

true, was the fate intended for the 'swordsmen' or kernes, the armed followers of Irish lords, who were the only active sources of resistance to the plantation.⁹²

Segregation, then, as emphasised in *settler colonial* theory, could be enforced in many ways.

The forced-upon segregation was decided by the government as they oversaw the planning of the scheme, but the realisation of the plans was up to the chosen settlers. It was their task to carry out the plans laid forward by the government and this meant that the Scots and English who came to Ulster had to follow and enforce the *Orders and Conditions*. To follow up on the scheme there were several surveys done in the years after its initiation, to which we will return to below. What is significant to emphasise, however, is the migrants' own reasons for coming to Ulster. Focusing on the Scots, their reasons for emigrating to Ulster had as much to do with their own fortunes as the King's desire to establish and expand English territory there. As Fitzgerald argues in his article on the Scots in seventeenth century Ulster, "Scotsmen moved to take advantage."⁹³ Ulster presented rich opportunities to build a strong economic future on cheap land provided by the government, and the growing population made for eager Scots to escape rising rents in their homeland. The Scots who then emigrated to Ulster were aware of the opportunities there and were anxious to be part of the colonizing scheme. The segregation between the native Irish and British settlers made it convenient for the newcomers to settle in the escheated counties because they met no threat on their newly acquired land. In several ways we can argue that the plans for the settlers to be "unbothered" by the native Irish made the task at hand, that being to settle the escheated counties with British settlers, easier for the Scots and English coming to Ulster. The settler-perspective of colonisation here provides one of its main points. It was easier to implement new structures – following the English model with Protestantism and new policies – from the beginning when there were only willing Scottish and English settlers around to enforce them, as opposed to the British settlers having to face opposition from the native Irish from the very beginning.

In practice, however, the rules of expulsion of the natives were not adhered to by all the settlers, as both Perceval-Maxwell and Hunter have noted.⁹⁴ While the government expected the British undertakers to take on British tenants, it proved much more inconvenient and expensive to, as Perceval-Maxwell writes, "import English or Scottish tenants while they

⁹² Moody, "The Treatment of the Native Population," 60

⁹³ Fitzgerald, "Scottish Migration to Ireland," 32.

⁹⁴ Hunter, "Plantations in Ulster, 1600-41," 18., and Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 138-159.

could obtain Irish ones. The cost of shipping British families to Ireland was prohibitively high.”⁹⁵ Thus many of the undertakers themselves did not have an issue with using the Irish as workforce – indeed it proved beneficial for both settler and native. We can therefore argue that the *settler colonial* perspective does not fit in every way for the Ulster Plantation and the Scottish and English settlers. When taking the native Irish as tenants they were not exploiting their labour, but rather providing them with a job and a chance to stay on their lands. This provided a win-win situation for both native Irish and settler. This did not, however, meet the standard of the Dublin and London administration, as they were convinced that the native Irish had to be excluded for the Plantation to be a success. In the *Project for Plantation*, it was described exactly how the different counties were to handle the influx of new British settlers based on the counties’ different requirements.⁹⁶ In County Tyrone and County Colerain, for example, some native Irish were allowed to be taken as tenants under the British servitors, while others were to be made to leave the county.⁹⁷ The Irish swordsmen (soldiers) were “to be transported into such other part of the Kingdom, namely, into Conaght, and some parts of Munster, where they are to be dispersed, and not planted together in one Place.”⁹⁸ We understand therefore that the native Irish who did not pose too big of a threat to the British planters could be allowed to stay in small numbers. The ones who were allowed to stay did so under the servitors who, as is described in the *Project*, “know best how to rule and order the Irish” – while the soldiers with military training had to be expelled from the lands in order to uphold peace.⁹⁹ The English government had not then ruled out the possibility of the inclusion of the native Irish, but the favourable solution was to use only British settlers. The reason for their inclusion will be further examined further down.

Despite the government’s opinions and ideas, however, they were not able to control what happened in each escheated county. This becomes evident in a survey carried out in the barony of Strabane in Tyrone in 1613. The presence of this survey makes it clear that the undertakers were being assessed based on the *Orders and Conditions* and the *Project* for the Plantation, and whether they had settled down and brought new British settlers to the area. One of the Undertakers in Strabane, George Hamilton, was a Catholic and this, as Hunter argues, “was to give the colony here an unintended flavour.”¹⁰⁰ Sir Josias Bodley, who

⁹⁵ Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 139.

⁹⁶ Hill, *The Plantation in Ulster*, 90–117.

⁹⁷ Hill, *The Plantation in Ulster*, 96 & 99.

⁹⁸ Hill, *The Plantation in Ulster*, 96–97.

⁹⁹ Hill, *The Plantation in Ulster*, 96.

¹⁰⁰ Hunter, “Plantations in Ulster, 1600-41,” 24.

performed the survey, must have known that Sir George Hamilton was a catholic, but nevertheless Hamilton contributed to the British colony by bringing new British settlers over, although not half as many as he should have by 1613. It is written in the survey that

There are not yet above halfe his number to tenants on the Land, the rest he purposeth to supplie, & for any backwardnes or omission of his in performance of Conditions hee hath recourse to his Ma[jes]ties mercy.¹⁰¹

From this observation from Sir Josias Bodley, Hamilton was not adhering to all the *Orders and Conditions*, although he had the intention to do so. It is not clear what the administration could do with Catholic undertakers or how he even became an undertaker to begin with. The main point is still that most settlers struggled to fulfil every expectation and rule, described in the *Conditions* and the *Project*, from the English government.

There was a clear difference here then, between the thought behind the Plantation scheme and the process of carrying it out. Although the Scottish and English undertakers knew the task at hand, their vision for the Ulster Plantation was most likely more than to simply follow orders from the English government in carrying out their plans for a colonized Ireland. The British undertakers brought their families and other British into the Plantation to create new communities – a whole new life and a new future for the next generations. The combination of the undertakers' motivation and the government's plans laid the groundwork for a successful plantation, but the intentions were perhaps not the same for the two parts involved. If one looks at the *Orders and Conditions* in isolation, it is quite clear that the government's plan matches the theory of *settler colonialism*, as the idea was to settle British undertakers on land from the escheated counties without the "participation" of the native Irish. However, this was simply not possible for the British undertakers involved. This, then, deviated from the theory of *settler colonialism*, where the natives are forced to "go away" and have minimal interaction with the colonists. To farm their land successfully, and be convinced to stay, the settlers *needed* help that they could achieve from the native Irish. This proved an easier and better solution for many undertakers who could not afford to bring over British tenants. Thus, in some ways the British undertakers became involved with the natives, but this did not become an obstacle for the Scottish, and English, to still settle down. The native Irish, as already stressed, were in some ways part of the initial plans for the Plantation. In the *Orders and Conditions* from 1609 it reads that "2. Seruitors in Ireland whoe maie take

¹⁰¹ Hunter, "Plantations in Ulster, 1600-41," 24. Originally retrieved from Huntington Library, Hastings.

English or Irish ten[a]ntes at their choice.”¹⁰² So the *servitors*, who were English soldiers that had served the Crown in war in Ireland, were allowed to take Irish as tenants, although British tenants were preferred. The reason for this is, as highlighted above, is that they had war-experience and were in a greater deal than the average British undertaker equipped to tackle any rebellious Irish who may come their way. Either way, the native Irish were in some ways included in the Plantation plans as they could not be disregarded completely, but for a great many Scottish and English undertakers they became a vital part of their first years in Ulster. Had not these British undertakers taken on Irish tenants – and lacked the funds to bring more British settlers over to Ulster – their harvests could have failed, and they would not been forced to abandon the scheme due to the lack of funds. *Settler colonialism* builds upon the thought of the settlers who “come to stay,” but the settlers then needed success to be convinced and motivated to stay. They found this in the aid from the native Irish even though this was not a favoured solution on the government’s part. In what ways these native Irish conformed to the British way of doing things, however, is uncertain. In Antrim and Down, the colonisation process was different than in the counties part of the official Plantation, and an examination of these in comparison to the official Plantation will provide further evidence of the Scots as efficient colonists.

4.2 Antrim and Down

The situation in Antrim and Down was different than that of the other six escheated counties. The regulations here were not government supervised, and the British settlers, who were mostly Scottish, could settle more freely. The *landowners* in these two counties, those who had been granted land by King James himself before the initiation of the official Plantation were Montgomery and Hamilton, along with some other Scots. According to Gillespie, “The geographical isolation from the Dublin administration gave further encouragement to landowners to exploit the extensive rights and privileges which they had been granted.”¹⁰³ This way Montgomery and Hamilton were able to avoid strict regulations on their land. However, as Gillespie also highlights, “the newcomers, Hamilton, Montgomery, Chichester and Conway, were all granted their lands in common socage as part of the plan to induce settlement.”¹⁰⁴ *Common socage*, according to Hill, was “considered the most desirable

¹⁰² Hunter, “Plantations in Ulster, 1600-41,” 14. Originally retrieved from Trinity College, Dublin.

¹⁰³ Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 89.

¹⁰⁴ Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, 96.

tenure,” and it meant that Montgomery, Hamilton, and the other landowners paid lower fees for their land than in the escheated counties.¹⁰⁵ In exchange for this generous offer, there came certain expectations. Even though these lands were granted before 1609-10, and even before the flight of the two Ulster earls in 1607, it is clear that King James already planned for British settlement in the rest of Ulster, and these private settlements by Montgomery and Hamilton would only aid the process of bringing Scots and English to the rest of Ulster a few years later. This is also emphasised by Beckett, who stresses the fact that Montgomery and Hamilton “were able and energetic colonizers.”¹⁰⁶ They built upon lands “which were waste and depopulated,” and they attracted more Scots to settle when they proved what was possible to accomplish.¹⁰⁷ There is a significant difference here, then, between the two counties Antrim and Down and the six escheated counties. The lands in Antrim and Down were open for plantation – as were the six other Ulster counties – but in Antrim and Down there was little opposition between the native Irish and the newcomers from Scotland. The lands had a very low population rate before Hamilton, Montgomery, and the Scots they inspired to migrate decided to settle. It is stressed by Beckett that “within a generation a great part of both counties had been transformed, in population and way of life, into a sort of extension of the Scottish lowlands,”¹⁰⁸ thus adding to the argument made by both Cullen and Fry. This remark is significant when looking at the Scottish settlement in Antrim and Down in relation to *settler colonialism*, as the Scots were not looking to only exploit the east Ulster lands for their own economic gain. In addition to the possibilities for economic growth for the Scottish individual, they were also looking to settle down on a permanent basis – creating new Scottish communities outside of Scotland. Even without the direct involvement of the London or Dublin administration, the Scots in Antrim and Down were aiding the English government in colonizing Ulster and establishing a lasting British presence there, and at the same time creating their own bright future.

Even though the Scottish settlers in Antrim and Down saw few obstacles relating to the native Irish – there were hardly any native Irish to banish from the areas – we can in many ways argue that the Scots in the two east Ulster counties can be depicted as settler colonists. They came with the intention of settling down permanently and flourish both socially and economically. Settler colonists establishes, as Veracini argues “new political orders for

¹⁰⁵ Hill, *The Plantation in Ulster*, 81.

¹⁰⁶ Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*, 47.

¹⁰⁷ Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*, 47

¹⁰⁸ Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*, 47.

themselves, rather than to exploit native labour,” and this is precisely what was done by Montgomery and Hamilton.¹⁰⁹ By comparing the situation in the six counties part of the official Plantation to the situation in Antrim and Down, it becomes clear that the Scots had a major impact on establishing a strong British presence in Ulster. As Beckett writes,

They [Hamilton and Montgomery] brought in stock, they planted settlers, they built houses, they refounded old towns and founded new ones. The prosperity of North Down, as well as its strongly Scottish character, had its origin in their labour.¹¹⁰

Thus, the Scots in east Ulster did not seek to obtain a certain amount of profit from their labour in Ulster and then to leave it all behind and return ‘home.’ They sought instead to establish a lasting Scottish community in east Ulster where they could prosper and have a better life.

In conclusion to this final chapter, *settler colonial* theory offers a valuable perspective on the Scots as the main contributors to the Plantation of Ulster. They “came to stay” rather than only exploiting the economic opportunities, and the future generations gained of this. Not only the British after-comers, but the native Irish too, as the economy flourished, and new towns were built. Although the Scots can be described as settler colonists considering Wolfe and Veracini’s definition, the element of the expulsion of the native does not quite fit. Further examination on this area will provide a deeper understanding of the relationship between settler and native and will only enhance our understanding of colonisation in the seventeenth century and the expansion of the British Empire. The Scots’ ambition and determination, rather than the orders and expectations from the government, it could be argued, is what led to the “success” of the Plantation of Ulster during James I’s reign. In the decades after 1625, however, there were many obstacles and cases of return migration to Scotland. Following this there was a large influx of Scots to Ulster once again, the highest one in the 1690s. This further show that the Scots were intrigued and inspired by the opportunities in Ulster, and during a whole century many thousand Scots would cross the Irish sea. In Antrim and Down, however, is where we today can see the largest presence of Scottish heritage. Hugh Montgomery and James Hamilton contributed to the settlement of many Scots in Antrim and Down, and they were at the same time contributing to the commencement and the expansion of the English Empire. After all, they did not go there all on their own – they were supported by King James, and everything was laid in place for them to settle down in east Ulster. *Settler*

¹⁰⁹ Veracini, “Settler Colonialism,” 313.

¹¹⁰ Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*, 47. Personal note in bracket.

colonialism leaves permanent prints, both for the settler colonists and the natives, and *settlement* was not simply settlement – it came at the expense of the native Irish even though the settlers did not exploit native labour.

5 Conclusion

Scottish migration to Ireland in the early seventeenth century was a major contribution to the establishment of the Plantation of Ulster in its early stages. While there has been, during the nineteenth century and during recent decades, a good amount of focus from scholars on Scottish migration to Ireland in the early modern period, the Scottish mobility tradition, and the impact they have had on their host countries have yet to be fully examined. Although prominent work has been done on the Scottish contribution to the British Empire in the centuries after 1700, Smout argues that “the biggest relative gap has lain earlier, especially in the seventeenth century.”¹¹¹ This thesis has aimed to fill this gap by analyzing primary and secondary sources in a different light. By focusing on the Scottish migration waves to Ulster it has become clear that it was the Scottish settlers in particular who aided the plantation to survive during its first years. Although encouraged to become undertakers and tenants by the English government, many Scots crossed the Irish sea many years before 1610 – thus strengthening the understanding that many Scots wanted to go there without being involved in any official plans. While the main aim of this thesis has been to argue the significant role the Scots had in the colonization in Ireland, it has also defined the Scots as a mobile people constantly searching for the next great opportunities. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Scots, both those living in Scotland and those in Ulster, started emigrating to America – constantly in search of new opportunities, and continuously aiding the then English, later British, Empire at expanding.

The Scots were a mobile people long before they emigrated to Ulster, and their history as a “people on the move” cannot be overlooked. The Scots travelled near and far before they decided to emigrate and settle permanently in many European countries such as England, Norway, and Poland. The succession of James VI to the English throne in 1603 came at the perfect time for the Scots, as they were sure to be included in any future plans for the kingdom. And although previous attempts by the English government at colonizing Ireland had failed, such as in Munster in the 1580s, the Scots would now contribute to the biggest colonization scheme yet – in Ulster. Although not prepared in any significant way – the Scots had little experience with being colonists – they seemed up for the challenge and the opportunities that followed.

¹¹¹ Smout, “Foreword,” x.

It has been stressed that Ulster became a natural destination for the Scots who wanted to move away from their homeland, as the distance was short, and the opportunities were many. The growing population in Scotland was an important push-factor for Scots to emigrate to Ulster, as the Nine Years War had left many areas depopulated in the north of Ireland. In Antrim and Down especially, Scots settled in great numbers, and a distinctive Scottish community was created that attracted more Scots. This meant that the Scots never let go of who they were as a people – they brought it with them. Without the direct interaction with the native Irish, the Scots could settle in great numbers on foreign land, but keep their culture, language, and traditions intact. Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean define Scottish population movement to Ireland as “near-abroad,” therefore arguing that its placement just across the Irish sea meant that the Scottish community there was different from for example that in Norway, which they define as “middle-abroad.”¹¹² In the “near-abroad” Ulster, the Scots had little difficulties with bringing their culture with them, and we can argue that this meant for a successful settlement. Not just for the English government, but for the Scots themselves. The economic opportunities in Ulster are arguable one of the most important reasons why the Scots settled permanently never saw the need to return “home.” The Scottish community in Ulster flourished during the first decades of the seventeenth century, and simultaneously they were aiding the English government with their colonization plans.

The plantations in Antrim and Down were separate from the government-initiated one, and the settlers there had much freer reins. Although perhaps not completely intentional, the Scots who emigrated to Antrim and Down even before the official Plantation commenced, played an important part in the establishment of a strong British presence in Ulster. This thesis has compared the private plantations in Antrim and Down to the official Plantation and found that the former affected the latter in several ways. The established presence of British Protestants in east Ulster already before 1610 proved that the official Plantation scheme was possible partly because so many Scots had migrated already. Although not regulated in the same ways as in the other six escheated counties, the Scottish communities in Antrim, and especially Down, remained strong through-out the seventeenth century, and more Scots continued to emigrate to Ulster. In chapter two, the original plans for the Plantation – the *Project* and the *Orders and Conditions* – have been highlighted in relation to the Scots, and from these we understand that the Scots in total played a bigger role than the English. Exactly

¹¹² Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, v. 107 (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2005), 4.

why the English seemed less eager to play the role of colonist than the Scots is uncertain and could be researched in a different study. We know for example that the English, in larger number than the Scots, had already begun emigrating to America at the commencement of the seventeenth century. English population movement to Ireland was, using Murdoch and Grosjean's term, "near-abroad" too, but the impact they had on their settled lands was minimal in comparison. Newer theories, such as *settler colonial* theory allowed this thesis to examine the Scots as colonists and how their actions in Ulster aided the Plantation scheme. Wolfe and Veracini's theory argues that the settlers "come to stay," and the elimination of the native is central elements. While the reality of the circumstances in Ulster does not completely agree with the latter element, it was the government's desire to keep the involvement of the native Irish to a minimum. Both with and without the involvement of the native Irish, however, the Scots were able to create lasting communities in Ulster, thus again proving their efficiency as colonists.

In conclusion, the Scots were significant for the Plantation of Ulster during its first two decades. Although there were many obstacles and events that did not go according to plan, the Scots were determined and willing to settle down in Ulster and stay there. The Scots were during the seventeenth century travelling in search of greater opportunities – to England, Poland, Norway – and Ulster was no exception. The Scots' nature as an adventurous people made them an important asset for the English government to bring into the Plantation scheme. The Scots in Ulster in the seventeenth century contributed to the largest colonization scheme in Ireland, and they forever changed both British and Irish history. The unique Scottish communities created in Ulster in the early seventeenth century brought generations of Scots to Ulster, and the heritage of the Ulster-Scots is highly relevant in Northern Ireland today.

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