

A GUIDE TO THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER IN DERRY AND DONEGAL



*Plantation of Ulster in Derry and Donegal A Guide to the Plantation
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An Action of the County Donegal Heritage Plan (2007-2011)

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INTRODUCTION

This booklet was commissioned as part of a joint project between Donegal County Museum and Derry City Council Heritage and Museum Service. The aim of the project is to increase awareness of the influence of the Plantation in Derry and Donegal and to provide an insight into the cultural heritage of an important period in our collective history. This booklet has been written by Duncan McLaren of Deadalus Architecture and edited by the Donegal County Museum and Derry City Council Heritage and Museum Service.

Maps have been prepared for this booklet to show the approximate locations of notable sites; the keys to the maps also give an indication to the extent of survival of the buildings where this is known.

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Note: Many of the sites may be on private property or in dangerous condition; further enquiries must be made before attempting to visit these properties.

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ULSTER BEFORE THE PLANTATION

By the end of the 16th century, Hugh O'Neill, 2nd Earl of Tyrone, had emerged as the greatest single threat to English rule in Ireland. He took advantage of royal favour, exploited crown assaults on vulnerable Gaelic neighbours and forged strategic political and marital alliances with the O'Donnells, Maguires, O'Cahans, O'Reillys and McMahanos.

In the process he constructed a powerful confederacy in Ireland, which would provide an enormous political and financial threat to the Tudor dynasty. After stunning successes against the cream of Elizabeth's forces, the arrival of the Spanish in Kinsale, forced O'Neill to march from Ulster in the depths of winter.



Map of Ulster © National Archives UK.

He was defeated in battle by Lord Deputy Mountjoy in 1601 and returned to Dungannon where he waited for additional Spanish support. Under attack from all sides by land and water, he accepted the Queen's terms and signed the Treaty of Mellifont in March 1603, three days after her death. The Nine Years' War cost Elizabeth I nearly £2,000,000, eight times more than any previous war waged during her reign. O'Neill gained enormous prestige

amongst European Catholic rulers and the greater Catholic populace. Indeed Henry IV of France, who had led the French Protestants [Huguenots] in France's religious wars, placed him among the top three European military commanders. O'Neill's numerous victories were remembered by aristocrats and artisans as he made his way to Rome after 'The Flight of the Earls'.



Queen Elizabeth I, © Maritime Museum UK

THE 'FLIGHT' OF THE EARLS, 1607

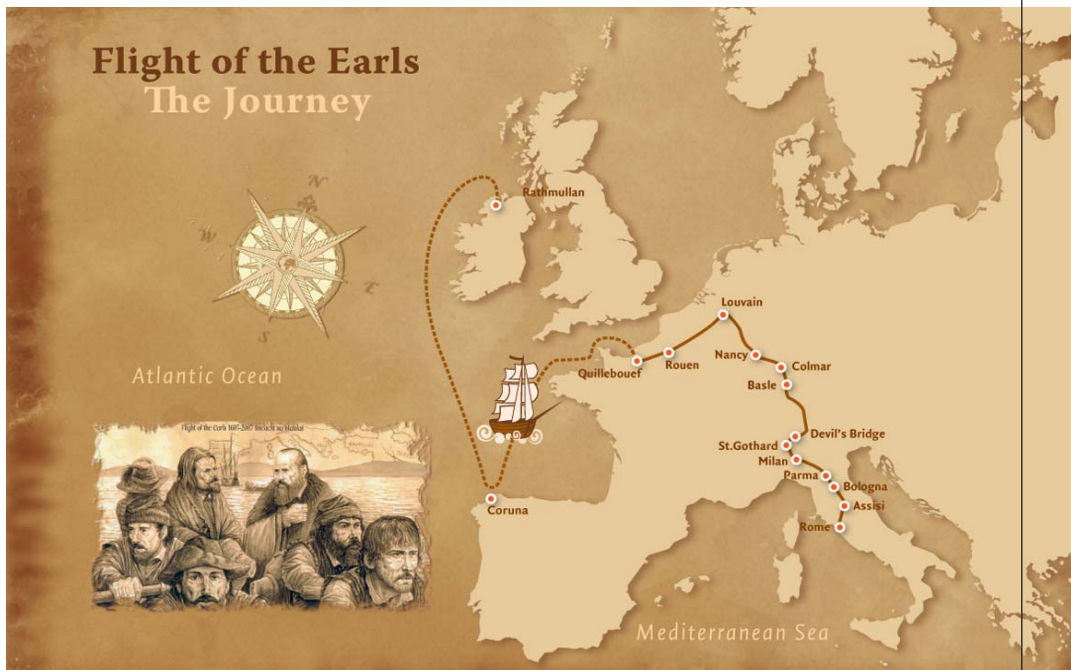
Although pardoned and received at court by King James VI and I (of Scotland, England and Ireland) in 1603, O'Neill nevertheless felt besieged by English settlers and crown officials. They were unhappy with his lenient treatment, coveted his lordship and manipulated his son-in-law Sir Donal Ballagh O'Cahan to undermine his position in Ulster.

rumours of the Earl's links with Spain and an ominous royal summons to London ultimately led to his flight.



Painting of Flight of the Earls by Seoirse O'Dochartaigh

The political and legal intrigues of Lord Deputy Sir Arthur Chichester and Attorney-General Sir John Davies,



O'Neill left Ulster on 4th September 1607 along with Rory O'Donnell, 1st Earl of Tyrconnell, Cuchonnacht Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, their wives, families and followers, in one of the most iconic and significant events in Irish history. Today this is referred to as "The Flight of the Earls. It is difficult to overstate the historical importance of this departure. In effect, it sealed the political and military end of an independent Gaelic Ulster and laid the ground for the subsequent Plantation and Ireland's full incorporation into the new Stuart monarchy. 'The Flight' has captured the imagination of generations of Irish writers in Irish including Fearghal Óg

Mac An Bhaird, Eoghan Rua Mac An Bhaird, Aindrias Mac Craith, Fearflatha Ó Gnímh, Eochaidh Ó hEodhasa and English writers such as James Clarence Mangan, William Butler Yeats, Seán Ó Faoláin, Thomas Kilroy and Brian Friel.



Oroborus Theatre Company 2007, Making History



Coat of Arms, Guildhall Derry © Derry City Council Heritage and Museum Services



O'Donnell, Stained Glass Window © Derry City Council Heritage and Museum Services

THE NATIVE POPULATION



The Kingdom of Ireland, 16th Century (Image Courtesy of Board of National Library of Ireland)

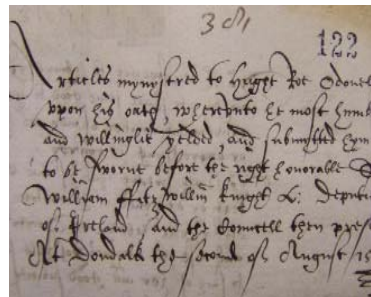
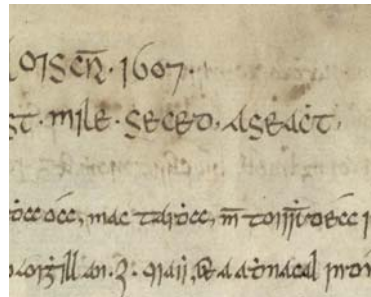
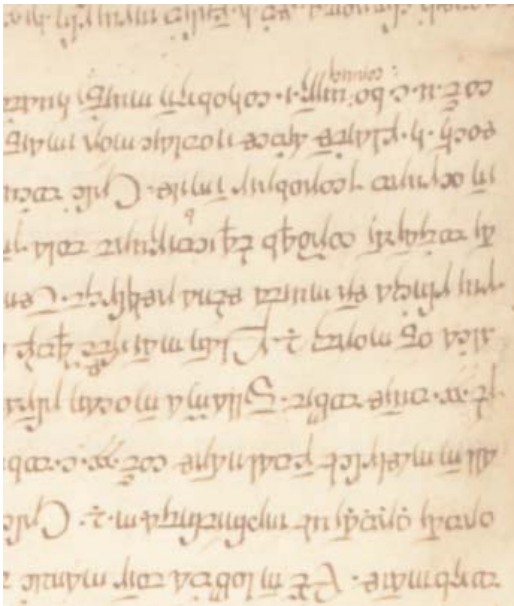
In 1603 Irish Catholics owned 90% of the land but by 1641, mainly as a result of the Plantation of Ulster, this figure had fallen to 59%. Some historians have argued that the Plantation replaced one élite, the Gaelic nobility, with another, the new English and Scottish lords and landlords. However, this process did not happen without inflicting suffering on the native population. Although land was allocated to 'deserving' Irish, those who had assisted in the war against O'Neill and his allies, few of them prospered in the new economic and legal system.

Irish Catholics became 'half-subjects' (to use King James' own words). The government attempted to promote military migration amongst those who had served O'Neill and his allies and around 6,000 were sent to the service of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. Thousands more joined the ranks of the Irish regiments in Spain and Spanish Flanders. Those who remained on the land often failed to adapt to changing and often unfavourable circumstances. This resulted in a legacy of bitterness that would explode in the rebellion of 1641 leaving thousands dead.

THE GAELIC LITERATI

The political collapse of Gaelic Ulster saw a decline in the fortunes of the professional learned classes such as poets, scribes, brehons (lawyers), genealogists (historians) and writers in the decades after the 'Flight of the Earls'. The wholesale destruction of manuscripts, and the carelessness of future generations has left little

evidence to illustrate the extent and influence of the *aos dána* [learned classes]. Nevertheless, surviving material vastly outstrips contemporary Scotland or Wales and is invaluable in shedding light on contemporary Irish society.



Examples of Gaelic Manuscript Text

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF AN IRISH 'NATIONAL' IDENTITY

In spite of the incessant wars and political turmoil of the 16th and 17th centuries, Ireland witnessed a remarkable vitality in poetic and literary activity in the Irish language. The Franciscan Order, operating from Irish Catholic colleges on the continent and utilising members of the traditional learned families such as the Uí Chléirigh, Uí Mhaoilchonaire and Uí Dhuibhghheannáin, powered a two-pronged effort to stem the tide of Protestantism and preserve Ireland's literary heritage. A stream of religious book and pamphlets from these continental colleges targeted the clergy as opposed to the largely illiterate laity. They reflected the continental training of their authors and drew heavily on contemporary Counter-Reformation works in Spanish, French, Latin and Italian.

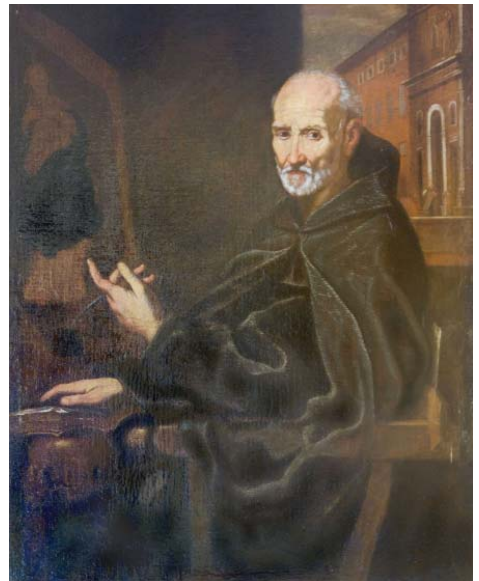
Central to this effort was the enormous undertaking of the compilation of 'Annála Ríoghachta Éireann' [Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland], assembled by the 'The Four Masters' at the Franciscan Friary in Donegal Town, with the support of the Franciscans and the patronage of Fearghal Ó Gadhra, a Sligo nobleman. The Tipperary-born cleric Seathrún Céitinn [Geoffrey Keating], author of 'Fóras Feasa ar Éirinn' [Foundation of knowledge on Ireland], targeted Anglo-Norman and English writers such as Giraldus Cambrensis, Edmund Spenser, Richard Stanihurst, Edmund Campion, Richard Hamner, Fynes Moryson who had cast aspersions on Ireland's literary and cultural heritage.





Flight of the Earls Painting, by Seán Ó Brogáin's

The first decades of the seventeenth century also witnessed an increase in historical works, saints' lives, diaries and social commentary. These included Tadhg Ó Cianáin's 'Imeacht' na nIarlaí [The 'Flight' of the Earls], Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh's *Beatha Aodha Rua Uí Dhomhnaill* [Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell], an heroic biography of the Earl of Tír Chonaill. Other Irish scholars such as Luke Wadding, David Rothe, Richard Creagh, Cornelius O'Deveney, Richard Stanihurst, Richard O'Farrell, Robert O'Connell, who wrote in Latin for a continental audience, enabled a small, under-populated island to box far above its weight in early modern European literary circles.



Luke Wadding

SIR CATHAIR'S REBELLION



O'Doherty Sword
© Intern Museum, Derry

Sir Cathair O' Doherty's rebellion, and the involvement and implication of the O'Donnells, O'Cahans and O'Hanlons massively increased the scale and scope of the Ulster Plantation. Formerly, 'The Queen's O'Doherty', Cathair Rua, the young chief of Inishowen, had emerged as an ally of Sir Henry Docwra, Derry's second founder, during the course of the Nine Year's War. His co-operation assisted Docwra's access to the Foyle and Swilly basins and he received a knighthood for his loyal service to the crown. However, he soon fell foul of Lord Deputy Chichester, who accused him of involvement with the fugitive Earls. Verbal and physical abuse at the hands of Sir George Paulet, the new Governor of Derry, drove the O' Doherty into rebellion. He captured Culmore Fort, burned Derry, seized a number of prisoners (including Bishop George Montgomery of Raphoe, and his wife Sarah) and attacked Burt Castle. Although the rebellion spread across the Swilly into the lands of the Gallaghers and MacSwineys, the crown rapidly responded with an assault on Culmore Fort and Burt Castle, which hastened the collapse of the rebellion. O' Doherty was ambushed and killed at Doon Rock, the inauguration site of the O'Donnells, at Kilmacrennan. His quarters were sent to Derry and his impaled head soon emblazoned Dublin's Newgate Jail.

Ouer-throw of 'an

Irish rebell, in a late battaile :

Or

The death of Sir Casey Adoughertie, who muredred
Sir George Paulet in Ireland; and for his re-
bellion hath his head now standing ouer
Newgate in Dublin.



Imprinted at London for I. Wright, and are to be sold at
his shop neere Christ Church gate, 1608.

A LABORATORY FOR EMPIRE PLANS FOR THE PLANTATION



King James I
© National Maritime Museum, UK

The union of the English, Irish and Scottish crowns in the person of James both facilitated and heralded a monumental shift in 'English' crown policy. Since the Scottish Wars of Independence of the late 13th - early 14th centuries, in which William Wallace and Robert the Bruce had fought to secure the independence of the Scottish Crown, successive English kings and queens had tried to keep the Scots, both settlers and mercenaries (Gall Óglaigh/Galloglass), out of Ulster. Elizabeth's defeat of O'Neill and his confederates, their subsequent 'Flight' and the ensuing rebellion of Sir Cathair O'Doherty paved the way for the Crown's seizure of nearly 3.8 million acres of land for a comprehensive plantation project.

The Plantation of Ulster, 1609-2009
A Laboratory for Empire

CITY OF LONDON **DERRY CITY COUNCIL**

celebrates the anniversary of the and will hold three major international conferences to mark the 400th anniversary of the Ulster Plantation. Major scholars from Ireland, Britain, Europe and the Americas will re-assess the plantation and its disputed histories and legacies.

- The Plantation of Ulster: Politics, Economics and Cultural Identity (London 25-26 June 2007)
- The Plantation of Ulster: The Political, Social, Economic and Cultural Impact (Stratford-upon-Avon 12-13 July)
- 'Plantation and Rebellion: The F41 Rebellion' (Trinity College Dublin 12-13 October 2007)

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It also enabled King James to address a series of key political, religious, strategic, socio-economic and financial policies. An influx of English and Scottish settlers would hamper any attempts by hostile Catholic powers to use Ireland as a back door to invade the king's Protestant realms. Similarly, the King could address the social-economic, political and religious disturbances on the Scottish-

English borders through a wholesale transplantation of Scottish Planters to Ireland. Furthermore, the foundation of new counties, shires, towns and villages in the Plantation would provide a much-needed financial boost to the treasury.



Ulster c.1603, © The National Archives (PRO) UK. MPFI-35

'UNDERTAKERS' AND 'SERVITORS'



Hugh Montgomery © Ulster Scots Agency



Sir James Hamilton © Ulster Scots Agency

Elizabeth I's Monaghan Plantation in 1591 and the successful 'private' Plantation scheme initiated by Hugh Montgomery, and Sir James Hamilton, in South Clondeboye (in modern Counties Antrim and Down) in 1606, provided templates for the Plantation of Ulster. The remaining six Ulster counties of Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine/Londonderry, Donegal, Fermanagh and Tyrone had

passed to the crown, thus facilitating a plantation that far outstripped previous ventures in Ireland. It could be compared in size and scope with the contemporary English, Portuguese and Spanish initiatives in the Americas.

An Irish committee of the English Privy Council undertook extensive cartographical/mapping surveys and stock-takes, before publishing detailed conditions and instructions for the Plantation. Lands were divided amongst:

'Servitors' (government officials and soldiers who had commanded and served the crown during the Nine Years War),

'Undertakers' (English and Scottish venture capitalists and men of property who undertook to plant their newly-acquired lands with English and Scottish settlers) and those **'Deserving Irish'** who had supported the crown or changed sides in the 1590s.

Undertakers received 40% of the allocated lands, parcelled out in units of 2,000, 1,500 and 1,000 acres, on condition that they removed the natives, encouraged English and Scottish settlers, founded small towns and villages and erected castles or 'bawns' (fortified dwellings). The 'servitors' received approximately 15% of the allocated lands and the native Irish retained 20% of the forfeited properties. Generous grants to the Church of Ireland, Trinity College Dublin and the newly founded 'free schools' or 'royal schools' at Raphoe, Cavan, Armagh, Dungannon, Newry and Enniskillen (approx 20%) furthered the king's plans to advance the Protestant Reformation and 'civilize' the 'rude partes' of his realm.



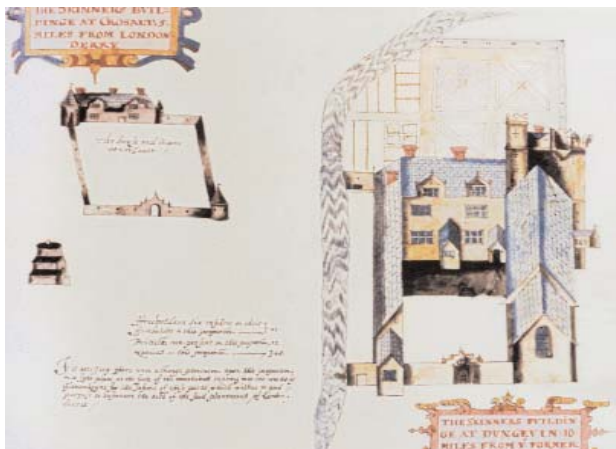
THE LONDONDERRY PLANTATION



The Crown assigned 'O'Cahan's Country', re-named Coleraine or Londonderry, to the twelve livery companies (trade guilds) of the City of London, in return for the necessary capital to sustain the Plantation. For an original figure of £20,000, which would treble by the end of King James's reign, the livery companies undertook to construct two new towns of 200 and 100 hundred houses (Derry/Londonderry and Coleraine) and plant their new possessions with London's surplus population. Sir Daniel Molyneux, the Ulster King at Arm's, bestowal of a new crest to the new citadel of Londonderry favoured the seated skeleton (an allusion to Walter De Burgh's incarceration and death by starvation in 1332). He deemed the skeleton an appropriate metaphor for 'The Derrie' being 'rayseed from the dead by the worthy undertaking of the noble cittie of London'.

In return The Honourable the Irish Society, the company set up to oversee the Plantation, received over half a million acres. This was divided into lots of between 10,000 and 40,000 acres among the livery companies and their subsidiaries, around what would become the major urban settlements in the newly fortified country;

- Kilrea (Mercers), 21,600 Acres,
- Eglington (Grocers), 15,900 Acres,
- Moneymore (Drapers), 38,800 Acres,
- Ballykelly (Fishmongers), 24,100 Acres,
- Newbuildings (Goldsmiths), 11,050 Acres,
- Dungiven (Skinners), 49,000 Acres,
- Macosquin (Merchant Tailors), 18,700 Acres,
- Ballycastle (Haberdashers), 23,100 Acres,
- Magherafelt (Salters), 23,250 Acres,
- Agivey (Ironmongers), 19,450 Acres,
- Bellaghy (Vintners); 32,600 Acres,
- Killowen-Articlave-Castlerock (Clothworkers), 13,450 Acres.



Skinners Buildings, Dungevin. Thomas Raven c.1611 © PRONI



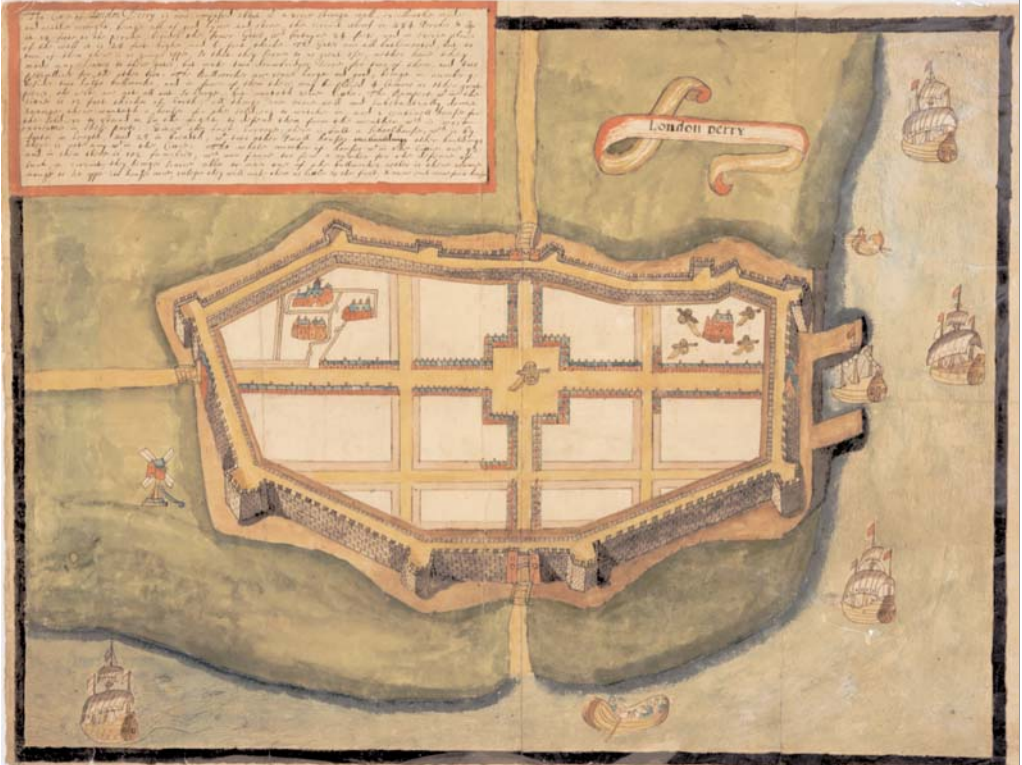
Richard Bartlett - Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, c.1601
© National Library of Ireland

Other grants included 29,900 acres for the Society and 116,400 for the Church of Ireland and the Bishopric of Derry. Sir Thomas Phillips, a veteran of the French and Irish wars, custodian of Coleraine Friary, Military Superintendent of Coleraine and one of the original sponsors of the London venture, held on to 19,400 acres. He also received licences to distill 'aqua vitae' – the forerunner of the Bushmills and Coleraine distilleries. Finally, the new towns of Londonderry and Coleraine received 7,000 acres each, while the natives retained 52,050 acres across the new county. These possessions contained a vast array of valuable natural resources; the rich fisheries comprised inland and coastal herring, eel and salmon fisheries of the Bann, Foyle and Lough Neagh (to its mouth), the forests included the vast and valuable woods of Glenconkeyne and Killetra. They would provide the pipe-staves and wooden walls of the emerging British navy.

DERRY'S WALLS

"Derry's Walls" are perhaps the most famous, visible and enduring physical legacy of the Plantation. Even before the reign of Elizabeth I, English officials recognised the strategic location of the site and established garrisons there in 1566 and in 1600.

Sir Henry Docwra, Elizabeth's commander at Derry, remarked that the location provided a natural fortress bounded by the river and with steep embankments on three sides, lying 'in the form of a bow bent, whereof the bog is the string and the river the bow.'



Londonderry c.1618-1619, Nicholas Pynnar, © Trinity College, Dublin.



Guildhall Derry, © Derry City Council Heritage and Museum Services

Docwra's fortifications amounted to little more than an earthen rampart and two forts, a hospital and some houses. The 1604 charter highlighted Derry's obvious advantages 'by reason of the natural seat and situation thereof, a place very convenient and fit to be made both a town of war and a town of merchandize'. Within two years of Docwra's departure, Sir Cahair O'Doherty stormed and burnt the town during his ill-fated rebellion of 1608. In the following year a proposal to the King by the Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer, recommended the

establishment of a colony at Derry described as "the late ruined city of Derry, which may be made by land almost impregnable." 'Four wise, grave and discreet citizens', from the London Guilds and the Common Council of the City of London arrived to report on the feasibility of the proposal. Although they were reluctant to become involved in what was widely viewed as a hazardous investment, the King prevailed on the merchants, by persuasion and even outright threats, to take charge of the new city.



"The Plat of the Cittie of Londonderry" Thomas Raven c.1622. © PRONI

DONEGAL

The county of Donegal (an amalgamation of the O'Donnell and O'Doherty lordships of Tír Chonaill [Tir Connell] and Inis Eoghain [Inishowen]) had been created in 1585 during the Lord Deputyship of Sir John Perrott. However, the crown could not put its plans for political, socio-economic, legislative and religious reforms for the new county into practice until the defeat of the Earls in 1603. Although King James elevated Rory O'Donnell, brother of the deceased Red Hugh, last Prince of Tír Conaill, to the Earldom of Tir Connell, he had no intention of allowing the Earl to enjoy the traditional rights and privileges of his position. Sir Henry Docwra had already detached Sir Cathair O'Doherty, the young lord of Inis Eoghain, from the Irish alliance in 1600. Sir Niall Garbh O'Donnell, Rory's rival for the O'Donnell lordship, had also

deserted the Irish confederates and occupied the strategic fortifications of Lifford and Rathmullan. Similarly, Sir Henry Docwra, Sir Ralph Bingley, Sir Henry Ffolliott and Sir Basil Brooke and a host of locally-based English commanders occupied a whole series of O'Donnell, O'Doherty and MacSweeney installations. This prevented Rory from exerting traditional O'Donnell authority in Connaught and South Ulster. Many of these veteran combatants also benefited from generous grants of monastic and ecclesiastical land, fisheries and customs posts. This worsened the already straitened economic circumstances of an impoverished Earl who struggled to both re-establish and assert his authority against Niall Garbh and his MacSweeney and O'Boyle vassals.

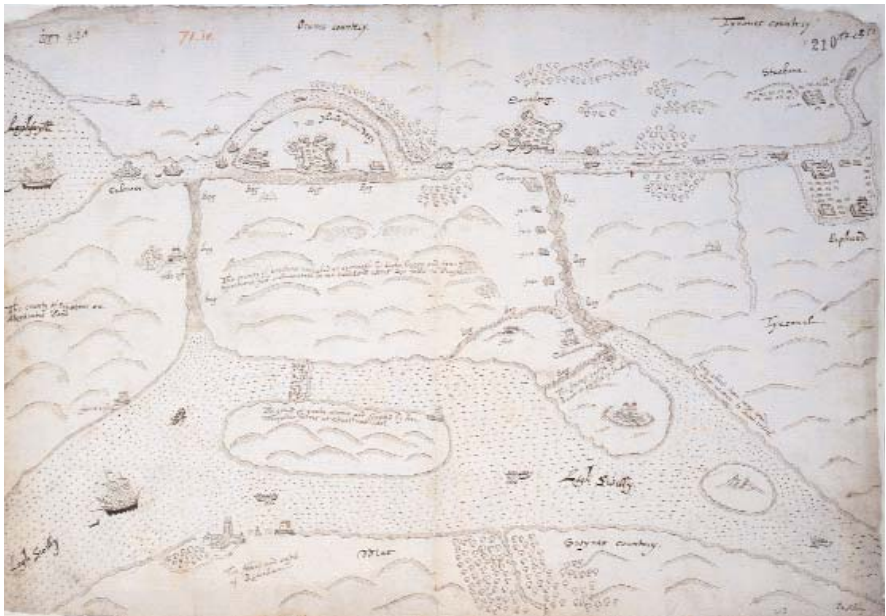


Sir. Richard Hansard Dapal Anne his wife in Clonleigh Parish Church, Lifford.

Sir Arthur Chichester's assumption of the Lord Deputyship in 1605 and his readiness to referee between O'Donnell and his rivals accelerated the process of political, military and legislative re-organisation within the lordship. Sir Richard Hansard's receipt of the fort and its surrounding lands in Lifford and the elevation of Bishop George Montgomery to the joint sees of Clogher, Derry and Raphoe further undermined his position. Similarly, the failure of Rory's petition for the Abbey and lands of Assaroe and his loss of lucrative taxes, rents, fisheries and fishing rights provided economic motives for his eventual flight.



Chichester



"The Derry c.1601", A general map of the River Foyle area and the Land between the Foyle and Lough Swilly.

THE PLANTATION IN DONEGAL



Donegal Castle

Rory's flight, Niall Garbh's political and military unreliability after the O'Doherty rebellion and a host of political, socio-economic and religious considerations, prompted wholesale Plantation. The veteran Sir Geoffrey Fenton urged the king to pull down forever these two proud houses of O'Neill and O'Donnell. King James 1 divided the county amongst English and Scottish servitors and undertakers and deserving Irish. Scottish settlement centred on the baronies of Portlough and Boylagh, the English acquired Lifford while the Irish got most of the marginal lands of Doe, Fanad and Kilmacrennan.

These grants did not include the ecclesiastical and monastic lands, fortresses and strategically-important locations which had already been bestowed on English veterans and favoured Protestants. Sir Henry Ffolliott had already received Ballyshannon and the lands attached to Assaroe, Sir Basil Brooke took possession of Donegal Castle, O'Donnell's primary residence, in addition to its lands and fisheries. Captain Paul Gore received substantial holdings at Magherabeg and St. John's Point. Archbishop Miler McGrath, the notorious Archbishop of Cashel, received the lands of Termonmagrath and St Patrick's Purgatory. He later moved to Donegal where he erected a building at Templecrone, which still stands.

THE AMERICAN CONTEXT

The onset of the Ulster Plantation also coincided with the establishment of a small English colony on the Jamestown River, in North America, a precarious toe-hold for the emergence of a British North American Empire to rival France or Spain. Indeed, The Honourable Irish Society resembled the East India or Virginia joint-stock companies that would oversee British colonial ventures in Asia and North America. London capital also bankrolled these imperial

and commercial ventures. The decision to transfer funds from the Virginian project to Ulster spelled disaster for the fledgling American colony. Many of those early American planters had cut their teeth in Ulster or learned harsh lessons from the collapse of the Munster Plantation. Tudor and early Jacobean colonial literature, cartography, drawings, prints and illustrations were full of comparisons between 'wild Irishman' and 'British indians'.



Map of Americas, Image Courtesy of Ulster American Folk Park



Jamestown Image Courtesy of Ulster American Folk Park

CONSEQUENCES AND LEGACY

The pivotal importance of the Ulster Plantation to the shared histories of Ireland, Britain and the British Empire would be difficult to overstate. It effectively secured the English and British conquest of Ireland and dramatically transformed Ireland's physical, demographic, socio-economic, political, military, religious and cultural landscapes.

In effect, the Ulster Plantation became England's, Britain's and the City of London's first successful attempt at plantation. Furthermore, the City of London's vigorous attempts to protect that investment would have enormous

implications for the collapse of the Stuart monarchy in the 1640s. It also provided a successful template for British conquest, plantation and imperialism in the Americas, the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent. Finally, the Plantation's historical, political, cultural, environmental and visual effects have impacted on the two sister cities (London and Derry) and neighbouring islands, and continue to do so until the present day. The servitors, soldiers and settlers who flooded into Ulster, would make an indelible mark on the politics, economics and material culture of Ulster, Ireland, Britain and the 'British' world.



Derry – City Walls; “Roaring Meg” and Walker’s Monument



Raphoe - Diamond



Derry - Ferryquay Gate © The National Library

Learn more:

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