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Plantation: Its Process in Relation to Scotland's Atlantic Communities, 1590s–1630s

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Abstract – The article sets the Scottish and British Crown's colonizing measure *vis-à-vis* the Scottish communities of the North Atlantic arc within a broader imperial framework. Underlying such course of action was the articulation of a rhetoric as a vital linguistic tool for its plantations' *raison d'être*. The study delineates key aspects in the major plantation schemes of Scotland that were implemented between the 1590s and 1630s. Both the internal colonizing project of Lewis and the external ones of Ireland, briefly, and Nova Scotia, will be primarily assessed from the bottom-up perspective of the maritime communities of the northern Highlands. Distancing themselves from the governmental rhetoric, these ventures helped reconfigure clan allegiance and dynamics in the Lewis case, and reposition the role and identity of these far-northerners in the Irish and Nova Scotia plans as well as in redefining these enterprises' nature.

Introduction

In the early-modern period, the Scottish and British crown interacted with the locality, in this case, the maritime communities of the North Atlantic Arc, through multiple avenues. It had at its disposal a range of means and resources to influence its outlying northern territories. In its administration and "civilizing" of the perceived violent region, the central authorities took a number of legislative and executive measures. These expedients were not independent but interrelated. These decisions were also part of a wider process of state formation across Europe at the time, articulated along various forms from annexation and assimilation to conquest, plantation, and subjugation. In Russia, the Tsar undertook the military conquest of Siberia to secure its natural resources and bring its multi-ethnic groups under its rule. In Spain, territorial integration of its various component parts did not make much progress under Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) whilst a century later the policies of cultural and linguistic assimilation in Cerdanya were abandoned in the early eighteenth century (Dmytryshyn 1991, Elliot 1992, Greengrass 1991).[1] This broad palette of strategies helps revise the historiography—defined by the two extremes of a Eurocentric worldview and racial ideologies or, at the other end of the spectrum, of a benign and collaborative participation in the colonial process (Naum and Nordin 2013).[2] The wider contextualization of plantations within the three kingdoms underlines their role in the consolidation and expansion of the Stuarts' British dominions marking the nation's nascent empire (Armitage 1997, Canny 1998). In turn, this contextualization feeds into, and is fed by regional studies, illustrating a country's colonial policies in their local implementations which in succession help shape such policies.

In terms of plantation, the process did not unfold *ex nihilo* but shared common characteristics and types (Osterhammel 1997).[3] It is important to set the monarchy's colonizing measure *vis-à-vis* the communities of the North Atlantic arc within a broader imperial framework both conceptually and operatively. Conceptually, underlying such course of action was the articulation of a rhetoric as a vital linguistic tool for the crown's plantations' *raison d'être*. Following this brief initial semantic investigation, this paper then focuses on the operative phase. The administration of the Scottish Highlands and Borders and Gaelic Ireland represented an evolving and interconnected "civilizing" laboratory of the British frontier and imperial policy, given the "vital corridor" between the regions on both sides of the Irish Sea (Brady 2009:45–51, 53–57; Macinnes 1999:38–45; Ohlmeyer 1998:130–143). The series of state-sponsored settlements in Ireland established from the late 1550s served not so much a template as a foundation for subsequent British colonization upon which to build Scottish and British initiatives. This study delineates key aspects in some of the major plantation schemes of Scotland between the 1590s and 1630s. This will cover both the internal settlement project of the isle of Lewis, illustrative of plantation without colonies, and the external ones of Ireland, briefly, and Nova Scotia. Throughout, these ventures will be primarily assessed from the bottom-up perspective of the maritime communities of Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and the Outer Hebrides (Fig. 1).[4] This holistic approach of state formation combined with local and regional developments assists in reconfiguring clan allegiance and dynamics in the Lewis case and in repositioning the role and identity of these northern Highlanders in the Irish and Nova Scotian plans as well as in re-

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defining these enterprises' nature overall. By doing so, this article will avoid putting the Highlands into a historiographical straightjacket which restricts the area to two antithetic or complimentary visions which either lament a victimization of its people or laud its civilizing by the state, albeit there were some elements of truth in each of these positions. Instead, the preferred perspective is one focused on the dynamic aspects of these communities as both active and reactive agents.

The Rhetorical Background

As in other imperial processes visible for instance in New France, an "intellectual domestication" was necessary as one of the foundations and instruments of imperial power. This was developed using both rhetoric and knowledge (Havard 2005). The early-modern Scottish terminology of savagery and barbarity drew from the European commonplace of the wild man gradually accreted from classical antiquity, which was not without its multiple meanings and contradictory readings.[5] More particularly, this theme of barbarity had a long and sustained historiography that drew from the barbarian of antiquity, the figure of the wild man, and aspects of medieval literature on the peasants, reduced in its crudest form to the image of the Turk (O'Reilly 2001).[6] This conception accorded with Scottish and British identity in which the Scottish and Irish Gael were cast as the uncivilized (Chambre 1579:1r–v, 24r–7r, 29v–30r; Cowan 1997–1998; Leerssen 1995:30–31, 33–34, 38; Shuger 1997; Williamson 1996). As with the Scottish Highlanders and Islanders, a derogatory tone reviled the Irish from the inception of the English presence in Ireland (Horning 2013:42–52, Leerssen 1995:30–34).[7] The English, Scottish, and British crown could draw advantageously not merely from a pre-established mental template of barbarity but a northern one at that. This northern model derived from the *locus classicus* of Aristotle's *Politics* which was subsequently systematized in a malleable way with its national applications (Shuger 1997:497–499, 504).[8]

The authorities in Edinburgh and London tended to project an image of the northern Highlanders as rebellious and violent. Albeit generally negative, variations were present within this official discourse.[9] In a linguistic crescendo, the most aggressive governmental exposé was reserved for their extirpation. In a discussion of the plantation of Lewis, a clear division emerged between the settlers and the natives. The conveniently so-called "ciuile gentlemen" Adventurers and other well-disposed subjects would "roote out that viperous generation" so that the "ground be clensed from the ouerrunning of such wilde weedes." In this letter to David Murray, lord Scone, in April 1607, King James VI com-

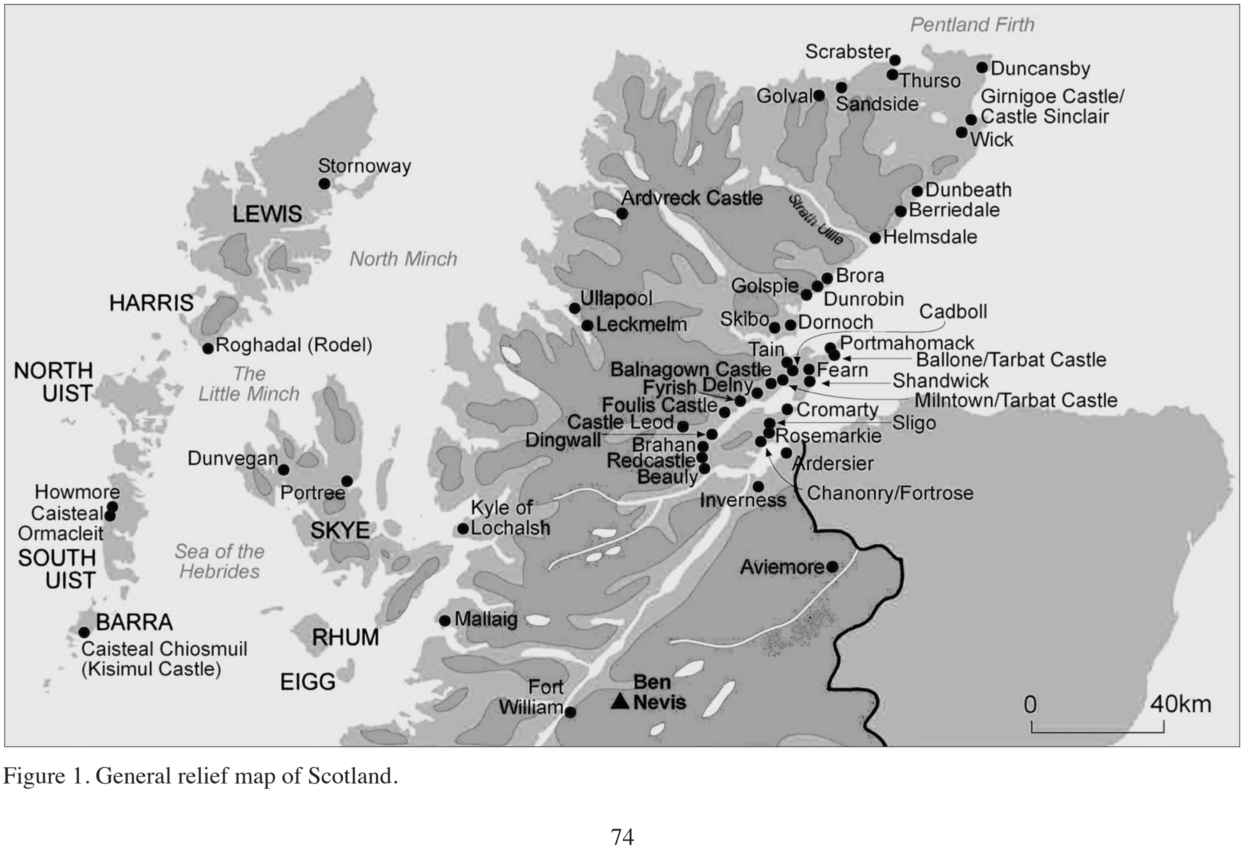

Pentland Firth
Scrabster
Thurso
Duncansby
Golval
Sandside
Girnigoe Castle/
Castle Sinclair
Wick
Stornoway
LEWIS
Ardvreck Castle
Strath Ullie
Dunbeath
Berriedale
Helmsdale
North Minch
HARRIS
Ullapool
Leckmelm
Golspie
Brora
Dunrobin
Skibo
Dornoch
Cadboll
Roghadal (Rodel)
Tain
Portmahomack
Ballone/Tarbat Castle
NORTH
UIST
The
Little Minch
Balnagown Castle
Fearn
Shandwick
Fyrish
Delny
Milntown/Tarbat Castle
Foulis Castle
Cromarty
Sligo
Castle Leod
Dingwall
Brahan
Rosemarkie
Dunvegan
Redcastle
Ardersier
Beauly
Howmore
Caisteal
Ormacleit
Portree
Inverness
Chanonry/Fortrose
SKYE
Kyle of
Lochalsh
SOUTH
UIST
Sea of the
Hebrides
Aviemore
BARRA
Caisteal Chiosmuil
(Kisimul Castle)
Mallaig
RHUM
EIGG
Fort
William
Ben
Nevis
0
40km

Figure 1. General relief map of Scotland.

pared the phenomenon in the Isles to Indian barbarity.[10] Clerics and officials engaged in this similar metaphoric deprecation of the locals in Spain and northern England and Wales (Burke 2009:290).[11] The area was seen as a paradise, in terms of its perceived fertility, inhabited by devils. This allegorical ascription is not unusual and equivalents can be found in other areas of early-modern Europe and Russia (Stuart 1844–1871 (2):231–232; Fur 2006:ch. 2; Khodarkovsky 1999:400–401, 416; Selwyn 2004:introduction, ch. 1). Just as they did for the plague, towns like Dundee sent posts "to espy" and gather advertisement of the whereabouts of "ye hiland men."[12] Their colleagues in Inverness ordered a proclamation in April 1621 which in the same breath tackled "the pest and to [the] hale of the highlands […] & the hail north Iles."[13] For urban magistrates, they were clearly a threat not to be casually dismissed, as for instance in the case of Aberdeen given the tensions between the House of Huntly and that of Moray in the early 1590s.[14]

"Civility" was a complex issue reinforced by the *mise en abyme* of its process. In 1617, the English claimed that King James VI and I attempted to reduce the barbarity of the Scots to the civility of the English. Commentators of the *Rinascimento* underscored the relativism and mutuality of "civility" and its opposite barbarity. A number of Lowlanders could be deemed guilty of the same alleged sins as those of the Gaels and likewise for English barbarism towards part of the inhabitants of the New World or indeed of Ireland (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(11):157 n.; Cowan 1997–1998:273; Hiscock 2008:207–208, 212–213).[15]

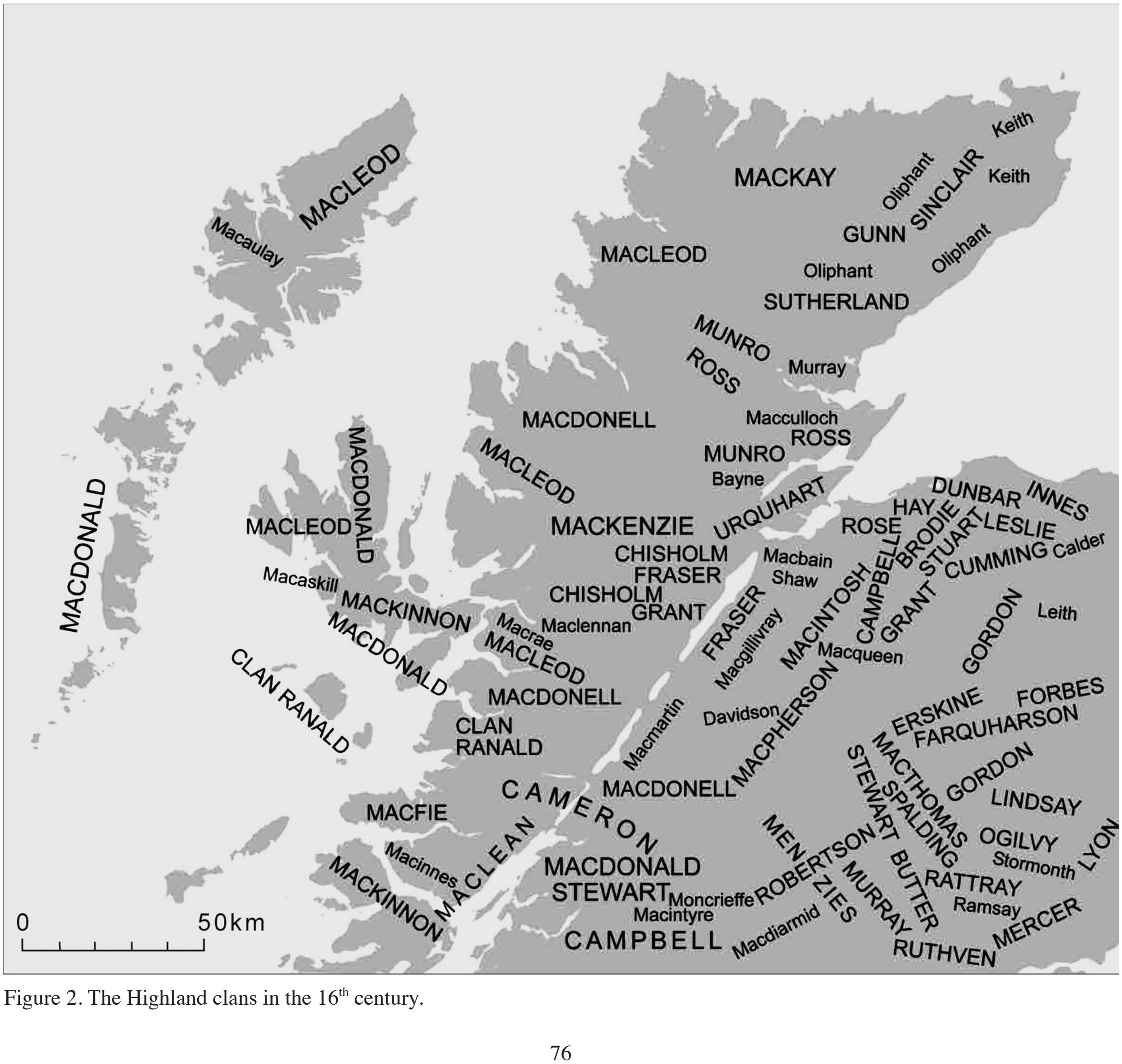
Given the meaning of the notion of "barbarity" for contemporaries, the Scottish parliament used a similar rhetorical tool in its legislation. It matched the parliament's embrace of the Renaissance concept of "civility" both chronologically and contextually. Indeed, parliament notably applied the term in the context of the Highlands and Islands and Lewis and at a time when these proved unsubmissive or in open rebellion. Using the online searchable records of the parliaments of Scotland, a simple application of quantitative linguistics reveals a forceful argument, even if language evolved over time and context as did the personnel responsible for the actual wording of the statute books. The term "barbarity" was first used in 1596 and was chronologically intense, being concentrated for the Highlands and Islands in the period 1596 to 1605. Except for an early isolated case in 1320, the adjective "barbarous" had overall a slightly greater time span from 1578 (for the Gordon-Forbes feud) to 1609 but a narrower one specifically for the Highlands and Islands stretching from 1587 to 1607 (with a 1617 mention in the case of the MacGregors). It was then reactivated during the civil wars to describe the incursions of Highlanders and rebellious actions. Turning to "civility," the word was recorded from 1597 to 1612 or more restrictively to 1608 for Gaeldom proper. Most interestingly, it then reappeared, *inter alia*, in 1641 and 1681 for various ratifications concerning the isle of Lewis, which attests to the necessary *longue durée* approach in relation to the topic.[16]

The threat to the state and the priorities of the government clearly centered on the western seaboard as it appeared more critical in the eventuality of Gaelic insurgences, or at least disruptive alliances, and foreign invasion. In fact, for the authorities, the Highlanders' attitude fortified and seemed to substantiate James VI's binary ideology in their respect. The pursuit of an aggressive policy to "civilize" the most refractory "barbaric" elements of society found in the Isles, mainly through plantation and extirpation, was *de rigueur*. Reform was still possible for the remaining Gaels of the mainland. In that view, the Jacobean ideology and policy, associating forceful intervention with education, elaborated on the long tradition of the perception of Gaels as uncivilized as a justification for plantation and/or assimilation. The English used an analogous vindication in the colonization of Ireland with wider ramifications for the New World being observed from both the Scottish and Irish cases (Armitage 2000:24–60, Cathcart 2009:72–74, Craigie 1944–1950 (1):70–71, Williamson 1996).

Contemporary commentators and the crown shared in the partial mythification of these upland communities, and generally speaking of Highlanders, as a long-established historical construct which was to continue over the centuries. For them, the inhabitants of the mountainous periphery summed up synecdochically the woes of the kingdom. For the government, this lexicon served a dual purpose. It explained and justified official policies of assimilation and aspirations of "civility." Secondly, such lofty ideals, set by themselves, exonerated and exculpated the central authorities' actions and measures. Cloaked under the mantle of religion, among others, such justification for state operations found a similar echo under tsarist Russia *vis-à-vis* the natives of the North Caucasus, in Ireland, or with the issue of *poblaciones* and *despoblados* in Castile and America (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(5):306, (6):130, 255, (8):738–740, 742–746, 752–757; Ford 2006:119–123; Herzog 2007:509, 511, 515–516, 533–536; Khodarkovsky 1999:399–400, 410–411, 429; Rogers 1885 (1):42–43, 75–76).[17] These "civilizing" measures did not primarily proceed from a sustained, defined, clearly-stated and structured program. As far as the crown was concerned, they derived mainly from a pragmatic basis of socio-political pacification, societal transformation, and fiscal returns. Its mantra and leitmotiv was guided by the oft-repeated despair and criticism of the Highlands as epitomizing a primarily violent and lawless society (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(8):743, (9):16; Rackwitz 2007:29–37, 44–61; Skene 1876–1880 (3):329).[18] This propagandist campaign helped legitimize and validate the government's course of action towards the northern Highlands by demonizing or, more exactly, barbarizing its people. The authorities in Naples and in the Adriatic likewise exploited banditry as a rhetorical paradigm for their own benefits. Across numerous territories, barons and local strongmen colluded with brigands as an instrument of power building in the locality (Astarita 2004:148, Bracewell 1992:150–154, Witzenrath 2007:136). Implicitly, just as England did in the Irish case, the Scottish Lowlands embodied the quintessence of civil society which the northern Highlands should emulate. The Crown concocted legislative and administrative plans, including plantation, to tackle the intermittent unrest in the north. In that respect, the interconnectedness of the administration of the Scottish Highlands and Borders and Gaelic Ireland is clearly visible as an evolving "civilizing" crucible of the British frontier and imperial policy.

Plantation

In terms of state interaction with the locality and rule of the periphery, plantation was one facet of the broader "civilizing" of the region. As visible in a military context, plantation facilitated the deployment of its northern subjects at both a national and international level within a Britannic


Keith
MACKAY
Oliphant
SINCLAIR
Keith
MACLEOD
Macaulay
GUNN
Oliphant
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ROSS
Murray
MACDONELL
MACDONALD
Macculloch
ROSS
MUNRO
MACLEOD
Bayne
DUNBAR
INNES
MACDONALD
URQUHART
HAY
MACLEOD
MACKENZIE
ROSE
BRODIE
LESLIE
STUART
CHISHOLM
Macbain
CAMPBELL
CUMMING
Calder
FRASER
Shaw
Macaskill
CHISHOLM
MACINTOSH
GORDON
MACKINNON
GRANT
GRANT
Leith
Macrae
Maclennan
FRASER
MACDONALD
MACLEOD
Macgillivray
Macqueen
CLAN RANALD
MACDONELL
MACPHERSON
ERSKINE
FORBES
Davidson
FARQUHARSON
CLAN RANALD
Macmartin
MACTHOMAS
STEWART
SPALDING
GORDON
CAMERON
MACDONELL
LINDSAY
MACFIE
MENZIES
ROBERTSON
OGILVY
LYON
Macinnes
MACLEAN
MACDONALD
BUTTER
Stormonth
RATTRAY
STEWART
Moncrieffe
MURRAY
Ramsay
MACKINNON
Macintyre
Macdiarmid
MERCER
CAMPBELL
RUTHVEN
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50km

Figure 2. The Highland clans in the 16th century.

empire, as undertaken with disruptive men of the Borders. Confronted with the perceived problem of the *Gaidhealtachd* of Scotland and Ireland, the monarchy envisioned clear "civilizing" objectives but vacillated about the best means to achieve them. Plantation was one form of coercion which the crown realized was needed to pursue these goals (Goodare 1999:chs. 7–8, Macinnes 2006, Spottiswood 1850 (3):101, Theiss 2006:61–86).

Lewis

As far as the Scottish far-northern maritime communities were concerned, the main internal plantation project focused on Lewis, one of the Outer Hebridean islands.[19] In August 1611, the Scottish Privy Council, nonetheless, contemplated a comparable course of action for Caithness, Sutherland, and Strathnaver with the settlement of ecclesiastical and judicial personnel (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser. (9):237–238). Around 1620, Sir Robert Gordon, tutor of Sutherland, recommended to the minor John, fourteenth earl of Sutherland, a territorial expansion into Strathnaver with a policy of fraternization with the locals to alienate them from the MacKay chief. In addition, he advocated the transplantation of Sutherland men into the district (Fraser 1892 (2):346–347, Fig. 2). In a sense, these proposals were characteristic of micro- and macro-plantation intended for "civilizing" purposes, such as previously configured for the Scottish Isles and Ireland. Furthermore, these illustrated how plantations could take place without colonizing, as in the development of ports like Peterhead and Fraserburgh in the 1590s, and ventilated contemporary David Hume of Godscroft's comments about colonies discussed below (Ohlmeyer 1998:132, 135–143).[20] Interestingly, this had important implications for the "civilizing" progress as a phenomenon supposedly spreading from the east to the west, as it showed its complexity with this backward flow to the east. It is much more accurate to describe civility as of an all-pervading nature in terms of its location and agents. It further demonstrates that geopolitics or state formation was not the sole prerogative of the state. Instead it unraveled from the combined impetus of both the state and the localities or agents locally.

Rationales for the plantation of Lewis

The rhetorical apology of the plantation of Lewis lay in the absence of a civic spirit, in the form of public order and civility, within the context of perceived antiquated social attitudes (for example, the misuse or abuse of kin identities). Behind this linguistic veneer, the crown's *realpolitik* dictated its dual course of action, one political, the other economic. Associated with these was a religious rationale, creating a familiar early-modern colonizing triad of religious missions, trade, and conquest. But in practice economic development and political control took priority over religion, as found in the colonial ventures of Ulster and Virginia (Horning 2013:6, 65, 78–79, 86–89; Sunderland 2004:20–21). Politically, the western Highlands and Islands and Gaelic Ireland constituted the predominant theatres for recurrent war operations in the royal aspiration to demilitarize the Isles on a large scale and neutralize the remarkable military capacity of the Gaelic Scots reaching out to Ireland (Cathcart 2018, Egan 2018). This would prevent major political disruptions as localized uprising or sporadic unrest could threaten the integrity of British polity and certainly detract it from achieving cohesion. On a wider international scale, the menace of hostile European Catholic powers using Gaeldom from which to launch an invasion into Protestant realms remained potent (MacGregor 2012:39–40; Maginn 2012:86, 104–112, 191–192, 202–203). In general, buffer zones and frontier areas, such as the Banat of Temesvár under the Habsburgs in Hungary, were strategic locations of plantation (O'Reilly 2003).

Economically, trade was instrumental to the "civilizing" process and was to help bring about the development of socially acceptable civic attitudes. This was why commerce featured in the articulation of this process beyond the mere approach of extirpation (MacCoinnich 2015:11–27, Skene 1876–1880 (3):428, Williamson 1996:64–66).[21] Central government endeavored to boost trade with a plan to establish a royal burgh in Lewis in its broader initiative to supply markets for the western seaboard and collect revenues for its coffers. The project set aside parts of the annexed crown lands for the burgh itself and for the commons, as laid out in an act passed in December 1597 (Macinnes 1996:68, Skene 1847:159).[22] The legislation failed to have any direct economic impact as society was not structurally conducive to such a development at the time, namely a shift from use-values and direct consumption to exchange-values and a market system.[23] The project, nonetheless, lay the foundation upon which the Fife planters erected Stornoway as a burgh of barony in October 1607 (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser. (5):455, Gregory 1881:275–277, Thomson et al. 1882–1914 (6):no. 1982).[24]

At stake was the economic development of the region through trade evident, for instance, in the promotion of a British fishing industry to impose maritime control that would challenge the Dutch dominance in the North Sea. The fostering of such economic prosperity and growth would be induced in part by the erection of Lowland-style towns, in harmony with the contemporary European conception of space favoring concentrated communities as opposed to diffuse ones. However, this modicum of planned urban expansion betrayed its extremely limited options on the western seaboard as opposed to the projection of a much larger urban network in Ulster composed of twenty-five corporate towns (Goodare 1998:36; Herzog 2007:509–511, 517–519, 524–525; Macinnes 1996:68; Margey 2010:253). In other words, as in the Russian steppe, sufficient security in the area was a prerequisite to enable and certainly to boost commercial developments (Boeck 2007:42–43).

Coupled with this commercial component was the other key issue of tax collection or lack thereof. For the crown, the gathering of duties from its mountainous regions had proved inefficient over sustained periods of time, with the island chiefs making only rare and irregular payments prior to around 1610 (Goodare 1998:45).[25] Part of the reason lay in the difficulty for the administration to secure these monies from the Highlands in general, owing to conflicts among landlords over lands and jurisdictions. Another factor was an unwillingness to part with money to the crown in the absence of a proper mechanism for its enforced collection (Bain et al. 1898–1969 (10):375, (13):1118; Mackenzie 1830:176–177; Rogers 1885 (1):2, 140–141).[26] Lastly, the relative unproductiveness of the soil, as opposed to local fishing, and logistical complications compounded the situation (Livingstone et al. 1908–1982 (5)pt. 2:no. 3166). One of the key motives behind the subjection of the Isles was the fight against tax evasion and the loss of substantial revenues for the king, boldly anticipated to bring over £4000 sterling annually. The collection of arrears and the organization for the yearly payment of Hebridean rents occupied the authorities' agenda in the late 1590s under the Octavians, spurred in part by Sir John Skene's exchequer proposals (Bain et al. 1898–1969 (10):307, (12):237, (13):386; Neilson et al. 1971:139–141).[27] Recurrent legislation to enforce these payments pointed to the crown's powerlessness.[28] Commensurate with the authorities' frustration was the collection of episcopal and church revenues in the area over the years (Livingstone et al. 1908–1982 (5)pt. 2:no. 3166; Rogers 1885 (1):318, 326).[29] The lack of monies for the king was all the more critical as there was a remarkable increase overall in terms of taxation between 1593–1594 and 1633. In less than forty years, the rates rose by a dramatic 600%.[30] Plantation would thus further press a recalcitrant population into fiscal docility.

Despite the upheavals of the plantation project in these North Atlantic communities, or rather because of these, Unionist tracts promoted the British cause as a "civilizing" influence on the Highlands in general. David Hume of Godscroft recommended English colonies for the Western Isles and Lochaber, which Lowlanders might join to create British undertakings for the ultimate Aristotelian conversion of the Highlanders into political, virtuous citizens. The English could allegedly expect financial returns as an enticement to participate. Other Scottish pro-Unionists, like Robert Pont and John Russell, shared Hume's *mission civilisatrice*. Godscroft also anticipated Sir William Petty's schemes for wholesale transplantation in Ireland in the later seventeenth century (Galloway and Levack 1985:18, 21–22, 101, 116–118; McGinnis and Williamson 2002:217–223; Barnard 2008:ch. 2).[31] The project for a British fishery and the ironworks under the politician-entrepreneur and future Scottish chancellor Sir George Hay somewhat represented practical implementations and refinement of this ideological "civilizing" (MacCoinnich 2015:268–269, ch. 6). This proposal was not too dissimilar from the vision articulated by King James VI himself as seen above. The scheme implied an initial acculturation and dismantling of the local communities. This would enable their subsequent regeneration coupled with a mercantile development so as to accomplish the final assimilation of these outlying territories. In comparison to the Lewis design, under Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, it was proposed to plant loyal Germans in Turkish Hungary (the Banat of Temesvár) to counterbalance the untrustworthiness of the native Magyar population as an example for them to follow, which indicated the possibility of reformation and assimilation (O'Reilly 2003:80–81).[32]

The church did not lag behind in this all-integrated perspective. As seen above, political leaders couched their measures in a religious message aiming for the spiritual and moral regeneration of these maritime communities. As in the Kingdom of Naples in the mid-sixteenth century, a link was established in Scotland between lawlessness and impiety or religious unorthodoxy. The same correlation defined the vision of the Russian government towards the natives of the North Caucasus (Brochard 2011:ch. 5). On a more sacerdotal note, Scottish Lowland ministers assisted in the Lewis plantation with the pastoral care of the incomers.[33] In conjunction, Farquhar MacRae, minister of Gairloch, accompanied the MacKenzie expedition to Lewis in 1610 (Macrae 1899:56-57, Scott 1915-1950 (7):205).

Its progress and broader significance

Briefly, the Lewis project began in 1598 when a syndicate of Lowland lairds called the "Fife Adventurers" received a grant of the island. Fierce resistance by locals under the MacLeod leader of Lewis forced the Lowlanders to abandon the island in late February or March 1602. The Adventurers made a second settlement in the fall of 1605 but were once again ousted by the rekindled hostility of the MacLeods by early 1607. In the fall of 1607, a new group of planters was formed with a renewed expedition to Lewis in 1609. MacLeod opposition ultimately constrained them to sell their title to the island to Kenneth MacKenzie of Kintail in July 1610 (Gregory 1881:chs. 6–7, MacCoinnich 2008:15–18, MacCoinnich 2015:ch. 3, Mackenzie 1903:chs. 7–8).

The plantation of Lewis was built on past and contemporary foundations. The early attempts at colonization in the Irish midlands, Ulster, and Munster in the second half of the sixteenth century, had proved defective for the English, but bore a lasting influence on the formulation of its subsequent policy in Ireland, as did reversely the Lewis project on the Ulster settlement (Armitage 1997:42–46; Canny 2001:60–61, 76, 121–164, 192–200; Perceval-Maxwell 1973:98–99, 131, 328–330, 351–352; Wormald 2012). Behind these initiatives lay a necessary initial military coercion to be followed by settlement (Mac Cuarta 2001:301, 305).[34] These provided an ideological, if not pragmatic, framework within which the Scottish and British Crown could operate in Lewis with its avowed aim of constituting Roman-type colonies in the Hebrides. The stated aims of, and motivations behind, this political agenda were a mixture of ideology and pragmatism. The collusion of the Spanish with the Irish during the Nine Years' War (1594–1603) imperiled state institutions. As a result, it called for forceful and radical reactions against the Lewis rebels. There was a perceived need to bring law and order, civility, and religion to the area but also, and more essentially, to secure revenues, not to mention these wider security issues (Fraser 1889 (2):76–78).[35] In terms of the actual undertakers, the incomers were assisted by armed men led by colonel William Stewart of Houston, who had served in the Dutch brigades against the Spaniards, to counter any opposition expected from the locals. The interest of these gentlemen planters lay in the direct and indirect links to the fishing industry, which boomed in the 1570s for the east coast burghs of Fife. Many planters were entrepreneurial temporal lords and other holders of former kirklands which included rights relating to fishing. The secularisation of church lands served as a catalyst in the commercialisation of estate management and entrepreneurship among the nobility and also provided a stimulus for the development of the Scottish fisheries. The hardship experienced during the Lewis project did not deter a number of settlers, such as Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell and Ludovick Stewart, duke of Lennox, from taking part in the plantation of Ulster. Another Lewis undertaker, Sir James Spens of Wormiston, became an important diplomat and military officer in Sweden (MacCoinnich 2015:82–100, ch. 3; Macinnes 2006:118–120; Murdoch 2006:ch. 7; Grosjean 2003:passim).

The Lewis venture should be seen in relation to the ongoing annexation of Orkney and Shetland at the time. The Hebridean enterprise was also part of a move towards a more explicit British maritime and imperial project. Its maritime facet was an attempt to consolidate the British territorial waters into the Stuarts' *ius imperium* to challenge the Dutch dominance. This is what the English had earlier aimed at – though never successfully – in order to capitalize upon the lucrative fisheries in Ireland and limit the control exercised on these by Gaelic families (Horning 2013:19, 22–23, 198, 200, 203, 222–224, 248; Macinnes 2006:99, 106–107).[36] At stake was the development of a British fishing industry and maritime supremacy. The issue of plantation in the maritime arc of the North Atlantic, therefore, needs to be incorporated within the broader perspective of state formation and empire-building as well as that of local and regional developments (Armitage 2000:ch. 2, Canny 1998). Similarly, the Swedish monarchy attempted to colonize the unruly province of Ingria (the area of present-day Saint Petersburg) first with Novgorod traders and Dutch and German colonists and later with Swedish and Finnish settlers to maximize the economic potential of its ports. But the project achieved limited success and the province was turned, more or less, into a convict land for social trouble-makers (Roberts 1979:84–86).[37]

The situation in Lewis presented parallels with the planned royal expeditions to the Isles of 1591–1592 and 1596. Indeed, initial efforts at plantation in the western Highlands and Islands had begun in 1596 focusing on the Clan Donald South, or MacDonalds of Dunivaig, in Kintyre and Islay. Despite the floundering of this particular endeavor, it established a platform for the crown to launch further plantation initiatives (Cathcart 2009:74–76; 2010:133). Already by August 1596, in the context of an imminent expedition, land dealing evoked the possibility of plantation when Donald MacDonald of Sleat resigned lands in North Uist and Trotternish to the crown. The provision stated that if no Lowlanders be settled there, then Sleat was to be preferred over any other Highlanders, which was probably part of an agreement by Sleat with the authorities following his forfeiture in June 1594 (Fraser–Mackintosh 1875:263, Gregory 1881:256, Mackenzie 1830:150, Thomson et al. 1882–1914 (6):no. 472).[38] Legislation warranted this policy of land preferment by charging the chiefs to produce their land titles. It served as a prerequisite and reinforcement to the plantation enterprise. Once the Fife Adventurers received Lewis in June 1598, land preferment was reiterated the following month. It remained the norm at least in some land charters of MacDonald of Sleat until 1618. This contrasts sharply with the original Tudor policy of surrender and regrant in Ireland which did not employ measures conferring land preferment although this occurred later in connection with the Jacobean plantations (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(5):462–463, 467–468, Macinnes 2006:102, Maginn 2005:63–98, 2007).[39] In contrast, in the Middle Volga region, land grants were opened to both Russian (exiled) and non-Russian (former) enemies as long as they demonstrated loyal service to the Tsar, irrespective of their religious inclinations (Romaniello 2007:63–65, 67).

The proposed plantation of Lewis and its developments polarized the clans, and not just in the Outer Hebrides, into factions which went beyond the simple pro- and anti-government alignment (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(7):84–90, Gordon 1813:273, Macphail 1914–1934 (2):60, Spottiswood 1850 (3):165).[40] The isle of Lewis itself was divided, as illustrated by the Gaelic poem *Iomair Thusa, Choinnich Cridhe*, “Row hard, Coinneach, my heart’s dear,” which highlighted the rivalry between the Morrisons and the MacLeods. Even the local clan MacLeod showed internal dissensions among its *fine*, or élite. The Scottish leaders of the Clan Donald South likewise vented their opposition to their kinsman, Sir Randal MacDonnell, as they rejected an Ulster-style plantation of the isle of Islay. Most of the Lewis locals submitted, at least in appearance, under the force of the Lowlanders (Macinnes 2006:98; Morrison 1975:9–15, 21–22, 33–37; Ó Baoill and Bateman 1994:48–51; Stornoway Gazette April 20, 1917:3, February 16, 1951:7; Thomas 1876–1878:516–518, 522, 545–547; Thomas 1879–1880).[41] In November 1601, chief Rory MacNeil of Barra convened the MacLeod rebels. With their advice and that of chief Roderick MacLeod of Harris, Barra organized an attack on the Lowlanders in Stornoway Castle assisted by his own men. Officially MacLeod of Harris, MacDonald of Sleat, and MacKenzie of Kintail supported the settlers by paying lip service. Yet they deceitfully worked towards the failure of the plantation for their own interests: Harris and Sleat for the defense of their spheres of influence and Kintail for the acquisition of Lewis (Anonymous 1818–1820 (1):70–74, (2):15–16, 18–19, 23; Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(7):430, 524–525, (14):pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii, cxxiii-cxxx; Mitford 1936:43–44).[42] In the Orcadian context, the restoration of the islands under crown control benefited from the dual alienation of the Scottish settlers and of the potential regional assistance, namely of George, fifth earl of Caithness, from Patrick, earl of Orkney, despite popular support (Anderson 1982:138–142).[43]

In Lewis, the insurgent islanders operated using methods similar to guerrilla warfare with swift raids followed by retreats in hiding and harboring among sympathetic supporters throughout the Outer Hebrides, which rendered the policing of these isles even more difficult. The internal divisions of the MacLeods of Lewis facilitated and participated in the demise of the clan as a political and military force and its eventual collapse. This state of affairs had resonance with the situation of the Clan Donald South (Hill 1993b).[44] The clan divisions discussed briefly above underline the absence of a Gaelic unity when confronted with external pressure on a specific target, in this case the MacLeods of Lewis, as particular interests governed individual clans. However, when the threat widened with the possible extension of the plantation to other parts of the Hebrides, like Trotternish (on the isle of Skye), the attitude of the MacLeods of Harris and MacDonalds of Sleat could be understood as a fight for survival. Clan unity, at least on the surface, was achieved in face of the governmental direction of the use of “extirpatioun” by George Gordon, first marquess of Huntly, in his offer of pacification. This proposal ultimately foundered when central government rejected Huntly’s low rent for the Outer Hebrides (except Skye and Lewis) in return for his service. In April 1607, King James still refused to set the Isles to the old tenants, thus opposing the Scottish Privy Council. He still saw the Islanders as incapable of forsaking their barbarity and incivility, nor did he plan to leave the Lowlanders with these so-called treacherous inhabitants. For James, the solution was to crush them and if Huntly proved unsatisfactory then others would undertake it. Indeed, leading chiefs of the Campbells and MacKenzies accepted the British “civilizing” agenda even prior to 1603 (Anonymous 1819 appendix:17–18, no. 21; Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(7):84–90, 360–362, 504, 511–512, 516–521, 523–525, 528–9; Fraser 1889 (2):76–78; MacCoinnich 2008:13–18; Mackenzie 1903:171–265 Macphail 1914–1934 (3):100–105, 250).[45]

The crown empowered the great regional dynasts (Argyll and Huntly) to control the Highlands and Islands—demarcating in the process the limitations of its own sovereignty and empire—as it sought to enlist Hugh O'Neill, second earl of Tyrone, effectively to govern Ulster (Wormald 2012:22–26). The king delegated responsibility for actions on the ground to these Campbell and MacKenzie regional magnates. Archibald Campbell, seventh earl of Argyll, was able to capitalize on his power and influence in the territories of the former MacDonald lords of the Isles at the expense of the Clan Donald South (Cathcart 2010:135–136).[46]

With the reform of these perceived obdurate islanders proving unrealistic and costly, around 1613 the monarchy conceived of an overhaul of landownership in the Isles along the system of the Irish plantation and the earlier Hebridean settlement project. Under the scheme, as instructed by King James to his Scottish secretary, deputy treasurer, and advocate, "dewtifull, obedient, and responsall subiectis" were to be sought to take the Inner and Outer Hebrides (West and North Isles), or "competent portions thereof," in feu for the payment of yearly duties in money and the building of strong houses along the conditions "inioyned to the Irish vndertakers." These new tenants would not be able to dispose of their lands without the crown consent. Conditions were set to ensure they remained obedient and paid their feu duties, including the poinding (seizing) of their other lands "laying in the Lowland, or other pairtis of that our kingdome," revealing in the process the primary feuars the authorities had in mind. Compensation was also conceived to secure the quietness of the "olde heritours, or kyndlie tennents" of the Isles and prevent such tumult "for granting fewes and securities of their Iles over their head." The king set the new rental of the southern and northern Hebrides to be at least 18,000 to 20,000 marks annually (Fraser 1889 (2):nos. 107–108). The design was reminiscent of both the Irish venture and the earlier plantation scheme in the Hebrides. Yet the long established major landholding clans of the Outer Hebrides retained their lands, thanks to the decline in violence and the actual payment of some regal dues.[47] In June 1628, the executive cancelled all arrears due by the Hebrideans prior to 1621 (Rogers 1885 (1):279, 284).

As far as Lewis is concerned, in the end, *Clann Choinnich* (the MacKenzies), itself also a Highland entity, gained from the repeated undermining, and hence weakening, of the island opposition by a mixed Lowland-Highland force. The MacKenzies took control of much of the island—except for ongoing but minor MacLeod disaffection—through plantation and forced assimilation.[48] Thus, ultimately the character of the Lewis settlement was predominantly Highland in nature as opposed to Lowland, though there was a Lowland input. In essence, the plantation was defined by its intra-regional as opposed to national character. This Highland process bore resemblance with that of the Campbell acquisition of Islay and Kintyre at the time (Campbell 2000–2004 (2):141–197 passim). The state transplantation failed in the absence of sustained and dedicated institutional and settlers' commitment to the project in terms of finances, logistics, and personnel. This fomented internal divisions, financial hardships, and lassitude among the Adventurers. Such velleity on the part of the government is visible for instance from the relative absence of land surveys or mapping as periodically conducted in Ulster (Margey 2010).[49] The fact that the Scottish burghs were never taken on board did nothing to produce a workable environment conducive to a successful plantation of Lewis. The North Atlantic venture lacked a coordinated approach to prevent clan assistance and protection in other island power bases and the self-regeneration of the rebellion with evolving clan alliances.

Ireland

The Tudor conquest of Ireland brought early plantations to the country with a view to pacification and integration. The scheme in Laois and Offaly in 1556 saw English settlers being established on confiscated lands, displacing the local clans who protractedly fought the incomers. The conquest of east Ulster in the 1570s under Walter Devereux, first earl of Essex, and Sir Thomas Smith met with fierce resistance by the MacDonnells and the O'Neills. Later on in the 1580s, the Crown confiscated estates in Munster following a series of rebellions in the province and settled them with English undertakers. These incomers were duty-bound to develop new towns and provide for the defense of planted districts. The Nine Years War brought a temporary end to the Munster plantation (Canny 2001:ch. 3, Ellis 1998:chs. 11–12).

It is important to distinguish the plantation process from more transitory movements such as the independent migration of the *gallóglaigh*, or galloglass, that is, warriors from the Hebrides and the western Highlands who settled in Ireland. Another distinction can be made with the temporary deployment of the *buannachan*, or seasonally contracted mercenaries from these areas, also known as redshanks (Hayes-McCoy 1937; Macinnes

1996:ch. 3; Marsden 2003; Nicholls 2003:95–104, 2007). The presence and activity of Scots in the north of Ireland proved a constant concern for English monarchs and helped shape their policy towards that region (Cathcart 2009). The Flight of the (Irish) Earls in September 1607 and the ensuing rebellion by Sir Cathair O'Doherty in July 1608 opened up the way for a large-scale plantation of Ulster through the English government's confiscation of vast areas of land by means of imposed forfeiture. This, combined with the Hamilton-Montgomery plantation already under way in Down and the Ards and the curtailing of mercenary activities on the part of the Highlanders in Scotland, would prevent lawless Highlanders creating havoc in Ireland. As a result, royal policy shifted from a perspective of extirpation to working with the Highland élite (Cathcart 2010:136, Margey 2010, McGurk 2010:240–244).

At this point, it is apposite to bring the focus back to the eastern side of the North Atlantic arc. From its inception the Ulster plantation drew on the interest and participation of Scots, particularly in the south-west (Cathcart 2009:78–83).[50] But beyond such geographical core, it further appealed to northern Highlanders, albeit in a limited way. When the Scottish Privy Council met to advertise publicly the proposal to any interested undertakers in late March 1609, the bishops of Ross and of the Isles were present alongside George, fifth earl of Caithness, and Kenneth MacKenzie of Kintail (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(8):266–268). Amidst the list of early grantees can be found the names of John Dunbar of Avoch and Rev. Timothy Pont, minister of Dunnet, in July 1609, even if such cooperation with the venture was nominal, especially in the case of Avoch who died not too long afterwards (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(8):330, Hill 1877:142).[51] An Alexander Munro was equally assignee to John Murray, first earl of Annandale, of lands in Donegal in the 1620s, thus anticipating these Irish links of the family visible later on (Hill 1877:504). Additionally, some of the migrants might have established themselves elsewhere en route, as was previously yet erroneously claimed for some of the Munros settling in Argyllshire as Macnoravaichs (Beaton 1988–1989, Macinnes 1993–1994:398).[52] Noticeably, in February 1621, Sir William Sinclair of Mey had also finally undertaken to collaborate in the plantation in County Longford and King's County. Yet his interest must have been ephemeral. Between October 1627 and July 1628, he had alienated his 1277 acres of lands and woods to Thomas, lord viscount Baltinglass (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(12):420–421, 433; Morrin 1861–1863 (3):307, 330).[53] Nonetheless and with onomastic caveats, surnames from the northern Highlands tentatively appear in the muster roll of the province of Ulster for ca. 1630–1636.[54]

Isolated individuals besides found their way to Ireland and resided there for a while. Among these can be found a number of ministers such as Robert Pont, son of Zachary Pont, minister of Bower, and nephew of the above Timothy, Mr William Davidson, and Mr George Dunbar (McConnell and McConnell 1935–1951:13, no. 17).[55] The division within the clergy over the issue of prelatical power and ecclesiastical hierarchy fueled the migration of Scottish ministers to Ireland (Macdonald 2006:29–30, 32, 62–64, 96).[56] In Thomas MacKenzie of Inverlael's case, an irreconcilable divergence of beliefs and doctrinal stances emerged between him and his flock. When the parishioners of Tarbat opposed the liturgy which he set up, MacKenzie deserted his charge in 1635 and crossed to Ireland.[57] Others, like Sir Alexander Gordon of Navidale and his wife, Margaret MacLeod, fled Scotland to avoid persecution for their Catholicism. Navidale, however, traveled back and forth (Fraser 1892 (1):207, (2):153–155, 163–169; Gordon 1813:449).[58] The pursuit of a commercial career enticed William MacKenzie, son of captain Bernard MacKenzie, who established himself as a "Merchant in Ireland [who] lived in the County of Donegal […] in a flourishing condition" but was murdered there in 1643 during the civil wars.[59] For others still, this Irish involvement was not established through a personal presence in the country. Donald MacKay, first lord Reay, thus kept connections by means of personal contacts, such as the Irish courtier and army officer Sir Piers Crosby, and money (Fraser-Mackintosh 1890:34–35).[60] Spurred by diverse motivations, northern Highlanders joined in, willingly or not, with their compatriots from the west of Scotland to advance plantation schemes, stressing the continuity of links between these areas on both sides of the Irish Sea.

Nova Scotia

The concept of colonization classically represents a process of territorial acquisition by way of the expansion of the state dominion with a process of settlement in a foreign territory.[61] British imperial growth relied on a colonial policy that encompassed an identifiable Scottish venture (Macinnes 2006:108–115). Colonization returned to the agenda in concrete terms under King Charles I, after James VI had laid plans for it in the early

1620s, in a situation experienced by Ireland at the time in Ulster, Wexford, Laois and Offaly, Longford, Leitrim, and north Tipperary (Canny 2001:chs. 3–7, Mac Cuarta 2001).[62] Founded on the plantation of Ulster, the Scottish scheme in Nova Scotia represented in its location a departure from the internal project of the Fife Adventurers on the isle of Lewis.

Following the royal grant of the lands of Nova Scotia in September 1621 to Sir William Alexander of Menstrie to establish a Scottish colony there, two early expeditions were unsuccessful in 1622 and 1623. To promote and raise capital for the initially unpopular project in Scotland, the crown created the order of the baronets of Nova Scotia in November 1624. It followed the lines of the already instituted order of knight baronets for the plantation of Ireland. But the political decision generally failed to instill enthusiasm among Scottish gentlemen. A number of the more recalcitrant baronets were therefore blackmailed or bribed into joining the undertaking. Additionally, a parallel English creation, the "Company of Adventurers to Canada," or the "Anglo-Scotch Company," was set up on February 4, 1629 to take the commercial pressures of London merchants into account and restore the feasibility of the colony. Soon afterwards, the first Scottish community was established in Nova Scotia in July 1629. This Anglo-Scottish interest put the British on a collision course with the French Acadian claim (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(12):773–775, (13):616–617, 633–634, 649–651, 2nd ser.(1):pp. xviii–xix, ciii, (2):489; Dobson 2005:107–114; Laing 1867:preface, 17–47, 93–94, 98; Rogers 1885 (1):pp. xiv–xxxi, 403; Sainsbury 1860:96, 113, and pp. 104–107 for the project itself).[63] Rather than seeing the plantation purely projected using a Lowland terminology, it is imperative to understand the Highlands' involvement in the venture but not simply as a cartographic imperial tool, which would later be mythologized for imperial purposes (Cowan 1999:52–53, Reid 2001).[64]

A new stage had been reached with the creation of these baronetcies and the largesse of their territorial, seigneurial, commercial, legislative, and dignitorial rights. The first to be entitled was Sir Robert Gordon, son of Alexander, twelfth earl of Sutherland, on May 28, 1625, emulated later on by several other northern chiefs. Out of the 112 baronets (or 111 without Sinclair of Dunbeath) created between 1625 and December 31, 1637, eight were from the region (Fraser 1892 (1):194, Thomson et al. 1882–1914 (8):no. 790).[65] It is significant for the advancement of the colonial pursuit that these baronets were interrelated through genealogical and geographical links with a nodal figure in the royal interest or in the actual colonizing attempt. Sir Robert Gordon, for instance, was related to no less than seven baronets (Agnew 1980). Kinship stimulated this ultramarine venture as it did Scottish migration overall (Armitage 2005:280–281, Murdoch 2006:chs. 1–3). A MacKenzie kin connection provides the link between another group of Highland and Island baronets, namely MacDonald of Sleat, lord Reay, MacKenzie of Tarbat, and MacLean of Duart, as well as the nodal figure of Sir Archibald Acheson of Gosford, himself formerly involved in the plantation of Ireland until 1627. This suggests a greater overlap between the various colonial efforts of the nascent British empire (Agnew 1980:93–94, 100–101).[66] A significant number of those undertaking roles of leadership in Nova Scotia were veterans of Irish colonization. The lieutenant of the Scottish Isles, Andrew Stewart, third lord Ochiltree, was himself a planter in Co. Tyrone whilst captain John Mason, commander of a flotilla to enforce crown rule in the Hebrides, became a leading figure in the history of New England (Hill 1877:286, 288, 546–548, 598, 618, Lenman 1986:176, MacGregor 2012:36–37, Reid 2008:36).[67]

In November 1624, the Scottish Privy Council directed the baronets to provide six men for two years towards the foundation of a royal colony. However, by March 1625, the authorities introduced the alternative payment of 2000 marks Scots instead (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(13):721–722, Rogers 1885 (1):pp. xix–xxi).[68] Both Sir Robert Gordon and MacDonald of Sleat chose this financial participation rather than the transplantation of their men. Yet by the summer of 1626, Sir Robert had become bound to fund partially (to the tune of 2000 marks Scots at most) the purchase and rigging of the ship for the expedition and planned to send men there. Besides, after his payment of unspecified sums of money to Sir William Alexander, Sir Robert received in July 1625 a nineteen-year tack of the admiralty of all seacoasts, ports, and harbors of his own lands in Nova Scotia for five marks Scots annually. So, despite their numerical non-importance, some northern Highland landlords intended to assist in the enterprise by shipping their own clansmen overseas. In fact, the charter granted the baronets the express power of planting these lands and transporting persons, goods, and chattels from Scotland or elsewhere to Nova Scotia. These outlying "barbarians" ironically turned within less than two decades from colonized to colonizers whose aims, resoundingly reminiscent of the plantation of Lewis, would be "ye propagatione of Christiane religione and the trew knawledge of god instead of bluidnes and barbarism wt quhich the saidis places wer miserably and althogeder befoir infectit" (Dunbar 1866:9–20, Fraser 1892 (1):194, Gordon 1813:371).[69] Moreover, in a letter to William Graham, seventh earl of Menteith and president of the Council, dated October 17, 1629, Charles I revealed that Sir William Alexander had reached an agreement with some unspecified Highland chiefs (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1872 appendix:401).[70]

The crown had a double interest in fostering the colonization by Highlanders for both financial and social reasons. Financially, it could expect revenues for its coffers in the form of land and title grants and taxes. The overseas imperial pursuit minimized royal financial participation through the concession of lands to private individuals. Socially, it established room for maneuver for the government in its "civilizing" policy of the northern Highlands and the Highlands in general and represented an outlet to remove the most disruptive elements of Gaeldom. But the fact that few Highlanders, if any, actually sailed across the Atlantic consigned this aspect to a mere governmental consideration. In other words, the situation in Scotland's uplands at the time was not as desperate as to necessitate *any* solution. On a comparable note, eviction and transplantation to the colonies guided the authorities' approach in the English Marches and Ireland or elsewhere with the outlawed forest Finns and other convicts sent to the colony of New Sweden in the Delaware Valley (Ekengren 2013:156, Ekengren et al. 2013:172, Ohlmeyer 1998). This social cleansing had already been envisioned and performed on a limited scale. In September 1610, Sir Alexander Hay, clerk register of Scotland, advocated the deportation of the Lewis rebel Neil MacLeod to Virginia to avoid his political interference in Ireland. Interestingly, as a reflection of the extension of governmental plans and the saliency of British imperial expansion, the crown intended to banish social outcasts from the Borders to Virginia. Fifty troublesome Eskdale Grahams were actually displaced from Cumbria to Co. Roscommon in Ireland (Ohlmeyer 1998:132, Skene 1847:48–49). However, initial British imperial endeavors did not lie in servile colonization.

The Nova Scotian project and the settlement fell victim to the Anglo-French wars in North America and the subsequent cessation of hostilities between the two rival sides. As a unit, the colony was eventually evacuated in December 1632 (Griffiths 2005:27–49, Reid 1981:39, 82–83). The contention for the rights of the province then came under the authority of the broader Council for New England (Laing 1867:preface, 74–75, 99–102, Rogers 1885 (1):pp. xxxi–xl). The enterprise, nonetheless, continued under Sir William Alexander and his son, Lord Alexander, until 1635, as it became gradually subsumed to the English policies in New England (Reid 2008:32–33, 59–60, 92). As late as April 1635, colonel Robert Munro, the military historian, was then in financial difficulties and indebted to Sir William Alexander. If friends in Scotland could not secure his financial relief, Munro would find himself in Sir William's "reverence" for the money and would take "ye order of knichtheid to my selff And will go with all my reformirte officieris to plant in nova scotia." The pull of military service in the Thirty Years War was greater for colonel Munro and, in fact, for his chief and clansmen in general, as it was for Sir Donald MacKay too. It would have been difficult for these leaders to mobilize the necessary manpower and finances to participate in two concurrent international undertakings. The same cannot be said for the clans of the Outer Hebrides, who did not join the fight on the European battlefields in substantial numbers (Brochard 2010:23–26, Brochard, unpublished).[71] In the end, some interconnected members of the far-northern élite had demonstrated a willingness to contribute men to the plantation of Nova Scotia and did actually participate in the imperial settlement financially, reversing in the process their colonized or exploited identity into that of colonizer or exploiter. The fact that some northern landlords conceived of emigration at the time heralded a new era, partly defined by an element of commercial consciousness and an evolution of one's identity. This transformation did not necessarily annihilate the Gaelic—Scottish or Gaelic—British identity of the clan élite. Rather, it strengthened and transcended this traditional identity to integrate it not only into a wider Scottish polity but also into a more composite one in the British Isles and emerging British empire overseas which found parallels in the European imperial expansion (Armitage 1997:41–55).[72] In addition, this shows that one cannot dissociate coexisting transoceanic developments. "Transmarine connections" are pivotal to a better understanding of "an extended maritime community" across the North Atlantic, if only within a mental construct (Kirby 2003, Worthington 2011). Plantation was a "transportable concept" from and to the British Isles as seen in Newfoundland providing the inspiration for the project of a British fishery in the 1630s (Macinnes 2006:117).

Conclusion

The state organized and calibrated past and contemporary practices by its constant interaction with the different "civilizing laboratories" which the Borders, the Highlands and Islands, Ireland, and a fledgling empire represented. Yet it generally failed to rationalize and systematize its agendas and actions against its so-called unruly communities. So, against the backdrop of its projection of a universal, monolithic rhetoric, the crown took pragmatic context-forged measures on the ground. The articulation and implementation of plantation required a rhetorical framework for the British monarchy to justify and exonerate its imperial policies. Such linguistic tools were fully exploited and adapted by the very people it denigrated so as to promote their own needs and those of the clan.

The crown's plantation initiative in the maritime communities of Lewis built upon the earlier and contemporary efforts of the English and British in Ireland. Yet, in its own way, the Lewis conquest contributed to the future developments of British colonization, just as the Habsburgs' experiment in governing its Hungarian frontier could in turn provide models for the rest of the empire having been fed on racialized practices and ethnic rule in Spain and the Spanish American colonies (O'Reilly 2003). In terms of the Outer Hebrides, the alignment of these maritime clans has been shown elsewhere (MacCoinnich 2002).[73] Yet what the episode of the plantation of Lewis demonstrated was the nature and extent of this network of alliances. The clans acted within a system of constant re-alignment dictated by a Highland *Realpolitik* in which the interests of the clan were foremost and which went beyond a bilateral axis of pro- and anti-government leaning. Clans could split their alliance alongside an official (public) and non-official (private) line. This equally reveals that the Gaelic cohesion in front of Lowland and crown adversity, except perhaps in its most extreme forms, did not hold true for the same Highland pragmatism governing the clans.[74]

Similarly to the Scottish Borders, the country's northern Highlands witnessed the selective removal of a part of its men, disruptive or otherwise, by migration, either episodically by means of military service overseas or temporarily but also permanently in the settlements of Ireland. Yet unlike the Borders, these northern territories experienced plantation (Macinnes 2006:101). In other words, these maritime communities went through an inward and outward flux of population. This demographic dynamic carries important repercussions, representing a possible source of various exchanges and innovations. The transformation and evolution of the region certainly did not find its source in the relatively large-scale immigration of individual Lowlanders, as opposed to state-sponsored plantation, visible in the integration of Orkney and Shetland within the British polity. As a result, this introduces a demographic dynamic that is regionally based if not specific.

As regards the Nova Scotian baronetcies, there is no indication of holders actually becoming planters or undertakers. This was more an issue of social aspiration. Yet, there is clear evidence that landowners from the northern Highlands were prepared to engage. Beyond the lack of a physical presence on the ground in Nova Scotia, what is worth noting is the fact that these ultramontane men conceived of themselves as planters, whether or not they actually became so. Such concepts of mentality speak volumes in terms of the evolution of a mindset within the clan élite of these maritime communities. It offers a window onto these leaders' mental conceptions away from ones solely grounded in clan warfare as advanced by the traditional historiography. The concomitant participation of northern Highlanders in both the military sphere and plantation projected their image and that of their society abroad, even if indirectly. When combined with their militarism on the European battlefields, it emphasizes them as immersed in and embracing a truly imperial and world vision distinctively apart from a society traditionally perceived as inward-looking and mired in petty feuding. It helped redefine and re-assess the perception of an immovable and immutable society to a society that was in part both dynamic and outward-looking.

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Endnotes

[1] For some regions, like the Russian steppe, it has even been claimed that the government was mainly interested in cordoning it off rather than colonizing it (Boeck 2007).

[2] This benign and collaborative form seen in the early colonial ventures in Scandinavia was no longer so, as was later evident in the Swedish clear-out of the former Danish provinces of Halland, Blekinge, and Skåne in the later seventeenth century (Linde-Laursen 2016:ch. 1).

[3] On the terminology of colony, colonization, and colonialism, consult Finley 1976, Veracini 2010: introduction.

[4] Osterhammel (2010:61) prefers the term internal periphery. Herzog (2007) adopts the same paradigm of internal/external colonization in a Hispanic context.

[5] The origins of the myth of the wild man, relevant to that of the barbarian, are scintillatingly examined in Bartra 1994. Consult Pinet (2008) for the figure's polyvalence and ambivalence. Compare Cohn (2009:110–112) and Hagen (2009:143).

[6] The wild man and barbarian are discussed in Bartra 1994:9–10, 14, 19, 124, see p. 110 for a late-medieval distinction, and pp. 163–165 for the confusion between the two terminologies, Freedman 1992.

[7] Carl Linnaeus later placed the Sami in the category of *Homo Monstrosus* (Naum and Nordin 2013:12).

[8] MacGregor has underlined the fact that the conception of the "Other" was grounded not in cartographical roots but in mental ones (MacGregor 2009:11–12, 43–44). These narratives should be replaced within the larger context of the contemporary traditions of travel writing (Hagen 2009, Havard 2005, Rackwitz 2007).

[9] An incisive insight into the governmental vision or that of officials of these outlying subjects can be found in the lexical variations within a single document in its manuscript and printed format (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(7):361 and National Records of Scotland (NRS), Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Collection, GD103/2/12, pp. 191–192). A fuller exposition of the rhetorical articulation can be found in Brochard (2011:ch. 6).

[10] Scone Palace, National Register of Archives for Scotland (NRAS) 776/1852, King to Lord Scone, April 7, 1607, Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(7):465–486, (8):742–743. This aspect is analyzed in depth in Williamson (1996). Beside this Scone Palace document, James VI's mention of extirpation in relation to plantations is present in Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(7):525.

[11] The American Indians were deemed "barbarians" as they resembled the Irish or Scottish Gaels rather than the other way round (Bartra 1994:1–8, Leerssen 1995:32–33, Shuger 1997:495).

[12] Dundee City Archives (DCA), Treasurer's Accounts, 1586–1606, Martinmas 1587–Whitsunday 1588, discharges. Posts were sent to Brechin and Caithness to gather intelligence concerning the location of the Highlanders immediately following a similar entry to advertise Coupar about the plague in early 1588.

[13] Highland Council Archives (HCA), Town Council Minutes, 1619–1637, BI 1/1/3A, fo. 12r.

[14] Aberdeen City Archives (ACA), Treasury Accounts, CA6/1/1(3), 1592–1593, p. 91. When the Fife Adventurers suffered a defeat at the hands of the Lewis rebels in early 1602, they sailed back to Anstruther "And the haill town men and woman" came to meet them. They all went to pray God "for his mightie delywerance yat had delywered yam out of his great dangers of ther enimies": National Library of Scotland (NLS), Wodrow Collection, Wod. Qu. xx, fo. 354r.

[15] This *mise en abyme* is cogently expressed in the words of Montaigne that "each calls barbarian that to which he is not accustomed." A Scandinavian instance of this *mise en abyme* is found in Loftsdóttir and Pálsson (2013:37, 39).

[16] Brown, K.M., et al. 2007–2010. *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707 (RPS)*. St Andrews. Available online at http://www.rps.ac.uk. Query s.v. Accessed March 16, 2010.

[17] NRS, Cuninghame of Caprington Muniments, GD149/265/3, fos. 52r-53v.

[18] RPS, 1587/7/70, and also RPS, 1594/4/48, 1597/11/40. Accessed October 29, 2010. On the negative perceptions of the peripheral natives in a British context, see Ohlmeyer (1998:130–132). The dual rhetoric of extirpation, in the most extreme cases of clan violence, and civility, whereby a reform of the clans was possible, was used by the political élite throughout the period (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(7):525, (14):12, 2nd ser.(1):18, 26, 39; Craigie 1944–1950 (1):70–71, Rogers 1885 (1):74–76, 386).

[19] The debate between "colonization/internal colonization" vs. "integration/assimilation/expansion" is very acute in Scandinavian historiography (Fur 2013:24–27). On some points, Lewis illustrates that *process* of territorial acquisition formulated by Osterhammel, beyond a legal treaty-based acquisition of the island in 1266.

[20] See the annual accountability of the Caithness landlords in June 1621 (Hope 1837 (2):407–411). Thanks to one of the reviewers for this analogy with Peterhead and Fraserburgh.

[21] Indeed, the crown might have pre-empted its plantation of Lewis regardless of the opportunity for the MacLeods to produce their title. In July 1596, it directed its lieutenant for the expedition to the Isles, Sir William Stewart of Houston, to take the castle of Stornoway and some of the best surrounding lands (for the ultimate erection of a town). Alternatively, this could simply be perceived as forward planning: NLS, Balcarres Papers, Adv. MS 29.2.6, fos. 107r–108r. Interestingly, Sir William Stewart was later one of the Fife Adventurers described below.

[22] RPS, 1597/11/41. Accessed October 22, 2010. The Act also mentioned two other royal burghs that were planned in Kintyre and Lochaber.

[23] These exchanges and markets were already present in the local economy but not systematized.

[24] For the adverse economic context in 1600, see for instance Whyte (1995:274–275).

[25] For example, it recurrently featured in preambles of commissions: NRS, Gordon Castle Muniments, GD44/13/2/5, also Fraser 1889 (2):nos. 107–108.

[26] During their incarceration in November 1608, Donald MacDonald of Sleat and Donald MacDonald, captain of Clanranald, pledged to pay their crown duties in an appeal for their release: NLS, Denmilne MSS, Adv. MS 33.1.15, vol. xxxii, no. 12. The track record of refractory payments by Hebrideans must partly account for the low price offered, in 1607, by George, marquess of Huntly, for the annual feu duty of the Outer Isles (except Skye and Lewis). His final underrated proposal of £400 yearly rent stands in contrast to the as yet untapped relative wealth potential of the Isles apparent in the crown's inflated £10,000 claim (Macphail 1914–1934 (3):100–105).

[27] The National Archives (TNA), State Paper Office, State Papers Scotland, Series I, Elizabeth I, SP52/58, nos. 88, 94; SP52/59, no. 6; NRS, Exchequer Records, Exchequer Act Books, E4/5, fo. 200v. The Octavians were eight administrators employed to reorganize royal finances.

[28] RPS, A1596/5/3, 1597/11/40, A1598/6/2. Accessed October 29, 2010.

[29] In the period 1573–1580, a number of Hebridean chiefs, including Roderick MacLeod of Lewis, contracted with John, bishop of the Isles, to pay their duties to him. Yet, in his testament dated October 1585, the bishop stated that the islanders had cumulated 40,000 marks of unpaid taxes over the years. By April 1591, Donald MacDonald of Sleat's share of these amounted to 6200 marks and caused his incarceration in the Scottish capital (Bain et al. 1898–1969 (12):203, Innes 1859:186, Paton 1913–1922 (6):58, Skene 1847:6–14).

[30] NRS, Exchequer Records, General Taxt Rolls, E59/1/9. Aonghus MacCoinnich deserves gratitude for pointing out this E59 series.

[31] As a matter of fact, both Scottish pro-Unionist writers Robert Pont and John Russell had direct knowledge of the Highlanders (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(6):767, (8):756).

[32] The imperially-sanctioned plantation in the Banat was initially driven by individual undertakers up until 1718 when the state took over its sponsorship and control.

[33] St. Andrews University Library (SAUL), Anstruther Wester Kirk Session Records, CH2/624/2, p. 9, MacCoinnich 2015:112-118, 370-381, 395.

[34] The nature of the settlements in Ulster was more separative compared to the later ones in Leitrim which were more incorporative towards the native Irish, still within a broader process of conquest and expropriation. In the conquest of Kazan, the military security was coterminous with that of settlement by means of land grants (*pomest'ia*) in return for military service to the state, and with negotiations between the grantees (*pomeshchiki*) and the authorities playing its part (Romaniello 2007). Serbian soldier-settlers in Croatia were the beneficiaries of this system of land grants in return for military service and religious freedom as deployed on the Croatian frontier in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similarities

can also be found with fleeing peasants at the expense of the Hungarian nobility at the time and with Serbs on the Hungarian border at the close of the seventeenth century (Nouzille 1991:64–125, 2006:108, 112–115, 117).

[35] RPS, 1598/6/5. Accessed October 29, 2010, NLS, Adv. MS 29.2.6, fo. 103r, TNA, SP52/59, no. 18, calendared in Bain et al. 1898–1969 (12):291, Finley 1976:185. In Ireland, one of the promoters of Roman colonial principles as applied to plantation was Sir Thomas Smith in the Ards peninsula, Co. Down (Horning 2013:65–68).

[36] At issue also in the case of Ulster was the exploitation of timber (Horning 2013:5–6, 66, 79, 87–88, 200–202, 222, 224, 226, 248).

[37] Consult Fur (2006:51–69) for the encouragement by the Swedish authorities to settle the forested areas of Lapland with Swedish and Finnish colonists for civilizing, fiscal, and commercial purposes.

[38] NRS, Exchequer Records, Exchequer of Treasury Papers, E19/11/6, Register of Privy Seal, PS1/69, fos. 17v–18r, 152v–153v, Armadale, Clan Donald Centre Library (CDCL), Lord Macdonald Papers, GD221/2/1–4, NLS, Adv. MS 29.2.6, fos. 107r–108r.

[39] CDCL, GD221/6/1–3, GD221/12/1–4, RPS, 1597/11/40, 1598/6/5. Accessed October 29, 2010.

[40] NLS, Wod. Qu. xx, fos. 354r–355r. Donald MacLeod of Assynt had earlier shown some friendliness towards the planters: NLS, Wod. Qu. xx, fo. 352v, Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(14):pp. cxxiii-cxxvi, cxxix.

[41] Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland Library (NMS), Papers on Antiquities, MS 28, d and f, NLS, Wod. Qu. xx, fos. 352v–353r.

[42] NRS, Supplementary Parliamentary Papers, PA7/2/1, NLS, Adv. MS 33.1.1, vol. iv, nos. 23, 26, Wod. Qu. xx, fos. 355v, 356r–357r. MacDonald of Clanranald also opposed the Adventurers (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser. (7):255, 524–525). King James was not duped by the duplicitous attitude of the Islanders: Scone, Scone Palace, Earls of Mansfield Papers, NRAS 776, bundle 1852, April 7, 1607.

[43] It is to be noted that various Caithness Sinclair landlords assisted the earl in the expedition to Orkney, namely the lairds of Ratter, Mey, and Murkle (Hope 1837 (1):146, 155, 181, also NLS, Wod. Qu. ix, fo. 71v).

[44] Oral tradition reported that earlier in the sixteenth century the MacLeod chief of Lewis called for the Lewis clans to present a united front to the acquisitive MacDonalds of the Isles (Morrison 1975:18–19).

[45] NRS, PA7/2/1, NLS, Wod. Qu. xx, fos. 352v–357v, Adv. MS 33.1.2, vol. xiv, no. 12, Fleming of Wigtown Papers, MS 20775/34, Scone Palace, NRAS 776, bundle 1852, April 7, 1607, Dunvegan Castle, Dunvegan Muniments, 1/187. The acceptance of the British "civilizing" agenda by some leading Highland chiefs can be found in MacCoinnich (2002:147–153); MacGregor (2006:159–161), (2012:40–49); Macinnes (2005:49, 60–61). Despite his June 1601 commission over the Outer Hebrides (except Lewis and Barra) and the west coast to "[e]xpell and hald thame [the rebels] thair wyffis and bairnis furth of the cuntrie," the marquess of Huntly was unable to bring them to submission: NRS, GD44/13/2/5. However, a lieutenancy of the Isles was a costly business, as Andrew Stewart, third Lord Ochiltree, would later experience: NLS, Adv. MS 33.1.1, vol. iv, nos. 8, 26–27, 34, Macphail 1914–1934 (3):124, 130–132. Likewise, a number of the Fife Adventurers were deeply indebted. In 1606, Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell had 15,000 marks of known debts (Donaldson 1986:23–24; MacCoinnich 2015:123–124, 128, 136, 163–170).

[46] In the seventeenth century, the Muscovite government subcontracted the settlement of the southern steppe to the Ukrainians and Don Cossacks, that is outsiders not belonging to its legal system. State experiments in direct colonization proved disastrous (Boeck 2007:48–50, 55).

[47] Violence is studied in Brochard (2011:chs. 3–4). The financial evidence can be found below.

[48] Kenneth MacKenzie of Kintail planted his own men in Lewis, notably after the execution of a July 1610 Privy Council commission which saw a 700-strong force converged to Lewis for its pacification. Amongst the most notable incomers was Donald Bayne, son of Duncan, third laird of Tulloch, who was chamberlain of Lewis (Anonymous 1818–1820 (1):74; Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(9):13–15; Gordon 1813:274–275; Mackenzie 1903:592–593; MacKinnon 1955a:4, 1955b:22; Macphail 1914–1934 (2):62–63, (3):250).

[49] Official reports about the area were nonetheless produced. The two copies of a single map of Lewis dated ca. 1630 as well as that produced probably by captain John Dymes at that time and uncovered by Aonghas MacCoinnich in the TNA in London do not redress this imbalance: TNA, SP16/229, fos. 192, 194, 229, SP52/72, part 1, nos. 37, 56, MacCoinnich 2015:323–324, 362–363.

[50] Hill (1993a) shows the preponderance and success of Celtic Scots from the Borders and south-west in Ulster. In 1569, the dowries of Agnes Campbell and of her daughter Finola as part of their marriages to Turlough Luineach O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell respectively brought armed men to Ulster numbering some 400 or 500 Campbells and 700 MacDonalds from Kintyre (Campbell 2000–2004 (1):194–195, (2):69; Hunter 2011:3, 8).

[51] Dunbar additionally stood as surety for one of his fellow settlers (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(8):336). There are several John Dunbars who are mentioned in the Irish patent rolls (Irish Record Commission 1966:309, 339, 391, 425).

[52] The presence of Munros in Ireland developed during the civil wars in the 1640s through marriages and land grants (Monroe 1929:4–5, ch. 3, Munro 1978:M/72, R/6, R/21, R/22, Ross-Shire Journal January 5, 1951:6, Stevenson 1981:288, 305–306). New DNA research has disproved this Ross-shire connection for the Argyll-shire Munros (Munro et al. 2016). Duncan Beaton is duly thanked for this last reference.

[53] Mey received a grant to be denizen of Ireland according to a royal instruction dated October 2, 1620 (Irish Record Commission 1966:539). Denization could not be granted to Highlanders and Islanders at least in the early phase of the plantation which corresponded to a period of unrest in the Isles (Perceval-Maxwell 1973:64, 81, also Hill 1877:80, 91, 95, for the conditions to be observed by the undertakers in Ulster as a precursor to the actual project in March 1609).

[54] British Library (BL), Muster Roll of Ulster, Add. MS 4770. Malcolm MacLeod, son of Rory Og MacLeod, illegitimate son of Roderick MacLeod of Lewis, supported Sir James MacDonald of Dunivaig's rebellion and on its demise went to Flanders before moving to Spain where he joined MacDonald. In 1620, they both returned to Britain. He retired to Ireland, presumably to the Antrim estates of Sir James, in 1622 where he died after 1626 (Mackenzie 1903:290–291; MacKinnon and Morrison 1986–1999 (4):9, 14; Macphail 1914–1934 (2):56, 268, 279).

[55] Davidson was minister of "killenie" in Ireland as mentioned on December 12, 1627 in the consistorial court of Caithness but was still owed monies for the tithe silver of Aimster ("almouster"). As a fugitive from the wars, he initially found refuge in England and southern Scotland between 1632 and 1650. He settled in Canisbay in 1652 where he officiated as a pastor until his transfer to Orkney in 1666. He was the son of John Davidson, commissary of Caithness: Edinburgh City Archives (ECA), abstracts from the Edinburgh protocols, Andrew Kerr, 2 (January–August 1650), s.v. Davidson, John, NRS, Caithness Commissary Court Records, CC4/2/1, bundle "1627," decree for Mr David Bruce upon George Manson's pension, December 12, 1627, Macfarlane 1906–1908 (1):155, Scott 1915–1950 (7):116, Thomson 1811–1816 (2):no. 1849. Mr George Dunbar, son of James [sic] Dunbar of Avoch, late rector in "Dornuh/Dornich" in Ireland was back in the Chanonry of Ross by January 1644: NRS, Robertson of Kindeace Papers, GD146/10, part of an inventory, p. 32, no. 293. A brief survey of both McConnell and McConnell (1935–1951) and Cotton (1851–1860) has failed to add additional names from the area.

[56] Mr. John MacKenzie, son of Sir Rory MacKenzie of Coigach, was admitted as minister of Urray in 1636. He was deposed in 1639 for malignancy (for his opposition to the Covenant) and obliged to flee to England and afterwards to Ireland, which he was compelled to leave on account of the rebellion. He was restored by the Synod of Ross in April 1643 and was admitted to Suddie in 1644: NLS, Wod. Fol. xxv, vol. i, no. 14, Mackay 1896:145–146, Scott 1915–1950 (7):17, 49.

[57] Thomas MacKenzie of Inverlael was admitted as minister of Tarbat in 1633. Yet, he returned and was admitted in Killearnan in 1638 (Fraser 1876 (1):p. lvi, Macfarlane 1906–1908 (1):216, Scott 1915–50 (7):11, 75). *Fasti* is silent on the matter but MacKenzie actually soon returned to his parish of Tarbat by June 21, 1636 at the latest: NRS, Cromartie Muniments, GD305/1/151/23, GD305/1/148/25.

[58] NLS, Sutherland Papers, Dep. 313/2981, March 30, 1633, Dep. 175/65, nos. 216, 230. Navidale was in "Cluincalge," part of Leitrim in Co. Fermanagh, for a while. His wife, Margaret MacLeod, was in "Ballibalffour" (modern Lisnaskea) in January 1635: NRS, Register of Deeds, RD1/497, fo. 237r. In February 1638, Navidale was said to be going to Ireland once again: NLS, Dep. 175/66, no. 303, p. 2.

[59] BL, Histories of the Clan Mackenzie, Add MS 40720, p. 113. A fleeting mention of John Ross, of the Culnaha branch, who "passit to Ireland," appears in Edinburgh University Library (EUL), Laing Collection, La. III. 666, pp. 47–48. These settlements should naturally be distinguished from more transitory moves. Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat received a license to go to Ireland "for certain lawful business of his there" for one year as granted by the Privy Council on July 31, 1623. In January 1639, Sleat was gone "to visit his good friend in Ireland," that is, Sir Randal MacDonnell, second earl of Antrim (Burton et al. 1877–1970 1st ser.(13):319, Fraser-Mackintosh 1890:375–376). Alexander MacLeod, servant of Sir Robert Gordon, tutor of Sutherland, was reported in June 1619 as "going to Ireland." Alexander Linton, Gordon's legal agent in Edinburgh, recommended not to give MacLeod a Privy Council warrant to pass and repass to Ireland but for Sir Robert to give his own passport: NLS, Dep. 175/65, no. 88, p. 2.

[60] Crosby also served as one of Reay's sureties during his trial: Cambridge University Library, Historical and Economic Tracts, Gg. V. 18, fo. 111v.

[61] The theoretical overview is provided in Finley (1976), Osterhammel (1997:ch. 1), and Veracini (2010:introduction).

[62] The House of Argyll also privately carried out internal plantation in Kintyre from the 1630s (Campbell 2000–4:(2)191, Macinnes 1996:69).

[63] The most likely dates for the Scottish settlements in Nova Scotia have been debated in Insh (1922:appendix B) and Griffiths and Reid (1992:493, 495–498).

[64] Lenman has only shown a direct connection between the Gaels and the plantation in the form of the baronetcy titles and their awareness of the scheme. He has highlighted an indirect relationship between the Highlanders and the project through the ties of Archibald, seventh earl of Argyll, with Sir William Alexander and captain John Mason, as a former commander of the naval expedition to the Isles (Lenman 1986:174–176).

[65] NLS, Dep. 175/5, no. 305. The other baronets of Nova Scotia from the northern Highlands were Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat (July 14, 1625), Sir Donald MacKay of Strathnaver (March 18, 1627), Sir John MacKenzie of Tarbat (May 21, 1628), James Sinclair of Canisbay (June 2, 1631), John Gordon of Embo (June 18, 1631), and colonel Hector Munro of Foulis (June 7, 1634): NRS, Register of Precepts for Charters to Baronets of Nova Scotia, 1625–1638, PS5/1, pp. 1–37, 114, 124, 142–145, 159–160, Register of Precepts for Charters to Baronets of Nova Scotia, Warrants, 1627–1637, PS15/1/57, PS15/1/71/2, PS15/1/72/1, GD44/41/8, no. 47; Reay Papers, GD84/2/147, CDCL, GD221/5249/3, p. 1, GD221/5508/1–3; Laing 1867:preface, 120–122; Munro 1953. Besides, several lists of baronets, more or less detailed and correct, are available: NLS, Balcarres Papers, Adv. MS 16.2.3, no. 5, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Historical Notes, MS 2095, p. 181, NRS, Inventory of Family Papers and Charters from Haddo House, GD33/65/8. Sir John Sinclair of Dunbeath received his baronetcy on January 2, 1631, though his name does not appear in the above records of the Privy Seal as the Dunbeath baronetcy officially began in 1704. However, in some official documents, he is referred as baronet: NLS,

Brydges MS, Adv. MS 6.1.17, fo. 65v. Chronologically, the next far northerner to become baronet was the Ross laird of Balnagown in 1672.

[66] The same interconnectedness was present between the Virginia colony and the Ulster plantation which shared many of the same personalities and, more importantly, were financially intertwined (Horning 2013:4, 51, 60–91, 183, 187).

[67] Other instances are found in Hill (1889:69, 138, 1877:287, 323).

[68] NLS, Adv. MS 16.2.3, no. 2.

[69] NRS, PS5/1, copy of the commission for the making of the baronets, before p. 1, Sinclair of Dunbeath Papers GD280/11/3, p. 2, NLS, Dep. 175/65, no. 147. Sir Robert Gordon was running into debts towards the end of the period: NRS, Fraser-Mackintosh Collection, GD128/6/6/6. Alexander's approach in March 1626 to the town of Inverness through its provost, Duncan Forbes, was not connected to Nova Scotia as claimed earlier but rather to the protracted legal case brought by the earl of Moray against the town for harboring Clan Chattan rebels (Agnew 1980:96, Duff 1815:2–3, HCA, BI 1/1/3A, fos. 26v ff., especially fo. 34v).

[70] A similar version appears in Rogers (1885 (1):386).

[71] NLS, Dep. 175/66, no. 308, p. 2. In this letter, Munro went on to say that he would stay in Swedish service as long as the Swedes were content to keep him. His next letter shows his attachment to a Swedish service: NLS, Dep. 175/66, no. 309.

[72] It also helps put the Clearances of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries into perspective as far as evictions and "voluntary" emigration were concerned.

[73] The pro- and anti-governmental polarization of the clans at times necessitated their realignment from a preliminary pragmatic approach. It was possible for them to operate under a hierarchization of alignments.

[74] This fear factor is also argued in MacGregor (2006:115–116).