FROM SOLDIER TO SETTLER: THE WELSH IN IRELAND, 1558-1641

Rhys Morgan

Thesis submitted to Cardiff University in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 2011

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Summary

This thesis examines the extent, nature and significance of Welsh involvement in Ireland between 1558 and 1641. By exploring this neglected dimension to Irish history, it offers valuable new perspectives on the colonial community there and integrates Wales more satisfactorily into British history.

A significant Welsh presence existed within the 'New English' colonial community that emerged in Ireland under Elizabeth and the early Stuarts. The majority of the Welsh in Ireland were soldiers, but they also established themselves as military officers, governmental officials and planters. In the first full-scale analysis of early modern Welsh migrants outside of London, this study reconstructs the origins, motivations and careers of the Welsh in Ireland and assesses their importance to the colonial enterprise there.

By examining the Welsh, this thesis applies a more thoroughly British perspective to colonists in Ireland, who are often conceptualised as a coherent and culturally English group. It demonstrates how the Welsh in Ireland formed a distinct community that settled together and cooperated in social and political networks based on ties of kinship, patronage and loyalty to countrymen. Furthermore it examines Welshness as a form of difference in Ireland and demonstrates that it was a source of significant tension among the colonists. It also identifies facets of a unique Welsh settler identity that could be seen as 'New Welsh'.

This thesis also reveals a neglected Irish dimension to early modern Welsh history. The Welsh community in Ireland maintained strong connections to Wales through networks of interaction and cooperation that spanned the Irish Sea. The thesis examines how such networks brought the Welsh into contact with Ireland and led to the emergence of Cambro-Hibernic figures with land and influence in both countries. This helps to create a more truly British understanding of Wales in the early modern period.

Acknowledgements

This thesis was made possible by a generous grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (Award No. 123321).

In completing this dissertation I have benefited greatly from the advice, assistance and support of my friends, family, colleagues and countless others who have helped along the way. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to you all. This list is far from exhaustive, and I apologise to anyone who I have left out.

Firstly, my sincere thanks go to my supervisor, Dr Lloyd Bowen. His encouragement, expertise, knowledge and insight were essential to the completion of this project. He has worked tirelessly to assist me and I owe him a particular debt for his detailed advice on earlier drafts, which has greatly enhanced the quality of this thesis. More importantly, Dr Bowen has been a mentor, teacher and friend throughout this process and has taught me how to be a better historian, for that I will always be grateful.

I also wish to express my appreciation to all the staff at Cardiff University who have assisted or encouraged me during this project. Particular thanks are due to Dr Bill Aird, Dr Padma Anagol, Anne Brown, Aled Cooke, Laura Henderson, Dr Bill Jones, Dr Scott Newton, Marina Peters, Sarah Tovey, Susan Virgo, Dr Keir Waddington, Dr Garthine Walker and everyone else who helped to make the department of History and Archaeology such a enjoyable and rewarding place to be. I would also like to convey my gratitude to the staff at the Arts and Social Studies Library in Cardiff whose constant assistance was invaluable to my early research. Furthermore, I would like to thank the staff at all the British and Irish libraries I have visited during my research, especially those at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth, the British Library and National Archives in London, the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the National Archives and National Library in Dublin, all of whom provided me with valuable help on numerous occasions. Although I owe many of the successes of this project to Dr Bowen and those listed above, any errors or mistakes are my own.

My thanks also go to all my friends who helped and supported me throughout the last few years. Firstly to the postgrad room crowd whose company and ability to understand, and laugh about, the highs and lows of doing a humanities PhD has been vital to my lasting mental health. Also to my friends in the psychology department who accepted me as one of their own and helped me unwind from work with merry evenings of badminton, drinks and board games. I am similarly grateful to Hannah and Michael Togneri, the Pechey family, my old MA buddies, and my Oxford friends, all of whom have encouraged me while providing a welcome distraction from my work.

Special thanks must, of course, go to Rachel Pechey. Her love and friendship have been a constant source of support, encouragement and comfort for me throughout this project. Simply through her presence she has helped me through the moments of worry and self-doubt and made the good times immeasurably brighter. She also bravely agreed to read the whole of this thesis and improved it greatly through her attention to detail, and love of commas.

Finally my deepest thanks go to my family. Firstly to Lewys and Lloyd, who have supported and helped their brother throughout his time as a PhD student. Also to my parents who endowed me with my passion for my subject and have always encouraged me to pursue my academic ambitions. Without your love, advice and support this thesis would not have been possible and, although it is only a small gesture compared with all you have done for me, it is dedicated to you.

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Abbreviations

APC	*Acts of the Privy Council of England*
BL	British Library, London
Calendar of Carew MSS	J.S. Brewer and William Bullen, *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, 6 vols. (London, 1867)
Collins (ed.), *Letters and memorials of state*	Arthur Collins (ed.), *Letters and memorials of State in the reigns of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James, King Charles the First, part of the reign of King Charles the Second, and Oliver's usurption...* 2 vols. (London, 1746)
CJ	*Journals of the House of Commons*
LJ	*Journals of the House of Lords*
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*
CSPI	*Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*
DWB	J.E. Lloyd and Robert Thomas Jenkins (eds.), *The Dictionary of Welsh biography down to 1940* (London, 1959)
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office, Lewes
HMC, *Bath MSS*	Historical Manuscripts Commission, 58th Report, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire*, 5 vols. (London, 1904-1980)
HMC, *De L'Isle & Dudley*	Historical Manuscripts Commission, 77th Report, *Report on the manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle & Dudley preserved at Penshurst place*, 6 vols. (London, 1925-1966)
HMC, *Hastings MSS*	Historical Manuscripts Commission, 78th Report, *Report on the manuscripts of the late Reginald Rawdon Hastings, esq. of the Manor House, Ashby de la Zouch*, vol. 4 (London, 1947)
HMC, *Salisbury MSS*	Historical Manuscripts Commission, 9th Report, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Most Honorable the marquis of Salisbury*, 24 vols. (London, 1883-1976)

IMC, *Irish Patent Rolls*	Irish Manuscripts Commission, *Irish patent rolls of James I* (Dublin, 1966)
NA	National Archives, Kew, London
NAI	National Archives of Ireland, Dublin
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Dublin
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
Morrin (ed.), *Patent and close rolls*, I	James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth* (Dublin and London, 1861).
Morrin (ed.), *Patent and close rolls*, II	James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, from the 18th to the 45th of Queen Elizabeth* (Dublin and London, 1862)
Morrin (ed.), *Patent and close rolls*, II	James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland of the reign of Charles the first, first to eighth year, inclusive* (Dublin and London, 1863)
ODNB	H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds.), *Oxford dictionary of national biography: from the earliest times to the year 2000*, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004)
O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor'	Harold O'Sullivan, 'The Trevors of Rosetrevor: A British colonial family in seventeenth century Ireland' (Unpubl. M.Litt thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1985)
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin

Introduction: Locating the Welsh in Ireland and Britain during the early modern period

This is a study of Welsh military and civilian involvement in Ireland between the accession of Elizabeth I and the Irish rebellion of 1641. It has been more than thirty years since J.G.A Pocock's seminal article challenged historians to abandon anglocentric history and work towards a more holistic understanding of Britain and Ireland in the early modern period.[1] The resultant literature, usually labelled the 'New British History', has greatly enhanced our understanding of the shared history and interconnectedness of the three kingdoms ruled by the English monarchy at this time.[2] For the most part, however, Wales has been excluded from this paradigm shift. Practitioners of the 'New British History' have rarely concentrated on Wales and when they have their focus has been on Welsh 'national' identity or Welsh reactions to English state building, subjects that have long been central to Welsh histories.[3] The 'New British History' has produced no study of the relationship between Wales and the other non-English regions of Britain and Ireland in the early modern period. By assessing the nature and extent of Welsh involvement in Ireland, then, this thesis fills a significant gap in both British *and* Welsh historiography. It will be demonstrated that Welsh men and women played a pervasive role in the English government's attempts to conquer, govern and settle early modern Ireland. This study will also aim to bring a more thoroughly British perspective to bear on current understandings of the colonial presence in Ireland, which has generally been conceptualised as a coherent and united English community. It shows that the Welsh minority in Ireland were different from their English colleagues, possessing a distinct identity and having their own social and political networks. This thesis thus demonstrates that new perspectives can be developed across a range of historiographies by writing a British history that puts Wales and the Welsh at its heart.

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[1] J.G.A. Pocock, 'British history: A plea for a new subject', *Journal of Modern History*, 47 (1975), pp. 601-21.

[2] See, for example, Steven Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest and union: fashioning a British state, 1485-1725* (London and New York, 1995); Alexander Grant and Keith Stringer (eds.), *Uniting the kingdom?: the making of British history* (London, 1995); Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds.), *British consciousness and identity: the making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998).

[3] Peter Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, national identity and the British inheritance', and Philip Jenkins, 'Seventeenth-century Wales: Definition and identity', in Bradshaw and Roberts, *British consciousness and identity*, pp. 8-42, 213-235.

Writing British history

The 'New British History' has been a central part of early modern British and Irish studies for so long that it is no longer 'new'. As Jane Ohlmeyer has argued it may now "appear to have become a rather jaded and sterile historiographical debate".[4] Since the 1990s it has also come under serious criticism. Leading the charge has been Nicholas Canny who has rightly argued that New British Histories have tended to privilege political history over social and economic studies, and that attempts to write a holistic history have often masked the ethnic, religious and cultural differences that existed between the constituent nations of Britain and Ireland.[5] It has also been argued that some of the central aims of the 'New British History' have simply not been achieved. In particular, it has been suggested that England continues to remain at the centre of all such histories and that the other regions of Britain and Ireland are included only to demonstrate their influence on the English political core.[6] However, by shifting our focus we can address some of these criticisms. This thesis shows how studying Wales's relationship with Ireland can offer a new understanding of its position within Britain and demonstrates how the 'New British History' can continue to offer fresh perspectives on the history of the British Isles.[7]

Historians critical of the direction taken by the 'New British History' have suggested that important aspects of Pocock's original argument need to be revisited.[8] In his 1975 article, Pocock defined his "new subject" as "the plural history of a group of cultures situated along an Anglo-Celtic frontier".[9] He did not deny the importance of the English, but his hoped-for history was one that deals with the interaction of all groups living in what he termed the "Atlantic Archipelago".[10] For the most part, however, historians have tended to favour another Pocockian concept, borrowed from J.C.

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[4] Jane H. Ohlmeyer, 'The old British histories?', *Historical Journal*, 50 (2007), p. 499.
[5] Nicholas Canny, 'Irish, Scottish and Welsh responses to centralisation, c.1530-c.1640: a comparative perspective', in Grant and Stringer, *Uniting the kingdom?*, p. 147; Nicholas Canny, 'Writing early modern history: Ireland, Britain and the wider world', *Historical Journal*, 46 (2003), pp. 737-8.
[6] Richard Connors and J.R.D. Falconer, 'Cornering the Cheshire cat: reflections on the "New British History" and studies in early modern British identities', *Canadian Journal of History*, 36 (2001), p. 99.
[7] For a recent call for a New British History that considers interaction between the 'Celtic' peoples and lands, see Steven G. Ellis, 'Why the history of 'the Celtic fringe' remains unwritten', *European Review of History*, 10 (2003), p. 229.
[8] Ohlmeyer, 'The old British histories?', pp. 500-1.
[9] Pocock, 'A plea for a new subject', p. 605.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 606-9.

Beckett, of "three kingdoms" history.[11] This term, which has its roots in a critique of anglocentric views of the Civil War, is understandably appealing, but it is also restrictive. It encourages comparative studies and analysis of interaction between England, Scotland and Ireland, which each possessed their own institutional structures and their own, largely Celtic, peripheries.[12] This approach, however, risks privileging certain groups and cultures while ignoring others.[13] Although this new focus on the importance of Scotland and Ireland has lessened the anglocentric nature of British studies, 'peripheries' such as Wales, Cornwall, and Highland Scotland remain largely invisible in such histories.[14] Those 'New British' studies which do include these areas generally relegate them to a secondary role, in which they are used to "illustrate by comparison or contrast" the history of those parts of Britain and Ireland that are seen to be of more "central importance".[15] The 'three kingdoms' methodology has thus failed to provide the 'plural history' that was originally intended.[16] This thesis argues that we should return to the original principles of the New British History by placing the interaction between 'peoples' at the heart of early modern British and Irish histories.

The understanding of 'peoples' in this study owes much to the work of the medieval historian, R.R. Davies. Davies argued that it was anachronistic to use the nation state as the main organising principle of medieval and early modern history, advocating instead that we should focus on the importance of "other solidarities and collectives", particularly peoples.[17] For him, a 'people' was an imagined community of common descent held together by shared origins, language, myths and culture.[18] Such groups formed distinct communities and identities within the kingdoms of the English monarchy and can be used as alternative foci for historical enquiry. Davies recognises four peoples in medieval Britain, the English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh, although an

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 605.
[12] Lloyd Bowen, 'Rediscovering difference?: nations, peoples and politics in the British Civil Wars', *History Compass*, 4 (2006), p. 837.
[13] Canny, 'Irish, Scottish and Welsh responses', p. 147; Mark Stoyle, 'English 'nationalism', Celtic particularism, and the English Civil War', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), p. 1114.
[14] See, for example, John Morrill, 'The fashioning of Britain', in Ellis and Barber, *Conquest and union*, pp. 8-39; John R. Young, (ed.) *Celtic dimensions of the British Civil Wars* (Edinburgh, 1997).
[15] Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: a history of four nations* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 116.
[16] Canny, 'Writing early modern history', pp. 741-6.
[17] R.R. Davies, 'The peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100-1400. Identities', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 4 (1994), p. 1.
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-9.

argument can be made for expanding this to include other groups such as the Cornish and the Highland Scots.[19]

A history that focuses on peoples offers an alternative to the 'three kingdoms' model that allows us to get closer to Pocock's ideal of a holistic British history. While the 'three kingdoms' model focuses our attention on political and institutional cores, a history of peoples reinstates the peripheries.[20] For the purposes of this thesis, it allows us to write a British history that is centred on Wales, rather than reducing Welsh history to a tool used to illustrate the history of other parts of Britain and Ireland. This is not the first study to approach early modern Welsh history in this manner, but those who have done so have previously focused almost solely on Wales's relationship with England.[21] This thesis will demonstrate that analysing the relationship of the Welsh people with another peripheral region can shed considerable new light on Wales and its place within British history.

What should a history of the British peoples look like? This question has recently been explored by Nicholas Canny whose suggestions constitute, in many ways, a return to the original principles established by Pocock. Canny argues that in order to study peoples we must "disregard both political boundaries and historiographical orthodoxies whenever these act as barriers to understanding how... [early modern individuals] lived their lives". He calls for a dynamic history that focuses on how "the various peoples in all three kingdoms" came into contact, interacted, and moved across physical and imagined frontiers.[22] Such a history would focus on aspects such as migration, cultural conflict, and the formation of social or economic networks across political borders. It is a plural history that concentrates, as Pocock argued it should, on political, social and cultural interaction along the early modern Anglo-Celtic frontier.[23] Such an approach should not aim to replace the more traditional political or institutional British histories, but rather to enhance them by offering

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[20] David J. Baker and Willy Maley, 'Introduction. An uncertain union', and Philip Schwyzer, 'British history and "The British History" the same old story?', in David J. Baker and Willy Maley (eds.), *British identities and English Renaissance literature* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 1, 11.
[21] See for example, Mark Stoyle, *Soldiers and strangers: an ethnic history of the English Civil War* (New Haven and London, 2005), *passim.*
[22] Canny, 'Writing early modern history', p. 746. See also Ellis, 'The Celtic fringe', p. 225.
[23] Pocock, 'A plea for a new subject', pp. 605-9.

alternative perspectives.[24] This study draws on this approach to improve and revise current understandings of both the Welsh and the colonial community in Ireland.

It will be argued in this thesis that the study of a peripheral people like the Welsh can significantly augment our understanding of British history. It is important, however, to approach such a study in a critical manner. First it is necessary to qualify how the term 'people' will be used in this study. By applying collective nouns such as 'people' to groups of individuals, the historian is always in danger of imposing identities that were not recognised by contemporaries. Davies's concept of 'peoples' poses particular problems as it was at least partially inspired by the rise of ethnic history.[25] Ethnicity primarily emerged as a way of explaining the development of modern nationalism. It is thus a term loaded with modern meanings that carries with it the perils of anachronism. The Welsh will thus not be conceptualised as an 'ethnic group' in this thesis. Much the same can, however, be said for peoples. In particular there is a danger of using the idea of peoples as a means of applying modern concepts of national identity to early modern individuals.

While a Welsh identity certainly existed in the early modern period, it did not stop Welsh individuals holding other, sometimes conflicting, identities. Indeed, the writings of Welsh elites praise England as much as Wales and it was not uncommon for Welshmen to refer to themselves as English.[26] The Welsh had embraced English customs and legal norms and many defended English cultural symbols, such as parliament and the myth of ancient English liberties, as their own.[27] Most importantly, the Welsh accepted English Protestantism. Religion was at least as, if not more, influential than culture and origin in the formation of early modern identities, and the majority of the Welsh were wedded to a particularly English religious form.[28] We must, therefore, be careful not to privilege a discourse of Welsh cultural and historical identity over other discourses that the Welsh could draw on to construct their

[24] For an example of a study that combines the two approaches particularly effectively, although at a largely aristocratic level, see, Victor Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland, 1616-1628: a study in Anglo-Irish politics* (Dublin, 1998).
[25] Davies, 'The peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100-1400. Identities', p. 1. For ethnicity, see Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and memories of the nation* (Oxford, 1999); Anthony D. Smith, *The antiquity of nations* (Cambridge, 2004).
[26] Jenkins, 'Seventeenth-century Wales', p. 226.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 226; D.B. Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (New York, 1966), pp. 7-9.
[28] Ohlmeyer, 'The Old British Histories?', p. 503.

identities.[29] The Welsh were able to classify themselves as, among other things, English, Protestant or Welsh in different circumstances. For the Welsh who travelled to Ireland we can also add 'New English' and, arguably, 'British' identities to the mix. Welshness should certainly not be seen as an exclusive or all-encompassing identity in this period. This does not, however, impair the usefulness of a history of peoples as a framework for analysing the variety of cultures which interacted across the Anglo-Celtic frontier in the early modern period. During this time there was certainly a group of people, defined by descent and place of birth, that perceived themselves and were seen by others as Welsh. There was clearly also a Welsh culture characterised by a distinct history and language. This discourse was exclusive to the Welsh and constituted the primary form of difference between the inhabitants of Wales and those of the rest of the mainland British Isles. It is on this basis that the Welsh will be defined as a people in this thesis.

The relationship between the Welsh people and the Irish kingdom cannot, however, be studied without reference to the English state. The peripheral peoples of Britain were subject to the political cores, and in particular the central political core in London. Pocock was clear that the pluralist approach he was advocating had to "be reconciled with the evident fact that the pattern of 'British history' is one of the steadily increasing dominance of England as a political and cultural entity".[30] While interactions between peoples may be the "essence" of British history, such a study must be carried out with full awareness of the growing influence of the state structures of the centre.[31] There was no independent Welsh relationship with Ireland. Welsh men and women who wished to serve or live in Ireland did so by drawing upon the machinery of the English state that organised the Irish conquest, settlement and government. Welsh influence on Ireland was thus always refracted through an English prism, and studies of Cambro-Hibernic relations must take this into account. As Allan

[29] The same can, of course, be said of Englishness, which should not be assumed to be a homogenous or uniform identity. See Jasmin L. Johnson, 'Review of Mark Stoyle, *Soldiers and strangers*, H-war, H-net Reviews, April 2006.
http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev/showrev.php?id=11649. Accessed 06/02/2009.
[30] Pocock, 'A plea for a new subject', p. 610.
[31] Steven G. Ellis, 'Introduction: the concept of British history', in Ellis and Barber, *Conquest and union*, pp. 3-4.

Macinnes and Jane Ohlmeyer have observed, writing a cohesive British history will always be "awkward".[32]

Problematising the 'New English'

This thesis does not set out to uncover the relationship between the Welsh and the native Irish in the early modern period. After the Reformation the Welsh attitude towards the Irish was primarily the same as that of the English. They were concerned about the threat of Irish Catholicism and supported attempts to complete the conquest there. Anyone looking for a sense of 'Celtic' solidarity in early modern Wales will be disappointed. Rather, this is a study that assesses the Welsh role within the Anglo-Welsh (and later also Scottish) colonial community in Ireland.

The Welsh are a largely invisible group in the historiography of the conquest and settlement of Ireland. This is primarily the result of the terminology that has been used to discuss newcomers to Ireland between 1558 and 1641. The soldiers, administrators, settlers and clergy who came to Ireland have been conceptualised as the 'New English', a coherent and united community with shared ideals, goals and beliefs.[33] Recent work has begun to recognise the inadequacy of this view. Rory Rapple, for example, cites the fact that "the personalities and activities of the English captains in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth I have blended together", obscuring differences between them.[34] Similar sentiments have been voiced by Ciarán Brady and Raymond Gillespie who argue that "English newcomers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have frequently been presented as an undifferentiated group of

[32] Allan I. Macinnes and Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Introduction: awkward neighbours?', in their *The Stuart kingdoms in the seventeenth century: awkward neighbours* (Dublin, 2002), p. 23.
[33] See, for example, Nicholas Canny, 'Dominant minorities: English settlers in Ireland and Virginia, 1550-1650', in A.C. Hepburn (ed.), *Minorities in history* (London, 1978), pp. 51-69; Nicholas Canny, 'Edmund Spenser and the development of an Anglo-Irish identity', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 13 (1983), pp. 1-19. Ciarán Brady has argued that the 'New English' held a more diverse set of ideals and beliefs but maintains a sense of them as a united group: Ciarán Brady 'New English ideology in Ireland and the two Sir William Herberts', in A.J. Piese (ed.), *Sixteenth-century identities* (Manchester and New York, 2000), pp. 75-111.
[34] Rory Rapple, 'Taking up office in Elizabethan Connacht: the case of Sir Richard Bingham', *English Historical Review*, 123 (2008), pp. 1-23.

ambitious, greedy and resourceful colonisers", when in fact there was considerable variation between them.[35]

The clearest challenge to the coherence of the 'New English' community has come from historians of early modern Scottish migration. Of particular relevance is Willy Maley's brief exploration of the importance of Scottishness for early modern colonial identity in Ireland.[36] Maley argues that the terms 'New English' and 'Anglo-Irish' imply "a unitary Englishness" that creates a history in which "other identities, traditions, histories and ethnicities get left out". He asserts that Scottishness should be incorporated as "the key third term in the formation of Anglo-Irish identity".[37]

Maley's problematisation of the united 'New English' community needs to be extended to include the Welsh. Welshness has not been discussed as a form of difference among the settlers in Ireland.[38] This thesis will fill this gap by exploring the history of Welsh involvement in Ireland as soldiers, captains, administrators and settlers. In each case the extent of the Welsh presence will be quantified and a prosopographical analysis will be carried out to demonstrate who the Welsh in Ireland were and how they differed from their English counterparts. It thus provides the first comprehensive history of the Welsh role in Ireland during the early modern period.

The thesis not only demonstrates that a Welsh minority existed among this supposedly coherent 'New English' community, but it also argues that they constituted a culturally and socially distinct group. It will be shown that although the Welsh interacted extensively with their English counterparts while in Ireland, they were seen as, and saw themselves to be, a separate people within the New English community.

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[35] Ciarán Brady and Raymond Gillespie, 'Introduction', in their *Natives and newcomers: essays on the making of Irish colonial society, 1534-1641* (Dublin, 1986), pp. 15-16. See also, Ciarán Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Making good: new perspectives on the English in early modern Ireland', in their *British interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 1-27.

[36] Willy Maley, *Salvaging Spenser: colonialism, culture and identity* (Basingstoke and New York, 1997), pp. 136-61.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 146-55.

[38] Brief references to Welshness in Ireland can be found in Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British: 1580-1650* (Oxford and New York, 2001), p. 483; Philip S. Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster: British settlement in an Irish landscape, 1600-1670* (Dublin and New York, 1984), p. 113; Robert J. Hunter, 'Plantation in Donegal', in William Nolan, Liam Ronayne and Mairead Dunlevy (eds.), *Donegal: history & society* (Dublin, 1995), p. 303.

One of the aims of this thesis, therefore, will be to challenge the coherence of the term 'New English' by suggesting that some newcomers were, in fact, 'New Welsh'.

Celtic Connections?: the historiography of Cambro-Hibernic relations

The single most important thread that runs through the few existing studies of Welsh-Irish relations is the fact of the countries' physical proximity. The short sea journey between Wales and Ireland produced a long history of interaction, cooperation and conflict. These connections have long been recognised by historians of the early medieval period. They have argued that the ease of sea travel and the difficulties of traversing the mountainous regions of western Britain and Ireland led to the establishment of close cultural, economic and political connections around the coasts of the Irish Sea.[39] This "Irish Sea Province" was "under a single cultural stimulus", as demonstrated by the existence of shared saint cults throughout the region and the extensive sea-borne trade there.[40] Cultural and economic relationships were accompanied by military and political connections between Welsh and Irish rulers. They involved themselves extensively in one-another's dynastic politics and often provided refuge for those defeated by local rivals or, in the case of Wales after 1066, the encroaching Normans.[41] This continued into the eleventh and twelfth centuries when the Hiberno-Norse rulers of the eastern coast of Ireland provided valuable military aid to those native Welsh dynasties that continued to resist the Anglo-Norman marcher lords.[42] This close relationship is generally considered to have lasted until the twelfth century.

Seán Duffy has suggested that the transformation of Cambro-Hibernic relations can be located at a "turning point" in 1169.[43] The Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland that year was led largely by the lords of the Welsh March, who, due to intermarriage with

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[39] Donald Moore, 'Preface', in his *The Irish Sea Province in archaeology and history* (Cardiff, 1970), pp. 11-12.
[40] E.G. Bowen, 'Britain and the British seas', in Moore, *Irish Sea Province*, pp. 13-14; Prionsias Mac Cana, 'Ireland and Wales in the middle ages: an overview', in Karen Jankulak and Jonathan M. Wooding (eds.), *Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2007), p. 22.
[41] Cecile O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales: their historical and literary relations* (London, 1924), pp. 73-8; Seán Duffy, 'The 1169 invasion as a turning-point in Irish-Welsh relations' in Brendan Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland 900-1300: insular responses to medieval European change* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 99, 101.
[42] K.L. Maund, *Ireland, Wales and England in the eleventh century* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 156-82.
[43] Duffy, '1169 invasion', p. 98.

native south Walian dynasties, were themselves part-Welsh, while their armies included large numbers of Welsh soldiers. For the first time, the Welsh were facilitators and beneficiaries of English expansion, rather than victims of it. Some of the Cambro-Norman marcher lords even settled Welsh tenants on their newly-acquired Irish estates. Native Irish writers soon began to present the Welsh not as allies or fellow victims of English expansion, but as conquerors.[44] The effect of the invasion on Cambro-Hibernic relations was not immediate. During the 1170s the House of Gwynedd continued to employ Irish troops in Wales and Welsh leaders still sought refuge in Ireland.[45] The invasion had, however, made the traditional cooperation between native Irish and Welsh more difficult. After the submission of the Irish kings to Henry II in 1171 much of the east coast of Ireland had become an Anglo-Norman settlement, dividing the Welsh from the native Irish.[46] The Welsh relationship with Ireland thus came to be mediated by the realities of English dominance on both sides of the Irish Sea. The final conquest of the native Welsh Principality in 1282 put further distance between the two Celtic peoples. The destruction of the native Welsh dynasties ended the traditional forms of political interaction between Wales and Ireland and finally removed the uniting factor of a struggle against a common enemy.[47] The Welsh could no longer engage with the Irish directly. Instead their relationship with Ireland was carried out through the structures of the English state.

For the most part, historians have been happy to accept that the successes of the Anglo-Normans on both sides of the Irish Sea shut "the door to the traditional intercourse between the two Celtic neighbours", and interest in the Welsh relationship with Ireland does not reappear until the studies of migration and the rise of nationalism in the modern period.[48] Welsh interaction with Ireland after 1282 was limited due to the English Crown's inability or unwillingness to maintain a presence there. The only significant Welsh involvement during this period was providing soldiers for the campaigns of 1361, 1394-5 and 1399, although some Welshmen would have been familiar with Ireland from serving figures such as Roger Mortimer,

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-12.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 103; O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales*, pp. 80-3.
[47] Duffy, '1169 invasion', p. 113.
[48] Mac Cana, 'Ireland and Wales in the middle ages', p. 43; Paul O'Leary, *Immigration and integration: the Irish in Wales, 1798-1922* (Cardiff, 2000).

Earl of March, who had estates in both countries. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the government of Ireland was left primarily to the descendents of the medieval invaders who lost control of much of the kingdom and largely integrated into Gaelic society.[49] It was only with the stabilisation of English government under the Tudors that attempts to subjugate Ireland fully resumed. This was, of course, encouraged by the realities of England's position in post-reformation Europe, which made Ireland a dangerous outpost of Catholicism and a threat to the security of the united England and Wales.[50] After 1558 the English military presence in Ireland increased significantly and plantation schemes, which had been a minor part of Irish policy, were extended considerably. The period between 1558 and 1641 can be conceptualised as one of increasing British control and influence in Ireland, before its collapse in the rebellion of 1641.[51]

Despite the renewed interaction between Ireland and the Anglo-Welsh state in the early modern period, little work has been carried out to assess the extent to which new Cambro-Hibernic connections formed at this time. The effects of Wales's proximity to Ireland have been "half-forgotten" by historians of the early modern period.[52] Both Irish and Welsh historians have preferred to concentrate on their respective countries' relationship with England, and in the Irish case also Scotland. This is perfectly understandable in a period that saw Ireland's conquest by, and Wales's incorporation into, the English state. Indeed, in Irish historiography the primary crossover between early modern Irish and Welsh history has been to use Wales as a comparative study to shed light on why the English were unable to control and integrate Ireland successfully.[53]

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[49] R.R. Davies, *The revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford, 1995), p. 188; J.A. Wyatt, 'The Anglo-Irish colony under strain, 1327-99' and D.B. Quinn, 'Aristocratic autonomy, 1460-94', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A new history of Ireland: II, medieval Ireland, 1169-1534* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 374-6, 380, 384-6, 391, 601-17.

[50] D.B. Quinn, 'The re-emergence of English policy as a major factor in Irish affairs, 1520-34', in Cosgrove, *A new history of Ireland: II*, pp. 662-87.

[51] T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland: III, Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 1-93.

[52] Philip Jenkins, 'Connections between the landed communities of Munster and South Wales, c.1660-1780', *Journal of the Cork History and Archaeological Society*, 34 (1979), p. 96.

[53] See, for example, Ciarán Brady, 'Comparable histories?: Tudor reform in Wales and Ireland', in Ellis and Barber, *Conquest and union*, pp. 64-86; Brendan Bradshaw, 'The Tudor Reformation and revolution in Wales and Ireland: the origins of the British problem', in Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (eds.), *The British problem, c. 1534-1707: state formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (New York, 1996), pp. 39-65.

The studies of early modern Wales that engage with Cambro-Hibernic relationships have, for the most part, concentrated on how Wales's close proximity to Ireland heightened concerns about a possible Irish or joint Spanish-Irish invasion.[54] The threat of Ireland has been seen as important for understanding Wales's position within Britain as it "drew England and Wales together in common fears".[55] These arguments do not need to be rehearsed here, and the thesis focuses principally on the Welsh role in early modern Ireland.

There is only a small body of work that explores Welsh involvement in Ireland during this period. The most common type is the various biographies of soldiers, settlers and administrators of Welsh origin who went to, or had connections with, Ireland.[56] Few of these works go beyond their subject to look at the wider issues of the Welsh relationship with Ireland.[57] Several biographies have, however, demonstrated the tendency of Welsh soldiers and settlers in Ireland to maintain close connections with their family and allies in Wales, and this is a facet of their experience that will be given much greater attention in later chapters.[58]

General studies of the military in Ireland have also noted a Welsh presence. The most important is J.J.N. McGurk's investigation into levying for the war in Ireland between 1594 and 1603. McGurk recognised that impressment placed a disproportionately large burden on Welsh counties.[59] His study, however, needs to be expanded

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[54] Emyr Gwynne Jones, 'Anglesey and invasion: 1539-1603', *Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club Transactions* (1947), pp. 26-37. See also, Keith J. Lindley, 'The impact of the 1641 rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641-5', *Irish Historical Studies*, 18 (1972), pp. 143-76.

[55] Jenkins, 'Seventeenth-century Wales', p. 227.

[56] Amos C. Miller, 'Sir William Morgan of Pencoed: "a man much to be accounted for"', *Welsh History Review*, 9 (1978), pp. 1-31; Enid Sophia Jones, *Trevors of Trevalyn and their descendants* (Privately printed, 1955); Robert J. Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley, c.1570-1627: Ulster planter', in Peter Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to partition: essays in Ulster history in honour of J. L. McCracken* (Belfast, 1981), pp. 14-28; A.D. Carr, 'The Mostyns of Mostyn, 1540-1642', *Flintshire Historical Society Journal*, 28 (1977-8), pp. 17-37, and 30 (1981-2), pp. 125-44.

[57] For example, Lloyd Bowen points out that Roger Turvey's study of Lord Deputy Sir John Perrot gives his Welsh context "short shrift": Lloyd Bowen, 'Review: *The Treason and Trial of Sir John Perrot*. By Roger Turvey', *Welsh History Review*, 23 (2006), pp. 185-6.

[58] Paul E.J. Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad: Captain Peter Wynn of Jamestown', *Parergon*, 16 (1998), pp. 59-92; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', pp. 8, 28, 62.

[59] J.J.N. McGurk, 'The recruitment and transportation of Elizabethan troops and their service in Ireland, 1594-1603' (unpubl. PhD thesis., University of Liverpool, 1982); J.J.N. McGurk, 'A survey of the demands made upon the Welsh shires to supply soldiers for the Irish War', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion* (1983), pp. 56-68. See also, Paul E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's wars: war, government and society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 249.

chronologically and it will also be argued that he underestimates the impact that levying for Ireland had in Wales.

More importantly, there have been two major attempts to chart connections between Wales and Ireland in the early modern period. The first was David Mathew's 1933 study of the Elizabethan Celtic world, which attempted to tell a history of the peripheries of Britain that is reminiscent of, and indeed partially helped inspire, the 'New British Histories'.[60] Mathew's eclectic study touches on the importance to north Wales of the Irish post road, connections that were forged between Wales and Ireland by governors such as Sir John Perrot and Sir Henry Sidney, and the Cambro-Hibernic nature of the Essex rebellion.[61] It is particularly useful as a demonstration of how Welsh networks that formed in Wales continued to operate in Ireland. Mathew's work, however, concentrates almost exclusively on elite figures and his micro-historical approach often sheds little light on broader issues of the nature, extent and importance of Welsh involvement in Ireland.

A more wide-ranging study of Wales's relationship with Ireland was provided by the Welsh historian A.H. Dodd.[62] Dodd's chapter, written in 1952, gives a brief introduction to the major connections between Wales and Ireland from the mid-sixteenth century until 1688. Dodd's work, in a way, forms the starting point for this thesis and many of the issues that will be addressed here were first noted by him. He briefly outlined the role of the Welsh as administrators, settlers and soldiers in Ireland and also demonstrated that connections between Wales and Ireland were formed by the interchange of personnel between the Council in the Marches of Wales and the Irish government. All these issues, however, were treated fairly cursorily and Dodd's unfamiliarity with Irish historiography led him, in parts, to over-emphasise the importance of certain Welsh figures there.[63] His study also fails to engage with issues of community, identity and difference that will form central themes in this thesis.

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[60] David Mathew, *The Celtic peoples and Renaissance Europe: a study of the Celtic and Spanish influences on Elizabethan history* (London and New York, 1933), pp. 35-48, 184-260, 337-456; Pocock, 'A plea for a new subject', p. 604.
[61] Mathew, *Celtic peoples*, pp. 35-6, 209-27, 337-456.
[62] A.H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (Cardiff, 1952), pp. 76-109.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

In order to find a study that deals with issues of community and identity among the Welsh in Ireland we need to go beyond our period. Philip Jenkins has assessed how Wales's proximity to Ireland offered the Welsh gentry opportunities to establish themselves as Irish landowners and create elite kinship networks that spanned the Irish Sea between 1660 and 1780. Jenkins argues that the Welsh landowning families who migrated to Munster as officers during the Cromwellian conquest maintained close political, social and economic links with Wales and understood themselves to be "Cambro-Irish" with loyalties to both countries.[64] This study will suggest that this pattern of soldiers becoming settlers and forging connections between the Welsh and Irish elites is equally, and perhaps more, applicable to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The Welsh in Ireland and Britain

The thesis is divided into two sections both of which quantify and evaluate the extent of Welsh interaction with Ireland between 1558 and 1641.[65] The first section contributes a major prosopographical examination of the Welsh who crossed the Irish Sea as part of the English attempt to conquer, control and colonise early modern Ireland. This represents the first detailed investigation of the Welsh role there. It measures Welsh involvement in Ireland, demonstrates what type of Welsh men and women went there, and examines the role they played in the colonial community. It also assesses how Welsh migration to Ireland, both voluntary and enforced, affected the participants and the communities from which they were drawn. This section not only provides a comprehensive examination of a hitherto unexplored aspect of British history, it also constructs the groundwork for the second section's analysis of the Welsh community in Ireland and the importance of Welshness as a source of difference in the Irish colonial presence.

The first section is divided into four chapters. The first two deal with Welsh involvement in the Anglo-Welsh army in Ireland. Chapter 1 provides a comprehensive analysis of the number of soldiers sent to Ireland from Wales between

[64] Jenkins, 'Connections between the landed communities of Munster and South Wales', pp. 95-101.
[65] In doing so this study will rely, in part, on the evidence of surnames. The methodology used to interpret surnames in this thesis is explained in Appendix 1.

1558 and 1641. It demonstrates that Wales was a major source of the men sent to Ireland, primarily due to the logistical convenience of sending soldiers from the principality. The chapter also challenges orthodox understandings of the kind of men who were sent to fight in Ireland by the English and Welsh counties, arguing that our image of common soldiers in the Irish army rests too heavily on negative stereotypes supported by flawed evidence. By utilising the unusually detailed evidence relating to levies that survives for parts of Wales, the chapter maintains that the Welsh soldiers sent to Ireland were normally respectable and economically productive individuals. It is thus argued that these levies not only created a large Welsh presence in Ireland, but that they had seriously detrimental social and economic effects on Welsh counties which have been underestimated by historians.

Chapter 2 continues the focus on the Irish military by assessing the role of Welsh officers in Ireland. This constitutes one of the first detailed studies of the personnel of the Anglo-Welsh officer corps in Ireland. It is argued that a significant number of Welsh gentlemen pursued careers as Irish captains during this period and that over time they became the leading Welsh figures in Ireland. Their origins and motivations are examined, and it is suggested that Irish service was particularly appealing to the Welsh because of their unique understandings of honour and status. The first two chapters thus make the case that the Irish army played a major role in the lives of Welshmen throughout the social spectrum in this period, which has largely been overlooked in histories of the principality.

The following two chapters examine Welsh involvement in the civilian aspects of the colonial community in Ireland. Chapter 3 assesses the extent to which Welshmen played a role in the running of the Irish administration. It is argued that this period saw a significant shift in the nature of Welsh involvement in Irish government. There was a move from the Welsh operating as low-level administrators and servants in the households of individual lord deputies in the late sixteenth century, to a more permanent and influential presence made up largely of military officers who established themselves as provincial administrators by the early seventeenth century. Thus the large Welsh presence in the military led to a significant Welsh role in the Irish government. This change meant that influential Welshmen were well positioned

in the Irish government at a key moment in Irish history: the beginning of the plantations.

Chapter 4 constitutes the final prosopographical section of the thesis and considers Welsh involvement in the Irish plantation schemes. This demonstrates that, largely through the influence of ex-officers, but also due to new civilian arrivals, Welshmen became landowners in almost all of the Irish plantations. It explores how Welsh settlements in Ireland developed, expanded and contracted over this period. It also argues that Welsh men and women came to Ireland in significant numbers as settlers either through the agency of Welsh landowners or through independent migration. This chapter offers the first significant case study of migration from a single Anglo-Welsh region to early modern Ireland and is the only study to look specifically at Welsh settlement within early English colonisation. It demonstrates that initial clusters of Welsh settlement can be discerned, creating regions of Welsh dominance, but that over time the Welsh integrated into the wider colonial community.

The second section of this thesis considers Welsh migrants in a wider context, to demonstrate how they formed a distinct group among the settlers in Ireland. Chapter 5 draws together the threads of the first four chapters to examine the Welsh in Ireland as a community. It is argued that between 1558 and 1641 Welsh soldiers, administrators and settlers developed networks of cooperation based on their shared Welsh origin. It is further shown how members could draw on the resources of this Welsh network in Ireland for help and support. These networks developed from regional communities in the late 1500s, particularly the community based in the Welsh-dominated town of Newry, to become an Ireland-wide network by the early seventeenth century. It is also suggested that the Welsh were able to make use of Wales's proximity to Ireland to establish networks of economic, social and political cooperation that spanned the Irish Sea. Thus, this chapter demonstrates how Welsh migrants formed lasting connections between their homeland and the settler community in Ireland.

The final chapter argues for the importance of difference in the colonial presence in Ireland. It demonstrates that the Irish wars, particularly those of the 1580s and 1590s, exacerbated the sense of separation and difference between the Welsh and English peoples in Ireland. Conflict with the native Irish created an atmosphere of heightened

ethnic and religious tensions that encouraged some among the New English to demand cultural uniformity. Although New English views of the Welsh were generally positive in the early Elizabethan period, after the 1580s writers and governors in Ireland began to see Welshness as a dangerous form of difference and were concerned that the Welsh might be a threat to English control. This chapter thus shows how the Welsh were seen by some of their English colleagues as a distinct and troublesome people within the colonial community, rather than an integrated part of it. The chapter also explores Welsh responses to such criticisms. It is suggested that Welsh individuals were able to re-emphasise their loyalty by drawing on the history of Welsh participation in the Norman invasion of Ireland. This use of Cambro-Hibernic history can shed light on how the Welsh adapted to life in Ireland and it may suggest the existence of a New Welsh identity.

The thesis concludes by reflecting upon how these findings should influence our understanding of Wales, the Welsh and the other peoples of early modern Britain. It demonstrates that exploring the role of the Welsh in Ireland allows us to build a more subtle understanding of the New English and to significantly widen the scope of traditional Welsh historical narratives. It also highlights the limitations of such studies. Although this thesis shows that the history of the relationship between Britain and Ireland has been largely Anglo-centric, it does not attempt to offer a 'Celtic' alternative. Instead it argues that Wales and the Welsh played a distinctive role within the history of British-Irish relations in this period, but that they did so within a Britain dominated by English state structures and ideologies. Welsh soldiers and settlers went to Ireland through the military operations and settlement schemes organised by the English state, and when in Ireland they had to adapt themselves to a colonial community dominated by the English. A British history that focuses on a peripheral people can be useful and revealing, but the dominance of the central state must not be forgotten.

Section I: From soldier to settler

Chapter 1: "Soldiers of Wales"[1]: the Welsh presence in the Irish army, 1558-1641

The military was the heart of the Anglo-Welsh presence in Ireland between 1558 and 1641. Before 1603 the overwhelming majority of the English and Welsh in Ireland were soldiers. Even after this point, and despite the arrival of thousands of settlers, soldiers remained a large and influential part of the New English community.[2] The first two chapters of this thesis assess the extent of Welsh involvement as soldiers and officers in the Anglo-Welsh army in Ireland. In both cases it is demonstrated that there was a significant Welsh presence in the Irish military. These chapters also explore the type of Welshmen levied for Irish service and develop an understanding of the origins, backgrounds and motivations of Welsh officers. It is necessary to establish who the Welsh in the military were because they will be central to the rest of the thesis. Welsh officers formed the core of the Welsh presence in the Irish administration, made up the majority of Welsh landowners in Ireland and were vital to the formation of a Welsh community there. Welsh soldiers meanwhile made up a significant proportion of the Welsh-born tenants in the Irish plantations and had a strong influence on how the Welsh were perceived by the rest of the New English in early modern Ireland.

In August 1598 Sir Henry Bagenal, the half-Welsh marshal of Ireland, was killed by Sir Hugh O'Neill's troops at the Battle of Yellow Ford. The following year the Welsh bard, Evan Lloyd Jeffrey, composed a lament that highlighted the fact that Bagenal was not the only Welsh soldier to die that day:

> Hateful was the journey and crippling to the realm
> many a fine man met his death
> soldiers of Wales entire the woe to us
> by the death of Sir Harry Bagenal.[3]

Bagenal's army had been made up primarily of fresh recruits levied from Wales earlier in the year. Jeffrey's lament highlights the central themes of this chapter.

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[1] E.D. Jones (ed.), 'The Brogyntyn Welsh manuscripts', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 6 (1949-50), pp. 154-5.
[2] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British: 1580-1650* (Oxford and New York, 2001), pp. 66, 303-5.
[3] Jones, 'The Brogyntyn Welsh manuscripts', pp. 154-5.

Firstly, it demonstrates that "soldiers of Wales" were common in early modern Ireland. The first section of this chapter provides an in-depth study of levy demands, which illustrates how Wales was central to British attempts to supply men for Ireland.[4] By characterising the Welsh soldiers as "fine" men, Jeffrey was also challenging the negative image of the pressed soldier that has influenced their representation down to the present day. The second section of this chapter challenges this traditional characterisation of levied soldiers as criminals and vagrants. Through intensive use of material from Welsh archives it is shown that between the first Elizabethan levy in 1561 and the only Caroline levy of 1625, Wales sent many economically useful and socially respectable men to fight in Ireland. This chapter also discusses the effect that this large scale levying of able men had on Wales. It argues that impressment took a serious toll on the local Welsh economy. Thus this chapter not only sheds light on the Welsh in Ireland, but also the impact of Ireland upon Wales.

Impressment for Ireland, 1561-1625

In order to consolidate and expand English influence in Ireland, frequent and often onerous demands for men and money were made upon the people of England and Wales. During the reigns of Elizabeth and James I thousands of men were sent to reinforce the Irish army, far more than to any other theatre of war.[5] This section quantifies the size and frequency of the Welsh levies that were ordered between 1561 and 1625. It builds on and revises work by J.J.N. McGurk for the period 1594-1602.[6] It will be argued that the extent of the demand for men in Wales has not been fully appreciated. Geographical convenience led the central government to draw heavily on the west of Britain for the Irish wars. Although the maritime counties of western

[4] Due to the patchy survival of evidence, this chapter focuses entirely on infantry levying for Ireland. Very little evidence survives concerning cavalry levies. This is not so problematic, however, as cavalry formed a very small proportion of those levied in Wales throughout this period: Cyril Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish wars* (London, 1950), p. 534; Gladys Scott Thomson, *Lords lieutenants in the sixteenth century: a study in Tudor local administration* (London, 1923), p. 109; Penry Williams, *The Tudor regime* (Oxford, 1979), p. 125; J.J.N. McGurk, 'The recruitment and transportation of Elizabethan troops and their service in Ireland, 1594-1603' (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 1982), p. 113.

[5] C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's army* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 290-1.

[6] See Appendix 2 for full details. McGurk, 'Recruitment and transportation', *passim*. See also J.J.N. McGurk, 'A Survey of the demands made upon the Welsh shires to supply soldiers for the Irish War', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion* (1983), pp. 56-68; J.J.N. McGurk, *The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland: the 1590s crisis* (Manchester and New York, 1997).

England provided the bulk of the soldiers for Ireland, Welsh shires also contributed significantly. In fact it will be shown that almost 20% of the army in Ireland was recruited from Wales. It is also argued that impressment for Ireland constituted a considerable drain on the Welsh shires in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. Welsh counties contributed a much larger *proportion* of their population to the Irish wars than their English counterparts and were put under economic strain by levying and the demands of soldiers who, legally and illegally, returned home through Welsh ports. Impressment for Ireland thus took a significant toll on Welsh manpower and the finances of the Welsh counties.

Appendix 2 provides a detailed breakdown of the numbers of men requested from the counties of England and Wales between 1561 and 1625. This is the largest analysis of these levies carried out to date. It has been estimated that 55,106 men were levied during this period, 44,983 of whom were sent between 1585 and 1602.[7] It should be noted that the appendix presents the numbers demanded by the Privy Council, rather than the numbers sent by the counties. As is explained in Appendix 2, however, the two figures are unlikely to differ significantly. The numbers that actually arrived in Ireland, however, were often smaller due to desertion. Some levies arrived considerably under-strength. In July 1608, for example, 125 men deserted from a levy of 700.[8] The most significant desertion was in the winter of 1598-9, when the Earl of Ormond claimed that only 2,306 of an expected 3,000 men had arrived.[9] The levies that were worst affected were those which included large numbers from the east of England, which lost men on the long march to port, and the levies that remained at port for considerable periods.[10] Many other levies, however, came very close to being complete. In April 1596, for example, when the 616 men that had been ordered from the Welsh counties were dispatched from Chester they were only one man short.[11]

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[7] My totals are somewhat larger than those arrived at by previous scholars. The reasons for this are explained in Appendix 2.

[8] Some of these men may have deserted in Ireland as the muster-master in Chester claimed that 652 men were mustered at port: *CSPI 1608-10*, p. 4.

[9] *CSPI 1596-9*, p. 453.

[10] For example, seventy men deserted from a London levy of 200 men in June-September 1600, and the 400 men who were delayed for a month at Chester in the summer of 1598 lost thirty-two of their number before departure: NA, SP63/202(III)/6; *CSPI 1600*, p. 430.

[11] We also have data for the three consecutive levies of March-May 1595, April-September 1595 and November 1595-April 1596, which arrived in Ireland with 990/1000 men, 976/990 men and 1166/1208 men, respectively: Chester Record Office, ZM/MP/7/10-38; NA, SP63/181/45; 63/183/37I; 63/188/38.

This large variation in the extent of desertion makes it very difficult to put a figure on the number of men who actually landed in Ireland.

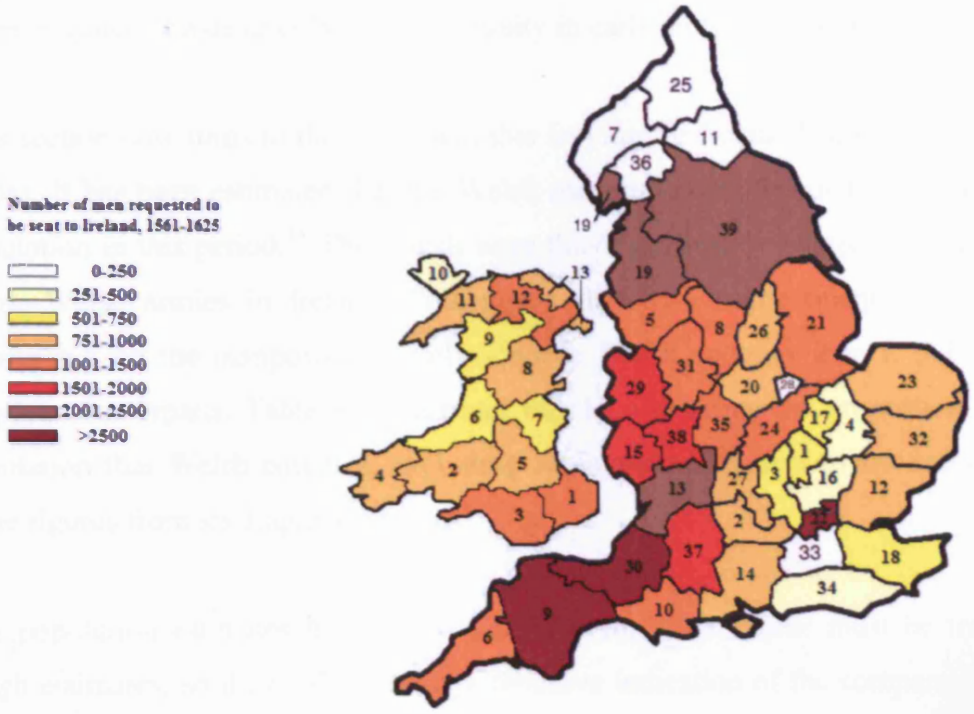
Despite such limitations, the data presented in Appendix 2 allows us to draw a range of conclusions about Irish impressment in this period. Firstly, it shows that demands for soldiers were not distributed evenly across the counties of England and Wales. Wales was one of the most convenient locations for supplying troops for Ireland. The close proximity of the Welsh shires to the ports of Bristol, Chester and Milford Haven made the transportation of Welsh troops quick and relatively cheap. The Privy Council thus saw Wales as a natural recruiting ground for Ireland where men could be obtained "to her highnes lesse charge".[12] Soldiers from the eastern shires of England took far longer to get to port, during which time the state was expected to pay for their food and accommodation. Eastern England was, therefore, used largely to supply men for continental campaigns.[13] Levying for Ireland, by contrast, became a 'western enterprise', drawing its men from the west of Britain.

Figure 1.1, which shows the total number of men requested for Irish service (excluding levies that were cancelled), demonstrates this western bias. The bulk of the troops were levied in western English counties close to the ports of Bristol and Chester, particularly Devon, Gloucestershire, Lancashire and Somerset. Regions with large populations, such as London and Yorkshire, also received significant demands. Despite this, it can be seen that, generally, the further a county was from the western ports, the fewer men it sent.

As can be seen from Figure 1.1, the Welsh counties did not contribute the large numbers that the shires of western England did. However, 10,771 men were sent from Wales to Ireland between 1561 and 1625, making up 19.5% of the total. The Welsh were thus a significant minority in the Anglo-Welsh armies in Ireland. This made the Irish army unique as no other English armies abroad during this period contained such

[12] BL, Egerton MS 3048, fol. 128-128[b].
[13] J.J.N. McGurk, 'Levies from Kent to the Elizabethan wars (1589-1603)', *Archaeologica Cantiana*, 88 (1973), pp. 57-72.

Figure 1.1. Map showing the origins of the men requested for Irish service from England and Wales, 1561-1625



English Counties

1. Bedfordshire	2. Berkshire	3. Buckinghamshire	4. Cambridgeshire
5. Cheshire	6. Cornwall	7. Cumberland	8. Derbyshire
9. Devon	10. Dorset	11. County Durham	12. Essex
13. Gloucestershire	14. Hampshire	15. Herefordshire	16. Hertfordshire
17. Huntingdonshire	18. Kent	19. Lancashire	20. Leicestershire
21. Lincolnshire	22. Middlesex and London		23. Norfolk
24. Northamptonshire	25.Northumberland	26.Nottinghamshire	27. Oxfordshire
28. Rutland	29. Shropshire	30. Somerset	31. Staffordshire
32. Suffolk	33.Surrey	34. Sussex	35. Warwickshire
36.Westmorland	37. Wiltshire	38. Worcestershire	39. Yorkshire

Welsh Counties

1. Monmouthshire	2. Glamorgan	3. Carmarthenshire	4. Pembrokeshire
5. Breconshire	6. Cardiganshire	7. Radnorshire	
8. Montgomeryshire	9. Merioneth	10. Anglesey	
11. Caernarvonshire	12. Denbighshire	13. Flintshire	

a significant Welsh presence.[14] Studies of the army in Ireland rarely note the sizeable Welsh presence that existed within it and none explore its importance. Later chapters of this thesis will demonstrate that these Welsh soldiers played an important role in the emergence of a distinct Welsh community in early modern Ireland.

This section now turns to the effect that this levying for Ireland had on early modern Wales. It has been estimated that the Welsh made up about 8% of the Anglo-Welsh population in this period.[15] The Welsh were thus significantly overrepresented in the Anglo-Welsh armies in Ireland. This meant that Irish impressment took a much greater toll on the manpower of early modern Welsh counties than it did on their English counterparts. Table 1.1 illustrates this by comparing the proportion of their population that Welsh counties, excluding Monmouthshire, sent to Ireland with the same figures from six English counties.

The population estimates used in the table are for 1563. These must be treated as rough estimates, so they only provide a tentative indication of the comparative drain on the English and Welsh populations.[16] It must also be recognised that population estimates can be easily challenged by drawing on fresh sources, and that county populations changed significantly during this period.[17] The table does, however, give us a clear insight into the differing severity of the demands placed on Welsh and English counties. It demonstrates that, although the Welsh shires contributed significantly fewer men per county, they sent a far greater *percentage* of their population to Ireland than their English counterparts. Even the most heavily burdened of English counties, such as Lancashire, contributed a smaller percentage of their population than any of the Welsh counties.[18]

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[14] Indeed, C.G. Cruickshank has estimated that, between 1585 and 1602, 95% of levied Welsh soldiers went to Ireland: Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's army*, pp. 290-1.

[15] D.M. Palliser, *The age of Elizabeth: England under the later Tudors, 1547-1603* (London and New York, 1983), p. 34; T.H. Hollingsworth, *Historical demography* (London, 1969), p. 83.

[16] Attempts to estimate the population of early modern counties are notoriously unreliable. For the debate concerning the reliability of the 1563 estimates see, Alan Dyer, 'The Bishops' census of 1563: its significance and accuracy', *Local Population Studies*, 49 (1992), pp. 19-37; Nigel Goose, 'The Bishops' census of 1563: a re-examination of its reliability', *Local Population Studies*, 56 (1996), pp. 43-53.

[17] Nia M.W. Powell, 'Urban populations in early modern Wales revisited', *Welsh History Review*, 23 (2007), pp. 1-43.

[18] English counties, however, faced greater demands for other conflicts. C.G. Cruickshank estimates that only 44% of the total number of soldiers levied for state service in England between 1585 and 1602 were sent to Ireland, the rest going to France and the Netherlands. The recruitment of troops for

Table 1.1. Levies for Ireland as a proportion of county populations, 1561-1625

County	Number of men sent 1561-1625	Population Estimate 1563[19]	Percentage of population sent
Anglesey	411	9,770	4.21
Breconshire	915	21,185	4.32
Caernarvonshire	913	14,920	6.12
Cardiganshire	611	17,320	3.53
Carmarthenshire	985	34,375	2.87
Denbighshire	1,052	22,482	4.68
Flintshire	757	12,570	6.02
Glamorgan	1,075	29,493	3.65
Montgomeryshire	898	18,972	4.73
Merioneth	619	10,520	5.88
Pembrokeshire	879	20,079	4.38
Radnorshire	611	14,185	4.31
Welsh Total (excluding Monmouthshire)	**9,726**	**225,871**	**4.31 (avg.)**
Cheshire	1,307	60,339	2.17
Derbyshire	1,256	53,000	2.37
Lancashire	2,283	82,371	2.77
Leicestershire	1,000	44,000	2.27
Lincolnshire	1,495	110,000	1.36
Staffordshire	1,131	45,000	2.51

The percentages given in Table 1.1 do not show the full impact of the Irish wars on Welsh manpower. Those impressed for Ireland were men of working age and, as is argued in the second part of this chapter, were generally fit, able and economically productive. In order to gauge the true drain on the working population of Wales it is thus necessary to estimate the number of able men available to the Welsh counties.

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continental conflicts is beyond the scope of this study, but it is clear from Cruickshank's estimates that English counties suffered a far greater loss of men to war than is indicated in Appendix 2. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's army*, pp. 290-1.

[19] The population estimates have been taken from Leonard Owen, 'The population of Wales in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion* (1959), pp. 99-113; J.V. Beckett, *The East Midlands from AD 1000* (London and New York, 1988), pp. 103-5; Marie B. Rowlands, *The West Midlands from AD 1000* (London and New York, 1987), p. 107; C.B. Phillips and J.H. Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1540* (London and New York, 1994), pp. 5-7; D.M. Palliser, 'Dearth and disease in Staffordshire, 1540-1670', in C.W. Chalkin and M.A. Havinden (eds.), *Rural growth and urban growth, 1500-1800: essays in English regional history in honour of W.G. Hoskins* (London, 1974), p. 55.

The certificate of the general muster of Breconshire in 1618 states that only 6,138 able men between the ages of 16 and 60 arrived at the county muster that year.[20] This is probably an underestimate as some men would have avoided the muster or were unable to attend. Recent estimates of the age structure of early modern society, however, indicate that only 58% of the population were aged between 15 and 60, around half of whom were women.[21] An optimistic estimate of the number of men available to levy in Breconshire between the 1560s and 1620s would thus be about 7,000. Such an estimate does not take into account the sick, disabled, clergymen, nobles and members of the trained bands who could not be levied.[22]

Even considering the small pool of able men available to Welsh counties, the demands would have been manageable if they had been spread evenly throughout this period. Wales did not, however, face a steady loss of men to Ireland, which would have been counterbalanced by population growth and recovery. Figure 1.2 demonstrates that the vast majority of the Welsh levies were made during the Nine Years' War (1594-1603). There were secondary peaks in the late 1570s and early 1580s in response to the Desmond rebellions, and also in the 1620s when a continental war required bolstering Ireland's defences. Between 1595 and 1602, Wales sent 8,241 men to Ireland, which represented over 2.5% of its population in just seven years, and accounted for about 9% of its able men.[23] It is clear that the impact on manpower in early modern Welsh counties could be significant during times of large or multiple levies.

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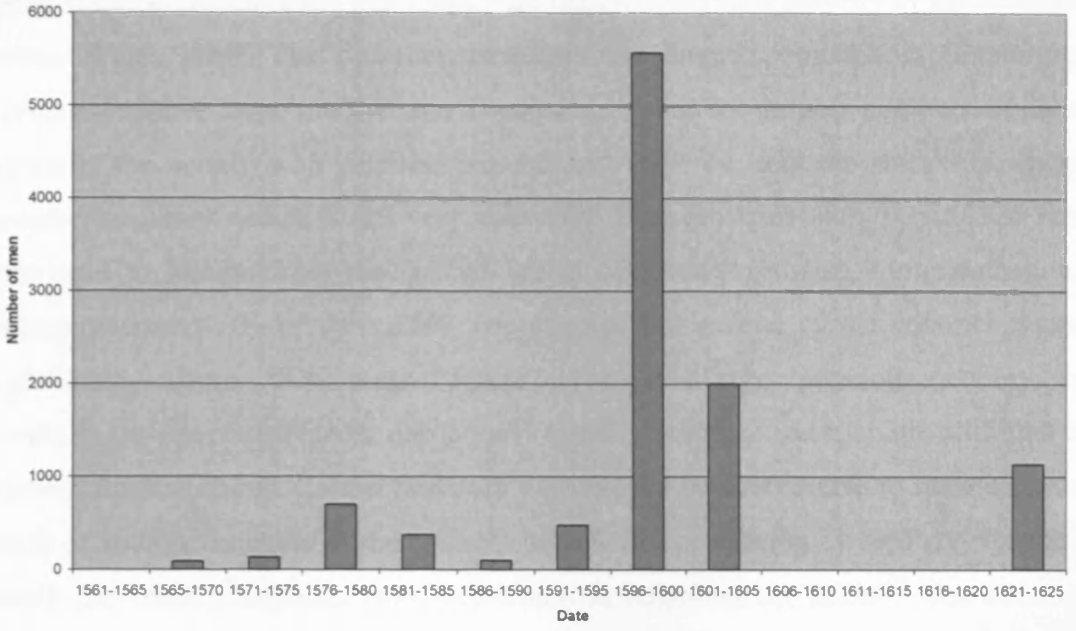
[20] BL, Add MS 10,609, fol. 87.

[21] E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The population history of England, 1541-1871: a reconstruction* (London, 1981), p. 216.

[22] Leonard Owen provides population estimates for the county of 21,190 in 1563 and 27,185 in 1670. Using Wrigley and Schofield's age structure estimates this would give the number of males aged 15-60 as roughly 6,145 in 1563 and 7,884 in 1670. Owen, 'The population of Wales', pp. 99-113.

[23] Glanmor Williams presents how Leonard Owen's data should be increased by 10% to include Monmouthshire leading to a population estimate for Wales of 248,408 in 1563 and 375,841 in 1670. Using the rate of population growth suggested for England by E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield a sensible estimate for Wales's population in the 1590s would be 300-320,000. The figure for able men was calculated using the same formula used for Breconshire above: Owen 'The population of Wales', pp. 99-113; Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, reorientation and reformation: Wales c.1415-1642* (Oxford, 1987); Wrigley and Schofield, *The population history of England*, pp. 208-9.

Figure 1.2. The number of men levied in Wales for Ireland, 1561-1625



Sometimes this loss of manpower was temporary as soldiers returned home. It has been estimated, however, that only half of the men sent to Ireland returned to their home counties, as they were either killed in the wars or settled in Ireland.[24] If this is correct, at the height of the levying between April 1595 and July 1602 Breconshire would have permanently lost 370 able men to Irish service, or about 5.3% of its available manpower, a significant drain. Anecdotal evidence also points towards a sizeable population loss during the periods of heaviest recruitment. For example, in 1615 Sir William Maurice of Clenennau, deputy lieutenant of Caernarvonshire, told Lord President Eure that during the 1580s and 1590s the people of the county had refused to muster for Ireland as those sent rarely returned, rather they were "consumed by the warres".[25] Of the soldiers who did return many were maimed or sick and unable to return to work, or were deserters who were arrested and imprisoned.[26] Sending large numbers of soldiers to the wars thus deprived the Welsh shires of valuable men of working age and burdened them with those who returned injured or illegally.

[24] Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish wars*, p. 50.
[25] NLW, MS 9055E, 710.
[26] The Caernarvonshire quarter sessions records demonstrate the costs and problems that maimed soldiers and deserters could cause: Caernarvonshire Record Office, XQS/1565/36, 1649/40, 1652/60, 1656/62; J.J.N. McGurk, 'Casualties and welfare measures for the sick and wounded of the nine years war in Ireland, 1593-1602', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 68 (1990), pp. 22-3.

Table 1.1 also demonstrates that there were differences in the severity of the demands within Wales itself. The four counties with the largest populations, Glamorgan, Carmarthenshire, Denbighshire and Breconshire, sent the largest numbers of men. Similarly the county with smallest population, Anglesey, sent the least. Elsewhere, however, military demands fell very unevenly. Between 1561 and 1625, 9,726 men were sent to Ireland from the twelve Welsh counties (excluding Monmouthshire). This represents 4.3% of their 1563 populations, but several of the counties depart significantly from this mean figure. The relatively populous county of Carmarthenshire contributed a particularly small percentage, comparable with that of western English shires. Carmarthenshire's privileged position seems to have been the result of an underestimate of the county's wealth and population by the Privy Council, which provoked complaints from gentlemen in neighbouring shires.[27] The counties that sent the highest proportion to Ireland were Flintshire, Caernarvonshire and Merioneth. The ease and speed with which men could be sent from these north Welsh counties to Chester, the preferred port for military transportation to Ireland, almost certainly contributed towards their disproportionate role in Irish levying. Their very low populations do not seem to have been taken into account by the Privy Council. They were often called on to contribute the same numbers as neighbouring Denbighshire, which had a much larger population. The impact of the Irish wars thus varied significantly between the Welsh counties.

The effect levying had on these most overburdened Welsh counties is indicated by their frequent petitions regarding Irish levying to the Privy Council or the President of the Council in the Marches. We must be careful when assessing such complaints as local officials often presented their counties as poorer than they were in order to mitigate the demands of the state.[28] For example, in a letter probably written in 1595, Richard Trevor of Trevalyn, a leading Denbighshire gentleman, informed his brother John, that if letters for an Irish levy arrived from the Lord President of Wales, he was to "use what means youe maye, to prove that there be especiall charge unto us".[29] It is also likely that the claim in a petition by the inhabitants of Anglesey that further loss

[27] George Owen, *The taylors cussion*, ed. Emily M. Pritchard (London, 1906), p. 48.
[28] Lloyd Bowen, *The politics of the Principality: Wales, c.1603-1642* (Cardiff, 2007), pp. 148-9.
[29] ESRO, Glynde Place MS 551, fol. 32.

of men would "leave us destutute of meanes to subsist" is an exaggeration designed to further their cause.[30] It would be wise, therefore, to assume that some complaints were the product of this attempt to present an image of Welsh poverty to central government.

The correspondence of the Caernarvonshire deputy lieutenants, however, suggests that such complaints do highlight genuine difficulties created by levying. The deputies, Sir John Wynn of Gwydir and Sir William Maurice of Clenennau, had no reason to exaggerate such problems in their personal correspondence and thus their serious concerns suggest the profound impact of the Irish levy in some Welsh counties. In 1589, for example, Wynn told Maurice that he worried whether they would be able to supply the expected number of men for the trained bands that year due to the "deathe, decay & presse of the people for the service of Ireland".[31] Nine years later he was still complaining, telling Maurice that "the charge [of men for Ireland] is great & greater then the contrey is able to beare".[32] Wynn's comments suggest that Caernarvonshire suffered severely from population loss around the turn of the century. The extent of the economic damage done by the loss of men is unclear, but Wynn certainly seems to have believed that, by the late 1590s, the county was at breaking point. As Table 1.1 demonstrates, Caernarvonshire suffered most among the Welsh counties from the Privy Council's unbalanced levying demands and thus the worries of her deputy lieutenants should not necessarily be taken to represent impact of levying throughout Wales. Similar concerns can, however, be found in petitions sent to the Privy Council by the deputy lieutenants of Flintshire and Anglesey. Both counties argued that they were being called on to send more men to Ireland than they could afford to lose and the Anglesey gentry expressed concerns that by sending men to Ireland they were leaving the island vulnerable to invasion.[33] On occasion the Privy Council granted temporary exemptions from levying to Welsh counties, but usually local complaints were ignored.[34] Evidence from north Wales thus suggests that the loss of men to Irish service was a serious problem. It is likely that this was also the

[30] NLW, MS 9052E, 178.
[31] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 29.
[32] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 144.
[33] NA, SP12/195/93; SP14/175/50; NLW, MS 6285, fols. 9-11; NLW, MS 9052E, 178; NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau Appendix 93.
[34] See, for example, NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 109.

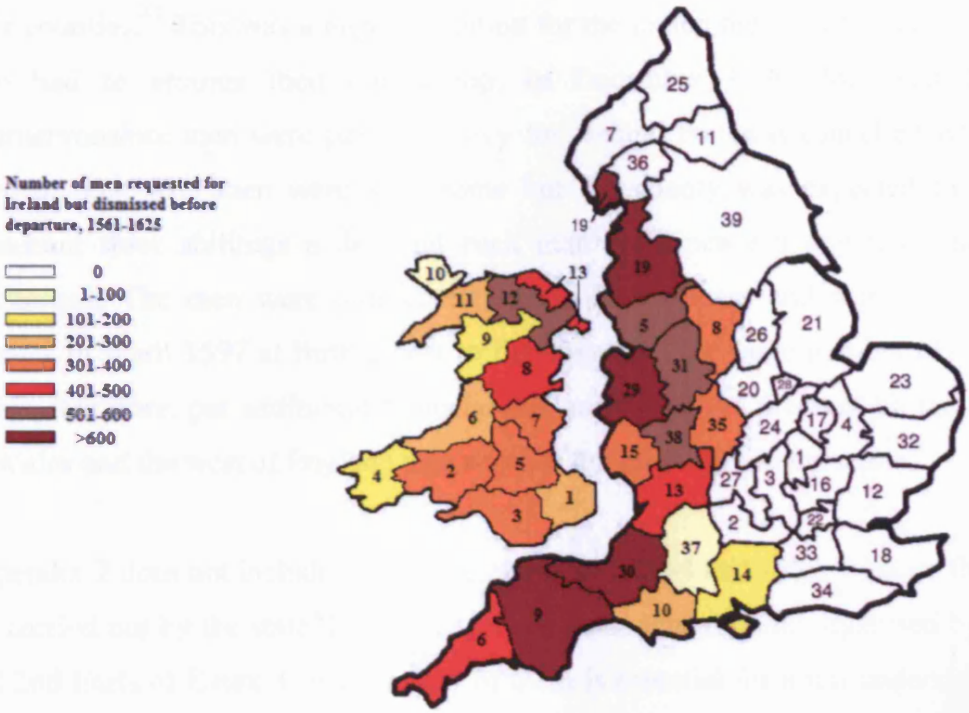
case, although to a lesser extent, in south Wales, particularly in Pembrokeshire and Breconshire.

Appendix 2 also demonstrates that levies from Wales and the western shires of England were more likely to be cancelled than those from the eastern counties. This is more clearly presented in Figure 1.3. These levies were generally raised due to emergencies in Ireland, such as rebellion or an invasion threat. Often the rebellion was quickly crushed or the feared invasion did not materialise and the levy was cancelled.[35] In emergencies, of course, it was far quicker to levy and transport men from the west. For example, in August 1600 the Privy Council told the Lord President of Wales that, due to the urgent need for troops at Lough Foyle, Welsh shires were to be levied "in regarde of the nearness of the Welsh counties unto the portes of Bris[t]oll and Chester".[36] The role of the west as the supply zone for emergency levies was so entrenched in official thinking that Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy of Ireland, suggested in July 1584 that a permanent force be kept in readiness in "Wales and other marin coasts" to be transported to Ireland "upon anie sodaine occasion".[37] The need to be ready for an emergency was also the reason given by the Privy Council for holding 800 Welshmen permanently in readiness between August 1586 and September 1590.[38]

Although the aborted levies did not see men being sent to Ireland, they were nevertheless still a disruption for the local community and caused considerable work for administrators. Sometimes, as in 1613 and 1621, the men were simply chosen in the county but never sent to port.[39] This meant a muster was necessary but there was minimal disruption and little expenditure for the county. Welsh deputy lieutenants soon adapted to the Privy Council's tendency to demand levies only to cancel them shortly after. In April 1594, Richard Trevor of Trevalyn, Denbighshire, wrote to his brother, John, that although a levy had been ordered from the county, he was not

[35] For examples of cancelled levies, see *APC 1577-8*, pp. 30-1; *APC 1578-80*, pp. 255, 279-80.
[36] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 165b; *CSPI 1599-1600*, pp. 563-6. Similar reasons were given to the western counties of England in October 1598: *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 237-9.
[37] He reiterated this request in 1586: Bodleian Library, Perrot MS 1, fols. 6-7, 181-3.
[38] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 25.
[39] *APC 1613-14*, pp. 111-2; *APC 1615-16*, pp. 89-90, 697-702; *APC 1616-17*, pp. 6-7, 65, 77-8.

Figure 1.3. Map showing the origins of the men requested for Irish service from England and Wales that were dismissed before departure, 1561-1625



English Counties

1. Bedfordshire	2. Berkshire	3. Buckinghamshire	4. Cambridgeshire
5. Cheshire	6. Cornwall	7. Cumberland	8. Derbyshire
9. Devon	10. Dorset	11. County Durham	12. Essex
13. Gloucestershire	14. Hampshire	15. Herefordshire	16. Hertfordshire
17. Huntingdonshire	18. Kent	19. Lancashire	20. Leicestershire
21. Lincolnshire	22. Middlesex and London		23. Norfolk
24. Northamptonshire	25.Northumberland	26.Nottinghamshire	27. Oxfordshire
28. Rutland	29. Shropshire	30. Somerset	31. Staffordshire
32. Suffolk	33.Surrey	34. Sussex	35. Warwickshire
36.Westmorland	37. Wiltshire	38. Worcestershire	39. Yorkshire

Welsh Counties

1. Monmouthshire	2. Glamorganshire	3. Carmarthenshire	4. Pembrokeshire
5. Breconshire	6. Cardiganshire	7. Radnorshire	
8. Montgomeryshire	9. Merionethshire	10. Anglesey	
11. Caernarvonshire	12. Denbighshire	13. Flintshire	

convinced it would be sent and that John should only begin organising it if "it beare a lykliehood of going forward in deed".[40] Trevor was correct and the men were never transported. In other cases the troops were conducted to port but then sent back to their counties.[41] This was a huge disruption for the levied men and the administrators who had to arrange their conducting. In December 1596, for example, fifty Caernarvonshire men were part of a levy for Ireland that was cancelled while they were at port. The men were sent home but the county was expected to pay the lieutenant three shillings a day and each man eight pence a day until they were discharged. The men were ordered to remain in readiness and were sent back to Chester in April 1597 at further cost to the county.[42] The large number of cancelled levies, therefore, put additional financial and administrative pressure on the counties of Wales and the west of England that was not felt elsewhere in the realm.

Appendix 2 does not include two levies, made in 1573-4 and 1599, because they were not carried out by the state. Rather they were quasi-feudal levies organised by the 1st and 2nd Earls of Essex. Consideration of them is essential for a full understanding of Welsh involvement in the Irish army as they involved considerable recruitment from the earls' Welsh lands, adding to the Welsh presence in Ireland and placing an additional drain on the Welsh population. As David Trim's recent study has shown, soldiers levied from the personal retinue and tenants of major nobles were common among the volunteer armies sent to the continent during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[43] This practice was rarer for Irish service, but did occur on several occasions.[44] These levies have left very little in the way of evidence and it is difficult to build more than a basic understanding of how and from where the soldiers were raised.[45]

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[40] ESRO, Glynde Place MS 551, fol. 13.
[41] NA, SP12/96/292; 12/124/50, 51; 12/139/25; 12/141/7; SP63/58/43; 63/69/28; BL, Egerton MS 3048, fols. 38-139; *APC 1577-8*, pp. 30-1; *APC 1578-1580*, pp. 209-10, 219-20, 224-5, 232-3, 255, 262-4, 279-81, 297.
[42] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 121.
[43] David Trim, 'Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'. The employment of English and Welsh mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562-1610' (unpubl. PhD thesis, King's College London, 2002), p. 29.
[44] The only other significant feudal force sent to Ireland at this time was that led by Sir Thomas Smith to Ulster in 1572-3, which was a precursor to the 1st earl's expedition: See G.A. Hayes-McCoy, 'The completion of the Tudor conquest and the advancement of the counter-reformation, 1571-1603', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Pryce (eds.), *A new history of Ireland: III, early modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), p. 96.
[45] Trim, 'Jacob's wars', p. 234.

In 1573, Walter Devereux, the 1st Earl of Essex, took an army of 600 state-levied footmen along with 600 of his dependents to conquer County Antrim in Ulster.[46] His personal levies were raised by sending letters to dependants. Replies to these indicate that although men were drawn from across England and Wales, the majority came from the centres of Essex influence in Staffordshire, Herefordshire, Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire.[47] In Pembrokeshire Essex's main point of contact was his brother, George Devereux, who owned the manor of Llanfydd. Devereux himself served as a captain and arranged for local gentlemen to supply men from among their tenants.[48] More details are supplied by a letter sent to the Earl by one of his Carmarthenshire clients, Reddi Gwyn, in June 1573. Essex ordered him to raise as many men as possible from the earl's lands in the county, as well as from Builth, Penkelly, Pipton and Llanthomas in Breconshire. Gwyn highlighted the feudal nature of the levy when he encouraged Essex to come to the county, as then "the men of worship and gentlemen would mete your honor and willingly furnishe every of them a horseman or foteman".[49] It is unclear how many men were provided by the quasi-feudal levies from Essex's Welsh estates, but it is likely that it was a significant number. These were accompanied by men raised by Essex's gentry allies, such as the ten horse provided by Edward Matthews of Radyr, Glamorgan, twelve horse and thirty-eight foot provided partly by Sir William Morgan of Pencoed, Monmouthshire, and twenty foot provided by a member of the Denbighshire Trevor family.[50] Essex's Ulster army thus contained a large Welsh contingent.

Little information survives of the recruitment of the soldiers for the 2nd Earl of Essex's much larger army that was sent to Ireland in 1599. As will be discussed in the following chapter, however, Essex's officers included a number of his Welsh allies such as Sir John Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, and Essex's Welsh steward, Gelly Meyrick. It is likely that the lower levels of the 2nd Earl's army were

[46] Trim, 'Jacob's wars', p. 254. The state-levied men arrived in early 1574, see Appendix 2.
[47] HMC, *Bath MSS*, vol. 5, pp. 234-41; Paul E.J. Hammer, *The polarisation of Elizabethan politics: the political career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 270.
[48] HMC, *Bath MSS*, vol. 5, p. 236.
[49] Longleat House, Devereux Papers, vol. 1, fol. 42.
[50] NA, SP63/41/64.

created in a similar way to that of his father's and that his Welsh captains brought tenants as soldiers and encouraged fellow Welsh gentlemen to contribute.[51]

Between 1558 and 1625, therefore, Wales made a significant contribution to the war in Ireland. Despite making up only about a twelfth of the Anglo-Welsh population, Welsh counties provided almost a fifth of the soldiers sent to Ireland. At the height of the wars every Welsh county was sending hundreds of men to fight across the Irish Sea. This took a significant toll on the populations of the small Welsh counties. The large numbers of pressed Welsh soldiers identified here were to become an important presence in the Irish plantations, and would also have significant influence on how the Welsh were perceived by other members of the New English community. The centrality of Welsh soldiers for understanding the wider history of the Welsh in Ireland makes it essential that we have a better understanding of who they were, and it is to this question that we now turn.

"Insufficiente men"?[52]: the nature of Welsh levies

This section assesses the origins and social composition of the troops raised in Wales for Irish service. The common soldier in Ireland has not fared well in the opinions of modern historians. It has generally been argued that the authorities levied beggars, criminals and vagabonds as soldiers. By drawing on recent research by military historians, however, this section argues that this conclusion relies too heavily on the complaints of government officials, which exaggerated the soldiers' deficiencies. It is instead suggested that most of those sent from Wales were fit men, largely rural labourers and village artisans. The bulk of the Welsh presence in Ireland was thus made up of ordinary Welshmen and not the dregs of society. This is supported by the fact that they generally made good soldiers in Ireland and, as will be demonstrated in later chapters, many progressed to become settled members of the New English community there. The fact that these were able working men, however, exacerbated the damage done to Welsh counties by taking away such economically useful individuals. Much of what follows also applied to the majority of the soldiers levied

[51] Paul E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's wars: war, government and society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Basingstoke, 2003), p. 249.
[52] NLW, 9055E, 710.

in England and can be seen as a regional case study of the nature of the entire lower order of the army in Ireland.

Almost all surviving contemporary references to the soldiers of the English army in Ireland are complaints about their quality. Early modern military commentators such as Captain Barnaby Rich were particularly critical of the troops. In his 1574 work, *A right excellent and pleasant dialogue*, Rich wrote that constables recruiting for Ireland selected "any idle fellow, some drunkard, or seditious quarreller, a privy picker or such a one as hath some skill in stealing of a goose".[53] Similar sentiments can be found among the letters of government and military officials involved in recruitment for the Irish wars.[54] In March 1599, for example, the Privy Council wrote to the Lord President of the Council in the Marches, the Earl of Pembroke, to complain that the men sent from some of the counties within his lieutenancy "wear picked out to disburthen the countrey of so many vagrant idel and lewde p[er]sons".[55] Similarly Lord Mountjoy complained to the Privy Council that the Caernarvonshire men levied in June 1600 were unacceptable as they were "taken out of prisons".[56] Indeed on several occasions the Welsh levies were singled out for particular criticism.[57] Understood by themselves, such complaints paint a very grim picture of the quality of the recruits for the Irish wars.

The views of Rich and his contemporaries are reflected in much of the work of early twentieth-century military historians. J.W. Fortescue, for example, wrote that soldiers were recruited by "opening the gaols and sweeping the refuse of the nation into the ranks".[58] Later historians such as Stephen J. Stearns attacked the uncritical acceptance of such views and their biased accounts of the levying process.[59] More recently David Trim has nuanced Stearns's arguments. He has argued that such views stemmed from

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[53] Quoted in Thomson, *Lords lieutenants*, p. 115.
[54] See, for example, NA, SP63/75/9; 63/179/29; 63/181/40; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 12, pp. 168-9, 169-70; *CSPI 1596-7*, p. 26; *CSPI 1596-9*, pp. 339-40; *APC 1598-9*, pp. 43-4; *APC 1599-1600*, pp. 152, 219-21.
[55] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 162.
[56] NA, SP63/207/106.
[57] *CSPI 1599-1600*, pp. 479-80; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 12, pp. 169-70.
[58] J.W. Fortescue, 'The soldier', in *Shakespeare's England: an account of the life & manners of his age* (Oxford, 1916), vol. 1, p. 112.
[59] Stephen J. Stearns, 'Conscription and English society in the 1620s', *Journal of British Studies*, 9 (1972), p. 1.

the survival of medieval ideas regarding what war and soldiers should be like.[60] State-controlled impressment was a relatively new development in the sixteenth century and older feudal ideas about war continued to dominate contemporary thinking. In particular it was felt that common men were incapable of being honourable soldiers and that only those of noble blood serving in feudally-organised armies could truly be good fighting men. William Seagar, for example, declared that "ploughmen" could not "bee properly called souldiers" even though they could "become oft times men of good service".[61] Contemporary opinion was thus critical of low-born recruits, even if they were perfectly adequate soldiers.[62]

The prejudices of Rich and others, however, still influence much of what is written about soldiers in early modern Ireland. In his 1998 article on the port of Chester, for example, Philip Thomas stated that levies for Ireland were made up of "paupers, strangers, vagabonds, or the flotsam of prisons", while Bruce Lenman has argued that the pressed soldiers "were abysmal".[63] Thomas Garden Barnes has gone as far as to suggest that Irish levying was the beginning of the British tradition of using transportation of criminals as an alternative for imprisonment.[64] McGurk's study of the Welsh soldiers sent to Ireland fits firmly into this tradition. Although he notes that "not all the Welsh levies were ill-chosen" and that many poor levies were the result of previous impressment diminishing the pool of able-bodied men in the Welsh counties, his study generally supports the traditional interpretation that the soldiers were usually beggars, vagabonds and criminals.[65] If we wish to build accurate histories of the British military in early modern Ireland and the plantations settled by these same soldiers, we need to develop a more accurate picture of who these pressed men were.

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[60] Trim, 'Jacob's wars', pp. 91-2.
[61] William Seager, *Honor, military, and civil, contained in foure bookes* (London, 1602), p. 8, quoted in Trim, 'Jacob's wars', pp. 91-2.
[62] Rory Rapple has also noted this tendency to criticise soldiers for their social origins: Rory Rapple, *Martial power and Elizabethan political culture: military men in England and Ireland, 1558-1594* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 67.
[63] Philip Thomas, 'Military mayhem in Elizabethan Chester: the Privy Council's response to vagrant soldiers', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 76 (1998), p. 247; Bruce Lenman, *England's colonial wars, 1550-1688: conflicts, empire and national identity* (Harlow, 2001), p. 128.
[64] Thomas Garden Barnes, 'Deputies not principals, lieutenants not captains: the institutional failure of the lieutenancy in the 1620s', in Mark Charles Fissell (ed.), *War and government in Britain, 1598-1650* (Manchester and New York, 1991), p. 60.
[65] McGurk, 'A survey of the demand made on the Welsh shires', pp. 58, 61; McGurk, 'Recruitment and transportation', pp. 68-70.

As Stearns has commented, the complaints of military critics and officials about recruits "can tell us little of their qualities except to suggest the worst of their parts".[66] Officials were far quicker to criticise poor levies than to commend those that were successful. They almost never commented on those that were simply adequate. Quality is in the eye of the beholder, and some officials at Chester and other ports seem to have had quite high standards in this respect. In 1587, for example, the Privy Council reported that it had heard the new Irish recruits were men who relied on their "dailie laboures and occupacion" and that they should be disbanded and freeholders' sons put in their place.[67] As we will see, the majority of the soldiers sent to Ireland during this period were landless labourers or tradesmen, and it is likely that some of the criticisms against the troops can be put down to their low social status rather than poor quality.

Some complaints made by officials also suggest that poor levies were the exception rather than the norm. In 1595, the first year in which over 2,000 men were requested for Ireland, the mayor of Chester complained that the levy was made up of "such bare and naked sorte, as the lyke hath never bene here seene".[68] His opinion was confirmed by Captain William Mostyn who claimed that he was "never so badly furnished with men".[69] It seems that the sudden increase in demands that year had led to unusually poor levies. Similarly, in February 1600, the mayor of Chester wrote that the Welsh counties had made "not such good choice of men as here to fore".[70] This, of course, suggests that previous Welsh levies had been of sufficient or high quality. We must be careful not to extend criticisms of troops in particularly poor years to all those who fought in Ireland.

In reality during most levies the majority of counties provided satisfactory soldiers.[71] The records of the muster of 1,500 troops at Chester in May 1602, for example, show that only sixty-two were deemed to be of insufficient quality and of those seven were replaced by the counties. The defects were not evenly spread. Several counties,

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[66] Stearns, 'Conscription and English society', p. 23.
[67] *APC 1587-8*, pp. 99-100.
[68] NA, SP63/181/40.
[69] NA, SP63/179/29.
[70] *CSPI 1599-1600*, pp. 479-80. See also, HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 12, pp. 169-70.
[71] John S. Nolan, 'The militarization of the Elizabethan state', *The Journal of Military History*, 58 (1994), pp. 392-3.

including Denbighshire and Flintshire, had all their men declared able, but nine out of Northamptonshire's one hundred men, and seven out of Merioneth's thirty were deemed unfit.[72] It is likely that this was the norm, with a couple of counties providing a poor levy, but most meeting their commitments. Yet, naturally, the small numbers of poor levies have left much more evidence than those that met expectations. To amass such evidence and use it to present the soldiers in a wholly negative light is thus misleading.

On occasion particularly good levies did receive praise from the authorities. In 1588 the mayor of Chester, upon viewing a levy of 300 men from Cheshire, Lancashire and north Wales, commented that, "I have seene, & have had chardge, of divers bands of soldiers yet for personage, yf experience answered, I never saw a more able bande".[73] The mayor's observations demonstrate that some levies were more than adequate and were actually commendable. Complaints about soldiers once they were in Ireland were rare. Indeed, the Welsh captain Edward Blayney, lamented the gradual disbandment of the Irish army during the early seventeenth century as it had been stocked with "as brave fellows as ever served any Prince".[74] By taking into account such evidence it is possible to present a far more balanced and positive view of Welsh and English soldiers sent to Ireland. While some were the poor quality men of traditional histories, the majority were adequate for the state's needs and a number exceeded expectations.

This is not to say that the abuses complained of by the Privy Council did not occur. The most common problem was that local communities encouraged officials to send criminals and sturdy beggars to Ireland in the belief that they would make good soldiers while ridding the community of disruptive individuals. During the early seventeenth century, for example, Sir Roger Mostyn of Mostyn suggested that Caernarvonshire deputy lieutenant Sir John Wynn of Gwydir should "mak[e] use of" several sheep rustlers in the next levy as "it is better to bestowe them in this service

[72] Chester Record Office, ZM/MP/13. The fact that the insufficiency of 59 men among the 1000 mustered at Chester in November 1601 was considered by Captain Lancelot Alford to be a particularly noteworthy occurrence gives further indication that sufficient men were the norm: HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 11, pp. 473-4.
[73] NA, SP12/218/29. For further examples of "well chosen" men, see *APC 1595-6*, pp. 331-3; *CSPI 1596-7*, pp. 164-5; *CSPI 1599-1600*, pp. 383-4.
[74] NA, SP63/217/38A.

then to the gallowes".[75] It is possible that such pressures were particularly strong in Wales, where responsibility for levying rested heavily on deputy lieutenants drawn from the local gentry, rather than aristocratic lord presidents with close links to the court as was the case in English counties.[76] On occasions deputy lieutenants seem to have listened to their peers and sent able-bodied criminals to serve in Ireland. In 1602, for example, the deputy lieutenants of Carmarthenshire ordered four men to be pressed for Ireland despite, or more likely because of, their involvement in an assault on the steward of the manor of Llansteffan the previous year.[77] Similarly, in January 1599, John ap Robert ap David of Flintshire was levied for Ireland despite having fled court while on trial for forcible entry.[78] Sending criminals to Ireland met the state's demands while removing an economic and social problem and allowing the deputy lieutenants to spare more of their neighbours and tenants. However, these are scattered instances over a period of many levies. It should also be noted that some of those taken from gaols were not criminals but had been arrested for deserting from previous levies.[79] Rogues and criminals were certainly levied and sent to Ireland in the early modern period, but these were a minority.

This did not mean that counties sent the most able men available for Irish service. Deputy lieutenants were often willing to manipulate levies in order to benefit their communities, which had a subtle influence on the type of men sent to Ireland. During a levy deputy lieutenants often received letters from local gentry who wished to save their tenants. Sir John Salusbury of Llewenni, Denbighshire, claimed that "there is no p[er]son, almost, pressed for service but hath some friend or other that doth make suit in his behalf".[80] Although most landlords accepted that some of their tenants had to be levied, they frequently requested that certain men, usually their best tenants or men to whom they owed favours, were exempted.[81] Deputy lieutenants were usually amenable to such requests as long as lesser tenants could be sent in their place. Some

[75] NLW, MS 9061E, 1454.
[76] The Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales was also lord lieutenant of all the Welsh and March counties until 1602 when the lord lieutenancy of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire passed to the Earl of Worcester. He was thus heavily reliant on the cooperation of deputy lieutenants: Penry Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I* (Cardiff, 1958), pp. 112-5; Thomson, *Lords lieutenants*, pp. 46, 60; Bowen, *The politics of the principality*, p. 111.
[77] NA, STAC 5/P57/7.
[78] NA, SP12/274/56.
[79] See, for example, NA, SP63/206/111; *APC 1599-1600*, pp. 561-6, 789-90, 795-9.
[80] NA, STAC 5/L10/25.
[81] See, for example, NLW, MS 9052E, 198; 9060E, 1293.

landlords even suggested replacements. Owen Thomas Owen of Pencoed, for example, wrote to the deputy lieutenant of Caernarvonshire, Sir William Maurice, to ask that his tenants, Richard ap Morice and Gruffith ap Jevan Lewes, be spared in the coming impressment, requesting instead that a young bachelor who had "got a poor house maid pregnant" and had then refused to marry her be levied instead.[82] Thus landowners could manipulate the levying system to send men who were perhaps disruptive to the local community, but were not criminals or vagabonds, and would probably make adequate soldiers.

The Welsh evidence also suggests that those responsible for levying put considerable effort into supplying sufficient men for the Irish armies. For the deputy lieutenants the reason for this was, at least partially, one of self-interest. The deputy lieutenancy was one of the most sought after positions in the voluntary early modern bureaucracy.[83] It gave the officeholder significant power over his neighbours; in particular it allowed him to reward friends by sparing their tenants and punish enemies by sending theirs.[84] The importance of the post was suggested by Lord President Pembroke in November 1591 when he wrote, "all men can not be deputie lieutenants, some must governe, some must obey".[85] In Wales the position also brought considerable esteem as the bards considered the deputy lieutenancy to be the greatest local office. Bardic poetry spoke of Welsh deputy lieutenants as protectors of the county, reminiscent of the martial heroes of Wales's past.[86] The position thus became a key prize in local faction fighting as it allowed Welsh gentlemen to present themselves as leaders in their county. The deputy lieutenants were frequently reminded that their powerful positions were the gift of the crown and that a strong commitment to state policy was expected. For example on the 14 January 1589, Lord President Pembroke wrote to the deputy lieutenants of Wales that a levy was needed, adding "it will now appeere by your proceedings in those s[er]vices howe worthy yow are of th[e] authority committed to yow".[87] The power that deputies enjoyed in their counties was conditional on their

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[82] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 443.
[83] Philip Jenkins, *A history of modern Wales* (London and New York, 1992), p. 86.
[84] McGurk, 'A survey of the demands made on the Welsh shires', pp. 57-8; NA, STAC 5/A55/34, 5/L10/25; NLW, MS 9055E, 726.
[85] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 48.
[86] J. Gwynfor Jones, *Concepts of order and gentility in Wales, 1540-1640* (Llandysul, 1992), pp. 150-3, 175-6.
[87] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 26.

successful implementation of the levies. It is, therefore, of little surprise that the deputy lieutenants took impressment extremely seriously.

The correspondence of the Caernarvonshire deputy lieutenants survives for much of this period. It demonstrates that even in a heavily burdened county like Caernarvonshire, officials made considerable efforts to supply sufficient soldiers. They saw sending good men as a matter of obligation to the crown and a duty to their country. For example, Sir John Wynn, deputy lieutenant at the height of the Irish wars, told his colleague, Sir William Maurice, that he planned to levy "the choysest & best I can get for this service, that for the honor of her ma[jes]tie & the realme". Further, he warned that if a man did not co-operate with a levy, "I acco[un]t him no good subject nor trew harted to his contrey".[88] This is far removed from the traditional presentation of levying officials as reluctant partners in the impressment process.[89] Wynn saw levying as a duty owed by the people not only to the crown, but also to the country. It is unclear whether by "contrey" Wynn meant a duty to the defence of England and Wales against the Catholic threat, or a duty to ensure that Caernarvonshire met its obligations and did not face censure from the authorities.[90] It is clear, however, that he placed great importance on supplying adequate soldiers. Indeed, throughout this period the Caernarvonshire deputy lieutenants spoke of the necessity of pressing the "fittest men" and that it was "fore the countrey's good".[91] In Caernarvonshire, and likely throughout Wales, the deputy lieutenants saw providing sufficient men for the Irish wars as a high priority.

Although the Caernarvonshire levies were not always perfect, local officials certainly seem to have worked hard to provide good men. Some deputies even sent more men than was required, presumably to make up for any desertions during conducting.[92] Sir William Maurice showed his commitment to supplying sufficient numbers in January 1601, when, after fifteen west-Caernarvonshire men deserted on their way to Chester,

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[88] This letter is undated: NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 436b.
[89] McGurk, 'A survey of the demands on the Welsh shires', p. 62.
[90] When, in an undated letter, Wynn told Maurice that he believed that Caernarvonshire had been singled out for criticism by the Lord President for levying poor quality men, the former exclaimed that the disgrace was so great, "I desire not to lyve!": NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 436b.
[91] NLW, MS 9060E, 1300; Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 308.
[92] NA, E101/66/19, fol. 11; Chester Record Office, ZM/MP/7/35.

he levied and armed seven replacements at his own charge.[93] Deputies and captains were also willing to micro-manage levies, replacing men they deemed insufficient or illegally-pressed by the constables.[94] In February 1590, for example, Captain Jenkin Conway replaced seventeen men from his Monmouthshire company as he felt they were not sufficient for Irish service.[95] Welsh evidence thus suggests a level of commitment to supplying suitable men that is often missed by historians.

This, of course, ignores the possible corruption of the captains who conducted troops to the ports. This will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter. Here it is necessary to note that captains were responsible for replacing men who deserted on their way to the ports and very often they recruited vagabonds or criminals from the regions through which they marched. Some captains almost certainly also took bribes from more wealthy levied men who wished to be discharged.[96] In March 1625, for example, Sir John Wynn worried that his hard work in mustering good men for Ireland would be undone by the poverty-stricken conductor, Lieutenant Brian Stapleton. Wynn told Stapleton that he understood that many men had offered him bribes for their release, but advised "yow may not doe it in respect of yor dutie to the state", and warned that he would face severe consequences if the men who arrived in Chester were not those named on his indenture. To make sure that the men were successfully conducted, Wynn gave Stapleton twenty shillings and sent his servant Edward Lloyd to ensure that the men were not released. Stapleton replied later in the month assuring Wynn that he valued his credit too greatly to take bribes from the soldiers.[97] This demonstrates that a conductor exchanging good men for bad before the soldiers reached port was not an uncommon problem. The impact this had on the quality of soldiers sent to Ireland is difficult to gauge. The example, cited by McGurk, of thirty-seven men being replaced in a single levy by corrupt officers in Kent in October 1601, was almost certainly a worst case scenario.[98] Wynn's letter and Stapleton's reply suggest that deputy lieutenants worked with officers to limit this problem and not all captains were unscrupulous. It is likely, however, that most levies

[93] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 174.
[94] See, for example, NA, E101/66/19, fols. 10, 12, 14; STAC 5/L10/25; NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 436b.
[95] NA, SP30/53/7/3; NA, SP63/179/40, 86.
[96] McGurk, 'Recruitment and transportation', pp. 71-2.
[97] NLW, MS 9060E, 1305-7.
[98] McGurk, 'Recruitment and transportation', p. 72.

were affected by corrupt captains to some extent, which decreased the quality of the men who arrived in Ireland.

If the soldiers levied for Ireland were not criminal and vagabonds, who were they? The Welsh evidence suggests that most were drawn from the regular labour force.[99] The agricultural nature of the Welsh economy meant that the majority were landless labourers or the poorest tenant farmers and their sons. Men such as Thomas Harry Morgan, levied in Llandybie, Carmarthenshire in 1597, are likely to have formed the bulk of the Welsh levies. Morgan was a "hired or day labourer" with no certain abode, who lived with whomever was paying his wages at the time. He seems to have been fit and respectable but as a landless labourer he was not part of the local political community. This did not mean that he was not seen as a loss to the local economy, however. Indeed we know of Morgan because his employer and some other locals rescued him from the constables, suggesting that he was a valued member of the local society.[100] William Maurice, deputy lieutenant of Caernarvonshire, complained in 1615 that men such as Morgan "absented themselves" at muster time, which forced him to choose between sending insufficient men or "the beste inhabitanntes" of householder status and above. Maurice was so keen to send able labourers to Ireland that he arranged for them to be hunted "like owtleying deare" and imprisoned until the muster.[101] Landless labourers were thus the preferred material for levies in the rural Welsh shires, men who would make good soldiers and whose loss would not damage the local economy too seriously. It was not possible, however, only to use such men. As we have already seen, tenant farmers were frequently pressed for Irish service, much to the concern of local landlords.[102] Occasionally those Maurice characterised as the "the beste inhabitanntes" were also sent to Ireland. In 1595, for example, the deputy lieutenants of Caernarvonshire pressed John Williams, a literate householder who went on to become clerk of the Earl of Thomond's company.[103]

These agricultural labourers were accompanied by a small, but not insignificant, number of tradesmen and artisans drawn from the small Welsh towns and villages.

[99] Stearns, 'Conscription and English society', p. 5.
[100] NA, STAC 5/J6/7.
[101] NLW, MS 9055E, 710.
[102] For further examples of this, see NLW, MS 9052E, 198; NLW, MS 9060E, 1293; NLW Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 443.
[103] NLW, MS 9052E, 183.

The impressment of certain tradesmen was strongly encouraged by the state. In July 1566, for example, the Privy Council demanded that for every 100 men levied there were to be two carpenters, a sawyer, two smiths, a wheelwright, a ploughwright, two miners and two masons.[104] Although positive evidence of the occupation of Welsh soldiers is rare, there is enough to indicate that the state's demands for tradesmen were heeded. Caernarvonshire's maimed soldiers' mize records for the 1650s and 1660s include several claims by men who served in Ireland under James I, Charles I and during the Interregnum. They include Edward Ellis of Caernarfon, a tanner, and John Morgan of Caerhun, a felt maker.[105] The rural economy of Wales, however, meant that such men were much less common than in English levies. In autumn 1600, for example, out of levies of one hundred men, Denbighshire sent sixteen tradesmen, Caernarvonshire fourteen and Montgomeryshire nine.[106] By comparison, Thomas Cogswell estimates that almost half of Leicestershire's levies were tradesmen.[107] The Welsh counties lacked large urban areas from which to levy significant numbers of tradesmen and consequently it is likely that they made up little more than a tenth of the Welsh soldiers.

The evidence presented here strongly supports Stearns's assertion that the quality of early modern levies was higher than suggested by some contemporaries and many modern historians. The average Welsh levy consisted of poor, unwilling men with no military training, but they were rarely criminals and vagabonds dragged off the street. Such an understanding of the soldiers sent to Ireland gives a more satisfactory context to their behaviour in Ireland, where they often proved committed and reliable soldiers.[108] This section has also demonstrated that the wars in Ireland took rural labourers, tenant farmers and tradesmen from Welsh counties. The demands of the Irish wars thus did not primarily remove the economically unproductive and outsiders as has often been assumed. As in the case of Thomas Harry Morgan, useful men were sent often against the wishes of friends and patrons who attempted to save them.

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[104] NA, SP63/18/39.
[105] Caernarvonshire Record Office, XQS 1657/193; 1660/138; 1660/192.
[106] NA, SP63/207(V)/43.
[107] Thomas Cogswell, *Home divisions: aristocracy, the state and provincial conflict* (Manchester, 1998), p. 151.
[108] Stearns, 'Conscription and English society', p. 23.

Conclusion

Between 1558 and 1641 almost 11,000 Welsh soldiers were conscripted by the English state and sent to fight in Ireland. They formed the largest group of Welshmen to go to Ireland in this period and made the Irish military unique among English armies in possessing a sizeable Welsh contingent. Soldiers are central to this project's aim of mapping Welsh involvement in early modern Ireland. Unfortunately evidence relating to soldiers in Ireland, their lives and how they interacted with one another, is rare. The nature of the surviving material dictates that it is the Welsh officers who will feature far more heavily in this thesis than the common soldier. If we are to understand the Welsh community in Ireland, however, the soldiers must always be kept in mind. This chapter has challenged the traditional representations of Welsh soldiers as the dregs of society: they were in fact generally fit and respectable men. It has also been argued that their loss represented a serious economic burden for Welsh counties. Despite the sparse evidence relating to the soldiers, an effort will be made throughout this project to show the importance of this largest component of the Welsh presence in Ireland. It will be demonstrated in the following chapter that the presence of a large number of Welsh soldiers in the Irish military encouraged the English government to appoint Welsh officers to take charge of their countrymen. Welsh soldiers also formed a large proportion of the Welsh individuals who became settlers in the Irish plantations, the focus of Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, meanwhile, it is suggested that some evidence can also be found to demonstrate how common soldiers fitted into the wider Welsh settler community. Finally, Chapter 6 argues that the large and distinctive Welsh presence in the Irish army played an important role in fomenting English anxieties about a potentially destabilising Welsh presence in Ireland.

Chapter 2: "Martial men"[1]: Welsh officers in the Irish army, 1558-1641

While the largest Welsh presence in early modern Ireland was the common soldier, officers were the most influential Welsh group to cross the Irish Sea. This chapter completes our analysis of the Welsh military contribution to the Irish wars by focusing on the Welsh gentlemen who became Irish captains between 1558 and 1641. These individuals will be key figures in the following chapters. Almost all of the Welsh who obtained significant wealth and influence in the New English community began their careers as officers. It will be demonstrated that by the early seventeenth century officers were *the* dominant Welsh presence in the Irish administration and the most likely to succeed as Irish planters. Their success meant that captains formed the core of the Welsh community that emerged in early modern Ireland.

This chapter breaks new ground in both Welsh and Irish contexts. For Welsh historians this chapter, and the biographical information found in Appendix 3, constitute the first comprehensive attempt to assess the involvement of Welsh gentlemen in any early modern theatre of war. Although there have been some biographical studies of individual Welsh officers who spent some or all of their careers in Ireland, none have examined Welsh officers as a group, explored their motivations for service, or assessed how they differed from their English counterparts.[2] This study aims to fill this gap in Welsh historiography and, in so doing, demonstrate the importance of military service for the gentry of early modern Wales.

This chapter also offers new insights into the nature and composition of the 'English' army in Ireland at this time. As Rory Rapple has recently pointed out, despite much excellent work on the army in Elizabethan Ireland, its officers have largely been overlooked. They have become "blended together" in the historiography, with few

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[1] Sir John Wynn, *The history of the Gwydir family and memoirs*, ed. J. Gwynfor Jones (Llandysul, 1990), p. 71.

[2] Amos C. Miller, 'Sir William Morgan of Pencoed: "a man much to be accounted for"', *Welsh History Review*, 9 (1978), pp. 1-31; Paul E.J. Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad: Captain Peter Wynn of Jamestown', *Parergon*, 16 (1998), pp. 59-92; Robert J. Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley, c.1570-1627: Ulster planter', in Peter Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to partition: essays in Ulster history in honour of J.L. McCracken* (Belfast, 1981), pp. 14-28.

attempts to analyse the differences as well as similarities between them.[3] This case study provides just such an analysis, which is long overdue. In analysing the Welsh military presence in Ireland this chapter challenges the traditional presentation of a cohesive and homogenous New English officer class. We begin by measuring the Welsh presence in the officer corps before establishing what motivated Welsh gentlemen to serve in Ireland, and what set them apart from their English colleagues.

The Welsh officers: quantifying the Welsh presence

It is difficult to accurately estimate the number of Welshmen who served as officers in Ireland during this period. As David Trim has noted in a continental context, early modern military records do not supply the requisite information to confirm the origins of many captains.[4] Information on captains usually comes from army pay lists and the captains' own correspondence, which rarely reveal whether they were English or Welsh. This study only includes those whose Welshness is certain or very likely. It thus underestimates the number of Welsh captains in Ireland. Despite this, it is argued that a significant proportion of the captains who served in Ireland during this period were Welsh. It is suggested that this was partly because the government looked to supply Welsh captains to lead Welsh companies. The proportion of Welsh captains fluctuated across this period, but they generally made up 6-14% of the total officer corps.

In most cases captains began their careers by conducting levied companies to Ireland. The Privy Council and senior Irish officials recommended that the men should be led by a captain of their county as it was felt that this would inspire loyalty among the troops. Respected and significant local gentlemen were, therefore, preferred for this role. Sir John Perrot advised the Privy Council in 1586 that captains should be those "whome men will followe, and stick to in respect of their [be]haviour in their cuntrey, valor, and reputation".[5] As has been established, although the companies sent to Ireland were levied by the state, most contemporaries still had a feudal understanding

[3] Rory Rapple, 'Taking up office in Elizabethan Connacht: the case of Sir Richard Bingham', *English Historical Review*, 123 (2008), p. 1.
[4] David Trim, 'Fighting 'Jacob's wars'. The employment of English and Welsh mercenaries in the European wars of religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562-1610' (unpubl. PhD thesis, King's College London, 2002), p. 363.
[5] Bodleian Library, Perrot MS 1, fols. 182-3.

of warfare. It is thus not surprising that soldiers were more easily motivated by a local figure they knew and respected. The soldiers themselves made their preference for local captains very clear. In 1567 the Queen commented to Lord Deputy Sidney that "it is very hard to get fitte men that will go over into Ireland, but under the leading of their own cuntrymen".[6]

To be led by a stranger was a greater problem for Welsh soldiers than their English counterparts. At least nine out of ten early modern Welshmen could not speak English and an English-speaking captain leading a largely monoglot Welsh company was an acknowledged problem in the English army.[7] In 1598 Captain Richard Gwynn of Caernarfon made this point to the 2nd Earl of Essex, stating that he presumed he would "appoint none to lead Welsh but such as hath the language".[8] For Gwynn it was common sense that to command a company it was necessary to be able to communicate with one's men. Language remained a problem in the military throughout our period. In September 1640, Colonel Francis Trafford wrote to Edward, Viscount Conway, that he was to lose the cornet of his Welsh company, and that "if you put a stranger to me I shall... never look for quietness between the soldiers and the officer, being a stranger and not speaking Welch, their language".[9] Appointing an officer without the necessary linguistic skills led to avoidable tensions within the company. Language thus made it particularly important that Welsh companies were led by Welsh captains.

Welsh captains themselves showed a preference for leading soldiers from Wales. The Monmouthshire-born Munster planter, Sir William Herbert, for example, argued in 1588 that he should be made captain of any troops levied from south-east Wales as, "being of one country we shall have a more reciprocal regard and a more ferventer desire to serve".[10] There was thus a whole complex of mutual benefits seen to flow from captains and soldiers being from the same area. Not only would relations be more harmonious, but this would also generate a greater commitment to the service.

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[6] Tomás O'Laidhin (ed.), *Sidney state papers: 1565-70* (Dublin, 1962), pp. 51-2. See also, NA, SP12/172/80.
[7] Geraint H. Jenkins estimates that this was the case well into the eighteenth century: Geraint H. Jenkins, *A concise history of Wales* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 136.
[8] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 8, p. 525.
[9] *CSPD 1640-1*, p. 102.
[10] *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 527-47, 575-6.

Similarly, in 1638 when the Welsh soldier William Williams, then based at Carrickfergus, asked his Dublin-based ally John Lloyd for assistance in obtaining a Welsh company, he stated that he did so because he wished to "deale with my cuntryemen".[11] There certainly seems to have been a sense among some Welsh captains that they should be commanding Welsh soldiers not only for practical reasons but because of a preference for working with their countrymen. This tendency of the Welsh to seek out and cooperate with their countrymen forms an important aspect of the Welsh experience in Ireland, and is discussed further in chapters 5 and 6.

The ideal arrangement in the eyes of government, soldiers and captains was, therefore, that Welsh companies be led by Welsh captains. With this in mind one would expect to find the Welsh making up the same proportion of captains as they did common soldiers: almost 20%. However, Table 2.1, which lists the levies for which it has been possible to identify the conducting captains, shows that this was not the case. Welsh levies were often led by English or Irish captains. This was particularly true for levies that included a very high number of Welsh companies. Of the twenty companies sent in October 1596 – April 1597, for example, ten were Welsh, but only three were led by Welshmen. It is likely that in such situations the advantages of having a Welsh officer were ignored due to a lack of suitable Welsh captains, or because companies were needed for English captains who were either highly qualified or possessed an influential patron. It is notable, however, that those Englishmen put in charge of Welsh levies were often from the Welsh Marches, while in 1624-5 one of the captains of the north Wales levies was Sir Arthur Tyrringham, an officer at the heavily Welsh garrison of Newry, who was later to acquire land in Anglesey. Such men would at least have had experience of dealing with monoglot Welshmen, which suggests that the Privy Council was trying to give Welsh soldiers captains acceptable to them.[12] In other levies, such as that of July – October 1598, Welsh captains were appointed despite a lack of Welsh soldiers being sent that year, demonstrating that captains were not completely dependent on Welsh levies to obtain their commissions. Overall, however, Table 2.1 suggests that Welsh captains *were* generally appointed to lead Welsh companies. With the exception of the levy of February – March 1599,

[11] W.J. Smith (ed.), *Calendar of Salusbury correspondence 1553-circa 1700* (Cardiff, 1954), p. 103.
[12] *APC 1597*, pp. 21-8, *APC 1623-5*, pp. 472-3.

Table 2.1. The involvement of Welsh captains in Irish levies, 1574-1625.

Levy date	Number of captains	Number of Welsh captains (and origin of company)	Number of Welsh companies
June 1574-Aug 1580[13]	10	3 – George Devereux, Sir William Morgan and Sir John Salusbury (all leading Welsh companies)	3½
Jan – Nov 1582[14]	4	0	0
Feb 1590[15]	4	1 – Jenkin Conway (Welsh)	1
Mar – May 1595[16]	10	5 – Jenkin Conway, Rice Mansell, William Mostyn and Hugh Mostyn (all leading English companies) and Richard Trevor (Welsh)	1
Aug-Oct 1596[17]	10	0	0
Oct 1596 – Apr 1597[18]	20	3 – Roger Billings, Charles Mansell and John Price (all Welsh)	10
June –Aug 1598[19]	8	2 – Francis Meyrick and Richard Trevor (both Welsh)	4
July – Oct 1598[20]	9	3 – Ralph Bingley, Edward Trevor and Walter Progers (all English)	0
Oct – Dec 1598[21]	21	0	0
Nov 1598 – Jan 1599[22]	9	0	0
Jan – Feb 1599[23]	25	6 – Charles Mansell, Francis Meyrick, John Salusbury, Owen Salusbury, William Williams (all Welsh) and Peter Wynn (half of his company was Welsh)	5½
Feb – Mar 1599[24]	15	3 – Captain Lloyd (Welsh), Ellis Jones, Sir Mathew Morgan (both English)	3

[13] This document only names the five captains of the men from Wales and the Marches, it is possible that there were more Welsh captains taking the English levies. One company was a mixture of Shropshire men and Welshmen led by an English captain: NA, SP12/96/292.
[14] BL, Egerton MS 3048, fols.176-8.
[15] NA, SP63/151/15.
[16] NA, SP63/178/76.
[17] *APC 1596-7*, pp. 161-4.
[18] *APC 1597*, pp. 21-8.
[19] *APC 1597-8*, p. 524.
[20] Accompanying this levy were eleven companies of Low Country veterans, whose captains included Welshmen Edward Blayney, John Sydney and John Owen Tudor: *APC 1597-8*, pp. 607-10; NA, SP63/202(IV)/67; *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 322-6; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 11.
[21] *APC 1598-9*, pp. 255-6.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 312-5.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 540-5.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 573-7.

Levy date	Number of captains	Number of Welsh captains (and origin of company)	Number of Welsh companies
June – Sept 1600[25]	20	3 – Roger Billings, Edward Morris and Edward Trevor (all English)	0
Nov 1624 – Apr 1625[26]	10	1 – Charles Price (Welsh)	4⅔

Welsh captains were given Welsh companies when they were available. Also, in four out of the eight levies that included Welshmen all companies that were wholly composed of Welsh soldiers were led by captains from Wales. The Welsh presence in the Irish officer corps can thus at least partly be attributed to the need to supply local captains for the large numbers of Welsh companies sent to Ireland in this period.

Looking solely at conductors does not, however, provide an accurate picture of the Welsh officer presence in Ireland between 1558 and 1641. Many captains who transported troops to Ireland actually spent little time there. Some returned for personal reasons and others were discharged after the crisis for which their men had been levied was resolved.[27] Only a small number of captains took up the position as a profession and these did not necessarily remain in Ireland throughout their careers. Some returned home for long periods, while others left to serve on the continent before returning to Ireland. Table 2.2 gives a clearer image of the fluctuating numbers of foot captains in Ireland and the Welsh presence among them.

This table shows the numbers of Welsh foot captains included on lists of the Irish army. It does not give a full picture of the Welsh presence in the Irish garrison as it omits horse captains or governors and constables of forts as such men were not always included on the army lists. The Welsh were very rare among the cavalry captains, who tended to be wealthier men, often Irish nobles and high-ranking government officials.[28] The number of Welshmen serving as governors of forts will be discussed in Chapter 3. These figures also do not include captains who served as

[25] *APC 1599- 1600*, pp. 467-8.
[26] One company contained 200 Welshmen and 100 Englishmen and was led by an Englishman: *APC 1623-5*, pp. 472-3.
[27] See, for example, Miller, 'Sir William Morgan of Pencoed', pp. 1-31; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1575-88*, p. 200.
[28] See for example, NA, SP63/70/3811; 63/86/47.

volunteers under the two Earls of Essex in their expeditions of 1574 and 1599, which included a large number of Welshmen such as Sir William Morgan and Sir Gelly Meyrick.[29] The table gives figures for foot captains at roughly five year intervals, with annual figures for the period between 1595 and 1605, which saw a high turnover of men and captains necessitated by the Tyrone rebellion and its aftermath.

In terms of absolute numbers Table 2.2 demonstrates that the Welsh captains mirrored their English counterparts. From a small number during the 1560s and 1570s, their presence increased to a peak during the late 1590s and early 1600s before decreasing again after 1603. However, the Essex interest in Wales created a particularly 'Welsh' peak in 1599. The table also demonstrates that from 1575 the percentage of captains in Ireland of Welsh origin generally fluctuated between 6% and 14%. As we have seen, the Welsh comprised less than 8% of the total Anglo-Welsh population. For most of this period they accounted for a similar or greater percentage of the captains in Ireland.

The Welsh captains in Ireland can be split into three distinct chronological groups. The first were those who served between 1575 and the outbreak of the Tyrone rebellion in the mid-1590s. During this period the total number of captains serving in Ireland was relatively low and the majority were professional soldiers. Welsh officers generally constituted over 10% of the total officer corps. Some of the Welshmen who served in Ireland at this time, such as Sir Thomas Morgan and Sir William Morgan, were veterans of the wars on the continent, who only served in Ireland temporarily. Others, such as Rhys ap Hugh, Jenkin Conway and Robert Bethell devoted their careers to Ireland and acquired landed estates there.[30] Some of these individuals continued to serve during the Nine Years War when they were joined by a new wave of captains.

The second group of Welsh captains were those who joined the large influx of officers sent to deal with the Tyrone rebellion. The majority of these either died in the wars or

[29] See Appendix 3 for more on these men.
[30] Other captains who should be classed in this group are, Owen ap Hugh, the Bowens of Ballyadams, William Cecil, Richard Gwynn, William Jenkins, Morgan Jones, Richard Lloyd, Rice Mansell, the two William Mostyns, Hugh Mostyn and John Price. See Appendix 3 for further details.

Table 2.2.Welsh foot captains in Ireland, 1562 – 1640

Date	Number of foot captains	Number of Welsh captains	Percentage of Welsh captains
1562[31]	27	0	0
1567[32]	14	2 – Richard Lloyd and Thomas Morgan	14.3
1571[33]	6	0	0
1575[34]	8	1 – Thomas Morgan	12.5
1580[35]	16	3 – William Jenkins, Morgan Jones and Sir William Morgan	18.75
1585[36]	15	2 – William Bowen and Rhys ap Hugh	13.33
1590[37]	32(33?)	2 (3?) – Jenkin Conway and William Mostyn.	6.25/ 9.09
1595[38]	56	6 – Rhys ap Hugh, Robert Bethell, Jenkin Conway, Rice Mansell, Hugh Mostyn and William Mostyn	10.71
1596[39]	50	7 – Rhys ap Hugh, Robert Bethell, Jenkin Conway, Rice Mansell, William Mostyn, Hugh Mostyn and Richard Trevor	14
1598[40]	76	5 – Roger Billings, Maurice Griffith, Ellis Lloyd, Hugh Mostyn and Richard Trevor	6.57
1599[41]	134	19 – Ralph Bingley, Roger Billings, Ellis Lloyd, John Lloyd, Walter Lloyd, Charles Mansell, Francis Meyrick (discharged and replaced by Rowland Trevor), Sir Edmund Morgan, Sir Mathew Morgan, Hugh Mostyn, Walter Progers, John Salusbury, Owen Salusbury, John Sydney, Edward Trevor, John Owen Tudor, William Williams and Peter Wynn	14.18
1600[42]	125	10 – Roger Billings, Ralph Bingley, Edward Blayney, Ellis Lloyd, Walter Lloyd, Sir Mathew Morgan, Edward Morris, Hugh Mostyn, John Sydney and Edward Trevor	8

[31] List dated December 1562: NA, SP63/7/61.
[32] List dated November 1567: *CSPI 1566-7*, pp. 237-8.
[33] List dated September 1571: *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 84-6.
[34] List dated January 1575: *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 748-50.
[35] List dated October 1580 – March 1581: NA, SP63/83/121.
[36] List dated October 1585 – March 1586: *CSPI 1586-8*, p. 40.
[37] This includes men discharged that year. A William Mostyn occurs twice, being discharged and then appointed to a company. It is unclear if this is the same man as there were two in service around this time: see Appendix 3. List dated March – September 1590: NA, SP63/156/21, II.
[38] List dated April 1595: NA, SP63/184/21.
[39] List dated April – September 1596: NA, SP63/197/351.
[40] List dated April 1598: NA, SP63/202(II)/10.
[41] This list was drawn up at the time that the bulk of the army brought by the Earl of Essex in early 1599 was disbanded and thus includes these men and some of the men who replaced them. List dated March – September 1599: NA, SP63/207/69.
[42] List dated October 1600: NA, SP63/207(V)/82.

Date	Number of foot captains	Number of Welsh captains	Percentage of Welsh captains
1601[43]	150	9 – Roger Billings, Ralph Bingley, Edward Blayney, Captain Lloyd, Sir Mathew Morgan, Edward Morris, John Sydney, Edward Trevor and John Vaughan	6
1602[44]	133	8 – Ralph Bingley, Edward Blayney, Ellis Jones, Ellis Lloyd, Edward Morris, John Sydney, Edward Trevor and John Vaughan	6.01
1603[45]	66	7 – Ralph Bingley, Edward Blayney, Ellis Jones, Ellis Lloyd, Edward Morris, John Sydney and Edward Trevor	10.6
1604[46]	39	5 – Ralph Bingley, Edward Blayney, Ellis Jones, John Sydney and Edward Trevor	12.82
1605[47]	30	4 – Ralph Bingley, Edward Blayney, Ellis Jones and Edward Trevor	13.33
1606[48]	18	1 – Edward Blayney	5.55
1608[49]	28	4 – Ralph Bingley, Edward Blayney, James Perrot and John Vaughan	14.29
1610[50]	29	3 – Edward Blayney, James Perrot and John Vaughan	10.34
1615[51]	26	2 – Edward Blayney and John Vaughan	7.69
1622[52]	27	2 – Edward Blayney and John Vaughan	7.4
1624[53]	27	2 – Edward Blayney and John Vaughan	7.4
1630[54]	25	2 – Sir Henry Blayney (who had replaced his father, Edward) and John Vaughan	8
1639[55]	40	3 – Sir Henry Blayney, John Vaughan, Charles Price	7.5

left Ireland before 1603. Some, such as Sir Mathew Morgan, were professional soldiers transferred from the continent as a temporary measure, but the majority were new officers. The large numbers of English captains who arrived in 1598 drove the overall proportion of Welsh captains down to 6.5% but this was bolstered by the arrival of Essex and his large number of Welsh dependents in 1599. After the

[43] List dated November 1601: *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 200-1.
[44] List dated October 1602: *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 521-6.
[45] List dated October 1603: *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 90-2.
[46] List dated October 1604: *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 200-1.
[47] List dated July 1605: *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 394-5.
[48] List dated October 1606: *CSPI 1606-8*, pp. 1-2.
[49] List dated November 1608: *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 96-7.
[50] List dated October 1609 – March 1610: NA, SP63/228/73C.
[51] List dated February 1615: *CSPI 1615-25*, pp. 10-13.
[52] List dated February 1622: *CSPI 1615-25*, p. 343.
[53] List dated July 1624: *CSPI 1615-25*, p. 517.
[54] List dated 1630: *CSPI 1625-32*, p. 595.
[55] List dated 1639: NA, SP63/257/50.

departure of the Essex captains, however, the Welsh proportion dropped again between 1600 and 1602 to 8% or less. This group fought in the worst of the wars in Ireland but gained very little from their service.[56]

The final group of Welsh officers are the most important for this study. These established themselves as professional Irish soldiers around the turn of the century. Individuals such as Sir Edward Trevor of Brynkinallt, Denbighshire, arrived in the late 1590s but remained after 1603. The Welsh officers largely kept their positions during the first wave of post-rebellion discharges, and thus the proportion of Welsh captains in the army again rose above 10% in 1604-5. Most of these captains, with the exception of Edward Blayney, were discharged in 1605, but the majority remained in Ireland on military pensions or as civilians. This allowed them to exploit the opportunities offered by a newly peaceful Ireland. Many received grants of plantation land as servitors of the crown, establishing themselves as significant figures in the colonial community.[57] The 1608 O'Doherty rebellion brought veterans Ralph Bingley and John Vaughan back into the military and led to the appointment of the new Welsh captain James Perrot. This once more boosted the Welsh contingent in the army to 14%. The garrison stabilised between the 1610s and 1630s at around twenty-five to twenty-seven foot captains with the Welsh making up 7.5-8% of the total, roughly representative of the Welsh population of England and Wales. For parts of this period, therefore, the Welsh made up a significant number of the captains in Ireland and their presence rarely fell far below 8% of the total.

While it is difficult to estimate the number of Welsh captains, it is almost impossible to assess the numbers of Welshmen among lower-ranking officers. Information on such men is rare and often ambiguous. Those lower ranking officers for whom we do have evidence are almost always men who went on to become captains, such as William Jenkins, William Mostyn and Peter Wynn, or those who obtained land in Ireland, such as Lieutenant Roger Jones. These were minor gentlemen who were

[56] The most significant of this group were, Roger Billings, Ellis Lloyd, Ellis Jones, Walter Lloyd, Charles Mansell, Gelly Meyrick, Francis Meyrick, Edmond Morgan, Edward Morris, Walter Progers, John Salusbury, Owen Salusbury, John Sydney, John Owen Tudor, William Williams and Peter Wynn. See Appendix 3 for further details.

[57] The most significant of this group were, Ralph Bingley, Edward Blayney, Maurice Griffith, Richard Griffith, Roger Jones, John Lloyd, James Perrot, Charles Price, Edward Trevor, Richard Trevor, John Vaughan and Henry Vaughan. See Appendix 3 for further details.

essentially training to be captains. It is likely that other lower-ranking officers for whom evidence does not survive were from a more humble background. The data we do have, however, suggests Welsh lieutenants, sergeants and ensigns were, like the ordinary soldier, common in the Irish army. In March 1561, for example, fourteen companies were mustered in Ireland. Each had an ensign and a sergeant among whom there were four ensigns and three sergeants with Welsh names.[58] Evidence also exists for Captain Kynaston's 1647 levy of the north of Wales, which had two Welsh lieutenants and four Welsh ensigns in its ten companies.[59] As Colonel Francis Trafford suggested, the use of Welsh junior officers probably helped with discipline and communication, especially if the captain was English. It is likely that Welshmen made up a similar proportion of the lower officers as they did captains.

The Welsh were not, therefore, as common among the officers of the Irish army as they were in the rank and file. This section has demonstrated that for much of this period around one in ten, and often more, of the captains in Ireland were Welshmen. This is a considerable proportion, particularly considering that leading Irish gentlemen also served in the Irish officer corps. Most, but not all, Welsh captains would have been placed in charge of companies levied from Wales. From at least 1575, therefore, a permanent Welsh gentry presence could be found among the military officers in Ireland, a number of whom settled there after the completion of their service. This chapter will now turn to an analysis of why Welsh officers served in Ireland and how they differed from their English colleagues.

"Partakers of all fortunes"[60]: understanding the Welsh presence in the Irish officer corps

As discussed above, the officers of the Irish army are under-researched. The work that has been done has focused largely on their influence on wider Irish society and

[58] When ever surnames are used as evidence of Welsh origin in this thesis all the relevant names will be listed in a footnote or appendix, the reasons for this are outlined in Appendix 1. The Welsh officers were Ensigns John Myricke, John Davis, David Lloyde and Robert Thomas and Sergeants William ap Hoell, Robert Edwardes and William Jenkins: NA SP63/3/47; 63/7/35.
[59] The lieutenants were Edward Roberts and John Owens, and the ensigns were Hugh Wynne, Edward Phillips, Griffith Davies and Francis Edwards: *LJ*, vol. 9, p. 168.
[60] Smith, *Calendar of Salusbury correspondence*, p. 24.

government, and has tended to treat the officers as a uniform whole.[61] As Rory Rapple has argued, however, the captains were not faceless agents of the state, but individuals with their own unique origins, aims and ambitions.[62] In carrying out a group case study of the background and motivations of the Welsh officers in Ireland, this section makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the diverse nature of the Irish army, especially by demonstrating the differences as well as similarities that existed within the officer corps. It argues that the majority of the Welsh captains shared certain characteristics, some of which were common to most English officers, while others were uniquely Welsh. It is also suggested that Irish service had a particular appeal for Welsh gentlemen. Wales's geographical position, as well as the influence of Welsh patronage networks in Ireland, Welsh conceptions of honour and the relative poverty of the principality's gentry, combined to encourage Welsh participation in the wars. This prosopographical analysis thus not only sheds light on the central Welsh figures in early modern Ireland, but also demonstrates some of the fault lines that existed within the New English military presence there.

The captains who served in Ireland can broadly be divided into two types: mercenaries who had served on the continent and went to Ireland only temporarily; and those who devoted themselves largely to Irish service. The former have been studied in depth by David Trim. Trim's work has successfully challenged the view that British continental mercenaries were motivated largely by greed. He demonstrates that English and Welsh officers in the Netherlands and France during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were mostly volunteers inspired by strong Calvinist beliefs, a desire to fight the forces of Spain and the Pope, and the heroic myths created by chivalric soldiers such as Sir Philip Sidney.[63] Such men rarely received much financial benefit from their service. Lack of pay, in fact, was usually the reason that continental volunteer captains came to Ireland.

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[61] For probably the most detailed study to date see, Ciarán Brady, 'The captains' games: army and society in Elizabethan Ireland', in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (eds.), *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 136-59.

[62] Rory Rapple, *Martial power and Elizabethan political culture: military men in England and Ireland, 1558-1594* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 301-2.

[63] David Trim, 'Calvinist internationalism and the English officer corps, 1562-1642', *History Compass*, 4 (2006), pp. 1024-48; Trim, 'Jacob's wars', *passim*.

The Welsh individuals in Ireland who follow Trim's model most clearly were the Morgans of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire. Sir Thomas Morgan of St George's, Glamorgan, and Pen-Carn, Monmouthshire, was one of the leading British officers in the Netherlands between 1572 and 1593. As a third son, Morgan's career was almost certainly an attempt to achieve financial independence, but he was probably also inspired by religion. Morgan's close relations with the Dutch authorities and his marriage to a Dutch noblewoman suggest he was a committed Protestant.[64] Morgan's service in Ireland in 1574 and 1575, however, seems to have been financially motivated. He left the Netherlands after a pay dispute with William of Orange and was immediately placed in charge of a company of Low Country veterans to be sent to Ireland. When his pay issues were resolved in 1578 he returned to the continent and remained there until 1593. Morgan's short Irish service and the pay dispute suggest that he only went to Ireland to take advantage of the regular wages offered by the royal army.[65] This pattern was repeated by his nephew Sir Mathew Morgan of Pen-Carn, who served with his uncle from the early 1580s.[66]

Continental volunteer captains were, however, rare among the Welsh in Ireland. Such men were much coveted by the government for their experience and professionalism, but the wars of conquest in Ireland offered little appeal to those who craved the Christian chivalric ethos of the religiously-motivated wars on the continent.[67] Most captains served solely or largely in Ireland and had little continental experience. These were not dashing volunteers motivated by the Protestant cause. The majority of men who led companies in Ireland were either professional Irish captains appointed for their experience of serving there or dependants of powerful noblemen appointed through patronage.

Many of those appointed as captains had previous experience of serving in the Irish military. Some, such as William Jenkins, began as junior officers and were promoted as a reward for their service.[68] Many more began as gentleman volunteers, unpaid

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[64] This did not stop him coming under suspicion of being a Catholic sympathiser however: see p. 191.
[65] Trim, 'Jacob's wars', pp. 114, 372-3; Howell A. Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir Thomas (d.1595)', *ODNB*, vol. 39, pp. 144-5; NA, SP63/53/35.
[66] See Appendix 3. Trim, 'Jacob's wars', pp. 386, 451-2; NA, SP12/251/84.
[67] For the concept of a Christian chivalric ethos see, David Trim, 'Introduction', in his *The chivalric ethos and the development of military professionalism* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 1-40.
[68] NA, SP63/7/35; *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 129-32, 195.

soldiers usually serving in the retinue of English nobles or administrators in Ireland. Lord Deputy Mountjoy wrote in June 1600 that new captains should be chosen from those who had served as volunteers and thus had "endured the misery and hazard of this war".[69] This happened in many Welsh cases. Captains Rice Mansell, John Price and William Mostyn all served as volunteers before obtaining captaincies.[70] There were, therefore, always a number of unpaid Welsh gentlemen soldiers in Ireland who rarely appear in the records. They served alone or with a small number of personally-levied troops, and their aim was to obtain a captaincy. The most fully documented Welsh gentleman volunteer is, ironically, one who failed in his bid to become a professional officer, but his experience is probably typical.[71] William Jones went to Ireland with Lord Deputy Sir John Perrot in 1584. He initially served as Perrot's secretary but, with his master's agreement, joined Captain Christopher Carliell in County Antrim, serving as an officer without pay. When Jones returned home in late 1585 he received recommendations from several leading Irish figures, including Edward Waterhouse, who informed Sir Francis Walsingham that Jones had played "the p[ar]te of a soldier in tyme & place most daungerous".[72] It is not clear why Jones did not go on to become an officer, but it is likely that for other Welsh gentlemen such commendations played a key role in obtaining a paid captaincy.

Although experience of the Irish wars was extremely useful for a prospective Irish captain, patronage was essential. The Welsh gentry were fortunate that, during the sixteenth century at least, control over Irish military appointments fell in part to men with connections in Wales. The appointment of many Welsh captains can be attributed to this fact. A key influence was Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester. The Dudley family had considerable control over Irish military patronage from about 1563 until the late 1590s.[73] During the same period Leicester had significant interests in the north of Wales.[74] Although Leicester took Welsh soldiers and captains to the

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[69] *CSPI 1600*, p. 223.
[70] NA, SP63/108/4, 35, 37; 63/116/34; 63/134/41; 63/178/75; *CSPI 1598-9*, p. 10.
[71] Henry Salusbury of Llewenni and Robert Salusbury of Rûg also served as volunteers but never became captains. See Appendix 3.
[72] NA, SP63/112/75; 63/129/15.
[73] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British: 1580-1650* (Oxford and New York, 2001), p. 75.
[74] In 1563 he had been granted the lordships of Denbigh and Chirk in Denbighshire. By the late 1560s he was Chief Forester of Snowdon, and in 1572 he acquired the lordships of Arwystli and Cyfeiliog in Montgomeryshire. His brother Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, held the lordship of Ruthin in Denbighshire

Netherlands in 1585, he never served personally in Ireland. Nevertheless, the fact that one of his captains in that expedition, Richard Gwynn of Caernarfon, had previously served in Ireland suggests that Leicester had obtained Irish captaincies for his Welsh servants.[75] Leicester's Welsh influence seems to have been exercised primarily by his client Sir Nicholas Bagenal and his son, Henry. Early in his career Nicholas Bagenal was a dependant of Leicester, and his castle at Newry was named 'Leicester Castle' in his honour.[76] The Bagenals obtained land in Anglesey through marriage in 1556 and, over time, integrated into the north Wales landed community.[77] Sir Nicholas and Henry both served as Marshal of the Irish army and thus had a significant influence over military appointments. Under their influence the garrison at Newry came to be dominated by officers drawn from the Leicester-Bagenal sphere of influence in north Wales.[78]

Another source of Welsh military patronage was the Earls of Essex who held large estates in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire.[79] The Essex influence helped a number of Welsh captains enter Irish service, particularly in 1573 and 1599 when they led quasi-feudal armies into Ireland. The 1st Earl's attempt to conquer and plant the east of Ulster included several Welsh gentlemen. A list of June 1573 shows that Edward Matthews of Radyr, Glamorgan, joined Essex as a captain of horse, while his foot captains included a Denbighshire Trevor and a Glamorgan Mansell.[80] Essex also attracted the Netherlands veteran Sir William Morgan of Pencoed.[81] Morgan went on to have a long career in Ireland while Matthews married into the Irish aristocracy.[82] The Mansells and Trevors also became important Irish military families. Essex's failed invasion thus acted as a gateway to Irish military service for several Welsh captains.

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from 1564: Simon Adams, 'The gentry of North Wales and the Earl of Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands, 1585-1586', *Welsh History Review*, 7 (1974), p. 129.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 132; *APC 1578-80*, p. 297; NA, SP63/69/71.

[76] John J. Ó Néill, 'Nicholas Bagnall's castle at Newry, County Down', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 61 (2002), p. 120.

[77] Philip H. Bagenal, *Vicissitudes of an Anglo-Irish family, 1530-1800* (London, 1925), p. 36.

[78] The influence of the Bagenals is discussed in greater detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

[79] Paul E.J. Hammer, *The polarisation of Elizabethan politics: the political career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 270.

[80] NA, SP63/41/64; *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 402-3.

[81] Miller, 'Sir William Morgan of Pencoed', pp. 1-19.

[82] Miller, 'Sir William Morgan of Pencoed', pp. 1-19; BL, Add MS 4820, fol. 22.

The 2nd Earl of Essex's contribution to the Welsh presence in Ireland was more substantial. Essex inherited his father's estates in south-west Wales as well as his extensive client network.[83] He also had a significant influence in Radnorshire and a sizeable following among the Denbighshire gentry.[84] Essex gained further Welsh allies by absorbing the Welsh clientele of Sir William Stanley in Denbighshire and Flintshire after the latter's betrayal of Deventer in 1587.[85] As can be seen in Table 2.1 the levy that accompanied the earl to Ireland in 1599 included six Welsh captains. This does not include the men who led the quasi-feudal companies that also went to Ireland at this time, whose captains included Sir John Vaughan and Essex's Pembrokeshire steward Sir Gelly Meyrick.[86] Although many of the captains who went with Essex in 1599 were killed during or discredited by their role in the Essex rebellion of 1601, some like Ellis Jones and John Lloyd went on to have successful careers in Ireland. Thus, like his father before him, Essex helped to forge important links between Wales and the Irish military in the Elizabethan period.

Welsh captains did not rely solely on aristocratic Welsh land-owners for Irish patronage. The two Welsh-connected Lord Deputies of Ireland, Sir Henry Sidney (1565-71, 1575-8) and Sir John Perrot (1584-8), also acted as sources of military preferment. Sidney, who was also Lord President of Wales, called Captain Richard Lloyd his servant during the 1570s and he also seems to have had close dealings with Sir Thomas Morgan, Captain Morgan Jones and Lieutenant James Vaughan.[87] His role as a patron for Welsh captains is further highlighted by a letter sent to Sidney in January 1580 by Lord Justice Pelham. Pelham wrote that he had discharged Captain John Salusbury of Rûg, Merioneth, a former servant of Sidney's. He swore that he disliked ending the career of any officer, but he was "more sorry that it should light upon any of yours".[88] Sidney's dual governmental role thus offered some of his Welsh associates a route to gaining a company in Ireland.

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[83] Hammer, *Polarisation of Elizabethan politics*, p. 270.
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 276; A.H. Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex revolt of 1601', *English Historical Review*, 59 (1944), p. 369.
[85] David Mathew, *The Celtic peoples and Renaissance Europe: a study of the Celtic and Spanish influences on Elizabethan history* (London and New York, 1933), p. 239; Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad', pp. 66, 78-9.
[86] Mathew, *Celtic peoples*, pp. 369, 347-8.
[87] Rev. John Montgomery Traherne (ed.), *Stradling correspondence* (London, 1840), p. 12; HMC, *De L'Isle & Dudley MSS*, vol. 1, pp. 389-402.
[88] *Calendar of Carew MSS 1575-88*, p. 200.

Sir John Perrot of Pembrokeshire also served as Lord Deputy of Ireland and offered his Welsh dependants similar opportunities. He described Captain William Mostyn as "my man" and appointed him to important positions in Ireland as a client.[89] Both Sidney and Perrot also brought a large number of Welsh gentleman volunteers to Ireland, whose existence is rarely noted. In November 1566 Sidney related to the Queen that Edward Vaughan had been killed during an attack on an island near Armagh. He wrote that Vaughan was "a gentleman of Walles who beinge none of the armye but came over to take this journey as many more gentlemen and others of that countrie and the marchers of the same did".[90] In 1584, meanwhile, Perrot brought twenty-five "gentleman waiters" to Ireland, including William Jones whose service in the north of Ireland is discussed above.[91] Sidney and Perrot thus offered Welsh captains a particularly rich source of Irish patronage. It is thus of little surprise that Welshmen formed a particularly large percentage of the captains in Ireland during the 1570s and 1580s.[92]

Similar opportunities were presented by less powerful men who had connections to Wales. The Welsh Munster planter William Herbert of St Julians, Monmouthshire, for example, helped his ally Jenkin Conway obtain the captaincy of the Monmouthshire levy in 1590, and also appointed junior officers in that company.[93] Patronage thus goes someway towards explaining why Welsh gentlemen made up a considerable proportion of the Irish officer corps. It does not, however, reveal why Welshmen found Irish service appealing. It will be suggested here that becoming an officer in Ireland appealed to Welsh understandings of honour and status, offered many Catholic Welshmen an opportunity to affirm their loyalty to the crown, and allowed the often relatively poor Welsh gentry a unique opportunity to better themselves. First it will be demonstrated that Wales's proximity to the main Irish ports made Welsh gentlemen more aware of the opportunities available in Ireland and more likely to take advantage of them.

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[89] *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 513-7; NA, SP63/125/22.
[90] NA, SP63/19/43.
[91] Eight of the gentlemen had Welsh names: David Vaughan, Evan Thomas, John James, William Jones, John Gwin, Edward Jones, Morrice Williams and Philip Williams: NA, SP63/119/32II.
[92] The importance of Sidney and Perrot to Wales will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3.
[93] NA, SP30/53/7/3.

The Welsh captains were not drawn uniformly from the counties of Wales. Table 2.3 shows the details of the forty-three Welsh captains for which a county of origin can be positively or tentatively identified.[94] More than a quarter of the Welsh captains originated from the small county of Flintshire. Denbighshire and Pembrokeshire provided the next greatest number, followed by Anglesey, Monmouthshire, Caernarvonshire and Glamorgan (although the Anglesey number is somewhat conjectural). This pattern clearly demonstrates the central role that proximity to the western ports played in encouraging Welsh gentlemen to enter the Irish officer corps.

Figure 2.1 shows the transportation links between early modern Wales and Ireland. Four of the five major ports for transportation to Ireland were located at the four corners of Wales: Chester, Bristol, Holyhead and Milford Haven.[95] Chester was the main port for the transportation of troops and supplies to Ireland, and for the counties of north Wales, in particular Flintshire and Denbighshire, it was also the nearest major urban area and a social, economic and political hub.[96] The close association of the gentry of the north-eastern counties of Wales with Chester would certainly have made them familiar with events in Ireland and the opportunities that existed there.[97] Bristol was the equivalent urban centre for south-east Wales, and was the second most important port for transporting men to Ireland. Like Chester it acted as a source of news and information about Ireland for the Welsh. The large numbers of Irish captains drawn from Denbighshire, Flintshire, Glamorgan and Monmouthshire was almost certainly influenced by the ease of transport to, and knowledge brought by, the ports of Chester and Bristol.

The two Welsh ports of Holyhead and Milford Haven also helped connect the Welsh to Ireland and, consequently, probably also raised their interest in service there. Although Chester was the main port for sending men and supplies to Ireland, the journey was long and hazardous. Sailing from Holyhead was quicker and safer and it became the preferred port for officials travelling to and from Ireland. The ease of

[94] For all these men see Appendix 3. The list includes Sir Henry Salusbury of Llewenni, Denbighshire and William Jones of Pembrokeshire who were gentleman volunteers rather than captains.
[95] The fifth was Barnstaple in Devon.
[96] Jenkins, *A concise history of Wales*, pp. 137, 143.
[97] Mathew, *Celtic peoples*, p. 35; Philip Jenkins, *A history of modern Wales* (London and New York, 1992), p. 4.

Figure 2.1. Map of Wales showing transportation links to Ireland[98]

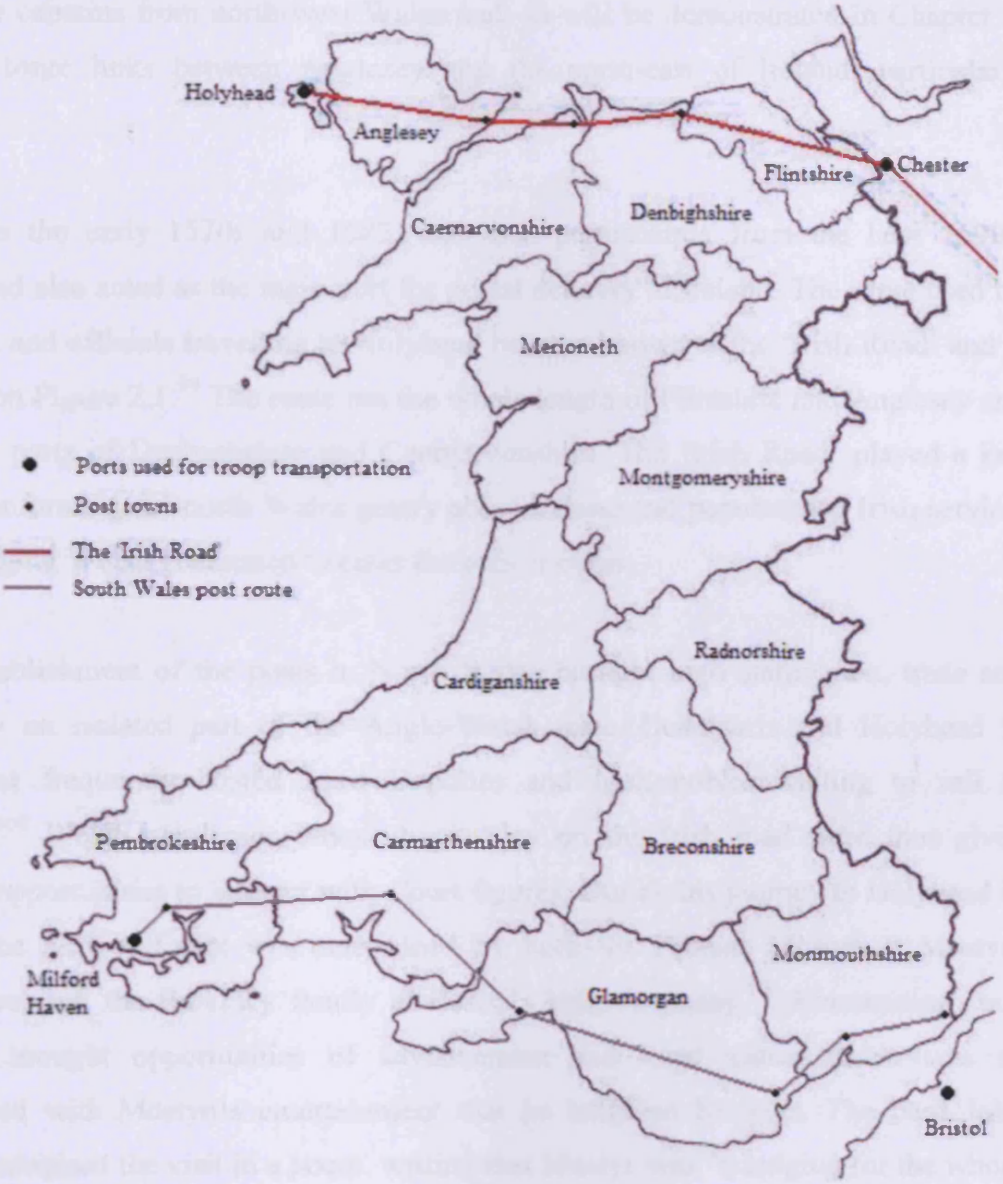

Table 2.3. County origins of Welsh captains (See Appendix 3 for details)

County	Confirmed origin of Captain	Probable origin of Captain	County	Confirmed origin of Captain	Probable origin of Captain
Anglesey	0	4	Glamorgan	3	0
Breconshire	1	0	Merioneth	2	0
Caernarvonshire	2	1	Montgomeryshire	1	0
Cardiganshire	0	0	Monmouthshire	4	0
Carmarthenshire	1	0	Pembrokeshire	4	1
Denbighshire	5	1	Radnorshire	1	0
Flintshire	10	2			

[98] The details of the 'Irish road' and south Wales postal route are taken from, R.T. Pritchard, 'The history of the post road in Anglesey', *Anglesey Antiquarian Society Transactions* (1954), pp. 19-20; *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 245-6; NA, SP63/204/167.

transport between Holyhead and Ireland almost certainly played a role in the careers of some captains from north-west Wales and, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, helped forge links between Anglesey and the north-east of Ireland, particularly Newry.

Between the early 1570s and 1582, and then permanently from the later 1590s, Holyhead also acted as the main port for postal delivery to Ireland. The route used by the post and officials travelling to Holyhead became known as the 'Irish Road' and is shown on Figure 2.1.[99] The route ran the whole length of Flintshire and Anglesey and through parts of Denbighshire and Caernarvonshire. The 'Irish Road' played a key role in informing the north Wales gentry about Ireland and popularising Irish service, encouraging Welsh gentlemen to enter the officer corps.

The establishment of the posts in North Wales brought high status men, trade and news to an isolated part of the Anglo-Welsh state. Beaumaris and Holyhead in particular frequently hosted Lord Deputies and Irish nobles waiting to sail to Dublin.[100] Welsh gentlemen whose homes lay on the Irish road were thus given unique opportunities to interact with Court figures. During his journey to Holyhead in 1599, the Earl of Essex was entertained by both Sir Thomas Mostyn at Mostyn, Flintshire, and the Bulkeley family at Baron's Hill, Anglesey.[101] Entertaining such figures brought opportunities of advancement and local status. Essex was so impressed with Mostyn's entertainment that he knighted his host. The bard John Tudur eulogised the visit in a poem, writing that Mostyn was "a lodging for the whole of Wales", and that while "some dignitaries go to Ireland... no-one will pass by the house". Referring specifically to the visit he wrote "the Earl of Essex, a well attended man, this will remain long in his memory".[102] The 'Irish Road' and the officials who travelled along it made the gentry who had homes in the area very aware of the opportunities available in Ireland and the pageantry and excitement of the arrival of

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[99] Peter E. Sanderson, 'The Importance of external factors in the development of the port of Holyhead', *Anglesey Antiquarian Society Transactions* (1963), p. 49.
[100] See, for example, *CSPI 1509-73*, pp. 144, 185, 353.
[101] *CSPI 1599-1600*, pp. 9, 32; Mathew, *Celtic peoples*, p. 361; A.D. Carr, 'The Mostyns of Mostyn, 1540-1642: part II', *Flintshire Historical Society Journal*, 30 (1981-2), p. 126. For Lord Deputy Russell also staying with the Mostyns in 1594 and 1597, see *Calendar of Carew MSS 1589-1600*, pp. 221, 260.
[102] E.D. Jones (ed.), 'The Brogyntyn Welsh manuscripts', *The National Library of Wales Journal*, 6 (1949-50), p. 23.

figures such as Essex must have inspired many to serve. Indeed, the Mostyns of Mostyn provided at least five Irish captains between the 1570s and the 1620s. The 'Irish Road' thus enhanced the appeal of Ireland for those who lived along it and helped to increase the number of Welshmen who served as captains there. It is likely that the equivalent postal route that ran the length of south Wales to Milford Haven had a similar effect although on a much smaller scale.[103]

Wales's proximity to the Irish ports does not, however, fully explain the motivation for Irish service. Some Welsh officers also had religious reasons for serving. Apart from a few exceptions such as Sir Thomas Morgan and Sir James Perrot, this was not, however, the Calvinist volunteer spirit identified by Trim, but rather Catholic sympathies.[104] As David Edwards has pointed out, although most studies of the New English in Ireland emphasise their Protestantism by way of contrast to the Catholic Irish and Old English, Ireland was also an attractive proposition for English and Welsh Catholics. Military service offered recusants the chance to serve the crown without having their religious beliefs questioned. In Ireland anti-Catholic laws were milder and rarely enforced and English and Welsh Catholics were able to serve in the Irish government with few problems up until the early seventeenth century.[105]

Wales, and in particular the Anglo-Welsh March, had a comparatively high recusant population. A.H. Dodd noted that Denbighshire and Flintshire were "riddled with recusancy" in the early modern period.[106] Many of the Welsh families that sent sons to Ireland as captains, particularly those of the north-east, were recusants or suspected recusants. These included the Lloyds of Bodidris, the Salusburys of Rûg, the Trevors of Trevalyn and Brynkinallt and the Wynns of Tower.[107] Indeed, several Welsh captains had spent time in Spanish service. Peter Wynn, Owen Salusbury and Roger Billings were all involved in Sir William Stanley's betrayal of Deventer in 1587 and served in Spain for around two years before being rehabilitated by the 2nd Earl of

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[103] For examples of the use of Milford Haven as a transport port for Ireland, see *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 245-6; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 10, pp. 359-60.
[104] Rapple, *Martial power and Elizabethan political culture*, p. 16.
[105] David Edwards, 'A haven of popery: English Catholic migration to Ireland in the age of plantations', in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds.), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 95-126.
[106] Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex revolt', p. 352.
[107] Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex revolt', pp. 350-2; Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad', pp. 63-4.

Essex.[108] For such men service in Ireland allowed them to re-affirm their loyalty to the crown and rebuild their fortunes and reputations. Some Catholic Welsh captains, however, defected to the Irish armies. Hugh Mostyn, for example, betrayed Athenry in 1600 and served the Irish until he transferred to Spanish service sometime between 1605 and 1610.[109] For figures such as Mostyn religion probably played a role in their original decision to enter Irish service. It should also be noted that for every Welsh captain who defected to the Irish or Spanish there were likely several whose religious beliefs remained hidden.

Ireland also offered Welsh captains the opportunity to seek honour and status. Roger B. Manning has argued that service in Ireland offered no prospect of honour and glory for English soldiers. The Elizabethan chivalric culture was closely linked to service on the continent, primarily in the Netherlands, and its proponents saw Ireland as the "graveyard for military reputations". The more "high-minded soldiers" presented those who served in Ireland as pirates who were "drawn there more by the hope of plunder... than the expectation of military honour".[110] Although financial concerns were a factor for motivating Welsh captains, Irish service appears to have been seen to be more honourable in Wales than it was in England. Understandings of honour in early modern Wales rested on the bardic concept of *uchelwriaeth*, an ideal set of virtues Welsh gentlemen were expected to display. Military valour and an obligation to protect one's locality remained central elements of the image of the *uchelwr*.[111] By the sixteenth century, however, there was little opportunity for the gentry to express these characteristics in a pacified and demilitarised society.[112] The bards thus embraced the opportunity to present Irish captains as great martial men, reminiscent of the heroic soldiers of Wales's past. In 1563, for example, Griffith Hiraethog sang of Moris Evan of Wern, Penmorfa, Caernarvonshire, who had served in France and Ireland, thus: "unfailing in every country was he, with neither the fear of anyone nor turning a back".[113] The still powerful bardic culture thus heightened the appeal of the

[108] Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad', pp. 65-79.
[109] *CSPI 1600*, p. 473, *CSPI 1600-1*, pp. 152-3, 219; Carr, 'The Mostyns of Mostyn: part II', p. 23.
[110] Roger B. Manning, *An apprenticeship in arms: the origins of the British Army, 1585-1702* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 22-3; Roger B. Manning, *Swordsmen: the martial ethos in the three kingdoms* (Oxford and New York, 2003), p. 73.
[111] J. Gwynfor Jones, *Concepts of order and gentility in Wales, 1540-1640* (Llandysul, 1992), pp. 51-2, 128, 170, 176.
[112] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-3.
[113] Jones, 'Brogyntyn Welsh manuscripts', p. 17.

Irish wars for the Welsh gentry by presenting it as an honourable theatre in which to serve.

Ideas regarding the honour of serving in the Irish wars can also be seen in Sir John Wynn's *History of the Gwydir family*, where he praised the four greatest "martial men" produced by Caernarvonshire during his lifetime, including Sir Maurice Griffith of Caernarfon, who made his career in Ireland.[114] Others saw participation in the Irish wars as honourable as it was part of defending vulnerable Wales from the Irish. William Salusbury of Bachymbyd, Denbighshire, for example, received praise in 1616 for his role in Ireland from his kinsman Richard Lewis. Lewis wrote that William's service had allowed him to match "the glory of his father and his brothers, Robert and John" who had both served as "bulwarkes in the Irish war".[115] Lewis certainly seems to have seen Irish service as an honourable undertaking and not simply a way of obtaining plunder.

William Jones, Sir John Perrot's servant and gentleman volunteer, is a particularly good example of a Welsh soldier who saw the Irish wars as a chance to obtain an honourable reputation. Perrot had wanted to keep Jones as a clerk, but he continually agitated to be sent to fight in Ulster instead of remaining "in idleness" in Dublin. Perrot eventually relented and told Sir Francis Walsingham in 1585 that "finding in hym a warm inclination to see the warres, I gave him leave to follow his honour".[116] For Jones, Irish service was an opportunity to prove himself as a soldier and acquire an honourable military reputation. The Welsh evidence thus challenges traditional arguments that there was no honour to be found in Irish service. Perhaps particularly a reflection of the influence of traditional Welsh culture, Welsh gentlemen could enhance their honour by serving in Ireland. This almost certainly encouraged some to join the Irish officer corps. We must be careful, however, not to put too much emphasis on Welsh difference here. It is also possible that the image of Irish service in England was not as dire as some have argued and English captains may also have been motivated by hopes of developing an honourable reputation. A reappraisal of English attitudes is required, but lies beyond the scope of this study.

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[114] Sir John Wynn, *The history of the Gwydir family and memoirs* (Llandysul, 1990), p. 71.
[115] Smith, *Salusbury correspondence*, pp. 144-5.
[116] NA, SP63/113/7; 63/120/13. Similar sentiments were expressed by Sir Robert Salusbury of Rûg when serving as a gentleman volunteer at Newry in the mid-1590s: NA, SP63/178/69; 63/180/3.

Irish service also allowed lesser Welsh gentlemen to obtain knighthoods, particularly during the governorship of the extravagant 2nd Earl of Essex.[117] Obtaining a knighthood was often difficult for Welsh gentlemen who were relatively poor and distant from the Court. When Sir John Wynn wanted to arrange for his son-in-law to be knighted he was advised by his son that to get it done at Court would be difficult and costly, and that "the best course that can be taken is to gett it done in Irlande".[118] The simplest and cheapest way to do this was to become an Irish captain who were often knighted for their service. Captain Richard Trevor of Trevalyn, for example, was knighted by Lord Deputy Burgh in 1597, only three years after receiving his first Irish company. Indeed, in August 1599 Captain John Davies was accused by John Chamberlain of serving in Ireland solely to obtain a knighthood.[119] Service in Ireland could, therefore, offer a Welsh gentleman the chance to acquire honour, respect and a title, opportunities that were thin on the ground at home.

Honour and status thus seem to have featured more heavily as motivating factors in Irish service for Welsh captains compared to their English colleagues. However, it is undeniable that another major reason that Welshmen entered Irish service was, like many of their English counterparts, to make a profit.[120] In the majority of cases English and Welsh captains were younger sons with little land or prospects of inheritance. Captain Peter Wynn, who served under the Earl of Essex and Lord Mountjoy, is a good example of this. He was a younger son of the Wynns of Tower near Mold in Flintshire and inherited only twenty shillings of land.[121] Similarly, Captain William Mostyn, second son of Peirs Mostyn of Talacre in Flintshire, did not inherit his father's significant wealth or status.[122] In both cases it is likely that these Welsh officers went to Ireland to make their fortunes.

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[117] For examples of Welshmen obtaining knighthoods in Ireland see, George Owen, *The taylors cussion*, edited by Emily M. Pritchard (London, 1906), vol. 2, p. 43; John Edwards Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families with their collateral branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and other parts* (Horncastle, 1914), p. 125; *CSPI 1593-6*, p. 200, NA, SP12/263/99.
[118] NLW, MS 9054E, 616.
[119] Norman Egbert McClure (ed.), *The letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia, 1939), vol. 1, pp. 82-5.
[120] Rapple, *Martial power and Elizabethan political culture*, p. 301.
[121] Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad', pp. 60-3.
[122] Carr, 'The Mostyns of Mostyn, 1540-1642: part I', p. 36.

In August 1606, Sir Arthur Chichester gave Sir Richard Trevor of Trevalyn a letter of commendation stating that he had "followed the wars here a long time, not as an occupation but out of a good disposition to deserve well of her majesty".[123] This was not the whole truth. Trevor had inherited Trevalyn in 1589, but was heavily in debt by the time he went to Ireland in 1594. He saw Irish service as a way to recoup his fortune.[124] Trevor summed up his reasons for going to Ireland in a letter to his brother of June 1595: "for my thoughts as is knowen only to God, have ever desyred for this world's hapynes, that I mought lyve free from the cale of caredytors and from beinge burthensome to my frends". Money was his aim in Ireland and he had a clear idea about how to obtain it. He wrote that "the best waye both to advance myself and to reape p[ro]fitt must be bye obtayninge some place of command to myself where I maye not live under the pleasure of every other commander, and upon some harborwe".[125] Specifically, he wanted to become governor of Carrickfergus where he hoped to make a substantial profit from trade.[126]

Trevor's plans were unusually specific but Irish service brought financial opportunities beyond royal pay. Captains wielded a lot of power: they often helped recruit men, train them, transport them, feed them, clothe them, arm them and handle their pay.[127] The opportunities for corruption that this allowed were notorious. During the transportation of troops, captains could easily take some, or all, of the coat and conduct money for themselves or sell the soldiers their freedom and press new ones. In June 1595, for example, the captain of the Breconshire levy did not pay his men any of their £18 6s 8d coat and conduct money, a practice repeated in several Welsh and English shires.[128] Such corruption was common and offered captains the opportunity to make a considerable profit.

The opportunities for illegal gain were even greater in Ireland where mustering was inefficient. This allowed captains to keep their company artificially small and take the pay, victuals and clothing supplied to the non-existent soldiers. Corruption was often actively encouraged and abetted by military commanders in Ireland who were usually

[123] *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 541-2.
[124] Richard F. Dell (ed.), *The Glynde Place archives: a catalogue* (Lewes, 1964), p. xxi.
[125] ESRO, Glynde Place MS 551, fol. 29.
[126] *Ibid.*, fol. 9.
[127] Brady, 'Captains' games', p. 147.
[128] NA, SP63/181/40.

as guilty of such crimes as their subordinates. In November 1601, for example, the governor of the garrison at Lough Foyle commended Captain John Vaughan when the Welsh captain beat and imprisoned the local muster master for attempting to stop local captains selling apparel.[129] Corruption could make even the briefest service in Ireland profitable. Sir Roger Mostyn of Mostyn, for example, wrote to Sir John Wynn of Gwydir that his son, Richard, hoped to make "a poore fortune" from his service and return to Wales within six weeks, something that could not have been achieved solely from government pay.[130]

Welsh captains also saw service in Ireland as a means to gain land and power. The English government viewed the army as a positive Protestant presence in Ireland and encouraged captains to settle permanently and form a militarised Protestant bulwark against the Irish. Some captains were given land as a reward for their service or in lieu of pay. One such was Jenkin Conway, who received a grant of the castle of Killorglin in County Kerry as payment of his arrears in 1585.[131] Others received their lands upon becoming a governor of a garrison. Captain Edward Blayney of Gregynog, for example, was granted the lands of his garrison in Monaghan in 1606-7.[132] Blayney eventually became one of the most important figures in the settler community and an Irish peer.[133] Similarly, when Sir Edward Trevor died he held Irish estates that were double the size of his Denbighshire lands and was a member of the Irish Privy Council.[134] Ireland thus offered relatively poor Welsh gentlemen the opportunity to transform themselves into wealthy New English nobles.[135]

Only a select few were enriched by their service in Ireland, however. Most did not serve for long enough to build up landed estates, and for some captains service was a financial disaster. Sir William Morgan of Pencoed in particular lost vast sums in Ireland. Morgan, a veteran of the continental wars, served in Ireland in 1573 and between 1579 and 1582. He was unusual among Welsh captains in being heir to a

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[129] NA, SP63/209/197.
[130] NLW, MS 9061E, 1394.
[131] Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The Munster plantation, 1583-1641' (unpubl. PhD thesis, London University, 1983), p. 372.
[132] NA, SP63/232/36.
[133] NA, SP63/258/93-4.
[134] A.H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (Cardiff, 1952), p. 87.
[135] This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

considerable estate and largely honest in his dealings with his soldiers. Due to his wealth and status he was expected personally to supplement the meagre supplies that his company received from the government and returned from both his expeditions severely in debt.[136] Similarly, Captain William Mostyn was heavily in debt by 1595 due to non-payment of wages and Richard Trevor did not obtain his desired profitable post during the 1590s, surviving off loans from his bureaucrat brother, and only restored his position when he returned to Wales after a second, more successful, stint in Ireland in 1606.[137] The image of Ireland that Edward Blayney sent to his friend Thomas Wintoun in 1605 was far removed from the trials suffered by the likes of Morgan, Mostyn and Trevor. He told Wintoun that he must visit Ireland and "if you come yow shall fynd me a mariede man that will byde you welcome to my howse".[138] As long as there were success stories, Ireland would seem a promising prospect to young impoverished Welsh gentlemen.

The preceding study allows us to build up a picture of the typical Welsh captain in Ireland. Our captain would have been a younger son of a Welsh gentry family and thus in possession of little land or money. His family would have had existing connections to Ireland either through past service, a property on the 'Irish Road' or in close proximity to a major port, or through a patron with links to Ireland. If the prospective captain had not served elsewhere he would have begun as a lower officer or gentleman volunteer before obtaining a captaincy, which was almost always done through a patron with land in Wales. The typical captain would probably have had Catholic leanings and about one in ten of his colleagues would have been Welsh. His service would have been a chance to better himself, not only financially but also in terms of honour, respect and status, particularly as refracted through his Welsh understandings of these concepts.

In November 1598 the Earl of Derby wrote to John Salusbury of Llewenni that he planned to go to Ireland with the Earl of Essex and asked Salusbury to join him. Derby claimed that if Salusbury was to accept "wee shalbe partakers of all

[136] Miller, 'Sir William Morgan of Pencoed', pp. 1-31.
[137] NA, SP63/178/75; ESRO, Glynde MS 551, fol. 17; *DWB*, pp. 980-3.
[138] NA, SP63/217/38B.

fortunes".[139] As Derby suggests, there were many opportunities for a Welsh gentleman in Ireland. Military service was, of course, always risky, but for ambitious younger sons or lesser gentry it could be an effective means of economic and social improvement. In many ways Ireland was more appealing to Welshmen than it was to their English counterparts. Irish service was seen to be more honourable in Wales and as a solution to the poorer financial situation of many younger Welsh gentlemen. Service in Ireland also offered these minor Welsh gentlemen knowledge of, and access to, opportunities within the Irish administration and plantations. The benefits this brought them will be discussed in the following chapters.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to enhance our understanding of how the Irish wars encouraged Welsh involvement in Ireland. A considerable number of Welsh gentlemen served as officers in Ireland during this period, generally making up between 6 and 14 percent of the total officer corps. It has been possible to provide names, backgrounds and motivations for many individual officers who are too often presented as simply part of an undifferentiated 'English' force. It has also been shown that Ireland offered particularly appealing opportunities for the comparatively poor Welsh gentry. The role that Welsh officers played in Ireland was not limited to service in the army. Many went on to obtain influential roles in the Irish administration and plantations. They also became central members of the Welsh community in early modern Ireland. Thus the motivations and backgrounds of the officers discussed in this chapter form an important underpinning for the following discussions of the part played by the Welsh as administrators and settlers in early modern Ireland.

[139] Smith, *Calendar of Salusbury correspondence*, p. 24.

Chapter 3: Servants and Soldiers: Welsh involvement in the Irish administration, 1558-1641

Chapters 1 and 2 have explored the most common way in which the Welsh came to Ireland in the early modern period: military service. They showed that the Welsh made up a significant proportion of the soldiers and officers in Ireland. The following two chapters assess the extent to which the Welsh were involved in Ireland's civilian establishment, specifically the secular and religious administration and the plantations. In neither of these domains were the Welsh as prominent as they were in the Irish military. Despite this, it will be argued that such Welsh involvement, usually overlooked, was pervasive: Welsh men and women can be found throughout the Irish administration and plantation projects. These chapters map the changing nature of the Welsh presence in the administration and plantations over time and, continuing a prosopographical approach, they build a picture of how and why Welsh individuals established themselves in these spheres. The chapters complete the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the Welsh presence in early modern Ireland and lay the groundwork for studying Welsh community and identity in Ireland in the second part of this thesis. Although many of those discussed here had solely civilian backgrounds, Welsh soldiers remain at the heart of the discussion. They were able to establish themselves in Ireland as administrators and obtain land in the plantations as reward for their service. Thus the following two chapters chart how Welshmen completed the journey from soldier to settler.

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'Administration' is used here to denote the network of civil, legal, religious and military offices that enforced the dictat of the English crown in Ireland. The chapter also concerns itself with the household servants of major figures in the Irish administration. Although such servants only played an unofficial role within the administration, they formed a secondary state-driven Welsh presence in Ireland. Welsh involvement in the Irish administration during this period can be divided into two stages split by the Irish crises of the 1590s. Before the 1590s the Welsh presence in the small Irish administration was negligible, but it was boosted by the occasional and temporary emergence of groups of Welshmen among the household servants and

Dublin-based administrators appointed by particular lord deputies. The first section discusses these figures and argues that Welsh connections to the Irish administration during this period were limited to the governments of lord deputies Sir Henry Sidney and Sir John Perrot. Both men had close connections to Wales and were selected, in part, for their experience of Welsh government which was seen as advantageous for new Irish governors. The two lord deputies also owed their appointment partly to the Dudley family, who were influential in the principality. During their periods of office, Perrot and Sidney brought with them Welsh servants and allies, and temporarily boosted the Welsh presence in Irish government.

The late 1580s, however, saw the collapse of the Dudley interest which had been so important in sponsoring these bursts of Welsh involvement in Ireland. Moreover, during the 1590s the Tyrone rebellion convinced many English policy makers that Irish government would benefit more from individuals with a military background rather than those with experience in Welsh administration. No more governors were appointed from Wales after the 1580s and the Welsh presence at the heart of the Dublin government diminished. Welsh involvement in the Irish administration did not cease, however, but rather changed in character. Post-war Ireland offered ex-officers opportunities to take up new posts in Irish local government and the provincial administration. Many of the Welsh captains discussed in the previous chapter now entered the Irish administration. The officers were joined by small numbers of new Welsh administrators who migrated to take advantage of these opportunities. This period thus saw a clear shift in Welsh involvement in the Irish administration from transient, Dublin-based low-level administrators and household staff reliant on influential patrons to independent and permanent middle-ranking local and regional administrators in the early seventeenth century. This shift allowed Welsh officers to establish themselves as settlers and become a central part of the Welsh community in early modern Ireland.

The Welsh presence in the Irish administration is rarely noted in histories of British involvement in Ireland.[1] The only historian to have directly considered the role of the

[1] For some rare exceptions, see David Mathew, *The Celtic peoples and Renaissance Europe: a study of the Celtic and Spanish influences on Elizabethan history* (London and New York, 1933), p. 220; Hiram Morgan, 'The fall of Sir John Perrot', in John Guy (ed.), *The reign of Elizabeth I: Court and culture in*

Welsh in the Irish administration is A.H. Dodd.[2] He was the first to note the changing character of the Welsh presence in Irish government after the 1590s. This chapter expands and modifies Dodd's analysis. Although his presentation of the pre-1590s period is largely sound, recognising the central role of Sidney and Perrot in bringing Welshmen to Ireland, he does not explain how and why these lord deputies created a Welsh presence in Irish government or identify who the protagonists were. For the post-1590s period, Dodd argues that "James I's administration [in Ireland] was as Welsh in its upper crust as Perrot's had been at a lower level".[3] This overstates the number and importance of the Welsh in the Jacobean Irish government, which stems from Dodd's failure to engage with the wider context of the Irish administration. In reality the Welsh were neither dominant nor, with only a few exceptions, members of the "upper crust". Rather, they formed a significant part of the mid-level, local administration, but rarely rose to high governmental office. The Welsh remained a minority among the largely English officials, but they were pervasive, creating a Welsh presence *throughout* Irish government.

The chapter begins by presenting a short overview of the early modern Irish administration. It outlines the structure of Irish government and introduces two factors that will be important for the argument: the role of the military in the administration and the influence of Court patronage.

The Irish administration: an overview

The Irish government was intended to be a replica of that in England and indeed there were many similarities, but also stark differences.[4] The administration was usually headed by a lord lieutenant or lord deputy who was the monarch's representative and wielded prerogative powers that could be altered by the crown.[5] The deputy presided

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the last decade (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 105-125. Roger Turvey's study of Perrot's trial for treason is one of the few modern works to discuss the 'Castle Welshmen', but they are not addressed directly, nor is their Welsh origin: Roger Turvey, *The treason and trial of Sir John Perrot* (Cardiff, 2005).

[2] A.H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (Cardiff, 1952), pp. 76-109.

[3] Dodd, *Studies*, p. 83.

[4] Joseph M. McLaughlin, 'The making of the Irish leviathan, 1603-25: statebuilding in Ireland during the reign of James VI and I' (unpubl. PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 1999), p. 364.

[5] In the absence of a lord deputy, Ireland was governed on a temporary basis by lord justices: *Ibid.*, p. 35.

over the Irish Privy Council, which, along with his personal court and household, constituted the heart of the English government. Below the lord deputy were the chancellor and treasurer who controlled the legal system and exchequer, respectively.[6] Parliament met rarely and was generally a site of political conflict rather than governance under Elizabeth, although the Stuart parliaments played a greater role in the Irish government.[7]

As the Dublin administration gained more control over Ireland during the sixteenth century, procedures for local government were established. In 1569 and 1571 regional councils were set up in Connacht and Munster. These were small institutions under a lord president, and were modelled on the councils of Wales and the north of England, although they also had access to small armies and the power to enforce martial law.[8] By the early seventeenth century there were also six assize circuits, which carried out bi-annual sessions and helped to enforce policy in the regions.[9] The chief county officer was the sheriff who was charged with keeping the peace, organising levies and administering the county court for minor civil pleas.[10] From 1558 sheriffs in many areas of weak government control also exercised martial law.[11] It has been estimated that there were thirty-four salaried civil officers in Ireland in 1534, sixty in 1560, 139 in 1602 and 191 in 1611.[12] This was not enough to govern a country in which, particularly from the late sixteenth century onwards, few native elites outside of the

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[6] The other central civil offices included the judges of the four courts (Exchequer, Chancery, Kings Bench and Common Pleas), master of the rolls, principal secretary to the council, keeper of the privy seal, surveyor general, chief herald and, later, the provincial escheators: R.W. Dudley Edwards and Mary O'Dowd, *Sources for early modern Irish history, 1534-1641* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 7-9, 18-24; McLaughlin, 'Irish leviathan', p. 242.

[7] Victor Treadwell, 'The Irish parliament of 1569-71', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 65 (c) (1966-7), pp. 55-89; Victor Treadwell, 'Sir John Perrot and the Irish parliament of 1585-6', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 85 (c) (1985), pp. 259-308; T.W. Moody, 'The Irish parliament under Elizabeth and James I: a general survey', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 45 (c) (1940), pp. 41-81.

[8] Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors, 1447-1603: English expansion and the end of Gaelic rule* (London, 1998), pp. 171, 289; Edwards and O'Dowd, *Sources for early modern Irish history*, p. 44; Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland: a pattern established, 1565-76* (London, 1976), p. 99.

[9] McLaughlin, 'Irish leviathan', pp. 223-4.

[10] Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors*, p. 177.

[11] Christopher Maginn, *'Civilizing' Gaelic Leinster: the extension of Tudor rule in the O'Byrne and O'Toole lordships* (Dublin, 2005), pp. 99-105.

[12] Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors*, pp. 178-9; Nicholas Canny, 'Dominant minorities: English settlers in Ireland and Virginia, 1550-1650', in A.C. Hepburn (ed.), *Minorities in history* (London, 1978), pp. 51-2; McLaughlin, 'Irish leviathan', p. 221.

Pale were willing or able to participate in a colonial administration.[13] In practice the administration came to depend on two reliable English presences in Ireland: the military and, to a lesser extent, the clergy.

The military accounted for the vast majority of the New English in Ireland until at least 1603. It was always likely, therefore, that the Irish administration would come to depend on men drawn from the military establishment, particularly at the provincial level where civilian government was weak. In regions with a strong military presence castle constables often settled disputes and upheld governmental authority, while seneschals exercised wide judicial powers and helped to collect government rents, often with the power of martial law.[14] Military figures were given more extensive powers in 1604 when the eight colonels of the Ulster army were made governors of the regions for which they had been responsible during the Nine Years' War.[15] Provost marshals also had a greater civil administrative role during the early seventeenth century.[16] Moreover, soldiers were commonly appointed to civilian administrative offices.[17] The provincial councils in particular, which were funded by feudal military rents and could exercise martial law, came to be staffed by military men.[18] The influence of provincial councils on the appointment of sheriffs meant that many ex-captains were selected, giving them a vital role in local justice and the collection of taxes and compositions.[19] Thus, in some ways, the military can be seen as a wing of the civilian administration. The same can be said, to a lesser extent, for the clergy, many of whom served in major Irish civil offices and used their influence to gain civilian positions for their children. Soldiers, administrators and clergymen were united by their shared responsibility in Irish government.[20] The Irish

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[13] Although it must be noted that native Irish participated in local government as jurors, JPs and deputy sheriffs and in the Pale sheriffs were almost always members of the local elites: Raymond Gillespie, 'Negotiating order in early seventeenth-century Ireland', in Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (eds.), *Negotiating power in early modern society: order, hierarchy and subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 200; Ciarán Brady, 'Court, castle and country: the framework of government in Tudor Ireland', in Ciarán Brady and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and newcomers: essays on the making of Irish colonial society, 1534-1641* (Dublin, 1986), p. 38.

[14] Ciarán Brady, 'The captains' games: army and society in Elizabethan Ireland', in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (eds.), *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 148-53.

[15] Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland: making Ireland modern* (Dublin, 2006), p. 65.

[16] McLaughlin, 'Irish leviathan', pp. 212-4, 317-9; Jon G. Crawford, *Anglicizing the government of Ireland: the Irish Privy Council and the expansion of Tudor rule, 1556-1578* (Dublin, 1993), p. 278.

[17] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British: 1580-1650* (Oxford and New York, 2001), p. 106.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 106; Canny, *Elizabethan conquest*, p. 50.

[19] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp. 91, 101; Brady, 'Captains' games', pp. 154-5.

[20] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp. 114, 305-6.

administration was thus a network of overlapping civil, legal, religious and military officials that cooperated to govern Ireland on behalf of the crown.

The Dublin government cannot be understood in isolation, however. Ireland had a second political centre: London. From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the vast sums of money invested in Ireland and the opportunities offered by military service and the plantations made Irish patronage an important prize for factions at Court.[21] Civil and military offices remained in the gift of the crown throughout this period and officials in Ireland depended heavily on royal favour.[22] The Irish administration thus reflected the vagaries of faction fighting at Court. Shifts in the balance of power in London could bring down lord deputies and raise new governors.[23] Irish government was, therefore, shaped by events at the political core of the Tudor and Stuart monarchies.

It will be demonstrated in this chapter that Welsh involvement in Ireland can largely be explained through court patronage and the military's role in government. The relative importance of these two factors, however, changed during this period. Patronage was the main force behind the Welsh presence before 1588, but the Welsh role in the military was the primary impetus behind their presence in Irish government after this.

The 'Castle Welshmen': the Welsh in the Irish administration, 1558-1588

For almost fifteen of the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign, Ireland was headed by governors who had close links to Wales. This section explores the Welsh dimension to the lord deputyships of Sir Henry Sidney (1565-71, 1575-8) and Sir John Perrot (1584-8). It analyses the thinking behind appointing governors with a Welsh background and demonstrates how their influence encouraged the migration of Welshmen to Ireland. This is the first full analysis of these 'Castle Welshmen', a term used by modern scholars to characterise the Welsh figures within the Irish administration reliant on Sidney and Perrot, who usually served in low-level

[21] Ellis, *Ireland in the age of the Tudors*, p. 282.
[22] McLaughlin, 'Irish leviathan', p. 112.
[23] Morgan, 'The fall of Sir John Perrot', p. 110; Hugh Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland, 1633-41: a study in absolutism* (Manchester, 1989), pp. 10-11.

administrative positions or as household servants.[24] An understanding of these figures is vital, not only for explaining the changing relationship between Wales and Ireland in this period, but also for understanding the nature of the Welsh community in early modern Ireland and how it was perceived by the New English.

Sidney and Perrot were the highest ranking of a number of Irish officials during this period who had a background in Welsh government.[25] Their appointments can be explained largely by the influence of the Dudley family and the contemporary belief that experience of Wales was useful for Irish governors. Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, had a significant influence over political patronage in Ireland during the first three decades of Elizabeth's reign. The Dudleys also had substantial interests in Wales and the west of England and it is likely that they saw Ireland as a natural extension of their western territorial power bloc.[26] Many of the major families of Wales and the English marcher counties, as well as a substantial number of officials in the Council in the Marches of Wales, were members of the Dudley circle.[27] It is through these channels that Sidney and Perrot found preferment to the highest Irish offices.

Leicester's involvement in Ireland began when he orchestrated the appointment of the Gloucestershire-born veteran of the Council in the Marches, Sir Nicholas Arnold, to investigate complaints against Lord Deputy Sussex in 1562. Arnold replaced Sussex in 1564, holding the title of lord justice, and essentially acted as an intermediary for Leicester.[28] In 1565 Arnold was replaced by Sir Henry Sidney, who became lord deputy. Sidney was Leicester's brother-in-law, and in 1560 had been appointed Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales through Dudley patronage. As a strong supporter of the Dudley circle in Wales he was a natural candidate for

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[24] See Mathew, *Celtic peoples*, p. 220.
[25] Other Irish administrators with a background in Welsh government included Sir Nicholas Arnold who served on the Council in the Marches of Wales between 1551-4 and 1560-80 and Sir William Gerard a council member from 1560 until 1576, becoming its vice-president in 1562: Andrew Lyall, 'Arnold, Sir Nicholas (c.1509-1580)', *ODNB*, vol. 2, pp. 494-5; Penry Williams, 'Gerard, Sir William (d.1581)', *ODNB*, vol. 21, pp. 946-7.
[26] Ciarán Brady, *The chief governors: the rise and fall of reform government in Tudor Ireland, 1536-1588* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 107.
[27] Simon Adams, 'The gentry of north Wales and the Earl of Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands, 1585-1586', *Welsh History Review*, 7 (1974), pp. 127-147.
[28] Lyall, 'Arnold, Sir Nicholas', pp. 494-5.

extending their influence in Ireland.[29] Perrot also owed his appointment as lord deputy partly to the Dudley family. He was a close friend of Leicester's brother, the Earl of Warwick, and considered Leicester his patron.[30] Leicester's influence also extended to lesser figures with Welsh connections, for example, the Anglesey-based Bagenal family of Newry owed their power to Dudley patronage, while Philip Williams, personal secretary to lord deputies Fitzwilliam and Perrot, almost certainly also owed his position to Leicester.[31] Leicester died in 1588 and no new figure arose to act as a patron for Welshmen wishing to serve in Ireland.

Patronage, however, was not the only factor that contributed towards the appointment of Sidney and Perrot as lord deputies. They also had experience of government in Wales, particularly in the Council in the Marches. Sidney was Lord President of the Council until his death in 1586, while Perrot was a member of the Council from 1574.[32] Arnold also had experience of Welsh government, and Sir William Gerard, the Irish Lord Chancellor between 1576 and 1581, had previously served as vice-president of the Welsh Council.[33] This background was important because contemporaries saw the government of Wales, and in particular the union reforms implemented in Wales during the early sixteenth century, as a precedent for Irish government to follow.

Before the 1590s most New English administrators advocated a form of 'Welsh policy'.[34] They argued that Ireland's problems stemmed from administrative and legal deficiencies and that a mixture of moderate governmental reform and coercive policies, based on the Welsh experience but adapted to Irish realities, would bring

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[29] Brady, *The chief governors*, p. 107.
[30] Perrot also received patronage from Sir Francis Walsingham and Sidney, who remained influential in Irish politics: Bodleian Library, Perrot MS 1, *passim*.
[31] Williams was a servant of Leicester's close Welsh ally, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke: NA, SP63/5/94; John J. Ó Néill, 'Nicholas Bagnall's castle at Newry, County Down', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 61 (2002), p. 120; Turvey, *Treason and trial*, p. 146.
[32] Roger Turvey, 'Perrot, Sir John (1528-1592)', *ODNB*, vol. 43, pp. 810-5; Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Sidney, Sir Henry (1529-1586)', *ODNB*, vol. 50, pp. 545-50.
[33] Penry Williams, 'Gerard, Sir William (d.1581)', *ODNB*, vol. 21, pp. 946-7.
[34] The term 'Welsh policy' was first used by D.B. Quinn in his 'Ireland and sixteenth century European expansion', in T.D. Williams (ed.), *Historical studies: I* (Dublin, 1958), pp. 31-2, and is further explored in Ciarán Brady, 'Comparable histories?: Tudor reform in Wales and Ireland', in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest and union: fashioning a British state, 1485-1725* (London and New York, 1995), pp. 64-86.

peace and stability.[35] New English political tracts from this period abound with examples taken from the reforms enacted in Wales under the early Tudors and commendations of contemporary Welsh government.[36] Administrators in Ireland clearly believed that lessons could be learned from Wales. Indeed, when regional councils were introduced they were closely modelled on the Council in the Marches of Wales.[37] Experience of Welsh government in action was thus seen as a positive attribute for Irish service, as it was believed that the men who ran Wales might effectively replicate the policies that had succeeded in pacifying and reforming the principality.[38] Sir William Gerard certainly felt that his "long knowledge of Wales" gave him a particular insight into the problems that Ireland faced and that this qualified him for Irish service.[39] It is likely that both Sidney and Perrot's appointments were influenced by the Welsh experience that they brought to Irish government.

The crises of the last decades of the sixteenth century in Ireland, however, diminished the influence of such 'Welsh policy' advocates in Ireland. The rebellions that dominated Irish politics between 1579 and 1603 saw New English commentators blame Irish treachery more than administrative deficiency for the failings of English government in Ireland.[40] From the 1590s Irish political tracts began to support more coercive policies of re-conquest, plantation and a larger, more oppressive military

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[35] Ciarán Brady, 'New English ideology in Ireland and the two Sir William Herberts', in A.J. Piese (ed.), *Sixteenth-century identities* (Manchester and New York, 2000), p. 79.

[36] Steven G. Ellis, 'Civilizing the natives: state formation and the Tudor monarchy, c.1400-1603', in Steven G. Ellis and Luda Klusáková (eds.), *Imagining frontiers, contesting identities* (Pisa, 2007), p. 86. For examples of Welsh precedents in Irish political tracts, see BL, Harleian MS 35, fols. 145-78; BL, Cotton MS Titus B XII, fols. 158-66; BL, Cotton MS Titus B XIII, fols. 219-23; BL, Add. MS 48,015, fols. 309-11; NA, SP63/209/273; *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 534-6; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1575-88*, pp. 70-2; Sir William Herbert, *Croftus sive de Hibernia liber*, ed. Arthur Keaveney and John A. Madden (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1992), pp. 37-9; McNeill, 'Reports on manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford [part two]', pp. 290-1.

[37] Nicholas Canny, *Elizabethan conquest*, p. 97; Collins, *Letters and memorials*, vol. 2, p. 89; Tomás O'Laidhin (ed.), *Sidney state papers: 1565-70* (Dublin, 1962), pp. 61-70; *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 175-6; Charles McNeill, 'Reports on manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford [part two]', *Analecta Hibernica*, 2 (1931), p. 124.

[38] Experience of the Council in the North was also valued: Herbert, *Croftus*, p. 95; Brady, 'Comparable histories', p. 76; Steven G. Ellis, 'Defending English ground: the Tudor frontiers in history and historiography', in Steven G. Ellis and Raingard Esser (eds.), *Frontiers and the writing of history, 1500-1850* (Hannover-Laatzen, 2006), p. 75.

[39] *Calendar of Carew MSS 1575-88*, pp. 70-2.

[40] G.A. Hayes-McCoy, 'The completion of the Tudor conquest and the advance of the counter-reformation, 1571-1603', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Pryce (eds.), *A new history of Ireland: III, early modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 105-8; Brady, *Chief governors*, p. 292; Canny, 'Identity formation in Ireland', pp. 165-168.

presence.[41] These harsher attitudes had, of course, been present before the 1590s and more ameliorative policies continued to be advocated after that date; the two positions were not incompatible.[42] This period did, however, witness a shift along a spectrum away from moderate reform policies towards harsher coercive attitudes which remained dominant even in the years of relative peace after 1603.[43] After the 1590s many New English governors no longer perceived Ireland to be ready for the moderate administrative reforms recommended by the 'Welsh policy'.[44] As a result service in Welsh government diminished in importance and most of the lord deputies of the 1590s and early 1600s were soldiers rather than administrators drawn from Wales and other English borderlands.

We now move on to focus on the governorships of Sir Henry Sidney and Sir John Perrot and examine the extent to which their Welsh connections facilitated the entry of Welsh personnel into the Irish administration. The households of both men, as well as Perrot's administration, had a distinctly Welsh character, and it is argued here that their patronage was particularly important in augmenting the Welsh presence in the Irish administration.

In May 1565 Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of the Council in the Marches, drew up his conditions for being appointed lord deputy of Ireland. He wanted to hold the Welsh presidency for life and to be granted a licence for transporting cloth and grain for his Irish household from Wales.[45] Although angered by his presumption in asking for an office for life, Elizabeth assented to his joint governorship of Ireland and Wales.[46] For the first and only time Wales and Ireland were placed under the same

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[41] The central text for this change is Edmund Spenser's *A view of the present state of Ireland*, ed. W.L. Renwick (Oxford, 1970); Ciarán Brady, 'Spenser's Irish crisis: humanism and experience in the 1590s', *Past and Present*, 111 (1986), pp. 17-49; Ciarán Brady and Nicholas Canny, 'Debate: Spenser's Irish crisis: humanism and experience in the 1590s', *Past and Present*, 120 (1988), pp. 201-215; Nicholas Canny, 'Introduction: Spenser and the reform of Ireland', in Patricia Coughan (ed.), *Spenser and Ireland: an interdisciplinary perspective* (Cork, 1989), pp. 9-24; Brady, Ciarán, 'The road to the view: on the decline of reform thought in Tudor Ireland', in Patricia Coughan (ed.), *Spenser and Ireland: an interdisciplinary perspective* (Cork, 1989), pp. 25-45.

[42] Steven G. Ellis, 'Writing Irish history: revisionism, colonialism and the British Isles', *The Irish Review*, 19 (1996), p. 14.

[43] Canny, 'Identity formation in Ireland', p. 189; Patricia Coughlan '"Cheap and common animals": the English anatomy of Ireland in the seventeenth century', in Thomas Healey and Jonathan Sawday (eds.), *Literature and the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 207.

[44] Brady, 'Comparable histories?', pp. 64-86.

[45] NA, SP63/13/45.

[46] Tomás O'Laidhin, (ed.), *Sidney state papers: 1565-70* (Dublin, 1962), p. 68.

governor. Sidney was no cambrophile but he had acquired trusted servants in Wales and forged close connections with the Welsh elite, which saw him peopling his Dublin household with Welsh servants and gentleman waiters.

Sidney's household accounts survive (though incomplete) for the period between 1565 and 1570, and suggest that about 10% of his entourage were of Welsh origin. Welsh figures in his household included high-ranking servants such as his steward, Peter Lewys and two of his three chaplains, Griffith Williams and David Morgan. The accounts also show five gentleman servants of Welsh origin.[47] Sidney's letters imply that these five were part of a larger presence of Welsh gentlemen in Dublin.[48] His ongoing presidency of Wales also meant that administrators and servants from the Council in the Marches were frequent visitors to Sidney's Dublin. For example, during the 1560s his Welsh servants Robert Mason and Richard ap Holle [Howell] transported cattle and money from Wales to Sidney's Irish household. A similar task was performed by Thomas Hanckie, the steward of Sidney's Welsh household, during his second term in Ireland.[49] Although not an official part of the Irish administration, Sidney's Welsh servants swelled the Welsh presence in Elizabethan Dublin. The Welshmen were a minority in his administration, but this was the first time that such numbers had been seen in the household of an Irish lord deputy.

Beyond Dublin, however, the Welsh dimension to Sidney's governorship was minimal. Although it made sense for Sidney to bring trusted Welsh servants to Ireland, he had no reason to favour Welshmen outside of his own household. The greatest Welsh beneficiaries of Sidney's patronage were his kinsmen, the Vaughan family, several of whom received Irish administrative posts during the 1560s. James Vaughan of Tilleglas, Breconshire, who had served in Ireland as a lieutenant, became constable of Island Sydney, while two other Vaughans, Hugh and Thomas, became

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[47] The gentleman servants were Thomas Vaughan, William ap Powell, Geoffrey Phillipes, Humfrey Powell and John Davys. The lower ranking Welsh servants listed in Sidney's household accounts were William Rice, John ap Price and Owen ap Roberts: HMC, *De L'Isle & Dudley MSS*, vol. 1, pp. 389-419.

[48] NA, SP63/19/43. Other likely Welsh gentleman servants include a Lewis Jones who received an Irish pension in 1568 as a reward for his attendance on every journey that Sidney had made as deputy: *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 148-50.

[49] HMC, *De L'Isle & Dudley MSS*, vol. 1, pp. 357-8, 425-8.

master of the ordnance and assistant on the Council of Connacht, respectively.[50] Sidney was also almost certainly responsible for the appointment of Captain Morgan Jones as constable of Monasterevin, Kildare, in 1567, who had probably arrived with Sidney as a gentleman servant.[51] Sidney also used his influence to get personnel from the Welsh council transferred to Ireland but these were primarily Englishmen such as Sir William Gerard.[52] It was only when a Welshman was appointed as lord deputy that a significant Welsh presence emerged across the Irish government.

Sir John Perrot served under Sidney as President of Munster between 1571 and 1573 and greatly impressed the lord deputy.[53] Irish historians have generally characterised Perrot's deputyship (1584-1588) as a revival of Sidney's policies and priorities.[54] In terms of facilitating the migration of Welshmen into his Dublin household and administration, however, Perrot far outstripped Sidney. Perrot was a Welshman with large estates in Wales, experience of Welsh government and powerful allies in the principality. Perrot's Irish household had a greater Welsh presence than his predecessor's and, more importantly, he appointed Welshmen in some numbers to major civil offices in Ireland. While many of these were his kinsmen, others seem to have been favoured simply because of their Welsh origins. Perrot's 'Castle Welshmen' played a major role in his government and ultimately contributed towards his fall and conviction for treason in 1592.

Perrot's tendency to rely on men drawn from Wales began during his presidency of Munster. On his appointment, Perrot was given two unique privileges. Firstly, he was granted the right to return home without royal licence due to the ease of travel between Pembrokeshire and Munster.[55] Thus, during the early 1570s, both the lord deputy and the president of Munster operated within a united Cambro-Hibernic province. Secondly, Perrot was allowed to levy fifty of his Pembrokeshire tenants to act as his servants and personal guard, a privilege not usually allowed Irish

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[50] HMC, *De L'Isle & Dudley MSS*, vol. 1, pp. 364-72, 407; McNeill, 'Reports on manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford [part two]', pp. 147-55.
[51] NA, SP63/22/33, 67.
[52] Canny, *Elizabethan conquest*, p. 100; Brady, *Chief governors*, pp. 117, 146.
[53] Collins, *Letters and memorials of state*, vol. 2, pp. 94-6.
[54] Brady, *Chief governors*, p. 292. To compare the two deputies' ideas see, *Calendar of Carew MSS 1601-3*, p. 477; NA, SP63/14/3; 63/54/39; BL, Add. MS 48015, fols. 309-11.
[55] Collins, *Letters and memorials*, vol. 2, pp. 48-9.

governors.[56] We know a little of these men as they were the subject of a series of complaints. Many of the Pembrokeshire gentry claimed that Perrot had levied all those who opposed his interests in the area and had punished enemies by taking their best tenants.[57] Indeed, in March 1573 the Privy Council demanded that Perrot justify the taking of eleven individuals to Munster. Perrot admitted that one of them, John Palmer, a clothier from Laugharne, had been taken because he was a "stubborn man against me".[58] However, he also claimed that he had brought all but three of his closest servants with him to Munster and that the rest were his own tenants.[59] These men, along with a number of kinsmen who accompanied Perrot as gentleman servants, generally served the lord president well in Munster. They ran his household and acted as his inner circle.[60] Effectively, Perrot had brought his own miniature Welsh court to Munster, something he would attempt to emulate when he returned to Ireland as lord deputy.

During Perrot's government his tendency to favour his own kinsmen and countrymen led to the appointment of a significant number of Welshmen within the Irish administration and among the lower officers and servants in Dublin Castle. Several of the Welsh figures who benefited from Perrot's patronage were already established in Ireland. The most important of these was Philip Williams, a Welsh clerk who was Lord Deputy William Fitzwilliam's secretary in the early 1570s. Williams was quick to fix himself to Perrot's rising star, offering his service to the lord president twice in 1572.[61] As lord deputy, Perrot appointed Williams as his personal secretary and clerk of the Privy Council. He also gave him and his brother, John (a London-Welsh merchant), gifts including the licence to cultivate and export woad, mather and

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[56] NA, SP12/77/5; Percy C.C. Evans, 'Sir John Perrot' (unpubl. MA thesis, University of Wales, 1940), p. 75.

[57] Perrot was accused of being too liberal in his interpretation of who counted as his tenants. Taking "all such as held any land of him by any tenure or service or dwelt within any place wheare he was steward or bore any office or rule": NA, SP12/172/124.

[58] Two other Palmers, probably the "stubborn" man's relatives, played a central role in an embarrassing episode in which some of Perrot's servants betrayed Castlemaine to the Irish in 1574: *CSPI 1509-73*, pp. 487-8; *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 231-2, 269-70, 374-5, 403-4, 543-5.

[59] *CSPI 1571-5*, p. 267.

[60] It was from among this group that Perrot drew the twenty-four men he needed to act as seconds in his planned duel with the Munster rebel, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald: Roger Turvey, (ed.), *A critical edition of Sir James Perrot's 'The life, deeds and death of Sir John Perrott, Knight*' (Lampeter, 2002), p. 33.

[61] Turvey, *Treason and trial*, p. 146; HMC, *Third report* (London, 1872), p. 47.

rapeseed oil, and the grant of a Munster forest to make barrels for export.[62] Other Welsh figures who were established in Ireland at the beginning of Perrot's lord deputyship included Rhys ap Hugh, one of Perrot's main contacts in the military and a provost marshal since at least 1572; John Morgan the master smith, who was a distant relative of Perrot; Nicholas Bevans (sometimes ab Evans) the keeper of the council chamber; John Evans the master carpenter; and William Phillips the clerk of the hanaper.[63] Such figures did well under Perrot and went on to have successful Irish careers.

Perrot also appointed several new Welsh officials to influential positions in his administration. His head chaplain, the Denbighshire-born Richard Meredith, was made Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin in 1584. Meredith quickly became Perrot's voice in the Church of Ireland and played a key role in the power struggles that took place at the heart of his government. Most importantly, Meredith assisted Perrot in his attempts to break the considerable power in church and government of the Lord Chancellor, and Perrot's main political opponent in Ireland, Adam Loftus. The disagreements between Perrot and Loftus came to focus on the lord deputy's plans to convert St Patrick's into a university, which Loftus strongly opposed as he benefited personally from the Cathedral and its lands.[64] As Dean, Meredith naturally played a central part in the conflict over St Patrick's and remained unerringly loyal to the lord deputy throughout his time in Ireland.[65]

The patronage Perrot extended to Sir Thomas Williams, his kinsman, was more controversial.[66] In the spring of 1585 Williams was made clerk of the check by Perrot in direct contravention of the Queen's order to appoint Captain Nicholas Erington, although it is unclear whether Perrot received the order before he appointed Williams.[67] Perrot received heavy criticism from the Queen, Walsingham and Burghley, but insisted that he had the right to appoint loyal servants, and by this

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[62] Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, II, pp. 80-1; *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 135-7; Bodleian Library, Perrot MS 1, fols. 197-9.
[63] NA, SP63/14/36; 63/128/70; 63/134/41; *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 103-4, 513-7, 520-2; *CSPI 1588-92*, p. 227. Phillips also acted as one of Perrot's messengers: Bodleian Library, Perrot MS 1, fol. 141.
[64] Evans, 'Sir John Perrot', p. 178.
[65] Mathew, *Celtic peoples*, p. 221.
[66] Williams was probably the younger son of Sir James Williams of Pant Hywel, Carmarthenshire: Turvey, *Treason and trial*, p. 162.
[67] Bodleian Library, Perrot MS 1, fols. 80-1, 96-7.

Perrot seems to have meant kinsmen and countrymen.[68] Erington eventually accepted £200 compensation, but Williams was tarred as Perrot's "man" throughout his time in Ireland, and Perrot's refusal to appoint Erington was cited as proof of his disloyalty at his trial for treason in 1592.[69] Like Perrot, Williams also seems to have favoured his own countrymen. During his service he appointed four deputies, all of whom had Welsh names, further adding to the Welsh presence in Perrot's administration.[70]

In the twilight of his governorship in September 1587, Perrot appointed his own son, Thomas, to replace Jacques Wingfield as master of the ordnance.[71] Again the appointment led to accusations of favouritism and ignoring the demands of the crown. The position seems to have been promised to Sir George Carew who wrote to Burghley in October to express his outrage that he had been overlooked. Thomas was still master of the ordnance in March 1588, but by July Carew had replaced him.[72] Thomas seems to have remained in Ireland after his father's departure and was suggested by Sir John as a possible future president of Connacht in 1590.[73] His career was, however, stalled by his father's trial and ended with Thomas's own early death in 1594.

Perrot's administration thus contained high profile and often controversial Welsh figures. They provided him with loyal representatives within the civilian, military and clerical branches of the Irish administration. Perrot also used his influence to appoint Welshmen to local offices. For example in May 1588, he made Captain William Mostyn, whom he referred to as "my man", sheriff of O'Donnell's country.[74] The majority of the Welshmen who came to Ireland with Perrot, however, were household officers based in Dublin Castle. Roger Turvey has estimated that there were "over

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[68] *Ibid.*, fols. 80-1, 96-7, 139-40v, 144-57v.
[69] *Ibid.*, fols. 117, 114-57v; Thomas Bayly Howell (ed.), *Complete collection of state trials* (London, 1809), vol. 1, p. 1320.
[70] These were Thomas Davies, Henry Pritchard, John Powell and Henry Jones. The only deputy that did not have a Welsh name was a Mr Stoughton who had been in place before Williams's appointment: NA, 63/121/23; 63/151/33; *CSPI 1586-8*, p. 404.
[71] Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, II, pp. 115-6.
[72] *Calendar of Carew MSS 1575-88*, pp. 456-7, 461, 465, 467-8.
[73] *CSPI 1588-92*, p. 330.
[74] He also appointed Captain Jenkin Conway as deputy sheriff of Kerry in July 1585 and a William Jones as seneschal of Clandeboy in July 1585, who may have been his gentleman servant: *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 513-7; NA, SP63/118/8, 21.

thirty" such men serving between 1584 and 1588.[75] A list of Perrot's servants made in 1584 shows a significant Welsh presence. Of the seventy-nine servants and gentleman waiters listed in Perrot's household, twenty-six had Welsh names.[76] These men would have carried out a variety of administrative tasks for the lord deputy. For example, Thomas Lewys organised the receipt of rents and profits at Athlone, where Perrot was constable.[77] It is likely that the 1584 list underestimates the Welsh presence in Perrot's household, however, as his Pembrokeshire servants often did not have recognisably Welsh names.[78] Accounts from 1587 and 1588 also add Perrot's chamberlain Rhys or Richard Thomas and servants William Gwynn, Owen Phillips, Tudur Roland and Simon Williams to the list of 'Castle Welshmen'.[79]

The majority of the Welsh household servants in Perrot's Dublin were drawn from his servants and tenants in Pembrokeshire. Evidence relating to one 'Castle Welshman' taken from Perrot's trial, however, demonstrates that some of these figures did not have previous connections to Perrot. Rather they were appointed on account of their Welsh origin, suggesting a tradition of Welsh cooperation that is discussed in Chapter 5. The appropriately-named Richard Ireland was born in Denbigh in 1549. He had been an apprentice tanner in Chester, where he was levied as a soldier and served under the half-Welsh marshal of Ireland, Sir Henry Bagenal, for fourteen or fifteen years. He then served in Scotland before becoming a servant to a London-based merchant. Ireland then travelled to the Low Countries to serve under the Welsh commander of Bergen-op-Zoom Sir Thomas Morgan (himself an ex-Irish captain). He

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[75] Turvey, *Treason and trial*, p. 151.

[76] The list includes eleven household servants, two of whom had Welsh names: his comptroller, William James, and his secretary, the aforementioned Philip Williams. Perrot also kept three chaplains, all of whom had Welsh names: Richard Meredith, John Evans and Thomas Davies. He brought twenty-five gentleman waiters, nine of whom had Welsh names: David Vaughan, Evan Thomas, John James, Henry Mathews, William Jones, John Gwine, Edward Jones, Morrice Williams and Thomas Williams (who is probably the man who became Clerk of the Check). A further Welsh gentleman waiter was Perrot's servant Charles Russell. Perrot also employed twenty-eight under officers, six of whom had Welsh names: James Morgan, William Price, John James, Thomas Lewys, Thomas Williams and John James. The final twelve members of his household were yeoman waiters, five of whom had Welsh names: Walter Powell, Griffith Thomas, John Davies, Rice Thomas (probably his chamberlain) and Richard Tedder: NA, SP63/119/32II.

[77] NA, E101/525/4.

[78] The surnames of the controversial Pembrokeshire servants that Perrot took to Munster were Barrons, Coop, Gibb, Hancock, Humphrey, Jordan, Kettell, Palmer, and Wyrryott, only one of which is recognisably Welsh. *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 269-70. For a list of Perrot's Pembrokeshire tenants and the presence of English names see: NA, E101/525/18.

[79] Gwynn served under Perrot in Munster and Dublin: NA, E101/525/4; SP63/136/63; 63/156/13; *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 287-9.

returned to Ireland in 1584 as a servant of Richard Meredith, perhaps because of their shared Denbighshire origin, before being absorbed into the lord deputy's retinue and given the position of gaoler of Dublin Castle.[80] Ireland's career demonstrates the way in which individuals could switch between military and civilian positions with ease, something to which we will return in the second section of this chapter. The Welshness of the men under whom Ireland served also suggests that regional origin was a factor in the appointment of servants. It is thus likely that for at least some of Perrot's 'Castle Welshmen' Irish service was part of a wider (potentially international) career of soldiering and administration in which Welsh origin could activate trans-national networks of patronage.

A sensible estimate of the number of Welshmen serving in civil and military administrative offices and as servants of the lord deputy under Perrot is about forty, although this does not include any Welshmen with English surnames who had been brought from Perrot's Pembrokeshire estates. The majority were household servants waiting on the lord deputy and carrying out minor administrative tasks, but some had significant roles in the Irish government. Considering that the total number of salaried administrators in Ireland at this time was probably around 100, only a few of whom would have had large numbers of English servants, the 'Castle Welshmen' must have been a very conspicuous presence in Dublin during Perrot's governorship.

The prominence of Perrot's Welsh following was most clearly demonstrated during his trial for treason in 1592. The trial demonstrates that some contemporaries in Perrot's Ireland believed that the large Welsh presence surrounding the lord deputy was potentially dangerous. Perrot was accused of speaking seditious words against the Queen and treasonously offering to help the Spanish conquer Ireland and England. The lord deputy's abrasive personality, the deaths of his patrons Leicester and Walsingham, and the determination of his Irish enemies to stop him returning to Ireland all contributed to his downfall.[81] The importance of Perrot's Welsh servants in the Irish administration, however, also proved very useful to his enemies. Partly this was because some of the 'Castle Welshmen' turned against their patron. Perrot's secretary, Philip Williams, his chamberlain, Rhys Thomas, and his comptroller,

[80] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 13, p. 486.
[81] Morgan, 'The fall of Sir John Perrot', pp. 105-25.

William James, all spoke for the prosecution.[82] More importantly, however, Perrot's tendency to surround himself with kinsmen and countrymen was used by his enemies to present him as dangerously independent, using his own circle of loyal servants to manipulate Irish policy and prepare the way for a Spanish invasion. Richard Meredith, Sir Thomas Williams, Rhys ap Hugh, John Morgan and John Evans were all arrested on suspicion of involvement in the supposed treason.[83] His son, Sir Thomas Perrot, and one of his gentleman waiters, William Jones, were also implicated.[84]

At the trial the 'Castle Welshmen' were presented as a united and insidious group, whose Welsh origins made them dangerously loyal to Perrot and potentially disloyal to the English crown. It was claimed that they were willing to murder for him, smuggle confidential information to him, and that they supported his alleged plan to help the Spanish in return for Perrot being made ruler of Wales.[85] The prosecution's lead witness, the spy and priest-catcher Sir Dennis O'Roughan, even demonstrated that some in the Irish administration believed all Welshmen would naturally favour Perrot. He claimed that some of his information had come from a captain in Ireland who, "although he be a Walshemane", had turned against the Welsh lord deputy, demonstrating a clear belief in a dangerous Welsh solidarity.[86] The trial showed that members of the New English community recognised the influence of Perrot's 'Castle Welshmen' and believed that they played a key, and worrying, role at the heart of his government.

The majority of Perrot's 'Castle Welshmen' departed with him in 1588 or, as in the case of Sir Thomas Williams, did not return after their arrest and transfer to England in 1591.[87] Others, however, survived their master's fall and continued their Irish careers. Some did so by obtaining new patrons. Philip Williams remained as private secretary to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, who was reappointed in 1588, and served again

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[82] NA, SP12/241/71; Howell, *State trials*, p. 1320; Turvey, *Treason and trial*, pp. 127, 158.
[83] NA, SP63/128/70; 63/156/13; Bodleian Library, Perrot MS 1, fols. 197-9; *CSPI 1588-92*, pp. 227, 388, 451.
[84] NA, SP12/241/71.
[85] NA, SP63/150/44I; Howell, *State Trials*, pp. 1316-26; Turvey, *Treason and trial*, pp. 136-64; Mathew, *Celtic peoples*, pp. 226-7; Morgan, 'The fall of Sir John Perrot', p. 114.
[86] NA, SP12/239/158.
[87] Williams died in July 1592: *CSPI 1588-92*, p. 542.

in 1597 under Lord Burgh.[88] Others managed to establish themselves independently. Rhys ap Hugh returned to his post as provost marshal, probably through the patronage of Henry Bagenal, while John Morgan seems to have relocated to Newry where he acted as an agent for the Bagenals until at least 1596.[89] Those Welsh administrators who had weaker ties to Perrot, such as the clerk of the hanaper and later clerk of the crown in chancery, William Phillips, and the keeper of the council chamber, Nicholas Bevans, also continued their Irish careers during the 1590s.[90] A number of Irish administrative dynasties also emerged from the Welsh milieu that surrounded Perrot's administration. The sons of Perrot's chaplain, Richard Meredith, who was made Bishop of Leighlin in 1589, were of particular importance.[91] Sir Thomas Meredith served as MP for Old Leighlin, Carlow, in 1634, and Sir Robert Meredith was an MP in 1634 and 1640, and became a Privy Councillor in 1635.[92] At a lower level Rhys ap Hugh's post as provost marshal of the army passed to his brother, Owen, in 1597, who served until at least 1602.[93] Similarly, Nicholas Bevans, who died in the mid-1620s, passed his position as keeper of the council chamber to his son Edward.[94] Perrot's government thus had a lasting influence on the Welsh presence in the Irish administration. Without a powerful Welsh patron, however, these figures were scattered; the brief heyday of Welsh influence on Irish central government had ended.

The influential Welsh presence under Perrot was unique. No Welshmen served in high administrative offices at any other time between 1558 and 1588. At most times Welsh administrators were rare. The Welsh presence in the Irish administration was largely the result of the patronage of Sidney and Perrot, whose governments had a discernable, and in Perrot's case a significant, Welsh dimension. After Perrot's fall, no other lord deputy was drawn from Wales or the Council in the Marches. This did not mean, however, that the Welsh were absent from the administration after 1588. Rather, the types of Welsh individuals who served in Ireland changed.

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[88] BL, Lansdowne MS 78, fol. 166; Lansdowne MS 80, fol. 6; *CSPI 1596-7*, pp. 424-5, 439;Turvey, *Treason and trial*, p. 187.
[89] NA, SP63/183/7; *CSPI 1592-6*, p. 467; *CSPI 1596-7*, p. 126.
[90] Like Morgan, Bevans also spent time serving with other Welshmen at Newry: NA, SP63/173/50; *CSPI 1588-92*, pp. 388, 398; *CSPI 1592-6*, p. 216.
[91] Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, II, p. 177.
[92] Kearney, 'Strafford', pp. 236, 254, 255; *CSPI 1625-32*, p. 543; *CSPI 1633-47*, pp. 59-67, 111.
[93] NA, SP63/202(I)/99; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 10, pp. 6-8; McLaughlin, 'Irish leviathan', p. 348.
[94] Victor Treadwell (ed.), *The Irish commission of 1622: an investigation of the Irish administration, 1615-1622, and its consequences, 1623-1624* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 268-74; BL, Harleian MS 2048, fols. 13-18; *CSPI 1633-47*, pp. 107-8.

Office and opportunity: the Welsh in the Irish administration after 1588

English victory in the Nine Years' War (1594-1603) allowed a significant expansion in, and changed the nature of, the Irish administration. For the first time, the government could claim power over the whole of Ireland and long-term peace seemed assured. Post-war Ireland, with its rich resources and the newly-acquired lands of the Ulster rebels, appeared to have become a land of opportunity for its conquerors.[95] The Welsh took advantage of these opportunities in two ways. Firstly, and most importantly, the end of the war created a surplus of captains whose companies were disbanded, a significant number of whom were Welsh. The Irish government utilised these men by integrating them into local administration. Ex-captains largely became soldier-administrators, who combined a military office, such as constable of a castle, with local civil offices to exercise considerable power in their region. Thus some Welsh officers became influential in local government, primarily in and around Ulster. Secondly, civilian Welshmen arrived in Ireland as part of a larger wave of new English and Scottish migrants who sought to take advantage of opportunities in the expanded Irish administration, legal system and the Church of Ireland during the early seventeenth century. Despite A.H. Dodd's assertions, however, the Welsh remained a minority in the newly-enlarged Irish government.[96] Although the proportion of Welsh administrators fluctuated over time, it seems to have always been below ten percent, sometimes significantly so, and was largely made up of middle-ranking soldier-administrators. Despite the small numbers involved, the emergence of this presence in the Irish administration was a significant development. Whereas the 'Castle Welshmen' had been largely low-level, temporary and dependent on patrons, the Welsh administrators of the later period were independent, permanent and ambitious middle-ranking individuals with regular government pay and considerable local influence. They laid the groundwork for a Welsh role in the plantations and became key players in the Welsh community of seventeenth-century Ireland.

The involvement of soldiers as administrators will be analysed first. As has been seen, there was a significant reduction in the size of the Irish army after 1603. While

[95] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 301.
[96] Dodd, *Studies*, p. 83.

soldiers were usually sent back to their home counties on disbandment, captains often remained. Post-war Ireland thus contained a large number of idle captains in receipt of government pensions.[97] In lord deputies Chichester (1604-16) and St John (1616-21), however, these captains had sympathetic patrons.[98] Chichester in particular felt that officers needed to be rewarded for their service. He dramatically increased the opportunities available to captains in the administration by expanding the number of constables and provost marshals.[99] These new posts were ostensibly designed to maintain peace, particularly around Ulster, but they also gave captains a regular wage and the opportunity to establish themselves among the Irish landed elite. Small numbers of Welshmen, such as Robert Mostyn and Sir William Morgan, had held similar positions during the early Elizabethan period, but unlike their seventeenth-century counterparts they rarely went on to build administrative careers.[100]

Fortunately for the Welsh captains in Ireland, both Chichester and St John had kinship connections to Wales and were on good terms with leading Welsh soldiers. In 1605 Chichester married Lettice, daughter of Sir John Perrot and widow of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire. He developed close ties to his Welsh relatives, which are explored in more detail in Chapter 5. Possibly due to this Welsh connection, Chichester developed links to many of the most important Welsh soldiers in Ireland.[101] St John's Welsh connections lay in Glamorgan where he held land and

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[97] McLaughlin, 'Irish leviathan', pp. 253-4, 308.
[98] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 172.
[99] The number of constables fluctuated frequently but rose from around 14-15 in 1601-2 (around the level it had been before the Nine Years' War), to 34-40 in 1610, before falling to about 25 in 1615 and 10 in 1625. This, however, does not include the 8 more powerful and highly paid governors appointed in 1604 from the ranks of the disbanded colonels of the army, 6 of whom remained in 1615 (the only Welsh colonel to become a governor was Edward Blayney). The number of provost marshals rose from 8 in 1602 to 14 in 1608, before decreasing to 12 in 1611. They probably continued to decrease after 1611, but few full lists are available: *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 40-1; *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 15-19, 184-6, 344-51; *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 507-14; *CSPI 1611-14*, pp. 7-9; *CSPI 1615-25*, pp. 10-13; *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 41-2; McLaughlin, 'Irish leviathan', p. 310.
[100] Mostyn governed Longford and Roscommon during the 1570s, while Morgan held Dungarven and Youghal in the early 1580s: NA, SP12/96/292; 63/35/1; 63/43/20II; 63/49/23; 63/53/35; 63/55/37; 63/59/10; 63/69/71; 63/75/9, 67; 63/77/19II; 63/80/25; 63/83/12I; 63/83/28; *CSPI 1509-73*, pp. 125, 524, 533.
[101] When Chichester died in 1624 those remembered in his will included a Captain Vaughan, probably Henry, Sir John Vaughan, Sir Edward Trevor, Sir Roger Jones, Sir Henry Blayney, Sir Francis Annesley, who was married to another daughter of Sir John Phillips of Picton, and lesser Welsh figures including Lieutenant Edward Edwards, a Mr Lloyd, Mr Guillim and Mr Powell. It is unclear whether the Sir Roger Jones is the Welsh captain based in Sligo or the privy councillor of the same name: BL, Add. MS 4820, fols. 89-91.

had a number of cousins.[102] He was also a client of the Duke of Buckingham, and it was the dependence of several Welsh captains on the Duke that won them the new lord deputy's favour.[103] Welsh captains also benefited from the patronage of the Bagenal family, who are discussed in the following chapter. The Welsh officers in Ireland were thus well positioned to take advantage of the opportunities that emerged during the early seventeenth century.

Table 3.1 gives a brief summary of the more important administrative positions held by Welsh captains and their families. Most Welsh soldier-administrators began their governmental careers in military-administrative positions. These positions - constables, governors and provost marshals - were primarily military in character but also involved local administrative duties. The number of Welshmen serving in military-administrative posts peaked between 1608 and 1610 when seven Welsh captains held such offices. At most times, however, the figure was between two and five. The proportion of Welsh to English in these positions is difficult to ascertain as few lists are comprehensive; however, an estimate of ten percent seems accurate.[104] Military-administrative positions gave ex-officers considerable power in their communities. Provost marshals in particular, who had powers of martial law, could easily use their positions to become regional tyrants, extorting money and land from the native Irish. In some remote areas they took on many of the duties of a sheriff and effectively ran local government.[105] Similarly, constables and governors controlled the local garrison and played a significant role in the legal system. They held informal judicial sessions and referred disputes to the courts in Dublin and to the Irish Council.[106] Constables and provost marshals, as representatives of the Dublin government in the localities, could exercise considerable power over settler and native alike. They were able to use their influence to dominate local government and obtain civil offices for themselves and their families.

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[102] Victor Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland, 1616-1628: a study in Anglo-Irish politics* (Dublin, 1998), p. 50; Lloyd Bowen, *Family and society in early Stuart Glamorgan: the household accounts of Sir Thomas Aubrey of Llantrithyd, c.1565-1641* (Cardiff, 2007) pp. 5, 31-2, 49-50, 56, 83, 119.
[103] The Vaughans and Ralph Bingley were particularly loyal to Buckingham: Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland*, pp. 56, 83.
[104] Based on comparison of the total number of constables, governors and provost marshals given in footnote 99 and the number of Welsh officers serving at any one time in Table 3.1.
[105] Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland*, p. 65; Treadwell, *Irish commission of 1622*, pp. 311-5.
[106] Brady, 'Captains' games', p. 153.

Table 3.1. The administrative positions of Welsh officers and their families after 1588[107]

Name	Military offices	Civil offices	Economic and legal commissions
Captain Ralph Bingley		1624-5 Mayor of Londonderry	
Lieutenant Richard Bingley (brother of Ralph)	1610-3 – Constable of Doe Castle, Donegal		
Captain Robert Bowen	1595-1616 – Provost marshal of Leinster		
Captain John Bowen (son of Robert)	1616-23 – Provost marshal of Leinster		
Captain Edward Blayney	1600-2 – Constable of Mount-Norris 1602-4 – Constable of Monaghan 1604-30 –Governor and Seneschal of Monaghan	1607 – Superintendent of Monaghan 1613 – MP for Monaghan. Probably 1614 - Irish Privy Councillor 1622 –Made Baron Blayney of Monaghan, succeeded in 1630 by his son, Henry	1608 – Commission to survey lands of Sir Brian Oge McMahon 1616 – Collector of fines in Monaghan 1623 – Commission for escheated county of Cavan
Arthur Blayney (son of Edward)		1634 – MP for Monaghan	
Richard Blayney (nephew of Edward)		1609, 1611-2 – Sheriff of Monaghan 1634, 1640 – MP for Monaghan	
Robert Blayney (nephew of Edward)	1617- at least 1624 – Provost marshal of Monaghan	1619, 1621 – Sheriff of Monaghan	
Captain Maurice Griffith	1606-8 – Constable of Newry 1608-29 – Constable of Carrickdrumruske	1612 – Burgess of Carrickdrumruske 1613 – MP for Carrickdrumruske	1616 – Commission for the composition of Sligo and Mayo
Captain Rhys Griffith	1610 - ? – Constable of Newry (Length of service unknown)	1612 – Burgess of Newry 1619 – Burgess of Carlingford	1609 – Commission for the surrenders of the Magennis lordship
Captain Rhys ap Hugh	1579-95 – Provost marshal of Leinster 1595-7 – Provost marshal of the army	1595-6 – Sheriff of Louth	

[107] This table is compiled from, NA, SP63/69/45; 63/187/67; 63/131/35; 63/142/64; 63/207(V)/46; PRONI, D/302/1, T/1567/1; TCD, MS 672, fol. 50-50v; *CSPI 1601-3*, p. 154; *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 90, 185, 201, 209, 541-2; *CSPI 1606-8*, pp. 86, 369; *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 197, 251, 436, 458-9, 507-14; *CSPI 1611-14*, pp. 293-4, 299, 439-40, 499; *CSPI 1615-25*, pp. 127-8, 141-2, 551-2; *CSPI 1633-47*, pp. 127-8; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 10, pp. 6-8; IMC, *Irish Patent Rolls*, pp. 6, 40, 56, 195, 311, 444-5, 510, 518; Dodd, *Studies*, p. 83; *DWB*, pp. 980-3; John Caillard Erck (ed.), *A repertory of the inrolments on the patent rolls of Chancery in Ireland: commencing with the reign of James I* (Dublin, 1846), p. 74; Robert J. Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley, c.1570-1627: Ulster Planter', in Peter Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to partition: essays in Ulster history in honour of J.L. McCracken* (Belfast, 1981), pp. 20-1; Kearney, *Strafford*, pp. 225-55; McLaughlin, 'Irish leviathan', pp. 278-9, 348; T.W. Moody, *The Londonderry plantation, 1609-41: the city of London and the plantation of Ulster* (Belfast, 1939), pp. 448-50; Mary O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land: early modern Sligo, 1568-1688* (Belfast, 1991), p. 57; T. O'Rorke, *The history of Sligo: town and county* (Dublin, 1889), vol. 1, p. 302; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', pp. 28, 32, 65, 71; E. Rowley-Morris, *The family of Blayney* (London, 1890), p. 3; Treadwell, *Irish commission of 1622*, pp. 187-8.

Name	Military offices	Civil offices	Economic and legal commissions
Captain Owen ap Hugh (brother of Rhys)	1597 – 1603 – Provost marshal of the army		
Ambrose ap Hugh (son of Rhys)		1613 – Sheriff of Louth 1619 – Burgess of Carlingford	
Captain Ellis Jones	1604-7 – Provost marshal of Munster		
Lieutenant Roger Jones	1606-37 – Constable of Sligo	1603-41 – Sheriff of Sligo four times 1612 – Provost of Sligo 1621 – Mayor of Sligo 1634 – MP for Sligo	1622 – Commission to investigate Connacht 1616 – Commission for the composition of Sligo and Mayo
Captain Edward Trevor	1608-10 – Probably served as Constable of Newry[108]	1607 – Superintendent of Iveagh, Newry and Down 1613 – MP for Antrim 1619 – Burgess of Carlingford 1634 – MP for Newtownards 1640 – MP for Down By 1628 - Irish Privy Councillor	1609 – Commission for the surrenders of the Magennis lordship 1616 – Collector of fines in Down 1623 – Commission for the escheated county of Armagh
John Trevor (son of Edward)		1619 – Burgess of Carlingford 1634 – MP for Carlingford	
Mark Trevor (son of Edward)		1640 – MP for Downpatrick	
Captain Richard Trevor	1603-6, 1634-5 – Constable of Newry		
Captain Henry Vaughan	1608-10? – Constable of Doe Castle, Donegal[109]	1605 – Sheriff of Tyrconnell 1625-27, 1638-9 – Mayor of Londonderry 1640 – Sheriff of Donegal	
Captain John Vaughan	1608-42/3 – Constable of Derry town	1617-18, 1627-30 – Mayor of Londonderry 1613, 1634 – MP for Donegal 1622 – Sheriff of Donegal	1623 – Commission for the escheated county of Donegal

[108] It is unclear who acted as constable at this time. O'Sullivan suggests it may have been Trevor, although Sir James Perrot also claimed he was constable around this time. Rhys Griffith served from at least 1610: O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of RoseTrevor', p. 28; IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, p. 195; *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 48-50, 69.

[109] In 1610 Ralph Bingley's brother, Richard, became governor although it is unclear whether Vaughan held the castle until that time: Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley', pp. 20-1; *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 507-14.

As can be seen from Table 3.1, many soldiers were appointed to local civilian offices after only a few years of holding military-administrative positions. Welsh captains also obtained lesser administrative posts in local government.[110] In occupying positions such as sheriff, alongside their military-administrative posts, officers could become dominant local figures. The monopolisation of military and civilian offices in Monaghan by the Blayney family, for example, allowed them to dominate the county from 1604 until the rebellion of 1641.[111] The local importance of military-administrators also presented them with opportunities to serve on commissions to collect fines and deal with land confiscations and reorganisations. It will be shown in the following chapter how such positions could give captains inside knowledge of, and influence over, the plantations and other land reallocation, which was vital to their success as Irish landowners. Local dominance could also lead to power on a national scale. As Table 3.1 demonstrates, some Welsh captains became Irish MPs and for a select few, such as Edward Trevor and Edward Blayney, military administration could eventually lead to a place on the Irish Privy Council.

Welsh civilian appointments were concentrated in several regions. Newry was of particular importance. The military roles played by the Trevors, Maurice and Rhys Griffith, and the ap Hugh family at Newry gave them enough influence to be chosen for local government. Not far from Newry was Edward Blayney's town of Castleblayney, Monaghan. In north Ulster the Bingleys and Vaughans used their military positions to gain posts in the government of Donegal and Londonderry. Similarly, in north Connacht Maurice Griffith and Roger Jones evolved from constables to civil governors in Carrickdrumruske and Sligo, respectively. These regions where the Welsh moved in numbers from soldiers to administrators, and later to settlers, became the main areas of Welsh influence in the seventeenth century. As can be seen from Figure 3.1, they are all on the peripheries of Ulster where military influence was greater due to the large numbers of forts established during the Nine Years' War.

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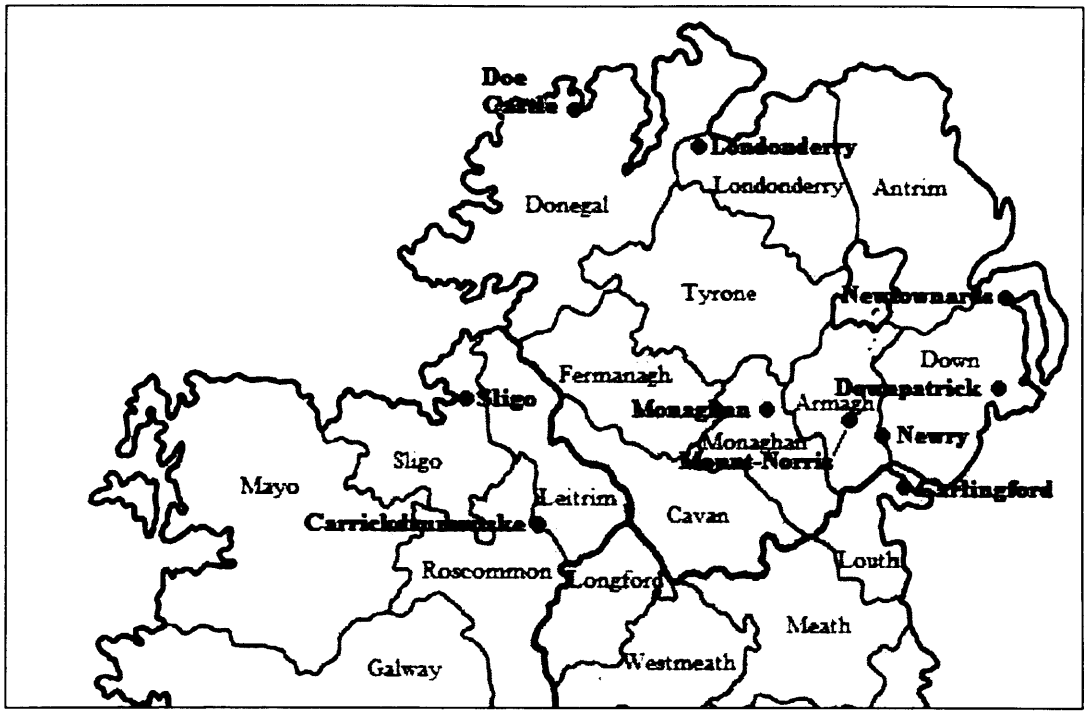
[110] For example, during the 1620s Roger Jones (Sligo), Maurice Griffith (Leitrim), Edward Blayney (Monaghan), John Vaughan (Londonderry) and Edward Trevor (Down) all served as custodes rotulorum for their adopted counties and John Bowen served as JP for his (Queen's): TCD, MS 672, fols. 174-89v; *CSPI 1625-32*, p. 477.

[111] Blayney dominance saw them fall victim to serious revenge attacks by Irish rebels in 1641: Peadar Livingstone, *The Monaghan story: a documented history of the county of Monaghan from the earliest times to 1976* (Enniskillen, 1980), pp. 97-114, 476-98.

Figure 3.1. The north of Ireland with forts held by Welsh officers, 1588-1641



Veterans of the Irish wars were not the only group to enter the Irish administration between 1588 and 1641. New men also arrived from England and Wales to take advantage of the opportunities there. During the last decade of the sixteenth century these were largely military administrators helping organise the expanded army. Most important among the Welsh was the muster-master Maurice Kyffin and his assistant Hugh Tuder. These two men had served in France and the Low Countries and were dispatched to Ireland in 1596 to improve muster administration. Much to the annoyance of the Irish muster-master, Sir Ralph Lane, they effectively ran his office until Kyffin's death in 1598.[112] Other military administrators of probable Welsh origin who emerged at this time included William Jones, a muster commissioner who became principal commissioner of the musters in Munster in 1600, and William Williams, who acted as master gunner from at least 1602 until his death in 1615.[113] Few new Welsh military administrators appeared after 1603 due to the reduced

[112] NA, SP63/202(I)/92; *APC 1596-7*, pp. 176-7; *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 60-5, 97-100, 125-7.
[113] NA, SP63/202(I)/56; 63/207(III)/14; 63/207(V)/39; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1601-3*, p. 297; *CSPI 1615-25*, p. 28.

military establishment, although William Cadogan served as a muster commissioner from at least 1631.[114]

While military opportunities became rarer after 1603, civil offices proliferated and Welshmen joined the increasing number of British administrators, lawyers and clergymen who sought office in Ireland. Although the Welsh presence in this influx was not large, Welshmen could be found in all parts of the government and Church of early seventeenth-century Ireland.

As in the sixteenth century, after 1600 patronage was vital in securing civilian appointments but now there was no major magnate in the mould of Leicester, Perrot or Essex with power in Ireland and connections in Wales. A few Welshmen were, however, still able to obtain Irish appointments through patronage ties. Sir James Perrot, the illegitimate son of the lord deputy, was appointed governor of Newry in 1610 by Lord Deputy Chichester, who had married his half-sister.[115] Sir William Jones of Castellmarch in Caernarvonshire owed his position (as chief justice of the Irish Court of Common Pleas between 1617 and 1620) to the favour of the Lord Keeper, Sir Francis Bacon.[116] Jones, along with Perrot, the Merioneth-born clergyman Dr Theodore Price, and Welsh lawyer John Lloyd, also served on two commissions established by the Earl of Middlesex during the early 1620s to investigate corruption and inefficiency in the Irish administration.[117] It seems likely that Middlesex was grooming Jones, who headed both commissions, to be a future lord deputy, but the Earl's fall from grace in 1624 ended the Welshman's association with Ireland.[118]

The patronage of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, lord deputy from 1633 to 1640, helped establish two further Welsh figures in Ireland. The muster commissioner William Cadogan, son of Henry Cadogan of Llanbedr Felffre, Pembrokeshire, became one of Strafford's secretaries in 1636. Cadogan served as MP for Monaghan in 1640,

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[114] TCD, MS 672, fols. 95-101; BL, Harleian MS 2048, fols. 13-18.
[115] Roger Turvey, 'Admiration or revulsion: interpreting the life, career and character of Sir James Perrot (1571-1637). Part two', *Journal of the Pembrokeshire Historical Society*, 12 (2003), pp. 44-5.
[116] Christopher W. Brooks, 'Jones, Sir William (1566-1640)', *ODNB*, vol. 30, pp. 659-60; F.E. Ball, *The Judges in Ireland, 1221-1921* (London and New York, 1926), vol. 1, p. 325.
[117] Jones's son, Charles, also served as clerk to the commission: Treadwell, *Irish commission of 1622*, pp. xxx-xxxi, 172, 198; Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland*, pp. 188-9; *DWB*, pp. 790-1.
[118] Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland*, pp. 247, 258-61; *DWB*, pp. 1138-9.

probably through a mixture of Strafford and Blayney influence, and played an important role in the 1641 rising and civil war as governor of Trim.[119] Captain Charles Price, son of John Price of Pilleth, Radnorshire, balanced a career as an Irish captain and Welsh MP. He entered Wentworth's service after serving on a commission with the new lord deputy in 1633. Wentworth appointed Price as his "confidential emissary" and in 1634 he became his appointee for the parliamentary seat of Belfast.[120] Therefore, despite the lack of a powerful Cambro-Hibernic magnate during the seventeenth century, Welshmen continued to find ways to take advantage of the limited patronage available to them in Ireland and established themselves in influential positions in Irish government.[121]

This handful of individuals was, however, a small minority. It is difficult to put a figure on the extent of Welsh involvement in the Irish administration in a purely civil capacity. Two lists of fees payable to Irish officers made in 1602 and 1606, however, give an impression of how small that proportion generally was. They list sixty-two and seventy-seven officers (out of an estimated total of about 139 serving in Ireland at this time), respectively, serving in the Treasury, Exchequer, Kings Bench, Chancery, Common Pleas, Ordnance Office, Customs Office, Star Chamber, the provincial councils, and in the liberty of Wexford. In the former four Welshmen are listed and in the later only two were Welsh.[122] Thus although Welshmen did serve in the early seventeenth-century Irish civil administration, they were rare. It will be seen later in this thesis that the lack of a significant Welsh presence at the heart of Irish government somewhat stifled the operation of the Welsh networks of cooperation that emerged in seventeenth-century Ireland. Although Welshmen could rely on the

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[119] Patrick Little, 'Cadogan, William (1601-1661)', *ODNB*, vol. 9, p. 417; Norman Egbert McClure (ed.), *The letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia, 1939), vol. 1, p. 63.

[120] *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 601, 674; *CSPI 1633-47*, pp. 122-3; Kearney, 'Strafford', pp. 250-1. For Price's correspondence with Wentworth, see Sheffield City Library, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Strafford Papers, 8/356-8; 10a/32-3, 232-4; 15/285; 16/5, 8; 17/31; 19/79.

[121] Lesser administrators of probable Welsh origin serving during this period include Michael Hughes (clerk of the munitions of Munster after the Nine Years War) Mr Lewis and William Llewelin (customs officers of Limerick and Youghal during the 1620s), Henry Parry (secretary to the Lord Chancellor during the 1630s), Hugh Thomas (carriage master during the 1590s) and William Wynne (deputy scrivener of Dublin during the 1620s): NA, SP63/184/21; *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 13-4, 104-5, 218; *CSPI 1633-47*, p. 195; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1603-24*, p. 9.

[122] The 1602 list includes Nicholas Bevans the keeper of the council chamber, William Williams the master gunner, James Matthewes the Sergeant at Arms of Connacht and Richard Lewes the Sergeant at Arms of Munster (the later two are only probably Welsh). The 1606 list only includes Bevans and Williams: *Calendar of Carew MSS 1603-24*, pp. 179-90; *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 429-35.

assistance of their fellow countrymen at local levels of the administration, this was lacking at upper levels of the Irish government.

Brief attention should also be paid to those Welshmen who arrived in Ireland as clergymen during the seventeenth century as they played an important role in the Welsh networks that emerged in seventeenth-century Ireland. In 1603 there were no Welsh Bishops in the Church of Ireland, which was still dominated by Irishmen.[123] Under the early Stuarts, however, a significant number of British-born bishops, including several Welshmen, were appointed. The leading Welsh clergyman to make his career in Ireland was Anglesey-born Lancelot Bulkeley, who served as Archbishop of Dublin from 1619 until the Civil War.[124] Also influential was Lewis Jones of Dol-y-Moch, Merioneth, who became Vicar of Ardee, Louth, in 1606 and Bishop of Killaloe by 1633. Jones was to found one of the most influential dynasties of the mid-seventeenth century. Two of his sons, Ambrose and Henry, became Bishops of Killaloe and Meath respectively. His other sons were the soldier and MP, Theophilus Jones, and the Civil War governor of Dublin, Michael Jones.[125] By 1641, three out of twenty-five Irish Bishops were Welsh, a proportion equal to the number of Irish-born Bishops.[126]

A large number of lower Welsh clergy also entered the Church of Ireland at this time. Some, such as Ambrose ap Puy, rector of Carrickmacross in Monaghan in 1606, or Charles Vaughan, prebendary of Connor, Derry from 1631, probably owed their appointment to Welsh landowners in those areas.[127] Welsh clergymen can, however, be found throughout early seventeenth-century Ireland suggesting that service there was popular.[128] Again quantification is difficult, the surviving evidence on numbers of clergy is sparse, but it is likely that Wales's close proximity to Ireland and the expanding church structure there made it a good source of preferment for young

[123] Richard Meredith, Bishop of Leighlin, had died in 1597. John McCafferty, *The reconstruction of the Church of Ireland: Bishop Bramhall and the Laudian reforms, 1633-1641*(Cambridge, 2007), p. 115.
[124] T.F. Henderson and Rev. Amanda L. Capern 'Bulkeley, Launcelot (1568/9-1650)', *ODNB*, vol. 8, p. 574.
[125] John McCafferty, 'Jones, Lewis (1560-1646)', *ODNB*, vol. 30, pp. 579-80; Dodd, *Studies*, p. 84.
[126] The remaining Bishops were 5 Scots and 14 English: *CPSI 1633-47*, p. 323; McCafferty, *The reconstruction of the Church of Ireland*, p. 116.
[127] In ap Puy's case Edward Blayney or the Earl of Essex and in Charles Vaughan's his military administrator brothers John and Henry: *CSPI 1625-32*, p. 625; HMC, *Hastings MSS*, vol. 4, pp. 154-6.
[128] *CSPI 1599-1600*, pp. 360-1; *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 212, 452-3; IMC, *Irish patent Rolls*, pp. 96, 272, 304, 431, 433, 448, 496, 528, 570, 574.

clergymen. Thus the Church provided another gateway to Ireland for the Welsh. In Chapter 6 it is argued that the Welsh clergy helped construct a distinct identity for the Welsh in Ireland through their historical and polemic writings.

Conclusion

After 1588, therefore, the nature of the Welsh presence in Irish government changed. These were not the 'Castle Welshmen' of the earlier sixteenth century: temporary, located in Dublin and dependent on powerful patrons. The majority of the Welsh administrators in seventeenth-century Ireland were military figures who had established themselves primarily in local government. They were largely mid-level figures who wielded influence locally. The Welsh presence in the Irish administration of the seventeenth century remained small, but it was now permanent and pervasive, and certain regions such as Newry and Monaghan had fallen under a particularly strong Welsh influence. The following chapter will examine how the plantations helped consolidate these areas of Welsh involvement in early modern Ireland. The wide-ranging nature of the Welsh administrative presence is also discussed in Chapter 5 where it is argued that the appearance of small numbers of Welshmen in all parts of the Irish government gave Welsh individuals vital contacts which they could use to advance their Irish careers and construct Welsh networks and communities throughout Ireland.

Chapter 4: The Welsh Plantations, 1558-1641

This chapter addresses how the Welsh joined the colonial community in Ireland as settlers. The period between 1558 and 1641 witnessed an acceleration in attempts to plant Irish land with settlers drawn from England, Scotland, Wales and elsewhere. The chapter assesses the scale of Welsh involvement in these plantation schemes and presents a detailed picture of the nature and form of Welsh settlement in Ireland and how this changed over time. It provides the first study of Welsh settlers in Ireland and completes the broader prosopographical analysis of the Welsh in the Irish colonial community. It is argued that an often overlooked Welsh presence can be found in almost all parts of the Irish plantations. The involvement of the Welsh ranged from influential landowners to their settlers and tenants. Some were new arrivals migrating to Ireland to take advantage of cheap land and rents, but many were the soldiers and officers discussed in previous chapters. These military and civilian settlers created a permanent Welsh presence in Ireland, and formed the nucleus around which a Welsh community emerged in the early seventeenth century.

This chapter is also the first significant study of Anglo-Welsh settlers in Ireland to employ regional origin as its organising principle. Most analyses of the Irish plantations have treated English and Welsh settlers as a single coherent group.[1] It is argued here that a more accurate and complex picture of settlement in Ireland can be constructed by taking into account the importance of regional origin to their political, social and economic lives. Regions are, of course, the creation of the historian and can range considerably in size. Here, however, they are understood as a geographical space in which individuals could form bonds of economic, political and social cooperation that could be exported to Ireland. Regional origin is an important factor in the analysis of plantation in Ireland as Irish colonial society lacked an effective local administration and traditions of local intermarriage, and thus did not develop its own sense of local community during the early modern period. Instead, social, economic and marriage connections between settlers spread across Ireland and often back into

[1] For some of the most comprehensive analyses of plantation in Ireland, see Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: the settlement of east Ulster, 1600-1641* (Cork, 1985); Robert J. Hunter, 'The settler population of an Ulster plantation county', *Donegal Annual*, 10 (1972), pp. 124-155; Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster plantation: English migration to southern Ireland, 1583-1641* (Oxford, 1986); Philip S. Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster: British settlement in an Irish landscape, 1600-1670* (Dublin and New York, 1984).

their regions of origin.[2] The Irish settler community is thus best imagined as an Ireland-wide network of overlapping communities and networks formed by different interest groups. Settlers from particular regions were often united by economic, social and familial ties forged at home that continued to be of relevance in Ireland. While the importance of a shared origin for Scottish settlers has been the subject of several studies in recent years, similar work on Anglo-Welsh settlers has not been undertaken.[3] By exploring Welsh settlement in Ireland, therefore, this chapter breaks new ground for the study of the Irish plantations. It demonstrates that regional origin played a key role in the Welsh experience of plantation. Welsh planters tended to obtain land near to their countrymen, cooperated economically for mutual benefit, employed Welsh agents and stewards and used Welsh tenants to stock their estates. By identifying this Welsh dynamic to the plantations this chapter aims to encourage other historians to explore the importance of other regional origins for the wider experience of early modern Irish plantation.

The existence of a distinct Welsh settler group in the Irish plantations has been noted by several historians of the Irish plantations but it has never been studied in detail.[4] The only significant analysis of Welsh settlement is Philip Jenkins's study of the Welsh in Munster during and following the Interregnum, which identifies the large number of Welsh soldiers who acquired land in Ireland.[5] The importance of military men also forms a major theme of this chapter. This study will, however, augment Jenkins's work by demonstrating that civilian Welshmen were also involved in the Irish plantations. It will also go further than Jenkins by exploring the manner in which soldiers and civilians obtained land, planted and managed it, and how they integrated into the Irish elite.

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[2] Raymond Gillespie, 'The social world of County Down in the seventeenth century', in Lindsay Proudfoot (ed.), *Down: history & society* (Dublin, 1997), p. 147.

[3] For a selection of studies on Scottish settlers, see M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster in the reign of James I* (London and New York, 1973); Patrick Fitzgerald, 'Scottish migration to Ireland in the seventeenth century', in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish communities abroad in the early modern period* (Leiden, 2005), pp. 27-52; John R. Young, 'Scotland and Ulster in the seventeenth century: the movement of peoples over the north channel', in William Kelly and John R. Young (eds.), *Ulster and Scotland, 1600-2000: history, language and identity* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 11-32.

[4] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, pp. 112-118, 177-222; Robert J. Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley, c.1570-1627: Ulster planter', in Peter Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to partition: essays in Ulster history in honour of J. L. McCracken* (Belfast, 1981), pp. 24-26.

[5] Philip Jenkins, 'Connections between the landed communities of Munster and South Wales, c.1660-1780', *Journal of the Cork History and Archaeological Society*, 34 (1979), p. 96.

This study begins with a narrative establishing the chronology and geography of Welsh involvement in the Irish plantation schemes.[6] It is argued that Welsh planters were found throughout Ireland, but that there was a tendency to cluster in areas such as Kerry, southern Down and Donegal. The chapter then focuses on how the nature of Welsh involvement in the plantations changed over time. It is argued that during the early decades of the seventeenth century those with a military background expanded their landed estates, while civilian-owned Welsh estates tended to decline. This allowed some Welsh officers to establish themselves among the Irish landed elite by the mid-seventeenth century. We then turn to look at Welsh involvement as agents and tenants in the plantations. It is argued that Welsh planters tended to employ their kinsmen and countrymen as agents to assist in the running of their estates. These agents, individuals who carried out duties ranging from overseeing the daily running of a plantation to representing a planter in legal cases in Dublin, formed a secondary influx of Welsh migrants, who could often become Irish landowners in their own right. Welsh tenants, meanwhile, could be found throughout the Irish plantations. The size of the Welsh presence ranged from as much as 17% in late sixteenth-century Munster to 2.44% in early seventeenth-century Ulster (although this low figure is largely the result of the large Scottish population there), but Welsh names were to be found in most of the plantations. Initially concentrated on the estates of Welsh landowners in regional clusters, by the mid-seventeenth century the settlement of soldiers and migration within the plantations led to the Welsh spreading throughout Ireland. The chapter concludes with an exploration of what the 1641 depositions can show us about the nature of Welsh plantation at the end of our period.

[6] I use the term 'plantation' in a relatively loose sense to mean any land acquisition by a non-Irish individual that was arranged or facilitated by the English government with a view to settle British tenants or spread English 'civility'. I will therefore include small scale plantations such as the settlement of military captains in garrison towns as well as the larger government-run schemes. This study will only concern itself with private acquisitions of land when they are part of the expansion of estates that began as plantations, or where it can be argued the purchaser wished to emulate the objectives and techniques of the Irish plantations. Due to this, private acquisition of land in the Pale by Welsh administrators, merchants or clergymen, for which evidence is far less readily available, will not be included.

The Welsh and the Irish plantations: an overview

Perhaps because the central government did not actively encourage them to take part, unlike the gentry of south-west England and western Scotland, Welsh gentlemen did not play as great a role in the plantations as they did in the Irish officer corps. However, the opportunity to obtain "ready-made estates only eight hours sail from home" did prove tempting to some of the more adventurous Welsh gentry, particularly those who had already established themselves in the Irish military and administration.[7] This section assesses the degree of Welsh involvement in the Irish plantations. The focus here is on the upper levels of the plantation, rather than on tenants and small-scale settlers who will be discussed later. It outlines the geographical and chronological context of Welsh settlement and demonstrates the different types of plantation in which Welsh settlers participated.

The first significant plantation scheme in Tudor Ireland began in 1557 when Mary I authorised the confiscation of the counties of Leix and Offaly in the Irish midlands. They were renamed Queen's and King's counties and it was decided to plant two-thirds of both. The plantation was essentially military in character. The settlers were largely soldiers who had been responsible for putting down the rebellions by the O'Conors and O'Mores that preceded the plantation.[8] The settlers in these counties were not obliged to bring tenants, as was the case in later plantations. Rather the scheme aimed to create a loyal landholding class in the region. Due to unrest, it was not until 1563 that settlers were granted estates. Of the fifty-five settlers, three had Welsh names.[9] Even if all three were Welsh, this is a small presence, partly due to at least sixteen of the soldier-settlers being Irish or Old English. The family of John ap Price, however, became important figures in the plantation, holding the estate of Ballinakilin until about 1612.[10] Further Irish rebellions during the 1570s led to the arrival of new settlers including the most important Welsh figure in the Irish midlands

[7] A.H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (Cardiff, 1952), p. 77.
[8] G.A. Hayes-McCoy, 'Conciliation, coercion and the Protestant reformation, 1547-71', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Pryce (eds.), *A new history of Ireland: III, early modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 77-9; Robert Dunlop, 'The plantation of Leix and Offaly', *English Historical Review*, 6 (1891), pp. 61-91.
[9] These were John ap Price, Geoffrey Phillips and Thomas Morris: Dunlop, 'The plantation of Leix and Ofally', pp. 72-3.
[10] Evidence in the Lodge manuscripts suggests the family was re-granted the land in 1635: Dunlop, 'The plantation of Leix and Offaly', p. 96; NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the rolls, vol. 5, p. 346.

during this period, Robert Bowen, who was granted Balliadams in Queen's county in August 1578.[11] Bowen was a second-generation Welsh soldier whose father, John ap Thomas ap Owain, had settled in Queen's county from the Gower as part of the 1563 plantation.[12] Robert Bowen went on to have a successful military administrative career, becoming provost marshal of Leinster and Meath in 1603.[13] It was claimed by an Irish petitioner in 1599 that Bowen was one of only two servitors who maintained a permanent residence in Queen's county during the worst of the rebellions of the sixteenth century and he thus became a central figure in the government of the Irish midlands during the early seventeenth century.[14] The Welsh presence in the military plantations of Leix and Offaly was small, but it supported the emergence of important Welsh-born soldier-settlers in the area.

There was also an element of Welsh involvement in several failed schemes in east Ulster before and during the early years of Elizabeth's reign. In 1556 the Earl of Sussex suggested a plantation centred on the mouth of the Bann and lower Clandeboy in Antrim and Down. He argued that the 1,000 men who would be selected to settle there should be from the north of England and Wales because they, as the inhabitants of wild borderlands, would be better able to defend the land.[15] The plantation did not go ahead, but it suggests that the Welsh were already thought of as able settlers by some counsellors in central government. Further schemes to plant east Ulster were led by Sir Thomas Smith in 1572 and the 1st Earl of Essex in 1573-4, both of which included a Welsh presence.[16] Neither succeeded, but Welsh involvement in these failed projects demonstrates an early Welsh interest in the plantation of Ireland.

Despite these failures a Welsh presence did emerge in east Ulster in the later part of the sixteenth century. The stimulus to Welsh involvement here was Nicholas Bagenal, second son of John Bagenal (d.1558), mayor of Newcastle-under-Lyme. Bagenal,

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[11] NLI, Genealogical Office MS 160, fols. 54-58; Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Ireland* (London, 1904), pp. 56-7.
[12] BL, Add. MS 4756, fols. 81-8; NLI, Genealogical Office MS 160, fols. 54-8.
[13] IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, p. 6.
[14] *CSPI 1599-1600*, p. 368.
[15] Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster*, p. 47.
[16] NA, SP63/36/37; *CSPI 1509-73*, p. 507; *CSPI 1574-85*, pp. 11, 15; G.A. Hayes-McCoy, 'The completion of the Tudor conquest and the advancement of the counter-reformation, 1571-1603', in Moody et al., *A new history of Ireland: III*, pp. 96-8; Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland: a pattern established, 1565-76* (London, 1976), pp. 87-9.

disgraced after killing a man in bar brawl, served as a mercenary soldier for Conn Baccagh O'Neill during the 1540s, although he was probably also spying on the Gaelic lord. He was pardoned in 1543 and served in France until 1547, when he was made Marshal of the Irish army.[17] In 1550 Bagenal was granted a twenty-one year lease of the lands of the abbey of Newry, and in 1552 received the lordships of Newry, Carlingford, Cooley and Mourne. Bagenal's land grant, which was spread between the counties of Down and Louth, was clearly envisioned as the core of a military plantation. His patent stated that in such a "remote part" it was necessary to "plant a Captain" who would repopulate the area and spread "civility and obedience".[18] Bagenal's Newry, like the plantations of Leix and Offaly, was to act as both garrison and settlement. It was also to become one of the major centres of Welsh population in the north of Ireland.

Newry, in southern County Down, was well positioned for transporting goods and settlers to and from north-west Wales. Bagenal married Elin, third daughter and co-heiress of Sir Edward Griffith of Penrhyn in Caernarvonshire in 1556.[19] The marriage brought him land in Anglesey and new Welsh family ties. In fact, the Bagenal family, particularly under Nicholas's half-Welsh son Henry, quickly integrated into Anglesey society.[20] Under the influence of the Bagenal family Newry and its surrounding area developed a distinctly Welsh character. As noted in the previous chapter, their influence was complemented by a succession of Welsh constables of Newry during the early seventeenth century, no doubt encouraged by the Bagenals.[21] One constable, Sir Richard Trevor, leased a considerable amount of land from the Bagenal family, which passed to his brother John in 1638. Although Trevor did not live in Ireland permanently, he married his daughter Magdalen to Henry Bagenal's heir, Arthur, making the Trevalyn Trevors *de facto* estate managers of the Bagenal lands for much of the early seventeenth century. In 1603, Richard Trevor was joined by his kinsman, Sir Edward Trevor of Brynkinallt, who had also been garrisoned in Newry and leased land on the Bagenal estates. By the early seventeenth century, south and mid-Down

[17] Philip H. Bagenal, *Vicissitudes of an Anglo-Irish family, 1530-1800* (London, 1925), pp. 18-20; Colm Lennon, 'Bagenal, Sir Nicholas (d. 1590/91), *ODNB*, vol. 3, pp. 227-8.
[18] NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the rolls, vol. 1, pp. 106, 207; Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, I, pp. 220, 228-9.
[19] Bagenal, *Viscissitudes of an Anglo-Irish family*, p. 36.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[21] *CSPI 1606-08*, p. 11; *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 48-50; IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, p. 195.

was dominated by Bagenal and Trevor allies drawn from Wales and the English marcher counties.[22] Newry thus became one of the principal sites of Welsh migration to Ireland throughout this period.

Sir Nicholas Bagenal's privately-run soldier settlement was in the traditional mould of English settlement in Ireland. In the 1580s, however, a new form of plantation was envisaged for Munster by the Dublin government. In 1585 Gerald Fitzgerald, the 15th Earl of Desmond, and his followers were attainted for their role in the rebellion of 1579-83 and their lands amounting to 574,645 acres in Munster passed to the crown.[23] By June 1586 plans were made for a plantation on a scale that had never been seen in Ireland before. Although it had initially been planned to give the majority of the land to soldiers, the influence of the Earl of Ormond led to Munster becoming primarily a civilian plantation.[24] On 27 June 1586 it was decided that 'undertakers' were to be found to receive seigniories varying in size between 4,000 and 12,000 acres. For every 12,000 acres an undertaker was expected to plant ninety-one families, whose head had to be of English or Welsh parentage and each seigniory was expected to have a resident armed militia of fifteen horse and forty-eight foot.[25]

The Privy Council concentrated its recruiting efforts in areas of the British mainland close to Ireland, which meant that Welshmen were involved from the beginning. On 24 February 1586 letters were sent to the justices of Cornwall, Somerset, Devon, Dorset and Cheshire to encourage western gentlemen to take part.[26] It seems likely that the Cheshire justices shared their information with friends and kin across the Welsh border, as in March 1586 a list of gentlemen from Cheshire and Denbighshire who wished to settle Munster was sent to the Privy Council. It included the Denbighshiremen, Thomas Salusbury of Llewenni, Edward Jones (who is listed as of Ladowgan), Lancelot Bostock (probably of Holt) and a Thomas Powell, along with

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[22] O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', pp. 4-67; Enid Sophia Jones, *Trevors of Trevalyn and their descendants* (Privately printed, 1955), p. 31.
[23] The earl died in the rebellion and was attainted posthumously: MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 1; Hayes-McCoy, 'The completion of the Tudor conquest', pp. 105-9; Robert Dunlop, 'The plantation of Munster: 1584-1589', *English Historical Review*, 3 (1888), p. 250.
[24] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British: 1580-1650* (Oxford and New York, 2001), p. 128.
[25] *CSPI 1586-88*, pp. 84-9; MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, pp. 30-4; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp. 128-130.
[26] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 46.

Gilbert Gerard and William Aylmer who held land in Denbighshire and Cheshire.[27] On 5 May a syndicate from south Wales and south-west England including Sir William Herbert of St Julians in Monmouthshire and Henry Billingsley, a Monmouthshire landowner, also applied to the Privy Council for estates.[28] Of a total of eighty-six men who applied to be undertakers, however, only fifteen were included in the final settlement. None of the Denbighshire gentlemen took part in the plantation, probably because several were Catholics.[29] Between 1587 and 1595, thirty-five undertakers were given estates, three of whom were Welsh. In addition, one was English but had settled in Wales, while another held Welsh land.[30] Welsh undertakers were thus a small minority in the Munster plantation, at just under ten percent. The three Welsh planters, however, created a cluster in western Munster that became a focus for the migration of Welsh tenants to the plantation.

The most significant of these three was Sir William Herbert of St Julians, Monmouthshire. Herbert, great-grandson of the 1st Earl of Pembroke, was an influential Welsh gentleman who held estates in Monmouthshire and Anglesey. There are several possible reasons why he became involved in the Munster plantation. It seems likely that his close friend and relative, Sir James Croft, Lord Deputy of Ireland between 1551 and 1552, encouraged him to participate.[31] Herbert may also have taken inspiration from his uncle Sir Nicholas Bagenal.[32] He was, however, also an avid public servant who saw the plantation as an opportunity to serve the Queen while furthering himself socially and financially.[33]

The first indication of Herbert's interest in the plantation was his appearance on the list of possible undertakers from the south-west submitted to the Privy Council in May 1586.[34] Soon after, however, he left that syndicate to set up another with one of

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[27] Ladowgan is possibly a mistranscription of Llandynan or Llangollen. *CSPI 1586-8*, p. 42.
[28] *CSPI 1586-8*, p. 51.
[29] As has been discussed in Chapter 2, some Catholics were drawn to Ireland by the more lenient recusancy laws. Thomas Salusbury was executed later that year for his role in the Babington plot: MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 48; *DWB*, p. 902.
[30] *CSPI 1586-8*, p. 67.
[31] Christopher Maginn, 'Herbert, Sir William (c.1553-1593)', *ODNB*, vol. 26, p. 737.
[32] Bagenal, *Vicissitudes of an Anglo-Irish family*, p. 36; Maginn, 'Herbert, Sir William', pp. 736-7.
[33] Sir William Herbert, *Croftus sive de Hibernia liber*, edited by Arthur Keaveney and John A. Madden (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1992), p. xii; *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 473-4.
[34] *CSPI 1586-8*, p. 51.

the surveyors of the Munster plantation, Valentine Browne.[35] Browne's syndicate was granted all the forfeited lands in Kerry and Desmond.[36] Herbert received 13,768 acres in the parishes of Castleisland, Ballicuslane, Dysert and Killeentierna in Kerry as the seigniory of Castleisland or Mounteagle Loyal. He arrived in Munster to begin his plantation in April 1587, but due to problems with the measurement of his seigniory, the patent was only passed in March 1589.[37]

Another member of Browne's syndicate was Charles Herbert of Hadnock, Monmouthshire, who was almost certainly brought into the group by his kinsman, Sir William Herbert.[38] Charles was granted 3,768 acres in central and eastern Kerry. The seigniory, which went by the names Currans, Lymricahill and Gwladherbert, adjoined William's, but was more scattered.[39] Charles was in residence at Currans by 1589.[40]

The third Welshman to take part in the Munster plantation also received his lands in Kerry but from a very different source. Captain Jenkin Conway was a veteran soldier who had served in Munster under the Earl of Ormond. He was certainly Welsh and probably a member of the Flintshire branch of the Conway family.[41] On the 21 October 1584 Conway petitioned Sir Francis Walsingham for the castle of Killorglin in Kerry as payment of his arrears. He argued that "thoughe my habiletye be small yett is there none that shall more faithfully serve her ma[jes]tie then myself".[42] He was granted the castle in July 1585.[43] This allowed Conway to claim land in the

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[35] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 47.
[36] *CSPI 1586-8*, p. 88.
[37] NLI, MS 7861, fols. 24-41; Patrick O'Connor, 'The Munster plantation era: rebellion, survey and land transfer in north County Kerry', *Journal of the Kerry archaeological and historical society*, 15 (1982), p. 31.
[38] They shared a great-great-grandfather: Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The Munster plantation, 1583-1641' (unpubl. PhD thesis, London University, 1983), pp. 357-8; Joseph Bradney, *A history of Monmouthshire* (London, 1932), vol. 1, pp. 24, 189. A.H. Dodd wrongly identifies Charles as Charles Herbert of Aston, another distant relative of Sir William Herbert: A.H. Dodd, *Studies*, p. 78.
[39] MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Munster plantation', pp. 357-8; Irish historians tend to use the anglicised name of the area 'Gladeherbert', but documents granting Charles the land indicate the Welsh root of the name 'Gwladherbert' or 'Herbert's country'. This interestingly suggests that Welsh might have been spoken among Herbert's settlers in Kerry: NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 14622.
[40] MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Munster plantation', pp. 357-8.
[41] Mary Agnes Hickson, *Selections from old Kerry records, historical and genealogical* (London, 1872), p. 50; Charles Smith, *The antient and present state of the county of Kerry* (Dublin, 1756), p. 52; John Edwards Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families with their collateral branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and other parts* (Horncastle, 1914), p. 260.
[42] NA, SP63/112/27.
[43] MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Munster plantation', p. 372.

plantation and he was granted 1,304 acres at Killorglin, on the River Laune to the south west of the Herbert plantations.[44]

Two other Munster undertakers had Welsh connections. Sir Henry Billingsley was a successful London haberdasher who was granted 11,800 acres in south-east Rathkeale, Limerick. The grant was taken up by Billingsley's son Henry who, from the early 1580s, lived at Penhow in Monmouthshire.[45] Billingsley was well integrated into the landed community of south Wales, marrying Catherine, daughter of Henry Mathews of Radyr, near Cardiff. He also served as sheriff of Monmouthshire in 1598 and by his death had expanded his Monmouthshire lands by purchasing the manor of Magor and mortgaging several estates from Sir William Herbert of St Julians.[46] Billingsley was thus the third Monmouthshire-based landowner to take part in the Munster plantation. The importance of Monmouthshire men can almost certainly be attributed to the county's proximity to Bristol, the main port for transporting men and goods to Munster. Indeed, we will see later in this chapter that Billingsley and the Herberts made good use of Bristol to plant their Irish estates with men drawn from Monmouthshire. The only other undertaker with links to Wales was Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor of England, who was granted 10,910 acres in the north-west of Dungarven. Although Hatton's family estate was at Holdenby in Northamptonshire he also held a farm of a chapel in Pembrokeshire, which probably acted as a source of settlers for his plantation.[47]

The extent of government control over the Munster plantation set a new precedent for British colonialism in Ireland. Yet the scheme did not create the bastion of civility and stability that was hoped for. In 1598 the plantation, which had failed to create a sufficient militia force, was swept away by the rebellion of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone.[48] Tyrone's rebellion was not suppressed until 1603, and many in the English government believed that further plantation was necessary in order to civilise the Irish and stop such insurrectionary outbursts.

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[44] O'Connor, 'Munster plantation era', p. 32.
[45] Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*, vol. 4, p. 195.
[46] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 286; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 14, p. 51.
[47] Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Hatton, Sir Christopher (c.1540-1591), *ODNB*, vol. 25, pp. 817-23.
[48] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 107.

After the defeat and subsequent flight of O'Neill and his allies in 1608, their lands, which made up much of western and central Ulster, escheated to the crown. Following a further uprising in 1608, much of the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Coleraine, Armagh, Cavan and Fermanagh became available for plantation.[49] By January 1609 the Privy Council had completed a plan for the plantation of Ulster.[50] The scheme envisaged a far more segregated plantation than in Munster. The land was divided into areas reserved for Scottish undertakers, English and Welsh undertakers, Irish natives, the Church, servitors (a mixture of soldiers and government officials), and the London companies. Undertakers were to introduce twenty-four British men for every 1,000 acres they obtained. This did not apply to natives or servitors, but servitors paid a lower rent if they planted British settlers.[51]

Unlike the Munster plantation, the focus of recruitment in England was the south-east and the midlands.[52] There seems to have been little or no interest among the Welsh civilian population in participating in the Ulster plantation, probably due to the high initial cost of establishing the settlements which deterred the relatively poor Welsh gentry.[53] Welsh involvement in Ulster was limited to soldiers, almost all of whom joined the plantation as servitors. As has been shown in previous chapters, a large proportion of the soldiers serving in Ulster were of Welsh extraction. Although several of the leading Welsh soldier-planters settled at Newry, there were others who attempted to build their estates elsewhere in Ireland and took part in the Ulster plantation.

A list of 177 English, Irish and Welsh servitors being considered for Ulster land in January 1610 included nine Welsh captains.[54] Three were eventually given land along

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[49] Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 6-7; Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish migration to Ulster*, pp. 76-80; Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 187.
[50] Rev. George Hill, *An historical account of the plantation in Ulster at the commencement of the seventeenth century, 1608-1620* (Belfast, 1877), p. 76.
[51] Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 60-92; Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish migration to Ulster*, pp. 76-89.
[52] Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 78.
[53] Perceval-Maxwell argues that in Scotland this meant that plantation to Ulster largely took place "in an aristocratic milieu": Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish migration to Ulster*, p. 274.
[54] The Welsh servitors considered for land in the Ulster plantation were Captain John Vaughan, Captain Henry Vaughan, Captain Ralph Bingley, Sir Edward Blayney, Sir James Perrot, Robert Bowen of Balliadams, Captain Trevor (probably Edward), Sir Roger Jones of Sligo and Captain Owen ap Hugh: *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 365-8.

with two not included on the list, part of a total of sixty-one servitors.[55] Of these, probably the most influential were the Vaughan brothers, John and Henry. These Welsh captains had been in Ulster since 1600 and had established themselves at Derry, with John overseeing the rebuilding of the town after O'Dogherty's rebellion of 1608.[56] John was granted the fort and lands of Dunalonge in Tyrone on 8 April 1609.[57] On hearing of the plantation in late 1609, John Vaughan petitioned the Lord Deputy to protect his land from being confiscated.[58] It was to no avail and both brothers had to surrender their Ulster property and received land in the plantation as compensation.[59] They both received 1,000 acres in Kilmacrenan barony, Donegal.[60]

Another Welsh soldier granted land in Kilmacrenan was Captain Ralph Bingley of Hawarden, Flintshire. Bingley, a captain in Ireland since 1598, had also served in Derry during the first few years of the seventeenth century.[61] He and his near relative, John Bingley of Chester, were closely linked to Lord Deputy Chichester and benefited from his patronage. In May 1602 Bingley received the crown lease of the monastic property of Rathmullan and other church lands in Donegal.[62] He further expanded his lands by leases in Kilmacrenan and Carrigans near Derry.[63] When Bingley's estates became subject to the plantation he, through Chichester's influence, obtained a grant of 1,100 acres in Kilmacrenan, which included the town of Rathmullan.[64] His land was further consolidated when his brother, Richard, was made constable of Doe Castle, Donegal, and granted land around it.[65] Two sets of Welsh brothers thus became influential figures in north Donegal, which turned the county into a focus of Welsh settlement.

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[55] There were fifty-five servitor estates, but six were granted to two men jointly. Five more servitors received land as civilian undertakers: Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 196-8.
[56] It has not been possible to find an exact origin for the Vaughan brothers, see Appendix 3: T.W. Moody, *The Londonderry plantation, 1609-41: the city of London and the plantation of Ulster* (Belfast, 1939), p. 59.
[57] T.W. Moody, 'Ulster plantation papers 1608-13', *Analecta Hibernica*, 8 (1938), p. 236; PRONI, T/1567/1.
[58] Hill, *Historical account of the plantation of Ulster*, p. 379.
[59] Moody, 'Ulster plantation papers, p. 261.
[60] Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 197-8.
[61] Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley', p. 15.
[62] NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the rolls, vol. 2, p. 51.
[63] Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley', p. 16.
[64] Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 198.
[65] Richard's land was not part of the plantation. Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley', p. 21.

The two other Welsh captains involved in the Ulster plantation had no previous history in the region. Joseph Jones, a relative of the Merioneth-born Church of Ireland clergyman Lewis Jones, was granted 1,500 acres in County Cavan, while Peter Mostyn, a Flintshire-born captain, was granted a meagre 246 acres in County Fermanagh, probably as payment of arrears.[66] These original five Welshman involved in Ulster were later joined by Captain Robert Davies of Gwysaney, Flintshire, who bought Sir Thomas Cornwall's 2,000 acre estate in Raphoe Barony, County Donegal in 1618.[67] This made Davies the largest Welsh landowner in the plantation and the only one subject to its full conditions. These six Welsh planters were a small proportion of the 106 Anglo-Welsh servitors and undertakers, but four had settled in Donegal, and this had a significant impact on Welsh settlement in the region.[68]

The Welsh thus had a presence in both of the major early modern Anglo-Welsh plantations. In both cases this was small, about 8-11% in Munster and under 6% in Ulster, but considering Wales's small population and relative poverty it was not inconsiderable. Several smaller schemes with Welsh involvement also emerged in Ireland during this period. Military-based plantations, similar to that at Newry, continued despite the more elaborate schemes of Ulster and Munster. The most important of these in terms of Welsh involvement were based in the counties of Monaghan, Antrim and Sligo. Welsh influence in Monaghan stemmed from two separate enterprises that constituted the only significant Anglo-Welsh presence in the county throughout the whole of this period.[69] The first was the 47,000-acre estate granted to the Earl of Essex at Farney in 1575.[70] The Earls of Essex made little attempt to plant their estate, but, as will be seen later in this chapter, it still acted as a gateway to Ireland for Welshmen. A far more energetic figure was Captain Edward Blayney of Gregynog, Montgomeryshire. Blayney was made governor and seneschal

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[66] Hill, *Historical account of the plantation in Ulster*, pp. 340-2; Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 198.
[67] *CSPI 1615-25*, pp. 220-226; Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, III, p. 571.
[68] The Welsh proportion is, of course, even smaller if one includes the fifty-seven Scottish planters. Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster*, pp. 196-208.
[69] Monaghan had been subject to freeholding of native land rather than plantation: Patrick J. Duffy, 'Patterns of landownership in Gaelic Monaghan in the late sixteenth century', *Clogher Record*, 10 (1981), pp. 304-22.
[70] Henry Elliot Malden (ed.), 'Devereux papers with Richard Broughton's memoranda (1575-1601)', *Cambden Miscellany*, 13 (London, 1924), p. viii; P.J. Duffy, 'Farney in 1634: an examination of John Raven's survey of the Essex estate', *Clogher Record*, 11 (1983), p. 247; PRONI, D/3531/D/1.

of Monaghan in 1604 and received a small grant of land there.[71] After a period of local disorder, Blayney, who was seen by the government in Dublin as "a gentleman of good sufficiency and understanding in matters appertaining to the wars and peaceable government", was given a much greater role in the area.[72] Through a series of grants between January 1606 and June 1611, he received the Castle of Monaghan and the castle town, along with some nearby lands.[73] Although not under the articles of the Ulster plantation, Blayney was expected to build a castle and bawn and settle at least six to eight British tenant families by 1611.[74] Blayney has been called "the county's only planter in the Ulster plantation style" and his estates also became an entry point for Welsh settlers.[75]

While Blayney's settlement was organised along the lines of the Ulster plantation, those of Sir Roger Jones in Sligo and Sir Fulke Conway in Antrim were more private in character. After a long period of service in Ireland, Sir Roger Jones of Ruthin, Denbighshire, was appointed Constable of Sligo in 1602 and built up a large estate.[76] Although not strictly a planter, Jones was strongly associated with the Ulster plantation, particularly Welsh-influenced Donegal where he was granted the town of Killibegs in 1615.[77] Under these influences, and unlike the rest of the landowners in Sligo, Jones imported the spirit of the plantation by actively planting British settlers.[78] Sir Fulke Conway of Arrow, Warwickshire, a scion of the Flintshire Conways, also brought Welsh settlers to settle his estates in Killutagh, Antrim, from 1609.[79] Neither Jones nor Conway brought large numbers of Welsh settlers, but their estates remain of interest as examples of Welsh settlement on a smaller scale.

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[71] PRONI, D/3465/A/1/1; John Lodge, *The peerage of Ireland or a genealogical history of the present nobility of that kingdom* (Dublin, 1754), vol. 4, p. 118.
[72] *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 580-2.
[73] IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, p. 95; Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, p. 119; *CSPI 1606-08*, p. 11; NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the rolls, vol. 2, pp. 260-1, 271.
[74] NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the rolls, vol. 2, p. 271.
[75] Peadar Livingstone, *The Monaghan story: a documented history of the county of Monaghan from the earliest times to 1976* (Enniskillen, 1980), p. 101.
[76] Although Mary O'Dowd identifies Jones as a native of Derbyshire, his 1625 funeral certificate demonstrates that this is incorrect: Mary O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land: early modern Sligo, 1568-1688* (Belfast, 1991), p. 99; BL, Add. MS 4820, fol. 5; W.G. Wood-Martin, *History of Sligo, county and town* (Dublin, 1882), vol. 1, p. 302.
[77] Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 210; O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land*, p. 157.
[78] O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land*, p. 110.
[79] A. Hume, 'Origin and characteristics of the people in the counties of Down and Antrim', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1 (1853), p. 249; J. Braidwood, 'Ulster and Elizabethan English', in G.B. Adams (ed.), *Ulster Dialects: an introductory symposium* (Holywood, 1964), p. 13; Anon, *A Concise history of Lisburn and neighbourhood* (Belfast, 1906), p. 5.

As well as these individual military settlements, a series of minor plantations along the lines of the Munster and Ulster schemes were attempted between 1610 and 1622.[80] Of these only the plantation of the O'Rourke lordship of Leitrim in 1620 attracted Welsh interest.[81] Once again it is mostly as soldier-planters that Welshmen appeared in Leitrim with five out of forty-eight undertakers having had recognisably Welsh names.[82] By 1622, however, only four undertakers were resident in Leitrim and the majority had sold their lands to natives.[83] Of the Welsh planters, only Sir Maurice Griffith, who had received 547 acres, seems to have remained. He was the third son of William Griffith of Plasmawr, Carnarvon, and thus Sir Nicholas Bagenal's nephew and probably entered Irish service through the patronage of his powerful uncle.[84] Griffith's estate was centred on the castle of Drumruske (in modern day Carrick-on-Shannon), where he had been constable since 1610. He became a leading figure in the area and forged close ties to the plantations in the north.[85]

The period between 1558 and 1641, therefore, saw Welshmen establish themselves as landowners throughout the Irish plantations. They did not form a particularly large proportion of the settlers, but they were a constant presence. Most were soldiers who were settled to act as a bulwark against the Irish. Soldiers also had the advantage of a regular wage and tended to come from areas around ports, which allowed easy transport to and from their new Irish estates. It is interesting to note that the Welsh civilian planters also came from estates close to ports, demonstrating how good transport connections to Ireland were vital to establishing oneself as a settler. The following sections demonstrate how this Welsh settlement changed over time and how the modest Welsh presence on the plantations was augmented by the arrival of Welsh agents and tenants.

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[80] Aidan Clarke and R. Dudley Edwards, 'Pacification, plantation, and the Catholic question', in Moody et al., *A new history of Ireland: III*, pp. 219-21; TCD, MS 672, fols. 125-34; *CSPI 1603-24*, p. 327.
[81] Brian Mac Cuarta, 'The plantation of Leitrim, 1620-41', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32 (2001), pp. 297-309.
[82] Sir Maurice Griffith, Brian Jones, clergyman William Morris Lloyde, Lieutenant Owen Blaney and Lieutenant Richard Hughes. TCD, MS 672, fols. 143-146^{v}; IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, p. 448.
[83] BL, Add. MS 4756, fol. 129^{v}.
[84] Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire*, p. 125.
[85] Brian Mac Cuarta, 'Newcomers in the Irish midlands, 1540-1641' (unpubl. MA thesis., University College Galway, 1980), pp. 88, 119; Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley', p. 24; NAI, Lodge MSS, Record of the rolls, vol. 3, p. 29.

Figure 4.1. Map of Wales showing the origins of Welsh planters, 1558-1641

The success of the soldier-settlers: changes in Welsh landholding in the Irish plantations, 1583-1641

The Irish plantations were constantly altering as settlers bought, expanded and sold their Irish estates. This section illustrates how Welsh landholding in the plantations changed over this period. The fortunes of Welsh planters varied dramatically. Some sold their lands, either out of necessity or to make a quick profit. Others, particularly in Munster, saw their estates shrink because of claims by the original Irish inhabitants or other planters. A small group of Welsh planters, however, expanded their estates significantly. It will be demonstrated that their success in Ireland can be attributed to their military background and the administrative positions they occupied. Certain of these Welsh soldiers rose through the ranks of the New English to become major figures in the settler community. Such a trajectory was not, of course, unique to the

Welsh; rather it was part of a wider pattern among planters in Ireland. However, such a progression did create powerful figures whose political and economic influence became a resource for other Welsh migrants in early modern Ireland.

Undertakers in Munster generally saw their estates shrink during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The difficulties in Munster were caused by the inaccuracy of the original surveys and the decision of the English administration that chargeable lands should be returned to their original owners.[86] Commissions were established to hear the cases of the native claimants and one third of the plantation had reverted to native ownership by 1611. Charles Herbert and Jenkin Conway avoided any serious challenges to their titles, but Henry Billingsley lost enough land to encourage him to sell up in the early 1600s, while Sir William Herbert had lost 2,000 acres to Irish claimants by 1594.[87] The poor quality of the surveys also led to problems as the boundaries of undertakers' seigniories were vague. Large parts of Herbert's estate were not included in his patent. By 1607 this had allowed other undertakers successfully to claim his lands at Ballymacdonnell and Tarbert.[88] His successor, Sir Edward Herbert, continued to face challenges to his defective patent until it was renewed in 1638.[89] Although Herbert bought the estate of Cahirmochill from Edmond Fitzmorrice Herbert, whose family had been part of a much earlier Herbert involvement in Ireland, Welsh planters in Munster generally lost land over the course of this period.[90]

The inaccuracies with patents and Irish claims to land that so affected the Munster plantation were not repeated to the same extent in later settlement schemes. A large number of the undertakers in the Ulster plantation, however, sold their estates to make a profit soon after the plantation was established. These included Joseph Jones,

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[86] Chargeable lands were estates belonging to natives that had been confiscated by the Earl of Desmond and his allies due to non-payment of discretionary taxes. O'Connor, 'Munster plantation era', pp. 22-3; MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 72.
[87] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, pp. 101-6, 140; NLI, MS 7861, fols. 44-5.
[88] NA, SP63/129/42; O'Connor, 'Munster plantation era', p. 33; W.J. Smith (ed.), *Herbert correspondence* (Cardiff, 1968), pp. 75-6.
[89] NLW, Powis Castle, Herbert of Cherbury MS XII, fol. 1; Powis Castle Deeds 14733, 14938; NA, SP30/53/7/18, 24.
[90] A genealogy in the National Library of Ireland suggests that Edmond Herbert was the fourth son of Sir Edward Herbert of Poolcastle, Montgomery, and settled in Cahirmochill during the reign of James I. This seems to be a mistake: NLI, Genealogical Office MS 165; NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 14606, 14813, 14818.

Captain Peter Mostyn, and Captain John Vaughan. Vaughan, however, used part of the money from the sale to lease 1,000 plantation acres in Donegal and Tyrone.[91] Meanwhile, Sir Edward Trevor and Ralph Bingley both lost parts of their estates to other planters in legal disputes.[92] Despite the departure of Jones and Mostyn and the diminishment of the Vaughan, Trevor and Bingley estates, the early seventeenth century was generally a period in which Welsh planters in the north expanded their estates and new Welsh landowners arrived.

The Welsh settlers who most expanded their landed interests in northern Ireland in this period were soldiers. Soldiers had several advantages in the post-1603 Irish land market. Most importantly they benefited from their roles in local government. Government officials were particularly well placed to spot opportunities to buy land cheaply from impoverished natives, and could also use their local influence to place political and economic pressure on those who would not sell. The Trevors, for example, benefited from the weakening of the Magennis lordship in mid-Down. As part of the 1606 commission for defective titles, Arthur Roe Magennis's estate was broken into a series of freeholds and divided among his chief tenants. In 1609 Sir Edward Trevor was appointed as one of the members of the commission tasked with dividing the land.[93] As a commissioner, Trevor was in the perfect position to buy the lands of poor freeholders for cash or services, which he duly did.[94] He followed this with a series of purchases from native freeholders in 1611, and the purchase of Kilbroney in 1618, which became his seat of Rostrevor.[95] Trevor is a prime example of how provincial administrators could exploit local office to enlarge their estates in Ireland.

Servitors also had the advantage of access to regular wages in a society where ready cash was hard to come by. Edward Trevor and John Vaughan, for example, received pensions of 4s (Irish) a day in 1603, for Trevor this rose to 5s 4d (Irish) in 1622.[96]

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[91] Hill, *Historical account of the plantation in Ulster*, pp. 330-334, 468, 524-5, 569.
[92] *CSPI 1611-14*, pp. 214-7, 262-4; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rostrevor', p. 37.
[93] Gillespie, 'The social world of County Down', pp. 151-2; Harold O'Sullivan, 'The Magennis lordship of Iveagh in the early modern period, 1534-1691', in Proudfoot, *Down: history & society*, p. 169.
[94] IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, pp. 394-6; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rostrevor', p. 35.
[95] IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, p. 373; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rostrevor', p. 38.
[96] *CSPI 1603-06*, pp. 125-130; BL, Add. MS 4756, fol. 9^{v}.

This regular income, combined with irregular payments for other administrative and military services, allowed them to loan money to impoverished Irish lords who often repaid them with land. For example, Edward Trevor's 1624 acquisition of Corgary was by way of payment for a loan of £28 to Donal Murtagh Magennis.[97] Alternatively ready money could be used to purchase mortgages of Irish estates which were rarely redeemed. By the early 1630s, Roger Jones collected £307 rent a year from his vast array of mortgages in Sligo, making him the third wealthiest New English landowner in the county.[98] Both Trevor and Jones were thus able to build extensive estates and establish themselves as leading figures in their respective counties by exploiting local office and their regular military wages.

Regular wages also allowed soldier-settlers to take advantage of opportunities to buy land from British planters who wished either to raise money for land purchases, or were trying to get rid of their Irish estates. This was particularly true in Donegal, where several Welshmen became major landowners during the early seventeenth century. In 1613 Sir Ralph Bingley purchased two entire plantation estates amounting to 4,000 acres in the county, one of which he bought jointly with Captain John Vaughan. These deals coincided with Captain Robert Davies's purchase of Sir Thomas Cornwall's 2,000 acre Donegal estate. By the mid-1610s, therefore, three of the nine English undertaker's proportions in Donegal had come into Welsh hands. Bingley and the Vaughan brothers also made a series of smaller land purchases, further expanding the Welsh presence there.[99] Welsh landholding influence in Donegal, which had begun through the grants of the Ulster Plantation, was thus consolidated by the estate-building enterprises of Welsh planters in the early seventeenth century.[100]

Elsewhere in northern Ireland Welsh landowners expanded their estates by leasing land from other planters and the church. Sir Edward Trevor in particular developed

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[97] IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, pp. 41, 47.
[98] O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land*, p. 95. For other Welsh individuals using mortgages, see PRONI, D/671/D8/1/21.
[99] NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the rolls, vol. 2, fol. 371; TCD, MUN/Deeds, fol. 71; T.W. Moody and J.G. Simms (eds.), *The Bishopric of Derry and the Irish society of London, 1602-1705* (Dublin, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 43-51.
[100] Robert J. Hunter, 'Plantation in Donegal', in William Nolan, Liam Ronayne and Mairead Dunlevy (eds.), *Donegal: history & society* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 299-300.

his scattered estate through leases from the Bagenals and his wife's family, the Usshers.[101] Similarly, John and Henry Vaughan, along with their clergyman brother, Charles, leased land in the Londonderry plantation and came to wield a considerable influence there.[102] John Vaughan in particular became "the most outstanding figure in Derry for thirty-five years" by leasing a significant estate to accompany his powerful local administrative offices.[103] The Vaughan leases in Londonderry created a secondary area of Welsh influence in the north-west of the plantation which, as will be seen, encouraged the plantation of Welsh tenants in the region.

The early seventeenth century also saw the arrival of new Welsh landowners in northern Ireland. Edward Trevor's brother-in-law, Francis Kynaston of Pant Byrsilli, leased Saul Castle in Down from Sir Edward Cromwell in about 1606, joining the strong Welsh contingent in the county. To the south of the Bagenal plantation, Sir Henry Salusbury of Llewenni, Denbighshire, leased the manor of Ballymascanlon in Louth from the Earl of Cork in 1625. Although Louth was not a plantation county, Salusbury's ambitions were certainly for a plantation in which he hoped to use Welshmen to replace the Irish tenants.[104] Thus although some Welsh landowners abandoned the Irish plantations in this period, they were replaced by new men attracted by cheap land and, as will be seen in later chapters, encouraged by friends and family already established there.

By the early decades of the seventeenth century, therefore, there had been significant changes in the fortunes of the Welsh planters. In Kerry, Henry Billingsley had departed after he lost much of his estate to native claimants, but the heirs of Jenkin Conway and the two Herberts remained as major landowners. Some Welsh planters in Ulster had sold their lands, but the Welsh presence in Donegal had been consolidated and expanded with the purchases of Ralph Bingley, Robert Davies and John Vaughan.

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[101] O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rostrevor', pp. 25, 27, 42.
[102] Robert J. Hunter, 'The Fishmongers' Company of London and the Londonderry plantation, 1609-41', in Gerald O'Brien (ed.), *Derry and Londonderry: history & society* (Dublin, 1999), p. 221; Moody and Simms, *Bishopric of Derry*, pp. 53-4, 232-3.
[103] Moody, *Londonderry plantation*, pp. 280-1.
[104] The corrupt dealings of Salusbury's agent, Thomas Lloyd, however, led to the loss of the lease for non-payment of rent in May 1630 and in 1632 Henry died, so no permanent settlement was established: Smith, *Calendar of Salusbury correspondence*, pp. 65-6, 70; NLW, Llewenni MS 697.

Figure 4.2. Map of Ireland showing the approximate locations of the main Welsh plantations, 1558-1641

Furthermore, the leases made by the Vaughan brothers in Londonderry created a secondary area of Welsh influence in the plantation. Welsh landowning also increased in the areas surrounding the six plantation counties. In particular, the tireless and ruthless expansion of the Trevors around Newry added to the already significant Bagenal presence in the Down and Sir Edward Blayney's estates in north Monaghan.

Finally, on the western coast the enterprising Denbighshire man, Roger Jones, used mortgages to establish an estate that spanned from his base in Sligo to Donegal. With the exception of the Herberts, these men had made the difficult transition from soldier to settler and made their fortunes in the process.

Assisting plantation: Welsh agents in Ireland

Those who acquired plantation estates were not, of course, the only Welshmen to be drawn to Ireland by the plantations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This section examines the Welsh individuals who came to Ireland to assist landowners in the running of Irish estates. Such men were generally referred to as 'agents', but their duties varied. Some were essentially stewards who were resident on the plantation estate and oversaw its day-to-day administration, while others acted as legal representatives for planters, and a few combined both areas of responsibility. Raymond Gillespie has argued that these individuals were vital for a plantation's success, but few studies have addressed their role or importance in any kind of sustained manner.[105] This section argues that Welsh planters tended to appoint Welsh agents to assist them in their Irish ventures. It also discusses how Welsh stewards and agents acquired their own estates, and thus added to the Welsh landowning presence in early modern Ireland.

Welsh planters nearly always employed agents from Wales. Indeed, it has only been possible to find one example of an English agent running the Irish business of a Welsh-born planter. This was Shropshire-born Humfrey Gittins who served as both legal representative and estate manager for Sir Edward Herbert in the late 1630s.[106] Gillespie has argued that planters usually employed trusted members of their family as agents, which would explain the predominance of Welsh agents on Welsh estates.[107] Robert Davies of Gwysaney was, however, the only Welsh planter to use members of his close kinship group to run his Irish estate while he was in Wales.[108] His first agent was his brother, Thomas, a veteran soldier who oversaw the running of his Donegal estate between 1619 and 1624, before leaving to serve as a captain in the

[105] Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, pp. 133-4.
[106] NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 12856, 14576, 14628; Smith, *Herbert Correspondence*, p. 107.
[107] Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, p. 133.
[108] Gwilym Arthur Ussher, *Gwysaney and Owston* (Denbigh, 1964), pp. 31-2.

Netherlands.[109] Who took over from Thomas Davies is unclear, but it is likely to have been Robert's cousin, John Davys, who had been despatched to Ireland in 1620.[110] Davies's use of family members as agents was probably the product of his initial zeal for plantation that, as we will see, saw him settle the largest group of Welsh men and women in the Ulster plantation. It is likely that he wished to protect the significant investment he had made in Donegal by sending family members that he knew he could trust. Other Welsh planters did not follow Davies's example, but rather relied on servants or dependants drawn from their Welsh lands.

The majority of Welsh agents in Ireland were experienced stewards, leading tenant farmers or lawyers who had worked for planters in Wales. The Herbert family were particularly reliant on such figures, especially after Castleisland was leased to Thomas Roper in 1608.[111] Lord Edward Herbert employed a series of Dublin-based Welsh lawyers to monitor Roper and oversee his Irish interests. The most important were Francis Lloyd, who entered Herbert's service in the 1620s, and, the apparently unrelated, Moses Lloyd, who replaced Francis in 1639.[112] It is likely that both Lloyds were appointed because they had served the Herberts in Wales or London. Similarly, during the 1630s Sir Henry Salusbury appointed Foulk Hughes, a Welsh servant, and Thomas Lloyd, a tenant from his Denbighshire estates, to run his Ballymascanlon lands.[113] Francis Lloyd, Moses Lloyd and Thomas Lloyd all took up near permanent residence in Ireland and Foulk Hughes travelled frequently between Wales and Salusbury's Irish estates. Such men thus added to the Welsh presence in Ireland.

The proximity of Wales to Ireland also encouraged English planters to employ Welsh agents who could travel to and from Irish estates with relative ease. In July 1559, for example, Edward Randolfe of London appointed Lewis Prothero of Penmon, Anglesey, to govern his demesne and castle of Carlow.[114] How Randolfe came to know Prothero is unclear, but it is likely that the ease of travel between Anglesey and Ireland was a factor in his choice of agent. The Earl of Essex also employed men

[109] Hill, *Historical account of the plantation in Ulster*, p. 516; E. Gwynne Jones (ed.), *A schedule of the Gwysaney deeds, documents and papers...* (Bangor, 1953), p. 10.
[110] NLW, Gwysaney transcripts, no. 37B.
[111] NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 14614.
[112] Smith, *Herbert correspondence*, pp. 81-83; NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 14576.
[113] NLW, Llewenni MS 697.
[114] Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, I, p. 428.

taken from his Welsh estates to run his interests in Farney, including, John Price in the 1620s and William Williams during the 1630s.[115] The ability of Welshmen to travel to Ireland quickly and easily thus boosted the number of Welsh agents serving in Ireland.

Some Welsh agents, however, were already established in Ireland. For the most part such individuals oversaw local estate matters rather than dealing with legal issues in Dublin. They included soldiers like Rhys ap Hugh, who almost certainly saw such a role as a means to supplement his pension. Ap Hugh acted as agent for several generations of the Anglesey-based Bagenal family between 1575 and his death in 1598, managing their lands and dealing with their debts. He was also one of four agents appointed to oversee the Earl of Essex's Irish estates and deal with local legal issues during the 1590s.[116] Other planters drew on the assistance of fellow Welsh landowners. Charles Herbert of Currans, Munster, for example, ran Sir William Herbert's estate of Castleisland while the latter was in Wales in 1589.[117] Another Welsh planter, John Trevor, son of Sir Edward Trevor of Rostrevor, acted as agent for the Earl of Essex in 1639.[118] Welsh planters, like Herbert and the Bagenals, and those with strong Welsh links, like Essex, thus sometimes turned to Welshmen already established in Ireland to run their Irish interests. Here we can see a glimpse of the tendency for Welshmen in Ireland to cooperate with their countrymen that will be explored in detail in Chapter 5.

Agents, like soldiers, had access to ready money and could exploit the influence of their powerful masters. Some were able to use these advantages to establish themselves as Irish landowners in their own right. Edward Herbert's agent, Francis Lloyd, was particularly keen to obtain Irish land. In February 1634 he wrote to Herbert's son, Richard, to ask that his brother, Roger Lloyd, be made rector of Castleisland. If Richard assented, Francis promised to lease land on the seigniory and become Herbert's permanent representative there.[119] Lloyd's brother does not seem to

[115] PRONI, D/3531/A/4, fol. 12; Evelyn Philip Shirley, *The history of the county of Monaghan* (London, 1879), pp. 263-4.
[116] Bodleian Library, University College MS 103; *CSPI 1588-92*, p. 389; Longleat House, Devereux papers, vol. 1, fol. 148; *CSPI 1592-96*, p. 31.
[117] *CSPI 1588-92*, pp. 210-1.
[118] Longleat House, Devereux papers, vol. 1, fol. 353.
[119] NLW, Powis Castle, Herbert of Cherbury MS XII, fol. 2.

have been given his desired position but this did not stop Francis from becoming an Irish landowner. In November 1639, Lloyd entered into a joint lease of a farm a mile from Dublin with Sir Thomas Meredith, a second-generation Welsh immigrant.[120] Lloyd, however, was intent on settling in Kerry and requested an estate again in December 1639.[121] Lloyd did not receive his land but, as will be seen, he was to play a leading role in restocking the seigniory after the civil war.

The Welsh agent who was most successful in building his own estate in this period was Rhys ap Hugh. As a soldier and agent, ap Hugh was able to exploit influential government connections and a diverse range of sources of income to create a sizeable landed estate. During the late 1570s and early 1580s he leased a large amount of monastic property in Louth.[122] He further extended his estate through the purchase of land around Drogheda in 1596.[123] Some time before his death, he also leased a large amount of monastic land in Down.[124] By the time Rhys died in 1599 he had an extensive private estate based around Drogheda, not far from the Bagenal family's Newry estate, which passed to his son, Ambrose ap Hugh, in 1608.[125] Lloyd and ap Hugh's successful journey from agent to landowner demonstrates how some Welsh agents followed the lead of their employers in moving from professional man to landed settlers. Service in Ireland was thus another route into the Irish landholding community for the Welsh.

Agents formed a small but significant group of Welsh migrants in Ireland. These well-educated figures could easily socialise and co-operate with Welsh soldiers and landlords in Ireland. It will be seen in Chapter 5 that they also played an important role in the Welsh community there. Some, such as Francis Lloyd and Rhys ap Hugh, were even able to join the Irish landed community and augment the Welsh presence among the 'New English'.

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[120] Meredith was the son of Sir John Perrot's close ally, Bishop Richard Meredith. Smith, *Herbert correspondence*, pp. 102-103.
[121] *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.
[122] NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the rolls, vol. 1, fol. 249.
[123] Mary O'Dowd, 'Irish concealed lands papers in the Hastings manuscripts in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California', *Analecta Hibernica*, 31 (1984), p. 105; NLI, D.16,161.
[124] *CSPI 1606-08*, pp. 55-72.
[125] Ambrose kept his father's full patronymic, ap Hugh, rather than the usual shortened version, Pugh, or a new patronymic, ap Rhys: *CSPI 1608-10*, p. 121; HMC, *Hastings MSS*, vol. 4, p. 35.

Planting and emigration: Welsh tenants in Ireland

The majority of Welsh men and women who emigrated to Ireland as part of the plantations were not landowners or agents but tenants. It was a condition of many plantation schemes that British tenants be placed on the new Irish estates.[126] Privately-run plantations, of course, did not have such conditions, but almost all the Welsh planters discussed in this chapter planted British tenants on their land. This section quantifies Welsh involvement at these lower levels of the Irish plantations. Estate records are sadly lacking for the vast majority of the plantation estates during this period, however. As a result, it is necessary to draw on a variety of sources, including official surveys and correspondence, to examine these Welsh tenants in Ireland. It is argued here that Welsh settlers were found in all the Irish plantations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to a greater or lesser extent. Their presence ranged from an estimated 17% of the settler population in late sixteenth-century Munster, to about 1.5% of the population in parts of Ulster. In general, Welsh settlers initially clustered on estates owned by Welsh planters who had moved them from their Welsh lands. Some settlers, however, were soldiers or independent migrants who settled where they could obtain good deals on land or near to their garrison or port of arrival. Over time the Welsh settlers became more dispersed geographically as internal migration away from Welsh-owned estates took place. Thus Welsh settlement in Ireland became more pervasive over the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

For the sake of clarity, the various plantation projects will be addressed separately. We begin by looking at the major plantations of Munster and Ulster, before turning to assess the smaller schemes.

An analysis of Welsh tenants in the Munster plantation is most effectively carried out in two parts. The plantation was seriously disrupted by the Tyrone rebellion in 1598.[127] Some undertakers did not return to Ireland and those that did had to carry out a significant replantation of their estates. The nature of Welsh settlement in Munster before and after the rebellion was also quite different. Before the rebellion the Welsh

[126] The term 'British' was used for administrative purposes to describe tenants of English, Scottish or Welsh origin, and will be used in the same way in this section.
[127] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 136.

were concentrated on the estates of particular planters who had clear connections to Wales, especially in Kerry. After 1603 fewer Welshmen can be found on these estates; instead Welsh names are spread throughout the region due to migration within the plantation and new migrants arriving from Wales.

The first evidence for the Munster plantation is provided by the answers of the undertakers to a survey of October 1589. The data is unreliable and variable in its detail, but it does give some idea of the Welsh presence in Munster. Sir William Herbert wrote that he had twenty British individuals with him in his castle and one hundred Irish tenants whom he aimed to replace with British tenants.[128] We know that at least eleven of the twenty in Herbert's castle were Welsh, probably tenants and tradesmen taken from his Monmouthshire estates.[129] The other nine men were probably also from Wales but did not have Welsh names. Charles Herbert also answered the survey, claiming to have fifty British tenants and twenty Irish. It is likely that Charles's tenants were Welsh because of his tendency to use Welsh tenants in the seventeenth century.[130] He also named two of his tenants, a copyholder named Howell Morgan and a freeholder, William Herbert of Crindau, Monmouthshire, a cousin of William Herbert of St Julians, who had married Charles's daughter, Catherine.[131] It seems unlikely that these were the only Welshmen on his estate. Jenkin Conway did not reply to the survey, but Mary Hickson relates a Conway family tradition that Jenkin brought three of his brothers to Kerry with him.[132]

Although the 1589 survey gives us little information on the Welsh undertakers it does suggest pockets of Welsh settlement elsewhere. Henry Billingsley had thirty-five tenants, six of whom had names suggesting a Welsh origin.[133] It would have made sense for Billingsley to transport at least some of his settlers from his Monmouthshire

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[128] NA, SP63/144/21.

[129] Their names can be found on the muster of Herbert's horsemen and on a list of provisions sent to Castleisland in 1588. The names of the horsemen were Cadwalladr Rowlands, Henrye Hewthes [Hughes], Rychard Marshall, Wylliam Andrewes, Rychard John Morgan, Owen Griffyth, Morgan Phillip, Davye Rychards and William Thomas. Those on the provisions list were William Johns, Edward Williams, John Richards and Thomas Jones: NA, SP63/130/21; NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 21921.

[130] See pp. 133-4.

[131] NA, SP63/144/22; Bradney, *A history of Monmouthshire*, vol. 5, p. 49.

[132] Hickson, *Selections from old Kerry records*, p. 50.

[133] These were Rosser Thomas, John James, John Williams, William Phillips, William Price and Thomas Williams. It is also possible that Richard Mathewe was Welsh: NA, SP63/145/40-2.

estate through the conveniently-situated port of Bristol. Similarly, Sir Christopher Hatton had land in Wales that seems to have been a source of his Irish tenants. His list of fifteen British-born settlers included seven men with Welsh names, among them the steward of his Dungarven estate, William Edwards.[134] One or two Welsh names also appear on the estates of Hugh Cuffe, Arthur Hyde and Warham St Leger.[135] Walter Raleigh is the only undertaker without obvious Welsh connections to have a larger Welsh presence on his lands in 1589. These men may have been followers of Thomas Salusbury, one of Raleigh's freeholders who was probably from Denbighshire.[136] Although the 1589 survey is neither comprehensive nor reliable, it does indicate a significant number of Welsh settlers had arrived early in the plantation process. Of the thirty-five undertakers, twenty-three replied to the survey and claimed to have 512 tenants.[137] If we assume that all of William and Charles Herbert's tenants were from their Monmouthshire lands, which seems likely, then we can offer a tentative total of eighty-seven Welsh tenants in Munster in 1589, or almost 17% of the total. This excludes tenants that may have been brought by Jenkin Conway. Although probably an overestimate, it does suggest that the Welsh were well represented among the tenants of Munster.

There are few records for the settler population of Munster in the 1590s. Rent rolls do survive, however, for Sir William Herbert's seigniory of Castleisland between 1591 and 1594. They demonstrate that although the total number of settlers on Herbert's estate remained roughly steady in the 1590s, this masked significant loss and replacement of tenants during this period. In 1591 Herbert listed twenty-three of his thirty-six British tenants, nineteen of whom had Welsh names, suggesting that they had all been brought from Monmouthshire.[138] By 1594 he had lost eleven of these

[134] The others were Davyd Owen, Olyver Jones, Gryffeth Owen, John Owen, Henry Davyes and a second William Edwards: NA, SP63/144/73.
[135] These were John Evans, William Edwards, John Edwards, John Pryce and William Powell: NA, SP63/144/26, 68, 74-5.
[136] Raleigh listed thirty-six tenants including Thomas Williams, John Thomas, Thomas James, Mathew Powell and Richard James. It is also possible that Walter Harrye, William Harrye and Morrys Sallisburye were Welsh. Thomas Salisbury was his only freeholder with a Welsh name: NA, SP63/144/28; *CSPI 1586-88*, p. 42.
[137] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 113.
[138] The details of all Herbert's rent rolls can be found in Appendix 4.

tenants and granted land to at least nineteen new British settlers.[139] The majority of the new men had Welsh names and leases survive to demonstrate that Herbert continued to recruit from Monmouthshire.[140] Although some may have died, it appears that many of Herbert's tenants migrated away from his estates during the early 1590s. Tenants in Munster frequently moved within the plantation in search of better land or lower rents, which led to tension between the undertakers.[141] For example, the three Welsh names listed among Sir Edward Denny's twenty-five horsemen in April 1589 were almost certainly migrants from Herbert's nearby estates.[142] Thus Castleisland was a gateway to Munster for Welsh settlers, but it was not always their final destination. If we had the level of evidence for other plantations as we do for Herbert's, it is likely we would also see Welsh settlers appearing on the rentals of other non-Welsh planters as the result of migration.

At the beginning of the 1590s, therefore, the Welsh accounted for up to 17% of the settler population in Munster and were concentrated in the county of Kerry with small pockets elsewhere. MacCarthy-Morrogh estimates that the total Munster settler population rose from 2,640 in 1589 to about 4,000 in 1598.[143] As both the Herberts and Billingsley were attentive planters, there is no reason to think that the Welsh presence did not keep pace with that of their English counterparts. Evidence from the 1598 rebellion suggests that the Welsh presence in Munster remained significant after 1594. On 8 December 1598, Captain Thomas Southwell and Captain Timothy Cottrell wrote to the Privy Council that the undertakers of Munster had fled to Cork "where as yet they remaine besides the nombre of Welshmen and other distressed poore people relieved here by the cittizenes".[144] This emphasis on the Welsh suggests that they formed a significant and distinctive proportion of the settler-refugees sheltering in the city.

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[139] The figure may have been higher, but it has been lowered to account for the possibility that what appear to be new settlers on later rent rolls are in fact the thirteen unnamed tenants from the 1591 rental.
[140] A lease of July 1592, for example, demonstrates that the Castleisland tenants Richard and William Barbor were of Newport, Monmouthshire. NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 12853.
[141] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 93.
[142] It is possible that one of the soldiers, John Llewellyn, is the same man who appears as a tenant on both the 1592/3 and 1594 rentals of Herbert's seigniory. The other two soldiers, Robert Price and John Phillips, may have also been part of Herbert's plantations as sons or relatives of his tenants, see Appendix 4: *CSPI 1588-92*, pp. 151-2.
[143] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 118.
[144] NA, SP63/202/(IV)12.

After the end of the Nine Years' War in 1603 the undertakers returned, but the plantation was quite different to that of the 1590s. Eleven of the thirty-five seigniories changed hands between 1598 and 1611, including Henry Billingsley's.[145] Although Sir William Herbert's heir, Edward, still owned Castleisland, he leased it to Sir Thomas Roper in 1608 and did not regain full control until 1638.[146] Two surveys of the plantation were carried out in 1611 and 1622 which reveal how these changes had affected the Welsh presence in Munster. Neither survey is complete, but that of 1622 is the more comprehensive.[147] It lists 284 of the leading tenants in Munster, forty to forty-four of whom had Welsh names, suggesting a proportion of about 14-15.5%, not much below the 1589 estimate.[148] The Welsh presence had, however, changed. The surveys show that although Welsh settlers were still found on the Welsh-owned estates, they had also become dispersed throughout the plantation.

The core of the Welsh presence before 1603, the Herbert estate of Castleisland, had lost significant numbers of Welsh settlers by the early seventeenth century. Only four of the British tenants who were resident in 1594 had returned by 1611.[149] The new settlers had been recruited to the estate by Roper and thus were largely English or Irish. In 1611 there were only five Welsh names among the seventeen named tenants and this fell to three out of fifteen in 1622.[150] The Nine Years' War and Roper's influence had thus ended Castleisland's role as the heart of Welsh settlement in Munster. Charles Herbert's seigniory of Currans, however, now in the hands of his son, Giles, continued to act as a gateway for Welsh settlers. The 1611 survey lists fourteen of his tenants, ten of whom had Welsh names, which had risen to twenty-two tenants with fourteen Welsh names by 1622. Many of the 1622 tenants were not found on the 1611 survey, suggesting migration away from Currans and a steady supply of

[145] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 140.
[146] NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 14614, 14628.
[147] NAI, RC/4/7; BL, Add. MS 4756, fols. 89-96.
[148] There are forty-four Welsh names if Herbert is counted as Welsh, which is likely due to the large Monmouthshire Herbert influence in the area.
[149] Although one original tenant had returned by 1622 and two others may have been sons of original settlers. See Appendix 4.
[150] Only one tenant, David Williams, had remained on the estate from 1591 until 1622: BL, Add. MS 4756, fol. 93v; NLW Powis Castle Deeds 15310.

new men from Monmouthshire.[151] Henry Billingsley's old seigniory, which was now held by Robert Stroude, also maintained its Welsh presence with six Welsh names among its thirty-six British tenants, similar to the proportion of 1589.[152] Thus small clusters of Welsh settlers could still be found in the early seventeenth century, although the main Welsh settlement was now Currans rather than Castleisland.

The major change in the Welsh presence in Munster after 1603, however, was the appearance of significant numbers of Welsh individuals in English-held seigniories. This was probably partly the result of economic migration from Welsh-owned estates in Munster similar to that discussed for the early 1590s. This is indicated by fact that Welsh settlers were common in seigniories near to the Herbert estates. Ballymacdonnell, Kerry, which had been sold by its original English owners to the Earl of Cork, had a particularly large Welsh presence with five Welsh names among ten tenants in 1611.[153] Welsh names could also be found on the Kerry estate of Valentine Browne and on the seigniories of Sir Francis Barkley and George Courtney in Limerick, which bordered some of Charles Herbert's scattered estate.[154] Small numbers of Welsh names also appear on estates that were further away from Welsh-owned seigniories. For example, a significant number of Welsh names can be found on Thomas Norreys' seigniory in north Cork, with smaller numbers on the estates of Hugh Worth, Walter Raleigh, Sylvanus Spencer, Warham St Leger and Francis

[151] Giles Herbert's tenants in 1611 were, Katherine Herbert (daughter of William Herbert of Crindau), two men named John Williams, Anthony Staughton, John Grey, James Williams, Thomas Williams, Walter Williams, Phillip Morgan, William Howell, Richard James, John James, William Harrold and John Hampton: NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 10102. James Williams, William Howell and Richard James remained in 1622 and were joined by Thomas Symonds, Simon Knight, David Thomas, John Thomas, Henry Howell, Andrew Morgan, John Roe, William Jones, Walter Bridgeman, Walter Williams, David Fitz Gerald, Hugh Williams, Rotheran Jinkin, Walter Hugh, Walter Haynes, Herbert Morgan, Thomas Paslin, Valentine Jones and John Mason: BL, Add. MS 4756, fol. 93v.

[152] Thomas Phillips, James Roberts, Edmund Herbert, Maurice Herbert, another Thomas Phillips and William Thomas: BL, Add. MS 4756, fol. 92.

[153] These were Stephen Rice, John Ryce, Richard Ryce, Peyrce Ryce and Darby Hughes. By 1622 there were twenty-one tenants including Darby Hughes, Richard Rice, John Price, David ap Thomas and Richard ap Price: NAI, RC/4/7, fol. 73-7; NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 10102; BL, Add. MS 4756, fols. 94v-96v.

[154] Valentine Browne had forty-one leaseholders in 1622 including Edmund Herbert, John Davies and David Davies. Barkley's Welsh tenants, listed in 1611, were Roger Reece, Andrew Davyes, Thomas Prise, Thomas Williams and Walter Jones. While in 1622, Courtney's estate included thirty-four leaseholders including Thomas Williams, Edward Vaughan and Edmund Davies, and twenty-eight copyholders including Meredith Jones, Robert Phillips, Oliver Williams and David Herbert: BL, Add. MS 4756, fols. 91v, 94; NAI, RC/4/9, fols. 149-163.

Trenchard.[155] It is probable that the Welsh tenants on these estates were soldiers involved in suppressing the rebellion who had settled. The military presence among the settlers is indicated by the appearance of Lieutenant Richard Ryce and Captain Robert Morgan on the estates of the Earl of Cork and St Leger, respectively.

Some of the Welsh in seventeenth-century Munster, however, seem to have been what historians of the plantations have labelled 'natural migrants'. These were individuals who had not been planted by undertakers, but rather had travelled to Ireland independently.[156] The majority of the natural migrants to arrive in Munster were merchants, sailors and economic migrants from the south-west of Britain, including south Wales.[157] County Cork, which had established trade links with Bristol and Milford Haven, was the main recipient of migrants from the south-west and soon developed a Welsh presence. A 1637 rental of Richard Boyle's land in that county, for example, lists twenty-four Welsh names, while in 1613 three Welsh names can be found among the thirteen burgesses of Malone in Cork.[158] Thus the opportunities offered by the newly peaceful Ireland had created a second focus for Welsh settlement in the ports of Cork independent of the Welsh undertakers.

The Welsh thus made up a significant part of the British presence in Munster. The estimate of 17% of the settler population in 1589 and 15.5% in 1622 are probably maximum figures, but they suggest that the Welsh were well represented in the region. Munster is of particular interest as, unlike the later plantations, its long life allows us to chart changes in the nature of the Welsh presence over time. The Welsh tended to migrate away from the Welsh-owned estates in Kerry and seek out better land elsewhere. In this they were joined by new migrants from Wales. The example of

[155] The 1611 survey shows that Thomas Norreys had thirty-seven tenants including Walter Jenkins, Philip Vaughan, Thomas Edwards, John Jones, Mr Laughan and John Appoel. The Welsh names on the other estates were John Thomas, Mathew Guillime, Christopher Williams, Watkin Rosser, Walter Jones, Rise ap Hugh, John Ryce, David Lewis, Robert Morgan and John Williams: NAI, RC/4/2, fols. 230-245, 261-9, 296-307; RC/4/9, fols. 171-6; NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 10102; BL, Add. MS 4756, fols. 94v-96v.

[156] Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, pp. 39-40.

[157] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, pp. 280-2.

[158] Boyle's Welsh tenants were, Walter Jones, William Llewellin, Hugh Roberts, John Williams, Thomas Jones, Morgan Evans, Philip Wyn, Francis Jones, Widow Hughes, John Jenkin, William Jones, Henry Rogers, Morgan Williams, Robert Powell, John Ryce, David Rosser, Robert Williams, Edward Watkins, John Jones, Widow Llewellin, Evan Ryce, John Richards, John Davis and Widow Williams. It is also possible that Thomas Mansell was Welsh. The Welsh burgesses of Malone were Thomas Powell, Philip Vaughan and Thomas Edwards: NLI, Lismore papers MS 6239; *CSPI 1611-14*, p. 303.

Munster thus allows us to see that, over time and given peaceful conditions, Welsh settlers tended to integrate into the wider colonial community.

The Welsh migrated to Ulster on a far smaller scale than they did to Munster. While Munster had historic links with the south-west of Britain, Ulster was more closely connected to the north-west.[159] About 60% of the British tenants who arrived in Ulster during the early seventeenth century were Scottish and a significant proportion were from the north-west of England and the midlands, near the Cheshire and Lancashire ports with easiest access to Ulster, and the south-east, from where the majority of English undertakers had come.[160] Welsh landowners in Ulster were drawn from the Welsh officer corps who rarely had extensive estates from which to bring Welsh tenants. This, combined with the alternative of the Welsh settlement around Newry, meant that it was always unlikely that a significant Welsh settler presence would emerge in Ulster. As Robert Hunter has pointed out, however, Irish historians' tendency to characterise colonists as either English or Scottish hides a small body of Welsh settlers in Ulster.[161] This section will briefly examine the geographical spread and reasons for this Welsh presence in the northern plantation.

A series of surveys were carried out for the Ulster plantation between 1611 and 1622.[162] Unlike in Munster, however, the Ulster surveys give little information on the ethnic make up of the settlers. This must be reconstructed from the 1630 muster roll of Ulster and the few surviving undertakers' certificates of 1622.[163] Analysis of the muster roll, as illustrated in Table 4.1, suggests that the Welsh population in Ulster in 1630 was very small, making up only 2.44% of the settler population. Although if, as has been argued, 60% of settlers were Scots, this means that the Welsh made up 6.1%

[159] J.C. Beckett, 'Irish-Scottish relations in the seventeenth century', in his *Confrontations: studies in Irish history* (London, 1902), pp. 26-46; Perceval-Maxwell, *Scottish migration to Ulster, passim.*
[160] William Macafee, 'The movement of British settlers into Ulster during the seventeenth-century', *Familia: Ulster Genealogical Review*, 2 (1992), p. 95.
[161] Robert J. Hunter, 'The settler population of an Ulster plantation county', *Donegal Annual*, 10 (1972), p. 125.
[162] BL, Add. MS 4756, fols. 100-123; Robinson, *The Ulster plantation*, pp. 212-223; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1603-1624*, pp. 68-9, 75-9, 220-251, 392-422; HMC, *Hastings MSS*, vol. 4, pp. 159-182; Hill, *An historical account of the plantation of Ulster*, pp. 445-586.
[163] See Appendix 4 for details of the muster: BL, Add. MS 4770; NLI, MS 8014/8-9.

of the Anglo-Welsh total. Even so, they were under-represented as a group in Ulster, something that is not surprising given the small number of Welsh undertakers.[164]

Table 4.1. Welsh names on the Ulster muster roll of 1630

Ulster plantation county	**Number of mustered men**	**Number of Welsh names**
Armagh	927	40
Cavan	815	19
Donegal	1269	36
Fermanagh	971	14
Londonderry	1932	50
Tyrone	1542	23
Ulster Total	**7456**	**182**

As can be seen from the table, Welsh settlement was unevenly spread between the counties. The Welsh seem to have settled as a distinct migrant community, favouring certain regions. The highest concentrations of Welsh names can be found in parts of Armagh, Donegal and Londonderry, each of which received its Welsh migrants in a different manner. Donegal was the main region of Welsh landowning in the Ulster plantation. Thirteen of the Welsh names recorded there resided on Robert Davies's Corlacky estate and it is likely that the rest of his twenty-five tenants were also drawn from his Flintshire lands.[165] The high proportion of Welshmen on Davies's Ulster estate saw his settlement christened "Welsh towne".[166] This name suggests the concentration of the Welsh presence here, but it also indicates the rarity of large groups of Welshmen in Ulster. Secondary Welsh settlements were, however, created in Donegal by Ralph Bingley and John Vaughan, who seem to have planted Welshmen on the estate they purchased from Robert Remington and land they leased from John Kingsmill and Lord Chichester.[167] In Donegal, therefore, Welsh settlement

[164] As is noted earlier in the thesis, the Welsh made up about 8% of the Anglo-Welsh population: D.M. Palliser, *The age of Elizabeth: England under the later Tudors, 1547-1603* (London and New York, 1983), p. 34; T.H. Hollingsworth, *Historical demography* (London, 1969), p. 83.

[165] Davies's eleven other tenants were: David Payne, Robert Groome, James Thompson, John Newton, Peter Payne, William Monely, William Barr, George Bassett the elder, George Bassett the younger, Richard Lester and George Newton. The 1622 survey notes that Davies was in the process of bringing twenty-four settlers from Gwysaney at that time, suggesting that all these men were Welsh. BL, Add. MS 4770, fols. 191-191^{v}; BL, MS 4756, fol. 115.

[166] The area continues to be known as Welchtown to this day: Robert C. Simmington (ed.), *The civil survey: A.D. 1654-1656* (Dublin, 1937), vol. 3, p. 23; Hunter, 'Plantation in Donegal', p. 305.

[167] Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley', pp. 24-25.

can be attributed directly to the influence of Welsh landowners. This is also likely to have been partly the case in Londonderry, where John and Henry Vaughan held land in the liberties of Londonderry.[168] For the most part, however, the Welsh in Londonderry were soldiers planted by Captain Thomas Phillips in Coleraine and Limavady and London-Welshmen who settled on land owned by the livery companies.[169] Armagh, on the other hand, owed its Welsh population to migration. Over half the Welsh names recorded in Armagh were on English-owned estates in the barony of Oneilland. These were well positioned to receive Welsh migrants from the nearby Bagenal and Trevor estates in Down and new Welsh migrants arriving from Chester or Holyhead through Belfast and Newry.[170] These clusters of Welsh settlement suggest a previously unrecognised Welsh dimension to the settlement of Ulster.

Outside these areas, however, Welsh settlement was sparse. The Welsh populations in Cavan and Fermanagh are too small to be significant. Tyrone had a larger Welsh presence, but it was dwarfed by the large overall settler population.[171] Tyrone is, however, notable for the presence of individuals with patronymic surnames, indicating that these were first generation Welsh migrants. Also, interestingly, the 1622 survey of the county includes a rental of the "English, Scotts and Wealch" of the Barrowe, which suggests that even in counties with a small Welsh population this group was perceived as a distinct migrant community and was not always subsumed into an English majority.[172] Although the Welsh accounted for less than 2.5% of the total Ulster settler population, therefore, they could be found in every county and were recognised by the authorities as a distinct category of migrant. Even in Ulster,

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[168] A rental of the town in 1628 also shows a Welsh presence. Eleven Welsh names are included among the 155 householders. This included Captain John Vaughan, along with Anthony Bowen, Evan Jenkin, John Evans, Richard Morrice, Hugh Jones, Peter Morgan, Richard Jones, James Vaughan, Austin Price and Leonard Davies. Also living in the town was the widow of a Richard Bingley who was either of Flintshire or Cheshire origin and William and John Rogers who may have been Welsh: Moody and Simms, *Bishopric of Derry*, pp. 154-160.

[169] Sir Thomas Phillips, despite his surname, was born in Hammersmith. The military origins of his Welsh tenants are indicated by the presence on his estates of Ensign John Owen: Frank Phillips, 'Sir Thomas Phillips of Hammersmith and Limavady', *Irish genealogist*, 7 (1986), pp. 7-16; BL, Add. MS 4770, fols. 140-2. For more Welshmen in Londonderry, see PRONI, T/671/1, fols. 20-2.

[170] For more evidence of the Welsh in Armagh, see PRONI, T/729/1B.

[171] For further evidence of Welsh surnames in Tyrone, however, see PRONI, T/1365/1, 2.

[172] The rental includes seven Welsh names among forty-five freemen of the town. They were Thomas Powell, Morris Price, Hugh Davies, David Thomas, James Williams, John Humphries and Zackery Humphries. Two further possible Welsh names in the rental are George Abrahall (a name with Monmouthshire connections) and John Geoffrey: NLI, MS 8014/8.

with its strong Scottish influence and a lack of wealthy Welsh undertakers, a Welsh influence can be identified.

The extent of Welsh settlement elsewhere in Ireland is far more difficult to assess because private plantations such as those at Newry and Monaghan were rarely included in government surveys. It is, however, possible to build up a partial understanding of the extent of settlement in these areas by drawing on a range of rentals, surveys and other records. Such evidence is uneven, it is therefore possible to study Down and Monaghan in far greater detail than the plantations of Roger Jones in Sligo, Maurice Griffith in Leitrim or Fulke Conway in Antrim.

County Down had the highest proportion of British-owned land in Ireland during this period.[173] Southern Down was dominated by the Bagenals and the Trevors, who were the driving force behind a significant migration of Welsh men and women into the south east of Ulster. Under Sir Nicholas Bagenal Welsh settlement was initially slow. In 1575 he had twenty-seven British tenants in Newry, five of whom were Welsh.[174] The Welsh settlers in Bagenal's Newry are likely to have been soldiers from his garrison. A military connection is suggested by the fact that Bagenal granted one of the tenants of Newry, Rice Thomas, the town of Malbegan in consideration of "his oulde service".[175] Bagenal also rewarded his Welsh constables, Hugh Lewys and Rhys ap Hugh with land on his estates, at Castletown and Earlsquarter, respectively.[176] These settlers acted as the core of a Welsh settlement that formed in Newry over the following decades.

Henry Bagenal and the Trevor family augmented the small Welsh presence in Newry at the beginning of the seventeenth century by encouraging Welshmen to take up leases in the area. These individuals were not permanent settlers but, as will be seen in Chapter 5, split their time between Wales and Ireland. The Bagenals leased land to Welsh kinsmen, such as Rhys Griffith, tenants from their Anglesey land, such as Rhys

[173] O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 171.
[174] These were Rice Thomas, John Edwards, Thomas Vaughan, John Williams and Davye Llud. It is also possible that Patrick Ryce, Patrick Morgane and Humfrey Gryffyn who were among his sixty-three tenants in Newry high street were Welsh, but they may have been Old English inhabitants of Welsh descent: Bodleian Library, University College, MS 103, fols. 116-120.
[175] *Ibid.*, fol. 129.
[176] *Ibid.*, fols. 130-133^{v}, 142^{v}.

Parry, and political allies like the ap Hughs.[177] The Trevors, meanwhile, tended to attract their political allies from north-east Wales such as the Lloyds of Bodidris and the Pulestons of Emeral.[178] Further Welshmen, including John Griffith Jones and Roger and Samuel Davis also arrived in Newry during the early seventeenth century.[179] The private plantation of Newry thus took on a distinctly Welsh character during this period, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

There are no records or surveys of the Bagenal and Trevor estates for the seventeenth century. It is therefore extremely difficult to assess the extent to which the Welsh tenants in Down were stocking their estates with Welsh under-tenants. In 1632, however, a series of complaints by local clergy were laid against the Bagenals for refusing to permit ecclesiastical jurisdiction on their lands. These included a claim that they did not keep a curate in Newry "where there are many English and Welsh".[180] This suggests that the plantation of Newry had been carried out in earnest and included a significant number of Welshmen. Parts of Down were also included in the 1630 muster of Ulster, which further demonstrates the Welsh presence there.[181] Twenty-two Welshmen are listed on Lord Cromwell's estate, who are almost certainly the tenants of Francis Kynaston at Saul Castle.[182] Those on the estates of Viscount Ardes and Viscount Clandeboy, however, were more likely the result of natural migration from Newry and surrounding Welsh settlements. If Welsh settlers were migrating from the Bagenal and Trevor lands to central and northern Down, this indicates that those estates contained a significant number of Welsh men and women.

In Monaghan Edward Blayney and the Earl of Essex also attracted a Welsh presence. It is likely that Blayney was responsible for the thirty-three Anglo-Welsh servitors who appear on surveys in 1606 and 1611 and the muster of 1630. Of these settlers,

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[177] *CSPI 1611-14*, p. 299; NLI, Genealogical Office MS 173; IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, pp. 444-5; PRONI, D/765/1; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 67.
[178] Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, p. 41; *DWB*, pp. 569-70; Jones, *Trevors of Trevalyn*, pp. 31, 37-8; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', pp. 66-7; Irish High Court of Chancery, *Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum cancellariae Hiberniae asservatarum repertorium* (Dublin, 1826), vol. 2, Down, Jac I (68).
[179] *CSPI 1611-14*, p. 299; IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, pp. 444-5.
[180] *CSPI 1625-32*, p. 644.
[181] The musters of Down, Antrim and Monaghan are also included in Appendix 4.
[182] BL, Add. MS 4770, fols. 204-269^{v}.

who were almost certainly soldiers from Blayney's garrison, eleven were Welsh.[183] Several members of Blayney's family also migrated to Monaghan to take advantage of his influence and purchase land.[184] Indeed, the records of Edward Blayney's funeral in 1630 show that it was attended by no fewer than eight Blayneys.[185] The Blayneys seem to have seen the family's immediate future in Ireland, as illustrated by Robert Blayney (Edward's nephew) bringing his two daughters to Monaghan.[186] Edward Blayney had thus created a significant Welsh landholding presence in Monaghan which was made up of a mixture of soldiers from his company and his own family.

South Monaghan was a very different story. The Earl of Essex was not a committed planter and leased the majority of his estate at Farney to the Irish MacMahons. Despite this, Essex did lease some land to British settlers and his Welsh connections led to the involvement of several Welshmen. A series of rentals survive for Farney between 1627 and 1639 that show a British presence that rose from nine to twenty-seven.[187] For the most part, however, the tenants were established settlers like Edward Blayney and Francis Kynaston. Few new Welsh settlers were brought to Newry apart from Essex's Welsh agents John Price, William Williams, John Thomas and Watkin Davies, who all held land during part of this period. Essex's estate thus did little to expand the Welsh presence in Monaghan, but it did become an important source of land for Welsh settlers and a secondary focus of Welsh influence in the county.

Only a small amount of information is available for Welsh plantation elsewhere in Ireland. It suggests, however, that smaller clusters of Welsh settlement could be found across the country, due to the influence of soldier-settlers and Welsh landowners. In

[183] The Welsh servitors were Richard Price, John Price, another John Price, Richard Blayney, David Blayney, Nicholas Davys, John Davies, Richard Phillips, William Vaughan, William Griffith and Evan Phillip. It is possible that Piers Harris was also Welsh. Richard Blayney was the second son of Edward's elder brother, Lewis: BL, Add. MS 4770, fol. 273^{v}; *CSPI 1606-08*, pp. 161-187; IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, pp. 169-172; E. Rowley-Morris, *The family of Blayney* (London, 1890), p. 3.

[184] Livingstone, *Monaghan Story*, p. 103; John Lodge, *The Peerage of Ireland* (Dublin, 1789), vol. 6, pp. 301-2; Rowley-Morris, *The family of Blayney*, p. 7; Irish High Court of Chancery, *Inquisitionum in officio*, vol. 2, Monaghan, Car I (11), (62).

[185] These were Edward's sons, Henry and Arthur, Henry's son, Edward, the above mentioned Richard Blayney, Edward's brother and half-brother who were both named Thomas, as well as Ambrose and Edward Blayney who may have been sons of one of the Thomas Blayneys: Rowley-Morris, *The family of Blayney*, p. 7.

[186] NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the rolls: wardships, liveries and alienations, vol. 1, fol. 28; Rowley-Morris, *The family of Blayney*, p. 3.

[187] Longleat House, Devereux papers, vol. 4, fols. 1-47.

Antrim, Carrickfergus had been the base for several Welsh garrisons in the late sixteenth century, and small numbers seem to have settled permanently there.[188] The fifty-two settlers planted at Lisburn by Fulke Conway also included five Welsh individuals who were probably also soldiers and their families.[189] A Welsh presence had also certainly emerged under Captain Maurice Griffith at Carrickdrumruske in Leitrim. It is likely that the four Welshmen recorded at the incorporation of the town in 1612 were soldier-settlers from Griffith's company.[190] We also know that Griffith brought civilian Welshmen to Leitrim as he managed to lure the Wrexham-born settler, Thomas Lloyd, away from one of Ralph Bingley's Donegal estates.[191] Roger Jones of Sligo also probably planted Welsh tenants on his land but, beyond a handful of Welsh names, it is difficult to construct a full picture of them.[192] The final area in which it has been possible to find Welsh tenants is Henry Salusbury's estate of Ballymascanlon, Louth, which was stocked with men recruited from Denbighshire and Anglesey.[193] The surviving evidence for Antrim and the estates of Salusbury, Griffith and Jones thus demonstrates that even outside the major plantations, Welsh planters drew tenants directly from Wales, from the Welsh military presence in Ireland and from the estates of other Welsh planters. Although it is difficult to measure how many Welsh settlers lived on these private plantations, it is clear that they formed important pockets of Welsh settlement outside the main plantations.

Welsh men and women thus made up a small proportion of the British settlers in Ireland between 1558 and 1641. We can, however, draw several conclusions about the nature of the Welsh presence among the New English planters. Firstly, the spread of Welsh settlers was very uneven. In particular, the Herbert estates in Kerry, the Welsh servitor estates in Donegal and the influence of the Bagenals, Trevors and Blayneys in Down and Monaghan formed islands of Welsh settlement among an English and

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[188] See, for example, Captain Richard Lloyd's company during the 1570s: PRONI, T/707, fols. 16, 27-48.

[189] These were Owen ap Hugh, William Edwards, Ann Morgan, George Davis and John ap Hugh. John ap Hugh's relation to Rice and Owen is unknown: Anon, *A Concise history of Lisburn*, p. 7. Also see Appendix 4 for nineteen further Welsh names listed in the 1630 muster of Antrim.

[190] Robert ap Hughe, Henry Edwards, Owen Meredith, and Richard Williams: *CSPI 1611-14*, p. 294.

[191] Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Ireland*, p. 342.

[192] The presence of a Hugh Jones and a John Watkins among Jones's tenants suggest that Jones was bringing Welshmen to Sligo. O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land*, pp. 74, 100, 157.

[193] These included Lewis Davie ap Hugh, Richard Lewis and Richard Price from Llewenni and Piers Jones from Anglesey (the latter of whom brought twenty or thirty under-tenants), all planted directly from Wales. Richard Price's Denbighshire origin can be seen from his Welsh land deals in 1633: NLW Chirk Castle F 82, 1251; NLW, Llewenni MS 697; Smith, *Salusbury correspondence*, p. 70.

Scottish majority. It is likely that Maurice Griffith's estate at Carrickdrumruske and Henry Salusbury's in Louth did the same on a smaller scale. While they are important, Welsh settlement in Ireland was not limited to these estates. Welsh settlers also appeared in smaller numbers on the estates of English and Scottish planters. There were several reasons for this. The large Welsh presence in the military made it inevitable that they would be represented among those soldiers who settled on land granted to their officers or in the towns in which they were garrisoned. Over time, tenants from Welsh-owned estates also tended to migrate to other settlements, usually in search of cheaper land. Thus English and Scottish estates, particularly in Munster, Down and Armagh, developed a Welsh presence over the course of the early seventeenth century. Other Welsh settlers were natural migrants who travelled from Bristol or Chester in search of cheap plantation land. Munster and the east of Ulster were easily reached from Wales and these regions developed a migrant population independent of Welsh landowners.

This section has provided the first analysis of the settlement of Welsh tenants and settlers in Ireland and the most comprehensive regionally-focused study of Irish settlement carried out to date. It has demonstrated that Welsh tenants settled as a distinct migrant group and were perceived as such by the government and their fellow planters. In so doing it has shown that a regional approach can shed new light on plantation even at the lowest social levels and aims to encourage further regionally based studies in order to nuance our understanding of the nature of the Irish settler community. Due to lack of evidence, however, this study has, thus far, largely been limited to the period before the 1630s. In order to complete this analysis it is necessary to turn to the Irish rebellion of 1641.

1641 and the end of the plantation

This final section looks at the plantation through the evidence provided by the depositions given by settlers after the Irish rebellion of 1641. The Irish rebellion is important because, after the poorly documented 1630s, it offers a snapshot of the plantation immediately before its demise. The depositions demonstrate how the nature of Welsh settlement in the north and south diverged during 1630s. In Munster the influence of the Welsh-owned plantations waned while direct migration from Wales

increased, shifting the centre of Welsh settlement to the port towns of the south. In the north meanwhile, Welsh planters consolidated their power and continued to be the main source of Welsh settlement.

By 1641 there had been significant changes in landholding in the plantations. The estates of Ralph Bingley and Robert Davies were sold after their deaths in 1627 and 1633, respectively.[194] In 1635, Roger Jones also died and his descendents assimilated into the local Irish community.[195] Other Welsh figures, however, remained. In southern Down, Edward Trevor and his allies remained the dominant settler group and Edward Blayney was succeeded as governor of Monaghan by his son Henry in 1629. The two Herbert families remained in Kerry and the Vaughan brothers continued to hold influence in Londonderry. The ongoing influence of these Welsh landowners can clearly be seen in the 1641 depositions.

The depositions, given by Protestant refugees during the 1640s and 1650s, must be used carefully. The deponents almost certainly exaggerated both the violent nature of the rebellion and the extent of their losses. They are, however, an indispensable tool for the study of the settler population in Ireland as they offer an insight into the names, occupations and social contacts of Irish Protestants in 1641.[196] They are not, however, an even sample of the settler population. Ulster is heavily under-represented in the depositions due to the high mortality rate and severe disruption in the region.[197] Within Ulster, the small British populations in Armagh, Cavan and Fermanagh are more heavily represented than other, more densely populated, counties. Despite such problems, the depositions can be used to assess the Welsh presence among the Protestant Irish settlers by 1641. They continued to be a minority, but still a Welsh presence can be discerned throughout the plantation counties and there are indications of certain areas of particularly high Welsh settlement.

The Munster depositions demonstrate that during the 1630s Welsh settlers had continued to migrate away from Welsh-owned estates and integrate into the wider

[194] Hunter, 'Plantation in Donegal', p. 300; Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley', p. 16.
[195] O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land*, p. 157.
[196] Nicholas Canny, 'The 1641 depositions: a source for social and cultural history', *History Ireland*, 1 (1993), pp. 53-4.
[197] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

settler community. They also indicate that new, natural, migration continued to take place. The most striking thing about the Munster depositions is that only five Welsh names can be identified among those from Kerry.[198] Indeed, although Castleisland remained in Herbert hands, twenty years under the control of Thomas Roper had removed most of the Welsh presence there. Tenant lists from 1638 and 1639 show that only two of the twenty-three major tenants were Welsh and the vast majority of under-tenants were Irish. [199] This suggests that the considerable number of Welshmen who lived there in the early seventeenth century had either returned home or migrated to other parts of the region. The depositions do, however, record twelve Welsh names in Limerick, largely in the county town, who may have been migrants from the Herbert estates or new arrivals from Wales.[200] The majority of Welsh names, however, are found among the depositions of Waterford and Cork. Waterford, which had not previously been a major centre for Welsh settlers, had thirteen Welsh deponents.[201] Cork returned the most British depositions of any county, demonstrating the significant levels of new migration into the area, and included forty Welsh names.[202] Some of these were probably the descendants of Welsh settlers on the Boyle plantations and migrants from elsewhere in the region. The names of some, however, suggest that they were new migrants from Wales. In Waterford, for example, the patronymic names of Howell ap Powell, a merchant, and David ap Spratt, a clerk, indicate that they were first generation migrants.[203] Both men lived in the county town and had probably gone there to seek work. The ports of Waterford and Cork were

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[198] Nicholas Roberts, James Roberts, Nicholas Phillips, William Edwards and Tomasin Jenkins: TCD, MS 828, fols. 215, 268, 282.

[199] The Welsh major tenants were Charles and William Williams: NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 15393.

[200] John Williams, Oliver Williams, Mary Phillips, Thomas Powell, Thomas Jones, Roger Williams, Henry Hughes, Jane Hughes, David Hughes, Humfrey Hughes, Samuell Powell and Ensign Mathew Phillips: TCD, MS 829, fols. 177, 182, 234, 236, 270, 343, 352-3, 429, 435.

[201] Thomas Llewellin, Margary Phillips, Owen Floid, Howell ap Powell, Richard James, Jenkin Morgan, Walter Jones, Henry Howell, Anne Davis, David ap Spratt, Abell Morgan, Judith Phillips and William Jones: TCD, MS 820, fols. 10, 111, 124, 142, 151, 162, 171, 199, 209, 210, 219, 252.

[202] Philip Vaghane, Thomas Williams, Thomas Williams, William Jones, John Thomas, Thomas Mansell, Hugh Mansell, William Thomas, John Brice, Thomas Williams, Catherine Roberts, William Howell, Walter Williams, Thomas Prise, John Williams, Edward Johns, Ievan Gwin, William Lewellin, John Jones, William Phillips, George Davis, James Blayney, William Howell, Richard Gettings, Thomas Rice, Richard Mansell, John Rice, Thomas Powell, Robert Llewellyn, Anne Williams, Thomas Roberts, Charles James, Margery Howell, George Jons, Jenkin Davis, James Gwilliams, Robert Rice, Hugh Williams, John Jones and Ester Wynne. The Mansells have bee included as it was a common south Wales name. TCD, MS 822, fols. 3, 6, 45, 126, 128, 146, 152, 230, 275, 285; MS 823, fols. 21, 32, 34, 56, 77, 109, 112, 133, 193, 194, 223; MS 824, fols. 98, 112, 144, 150, 179, 180, 187, 201, 249; MS 825, fols. 38, 64, 80, 117, 136, 162, 220; MS 827, fols. 49, 69, 160.

[203] For an explanation of the importance of patronymics for identifying first-generation migrants, see Appendix 1. TCD, MS 820, fols. 124, 209.

natural entrance points for migrants from south Wales and these Welshmen are likely to have been part of the major migration from the south-west of Britain that pushed the settler population in Munster from about 14,000 in 1622 to around 18,000 in 1641.[204] While early Welsh settlement was concentrated on Welsh-owned plantations, this changed when Munster became a more stable and attractive place for British people to settle. Welsh settlers took part in the wider migration from plantations to the port towns where they were joined by new migrants, including significant numbers of Welsh.

The situation was quite different in the newer plantations of the north, where settlers remained concentrated on their plantations. The counties of the Ulster plantation continued to have only a small Welsh presence in 1641. The combined deponents of Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Londonderry and Donegal included only twelve Welsh names, although, as has been established, the later three counties, which showed a Welsh presence in 1630, are almost certainly under represented.[205] Armagh, however, had fourteen Welsh deponents, suggesting that the county continued to be a site of Welsh settlement.[206] Overall the depositions seem to suggest that the Welsh presence in 1641 remained similar to that shown in the 1630 muster. Indeed, several of the deponents have the same name as those on the muster, suggesting a stable Welsh population. The Armagh depositions also suggest that Welsh settlers there continued to maintain close contact with the Welsh in Down and Monaghan. Robert ap Hugh who lived in Armagh, for example, stated his occupation as a soldier under Captain Trevor based in Carlingford, Louth, a Bagenal-controlled town.[207] Similarly, John Parry and Mr Griffith, a minister, both of Armagh, were captured by rebels while visiting the town of Monaghan.[208] Thus the Welsh population in Ulster remained small, but seems to have been stable and well integrated with the Welsh presence elsewhere in the north of Ireland.

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[204] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster plantation*, p. 260.
[205] Richard Lewis, William Thomas, Thomas Jones, William Jones, Francis Wyne, John Morrice, Hugh Williams, Suzanna Wynne, Abraham James, Hugh Jones, Vaughan Morgan and Edward Evans: TCD, MS 832, fols. 46, 65, 136; MS 835, fols. 21, 26, 46, 56, 62; MS 839, fols. 51, 107, 126.
[206] Reynold Griffith, Thomas Powell, Davie Williams, George Williams, John Parry, Mr Griffith, Margaret Phillips, John Phillips, James Powell, Elizabeth Price, Robert ap Hugh, John Davis, Nicholas Williams and Thomas Davis: TCD, MS 836, fols. 6, 8, 13, 14, 62, 66, 101, 127, 186, 202, 204, 214, 244.
[207] TCD, MS 836, fol. 186.
[208] TCD, MS 836, fols. 62, 127.

The depositions of Antrim, Leitrim and Sligo do not contain large numbers of Welsh. Four Welsh names are found among the Antrim depositions, three of whom were resident in the town of Mountjoy.[209] Another three can be found in Leitrim, possibly the result of the plantation of Maurice Griffith, including one with a patronymic name.[210] The only Welsh name among the Sligo deponents was Rice Jones a member of the town's corporation, who was probably a relative of Roger Jones.[211] Little can be inferred from the depositions of these counties.

The depositions of Down and Monaghan, on the other hand, demonstrate a continued Welsh presence at the highest levels of settler society. On 23 October 1641, as the rebellion was beginning, the leading British colonists of Down met at Newry Castle to decide how to react. After the governor, Sir Arthur Tyringham, who was married to Captain Richard Trevor's daughter, the most senior colonists were Sir Edward Trevor of Rostrevor and Hugh Trevor, who had been the county's provost marshal. Both Trevors were captured by rebels, while Tyringham managed to escape to seek the help of Captain John Vaughan who was now based at Downpatrick.[212] Lieutenant Thomas Trevor, Hugh's son, reported that his father was killed by the rebels as revenge for the number of Irishmen he had hanged as provost marshal.[213] Edward Trevor was held prisoner in Newry until May 1642 and his kinsman, Robert Kynaston, claimed that both he and his son, John, had their properties ruined.[214] There is also evidence among the Down depositions that a Welsh presence remained on the estates of Lord Cromwell. The deposition of Lieutenant Edward Davies stated that both he and a Mr William Lloyd were at Cromwell's house when it was attacked.[215] The depositions of Down thus suggest a strong Welsh presence and show that the leading Welsh landowners in the county had considerable influence in the government of the county on the eve of the rebellion.

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[209] Magdallen Guillyms, William Howell, John Pew and Hugh Williams: TCD, MS 838, fols. 141, 194.
[210] Thomas Lewis, Peter Lewis and Rolland ap Roberte: TCD, MS 831, fols. 12, 33, 36, 146.
[211] TCD, MS 831, fol. 70.
[212] O'Sullivan, 'The Magennis lordship', p. 181.
[213] TCD, MS 837, fol. 86.
[214] TCD, MS 837, fol. 8.
[215] TCD, MS 837, fol. 165.

The depositions of Monaghan are some of the most vivid, suggesting that the rebellion there was particularly intense. They also demonstrate that the Welsh continued to make up a significant proportion of the settlers in the county. On 23 October the rebels took both Monaghan Castle and Castleblayney. Lord Henry Blayney fled to Dublin to raise the alarm, but his wife and seven children were taken by the rebels.[216] On the same day the rebels captured the Earl of Essex's castle of Carrickmacross in Farney, which was being held by his agent Robert Braithwaite, William Williams, his seneschal, and Richard Blayney, nephew of the first Lord Blayney and the county MP.[217] Richard, who had a reputation for hanging Irishmen, only remained a prisoner for two weeks. On the orders of the local rebel leader, Art Roe McBrian Sannagh McMahon, he was taken to Lord Blayney's orchard where, in a symbolic act of revenge, he was hanged from a tree. In Farney, William Williams, along with his brother and his brother-in-law, who had only recently arrived from Wales to visit him, met the same fate in a barn on 2 January 1642.[218] Williams, one of Essex's most senior representatives in the county, was a natural target for Irish reprisals. The level of revenge attacks against Welsh planters in Monaghan reflects their high status in the plantation in 1641. The depositions also demonstrate a continuing Welsh presence among the lower level tenants in Monaghan.[219] Like Down, therefore, Monaghan remained a county with a large and influential Welsh presence. In both counties aggressively expansive Welsh soldier-settlers had come to wield considerable power and orchestrated the plantation of their countrymen. The south-east of Ulster had become the most successful area of Welsh plantation in early modern Ireland.

In 1641, therefore, it is possible to find the Welsh throughout the plantation counties. Particular concentrations were located in south Munster, where established settlers were joined by new migrants around the ports of Cork and Waterford, and in the north east, especially Down, Armagh and Monaghan, where the influence of Welsh landowners remained strong. The rebellion and the subsequent years of war, however, destroyed the Tudor and Stuart plantations. Some of the old settlers survived the

[216] TCD, MS 834, fol. 74b; *CSPI 1633-47*, pp. 342-43.
[217] TCD, MS 834, fols. 65-66, 83.
[218] TCD, MS 834, fols. 58, 65-66, 67-74, 83.
[219] John Hughes, William Jones, Edward Lewis and Ensign William Pue were all killed in Monaghan town and Joan Griffith, Jane Roberts and Patrick Howell are listed as living in Farney: TCD, MS 834, fols. 81, 86, 91b, 186, 188.

rebellion. During the Interregnum, the Blayneys continued to have influence in Monaghan and the heirs of John Vaughan remained in Londonderry.[220] Lord Edward Herbert even attempted to organise a new plantation of his lands in Munster during the mid-1650s. The scheme, which was organised by his ex-agent Francis Lloyd, was meant to bring 150 new Welsh settlers to the estate, but by 1657 only three had arrived.[221] Despite elements of continuity, 1641 marks a watershed in Irish plantation history. Many of the original settlers left and did not return, and a new wave of settlers arrived with the Cromwellian invasions and plantations. The new plantations brought new Welsh settlers, such as Hugh Edwards of Bovevagh and Richard Hughes of Jordanstown.[222] A new chapter in the history of the Irish plantations had begun.

Conclusion

This chapter has charted the size, geographical spread and nature of Welsh settlement in Ireland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It has demonstrated that the tendency for historians to describe the population of the plantations as 'New English' has obscured the Welsh element among the settlers and planters in Ireland. The Welsh settled together, recruited agents and tenants from their homeland and were seen by others as a distinct migrant group. Although the Welsh were a minority in the plantations and, over time, tended to integrate into the wider settler community, this chapter has shown that they had a unique experience of Irish plantation and should not be subsumed uncritically into the New English majority. This study has also completed our examination of the journey that some Welsh individuals took from soldier to settler. Although some of the Welsh who became landowners in the Irish plantation, such as Sir William Herbert of St Julians, were civilians, it was military men who led Welsh involvement. Individuals such as Sir Edward Trevor, Sir Edward Blayney and Sir John Vaughan exploited the advantages of their military background to establish themselves as wealthy landowners. By examining tenants and settlers in the plantations, this chapter also reminds Welsh historians that it was not only the gentry who engaged with early modern Ireland in this period. A significant number of poorer Welsh individuals were also actively involved as migrants. Welshmen were

[220] Séamus Pender (ed.), *A census of Ireland, circa 1659: with supplementary material from the poll money ordinances (1660-1661)* (Dublin, 1939), pp. 149, 151-2; Simmington, *Civil survey*, p. 222.
[221] NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 15280, 15422.
[222] PRONI, D/2574/30, T/568/1.

planted, progressed from soldier to settler or migrated independently in search of cheap land. The final two chapters of this thesis will further develop our understanding of the distinct nature of the Welsh settler presence in Ireland. They will demonstrate that Welsh migrants formed networks of cooperation and interaction based on shared regional origin, and were seen as different by their fellow colonists. It is even suggested that they developed a unique identity as Welsh migrants in Ireland: that they became the New Welsh.

Section II: The New Welsh

Chapter 5: A Colonial Community?: kinship and cooperation among the Welsh in Ireland, 1558-1641

Having established the composition and nature of Welsh involvement in early modern Ireland, the second part of this thesis moves on to argue that the Welsh formed a distinctive group within the New English community. This challenges the prevailing historiographical tendency to present the New English as a cohesive and monolithic interest. This chapter considers the Welsh in Ireland as a community. It is argued that Welsh men and women in Ireland cooperated in informal networks sustained by kinship ties and political and social allegiances formed in Wales. It is also shown that migrants often demonstrated a sense of loyalty to fellow Welshmen. The chapter maps the ties of correspondence, economic interaction and marriage that linked Welsh individuals in Ireland to one another as well as with their countrymen in Wales. It demonstrates that Welsh involvement in the conquest, settlement and administration of Ireland produced a Cambro-Hibernic community possessing close links with Wales but remaining an integral part of New English society. The final chapter builds on this by assessing the extent to which Welsh migrants were regarded as separate from English settlers, and whether they developed a distinctive identity in Ireland. It argues that, contrary to prevailing historiographical orthodoxy, experience of the conquest and colonisation of Ireland, particularly after the 1580s, emphasised ethnic difference within the New English community. English writers and governors in Ireland presented the Welsh as a distinctive group set apart from their English colleagues. It is suggested, however, that Welsh migrants in Ireland were able to draw on contemporary understandings of British and Irish history to counter negative English representations. By focusing on one particular Cambro-Hibernic source it is possible to glimpse the beginnings of a distinct new Welsh identity forming in early modern Ireland. These two chapters thus demonstrate that among the New English in Ireland, we can discover the New Welsh.

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The current chapter examines the emergence of Welsh networks of interaction and reciprocal cooperation through a broadly chronological framework to map how this process evolved over time. It adopts the form of four case studies that highlight

different stages in the development of the Welsh community in Ireland. It is argued that at the beginning of the Elizabethan period the small numbers of Welsh men and women in Ireland rarely cooperated with one another, but that generations of Welsh settlement created strong networks of Welsh interaction. These networks were initially focused on the Welsh settlements in south-east Ulster, but expanded with cooperation between groups of Welsh settlers across Ireland becoming discernable in the seventeenth century.

In analysing such networks this chapter will be the first study of Welsh community relations outside of England and Wales in the early modern period. It will therefore add considerably to our understanding of the importance of Welshness in the early modern Welsh diaspora. It also constitutes the first large-scale analysis of the importance of regional origin for community formation in colonial Ireland. Regional unity has been noted as a factor in studies of high-level political patronage in Ireland, but there have been no attempts to look at it as a feature of cooperation among the mid-level planters and administrators who are the focus of this study.[1] It is not intended to argue that the Welsh were unique in forming such networks in early modern Ireland. Rather this chapter aims to encourage further studies of cooperation between settlers of other regional origins and a greater understanding of the fractured nature of the New English in early modern Ireland.

Communities and networks in early modern Ireland

This study builds on recent work by historians of colonisation in Ireland that has refined our understanding of the nature of the New English community. The minority status of the New English, their general commitment to Protestantism, and their shared experience of government has made it tempting to treat them as a coherent community united by their opposition to the majority Catholic and disenfranchised Irish.[2] Increasingly, however, research has revealed the New English to be a factious

[1] See, for example, John McCavitt, *Sir Arthur Chichester: Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1605-1616* (Belfast, 1998), pp. 53-73.
[2] David Dickson, *Old world colony: Cork and south Munster, 1630-1830* (Wisconsin, 2005), pp. xiii, 8; Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Introduction: making and remaking community in early modern Ireland', in their *Community in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 22, 27.

and divided group.[3] The understanding of English newcomers as an integrated community has been replaced by one in which they are seen as operating through multiple communities and networks of "faction and personal loyalty".[4] Such networks were not, however, a natural or inevitable product of migration; they "had to be created".[5] This chapter will show this process of community formation in action and develop our understanding of the multi-faceted nature of the New English community by highlighting the Welsh communities and networks that existed within it.

This chapter also builds on recent research that has allowed historians to understand that New English links to family and allies at home were often as strong as connections with other settlers in Ireland.[6] Although the idea that migrants to Ireland were "exiles" still holds sway, this is far from the whole truth.[7] As Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch have argued, British migrants to Ireland went to the "near-abroad" and could easily return home, continue local allegiances and rivalries, visit and be visited by friends and allies. They thus maintained existing networks "through continued and reciprocal personal and written contact".[8] Indeed, it is likely that few believed they were going abroad at all; more accurately they were moving within what they perceived as the British realm.[9] Despite this new understanding of the New English in Ireland, there have, with the exception of those focusing on Scottish settlers, been no serious attempts to assess these networks of interest spanning the Irish Sea.[10] By mapping the connections between Welsh migrants and their home communities, therefore, this chapter breaks new ground not only for the history of the Welsh in Ireland but for the New English in general.

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[3] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British: 1580-1650* (Oxford and New York, 2001), p. 340; Raymond Gillespie, 'The social world of County Down in the seventeenth century', in Lindsay Proudfoot (ed.), *Down: history & society* (Dublin, 1997), pp. 143-4.
[4] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 96.
[5] Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth-century Ireland: making Ireland modern* (Dublin, 2006), p. 14.
[6] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 394; Gillespie, 'The social world of County Down', pp. 143-4.
[7] See for example, John M. Breen, 'Representing exile: Ireland and the formation of the English nation, 1558-1603' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 1996), p. 9.
[8] Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, 'Introduction', in their *Scottish communities abroad in the early modern period* (Brill, 2005), pp. 4-5.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 9; Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The Munster plantation, 1583-1641' (unpubl. PhD thesis, London University, 1983), pp. 280-1.
[10] For Scottish settlers, see M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster in the reign of James I* (London and New York, 1973), *passim*; Patrick FitzGerald, 'Scottish migration to Ireland in the seventeenth century', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish communities abroad*, pp. 27-52.

In order to analyse the connections that united the Welsh in Ireland and linked them to their countrymen at home, it is first necessary to outline what is meant by the term 'community'. Here 'community' is understood as a group of individuals who formed a mutually beneficial system of cooperation to meet certain ends.[11] Such relationships allowed individuals to achieve shared economic gains, exchange political favours, or simply create a comfortable social world through friendship and social interaction. Often, of course, political, economic and social interaction was not bounded by space. Rather, individuals could cooperate through networks of correspondence, business deals and regular social visits. The analysis of such networks allows historians to map the "connective outlines of community across space".[12] Communities and networks, however, served more than simply a practical purpose. Participation within a community was also "an expression and a source of identity and meaning".[13] Welsh men and women in Ireland who formed economic and political networks of cooperation with their countrymen were also expressing a distinct group identity within the New English community.

We must be careful, however, not to ascribe too much importance to communities. The term 'community' can imply a far greater level of solidarity and independence among a group than is intended or can be supported by the evidence. [14] Individuals participate in multiple overlapping and conflicting communities that can be drawn on in different situations.[15] This chapter does not make the case for a permanent, monolithic or exclusive Welsh network in Ireland. Welsh networks were not the only set of relationships available to Welsh individuals in Ireland, even if in some cases they were the most important. The Welsh could easily draw on wider New English networks, or networks based on other connecting factors, such as occupation or religion, and in doing so they expressed different solidarities. It is argued, however, that in certain situations Welsh men and women were able to activate networks based on their Welsh origin to help them achieve certain goals. Thus at certain times a

[11] Armstrong and Ó hAnnracháin, 'Introduction', p. 13.
[12] Phil Withington and Alexandra Shepard, 'Introduction: communities in early modern England', in their *Communities in early modern England* (Manchester and New York, 2000), pp. 5, 8; Jason Scott-Warren, 'Reconstructing manuscript networks: the textual transactions of Sir Stephen Powle', in Withington and Shepard, *Communities in early modern England*, pp. 19, 33.
[13] Withington and Shepard, 'Introduction', p. 8.
[14] Peter Burke, *Languages and communities in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 5.
[15] Armstrong and Ó hAnnracháin, 'Introduction', p. 13; Grosjean and Murdoch, 'Introduction', p. 2.

Welsh community can be discerned within the New English community, something that complicates and enhances our understanding of the latter.

Welsh networks in Ireland were formed largely by three interacting factors: loyalty to countrymen, kinship and self-interest. In her analysis of Welsh communities and networks in early modern London, Katherine Swett argued that London-Welshmen formed informal economic, social and political networks with one another because of a sense of shared loyalty. This chapter broadly agrees with Swett's assertion and shows that Welsh men and women regularly sought out and cooperated with their countrymen in Ireland. Swett, however, sees the primary connecting factor among the London-Welsh as "ethnicity".[16] It will be demonstrated here that it was often kinship, rather than any overarching idea of 'ethnic' unity that drew the Welsh in Ireland together.[17]

Welsh historians have long recognised that kinship ties played a particularly important role in early modern Welsh society. It has been suggested by J. Gwynfor Jones, among others, that obligation to kin was stronger in Wales than in England, and that the Welsh understanding of what constituted kinship incorporated a larger number of more distant relatives. This was largely due to the much-ridiculed Welsh obsession with genealogy that linked the gentry in a web of kinship drawn from a small number of common ancestors. Strong and broad kinship ties formed the basis for powerful networks of family cooperation in Wales, which played a central part in the politics and society of the principality.[18] It has long been accepted that such family networks continued to play a role among Welsh migrants, but this thesis has rarely been tested outside London.[19] It is argued here that such bonds also survived migration to Ireland and were central in forming Welsh networks there.

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[16] Katherine Swett, '"Born on my land": identity, community and faith among the Welsh in early modern London', in Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward and Michael MacDonald (eds.), *Protestant identities: religion, society and self-fashioning in post-reformation England* (Stanford, 1999), pp. 250-62. For an overview of this topic, see Emrys Jones (ed.), *The Welsh in London, 1500-2000* (Cardiff, 2001).

[17] It is likely that this was also the case in London, but that is beyond the scope of this study.

[18] J. Gwynfor Jones, *Conflict, continuity and change in Wales c.1500-1603, essays and studies* (Aberystwyth, 1999), pp. 170-3; Michael Siddons, 'Welsh pedigree rolls', *The National Library of Wales Journal,* 29 (1995), pp. 1-2; Francis Jones, 'An approach to Welsh genealogy', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1948), pp. 305, 372.

[19] Jones, *Conflict, continuity and change*, pp. 170-3. An exception is Paul Hammer's study of Captain Peter Wynn that recognises the continuation of Welsh connections as far Jamestown in Virginia: Paul

While loyalty to countrymen and kinsmen was important to the formation and maintenance of Welsh networks, it is also suggested that more worldly concerns played a part. Welshmen in Ireland often cooperated with other Welshmen because they hoped to create connections that would benefit them in Wales as well as in Ireland. A Welsh ally in Ireland could provide assistance on both sides of the Irish Sea. The case studies given here will demonstrate how, to different extents and in different ways, a sense of Welsh solidarity, loyalty to kinsmen and the practical advantages of mutually beneficial cooperation, combined to help create Welsh networks in Ireland.

The Welsh at Newry: creating a Cambro-Hibernic network

The first case study for examining Welsh networks in early modern Ireland focuses on the most substantial Welsh presence there: Newry and its hinterland. Newry was the only place in early modern Ireland in which a Welsh network can be said to have existed throughout the period 1558-1641. During the sixteenth century in particular, the Welsh presence at Newry was unique. The Welsh at Newry have been noted by several Irish historians, with one describing the town as a "Welsh settlement".[20] This is something of an exaggeration. Newry was a key town on the northern border of the Pale and always had a significant English presence. As discussed in Chapter 4, the town never had a Welsh majority, but it did come to be dominated by a small inter-connected network of Welsh men and women. This case study explores the origins of this group and how they developed into the first truly Cambro-Hibernic community in early modern Ireland. It shows that the network formed from the extension into Ireland of pre-existing networks of kinship, local allegiance and military dependence that originated in Wales. Old affinities were maintained in Ireland that encouraged Welsh individuals to cooperate through their land dealings and exercise local influence to help their Welsh allies. The Welsh at Newry also sustained their connections to kinsmen and allies in Wales, which enabled them to maintain

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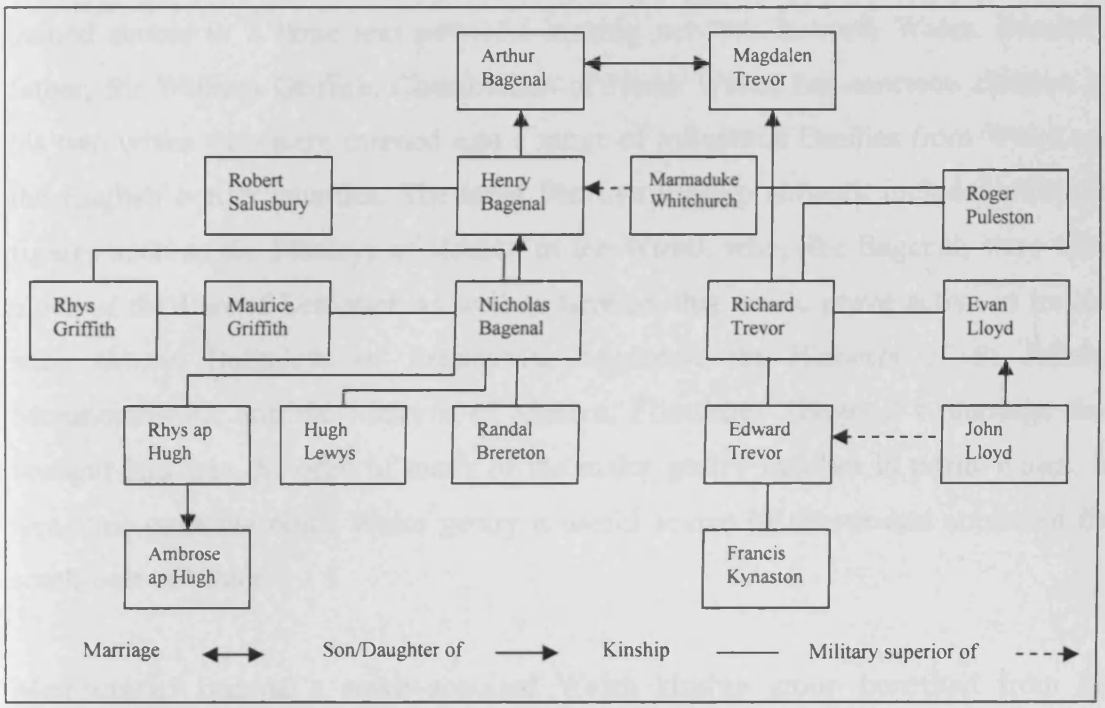
E.J. Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad: Captain Peter Wynn of Jamestown', *Parergon*, 16 (1998), pp. 59-92.

[20] Harold O'Sullivan, 'The Magennis lordship of Iveagh in the early modern period, 1534-1691', in Proudfoot, *Down: history & society*, pp. 168-9; J. Braidwood, 'Ulster and Elizabethan English', in G.B. Adams (ed.), *Ulster dialects: an introductory symposium* (Holywood, 1964), p. 20.

economic and landholding interests in Wales and even wield political influence there. The network at Newry thus formed a unique part of the Welsh presence in Ireland and added a distinctively British context to politics and the landed community in north Wales. The Newry network offered assistance and company to fellow Welshmen and, in many cases, kinsmen, making it a central hub of Cambro-Hibernic relations in the early modern period.

Figure 5.1. The Welsh community at Newry (English individuals in blue)



The Welsh network at Newry emerged from two separate but overlapping sources, as illustrated by Figure 5.1. The first was an influential Welsh kinship network connected to Ireland by Sir Nicholas Bagenal and his son, Henry. The second, which centred on Sir Richard Trevor of Trevalyn, Denbighshire, was formed from a north Wales faction united by a mixture of shared military dependence, local political allegiances and kinship. This group arrived in the early seventeenth century and integrated itself into the existing Bagenal network through marriage, changing the nature of the Welsh presence at Newry considerably.

The meteoric rise of Sir Nicholas Bagenal from disgraced mercenary soldier in the 1540s to marshal of the army and proprietor of one of the most successful garrison-plantations in Elizabethan Ireland has been charted in Chapter 4. Bagenal and his son, Henry, both marshals of the army, were major players in the Irish government during the second half of the sixteenth century and could draw on wide ranging networks of support in the country. Here, however, it is their kinship connections that concern us. In 1556 Sir Nicholas married Elin, one of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Edward Griffith of Penrhyn in Caernarvonshire.[21] Bagenal may well have met Griffith in Ireland as both served there in the 1530s and 1540s. Through the marriage Bagenal gained access to a large and powerful kinship network in north Wales. Edward's father, Sir William Griffith, Chamberlain of North Wales, had nineteen children by his two wives who were married into a range of influential families from Wales and the English border counties. The large Penrhyn kinship network included powerful figures such as the Stanleys of Hooton in the Wirral, who, like Bagenal, were close allies of the Earl of Leicester, as well as families that would prove active in Ireland such as the Bulkeleys of Beaumaris, Anglesey, the Herberts of St Julians, Monmouthshire, and the Mostyns of Mostyn, Flintshire.[22] Bagenal's marriage thus brought him into the orbit of many of the major gentry families in north Wales. In turn, this gave the north Wales gentry a useful source of favour and access in the south-east of Ulster.

Members of Bagenal's newly-acquired Welsh kinship group benefited from his financial and political success in early Elizabethan Ireland. His estate rental of 1575 demonstrates that all three of the constables of his castles were drawn from his new kinsmen. Hugh Lewys of Presaddfed in Anglesey, constable of Greencastle, was grandson of Edward Griffith's sister, Anne. Lewys had been Bagenal's agent in Anglesey and probably arranged the purchase of land at Esceifiog and Hirdre Faig during the 1560s, which was used to supply Newry with coal.[23] Bagenal's constable at Newry was Randal, or Randolph, Brereton of Malpas, Cheshire, a family with close marriage ties with the gentry of north Wales. Randal was the son of Edward's half-

[21] Penrhyn itself was inherited by Edward's brother, Sir Rhys Griffith, but the rest of his estates were split between the daughters: John Edward Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families* (Horncastle, 1914), p. 57.
[22] William Williams, *Observations on the Snowdon Mountains* (London, 1802), pp. 174-7.
[23] J.W., 'Berw and the Hollands', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 3rd series, 14 (1868), pp. 109-10; Anon, 'Historical MSS Commission', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 4th series, 9 (1878), pp. 230-1.

sister, Mary.[24] The origins of the constable of Carlingford and Bagenal's long term agent, Rhys ap Hugh, are more difficult to ascertain.[25] He was possibly of Bodeon, Anglesey, as the influential Owen ap Hugh of Bodeon was married to another of Edward's half-sisters.[26] It is also possible that his allegiance to Bagenal came from a shared dependence on the Dudleys.[27] Both men named one of their sons Ambrose, almost certainly a sign of affiliation to Leicester's brother, and leading soldier, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.[28] Ap Hugh's long-lasting allegiance to the Bagenal family, however, suggests a kinship link. The three constables would have acted as Bagenal's deputies and trusted allies in Newry. Their presence demonstrates that by the mid-1570s Bagenal had formed the close ties to the landed community of north Wales that were to give Newry its unique Welsh dimension.

Bagenal's son, Sir Henry, consolidated the links to Wales begun under his father. Henry (1556-1598) probably spent part of his youth in Anglesey and was raised as a Welsh gentleman. He spoke Welsh, matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, and sat as an MP for Anglesey in 1586. He joined his father in Newry during the mid-1570s, and succeeded him as Marshal in 1590. His father's death in 1591 made Henry the leading figure in the Newry settlement.[29] Despite his influence in Ireland, Henry's long-term focus seems to have been north Wales. During the 1590s the Bagenals came into possession of Plasnewydd, Anglesey, after Maurice Griffith, a member of a junior line of the Penrhyn family, defaulted on a mortgage of the property made to Sir Nicholas

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[24] Harold O'Sullivan has assumed that this Randal Brereton was cousin of the future Newry governor, Sir Richard Trevor of Trevalyn, which would make him son of Owen Brereton of Borras in Denbighshire, but the family ties make Brereton of Malpas more likely: O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', pp. 4, 8.

[25] Bodleian Library, University College MS 103, fols. 116, 130.

[26] Another option would be the Pugh family of Penrhyn Creuddyn in Caernarvonshire: Williams, *Observations*, pp. 174-7; Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, pp. 58, 95, 159, 184-185.

[27] Bodleian Library, University College MS 103, fols. 130-133^{v}.

[28] Bagenal also had a son named Dudley. Warwick seems to have acted for his brother in Wales on occasion and this, combined with his military reputation, probably accounts for the use of his name rather than his brother's. It is also possible that Ambrose Jones, son of the Merioneth-born Bishop of Killaloe and Ambrose Blayney, nephew of Sir Edward Blayney the Montgomeryshire-born governor of Monaghan, were named due to family allegiances to the Dudleys: *CSPI 1608-10*, p. 121; Philip H. Bagenal, *Vicissitudes of an Anglo-Irish family, 1530-1800* (London, 1925), p. 3; E. Rowley-Morris, *The family of Blayney* (London, 1890), p. 7; Lloyd Bowen, 'Wales at Westminster: Parliament, principality and pressure groups, 1542-1601', *Parliamentary History*, 22 (2003), p. 107.

[29] Bagenal, *Vicissitudes*, pp. 44-5; J.J.N. McGurk, 'Bagenal [Bagnal], Sir Henry (c.1556-1598), *ODNB*, vol. 3, p. 225; A.H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (Cardiff, 1952), p. 80.

in the 1580s.[30] Plasnewydd became Henry's primary Welsh residence.[31] Henry also expanded his landholding in Anglesey through a deal with his cousin (son of his Welsh aunt, Katherine Griffith), Sir William Herbert of St Julians, the Munster planter.[32] In 1588 Herbert leased his Anglesey lands to Bagenal as part of a bid to fund his plantation schemes.[33] Although the men seem to have had no further dealings, connections between the two Irish settler families reappeared in the seventeenth century. By the 1590s the Bagenals had thus created an estate that spanned the Irish Sea. The Anglesey lands could supply the Irish estates with coal and other necessities and acted as a more stable permanent base for the family than a frontier outpost like Newry. The Bagenals had made their fortune in Ireland, but Henry understood that the constant threat of rebellion meant that Irish fortunes were not secure. North Wales offered the Bagenal family security and a long-term future as an influential landed family.

During the 1590s Henry Bagenal set about establishing himself as a leading figure within the landed community of north Wales. Although he married the daughter of a Cheshire knight, his four daughters married north Wales gentlemen. These included Sir Robert Salusbury of Rûg, Merioneth, who joined his father-in-law at Newry in 1595 from whence he sent glowing reports of Bagenal's actions.[34] Salusbury also acted as Bagenal's Welsh agent during the early years of the Nine Years' War and in 1594-5 arranged a deal with another Welshman, the influential London-based merchant Sir Thomas Myddelton, to provide loans to victual Newry with supplies from Denbighshire.[35] By his death in 1598 Henry Bagenal had established himself firmly as a Cambro-Irish gentleman. He split his time between two sizeable estates that faced each other across the Irish Sea. He was a leading figure in Irish politics but had also secured his family's long term future as part of the landholding community

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[30] B.E. Howells (ed.), *A calendar of letters relating to north Wales: 1533-circa 1700* (Cardiff, 1967), p. 40.
[31] J.W., 'Berw and the Hollands', pp. 110, 113; Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, pp. 184-5.
[32] NLI, Genealogical Office MS 97, fols. 9-11.
[33] NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the rolls, vol. 1, pp. 207-8; Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, II, p. 155.
[34] NA, SP63/178/69; 63/180/3. Bagenal's other sons-in-law were Robert Griffith of Llanfair-is-gaer, Caernarvonshire, son of the Maurice Griffith who had lost Plasnewydd to Bagenal, John Bodvel of Caernarfon and Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, p. 57; Bagenal, *Vicissitudes*, p. 66.
[35] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 5, p. 379; *CSPI 1592-6*, p. 267; A.H. Dodd, 'Mr. Myddelton the merchant of Tower street', in S.T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C.H. Williams (eds.), *Elizabethan Government and Society: essays presented to Sir John Neale* (London, 1961), p. 259.

of north Wales. Moreover, he had begun to use his influence to help members of his kinship group, like Salusbury, establish themselves in Ireland.

Henry's patronage also extended to more distant relations and Welshmen who did not have kinship links with the Bagenals. He continued to employ his father's agent and provost marshal, Rhys ap Hugh, who, in 1591, bought land near Holyhead making him, like Bagenal, a joint Ulster and Anglesey landowner.[36] From 1595 Bagenal was also almost certainly patron of the soldier, and later governor of Newry, Captain Maurice Griffith of Plasmawr, Caernarvonshire, his cousin.[37] Possibly due to Rhys ap Hugh's links with Sir John Perrot, Newry also attracted two Welsh administrators from the lord deputy's collapsed circle. John Morgan and Nicholas Bevans both went to Newry after Perrot's fall and acted as Bagenal agents during the 1590s.[38] Ap Hugh and Morgan seem to have been trusted members of Bagenal's circle. They were appointed as part of a three-man New English contingent examining spoils by English and Irish troops around Newry during peace negotiations with the Earl of Tyrone in the summer of 1596.[39] Ap Hugh was even trusted with certifying the death of Henry's sister, Mabel, Countess Tyrone, to the Dublin government in 1597.[40] Under Henry's control, therefore, the Welsh presence at Newry expanded beyond the immediate Bagenal kinship group.

New arrivals from Wales were also attracted by Bagenal's influence. For example, both Rhys Parry, an Anglesey-born merchant, and Richard Rogers, a London saddler of Flintshire origin, acquired land in Newry during the 1590s, although only Parry moved there permanently. In 1598 Rogers sold his land to Sir Thomas Myddelton, another absentee, maintaining the Welsh influence in the town.[41] When Captain Richard Trevor of Trevalyn arrived at Newry with reinforcements in May 1595,

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[36] Ap Hugh held land at Dundalk, south of Newry, and Drogheda: *CSPI 1588-92*, p. 389; *CSPI 1606-8*, pp. 55-72; Mary O'Dowd, 'Irish concealed lands papers in the Hastings manuscripts in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California', *Analecta Hibernica*, 31 (1984), p. 105; NLI, MS D.16161; NLW, Carreglwyd, I, 1607.

[37] It is likely that Maurice's kinsman, Rhys Griffith, also benefited from Bagenal's patronage: Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, p. 125; NA, SP63/207(V)/46; IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, p. 195.

[38] NA, SP63/183/7; *CSPI 1588-92*, p. 389; *CSPI 1592-6*, pp. 216, 379, 523; *CSPI 1596-7*, p. 33.

[39] *Calendar of Carew MSS 1589-1600*, pp. 150, 160-1.

[40] Mabel had eloped with Hugh O'Neill in 1591, to her brother's fury: *Calendar of Carew MSS 1589-1600*, p. 243.

[41] NLI, Genealogical Office MS 173, fols. 86-8; *CSPI 1611-14*, p. 299; Dodd, 'Mr. Myddelton the merchant of Tower street', p. 271.

Bagenal proved a willing patron to the Denbighshire man. In June Trevor wrote to his brother of the "exceedinge kyndnesse" with which Bagenal had treated him. Trevor does not seem to have had any familial relationship with the Bagenals, yet he was quickly welcomed into Bagenal's inner circle and offered the constableship of Newry.[42] Bagenal, now an established north Wales gentleman, probably believed that aiding Trevor in Ireland would help consolidate his connections to the Welsh gentry community. Although Trevor turned down Bagenal's offer of the constableship in hope of a better appointment elsewhere, he remained in the town until Henry's death at Blackwater in August 1598.[43] Trevor was wounded at Blackwater and went home, but returned to act as the second catalyst to the formation of the Welsh network at Newry.

Trevor may not have been part of Bagenal's kinship network, but he was closely affiliated with a different group that had formed in north-east Wales during the late sixteenth century. This group, which was united by marriage, was based primarily in Denbighshire, but had branches in Merioneth and Flintshire. The factional nature of Denbighshire politics has been a source of frequent comment since J.E. Neale's analysis of 1931.[44] The politics of Elizabethan Denbighshire was characterised by an often vicious power struggle between the dominant Salusbury family of Llewenni and a collection of lesser families, often led by the Trevors of Trevalyn.[45] These included the Lloyds of Bodidris, the Salusburys of Rûg and the Pulestons of Emeral, who were united by generations of intermarriage.[46] Political changes at the turn of the century in Denbighshire were to lead many of those who made up the anti-Llewenni faction to travel to Ireland and become key members of the Welsh community in early modern Newry.

During the last decades of the sixteenth century the factional struggle in Denbighshire was complicated by the influence of the 2nd Earl of Essex. By the 1590s, the Trevors and their Denbighshire allies had become his staunch supporters.[47] Most of this anti-

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[42] ESRO, Glynde Place MS 551, fol. 29.
[43] O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', pp. 4, 31; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 7, pp. 543-4; *APC 1597-8*, p. 524; NA SP12/263/99; 63/201/12; 63/202(I)/67.
[44] J.E. Neale, 'Three Elizabethan elections', *English Historical Review*, 46 (1931), pp. 212-27.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 212.
[46] A.H. Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex revolt of 1601', *English Historical Review*, 59 (1944), p. 349.
[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 348-70.

Llewenni faction had a military background and, as has been discussed in Chapter 2, Essex could offer such men rich military opportunities.[48] John Lloyd of Bodidris and John Salusbury of Rûg both served under the Earl at Cadiz in 1596.[49] These two served again in Essex's unsuccessful Irish campaign of 1599 along with Owen Salusbury, a scion of the house of Rûg, Edward Trevor of Brynkinallt, Denbighshire, and Sir Richard Trevor, who employed a Puleston of Emeral as his lieutenant.[50]

The combination of factional loyalty with shared military dependence on Essex created strong ties among these north Wales families. This was demonstrated in a Star Chamber case brought against Richard Trevor as deputy lieutenant of Denbighshire, almost certainly at the instigation of the Salusburys of Llewenni. He was accused of raising too much money for a troop to be sent to Ireland in 1599. The interrogatories asked whether he raised the money to please his north Wales military allies: "are not the said captens nearlye allied unto you, and of great familiarity and acquaintance with you and do you not respect & love them more than other gentlemen of that county?".[51] The anti-Llewenni faction had become a pro-Essex military clique, a change emphasised by the participation of the Salusburys of Rûg and Sir John Lloyd in the failed Essex rebellion of 1601.[52] The rebellion, however, tarnished the reputation of the whole of the anti-Llewenni faction. When, in 1602, Sir John Salusbury took advantage of anti-Essex sentiment to block Sir Richard Trevor and Sir John Lloyd's appointment as deputy lieutenants of Denbighshire, it was obvious that the old Essex supporters had, for a time, lost their political battle in Denbighshire.[53]

Sir Richard Trevor's reaction was to return to Ireland and Newry, which had been governed by Sir Francis Stafford since 1601.[54] During the 1590s Trevor had longed for a "place of comand to myself where I maye not live under the pleasure of every

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[48] *Ibid.*, p. 369; Paul E.J. Hammer, *The polarisation of Elizabethan politics: the political career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 275-6; Mervyn James, *Society, politics and culture: studies in early modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 423-5.
[49] HMC, *Bath MSS*, vol. 5, pp. 264-5.
[50] Hammer, 'Captain Peter Wynn', p. 80; *APC 1598-9*, pp. 540-5; NA, STAC 5/A55/34.
[51] NA, STAC 5/A55/34. The captains referred to are not named in the interrogatory, but they are almost certainly the Denbighshire-based Salusburys of Rûg, John Lloyd of Bodidris and Edward Trevor of Brynkinallt all of whom were serving in Ireland in 1599.
[52] HMC, *Bath MSS*, vol. 5, pp. 281-2; *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 11, p. 96; Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex revolt', p. 362.
[53] Neale, 'Three Elizabethan elections', pp. 221-7.
[54] *CSPI 1600-1*, pp. 321-2.

other commander". He particularly wanted a port on the north-east coast of Ireland where he could profit from trade and receive supplies from his Welsh estates.[55] Newry was now the perfect fit as the influence of the Bagenals had waned. After Henry Bagenal's death in 1598 his lands passed to his mentally-handicapped son, Arthur, who was under the wardship of his uncle Sir Patrick Barnewall.[56] As we have seen in Chapter 4, Richard soon set about orchestrating a take-over of the Bagenal estates and influence in the area. In 1602 he arranged for the marriage of his brother Sackville to Henry Bagenal's widow and then obtained the constableship of the town in 1603. Soon after, he completed the process by marrying his daughter, Magdalen, sometimes known as Margaret, to Arthur Bagenal.[57] Despite Richard's return to Denbighshire in 1606, these new marriage connections, overseen by his ambitious and assertive daughter, created a joint Trevor-Bagenal dominance of Newry and its surrounding area until the rebellion of 1641.[58]

It was inevitable that Trevor's disgraced north Wales military clique would seize on the opportunities offered by their ally's take over of Newry. Richard was soon joined in Ireland by his kinsmen, Sir Edward Trevor of Brynkinallt, John Lloyd of Bodidris and his son, Evan, and the Pulestons of Emeral, who leased land in Loughbrickland, the estate of Henry Bagenal's Staffordshire-born lieutenant, Marmaduke Whitchurch.[59] Whitchurch was effectively absorbed into the Welsh kinship network when he married Mary, Roger Puleston's sister.[60] His will is full of bequests to the Pulestons, with whom he seems to have been very close, and its administration was to be partly overseen by Whitchurch's "dearest friend" Sir Edward Trevor, whose son married Whitchurch's daughter.[61]

The members of the Denbighshire military clique quickly came to dominate the Newry region. In 1606 Arthur Bagenal's lands were placed in the hands of Sir John Lloyd and Sir Edward Trevor until 1607 when, following Lloyd's death, they were

[55] ESRO, Glynde Place MS 551, fols. 9, 29.
[56] J.J.N. McGurk, 'Bagenal [Bagnal], Sir Henry (c.1556-1598), *ODNB*, vol. 3, p. 225.
[57] *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 90, 201; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', pp. 4-67; Enid Sophia Jones, *Trevors of Trevalyn and their descendants* (Privately printed, 1955), p. 31.
[58] Some of Magdalen's assertive nature can be seen in her letters in ESRO, Glynde Place MS 559.
[59] O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 16; *CSPI 1600-1*, p. 30; Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, p. 41.
[60] O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', pp. 66-7.
[61] PRONI, D/765/1.

alienated to a larger circle including Sir Edward Trevor, Sir Richard Trevor, his brother John, the lord deputy Sir Arthur Chichester, and two of Arthur Bagenal's English uncles.[62] A property transaction of 1628 shows continued Welsh dominance when Sir Richard Trevor, George Hoape of Cheshire, John Eaton of Leeswood in Flintshire and Hugh Williams, tenant of the Bagenal estate of Esceifiog in Anglesey, leased the Bagenal Irish lands for five years.[63] The estate may have been in Bagenal's name but Newry was now largely under the control of a Welsh network headed by the leaders of a military faction that had only a few years earlier left Denbighshire in disgrace following the Essex rebellion.

Having had its ambitions stymied in north Wales the Trevor circle had used its Irish military connections and the waning influence of the Bagenals to establish itself in a new arena. Trevor and his allies, however, had no intention of abandoning Denbighshire. Like the Bagenals before them, the Trevor faction remained in close contact with Wales and aimed to use their financial success in Ireland to re-establish themselves in Wales. It is likely that, like Sir Henry Bagenal, Trevor and his allies saw Welsh land as a more secure long-term investment, but they also wished to return to Wales in triumph. Sir Richard Trevor himself returned to Denbighshire in 1606 with a pension of £50 a year, newfound wealth from his land deals in Newry and his reputation restored by three years of loyal military service. He regained the deputy lieutenancy of the county and served as sheriff there in 1610.[64] Trevor, however, largely remained in Wales, only returning to Newry between 1634 and 1635. Other members of Trevor's faction also re-established themselves in north Wales, but remained more closely involved in Ireland. Their estates are a clear example of the "power blocs straddling the Irish Sea" identified by Philip Jenkins in the eighteenth century.[65]

Sir Edward Trevor of Brynkinallt and Rostrevor in particular divided his time between his Irish and Welsh estates. He certainly seems to have gone to Ireland with the intention of returning to Wales in triumph. Trevor spent the 1610s primarily in

[62] Sir Patrick Barnewall and Sir Thomas Savage: IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, pp. 86, 102-3.
[63] NLW, Crosse of Shaw Hill MS 649.
[64] *DWB*, pp. 980-3.
[65] Philip Jenkins, 'Connections between the landed communities of Munster and South Wales, c.1660-1780', *Journal of the Cork History and Archaeological Society*, 34 (1979), p. 98.

Ireland building up his estates and advancing his military and political career. From 1619, however, he began to make frequent trips to Wales in order to construct a grand new house at Brynkinallt that demonstrated his new-found wealth to the rest of Denbighshire.[66] During this time he was a major figure on both sides of the Irish Sea. In 1622, for example, he served as both sheriff of Denbighshire and as an Irish Privy Councillor. In 1623 his Irish wife died and, continuing the process of reconnection with Denbighshire, he married Margaret, daughter of William Lloyd of Halchdyn, near Wrexham. His divided life was also reflected in his children's marriages. Five returned to Wales to marry, while five married members of Irish landowning families.[67] Similarly, Evan Lloyd, son of John Lloyd of Bodidris, seems to have divided his time between Down and Denbighshire. The Lloyds remained important in their home county and Evan's children married into the Welsh landowning community. Most interestingly, and demonstrating the continuing links between the Bagenal estates in Anglesey and Newry, Evan's daughter married John Lewys of Presaddfed, the grandson of Nicholas Bagenal's agent, Hugh. Their daughter, Ann, later re-entered the Newry network, becoming the second wife of Edward Trevor's son, Mark.[68]

Sir Richard Trevor's daughter, Magdalen Bagenal, also divided her time between Wales and Ireland. Despite her family's success and power in Ireland, Bagenal felt that the country was a "littell prisen", and spent as much time as she could in Plasnewydd. She returned to Anglesey frequently and also visited relatives in Denbighshire, where her father resided following the end of his governorship of Newry in 1606.[69] When not in Anglesey she kept in close contact with allies in Wales. In particular she was able to call on the help of her influential uncle, Sir John Trevor of Plas Têg, surveyor of the navy, who had also been her father's contact in the English court during the 1590s.[70] Sir John, and later his son, also John, performed a variety of services for Magdalen, including helping her arrange payment for the repair of the walls at Newry, and influencing the Flintshire elections in favour of one of

[66] ESRO, Glynde Place MS 570; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 62.
[67] O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', pp. iii, 23, 62.
[68] Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, p. 282; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 23.
[69] ESRO, Glynde Place MS 556, 559; *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 11.
[70] ESRO, Glynde Place MS 551, fol. 11.

Magdalen's relatives in 1626.[71] She also continued to use the Lewys family of Presaddfed as her Anglesey agents. Furthermore, in March 1637 she was able to call on the help of Richard Herbert, grandson of William Herbert of St Julians, to act for her in an Anglesey land deal while she was in Newry.[72] After her husband's death in 1637 she moved permanently to the Bagenal's Welsh estate, which had been part of her generous jointure.[73]

Even after her move close links remained between the two Bagenal estates. The Newry estates passed to Magdalen's son, Nicholas, and less than a year after Arthur's death she re-established her links to the area by marrying Sir Arthur Tyrringham, governor of Newry.[74] Magdalen and her new husband continued to maintain the close links between Plasnewydd and Newry. In 1637, for example, Tyrringham arranged for sheep and cattle to be brought from his wife's estates to restock Newry. These Welsh individuals who settled at Newry thus maintained close links to north Wales.[75] They were able to participate in Welsh politics, to play active roles in the kinship network of the Welsh landowning community, and ran their Welsh and Irish estates simultaneously and in an interconnected way. They were not limited to either Wales or Ireland, but were truly Cambro-Hibernic figures, and operated within a network of kinship and cooperation that spanned the Irish Sea.

The history of the Welsh community at Newry demonstrates a dimension to the lives of many Welsh gentlemen that is often overlooked. It should remind historians of Wales that the Welsh gentry were often part of political, economic and kinship networks that extended beyond Wales, or even London, to Ireland and beyond. The Newry community is also an excellent example of how our understanding of the complexities of the New English grouping in Ireland can be enhanced by conceptualising them not as an isolated community, but rather as a group that was closely connected to the various landed communities of England and Wales. Newry will intrude again into the following case studies. The success of the individuals who established themselves there made it inevitable that Welshmen elsewhere in Ireland

[71] ESRO, Glynde Place MS 559.
[72] ESRO, Glynde Place MS 559.
[73] PRONI, D/619/2/1.
[74] O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 19.
[75] W. Ogwen Williams, 'The Anglesey gentry as business men in Tudor and Stuart times', *Anglesey Antiquarian Society Transactions* (1948), p. 107.

would attempt to exploit their influence. The Welsh at Newry thus came to participate in the wider Welsh networks that formed in seventeenth-century Ireland.

Exploiting the Welsh presence in Ireland: Sir Henry Salusbury and the legacy of Sir John Perrot

Although the intensity of Welsh involvement in Newry was unique, the three case studies that make up the rest of this chapter demonstrate that, during the reigns of James I and Charles I, other Welsh networks of cooperation in Ireland were established. As has been seen, by the seventeenth century Welshmen could be found throughout the Irish government, military and plantations. This pervasive Welsh presence allowed Welsh interaction to take place on an Ireland-wide scale. Welsh individuals could take advantage of the political and financial assistance offered by influential Welshmen in Ireland or simply build social contacts among a large established Welsh presence. Each of the following case studies focuses on one Welsh individual's experience in order to shed light on the broader nature of Welsh cooperation in Ireland.

This section focuses on Sir Henry Salusbury of Llewenni, Denbighshire, during the 1610s and 1620s. Salusbury's experience suggests how generations of Welsh involvement in Ireland made it easier for new Welsh arrivals to establish themselves as Irish landowners. Welshmen became a resource for new Welsh migrants, offering help, advice and experience to their kinsmen and countrymen. In his efforts to become an Irish landowner, Salusbury exploited two sets of Welsh connections in Ireland. Firstly, he was able to marry into a powerful New English network that had a strong Welsh dimension and connected him to influential figures in the Irish government. This group allowed Salusbury to establish himself in Ireland. Once there, Salusbury found that he could also draw on an informal network of established Welsh figures, both at Newry and elsewhere, to assist in the purchasing of an estate. Salusbury's success in Ireland, it will be argued, was the result of his ability to exploit connections in Ireland based around his Welsh origins.

Salusbury's initial Irish connection was created by his marriage into a kinship group that had formed around the children of the Welsh lord deputy, Sir John Perrot. Perrot

left two legitimate daughters who were to create new links to Ireland. They and their dependants provided the structure for one of the more powerful kinship networks in early seventeenth-century Ireland. In April 1605, two months after he became lord deputy, the Devonshire-born career soldier Sir Arthur Chichester married Lettice, widow of Sir Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, and daughter of Sir John Perrot.[76] Perrot's reputation had since recovered from his treason trial and it is likely that Chichester married Lettice for the honour of association with a man who was now considered one of the most successful lord deputies of recent times.[77] Chichester, who was childless, took a great interest in his wife's family and set about using it to connect himself to several powerful Irish figures.[78] He was probably the driving force behind the marriage of his niece, Jane, daughter of Lettice's sister Anne and Sir John Phillips of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire, to the County Down planter Sir James Hamilton in 1615.[79] Chichester also encouraged his close friend and ally, the administrator Sir Francis Annesley, who was to acquire considerable land at Mountnorris, just north of Newry, to marry Jane's sister, Dorothea Phillips in about 1608.[80] Around the same time, Lettice's daughters Jane and Elizabeth married Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham, near Dublin, and Sir Edward Moore, son of Garret Moore, first Viscount Moore of Drogheda, respectively.[81] Moore was, however, to die young and this gave Sir Henry Salusbury an opportunity to marry into the now very well connected descendents of Sir John Perrot.

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[76] John McCavitt, 'Chichester, Arthur, Baron Chichester (1563-1625), *ODNB*, vol. 11, pp. 397-401; NLI, Genealogical Office MS 97, fols. 12-13.

[77] The revival of Sir John Perrot's reputation can be seen in the various eulogistic biographies published around this time: E.C.S., *The government of Ireland under the honourable, iust, and wise govenour Sir John Perrot Knight*...(London, 1626); Turvey (ed.), *A critical edition of Sir James Perrot's 'The life, deeds and death of Sir John Perrott, Knight* (Lampeter, 2002), *passim*; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 19, p. 1.

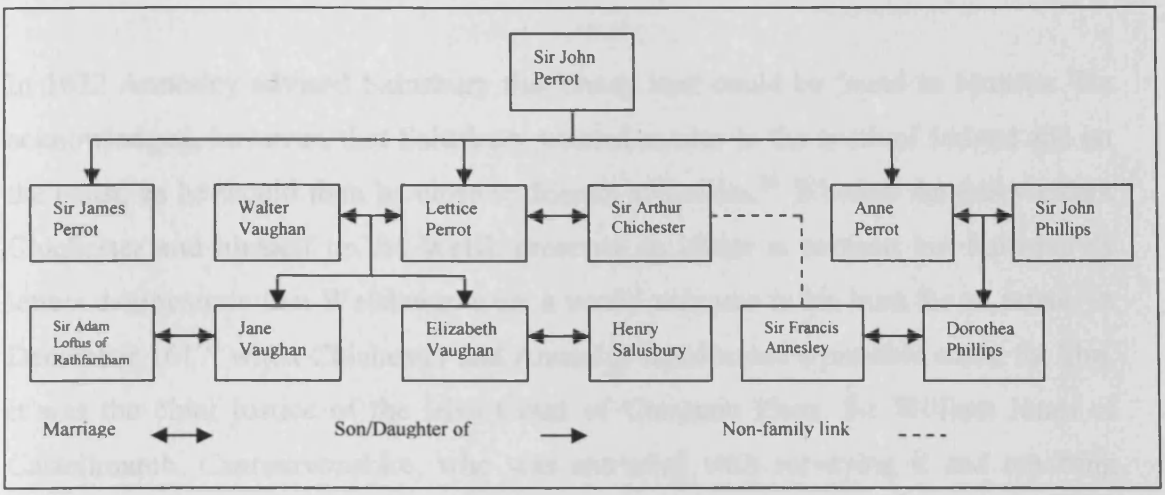
[78] For more on Chichester's patronage see, McCavitt, *Sir Arthur Chichester: Lord Deputy of Ireland*, pp. 53-73; McCavitt, 'Chichester, Arthur, Baron Chichester', pp. 397-401.

[79] Victor Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland, 1616-1628: a study in Anglo-Irish politics* (Dublin, 1998), p. 36; *DWB*, pp. 752-4.

[80] Sidney Lee and Sean Kelsey, 'Annesley, Francis, second Viscount Valentia (bap. 1586- d.1660)', *ODNB*, vol. 2, pp. 232-4; NLI, Genealogical Office MS 97, fol. 14.

[81] NLI, Genealogical Office MS 97, fol. 14; Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage & Baronetage* (London and Chicago, 1999), vol. 1, p. 984; W.J. Smith (ed.), *Calendar of Salusbury correspondence 1553-circa 1700* (Cardiff, 1954), Table 1, Sheet C.

Figure 5.2. The Perrot family's Irish marriages



Salusbury was no doubt aware of the cheap land in Ulster due to the estates acquired there by his family's long term enemies, the Denbighshire Trevors. It was probably with this in mind that, in 1617, he began courting the widowed Elizabeth Vaughan. It is interesting to note that one of the qualities that attracted Salusbury to Elizabeth was her fluency in Welsh, which suggests a continued use of the language among settlers in Ireland that is not reflected in surviving texts.[82] They married soon after and Salusbury quickly found Annesley and Chichester to be very useful allies. Annesley took a particular interest in his new relation, insisting in 1622 that Salusbury and "my cosen" should come to live in Ireland. Annesley himself had acquired an estate at Eglwys Gymon in Carmarthenshire through his marriage, and letters to his Welsh agent show that he spent time there. He even represented the county in Parliament in 1625. It is likely that he saw Salusbury as a potential ally in Wales and indeed he later visited Salusbury in Llewenni.[83] Salusbury also had a close relationship with Chichester, staying with him during the summer of 1620 at Carrickfergus while looking for land in Ulster.[84] Salusbury was quick to exploit the influence of his new Cambro-Hibernic kinship network in order to establish himself in Ireland. His experience, however, demonstrates that he did not have to rely solely on kinship

[82] Smith, *Calendar of Salusbury correspondence*, pp. 64-5, 78.
[83] NLW, MS 1595E, fol. 192; Ifan ab Owen Edwards (ed.), *A catalogue of Star Chamber proceedings relating to Wales* (Cardiff, 1929), p. 159; A.H. Dodd, 'Wales in the Parliaments of Charles I: 1625-1629', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion* (1945), p. 19.
[84] Smith, *Salusbury correspondence*, pp. 59-63.

connections as there were other Welshmen established in Ireland who were ready to help their countryman.

In 1622 Annesley advised Salusbury that cheap land could be found in Munster. He acknowledged, however, that Salusbury wanted estates in the north of Ireland and on the coast, as he would then be close to friends and allies.[85] Whether Annesley meant Chichester and himself or the Welsh presence in Ulster is unclear, but Salusbury's letters demonstrate that Welshmen were a useful resource in his hunt for an estate. In December 1617, when Chichester and Annesley had located a possible estate for him, it was the chief justice of the Irish Court of Common Pleas, Sir William Jones of Castellmarch, Caernarvonshire, who was entrusted with surveying it and reporting back to Salusbury in Wales.[86] In 1625, Salusbury's final purchase of Ballymascanlon, Louth, was made with the advice and help of Evan Lloyd of Killowen and Greencastle, son of Sir John Lloyd of Bodidris, who had evidently overcome his family's traditional opposition to Llewenni. Lloyd's influence meant that Salusbury's new estate was in northern Louth close to the Bagenal and Trevor lands at Newry and Carlingford and added to the Welsh presence in the area.[87] The deal was arranged by Salusbury's Welsh agent, Thomas Lloyd, who may have been Evan's relation. Thomas Lloyd also drew on Welsh contacts. While he was in Dublin his letters were handled by a Thomas Williams who lived in the city, and he also received help from Sir Roger Mostyn's servant who was probably in Ireland with his son Richard, an Irish captain.[88] Salusbury thus established himself as an Irish landowner at least partly because he could draw on the assistance of Welshmen already in Ireland. Salusbury continued to receive help from his countrymen over the following years. One of his major sources of tenants was Piers Jones, a Welshman who had come to Ireland as a servant of Lancelot Bulkeley, the Anglesey-born Archbishop of Dublin.[89] Evan Lloyd also remained a Salusbury contact until the estate was forfeited on account of Thomas Lloyd's corrupt dealings in 1630.[90]

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[85] *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[87] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-6.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[90] NLW, Llewenni MS 697.

Henry Salusbury's involvement in Ireland between 1617 and 1630 gives an insight into how Welshmen in the seventeenth century could exploit the familial connections that formed between Irish administrators and Welsh gentry in this period. During his Irish experience Salusbury received help from Welsh individuals from all parts of the colonial presence in Ireland. He was able to rely on the help of the Welsh administrator William Jones, the planter Evan Lloyd, and the servant of the soldier Richard Mostyn, while his initial contact with Ireland can be traced directly to the legacy of Sir John Perrot. The next case study will demonstrate that it was not only in Newry that Welshmen could rely on their countrymen for assistance, the same was also true at the heart of the New English community in Dublin.

Francis Lloyd and his friends: patronage and networks in early modern Dublin

The focus of the third case study is Francis Lloyd, the Dublin-based Welsh lawyer and agent of Lord Edward Herbert of Cherbury and his son, Richard. Lloyd's service for the Monmouthshire and Montgomeryshire Herberts, and his eventual leasing of land in Munster has been discussed in Chapter 4. This section examines his life in Dublin during the 1630s. It focuses specifically on Lloyd's renewal of Herbert's patent for Castleisland in Munster. It will be demonstrated that Lloyd's primary contacts and allies in this exercise were Welsh. His role as Herbert's agent was facilitated by Welsh friends and he seems to have socialised primarily with Welshmen. Lloyd inhabited a Welsh network reminiscent of those described by Katherine Swett in early modern London, in which the Welsh "could conduct all their business... using only the services of their fellow Welsh".[91] While Swett attributes this to ties of shared ethnicity, however, it will be argued here that although a sense of shared Welshness may have inspired some individuals to help Lloyd, the primary reason for his wide network of Welsh friends was his ability to offer access to the patronage of the Herberts in Wales and Ireland.

Lloyd's letters give a clear picture of how he socialised and did business in Dublin. A significant number of his associates were Welsh. His earliest surviving letter to Richard Herbert in February 1635 was an attempt to defend himself against rumours

[91] Swett, 'Born on my land', p. 260.

spread by Sir Thomas Roper, lessee of Castleisland, that he was extravagant with his master's money. Lloyd promised Herbert that "Sir Edward Trevor and others I dyett with" could attest to his frugal living and apparel in Ireland.[92] This and references in other letters indicate that Trevor, an Irish Privy Councillor, was one of Lloyd's regular dining companions.[93] Another letter to Lord Herbert of November 1639 also tells of a dinner, this time in the company of the Pembrokeshire-born muster commissioner and servant of the lord deputy, William Cadogan. Lloyd fell out with Cadogan at the dinner, but, interestingly, told Herbert that he was confident that Cadogan, "being his countryman, would recant".[94] Lloyd clearly expected that Welshmen in Ireland would treat each other with particular friendship and respect. This strongly suggests that loyalty to countrymen played a role within the Welsh networks in which Lloyd participated. Also fleetingly and tantalisingly mentioned by Lloyd in May 1635 was a meeting with a Captain Price during one of the lord deputy's progresses. This was almost certainly Captain Charles Price of Pilleth in Radnorshire, a soldier and agent of Wentworth, who would have been a very useful Welsh ally for Lloyd and Herbert.[95] It is likely that Lloyd also dined with or otherwise met other Welshmen who visited Dublin for, as a representative of one of Wales's most powerful magnates, he would have had much to offer them.

Lloyd's letters demonstrate that his relationship with other Welshmen in Ireland often took the form of an exchange. In return for advice and assistance in Ireland Lloyd used his influence with the Herberts to help his Welsh friends with their business on both sides of the Irish Sea. Sir Edward Trevor, an old hand in the world of Irish estate building, was one of the first figures Lloyd consulted on the issue of Herbert's patent. In March 1635 Trevor advised Herbert to come to Ireland and offered his own help as, in Lloyd's words, "hee is in very good respect wth the Lord Deputy heere and hath many matters referred unto him to order or to testifie his opinion". Indeed, Trevor was soon procuring letters from the Lord Deputy concerning Herbert's business. Lloyd informed Herbert that Trevor would be more inclined to help if he influenced the Lord

[92] NLW, Powis Castle, Herbert of Cherbury MS XII, fol. 2.
[93] W.J. Smith (ed.), *Herbert correspondence* (Cardiff, 1968), pp. 83-5.
[94] *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 90. For evidence of Price working for Wentworth see, Sheffield City Library, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Strafford Papers, 15/285; 10a/32-3, 232-4.

President of Wales to make Trevor deputy lieutenant of Denbighshire.[96] This was, then, a mutually beneficial transaction stemming from common Welsh interests. For the Welsh in Ireland, helping a Welshman had the added benefit that he could return the favour in Wales.

Other Welshmen were also called on to provide advice and help with the patent. Henry Parry, a Welsh secretary working for the Irish Lord Chancellor whom Lloyd referred to as his "careless countryman", offered advice and influence in November 1639. The favour was probably repaid when Parry carried Lloyd's letters to Lord Herbert in Montgomeryshire in December.[97] Lloyd was also helped by Richard Blayney of Monaghan, nephew of the Montgomeryshire planter Sir Edward Blayney, who advised that Wentworth's legal expert, Sir George Radcliffe, would help pass Herbert's patent. It is not clear whether Blayney expected anything in return for his advice, but Lloyd seems to have assumed as much when he emphasised Blayney's good services in his letter to Herbert.[98]

Lloyd was, then, able to call on the help of well-placed Welshmen in his attempts to discharge his master's business. Of course, an individual does not live wholly within one network. Lloyd also had English contacts that he used to get the patent passed. Often these were key advisors to the lord deputy and were crucial to the completion of his task.[99] The Welsh in Ireland were primarily middle-ranking men without the influence and expertise ultimately to get the job done, but the early work was completed with the help of Lloyd's Welsh friends and allies.

The attempt to pass Herbert's patent is not the only context in which Welsh cooperation in Dublin can be seen in Lloyd's correspondence. In November 1639 Lloyd informed Herbert that during the summer he had launched his own venture as an Irish landowner. He had entered into a partnership with Sir Thomas Meredith, the son of Bishop Richard Meredith whose family still had interests in Wales, to purchase

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[96] NLW, Powis Castle, Herbert of Cherbury MS XII, fol. 2; Smith, *Herbert correspondence*, pp. 81-5.
[97] Smith, *Herbert correspondence*, pp. 102-4.
[98] *Ibid.*, pp. 88-9.
[99] Fiona Pogson, 'Radcliffe, Sir George (b. 1593- d. 1657)', *ODNB*, vol. 45, pp. 734-7; Fiona Pogson, 'Mainwaring, Sir Philip (1589-1661)', *ODNB*, vol. 36, pp. 176-7; Smith, *Herbert correspondence*, pp. 83, 107-8.

and improve a farm near Dublin.[100] It seems very likely that Meredith's Welsh origins played a part in Lloyd's choice of business partner. Lloyd also seems to have relied on contacts from home in an emergency. At the height of the rebellion in December 1641, while overseeing Herbert's Munster estates, Lloyd got his information on the state of Ireland from a Shropshire soldier, Philip Price, who was probably of Welsh origin.[101] In early 1640 Lloyd was replaced as Herbert's agent in Dublin by Moses Lloyd.[102] Moses also cooperated with his fellow Welshmen in Ireland. His letters were handled by a Mr Henry Williams of Dublin, and in May 1641 he used his influence to help Mr Thelwall of Plas Goch in Caernarvonshire. Almost certainly as a favour to his fellow Welshman, Moses told Lord Herbert that Thelwall, who was working in Dublin as a lawyer, was "very able" and suitable to enter Herbert's Irish service. He also arranged for a Welsh ally to write in Thelwall's support.[103] Both of Herbert's agents thus helped, cooperated with, and were helped by, their fellow Welshmen.

This study offers a glimpse into the relationships that developed among professional middle-rank Welshmen living in Dublin. Francis and Moses Lloyd were clearly able to draw freely on the assistance of a significant number of Welsh individuals who had established themselves in Ireland. This was, of course, a relationship of mutual cooperation. The Lloyds were expected to use their influence with the Herberts to win their Cambro-Hibernic friends favour in Wales or Ireland. There may also have been an element of Welsh solidarity, particularly in Francis Lloyd's partnership with Thomas Meredith and Moses's recommendation of Mr Thelwall. The bonds of country loyalty were, however, strengthened by the patronage that the Lloyds could offer. This is not, therefore, simply an example of Swett's 'ethnic' Welsh networks. Networks, in Ireland as in London, were primarily based on how individuals could help one another, rather than simply on an ideal of Welsh solidarity. Cooperating with countrymen in Ireland, however, had the added incentive that they could offer assistance in both countries.

[100] NLW, Bronwydd MS 1167; Smith, *Herbert correspondence*, p. 103.
[101] Smith, *Herbert correspondence*, pp. 112-4.
[102] *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 107.
[103] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-12.

Saving Griffith Jones: activating Welsh networks in the 1640s

The final case study goes slightly beyond our period to 1649. It is, however, a clear example that, by the mid-seventeenth century, the combined influence of several generations of 'New Welsh' involvement in Ireland had linked some Welsh gentlemen into powerful networks of influence across the Irish Sea. Its focus is a minor gentleman from Caernarvonshire, Richard Griffith of Llanfair-is-gaer, and his visit to Ireland in the spring and summer of 1649. Griffith's experience demonstrates how, by the end of our period, the cumulative Welsh involvement in Ireland and the extension of Welsh kinship networks into the country, meant that a man with no personal experience of Ireland could activate pre-existing Irish networks to achieve a particular goal. In this case, that goal was to secure the release of a kidnapped relative. During his time in Ireland, Griffith told his wife of the "many friends" he found there.[104] These "friends" were a collection of Welsh and Welsh-connected individuals linked to Griffith by nationality or kinship ties. Griffith's experience demonstrates that the Irish Sea did not act as a barrier to gentry networks and cooperation. His successful mission also shows that in some situations the Welsh in Ireland did not offer assistance solely in expectation of reciprocal financial or political favours, but rather out of loyalty to a kinsman or countryman.

On 22 February 1649 Richard Griffith's brother-in-law, Griffith Jones of Castellmarch, Caernarvonshire, was kidnapped by John Bartlett, captain of a royalist frigate sent to attack the Welsh coast. Jones was taken to Wexford and became a prisoner of the royalist commander, the Earl of Ormond. Soon after, Richard Griffith and his servant, Robert Hughes, obtained permission to go to Dublin, then held by Parliament, to seek Jones's release.[105] Although it seems that he had no personal experience of Ireland, Griffith and his brother-in-law were fortunate to have family ties across the Irish Sea that had formed over the previous century.

The Griffiths of Llanfair-is-gaer were originally of Plasnewydd, being a junior line of the Penrhyn Griffiths. Richard was the grandson of the Maurice Griffith who had lost their main estate at Plasnewydd to Sir Henry Bagenal. Richard's father, Robert,

[104] Howells, *Letters relating to north Wales*, pp. 71, 74.
[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-11.

married Jane, daughter of Henry Bagenal, while Richard's uncle, John, had been an ensign in Henry Bagenal's army and was killed with his commander at Blackwater. Richard himself was the son of Robert's third wife, so was not directly descended from the Bagenals, but seems to have identified with the Bagenal line. Griffith Jones, meanwhile, was the second son of Sir William Jones of Castellmarch, who had been chief justice of the Irish Court of Common Pleas, and Griffith Jones's sister, Eleanor, had married John Lloyd, son of Evan Lloyd of Down and Denbighshire.[106] Both men, therefore, had important links to Welsh networks in Ireland.

When Griffith arrived in Dublin he was able to activate this series of family connections as part of his attempt to free his brother-in-law. In particular he was aided by the energetic assistance of an Irish treasury official, Nicholas Loftus. Loftus had close ties to Wales. His mother was Anne Bagenal, daughter of Nicholas, which made him the grandson of Elin Griffith of Penrhyn, a distant relative of the Griffiths of Llanfair-is-gaer. His brother was Sir Adam Loftus, who had married Jane Vaughan, daughter of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove and Lettice Perrot.[107] Although Griffith had never previously met Loftus, he was soon telling relatives that his "cousin" was an important source of assistance in Ireland. Loftus personally arranged a series of loans for Jones and encouraged his family and allies including the influential Devereux family of Wexford, to give Jones further money and pass on letters and news.[108] Another of Griffith's kinsmen who offered his assistance was Lancelot Bulkeley, Archbishop of Dublin, and Griffith's uncle. He and his son, the Archdeacon of Dublin, wrote several letters to Ormond pleading for Jones's release.[109] Griffith was even able to rely on help from a kinsman within Ormond's circle, Edward Gruffyth, a Major in Ormond's lifeguard. Gruffyth was Griffith Jones's cousin and a friend of Richard Griffith's father-in-law. He took messages to Ormond on behalf of the two Welshmen and visited Jones at Wexford in April.[110] Family connections thus offered a firm foundation for Griffith's attempts to secure Jones's release.

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[106] Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, pp. 56, 191, 282; Howells, *Letters relating to north Wales*, p. 8.
[107] Mosley, *Burke's peerage & baronetage*, vol. 1, p. 984.
[108] Howells, *Letters relating to north Wales*, pp. 72-3, 77-8, 90.
[109] *Ibid.*, pp. 71-3, 75, 77.
[110] *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 80.

Griffith, however, was also able to draw on the help of other Welsh individuals in Ireland with whom he had little or no connection. It is unclear why they helped Griffith, but the disproportionate number of Welsh individuals assisting him suggests that a sense of loyalty to countrymen played a role. Griffith was particularly lucky that on his arrival the parliamentarian government in Ireland was dominated by a family of Welsh origin. Michael Jones, governor of Dublin, and his brother, Henry, Bishop of Clogher, were the sons of the Merioneth-born Bishop of Killaloe, Lewis Jones.[111] Although second generation migrants, the Joneses retained a sense of their Welsh identity.[112] It was, of course, natural that Griffith would approach the governor for help, but the Joneses, who were not related to Richard Griffith or Griffith Jones, worked "greatly for the furtherance" of the mission, despite the fact that Griffith had royalist connections.[113] Griffith informed his wife that Governor Jones was willing to work for the release of his namesake as if he were his father. The Jones brothers were in frequent contact with Griffith and were responsible for a series of attempted prisoner exchanges during spring and early summer.[114] It was ultimately Michael Jones's willingness to threaten Ormond with sending his sister, then in parliamentarian hands, to be imprisoned in Caernarfon Castle that secured Jones's release.[115] It seems likely that Griffith's Welsh origin at least partly explains the significant efforts that the Joneses put into his case. By the end of March Griffith was also being assisted by Edward Parry, who had succeeded Lewis Jones as Bishop of Killaloe. Parry was the son of Anglesey merchant Rhys Parry, who had settled under the Bagenals at Newry. Once a servant of Ormond, he wrote to his former master to favour his countryman. Jones told Griffith that he was particularly grateful to the bishop as he was a total stranger. Although it is possible that Griffith's Bagenal connections helped obtain Parry's assistance, it is again probable that Parry wished to assist a fellow Welshman.[116] Griffith was also able to rely on the help of Francis Kynaston, commander of the Welsh forces sent to Ireland in 1641. Although a Shropshire man, Kynaston had close links to Wales, and it is probably for this reason

[111] NLI, Genealogical Office MS 177, fol. 307.
[112] See p. 203.
[113] Howells, *Letters relating to north Wales*, pp. 69-70.
[114] *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70, 74, 96.
[115] *Ibid.*, pp. 96-7.
[116] *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 77; Ciaran Diamond, 'Parry, Edward (d.1650)', *ODNB*, vol. 42, pp. 868-9; NLI, Genealogical Office MS 173, fols. 86-8.

that he came to Griffith's aid.[117] Thus the fact that Griffith was a Welshman seems to have been enough to activate these networks of influence and assistance in Civil War Ireland.

Beyond his attempts to organise Jones's release, Griffith's letters portray a Dublin in which it was easy for Welshmen to find Welsh company and assistance. In April he received his cousin, Jane Pue, who had married a New English gentleman and was visiting Dublin.[118] In May he took advantage of the services of Richard Gruffyth of Llanfwrog, Denbighshire, a merchant who had settled in Dublin. When Gruffyth made business trips to Wales he acted as Griffith's letter bearer and promised to bring him news of his friends and family in Wales. Other letters were handled by the Welsh postmaster of Dublin, Evan Vaughan.[119] Like Francis Lloyd, Griffith was thus able to inhabit a Welsh network of social interaction and cooperation in Dublin made possible by the migration of Welshmen to the city in the seventeenth century. This once again demonstrates the important role that Welshness could play within a Welsh migrant community.

Griffith also showed an interest in his fellow Welshmen in Ireland when passing on news of the ongoing war to his relatives at home. On the 14 April 1649 he reported on the actions of William Cadogan, governor of Trim, first noting his Welsh origins he went on to eulogise his successes claiming, "the Irish are more afraid of Major Cadwgan than of God". He also reported on the progress of other Welsh figures such as Sir Theophilus Jones, brother of Michael and Henry.[120] Although Griffith reported on other commanders, he took a particular interest in and showed some pride in the actions of Welsh soldiers. By involving himself in Welsh networks and eulogising the actions of Welsh commanders, Griffith was making a statement of group identity. He was identifying himself and others as Welshmen in Ireland.

The assistance Richard Griffith received in mid-seventeenth-century Ireland was a product of decades of Welsh involvement there. Networks of kinship and cooperation

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[117] Howells, *Letters relating to north Wales*, pp. 69-70; Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, p. 216; *LJ*, vol. 9, p. 168.
[118] Howells, *Letters relating to north Wales*, p. 77.
[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 81, 83, 86-7.
[120] *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 88.

that had formed over the generations connected the Welsh landed community to its counterpart in Ireland. This meant that new Welsh migrants could rely on a Welsh presence that existed throughout the Irish political spectrum to advise and assist them. As a newcomer to Ireland, Richard Griffith was heavily reliant on the opportunities for help and influence offered by these pre-existing Welsh networks. Griffith could not offer his kinsmen or countrymen much in return for their aid; unlike Francis Lloyd he was not a source of patronage. Those who assisted in Griffith Jones's rescue were helping a kinsman or countryman and not seeking any personal benefit. Of course, Griffith was willing to draw on any assistance he could in Ireland and some of his help came neither from kinsmen nor countrymen.[121] Yet for the most part the effort to release Griffith Jones was successful because of the help of Welshmen or individuals with close connections to the Welsh landed community. Griffith's experience clearly demonstrates that Welshness could be a resource in early modern Ireland.

Conclusion

This chapter has charted how the relationship between the Welsh landed community and Ireland changed between the opening of the Elizabethan period and the civil war. In 1558 a Welshman arriving in Ireland would have been going to a foreign land with little chance of meeting other Welshmen outside of the conscripted armies. By the early seventeenth century, however, Ireland had become, as Grosjean and Murdoch have put it, the "near-abroad" for the Welsh.[122] Like London, it was a place where the Welsh could rely on the assistance of kinsmen and the favour of countrymen, often in positions of power. The four case studies have traced the development of this changing landscape. They have shown that the first significant Welsh network in Ireland was limited to Newry and its hinterland. A north Wales network based on kinship and Welsh regional factions had been exported to south-east Ulster where its members dominated the local area, assisted each other politically and financially, and formed close ties between Newry and north Wales. The other case studies have shown how by the early seventeenth century the Welsh presence in Ireland was large and sufficiently established to support Ireland-wide networks of Welsh cooperation. Welsh individuals were able to activate existing connections in obtaining land,

[121] Howells, *Letters relating to north Wales*, pp. 70-1, 84.
[122] Grosjean and Murdoch, 'Introduction', pp. 4-5.

organising legal transactions and rescuing a relative. Such help came from individuals throughout the New English social and political structure, involving soldiers, settlers, administrators and other civilians. Newry, however, played a central role in all this, providing a base of established and influential Welshmen and women who could be approached for help and advice. The Welsh tendency to favour relationships with their countrymen allows us to treat them as a distinct group within the colonial community, an insight that is developed in the following chapter. This chapter has also shown that the Welsh networks in Ireland extended back into Wales. Ireland was close enough that Welsh settlers could continue to visit or help friends, dabble in Welsh politics and participate in local networks of kinship and faction. By the 1640s Ireland was not a foreign land to the Welsh landed elite, as Richard Griffith discovered it was a place that contained "many friends".[123]

The Welsh example also sheds light on the New English community in Ireland as a whole. By building an understanding of community relationships among the neglected Welsh in Ireland, this chapter highlights the multi-faceted nature of the colonial community there. It is likely that all Irish planters, not just the Welsh, participated in networks of social interaction and economic and political cooperation based on shared regional origin. These networks, along with others based on connecting factors such as religion or political faction, would have had a significant influence on life in colonial Ireland. This study thus aims to contribute towards the replacement of a history of the New English as a cohesive and united whole with one that conceptualises the colonial community as a series of multiple overlapping networks. By demonstrating the strength of connections between Welsh settlers and Wales, this study also makes a case for greater integration of Irish colonial history with British national and regional histories. It has shown that settlers remained an integrated part of social, political and economic communities in their region of origin. Soldiers, administrators and settlers created a matrix of personal, political and economic ties that connected New English society to local communities throughout the kingdoms of early modern Britain. This opens up new perspectives on British history that are discussed further in the conclusion to this thesis.

[123] Howells, *Letters relating to north Wales*, pp. 71, 74.

Chapter 6: A "ragged Welch companie": difference and identity within the New English community

The previous chapter challenged received opinion regarding the coherence of the New English community in Ireland by arguing that distinct Welsh networks existed within it. This chapter attempts to further problematise ideas about colonial unity by emphasising the importance of difference within the New English community. It begins by examining how the Welsh in Ireland were represented by their English counterparts. It shows that at the beginning of this period the Welsh in Ireland were presented by observers as a loyal and united part of the colonial community. However, ethnic and religious tensions engendered by the wars of the 1580s and 1590s heightened New English concerns about the need for cultural uniformity among soldiers and settlers. One result of this was that colonial commentators began to highlight the potentially destabilising differences that existed between the Welsh and English in Ireland, especially at lower social levels. They became increasingly concerned that such divisions might be dangerous to English government in Ireland. The Welsh thus came to be seen as a troubling source of difference in a colonial community that strove for unity and uniformity.

The second part of the chapter argues that Welsh migrants to Ireland developed a distinct identity, partly as a reaction to these anxieties about Welsh loyalty in the colonial community. This is primarily discussed through a close reading of the *Chronicle of Ireland* written during the 1590s by a Welsh cleric in Ireland, Meredith Hanmer. The *Chronicle*, it is argued, is best understood in the context of Tudor Welsh antiquarian histories, which have been widely used to reconstruct early modern Welsh identity. Welsh antiquarians sought to use the past to convince contemporaries of their nation's glorious history and their important role in the development of the Anglo-Welsh state. They presented the Welsh as a loyal and integrated part of the wider English community, but with a distinct and honourable history. The *Chronicle* is an example of how Irish history could be used to the same effect. Specifically, Hanmer highlighted extensive Welsh involvement at all levels in the twelfth century subjugation of Ireland. This, it is suggested, was part of a wider development of a 'New Welsh' identity in Ireland based on a long history of loyal service in the

colonial community and a unique and important Welsh role in establishing English claims to hegemony in Ireland.

In problematising the traditional view of the New English, this chapter builds on recent shifts in Irish and British military and colonial history. It has been suggested that such histories rarely ask "fundamental questions" about the subjects of their narratives and ignore issues of motivations and identities.[1] In Ireland, the identities of the various groups interacting in the context of war and plantation have been simplified into the Catholic Gaelic Irish, the largely Catholic Old English, the Protestant New English, and the Scottish in Ulster. Little complexity is recognised beyond these general labels and the history of early modern Ireland is largely told as the story of the interaction of these three or four groups. Vincent Carey and Ute Lotz-Heumann have argued that the acceptance of these "rigid groups" in Irish historiography has meant that group identities have been presented as "clearly delineated and thus clearly definable in ethnic, (proto-)national and religious terms".[2]

Little work has been done on group and individual identity beneath these broad categories. This is particularly the case with the New English in Ireland. The New English have been generally presented as a uniform community: an ambitious and avaricious legion united in opposition to their Irish enemies. As has been suggested in the previous chapter, however, the New English were a varied and often factious group of differing origins, ambitions and temperaments. Probably the most comprehensive attack on the traditional presentation of New English identity has been carried out by Willy Maley. Maley argues that terms such as 'New English' naturalise the British peoples in opposition to the "colonial or semi-colonial" Irish other.[3] This means that "other identities, traditions, histories and ethnicities get left out of the grand oppositional narrative".[4] Maley calls for a more complex understanding of the newcomers in early modern Ireland that appreciates the "multiplicity and confusion of

[1] Steve Murdoch and A. Mackillop, 'Introduction', in their *Fighting for identity: Scottish military experience, c.1550-1900* (Brill, 2002), p. xxiii.
[2] Vincent P. Carey and Ute Lotz-Heumann (eds.), *Taking sides?: colonial and confessional mentalités in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 9-11.
[3] Willy Maley, '"This sceptred isle": Shakespeare and the British problem', in John J. Joughin (ed.), *Shakespeare and national culture* (Manchester and New York, 1997), p. 86.
[4] Willy Maley, 'The British problem in three tracts on Ireland by Spenser, Bacon and Milton', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds.), *British consciousness and identity: the making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 170.

origins", which he highlights using examples drawn from the Scottish presence in Ireland.[5] This chapter aims to further problematise and 'confuse' the cohesive New English identity by exploring the element of difference created by the Welsh presence within it.

It is first necessary to explain what is comprehended here by the slippery concept of identity. The identities of individuals and groups are here understood as being formed by the complementary forces of difference and belonging. Individuals define themselves against those they regard as different in terms of gender, religion, race, or class. In turn they identify with those whom they regard as similar to themselves and construct their identities as part of that group.[6] Surviving expressions of individual identity in the form of letters, literature and diaries indicate that such communal identity formation, rather than more individualistic types of identification, was of particular importance in the early modern period.[7]

Reconstructing early modern identities is fraught with difficulties. In most cases identities can only be understood through analysis of how individuals presented themselves in the texts they produced.[8] Letters, plays and books were, of course, not written with the intention of preserving a sense of identity for analysis by future historians. Texts were written for a variety of reasons and for specific audiences. Their intention may have been to convince, flatter, deceive or influence and this may have resulted in the fabrication of an identity. We must, therefore, be careful not to trust too completely a declaration of identity in early modern texts. If we wish to make any progress in reconstructing early modern identities, however, such texts must be used, but with caution. Even when we accept the validity of surviving statements of identity, however, we must be careful not to place too much weight upon them. Individuals are separated by a range of forms of difference and united by a variety of similarities. As Peter Burke has suggested, the evidence provided by a statement of

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 169.
[6] For a particularly convincing argument for this understanding of identity, see Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, 'African-American women's history and the metalanguage of race', in Joan Wallach Scott (ed.), *Feminism and history* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 183-208.
[7] Margo Todd, 'Puritan self-fashioning: the diary of Samuel Ward', *Journal of British Studies*, 31 (1992), p. 252; Phil Withington and Alexandra Shepard, 'Introduction: communities in early modern England', in their *Communities in early modern England* (Manchester and New York, 2000), p. 8.
[8] Geoff Baldwin, 'Individual and self in the late Renaissance', *Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), p. 343.

identity in a single letter or speech is "no more than the record of the identity that came to the fore on that occasion".[9] Personal identity is rarely straightforward, rather it is constructed from a matrix of overlapping and conflicting loyalties to and differences from a range of groups and communities. To study one type or source of identity, therefore, is to explore but one possible strand of the web that makes up an individual's personal identity.

An understanding of the importance of difference for identity formation has deeply informed Nicholas Canny's work on New English identity. Canny has demonstrated how the New English formed their identity in terms of ethnic difference from the native Irish, religious difference from the Old English and, during the seventeenth century, a sense that their experiences of the Irish wars and plantations had made them different to the English who remained in the motherland. This was consolidated by a sense of community formed by their close economic and social ties.[10] This chapter does not challenge the accuracy of his basic narrative, rather it will argue that other differences existed within the groups discussed by Canny.

For the individuals discussed in this thesis one of the differences that formed part of their identity was their sense of Welshness. Recent scholarship has argued that the strength of regional, non-state-based cultural identities such as Welshness in the early modern period has been underestimated.[11] The Welsh could reconcile a sense of belonging to a Welsh community with their position as subjects of the English state. Similarly, the English could perceive the Welsh to be inherently different from themselves in terms of culture, language and temperament, while continuing to accept them as members of the English nation due to their loyalty and shared history and values.[12] A similar balance between difference and similarities existed within the

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[9] Peter Burke, *Languages and communities in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 6.
[10] Nicholas Canny, 'Identity formation in Ireland: the emergence of the Anglo-Irish', in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds.), *Colonial identity in the Atlantic world, 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 159-212.
[11] R.R. Davies, 'Presidential address: the peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100-1400. Identities', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 4 (1994), pp. 8-10; Lloyd Bowen, 'Rediscovering difference?: nations, peoples and politics in the British civil wars', *History Compass*, 4 (2006), pp. 836-851.
[12] Indeed, much of Tudor English understandings of their own history were borrowed from Welsh historical traditions, merging their respective national pasts: Philip Jenkins, 'Seventeenth-century Wales: definition and identity', in Bradshaw and Roberts (eds.), *British consciousness and identity*, pp.

colonial community of early modern Ireland. Welshmen in Ireland could, of course, be understood as, and understand themselves as, members of the New English, constructing their identity partly through difference from the Catholic Irish. It will be demonstrated here, however, that Welshness emerged as a significant form of difference *within* the colonial community of early modern Ireland.

New English representations of the Welsh in Ireland

The lack of work on the Welsh minority in early modern Ireland has hidden a fascinating phenomenon that sheds considerable light on the New English community and wider issues of Anglo-Welsh relations in this period. The way in which New English commentators presented the Welsh element of the colonial presence in Ireland changed significantly in the late sixteenth century. Irish historians have long commented on the plethora of positive descriptions of the Welsh that accompanied the so-called 'Welsh policy' tracts written between the 1560s and 1580s.[13] However, from the 1590s the representation of the Welsh in Ireland changed. Decades of conflict with the native Irish led New English commentators to emphasise the danger of ethnic and cultural difference. They increasingly developed a binary understanding of civilised English and barbaric Irish cultures and some began to argue that Irish barbarity was ethnically predetermined.[14] In this context the Welsh, who were widely understood to be culturally and ethnically similar to the Irish, also came to be seen as worryingly different and potentially dangerous. The Welsh presence in Ireland thus became a source of potential tension within the New English community,

In England representations of the Welsh had changed dramatically between the medieval and early modern periods. During the Edwardian conquest of Wales and direct rule by crown and marcher lords, the English perception of the Welsh was that they were criminals who preferred barbarous mountain life to the civilized urbanity of

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216-20; Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, nationalism and memory in early modern England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 3, 76-96.

[13] Ciarán Brady, 'Comparable histories?: Tudor reform in Wales and Ireland', in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest and union: fashioning a British state, 1485-1725* (London and New York, 1995), pp. 64-86.

[14] See in particular, Ciarán Brady, 'Spenser's Irish crisis: humanism and experience in the 1590s', *Past and Present*, 111 (1986), pp. 17-49.

the English.[15] By the sixteenth century the Welsh stereotype had softened into a stock comedy character of stage and ballad. They were presented as rustic provincials, rather than foreigners, whose hot temper, obsession with status, comic accent and unusual diet all provided amusement.[16] Although the Welsh were still often described as petty thieves or overly litigious, English representations of the Welsh suggest little in the way of ethnic tension. Particularly in London, which contained a large Welsh migrant community, the Welsh were well integrated into English society and the English state. Culture and language set the Welsh apart, and the representation of the Welsh on stage and in print reminded them of their outsider status, but largely the Welsh were an accepted and welcome minority.[17]

Studies of Parliamentarian print literature from the 1640s and 1650s, however, have indicated that darker Welsh stereotypes remained under the surface. The stresses of the Civil War and Welsh support for the King led to the production of tracts that presented the Welsh as foreigners, who were more akin to the Irish than the English, and even suggested that the Welsh were planning to oppose English rule and re-establish their lost independence.[18] Such studies demonstrate that in some situations buried Anglo-Welsh tensions could be brought to the surface and old divisions emerge once again.

Between the 1560s and 1580s, New English writers generally presented the Welsh in a favourable light. The fact that the Welsh were somehow different from their English colleagues was never in doubt. New English writers and governors commented on the identity of the Welsh as individuals and as a group in a way that they did not discuss

[15] Lloyd Bowen, 'Representations of Wales and the Welsh during the civil wars and Interregnum', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), p. 360.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 361; J.O. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney: being a historical study of the earliest Irish, Welsh and Scottish characters in English plays* (Cork, 1954), pp. 50-61.
[17] Emrys Jones, *The Welsh in London, 1500-2000* (Cardiff, 2001), p. 39; Katherine Swett, '"Born on my land": identity, community and faith among the Welsh in early modern London', in Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward and Michael MacDonald (eds.), *Protestant identities: religion, society and self-fashioning in post-Reformation England* (Stanford, 1999), pp. 250-1.
[18] Mark Stoyle, 'Caricaturing Cymru: images of the Welsh in the London press 1642-46', in Diana Dunn (ed.), *War and society in medieval and early modern Britain* (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 162-179; Mark Stoyle, *Soldiers and strangers: an ethnic history of the English civil war* (New Haven and London, 2005), *passim* ; Bowen, 'Representations of Wales', pp. 358-76.

Yorkshiremen or Shropshiremen, for example.[19] Between the 1560s and 1580s, however, this Welsh difference was presented in a positive manner. This was partly because Elizabethan governors advocated a 'Welsh policy' in Ireland. As we have seen, New English governors and writers called for policies first enacted in Wales, particularly during the early sixteenth century, to be replicated in Ireland. It was argued that the "civilitie" that the Welsh had obtained under moderate but firm English government and their subsequent loyalty to the crown showed the way to reform the Irish.[20] In order to support such policies Irish governors presented the Welsh as paragons of reform. In 1583, for example, Sir Henry Sidney, a committed advocate of the 'Welsh policy', wrote of the Welsh that "a better people to govern, or better subjects to their sovereign, Europe holds not".[21] Welsh-style reforms, it was argued, could work to the same effect in Ireland as they had in Wales; the Irish were to be made like the Welsh. Captain Edward Barkley, an officer serving Sir John Perrot, informed Walsingham in 1584 that it was the belief of the government that under the lord deputy's reforms the Irish of Munster would "in smale tyme... prove so trewe as so many Welshmen".[22] Welshness thus could be a positive attribute in early modern Ireland, implying loyalty and acting as a living example of the power of English government and culture to civilize.

Negative views of the Welsh did exist in Ireland between the 1560s and 1580s, but they were largely of the sort that could be found in England. The idea of the Welsh as petty thieves, for example, persisted in Ireland. This can be seen in the letter of recommendation for a Thomas Evans sent by Captain Francis Englefield to Captain Cotton in August 1575. In an otherwise positive letter, Englefield jested to Cotton that "though he [Evans] be a Welshman you may trust hym with yor purse".[23] The notion that the Welsh were untrustworthy in legal cases was expressed in the same year by John Talbot, who was involved in a court battle with Welsh landowners. He wrote to his brother for assistance but warned him not to "go into Wales neither yet trust any

[19] See, for example, NA, SP12/263/99; 63/19/43; 63/69/17; 63/189/18IV; 63/202(IV)/12; 63/253/8; TCD, MS 831, fol. 33; HMC, *Hastings MSS*, vol. 4, p. 142; Robert C. Simmington (ed.), *The civil survey: A.D. 1654-1656* (Dublin, 1937) vol. 3, p. 23.
[20] Charles McNeill, 'Reports on manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford [part two]', *Analecta Hibernica*, 2 (1931), p. 124.
[21] Ciarán Brady (ed.), *A Viceroy's vindication?: Sir Henry Sidney's memoir of service in Ireland, 1556-1578* (Cork, 2002), pp. 103-4. See also, BL, Harleian MS 35, fols. 145-78.
[22] NA, SP63/112/31.
[23] NA, SP12/105/32.

Welshman".[24] Both Englefield and Talbot tapped into common ideas about the Welsh. Talbot, however, believed that "any Welshman" might hurt his family. This indicates that some Englishmen in Ireland saw the Welsh as a worryingly united group who would always favour their countrymen over the English. Such views, it will be suggested, helped generate a more dangerous image of the Welsh in the minds of the English in Ireland from the 1580s as older, more dangerous anti-Welsh stereotypes began to appear in New English discourse.

The late 1580s and the 1590s saw instability and war in Ireland. During this period of conflict and the following decades of tense coexistence, New English governors and polemicists sought to present a united Protestant and culturally English front against their Catholic Irish enemies. Writers such as Edmund Spenser presented a stark contrast between the civilized Protestant English and the barbaric popish Irish.[25] It was possible, of course, that such ideas would help the Welsh integrate into the English community by similarly defining themselves against the Irish 'other'. Indeed, received historical opinion is that participation in war against a common enemy was the most effective way to unify two peoples.[26] However, the emergence of a New English political discourse in which difference between peoples was a central strand also had a divisive effect among the Anglo-Welsh in Ireland. The Welsh were clearly different from the English and they shared some cultural peculiarities with the Irish. This led some in the New English community to worry that the Welsh could not be trusted, and that they were liable to join forces with the Irish. Fear that the rebellions of the late sixteenth century might destroy English control over Ireland also raised concerns of a domino effect that could lead Wales to also cast off English government. Thus within the letters, orders and treatises of some New English in Ireland darker medieval stereotypes of the Welsh re-emerged with renewed vigour. Such concerns were not displayed at all times, nor were they held by all New Englishmen. Welshmen were trusted in positions throughout the Irish military and

[24] *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 837-8.
[25] For Spenser's role in the development of an New English identity see, Nicholas Canny, 'Edmund Spenser and the development of an Anglo-Irish identity', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 13 (1983), pp. 1-19; Brady, 'Spenser's Irish crisis', pp. 17-49; Ciarán Brady and Nicholas Canny, 'Debate: Spenser's Irish crisis: humanism and experience in the 1590s', *Past and Present*, 120 (1988), pp. 201-215.
[26] Linda Colley, 'Britishness and otherness: an argument", *Journal of British Studies*, 31 (1992), pp. 309-29.

government. Rather, English worries about the Welsh seem to have existed under the surface and arisen at times of tension or in targeted attacks on Welsh individuals. In this way, as in the 1640s, the supposedly most loyal subjects of the English crown had their allegiance doubted and were presented as different and dangerous.

English worries were partly the product of doubts about Welsh commitment to the reformed religion. The high levels of recusancy in parts of Wales helped foster such impressions. This was given added impetus by some of the Catholic Irish like James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, the leading figure in the Desmond rebellions, who claimed in his declaration to the Irish people that "all the chief and strongest of the northern quarters, as well of Wales as of Chestershire, Lancastershire, and Cumberland, which are next to us, are... Catholic".[27] The problem of a dangerously Catholic west coast was noted in many tracts written in England and Ireland about the Irish problem.[28] Even the Lord President of Wales, the Earl of Pembroke, worried about Welsh Catholicism. In February 1593, he wrote to the Queen that Milford Haven needed to be reinforced by an English garrison as the Welsh "are in religion generally ill affected", and were thus open to Spanish or Irish influence.[29] The Welsh did little to assuage such fears. As discussed in Chapter 2, several Welsh captains in Ireland defected to Catholic armies, including Hugh Mostyn whose name became a byword for treachery after his betrayal of Athenry in 1600.[30] Welshmen were also heavily involved in Sir William Stanley's betrayal of Deventer in the Low Countries in 1587, which seems to have tarnished their reputation. In June 1592, an English spy reported that the Protestant Welsh governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, Sir Thomas Morgan, who had also served in Ireland, was false and "enterteineth Welshmen and papists".[31] Concerns about religious loyalty, however, could equally be expressed about some parts of England. However, where English worries about the Welsh were unique was in the belief that the Welsh might join with the Irish, not for religious reasons, but to win back their independence.

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[27] *Calendar of Carew MSS 1515-74*, pp. 397-9.
[28] See Chapter 2 and, for example, *Calendar of Carew MSS 1589-1600*, pp. 105-8.
[29] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 13, p. 475.
[30] In 1601 the Queen called Mostyn a "notorious traitor", and the mayor of Galway felt that his betrayal could encourage other men to go over to the rebels. The governor of one fort claimed that he had been approached by rebels in 1601 offering him more than "Captain Mostian should have": Morrin, *Patent and close rolls*, II, pp. 588-9; *CSPI 1600-1*, pp. 77-8, 219.
[31] NA, SP63/242/53.

The darkening of New English views about the Welsh seems to have been partly a result of changes in ideas about Wales's past. As seen in Chapter 3, from the late 1580s New English writers began to reject the administrative solutions of the 'Welsh policy' and turned instead to more coercive policies of re-conquest, plantation and a larger military presence. Although precedents for these policies often came from the New World, New English writers did not abandon Welsh history as a source of examples for transforming Irish society. Welsh history was interpreted differently to argue that the source of Wales's reformation was not the peaceful reforms of the early Tudor period, but rather the violent conquests of the Anglo-Normans and Edward I. An anonymous tract of 1599, for example, used Edward I's campaign in Wales as an example to show that "long wars (and extreme losses)" were necessary to subdue a rebellious people, and that a new wave of garrisons and fortifications needed to be established to control the Irish after victory.[32] Similarly, in 1612 the Irish lawyer Sir John Davies used the Edwardian conquest to demonstrate the need for strong central government control in conquered territories and the necessity of weakening native nobles.[33] The presentation of the Welsh in such tracts was very different to the literature that had supported the 'Welsh policy'. A 1598 tract calling for the seizure of Ulster and division of the land between leading New English individuals, for example, argued that a similar policy had been carried out in eleventh-century Glamorgan, which set the county "in such sure footing as noe resistance could withstand them, nor violens nor malice of the Wealsh expell them to this day".[34] Thus the dominant image of the Welsh in the writings of the New English moved from easily-civilised paragons of reform to violent medieval rebels who had to be controlled by force.

This revived currency of past barbarity and rebelliousness seems to have developed into a concern among the English in Ireland that a Welsh threat might re-emerge. Early modern commentators with experience of Ireland frequently argued that civility

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[32] NA, SP63/206/134.

[33] Sir John Davies, *A discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued [and] brought under obedience of the crown of England until the beginning of his majesty's happy reign (1612)*, edited by James P. Myers, Jr. (Washington D.C., 1988), pp. 145-159. See also Brian Mac Cuarta 'Mathew De Renzy's letters on Irish affairs 1613-1620', *Analecta Hibernica*, 34 (1987), pp. 107-182; NA, SP63/228/15.

[34] BL, Cotton MS Titus B XII, fols. 111-117.

was a fragile state and barbarism extremely resilient.[35] Civility had to be maintained constantly or there was a risk of degeneration. The Old English writer Edward Walshe, for example, argued that without the civilizing effects of English law and justice, "evin Englishe bloodes wax wylde Yrishe".[36] If English civility was fragile, Welsh civility was even more so. The new presentation of Welsh history encouraged some to question contemporary Welsh civility and loyalty, often reflecting that these qualities had only developed recently. It is little wonder, therefore, that at the same time that New English understandings of Welsh history began to change, their view of contemporary Welshmen also altered.

Worries about the Welsh in Ireland also seem to have stemmed from the belief that the Welsh and Irish were somehow similar. Indeed, Welsh examples were used to support English policies in Ireland because it was felt that Irish society was beset by the same problems that had once plagued Wales. This implied, of course, that there were basic similarities between the two peoples. Linguistic similarities between the Welsh and Irish were commonly noted. Edmund Spenser, for example, claimed that Irish "speech is the very Brittish, the which was generally used in all Britain before the coming of the Saxons, and yet is retained of the Welshman, the Cornishman and the Britons of France".[37] Shared language implied a shared cultural heritage and, given Spenser's understanding of inherent ethnic characteristics, certainly also suggested deeper ethnic and blood connections between what we would now call the Celtic peoples. Other similarities were also recognised. Gerald of Wales, whose works remained extremely influential, had ascribed similar attributes to both races, and argued that they shared similar temperaments. For example, he wrote that "the Irish and Welsh are more prone to anger and revenge in this life than other nations".[38] Spenser also disapprovingly noted cultural similarities between the Welsh and the Irish. Attacking the Irish bardic tradition, he noted that it was "usual among the Gauls,

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[35] Thomas Healey, *New latitudes: theory and English Renaissance literature* (London, 1992), pp. 90, 103; Willy Maley, *Salvaging Spenser: colonialism, culture and identity* (Basingstoke and New York, 1997), p. 6.
[36] D.B. Quinn, 'Edward Walshe's "Conjectures concerning the state of Ireland [1552]", *Irish Historical Studies*, 5 (1947), p. 316.
[37] Edmund Spenser, *A view of the present state of Ireland*, edited by W. L. Renwick (Oxford, 1970), pp. 45-6.
[38] Gerald of Wales, *The journey through Wales and the description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London, 1978), pp. 189, 236, 256, 262.

and is not yet altogether left off by the Welsh, which are their posterity".[39] He also sneered that the Irish "boast themselves to be gentlemen, no less than the Welshmen".[40] Spenser clearly demonstrated his belief in, and disapproval of, enduring cultural connections between the Welsh and the Irish. The Irish were presented in part as an unreformed version of the Welsh, while the Welsh emerged as retaining troublesome elements of their barbaric past.[41]

The clearest example of this suspicion of the Welsh in Ireland is a collection of nine reports "by divers Welshmen concerning the Earl of Tyrone" taken in Glamorgan and Breconshire in January 1599.[42] The authorship of this document is unknown, and it is not clear whether the depositions are real or fabricated. It was certainly compiled by someone with knowledge of Wales as the place-names are accurate, the use of Welsh is correct, and there is no attempt to depict the deponents as comic stereotypes. It is, of course, possible that the depositions are genuine, although this would suggest a level of rebelliousness, anti-English feeling and solidarity with the Irish that does not surface in other evidence relating to early modern Wales.[43] It is more likely that they are a clever fabrication by someone who did not trust the Welsh presence in Ireland and wished to warn the Irish authorities of the potential danger they posed. The reports revive the old understandings of the dangerous Welshman. They present the Welsh as rebellious, two-faced and obsessed with prophecies of their own return to independence and power. Additionally, here we find a new, ominous, idea that the Welsh might join with the Irish to overthrow the English.

The reports focus on the Earl of Tyrone, whose rebellion was at its height in 1599. One deponent claimed that the rebel leader was called the "Earle of Terowyne, w[hi]ch is a worde of Welshe w[hi]ch is in Englishe the Earle of Owyns lands assuringe that he descended of [the fifteenth-century Welsh rebel] Owyne Glyne Dwr" and that "there was a prophesie the Earl of Terone should prevaile against the English nation". Like those New English commentators advocating coercive policies

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[39] Spenser, *View*, p. 62.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 145.
[41] The belief that the Welsh would revert back to their barbaric nature if circumstances changed can also be found in debates over exempting English shires from the jurisdiction of the Council in the Marches of Wales: NA, SP14/31/36.
[42] NA, SP63/203/16.
[43] Jenkins, 'Seventeenth-century Wales', p. 215.

in Ireland, this deponent drew a link between contemporary Ireland and the history of Welsh resistance against the English. The deposition played on the widely-acknowledged Welsh obsession with lineage and prophecy to imply that the Welsh would aid the Irish rebellion. It also attempted to reverse the view that the Welsh and English were united against the Irish 'other'. The Welsh and Irish were said to be connected by descent and language through Tyrone's ancestry and name. The two peoples were contrasted directly "against the English nation", so here it is the English, and not the Irish, who are presented as the 'other' for their 'Celtic' antagonists. Other deponents also articulated fears about a Cambro-Hibernic alliance. One claimed Tyrone "was proclaimed Kinge of Irelande and Prince of Wales, and that he had friends in Wales that looked for hym in regarde he was both favourable and bowntifull to Welshmen". Another deposed that Tyrone had 500 Welshmen in his army who were paid double wages. Here Tyrone was styled as a joint Cambro-Hibernic monarch with strong support in Wales. The rebellion was presented as nothing less than a united bid for independence from England.

The depositions also play on the notion that there was support throughout Welsh society for Tyrone's rebellion. When one of the deponents was asked where he had obtained his information, he replied "some of the best had tolde hym", and specifically mentioned the support of a member of the Breconshire gentry. The final deposition stands out, as it provided a clear message for English government in Ireland. The deponent states that "no Welshmen should be used in service against the Irishe men because they were not to be trusted". These clearly were not the loyal Welsh subjects which underwrote the 'Welsh policy'. Rather the Welsh were presented as a dangerous and insidious people who saw the Irish rebellion as an opportunity to join forces with their Celtic cousins and throw off their hated English oppressors. They were more similar to the Irish than the English, and became a dangerous ethnically different group who "were not to be trusted".[44]

Although they are unique in the vehemence of their anti-Welshness, the 1599 reports are not the only evidence for English worries about the Welsh in Ireland. Rather, they reflect the most extreme example of a more widely held concern. The presence of the

[44] NA, SP63/203/16.

Welsh in the army was a particular cause for anxiety. Welsh soldiers were easily identifiable in Ireland. They were largely monoglot and thus kept together, often with Welsh officers. It is unlikely that many of these would have mixed extensively with their English counterparts, most of whom would never have seen such large groups of Welshmen and who probably treated them with suspicion. Indeed on occasions violent quarrels took place between Welsh and English troops, such as that at Chester in March 1596.[45] As early as 1540 rumours circulated among Anglo-Irish officers that all Welshmen were to be discharged from the Irish army because of their ill discipline and untrustworthy nature.[46] As we have seen, the Welsh made up a considerable proportion of the army in Ireland. The presence of such a large group of armed men of dubious loyalty makes it little surprise that the author of the 1599 depositions felt that the Welsh should be kept out of the army.

English concerns about the reliability of Welsh troops were partly realised when large numbers of Welsh soldiers followed the Earl of Essex from Ireland to take part in his rebellion in 1601. David J. Baker has convincingly shown that Shakespeare reflects English reactions to this. Baker argues that the Essex rebellion reminded the English of the danger the Welsh posed and that this was reflected in *Henry V*, which contained clear analogies between Essex's attempt to defeat the Irish rebellion and Henry V's campaign in France. One of the sub-plots of the play ends with the Welsh Captain Fluellen beating and humiliating the obnoxious Captain Pistol. Baker points out that this scene is included in the later folio version of the play but not the quarto version published shortly after the rebellion. He argues that the scene had been cut as it had lost its humorous edge and rather reminded the English of the recent danger posed by Welsh soldiers.[47] The Welsh soldier in Ireland, and in the case of the Essex rebellion the Welsh soldier returning from Ireland, therefore, was a figure of questionable loyalty in the minds of many English men and women.

Welsh gentlemen, of course, served in trusted positions in Ireland as officers, administrators and planters. Yet even these elite Welsh figures had their loyalty

[45] NA, SP63/187/33.
[46] NA, SP60/9/27. For more on the concerns about Welsh troops in Ireland during the reign of Henry VIII, see Steven G. Ellis, 'The Tudors and the origins of the modern Irish states: a standing army', in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (eds.), *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 127-8.
[47] David J. Baker, *Between nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the question of Britain* (Stanford, 1997), pp. 32, 56.

questioned, in part because of their Welsh origins. For example, the Munster settler Sir William Herbert's long-running disputes with his fellow planters brought critical responses from them concerning his Welshness. In a letter of July 1589, one of the most prominent Munster planters, Sir Edward Denny, wrote to Walsingham complaining that Herbert had become too close to his Irish tenants. Denny argued that Herbert wished to gain "glory and thanks among the Irish", and would "plead for them more than is fit". This, Denny claimed, was a result of Herbert's "Welsh humour".[48] At the very least, Denny implied that Herbert's Welshness made him too soft on the Irish. It might be argued, however, that he was drawing on the same sensibility which inspired the 1599 reports, that the Welsh were naturally predisposed to favour the Irish and that this was dangerous to New English interests.

Another Welsh figure who was subject to attacks that played on his Welsh origin was Sir John Perrot. Although the Lord Deputy's Welshness is rarely mentioned in modern histories, it was widely recognised by contemporaries. In 1585, for example, Perrot complained to Walsingham that slanders had emerged in Ireland during his journey to Ulster that reported "that the Walshe man (meaning & naming me) was overthrowne there".[49] Like Herbert, Perrot was attacked for treating the Irish with too much kindness, which is ironic given his violent record in the country.[50] It is in Perrot's fall, however, that the connection of Welshness with disloyalty and a willingness to collaborate with England's enemies was most clearly articulated. Although Perrot's treason trial has been the subject of several studies, none have focused on the language used against him in court, language which drew heavily on his Welsh origin.[51]

The accusations against Perrot, largely assembled in Ireland, were multi-faceted. He was accused of malicious speeches against the Queen, maintaining traitors in his government, and of offering aid to Spanish enemies and Irish rebels.[52] The final and

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[48] *CSPI 1588-92*, pp. 221-2.
[49] NA, SP63/116/4.
[50] Spenser, *View*, pp. 108-9.
[51] For Perrot's trial, see Hiram Morgan, 'The fall of Sir John Perrot', in John Guy (ed.), *The reign of Elizabeth I: court and culture in the last decade* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 105-125; Roger Turvey, *The treason and trial of Sir John Perrot* (Cardiff, 2005).
[52] Thomas Bayly Howell (ed.), *Complete collection of state trials*, (London, 1809) vol. 1, p. 1318; Morgan, 'The fall of Sir John Perrot', p. 122; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 4, pp. 193-6.

most serious charge rested on a letter produced by an Irish priest-catcher named Dennis O'Roughan that was supposedly sent by Perrot to the King of Spain in 1585. Although quite clearly a forgery, in it Perrot promised to deliver Ireland and England to the Spanish in return for the grant of the "[w]holl[e] land of Wall[e]s".[53] Whoever it was that forged the letter, they clearly felt that playing on the Lord Deputy's Welsh background would tap into contemporary fears and concerns about the untrustworthiness of the Welsh.

A further list of accusations against Perrot compiled by Attorney General Popham and Solicitor General Egerton also emphasised the Welsh dimension of his crimes. They claimed Perrot told the Spanish to invade England through Milford Haven, from whence Perrot would use his "great alliance in Wales" to raise an army.[54] Perrot's plan thus was a repeat of Henry VII's invasion that had taken place a century earlier, which must have made it seem more threatening to the jurors. Indeed, Wales featured prominently in Perrot's trial.[55] Popham claimed Perrot had always been frustrated in Ireland because the New English members of the Irish Privy Council had limited his power and so "he sought to come away, with an intent to make himself a ruler in Wales".[56] Popham at least seems to have seen the promise of Wales as a central part of Perrot's treason. Indeed so it proved as his involvement in the supposed invasion plan took up much of the second part of the trial, including O'Roughan's accusation that Perrot would have Wales "*Jure Regio*, to be a Prince and Lord himself".[57] Intriguingly Perrot's presentation at his trial is reminiscent of that of the Earl of Tyrone in the 1599 reports. They were both argued to be a danger to English rule in Wales and Ireland and both were also discussed as aspiring monarchs of an independent Wales. Perrot's trial reveals how the language of the suspicious and dangerous Welshman could taint lord deputies as well as largely monoglot soldiers.

Several tracts written about Ireland during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries show more generalised anxieties about Welsh trustworthiness in Ireland, even to the extent of rebellion. The anonymous 1599 tract, *A Dialogue between*

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[53] NA, SP63/150/44I.
[54] NA, SP12/241/7I.
[55] Turvey, *Treason and Trial*, pp. 136-64.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 157-63.

Peregryne and Sylvyn argued that an Irish rebellion could trigger a domino effect that would result in a revolt in Wales. Its author wrote that should Ireland "be cut off from England (as God forbid it should) it would make the ould brutes of Wales, to loke about them, more then they doe nowe".[58] The Welsh here were not loyal subjects, but like the Irish, a defeated people who would take any opportunity to regain their independence. Once more this recalls the allegations of the 1599 depositions and demonstrates how New English fears about the Irish could easily develop into concerns about the Welsh.

These ideas were also present in the writings of Mathew de Renzy during the early seventeenth century, but here were presented with a more Spenserian emphasis on ethnic difference as a source of conflict. De Renzy was an Irish settler of German origin who presented himself as an Englishman. He argued in a letter of 1616 to Lord Deputy St John that, other than the native Irish lords, there were three main threats to English rule in Ireland, "the Burks, Gereltines and Welschmen".[59] Although De Renzy, perhaps aware that St John had Welsh kin and allies, limited his criticism of the Welsh to those who "are bred here [in Ireland]", he clearly presented the Welsh as a distinct ethnic group. He argued that the Irish would willingly ally with the Welsh for they are "not of the Saxen or English blood", and claimed descent from the ancient Britons. This he believed made them untrustworthy, a group to which, "wee ought to have an ey".[60] Like the author of *A Dialogue between Peregryne and Sylvyn*, De Renzy's fears about the Irish led him to distrust other groups that were different from the English and to worry about the threat that an alliance between Welsh settlers and the native Irish would pose. By adding the issue of "English blood", however, De Renzy took the argument further and conceptualised the Welsh as ethnically 'other'. In the opinion of some English writers in Ireland, therefore, the Welsh were not peacefully assimilated members of the English state, but rather potential rebels of suspect bloodlines who could throw off the mask of civility and the shackles of English rule.

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[58] NA, SP63/203/119, fols. 138-9.
[59] The Burkes and Geraldines were Old English noble families. De Renzy argued that they could not be trusted as they claimed descent from continental noble families rather than England.
[60] Brian Mac Cuarta, 'Mathew De Renzy's letters on Irish affairs 1613-1620', *Analecta Hibernica*, 34 (1987), pp. 122-8.

This period thus saw a significant change in the ways in which many of the New English conceptualised the Welsh in Ireland. In the early decades of Elizabeth's reign the Welsh were presented as paragons of reform, an example for the Irish to follow. Despite the supposedly unifying effect of war, however, the conflicts of the 1580s and 1590s emphasised the differences between the English and the Welsh in the minds of some New English commentators. This was clearly a problem when unity was required against the native Irish. The Welsh were too close to the enemy for comfort. From lowly soldier to lord deputy, as individuals and as a group, the Welsh in Ireland were presented as untrustworthy, of dubious loyalty and potential rebels. In the ethnically-divided world of post-1580s Ireland, Welshness lost its association with loyalty and civility and become rather a source of division within the New English community. This, it will be suggested, provoked a reaction from the Welsh in Ireland who tried to construct a distinct identity for themselves re-emphasising their position as valued subjects of the English state. We will now examine how the Welsh in Ireland attempted to recast themselves as loyal members of the colonial community.

The Welsh and Irish history: a 'New Welsh' identity?

This section explores how Welsh migrants confronted New English suspicions about their allegiance, and concerns that they might cooperate with the Irish. By focusing on *The Chronicle of Ireland* (1633) by the Welsh clergyman Meredith Hanmer, it is argued that although Welsh history could raise doubts about the Welsh it could also provide the materials for defending Welsh loyalty. Hanmer's history was written in the style of contemporary Welsh antiquarian chronicles that attempted to use the past to present the Welsh as loyal and important members of the British state. The *Chronicle* did the same, but in an Irish context, and drew on historical themes that were central to New English identity. Specifically, Hanmer's work emphasised the important role that Wales and the Welsh had played in establishing English sovereignty in Ireland, particularly during the original Norman conquest. Hanmer thus created a vision of Irish history that highlighted loyal Welsh service in Ireland and gave them a privileged position in the colonial community as descendents of the original conquerors: a clear riposte to the anti-Welsh sentiment in Ireland after the 1580s. *The Chronicle*, it is argued, offers evidence for the dissemination of a distinct

Welsh identity within an Irish context, something that could be described as a 'New Welsh' identity.

The Welsh in Ireland were well aware of the anti-Welsh sentiments held by some members of the New English. In 1590 Sir William Herbert received a letter from Jenkin Conway, the Welsh captain he had appointed to lead the Monmouthshire contingent sent to Ireland that year. Conway wrote that he had, upon viewing the men at Bristol, replaced seventeen soldiers and bought better weaponry because he feared "that if I should aryve at Ireland wthowte furnishinge of my men accordingly, that ther be some that would saye yew is a rude Welcheman and [have a] ragged Welche companie".[61] Being Welsh marked Herbert and Conway out as different in the New English community, and put them at risk of ridicule as rustic and poverty-stricken Welshmen. Anxieties about other negative stereotypes can be found in Sir John Perrot's letter to the Queen about the attempt on her life by Dr William Parry in 1585. Perrot, whose own loyalty to the monarch was already being questioned, assured the Queen he was sorry Parry had "so much as birth or name out of anie part of Wales", and that his character was not Welsh but rather had been "transformed" by papistry and Italy.[62] It is likely that Perrot's defence of the Welsh character against charges of treason and Catholicism was necessitated by the attacks that he faced in Ireland, which were tinged by ideas of Welsh untrustworthiness. Such statements are rare but they indicate Welsh concerns about their negative portrayal. Moreover, Perrot's letter to the Queen shows that the Welsh were not only concerned about anti-Welsh views, but also that they tried to counter them.

Hanmer's *Chronicle* can be seen as part of this attempt by the Welsh to defend themselves against New English suspicion. What makes it more interesting than Perrot's defence of the Welsh is that Hanmer offered an alternative to the image of the semi-barbarous and deceitful Welshman. He did this by delving into the Irish and Welsh past and drawing attention to the important role that the Welsh had played in the history of the New English community in Ireland. In so doing Hanmer was writing within an established tradition of Welsh antiquarianism that had become vital to the

[61] NA, SP30/53/7/3.
[62] Bodleian Library, Perrot MS 1, fols. 82-3.

formation, restructuring and perpetuation of Welsh identity in the early modern period.

The second half of the sixteenth century saw the publication of a series of works by Welsh antiquarians, including John Prise, Humphrey Lhuyd and David Powel, that chronicled Wales's history from the ancient British past until the Tudor period.[63] In many ways these were traditional texts that focused on the Welsh claim of descent from the original inhabitants of Britain and its mythical founder, Brutus of Troy.[64] They were, however, also more than this. The Welsh antiquarians reinterpreted Welsh history in a manner that suited the realities of post-union Wales and provided the materials from which a new Cambro-British identity could be constructed.[65] Their aim was to encourage unity within a communal British nation, while emphasising the Welsh role as the original founders of that nation and still maintaining a distinct Welsh identity. They were able to do so, of course, because the Tudor dynasty was itself of Welsh or British descent and used Cambro-British myths to legitimise its power in Britain, Ireland and the New World.[66] The Welsh antiquarians praised the Tudor state and predicted that the restoration of the natural unity of Britain would restore the glories of the ancient British empire.[67] They also aimed to legitimise the Protestant reformation in Wales by arguing that it was a restoration of an ancient British church that had been usurped by Catholicism.[68] These pro-union sentiments, however, were accompanied by a powerful emphasis on the importance of the Welsh. They highlighted the role their ancestors had played in keeping the line of British kings alive and emphasised the Welsh origins of contemporary English claims to

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[63] Humphrey Lhuyd, *The Breviary of Britayne*, trans. Thomas Twyne (London, 1573); David Powel, *The historie of Cambria, now called Wales* (London, 1584); Alan MacColl, 'Meaning of "Britain" in medieval and early modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006), p. 249.

[64] The link between the Welsh and the ancient British was so strong that often the term 'British' was interchangeable with 'Welsh'. For an example of this usage in Ireland, see NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 15280.

[65] Jenkins, 'Seventeenth-century Wales', pp. 226-30; J. Gwynfor Jones, 'The Welsh Gentry and the image of the 'Cambro-Briton', c.1603-25', *Welsh History Review*, 20 (2001), pp. 621-4; Schwyzer, *Literature, nationalism and memory*, pp. 40, 95; Peter Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, national identity and the British inheritance', in Bradshaw and Roberts, *British consciousness and identity*, pp. 8-42.

[66] For a summary of the importance of British history for the Tudors, see Philip Schwyzer, 'British history and "The British history" the same old story?', in David J. Baker and Willy Maley (eds.), *British identities and English Renaissance literature* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 11-23.

[67] Schwyzer, 'British history and "The British history" the same old story?', p. 18; Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser's Irish Experience: wilde fruit and salvage soyl* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 91-2; Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, national identity and the British inheritance', pp. 23-6.

[68] Peter Roberts, 'The union with England and the identity of Anglican Wales', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 22 (1972), pp. 67-9.

hegemony in Britain and beyond. These texts thus presented the Welsh as loyal subjects of the British nation, while asserting that they had played an honourable and important role in its history.[69] They were also the first studies to treat Wales as a separate unit for serious historical analysis, helping to maintain an independent sense of Welsh history and culture.[70] These texts were vital to the creation of what has come to be seen as a Cambro-British identity. The Welsh could present themselves as Cambro-Britons, Welsh by birth and able to maintain their Welsh national heritage and traditions, but also loyal subjects of the British crown and able to participate fully in the English state as equals.[71] Welsh writers thus drew on a particular version of history to present a distinctive British and Protestant identity.

The Welsh in Ireland retained their sense of this distinctive heritage. Even second- or third-generation migrants demonstrated a pride in their Cambro-British descent. For example, the planter Robert Bowen of Ballyadams, Queen's County, was a second-generation settler who only ever lived in Ireland. On 6 December 1608 he purchased a pedigree from Thomas Johnes (Twm Siôn Catti) of Fountain Gate, Cardiganshire. The pedigree firmly located Bowen within a Cambro-British context. It described the planter as "Robert ap John ap Thomas ap Owain of Balliadams", and traced his descent to Welsh royalty such as Rhys ap Tudur, Howell Dda and Cadwalader, as well as ancient Kings of Britain and Brutus himself.[72] Although an Irish-born New English official, Bowen's pedigree was that of a traditional Welsh gentleman, which focused on the noble blood of heroic Cambro-British ancestors. This desire to celebrate Welsh descent can also be found in pedigrees ordered by the Irish Jones family, descendents of Lewis Jones, Bishop of Killaloe, during the 1640s and 1650s.[73] A noble Cambro-British descent thus remained a central strand of Welsh migrant identity in Ireland even after several generations.

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[69] Jenkins, 'Seventeenth-century Wales', pp. 226-30; Schwyzer, *Literature, nationalism and memory*, p. 95.
[70] Jenkins, 'Seventeenth-century Wales', p. 213; Schwyzer, *Literature, nationalism and memory*, pp. 40, 86.
[71] Jones, 'The Welsh Gentry and the image of the 'Cambro-Briton'', pp. 621-4. A dual Scottish-British identity also emerged during the seventeenth century: Steve Murdoch, 'James VI and the formation of a Scottish-British military identity', in Steve Murdoch and A. Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for identity: Scottish military experience, c.1550-1900* (Brill, 2002), p. 25.
[72] NLI, Genealogical Office MS 160, fols. 54-8.
[73] NLI, Genealogical Office MS 96, fol. 59; MS 177, fols. 301-7.

The continued importance of British ancestry in Ireland demonstrates the persistence of a distinct Welsh identity among Welsh settlers in Ireland. Although this is, of course, important, Meredith Hanmer's *Chronicle* offers us an insight into something more interesting: a unique Welsh settler identity. Hanmer's history had the same aim as those written by Welsh antiquarians: it presented the Welsh as loyal and important to wider British society by demonstrating their key role in establishing English power. Hanmer, however, aimed to demonstrate the Welsh role in *Irish* history and their importance for establishing *New English* power. In order to understand how he did this it is necessary to examine the foundations of New English identity, in particular how they interpreted their shared past and legitimated their right to rule in Ireland.[74]

In part New English identity appropriated the medieval origins of the Old English, who traced their ancestry to the original Norman invaders.[75] The New English venerated the original invaders of Ireland, but argued that the medieval invasion had failed due to the corruption and degeneration of their descendents (the Old English). They legitimised their own power in Ireland by presenting themselves, and not the Old English, as the spiritual heirs of the original conquest, which they claimed to be completing and perfecting.[76] New English understandings of Irish history relied primarily on Gerald of Wales's twelfth-century *Expugnatio Hibernica*, which was written from the point of view of the original invaders, many of whom were half-Welsh and members of Gerald's family.[77] The importance of Gerald's work to New English understandings of their past, it will be suggested, enabled Meredith Hanmer to write a history of the Irish conquest that emphasised the role of the Welsh.

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[74] It has been well established that Scottish migrants to Ireland maintained their national identities, largely due to a sense of competition with the English that continued even after 1603. Generally, therefore, the New English are understood as being composed of English and Welsh migrants only: Maley, 'The British problem', pp. 159-170; Canny, 'Identity formation in Ireland', p. 160; Philip S. Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster: British settlement in an Irish landscape, 1600-1670* (Dublin and New York, 1984), p. 109.

[75] Colin Kidd, *British identities before nationalism: ethnicity and nationhood in the Atlantic world, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 162. It should be noted, however, that some New English distanced themselves from the original conquerors. Spenser, for example, felt that they had only been half civil: Canny, 'Identity formation in Ireland', pp. 169.

[76] Kidd, *British identities before nationalism*, p. 162; Canny, 'Identity formation in Ireland', pp. 163-8; Hiram Morgan, 'Giraldus Cambrensis and the Tudor conquest of Ireland', in his *Political ideology in Ireland, 1541-1641* (Dublin, 1999), p. 43.

[77] John Gillingham, 'The English invasion of Ireland', in Brendan Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (eds.), *Representing Ireland: literature and the origin of conflict, 1534-1660* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 24; Alan Ford, 'James Ussher and the creation of an Irish Protestant identity', in Bradshaw and Roberts, *British consciousness and identity*, p. 189; Morgan, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', pp. 28-43.

The New English also drew on mythical British history in order to support their hegemony in Ireland. Like the Tudor and Stuart monarchs, they wished to use British myths to emphasise the antiquity, and therefore legitimacy, of their rule. The British myths used by the New English had mostly been chronicled by Gerald (though originally from Geoffrey of Monmouth), who argued that the native Irish were descended from a group of Basque refugees granted their homeland by the British King, Gurguntius. This was further supported by Gerald's claim that King Arthur had received the submission of the Irish chiefs.[78] British history was used to demonstrate that Ireland was naturally part of Britain and, in the words of Gerald of Wales, "the lawful possession of the Kings of Britain".[79] This allowed the New English to style themselves as liberators of a royal possession from ungrateful and rebellious subjects, and not as conquistadors.[80] Contemporary English projects in Ireland were, therefore, underwritten by British mythical histories that were closely linked to Welsh culture.[81] This British element to New English identity played a major part in Hanmer's version of Irish history.[82]

The New English also presented themselves as leaders of a divinely-ordained mission to civilise and convert Ireland to Protestantism. This was largely driven by the works of the Irish-educated New English Protestant clergy that emerged in the early seventeenth century. Figures such as Archbishop James Ussher attempted to appropriate Irish culture and history for the Protestant cause by arguing, like the

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[78] Gerald of Wales, *The History and topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (London, 1982), pp. 99-100; A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (eds.), *Expugnatio Hibernica: The conquest of Ireland* (Dublin, 1978), p. 149.

[79] Scott and Martin, *Expugnatio*, p. 253.

[80] Even Spenser, who rejected the Basque origin of the Irish in preference for Scythia, argued that "it appeareth by good record yet extant, that King Arthur, and before him Gurgunt, had all that island in his allegiance and subjection": Spenser, *View*, p. 46.

[81] Even those who questioned the reliability of the British myths found evidence of British claims to Ireland in ancient texts such as the works of Tacitus. William Camden, *Britain, or A chronological description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1637), p. 65.

[82] Despite recent attempts to identify a modern British identity among settlers in Ireland, the term was rarely used there except as a catch-all label in the Ulster plantation for English, Scottish and Welsh settlers. Few, if any, settlers would have thought of themselves as British in the modern sense of a shared identity for the peoples of the British Isles: Colley, 'Britishness and otherness', pp. 309-29; Christopher Ivic, 'Mapping British identities: Speed's theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine', in Baker and Maley, *British identities and English Renaissance literature*, p. 143; Jane H. Ohlmeyer, 'The Old British histories?', *The Historical Journal*, 50 (2007), pp. 503-4. For examples of the use of the term 'British', see *CSPI 1608-10*, p. 339; *CSPI 1611-4*, p. 205; Henry Morley (ed.), *Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1890), p. 383.

Welsh antiquarians in Wales, that the early Irish Church had been Protestant and that the English mission in Ireland was to destroy the Catholic usurpation and restore the true Irish faith.[83] This Protestant claim to the ancient Irish Church, it will be shown, could also be used to emphasise a Welsh role in Irish history.

A New English identity had thus emerged that laid claim to Irish and Old English history while distancing itself from the Catholic Irish and corrupted Old English. Hanmer's *Chronicle* is a fusion of this New English tradition and the Cambro-British histories of Prise and Lhuyd. His history focused on historical interaction between Wales and Ireland, "two nations" that he believed "conversed much one with another".[84] He emphasised the long history of Welsh involvement with Ireland and, most importantly, identified the key role that the Welsh played in the Norman conquest of the country. By highlighting the importance of Welshmen in the history of Irish colonialism, it will be suggested, Hanmer's history offered Welsh migrants the materials to present themselves as loyal and important members of the British community in Ireland.

Meredith Hanmer (1543-1604) was born at Porkington in Shropshire, the son of Thomas Hanmer a scion of the Flintshire Hanmers.[85] He was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and became vicar of Hanmer, Flintshire, between 1574 and 1584, before serving in a London parish until 1591. His career was blighted by accusations about his personal life and his departure for Ireland in 1591 was almost certainly an attempt to escape them. There, through the patronage of the Earl of Ormond and John Norris, Hanmer held a series of benefices. During the 1590s he devoted himself to the study of Irish history. He collected and preserved Irish manuscripts, which can be found in the *Irish State Papers*, and produced his

[83] Kidd, *British identities before nationalism*, pp. 164-8; Ford, 'James Ussher and the creation of an Irish Protestant identity', pp. 185-212.
[84] James Ware (ed.), *Two histories of Ireland. The one written by Edmund Campion, the other by Meredith Hanmer Dr of Divinity* (Dublin, 1633) vol. 2, pp. 118, 129.
[85] Although Hanmer was not born in Wales, the positive portrayal of the Welsh in the *Chronicle* and his service in Flintshire suggest that he saw himself as Welsh. Indeed, he has generally been described as such: Ford, 'James Ussher and the creation of an Irish Protestant identity', p. 191; Morgan, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', p. 41.

Chronicle of Ireland.[86] The work was published posthumously as part of James Ware's *The Historie of Ireland* (1633).[87]

The *Chronicle* is a history of Ireland from the mythical past down to 1284. On initial inspection Hanmer's history seems to be a quintessential New English text combining a sixteenth-century emphasis on British myth and the Norman conquest with an emerging Protestant history of Ireland. It rehearses the traditional New English mix of historical and mythical claims to Ireland including Gurguntius's grant, the submission of the Irish to King Arthur, the Irish submission to Henry II in 1171 and the less-frequently cited claims arising from the defeat of the Irish by the British ruler Malgo and the fealty paid by the Irish to Cadwalader in 685.[88] It also attempts to present the early Irish church in a positive light, ascribing Protestant views to St Patrick and describing how Irish monks converted "thousands in the true faith".[89] It is, however, an unusually Welsh text that draws its information not just from Irish or Old English sources but from the works of Welsh antiquaries such as Lhuyd and Powel.[90] Both Lhuyd and Powel (the latter of whom Hanmer termed the "great antiquarie of Britaine") are central sources in the *Chronicle* and its style is reminiscent of the contemporary Welsh works.[91] This is not a history solely of Ireland then, but rather a truly British history in the old Welsh tradition that concerned itself primarily with the interactions between the constituent peoples of the British Isles, with a special interest in the Welsh and the Irish.

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[86] Alan Ford, 'Hanmer, Meredith (1543–1604)', *ODNB*, vol. 25, pp. 63-4. Hanmer's Irish manuscripts can be found in, *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 661-87.

[87] Two versions of this tract exist one entitled, *The historie of Ireland, collected by three learned authors viz. Meredith Hanmer Doctor in Divinitie: Edmund Campion sometime fellow of St Iohns Colledge in Oxford: and Edmund Spenser Esq* (1633), and the other *Two histories of Ireland. The one written by Edmund Campion, the other by Meredith Hanmer Dr of Divinity* (1633). Both were published by Thomas Harper of London and both contain Spenser's *A view of the present state of Ireland.*

[88] Ware, *Two histories of Ireland*, vol. 2, pp. 15, 50-1, 67, 70, 133.

[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 86-7.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[91] Indeed in some places Hanmer seems to have appropriated directly from the Welsh antiquaries. For example, in one of the imagined speeches that pepper the *Chronicle*, Hanmer makes Dermot, the King of Leinster, declare "The lawes of all Nations doe permit, and allow to resist and withstand force and injury, with force and strength". This is probably an adaptation from Powel's *Historie of Cambria*, which states "by the law of nature it is lawfull for all men to withstand force by force": *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 117; Powel, *The historie of Cambria*, pp. x-xi.

Hanmer's *Chronicle* begins with a discussion of the origins of the Irish people. He outlines many of the traditional origin myths before turning to the Irish language, which he argued had "affinity with no tongue (as I can learne) more than with the British language".[92] This begins a major theme of his history, the interaction of the Irish with the ancient British and later the Welsh. Drawing on Welsh sources, Hanmer demonstrated the close relationship that existed between the nobility of Ireland and Wales throughout the early medieval period. He stated that the British and the Irish "oft matched together, so that there grew among them great alliance and affinity" and drew attention to Cambro-Hibernic marriages and co-operation throughout.[93] He also portrayed the Irish as major political players in Wales and, to a lesser extent, the Welsh as being influential in Irish politics. He drew attention to the manner in which defeated or exiled Welsh nobles took refuge in Ireland and conversely "when there was any trouble in Ireland, they [the Irish nobility] fled to Wales".[94] Hanmer even argued, when drawing on the traditional Welsh legend, that Prince Madoc took Irish soldiers with him on his journey to discover Florida and thus it was "discovered by Britaines and Irish men".[95] Hanmer's *Chronicle*, in a manner reminiscent of the 'Irish Sea Province' histories of the mid-twentieth century, characterised the early medieval period as a time of frequent Cambro-Irish interaction. His detailed discussion of Cambro-Hibernic political relations had two clear purposes. Firstly, it was an attempt to consolidate New English claims to Ireland based on British history by situating Ireland in a thoroughly British political and cultural realm. Secondly, it aimed to demonstrate that Wales was key to this important element of New English identity.

Hanmer also traced religious contacts between the Welsh and the Irish in order to demonstrate a pure and proto-Protestant early Irish Church. He argued that many Irish monks trained at the monastery of Bangor in north Wales, established by Congellus who also founded the monastery of Bangor in Ulster. He portrayed the early British and Irish Christians as a closely connected network spanning the Irish Sea, and argued that such evidence disproved the argument that the early Irish Church was separate from the early British Church. Indeed, he argued that the interaction of these scholars

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[92] Ware, *Two histories of Ireland*, vol. 2, p. 9.
[93] See for example, *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9, 69, 93, 98-9.
[94] Hanmer illustrates this with examples throughout the *Chronicle*: *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 68, 92-9, 105-6.
[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-1.

"should reconcile Britaine and Ireland now being in one".[96] By arguing that the ancient British and Irish churches were one, Hanmer extended the mythical Protestant tradition into his adopted homeland. Thus, like other New English commentators, Hanmer presented Catholicism as a usurping faith. Again, however, Wales plays a central role in Hanmer's understanding of this key element of New English identity.

The *Chronicle* becomes most interesting during Hanmer's lengthy discussion of the medieval invasion and settlement of Ireland. Like most histories of the time, Hanmer's interpretation of the Norman invasion was essentially a retelling of *Expugnatio Hibernica*, which presented the Cambro-Norman lords, led by Strongbow, as the leading figures in the conquest.[97] Although Gerald emphasised the dual racial origin of his heroes and separated them from the English as "men of our race", he did not conceptualise the invaders as Welsh.[98] Like Gerald, Hanmer presented the Cambro-Norman lords as the heroes of his history. Their Welshness, however, was made far more overt in his account.

Due to his close attention to early medieval Cambro-Irish political interaction, Hanmer's version of the Norman conquest is contextualised as the most important of a series of invasions from Ireland into Wales and Wales into Ireland. Thus Hanmer used Welsh history to legitimise the conquest as part of a historical tradition, rather than an unprecedented invasion by conquistadors. The importance of the Welsh in the conquest runs throughout Hanmer's history. As in Gerald's *Expugnatio*, the English monarchy is portrayed as a marginal player until very late in the conquest, with the impetus for the invasion clearly coming from Wales. Hanmer also referred to both the leaders and rank and file of the conquerors as Welsh, British or Cambrians throughout.[99] Early in the *Chronicle* Hanmer declared that "the first conquerors in Henry the Second's times, that broke the ice into this land, were Welchmen".[100] He

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[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-67.
[97] Gillingham, 'The English invasion of Ireland', p. 24; Morgan, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', pp. 22-44.
[98] Scott and Martin, *Expugnatio*, pp. 49, 81, 157, 243; Gillingham, 'The English invasion of Ireland', p. 33. Cambrensis also referred to the invaders' 'Trojan' heritage, which was generally understood to mean Welsh.
[99] It is possible that he was inspired in this by John Hooker's 1586 translation of *Expugnatio* that replaced "men of our race" with "Cambrians": Raphael Holinshed, *The second volume of the chronicles*, (London, 1586), p. 55; Morgan, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', pp. 37-9; Ware, *Two histories of Ireland*, vol. 2, p. 168.
[100] Ware, *Two histories of Ireland*, vol. 2, p. 11.

produced genealogies of the leading invaders that show their descent from Nest, daughter of the Welsh prince Rhys ap Tudur, and demonstrate that major Old English families, such as the Geraldines, Barries, Prendergasts, Welches, Whites, Goughs and MacWilliams, were descended from these half-Welsh invaders.[101] Like Gerald, Hanmer also cited Merlin's prophecy of a half-blood knight being the first to invade Ireland and applied it to the original leader of the Cambro-Normans, Robert Fitzstephen.[102] While the leaders were presented as half-Welsh, the soldiers were shown as full Welshmen. Hanmer claimed that the invading army contained "the choice souldiers of all Wales" and described them as "gallants of Britaine".[103] Hanmer essentially presented the medieval conquest of Ireland as a Welsh enterprise.

In a similar way to *Expugnatio*, the Welshness of the invaders was most clearly shown in Hanmer's discussion of Prince John's arrival in Ireland in 1185. Hanmer argued that the seeds of first invasion's failure were sown at this time by three mistakes made by the prince. These were, treating the Irish cruelly, confiscating land from Irishmen who had co-operated with the British, and sidelining the original invaders, whom he called "Britaines or Cambrians", in favour of newly-arrived English courtiers.[104] Hanmer thus made a distinction between the initial virtuous Welsh invaders and the later cruel and inept servants of the English monarchy. The original invaders formed a convenient metaphor for the New English of Hanmer's own time, whom he believed were carrying out a virtuous mission and had the experience necessary to run Ireland. The arrival of the courtiers is used to explain the failure of the original conquest and the degeneration of the Old English. Hanmer thus detaches the original conquerors from the history of the Old English and allows them to be appropriated by the New English as their spiritual ancestors. The other effect of Hanmer's argument, however, is that the heroes of the New English are clearly Welsh.

Like many early modern historians, Hanmer provided fictional speeches for his characters and it is here that the *Chronicle* differs most from previous Irish histories.

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[101] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 136, 149.
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[103] *Ibid.*, pp. 112-3, 116-7.
[104] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-8.

During the initial invasion, Hanmer presented Robert Fitzstephen speaking to his men "in the Brittish tongue":

> Consider whence wee came, what wee are, and the cause we have in hand; we are lineally descended from Troy, whose fame hath filled the whole earth, and now lately some of us out of Normandy, have sealed our selves in Brittain and have to our wives, children, and kindred of the ancient and noble Brittish race, of the one we cary our valiant and noble mind, of the other we learned the experience in feates of armes.[105]

Fitzstephen's speech, spoken in Welsh, clearly emphasises his Welsh connections and attributes the nobility of the invaders to their Welsh descent. It is similar to another speech that Hanmer gave to Raymond Le Grosse on the eve of their defence of Dublin against an Irish counter-attack in which he reminded his allies:

> of what stock wee are discended. Camber the first King of Cambria our native country, was our ancestor, and sonne of that noble Brutus, the first and sole monarch of Brittaine... [from whom comes our] antient nobility, but also a certaine naturall inclination of valiant minds, and couragious stomachs resolutely to follow all exploits of prowesse and chivalry; and shall we now like sluggarts, degenerate from so noble a race?[106]

Although Hanmer did not deny the Norman origin of the invaders, they are presented as proud of their Welsh heritage and steeped in the history and mythology of Britain.[107] These speeches are the clearest attempt by Hanmer to establish the Cambro-Norman lords as Welsh heroes and, in so doing, to demonstrate the key role that the Welsh played in the conquest of Ireland. As in contemporary Welsh histories, Hanmer presented the Welsh as central to British unity and the English monarchy's claims to dominion. He also appropriated a key element of New English identity for the Welsh.

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[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 117-8.
[106] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.
[107] For a similar claim for the Welsh origin of Strongbow and his allies, see Dillwyn Miles (ed.), *The description of Pembrokeshire: George Owen of Henllys* (Llandysul, 1994), pp. 198-200.

In following the Welsh traditions of writing Welsh-focused British history but in an Irish context, Hanmer provides us with a glimpse of how Welsh identities might have adapted to migration to Ireland. The emerging early modern identity of the Cambro-Briton emphasised the role of the Welsh within a history of British unity that supported the ambitions and legitimacy of the *English* state. Hanmer's work similarly emphasised the role of the Welsh within a history that incorporated Ireland into Britain and supported the ambitions and legitimacy of the *New English*. It has long been accepted that, by creating Welsh-focused British histories, early modern Welsh antiquarians provided the materials from which an early modern identity combining elements of Britishness and Welshness could be constructed.[108] Hanmer's history did the same for the Welsh in Ireland by drawing on elements of an existing New English identity. It provided a vision of Ireland's history in which the Welsh took centre stage as heroes of the New English while maintaining a clear sense of their own identity and heritage. Such an understanding clearly countered contemporary New English criticisms of the Welsh. Although only one text, Hanmer's *Chronicle* suggests how the Welsh in Ireland could construct an identity that both emphasised their loyalty to the New English community and highlighted their importance to English hegemony in Ireland.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to complicate and question the homogeneity of the New English in Ireland. Although it is likely that most of the migrants who arrived in Ireland after the Reformation identified with each other against the native Irish and the Catholic Old English, this was not the only source from which they could construct their identities. Religion, political faction, kinship, gender and a variety of other forms of difference interacted with, overlapped and challenged the idea of a cohesive New English community. This chapter has explored the extent to which Welsh origins may have been another such differentiating factor. It can be said with little doubt that the Welsh in Ireland were seen by the English as different and, from

[108] Jenkins, 'Seventeenth-century Wales', pp. 226-30; Jones, 'The Welsh Gentry and the image of the 'Cambro-Briton', pp. 621-4; Schwyzer, *Literature, nationalism and memory*, pp. 40, 95; Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, national identity and the British inheritance', pp. 8-42.

the 1580s, potentially dangerous. Welshness created a particular rupture within the New English community.

This chapter has also, however, shed light on how the Welsh might have reacted to living in Ireland, where their difference cast doubt on their loyalty. Hanmer's work shows how contemporary Welsh identities could be adapted for use in Ireland. While the antiquarian histories of Prise or Powel asserted the central role of the Welsh in the emergence of Tudor and Stuart Britain, the *Chronicle* presented the Welsh as key players in the emergence of *British* power in Ireland. By revealing the Welsh dimension of the Norman conquest and the ancient Protestant Irish church, Hanmer's history countered the discourses of difference that had emerged among the Anglo-Welsh community in Ireland. It presented the Welsh as a historically-integrated part of the New English community. At the same time, a unique and prestigious Welsh identity was preserved. The Welsh were reconceptualised as the descendents of the heroes of the Norman conquest, who many New English commentators still venerated. Thus Hanmer presented a possible new identity for the Welsh in Ireland; one that, like the Welsh community in Ireland, positioned them within the greater New English whole while maintaining a sense of Welsh distinctiveness and difference. This is an identity that could be termed 'New Welsh'.

Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to demonstrate that a history of Welsh involvement in the conquest and colonisation of early modern Ireland can provide valuable new perspectives on Welsh, Irish and wider British history. It has done so by drawing on a 'multiple peoples' approach that focuses on migration, cultural difference and the formation of social, political and economic networks spanning traditional historical and historiographical borders. This conclusion draws together the findings of the previous chapters and discusses how they can help us incorporate Wales more satisfactorily into a British history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Welsh in Ireland

In the winter of 1641, as the British settlement in Ireland collapsed before a Catholic rebellion, a priest named James O'Halligan read a letter at mass in Armagh that had supposedly been sent by the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. According to an English witness, O'Halligan warned his parishioners that any that "did harbour or relieve any Englishe, Scotte or Walshe or give them any almes at all at their howses should be excommunicated".[1] O'Halligan highlighted something missing from most histories of early modern Ireland: that the colonial presence was made up of three distinct peoples. Such differences have been rendered largely invisible by the label 'New English' and the dominant narrative which focuses on the opposition between English and Irish.

This thesis does not advocate abandoning the 'New English' label. Much united those who arrived in Ireland during this period, including a protestant faith and a sense of superiority over the native Irish and Old English.[2] The majority of the Welsh who went to Ireland shared these traits. The recognition of sometimes quite profound fissures within the 'New English' community does not damage its potential usefulness as a category for historical study, but it does encourage a more complex understanding of its constituent parts. As Willy Maley has noted with reference to the

[1] TCD, MS 836, fol. 108.
[2] Nicholas Canny, 'Identity formation in Ireland: the emergence of the Anglo-Irish', in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (eds.), *Colonial identity in the Atlantic world, 1500-1800* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 159-212.

Scots, the colonial presence in Ireland was made up of a range of "identities, traditions, histories and ethnicities".[3] Exploring the various origins, beliefs and motivations of the 'New English' allows historians to construct a more subtle and accurate image of the soldiers, governors and colonisers in early modern Ireland. This approach takes into account what separated as well as what united them. One of the aims of this thesis has been to argue that Welshness could play a key role in differentiating the Irish colonial community.

We have seen that the Welsh could be found throughout the Irish military, in much of the New English government, and in most parts of the plantations. Due to the complete lack of any quantitative study or useful qualitative surveys, the thesis has partly been an exercise in identifying and quantifying this Welsh presence. However, it has also demonstrated that although the Welsh in Ireland were similar to their English colleagues, there were also important differences. It was among the common soldiers, making up the bulk of Welsh migrants, that these differences were most stark. The majority were unable to speak English and had to be supervised by officers from their own country. Welsh settlers were also, at least initially, set apart from their English fellow-migrants in pockets of Welsh settlement at places such as Welshtown in Donegal, Gwladherbert and Castleisland in Kerry and Newry in Down. Those living in these settlements were referred to by the Irish government and fellow settlers as Welsh, demonstrating the continuing importance of Welsh origin as a marker of identity.[4] At more elevated social levels the Welsh had more in common with other migrants, but even here they were set apart by religious conservatism and, among the officers, distinct understandings of honour drawn from Welsh culture. It has also been shown that Welsh difference at all social levels became a matter of concern for some members of the New English community. The religious and ethnic tensions in Ireland, particularly around the turn of the century, heightened a desire among colonists for uniformity. Governors and polemicists reflected on the manner in which Welsh history, identity and culture set them apart from the rest of the New English. Thus Welshness remained a profound source of difference within the colonial community that should make historians more wary of applying the umbrella term 'New English'.

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[3] Willy Maley, *Salvaging Spenser: colonialism, culture and identity* (Basingstoke and New York, 1997), pp. 146-155.
[4] NA, SP63/202/(IV)12; *CSPI 1625-32*, p. 644; Robert C. Simmington (ed.), *The civil survey: A.D. 1654-1656* (Dublin, 1937), vol. 3, p. 23.

This study has also argued that not only were the Welsh different from the English, but that they were relatively united among themselves. It has been demonstrated that the Welsh formed their own networks of interaction and cooperation in Ireland, based on ties of loyalty to kinsmen and countrymen as well as reciprocal political and economic deals. It has also been shown how Welsh networks of cooperation could span the Irish Sea, helping new Welsh migrants establish themselves in Ireland and allowing established migrants to remain in contact with their home regions. These Cambro-Hibernic communities demonstrate how regional origin could act as a major factor in the formation of migrant society in colonial Ireland. It has also been suggested that a distinct identity can be discerned among the Welsh in Ireland, based on a belief that the Welsh played an important role in the establishment of Anglo-Welsh power in Ireland in the medieval and mythical British past. It has thus been argued that it is possible to study the Welsh as a group in Ireland, the 'New Welsh'; a closely interacting community with their own unique identity.

Such claims must not, however, be taken too far. The Welsh in Ireland did not only participate in networks based around Welshness and kinship. Welsh community relations were part of a matrix of overlapping, interconnecting and often competing networks that made up the broader colonial community. The Welsh could also activate network connections based on factors such as religion, occupation and political faction. This often led to Englishmen becoming important components of Welsh networks. For example, Marmaduke Whitchurch of Staffordshire became central to the network that emerged in Newry on account of his military connections to the Bagenals and the Trevors. Welsh networks of interaction and cooperation were thus part of and not set apart from New English society. Similarly the 'New Welsh' identity in Ireland, like the Cambro-British identity of early modern Wales, operated as a force for unity rather than division. Hanmer's *Chronicle* concentrated on what the Welsh contributed to the broader Anglo-Welsh conquest of Ireland rather than casting them as a community set against their English counterparts. He presented the Welsh clearly as a different people, but also saw them as a loyal element within the New English community.

This thesis has thus suggested one approach through which the New English community in Ireland can be problematised. In order to move beyond the current tendency to paint the colonial presence in Ireland with a broad brush, however, further subtleties must be recognised. More work is needed on the Scottish presence in early modern Ireland, particularly on their social networks and sense of identity in order to build an understanding of the Scottish dimension within the Irish colonial community.[5] The exploration of other regional communities in early modern Ireland, particularly those from the far north and west of England, may also yield interesting new perspectives on Englishness, which may not have been as homogeneous an identity as is suggested in many British histories.[6] Such work should also take into account the importance of other forms of difference among the New English, particularly with respect to religion. It is often too easy to extend a Protestant anti-Irish identity to the whole New English community, but recent work has suggested that Catholicism was common among new migrants and many interacted openly with the Irish.[7] Only through such studies will we be able to move beyond an image of the colonial presence in Ireland as a "rigid group" and towards an understanding of the new migrants as a complex and often "awkward" alliance of groups and individuals who cooperated for a variety of motives to conquer and colonise Ireland.[8]

The Welsh in Britain

At its heart this thesis has been an attempt to demonstrate how Wales can be incorporated into the 'New British History' project from which it has too often been excluded. It has been argued that one way to do this is to write a history that focuses not on the interaction of countries, nations and states, but rather on the movement and interaction of peoples across political and physical frontiers, and the formation of

[5] Maley, *Salvaging Spenser*, pp. 146-55.
[6] Jasmin L. Johnson, 'Review of Mark Stoyle, *Soldiers and strangers: An ethnic history of the English Civil War*, H-war, H-net Reviews, April 2006. http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev/showrev.php?id=11649. Accessed 06/02/2009; Steven G. Ellis, 'England in the Tudor state', *The Historical Journal*, 26 (1983), pp. 201-12.
[7] David Edwards, 'A haven of popery: English Catholic migration to Ireland in the age of plantations', in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds.), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 95-126; Rory Rapple, *Martial power and Elizabethan political culture: military men in England and Ireland, 1558-1594* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 219-21.
[8] Vincent P. Carey and Ute Lotz-Heumann (eds.), *Taking sides?: colonial and confessional mentalités in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 9-11; Allan I. Macinnes and Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Introduction: awkward neighbours?', in their *The Stuart kingdoms in the seventeenth century: awkward neighbours* (Dublin, 2002), p. 23.

social, political and economic networks across traditional borders. This study has demonstrated that the actions of the English state in Ireland re-established and reinvigorated the Irish Sea's medieval role as a conduit for interaction between Ireland and Wales. We need, however, to recognise both the limitations and possibilities of using a 'peoples' methodology to produce a Welsh perspective on British history.

Any study that places Wales at the heart of a British history must do so with one major caveat: England. A difficult balance has to be struck between trying to break away from Anglo-centrism while reflecting the reality of how the Welsh lived their lives. Throughout this thesis it has been necessary to recognise that Welsh involvement in Ireland was always mitigated and mediated by their assimilation into England. To some extent all the Welsh discussed here migrated to Ireland because of the English state. Some were agents of that state while others were independent migrants attracted to Ireland by the opportunities created by conquest and plantation. Once in Ireland the Welsh fought in an English army, served in an English government and the majority of their fellow migrants were Englishmen. The Welsh also broadly shared English attitudes towards the native Irish. Thus a Welsh 'peoples' history is limited by the fact that they were subjects of an English kingdom and had assimilated English ideologies. However, even if we accept that a history of Wales's relationship with Ireland must focus primarily on the Welsh role within the English-dominated colonial community, valuable new perspectives on Welsh history can still be uncovered.

Firstly, such an approach builds a new understanding of Wales's Irish Sea frontier in the early modern era. Most historians of early modern Wales have conceptualised the Irish Sea as a threat, a back door for Irish or Spanish invasion.[9] This was, of course, true in times of international tension and Irish rebellion. Focus on this aspect of the frontier, however, has made the short sea channel seem like a barrier and shifts historical focus solely onto Wales's peaceful border with England. This study has

[9] Philip Jenkins, 'Seventeenth-century Wales: definition and identity', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds.), *British consciousness and identity: the making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 227; Philip Jenkins, *A history of modern Wales* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 86-9; Emyr Gwynne Jones, 'Anglesey and invasion: 1539-1603', *Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club Transactions* (1947), pp. 26-37.

aimed to open up Wales's western borderland for analysis as a connection between the Welsh and the colonial community of early modern Ireland. It has been demonstrated that, particularly during the early seventeenth century, the Irish Sea frontier was easily crossed by Welsh migrants and that it acted as a conduit for a matrix of Welsh social, economic and political networks. As we have seen, Ireland offered Welshmen opportunities to obtain things, be they financial security, an honourable reputation or a landed estate, that many could not get at home. These opportunities were, of course, often exclusive to gentlemen and their sons, but many poorer individuals also settled in Ireland as soldiers and settlers. Thus, Welsh men and women of all social groups made the short journey to Ireland and established themselves there. They were not going into exile. Ireland could be reached within a day's sailing from ports at all four corners of Wales, which meant that migrants could easily maintain close contacts with their homeland.

The proximity of Ireland to Wales thus led to the emergence of groups of individuals who operated within a Cambro-Hibernic realm. In a manner reminiscent of those operating within the 'Irish Sea Province' during the medieval period, Welsh soldiers, governors and settlers moved freely between Wales and Ireland, and also maintained landed, political and social interests in both countries. Figures such as Sir Edward Trevor of Rostrevor and Brynkinallt played a central role in the politics of both countries, using their Irish wealth and political connections to increase their power and status in Wales. Such men created a British context to Welsh society that has previously been overlooked.

We have also seen how the Welsh could exploit the Welsh community in Ireland in order to obtain assistance and influence there. Some, such as Henry Salusbury of Llewenni, used kin and political contacts to establish themselves in Ireland and purchase cheap land, thus further swelling the Welsh presence there. Other Welshmen, such as Richard Griffith of Llanfair-is-gaer, found that they could exploit the political and economic influence of friends and allies within the Cambro-Hibernic community in order to carry out their business in Ireland. In both cases established Welsh migrants were a resource for Welsh newcomers to Ireland. This thesis has thus demonstrated how the political, social and economic lives of the Welsh extended beyond the traditional historiographical boundary of the Irish Sea.

A history of 'peoples' must also take into account the cultural conflict that their movements and interactions can generate. As has been established, it is not possible to identify distinctly Welsh cultural conflict with the Irish. However, by examining the Welsh within an Irish context it is possible to provide a new perspective on the Welsh relationship with the English. Challenging the orthodoxy that war breeds uniformity, this study has demonstrated how migration to Ireland heightened Anglo-Welsh divisions and led to the emergence of significant anti-Welsh feeling on the part of some of the English in Ireland. By looking at the Welsh within a wider British context, therefore, this study has also served to problematise received assumptions about Anglo-Welsh relations in this period. While it has generally been assumed that tension between the English and Welsh was minimal until the Civil Wars, it has been demonstrated here that the strains of war in Ireland tested the bonds between the two peoples. This indicates that Welshness may have been a more potent form of difference in early modern society than has previously been assumed.

Thus this thesis has demonstrated that, even while recognising "the steadily increasing dominance of England as a political and cultural entity", a British approach to Welsh history can help present Wales and the Welsh in new ways.[10] The Welsh relationship with Ireland, however, is only part of this picture. Welsh officers and soldiers also served on the continent, although in smaller numbers than they did in Ireland. Welsh involvement there needs to be analysed in order to complete our understanding of the importance of the military profession for the Welsh gentry. For example, concerns were raised by English writers and governors about Welsh involvement in the military on the continent, it would be interesting to see whether such worries were a facet of wider concerns about Catholicism in English armies, or whether, as in Ireland, it was a problem specifically associated with the Welsh. This thesis is also the first sustained analysis of an early modern Welsh migrant community. In order to gauge whether the connections between the Welsh communities in Wales and Ireland were unique it is necessary to seek out and study other groups of Welsh migrants. In particular, an analysis of Welsh involvement in the American colonies during the seventeenth

[10] J.G.A. Pocock, 'British history: a plea for a new subject', *The Journal of Modern History*, 47 (1975), p. 601.

century is well overdue.[11] It is thus hoped that this thesis will encourage further work that will broaden our understanding of how the early modern Welsh interacted with Britain and the wider world.

This thesis has attempted to write a British history that is at ease with English dominance, but also recognises the complexity of a nascent British state containing multiple interacting and conflicting peoples. Such a history will always be awkward. It can, however, greatly enhance our understanding of how early modern individuals lived. By highlighting the role of the Welsh in early modern Ireland, this study has aimed to complicate the historiographies of both nations. It is part of a larger project of abandoning a history of binary Anglo-Irish opposition and recognising the confusion, conflict and differences within the colonial community. Simultaneously, this thesis has attempted to open up Wales's western frontier for historical analysis and thus integrate Welsh society more effectively into a wider British history. Although it must always be viewed through the prism of English political and cultural dominance, a British history that focuses on Wales offers valuable new perspectives on the Welsh and their neighbours in the restless and turbulent project of making early modern Britain.

[11] For one of the few attempts to look at this topic see, D.B. Quinn, 'Wales and the West', in R.R. Davies et al. (eds.), *Welsh society and nationhood: historical essays presented to Glanmor Williams* (Cardiff, 1984), pp. 90-107. Welsh migration to the colonies in the late seventeenth century is also the subject of, Richard C. Allen, 'In search of a New Jerusalem: A preliminary investigation into the causes and impact of Welsh Quaker emigration to Pennsylvania, c.1660-1750', *Quaker Studies* 9 (2004), pp. 31-53.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Identifying the Welsh: the reliability of surnames as evidence

Any study that attempts to identify the geographical origins of soldiers and settlers in Ireland will inevitably come to rely, at least in part, on the evidence of surnames. Lists of names found on muster rolls or estate rentals are, in most cases, the only evidence for the majority of men and women who travelled to Ireland during the early modern period. These names form an indispensable but potentially misleading resource for historians seeking to determine the composition of the 'New English'. To determine the extent of the Welsh presence in early modern Ireland it is necessary to use names as a signifier of ethnicity. This must be done extremely carefully, however, and always with an awareness that this method is far from infallible. Welsh men and women with 'English' surnames are missed by this method, while some English and Scottish soldiers or settlers are included because of their 'Welsh' surnames. Wherever possible in this thesis, alternative evidence is used to ascertain the origins of 'British' individuals in Ireland. Despite these problems, sensitive and careful use of these surnames can still be employed as a valid and revealing methodology.

The major precedents for using the evidence of surnames in the Irish historiography are the studies of Scottish settlers in seventeenth-century Ulster by M. Perceval-Maxwell and Philip S. Robinson. Both use Scottish surnames on Ulster estate rentals and musters to quantify the Scottish presence there and suggest which regions of Scotland were the major source of settlers.[1] Robinson goes some way towards justifying his methodology by assessing a selection of early modern baptismal records from Chester, London, Staffordshire and Devon. He demonstrates that Scottish surnames made up 16.6% of baptisms in Chester and 16.3% in London, both of which were major ports that would be expected to have large immigrant populations. By comparison, Robinson shows that rural areas of England had much lower levels of Scottish surnames: 4.5% in Staffordshire and 1% in Devon. This data suggests that Scottish names, particularly in large numbers, are a good indicator of Scottish origin.[2] The use of surname evidence by Perceval-Maxwell and Robinson has been largely uncontroversial. Attempts to suggest local origins within Scotland on the basis of

[1] M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish migration to Ulster in the reign of James I* (London and New York, 1973), pp. 70, 278-287; Philip S. Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster: British settlement in an Irish landscape, 1600-1670* (Dublin and New York, 1984), pp. 109-124.
[2] Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 113, 120.

surnames has, however, been criticised. Victor Treadwell has attacked Robinson for over-interpreting evidence he drew from sample parish registers in Scotland to link surnames to particular Scottish regions.[3] Using surnames to give specific local or county origins is a problematic exercise as, although long distance migration was rare in early modern Britain, local migration was extremely common.[4] A surname alone is, therefore, unlikely to be enough evidence to link an individual to a particular locality. The use of surnames for the study of Scottish settlers thus demonstrates both the benefits and problems of this method.

While Scottish settlers, due to their large presence in Ulster, have been subject to several historical studies, the Welsh have almost always been treated as part of the 'English' presence in Ireland. It has generally been thought that population movement within England was too high to use surnames as evidence for regional origin.[5] This is not necessarily the case. Colin D. Rogers has produced several maps of the distribution of surnames in early modern England, which demonstrate that many English surnames were specific to a single region.[6] The study of English surnames is, however, difficult. Early urban development and good communications encouraged greater levels of population movement in England than in Scotland or Wales. Also, many surnames, particularly those based on occupation or topographical features, emerged independently in different English regions. It is, therefore, very difficult to give a regional origin for an English settler or soldier in Ireland.

The study of Welsh surnames faces the same obstacles. These are not insurmountable, however, and in fact are less of a problem for the Welsh than the English. For the purposes of this study it is necessary to recognise four classes of reliability for Welsh names. The first class of names are those that maintained the traditional patronymic system where a child took the name of his father as a surname preceded by 'ap' (son of) or, in the case of a vowel, 'ab', such as David ap Thomas or John ab Owen.[7] This was a system exclusive to Wales and rarely continued by Welsh migrants in England.

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[3] Victor Treadwell, 'Review of Phillip S. Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster: British settlement in an Irish landscape, 1600-1670* (Dublin, 1984)', *English Historical Review*, 103 (1988), pp. 199-200.
[4] Peter Laslett, *The world we have lost – further explored* (London, 1983), p. 55.
[5] Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: the settlement of east Ulster, 1600-1641* (Cork, 1985), p. 33.
[6] Colin D. Rogers, *The surname detective: investigating surname distribution in England, 1086 – present day* (Manchester, 1995).
[7] In the case of women the word 'ferch' or 'verch' (daughter) was used instead of 'ap'.

It can thus be taken as an almost certain sign of Welsh origin. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the majority of the Welsh, particularly those lower down the social order, had traditional patronymic names. The practice, however, declined during the early modern period and English administrators would often leave out the 'ap' in their official records. It is thus rare to find such an obvious sign of Welshness in the records of early modern Ireland.

The second class of surnames are those that had clear Welsh origins, incorporated 'ap' or 'ab' into the surname, or derived from the name of a Welsh estate.[8] Surnames drawn from the Welsh language, including Griffith, Lloyd, Llewellyn, Morgan, Owen and Vaughan, can be taken as a good indicator of Welshness. Other Welsh surnames formed when the patronymic 'ap' or 'ab' was incorporated into a surname. Several surnames such as Price (ap Rice), Pugh (ap Hugh) and Bowen (ab Owen) formed in this manner and are also clearly Welsh in origin. It was unusual for the Welsh to take a place name as a surname but some gentry families (such as the Mostyns) did and formed another set of names that suggest an individual was from Wales.[9] This second class of surnames clearly show a Welsh origin.

The final two classes of Welsh surnames are more problematic and open to interpretation. The third class is what I will term the dominant patronymics. Welsh surnames have a severe lack of variety. John and Sheila Rowlands have estimated that in the early nineteenth century 55.85% of the Welsh population shared ten surnames, this figure was only 5.15% in England.[10] Due to immigration in the intervening centuries it is likely that Welsh surnames were even less varied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of the top ten most common Welsh names identified by the Rowlands study, three, Evans, Morgan and Griffiths, are clearly Welsh. The others, however, were non-Welsh names that had been converted into surnames through the patronymic system.[11] The reason for the dominance of non-Welsh surnames was their popularity in Wales as forenames in the generation before the general adoption of

[8] John and Sheila Rowlands, *The surnames of Wales* (Birmingham, 1996), pp. 14-20; T.E. Morris, 'Welsh surnames in the border counties of Wales', *Y Cymmrodor*, 43 (1932), pp. 96-101.
[9] Rowlands and Rowlands, *Surnames of Wales*, p. 20.
[10] In fact 80.64% of Welsh men and women in their survey shared just thirty-six surnames: Rowlands and Rowlands, *Surnames of Wales*, pp. 4, 43.
[11] These are, in order of popularity, Jones, Williams, Davies, Thomas, Roberts, Hughes and Lewis: Rowlands and Rowlands, *Surnames of Wales*, p. 4.

surnames.[12] This creates a problem for this study as the use of first names as surnames is not unique to Wales. This practice also occurred in England between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.[13] As a consequence almost all Welsh patronymic surnames of English derivation could have originated in England. In the majority of cases, however, this only creates a small margin of error. Surnames such as Davies, Edwards, Hughes, Lewis, Richards or Williams were, in the vast majority of cases, the result of the Welsh patronymic system. They were extremely common in Wales and comparatively rare in England.[14] Due to the dominance of these surnames in Wales and their scarcity in England they will be accepted as a good, but not infallible, indicator of Welshness in this study.[15] The surname 'Jones' is more problematic as its English equivalent was more common than the other dominant Welsh patronymic surnames.[16] The sheer popularity of this surname in Wales, however, makes it impossible to exclude (Jones accounts for 13.84% of the Welsh population in the Rowlands survey).[17] It is necessary to accept that a small number of English Joneses will probably be included in any study of Welsh names.

The fourth class of Welsh surnames is those that were rare in Wales and have a possible non-Welsh origin making any use of them too uncertain. These will be excluded from this study unless accompanied by other evidence of a Welsh origin. Some of these names are patronymics of English origin that were too rare in Wales or too common in England to signify Welshness. The most common of these were, Arthur, Davy/Davie, Edmunds, Harris/Harry, Jeffreys, John, Matthews, Peters, Rogers, Stephens and Walters.[18] Several other Welsh surnames have also been

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[12] Rowlands and Rowlands, *Surnames of Wales*, p. 10.
[13] W.O. Hassall, *History through surnames* (Oxford, 1967); Rowlands and Rowlands, *Surnames of Wales*, pp. 118-119.
[14] T.J. Morgan and Prys Morgan, *Welsh surnames* (Cardiff, 1985), p. 13; Rowlands and Rowlands, *Surnames of Wales*, pp. 26, 89, 92, 112, 122, 144, 162.
[15] The dominant patronymics of English origin accepted as indicators of Welshness are drawn from the Rowlands's survey. They are: Williams, Davies, Thomas, Roberts, Hughes, Lewis, Edwards, James, Morris, Phillips, Richards, David, Humphries, Jenkins, Rowlands and Watkins. The surnames James, Morris, Phillips, Jenkins and Watkins are the least reliable indicators of Welshness as they are not among the ten most common Welsh names and have a rare English origin. They will be used in this study but it must be recognised that they are the least reliable surnames used: Rowlands and Rowlands, *Surnames of Wales*, pp. 4, 43, 115, 117, 131, 139-140, 161.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.
[17] 'Johns' will also be included as a variant of Jones: Rowlands and Rowlands, *Surnames of Wales*, p. 4.
[18] Of these names only Harris and John are listed among the top thirty-six Welsh names in the Rowlands's survey. Davy has been excluded because it is a common Scottish name: Rowlands and

excluded because of their unreliability as evidence of origin. Despite its popularity in Wales, Ellis has been excluded due to its relatively common use in England.[19] Griffin, a common corruption of Griffith, also had a strong alternative origin in England that makes it an unreliable indicator of Welshness.[20] These names will only be included if there is other evidence to indicate Welsh origins. In addition, a small number of English surnames had established themselves in Wales by the sixteenth century through the influence of powerful landed families. These included common north Walian names such as Thelwall and Salusbury and south Wales names such as Herbert. These cannot, of course, be taken as a direct indicator of a Welsh origin but can be used to suggest the possibility of Welshness. When names from this fourth category are employed in this study, an explanation will be given in order to justify their use.

While it is possible to categorise surnames and their reliability, their use is further complicated by the effects of migration within England and Wales. No comprehensive study has been carried out to assess the extent of Welsh migration into England, although studies of surname distribution suggest that early modern Welsh migrants were largely found in London and the English counties along the Welsh border. In order to gauge the extent of the problem posed by migration I have carried out a survey of a selection of English and Welsh muster rolls of soldiers sent to Ireland between 1585 and 1602. The majority of the muster rolls have been taken from the Chester mayoral archives. Rolls from the state papers and exchequer records have been used to supplement the sample.[21] Muster rolls have been used because they reflect the sort of people who went to Ireland both as soldiers and settlers, the poorer members of a community. It must be kept in mind, however, that local officials tended to select new migrants for military levies to avoid angering the established local community. English muster records are, therefore, likely to include any recent Welsh arrivals and give a maximum margin of error for the use of surnames as an

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Rowlands, *Surnames of Wales*, pp. 72, 92, 107, 116, 118, 128, 139, 146, 152, 158; George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: their origin, meaning and history* (New York, 1962), p. 202.

[19] Rowlands and Rowlands, *Surnames of Wales*, p. 93.

[20] Morgan and Morgan, *Welsh surnames*, p. 102.

[21] See the tables at the end of this appendix. Extra musters have been used to enlarge the sample for the English March counties and to provide data for Cornwall, Devon and Dorset. The English counties of the far north and south-east coast have not been included as they were only rarely called on to send men to Ireland.

indicator of Welsh origin. I have classified the names as Welsh or non-Welsh using the classes established above. Of the 759 names listed on nineteen muster rolls from Welsh counties, 638 would be classified as Welsh under the rules I have established.[22] Thirty-three of the names have been excluded because they are from the fourth class of Welsh surnames, the rest are English surnames.[23] My maximum estimate for the number of Welshmen who will be missed by using surnames as an indicator of ethnicity is thus 16%. In comparison, the 2,465 names listed for English counties, excluding the Welsh border counties and London, include only 104 names that would be classed as Welsh by the criteria detailed above.[24] This total would almost certainly include a number of first generation immigrants born in Wales, particularly in Cornwall, Devon and Somerset, which were linked to south Wales by trade routes across the Bristol Channel, and is thus a very small margin of error. The presence of Welsh names in these counties, however, reminds us that no study of surnames can be completely reliable.

The data for London and the English border counties further complicates matters. Of the 206 names listed for the London muster of 1608, thirty-four or 16.5% of the names were of Welsh origin. Even as a maximum margin of error this is quite large, although it is similar to Robinson's estimate of 16.3% for Scottish surnames taken from London baptismal records, which he claims demonstrates the reliability of Scottish surnames as a source.[25] A large proportion of these men, however, are likely to have been London-Welshmen rather than established migrants. It has been estimated that by 1638 around 6,000 of the residents of London had been born in Wales, which amounted to 7% of the total population of the city.[26] Wales lacked a major urban centre so the most ambitious or talented Welshmen, ranging from court officials and lawyers to merchants and domestic servants, tended to migrate to London. It is likely that a significant proportion of those with Welsh names among the levies from London can thus be classed as 'Welsh'. This is not, therefore, as great an obstacle as it first appears. However, some English-born Londoners will be included by this method, and that must be kept in mind.

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[22] The distribution of names used among the Welsh counties is uneven and decided only by document survival. See Table A1.1.
[23] Fifteen of the thirty-three had the surname 'John' and six 'Harry' or 'Harris'.
[24] See Table A1.4.
[25] Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 120.
[26] Emrys Jones, *The Welsh in London, 1500-2000* (Cardiff, 2001), p. 39.

Appendix 1: Identifying the Welsh: the reliability of surnames as evidence

It is now necessary to turn to the question of the border counties, something Robinson does not do in his study of Scottish surnames. The levies from Cheshire (6.8%), Gloucestershire (10.1%) and Worcestershire (17.5%) all show a higher proportion of Welsh names than other counties of England. More significantly, in Herefordshire and Shropshire, the counties with the longest border with Wales, Welsh names made up 37.7% and 34.1% of the total, respectively.[27] Although this is a maximum margin of error, it may still seem to severely damage the usefulness of Welsh surnames. However, it is likely that many of those with Welsh names in the border counties would not have been settled migrants and probably continued to see themselves as Welsh. In the late sixteenth century the border between England and Wales was still relatively new, having been drawn in 1536 as part of the Acts of Union. The Anglo-Welsh borderland should be understood as a frontier zone where two ethnicities met and intermingled without necessarily losing their distinct identities.[28] Many Welshmen would probably have perceived the border counties as partly Welsh. Indeed, some Welsh writers went so far as to claim large sections of the English border as Wales, usually using the ancient boundary of the Severn river as a border.[29] Large Welsh-speaking communities also remained throughout the English border counties. It is likely that a proportion of the Welsh names found in the muster records were drawn from such Welsh-speaking communities. Far more of those levied for Ireland in the border counties would have been first-generation Welsh immigrants. Wales had few large native towns and came to rely on border towns such as Chester, Shrewsbury, Oswestry, Ludlow and Bristol, which acted as important markets for the Welsh economy, social centres for the wealthy and a focus for Welsh economic migration. The towns of the English borders were, therefore, home to large, often Welsh-speaking, Welsh communities.[30] The muster records provide clear evidence of first generation settlers or the existence of Welsh communities in the borders through the presence of the 'ap' patronymic among the names of the soldiers. Fifty-two

[27] See Table A1.2.
[28] Morris, 'Welsh surnames in the border counties of Wales', p. 102; Jason A. Nice, 'Sacred history and the identity of Wales and Brittany, c.1550-1650', *Welsh History Review*, 22 (2005), pp. 615-645.
[29] Philip Schwyzer, 'Purity and danger on the west bank of the Severn: the cultural geography of *A masque presented at Ludlow Castle*, 1634', *Representations*, 60 (1997), pp. 24-32.
[30] Penry Williams, 'The Welsh borderland under Queen Elizabeth', *Welsh History Review*, 1 (1960), pp. 32-35; Rhys Morgan and Gerald Power, 'Enduring borderlands: the marches of Ireland and Wales in the early modern period', in Steven Ellis and Raingard Esser (eds.), *Frontiers, regions and identities in Europe* (Pisa, 2009), pp. 101-28.

traditional patronymic names are included among the 475 Welsh names included on the musters of the border counties, forty-two of which are from Shropshire and Herefordshire.[31] A significant proportion of the Welsh names in the border county musters are, therefore, likely to be men born in Wales.

As this short discussion has shown, names are a far from infallible indicator of ethnicity. Despite this, the margin of error for the use of Welsh surnames is an acceptable one. The commonness of Welsh names within Wales and their relative rarity in England means that, in the vast majority of instances, Welsh names will indicate a Welsh individual or a Welsh-born migrant living in the border counties or London. There will always, however, be a risk in using this method to determine ethnicity. As D.B. Quinn has noted, such studies must sometimes resort to "guesswork", but this must be kept to a minimum.[32] Several rules are followed when using surnames in this study. All names that have been classed as Welsh will be listed, either in footnotes or appendices, to allow readers to make their own judgements on the ethnic origin of individuals. Also, surnames that have been defined in the fourth class of Welsh names by this study, such as Matthews or Griffin, will only be used if accompanied by additional evidence of Welsh ethnicity. Finally, all conclusions based solely on surname evidence will be treated as tentative. Despite these problems the evidence of surnames, when used carefully, is an indispensable source for the history of the 'British' in early modern Ireland.

[31] Only one instance of the 'ap' patronymic can be found in the musters for the other English counties (including London), in Oxfordshire in 1596.
[32] D.B. Quinn, 'Wales and the west', in R.R. Davies et al. (eds.), *Welsh society and nationhood: historical essays presented to Glanmor Williams* (Cardiff, 1984), p. 90.

Appendix 1: Identifying the Welsh: the reliability of surnames as evidence

Table A1.1: The origin of surnames on muster rolls from Welsh counties

Reference	County	Date	Welsh	Non-Welsh
CRO, ZM/MP/7/24[33]	Anglesey	1596	42	4
CRO, ZM/MP/7/25	Breconshire	1596	31	4
CRO, ZM/MP/7/26-7	Caernarvonshire	1596	40	6
CRO, ZM/MP/13/29	Caernarvonshire	1602	29	1
CRO, ZM/MP/7/28	Carmarthenshire	1596	75	25
CRO, ZM/MP/7/29	Cardiganshire	1596	44	1
CRO, ZM/MP/7/30	Denbighshire	1596	46	4
CRO, ZM/MP/13/11	Denbighshire	1602	24	6
CRO, ZM/MP/7/31	Flintshire	1596	35	15
CRO, ZM/MP/11/11[34]	Flintshire	1601	6	1
CRO, ZM/MP/13/11	Flintshire	1602	18	3
CRO, ZM/MP/7/32	Glamorgan	1596	30	5
CRO, ZM/MP/7/10	Merioneth	1596	46	0
CRO, ZM/MP/13/15	Merioneth	1602	26	4
CRO, ZM/MP/7/35	Monmouthshire	1596	25	11
CRO, ZM/MP/7/34	Montgomeryshire	1596	39	7
CRO, ZM/MP/13/19	Montgomeryshire	1602	25	5
CRO, ZM/MP/7/37	Pembrokeshire	1596	21	14
CRO, ZM/MP/7/38	Radnorshire	1596	36	5
		Total	**638**	**121**

Table A1.2: The origin of surnames on muster rolls from the border counties

Reference	County	Year	Welsh	Non-Welsh
NA, E101/65/17 (5)	Cheshire	1598	12	138
NA, E101/65/17 (2)	Cheshire	1599	6	144
NA, E101/65/17 (1)	Cheshire	1601	7	53
CRO, ZM/MP/11/9	Cheshire	1601	0	19

[33] For the purposes of these tables Chester Record Office is referenced as CRO.
[34] Ten men were sent in this levy, but the indenture is torn so only seven can be identified.

Appendix 1: Identifying the Welsh: the reliability of surnames as evidence

Reference	County	Year	Welsh	Non-Welsh
CRO, ZM/MP/13/14-5	Cheshire	1602	4	46
		Total	**29**	**400**
CRO, ZM/MP/7/16	Gloucestershire	1596	5	31
NA, E101/65/23 (1-2)	Gloucestershire	1598	21	179
NA, E101/65/23 (4)	Gloucestershire	1600	6	44
NA, E101/65/23 (5)	Gloucestershire	1601	2	38
NA, E101/65/23 (6)	Gloucestershire	1602	9	91
		Total	**43**	**383**
NA, SP12/176/43	Herefordshire	1585	18	32
NA, E101/65/24 (2)	Herefordshire	1598	35	65
NA, E101/65/24 (3)	Herefordshire	1600	31	69
NA, E101/65/24 (1)	Herefordshire	1601	35	15
NA, E101/65/24 (4)	Herefordshire	1601	21	54
NA, E101/65/24 (5)	Herefordshire	1602	77	123
		Total	**217**	**358**
NA, E101/66/8	Shropshire	1598	50	100
CRO, ZM/MP/11/10	Shropshire	1601	8	22
CRO, ZM/MP/13/17-18	Shropshire	1602	36	60
		Total	**94**	**182**
CRO, ZM/MP/7/1	Worcestershire	1596	12	33
NA, E101/66/17 (1)	Worcestershire	1598	22	128
NA, E101/66/17 (2)	Worcestershire	1599	15	85
CRO, ZM/MP/11/12	Worcestershire	1601	5	12
NA, E101/66/17 (8)	Worcestershire	1601	2	23
NA, E101/66/17 (9)	Worcestershire	1601	10	50
NA, E101/66/17 (7)	Worcestershire	1602	5	25
CRO, ZM/MP/13/16-7	Worcestershire	1602	21	79
		Total	**92**	**435**

Appendix 1: Identifying the Welsh: the reliability of surnames as evidence

Table A1.3: The origins of surnames on a London muster roll

Reference	County	Year	Welsh	Non-Welsh
CRO, ZM/MP/14	London	1608	34	172

Table A1.4: The origins of surnames on muster rolls from English counties

Reference	County	Year	Welsh	Non-Welsh
CRO, ZM/MP/11/3	Bedfordshire	1601	0	15
CRO, ZM/MP/13/6	Bedfordshire	1602	1	30
CRO, ZM/MP/7/13	Berkshire	1596	3	41
CRO, ZM/MP/13/3	Berkshire	1602	2	48
CRO, ZM/MP/7/12	Buckinghamshire	1596	1	43
CRO, ZM/MP/13/19-20	Buckinghamshire	1602	1	52
CRO, ZM/MP/7/14	Cambridgeshire	1596	1	52
NA, E101/65/18	Cornwall	1598	18	264
CRO, ZM/MP/11/7	Derbyshire	1601	0	15
CRO, ZM/MP/13/2	Derbyshire	1602	1	50
NA, E101/65/20	Devon	1598	12	176
NA, E101/65/21	Dorset	1598	9	291
CRO, ZM/MP/7/15	Essex	1596	2	27
CRO, ZM/MP/7/19	Hertfordshire	1596	2	42
CRO, ZM/MP/11/5	Hertfordshire	1601	0	15
CRO, ZM/MP/7/18	Huntingdonshire	1590	2	67
CRO, ZM/MP/13/14	Huntingdonshire	1602	0	30
CRO, ZM/MP/13/12-3	Lancashire	1602	1	99
CRO, ZM/MP/13/30-2	Lincolnshire	1602	3	202
CRO, ZM/MP/7/20	Leicestershire	1596	1	33
CRO, ZM/MP/13/8	Leicestershire	1602	0	50
CRO, ZM/MP/7/2	Norfolk and Suffolk	1596	2	64

Appendix 1: Identifying the Welsh: the reliability of surnames as evidence

Reference	County	Year	Welsh	Non-Welsh
CRO, ZM/MP/11/4[35]	Northamptonshire	1601	0	12
CRO, ZM/MP/13/9-10	Northamptonshire	1602	4	96
CRO, ZM/MP/7/21	Nottinghamshire	1596	1	52
CRO, ZM/MP/13/4	Nottinghamshire	1602	1	49
CRO, ZM/MP/7/22	Oxfordshire	1596	6	45
CRO, ZM/MP/13/5	Oxfordshire	1602	5	45
CRO, ZM/MP/7/23	Somerset	1596	4	30
CRO, ZM/MP/11/6	Staffordshire	1601	0	30
CRO, ZM/MP/13/7	Staffordshire	1602	2	49
CRO, ZM/MP/11/13[36]	Warwickshire	1601	2	13
CRO, ZM/MP/13/20-2	Warwickshire	1602	13	86
CRO, ZM/MP/11/8	Yorkshire	1601	2	54
CRO, ZM/MP/13/22-8	Yorkshire	1602	2	198
		Total	**104**	**2465**

[35] Only part of this twenty-five man levy was mustered.
[36] This indenture is of twenty men but is damaged.

Appendix 2: English and Welsh levies for Ireland, 1558-1640

The following list and table do not represent a comprehensive picture of the number of soldiers who went to Ireland during the early modern period. It is not possible accurately to establish the number of levies that took place during this period, let alone the number of men in each levy and from whence they were drawn. As David Trim has argued, "statistics from the period are inherently unreliable".[1] The historian is confronted by a lack of evidence, contradictory contemporary estimates, exaggeration by government officials and the often impossible task of discovering whether a levy was cancelled before the men left port. Any military statistics from this period, therefore, can only be tentative and incomplete.

What is presented below is a compilation and rationalisation of the evidence concerning Irish impressments that survives in the State Papers, Irish State Papers and *Acts of the Privy Council*. This has, where appropriate, been augmented and confirmed by evidence drawn from elsewhere. Despite these caveats, these estimates represent the most comprehensive reconstruction of recruitment for the Irish wars to date. Previous studies have tended to present their findings solely in a table, and often compile annual totals rather than giving evidence of individual levies. This leaves our understanding of the levies and the evidence from which they have been formulated somewhat opaque.[2] In this study, each levy is described separately in order to plainly demonstrate the basis of the estimates. Thus the strengths and weaknesses of the evidence are clearly displayed.

It is also hoped that presenting the data in this manner will allow future researchers to correct and refine it. As although the analysis of Irish impressment carried out here is sufficient for its present purpose, namely to establish an estimate of the proportion of Welshmen in the Irish army, there is more work to be done. It is certain that this is not a full list of all the levies that were carried out during this period. This is shown by the survival of scraps of evidence concerning missing levies. For example, in August 1616 Lord St John wrote from Chester that he was to transport troops to Ireland but had been

[1] David Trim, 'Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'. The employment of English and Welsh mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562-1610' (unpubl. PhD thesis, King's College London, 2002), p. 310.
[2] See, for example, C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 290-1.

hindered by the mutiny of the Caernarvonshire men.[3] Beyond this one reference it has not been possible to find any evidence of a levy from Caernarvonshire at this time or whether it was part of a larger levy. Where I have found evidence of a levy, but not enough to give a full picture, this has been noted in the following list. It is likely, however, that other levies took place that have not left evidence in the State Papers and other central administrative papers, which may be uncovered from more detailed local research.

Data relating to Irish levies in this period has been compiled previously by C.G. Cruickshank and J.J.N. McGurk.[4] My figures are larger than both previous estimates. Cruickshank estimated 38,992 men were levied in the period 1585-1603, for which my total is 44,983. It is unfortunately impossible to compare my figures to Cruickshank's as his were unreferenced. The differences between my data and McGurk's estimates for the period between 1594 and 1602 are explained below. For the most part, the data given here agrees with McGurk's findings, but those for 1598-9 differ significantly. These years saw a confusingly large number of chronologically overlapping levies ordered for Ireland and are difficult to reconstruct accurately. McGurk estimated that there were 37,203 men levied between 1594 and 1602, while my total is 42,183.The true figure probably lies somewhere between the two estimates.

It should also be noted that the appendix presents the numbers demanded by the Privy Council, rather than the numbers sent by the counties. It does not take into account counties that supplied under-strength levies or the use of 'dead pays'. Neither of these two factors is likely to have significantly decreased the number of men sent by the English and Welsh counties. It was very rare for counties to send fewer men than were requested by the Privy Council.[5] 'Dead pays', which were a practice by which the government agreed to allow captains to keep their levies under-strength and claim the pay of the missing men, were more common. In Ireland, a 'dead pay' was usually six in every hundred men, thus some levies may have been up to 6% smaller than is indicated below.[6] Usually, however,

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[3] *CSPI 1615-25*, p. 136.

[4] Cruickshank's data is printed in: Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's army*, pp. 290-1. McGurk's data can be found in: J.J.N. McGurk, 'The recruitment and transportation of Elizabethan troops and their service in Ireland, 1594-1603' (unpubl. PhD thesis., University of Liverpool, 1982), pp. 105-7.

[5] For example, a list of twenty-seven Welsh indentures for Irish service includes only one levy that was under-strength (that from Breconshire in October 1601, which was one short of the required fifty) and two that sent an extra man presumably to replace deserters: NA, E101/66/19.

[6] NA, SP12/259/74; *APC 1597*, pp. 21-8; *APC 1598-9*, pp. 237-9. David Trim has suggested that the number was higher on the continent: David Trim, 'Jacob's wars', p. 247.

counties sent full levies and 'dead pays' were taken by captains when men deserted, fell ill or died in battle.[7] The totals in Appendix 2 are thus likely to be quite close to the number of men that were sent by the English and Welsh counties.

Levy of March 1561 – April 1562 (Not sent)

Between March and April 1561, 490 soldiers were ordered to be levied for Ireland. Bristol was to be the departure port for the 70 from Devon, 60 from Gloucestershire, 60 from Somerset, and 100 from south Wales. Chester was to be the port for the 50 from Cheshire, 50 from Lancashire, and 100 from north Wales.[8] The division of the Welsh levies among the counties is not specified, so only the totals are given in the table below. In October, however, all but 100 men were dismissed. These men appear to have been sent to Ireland along with a group of Berwick veterans in April 1562.[9] As it has not been possible to discover which counties the selected men were from they are not included in the table of sent men.

Levy of June – August 1566 (Sent)

On 15 June 1566, as part of Lord Deputy Sidney's attempt to defeat Shane O'Neill, it was ordered that 300 harquebusiers from the Berwick garrison and 700 newly levied men were to be sent to Ireland.[10] The men were to be shipped from Bristol by Colonel Edward Randolph and levied as follows: Devon 200, Gloucestershire 150, Herefordshire 50, London 100, Monmouthshire 50 and Somerset 150.[11] The troops left Bristol in August 1566.[12]

Levy of February - April 1567 (Sent)

In February 1567, 250 soldiers were ordered to go to Ireland via Chester.[13] The levy seems to have been planned in July 1566 when a list was produced showing that the men were to

[7] See, for example, the full levies at Chester in early 1601 and 1602: Chester Record Office, ZM/MP/11, 13.
[8] NA, SP63/3/54.
[9] NA, SP63/4/63; 63/8/35.
[10] NA, SP63/18/17.
[11] NA, SP12/40/22; SP63/18/39, 51; *CSPI 1566-7*, pp. 91-2.
[12] NA, SP63/19/5.
[13] NA, SP12/42/15, 17.

be divided as follows: Chester 50, Derbyshire 30, Flintshire 40, Lancashire 50, Shropshire 40 and Staffordshire 40.[14] By April the troops were at Chester and were to be transported with all speed.[15]

Levy of July 1569 - March 1570 (Uncertain)

Evidence exists for a significant levy for Ireland at this time, but it cannot be reconstructed in any detail. A letter of July 1569 sent by the Queen to Lord Deputy Sidney claimed that 400 men had been levied and a further 800 were planned.[16] It is possible that the 400 were the 134 Cheshire, 133 Shropshire and 133 Worcestershire men levied for an unknown service in September of that year.[17] Men were also levied from Wales: 16 from Anglesey, 50 from Caernarvonshire, and an unknown number from Denbighshire, Flintshire, Merioneth and Montgomeryshire. The Welsh levies were, however, not sent.[18] At least 500 of the troops were ordered to be stayed in March 1570.[19] It is likely, therefore, that the majority of these men never went to Ireland.

Levy of January - March 1571 (Sent)

When Sir John Perrot went to Ireland as Lord Deputy he was given a unique commission to levy 34 of his own Pembrokeshire tenants to act as his soldiers in Ireland.[20]

Levy of January – May 1574 (Sent)

In January 1574, 599 troops were levied in order to be conducted by Sir John Norris to the Earl of Essex in Ireland. In February 300 of the men (50 from Berkshire, 100 from Cheshire, 100 from Lancashire and 50 from Oxfordshire) were sent with 100 from the Berwick garrison and had arrived in Ulster by May.[21] The other 299 troops (Denbighshire

[14] NA, SP63/18/52.
[15] NA, SP63/20/36; *APC 1558-70*, p. 346.
[16] Tomás O'Laidhin (ed.), *Sidney state papers: 1565-70* (Dublin, 1962), pp. 117-8.
[17] NA, SP63/29/63.
[18] Ralph Flenley (ed.), *A calendar of the register of the Queen's Majesty's Council in the dominion and principality of Wales and the Marches of the same [1535] 1569-1591* (London, 1916), pp. 77-9; Caernarvonshire Record Office, XQS/1571/122.
[19] O'Laidhin, *Sidney state papers*, pp. 121-3.
[20] NA, SP12/77/5.
[21] NA, SP63/44/13, 54; 63/45/5; 63/46/10.

25, Derbyshire 33, Flintshire 25, Herefordshire 33, Merioneth 25, Montgomeryshire 25, Shropshire 100 and Staffordshire 33) followed at an unknown date.[22]

Levy of June 1574 – August 1580 (Sent)

In June 1574, 2,000 men were ordered to be put in readiness for Ireland in case of foreign invasion. The levies were: Breconshire 50, Cardiganshire 50, Carmarthenshire 50, Glamorgan 75, Gloucestershire 100, Herefordshire 50, Monmouthshire 75, Pembrokeshire 50, Radnorshire 50, Somerset 300, Worcestershire 50 (via Bristol); Anglesey 50, Caernarvonshire 50, Denbighshire 50, Flintshire 50, Merioneth 50, Montgomeryshire 50, Shropshire 100 (via Chester); Cornwall 200, Devonshire 400 and Dorset 100 (via Barnstaple).[23] Their dispatch was considered several times in 1574-5, but the levies were not properly activated until 1577.[24] In June 1577 the troops were ordered to assemble for transportation and told to depart in early September.[25] On 15 September, however, the men were stayed after the anticipated attack from La Rochelle failed to materialise.[26] In June 1578, the men were once again readied, but not sent.[27] In July 1579, after the landing of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, the men were once again readied according to the same numbers.[28] In August, the 600 men from Devonshire and Cornwall were transported from Barnstaple. It also appears that the 300 Somerset and 100 Dorset men departed from Bristol as they are recorded as arriving at port and there is no evidence of them being stayed. The other men were ordered to be stayed, except for 100 men from the Chester contingent who were sent with 300 Berwick veterans.[29] At the beginning of September the remaining troops were ordered back to port to be shipped for Ireland.[30] The levy was cancelled again in October, although Sir William Morgan was authorised to take 100 of the best Bristol troops as his company.[31] In June 1580 the remnants of the levy were once again called to

[22] NA, SP63/44/13, 37; Flenley, *A calendar*, p. 115.
[23] NA, SP12/96/292; 12/97/12; SP63/58/43.
[24] NA, SP63/47/23I; 63/49/71; 63/54/28.
[25] BL, Egerton MS 3048, fols. 38b – 43; *APC 1575-7*, p. 387; *APC 1577-8*, pp. 3-4; Collins, *Letters and memorials of State*, vol. 1, pp. 213-4.
[26] *APC 1577-8*, pp. 30-1.
[27] NA, SP12/124/50-1; *APC 1577-8*, pp. 240-2.
[28] BL, Egerton MS 3048, fols. 81b – 87; *APC 1578-80*, pp. 209-10, 219-20, 224-8, 232-3.
[29] BL, Egerton MS 3048, fols. 104b-105; NA, SP63/68/24, 36, 56; 63/69/28; *APC 1578-80*, p. 255.
[30] *APC 1578-80*, pp. 262-4.
[31] *APC 1578-80*, pp. 279-81.

port with order to embark by 16 July, and they had departed by the end of August.[32] Due to the fact that this levy was recalled repeatedly and then sent it is included both in the table for sent levies and recalled levies.

Levy of July – October 1580 (Sent)

In July 1580 300 soldiers from London, who were to be sent to the Isle of Wight, were redirected to Ireland. They had arrived in Dublin by early October.[33]

Levy of July – November 1580 (Sent)

In July 1580 the Privy Council ordered a new levy of 2,100 men to be put in readiness. They were to be raised in the following counties: Cheshire 100, Cornwall 200, Devonshire 200, Dorset 100, Gloucestershire 200, Herefordshire 200, Lancashire 200, Shropshire 200, Somerset 200, Staffordshire 100, Wiltshire 200 and Worcestershire 200.[34] In September 1580 these counties were ordered to send their men to port.[35] By October the men were ready to be transported. By this point it seems that the number that each county was to send had been reduced, becoming a levy of 1,000 men divided as follows: Dorset 100, Gloucestershire 200, Herefordshire 100, Somerset 200, Wiltshire 100 (via Bristol); Lancashire 100 and Worcestershire 200 (via Chester). It is possible that Devonshire and Cornwall also sent men, but as they departed from Barnstaple they were not included on later lists. This cannot be confirmed, however. The levy was also augmented by the addition of 500 Londoners who were to be transported at Chester.[36] The men embarked in late October and early November.[37]

Levy of March - June 1581 (Sent)

On 19 March 1581 1,000 men were ordered for Ireland. There were to be 150 from Derbyshire, 100 from Lancashire, 100 from Leicestershire, 50 from Shropshire, 150 from

[32] BL, Egerton MS 3048, fols. 137b-139; NA, SP12/139/25, 29; 12/141/7, 15; SP63/75/67; *APC 1580-1*, pp. 65-6, 77-8.
[33] *APC 1580-1*, pp. 79, 214-5, 226-7.
[34] *APC 1580-1*, pp. 106-7.
[35] *APC 1580-1*, pp. 205, 210.
[36] *APC 1580-1*, pp. 216-7.
[37] NA, SP63/77/45, 61; 63/78/12; 63/80/17.

Warwickshire, 150 from North Wales (via Chester); 25 from Herefordshire, 25 from Monmouthshire, 100 from Wiltshire and 150 from South Wales (via Bristol). The Welsh troops were to be divided equally so that each county contributed 25.[38] Another list made on the 27 March is similar, but both Derbyshire and Warwickshire were levied 50 fewer men and the shortfall made up by a levy of 100 from Cheshire.[39] Although the former list has been used in the table below, it is unclear which is correct. The 700 men sent via Chester arrived at port in April and were in Ireland by June.[40] The 300 from Bristol had arrived in Cork by late June.[41]

Levy of January - November 1582 (Sent)

In January 1582 a small levy of 300 men was ordered to fill the bands, they were to be raised as follows: Cheshire 50, Cornwall 50, Devon 50, Gloucestershire 50, Lancashire 50 and Somerset 50. They were transported in November of that year.[42]

Levy of December 1584 – February 1585 (Sent)

In December 1584 a levy of 1,200 men was ordered as follows: Cheshire 50, Cornwall 100, Denbighshire 50, Derbyshire 50, Devon 200, Gloucestershire 200, Herefordshire 50, Lancashire 50, Shropshire 50, Somerset 300, Staffordshire 50 and Worcestershire 50.[43] The men were transported in January and February 1585.[44]

Levy of August 1586 – February 1590 (Partially sent)

In February 1587 a levy of 2,300 men was placed in readiness for Ireland. It was divided as follows: Breconshire 50, Cardiganshire 50, Carmarthenshire 50, Cheshire 100, Cornwall 100, Denbighshire 100, Derbyshire 100, Devon 200, Flintshire 100, Glamorgan 100, Gloucestershire 200, Herefordshire 100, Lancashire 100, Merioneth 50, Monmouthshire 100, Montgomeryshire 50, Pembrokeshire 100, Radnorshire 50, Shropshire 100, Somerset

[38] *APC 1580-1*, pp. 360-1.
[39] NA, SP12/148/27.
[40] NA, SP63/82/22, 59; 63/83/40, 55.
[41] NA, SP63/84/16.
[42] BL, Egerton MS 3048, fols. 176-8, 186-186b.
[43] NA, SP12/192/44.
[44] NA, SP12/176/43, 50, 64; 12/192/44; SP63/114/55.

200, Staffordshire 100, Wiltshire 100 and Worcestershire 100.[45] The levy remained in readiness until October 1588 when the troops were divided between the ports of Beaumaris (Flintshire, Merioneth and Montgomeryshire), Chester (Denbighshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire), Milford Haven (Breconshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, Glamorgan, Monmouthshire, Pembrokeshire and Radnorshire), Liverpool (Cheshire and Lancashire), Barnstaple (Devon), Padstow (Cornwall) and Bristol (Gloucestershire and Somerset). The numbers were changed slightly so that there were 2,000 men by exempting Derbyshire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire and Wiltshire and making the Breconshire and Carmarthenshire levies up to 100.[46] In early November 1588 the men were ordered to be stayed, although order was given for 300 men to be taken, consisting of Cheshire and Lancashire men, combined with the best of those from North Wales.[47] It seems unlikely, however, that these men went to Ireland as they were included in the later levies. The levy was not called again until January 1590 when it reverted to the numbers that had been laid out in February 1587.[48] The majority of the levy was cancelled and only the 400 men from Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire were sent in mid-February.[49] The 200 men from Devon were later transported as part of the 1590 levy.[50] The numbers that are used below in the table of cancelled levies include the men from Derbyshire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire and Wiltshire and the extra Welsh men included in 1588 as all these men were levied at some point.

Levy of March - May 1590 (Sent)

In March 1590 the 200 Devon men raised in 1589 were transported by Sir Walter Raleigh.[51] Following this 1,000 men were raised for Ireland as follows: Derbyshire 200, Herefordshire 100, Shropshire 100, Staffordshire 200, Warwickshire 200, Wiltshire 100

[45] The Welsh part of the levy seems to have been ordered in August 1586: NA, SP12/192/44; 12/198/61, 62; SP63/128/38.
[46] NA, SP12/217/42, 47; SP65/12/190.
[47] NA, SP12/218/9; SP65/12/195; *APC 1588*, pp. 330-1.
[48] The Pembrokeshire levy dropped to 50 in February, but a renewal of the order a few months previously shows it still on 100: *APC 1589-90*, pp. 294-8; NA, 65/12/284, 313.
[49] NA SP63/150/17; 63/151/15; 63/152/9; 63/156/23; SP65/12/331-2, 342-3; *APC 1589-90*, pp. 347-8, 329-30.
[50] *APC 1589-90*, pp. 403-6.
[51] *APC 1589-90*, pp. 403-6.

and Worcestershire 100. They were at port by the end of that month and were at Dublin by 5 May 1590.[52]

Levies of 1591-2 (Uncertain)

Details of impressment activity between 1591 and 1592 are sketchy. There is evidence that 300 soldiers were transported from Cornwall to Kinsale in October 1591, although it is unclear whether this was part of a larger levy. It can also be shown that 800 men were put in readiness in July 1591 and 700 were sent to port in April 1592, but neither levy was sent.[53] These figures have not been included in the table.

Levy of May 1593 (Not sent)

The *State Papers* contain a list of levies sent to Ireland in the early 1590s, compiled in 1596. The list states that a levy was ordered, but not sent in May 1593. The men were to be drawn from: Cheshire 138, Denbighshire 75, Derbyshire 138, Flintshire 75, Lancashire 138, Montgomeryshire 75, Radnorshire 75, Shropshire 138, Staffordshire 138 and Worcestershire 138.[54] The details are slightly different in the two other sources relating to this levy, which both give the Welsh figures as 138 drawn out of Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire and 138 from Flintshire and Denbighshire.[55] It is likely, therefore, that the levies were divided into groups of 150 and a dead pay of 12 men was allowed. The details in the table give the numbers without dead pays for the sake of consistency.

Levy of April – October 1594 (Partially sent)

In April 1594 a levy of 1,550 men was readied for Ireland, it was to be divided as follows: Breconshire 50, Cardiganshire 50, Carmarthenshire 50, Cheshire 200, Denbighshire 100, Derbyshire 100, Flintshire 100, Gloucestershire 100, Herefordshire 100, Lancashire 200, Montgomeryshire 50, Radnorshire 50, Shropshire 100, Staffordshire 100, Warwickshire 100 and Worcestershire 100. In May the Flintshire levy was reduced to 50 and the

[52] NA, SP63/151/15; SP65/12/358; *APC, 1589-90*, pp. 392-4, 419-20, 437-9, 440-1.
[53] NA, SP63/159/22; 63/164/11; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 4, p. 154.
[54] NA, SP12/260/40.
[55] NA, SP12/245/26; *APC 1592-3*, pp. 324-7.

Montgomeryshire levy increased to 100.[56] Half of the Cheshire and Lancashire men were sent in October, while the majority of the men were stayed and recalled as part of the levy ordered in March 1595.[57]

Levy of March - May 1595 (Sent)

In March 1595 the levy was recalled as follows: Cheshire 100, Denbighshire 50, Derbyshire 100, Flintshire 50, Gloucestershire 100, Herefordshire 100, Lancashire 100, Shropshire 100, Staffordshire 100, Warwickshire 100 and Worcestershire 100.[58] As can be seen it was a recall of the previous year's levy with a reduced Welsh contribution. This is confirmed by a second state papers list compiled in 1598, except that 100 from Suffolk are added.[59] This seems to be a mistake as the county is not mentioned in later orders relating to this levy.[60] Although it is possible that the Suffolk men departed from another port, possibly London, and that this was not recorded except in the 1598 list, I have not included them in the table. In March 1595 the men were ordered to go to Chester where the English troops embarked in April.[61] The 100 men from Denbighshire and Flintshire were withdrawn by their captain, Richard Trevor, as they were inadequate. They were replaced and the new men went to Ireland in May.[62] This is the first levy to be included in McGurk's data, which he dates as October 1594. These figures correspond to McGurk's except that his include the 100 Suffolk men.

Levy of April - September 1595 (Sent)

The 1596 list gives details for a levy of 990 men dated June 1595. There were levied as follows: Anglesey 30, Bedfordshire 40, Berkshire 50, Breconshire 50, Buckinghamshire 50, Caernarvonshire 30, Cambridgeshire 40, Cardiganshire 30, Essex 60, Glamorgan 50, Gloucestershire 60, Hertfordshire 50, Huntingdonshire 25, Leicestershire 40, Merioneth 30, Monmouthshire 50, Montgomeryshire 30, Northamptonshire 55, Nottinghamshire 40,

[56] NA, SP12/240/121; 12/248/87.
[57] The sending of the Lancashire and Cheshire men is confirmed in: NA, SP12/240/121; 12/250/18; 12/268/124-5.
[58] NA, SP12/260/40.
[59] NA, SP12/268/124-5.
[60] See for example, NA, SP63/179/11, 39.
[61] NA, SP63/179/4, 39.
[62] NA, SP63/179/39, 86.

Oxfordshire 40, Pembrokeshire 50, Radnorshire 30 and Somerset 60.[63] The men were ordered in April and in July transportation began from Chester, a process that lasted until the end of August.[64] The men arrived in September.[65] McGurk's findings are similar, but switch all the numbers from the Welsh levies with their counterparts in the following levy. All the data that I have found supports these numbers rather than McGurk's. That round numbers were used in 1595, but not in 1595-6, also supports placing the Welsh levies in this order. McGurk gives the total for Northamptonshire as 205 rather than 55. This is because his detailed study of the county showed a levy of 150 men for Ireland that took place in February 1595. It is unclear if this was part of a larger levy or whether Northamptonshire was levied alone. It has thus been excluded from this data.[66]

Levy of November 1595 - April 1596 (Sent)

The 1596 list gives the details for a levy of March 1596 as follows: Anglesey 46, Bedfordshire 54, Berkshire 44, Breconshire 35, Buckinghamshire 44, Caernarvonshire 46, Cambridgeshire 54, Cardiganshire 46, Carmarthenshire 100, Denbighshire 50, Essex 34, Flintshire 50, Glamorgan 35, Gloucestershire 34, Hertfordshire 44, Huntingdonshire 69, Leicestershire 34, Merioneth 46, Monmouthshire 35, Montgomeryshire 46, Northamptonshire 39, Nottinghamshire 54, Oxfordshire 54, Pembrokeshire 35, Radnorshire 46 and Somerset 34.[67] The levy was initially ordered to be put in readiness in November 1595, although the Carmarthenshire, Denbighshire and Flintshire men were not included.[68] In February and March 1596 the men were ordered to go to Ireland and the 200 extra Welshmen were included.[69] The men were shipped to Ireland from Chester in early April 1596.[70] McGurk's figures are similar but state 64 men for Huntingdonshire.[71]

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[63] NA, SP12/260/40. These figures are confirmed in, NA, SP12/268/124-5; *APC 1595-6*, pp. 262-3, 264-5.
[64] NA, SP63/179/57; 63/181/3, 19I, 40; 63/183/1.
[65] NA, SP63/183/37I, 57.
[66] McGurk, 'Recruitment and Transportation', p. 239.
[67] NA, SP12/260/40. The numbers are confirmed in, NA, SP12/268/124-5; Chester Record Office, ZM/MP/7/10-38; *APC 1595-6*, pp. 47-8, 262-5.
[68] *APC 1595-6*, pp. 47-8.
[69] NA, SP12/256/62; SP63/186/95; *APC 1595-6*, pp. 262-5.
[70] NA, SP63/188/19, 25, 38; *APC 1595-6*, pp. 331-3; *CSPI 1592-6*, p. 510.
[71] The Huntingdonshire men are listed as 64 in NA, SP12/260/40, but SP12/268/124-5 and the muster list at Chester show the number to have been 69: Chester Record Office, ZM/MP/7/18.

Appendix 2: English and Welsh levies for Ireland, 1558-1640

Levy of August - October 1596 (Sent)

The 1596 list includes a levy of September 1596 with details as follows: Bedfordshire 50, Berkshire 50, Buckinghamshire 50, Cambridgeshire 50, Cheshire 50, Derbyshire 50, Herefordshire 50, Huntingdonshire 50, Lancashire 50, Leicestershire 50, Lincolnshire 100, Northamptonshire 100, Nottinghamshire 50, Oxfordshire 50, Shropshire 50, Staffordshire 50, Warwickshire 50 and Worcestershire 50.[72] The troops were ordered in August 1596 and departed from Chester in October, arriving in Ireland at the end of that month.[73] McGurk cites the Cheshire and Lancashire levies as 47 rather than 50. This is because he uses a source that shows these levies with dead pays factored in.[74] He also includes 94 from London.[75]

Levy of October 1596 - Apr 1597 (Sent)

In October 1596 a large levy was put in place. The details of the levy were as follows: Breconshire 100, Caernarvonshire 50, Cardiganshire 100, Carmarthenshire 100, Cornwall 100, Denbighshire 100, Devon 300, Flintshire 100, Glamorgan 100, Gloucestershire 200, Merioneth 50, Monmouthshire 100, Montgomeryshire 50, Pembrokeshire 100, Radnorshire 50, and Yorkshire 400.[76] They arrived at port in December, but were all discharged due to unfavourable weather.[77] In January 1597 the levy was renewed and in April additional men were added to fill the decayed bands, which were levied in the "inland counties". These were as follows: Bedfordshire 33, Derbyshire 23, Herefordshire 56, Huntingdonshire 23, Lancashire 56, Leicestershire 56, Northamptonshire 56, Nottinghamshire 56, Shropshire 56, Staffordshire 33, Warwickshire 56 and Worcestershire 56.[78] The men who were to be embarked from Chester had left by May and the preparations at Bristol suggest that the

[72] NA, SP12/260/40. These numbers are confirmed by NA, SP12/260/41; 12/268/124-5; *APC 1596-7*, pp. 161-4.
[73] NA, SP63/192/28, 36; 63/194/27, 57; *APC 1596-7*, pp. 232-7.
[74] McGurk, 'Recruitment and Transportation', p. 259.
[75] I can find no evidence that the men from London were sent.
[76] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 116; NA, SP63/204/22-3; *APC 1596-7*, pp. 238-44.
[77] *APC 1596-7*, pp. 343-5, 401-2, 404-5.
[78] NA, SP63/197/64; *APC 1597*, pp. 21-8. Numbers are confirmed in, NA, SP12/268/124-5, 63/204/22-3; Chester Record Office, ZM/L/1, fols. 123-135.

men ordered to that port also departed successfully.[79] McGurk agrees on the data, but includes 47 men from Cheshire.[80]

Levy of June - August 1598 (Sent)

Late 1598 saw a flurry of levy activity triggered by military disasters in Ireland and it is during this period that my data disagrees most clearly with McGurk's. McGurk presents the English data for the following six levies (ending with January – February 1599) as a total figure for 1598. I argue that McGurk's figures are a significant underestimate of the number of men sent from the English counties during that year. The nature of the evidence means that it is difficult to ascertain why there is such a discrepancy. I would argue, however, that McGurk has discounted multiple levies from the same county in one year. For example, McGurk gives the total sent from Worcestershire in 1598 as 150. There were certainly 150 Worcestershire men among the 2,000 who arrived in Ireland during July 1598, but there were also 100 Worcestershire men among the 1,000 that were taken to Ireland by Sir Arthur Savage in December 1598, who McGurk does not include.[81] It is hoped that the following sketches of the 1598 levies will prove the accuracy of my larger estimate for that year. Discrepancies with the Welsh data, which McGurk splits into separate levies, will be discussed in each levy description.

In June 1598 the Privy Council ordered 2,000 men to be readied for Ireland as follows: Breconshire 100, Caernarvonshire 100, Cardiganshire 50, Carmarthenshire 100, Cheshire 150, Denbighshire 100, Glamorgan 100, Gloucestershire 200, Flintshire 50, Lancashire 200, Merioneth 50, Monmouthshire 100, Montgomeryshire 100, Radnorshire 50, Shropshire 150, Staffordshire 100, Warwickshire 150 and Worcestershire 150.[82] It was ordered that the men should be at port by 9 July.[83] Between 15-19 July all the men were embarked, except for those from Caernarvonshire who departed on 29 August.[84] On 22 July

[79] NA, SP63/199/20; *APC 1597*, pp. 69-70.
[80] McGurk references this levy from *APC 1597*, pp. 21-8, there is no levy from Cheshire in the list given on those pages. McGurk, 'Recruitment and Transportation', p. 259.
[81] NA, SP63/202(II)/104; 63/204/106; *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 401-2, 406.
[82] NA, SP12/271/37; 63/202(III)/74; 63/204/74V; *APC 1597-8*, p. 524.
[83] *APC 1597-8*, pp. 525-7.
[84] NA, SP63/202(II)/101, 104; 63/202(III)/6.

1,600 of the men arrived in Dublin, the rest following later due to poor weather conditions.[85] McGurk agrees with the Welsh numbers and dates the levy as August.

Levy of July - October 1598 (Sent)

On 23 July 1598 it was ordered that 950 men be levied to accompany the 950 Low Countries veterans who were to be transported to Ireland. They were to be levied from the following counties: Derbyshire 100, Herefordshire 100, Huntingdonshire 50, Leicestershire 100, Lincolnshire 150, Northamptonshire 100, Nottinghamshire 100, Somerset 150 and Wiltshire 100.[86] The last three counties were ordered to go to Plymouth to be transported with the Low Countries levies, while the rest went to Chester. By 23 August the Chester contingent were at port, from where they were dispatched to the north of Ireland at the beginning of September. The levies sent to Plymouth seem to have taken longer and only reached Ireland in October, when they arrived on the Munster coast.[87]

Levy of August - October 1598 (Sent)

After the defeat of Sir Henry Bagenal at Yellow Ford in August 1598 an order was placed for a levy of 2,100 men. They were to be divided as follows: Bedfordshire 50, Berkshire 100, Buckinghamshire 100, Cambridgeshire 50, Derbyshire 50, Essex 100, Herefordshire 50, Hertfordshire 50, Huntingdonshire 50, Kent 100, Leicestershire 50, Lincolnshire 150, London 400, Norfolk 200, Northamptonshire 100, Nottinghamshire 50, Oxfordshire 100, Rutland 50, Suffolk 200 and Sussex 100.[88] On the 10 September the Privy Council sent a letter out to the counties cancelling the majority of the levies and retaining only 1,000 men from the following counties: Berkshire 100, Buckinghamshire 100, Lincolnshire 100, London 300, Norfolk 200, Northamptonshire 100, and Suffolk 100.[89] By October, 800 of the men were at Chester, where it was noted that the Buckinghamshire men were of very low quality and those of Norfolk badly apparelled. It appears that, despite this, all 1,000 were sent.[90]

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[85] NA, SP63/202(II)/105.
[86] NA, SP12/271/37; SP63/202(III)/74; 63/204/77V; *APC 1597-8*, pp. 607-10.
[87] NA, SP12/268/55; *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 245, 280-1, 284-5.
[88] NA, SP63/204/84; *APC 1598-9*, pp. 94-7; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1598-1600*, p. 283.
[89] NA, SP63/202(III)/74; 63/204/88; *APC 1598-9*, pp. 155-9.
[90] NA, SP12/271/37; *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 272, 286.

Appendix 2: English and Welsh levies for Ireland, 1558-1640

Levy of October - December 1598 (Sent)

On 28 October 1598 2,000 more men were ordered to be sent to Munster from the counties of south-west England as follows: Cornwall 300, Devon 400, Dorset 200, Oxfordshire 200, Somerset 400, Southampton 300 and Wiltshire 200. They were ordered to be at port by the 15 November.[91] They were embarked towards the end of that month and arrived in Munster in early December.[92]

Levy of November 1598 – January 1599 (Sent)

On 29 November 1598 a further 1,000 men were ordered for Connacht from the following counties: Bedfordshire 200, Berkshire 200, Dorset 100, Leicestershire 100, Oxfordshire 100, Warwickshire 100, Wiltshire 100, and Worcestershire 100.[93] The men were at Bristol under the supervision of Sir Arthur Savage by 10 December but met with serious delays due to the weather, which resulted in desertion.[94] They eventually arrived in Dublin on 31 January and were dispatched to Connacht.[95]

Levy of January - February 1599 (Sent)

On 21 January 1599, the Privy Council sent out orders for a new 3,000 strong levy for Ireland, which was divided among the counties as follows: Breconshire 50, Cardiganshire 50, Carmarthenshire 50, Glamorgan 50, Merioneth 50, Monmouthshire 50, Montgomeryshire 50, Radnorshire 50 (via Milford Haven); Caernarvonshire 50, Cambridgeshire 200, Cheshire 150, Denbighshire 50, Derbyshire 100, Flintshire 50, Herefordshire 100, Hertfordshire 100, Huntingdonshire 100, Lancashire 200, Lincolnshire 200, Norfolk 200, Northamptonshire 100, Nottinghamshire 100, Shropshire 100, Staffordshire 100, Suffolk 200, Rutland 100 and Yorkshire 400 (via Chester).[96] The men had departed by the end of February.[97] McGurk's figures for the Welsh counties in January 1599 agree with these. The English figures are included as part of his total for 1598.

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[91] *APC 1598-9*, pp. 237-9; NA, SP12/271/37; SP63/202(III)/129; 63/204/90V.
[92] *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 379, 399.
[93] *APC 1598-9*, pp. 312-5; NA, SP12/271/37; SP63/204/106.
[94] *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 401-2, 406; *APC 1598-9*, pp. 485-6.
[95] *CSPI 1598-9*, p. 473.
[96] *APC 1598-9*, pp. 490-2, 540-5; NA, SP12/271/37; SP63/203/60.
[97] *APC 1598-9*, pp. 577-8; *CSPI 1598-9*, p. 470.

Appendix 2: English and Welsh levies for Ireland, 1558-1640

Levy of February - March 1599 (Sent)

On 18 February 1599 a further 2,000 men were ordered to be levied as follows: Bedfordshire 50, Buckinghamshire 150, Essex 150, Gloucestershire 200, Herefordshire 100, Hertfordshire 50, London 100, Middlesex 100, Shropshire 50, Somerset 100, Southampton 100 and Worcestershire 50 (via Bristol); Anglesey 50, Caernarvonshire 50, Denbighshire 50, Derbyshire 50, Flintshire 50, Glamorgan 50, Huntingdonshire 50, Lancashire 100, Lincolnshire 100, Leicestershire 50, Monmouthshire 50, Northamptonshire 50, Nottinghamshire 50 and Warwickshire 50 (via Chester).[98] The men were sent by the end of March.[99] The English figures are largely the same as McGurk's estimate for 1599, although he includes 200 from Cheshire, gives the Lancashire total as 200, the London total as 150, and the Somerset total as 50.[100] The Welsh figures are the same as those that McGurk estimates were sent in January 1600.

Levy of December 1599 – March 1600 (Sent)

Over the winter of 1599-1600 a large demand was made for troops to accompany Lord Mountjoy to Ireland. The details of the levies can be found in a plan written on 30 December 1599. It was ordered that 2,000 men should be at port by the end of January to reinforce the garrisons, which were to be levied as follows: Breconshire 100, Carmarthenshire 100, Glamorgan 100, Gloucestershire 150, Monmouthshire 150, Pembrokeshire 150, Somerset 150, Wiltshire 150, Worcestershire 150 (via Bristol); Anglesey 50, Caernarvonshire 100, Cardiganshire 50, Cheshire 100, Denbighshire 100, Flintshire 50, Merioneth 50, Montgomeryshire 100, Radnorshire 50 and Shropshire 150 (via Chester). A second levy of 3,000 men was ordered to be at port by 1 March and to be transported to Lough Foyle and Carrickfergus. They were to be levied as follows: Bedfordshire 50, Berkshire 100, Buckinghamshire 100, Cambridgeshire 50, Cornwall 50, Derbyshire 100, Devon 100, Dorset 50, Essex 100, Herefordshire 100, Hertfordshire 50, Huntingdonshire 50, Kent 100, Lancashire 200, Leicestershire 100, Lincolnshire 200,

[98] *APC 1598-9*, pp. 573-7; NA, SP12/271/37; SP63/204/116V.
[99] *CSPI 1599-1600*, p. 2.
[100] These extra men make up McGurk's total to 2000 without the Welshmen. The larger figures for Cheshire and Lancashire are those sent in the previous levy. It has not been possible to explain why the London and Somerset figures are different.

London 300, Middlesex 50, Norfolk 100, Northamptonshire 150, Nottinghamshire 100, Oxfordshire 50, Rutland 50, Southampton 50, Staffordshire 100, Suffolk 100, Surrey 50, Sussex 100, Warwickshire 100 and Yorkshire 200.[101] The Chester contingent of the first levy departed on 12 February, except for 50 of the Caernarvonshire men who were delayed for several days due to the poor quality of the troops.[102] They arrived in Ireland later that month and the Bristol troops arrived by 8 April.[103] The larger levy was probably transported during April, but may have remained until June.[104] McGurk dates this levy as January 1600. His figures only include the second levy and the 100 from Cheshire and 150 from Gloucestershire from the first levy.[105] He also decreases the Buckinghamshire total to 50 and increases the Surrey total to 150. This gives his total of 3,300 for England. He thus does not include the levies from Wales, Shropshire, Somerset, Wiltshire and Worcestershire.[106] He includes none of the Welsh levies almost certainly because their similarity to those sent between August and October 1600 makes it appear that they are the same levy. Letters from Chester in February 1600 show that the Welsh levies definitely went to Ireland at this time.[107]

Levy of June - September 1600 (Sent)

In June 1600 letters were sent to the English shires for 2,000 men to reinforce the army in Ireland. The levies were to be as follows: Berkshire 50, Buckinghamshire 50, Cheshire 50, Derbyshire 50, Dorset 50, Essex 50, Gloucestershire 50, Herefordshire 50, Kent 50, Lancashire 100, Leicestershire 50, Lincolnshire 100, London 200, Norfolk 100, Northamptonshire 100, Nottinghamshire 50, Oxfordshire 50, Shropshire 50, Somerset 100, Southampton 50, Staffordshire 50, Suffolk 100, Sussex 50, Warwickshire 50, Wiltshire 100, Worcestershire 50, Yorkshire 200.[108] The men departed in August, although the 200 Londoners were delayed until September.[109] These figures are the same as those presented

[101] NA, SP63/206/111. These numbers are confirmed by, NA, SP12/274/15; SP63/207/5; NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 153.
[102] NA, SP63/207/111; *CSPI 1599-1600*, pp. 474, 479-80, 487-91.
[103] *CSPI 1600*, pp. 1-5, 81-3.
[104] NA, E101/66/19; *CSPI 1600*, pp. 66-9, 200-1; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 10, pp. 225-7.
[105] The letters for those two counties survive in, *CSPD 1598-1601*, pp. 376-7.
[106] The Welsh levy that McGurk gives for this date is that sent in March 1599.
[107] *CSPI 1599-1600*, pp. 474, 479-80, 487-91; NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 152-3.
[108] NA, SP12/275/12; *APC 1599-1600*, pp. 412-6.
[109] *CSPI 1600*, pp. 333-4, 339-40, 359, 430.

by McGurk, except that he includes an extra 50 men from Lancashire who are here included in the next levy.

Levy of August - October 1600 (Sent)

In August 1600 letters were sent for a levy to fill the garrisons in Lough Foyle and Munster. The men were to be levied as follows: Breconshire 100, Cardiganshire 50, Carmarthenshire 100, Glamorgan 100, Monmouthshire 50, Pembrokeshire 100, Radnorshire 100 (for Munster via Bristol); Anglesey 50, Caernarvonshire 100, Denbighshire 100, Flintshire 50, Montgomeryshire 100 (for Lough Foyle via Chester); Lancashire 50 and Merioneth 50 (for Carrickfergus via Chester).[110] The lists also include 350 London men, but these are almost certainly the men from the previous and following levies who were sent together. The Chester contingent had embarked by 25 September, while the Bristol troops did not leave until October and a ship carrying 200 men was blown into Milford Haven, where many deserted.[111] McGurk dates the Welsh element of this levy as June and leaves out the Merioneth men.[112] He does, however, include the 50 Lancashire men, who were probably raised to make the Merioneth men up to a company of 100, in the previous levy.

Levy of December 1600 – March 1601 (Sent)

On 7 December 1600 the Privy Council ordered 1,000 men for Ireland to be levied as follows: Cornwall 20, Devon 40, Dorset 20, Somerset 40, Wiltshire 30 (via Barnstaple); Berkshire 20, Breconshire 15, Buckinghamshire 20, Cardiganshire 15, Carmarthenshire 25, Denbighshire 15, Glamorgan 20, Gloucestershire 30, Herefordshire 25, Monmouthshire 20, Oxfordshire 20, Pembrokeshire 15, Radnorshire 15 (via Bristol); Bedfordshire 15, Caernarvonshire 15, Cheshire 20, Derbyshire 15, Flintshire 10, Hertfordshire 15, Lancashire 30, Leicestershire 15, Lincolnshire 45, London 150, Merioneth 10, Middlesex 20, Montgomeryshire 20, Northamptonshire 25, Nottinghamshire 15, Shropshire 30, Staffordshire 30, Surrey 15, Warwickshire 20, Worcestershire 20 and Yorkshire 60 (via

[110] NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 165; *APC 1599-1600*, pp. 561-6.
[111] NA, SP63/207(V)/43; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 10, pp. 350-1.
[112] The Merioneth men were certainly sent as they are included in a list demonstrating how many artificers were sent as part of this levy: NA, SP63/207(V)/43.

Chester).[113] Although the London men seem to have been transported with their colleagues from the levy made in the summer, the rest of the troops were delayed until March 1601 due to the winds and even then several ships were driven onto the North Wales coast during their journey. Thus only 673 arrived at that time, with an unknown number following from Wales.[114] These details are the same as those collected by McGurk and dated December 1600.

Levy of April - June 1601 (Sent)

On 28 April 1601 another 1,000 troops were ordered to be levied for Lough Foyle, probably due to the partial failure of the levy of December – March, the division of the levy among the counties was similar, although not identical, to the previous levy. Indeed some of these men may have been those who shipwrecked along the Welsh coast earlier in the year. The men were sent from: Cornwall 20, Devon 40, Dorset 20, Somerset 50, Wiltshire 40 (via Barnstaple); Bedfordshire 20, Berkshire 25, Breconshire 15, Buckinghamshire 25, Caernarvonshire 15, Cardiganshire 15, Carmarthenshire 25, Cheshire 25, Denbigh 15, Flintshire 10, Glamorgan 20, Gloucestershire 40, Herefordshire 25, Hertfordshire 20, Lancashire 40, Leicestershire 20, London 175, Merioneth 10, Middlesex 25, Monmouthshire 20, Montgomeryshire 20, Northamptonshire 40, Oxfordshire 25, Pembrokeshire 15, Radnorshire 15, Shropshire 35, Staffordshire 30, Surrey 15, Warwickshire 25 and Worcestershire 25 (via Chester).[115] The Chester contingent were mustered at port on 26 May by Captain John Vaughan and arrived in Ireland at the beginning of June.[116] The Barnstaple men were still expected to arrive on 12 June and as there is no record of their recall it should be assumed that they made the journey.[117] These figures agree with McGurk's dated April 1601.

Levy of July - September 1601 (Partially sent)

On 23 July 1601 an order was made for a levy of 2,000 men to deal with the Spanish presence in Munster. They were to be levied as follows: Cornwall 25, Devon 100, Dorset

[113] Chester Record Office, ZM/MP/11; *APC 1599-1600*, pp. 789-90, 795-9; *APC 1600-1*, pp. 21-3.
[114] *CSPI 1600-1*, p. 221.
[115] Chester Record Office, ZM/MP/12; *APC 1600-1*, pp. 311-8.
[116] *CSPI 1600-1*, pp. 359, 368.
[117] *CSPI 1600-1*, p. 380.

50, Southampton 100 (via Barnstaple); Breconshire 25, Cardiganshire 25, Carmarthenshire 50, Glamorgan 50, Gloucestershire 100, Herefordshire 50, Leicestershire 50, Monmouth 30, Northamptonshire 100, Pembrokeshire 40, Radnorshire 25, Shropshire 50, Somerset 100, Warwickshire 50, Wiltshire 100, Worcestershire 50, (via Bristol); Caernarvonshire 40, Cheshire 50, Denbighshire 30, Derbyshire 50, Flintshire 20, Huntingdonshire 50, Lancashire 100, Merioneth 25, Montgomeryshire 40, Nottinghamshire 50, Rutland 25, Staffordshire 50, and Yorkshire 300 (via Chester). The Chester and Bristol men were to be at port by 9 August and the Barnstaple men by 6 August.[118] The men arrived in Munster by 4 September.[119] These figures agree with the figures McGurk dates as August 1601, although he lists Cheshire's levy as 25.[120] This difference is of no consequence, however, as the Lancashire and Cheshire men were not sent and were included in the larger number sent in September - November.[121]

Levy of September - November 1601 (Sent)

On 29 September 1601, with a Spanish landing in Ireland imminent, 2,100 men were ordered to be levied.[122] By 6 October it had been decided that this was not enough and the number was increased to 5,000. The men were to be levied as follows: Cornwall 100, Devon 300, Dorset 100, Somerset 250, Southampton 100, Wiltshire 125 (for Waterford via Barnstaple); Bedfordshire 30, Berkshire 60, Buckinghamshire 50, Cambridgeshire 60, Essex 300, Hertfordshire 60, Huntingdonshire 50, Kent 200, London 400, Middlesex 50, Norfolk 200, Northamptonshire 150, Oxfordshire 60, Suffolk 200, Surrey 30, Sussex 100 (for Munster via Rochester); Breconshire 50, Cardiganshire 30, Carmarthenshire 60, Derbyshire 60, Glamorgan 50, Gloucestershire 200, Herefordshire 75, Leicestershire 60, Monmouthshire 40, Nottinghamshire 60, Pembrokeshire 40, Radnorshire 30, Rutland 30, Shropshire 60, Staffordshire 60, Warwickshire 60, Worcestershire 60 (for Munster via Bristol); Anglesey 50, Caernarvonshire 60, Cheshire 60, Denbighshire 60, Flintshire 30, Lancashire 150, Lincolnshire 200, Merioneth 30, Montgomeryshire 60 and Yorkshire 300

[118] NA, SP63/208(III)/100; *APC 1601-4*, pp. 79-83; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1601-3*, p. 116.
[119] *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 49, 61-2; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1601-3*, pp. 121, 142.
[120] The figure of 25 for Cheshire is probably drawn from the levy of 2,100 men made on 29 September 1601. That figure was increased to 60 in October: *APC 1601-4*, pp. 222-6.
[121] J.J.N. McGurk, *The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland: the 1590s crisis* (Manchester and New York, 1997), pp. 113, 121.
[122] *APC 1601-4*, pp. 222-6.

(for Lough Foyle via Chester).[123] The troops arrived at their various locations in late October and early November.[124] These details agree with the levy that McGurk dates as October 1601.

Levy of December 1601 – January 1602 (Sent)

On 23 December 1601 a further 2,000 men were ordered to meet the Spanish threat. They were to be levied from: Cornwall 100 (via Padstow); Devon 350, Somerset 300 (via Barnstaple); Breconshire 50, Cardiganshire 25, Carmarthenshire 100, Dorset 200, Glamorgan 100, Gloucester 200, Herefordshire 200, Monmouthshire 100, Pembrokeshire 50, Radnorshire 25, and Wiltshire 200 (via Bristol).[125] The men were ordered to be in port by 10 January and were transported to Cork.[126] The Welsh levies are not included by McGurk in the levy, which he dates December 1601. The transportation of the Welsh can be proven by the money paid for the apparel and conducting of the levies from Cardiganshire, Glamorgan and Radnorshire.[127] He also includes 20 from Derbyshire and 60 from Northamptonshire, which are included in the following levy.

Levy of December 1601 - May 1602 (Sent)

A further 2,000 men were ordered on 31 December 1601 for Munster, which were to be drawn from: Bedfordshire 20, Berkshire 30, Buckinghamshire 30, Essex 100, Hertfordshire 25, Kent 100, Middlesex 50, Oxfordshire 30, Southampton 60, Surrey 15, Sussex 50 (via Southampton); Cambridgeshire 25, Huntingdonshire 20, London 500, Norfolk 100, Northamptonshire 60, Suffolk 100, Worcestershire 30 (via Bristol); Anglesey 10, Caernarvonshire 20, Cheshire 20, Denbighshire 20, Derbyshire 20, Flintshire 10, Lancashire 80, Leicestershire 50, Lincolnshire 100, Merioneth 20, Montgomeryshire 20, Nottinghamshire 30, Rutland 15, Shropshire 30, Staffordshire 30, Warwickshire 30, and Yorkshire 150 (via Chester). They were ordered to be at port by 20 January and they seem to have been sent in May.[128] McGurk's figures, which he dates January 1602, include an

[123] *APC 1601-4*, pp. 233, 239-42.
[124] *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 138, 166-7, 173, 181; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 11, pp. 454, 475, 487.
[125] NA, SP15/34/55; *APC 1601-4*, pp. 440-4.
[126] *APC 1601-4*, pp. 470-1; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 12, p. 13.
[127] NA, SP15/34/55.
[128] NA, E101/66/19; *APC 1601-4*, pp. 475-9.

extra 100 Lancashire men, which the records at Chester show were part of the following levy.[129]

Levy of May - July 1602 (Sent)

The mayoral records of Chester and Exchequer indenture lists demonstrate that a levy was sent from Chester at this time: Bedfordshire 30, Berkshire 50, Buckinghamshire 50, Caernarvonshire 30, Cheshire 50, Denbighshire 30, Derbyshire 50, Flintshire 20, Huntingdonshire 30, Lancashire 100, Leicestershire 50, Lincolnshire 200, Merioneth 30, Montgomeryshire 30, Northamptonshire 100, Nottinghamshire 50, Oxfordshire 50, Shropshire 100, Staffordshire 50, Warwickshire 100, Worcestershire 100 and Yorkshire 200.[130] These were accompanied by men, probably sent via Bristol: Breconshire 50, Cornwall 100, Devon 100, Gloucestershire 100, Herefordshire 25, Hertfordshire 25, Kent 50, Pembrokeshire 75, Somerset 100, Southampton 100 and Wiltshire 100.[131] McGurk disagrees on several of the companies sent via Chester, stating that Huntingdonshire sent 50, Lancashire 50, Lincolnshire 50, Merioneth 50, Shropshire 50, Worcestershire 50 and Yorkshire 150.[132] The levies taken at Chester disagree with his figures.

Levy of August 1602 (Uncertain)

The Exchequer indenture lists show that a sizeable levy was organised at this time. This has not been included in the table as there is no complete list. The indentures, however, show that 50 went from Breconshire, 15 from Cardiganshire, 50 from Carmarthenshire, 20 from Denbighshire, 20 from Merioneth and 25 from Monmouthshire. They were joined by 25 from Buckinghamshire, 30 from Cheshire, 30 from Dorset, 50 from Essex, 20 from Hertfordshire, 50 from Lancashire, 50 from Norfolk, 60 from Northamptonshire and 60 from Somerset.[133] It is unclear whether these men were ever sent.

[129] Chester Record Office, ZM/MP/13.
[130] Chester Record Office, ZM/MP/13; NA, E101/65/13-30, 66/1-19.
[131] McGurk, 'Recruitment and transportation', pp. 105-7.
[132] The figures for Kent between 1598 and 1602 are confirmed by BL, Add. MS 34,218, fols. 87-8.
[133] NA, E101/65/13-30; E101/66/1-19.

Appendix 2: English and Welsh levies for Ireland, 1558-1640

Levy of October - December 1607 (Uncertain)

In October 1607, 800 men were ordered for Ireland. It is difficult to ascertain where the men came from, but 60 were from Cumberland and Westmorland, 50 from Derbyshire, 100 from Devon and 140 from Northumberland. It is also likely that 100 came from Cornwall as 200 of the men were transported from Barnstaple, the usual port of departure for men from that county. The men had arrived in Ireland by December. [134]

Levy of June - July 1608 (Sent)

In June 1608, it was ordered that 700 men should be sent to Ireland from the following counties: Essex 50, Gloucester 100, Kent 50, Leicestershire 50, London 250, Middlesex 25, Nottinghamshire 50, Surrey 25, Warwickshire 50 and Worcestershire 50.[135] They were at Chester by the end of June and arrived in Dublin by 14 July.[136]

Levy of June 1613 – March 1615 (Not sent)

On 13 June 1613, 1,850 men were ordered to be put in readiness for Ireland due to the decayed nature of the army there. The men were: Breconshire 100, Caernarvonshire 100, Cardiganshire 50, Carmarthenshire 100, Cheshire 100, Denbighshire 100, Flintshire 50, Glamorgan 100, Herefordshire 100, Lancashire 200, Merioneth 50, Monmouthshire 100, Montgomeryshire 100, Radnorshire 50, Shropshire 150, Staffordshire 100, Warwickshire 150 and Worcestershire 150.[137] The order was renewed on 10 May 1614 and 30 March 1615.[138]

Levy of July 1616 (Sent)

In July 1616, 300 men were levied to fill the decayed Irish companies. The men were levied as follows: Derbyshire 25, Devon 25, Dorset 25, Gloucestershire 25, Herefordshire

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[134] NA, SP63/222/195; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 19, pp. 282-3, 298-9, 343, 348, 363, 373-4.
[135] Chester Record Office, ZM/MP/14; *CSPI 1606-8*, pp. 547-9, 610.
[136] NA, SP63/222/137; Chester Record Office ZM/MP/14; *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 4, 610; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 20, p. 197.
[137] NA, SP63/236/27; *APC 1613-4*, pp. 111-2.
[138] *APC 1613-4*, pp. 432-4; *APC 1615-6*, pp. 89-90.

25, Leicestershire 25, Shropshire 25, Somerset 25, Staffordshire 25, Warwickshire 25, Wiltshire 25 and Worcestershire 25. They arrived in Dublin on 31 July 1616.[139]

Levy of November 1621 (Not sent)

In November 1621 the men who had been readied in June 1613 were, once again, ordered to remain in readiness. They were to be supplemented by 200 men from Cornwall, 300 from Devon, 200 from Dorset, 250 from Somerset, and 200 out of Southampton.[140] They were still not sent.

Levy of November 1624 - April 1625 (Sent)

There are a large number of lists for this levy. The first is that given on 24 November 1624 that gives the following numbers: Anglesey 50, Breconshire 100, Caernarvonshire 100, Cardiganshire 50, Carmarthenshire 100, Cheshire 250, Cornwall 300, Cumberland 50, Denbighshire 100, Devon 300, Durham 50, Flintshire 50, Glamorgan 150, Lancashire 300, Merioneth 50, Montgomeryshire 100, Northumberland 100, Pembrokeshire 100, Radnorshire 50 and Westmorland 50.[141] A list from 16 February 1625 disagrees on some points giving Cheshire as 150 and Lancashire as 250.[142] A list made two days later agrees with that of the 16th.[143] This seems the correct formulation as the figure of 2,250 men is cited in several letters.[144] That the men were sent can be seen by the disaster that befell some of the ships.

Levy of April – May 1625 (Sent)

300 men from the above levy were killed when their ship sank at sea and a new levy was ordered to replace them.[145] 190 men were ordered from the counties around Chester as follows: Caernarvonshire 32, Cheshire 32, Denbighshire 32, Flintshire 17 Lancashire 27,

[139] *APC 1615-6*, pp. 697-702; *APC 1616-7*, pp. 6-7, 65, 77-8.
[140] NA, SP63/236/27; *APC 1621-3*, pp. 89-90.
[141] *APC 1623-5*, pp. 371-2.
[142] *APC 1623-5*, pp. 467-8.
[143] *APC 1623-5*, pp. 473-4.
[144] *APC 1623-5*, pp. 338, 473-4.
[145] *APC 1625-6*, p. 20.

Merioneth 18 and Montgomeryshire 32. They were transported from Chester and Liverpool in late May.[146]

Later levies

The levy of 1625 is the last for which it has been possible to find evidence. The more peaceful atmosphere of the period between the late 1620s and 1640 required fewer men and, if soldiers were sent, the levies seem to have been too small to leave evidence among the *State Papers* or appear in the letters of the Privy Council. In 1641 Parliament ordered 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse to be sent to Ireland to deal with the Irish rebellion, this was later increased to 10,000 foot. A detailed study of the levy has been carried out by Ian Ryder. He demonstrates that the levy, like most levies during the 1640s and 1650s, was raised by individual officers rather then through the county administration.[147] Levies carried out in this fashion left little evidence and thus it is not possible to reconstruct the regional origins of the men raised by the levy of 1641. In November 1641, however, the ordinance ordering the levy stated that it should concentrate on "such several parts of the Kingdom as shall be most convenient for their passage into the parts of Ireland".[148] It is likely, therefore, that, like earlier levies, many of the men were drawn from Wales and the west of England.

[146] *APC 1625-6*, pp. 75-6.
[147] Ian Ryder, *An English army for Ireland* (London, 1987); Hugh Hazlett, 'A history of the military forces operating in Ireland, 1641-1649' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Queens University Belfast, 1938), pp. 184, 418-9, 423.
[148] *LJ*, vol. 4, pp. 424-5.

Table A2.1. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (sent levies)

	Shire	June - Aug 1566	Feb – Apr 1567	Jan – Mar 1571	Jan - May 1574	June 1574 - Aug 1580	July - Oct 1580	July - Nov 1580	Mar - June 1581	Jan - Nov 1582
North Wales	Anglesey					50			25	
	Caernarvonshire					50			25	
	Denbighshire				25	50			25	
	Flintshire		40		25	50			25	
	Merioneth				25	50			25	
	Montgomeryshire				25	50			25	
	Total	*0*	*40*	*0*	*100*	*300*	*0*	*0*	*150*	*0*
South Wales	Breconshire					50			25	
	Cardiganshire					50			25	
	Carmarthenshire					50			25	
	Glamorgan					75			25	
	Pembrokeshire			34		50			25	
	Radnorshire					50			25	
	Total	*0*	*0*	*34*	*0*	*325*	*0*	*0*	*150*	*0*
	Monmouthshire	50				75			25	
Wales	*Total*	*50*	*40*	*34*	*100*	*700*	*0*	*0*	*325*	*0*
England	Bedfordshire									
	Berkshire				50					
	Buckinghamshire									
	Cambridgeshire									
	Cheshire		50		100					50
	Cornwall					200				50
	Cumberland									
	Derbyshire		30		33				150	
	Devon	200				400				50
	Dorset					100		100		
	Durham									
	Essex									
	Gloucestershire	150				100		200		50

Table A2.1. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (sent levies)

	Shire	June - Aug 1566	Feb - Apr 1567	Jan - Mar 1571	Jan - May 1574	June 1574 - Aug 1580	July - Oct 1580	July - Nov 1580	Mar - June 1581	Jan - Nov 1582
England (cont.)	Hampshire									
	Herefordshire	50			33	50		100	25	
	Hertfordshire									
	Huntingdonshire									
	Kent									
	Lancashire		50		100			100	100	50
	Leicestershire								100	
	Lincolnshire									
	London	100					300	500		
	Middlesex									
	Norfolk									
	Northamptonshire									
	Northumberland									
	Nottinghamshire									
	Oxfordshire				50					
	Rutland									
	Shropshire		40		100	100			50	
	Somerset	150				300		200		50
	Staffordshire		40		33					
	Suffolk									
	Surrey									
	Sussex									
	Warwickshire								150	
	Westmorland									
	Wiltshire							100	100	
	Worcestershire					50		200		
	Yorkshire									
	Total	*650*	*210*	*0*	*499*	*1300*	*300*	*1500*	*675*	*300*
Total		**700**	**250**	**34**	**599**	**2000**	**300**	**1500**	**1000**	**300**

Table A2.1. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (sent levies)

	Shire	Dec 1584 – Feb 1585	Aug 1586 - Feb 1590	Mar - May 1590	Apr – Oct 1594	Mar – May 1595	Apr - Sept 1595	Nov 1595 - Apr 1596	Aug – Oct 1596
North Wales	Anglesey						30	46	
	Caernarvonshire						30	46	
	Denbighshire	50				50		50	
	Flintshire					50		50	
	Merioneth						30	46	
	Montgomeryshire						30	46	
	Total	*50*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*100*	*120*	*284*	*0*
South Wales	Breconshire						50	35	
	Cardiganshire						30	46	
	Carmarthenshire							100	
	Glamorgan						50	35	
	Pembrokeshire						50	35	
	Radnorshire						30	46	
	Total	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*210*	*297*	*0*
	Monmouthshire		100	0			50	35	
Wales	*Total*	*50*	*100*	*0*	*0*	*100*	*380*	*616*	*0*
England	Bedfordshire						40	54	50
	Berkshire						50	44	50
	Buckinghamshire						50	44	50
	Cambridgeshire						40	54	50
	Cheshire	50			100	100			50
	Cornwall	100							
	Cumberland								
	Derbyshire	50		200		100			50
	Devon	200		200					
	Dorset								
	Durham								
	Essex						60	34	

Table A2.1. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (sent levies)

	Shire	Dec 1584 – Feb 1585	Aug 1586 – Feb 1590	Mar - May 1590	Apr – Oct 1594	Mar – May 1595	Apr - Sept 1595	Nov 1595 - Apr 1596	Aug – Oct 1596
England (cont.)	Gloucestershire	200				100	60	34	
	Hampshire								
	Herefordshire	50	100	100		100			50
	Hertfordshire						50	44	
	Huntingdonshire						25	69	50
	Kent								
	Lancashire	50			100	100			50
	Leicestershire						40	34	50
	Lincolnshire								100
	London								
	Middlesex								
	Norfolk								
	Northamptonshire						55	39	100
	Northumberland								
	Nottinghamshire						40	54	50
	Oxfordshire						40	54	50
	Rutland								
	Shropshire	50	100	100		100			50
	Somerset	300					60	34	
	Staffordshire	50		200		100			50
	Suffolk								
	Surrey								
	Sussex								
	Warwickshire			200		100			50
	Westmorland								
	Wiltshire			100					
	Worcestershire	50	100	100		100			50
	Yorkshire								
	Total	*1150*	*300*	*1200*	*200*	*900*	*610*	*592*	*1000*
Total		**1200**	**400**	**1200**	**200**	**1000**	**990**	**1208**	**1000**

Table A2.1. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (sent levies)

	Shire	Oct 1596 - Apr 1597	June - Aug 1598	July - Oct 1598	Aug – Oct 1598	Oct – Dec 1598	Nov 1598 – Jan 1599	Jan - Feb 1599	Feb – Mar 1599
North Wales	Anglesey								50
	Caernarvonshire	50	100					50	50
	Denbighshire	100	100					50	50
	Flintshire	100	50					50	50
	Merioneth	50	50					50	
	Montgomeryshire	50	100					50	
	Total	*350*	*400*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*250*	*200*
South Wales	Breconshire	100	100					50	
	Cardiganshire	100	50					50	
	Carmarthenshire	100	100					50	
	Glamorgan	100	100					50	50
	Pembrokeshire	100							
	Radnorshire	50	50					50	
	Total	*550*	*400*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*250*	*50*
	Monmouthshire	100	100					50	50
Wales	*Total*	*1000*	*900*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*550*	*300*
England	Bedfordshire	33					200		50
	Berkshire				100		200		
	Buckinghamshire				100				150
	Cambridgeshire							200	
	Cheshire		150					150	
	Cornwall	100				300			
	Cumberland								
	Derbyshire	23		100				100	50
	Devon	300				400			
	Dorset					200	100		
	Durham								
	Essex								150

Table A2.1. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (sent levies)

	Shire	Oct 1596 - Apr 1597	June – Aug 1598	July - Oct 1598	Aug – Oct 1598	Oct – Dec 1598	Nov 1598 – Jan 1599	Jan - Feb 1599	Feb – Mar 1599
England (cont.)	Gloucestershire	200	200						200
	Hampshire					300			100
	Herefordshire	56		100				100	100
	Hertfordshire							100	50
	Huntingdonshire	23		50				100	50
	Kent								
	Lancashire	56	200					200	100
	Leicestershire	56		100			100		50
	Lincolnshire			150	100			200	100
	London				300				100
	Middlesex								100
	Norfolk				200			200	
	Northamptonshire	56		100	100			100	50
	Northumberland								
	Nottinghamshire	56		100				100	50
	Oxfordshire					200	100		
	Rutland							100	
	Shropshire	56	150					100	50
	Somerset			150		400			100
	Staffordshire	33	100					100	
	Suffolk				100			200	
	Surrey								
	Sussex								
	Warwickshire	56	150				100		50
	Westmorland								
	Wiltshire			100		200	100		
	Worcestershire	56	150				100		50
	Yorkshire	400						400	
	Total	*1560*	*1100*	*950*	*1000*	*2000*	*1000*	*2450*	*1700*
Total		**2560**	**2000**	**950**	**1000**	**2000**	**1000**	**3000**	**2000**

Table A2.1. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (sent levies)

	Shire	Dec 1599 - Mar 1600	June - Sept 1600	Aug – Oct 1600	Dec 1600 - Mar 1601	Apr - June 1601	July - Sept 1601	Sept - Nov 1601	Dec 1601 - Jan 1602
North Wales	Anglesey	50		50				50	
	Caernarvonshire	100		100	15	15	40	60	
	Denbighshire	100		100	15	15	30	60	
	Flintshire	50		50	10	10	20	30	
	Merioneth	50		50	10	10	25	30	
	Montgomeryshire	100		100	20	20	40	60	
	Total	*450*	*0*	*450*	*70*	*70*	*155*	*290*	*0*
South Wales	Breconshire	100		100	15	15	25	50	50
	Cardiganshire	50		50	15	15	25	30	25
	Carmarthenshire	100		100	25	25	50	60	100
	Glamorgan	100		100	20	20	50	50	100
	Pembrokeshire	150		100	15	15	40	40	50
	Radnorshire	50		100	15	15	25	30	25
	Total	*550*	*0*	*550*	*105*	*105*	*215*	*260*	*350*
	Monmouthshire	150		50	20	20	30	40	100
Wales	*Total*	*1150*	*0*	*1050*	*195*	*195*	*400*	*590*	*450*
England	Bedfordshire	50			15	20		30	
	Berkshire	100	50		20	25		60	
	Buckinghamshire	100	50		20	25		50	
	Cambridgeshire	50						60	
	Cheshire	100	50		20	25		60	
	Cornwall	50			20	20	25	100	100
	Cumberland								
	Derbyshire	100	50		15		50	60	
	Devon	100			40	40	100	300	350
	Dorset	50	50		20	20	50	100	200
	Durham								
	Essex	100	50					300	

Table A2.1. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (sent levies)

	Shire	Dec 1599 - Mar 1600	June - Sept 1600	Aug – Oct 1600	Dec 1600 - Mar 1601	Apr - June 1601	July - Sept 1601	Sept - Nov 1601	Dec 1601 - Jan 1602
England (cont.)	Gloucestershire	150	50		30	40	100	200	200
	Hampshire	50	50				100	100	
	Herefordshire	100	50		25	25	50	75	200
	Hertfordshire	50			15	20		60	
	Huntingdonshire	50					50	50	
	Kent	100	50					200	
	Lancashire	200	100	50	30	40		150	
	Leicestershire	100	50		15	20	50	60	
	Lincolnshire	200	100		45			200	
	London	300	200		150	175		400	
	Middlesex	50			20	25		50	
	Norfolk	100	100					200	
	Northamptonshire	150	100		25	40	100	150	
	Northumberland								
	Nottinghamshire	100	50		15		50	60	
	Oxfordshire	50	50		20	25		60	
	Rutland	50					25	30	
	Shropshire	150	50		30	35	50	60	
	Somerset	150	100		40	50	100	250	300
	Staffordshire	100	50		30	30	50	60	
	Suffolk	100	100					200	
	Surrey	50			15	15		30	
	Sussex	100	50					100	
	Warwickshire	100	50		20	25	50	60	
	Westmorland								
	Wiltshire	150	100		30	40	100	125	200
	Worcestershire	150	50		20	25	50	60	
	Yorkshire	200	200		60		300	300	
	Total	*3850*	*2000*	*50*	*805*	*805*	*1450*	*4410*	*1550*
Total		**5000**	**2000**	**1100**	**1000**	**1000**	**1850**	**5000**	**2000**

Table A2.1. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (sent levies)

	Shire	Dec 1601 - May 1602	May - July 1602	June - July 1608	July 1616	Nov 1624 - Apr 1625	Apr - May 1625	Totals
North Wales	Anglesey	10				50		**411**
	Caernarvonshire	20	30			100	32	**913**
	Denbighshire	20	30			100	32	**1052**
	Flintshire	10	20			50	17	**757**
	Merioneth	20	30			50	18	**619**
	Montgomeryshire	20	30			100	32	**898**
	Total	*100*	*140*	*0*	*0*	*450*	*131*	***4650***
South Wales	Breconshire		50			100		**915**
	Cardiganshire					50		**611**
	Carmarthenshire					100		**985**
	Glamorgan					150		**1075**
	Pembrokeshire		75			100		**879**
	Radnorshire					50		**611**
	Total	*0*	*125*	*0*	*0*	*550*		***5076***
	Monmouthshire					0	0	**1045**
Welsh	*Total*	*100*	*265*	*0*	*0*	*1000*	*131*	***10771***
England	Bedfordshire	20	30					**592**
	Berkshire	30	50					**829**
	Buckinghamshire	30	50					**719**
	Cambridgeshire	25						**479**
	Cheshire	20	50			150	32	**1307**
	Cornwall		100			300		**1465**
	Cumberland					50		**50**
	Derbyshire	20	50		25			**1256**
	Devon		100		25	300		**3105**
	Dorset				25			**1015**
	Durham					50		**50**
	Essex	100		50				**844**

Table A2.1. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (sent levies)

	Shire	Dec 1601 – May 1602	May – July 1602	June - July 1608	July 1616	Nov 1624 - Apr 1625	Apr - May 1625	Totals
England (cont.)	Gloucestershire		100	100	25			**2489**
	Hampshire	60	100					**860**
	Herefordshire		25		25			**1589**
	Hertfordshire	25	25					**439**
	Huntingdonshire	20	30					**567**
	Kent	100	50	50				**550**
	Lancashire	80	100			250	27	**2283**
	Leicestershire	50	50	50	25			**1000**
	Lincolnshire	100	200					**1495**
	London	500		250				**3275**
	Middlesex	50		25				**320**
	Norfolk	100						**900**
	Northamptonshire	60	100					**1325**
	Northumberland					100		**100**
	Nottinghamshire	30	50	50				**855**
	Oxfordshire	30	50					**779**
	Rutland	15						**220**
	Shropshire	30	100		25			**1576**
	Somerset		100		25			**2859**
	Staffordshire	30	50		25			**1131**
	Suffolk	100						**800**
	Surrey	15		25				**150**
	Sussex	50						**300**
	Warwickshire	30	100	50	25			**1366**
	Westmorland					50		**50**
	Wiltshire		100		25			**1570**
	Worcestershire	30	100	50	25			**1566**
	Yorkshire	150	200					**2210**
	Total	*1900*	*2060*	*700*	*300*	*1250*	*59*	***44335***
Total		**2000**	**2325**	**700**	**300**	**2250**	**190**	**55106**

Table A2.2. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (cancelled levies)

	Shire	Mar 1561 - Apr 1562	June 1574 - Aug 1580	Aug 1586 - Feb 1590	May 1593	Apr - Oct 1594	July - Sept 1601	June 1613 - Mar 1615	Nov 1621	Totals
North Wales	Anglesey		50							**50**
	Caernarvonshire		50					100	100	**250**
	Denbighshire		50	100	75	100		100	100	**525**
	Flintshire		50	100	75	100		50	50	**425**
	Merioneth		50	50				50	50	**200**
	Montgomeryshire		50	50	75	50		100	100	**425**
	Total	*100*	*300*	*300*	*225*	*250*	*0*	*400*	*400*	***1975***
South Wales	Breconshire		50	100		50		100	100	**400**
	Cardiganshire		50	50		50		50	50	**250**
	Carmarthenshire		50	100		50		100	100	**400**
	Glamorgan		75	100				100	100	**375**
	Pembrokeshire		50	100						**150**
	Radnorshire		50	50	75	50		50	50	**325**
	Total	*100*	*325*	*500*	*75*	*200*	*0*	*400*	*400*	***2000***
	Monmouthshire		75					100	100	**275**
Wales	*Total*	*200*	*700*	*800*	*300*	*450*	*0*	*900*	*900*	***4250***
England	Bedfordshire									**0**
	Berkshire									**0**
	Buckinghamshire									**0**
	Cambridgeshire									**0**
	Cheshire	50		100	150	100	50	100	100	**550**
	Cornwall		200	100					200	**500**
	Cumberland									**0**
	Derbyshire			100	150	100				**350**
	Devon	70	400	200					300	**970**
	Dorset		100						200	**300**
	Durham									**0**
	Essex									**0**

Table A2.2. The number of men levied for Irish service in England and Wales, 1558-1640 (cancelled levies)

	Shire	Mar 1561 - Apr 1562	June 1574 - Aug 1580	Aug 1586 - Feb 1590	May 1593	Apr - Oct 1594	July - Sept 1601	June 1613 - Mar 1615	Nov 1621	Totals
England (cont.)	Gloucestershire	60	100	200		100				**460**
	Hampshire								200	**200**
	Herefordshire		50			100		100	100	**350**
	Hertfordshire									**0**
	Huntingdonshire									**0**
	Kent									**0**
	Lancashire	50		100	150	100	100	200	200	**800**
	Leicestershire									**0**
	Lincolnshire									**0**
	London									**0**
	Middlesex									**0**
	Norfolk									**0**
	Northamptonshire									**0**
	Northumberland									**0**
	Nottinghamshire									**0**
	Oxfordshire									**0**
	Rutland									**0**
	Shropshire		100		150	100		150	150	**650**
	Somerset	60	300	200					250	**810**
	Staffordshire			100	150	100		100	100	**550**
	Suffolk									**0**
	Surrey									**0**
	Sussex									**0**
	Warwickshire					100		150	150	**400**
	Westmorland									**0**
	Wiltshire			100						**100**
	Worcestershire		50		150	100		150	150	**600**
	Yorkshire									**0**
	Total	*290*	*1300*	*1200*	*900*	*700*	*150*	*950*	*2100*	***7590***
Total		**490**	**2000**	**2000**	**1200**	**1150**	**150**	**1850**	**3000**	**11840**

Appendix 3: Welsh captains in Ireland

This appendix is a reference resource for the military figures that form an important focus of this thesis. It provides biographical detail and background for the Welsh captains, as well as some lower officers, found in this thesis. It has not been possible to trace the exact origins of all the captains discussed, so this appendix will help illustrate why individuals have been classified as Welsh. It also includes some English captains who have been mistakenly described as Welsh in other studies, or who were of Welsh descent and had close contacts with Wales. All those who are included in Table 3 in Chapter 2 have been indicated by an asterisk (*).

Captain Owen ap Hugh*

Owen ap Hugh was the brother of Rhys ap Hugh (see below). It has only been possible to find one mention of Owen before 1598: a pension of May 1595 that was granted "in respect of his maim and good service".[1] Richard Hadsor, his son-in-law, later stated that he had served since he was able to carry arms and was maimed while defending Carrickfergus, probably while his brother was provost marshal there. Hadsor describes him as a "gentleman of North Wales" and Rhys's land deals suggest he was from Anglesey.[2] He replaced his brother as provost marshal of Leinster in 1598, a position he held until 1601.[3] That year he was granted a pension, which he held until 1610 when he was considered as a servitor in the Ulster plantation but seems to have died before he could take part.[4]

Captain Rhys ap Hugh (d. 1598)*

Rhys, or 'Rice' and sometimes 'Richard', ap Hugh had a long and successful career as an Irish soldier. His close relationship with the Bagenals and his purchase of Anglesey property in 1591 suggest that he was from that county, but his patronymic name makes tracing his origin difficult.[5] Ap Hugh's early career is unclear, but by January

[1] *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 125-30.
[2] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 10, p. 16.
[3] NA, SP63/202(I)/99; 63/202(II)/10; 63/207/69; *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 15-9, 344-51.
[4] NA, SP63/228/73C; *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 365-8.
[5] NLW, Carreglwyd MS 1607.

1572 he was provost marshal of Carrickfergus.[6] He later served as provost marshal in the 1st Earl of Essex's army, but he was discharged by Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam in 1575.[7] Ap Hugh remained in Ireland and became constable of Sir Nicholas Bagenal's castle of Carlingford in Louth, where he leased some land.[8] By 1579, ap Hugh had re-entered government service as provost marshal of Leinster.[9] He held this post until his death in 1598, during which time he was also captain of a series of foot companies.[10] Ap Hugh built up a small estate from monastic land in Louth, which passed to his son, Ambrose ap Hugh in 1608.[11] Rhys was generally garrisoned in forts in the north of Leinster or east of Ulster, often near the Bagenal settlement of Newry.[12] His connections in Ireland show a particularly Welsh influence. As well as the Bagenals, he cultivated a close relationship with Lord Deputy Sir John Perrot and acted as one of four commissioners who ran the 2nd Earl of Essex's estate at Farney in Monaghan.[13]

Captain Robert Bethell*

Captain Bethell's name suggests a Welsh origin but this is difficult to confirm. In 1601, however, George Erskine, messenger for the Earl of Argyle, was imprisoned by Bethell (who by then was of Drogheda) at Beaumaris on suspicion of being a seminary priest. Although Bethell may have simply been a visitor to Beaumaris, his actions and influence in the town suggest an Anglesey origin.[14] Bethell held a series of posts during the 1590s largely in the east of Ulster where he obtained land.[15] He served at the defeat at Yellow Ford and is listed among the dead, but his appearance in Anglesey in 1601 demonstrates that this was a mistake.[16]

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[6] NA, SP63/35/1.
[7] NA, SP63/53/35.
[8] Bodleian Library, University College MS 103; PRONI, MIC/322/1.
[9] NA, SP63/69/45.
[10] NA, SP63/77/19II; 63/80/25II; 63/96/25II; 63/101/21; 63/113/47; 63/119/8; 63/121/23; 63/131/35; 63/138/9.
[11] Mary O'Dowd, 'Irish concealed lands papers in the Hastings manuscripts in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California', *Analecta Hibernica*, 31 (1984), p. 105.
[12] NA, SP63/121/7; 63/184/21; 63/197/42; 63/200/18I; *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 30-2; *CSPI 1592-6*, p. 392; *CSPI 1596-7*, p. 61.
[13] Longleat House, Devereux papers, vol. 1, fol. 148; *CSPI 1588-92*, pp. 227, 350, 389; *CSPI 1592-6*, p. 31.
[14] *CSPI 1600-1*, p. 353.
[15] NA, SP63/176/46; 63/180/17I; 63/183/7V; *CSPI 1592-6*, p. 239.
[16] *CSPI 1598-9*, p. 224, *CSPI 1600-1*, p. 353.

Appendix 3: Welsh captains in Ireland

Captain Roger Billings of Dy-Meirchion, Flintshire*

Roger Billings was the first son of Rawling Billings of Dy-Meirchion (or Tre-Meirchion) in Flintshire.[17] His first Irish company was 100 Denbighshire men raised between January and April 1597.[18] He was a dependant of Sir William Stanley and served with him as a lieutenant in the Netherlands in 1586-7. He seems to have escaped any sort of censure for the betrayal of Deventer and served in Cadiz in 1596 before travelling to Ireland in 1597.[19] He served mostly around Newry until he was discharged in mid-1599.[20] He returned to Ireland with 100, probably Welsh, men in June 1600 and served in Carrickfergus under Sir Arthur Chichester.[21] Billings does not appear on army lists after 1601.

Captain Ralph Bingley of Hawarden, Flintshire*

Robert J. Hunter has suggested that Bingley was of Hawarden in Flintshire. Although he may also have been of Broughton in Cheshire, Bingley certainly had close connections to Wales and his family held land there. He was probably born around 1570, the second of three brothers of Hawarden, descended from John Bingley, the Earl of Derby's bailiff of Hawarden in 1474. In 1595-6 he served in Panama and Puerto Rico.[22] Bingley was one of the captains who arrived with Sir Samuel Bagenal in Ulster in 1598.[23] He returned to England in 1600 to conduct 150 foot from the regiment being taken by Sir Henry Docwra to Lough Foyle.[24] In March 1601 he was dispatched from the garrison at Dunalong to take Rathmullan Abbey where he remained until 1605 when his foot company was discharged.[25] He built up a significant estate around Rathmullan and Kilmacrenan in Donegal through crown leases of monastic land, but sold most of it to finance an attempted settlement in

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[17] Lewys Dwnn, *Heraldic visitations of Wales and part of the Marches; between the years 1586 and 1613* (Llandovery, 1846), vol. 2, p. 303.
[18] NA, SP63/197/64.
[19] Paul E. J. Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad: Captain Peter Wynn of Jamestown', *Parergon*, 16 (1998), pp. 65-6, 78-9.
[20] NA, SP63/200/18I; 63/202(II)/10; 63/207/69.
[21] NA, SP63/207(V)/82; *CSPI 1601-3*, p. 201.
[22] Robert J. Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley, c.1570-1627: Ulster planter', in Peter Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to partition: essays in Ulster history in honour of J.L. McCracken* (Belfast, 1981), p. 15.
[23] NA, SP63/202(IV)/67; *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 319-22; *APC 1597-8*, pp. 607-10.
[24] NA, SP63/207(5)/82; Hunter, 'Bingley', p.16; *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 266-7.
[25] NA, SP63/208(II)/71; 63/208(III)/82I; 63/212/22; *CSPI 1601-1*, p. 233; *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 266-7; *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 30; Hunter, 'Bingley', p. 17.

North America.[26] He returned, probably in 1607, and due to the 1608 O'Doherty rebellion he became a captain again.[27] He raised 100 men with Captain John Vaughan in Scotland and took fifty of them to garrison Rathmullan.[28] Through the patronage of Sir Arthur Chichester he obtained the re-grant of much of his old land and was granted significant estates in the Ulster Plantation, which he augmented with further purchases.[29] In August 1627 he raised and transported a regiment of Irish soldiers to take part in the attack on Ile de Ré.[30] He probably died there and was, in any case, dead by 1631 when his land is recorded as the property of his widow.[31]

Bingley's younger brother, Richard, served as his Lieutenant in Ireland. In 1609 he was made muster master of Leinster and was involved in the transportation of soldiers from Ireland to Sweden in 1609-10.[32] He was made constable of Doe Castle near to Ralph's Rathmullan estate in October 1610, and was also granted land around it.[33] He sold his lands in 1613 to John Sandford.[34] A John Bingley was also serving in Ireland during this period: Hunter suggests that he was a relative from the Cheshire branch of the family.[35]

Edward Blayney of Gregynog, Montgomeryshire (d.1630)*

Edward Blayney was the youngest son of David Blayney of Gregynog, Montgomeryshire, and Elizabeth, daughter of Lewis Jones of Bishop's Castle. Edward entered military service at a young age, serving in Spain and the Low Countries.[36] He began his Irish career as captain of 100 Low Country veterans sent to Ulster in 1598.[37] By September 1599 he was garrisoned with 150 men at Newry.[38] He

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[26] Hunter, 'Bingley', pp. 16-7.
[27] Hunter, 'Bingley', p. 20; *CSPI 1606-8*, pp. 223-5, 456-7.
[28] *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 10, 96-7.
[29] Hunter, 'Bingley', pp. 20-2.
[30] *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 266-7.
[31] Rev. George Hill, *An historical account of the plantation in Ulster at the commencement of the seventeenth century, 1608-1620* (Belfast, 1877), p. 519.
[32] *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 197, 251, 436, 458-9.
[33] Hunter, 'Bingley', pp. 20-1; *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 507-14.
[34] Hunter, 'Bingley', p. 21.
[35] Hunter, 'Bingley', p. 15.
[36] NA, SP12/263/66; E. Rowley-Morris, *The family of Blayney: notes relating to the Blayney family of Montgomeryshire and Ireland, and to the estates of Arthur Blayney, Esq. of Gregynog* (London, 1890), p. 3.
[37] NA, SP63/202(IV)/67; *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 322-6; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 11.
[38] Rowley-Morris, *The family of Blayney*, p. 3.

remained at Newry until he was made governor of the newly-created fort of Mount-Norris in November 1600.[39] Blayney served well at Kinsale in 1601, and in October 1602 he was made governor of Monaghan castle.[40]

He was made seneschal of the county of Monaghan in 1604, holding it with 100 foot.[41] In 1606-7 he leased the castle and lands of Monaghan where he planted British tenants.[42] Blayney became the dominant figure in Monaghan, and eventually an Irish privy councillor and a lord.[43] He died 11 February 1630, leaving his lands to his son, Henry.[44]

The Bowen family of Balliadams, Queen's County*

John ap Thomas ap Owain settled in Queen's county from the Gower, probably as part of the 1563 plantation of the region.[45] His eldest son, Robert, was granted the manor of Balliadams in Queen's county in August 1578.[46] An Irish petitioner claimed in 1599 that Bowen was one of only two servitors who maintained a permanent residence in Queen's county.[47] He thus became a central figure in the government of the Irish midlands and was appointed provost marshal of Leinster. He died in July 1621.[48] His son John served as sergeant-at-arms of Munster during the mid-1580s and replaced his father as provost marshal of Leinster in 1605.[49] Although generally supported by the government as an anglicising influence, John faced considerable censure for his often violent and tyrannical actions. A Catholic, John took part in the Irish rebellion of 1641 and died in that year.[50]

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[39] NA, SP63/207/70; 63/207(II)/98; 63/207(V)/82; *CSPI 1600-1*, pp. 26, 108-9.
[40] *CSPI 1601-3*, p. 154; Rowley-Morris, *The family of Blayney*, p. 3.
[41] Rowley-Morris, *The family of Blayney*, p. 3; *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 185.
[42] NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the rolls, vol. 2, pp. 260-261, 271; IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, p. 95; *CSPI 1606-08*, p.11.
[43] NA, SP63/257/50; *CSPI 1611-4*, p. 499.
[44] Rowley-Morris, *The family of Blayney*, pp. 3-7.
[45] BL, Add. MS 4756, fols. 81-88.
[46] NLI, Genealogical Office MS 160, fols. 54-58; Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Ireland* (London, 1904), pp. 56-7.
[47] *CSPI 1599-1600*, p. 368.
[48] Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history*, pp. 56-7.
[49] NA, SP63/134/41; *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 306-7.
[50] David Edwards, 'A haven of popery: English Catholic migration to Ireland in the age of plantations', in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds.), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 125; Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history*, pp. 56-7.

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John ap Thomas ap Owain's second son, William, also served as a captain in the early 1580s and was sheriff of County Mayo in 1589.[51]

Captain William Cecil

It is hard to be sure whether William Cecil was of Welsh origin. The Cecils were a family with branches in Wales, the borders and in England. Captain John Price referred to him as a kinsman and used the Welsh version of his name "Sissell", which suggests a possible Welsh origin or at least a connection to Wales.[52] He first went to Ireland as captain of the Gloucestershire troops sent in October 1580.[53] He served intermittently throughout the 1580s and was given a pension in 1593 on the request of Lord Burghley, his kinsman.[54] In September 1594 he died while attempting to cross a ford near Enniskillen.[55]

Sir Fulke Conway of Arrow, Warwickshire

There is an old tradition that Sir Fulke Conway was Welsh and of Conway castle, but this is incorrect.[56] He was the son of John Conway of Arrow, Warwickshire, a member of an offshoot of the Conways of Bodrhyddan in Flintshire.[57] Fulke served in Ireland from 1597 and was primarily based around Carrickfergus where he was granted land in 1609. His tenants and allies suggest that, although he was not Welsh himself, he retained connections with his Flintshire relatives.[58]

Captain Jenkin Conway, probably of Bodrhyddan, Flintshire*

Jenkin Conway's origins are difficult to ascertain and several alternatives have been suggested. He was certainly descended from the Bodrhyddan Conways but it is

[51] NA, SP63/97/12; 63/111/98; 63/114/29II; 63/126/41; 63/134/41; *CSPI 1588-92*, p. 138.
[52] NA, SP63/176/22.
[53] *APC 1580-1*, p. 217.
[54] NA, SP63/80/25II; 63/85/70; 63/105/28; *CSPI 1592-6*, pp. 172, 184.
[55] NA, SP63/176/22.
[56] Anon, *A concise history of Lisburn and neighbourhood* (Belfast, 1906), p. 5.
[57] A. Hume, 'Origin and characteristics of the people in the counties of Down and Antrim', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 1 (1853), p. 249.
[58] NA, SP12/263/66; SP63/202(IV)/67; 63/207(II)/98; *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 371; Anon, *Lisburn*, p. 5.

unclear whether he was a member of the Flintshire or the Warwickshire branch.[59] His close alliances with Welsh soldiers and planters, however, suggest that Jenkin was Welsh.[60] He was probably the third son of John Conway of Bodrhyddan.[61] If he was Welsh, his Warwickshire connections are confirmed by his captaincy of troops from that county on several occasions.[62]

Jenkin was a Walsingham dependant and owed his initial appointment as an officer in the Earl of Ormond's regiment in 1583 to his patron.[63] He served in Munster and was appointed deputy sheriff of Kerry by Sir John Perrot. In 1585 Jenkin again used his links to Walsingham to obtain a grant of Killorglin castle, Kerry.[64] This allowed him to take part in the Munster Plantation, as part of which he received 1,304 acres around Killorglin in 1592.[65] He continued to serve as a captain throughout the 1590s.[66] In the cases we know of, Conway led men levied in Wales, the Marches or Warwickshire.[67] Conway was shot and killed in the early seventeenth century, although the exact details of his death are unclear, and his land was inherited by his son, Jenkin.[68]

Captain Robert Davies of Gwysaney, Flintshire (1581-1633)*

Davies was the son of Robert Davies of Gwysaney, Flintshire. His involvement as a soldier in Ireland was minimal. He seems to have conducted soldiers from Chester or Liverpool in 1598/9, but it appears that he never saw action there.[69] He did, however,

[59] Agnes Hickson, *Selections from old Kerry records, historical and genealogical* (London, 1872), p. 50; Agnes Hickson, *Selections from old Kerry record, historical and genealogical, Second Series* (London, 1874), p. 205; Charles Smith, *The antient and present state of the county of Kerry* (Dublin, 1756), p. 52.
[60] See, in particular, NA, SP30/53/7/3.
[61] Ernest Arthur Ebblewhite, 'Flintshire genealogical notes', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 13 (1896), p. 43.
[62] NA, SP12/240/121; 12/251/85.
[63] *CSPI 1574-85*, pp. 432, 439.
[64] Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The Munster plantation, 1583-1641' (unpubl. PhD thesis, London University, 1983), p. 372.
[65] Patrick O'Connor, 'The Munster plantation era: rebellion, survey and land transfer in north County Kerry', *Journal of the Kerry archaeological and historical society*, 15 (1982), p. 32.
[66] NA, SP63/150/89.
[67] NA, SP12/240/121; 12/251/85; SP63/156/23; 63/178/76; 63/180/17; 63/183/7V; 63/191/57; 63/205/94.
[68] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 24, p. 218.
[69] NA, SP63/204/115.

obtain land in the Ulster Plantation. He and his brother Thomas both served on the continent.[70]

George Devereux of Llanfydd, Pembrokeshire*

George Devereux was the brother of the 1st Earl of Essex.[71] He provided horsemen for, and served in, the 1st Earl's invasion of Ulster in 1575.[72] He also captained the 200 men from west Wales sent in the delayed 1574-80 levy, although he does not seem to have remained in Ireland for long.[73]

Captain Abraham Evans

In August 1601, George Carew wrote to Robert Cecil commending a Captain Abraham Evans for his five years service as a captain and corporal of the field in France and Ireland.[74] It has not been possible to find any further references to him in the Irish sources nor whether his surname is evidence of a Welsh origin.

Captain Matthew Evans

Captain Matthew Evans's name suggests that he was of Welsh origin. He first arrived in Ireland as captain of a company brought from Brittany in 1597, and served in Ulster, largely around Newry.[75] He was killed at the Battle of Yellow Ford and, along with a Captain Cosby, was blamed by his colleagues for allowing the retreat to collapse into disorder.[76]

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[70] Gwilym Arthur Ussher, *Gwysaney and Owston* (Denbigh, 1964), pp. 31-2; Robert J. Hunter, 'Plantation in Donegal', in William Nolan, Liam Ronayne and Mairead Dunlevy (eds.), *Donegal: history & society* (Dublin, 1995), p. 300.
[71] NA, SP12/172/68; Paul E.J. Hammer, *The polarisation of Elizabethan politics: the political career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 275.
[72] NA, SP63/53/35.
[73] NA, SP12/96/292.
[74] NA, SP63/209/268.
[75] NA, SP63/201/127; 63/202(I)/67, 99.
[76] *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 277-8, 322-6.

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Sir Maurice Griffith of Plasmawr, Caernarvonshire*

Maurice Griffith was the third son of William Griffith of Plasmawr. He was the grandson of Sir William Griffith of Penrhyn, and therefore the nephew of Sir Nicholas Bagenal.[77] He first went to Ireland as captain of 100 men sent to Ulster in 1595.[78] He was discharged in 1599 but returned in 1606 when he replaced Richard Trevor as governor of Newry, almost certainly due to the influence of the Bagenals.[79] He had probably been in Ireland between 1599 and 1606 as he was knighted there in July 1603.[80] In 1610 he was appointed constable of Drumruske Castle in Leitrim and granted its associated lands.[81] As part of the 1620 plantation of Leitrim he was granted 547 acres around the castle in Carrickdrumruske (modern day Carrick-on-Shannon).[82]

Captain Rhys Griffith*

Rhys, otherwise known as 'Rice' or 'Richard', Griffith was a Bagenal servant and almost certainly a member of the large Penrhyn kinship group. Most likely he was the third son of Morris Griffith of Llanfair-is-gaer, Caernarvonshire, who sold Plasnewydd to Henry Bagenal in 1602.[83] He can first be identified as a lieutenant, probably serving in Newry, in 1601.[84] He was discharged from his military position in 1605 but seems to have remained in the town.[85] He became constable of Newry, a post he held from at least 1611, and was made a burgess when the town was incorporated in 1612.[86]

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[77] John Edwards Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families with their collateral branches in Denbighshire, Merionethshire and other parts* (Horncastle, 1914), p. 125.
[78] NA, SP63/202(I)/99; 63/202(II)/10; 63/202(IV)/34.
[79] NA, SP63/207(V)/46; *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 541-2.
[80] Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, p. 125.
[81] NAI, Lodge MSS, Record of the rolls, vol. 3, p. 29; NA, SP63/228/73C.
[82] TCD, MS 672, fols. 143-146^{v}; IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, p. 448; Hunter, 'Sir Ralph Bingley', p. 24.
[83] Although Morris also had a brother called Richard: Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, p. 56.
[84] *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 420-9.
[85] *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 256.
[86] *CSPI 1611-4*, pp. 151-2; IMC, *Irish patent rolls*, p. 195.

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Captain Richard Gwynn of Caernarfon*

Richard Gwynn was the son of John Wynn of Bryncir and a dependent of Sir Henry Sidney.[87] He and his brother, Morrice, were appointed to lead the north Wales contingent of the levy that was cancelled repeatedly between 1574 and 1580, before eventually being sent.[88] He returned to Wales in 1585 to lead a company of impressed men from south Wales to the Netherlands under the Earl of Leicester. There he was garrisoned under Sir Philip Sidney in Flushing, becoming his provost marshal.[89] By 1598 he had returned to Caernarfon and did not serve in Ireland again.[90]

Captain William Jenkins

Captain William Jenkins's name and his central role in the Welsh levies of 1586-9 strongly suggest his Welsh origins. Jenkins's early career is difficult to trace as he seems to have worked his way up through the ranks. It is, however, possible that he was the Sergeant William Jenkins who was part of the 200 foot transferred from Berwick in 1561.[91] He was also probably the Lieutenant Jenkins who took fifty men to secure Carrickfergus in February 1572 and was promoted to captain during his service there.[92] In October 1578 he is listed as a captain of Kern and was receiving a pension by November 1579.[93] Jenkins was reappointed as a foot captain before September 1580, a position he held until late 1581.[94] He remained in Ireland, drawing a pension until 1586.[95] Jenkins's final role in Ireland was to act as deputy to Sir Thomas Perrot in organising the Welsh levies of 1586-9. When Perrot declined the role as leader of the men, Jenkins was placed in charge of the levy, although it was never actually sent to Ireland.[96]

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[87] Simon Adams, 'The Gentry of north Wales and the Earl of Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands, 1585-1586', *Welsh History Review*, 7 (1974), p. 132.
[88] NA, SP63/69/71; *APC 1578-80*, p. 297.
[89] Adams, 'The Gentry of north Wales and the Earl of Leicester's expedition', p. 132.
[90] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 8, p. 525.
[91] NA, SP63/7/35.
[92] *CSPI 1571-5*, pp. 129-32, 195.
[93] NA, SP63/70/38II; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1575-88*, pp. 483-5.
[94] NA, SP63/77/19II; 63/80/25II; 63/83/12I; 63/86/47; 63/88/40I.
[95] NA, SP63/108/4; 63/123/17; 63/125/39.
[96] NA, SP12/217/60.

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Captain Ellis Jones

It has not been possible to trace the exact origins of Ellis Jones due to the commonness of the name, but, as Dodd suggests, he certainly seems to have been one of the "Welsh swordsmen" dependent upon the 2nd Earl of Essex.[97] He served in the army sent with Essex to the Azores in 1597.[98] Then, in 1599, he led the Lincolnshire and Leicestershire men sent to Ireland under the Earl.[99] He was discharged in September 1599 and took part in the Essex rebellion in 1601, for which he was imprisoned and fined £40.[100] In October 1601 he wrote imploringly to Sir Robert Cecil to be forgiven for his role in the rebellion and to be returned to Ireland as a captain. Cecil obliged and Jones was appointed as a captain under Lord Devonshire, serving initially around Mount-Norris in Ulster.[101] By 1603 he had been transferred to Munster and in 1606 was appointed as provost marshal of that province.[102] He does not seem to have served in that position for long, however, as he left Ireland that year due to ill health and had died by January 1607.[103]

Captain Morgan Jones*

Captain Morgan Jones's name and the men he led strongly suggest that he was from north Wales, most likely Anglesey. He probably arrived with Lord Deputy Sidney in 1565, although his petition for pay of 1582 claimed that he had served in Ireland for thirty five years.[104] By 1567 he was constable of Monasterevin in Kildare.[105] He probably remained there until the late 1570s when he returned to active service as a captain of foot in 1577.[106] He returned home in 1580 and conducted 100 north Walian men to Ireland.[107] He was discharged in 1582 and petitioned for a pension in that

[97] A.H. Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex revolt of 1601', *English Historical Review*, 59 (1944), p. 363.
[98] NA, SP12/263/66; 12/265/110.
[99] NA, SP63/204/116V.
[100] NA, SP63/207(V)/46; HMC, *Bath MSS*, vol. 5, pp. 281-2; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 11, p. 214.
[101] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 11, pp. 431-2; vol. 18, p. 120; *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 486-8.
[102] *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 91, 435-7.
[103] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 18, p. 413; *CSPI 1606-8*, p. 80.
[104] Charles McNeill, 'Reports on manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford [part two]', *Analecta Hibernica*, 2 (1931), pp. 147-55; NA, SP63/94/69.
[105] NA, SP63/22/33, 67.
[106] NA, SP63/59/10.
[107] *APC 1580-1*, p. 81.

year.[108] In November 1623 the deputy lieutenants and JPs of Anglesey received an order to renew the pension of a Morgan Jones, who had served in Ireland and the Low Countries, which had been paid at half the expected £10 annual rate for some time.[109] It is unclear whether this is the same Morgan Jones who, if his first petition is accurate, would have begun his military career seventy-six years previously.

Lieutenant Roger Jones of Ruthin, Denbighshire (d. 12 August 1635)*

Roger Jones was the eldest son of Gruffith Jones of Ruthin. He should not be confused with Roger Jones, Viscount Ranelagh and President of Connacht, who was son of Archbishop Thomas Jones.[110] Some time during Elizabeth's reign he went to Ireland as a lieutenant and was probably garrisoned in Sligo under Sir Nicholas Malby during the 1580s and 1590s. The garrison was removed in 1595, but Jones stayed and became a figure of some note.[111] In 1606 he was made governor of Sligo, a post he held until his death in 1635.[112]

William Jones*

William Jones was a dependant of Sir John Perrot who probably came from Pembrokeshire. He should not be confused with William Jones of Castellmarch who became chief justice of the Irish Court of Common Pleas in 1617.[113] Perrot brought Jones with him in 1584 as a gentleman servant possibly as a favour to Sir Francis Walsingham, Jones's patron. Perrot had hoped that Jones would become his secretary and he does seem to have held that post, but Jones wanted to be a soldier.[114] In autumn 1584 Jones left Dublin to serve as a gentleman volunteer with Captain Christopher Carliell in Route, County Antrim.[115] He stayed with Carliell throughout

[108] NA, SP63/70/38II; 63/77/19II; 63/83/12; 63/97/12; 63/94/69.
[109] *APC 1623-5*, pp. 125-6.
[110] Mary O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land: early modern Sligo, 1568-1688* (Belfast, 1991), pp. 57, 99. O'Dowd's suggestion that Lieutenant Jones was from Derbyshire is shown to be incorrect by his funeral certificate which is in the British Library: BL, Add. MS 4820, fol. 5.
[111] O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land*, pp. 60-1; *CSPI 1611-14*, pp. 151-2.
[112] O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land*, p. 157.
[113] A.H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (Cardiff, 1971), p. 83.
[114] NA, SP63/111/31; 63/120/13; Bodleian Library, Add. MS C. 39, fols. 24v, 37.
[115] NA, SP63/112/75.

spring 1585 and was appointed seneschal of Clandeboye in July.[116] He returned home in October 1585 with commendation.[117] Edward Waterhouse wrote that although he had never officially been employed in military service he had played "the p[ar]te of a soldier in tyme & place most daungerous".[118]

It is possible, though far from certain, that the same William Jones was the man who served as a muster commissioner in Ireland from 1598 and was appointed as principal commissary of the musters in September 1600.[119]

Captain Anthony Kemeys of Croydon, Surrey (d. c.1608)

Despite bearing the name of a prominent south Wales family, and having been generally assumed by historians to be Welsh, Anthony was part of the second generation of his family to be born in England.[120] He was son of Thomas Kemeys of Croydon whose father, James, was second son of Jenkin Kemeys of Cefn Mably, Glamorgan.[121] Kemeys, whose name was generally written as Kemishe, was a captain in a levy sent to Munster in 1598 and remained in the province until 1600.[122] In June of that year Lord Mountjoy noted that Kemeys had returned to England and was unlikely to serve again, but by July he was leading a new company in Lough Foyle.[123] In July 1601 Kemeys conducted the Wiltshire troops to Munster as part of a new levy and remained there until at least 1602.[124]

Captain Ellys Lloyd

Captain Ellys Lloyd's name indicates that he was of Welsh origin.[125] He first arrived in Ireland as captain of one of the companies of veterans brought from Brittany in

[116] NA, SP63/116/10; 63/118/8.
[117] NA, SP63/120/13.
[118] NA, SP63/120/15.
[119] NA, SP63/202(I)/56, 99; *CSPI 1600*, pp. 59, 149, 441-2, *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 61-2.
[120] David Mathew describes him as a south Wales squire: *The Celtic peoples and Renaissance Europe* (London and New York, 1933), p. 369.
[121] George T. Clarke, *Limbus Patrum Morganiae et Glamorganiae* (London, 1886), p. 415.
[122] NA, SP63/202(IV)/67; 63/203/104; 63/207/69; 63/207(II)/58.
[123] NA, SP63/207(III)/95; 63/207(IV)/51; 63/207(V)/82.
[124] NA, SP63/208(III)/100; *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 344-51.
[125] David Mathew calls him a younger son of north Wales: *Celtic peoples*, p. 369.

1597.[126] He was garrisoned in Connacht between 1597 and 1599 and was discharged by September of that year.[127] He soon obtained another captaincy and was garrisoned in Mullingar, West Meath, by January 1600.[128] Lloyd was one of the captains who went with Sir Henry Docwra to Derry in 1600 and was garrisoned in Ellogh Castle, near Lough Foyle where he remained until 1603.[129] By October 1603 he had been transferred to Cavan.[130] Not long after this Lloyd was discharged from Irish service.[131]

Sir John Lloyd of Bodidris, Denbighshire (d.1606)*

John was the son of Evan Lloyd of Bodidris (d.1586), who served as MP for Denbighshire in 1585 and fought in the Low Countries under Leicester in 1586. John was part of the pro-Earl of Essex and anti-Salusbury of Llewenni faction in Denbighshire.[132] He served in Essex's Cadiz expedition in 1596 and was a captain in the army that travelled to Ireland in 1599, where he was knighted.[133] He returned to England and was involved in the Essex rebellion, for which he was imprisoned in 1601.[134] Around this time, Lloyd's son, Evan, married Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Trevor of Trevalyn. On his release John returned to Denbighshire to re-establish himself, but was hindered by the machinations of the Salusbury faction and joined Trevor in returning to Ireland in 1603.[135] There he was leased land by Sir Edward Trevor in 1606, but died before he could begin to plant it.[136]

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[126] NA, SP63/202(I)/99.
[127] NA, SP63/201/32; 63/202(II)/10; 63/202(IV)/34; 63/207/69.
[128] NA, SP63/207/70.
[129] NA, SP63/207(V)/82; 63/208(II)/71; 63/208(III)/82I; *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 15-9, 266-7, 486-8, 534, *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 30; William Kelly, *Docwra's Derry: a narration of events in north-west Ulster, 1600-1604* (Belfast, 2003), p. 42.
[130] *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 92.
[131] *CSPI 1606-8*, p. 539.
[132] *DWB*, p. 570.
[133] Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad', pp. 78-9; George Owen, *The taylors cussion*, ed. Emily M. Pritchard (London, 1906), vol. 2, p. 43.
[134] HMC, *Bath MSS*, vol. 5, pp. 281-2; *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 11, p. 96.
[135] Enid Sophia Jones, *Trevors of Trevalyn and their descendants* (Privately printed, 1955), pp. 31-3.
[136] Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: the settlement of east Ulster, 1600-1641* (Cork, 1985), p. 41.

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Captain Richard Lloyd

Richard Lloyd was probably from south Wales where he was paid for twice mustering the men of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire in 1574-5.[137] Lloyd first arrived in Ireland as a captain in the levy sent in 1567 and was garrisoned in Carrickfergus.[138] In 1571 Lloyd was given a pension, which suggests that he had been discharged from duty.[139] In late 1575 he re-entered Irish service and returned to Carrickfergus where he served until 1577.[140] After 1577 Lloyd disappears from the state records and did not attempt to renew his pension, suggesting that he had died.

Captain Walter Lloyd

Captain Walter Lloyd had a short career in Irish service. His name and the name of his lieutenant (Vaughan) in 1600 suggest he was Welsh. He was first made a captain in 1599 and was garrisoned in Connacht.[141] In October 1600 he is listed as a captain in Lough Foyle but in June of that year he had already sold his company to Lieutenant Vaughan, who may have been John Vaughan (see below).[142]

Captain Charles Mansell of Margam, Glamorgan*

Charles was the fifth son of Sir Edward Mansell of Margam, Glamorgan (1531-85).[143] His grandfather, Rice Mansell, had served with distinction in Ireland between 1534 and 1536, while his father had considered joining Sir Thomas Smith's attack on Ulster in 1572.[144] Charles obtained his first company in spring 1597 when he led the Glamorgan men with the help of his lieutenant, William Andrewes.[145] He was garrisoned at Carrickfergus until 1598, during which time he witnessed the death of

[137] HMC, *De L'Isle & Dudley MSS*, vol. 1, pp. 425-8.
[138] NA, SP63/22/33, 57.
[139] NA, SP63/32/1; 63/34/45.
[140] NA, SP63/55/37II, III; 63/56/22; 63/58/27; 63/59/10; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1575-88*, pp. 85-6.
[141] NA, SP63/207/69, 70.
[142] NA, SP63/207(V)/82; *CSPI 1600*, pp. 214-5.
[143] Clarke, *Limbus Patrum Morganiae*, p. 495; D.M. Cole, 'The Mansells of Oxwich and Margam, 1487-1631' (unpubl. MA thesis, University of Birmingham, 1966), pp. 47-9.
[144] Cole, 'Mansells of Oxwich and Margam', pp. 28-31; NA, SP63/36/37.
[145] NA, SP63/197/64.

his brother, Rice (see below).[146] In 1599 Mansell returned to Wales to conduct the Glamorgan and Monmouthshire troops to Ireland.[147] His name disappears from the army lists in September 1599, which suggests he had died.[148]

Captain Rice Mansell of Margam, Glamorgan (d.1597)*

Rice Mansell began his Irish service earlier than his brother. During the Desmond rebellion of 1583 Rice was serving in Munster under Captain John Zouche, probably as a gentleman volunteer. He hoped to be rewarded with the priory of Adare in the province but seems to have only received a pension.[149] He was to be captain of the Glamorgan and Radnorshire men levied for Ireland in 1586, but they were never sent.[150] He returned to Ireland leading 100 Lancashire men in 1595.[151] Initially, he was garrisoned in Newry, before moving to Carrickfergus by May 1596.[152] By 1597 he had become sergeant-major of the town and had been joined by his brother Charles. In November 1597, James McDonnell led a Scottish attack on the garrison, which Sir John Chichester, the governor, ordered should be met in the field, rather than face a siege. Rice and Chichester led the cavalry, which were routed by the Scots leaving Rice and his lieutenant, one Price, dead. Charles Mansell organised the retreat back into the garrison.[153]

Sir Gelly Meyrick of Hascard, Pembrokeshire and Gladestry, Radnorshire (1556?-1601)*

Gelly Meyrick was the steward and trusted ally of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. He was the eldest son of Rowland Meyrick, bishop of Bangor and was a servant of Sir George Devereux from his youth. He served with Essex, George's nephew, in the Low Countries in the early 1580s and became his steward in around 1587.[154] Gelly gained Gladestry through marriage and due to the earl's patronage he

[146] NA, SP63/200/18I; 63/202(I)/67.
[147] NA, SP63/203/60.
[148] NA, SP63/207/69; Cole, 'Mansells of Oxwich and Margam', p. 49.
[149] NA, SP63/108/4, 35, 37; 63/134/41.
[150] NA, SP12/172/78.
[151] NA, SP12/240/121; 12/251/85; SP63/178/76.
[152] NA, SP63/180/53; *CSPI 1592-6*, pp. 321-2, 523, *CSPI 1596-7*, pp. 30-1.
[153] NA, SP63/202(I)/99; *CSPI 1596-7*, pp. 441-3.
[154] *DWB*, pp. 630-1.

was granted Wigmore in Worcestershire.[155] He served on many of the earl's military ventures and was knighted by him in Cadiz. Ireland was his last campaign for the earl. He was responsible for the participation of many Welsh captains and became the marshal of the earl's Ulster army.[156] Gelly was executed for his role in the Essex rebellion in March 1601.[157]

Sir Francis Meyrick of Fleet, Monkton, Pembrokeshire (d. 29 July 1660)*

Francis was the second son of Rowland Meyrick and younger brother of Gelly. He served as a captain under Essex in 1599, conducting the Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire troops.[158] He was also knighted by Essex in Ireland and was involved in the Earl's rebellion, although his role was small and he escaped punishment.[159]

Symon Meyrick

Symon Meyrick's origins are uncertain. He was possibly Welsh. In February 1599 he led the Northamptonshire levies to Ireland and served there until his discharge in September.[160]

Captain Edmond Morgan of Penhow, Monmouthshire*

Edmond (sometimes Edward) Morgan was the second son of Henry Morgan of Llandaff and Penllywn-sarth.[161] He came to Ireland with Essex and served as a captain of a company there in 1599. He was knighted by Essex in Ireland and returned home that year.[162]

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[155] Mathew, *Celtic Peoples*, p. 341.
[156] *Ibid.*, pp. 347-8.
[157] *DWB*, pp. 630-1.
[158] NA, SP63/203/60.
[159] Owen, *Taylors cussion*, vol. 2, p. 43.
[160] NA, SP63/203/60; 63/205/94.
[161] Clarke, *Limbus Patrum Morganiae*, p. 317.
[162] NA, SP63/205/94; 63/207/69; Owen, *Taylors cussion*, vol. 2, p. 43.

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Sir Matthew Morgan of Pen-carn, Monmouthshire (b. 1563)*

Sir Matthew Morgan was the third son of Edward Morgan of Pen-Carn. His uncle was Sir Thomas Morgan, 'The Warrior', and his younger brother, Sir Charles, served in Cadiz and the Netherlands.[163] Like his kinsmen he served in the Netherlands, acting as a captain in Sir Thomas Morgan's regiments in 1583 and 1584-5.[164] He continued to serve in the Low Countries during the 1590s, but following the transfer of British companies into Dutch pay in 1598 he passed control of his company to Charles.[165] In February of that year, Morgan was one of the captains who aided Horatio de Vere in conducting Low Country veterans to Ireland and became commander of Carrickfergus.[166] In early 1600, Morgan was one of the captains appointed to accompany Sir Henry Docwra to Lough Foyle where he effectively served as Docwra's second-in-command. Docwra gave Morgan 1000 foot and fifty horse to establish himself as governor of Ballishannon on his arrival in May 1600.[167] Irish historiography of Docwra's mission states that Morgan died before he could take up his position, but this may be incorrect.[168] A Mathew Morgan continued to hold a company of 150 men at Lough Foyle in October 1600 and was based at Lifford in July 1601.[169] A Sir Mathew Morgan was based in Rathmullan by January 1602 and continued to serve in the area until at least April 1603.[170] It seems unlikely that there was a second Sir Mathew Morgan serving around Lough Foyle. His service was not profitable and he went bankrupt in 1602, owing much of his debts to the Welsh merchant, Sir Thomas Myddelton.[171] By May 1608 he was in England and was paid a pension by the Irish government.[172]

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[163] David Trim, 'Fighting 'Jacob's Wars'. The employment of English and Welsh mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562-1610' (unpubl. PhD thesis, King's College London, 2002), pp. 386, 451-2.
[164] *Ibid.*, pp. 451-2.
[165] NA, SP12/251/84; Trim, 'Jacob's Wars', p. 386.
[166] NA, SP12/270/30; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 9, p. 18.
[167] NA, SP63/204/116V; 63/207(3)/31; *CSPI 1600*, pp. 31-6; Kelly, *Docwra's Derry*, p. 42.
[168] J.J.N. McGurk, *Sir Henry Docwra, 1564-1631: Derry's second founder* (Dublin, 2006), p. 109; Kelly, *Docwra's Derry*, p. 17.
[169] NA, SP63/207(V)/82; 63/208(III)/82I.
[170] *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 266-7, *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 30.
[171] A.H. Dodd, 'Mr. Myddelton the merchant of Tower street', in S.T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C.H. Williams (eds.), *Elizabethan government and society: essays presented to Sir John Neale* (London, 1961), p. 277.
[172] *CSPI 1606-8*, pp. 538-9.

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Sir Thomas Morgan of St George's, Glamorgan and Pen-Carn, Monmouthshire (d.1595)*

Thomas Morgan was the third son of William Morgan of St George's and Pen-Carn. His long service and commitment to the wars on the continent gave him the nickname 'the Warrior'.[173] His first significant position was as captain of 300 volunteers who accompanied Henry Gilbert to Flushing in April 1572. He served in the Netherlands until a pay dispute with William of Orange led to his return in January 1574.[174] He was immediately sent with his subordinate, Captain George Acres, to transport 300 men from the Low Countries to Munster.[175] He led 200 of these men in Munster and later served under Essex in Ulster. During his time in Ireland, he was wounded by musket fire.[176] He was discharged in September 1575 and probably returned to Wales.[177] In 1578 he volunteered again for Low Countries service under the Huguenot General, François de La Nove. He forged a successful career there and had a good relationship with his Dutch paymasters. He was knighted by Elizabeth in 1587 and married a Dutch noblewoman in 1589. He held numerous commands and ended his career as governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, a position to which he was appointed in September 1588.[178] He lost his governorship in April 1593 and returned to Wales where he died in December 1595.[179]

Sir William Morgan of Pencoed, Monmouthshire (c.1541-1583)* [180]

William, the son of Sir Thomas Morgan of Pencoed Castle (d.1565), was probably born in 1541.[181] He was a significant local figure and had a considerable landed estate. William's family had a strong military tradition, his great-grandfather had served at Bosworth and both his father and grandfather were knighted for their

[173] Howell A. Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir Thomas (d.1595)', *ODNB*, vol. 39, pp. 144-5.
[174] Trim, 'Jacob's Wars', pp. 372-3.
[175] NA, SP63/44/9; 63/45/25II; *CSPI 1571-4*, pp. 683-4; Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir Thomas', pp. 144-5.
[176] NA, SP63/22/33; 63/45/7I; 63/49/23; 63/79/68; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1575-88*, pp. 26-9; Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir Thomas', pp. 144-5.
[177] NA, SP63/53/35.
[178] Trim, 'Jacob's Wars', pp.126, 148, 154-9, 171, 372-4; Clarke, *Limbus Patrum Morganiae*, p. 327.
[179] Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir Thomas', pp. 144-5.
[180] For more detailed studies of Morgan, see Amos C. Miller, 'Sir William Morgan of Pencoed: "a man much to be accounted for"', *Welsh History Review*, 9 (1978), pp. 1-31; Howell A. Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir William (1541-1583)', *ODNB*, vol. 39, pp. 151-2.
[181] Morgan was of Pencoed Castle near Magor in Monmouthshire, not the town of Pencoed in Glamorgan as has been suggested. Trim 'Jacob's Wars', p. 453.

military service.[182] Morgan was keen to emulate his ancestors and it was probably for honour and profit, rather than any strong commitment to the Protestant cause, that he sought out service on the continent. Between 1572 and 1573 he served with distinction under Louis of Nassau in France and the Netherlands. He returned to Wales in 1573 to take part in the planned conquest and colonisation of Ulster led by Walter Devereux, 1st Earl of Essex, whom Morgan termed his "cousin".[183] Although the venture failed, and he returned in May, Morgan was made marshal of Essex's army and was knighted for his service in August 1574. He had, however, left Ireland severely in debt due to the cost of service there and was forced to sell large amounts of Welsh land.[184]

Morgan attempted to restore his fortune through service as vice-admiral of south Wales but his failure to settle a large debt to the crown led to the seizure of more of his property in 1579. Thus Morgan returned to Ireland in an attempt to regain wealth and respect. He conducted men from south Wales to Cork in 1580 and was appointed constable of Dungarvan Castle.[185] Later that year he also became governor of Youghal.[186] Despite proving to be a successful governor, Morgan did not profit from his service due to supply problems and pay delays. He begged Walsingham for his discharge in February 1581 but only returned in January 1582.[187] In a final bid for profit he sold his governorship of Dungarvan for £300, which led to accusations of corruption.[188] He died in October 1583 leaving a severely-depleted estate to his infant niece.[189]

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[182] Miller, 'Sir William Morgan', pp. 1-2; Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir William', pp. 151-2.
[183] Morgan provided twelve horse and thirty-eight foot jointly with Henry Sydenham: NA, SP63/41/64; Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir William', pp. 151-2.
[184] Miller, 'Sir William Morgan', pp. 7-8; Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir William', pp. 151-2.
[185] This was a heavily-delayed levy that Morgan was involved with from at least September 1577: NA, SP12/96/292; SP63/69/71; 63/75/9, 67; 63/77/19II; 63/80/25; *APC 1580-1*, pp. 65-6; Collins, *Letters and memorials of state*, vol. 1, pp. 213-3.
[186] NA, SP63/83/12I; 63/83/28.
[187] NA, SP63/89/11; Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir William', pp. 151-2.
[188] NA, SP63/92/68; Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir William', pp. 151-2.
[189] Miller, 'Sir William Morgan', pp. 14-29; Lloyd, 'Morgan, Sir William', pp. 151-2.

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Captain Edward Morris

Captain Edward Morris was probably from Wales or the Welsh Marches. McGurk states that he was Welsh, but it has not been possible to confirm this.[190] It is unclear when Morris first arrived in Ireland, but he was a captain of foot by November 1597.[191] He was discharged from his post before March 1598 but returned as a captain in mid-1600.[192] In May, however, his company was cashiered as it was excess to requirement.[193] In July 1601 Morris returned to Ireland as captain of the Warwickshire and Shropshire levies.[194] He served at the siege of Kinsale and, by 1603, was garrisoned in Mountjoy.[195] He was discharged, probably in 1606, and received a pension for his service.[196]

The Mostyns of Mostyn and Talacre, Flintshire.

The difficulties of identifying individual members of these two branches of the Mostyn family, who so often sent their sons to Ireland, has been demonstrated by A.D. Carr in his PhD thesis and two articles drawn from it.[197] For the sake of clarity, and to demonstrate their family connections, all those bearing that surname will be dealt with together.

Robert Mostyn of Mostyn (b.1528)*

Robert was either the sixth son of Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn (1490-1558) or the son of Piers Mostyn of Talacre (d.1580). Carr suggests that the former is more likely as Piers Mostyn's son can be placed in Wales during a time when this Robert Mostyn

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[190] J.J.N. McGurk, 'A Survey of the demands made upon the Welsh shires to supply soldiers for the Irish War', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion* (1983), p. 66.
[191] NA, SP63/201/85.
[192] NA, SP63/202(I)/99; 63/207(V)/82.
[193] *CSPI 1600-1*, p. 306.
[194] NA, SP63/208(III)/100.
[195] *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 154, 486-8, *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 91.
[196] *CSPI 1606-8*, pp. 538-9; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 18, p. 413.
[197] A.D. Carr, 'The Mostyn family and estate, 1200-1642' (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Wales, 1975); A.D. Carr, 'The Mostyns of Mostyn, 1540-1642: part I', *Flintshire Historical Society Journal*, 28 (1977-78), pp. 17-37; A.D. Carr, 'The Mostyns of Mostyn, 1540-1642: part II', *Flintshire Historical Society Journal*, 30 (1981-2), pp. 125-144.

was serving in Ireland.[198] It is unclear exactly when Robert went to Ireland but by 1571 he was campaigning in O'Connor's country and in September of that year he was serving on the council of Connacht.[199] In early 1572 he was constable of Longford and by 1573 he had become under-constable of Athlone.[200] His last post was as constable of Roscommon which he held from early 1575 until at least 1576.[201]

William Mostyn of Mostyn (d. c.1599) and William Mostyn of Talacre and Basingwerk, Flintshire*

Confusingly, two William Mostyns served in Ireland during the last few decades of the sixteenth century. One was the eldest son of Robert Mostyn of Mostyn (above) and brother of Hugh Mostyn (below), while the other was the second son of Piers Mostyn of Talacre and Basingwerk. It is often impossible to tell them apart, although the presence of Hugh Mostyn in a regiment with a William Mostyn is a likely indicator that it is William Mostyn of Mostyn as the brothers seem to have served together on most occasions. Carr also shows that William Mostyn of Mostyn was dead by 1599, but William of Basingwerk was still alive in 1603. This allows some tentative identification to be possible.[202]

In March 1597 the army list notes that William Mostyn was recently deceased, which almost certainly refers to William of Mostyn.[203] He is likely, therefore, to have died some time in late 1596 or early 1597. Two petitions for pay exist from a William Mostyn, one made in 1595 and one in 1598. The former, then, is likely that of William of Mostyn who wrote that he had served in Ireland for sixteen years beginning as a gentleman in a company, and then becoming a lieutenant and later a captain.[204] The second petition, probably that of William of Basingwerk, claimed that he had served in Ireland for twenty-seven years.[205] Therefore, William of Mostyn had served in Ireland since about 1579 and William of Basingwerk from about 1571. It

[198] Carr, 'Mostyns of Mostyn: part I', pp. 22-3, 36; Carr, 'The Mostyn family', p. 156.
[199] NA, SP63/32/39; 63/34/17.
[200] NA, SP63/35/1; 63/43/20II; *CSPI 1509-73*, pp. 125, 524, 533.
[201] NA, SP63/49/23; 63/53/35; 63/55/37; 63/59/10.
[202] Carr, 'Mostyns of Mostyn: part I', pp. 23, 36.
[203] NA, SP63/200/18I.
[204] NA, SP63/178/75.
[205] NA, SP63/202(III)/185.

can be safely assumed that the William Mostyn who was active in Connacht in the 1590s was of Mostyn as he was accompanied by Hugh. The brothers conducted the Gloucestershire and Warwickshire levies to Ireland in March 1594/5.[206] By mid-1595 they were garrisoned in Connacht and remained there until 1596.[207] William was probably posted in Connacht until his death in 1597. This connection with Connacht makes it likely that William of Mostyn was the captain paid for victualling Sligo in 1581 and who served as sheriff of County Galway.[208]

One of the William Mostyns was a client of Sir John Perrot and captained Kern in Munster in 1586.[209] This was probably the same Mostyn who acted as one of Perrot's agents working with Turlough O'Neill in 1588.[210] It is unclear which William Mostyn was captain of 100 of the men levied for Ireland in 1590.[211] We also cannot be sure which William was captain of a company levied in 1595 and who, along with Jenkin Conway, was almost killed by a mutiny in Athlone in April 1596.[212] The William who was garrisoned at Mullaghmore in County Sligo in December 1600, however, was almost certainly of Basingwerk.[213]

Hugh Mostyn of Mostyn, Flintshire*

Hugh was the second son of Robert Mostyn of Mostyn and brother of William.[214] Hugh certainly seems to have served in Ireland during the late 1580s, but obtained his first captaincy leading Warwickshire men in March 1594 as part of the same levy as his brother.[215] He was garrisoned with his brother in Connacht, although he also spent some time serving in Offaly and Newry.[216] After his brother's death he continued to

[206] NA, SP63/178/76.
[207] NA, SP63/183/7; 63/184/21; 63/187/69; 63/197/42.
[208] NA, SP63/83/57; Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British: 1580-1650* (Oxford and New York, 2001), p. 97.
[209] *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 130-4.
[210] *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 513-7.
[211] NA, SP63/156/23.
[212] *CSPI 1596-8*, pp. 354-5, 509.
[213] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 7, pp. 543-4.
[214] Carr, 'Mostyns of Mostyn: part I', p. 23.
[215] NA, SP63/178/76; *CSPI 1588-92*, p. 157.
[216] NA, SP63/184/21; 63/187/69; 63/197/42I; 63/201/32; *CSPI 1592-6*, pp. 321-2, 505.

serve in Connacht until he was transferred to Ulster to serve under the Earl of Tyrconnell in 1600.[217]

Like many of his fellow Welsh captains Mostyn was almost certainly a Catholic and defected to the rebels in late 1600, betraying Athenry.[218] His name became a byword for treachery among the army in Ireland. Mostyn followed Hugh Roe O'Donnell to Spain and served in the Spanish army in Flanders between 1605 and 1610.[219]

Edward Mostyn of Mostyn, Flintshire (b.1535)*

Edward Mostyn was the eighth son of Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn and younger brother of Robert (above).[220] He probably began his service as an officer in the company of his brother and was injured when Robert's garrison of Athlone was betrayed to the enemy in 1573.[221] He remained in Ireland for a longer period than his brother and became sheriff of County Clare.[222] The last reference to his service is his role testifying against Sir Nicholas Malby in 1582.[223]

Thomas Mostyn (of Mostyn?)*

A Thomas Mostyn served in Ireland between 1588 and 1591 and was sheriff of Fermanagh in the last year of his service. Little is known about him and Carr suggests that he might be the future Sir Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn (nephew of Robert Mostyn, above, and grandfather of Richard, below), a son of William Mostyn of Maesglas, or a brother of Robert Mostyn.[224] The fact that Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn was considered for service in Ireland in August 1584, but did not go, indicates that it could well have been him.[225]

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[217] NA, SP63/202(IV)/34; 63/207/70; 63/207(II)/98; 63/207(III)/146.
[218] The exact date of his defection is uncertain but he was still taking orders from Mountjoy in October 1600 and by January 1601 he was described by Geoffrey Fenton as "revolted to the rebels": *CSPI 1600*, p. 473; *CSPI 1600-1*, pp. 152-3, 219.
[219] *CSPI 1600-1*, pp. 77-8; *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 265-6, 363; Carr, 'Mostyns of Mostyn: part I', p. 23.
[220] Carr, 'The Mostyn family', p. 376.
[221] NA, SP63/39/23I.
[222] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 97.
[223] *CSPI 1574-85*, p. 369.
[224] Carr, 'Mostyns of Mostyn: part I', p. 36.
[225] NA, SP12/172/79.

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Peter (or Piers) Mostyn

The origin of this Mostyn is unknown. He is almost certainly linked to the Mostyns of Mostyn or Talacre and like his namesakes probably served in Connacht. He was granted 300 acres of land in Fermanagh as part of the Ulster plantation but by 1618 he had sold up and bought land in Connacht where he presumably settled.[226]

Richard Mostyn of Mostyn, Flintshire*

Richard Mostyn was the fourth son of Sir Roger Mostyn of Mostyn (the grandson of Robert Mostyn's elder brother William). He served in the Low Countries in 1624-5 and went to Ireland in 1626.[227] He only served there for a short period and joined the attack on Ile de Ré in 1627, where he was killed.[228]

Sir James Perrot of Haroldston, Pembrokeshire (1571/2-1637)*

James Perrot was the illegitimate son of Lord Deputy Sir John Perrot by Sibil Jones of Radnorshire. He was recognised by his father in May 1584 and granted full rights of inheritance. His father's death in 1592 and that of his half-brother (see below) in 1594 led to him inheriting much of his father's estates. Perrot was elected MP for Haverfordwest in 1597. He was a committed Protestant and had a strong interest in Irish affairs, almost certainly due to the career of his father and half-brother. [229] In January 1599 he wrote to the 2nd Earl of Essex for command of thirty horse to be sent from Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire to Ireland.[230] Essex, whose sister had been married to James's half-brother and had challenged him for the estates, turned Perrot down. It was not until 1608 that Perrot got his desired service in Ireland. In June of that year he transported Robert, 4th Lord Delvin, to London on suspicion of treason and was granted a company of 100 men from the levy of 700 sent over that year.[231] He was garrisoned at Newry and called himself its governor, although there is no

[226] Hill, *An historical account of the plantation in Ulster*, p. 485.
[227] Carr, 'The Mostyn family', pp. 209-10; *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 171-3, 145-6.
[228] Carr, 'The Mostyn family, p. 210.
[229] Andrew Thrush, 'Perrot, Sir James (1571/2–1637)', *ODNB*, vol. 43, pp. 807-10.
[230] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 9, p. 54.
[231] *CSPI 1606-8*, pp. 558-60, 576; *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 5-10.

formal evidence of him receiving that title.[232] In June 1609 the lord deputy, Perrot's brother-in-law Sir Arthur Chichester, commended him for his role in apprehending Rorie O'Donnell.[233] In 1610 Perrot was still at Newry when he offered to plant lower Orier in conjunction with Sir Oliver St John and Captain Thomas Williams.[234] The reconvening of Parliament, however, led him to sell his captaincy and return to London. In about 1619 Perrot wrote, but did not publish, his *Chronicle of Ireland.* He served as an MP in the 1620-1 English Parliament and in 1622 was appointed to a commission to inquire into the temporal and spiritual affairs of Ireland. He arrived in Ireland in April and, with Sir Francis Annesley, he surveyed the counties of Cavan and Fermanagh. He returned in early 1623 and revived his political career serving as mayor of Haverfordwest and MP for Pembrokeshire. He failed to be elected to Parliament in 1625 and was recommended for, but did not serve on, another commission for Ireland. When he failed to regain his seat in 1626 he asked Lord Conway to arrange for his return to Newry. In April, however, he returned to Parliament probably as member for Camelford.[235] In 1626 he published his account of his father's lord deputyship, but despite considering a return to Ireland that year, it was his last association with the country.[236]

Sir Thomas Perrot of Haroldston, Pembrokeshire (1553-1594)

Thomas was son of Sir John Perrot and Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Cheyney of Shurland, Kent.[237] Thomas did not serve as a captain in Ireland but planned to do so in 1586-9 when he was appointed to be colonel of the men who were to go to Ireland from Wales. Perrot, however, pulled out of the enterprise and appointed his deputy, Captain William Jenkins, to take the men. The levy was cancelled in November 1588 with only some of the Monmouthshire men eventually going to Ireland in 1589.[238]

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[232] *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 96-7; *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 48-50; Thrush, 'Perrot, Sir James', pp. 807-10.
[233] *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 218-9.
[234] NA, SP63/228/73C; *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 365-8, 562-5.
[235] *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 71-6, 91; Thrush, 'Perrot, Sir James', pp. 807-10.
[236] Roger Turvey (ed.), *A critical edition of Sir James Perrot's 'The life, deeds and death of Sir John Perrott, Knight'* (Lampeter, 2002); Thrush, 'Perrot, Sir James', pp. 807-10.
[237] Roger Turvey, 'Perrot, Sir John (1528-1592), *ODNB*, vol. 43, pp. 810-5.
[238] NA, SP12/172/78; 12/217/47, 60.

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Captain Charles Price of Pilleth, Radnorshire (c.1585-1645)*

Charles Price was the seventh son of John Price (d.1597) of Pilleth, Radnorshire.[239] He was a politician, soldier and trusted ally of the Earl of Strafford. In February 1625 he was appointed as captain of the 100 men sent to Ireland from Radnorshire and Breconshire.[240] He did not stay in Ireland long as he was elected as MP for New Radnor in 1626; his leaderless company mutinied at Carrickfergus in October 1626.[241] Price returned to Ireland temporarily between 1631 and October 1632, and then was given a commission under Strafford in late 1633.[242] He spent the 1630s moving between Ireland and England and was elected as MP for Belfast in 1634.[243]

Captain John Price

As is to be expected with such a common name, it is difficult to ascertain the background of this individual. He was probably from Merioneth or Caernarvonshire as in 1596-7 he was placed in charge of the 100 men levied from those counties for Ireland.[244] A possible candidate is John Price of Rhiwlas, near Bala, who was sheriff of Merioneth in 1608-9 and married Ann, daughter of John Lloyd of Vaynol, St Asaph.[245] He is not the same John Price who served in the Low Countries between 1580 and 1595.[246]

The John Price who served in Ireland claimed in his petition of January 1597/8 to have served for fifteen years in the country, but first appears in the records as a volunteer in May 1585 serving against the Scots in Ulster.[247] He continued to serve in the north in 1586 and is referred to as a captain from that date.[248] He began to receive a pension that year and remained on the pensions list until at least March 1590.[249] Price seems to have lost his company temporarily as he was at Court seeking payment

[239] Dwnn, *Heraldic visitations of Wales*, vol. 1, p. 252.
[240] NA, SP14/184/2.
[241] *CJ*, vol. 1, pp. 816-7; *CSPI 1625-32*, p. 163.
[242] *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 601, 674; *CSPD 1633-4*, pp. 113-4.
[243] NA, SP63/257/50; *CSPI 1633-47*, pp. 59-67.
[244] *APC 1596-7*, pp. 238-44; *APC 1597*, pp. 21-8; NLW, Brogyntyn MS Clenennau 121.
[245] Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, p. 247.
[246] Trim, 'Jacob's Wars', pp. 459-60.
[247] NA, SP63/116/34; *CSPI 1598-9*, p. 10.
[248] *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 34, 39.
[249] NA, SP63/121/23I; 63/131/35; 63/138/9I; *CSPI 1586-8*, p. 39.

of Irish debts in 1591.[250] He was, however, a captain again by mid-1594 when he was involved in the siege of Enniskillen and was garrisoned with his company at Dundalk by August 1595.[251] In early 1597 he returned to Wales to lead the Merioneth and Caernarvonshire troops that were garrisoned at Blackwater in Ulster.[252] By January 1598 he complained that he was so ill he had been confined to his chamber and he probably returned home at this time.[253] In October 1600, however, he was charged with transporting the Earl of Desmond to Ireland, for which he was highly commended.[254] This was his last service in Ireland.

Captain Richard Pryce

Pryce was a captain of kern who Sir Nicholas Malby referred to as a "Welschman" when he was killed in battle in September 1579.[255] It has not been possible to find any further references to him.

Captain Walter Progers

Walter Progers was probably from south Wales, where there were many of that name, or the border counties of England. David Mathew states that he was a south Wales squire.[256] He was placed in charge of the Herefordshire levy to be sent to Ireland in 1598 and was initially destined for Ulster. Progers was, however, ordered to embark from Plymouth as part of the 300 pressed men sent to travel to Munster with Low Countries veterans.[257] He arrived in Munster in October of that year and remained there until his discharge in September 1599.[258]

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[250] *CSPI 1588-92*, p. 389.
[251] NA, SP12/250/68; SP63/176/22; *CSPI 1592-6*, pp. 92-6.
[252] NA, SP63/197/64; 63/200/25.
[253] *CSPI 1598-9*, p. 10.
[254] *CSPI 1600*, pp. 458, 486-8.
[255] NA, SP63/69/17.
[256] Mathew, *Celtic peoples*, p. 369.
[257] *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 322-6; *APC 1597-8*, pp. 607-10.
[258] NA, SP63/202(IV)/34; 63/207/69; 63/207(V)/46; *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 280-1, 284.

Appendix 3: Welsh captains in Ireland

Captain John Roberts

Although this long-serving captain and Essex ally had a Welsh name, he seems to have been from Bristol.[259]

Sir Henry Salusbury of Llewenni, Denbighshire (1589-1632)*

Henry was the son and heir of Sir John Salusbury of Llewenni. He leased the manor of Ballymascanlon, Louth, from the Earl of Ormond in 1625. Dodd claims that he served in Ireland as a captain, but there is no record of his service among the State Papers.[260] It is likely that he served as a gentleman volunteer before obtaining his estate.

The Salusbury family of Rûg, Merioneth and Bachymbyd, Denbighshire.

Sir Robert Salusbury of Rûg, Merioneth (d.1599)

Sir Robert was the eldest son of Sir John Salusbury of Rûg. His connection to Ireland came through his marriage to Sir Henry Bagenal's daughter, Elinor.[261] He went to Ireland in 1593, possibly as a captain, but more likely as a gentleman volunteer, where he was knighted in January 1594.[262] In March 1595 he went to join his father-in-law at Newry from where he petitioned Lord Burghley for a captaincy or other royal service.[263] This does not seem to have been forthcoming and he returned to Wales. He died in 1599 and his estates passed to his brother, John.

Captain John Salusbury of Rûg, Merioneth*

John, a professional soldier, was Sir Robert's younger brother. He may have been the Captain John Salusbury who, in 1577, withdrew from conducting the 200 north Wales soldiers for Ireland and was replaced by a Piers Salusbury (almost certainly another

[259] NA, SP12/250/68.
[260] Dodd, 'Wales and Ireland', p. 84.
[261] NA, SP63/180/3.
[262] *CSPI 1592-6*, p. 200; W.J. Smith (ed.), *Calendar of Salusbury correspondence 1553-circa 1700* (Cardiff, 1954), p. 14.
[263] NA, SP63/178/69; 63/180/3.

member of the Rûg family), although this is more likely to be his father who seems to have served temporarily in the 1570s.[264] It is probably this Piers Salusbury who was listed as part of the garrison in 1579 and was discharged in January 1580.[265] John Salusbury seems to have begun his military career in 1586 when he was appointed captain in the Irish regiment that Sir William Stanley took to the Netherlands. He was, therefore, involved in Stanley's betrayal of Deventer and was part of the significant Welsh contingent who tried to gain Ostend for the Spanish in 1587. John's connections with Essex, who cultivated him and several other Welshmen as part of his growing intelligence network, allowed him to rehabilitate himself when he tired of Spanish service. His return to favour was completed when he served with Essex in Cadiz in 1596.[266] John went to Ireland in 1599 as captain of the Denbighshire and Carmarthenshire troops and was garrisoned in Leinster.[267] He was discharged in September 1599 and returned to Wales where, in 1601, he was recruited by Essex to take part in his attempted rising in London.[268] He was imprisoned temporarily for his part in the disastrous rebellion and fined £40. The Irish service of Robert and John left the family severely in debt and their successors ultimately had to sell Bachymbyd to John Williams, the King's Goldsmith.[269] Another younger brother of the Salusbury family, William, also seems to have gone to Ireland, but there is little evidence of when or where he served.[270]

Captain Owen Salusbury of Rûg, Merioneth or Holt, Denbighshire (d.1601)*

Owen Salusbury's origin is not quite clear. He was certainly closely related to John Salusbury, but there is disagreement about the manner in which he was connected. A.H. Dodd argues that he was most probably John's younger brother, but Emyr Gwynne Jones and William James Smith suggest that he was "one of the hangers-on of the Rûg house" and of Holt Castle, where he fled after a duel with Sir John Salusbury of Llewenni in 1593.[271] His military career shadows that of John. He served

[264] NA, SP12/96/292; *APC 1575-7*, p. 387.
[265] NA, SP63/70/38II; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1575-88*, p. 200.
[266] Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex revolt', pp. 357-9.
[267] NA, SP63/203/60; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 9, pp. 145-8.
[268] NA, SP63/207(V)/46; Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex revolt', p. 362.
[269] Dodd, 'Mr. Myddelton the merchant of Tower street', pp. 270-1.
[270] Smith, *Calendar of Salusbury correspondence*, pp. 144-5.
[271] Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex revolt', p. 349; *DWB*, pp. 900-1.

with him under Stanley in the Netherlands and under Essex.[272] He went to Ireland in 1599 as captain of the Merioneth and Montgomeryshire troops and remained there until September 1599 when, like John, he returned and took part in the Essex rebellion of 1601.[273] Owen was killed during the rising.[274]

Captain John Sydney

J.J.N. McGurk has stated that Captain John Sydney was of Welsh origin and, although it has not been possible to find evidence to support this, I have chosen to include him here on that basis.[275] Sydney first arrived in Ireland as captain of 100 Low Country veterans sent to assist Sir Samuel Bagenal in 1598.[276] He was garrisoned in Kells where he remained until 1600.[277] He served at Lough Foyle until 1604 and was knighted, probably in that year.[278] After this, however, he disappears from the Irish records.

Captain Edward Trevor of Brynkinallt, Denbighshire (d.1642)*

Edward Trevor was the son of John Trevor of Brynkinallt and his first wife, Margaret, daughter of Richard ap Rhydderch of Myfyrian, Anglesey.[279] Edward Trevor first arrived in Ireland in 1598 when he led the Northamptonshire men in the levies brought by Sir Samuel Bagenal to Lough Foyle.[280] He was garrisoned in Navan before being transferred to Connacht by the 2nd Earl of Essex.[281] Trevor was discharged in September 1599 but in June 1600 he was recommended by Lord Mountjoy to serve as part of his planned reinforcements.[282] He led 100 men from Kent and Sussex and had arrived in Dundalk by September.[283] In November Trevor was shot in the arm at the

[272] Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex revolt', pp. 357-9.
[273] NA, SP63/203/60; 63/207(V)/46.
[274] Dodd, 'North Wales in the Essex revolt, p. 363.
[275] McGurk, 'A survey of the demands', p. 66.
[276] NA, SP63/202(IV)/67; *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 319-22; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 11.
[277] NA, SP63/207/70; 63/207(V)/82; 63/208(II)/71.
[278] NA, SP63/208(III)/82I; 63/212/22; *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 201.
[279] Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, pp. 254-5.
[280] NA, SP63/202(IV)/67, *APC 1597-8*, pp. 607-10.
[281] O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', pp. 11-14.
[282] NA, SP63/207(V)/46; *CSPI 1600*, p. 217.
[283] NA, SP63/207(V)/82; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 15.

Battle of Narrowater and was posted in Newry over the winter.[284] During the spring and summer of 1601 he served under Sir Richard Moryson and Sir Oliver St John in Downpatrick, Lecale, Armagh, Newry and Drogheda.[285] In 1602 he served at Dungannon and, by September of that year, was garrisoned in Mountjoy.[286] Some time before the end of the war in March 1603 he was transferred to Newry where he joined his kinsman Richard Trevor of Trevalyn.[287] The Bagenal-controlled area, with the added influence of Richard, was an ideal location for Edward to settle. He married Agnes Ball, the daughter of a prominent Dublin merchant in 1601 and obtained a lease of Bagenal land by 1603.[288] From this start he built up a considerable estate and became one of the most influential figures in County Down. He was knighted in 1617 and held a series of offices in Wales and Ireland.[289] Trevor remained in pay as a captain until at least 1611.[290]

Captain Richard Trevor of Trevalyn, Denbighshire. (c.1558-1638)*

Richard was the eldest son of John Trevor of Trevalyn (d.1589), who fought in the French wars of Henry VIII and built Trevalyn in 1576. In March 1594 he was placed in charge of 100 Flintshire and Denbighshire men to be sent to Ireland, although due to delays and unsatisfactory troops they were not sent until May 1595.[291] These troops were sent to reinforce Henry Bagenal's garrison at Blackwater in Ulster and Trevor served there and around Newry.[292] He was knighted by Lord Deputy Burgh in May 1597.[293] In June 1598 he led the north Wales levies to Ireland to reinforce Sir Henry Bagenal.[294] His company was part of the expedition from Newry to victual Blackwater in August 1598, which was ambushed at Yellow Ford where Bagenal was killed and Trevor wounded.[295] Trevor returned home but went to Ireland again under

[284] *CSPI 1600-1*, p. 30; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 16.
[285] *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 10-14, 15-19; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 17.
[286] *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 486-8; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 18.
[287] *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 201; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 18.
[288] O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 25.
[289] *CSPI 1611-4*, pp. 127-8; *CSPI 1633-47*, pp. 59-67; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', pp. 60-3, 71-4.
[290] *CSPI 1611-4*, pp. 151-2.
[291] NA, SP63/178/76; 63/179/39.
[292] NA, SP63/201/12, 63/202(I)/67; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 7, pp. 543-4; O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 4.
[293] NA, SP12/263/99; Jones, *Trevors of Trevalyn,* p. 31.
[294] *APC 1597-8*, p. 524.
[295] O'Sullivan, 'Trevors of Rosetrevor', p. 4.

the 2nd Earl of Essex in early 1599.[296] The fall of Trevor's patron in 1601 and Trevor's own dubious political dealings led to his loss of the deputy lieutenancy of the county and left him facing proceedings in Star Chamber.[297] He returned to Ireland in 1603 where he was given the position of constable of Newry.[298] He served in Newry until August 1606 when he returned home due to ill health and was given an annual pension of £50.[299] He returned to Denbighshire where he recovered his local position, only returning to Ireland for a short period as constable of Newry (c.1634-5).[300]

Captain Rowland Trevor*

Almost certainly a minor member of the Trevor family, Rowland served in Ireland temporarily around the turn of the century. He received the company of Francis Meyrick, who had returned in September 1599.[301] He was garrisoned in Mullingar, West Meath, until at least April 1600.[302] After this date he disappears from the army lists suggesting that he either died or returned home.

Captain John Owen Tudor

John Owen Tudor was one of the captains sent with Sir Samuel Bagenal to reinforce Ulster in the winter of 1598.[303] He was discharged from the army in September 1599 and did not return to Ireland.[304]

Lieutenant James Vaughan of Tilleglas, Breconshire*

It is unclear when James Vaughan began his service in Ireland, but in 1582 he claimed that he had served twenty years in Ireland and France and had been an officer for fifteen years. Vaughan served as Lieutenant to Captain William Jenkins and was

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[296] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[297] *DWB*, pp. 980-3.
[298] *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 90, 201.
[299] *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 541-2; *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 507-14.
[300] *DWB*, pp. 980-3.
[301] NA, SP63/207/69.
[302] NA, SP63/207/70; 63/207(II)/98.
[303] *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 322-6.
[304] NA, SP63/207/69.

seriously injured during his service in Ulster.[305] He held a series of positions including constable of Lough Neagh in 1572 and warder of Island Sydney in 1583.[306] He seems to have done well out of his kinship connections to Sir Henry Sidney and Lord Burghley, being given a thirty year lease of attainted lands belonging to Viscount Baltinglass in County Dublin in 1582 or 1583.[307] He served as one of four corporals of the field in the journey to the north undertaken by Sir John Perrot in 1584.[308] He died in 1586 his land lease passing to his wife, Katherine.[309]

The Vaughan brothers

The two captains Vaughan were part of a family of four brothers who were all active in Ulster during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Their pedigree in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland states that they were "of Wales", and this is supported by the presence of Reverend Charles Vaughan's sermon book in the National Library of Wales.[310] Of the two non-military brothers, Charles was prebendary of Connor in Derry from 1631 and married Dorothy Downham, the daughter of George Downham, the Bishop of Derry, while James held land in Inishowen in 1622, probably leased from his brother, John.

Captain John Vaughan (d. 1642 or 1643)

It is difficult to separate the career of this John Vaughan from that of Sir John Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire (see below). It appears, however, that while Vaughan of Golden Grove ended his Irish military career in 1599, this John Vaughan's career did not begin until 1600.[311] It is possible that John was the 'Lieutenant Vaughan' who purchased the company of Captain Walter Lloyd in 1600, which would explain his appearance as a captain in that year although this could

[305] Vaughan's petition claimed that he had lost some of his limbs, but he was able to serve as a soldier later in life: NA, SP63/91/52.
[306] NA, SP63/34/45; *Calendar of Carew MSS 1575-88*, pp. 334-60.
[307] NA, SP63/34/40; 63/92/24; 63/109/75; Mary O'Dowd, 'Irish concealed lands papers', p. 120.
[308] NA, SP63/116/61; 63/134/41.
[309] *CSPI 1586-8*, pp. 220-1, 404, 429.
[310] PRONI, T/1567/1; NLW, MS 71A.
[311] A Captain John Vaughan is mentioned in a letter of January 1589 from Limerick, but is unclear whether this is the same individual: *CSPI 1588-92*, p. 110.

equally have been his brother, Henry.[312] He arrived, either as a lieutenant or captain, with Sir Henry Docwra in Derry in 1600 and remained there until the spring of 1601 when he was dispatched to Chester to muster and transport the reinforcements to Derry.[313] He served around Lough Foyle until his discharge in 1603, during which time he was garrisoned in Kilmacrenan, Derry and Rathmullan.[314] He remained in Ireland, probably living in Derry and appears on a list of ex-captains in the country in May 1608.[315] By 1608 he had regained his captaincy, probably leading one of the companies sent to deal with the O'Doherty rebellion in that year. After the burning of Derry in June 1608 he was made warden of the town and, along with Henry, was placed in charge of its reconstruction.[316] He remained commander of the town until his death, was its governor from 1611 and served as its mayor in 1617-8 and 1627-30.[317] As part of the Ulster Plantation John received land in Kilmacrenan, Donegal.[318] Despite building up a landed estate, receiving a knighthood in 1616 and becoming MP for Donegal in 1634, he continued to serve as a foot captain in Ulster throughout his life.[319]

Captain Henry Vaughan

Henry's career closely followed that of his elder brother. He may have been the lieutenant who bought his position from Walter Lloyd (see above). It is more likely, however, that he served as an officer in his brother's company as he does not appear on the army lists as a captain. By 1605, however, he was sheriff of Tyrconnell and referred to as captain.[320] He became constable of Doe Castle in Donegal in 1608, giving the two brothers considerable influence in that county.[321] Like his brother he

[312] *CSPI 1600*, pp. 214-5.
[313] NA, SP63/207(II)/98; 63/208(II)/71; *CSPI 1600-1*, pp. 359, 368.
[314] NA, SP63/208(III)/82I; 63/212/22; *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 15-9, 266-7, 486-8. 585-7; *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 30; HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 16, p. 296.
[315] *CSPI 1606-8*, pp. 538-9.
[316] *CSPI 1606-8*, p. 541; T.W. Moody, *The Londonderry plantation, 1609-41: the city of London and the plantation of Ulster* (Belfast, 1939), p. 59.
[317] PRONI, T1567/1; Moody, *Londonderry plantation*, pp. 280-1.
[318] Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 197-8.
[319] NA, SP63/257/50; *CSPI 1625-32*, pp. 171-3; *CSPI 1633-47*, pp. 59-67; Harold O'Sullivan, 'The Magennis lordship of Iveagh in the early modern period, 1534-1691', in Lindsay Proudfoot (ed.), *Down: history and society* (Dublin, 1997), p. 181.
[320] *CSPI 1606-8*, p. 369.
[321] PRONI, T/1567/1.

was granted land in Kilmacrenan as part of the Ulster plantation and established himself as a landowner.[322]

John Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire (1574/5-1634)*

John Vaughan, the son of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Carmarthenshire, was primarily a courtier and politician who flourished in the household of Prince Charles during the reign of James I. His brief association with Ireland was part of his ties to the 2nd Earl of Essex. Vaughan, who had married the daughter of the Earl's steward, Gelly Meyrick, in 1598, went with Essex to Ireland in 1599 and was knighted by him there. He was implicated in the Essex revolt of 1601, but escaped punishment and soon recovered his reputation. Although Vaughan never served in the Irish military again he was appointed Baron Mullingar in 1621 and Earl of Carbery in 1628, an honour he probably bought.[323]

Sir Roger Williams of Penrhos, Monmouthshire (1539/40-1595)

In July 1595, the celebrated Welsh soldier, author and close ally of the 2nd Earl of Essex, Sir Roger Williams, petitioned the Privy Council to be a colonel of the horse in Ireland.[324] We do not know whether Williams was offered the position but he never went to Ireland, dying of fever on 12 December 1595.[325]

Captain Thomas Williams

Captain Thomas Williams should not be confused with Sir Thomas Williams who served as clerk of the check under Sir John Perrot during the 1580s. This Thomas Williams wrote in a petition of December 1605 that he had only served in Ireland for nine years.[326] Captain Williams was probably not Welsh, although his involvement in 1610 with a plan to plant Lower Orier with Welsh landowners Sir James Perrot and

[322] Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 197-8.
[323] Lloyd Bowen, 'Vaughan, John, first earl of Carbery (1574/5-1634)', *ODNB*, vol. 56, p. 185.
[324] NA, SP63/181/1.
[325] Trim, 'Jacob's Wars', p. 391; David Trim, 'Williams, Sir Roger (1539/40-1595), *ODNB*, vol. 59, pp. 289-93.
[326] *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 591-2.

Oliver St John certainly suggests Welsh connections.[327] He was most likely of Buckinghamshire, where a list dated March 1595 places him, and in 1599 it was noted that he had married a wealthy Londoner.[328] Before he went to Ireland he had been a captain on the continent for 11 years.[329] In the winter of 1597-8 he was appointed commander of the Blackwater fort.[330] He led the defence of the fort when it was attacked by O'Neill in summer 1598 and was commended for his bravery.[331] Williams remained in Ulster after the disaster at Yellow Ford, but was transferred to Leix and then Leinster in 1600.[332] He returned to the Blackwater in 1602 and then was moved to Armagh the next year.[333] He was knighted, probably in 1604, and his company was discharged in October 1605, after which he was given a pension.[334] He was granted 1,000 acres in Orier as part of the Ulster plantation, although he had sold his land to a Captain Anthony Smith by 1618.[335]

Captain William Williams

Captain William Williams's name and the men he led indicate that he was of Welsh origin. He may be the Monmouthshire-born cousin of Roger Williams, who David Trim has identified serving in the Low Countries in 1582-3.[336] He served under Essex in the Azores in 1597 before leading the Breconshire and Radnorshire levies to Ireland in February 1599.[337] He served in Ireland until September of that year when he was discharged.[338] Another Welsh officer named William Williams was based at Carrickfergus in 1638, but this was certainly a different man whose military career has left little evidence.[339]

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[327] *CSPI 1608-10*, pp. 562-5.
[328] NA, SP12/251/84; SP63/205/188.
[329] *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 591-2.
[330] NA, SP63/202(I)/99.
[331] *CSPI 1598-9*, pp. 204-5, 322-6.
[332] NA, SP63/202(IV)/34; 63/205/94; 63/207/69, 70; 63/207(II)/98; 63/207(V)/82.
[333] *CSPI 1601-3*, pp. 486-8, *CSPI 1603-6*, p. 92.
[334] *CSPI 1601-3*, p. 653; *CSPI 1603-6*, pp. 338-44; *CSPI 1606-8*, pp. 538-9.
[335] Hill, *An historical account of the plantation in Ulster*, p. 569.
[336] Trim, 'Jacob's Wars', pp. 479-80.
[337] NA, SP12/265/110; SP63/203/60.
[338] NA, SP63/207/69; 63/207(V)/46.
[339] It is possible that he is the William Williams who was steward of the 2nd Earl of Essex's estate at Farney: Smith, *Calendar of Salusbury correspondence*, p. 103.

Appendix 3: Welsh captains in Ireland

Captain Peter Wynn of Tower, Flintshire (c.1560-1609)[340]

Wynn, like many Welsh captains, was a younger son of limited means. Hammer estimates that he inherited only twenty shillings worth of land. He was a dependant of Sir William Stanley and, like his master, almost certainly a Catholic.[341] He first served in Ireland as one of Stanley's lieutenants, probably from about 1580.[342] When Stanley took an Irish regiment to the Low Countries in 1586, Wynn was appointed as a captain. He was, therefore, involved in Stanley's betrayal of Deventer in January 1587 and served in Spain.[343] He was pardoned in December 1589 after making overtures to Walsingham and Essex. He served in Normandy in 1591-2 under Essex and at Cadiz in 1596.[344] He returned to Ireland in February 1599 when he conducted 100 Flintshire and Lancashire troops under Essex.[345] In September, Wynn left Ireland with Essex and became involved in his desperate attempt to seize power.[346] Despite this he escaped punishment and returned to England in 1601.[347] By 1605 he had returned to Ireland as a gentleman servant of Lord Mountjoy. He then secured a captaincy in the Netherlands from 1605-8. In August 1608 he went to join the fledgling colony at Jamestown, where he died in early 1609. [348]

[340] Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad', pp. 59-92.
[341] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-3.
[342] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-3; NA, SP12/141/7.
[343] Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad', pp. 60-3; Trim 'Jacob's Wars', p. 483.
[344] Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad', pp. 70; Trim, 'Jacob's Wars', p. 483.
[345] NA, SP63/203/60; Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad', pp. 82-3.
[346] NA, SP63/207/69.
[347] HMC, *Salisbury MSS*, vol. 11, pp. 86-8;
[348] Hammer, 'A Welshman abroad', pp. 60-3, 83; Trim, 'Jacob's Wars', p.483.

Appendix 4: Welsh settler data, 1558-1641

This appendix is intended to be used as a source of reference for Chapter 4. Through a series of tables it presents the information provided by the five surveys carried out on the Herbert estate of Castleisland between 1591 and 1639, as well as the muster of Ulster in 1630. The first table presents the names of the tenants listed on the Castleisland estate, the amount of land they held at the time of each survey, and any further details provided. The 1591 survey is Sir William Herbert of St Julians's own tenant list and provides the most detailed picture of his settlement. It is part of a larger survey that also gives information regarding his buildings and goods.[1] The second survey was compiled during the 1650s from an undated, and now lost, source.[2] It can be dated between June 1592 and March 1593.[3] It includes four of Herbert's Monmouthshire-born cousins among the freeholders, but the absence of all but one from the 1594 list suggests that they probably did not come to Ireland.[4] The third survey was made in 1594 and is the first list to contain Irish as well as British tenants.[5] The fourth survey is compiled from Sir Richard Moryson's survey of Munster of 1611 and a list of tenants from the Powis Castle deeds dated 1609-10. The two are almost identical, suggesting that the earlier list is a draft of the 1611 survey.[6] The 1622 survey is taken from the reports of the Irish commissioners.[7] The final list in the table is compiled from two surveys. The first was supplied by the tenants of Castleisland in 1638 and the second was compiled by Moses Lloyd, the Herberts' agent on the estate, in March 1639.[8]

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[1] NLI, MS 7861, fol. 177.
[2] NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 14752.
[3] Richard Barbor, who arrived in Ireland in June 1592, is on the list and it was made during the lifetime of William Herbert who died in March 1593. NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 12853.
[4] The four Herberts were Walter Herbert, son of William's uncle George Herbert of Newport, William Herbert, Thomas Herbert and Myles Herbert, all sons of William's other uncle, Miles Herbert of Crindau, Monmouthshire. Due to the fact that two of Miles Herbert's sons were called William it is difficult to tell whether the William who took a freehold in Castleisland was the eldest son, who married Charles Herbert's daughter and received land on his estate, or William Herbert the younger, who married Elizabeth Thomas of Brigan: NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 14752, 15314; Joseph Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire* (London and Cardiff, 1932-1993), vol. 5, p. 49.
[5] NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 14596.
[6] NAI, RC/4/7, fols. 63-71; NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 10102.
[7] BL, Add. MS 4756, fols. 88-97.
[8] NLW, Powis Castle Deeds 15393, 15406.

Appendix 4: Welsh settler data, 1558-1641

The second table presents the data from the muster of Ulster in 1630.[9] This does not cover all the estates in Ulster and like all musters poses particular problems to historians. It only lists those who attended the muster and, due to corruption or simple error, certain settlers are recorded several times, often on several estates. The muster is, however, the best record of the settler population of Ulster before 1641. It is presented by county and all Welsh names on the mustered estates have been listed. I have not altered the figures to account for repeated names because this could artificially lower the number of Welsh settlers. As has been discussed in Appendix 1, Welsh surnames were far more homogeneous than their English counterparts and it is thus more likely to see repeated Welsh names than repeated English ones. Therefore, although repeated names could have been the product of corruption or administrative error, discounting them would inevitably damage the data's usefulness for analysing the ethnic make-up of the settlers.

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[9] BL, Add. MS 4770.

Table A4.1: Tenants of Castleisland

Name	Recognisable Welsh name?	Known origin?	Occupation	Family?
Thomas David	Yes	No	Dairy farmer	Wife
Watkin David	Yes	No	Unknown	Wife, daughter, son-in-law, and three others
Thomas Ewias	Yes	No	Clark	Wife
Richard Gittins	No	No	Unknown	Wife and eight others
Mr Griffith	Yes	No	Labourer	Wife and two others
William Griffith	Yes	No	Dairy farmer	Wife and three others
Phillipp Howell	Yes	No	Unknown	Wife
Rosser Evan Johne	Yes	No	Dairy farmer	Three others
Rowlande Johne	Yes	No	Unknown	Wife and two others
William Johnes	Yes	Risca, Monmouthshire	Unknown	Wife and two others
Thomas Jones	Yes	No	Unknown	Wife and eight others
William Jones	Yes	No	Unknown	Wife and four others
William Lawrence	No	No	Unknown	Wife and three others
Edmond Martyn	No	No	Unknown	Wife and son
Richard Price	Yes	No	Recorder in manorial courts/ attorney	None
William John Robert	Yes	No	Unknown	Wife and two others
Lewis Rosser	Yes	No	Unknown	Wife and two others
Thomas Rosser	Yes	No	Unknown	Sister and one servant
Harry Rys/Ries	Yes	No	Unknown	Wife and two others
Mathew Thomas	Yes	No	Unknown	Wife
Edmond Thomas Watkin	Yes	No	Unknown	Wife
George Welsh	No	No	Steward	None
David Williams	Yes	Llantrishen, Monmouthshire	Unknown	Wife and three others

Table A4.1. Tenants of Castleisland (cont.)

Name	1591 list	c.1592/3 list	1594 list	1611 list	1622 list	1638/9 list
Thomas David	Dairy on Herbert's demesne					
Watkin David	40 acres	50 acres – Deomultane bay				
Thomas Ewias	50 acres	Present but not measured				
Richard Gittins	100 acres	100 acres – Balleyery	100 acres			
Mr Griffith	None					
William Griffith	Dairy on Herbert's demesne					
Phillipp Howell	50 acres	50 acres – Loghlimeal				
Rowlande Johne	100 acres	52 acres – Dulak				
Rosser Evan Johne	Dairy on Herbert's demesne					
William Johnes	50 acres					
Thomas Jones	100 acres	87.5 acres – Kilcowe	80 acres			
William Jones	100 acres	87.5 acres – Kilcowe	80 acres			
William Lawrence	40 acres	Present but not measured	80 acres			
Edmond Martyn	100 acres	100 acres – Disert	95 acres			
Richard Price	100 acres	104 acres – Ballimarkruttery	107 acres			
William John Robert	50 acres	50 acres - Clydan Farna	80 acres	50 acres Claneuclogh		
Lewis Rosser	50 acres	50 acres – Ballimacodan	47 acres			
Thomas Rosser	50 acres	50 acres – Ballimacodan	47 acres			
Harry Rys/Ries	30 acres					
Mathew Thomas	50 acres	50 acres – Molagh Markin	60 acres			
Edmond Thomas Watkin	100 acres	50 acres – Corane	50 acres			
George Welsh	None	100 acres				
David Williams	50 acres	100 acres - Lyssonbaen and Balliandrowe	100 acres		50 acres	

Table A4.1. Tenants of Castleisland (cont.)

Name	Recognisable Welsh name?	Known origin?	Occupation	Family?
Richard Barbor	No	Newport, Monmouthshire	Unknown	Unknown
William Barbor	No	Newport, Monmouthshire	Unknown	Unknown
George Buckley	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
George David	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Morgan David	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Mr Eiynon	Yes	No	Labourer	Unknown
Griffith Evans	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Myles Herbert	No	Crindau, Monmouthshire	Gentleman	Unknown
Thomas Herbert	No	Crindau, Monmouthshire	Gentleman	Unknown
Walter Herbert	No	Newport, Monmouthshire	Gentleman	Unknown
William Herbert	No	Crindau, Monmouthshire	Gentleman	Unknown
William John	Yes	No	Smith	Unknown
Evan Lewys	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Morgan Lewys	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
William Lewys	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
John Llewellyn	Yes	No	Plasterer	Unknown
Morgan Llewellyn	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Howell Phillips	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Jenkin Phillips	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
William Robert	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Morgan Rosser	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Lewys Rydd	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Harry Taylor	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Morgan Thomas	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Richard Thomlyns	No	No	Unknown	Unknown

Table A4.1. Tenants of Castleisland (cont.)

Name	1591 list	c.1592/3 list	1594 list	1611 list	1622 list	1638/9 list
Richard Barbor		30 acres				
William Barbor		100 acres – Anagh More				
George Buckley		Not measured				
George David		33 acres (share of 100 acres)				
Morgan David		100 acres at the castle				
Mr Eiynon		40 acres				
Griffith Evans		50 acres – Coran				
Myles Herbert		300 acres freehold				
Thomas Herbert		300 acres freehold				
Walter Herbert		300 acres freehold				
William Herbert		The Castle of Kilcosnye, 200 acres freehold	The castle of Kilcosnye, 340 acres	300 acres freehold		
William John		Present but not measured	151 acres			
Evan Lewys		33 acres (share of 100 acres)	25 acres			
Morgan Lewys		33 acres (share of 100 acres)	50 acres			
William Lewys		50 acres				
John Llewellyn		33 acres (share of 100 acres)	50 acres			
Morgan Llewellyn		100 acres – Kilenterney				
Howell Phillips		100 acres				
Jenkin Phillips		36 acres				
William Robert		Not measured				
Morgan Rosser		50 acres				
Lewys Rydd		33 acres (share of 100 acres)				
Harry Taylor		40 acres – Kooleybie				
Morgan Thomas		50 acres – Loghlimeal				
Richard Thomlyns		100 acres – Balibecke, not arrived in Ireland	100 acres			

Table A4.1. Tenants of Castleisland (cont.)

Name	Recognisable Welsh name?	Known origin?	Occupation	Family?
Thomas Virgin	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Thomas Watkin	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Morgan Williams	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Thomas Fitzgerald	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
John Hollis	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Harry Johnes	Yes	No	Mason	Unknown
Cahir McHugh	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Richard McJames	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Thomas McMorrecaghe	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Thomas McMoryk	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Richard McQuillick	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Thomas Nescoll	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
John O'Brien	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Brian O'Conochor	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Arte O'Leyrie	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Donnell O'Leyrie	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Teig O'Leyrie	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Thomas Oge O'Rieder	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Sir William Pryce	Yes	No	Clark	Unknown
John Scoller	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Philip Robert	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
John Cutter	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
John Davis	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Robert Dillon	No	No	Unknown	Unknown

Table A4.1. Tenants of Castleisland (cont.)

Name	1591 list	c.1592/3 list	1594 list	1611 list	1622 list	1638/9 list
Thomas Virgin		300 acres freehold	284 acres	250 acres freehold		
Thomas Watkin		33 acres (share of 100 acres)				
Morgan Williams		52 acres – Dulak				
Thomas Fitzgerald			Unknown amount of land			
John Hollis			148 acres	100 acres Annohemore		
Harry Johnes			50 acres			
Cahir McHugh			Unknown amount of land			
Richard McJames			Unknown amount of land			
Thomas McMorrecaghe			Unknown amount of land			
Thomas McMoryk			Unknown amount of land			
Richard McQuillick			Unknown amount of land			
Thomas Nescoll			Unknown amount of land			
John O'Brien			Unknown amount of land			
Brian O'Conochor			Unknown amount of land			
Arte O'Leyrie			Unknown amount of land			
Donnell O'Leyrie			Unknown amount of land			
Teig O'Leyrie			Unknown amount of land			
Thomas Oge O'Rieder			Unknown amount of land			
Sir William Pryce			100 acres			
John Scoller			Unknown amount of land			
Philip Robert			25 acres			
John Cutter				100 acres Ternegoose		
John Davis				50 acres Ranalohe		
Robert Dillon				10 acres Clonatie		

Table A4.1. Tenants of Castleisland (cont.)

Name	Recognisable Welsh name?	Known origin?	Occupation	Family?
Gilbert Harvey	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Roger Hollis	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Elizabeth Hunt	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
John Merrick	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
John O Roane	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Sir Thomas Roper	No	No	Steward	Unknown
William Russell	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
John Towsy	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Christopher Walsh	No	No	Gentleman	Unknown
William Williams	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Charles Barnstaple	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
John Cooke	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
James Davids	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown
Pierce Dawton	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
David Fitzgerald	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
James Fitzgerald	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Francis Kendall	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Patrick Kenny	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
William Patison	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
William Rawlings	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Humphrey Roper	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
John West	No	No	Unknown	Unknown

Table A4.1. Tenants of Castleisland (cont.)

Name	1591 list	c.1592/3 list	1594 list	1611 list	1622 list	1638/9 list
Gilbert Harvey				25 acres Tullick		
Roger Hollis				100 acres Cunegeragh	100 acres	2 ploughlands - £20
Elizabeth Hunt				100 acres Disert		
John Merrick				25 acres Farrenback		
John O Roane				10 acres Lakaunbille		Half a ploughland - £5
Sir Thomas Roper				400 acres demesne		
William Russell				100 acres Garohe		
John Towsy				100 acres Kilcowe		
Christopher Walsh				400 acres leasehold Killvonnane		
William Williams				100 acres Ballymaryvall	100 acres	1 ploughland - £8
Charles Barnstaple					400 acres copyhold	5 ploughlands and a mill - £84 10s
John Cooke					200 acres	Two and a half ploughlands - £20
James Davids					200 acres	
Pierce Dawton					250 acres	
David Fitzgerald					Leasehold of 200 acres and copyhold of 950 acres	
James Fitzgerald					Two leaseholds of 650 and 450 acres	
Francis Kendall					400 acres copyhold	
Patrick Kenny					50 acres	
William Patison					100 acres	
William Rawlings					50 acres	Half a ploughland - £6
Humphrey Roper					300 acres copyhold	
John West					450 acres leasehold and 400 acres copyhold	Four and a half ploughlands - £47

Table A4.1. Tenants of Castleisland (cont.)

Name	Recognisable Welsh name?	Known origin?	Occupation	Family?
John Beckman	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
William Butler	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Garrett Doullon	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Garrett Fitzgerald	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
John Fitzgerald	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Richard Fitzgerald	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Mr Henton	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Henry Huddleston	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Phelim McTeige	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Dermod oge McTillaugh	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Emmanuel Newton	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Thomas O'Connor	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
John O'Gerald	No	No	Clerk	Unknown
Cloddan Rafe	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Nicholas Wealsh	No	No	Unknown	Unknown
Charles Williams	Yes	No	Unknown	Unknown

Table A4.1. Tenants of Castleisland (cont.)

Name	1591 list	c.1592/3 list	1594 list	1611 list	1622 list	1638/9 list
John Beckman						3 ploughlands - £12
William Butler						Three and a half ploughlands - £24
Garrett Doullon						2 ploughlands - £12
Garrett Fitzgerald						Twenty four and a half ploughlands - £207 10s.
John Fitzgerald						Three and a half ploughlands - £30
Richard Fitzgerald						Unknown amount of land
Mr Henton						2 ploughlands - £8
Henry Huddleston						4 ploughlands - £27
Phelim McTeige						4 ploughlands - £40
Dermod oge McTillaugh						1 ploughland - £12
Emmanuel Newton						Unknown amount of land
Thomas O'Connor						Unknown amount of land
John O'Gerald						Unknown amount of land
Cloddan Rafe						Half a ploughland - £1
Nicholas Wealsh						3 ploughlands - £8
Charles Williams						1 ploughland - £6

Table A4.2. The Ulster muster roll of 1630. Compiled from British Library, Additional MS, 4770.
Table A4.2.1. The Ulster muster roll of 1630, Cavan

Settler	Type of land	Barony	Men	Welsh	Names
Stephen Butler	English Undertaker	Loughtee	164	3	Edward Davis, Thomas Price, John Johnes
Francis Hamilton	Scottish Undertaker	Tulleknock	113	3	Thomas Joanes, Richard Joanes, William Joanes
James Craig	Scottish Undertaker	Tulleknock	54	2	David Phillips, William Morris
Archibald Acheson	Scottish Undertaker	Tulleknock	20	0	
Edward Bagshaw	English Undertaker	Loughtee	32	2	Griffin Evance, Robert Morrice
Lady Waldrin	English Undertaker	Loughtee	54	0	
Mr Taylor	English Undertaker	Loughtee	85	1	John Humphreyes
Mr Moynes	English Undertaker	Loughtee	28	1	Griffin Evance
Mr Amis and Mr Greeneham	English Undertaker	Loughtee	9	1	George Evance
Henry Pearce	Scottish Undertaker	Clankee	16	1	William Price
John Hamilton	Scottish Undertaker	Clankee	54	0	
William Baillie	Scottish Undertaker	Clankee	35	1	John Owen
Widow of William Hamilton	Scottish Undertaker	Clankee	5	0	
Edward Fishe	English Undertaker	Loughtee	48	3	John Powell, Richard Powell, John Powell
Earl of Fingal	Scottish Undertaker		28	0	
Bishop of Kilmore	Servitor	Castlerahan	36	1	William Johnes
Cavan town	Town		27	0	
Churchlands of Drumgoon	Churchlands		7	0	
		Total	**815**	**19**	

Table A4.2.2. The Ulster muster roll of 1630, Armagh

Settler	Type of land	Barony	Men	Welsh	Names
Anthony Cope	English Undertaker	Oneilland	155	13	George Morris, Richard Roberts, Henry Humphries, William Davis, Robert Williams, Thomas Roberts, Richard Roberts, Griffith Powell, William Davis, John Roberts, John Powell, Richard Roberts, George Morris
John Dillon	English Undertaker	Oneilland	35	1	Barnard Roberts
Mr Waldren	English Undertaker	Oneilland	45	0	
Mr Stanhowe	English Undertaker	Oneilland	16	0	
Francis Sacheverell	English Undertaker	Oneilland	104	11	David Williams, John Williams, James Powell, George Williams, Nicholas Williams, William Williams, Nathaniel Williams, Morrise Pritchard, Robert Morris, Thomas Williams, Robert Morris
Richard Cope & Mr Obbins	English Undertaker	Oneilland	24	1	George Win
William Brownlow	English Undertaker	Oneilland	42	0	
Lord Mountnorris	Scottish Undertaker	Fews	35	1	Andrew Williams
Archibald Acheson	Scottish Undertaker	Fews	56	0	
John Hamilton	Scottish Undertaker	Fews	113	1	Michael Rece
Lord Grandison	English Undertaker	Oneilland	31	3	John Williams, Morrice Williams, John Meredeth
Viscount Grandison	Servitor	Orior	21	3	Francis Watkins, Godfrey Watkins, Charles Watkins
Henry Brooke	Servitor	Orior	10	0	
Charles Poynts	Servitor	Orior	28	1	Owen Powell
Lord Primate of Armagh		Oneilland	8	0	
Lord Primate of Armagh		Fews	6	0	
Lord Primate of Armagh		Barony of Armagh	44	0	
Lord Primate of Armagh		Liberties of Armagh	90	1	Thomas Phillips
Lord Caulfield	Abbey lands		56	4	Henry Davis, John Morgan, Evance Meredith, Roger Jones
Mr Richardson	Churchlands	Fews	8	0	
		Total	**927**	**40**	

Table A4.2.3. The Ulster muster roll of 1630, Fermanagh

Settler	Type of land	Barony	Men	Welsh	Names
James Lord Balfor	English Undertaker	Clankelly	99	0	
William Cole	Scottish Undertaker	Magheraboy	68	0	
Mr Archdale	Scottish Undertaker	Magheraboy	41	2	Thomas Robert, Thomas Lewes
Mrs Hamilton	Scottish Undertaker	Magheraboy	24	0	
John Hume	Scottish Undertaker	Magheraboy	90	1	William Roberts
George Hume	Scottish Undertaker	Magheraboy	29	0	
Gerrard Lowther	English Undertaker	Lurg	47	0	
Mr Hunnings	English Undertaker	Lurg	24	0	
Mr Flowerdew	English Undertaker	Lurg	30	0	
Francis Blennerhassett	English Undertaker	Lurg	24	0	
Leonard Blennerhassett	English Undertaker	Lurg	22	1	William Powell
Hugh Worrell	English Undertaker	Clankelly	19	0	
James Higget	English Undertaker	Clankelly	22	0	
Charles Waterhowe	English Undertaker	Clankelly	12	0	
Edward Hatton	English Undertaker	Clankelly	44	0	
Mr Sedborough	English Undertaker	Clankelly	16	1	Richard Rolands
John Dunbar	Scottish Undertaker	Magheraboy	10	1	Randall Bowen
Mr Adwick	Scottish Undertaker	Knockninny	6	0	
Stephen Butler	English Undertaker	Knockninny and Coole	92	2	Martin Evance, William Morris
Enniskillen town			52	4	Andrew Lewis, John Davis, John Blany, David Williams
Lord Dillon	Servitor	Tirkennedy	27	0	
William Cole	Servitor	Tirkennedy	13	0	

Table A4.2.3. The Ulster muster roll of 1630, Fermanagh (cont.)

Settler	Type of land	Barony	Men	Welsh	Names
Roger Atkinson	Servitor	Tirkennedy	25	0	
Ralph Gower	Servitor	Tirkennedy	31	0	
Lord Hastings	Servitor	Tirkennedy	41	1	Thomas Blayney
Mr Archdale	Churchlands	Magheraboy	14	0	
Leonard Blennerhassett	Churchlands	Lurg	7	0	
Lady Brewerton	Churchlands	Lurg	15	1	William Morris
William Graham	Churchlands	Clankelly	8	0	
Mr Fullerton	Churchlands		2	0	
Mr Willoughby	Churchlands	Clankelly	6	0	
Hugh Montgomery	Churchlands	Tirkennedy	11	0	
		Total	**971**	**14**	

Table A4.2.4. The Ulster muster roll of 1630, Tyrone

Settler	Type of land	Barony	Men	Welsh	Names
James Erskin	English Undertaker	Clogher	138	1	John Morgan
William Steward	English Undertaker	Clogher	131	0	
Henry Tychbone	English Undertaker	Clogher	54	1	William Roberts
William Parsons	English Undertaker	Clogher	59	1	William Davis
Richard Cope	English Undertaker	Clogher	28	0	
John Leigh	English Undertaker	Clogher	17	0	
Archibald Hamilton	English Undertaker	Clogher	25	0	
Andrew Stewart	Servitor	Dungannon	94	1	John Humphrey
Henry Stewart	Servitor	Dungannon	46	1	James Williams
Captain Alexander Sanderson		Dungannon	36	0	
Mr Symonton		Dungannon	28	0	
Alexander Richardson	Servitor	Dungannon	26	0	
Robert Lindsay	Servitor	Dungannon	65	0	
Lord Hastings		Omagh	25	6	Conn Roberts, Rise Roberts, Richard Jones, Williams Edwards, Lewis Jones, Griffin ap Richard
Pearce Crosby		Omagh	47	0	
Captain Mervin		Omagh	57	3	Owen Lewis, John Lewis, John Vaughan
Malcolm Drummond	Scottish Undertaker	Strabane	15	0	
Sir George Hamilton	Scottish Undertaker	Strabane	54	0	
Countess of Abercorn	Scottish Undertaker	Strabane	40	0	
Master of Abercorn	Scottish Undertaker	Strabane	51	0	
William Hamilton	Scottish Undertaker	Strabane	43	0	
Town of Strabane	Town		208	0	
Bishop of Armagh	Churchlands	Dungannon	58	2	Thomas Jones, Morgan Edwards
James, Bishop of Clogher	Churchlands	Clogher	64	1	Morris Morgan
William Hamilton	Churchlands	Omagh	14	0	

Table A4.2.4. The Ulster muster roll of 1630, Tyrone (cont.)

Settler	Type of land	Barony	Men	Welsh	Names
Viscount Chichester	Servitor	Dungannon	31	1	Jeffrey Joanes
Viscount Powerscourt	Servitor	Dungannon	46	2	Thomas ap Thomas, Zachary Humphreyes
Lord Caulfield	Servitor	Dungannon	12	2	Robert Owen, Robert Davis
Beverley Newton	Servitor	Dungannon	30	1	Robert Howell
		Total	**1542**	**23**	

Table A4.2.5. The Ulster muster roll of 1630, Londonderry

Settler	Type of land	Barony	Men	Welsh	Names
Liberties of Londonderry	Town		599	15	John Evance, Owen Hewes, John Price, Leonard Davis, John Lewis, John Robert, Arthur Rise, John Robert, John Morris, Lewis Davis, Griffith Hues, Richard Joanes, Peter Morgan, Mathew Williams, Peter Morgan
Clothworkers	Company		192	2	Robert Edward, Wylliam Wynne
Mr Harrington	Company		57	2	John Lewis, Martin Davis
Fishmongers	Company		42	0	
Merchant Taylors	Company		48	0	
Ironmongers	Company		123	2	Thomas Morgan, Evance Morrisse.
Mercers	Company		87	1	Humphrey Joanes
Vintners	Company		102	8	Richard Powell, Hugh Vaughan, Robert Joanes, John Roberts, Morgan Joanes, Griffin Thomas, John Phillips, Thomas Williams
Drapers	Company		45	0	
Liberties of Coleraine	Town		357	8	Tymothy Thomas, Nathaniel Davis, William Owen, Andrew Rise, John Blaney, Thomas Hugh, Robert Hughes, Thomas Bowen
Captain Thomas Phillips	English Undertaker		121	5	Christopher Williams, John Wyne, Peter Lewis, Ensign John Owen, Peter Lewis
Mr Gaidge	Churchlands		10	3	Thomas Davis, John Davis, James Davis
Lady McClenan	Churchlands		48	1	John Robert
Mr Beresford	Churchlands		37	1	Thomas Phillips
Lord Primate	Churchlands		11	1	Thomas Price
Thomas Dawson	Churchlands		13	0	
Churchlands of Maghera & Desert Martin	Churchlands		40	1	George Morrice
		Total	**1932**	**50**	

Table 4.2.6. The Ulster muster roll of 1630, Donegal

Settler	Type of land	Barony	Men	Welsh	Names
Duke of Lennox	Scottish Undertaker	Raphoe	166	2	William Hewes, Patrick Gwin
John Cunningham	Scottish Undertaker	Raphoe	124	0	
Widow of James Cunningham	Scottish Undertaker	Raphoe	66	0	
John Kingsmill	Servitor	Raphoe	45	4	Rise Davis, Walter Lewis, William Davies, Michael Lewis
Ralph Mansfield	English Undertaker	Raphoe	16	0	
John Wilson		Raphoe	66	3	Henry Roberts, John Davis, Thomas Davis
Peter Benson		Raphoe	39	2	John Davis, Michael Blaynye
William Stewart	Servitor	Raphoe	61	0	
Mr Cahoune		Raphoe	19	0	
Robert Davies	English Undertaker	Raphoe	25	13	William Johnes, Richard Davis, Edward Evance, John Parry, Richard Price, Evance Griffeth, John Apieuan, Ralph Lloyd, John Price, Rice Evance, Evance Peirce, Rinrick Thomas, Rice Williams
Robert Remington (in the possession of Ralph Bingley and John Vaughan)	English Undertaker	Raphoe	57	5	Gabraell Griffyth, Robert Wynne, Robert Griffeth, Hugh Gwillim, William Uprichard
Alexander Stewart	Scottish Undertaker	Raphoe	32	0	
James Cunningham	Scottish Undertaker	Raphoe	59	0	
John Stewart	Scottish Undertaker	Raphoe	13	0	
Earl of Arundel	Scottish Undertaker	Boylagh & Banagh	143	3	John William, Edward Griffeth, Stephan Price
Bishop of Raphoe	Churchlands		150	1	John Edward
Dean of Raphoe	Churchlands		7	0	
Churchlands of Tayboyne	Churchlands		6	0	
Lord Chichester			175	3	Owen Williams, Richard Williams, John Price
		Total	**1269**	**36**	
	Ulster plantation total		**7456**	**182**	**2.44%**

Table A4.2.7. The Ulster muster roll of 1630, Antrim

Settler	Type of land	Barony	Men	Welsh	Names
Earl of Antrim	Undertaker		520	4	Archibald Thomas, Robert Davis, John Thomas, William Richard
Earl of Antrim	Servitor		79	1	Thomas Mostyn
Earl of Antrim	Native		89	0	
Earl of Antrim	Undertaker		268	2	William Lewes, John Morris
Mr Adare	Native		137	0	
Mr Edmundson			151	1	John Richard
Mr Peter Hills			11	0	
Mr William Reding			17	1	William Williams
Mr Dallaway			38	0	
Sir John Clothworthy			229	6	John Davis, John Davis, John Thomas, Owen ap Williams, Thomas Lloyd, John Humphrey
Mr Henry Upton			92	4	William Lewis, John Lewis, John David, Nicholas Morris
		Total	**1631**	**19**	

Table A4.2.8. The Ulster muster roll of 1630, Down

Settler	Type of land	Barony	Men	Welsh	Names
Earl of Kildare			125	0	
Lord Cromwell			460	22	David Thomas, Owen Johnes, Thomas Price, Mathew Davis, James David, Robert Cadwallader, Owen Johnes, Owen Owins, William Davis, James Davis, William Davis, Richard Davis, John Flood, William Roberts, Hugh Price, Thomas Roberts, John Hughes, William Morris, William Morris, John Humphrey, Robert Rowland, John Humphrey
Viscount Ardes			1317	10	Mathew Lewis, William Powell, Daniell Powell, John Powell, David Blany, Robert Phillip, John Bowen, Peter Phillip, John James, Patrick Lewis
Viscount Clandeboy			1778	12	John Davis, Michael Blanye, Robert Blanye, William Richard, Thomas Joanes, David Lewis, John Lewis, David Lewis, George James, John Richard, George James, Martin Humphrey
Lord General			28	1	William Jones
Lord Bishop of Down			93	0	
Lord Bishop of Dromore			156	0	
Robert Melvin			52	2	John Edwards, Hugh Williams
Mr Ward	Churchlands		8	1	James Davis
Lt Burris			8	0	
		Total	**4025**	**48**	

Table A4.2.9. The Ulster muster roll of 1630, Monaghan

Settler	Type of land	Barony	Men	Welsh	Names
Robert Loftus	Abbey lands		14	0	
Art Oge McMaghan			9	0	
Cullo McOver			12	0	
Patrick Duff			3	0	
Rosse Bane McMahan			1	0	
Neall McKenna			6	0	
Monaghan Town	Town		14	4	Richard Phillips, William Vaughan, William Griffith, Evan Phillip
Edward Auldridge			45	4	Hugh Williams, Thomas Gwin, Thomas Jones, John Williams
		Total	**104**	**8**	
		Ulster total	**13216**	**257**	

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Additional MS 34,218: Miscellaneous collections
Additional MS 48,015: Miscellaneous collections relating to Ireland
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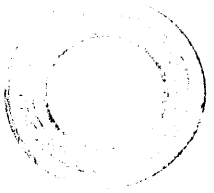
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