

Crest of the Company of Clothworkers, London, taken from 'A Survaye of all the Landes and Tenementes belonginge to the Worshipfull Company of the Clothworkers of London made by Raphe Treswell' (1612) (Clothworkers Hall, CL/G/007/00).

LOURT MINUTES OF THE UL COMPANY OF CLOTHWORKERS, LONDON, CONCERNING THEIR LONDONDERRY ESTATE, 1609–1676, Clothworkers Hall, CL/G/Irish/B/2/9 COMMUNE david by the DAVID HEFFERMAN



IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION 2025

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Typeset by Jake Campbell in Adobe Garamond Pro Printing arranged by Brian O'Sullivan Print Index compiled by David Heffernan

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ABBREVIATIONS

	Chart, <i>Londonderry</i>	D. A. Chart (ed.), Londonderry and the London companies, 1609–1629, being a survey and other documents submitted to King Charles I kn Sir Thomas Phillips (Belfast, 1928)
	DIB	<i>Dictionary of Irish biography</i> , ed. James McGuire and James Quinn (9 vols, 2009; vols 10 and 11, 2018) and online at www.dib.ie
	DNB	S. Lee, L. Stephen, et al. (eds), Dictionary of national biography (63 vols, London, 1885–1900)
	GL	Guildhall Dibrary
	Heffernan, 'Three surveys'	Dawd Heffernan (ed.), 'Three surveys of the Londonderry Plantation, 1613–16', in <i>Analecta</i> <i>Hibernica</i> , 50 (2019), pp 1–61
	IHS	Irish Historical Studies
	McGrath, Acts	Bríd McGrath (ed.), <i>Acts of the corporation of Coleraine</i> , <i>1623–1669</i> (IMC, Dublin, 2017)
	Moody, Londonderry	T. W. Moody, <i>The Londonderry Plantation,</i> 1609–41: the city of London and the plantation in Ulster (Belfast, 1939)
(ODIVB	<i>The Oxford dictionary of national biography</i> , ed. Brian Harrison and H. C. G. Matthew (60 vols, 2004) and online at www.oxforddnb.com
	OED	Oxford English Dictionary
	Orders and conditions	A collection of svch orders and conditions, as are to be obserued by the Vndertakers, vpon the distribution and plantation of the escheated lands in Vlster (London, 1609)

INTRODUCTION

In March 1642 King Charles I, after a failed attempt at arresting several of his more prominent opponents within the Long Parliament earlier that year, moved the royal court entirely away from the city of London. He would not return for six and half years and when he did it was largely for the purposes of being placed on trial and then executed by parliament. There is no doubt that London played a pivotal role in the English Civil Wars and the wider Wars of the Three Kingdoms. While the smaller elite Court of Aldermen initially attempted to side with the monarchy, the larger Court of Common Council in London outflanked them in 1642 and gave their support to parliament. Thereafter London's financing played an important role in the Parliamentarians' ultimate victory over the Royalists.¹

To speak of 'London' in the seventeenth century, is to refer to the city's mercantile and business class, the engine of English commerce.² This particular section of English society had good reason to be unhappy with the course of government under the early Stuarts. One substantial cause of this dissatisfaction was surely the fate of their estates in Ulster. These had been foisted on them unwillingly by King James I back in 1610 and the city's merchants had then been forced to expend enormous sums of money on developing them, only to have Charles confiscate them in the course of the 1630s. However, as significant as the Irish estates were in the disaffection of London prior to the outbreak of the war between crown and parliament in 1642, only limited attention has been shown towards how the livery companies



¹ Robert Brenner, 'The Civil War politics of London's merchant community', in Past & Present, no. 58 (Feb., 1973), pp 53–107; Robert Ashton, The city and the court, 1603–1643 (Cambridge, 1979); John J. Schroeder, 'War finance in London, 1642–1646', in The Historian, 21, no. 4 (Aug., 1959), pp 356–71; Joyce L. Malcolm, 'A king in search of soldiers: Charles I in 1642', in Historical Journal, 21, no. 2 (June, 1978), pp 251–73; Ben Coates, The impact of the English Civil War on the economy of London, 1642–50 (Abingdon, 2004); Jordan S. Downs, Civil War London: mobilizing for parliament, 1641–45 (Manchester, 2021); Keith Lindley, Popular politics and religion in Civil War London (Ann Arbor, 1997).

² For an excellent study thereof, see Robert Brenner, *Merchants and revolution: commercial change, political conflict, and London's overseas traders, 1550–1653* (London, 2003).

of London managed their estates in Londonderry³ from London and how that same management might have impacted on how the Londoners responded to the unrest in the early 1640s.⁴ The present edition seeks to shed some light on this topic by presenting an extensive volume of records showing how one of the twelve great livery companies of London, the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers, managed their Irish estates from the English capital.

Though well-known, a brief summary of the inception of the Londonderry Plantation is warranted at this juncture. Following the flight of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell from Ulster in the autumn of 1607, and the rebellion of Cahir O'Doherty in April 1608, the crown decided to initiate a massive plantation of all of Ulster west of the River Bann and Lough Neagh. In the course of 1609, while the planning process was underway in London and Dublin, a proposal to involve the London merchant community in the scheme was put forward by the Coleraine-based servitor, Thomas Phillips. It was subsequently championed by Robert Cecil, 1st earl of Salisbury, James I's chief minister. Eventually a project was worked out whereby the county of Coleraine and the barony of Loughinsholin in what had been the O'Neill lordship of Tyrone were joined together into what would eventually be termed the new county of Londonderry. An agreement was reached in January 1610 whereby the majority of the lands there would be granted to the City of London. The corporation of the city would be responsible for developing the towns of Derry and Coleraine through the rather cumbersomely titled 'Society of the Governor and Assistants, London, of the New Plantation in Ulster, within the Realm of Ireland', usually referred to in short as 'The Irish Society'. The county lands were to be divided into twelve estates which would be distributed amongst the twelve great livery companies of London: the Mercers, Merchant Taylors, Clothworkers, Goldsmiths, Salters, Skinners, Fishmongers, Vintners, Grocers, Drapers, Haberdashers and Ironmongers. After a torturous initial process in the early 1610s in which hundreds of individuals across London had payments towards developing the lands in Ulster imposed on them, the companies were finally granted their estates by lot in December 1613. Nearly all of them elected to quickly lease their estates out to a chief tenant in the mid-to-late 1610s.

- ³ In this edition I refer to the county of Londonderry as such, as there was no county of 'Derry' prior to the inception of the plantation. Instead the region was largely comprised of the county of Coleraine. Londonderry was created as a county in 1613 by joining the county of Coleraine with the barony of Loughinsholin. An urban settlement existed at Derry long before the plantation and is referred to as Derry in the following. Within the transcription itself, the usage preferred by the clerks that compiled the edition is followed.
- ⁴ An exception is Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Strafford, the "Londonderry Business" and the "New British History", in J. F. Merritt (ed.), *The political world of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, 1621–1641* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 209–29.
- ⁵ The best general introduction remains Philip S. Robinson, *The plantation of Ulster: British settlement in an Irish landscape, 1600–1670* (Belfast, 1984).

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Clothworkers Hall, CL/G/Irish/B/2/9

[p. i]¹

The Company of Clothworkers, London, their title to the Manor of Clothworkers in the county of Londonderry in Ireland

30th May 1663

A deed poll dated the 30th May 1663 reciting that King James the First, by letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date the 29th of March on the 11th year of his reign,² did create a society by the name of The Governor and Assistants of London of the New Plantation of Ulster in the Realm of Ireland, and did also give and grant to them and their successors divers cities, towns, villages, castles, manors, lands, tenements, fishings and other hereditaments within the province of Ulster aforesaid, with power for the said society to make, erect and ordain out of the said lands, etc., so many manors as to them should seem convenient, so that no manor should consist of less than a 1,000 acres, and to name and call such manors by such names as they shall think fit, the society, by virtue of the said power by deed dated 4 June 1618 in the 16th year of King James the 1st, did make and ordain out of the said lands one manor by the name of the Manor of Clothworkers, London, reciting further that the said letters parent were repealed in chancery, and thereby the society and citizens were deprived of the said lands and the society became dissolved, that King Charles the First in the year 1641 declared his royal will and pleasure for returning the said society and companies all their lands, but the ensuing wars prevented the same. King Charles the 2nd, upon the humble request of the several companies, by his letters patent dated the 10th April in the 14th³ year of his reign, did create a New Society of a Governor and Assistants, etc., and did also grant them the said lands with power for them to create manors as in the former grant. The said society, pursuant to the said power, did erect one manor by the name of the Manor of Clothworkers, London, and named the several parcels of lands to be the demesne thereof, with all privileges thereunto belonging.

¹ A modern note in pencil on the inside cover of the volume reads, 'Presumably this is the book mentioned in the minutes of the Estate Committee, 19th April 1837, page 161'.

² Although the Londonderry Plantation began in 1610 and the 'Articles of Agreement' between the crown and the City of London were drawn up in January of that year, the charters were not granted until 1613 when the Londoners were deemed to have advanced the project sufficiently through the construction work at Derry and Coleraine.

³ Note that the reign of Charles II was taken officially as having commenced from the execution of his father, King Charles I, on 30 January 1649, rather than the modern calculation which would adjudge Charles II's reign to have started upon the Restoration in 1660. As such, the date being referred to here is 10 April 1663.

24th February 1617[/18]

The Company of Clothworkers, upon the purchase by indenture of lease bearing date the 24th February 1617[/18] did demise the said manor to Sir Robert McClelland⁴ for 51 years from the 1st May 1618, paying £600 fine⁵ and £250 per annum rent in Coleraine.

4 and 5 June 1663

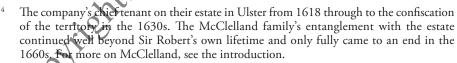
The society, by indenture of lease and release dated the 4th and 5th June 1663, for a competent sum of money, released and conveyed the said Manor of Clothworkers, London, etc., to the Company of Clothworkers and their successors and assignees forever, to receive the rents and profits to their own use forever.

17 June 1663

The Company of Clothworkers, by indenture of lease dated 17th June 1663, did demise the Manor of Clothworkers to William Jackson,⁶ esquire, for 51 years from *primo* May 1669 in consideration of £1,000 fine and £100 per annum.

13th October 17[1]97

Indenture of lease to Richard Jackson, esquire, for 51 years from 1 May 1720 in consideration of £5,700 fine and £100 per annum, pursuant to articles of agreement dated the 12th June 1719.



- ⁵ i.e. an entry fine. Many of the companies reduced the annual rent they wanted to receive from prospective chief tenants in the 1610s in return for a large entry fine, the better to offset their huge financial outlays since 1610.
- ⁶ William Jackson (1628–1688) hailed from Lancashire. His second wife was Susanna Beresford, daughter of Sir Tristram Beresford, and so Jackson had married into one of the most prominent families in Coleraine by the time he became tenant in the 1660s, though he had been in Ulster for considerably longer. The family would be associated with the Clothworkers' estate and Coleraine for centuries to come and acquired a baronetcy. For extensive details, see https://www.thesilverbowl.com/history/JACKSON-William-1688.html [accessed 19/11/23] a website full of interest based around tracing a family heirloom back several centuries to its ultimate provenance in Londonderry via Hong Kong and many other regions.
- ⁷ The figure here appears like a '2', but '1' must have been intended given the subsequent entry.

[p. 1] Clothworkers Hall The court day 4th July 1609

<Committees appointed to consider of the intended plantation in the north of Ireland.>

This day Mr Edward Chapman,⁸ quarter-warden, Mr Cogon,⁹ Mr Morrall¹⁰ and Mr Foxe¹¹ were appointed committee for this company to treat with the committees of other companies of this city and to advise, confer and consider of the points propounded to this city by the king's majesty and the council touching the plantation intended in the north part of Ireland and the ruinated¹² city of the Derry and the castle of Coleraine, according to a precept by the lord mayor of this city to the master and wardens of this company lately directed, and the copy of the 'Reasons and Motives'¹³ therewith also sent.

- ⁸ Numerous Chapmans were associated with the company. For instance, a Henry Chapman was assessed towards the money required of the company towards the plantation in 1610, while a James Chapman was the master of the Clothworkers in 1622–23. Unfortunately many of the references in the pages that follow are simply to a 'Mr Chapman', so it is not always entirely clear which of these is being referred to. On James Chapman being master of the company see https://www.clothworkers.co.uk/about/structure-and-governance/pastmasters/ [accessed 26/10/23]. References to the masters of the company hereafter are taken from this source. Note that masters began their term in the second half of the year, so they generally served across two years of the modern calendar.
- ⁹ Spelled as 'Cogon' here on the manuscript. It seems likely that this refers to Robert Coggan who had served as a master of the Clothworkers back in 1592–93.
- ¹⁰ Hugh Morrall. He was the master of the company in 1611–12.
- ¹¹ Richard Foxe. He was the master of the company in 1612–13. The first names of many of the members of the Clothworkers, a good number of which are named with only their surname in the court minutes, can be ascertained from other company records. Unless otherwise stated, first names that are provided hereafter are taken from Appointment of feoffees at East Smithfield, 24 October 1621, Clothworkers Hall, CL/B/1/4, f. 264v, which provides the names of many company members involved in property transactions in East Smithfield in the early 1620s. For further details, see https://www.clothworkers property.org/properties/east-smithfield [accessed 26/10/23)].
- ¹² Derry had been attacked and large parts of the town were burned and destroyed during the rebellion of Cahir O'Doherty in 1608: see John McCavitt, *The Flight of the Earls* (Dublin, 2002), pp 139–41.
- ¹³ This refers to a document which Thomas Phillips, a servitor in Coleraine and one of the central architects in the conception of the Londonderry Plantation, had drawn up in 1609 for distribution to relevant parties in London to convince them of the wisdom of his scheme: see Moody, *Londonderry*, pp 66–8. Copies of the text were evidently distributed to each of the companies: see another copy in Richard Hunter, 'The first and second part of business Irish as the same is fallen by lot No. 7 to the worshipful company of Ironmongers', 1617, GL, MS 17,278/1, pp viii, 1r–2r.

The court day 11th July 1609

<A second precept touching plantation in the north of Ireland.>

This day a second precept from the lord mayor of this city, directed to the master and wardens of this company touching the plantation in the north of Ireland, was openly read to this court, and the 'Reasons and Motives' in writing (formerly sent) to induce this city to undertake the said plantation were likewise openly ready, whereupon, after very serious and advised $[\mathbf{p}, \mathbf{Q}]$ conference and consideration had, by and among the whole assistants here present, it was in fine, upon divers good reasons them moving, resolved and thought fit not¹⁴ to undertake the said plantation, and that the committee for this company formerly nominated and appointed for that purpose shall so give answer to the said lord mayor when they shall be thereupto called and required.

The court day 26th July 1609

<Touching the plantation in the north of Ireland.>

This day a third precept from the lord mayor touching the plantation intended in the north of Ireland to be undertaken was openly read, and the company, as well as the livery and the better sort of the yeomanry, which were for that purpose warned thither this day, were called, and the contributions of those that appeared and yielded to contribute towards the said plantation were recorded and set down, and also the names of those that appeared and refused to contribute to the said plantation were likewise set down and recorded.

The court day 27th July 1609

<Divers persons fined for not appearing.>

[p. 3]

This day also divers persons of the livery and yeomanry of this company which made default at the last court were again warned in as well to pay their fines for their said defaults and to declare and show their minds touching contributions for and towards the plantation intended in the north of Ireland. And divers of them yielded to contribute, whose several sums yielded to be contributed were recorded and set down. And likewise divers were fined for not appearing at the said last court upon former summons to them given. And divers others also appearing were excused by reason of their being forth of town.

¹⁴ The Clothworkers were one of several of the twelve senior livery companies that were vehemently opposed to becoming involved in the plantation.

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References are to page numbers. Information contained in footnotes is denoted by the letter n after the page number. Titled persons are indexed under their family name and cross referenced from their title. Place and personal names are indexed in their modern form where possible with manuscript variants in brackets. Ulster, the Clothworkers, and the masters and wardens of the company, along with their estate in Londonderry, are effectively being referred to on every page of the volume. As such, the entries for these subjects in what follows are selected themes.

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