The Plantation of Ulster
THE FOUR CITIZENS FROM LONDON VIEWING THE SITE OF THE PROPOSED COLONY
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Ulster before Plantation

On the 14th of September 1607 a ship left the Donegal coast bound for Spain. On board were a number of Irish families, the noblemen of Ulster, including: Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone, Ruairí O’Donnell, Earl of Tir Chonaill, Cú Chonnacht Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh and ninety nine members of their extended families and households. Their departure became known as the Flight of the Earls and marked the end of the Gaelic rule in Ulster. The flight came at the end of a long drawn out war, known as the Nine Years War (1594 –1603), between the Irish lords and the British establishment. It left Ulster impoverished and ended the strength of the Irish families, the largest and most powerful of them being the Earls of Tyrone, the O’Neills.

Left behind in Ulster were the sub-chieftains, some of whom had supported O’Neill and O’Donnell during the war, others had changed sides and now expected to be rewarded for their loyalty to the crown. Also living in the province were numbers of ex-soldiers and officials who also expected to be rewarded for long years of service.

O’Neill’s and O’Donnell’s lands were immediately confiscated by the crown and they were declared traitors. Rumours spread that the Earls intended to return to Ulster with a Spanish army to recapture the province and lead the country into rebellion, which encouraged the King, James I to bring Ulster firmly under English control once and for all. The King also wanted to bring Protestantism to Ireland and to replenish his impoverished treasury, left to him by his cousin, Elizabeth I. The plantation of Ulster was an opportunity to do both.
Among the Irish who were still landowners in the region were Sir Cahir O’Doherty, Niall Garbh O’Donnell and Donal O’Cahan. O’Doherty was Lord of Inishowen, a title which he had inherited from his father and which was supported by the English administration in return for his loyalty. But the reality of life after the flight of the earls was not what O’Doherty had been promised. He first lost Inch Island in Inishowen, which was granted to a planter and then he had a number of disputes with the new governor of Derry. This eventually led him to rebel against his former allies. O’Doherty’s rebellion, which began in April 1608, was local and not very ambitious. He first took the fort at Culmore, and then sacked and burned the city of Derry, killing the governor. A large force was raised to march against the uprising, which came to an abrupt end after O’Doherty was killed in battle in July. With his death, yet more land was forfeited to the crown and the whole of Inishowen was granted to one man, Sir Arthur Chichester, before the plans for the official plantation had even been drawn up.

It is likely that Niall Garbh O’Donnell, who also fought for the English in the Nine Years War, encouraged O’Doherty in his rebellion. Niall Garbh was a cousin of Red Hugh and Ruairí O’Donnell but resented Red Hugh’s inauguration as the O’Donnell, Ruairí’s pardon after the war and his restoration as the Earl of Tir Chonaill, which Niall Garbh believed was rightfully his. It appears the crown preferred to support Ruairí, as they thought Niall Garbh unpredictable and untrustworthy. Niall Garbh may have supported O’Doherty’s revolt but failed to join him in battle, declaring his allegiance to the crown. Niall however was arrested by the English and sent to prison at Dublin castle. From there he was transferred to the Tower of London where he was held without trial until his death in 1626.

The Tower of London was also the final home for another leading landowner in the area, Donal O’Cahan. O’Cahan was a sub-chieftain of the O’Neills in north Tyrone. He was also Hugh O’Neill’s son in law. Encouraged by Sir Arthur Chichester he took a case against Hugh O’Neill in 1607, seeking to own his land outright, as his own estate. He too was arrested on suspicion of aiding O’Doherty and was sent first to Dublin and then to the Tower of London where he remained until his death in c.1617. Thus ambitious officials and career soldiers removed a number of prominent Irish from their lands. Their land was forfeited to the crown and the possibility of them rebelling against the intended plantation was ended.
The official scheme for Plantation began in 1609 and included only six of the nine Ulster counties. The counties chosen were Donegal, Tyrone, Coleraine, Cavan, Fermanagh and Armagh. The reason for this was that English settlers had occupied parts of east Ulster, since the arrival of the Normans in the 12th century, similar to the Pale in Leinster. A more recent transformation had happened in 1606 when lands traditionally held by the Clandeboye O’Neills, in south Antrim and north Down were planted with Scottish families.

Hugh Montgomery (1559 – 1644) and James Hamilton (1560 – 1636) were both from Ayrshire in lowland Scotland. At that time lowland Scotland was over populated and Ulster was seen as an opportunity to expand personal fortunes. After Con O’Neill, Lord of the Clandeboye O’Neills was imprisoned in 1602 at Carrickfergus, his estate was divided between himself, James Hamilton and Hugh Montgomery. The new private plantation was a huge success and provided a model which King James I would draw upon again for his colony in Jamestown, Virginia, in America in 1607. This area would be strongly influenced by the Ulster Scots tradition, a tradition that survives to this day.
King James I could not afford to colonise the province from his treasury, so a plantation where land was granted to men of wealth suited both parties. These planters had responsibility for bringing over tenants, developing the land and building suitable accommodation while paying rent to the crown. This allowed James to put his stamp on Ulster without any expenditure on his part. James I was also a committed Protestant and this was an opportunity to establish the new religion in the province and throughout Ireland.

The plans for plantation were eagerly underway by 1609. Ulster had become home to a number of career soldiers who now expected to be generously rewarded. Three men, Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy, Sir John Davies, the Attorney General and Sir James Ley, the Chief Justice of Ireland, dominated the scheme for plantation. Before the scheme could be drawn up the quality and quantity of land would first have to be surveyed. Maps of west Ulster at this point in time were not very accurate and the extent of land available for plantation had only been estimated.

The first survey of the escheated counties was completed in 1609. The survey was completed by a commission, which met in Dungannon in County Tyrone, which included the Vice Treasurer of Ireland, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Master of the Ordnance, Sir Oliver St. John, Sir John Davies, the Attorney General and Sir William Parsons, the Surveyor General. This survey was inadequate for a number of reasons, so a second and more detailed survey was commissioned.

The first outline of the scheme for plantation was drawn up by Davies and Ley and presented to King James. After a number of changes, the plan was endorsed by the King in April 1610. Each county was divided into precincts, which were divided into estates of three sizes. They consisted of estates great (2000 acres), middle (1500 acres) and small (1000 acres). The people who received these estates, the grantees, were also divided into three categories; Undertakers, who were English and Scottish landowners, Servitors, who were mostly career soldiers who had fought in Ireland during the Nine Years War such as Sir Arthur Chichester, and Natives, referred to as ‘deserving Irish’ as they were loyal to the crown.

Each grant was made with strict conditions. Each precinct would have one Undertaker who was allowed 3000 acres but the other grants in that precinct were smaller. The land was granted rent-free until 1614, when it was expected that the new arrivals would be well enough established to begin paying rent to the crown. Any Undertaker who received 2000 acres or more was expected to build a stone house and bawn within three years. Undertakers with only 1500 acres could build a house of stone or brick.
Within the first three years Undertakers were also expected to bring over from Britain, 24 men for every 1000 acres they were granted. These men were to be over the age of 18 and either English or inland Scots. These tenants were expected to build new houses near the bawn for added security as the threat of attack from the Irish was an on-going issue. Undertakers were also expected to keep arms and were not allowed to lease their land to Irish tenants. All Undertakers were expected to take possession of their grant by September 1610 and have fulfilled all the conditions of their grant within five years.

Conditions for the Servitors were similar, although they were allowed Irish tenants on their lands. They had only two years rent free on their grant, after which they had to pay a rent of £8 per 1000 acres if their tenants were Irish or £5 6s 8d (five pounds, six shillings and eight pence) per 1000 acres if their tenants were British.

The ‘Native’ Irish had similar conditions as the Servitors, only with rent due after the first year and at a higher rate of £10 13s 4d per 1000 acres. The Irish grantees were also pushed onto less favourable and less productive lands, with the most desirable proportions allocated to the Undertakers.

Each of the confiscated counties was to have a market town with a corporation and at least one free school in the County. Each parish had also to erect a Protestant parish church, with one townland set aside in each parish as glebe or church lands in every 1000 acres granted.

Some alterations were made to these conditions in the years to follow, most notably, time periods were extended and Undertakers were also allowed to have Irish tenants on their estates.

The King’s Commissioners & Surveys

Although the plantation of the Province of Ulster was a long process drawn out over the course of the 17th century the official scheme only lasted from 1610 – 1625 during the reign of King James I. To ensure the success of the plantation commissioners were appointed to oversee the roll out of the scheme and a number of surveys were conducted in order to ensure that the scheme was progressing well and that the new tenants were fulfilling their obligations under the terms of their grant.

The second survey, carried out in 1609, by Sir Josias Bodley included maps. These maps covered each townland and used colour-coded symbols to show church lands and estates. While this survey was needed to draw up the scheme for plantation, additional surveys were conducted and reports made in order to assess the progress of the scheme.

In 1611 the plantation commission led by Sir George Carew reported on progress made in the plantation. Nicholas Pynnar was commissioned to conduct a survey in 1619, which showed that the plantation was underway but that many Irish remained on the estates. The final government survey was conducted in 1622.
Undertakers

The Undertakers who were granted estates in Ulster were generally already landowners in Britain and received the most coveted land in the province. A large number of the Undertakers were Scottish men with titles, such as Knights and Lords. A great deal of wealth would be needed to fulfil the requirements of the grant and some Undertakers were slow to begin meeting their side of the arrangement. Seven baronies in total were set aside for Undertakers’ estates. They included the barony of Oneilland in north Armagh, part of Raphoe barony in County Donegal, Loughtee in County Cavan, Clogher and Omagh in County Tyrone and the baronies of Clankelly and Lurg in County Fermanagh. In total fifty-one estates were granted in the baronies assigned to Undertakers. However not all Undertakers intended to work or even keep their estates, being unwilling to move to Ulster or manage the estate as an absentee landlord. By 1619 only 28 of the 51 estates remained in the hands of the original grantee as many sold their interests to other Undertakers or interested parties.

Servitors

Servitors also made up a large number of the grantees. Three different types of Servitors qualified under the scheme. These included: Councillors of State, who were leading figures in the British administration in Ireland, such as Sir John Davies, Captains or Lieutenants who had military commands in Ulster (and were generally owed money by the crown for their service), such as Sir Arthur Chichester, and English freeholders who already held estates in Ulster.

Other Servitors who benefited included Sir Thomas Ridgeway and Sir William Parsons. As Councillors of State they also qualified for Undertakers estates and were the only group who could receive grants under both categories. Servitors’ estates were placed alongside the native Irish land grants in the hope that dividing areas where the Irish resided with former military men would increase security and make any possible unrest easy to quash. As with the Undertakers, some Servitors had little interest in living in Ireland or in owning their grants and either hired agents to run their properties for them or sold them for a quick return of money rather than take on the responsibility. Nine baronies were set aside for Servitors and native Irish. These included Orior barony in County Armagh, Dungannon barony in County Tyrone, Kilmacrennan barony in County Donegal, Tullyhaw, Clanmahon, Tullygarvey and Castlerahan baronies in County Cavan and Clanawley and Tirkenney in County Fermanagh.

Native Irish

Two hundred of the native Irish were considered suitable grantees under the scheme for plantation. Of them only 26 were granted estates of 1000 acres or more. Sir Turlough McHenry O’Neill received the largest individual grant among the Irish with his estate consisting of 9,900 acres in south Armagh. Conor Roe Maguire was not so fortunate, although he received a grant of a large portion of the barony of Magherastephana in Fermanagh; he had surrendered over three times that amount of land. Other grantees included the family of Sir Henry Óg O’Neill, the O’Reillys in Cavan, the O’Cahans in Coleraine, and the McSweeneyys and O’Boyles in Donegal.
The Grantees

The London Companies
The cost of developing the Ulster plantation meant that additional investment would be needed. To ensure its success, the Guilds of London City were invited to take up lands in the new County of Derry (formally County Coleraine and parts of County Tyrone). Wealthy merchants were necessary for the development of towns and cities and the crown could not afford to rebuild the city of Londonderry/Derry, which had been sacked during O’Doherty’s rebellion of 1608. They were granted a large territory, which included Derry and Coleraine and 38,520 acres of land, in an area along the coast with potential for commercial development.

Other grantees
Under the scheme land was also granted for the provision of free schools and for the support of towns. Sixteen towns in the province were incorporated during the reign of James I. Trinity College Dublin also received a grant, with lands in Armagh barony, and 4000 acres in the barony of Tirhugh in County Donegal. These grantees received 27,593 acres between them spread throughout the province.

According to the 1609 survey 75,000 acres were recorded as church land that covered 5 dioceses, Armagh, Clogher, Derry, Raphoe and Kilmore. This land was now in the control of the Protestant Church.

Under the terms of the grants tenants had to be in place by November 1611, but reports in 1611 and 1613 showed that the plantation was not getting underway as quickly as planned so the King extended the terms until August 1616 to give the grantees more time to establish themselves. The King also decided to relax the terms for Undertakers, allowing them to keep Irish tenants on their lands until May 1619. There was a clear reason for this. British tenants were not coming over in the numbers anticipated and the Irish were needed to work the land and bring in the crops. For this reason the original terms were further relaxed allowing Undertakers to keep Irish tenants on up to a quarter of their lands.

Settlement was more successful in some areas than in others. North Armagh, east Tyrone, and south Tyrone were densely settled, as was in and around Londonderry/Derry and Strabane. Naturally enough it was difficult to attract tenants to poorer land and estates in the west of Ulster or in isolated areas that had higher concentrations of Irish. The Irish were also willing to pay more in rent in order to stay on the land they had previously occupied which led to an increase in rent in the 17th century. It was not until 1615-1620 that large numbers of settlers came to the province. Apart from a setback in the 1640s, this increased throughout the 17th century, long after the official scheme for plantation was over.

As well as the original grantees, newcomers arrived by other means. Some were tenants or tradespeople introduced by the landowners and their agents but some were people who came of their own accord, eager to exploit possible opportunities in Ulster. People arrived into the ports of Derry/Londonderry and Carrickfergus and later Belfast.
One of the aspirations of the plantation was to build a new infrastructure of settlements, towns and cities. Large towns were not common in Ulster and most of the population lived in rural areas. Fairs and markets were held at designated sites not in towns. Homes, apart from the stone fortified houses and towers of the chieftains, were basic shelters known as creats, which consisted of clay or mud walls.

In the 1619 survey conducted by Sir Nicholas Pynnar, he outlined the building completed to that date. He recorded 107 castles with bawns built by Undertakers as well as an additional 19 castles without bawns. He also recorded nearly 2000 houses of stone and timber built in the English manner. Bawns were built at the centre of estates and tenants were encouraged to build homesteads near the bawn for security. However, not all the grantees fulfilled the terms of their grant and built vernacular or traditional houses rather than stone houses. On a number of estates settlement also remained scattered rather than centralised around the bawn. Some Undertakers built bawn walls but with less defensive houses inside, with the confidence that the bawn would provide all the security needed. A very small number of churches were built as a number of older churches were taken over by the Established Church, which was the Church of Ireland. Undertakers and Servitors built new mills, including water powered corn mills and windmills. Market-houses and courthouses were also built which became the focus point for the growth of towns. Markets were essential to the economy of the new settlers and around them grew schools and inns, merchants, tradesmen and artisans.

As part of the official plantation scheme most baronies were to have a corporate town. A corporate town was a town established by Royal Charter, which had the power to pass its own by-laws and hold a local court. Corporate towns also had a fixed number of officials (burgesses) and could send members to parliament. The corporation looked after the administrative functions of the towns including: churches, schools, market-houses, courthouses and jails. Each incorporated town was provided with lands for its support, managed initially by the Undertakers and then by the officials of the town. The commissioners for the plantation initially drew up a list of 25 proposed corporate towns for Ulster but this was reduced in 1611 to 16. The list of towns included: Limavady, Donegal, Lifford, Ballyshannon, Rathmullan, Dungannon, Mountjoy, Omagh, Strabane, Armagh, Charlemont, Mountnorris, Belturbet, Lough Ramor (later Virginia, County Cavan), Enniskillen and Coleraine, but not all of these towns ended up being incorporated. It fell to the Undertakers to support the development of these towns with the London companies responsible for Londonderry and Coleraine.

The grants to the London Companies were large enough for towns to develop on some of the estates, including Moneymore on the Drapers estate, Magherafelt on the Salters estate and Bellaghy on the Vintners estate.

In a number of villages patents were granted to hold weekly markets, which added to the local economy, in Donegal these included Convoy, Ballybofey, Castlefin, Manorcunningham and Newtowncunningham. Although the Plantation Commission deliberately planned some towns others were simply a continuation of centres of Irish settlement, sites of castles, forts or church centres. Towns such as Cavan and Dungannon pre-date the plantation and Enniskillen and Derry had long been garrison towns.

The focus of these plantation towns was always on the market place with a main street leading to a diamond or square where the market was held. Examples of the ‘diamond’ feature can still be seen in towns such as Belturbet, County Cavan, Clones, County Monaghan, Enniskillen, County Fermanagh and Donegal Town and Raphoe, County Donegal.
Ports were extremely important for the development of the economy. They provided points of entry for new arrivals and an export route for goods from the province. Ports also attracted merchants to the area, which added to the wealth of the district. For the first seven years of the plantation scheme goods could be transported without paying tax. Carrickfergus and Londonderry were important for the prosperity of the province. However, Belfast began to eclipse Carrickfergus as the main coastal link to Britain after the 1630s. Exports from Ulster included cattle, beef, oats, barley, linen, yarn and timber while household items such as clothing, tools and hardware were imported into the province through these ports.

Outside the towns and cities rural settlement remained scattered. Some villages however, grew into market towns out of necessity and became home to merchants and tradespeople, such as Newtownbutler, County Fermanagh, Newtownstewart and Fivemiletown, County Tyrone. The majority of settlers were tenant farmers or labourers and they brought with them a shift from pastoral to arable farming. A variety of trades also grew up around these rural dwellers including weavers, tanners, dyers and millers.

During the early days of the plantation there was a need for men with building skills, including plasterers, masons and labourers, in order to get the building programme underway. This changed with the needs of the plantation and merchants, blacksmiths, butchers, weavers, cooperers and dyers replaced these tradesmen.

All these innovations dramatically changed both the landscape and the economy of Ulster. Ulster had been heavily wooded, and was now cleared for agriculture and the sale of timber.

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**The Natives and the Plantation**

It quickly became clear that the Irish were needed on the land, at least until suitable British tenants could be found. The Irish were needed to plant crops in the years 1610 and 1611 to prevent the newcomers arriving to poverty and famine, therefore the deadline for the moving on of native Irish was pushed back until 1619. Eventually in 1621 it was accepted that a small number would be allowed on the larger estates to make up the numbers. In the 1622 government survey the Irish still outnumbered the settlers on all estates.

As feared there was some unrest among the Irish, which led to small skirmishes in 1615. These gathered very little support, as many Irish still believed that their situation would improve and they would be looked after in the new society. However, by 1641 this attitude changed, as it became clear that no section of Irish society had gained under the new regime.
Areas that were exclusively Irish retained a distinct identity and to a large extent were never really anglicised. In isolated or upland areas the Irish language survived. In areas where both the Irish and British settlers co-existed the English language was adopted and the settlers’ way of life was more fully accepted. English was also the language of administration used by the courts and tradespeople, which gradually spread westwards during the 18th century.

Three languages were now in use in Ulster, Irish, Ulster Scots and English, as well as three Christian religions. Despite the newly established Protestant Church of Ireland, native Irish mostly remained Catholic. The new arrivals from Scotland were predominately Presbyterian, while the English were Anglican.

Some of the arriving Scots had neither English nor Gaelic and spoke Scots. Scots was used in lowland Scotland at the time. The Scots influence was to produce Ulster-Scots, which can still be found in parts of Down, Antrim, Derry/Londonderry and east Donegal. Scottish settlers had the biggest impact in areas which were easily accessible from Scotland, such as the Ards Peninsula; whereas a concentration of English could be found further inland in south Tyrone and County Fermanagh.

Other aspects of British custom such as dress and architecture were introduced, but in areas that were predominantly occupied by native Irish very little changed. The Irish were unwilling to adopt foreign culture and maintained their traditions.

The Cultural Impact of the Plantation

At the time of the Plantation large parts of Donegal were already in the hands of loyal English. Inishowen, for example was in the hands of Sir Arthur Chichester while Sir Basil Brooke, an officer in the English army, held lands in Donegal town and Henry Folliott, an English captain, held lands in Ballyshannon.

Some of the remaining Irish presented their case to remain on their lands, but all were dismissed. They did receive grants but not on their ancestral lands. Instead they were forced to settle for estates in the baronies set aside for the Irish.

In County Donegal five of the six baronies were made available for plantation. These baronies were divided into precincts, which included the precincts of: Lifford, Portlough, Boylagh, Banagh, Doe and Fanad. Scottish Undertakers were planted in Portlough, Boylagh and Banagh, with English Undertakers granted estates in the precinct of Lifford (Raphoe Barony). Servitors and the native Irish were confined to the barony of Kilmacrennan.

The Plantation in Donegal

Bishops Palace, Raphoe

The Barony of Raphoe

Servitors and the native Irish were confined to the barony of Kilmacrennan.
In Donegal four towns were incorporated. Lifford, Ballyshannon and Donegal Town received charters in February/March 1613, with Killybegs following in 1615. The development of towns was mostly left to the Undertakers and in 1612, Sir Basil Brooke agreed to set aside land for the development of Donegal Town. In October 1610 Sir Richard Hansard had received a lease of the lands reserved for Lifford, but by 1612 he received an outright grant of the town and lands and plans for the development of the town were agreed.

In the barony of Kilmacrennan, seventeen Servitors in total received grants as well as Trinity College Dublin. Servitors included Sir Ralph Bingley, John and Henry Vaughan, Captain Henry Harte and Captain William Stewart, all former military men. Irish grantees received 60% of the barony of Kilmacrennan. Six grantees received large estates but the other 44 were granted much smaller estates. The Irish grantees included Donnell MacSweeney Fanad, Sir Mulmory Mac Sweeney Doe, Donagh Mac Sweeney Banagh, Walter McLoughlin Mac Sweeney, Turlough O’Boyle and Hugh McHugh Duff O’Donnell. Other minor grantees included Ineen Dubh, the Scottish mother of the Earl of Tir Chonaill and Bridget, the Countess of Tir Chonaill.

In the baronies of Boylagh and Banagh eight estates were granted to Scottish Undertakers, all of whom sold or passed on ownership of their estates to others. One of the original grantees, Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, sold his estate to John Murray who also acquired the estate of George Murray of Broughton in 1618. John Murray managed to acquire all eight estates by 1620 including the fishing rights. The plantation of this barony was confined mostly to the area between Killybegs and Donegal town.

The barony of Raphoe was divided into two precincts, Portlough and Lifford. Portlough was granted to Scottish Undertakers while Lifford was granted to English Undertakers. The Church was also granted large amounts of land in the Raphoe barony. Nine Scottish grantees received estates in Portlough, four with the name of Stewart, including Ludovic Stewart, the Duke of Lennox and three with the family name Cunningham. The plantation in this precinct was more successful than that in the remote western parts of County Donegal with estates remaining in the families of the original grantees. Large numbers of Scottish tenants also settled in this precinct, which became a productive farming community.

Nine English Undertakers were assigned estates in the Lifford precinct. These included former military men, Sir Henry Docwra (who immediately sold his estate to a William Wilson), Sir Robert Remington of Yorkshire and Sir Henry Clare of Norfolk. These estates also changed hands a number of times so the plantation in Lifford was slow to get underway. Although grantees were obliged to occupy their estates between August and September 1610, not all had arrived to stake their claim by the deadline.

In the report of 1611 carried out by Lord Carew it appeared that the Servitors had made a better start at fulfilling the terms of their grant than the Undertakers. The buying and selling of grants was visible in the next survey to be carried out in 1613/14. For example Henry Clare had sold his estate in Stranorlar to Peter Benson, and Sir Ralph Bingley had acquired the Remington and Berkeley estates. Sir Richard Hansard also added to his estate of Lifford by acquiring unwanted grants. The selling of grants by grantees was a clear indication that some of the grantees had no desire to stay or lacked the means to make something productive of the lands given to them. Settlement in the Raphoe barony, as in other baronies was slow to get underway and it was not until 1619 that the surveys show many settled families. It is during this period that Lifford began to emerge as the County Town of Donegal. It was used as an administrative centre by the plantation commissioners and would remain the administrative centre of the County, even to the present day. By 1622, over 50 houses had been built in the town, home to mostly English settlers. English law also found a home in Lifford with the arrival of judges and regular court sessions.

While towns began to grow around the plantation estates, settlement still remained scattered throughout the countryside rather than becoming exclusively centred in towns and villages. The most intense settlement and certainly the most successful appears to have been in the Portlough precinct. Church lands in Donegal were also leased by the Bishop to new arrivals, with a large number of Scottish settling in the Church lands at Raphoe.
The county of Derry was unique among the plantation counties in that it was not divided among the grantees of Undertakers, Servitors and Irish but was granted to the City of London guilds, who were drawn into the scheme for plantation in 1609. The need for large investment in the plantation was clear from the offset, with the crown unable to finance the development alone. Initially there was a mixed response from the companies involved, as accepting the offer would commit them to the rebuilding of the towns of Londonderry and Coleraine. A committee was set up with members of each company to look at the possibility and although there was uncertainty among the companies the London guilds finalised their arrangement with the King in January 1610. The arrangement included planting the entire County of Derry as well as agreeing to build new cities at Londonderry and Coleraine.

The companies initially agreed to spend £20,000 on building works, most of which was spent on the cities, but the final total came to £62,000. A new body was set up to oversee these works called ‘The Society of the Governor and Assistants, London of the New Plantation in Ulster, within the Realm of Ireland’; this was later shortened to The Honourable The Irish Society. The Society comprised a number of London aldermen, merchants and representatives of the various companies and received a patent for plantation lands in March 1613. Each of the twelve principal companies received an estate in the county, which were allocated by lottery in December 1613. The companies to receive grants were; The Drapers, The Vintners, The Salters, The Ironmongers, The Clothworkers, The Merchant Tailors, The Haberdashers, The Fishmongers, The Grocers, The Goldsmiths, The Skinners and The Mercers. The companies received grants under similar conditions as the Undertakers. They had to each build a manor house with a bawn, with gunloops and towers for defence. They had also to build tenant houses and lease their estates to British tenants.

The companies took over their estates from the Society in 1615 and slowly began bringing in tenants. A conspiracy to overthrow the planters in Londonderry in 1615, which was led by Donal O’Cahan’s son Rory, led to increased pressure from the government to progress with the plantation. The conspirators were subsequently executed in July 1615.

A grant of land in County Londonderry was also made to an Undertaker, Sir Thomas Philips of Limavady as he had also invested in the plantation. At the centre of each company estate a town was developed, some taking their name from the company that established them, such as Salterstown (Magherafelt) and Vintnerstown (Bellaghy).

By 1635, however, King Charles I, son of the deceased King James, was unhappy with the progress made by the London companies, in particular the Irish remaining on the estates. Fines were imposed on the companies for keeping Irish tenants, and when debts from these fines mounted up the legal weight of the British administration was brought in. The City of London authorities and the Honourable The Irish society were brought to trial, accused of failing to meet their obligations. Their title to the land was forfeited and they were heavily fined. This continued until the removal of Charles I in 1649 although the land was not formally restored to the London companies until March 1657.

Londonderry and Coleraine were the only walled towns of the plantation and were relatively modern in design in comparison to the medieval walled towns of Ireland. A large amount of money was spent on their development, with £11,000 spent on the Londonderry walls alone by 1629. The development of the cities was extremely important for the settlers and the success of the plantation, providing a market but also providing well developed ports for export and import of goods and people. In Londonderry the walls were at first protective and provided refuge for the citizens of the wider area. The town however eventually outgrew the walled area and spilled out onto the bogside and across the river Foyle.
The early 17th century was an extremely turbulent time in European history. The thirty years war (1618-1648) was being fought by major European powers, driven by religious differences between Catholics and Protestants. England, Ireland and Scotland were drawn into their own conflict, but not exclusively for differences in religion. A financial downturn in both countries and a weak King on the English throne in the form of Charles I also caused problems. This led to nearly ten years of war in Ireland called the Confederate Wars and a Civil War in Britain that would come to an end with the execution of King Charles I.

The first signs of unrest began in Ireland with the appointment of Thomas Wentworth as Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1631. Wentworth became unpopular with both Catholics and Protestants, because he treated Undertakers harshly, increasing rents and interfering with tenure. He also increased taxes on exports in a time of economic hardship. Charles I had promised land reform, called ‘the Graces’ which were meant to protect the rights of Irish landowners. However, Charles was more interested in the revenue the graces raised for his coffers through taxes, rather than the rights of the property owners in Ireland and they were never formally passed by parliament.

Wentworth also spent time investigating ownership of land and looking for opportunities to seize lands for the crown. Large amounts of Catholic owned land in Connacht was confiscated and declared crown property.

His most unpopular move however was his enforcement of membership of the Established Church, the Church of Ireland, which was opposed by both Catholics and Presbyterians. Wentworth tried to enforce conformity by introducing an oath for all to take, swearing that the King was the head of the Church.

Wentworth had thus created discontent amongst every class in society, the Old English had lost land and felt discriminated against, the native Irish felt persecuted while the Presbyterian settlers felt their religious freedom was under attack. Wentworth was recalled to England in 1640 and executed for treason in May 1641.

Another reason the Irish were discontented, was because of unrest in Britain between King Charles I and his parliament. The Irish feared that the King would be removed and the parliament would be harsh on Irish Catholic landowners.

All this happened alongside a downturn in the economy due to a series of harvest failures, meaning that many landowners were in financial difficulty. These factors contributed to the outbreak of rebellion in Ireland. Many of the Ulster plotters behind the rebellion were in debt and the rebellion was an opportunity to regain some of their former wealth.

The rebellion, which began in October 1641, was led by Sir Phelim O’Neill, an Irish landowner with estates in Counties Tyrone and Antrim, and supported by other leading Irish figures including Philip O’Reilly and Conor Roe Maguire. Sir Phelim issued a proclamation on the second day of the revolt, claiming they were not rebelling against the King, they were only defending their own liberties and anyone who retreated to their own homes would not be harmed. This promise was soon broken and large numbers of the settler population fled in fear for their lives.

The rebellion got off to a bad start, with the discovery of the plot to take Dublin Castle. But the rising had support in Ulster and small groups rose up in rebellion, including Rory O’More and the Maguires in Fermanagh. Some of the rebels fought for political ideals; others were merely trying to settle old grudges or steal. Sir Phelim O’Neill seized Dungannon and Mountjoy fort (on the shores of Lough Neagh) before going on to take Newry. Many settlers were slaughtered and thousands were driven from their homes. It was not the policy of the leaders of the rebellion to attack settlers but it appears they had very little control over their forces, some of whom were out for revenge and murder. The drowning of settlers at Portadown appears to have been the decision of one captain, Toole McCann, rather than any official policy. Phelim O’Neill condemned this type of behaviour and executed nine rebels who had murdered some of his planter tenants at Kinnard.

The rebellion spread and the rebels seized large parts of mid-Ulster. Attacks were concentrated on settlements such as towns, castles and bawns. Settlers suffered by being turned from their homes with large numbers fleeing to Dublin, but some were robbed and viciously murdered by gangs of rebels moving unopposed across the countryside.
By the end of 1641 the Old English of the Pale, Munster and Connacht had joined the rebels and the small insurrection became a national movement. These families, the Old English, who had settled in Ireland during the Norman invasion in the 12th century, were Catholic in religion but of English descent. They felt their authority slip away under Wentworth and feared the English parliament would not distinguish between them and the ‘native’ Irish. The Old English were now struggling for their survival and they threw in their lot with the rebels, united by their common religion.

In 1642, Owen Roe O’Neill, the nephew of Hugh O’Neill, the former Earl of Tyrone, arrived from the continent to lead the Irish forces. Owen Roe landed at Doe Castle in Donegal with a large force, on the 8th July 1642. In August he was appointed Lord General of the Ulster forces and Thomas Preston, another Irish soldier trained on the Continent, was appointed commander of the Leinster forces.

The British also raised an army, with a large Scottish force arriving led by Major-General Robert Monroe. The north was ravaged by Monroe and his forces in retaliation for the slaughter of Scottish settlers.

Owen Roe was shocked at conditions in Ulster, but also at the lack of discipline among the Irish force. As a professional soldier he had military training and began efforts to mould the rebels into a professional force. During his time in Ireland he affirmed his loyalty to King Charles I, believing that the Catholic Church could be reinstated to its former position under the King’s rule.

In May 1642, the rebels met in Kilkenny, establishing a general assembly called the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, which acted as an alternative to the Irish Parliament in Dublin. Its main aims were to restore the rights of Catholics and to defend Irish liberties. They also swore an oath of loyalty to the King.

Catholic forces were for the most parts royalists, believing that they were defending Charles I from a puritan government. Events in England took a dramatic turn when the English Civil War broke out in August 1642. Charles I was eager to agree a ceasefire with the Confederate Irish forces and although two periods of peace were agreed during the 1640s, neither side maintained these ceasefires.

In October 1646 Owen Roe travelled to Kilkenny to meet the new papal nuncio GianBattista Rinuccini, appointed to Ireland by Rome. In June he headed north again, this time well supplied with arms and money brought by Rinuccini. He won a major victory for the Irish forces at the Battle of Benburb, in Tyrone on the 5th of June 1646. But the Irish forces failed to capitalise on their victory. They were too poorly equipped to lay siege to the remaining forces in both Londonderry and Carrickfergus, so Owen Roe marched south. The Irish forces regrouped and attacked Dublin. The combined forces were probably strong enough to take the city, but disputes and distrust between the leaders forced Owen Roe to withdraw his troops. He was ordered to move to Connacht and take the town of Sligo in May 1647.

With a split in the Irish camp, the Earl of Ormond took control of the royalist forces in Ireland but they were heavily defeated at a battle at Rathmines in Dublin on 2nd August 1649.

Two weeks later on the 12th of August, Oliver Cromwell and 3,000 of his soldiers landed unopposed at Ringsend. It was the beginning of the end for the Irish rebellion. On the 11th of September 1649 he sacked the town of Drogheda before heading south and taking Wexford, Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, Kilkenny, Waterford and eventually Limerick and Galway, with a brutal force that ended any opposition by the native population. The remaining Ulster forces led by Bishop MacMahon were crushed in battle at Scarifhollis, outside Letterkenny, County Donegal, in June 1650.

The rebels’ lands were forfeited to the crown and another wave of plantations took place, with many grants being made to Cromwellian soldiers. With the 1662 Act of Settlement, Catholics were removed from all positions of political and commercial importance in Ireland.

The immediate effect of the uprising was the temporary removal of British settlers and the destruction of property, but the settlement was quick to recover and towns and homesteads were rebuilt. The rebellion also led to the widespread seizure of Irish lands. The Irish grantees of the original plantation scheme were now wiped out and the lands redistributed to Cromwellian officers. Large numbers of new settlers continued to arrive in Ulster and the position of the Irish Catholics as landowners continued to deteriorate.
The Plantation of Ulster was the most successful plantation undertaken in Ireland, but that is not to say that it went according to plan or had the intended outcome.

The official scheme itself was slow to get underway; this is evident in the surviving surveys carried out up to 1622. The plantation relied heavily on private investment and this took time. The success of the plantation in Derry/Londonderry was solely down to the huge investment of the London companies and their success at bringing in planters on their estates. Once the majority of settlers had arrived quick progress was made in building towns and settlement which is visible in the 1618-19 survey.

However one of the original conditions of the grants to the planters, the removal of native tenants, was not carried out. It became clear from early on in the scheme that the Irish were needed on these estates and in some areas this system of mutual dependency seems to have worked well in the early years at least.

Other difficulties emerged including the problem of attracting tenants to isolated areas or areas of poor quality land and Irish tenants were pushed increasingly on to these areas of land. This further added to the feeling of the persecution of the native population.

The Irish community was neither converted to Protestantism nor anglicised in any great number, and as a result the two communities failed to integrate on a large enough scale.

While some of the original grantees had little interest in developing their estates and quickly sold their interests in Ulster, others had more success, establishing towns and villages, bringing over settlers and introducing new and innovative farming practices to Ulster. Industry and trade also developed as a result of this new population and new markets were opened up for produce from Ulster.

However, more English and Scottish came to Ulster outside the years of official plantation (1610-1625) than were ‘planted’, especially in the later part of the century. Famine in Scotland in the 1690s saw large numbers immigrating to Ulster. More land became available in Ireland due to fresh clearances after the 1641 rebellion and again later in the century after the Jacobite wars (1686-1691). These wars created a Protestant landed class, who had the vast majority of land and power in the country, while the vast majority of the population were Catholic.

The plantation also saw great changes in the landscape of Ulster. Large previously forested areas were cleared for agriculture on a scale that had not existed under the Gaelic system. The development of towns and villages and the introduction of British style architecture also changed the landscape in Ulster.

The new settlers, in particular the Scottish brought with them a new culture to Ireland. The legacy of this was the development of the Ulster Scots language. The Scottish also brought with them other aspects of their traditions of music, dance and dress and this developed over the years to produce a unique identity in parts of Ulster.

However, the plantation did not bring about the expected change in culture and religion amongst the native Irish population, but instead produced a two-cultured society. This would go on to create divisions in that society, which persist to the present day.

Unfortunately, the difference between the two communities and the lack of integration had left Ulster with a legacy of partition, sectarianism and violence.

Today there is a new optimism that the future of what is now Northern Ireland, is one of tolerance and acceptance of our cultural differences and a new desire to look at and understand our shared history.
Sir Cahir O’Doherty (Ó Dochartaigh) (1587 – 1608)
Cahir O’Doherty was the Lord of Inishowen, one of the largest sub-lordships in Donegal in the 16th and early 17th centuries. He was granted a knighthood for bravery in battle and the English supported his claim to the title of Lord of Inishowen. In return O’Doherty supported English forces in battle against Red Hugh O’Donnell during the Nine Years War. However, in 1608 O’Doherty rose in rebellion, sacking and burning the City of Derry. Badly resourced and without any additional help the rebellion was doomed. He was killed in battle at Doon Rock, near Kilmacrenan, County Donegal, on the 5th of July 1608.

Sir Donal Ballach O’Cahan (d. 1617)
Donal O’Cahan was a powerful sub chieftain in the O’Neill Lordship, occupying lands in Counties Coleraine and Tyrone. He married Hugh O’Neill’s daughter and joined his father-in-law in battle against the English during the Nine Years War. He submitted to the crown in 1602, forfeiting one third of his lands and a number of castles. O’Cahan’s relationship with O’Neill turned sour when his ambition drove him to take a case against O’Neill, challenging the Earl of Tyrone’s claim to lordship over his estates. Both O’Neill and O’Cahan were summoned to London for the King to settle the case, but O’Neill fled to the continent. O’Cahan fared well out of the following settlement of land and he was made a Commissioner to administer justice in Ulster in place of the Earl of Tyrone. Although O’Cahan remained loyal to the English he was arrested on suspicion of supporting O’Doherty’s rebellion and sent to the Tower of London where he remained an unconvicted prisoner for the rest of his life. O’Cahan’s estate was confiscated although his son Rory Óg received a grant of 1000 acres in the plantation.

Owen Roe O’Neill (Eoghan Rua Ó Néill) (c. 1580 – 1649)
Owen Roe O’Neill was the son of Art O’Neill and the nephew of Hugh O’Neill the Earl of Tyrone. Since 1605 the young Owen Roe had been in Spanish Flanders, where he served with the Irish regiment until the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion in Ireland. He was appointed leader of the Ulster forces and tried to put his military experience to work in Ireland. His greatest success was the Battle of Benburb, outside Tyrone in 1646. By the time Cromwell arrived in Ireland Owen Roe was suffering from bad health and died a short time later on the 6th of November 1649.

Conor & Rory Maguire
Conor (1616-1645) and Rory (1619-48) Maguire were the sons of Sir Brian Maguire, Baron of Enniskillen. The family had been granted a portion of land in the plantation scheme in reward for their loyalty during the Nine Years War. Both were settled well in planter society and well educated. Conor attended Oxford, became the 2nd Baron of Enniskillen and attended the Irish House of Lords. Rory sat as an MP for County Fermanagh in 1640-41 and by all appearance the family’s loyalty seemed assured. However both brothers became conspirators, laying ground work for the beginning of the 1641 rebellion, driven by concern for their faith, their finances and their social standing. Conor became involved in a plot to take Dublin Castle in early October 1641. However, the plot was discovered and Conor was arrested and sent to the Tower of London. After an escape attempt in February in 1645, Conor was executed by being hung, drawn and quartered.

Rory was also involved with conspirators from the beginning. He led the rebellion in Fermanagh, but was unable to take Enniskillen castle. He was made a colonel in Owen Roe O’Neill’s forces, fighting mainly in Fermanagh and Monaghan. He was killed in a minor skirmish in County Leitrim in 1648.
King James I (James VI of Scotland) (1566 – 1625)

James I was the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, born in Edinburgh in 1566. James, who was raised a Protestant, inherited the throne from his cousin Elizabeth I in 1603, uniting the kingdoms of Scotland and England. James saw colonisation as a method of refinancing his treasury and during his reign, plantations were undertaken in Virginia, America (1607), Ulster (1609) and Plymouth, America (1620). His strong faith led to the introduction of a new English translation of the bible, known as the King James Bible, in 1611.

King Charles I (1600 – 1649)

Charles I was the second son of James I and succeeded to the throne upon the death of his father in 1625. Charles inherited many of the problems that James I had left unresolved, including financial problems, a disgruntled parliament and growing religious divisions among the community. Charles's problems with parliament existed throughout his reign. He attempted to levy taxes without parliament's consent and dismissed it whenever it suited him, in turn for which parliament tried to curtail his rights. Charles also tried to enforce religious reforms in Scotland, which led to a Scottish rebellion and eventually a full scale Civil War in 1642. Charles and his Cavaliers (supporters of the Monarchy) fought against the supporters of the Parliament, known as the Roundheads. Charles was defeated, accused of high treason and handed over for trial in 1649. He was found guilty and executed in January 1649. Charles's son, Charles II became King after the restoration of the Monarchy in 1660.

Sir John Davies (1569 – 1626)

Born in Wiltshire in 1569, Davies studied law and was appointed Solicitor General for Ireland by James I in 1603. By 1606 he had been promoted to the position of Attorney General for Ireland. Davies was instrumental in the effort to complete the conquest of Ireland, using his legal skills to prevent opposition and establish English common law in Ireland. He became an ally of the new Lord Deputy Sir Arthur Chichester, accompanying him to Ulster in 1608 and completing a report on the confiscation of counties Fermanagh, Monaghan and Cavan. Davies also participated in the drafting of plans for the plantation of Ulster and was himself a grantee, receiving lands in the barony of Omagh in County Tyrone and in County Fermanagh. He retired from office in 1619 and returned to England.
In the 16th century the whole of Europe underwent enormous change because of what became known as the Protestant reformation. It began because of widespread corruption in the Catholic Church and people’s desire for change. This change came in the form of a new religion, which began in Germany and became known as Protestantism. By the beginning of the 17th century large numbers of the European population had embraced the new religion.

In England the change of religion began with King Henry VIII, who broke with the Catholic Church so that he could divorce his first wife. Henry established the Church of England in 1532, making himself the head of the Church. Henry’s heirs, his son Edward VI and his daughter Elizabeth I, were both raised as Protestants and further reformed the Church in England during their reigns.

The Protestant religion itself divided into a number of different churches in the 16th century. In Scotland, a Scottish preacher by the name of John Knox established the Presbyterian Church, which was founded on the beliefs of a French reformer by the name of John Calvin. The Puritans also followed the teaching of Calvin, and this Church became well established in England in the 17th century.

The reformation failed to take hold in Ireland as it had in other countries. The majority of Irish remained Catholic, as did the Old English or the Anglo-Norman families who had made Ireland their home since the 12th century.

With the plantation James I hoped to spread the new faith, by bringing in Protestants from Scotland and England and by declaring the Church of Ireland the Established Church, which people had to attend, although this was never fully enforced.

The changes in European religion would contribute to years of war among the main European powers and would lead to unrest and rebellion in Ireland as well as a civil war in Britain.
# Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alderman</td>
<td>Member of a town or city council.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisan</td>
<td>A skilled worker, who practices a trade or craft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballyboe</td>
<td>Land division estimated to contain sixty acres of land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballybetagh</td>
<td>Land division containing 16 ballyboes or townlands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barony</td>
<td>Land division created by the Anglo-Normans. Ulster was divided into Baronies in c. 1600.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawn</td>
<td>A fortified enclosure, with a house or castle at the centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulwark</td>
<td>An embankment, of earth or stone, built around a structure for defence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgeses</td>
<td>An elected or un-elected official.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattels</td>
<td>Personal property such as furniture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churlés</td>
<td>A low ranking freeman or common person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>A craftsman who makes or repairs wooden barrels or tubs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate Town</td>
<td>Town established by Royal Charter with powers to send members to parliament and responsible for its own courts, by-laws, markets and fairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deponent</td>
<td>Person who testifies or gives deposition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escheated</td>
<td>Property that reverts to ownership of the state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glebe</td>
<td>Land belonging to a parish church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grantee</td>
<td>A recipient of a grant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guild</td>
<td>An association made up of people with a similar profession or interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunloops</td>
<td>Holes or slits placed in walls of towns and buildings for defence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freehold</td>
<td>Land or property owned by the occupier.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanker Towers</td>
<td>Towers along a bawn wall where watch was kept over the bawn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impeached</td>
<td>Charged with a crime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incumbent</td>
<td>An official who holds office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leasehold</td>
<td>Land or property held under a lease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market town</td>
<td>A town with rights to hold a market.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercer</td>
<td>A dealer in textiles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portcullis</td>
<td>Gate made of iron or wooden grating that can be lowered to block an entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puritans</td>
<td>Branch of the Protestant Church, that adhered to strict religious principals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relict</td>
<td>A widow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanners</td>
<td>A craftsman who works with skins and hides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>The right to hold land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upbraided</td>
<td>Criticised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamite War</td>
<td>Also called the Jacobite Wars (1689-1691) fought between King James II and William of Orange over the Kingdom of England, Scotland and Ireland.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additional Reading and Useful Websites:

Why not find out more about the Ulster Plantation and 17th century Ireland? There are lots of very interesting books available from your local library:

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Useful websites:

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www.hamiltonmontgomery1606.com
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www.bbc.co.uk/history
www.askaboutireland.ie
www.skool.ie
www.seanruad.com – Gives a list of townlands in each modern County

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